Pınar Burcu Güner

The German Good Life I Want

Voices of Turkish Origin Girls

Springer VS

Rekonstruktive Sozialisationsforschung

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sationstheoretischen Zuganges auf den Punkt gebracht werden. Im Kontrast zu
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Subjekt im Zentrum des Interesses, sondern die es hervorbringenden und tragen-
den Prozesse und die mehr intuitiven, habituellen Bewältigungsformen.

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Thank you

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1 Introduction

The main focus of this doctoral dissertation was to explore the experiences of inequalities and the expectations of a good life of girls of Turkish origin living in Germany. Essentially, the research focused on identifying the gaps and analyzing inequality through girls' interpretation of a good life in Germany. A pilot study was conducted in order to redefine the research design, research questions, data collection methods and methodology. The pilot study had identified that focus groups provided a rich amount of data but were not enough to analyze the experienced inequalities and the individual agency of the participants. The pilot study revealed that it needed to be triangulated with a socio-economic questionnaire, to be able to report the distribution of the socio-economic backgrounds of the participants among the Turkish immigrant youth. An individual life history interview was used as a method of data collection to analyze how Turkish girls interpreted their feelings of inequality and active agency.

As a result of analyzing the pilot data using Grounded Theory methodology, two goals of the research were identified. The first one was to determine how girls of Turkish origin living in Germany developed a positive view of themselves; such as empowerment, agency, emancipation, inspirations and aspirations, as they were challenged at school and in the German society. The second was to ascertain how girls of Turkish origin living in Germany interpreted challenges, at school and in the wider society, to obtaining a good life. I aimed to develop the literature review with concepts derived through the results of the pilot study, because a literature review that has been conducted with the concepts relevant to the objective of the study results in building the background of the research (Hammick, 1996).

This research is framed with Sen's (2009) conceptualization of the Capability Approach to welfare and well-being, as well as Martha Nussbaum's concept of education and agency (2013). The Capability Approach (Sen, 2009 & Nussbaum, 2011) discusses what a person is able to do with the given resources and what a person needs in order to live a life which he/she desires to live. The Capability Approach is an evaluative approach for analyzing what the limitations are in life which prevent a person from living a good life. Biggeri and Libanora's (2011) implementation of the capabilities approach is used for designing the interview guidelines. A Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz, 2017) was used to analyze the data.

Research in Germany reveals that children of immigrants are disadvantaged in the German school education system and the family's socio-economic status determines the school education outcomes of children and youth (OECD 2017). The starting point of this research questioned how inequality in school education would affect the life opportunities of the socially vulnerable children and youths of immigrant-origin. The pilot data revealed that girls highlighted a 'good school education' as fundamental for a 'good life'. In the actual data collection, opportunities for a good life were linked to opportunities for a good school education.

In order to find the inequalities in the life of socially vulnerable girls of Turkish origin, this research conceptualized how ethnicity and migration background deprives or enhances the capabilities (opportunities) of young, 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation, women of Turkish origin living in Germany. The data for research was collected in collaboration with colleagues working in the field of youth and education in the Federal State of North Rhein Westphalia. The participants were girls between the ages of 13 and 21 years residing in North Rhine Westphalia's (NRW) socio-economically vulnerable areas.

In the main data collection phase there were 20 focus groups, consisting of five to eight girls, a socio-economic questionnaire after each focus group and 25 individual life history interviews with the girls who participated in the focus groups, conducted in order to analyze the personal experiences of inequality. The questionnaire was included in order to control the effects of external factors, such as migration background, ethnicity, religion and gender, as it was a heterogeneous group of participants. In the main data collection, the interview guidelines were structured to investigate what girls of Turkish origin perceived to be opportunities and inequalities, and how they removed these limitations (agency) for a good life. As a result, the research was centered on two main concepts, these were a 'good life' and opportunities to achieve a 'good school education'.

Four main categories were identified in the findings of the research: Construction of Identity; Aspiration for Education; Marginalization; and Living in a Multicultural Society. Construction of Identity has been subcategorized into; 'Citizenship', 'Religion' and 'Identity'. 'Marginalization' also has three subcategories, namely 'Discrimination', 'Stereotypes' and 'Institutional Marginalization' and 'Living in a Multicultural Society' has been separated into categories termed 'Unity' and 'Multiculturalism'.

2 Literature review

2.1 The Challenges for Migrant Origin Pupils in the German Education System

Children of immigrants have been challenged in the German education system. The data obtained during this research project revealed that children of immigrants encountered various difficulties during their school education. In addition, children of immigrants have been subject to various disadvantages and unequal treatment in their school education. For example, studies have shown that migrant children tend to be classified as having learning disabilities simply because of their sub-standard German language skills (Kornmann, 2006; Hovestadt, 2003). Some academics infer that students are not primarily disadvantaged because of their migrant origin, but rather because of their socially disadvantaged position (Kristen, 2006), which often coincides with a 'migration background'.

The 2015 PISA results revealed that equity has improved in Germany since the 2006 PISA results. Students' socioeconomic status became less of a reliable predictor of achievement in Germany. The number of resilient pupils who beat the socio-economic odds against them increased (OECD 2016). Despite the increase in the skills of young people with low socio-economic status, further efforts are still needed to reduce the linkage between social background and achievement. In addition, research in Germany does not provide sufficient answers on whether pupils of migrant origin are primarily disadvantaged because of their migration background or because of their socioeconomic situation. Regardless of these questions, pupils of migrant origin are disadvantaged in school education.

The main reason for this considerable discrimination against pupils with a migration background can be found within the multi-track school system – with its highly selective streaming after grade 4 (or 6 in Berlin). Mechanisms inherent to the school system contribute to discrimination against migrant children (Gomolla and Radtke, 2000). There are also social inequalities in the transition from primary school (Grundschule) to lower secondary school (Realschule) that children of immigrants are subject to.

Children of foreign origin have fewer chances of being recommended for the Gymnasium than German children, even when they share the same academic achievement level and social status (Bos *et al*., 2007). The children and youth of migrant families have a high rate of repeating a class or attending a special education (Auernheimer, 2005).

2.2   Identity and Identity Threat

Pupils of immigrant origin are not only deprived via structural means, such as social class and limited opportunities for a good school education, but are also confronted with stereotypes, defamation, and stigmatization.

A collective group identity of 'foreigners' was developed on the basis of an exclusionary classification from the dominant German discourse, Ausländer (foreign), which clearly defines the position of immigrant origin people within German society. An understanding of what it means to be German would open up new perspectives in regard to the German society (Wilhelm, 2013, p. 26). Minority pupils are disadvantaged as they are considered an identity threat in academic settings. This so-called dual identity threat is likely to arise when the majority group denies, questions, or rejects the double membership claims of the second generation as fellow citizens (Berry *et al.,* 2006). Also, research shows that ethnic minority students with a strong sense of ethnic identity were more vulnerable to identity threat (Cole *et. al*., 2007).

An analysis of the literature in Europe on how school education shapes the identity of children and youth showed that European schools were one of the main sources of emphasizing Eurocentric cultural domination. This might marginalize the identity of ethnic minority pupils in school education and in various spheres of life. Schneider *et al.* (2012, p. 232) claim that the real problem in Europe is more likely to be the mainstream's lack of imagination on how people can hold multiple forms of belonging. The adaptive value of a dual identity strategy thus depends crucially on the intergroup context, particularly in the acceptance of cultural diversity by the majority group (Baysu *et al.*, 2011, p.123).

Specifically, dual identity claims are at odds with an ethnic representation of national identity, which excludes ethnic minorities as outsiders who do not belong to the nation (Meeus *et al*., 2010). Baysu *et al*., (2011, p.128) argue that the same level of perceived identity threat may have differential consequences for a minority's school success depending on the adaptive value of different identity strategies in specific intergroup contexts. Berry *et al*. (2006) labeled a category, which refers to those who are weakly committed to both ethnic and national cultures and identities, which may 'marginalize' children and youth from the immigrant origin.

According to the results of a study in Europe, religion is shown to be an important element of Turkish identity in countries where they are most stigmatized (Herzog-Punzenberger, B., & Schnell, P., 2012, p. 203). The second generation sits between forces that often pull them in different directions: their immigrant parents, their wider family and community networks, their friends, their schools, and the wider society into which they were born or moved as a child (Schneider & Crul,

2012, p. 206). Considering that the participants of this research are young, Turkish, Muslim women, it is important to highlight that being Muslim is the most important reason why public discourse defaming Muslims and devaluing their family of origin is a danger to the lives of these young people (Wilpert, 2013, p. 122).

The European debate has thus misconstrued the actual state of affairs. Its image of a large majority of Muslim youths, who are strongly religious and hold radical Islamic views, does not resemble reality. Instead, this attitude pushes them out of society (Crul & Mollenkopf, 2012, p. 253). Europe uses religion, citizenship, and ethnic origin to draw social boundaries, without creating a race, which remains a taboo term (Tran *et al*., 2012, p. 161). Baysu *et al.* (2011, p. 128) highlighted that both social identity theory and stereotype threat research have associated a dual identity strategy with increased vulnerability to identity threat, which is relevant to the results of this research. From another angle, identity threat to marginalized identities reveals that when integration is for 'the moral good', what happens in practice is the reproduction of a hierarchical insider/outsider structure. This prescribes conformity and frequently diminishes the acculturation responsibilities of the non-Muslim mainstream (Bowskill *et al*., 2007, p. 807).

2.3   Citizenship

In Germany, the idea that citizenship and ethnic belonging can legitimately exist side-by-side is not yet commonly understood in the context of the dominant political discourse (Wilpert, 2013). Germany's citizenship was based on nationality which means that it depended on the heritage or origin of the individual. According to Article 116 of the German Constitution, the category of 'Germans' does not only consist of German citizens but also of people of German ethnicity who do not live in Germany and are not citizens (Koppmans, 1999). Dual citizenship is valid until the age of 23. Also, in 2000, the law defined that people who have been residing in Germany for at least eight years, and have passed the German language examination, could obtain German citizenship.

Later in 2007, a law on the transposition of the European Union (EU) Directives and labor laws was introduced as a reform. The reform legislation of 2007 introduces a new administrative procedure for the determination of the nationality status of a person, by application or in the case of a particular public interest (Heilbronn, 2012). Süssmuth and Morehouse (2009, p. 267) interpreted the reforms as an encouraged and much needed public debate on Germany as a country of continuing immigration. They claimed it changed the climate of the discussion about integration, focusing on the positive outcomes that can be expected and the benefits that migrants can offer the society. Finally, in 2014,

the citizenship law opened a pathway for young people who were born in Germany to obtain a dual citizenship.

Multicultural policies, often combined with inclusive citizenship rights, anti-discrimination, and equal opportunity policies, did have positive effects in many fields of integration (Koopmans, 2013, p. 164). Since the concept of hybridity does not quite exist in mainstream German culture, people of immigrant origin are confronted in public as foreigners, and positioned as outsiders or citizens of their parents' country of origin with which they are not familiar. Germany's collective identity as a country of immigrants is still fledgling and fragile, despite its decades-long experience with immigration (Süssmuss & Morehouse, 2009, p. 275). The issue of citizenship is central to all other debates about membership, belonging and integration of immigrants and their children.

2.4   Contemporary School Education Reforms for Disadvantaged Pupils

The public sector, including schools and the welfare system, had not previously been confronted with the changing needs of an increasingly diverse population (Abalı, 2009, p. 30). When compared to other industrialized countries, Germany scored especially poorly on the performance of children from lower social and migrant backgrounds (Hagemann, 2012, p. 292).

In recent years, one of the investments in German welfare has been the 'All Day Schooling' program. This program was financed by "Zukunft Bildung und Betreuung" (IZZB) Future of Education and Care. The traditional German education system offered early morning to afternoon teaching. The Federal Ministry of Education and Research introduced the provision of all-day schooling to address the problem observed in the PISA results.

The All Day Schools offer afternoon programs according to the conceptual framework of the All Day Schooling program, created by private providers (Hagemann, 2012, p. 293). The German school system considered schools only as places for teaching and learning. Schools have never been considered as places for extra-curricular activities or for nurturing children holistically. The number of schools providing all-day schooling expanded between 2003 and 2009. The main idea of providing all-day schooling is to narrow the achievement gap, which occurs as a result of social background influencing children's school success. In addition, parents have to pay for lunch and activities. According to the results of this research, this new type of all-day schooling has contributed a partial solution to the provision of equal opportunities in school education.

3 Theory of the Capability Approach

The main theoretical framework of this research is the Capability Approach. The Capability Approach was first introduced by the 1998 Nobel Prize winner, Amartya Sen. Martha Nussbaum was also a strong contributor to the development of the Capability Approach. The Capability Approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of well-being and social arrangements of a society. The concepts of the Capability Approach have been determined in the literature review, which guided the design of the project to allow the research questions to be answered.

The Capability Approach is primarily a framework of thought, a mode of thinking about normative issues, hence a paradigm — loosely defined — that can be used for a wide range of evaluative purposes. The Capability Approach also identifies social constraints that influence and restrict well-being as well as the evaluative exercises (Robeyns, 2005, p. 96).

3.1 Capabilities, Functioning's and Conversion Factors

The Capability Approach in basic terms discusses what a person is able to do with their capabilities (opportunities) and what a human being can achieve (functioning) as a result, states of 'being' or 'doing' are outcomes. The Capability Approach thus takes account of human diversity in two ways: by its focus on the plurality of functionings and capabilities as the evaluative space, and by the explicit focus on personal and socio-environmental conversion factors of commodities into functionings (Robeyns, 2005, p. 99). The Capability Approach draws attention to what a person can do with his or her current capabilities and what limits people having a good life.

It is also necessary to prepare the material and institutional environment so that people are actually able to function and live a life they value (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 235). As a result, capabilities are opportunities which are available for people to turn them into valuable actions, into functionings, which may help people to live a valuable life. Sen describes (1999, p.75) functionings as 'the various things' a person may value doing or being. In other words, functionings are valuable activities and states that make up people's well-being, such as being

healthy and well-nourished, being safe, being educated, having a good job, and being able to visit loved ones. People use capabilities in order to have valuable functionings to ensure their well-being. For example, when a person's basic need for food is met, they enjoy the functioning of being well-nourished.

According to the Capability Approach, well-being, justice and development should be conceptualized in terms of people's capabilities to function, that is, their effective opportunities to undertake the actions and activities that they want to engage in, and be who they want to be. These beings and doings, which Sen framed as functionings, together constitute what makes a life valuable. Functionings include working, resting, being literate, being healthy, being part of a community, being respected, and so forth.

The distinction between achieved functionings and capabilities is that one is possible and the other is realized. In other words, functionings are achievements and capabilities are the valuable opportunities that people can choose from. What is ultimately important is that people have the freedom and valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the lives they want to live, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be. Once they effectively have these substantive opportunities, they can choose those options that they value most. For example, every person should have the opportunity to be part of a community and to practice a religion, but if someone prefers to be an atheist, they should also have this option (Robeyns, 2005). In Capability Theory, conversion factors, defined as limitations in capabilities which lead to a good life, has been another central concept identified in research. The definition of conversion factors is what a person can take from the existing capabilities that might be restricted by social, environmental and personal aspects of life.

Nussbaum (2000) suggested that there are three types of capabilities, basic, internal, and combined. Nussbaum (2000, p.78-80) developed a universal list of capabilities. These are: life; bodily health; bodily integrity; sense, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; and control over one's environment. Nussbaum (2007, p.70) explained the need for this universal list by saying "all of them are implicit in the idea of a life worthy of human dignity." In 2009, Nussbaum discussed her approach further, and said it uses the idea of a threshold level for each capability. The social goal should be understood in terms of getting citizens above this capability threshold to participate in the democratic process and be given the opportunity of social choice.

Nussbaum's use of the given list of capabilities to gain minimal rights against deprivation is extremely useful in a practical sense. Sen (2004, p.78) argued that there should not be a list of capabilities and that capabilities should be determined through a democratic process of public participation. Sugden

(2008, p.305) commented that Sen was a firm advocate of the collective decision-making process based on democratic participation, reasoned discussion, and openness to public scrutiny.

In contrast to Nussbaum, Amartya Sen did not suggest a list of capabilities but suggested that the decisions related to the list should be defined democratically by the public. Robeyns (2003, p.36) explained that he wanted to promote the Capability Approach as a general approach for the evaluation of individual advantage and social arrangements, and not as a well-defined theory.

Sen (2004, p.77) claimed that the problem is not with listing important capabilities, but with insisting on one predetermined canonical list of capabilities, chosen by theorists without any general social discussion or public reasoning. To have such a fixed list would be a denial of the necessary public participation on what should be included and why. Sen (2004) explained his disagreement with a list of capabilities. He said, "The theory of evaluation and assessment does, I believe, have the exacting task of pointing to the relevance of what we are free to do and free to be (the capabilities in general), as opposed to the material goods we have and the commodities we can command. But pure theory cannot 'freeze' a list of capabilities for all societies for all time to come, irrespective of what the citizens come to understand and value. That would be not only a denial of the reach of democracy but also a misunderstanding of what pure theory can do, completely divorced from the particular social reality that any particular society faces".

As a result of comparing the different approaches of Sen and Nussbaum, Robeyns (2003, p. 24) summarized the distinct difference between Sen and Nussbaum by saying, "to perform this task, Nussbaum develops and argues for a well-defined but general list of central human capabilities". Sen clearly didn't have such a clear aim when he started to work on the Capability Approach. When summarizing, Sen had asked, "The equality of what?" and he argued that there are good reasons to focus on capabilities instead of resources or utilities.

Most researchers have drawn implicitly on commonly used methods for selecting dimensions of capabilities. The first is the use of existing data or convention. In this method, the selection of dimensions mostly relies on convenience or a convention (Alkire, 2008). The second method uses the theory of the Capability Approach to select dimensions of capabilities, i.e. choosing concepts based on implicit or explicit assumptions about what people do value or should value. The third option is to select capabilities based on public consensus. In this case, dimensions would be selected using a list that has achieved a degree of legitimacy due to public consensus. For example, human rights, national plans, laws or strategies would be sufficient for this method (Alkire, 2009).

3.2   Agency

The Capability Approach takes agency to the center of the theory to discuss what a person is able to do in terms of removing the obstacles to having a meaningful life. Agency defines what a person can achieve in his or her current condition to contribute to a valuable life. The fundamental aspect of agency is not only for self-benefit, as Sen (1997, p.56) described agency as a notion that includes "acting for others" as well as the "realization" of goals. Sen (1999, p.19) refers to agency as a person's ability to pursue and realize goals that he or she values and has reason to value. In a further development of the Capability Approach, agency is related to self-determination, empowerment, authentic self-direction, autonomy, participation, leadership and entrepreneurship (Alkire, 2009, p.51).

Continuing from the above description of agency, an agent is "someone who acts and brings about change" (Sen 1999, P.19). Alkire (2008, p.258) clarified the concept of agency as the following: (I) agency is exercised with respect to the goals the person values, (ii) agency includes effective power as well as direct goals, (iv) the identification of agency also entails an assessment of the value of the agent's goals, (v) the agent's responsibility for a state of affairs should be incorporated into his or her evaluation of it.

Sen also discussed the concept of well-being freedom (2009, p. 203). This concept of freedom, based on the well-being aspect of a person, needs to be clearly distinguished from a broader concept of freedom which is related to the agency aspect of a person. In other words, a person's agency freedom refers to what the person is free to do and achieve, in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important for his or her life, to achieve maximum capacity. Agency freedom is freedom to achieve whatever the person, as a responsible agent, decides he or she should achieve.

3.3   Women and the Capability Approach

A feminist Capability Approach would use a rich theory of gender to argue that at least three elements of the Capability Approach have to be addressed: gender inequalities in the conversion of resources into capabilities, the gender inequalities in the capability sets, and how gender interacts with choice and personal responsibilities (Robeyns, 2008, p. 96). The analytical framework for gender equity encompasses the following aspects: the philosophical foundation of equality of capabilities and freedoms, a focus on individuals as the objective of gender and development, the evaluative aspect of capability expansion, and the agency aspect of capability expansion (Fukuda-Parr, 2003). Gendered social structures and constraints are important for all theories of well-being and justice.

Justice theories do not take account of gender relations, explicitly relying on androcentric and gender-biased assumptions (Robeyns, 2008, p. 89). Also, Fukuda-Parr (2003, p. 315) highlighted the fact that gender equity has been a prominent aspect of equity concern in public policy.

Women have also often been socialized to believe that a lower living standard is what is right and fitting for them and that some great human goods, for example, education and political participation, were not for them at all (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 128). The fact is that women have been the primary victims of socio-cultural deprivation and access to resources has been made difficult for them (Berenger & Verdier-Chouchane, 2011, p. 281). Women are much less likely than men to be literate, and even less likely to have a pre-professional or technical education (Nussbaum 2000, p. 242). When women enter education and the labor market they are confronted with various difficulties such as insufficient child support, intimidation from their family or spouse, sex discrimination in hiring, or lower wages compared with men in similar conditions. Women all over the world have a lack of support for central human capabilities because they are women. This unequal treatment is causing capability deprivation and is creating problems for justice and equality between genders. Women have especially been excluded from education and have been unequally treated in terms of access to the labor market.

The basic foundation from which the Capability Approach begins, in the political arena, is that human abilities exert a moral claim that they should be developed. Through institutional support, women can become fully capable of these human functions (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 131). Valuations on the basis of race, religion, or nationality affect development efforts everywhere, intertwining with valuations based on wealth, gender, health and status (Scanlon, 2009, p. 202). The experiences of women should not be viewed simply as a source of examples of social injustice and problems of social arrangements, inspiring examples of women should also be stressed to inspire women and provide an adequate perception of the quality of life (O'Neill, 2009, p. 334).

4 Methodology

4.1 Grounded Theory Methodology

The phenomena I studied were somewhat of a new topic in the German context. Because of this, I initially conducted the data collection stage of the research based on Grounded Theory methodology in order to construct research questions, conduct the literature review and collect data. I started the field research with open-ended questions which were designed to analyze the different aspects and components of the concept of 'the good life'. In the primary phase, I first learned of and understood the concept of qualitative research before I investigated how to conduct research based on Grounded Theory methodology.

By using the protocols in the literature, this methodology influenced the analysis of the data as it focused the researcher's attention on different dynamics and alerted the researcher to the possible analytic configurations in the process of conceptual and theoretical abstraction (Birks & Mills, 2015, p. 4). This would later allow the researcher to obtain meaningful and cohesive analytical results which explain the studied phenomena. Interrogating my own philosophical position required thinking about what I believed to be true, regarding both the nature of reality and the phenomena I was studying.

As a result, this methodology focused on the application of a set of procedures in order to systematize the research design . Qualitative research is a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences in the world in which they live. A number of different approaches exist within the wider framework to understand the social reality of individuals, groups, and cultures. I have used qualitative approaches to explore the behaviors, interpretations, perspectives, and experiences of girls of Turkish origin living in Germany. As a result, the basis of my qualitative research lay in the interpretive approaches I used to understand the social reality the girls constructed.

The 'Grounded Theory method (GTM)' was 'discovered' in the 1960s, when Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss published their pioneering book of the same name, and conveyed a crucial epistemological premise about creating scientific knowledge (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 31). Glaser and Strauss derived the Grounded Theory method (GTM) through analyzing their own research decisions, most notably their analyses of the procedures and practices used in hospitals dealing with the terminally ill (Awareness of Dying; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 32).

Glaser and Strauss's book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), first articulated these data analysis strategies and advocated for the development of theories from research grounded in data, rather than the deduction of testable hypotheses from existing theories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 4). Their book offered systematic, epistemological strategies for the methodology. Glaser and Strauss proposed a systematic, qualitative method of analysis, with its own logical start, that could generate a theory. As a result, during my research I have used the following procedures to formalize the systematization of my data analysis: simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis; the construction of analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived, logically deduced hypotheses; the use of the constant comparative method, which involves making comparisons at each stage of analysis; the advancement of theory development during each step of data collection and analysis; the use of memo writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties and define the relationships between categories; and the identification of gaps in the data and the development of more analysis phases (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987).

In the 1990s, Grounded Theory had not only became known for its usefulness but also because it challenged with its positivistic assumptions. The Grounded Theory revealed a new qualitative understanding of a studied phenomenon. Meanwhile, scholars moved Grounded Theory away from positivism and from Glaser, Strauss and Corbin's epistemological model (Bryant, 2002, 2003; Charmaz 2000, 2002, 2006; Clarke 2003, 2005; Seale, 1999). Consequently, some authors have classified Grounded Theory methodology as a positivist methodology (Charmaz, 2006), whereas others have considered it to be an interpretive methodology (Brown, 2011; Goulding, 1998).

Charmaz (1990, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006) characterized Grounded Theory by saying "we are part of the world we study and the data we collect". Charmaz (2006, p. 15) also claimed that Grounded Theory can give flexible guidelines rather than rigid prescriptions. By applying Grounded Theory in my doctoral research I have been provided with flexible guidelines, described as the steps of the research process, and also provided with a path to follow throughout the research process. With flexible guidelines, I was directed to use my imagination to innovate. I have constructed a Grounded Theory by interacting with the participants, perspectives, and earlier research findings related to the phenomena I have studied. In terms of new knowledge produced as a result of my study, I have constructed a Grounded Theory from participants' implicit meanings, perspectives, views, and experiences.

Furthermore, I have followed a 'constructivist orientation' during the research project. Charmaz (2006, p. 187) introduced the concept of a constructivist orientation to Grounded Theory analysis, in which researchers and participants construct their own realities. During the data collection process, I was not only

highlighting participants' interpretations but also their experiences, because a constructivist inquiry (Charmaz 2000, p. 510) starts with the experience and then asks how participants construct it.

Memo writing is an as an essential tool in the Grounded Theory research process (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 245). Thornberg & Charmaz (2012, p. 54) explain memos as analytical or conceptual notes. The memo-writing process helped me to see the analytical links and patterns of the data. Methodologically, the practice of memo writing is a process that I rooted in the data analysis while simultaneously increasing the level of abstraction of my analytical ideas (Charmaz, 2006). To construct a Grounded Theory, I intensively wrote memos to define codes, categories, and the relationships between categories. I also used memos as a method of gathering additional data after the initial data collection to facilitate theoretical development (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

During the next stages, I worked on finding the 'grounded concepts' in the data, as Grounded Theory emphasizes the conceptualization of the phenomenon as categories that are 'grounded' through the process in various stages of data analysis. During the analysis process, I was careful to consider the relationship between different categories in order to build a cohesive, analytical understanding of my research results. I was also careful to consider what kind of concepts would be relevant to each other. First, I asked what the categories were and what their functions were in the analytical process. Second, I wrote several questions which clarified what it means to 'ground' categories. I was aware that my task as a researcher was to clarify the kind of aspirations that might be implied in the analysis due to the grounding of categories. Because in Grounded Theory, theory and discovery are developed from grounded concepts constructed from social realities.

Charmaz (2006, p. 43) argued that coding means naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data. During my research, I followed the suggestions of Charmaz (2003, p. 51). For coding, the researchers asked questions such as: What do the data suggest? What do actions and statements in the data take for granted? What process(es) is an issue here? How can I define it? How does this process develop? How does the research participant(s) think, feel, and act while involved in this process? The Grounded Theory suggests that the researcher should continually renew and refine comparisons between categories. As a result of sorting different categories, the relationships between them could be seen clearly.

The three stages of analysis in Grounded Theory start with the initial step of open coding the data. Categories developed during open coding related to: which phenomenon the actions and interactions related to, conditions that led to the occurrence of the phenomenon, the context of the investigated phenomenon, other aspects that influenced the phenomenon because researchers are advised to

identify types of phenomena, context, casual, intervening conditions, and consequences which are relevant for the categories (Kelle, 2010, p. 202).

After several rounds of open coding, the remaining codes and their properties were gathered to see what the main category would be. This phase is called 'focus coding'. Charmaz (2006) emphasized this phase as the phase "where a researcher looks at the data with a critical eye to focus more on the emerging concepts". After gaining insight into the raw data, focused coding gives researchers the means to explain the data in a more in-depth way, to better define the views and experiences of the participants. Focused coding means using the most significant and/or frequent codes, obtained during the open coding process, to sift through a large amount of data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57).
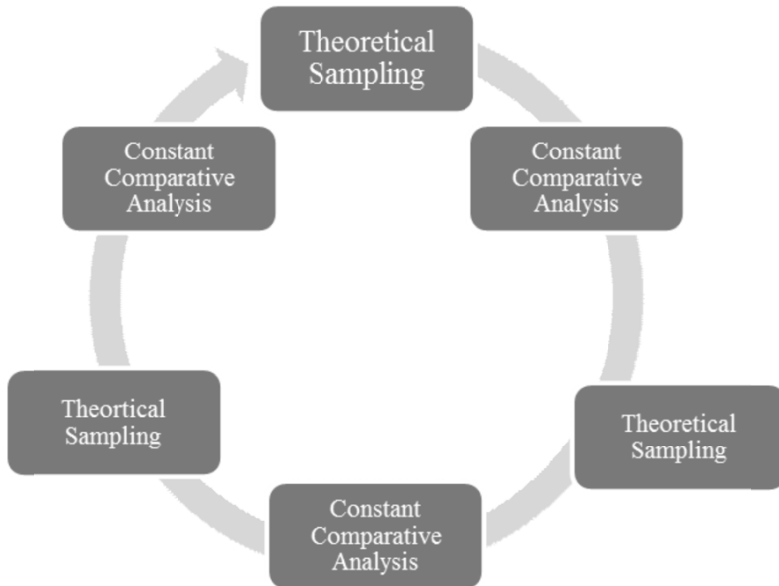
Figure 1:   Initial purposeful sampling

The final stage is the 'Theoretical Phase'. For this stage, the data is analyzed from an abstract perspective. Theoretical codes are advanced abstractions that provide a framework for enhancing the explanatory power of the storyline and its potential as theory (Birks & Mills, 2015, p. 123). Theoretical codes specify possible relationships between categories developed during the focused coding stage (Charmaz, 2006, p. 63), this phase can be considered as the saturation process.

Theoretical saturation is used by Glaser and Strauss (1967) to define the criterion for when to stop theoretically sampling and the data pertinent to a category. Theoretical saturation is a necessary phase for the researcher to think about building the abstract conceptualization of the data. During this phase, I could not find any new codes which would build a meaningful category which would help answer the research questions. Also in this stage, I included all properties of the categories, sub-categories, and categories for clear integration. I applied the constant comparative method until the theory was integrated as a result of the analysis. Creating abstract understanding was also achieved through comparative analyses.
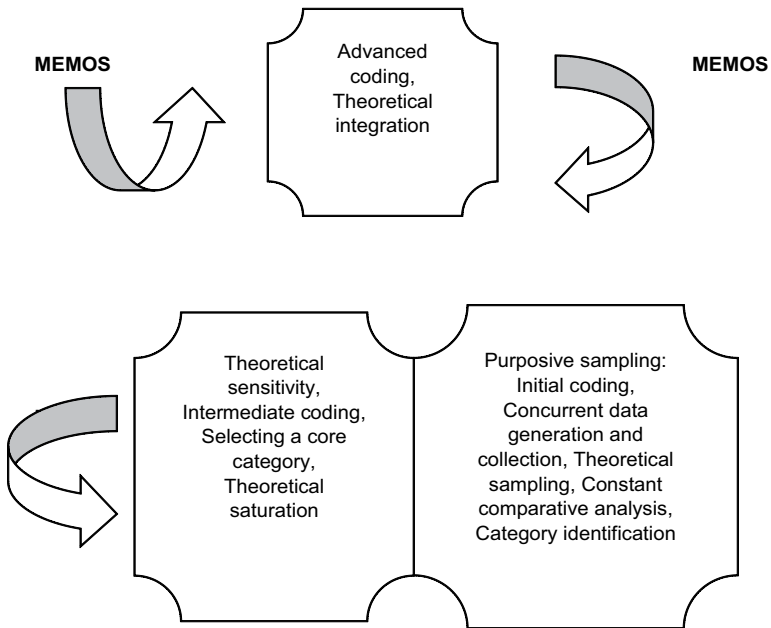
Figure 2:   Grounded Theory Process Used for Data Analysis

Grounded Theory strategies may offer rich possibilities for the development of educational and social research because of their suitability for studying a wide range of research problems. In the process of continuous comparison and category construction, I addressed the following questions: Are there any gaps in the categories? Are there any vague or underdeveloped definitions? Am I missing any data needed to fully understand and conceptualize categories or the relationships

between the categories? Which comparisons do I make within and between the categories? How do my comparisons illuminate the categories? Are there new conceptual relationships? At the end of the analysis procedure, the Grounded Theory offers a set of procedures and a means of generating theory (Thomas & James, 2006). Grounded Theory allows researchers to find their own voices and give themselves permission to formulate ideas to play with and to reconfigure ideas to expand and explore from a wider perspective (Lempert, 2010, p. 247). The next table shows the steps followed through the different phases of this research.
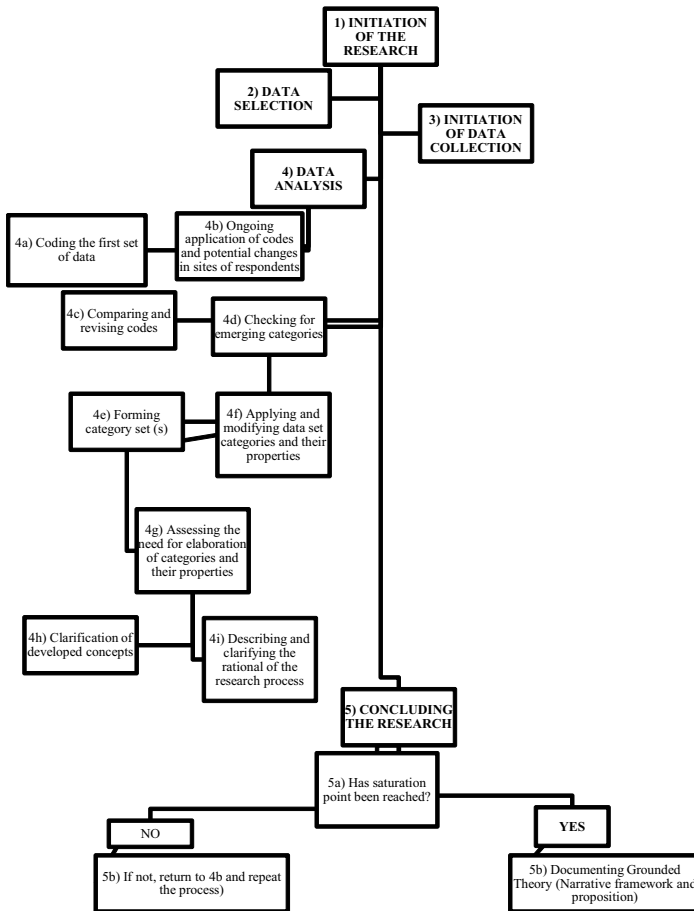
Figure 3:   The Grounded Theory Method Utilised

5 Methods of the Research

5.1 Design of the Research

I have previously spent time abroad as an international student. From that experience, I know how hard it is to adjust to new cultures, climates, and traditions despite it being a very interesting personal experience. After arriving in Germany as an international doctoral student, I started to hear negative comments about people of migrant origin in the media, and learned about the educational inequality in Germany. For these reasons I became very interested in studying this field of research. I was wondering how and why migrant origin, ethnicity or religious beliefs influence people's opportunity to live a good life and receive a good school education. According to my values and my world view, people should have equal opportunities to receive a good education and all other primary needs, regardless of what they look like, what they believe in and where they come from. In addition, disadvantaged people should get support from society and social institutions to allow them to live a life with dignity. I have been framing my doctoral research with this mindset.

During the initial phase of the study, I was aware of my own values and world views as both an opportunity and a restriction while I was designing this research. As my background is based in psychology, I wanted to conduct a qualitative study in order to make girls' voices heard via knowledge production. Using a transformative approach, participants of the research assisted in the process of reality construction (ontological stance as nature of reality). Active participation in finding the results (realities), and a consideration of the participants' world views and values during the time of knowledge construction (construction of realities), was essential for this study (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

As a result, the research aimed to investigate what young, socially vulnerable, Turkish women of migrant origin interpreted as a good life and a good school education, and how the girls actively used their agency to approach a good life and a good school education that they valued in Germany.

5.1.1 Pilot Study

A pilot study was necessary in order to decide how suitable the data collection methods and methodology were for addressing the research questions, as well as

figuring out how to implement the concepts of the Capability Approach and contribute to the qualitative knowledge of the Capability Approach.

I planned to conduct a pilot study in order to understand the life, culture and values of young people of immigrant origin to better design the research goals, rationale, questions and data collection methods. I entered the field knowing only Grounded Theory methodology, I had not reviewed the literature relating to the phenomena I was planning to study. Also, I was aware that, in Germany, there had not been much research conducted to investigate good life opportunities, agency, empowerment and the identity of Turkish youths of immigrant origin.

I decided to use focus groups in order to obtain the necessary amount of data in a short time. The interview guidelines had open questions such as: What are your everyday activities? How do you spend your free time? These were designed to facilitate an understanding of youth culture as well as break the ice. I was also interested in how girls defined a good life for themselves and for other girls their age living in Germany or in any part of the world, how they perceived their existing opportunities for having a good life in Germany and what they interpreted as obstacles to gaining these opportunities to live a good life.

The data was collected from schools that had agreed to take part in the data collection. Only girls who had volunteered were interviewed. I collected data from six focus groups in two different schools in Gütersloh. Each focus group constituted of five to eight girls, who were aged between 14 and 17 years old.

The findings of the pilot study revealed that girls believed that a 'good education' is fundamental for a 'good life' in Germany, i.e. in order to be valued and accepted by the German society. As challenges, the girls identified discrimination and stereotypes, both at school and in society, that limited their opportunity to have a good life and a good school education. There was not enough data to analyze the girls' perception of their existing opportunities, interpreted inequalities, or their resources to use agency to overcome these challenges.

Another significant result of the pilot data was that self-awareness of their own identity and identity development was important for the girls. After the pilot study, the research was redesigned to prepare for the main data collection.

5.1.2 Redesigning the Research after the Pilot Study

The research design focused on highlighting ontological, epistemological, and axiological issues. Ontologically, I was interested in the multiple realities surrounding the good life opportunities of girls of Turkish origin living in Germany, for example, how girls of Turkish origin viewed reality and experienced reality. I was also aware that society constructs a reality which influences personal interpretations and experiences. From an epistemological

perspective, I was interested in understanding what knowledge already existed in the field I was studying, in order to identify knowledge gaps, and to maximise my contribution to the knowledge production for literature concerning both the Capability Approach and migrant youth in Germany.

5.1.2.1   Research Questions

Literature on the subject of Germany (OECD 2016) highlighted the fact that children of immigrants were lagging behind in terms of school education, compared to their native peers, and that success in school was dependent upon the socio-economic status of the parents. I built the research questions in order to analyse how the girls interpreted inequality in school education and in society: How do Turkish girls living in Germany develop and cultivate their identity? What are their inspirations and aspirations? How have they overcome challenges to create a meaningful life that they value in Germany?

As a result, the research questions were derived from literature and conceptualized through the lenses of the Capability Approach. I problematized the above-mentioned research results from the 'good life' aspect in order to analyse the inequalities and agency of the potentially marginalized identities of socially vulnerable girls.

1. How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe the fundamental aspects of a good life?
2. How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin (such as 2nd, $3^{rd,}$ and 4th generation) describe their identity in a cultural setting which frames them as 'foreigners'?
3. How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe their ideas, aspirations, inspirations, and future plans?
4. How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe the challenges/ obstacles in their everyday life?

The pilot study results also revealed that focus groups were used for collecting rich data in a short period of time. For the main data collection, in order to control the effect of the socio-economic status of the girls, a homogenous group of girls with Turkish immigrant backgrounds, I developed a socio-economic questionnaire to be administered after each focus group interview. The questions (see Appendix C) were adapted from Shell Deutsche Jugendstudium, 2010 (Shell German Youth Study).

Also, in order to identify individual interpretations of existing opportunities, inequalities, and possible actions (agency) to make changes, individual inter-

views were necessary. In order to analyze the opportunities and inequalities in different life courses and transitions, I decided to conduct life-history interviews. As a result, triangulated data from the focus groups and individual interviews were used to answer the research questions.

5.2 Triangulation

The term 'triangulation' is reserved for instances where methods are combined for the purpose of confirmation (Lambert & Loiselle, 2007, p. 230). Triangulation is defined as researchers taking different perspectives on an issue being studied or, more generally speaking, to answer research questions (Flick, 2014). The perspectives can be substantiated by using several methods and/or several theoretical approaches. It refers to using a combination of different sorts of data as the background for theoretical perspectives, which are applied to the data. As far as possible, these perspectives should be treated and applied equally.

In this particular research project, data triangulation led to the following results: (1) a productive, iterative process, where an initial model of the phenomenon guided the exploration of individual accounts, and successive individual data further enriched the conceptualization of the phenomenon; (2) identification of the individual and the contextual circumstances surrounding the phenomenon, which added to the interpretation of the structure of the phenolmenon; and (3) convergence of the central characteristics of the phenomenon across focus groups and individual interviews, which enhanced the trustworthiness of the findings (Lambert & Loiselle, 2007, p. 231).

Triangulation with focus groups and individual life-history interviews supported the analysis. More specifically, how ethnicity and migration background might result in exclusion in the life of the girls. The structure is defined within the context of Grounded Theory analysis as "the circumstances in which problems, issues, happenings, or events pertaining to a phenomenon are situated or arise" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 127).

Triangulation, of different methods or sorts of data, usually generates knowledge from a wider perspective. For example, triangulation should produce knowledge on different levels, going beyond the knowledge made possible by one approach, and thus contribute to promoting richness in research. This perspective was applied in this research project by combining focus groups and individual interviews. It contributed to an enhanced understanding of the structure of the phenomenon, which allowed the collection of information on the personal and group level.

From the triangulated data, I was able to perform an in-depth analysis of the voices of the girls and ascertain how individual interpretations linked to

aspirations, inspirations, identity, belonging and the inequalities viewed as obstacles to having 'good life' and a 'good school education' in Germany. After deciding on the methods of data collection, interview guidelines were developed using the lenses of the Capability Approach.

5.2.1   Developing Interview Guidelines for Focus Groups and Individual Interviews using the Lenses of Capability Approach

The operationalization and implementation of the Capabilities Approach for domain selection, especially the question of whether and how to construct a capability list from the perspective of individuals or groups, has been extensively discussed in the literature (Biggeri, 2006; Burchardt, 2011; Martinetti, 2006, 2009). Also, Burchardt and Vizard (2011, p. 95) discussed a key issue, raised in the debates about the 'operationalization' of the Capability Approach, of a need for a methodology to develop and agree on a list of countable, substantive freedoms and opportunities for the purpose of measurement.

The implementation of theoretical concepts is defined as a sequence of activities which transforms a theoretical framework into standardized procedures, applicable in practice by users and beneficiaries (Biggeri, M & Libanora, R., 2011, p. 80). The implemention and operationalization of the Capabilities Approach with respect to the well-being of youths, including their functionings and capabilities, has been a concern in the Capability Approach literature (Biggeri *et al*., 2006, p. 63).

Capability Approach researchers are interested in what youths are effectively able to do and to be. Therefore, capabilities are a youth's potential functionings. Biggeri has studied the well-being issues of children and youth in the context of various countries through the lenses of the Capability Approach. Studying capabilities starts from an initial set of the youth's achieved functionings. The process of resource conversion is very much affected by how different institutions, norms, and cultures constrain or empower youth. The child's capability set, the vector of potential valued and achievable functionings, i.e. opportunity and freedom, is thus given by the resources/constraints, by their limited opportunities and by their own abilities (Biggeri *et al*., 2006, p. 63). I would argue that there are at least five important issues related to children's capabilities that are worth considering, although some of these observations are relevant to adults as well.

This research project adhered to the following procedures in order to implement the concepts of the Capability Approach. These concepts and perspectives for implementing the Capability Approach were adopted from Biggeri and Libanora (2011, p. 85), researchers of children and youth, for evaluating capabilities and prioritizing dimensions. The interview guideline for this research

had two sections. The first section had questions about a good life and the second section was about a good school education. The design of the interview guidelines used in focus groups and individual interviews are described below.

1. The first stage was characterized by the following question on the interview guideline: What are the most important opportunities girls should have throughout their life? The objective of this question was to identify which capabilities were relevant without limiting the possible answers with a predefined questionnaire. If the young woman mentioned a capability that had not been identified earlier by the researcher, their answer was added to the list. In this research project, the first question for the focus group was an introductory question to break the ice in the group. I asked, "What are your everyday activities and what kinds of hobbies do you have?" After the introductory question, the focus questions began with, "What are the most important opportunities for girls of your age all over the world to have a good life?"

2. In the second step of the interview guideline, the participants were asked to discuss and make a list of opportunities and rank them from most important to least important. A similar question was posed, "What are the most important opportunities for young, similarly-aged women of Turkish origin living in Germany to have a good life?" This step was also used to analyze group capabilities because the Capability Approach has been criticized for excluding groups due to its very individualistic approach. In this project, the data on group capabilities have been limited to the discussion of the group capabilities of girls of Turkish origin living in Germany.

3. In the third stage of the interview guideline, the girls were asked about the actual functioning achieved, which involved drawing on personal experiences. This step was implemented to ascertain whether they had the opportunity for a good life or a good school education in two different sections. The participants were asked, "Do you have opportunities?" They then listed valuable opportunities in their lives. The same question was repeated for school education in the second part of the interview guideline. In addition, I rephrased the question to allow detailed discussion during the individual life-history methodology.

4. In the fourth stage, the girls were asked about the relevance of each specific capability/dimension for girls in general, i.e. the broader community. An individual capability set, achievable functionings at the personal level, may be limited for children who are vulnerable because it could be influenced by adoptive preferences in which people normalize limitations and deprivation after a certain period of time. The data of this research project has been limited to identify and discuss adoptive preferences. In the interview

guideline, this question was asked: In your opinion, how important/ unimportant is it to be able to have opportunities as a member of the group you listed, for example, of your age and background? According to Bigger and Libanora (2011), the aim of this question is to measure the relevance of each capability dimension for the whole group. Also in this research project we asked the question, "What are the opportunities to have a good life and a good school education for girls with a German background?" This was asked to identify the adoptive preferences of each participant. Also, the data on adoptive preferences has been limited for a substantial analysis.

5. In the final stage, the girls were asked if they wished to add any other dimensions of well-being to the study. In order to obtain a partial ordering, the researcher asked the girls about their preferences. This question was posed as, "Among the aspects we have discussed, could you tell me which are the five most important opportunities a young woman should have during her lifetime?" This phase aimed to identify the most relevant capabilities for the group. After finishing the interviews, it was possible to draw a list of relevant capabilities which had been defined by the girls themselves and legitimised by the group (settings specific to prior vote rules). The level of achieved functionings was pointed out, at both the individual and aggregated level, under some assumptions and the first prioritization of the dimensions of well-being was achieved. In this particular research project, participants prepared a list of their functionings and ranked them in order, from the most achievable to the least achievable.

After following the above-mentioned procedures, the following question was presented as the final question in the interview guideline: What are the limitations and obstacles girls experience, and are forced to confront, at school and in society? In addition, to be able to achieve an in-depth analysis of social vulnerability and inequality during the individual life-history interviews, we asked, "What do you think makes you disadvantaged and unequal in the school and society?" To be able to analyze agency participants were asked, "How do you remove these obstacles and limitations in order to have a good life and a good school education in Germany?" Finally, to analyze their aspirations, they were asked, "Imagine your 18th birthday/what are you planning to do in the next 2-3 years?"

5.3 Sampling the Participants

In Germany (Bielefeld, Gütersloh, Dortmund, Duisburg, and Düsseldorf), I sent letters for the attention of the school administration, teachers and parents, to schools which had pupils of immigrant origin. The letters requested the schools

to gather girls who would like to participate in the research project, which was described in the letter. I made an agreement with a contact from each school that each group would consist of five to eight participants of the same age group. Girls who volunteered to participate in the research brought a signed letter from their parents. Girls, who were over 18 years old, registered their names and contact details to be invited for interview. Participation in the research was not an issue because many girls volunteered to participate. The only selection criteria stated in the invitation letter was that the interviews would only be conducted with girls of Turkish origin.

5.3.1   Socio-Economic Background of the Participants

The main goal of the survey was to analyze the socio-economic status of the girls in order to identify external factors of social vulnerability that may differ from those available to a homogeneous group of a sub-community, i.e. Turkish immigrants, in Germany. This was because this study focused only on researching the 'good life' opportunities of girls who are part of the Turkish immigrant community in Germany.

Table 1:   Survey Results of the Socio-economic Questionnaire

Country of Birth	All participants were born in Germany
Number of Siblings	All participants had at least one sibling and a maximum of three siblings.
Citizenship	70% were dual citizens and 30% of participants had dual citizenships and had to decide which citizenship to obtain when they were 18 to 23 years old. They all wrote they would choose to be solely German citizens.
Birth Place of Parents	▪ 60% of participants had two Turkish-born parents. ▪ Only 1% of participants had two German-born parents. ▪ 39% of participants had one parent who was born in Germany.
Country of Parents' Education	▪ 60% of participants answered that their parents were educated in both Germany and Turkey. ▪ 40% had parents that were only educated in Turkey. ▪ The 'only educated in Turkey' group was dominated by mothers who were never educated in Germany. Generally, mothers came to Germany through marriage as participants highlighted in their written answers.
Parents' Education Level	▪ Only 1% of participants had parents who were literate but had not been in formal education. ▪ 99% of parents had a formal school education, ranging from elementary education to obtaining a vocational high school diploma.

	▪ None of the girls had parents who participated in higher education. The questionnaire included labels both from Turkish and German education systems, but many parents were educated in Turkey and later had training in Germany.
Mother Tongue and Home Language	▪ All participants identified their mother tongue as Turkish. ▪ 70% of the participants spoke Turkish and German at home. Participants generally spoke German with their siblings and friends. Turkish was mostly spoken with parents. ▪ Only 30% of participants spoke Turkish at home with their siblings. ▪ Participants stated that the main reason for speaking only Turkish with parents and siblings at home was to improve their Turkish language skills, as they had no other chance to speak Turkish. The second reason participants gave for only speaking Turkish at home was the lack of German language skills of their mothers.
Parents' Employment Status	▪ 60% of the participants had a father who had a full-time job with a minimum of 35 hours per week. ▪ 20% of fathers were unemployed. ▪ 20% of fathers were working part-time, less than 15 hours per week. ▪ 60% of participants had mothers working part-time, a minimum of 15 hours or more. ▪ 20% of participants had a full-time working mother, 35 hours or more per week. ▪ 20% of participants had mothers who were housewives.
Materials	▪ Materially, participants were fairly well equipped. A high number of them had the following, at home or in their rooms: books, games, a CD-player, a TV, a computer, a play-station, and/or a Gameboy. Most frequently, their free time was spent listening to music, joining a sports team, internet surfing, reading books and magazines, meeting with friends and doing activities with their families. ▪ 90% of participants had 25-100 books at home and 10% had 1-24 books at home.
Home Situation	▪ 95% of participants shared a room with their same-sex siblings. ▪ All participants had at least one older or younger sibling. - 90% of participants were one of three children. ▪ 5% of participants had one sibling and the other 5% had more than two siblings. ▪ Families consisted only of children and parents. There were no parents who were divorced or separated.
Free Time	▪ All participants spent their free time with friends and family. They enjoyed surfing the internet, reading books and magazines, playing computer games, shopping, going to see movies and watching TV.

The questions for the socio-economic questionnaire were selected from Shell Deutsche JugendStudie, 2010. The questions used in this study were selected based on their ability to support and answer the research questions in addition to being complementary to the focus group and individual life-history interviews. I selected questions related to measuring socio-economic background. In order to analyze the questionnaire, I used a frequency measurement on SPSS. The results are presented below and the questionnaire is in the (Appendix C).

5.4 Procedures

The ethical aspects of conducting research with girls were considered from the beginning of the research. At the initial stage, I sent a description of the research project and all the data collection materials (interview guidelines and the socio-demographic questionnaire) to the school to inform the headteacher, teachers, parents, and participants. The researcher's biography and contact details were also attached to the documents to give a detailed explanation to all partners. All of the girls took the documents home and brought a signed approval from their parents to participate in the interviews.

Before each interview started, the researcher explained the aims and goals of the research project, answered the participants' questions and made sure the participants still wanted to participate in the research. It was made clear that they could leave the research project at any time and they did not have to answer any questions if they did not feel comfortable.

The data collection started after the participants' final approval. Also, in some of the meetings, a teacher was present during the interview for a while to comfort the participants. The research assistant, who spoke both Turkish and German, assisted during the whole data collection process. During the different phases of data collection, I kept in mind that some of the participants were under 18 years old and that they were studying in deprived areas of Germany. I tried to eliminate the effects of possible stigmatization. During the preparation for data collection, I was very careful that the data collection process should not reinforce stereotypes and stigmatization, exploit the girls or cause them stress.

I emphasized that privacy and confidentiality was an important aspect of this research. The codes of ethics insist on protecting people's identities and research locations. All personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity (Christians, 2011, p. 66). As a researcher of this study, I took care to protect the identity of the participants and the names of the schools. Also, all participants on the research report were called by another name to protect their identities.

The researcher approached the question of truth in this research with care, as Christians (2011, p. 66) discusses that accurate data is a cardinal principle in social codes as well. Fabrications, fraudulent materials, omissions, and contrivance are both non-scientific and unethical. When finding the truth of the data, I chose the most appropriate data which would discuss the answers to the research questions.

5.4.1 Focus Groups

The focus groups were a suitable method of data collection because the main purpose of focus group research was to draw upon respondents' beliefs, attitudes and feelings by exploiting group processes (Freeman, 2006, p. 494). People with similarities gather to discuss a specific issue with the help of a moderator in a particular setting, where participants feel comfortable enough to engage in a dynamic discussion for one or two hours. Focus groups do not aim to reach a consensus on the discussed issues (Liamputtong, 2011, p.3).

Focus groups can be formed by those who have common biographic experiences or a conjunctive experiential space, to understand each other immediately insofar as these biographical commonalities become relevant in interaction and discourse. These commonalities can be found in different dimensions. They may concern the dimensions of generation, of gender, of milieu or class or the dimension of migration because the young people taking part in the research project have a common history of migration (Bohnsack & Pfaff, 2010). Methodologically, focus groups consist of six to eight people who come from similar social and cultural backgrounds or who have similar experiences or concerns. As a result, I had focus groups formed of girls of a similar age range, all of which were of Turkish immigrant origin.

The advantages of using focus groups also includes the fact that focus groups allow the researcher to interact directly with the respondents. This provides opportunities for the clarification of responses. Also, I decided to use focus groups as the method of data collection because I would be able to observe non-verbal reactions such as gestures, smiles and frowns, which may carry information that supplements, and on occasion even contradicts, the verbal response (Stewart *et al.*, 2007, p. 43).

I used focus groups as a tool in the participatory research, which could help to create an alternative access point for both the retrieval of richer data and greater understanding (McCartan *et al*., 2012, p. 4). I decided that the participatory process could be a relevant method of selecting domains in the case of young, socially-vulnerable women of Turkish origin living in Germany, since it may lead to true public scrutiny and debate and help to include the voice of socially-vulnerable

girls. I claim that using a participatory approach, such as a focus group, supported the gathering of a large and rich data set in a short period of time.

The focus groups provided data on what it means to belong to a sub-group that is mainly framed negatively in political rhetorics and societal discourse in Germany. The focus groups became tools to highlight the inequalities faced by Turkish immigrants as a sub-group in Germany. In all interviews, the girls highlighted that their Turkish names and appearance made a significant difference to how they were treated. Such interpretations were important in order to analyze inequalities, collective opportunities, challenges and collective agency. The interview guideline is shown below.

Table 2:   Focus Group Interview Questions

▪ What do you do in your free time? (Ice-breaking question)
▪ What is a good life (or a good school education) for girls of your age in all parts of the world?
▪ What is a good life (or a good school education) for girls of your age in Germany?
▪ What is a good life (or a good school education) for girls of Turkish migrant origin of your age in Germany?
▪ What are the challenges/obstacles to achieving a good life (or a good school education)? (inequalities)
▪ How do you remove challenges to achieve a good life that you value?
▪ Imagine, today is your 18th birthday, what do you imagine that you have in your life? (Aspirations). If the girls were over 18 years old, the following question was asked: What do you plan for your 20th birthday or your 21st birthday?

In order to systematize the process of data collection, I operationalized the questions on the interview guideline for interviewing for both a good school education and good life opportunities and challenges. In addition to the focus group data, the table below was used as a visualization material for the participants to follow.

I had interview guidelines written in German and Turkish to support the girls during the interviews. The socio-demographic questionnaire was in German. The qualitative data was analyzed and the results of the socio-economic questionnaire provided clarity on the participants' background.

Table 3: Focus Group Interview Guideline

What is a good life (or a good school education) for all girls of your age in all parts of the world. *Please specify five aspects from most important to least important*	What is a good life (or a good school education) for girls of your age in Germany? *Please specify five aspects from most important to least important*	What is a good life (or a good school education) for girls of Turkish migrant origin at your age in Germany? *Please specify five aspects from most important to least important*	What are the challenges/ obstacles in your life to achieving a good life (or a good school education)? *Please specify five aspects from most important to least important*	How do you remove challenges to achieve a good life that you value?	Imagine, today is your 18th birthday. What do you imagine you have in your life?

5.4.2 Individual Life-History Interview

As discussed above, the focus groups provided data on the position of Turkish immigrants in German society in order to analyze inequalities. To respond to the research questions, the individual interviews were also necessary to analyze identity development, how opportunities are assessed from a personal perspective and how individuals removed challenges to create a life in Germany for themselves, which would also contribute to the Turkish immigrant sub-group.

From a theoretical point of view, I made the decision to use a life-history methodology. Life-history interviews are based on a belief that the subjects seek to make sense of their own lives by linking life experiences to particular events. Armstrong (1987) says the life-history method assigns significance and value to the person's own story or to the interpretations that people place on their own experience as an explanation for their behavior. Although they are personal stories, life accounts also provide rich detail to the interface between the personal and the social as individuals describe their encounter with society and their engagement with heritage and culture.

Table 4:   The Life History Interview Guideline

*The main purpose of the individual interviews was to have in-depth data for the purpose of analyzing educational engagement and gender and how this is constructed by growing up, life experiences, school experiences, relationships, and identity. How capabilities, for a good life and a good school education, are enhanced/deprived by migration background and ethnicity, as well as how school education should respond to these needs and challenges will be discussed in-depth with recommendations to education policy and school reforms in Germany.
1 Growing-up
▪ Could you please tell me the most important stories from the time when you were growing up?
▪ What important milestones have affected your whole life, especially your educational engagement?
2 Family and Relationships
▪ Could you please describe your family and the most important characteristics of your family? How are your relationships with your siblings, parents and other family members?
▪ Could you please describe the most important events in your family life?
▪ How have these events, or which aspects of these events have, affected your educational engagement?
3 Interactions at School
▪ Could you please describe your experience of schooling? What are the most important events from your schooling?
4 Friends and Relationships
▪ Could you please describe your relationships with your friends? What are the most important events that have happened with your friends?
▪ Is there anything you could tell me that has affected your educational engagement?
5 Relations in Society
▪ What are the most important experiences and events that you have experienced with others in society?
▪ Is there anything you could tell me that has affected your educational engagement?
6 Identity
▪ Who do you feel you are?
▪ Where do you feel you belong to?
▪ How does this belonging limit or promote opportunities for you?

In this research project, the qualitative evidence was presented from interviews with girls with different life experiences, which explored issues around identity development, opportunities, inequalities, social exclusion, marginalization, and agency. The life-history interview data contributed insights into the lived experiences of the girls. These discussions unpacked how girls construed identity building in school and in society while still being considered foreign in German society even after decades of living in Germany. As a result, the data provided

insights into their agency, the development of their identity, and how their identity deprived them or enhanced their opportunities for a good life and a good school education in Germany.

Interviews were scheduled with the girls on a separate day following the focus groups. The individual life-history interviews started with questions related to childhood and continued with school life and relationships with family members, teachers, friends, and society. The unpacking of the girls' experienced opportunities, difficulties, obstacles, and aspirations was performed with the final questions.

As a result, the life-history method was a valuable tool for collecting data on various components of life. These components, which were embedded and interacted with one another, included ethnicity, migration background, socio-demographic background, encountered obstacles, and opportunities for a good life and a good school education. The following table shows the interview guideline.

5.5 The process of Data Collection

The process of data collection started with collecting data for a pilot study. As described in the research design chapter, the pilot study determined how to implement the concepts of the Capability Approach into the interview guidelines, methods for data collection and methodology.

The data was collected from 20 focus groups, with five to six participants in each group, and 25 individual interviews with women of Turkish origin between 13 and 21 years old. The individual life-history interviews were collected from the girls who participated in the focus group interviews.

The focus group interviews took between 1.5 and 3.5 hours. The individual interviews were 1-2 hours long. After each focus group, participants answered a socio-economic questionnaire which took 12-15 minutes. The rationale behind the use of the socio-economic questionnaire was to analyze conversion factors and control the socio-economic differences of the participants because the research focused only on girls of Turkish origin living in Germany.

The data was collected, at school and education-related institutions, from the beginning of October, 2011 to the end of September, 2012. For the saturation procedure of Grounded Theory analysis, three focus groups and four individual interviews were collected in the middle of January, 2013. It is important to emphasize that all data were collected in the *Land* of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW) because each German *Land* has their own procedures, policies, and applications in education. The focus groups were built together with the school teachers. For example, girls aged 14 to 16 participated in the same focus group discussion. Individual interviews were scheduled for another time with the

participants. The data was collected mainly in a room inside the school or the organization. All meeting rooms were comfortable, private, silent and cozy, which made the process of data collection easy.

During the year of data collection, I spent time in the school to make observations. I had talks with other pupils and teachers in the school, who did not participate in the research. My aim was to get as much insight as possible from the school, teachers, and pupils to use for my analytical understanding of the data analysis. I participated in school visits to understand the challenges of the schools, and the German education system, from the perspectives of teachers, principals, and pupils in Hamburg, Bremen, and Berlin. These field visits opened paths for the creation of data interpretation tools to use in my analysis during the advanced stages of the research. As a result, the first year of research was spent on the phase of identifying problems for the project, as well as identifying the contributions to the field of methodology, literature on German education and welfare and also Capability Approach theory. I collected data from 20 focus groups, and the majority of the focus group participants also joined the individual life-history interviews. The data was in both Turkish and German. As a result, I had enough data to analyze for this doctoral research project.

6 Data analysis

I claim that the discussions with the girls were contextual, which influenced their current experiences and interpretations. During the interpretations, I conceptualized the girls at the center of school discourses, with visible or invisible voices inside of school. These invisible or visible discourses in schools were rooted from discussions on German politics.

During the interviews, it was important to create open-ended, non-judgmental questions to encourage unanticipated statements and stories to emerge from the data as an end product (Charmaz, 2006, p. 26). This process employed the use of constant comparative methods, which I built during the analysis after each interview. Categories were constantly compared with previous data for a better explanation and analytical description of the phenomena. Relevant categories were identified and relationships between the sub- and main- categories, and they're overlapping issues, were linked (Charmaz, 2006, p. 61). The combination of how I constructed the questions and conducted the interviews shaped how well a balance between the data and field notes was achieved. This enabled the benefit of full interpretation.

During the initial phase of the analysis, I worked with open coding several times while repeatedly listening to the audio recorder to distinguish the tone of voices. The tone was important in order to highlight the experiences of the participants and to better understand nuance and meaning. As a result, open coding was based on the most predominant ideas and words highlighted by the participants. Memo writing was used to achieve cohesive, focused coding to begin the theoretical coding phase. Several questions were written for the purpose of analytical integration, to better analyze the meanings beyond the data.

Taking a critical distance was important, in order to build categories for analytical integration, and also in the later phases for an abstract explanation of the research findings. In that stage, there were 150 open codes as a result of line-by-line coding. Open codes were selected according to their capacity to answer the research questions. At the beginning of the focus coding analysis, there were 80 open codes to work on word-by-word. This data was transferred to excel sheets and the Atlas.ti program to organize the quotes and indicators and to analyze the links and relationships.

Table 5:   Example of Open Coding and Memo Writing

Open Code: 'I will be integrated when I balance between two cultures'
Memos from 27.07.2012
▪   Is integration a group capability for a good life in Germany or is integration an adoptive preference?
▪   Language, identity and belonging as capabilities for a good life, what is the relationship between these three concepts? How are these concepts inter-related with socialization? What is needed for a healthy structure of identity, belonging and language development? Where do the contradictions come from? From the data, how does one experience contradiction in everyday life?
▪   What kinds of group capabilities are needed to expand these girls' capability sets to close the capability gap between girls of migrant and non-migrant origin in Germany?
▪   Integration is a political term in Germany. Why do all the participants in the interviews bring the question of integration into discussion? What does it really mean? How does it affect their everyday life in school and in society?
▪   How does culture affect the success of youths and children from different backgrounds?
▪   Is it because the society does not acknowledge that these girls have a plural, or patchwork, identity, such as German-Turkish and Muslim, that they cannot build a healthy identity?
▪   Where do they find room to develop an identity and belonging in Germany?
▪   How are they marginalized due to the lack of acceptance of a plural identity?
▪   How does religion play a role in identity making of the 3rd and 4th generation of girls in the midst of the tension of ideologies?
▪   What does it mean to find a balance between the two cultures? How does it happen? What is the process of balancing cultures, languages and different ideologies?

Focused coding started after the open coding phase. During the focused coding, the line-by-line codes were combined and renamed in order to create focused codes that were more appropriate for the application to larger amounts of data. Similar codes were gathered under the same category without naming them. Quotes were checked several times to understand what they meant together and how they could be categorized cohesively. Several times quotes were rearranged and reorganized. After several rounds, each category stabilized and became cohesive.

As there were many quotes to elaborate, most relevant quotes were chosen carefully to explain questions of the research. During the focused coding, a codebook was prepared to visualize the data and to see the links between codes and their properties. At the advanced phase, the codebook helped to better analyze the categories. Comparing properties and the codes became simpler. The codebook became a document derived from the transcripts, which consisted entirely of the words and sentences of the participants.

Table 6:   Example from the Code Book

Interview Topic	Structural Code Name	Structural Code Definition
What is needed most for a Good Life?	Citizenship	**Brief Definition:** Advantages of being a German citizen. **Full Definition:** Participants discussed that having German citizenship makes their life easier. Some professions require German citizenship and so they would like to obtain German citizenship. The girls discussed what obtaining German citizenship means in terms of having a good life in Germany. They mainly associated German citizenship with fulfilling their materialistic needs in Germany. **When to Use:** When participants refer to citizenship as a means of accessing the public life for their materialistic objectives, for example, for professional reasons or for voting. **When not to Use:** When they define belonging, religion and identity with citizenship.
How do they relate to Germany?	Ethnicity	**Full Definition:** How girls relate themselves with Germany and ethnicity? **When to Use:** When there is social vulnerability that is caused because they don't feel they are part of German society and are not accepted as Germans. **When not to Use:** When a social vulnerability is caused by reasons other than belonging and identity.
What manifests itself as the one main component of a good life but is also an obstacle for a good life?	Religion	**Brief Definition:** Why religion is important for them to build resilience and a healthy identity with which they feel included by the mainstream community. **Full Definition:** The girls discussed that they value religion and practicing religion because religion helps them to be included in a group of people with whom they feel connected, accepted and valued for who they are. Religious identity also helps them to be resilient and build a good life when they feel excluded and discriminated against by mainstream society. **When to Use:** When they connect religion with building an identity necessary for a good life. Furthermore, when girls associate being a Muslim with belonging and inclusion. **When not to use:** When they feel excluded and discriminated against in their everyday life in Germany because of their religious identity. When girls identify themselves as having a migration background, nationality or ethnicity.

Preparing a codebook did not only systematize the analysis process but also facilitated the understanding of the participants lives. For example in the data, there were many issues concerning 'identity', 'identity formation', 'being Turkish and/or German', 'being from Turkey and/or Germany and/or nowhere', a 'patchwork identity', 'finding a balance between two cultures', 'being integrated', 'being part of Germany', 'knowing who you are', 'ethnicity and identity', 'identity and agency', 'language and identity', 'speaking German and Turkish equally' and 'being foreign'. Sorting out the quotes of these complex codes and their indicators would be difficult without visualizing the data in the codebook.

The table above shows the early stage of the codebook used for constant comparison and to conceptualize the data. The codebook helped to sort out quotes in which concepts had various overlapping indicators. It was clear to see various main categories, sub-categories, and their properties and property indicators. The constant comparative analysis is an essential aspect of the Grounded Theory method (Charmaz, 2006 & 2014). The constant comparisons of indicators was essential to the initial generation of codes. Future indicators were compared and categorized with future codes then compared and categorized again.

I gained analytical insights by comparing quotes which were selected in the line-by-line, and also in the advanced stage in word-by-word, coding and began to define subtle patterns and processes (Charmaz, 2006). Before naming each sub-category, different groups were compared for overlapping issues, similarities, and differences. After constant comparison and making changes, more cohesive categories emerged and were described as sub-themes. I continued to write memos intensively during this process to gain a better understanding of the data, such as which sub-categories should be merged together or which sub-categories should be left out as they were not relevant to the research questions.

The codebook helped with the production of diagrams as it helped me to see links. Also, it helped to highlight any missing relationships between the categories or any gaps in the data analysis. The codebook was a concrete tool used to see the data analysis together with the sub-categories and related quotes as a whole. Also, the codebook helped transform the refined data, which allowed it to be reorganized by the 'Atlas.ti' program.

Diagraming was an important and useful tool from the beginning of the analysis. In the early stages, the diagrams were confusing, because there were many ideas, concepts, notes, and relationships. Throughout the analysis, the diagrams became clearer and more meaningful for understanding the relations between the properties, sub-categories and the main category. The diagrams helped visualize the gaps, problems, and relations between properties, sub-categories and main categories. In this process, it was often necessary to re-check the codebook to make necessary changes.

The next figure explains how indicators with overlapping issues were grouped and gathered. This example shows quotes connected with identity, as one could see there was a strong meaning in the data with regards to identity. After a constant comparison between the main categories and sub-categories, the 'Construction of Identity' category emerged. For example, quotes on 'patchwork identity' were eliminated because there wasn't strong enough evidence in the data for this code. The following figure shows how decisions were made to choose only one relevant concept from overlapping concepts in order to develop the most valid sub-category.
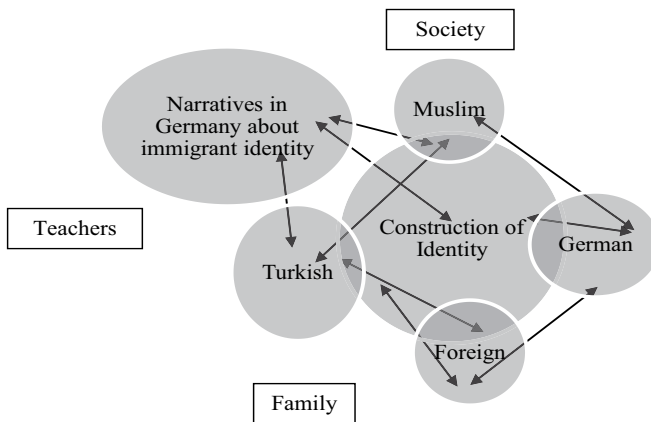
Figure 4: Mapping Overlapping Categories – Dimensions of Identity

During focused coding, a large number of memos and questions were written to visualize the meaning beyond the data and to build a cohesive, abstract discussion of the findings. The table below shows, through written memos, how open coding was transferred to focus coding to make a new sub-category.

Table 7:   Example for Building Focused Coding from Open Coding

Open Coding	Focused Coding
I am a little bit Turkish, a little bit German and Muslim.	Ethnicity
Memo (02.04.2013): In German society, the integration of migrants is a hot topic. Most of the time they are not accepted as Germans. The way right-wing politicians and society discuss them is exclusive: they are not welcomed, they are different, and they are not known and accepted. It becomes more visible, especially in times of economic change. These girls are also called 'Almancı', a term used in Turkey to describe Turks who emmigrated to Germany as guest workers, when they are in Turkey. When they are in public, they are treated differently due to their way of speech and dress. They don't have a public space in which to build an identity. This space is limited and organized by Turkish cultural and religious organizations. How does religion impact marginalization or does it not? How do national identity, cultural identity, and religious identity interact and support identity contribution?	

Table 8:   Developing Theoretical Coding with Memo

Open Coding	Focused Coding	Theoretical Code
I am a little bit Turkish, a little bit German and Muslim.	Religion	Constructing an Identity
Memo (1.12.2013): They are also aware that bad things exist in Turkey, but they still feel close to Turks because they come from the same background and culture. Germany's atmosphere concerning ethnicity, as well as the lack of opportunities to get to know other people living in Germany, makes them feel as if they are foreigners in Germany and closer to Turkey. It is actually only a dream of closeness, it is not real, just an illusion, because they have also mentioned that they feel like foreigners in Turkey and are not accepted because they are Germans. This feeling of belonging would be interpreted as illusionary.		

Charmaz suggested gathering data that enables the development of analytical categories to allow comparisons to be made between data, and discussed how these comparisons generate and inform the arguments of the dissertation (Charmaz, 2006, p. 19). This process is called saturation. Charmaz (2006) describes the saturation phase as "an empirical generalization", "a category", "an explication of a process", "a relationship between variables", "an explanation", "an abstract understanding" and "a description". Grounded Theory analysis requires a constant comparative method for generating and analyzing the data. The method involves activities characterized as generating and integrating categories and their properties, as well as delimiting and writing the emerging theory (Dey, 2007).

Birks and Mills (2015) define theory as an explanatory concept comprising a set of concepts related to each other through logical patterns of connectivity. According to Charmaz (2006), a number of other definitions exist that largely

reflect the philosophical roots of their proponents. Positivists, for example, seek to observe relationships with the aim of explanation and prediction while interpretivists aim for increased understanding through theory development. Theoretical integration requires the application of advanced analytical strategies in order to raise the analysis to an abstract conceptual level.

The theoretical saturation of major categories was checked for the final pool of analytical memos (Birks & Mills, 2015). Focused coding integrated with advanced memos was used for conceptual understanding throughout the progress of analysis. The general procedures of Grounded Theory were applied for a constant comparison of the categories and their sub-categories while writing memos. Codes were grouped into categories and sub-categories that were created for the gradual foundation of Grounded Theory. Categories were refined by defining properties and their dimensions while the conditions they operated under were identified as gaps in the data (Birks & Mills, 2015). At that stage theoretical sampling was necessary.

After theoretical sampling, the theoretical coding phase began with a prepared list of core categories from the focused coding process. A final codebook on an excel sheet was prepared to transfer the focus codes' main- and sub-categories. In this phase, indicators were defined clearly. More diagrams and conceptual mind maps were drawn to visualize the relationships linking the indicators' properties. Charmaz (2006) discusses, that once categories were saturated, they were theoretically abstract yet substantively grounded.

Before working on the abstract conceptualization of the findings using the Capability Approach, the data was reanalyzed to explore missing points and gaps. As in the final data analysis, there were four main overarching codes and their related sub-categories, listed below (figure 5).

In the data, there were various codes related to self-making or creating oneself. The overarching code was 'Construction of Identity'. The data analysis revealed that 'Citizenship', 'Religion' and 'Ethnicity' were the main components of creating self. The second overarching category was 'Aspiration for Education'. The data revealed that being educated, being heard, and being visible in German society with their achievements were important for girls, even though they experienced obstacles in pursuing their educational goals. 'Marginalization' was the third overarching category, in which the interpretations of the girls were sub-categorized as 'Discrimination', 'Stereotypes' and 'Institutional Marginalization'. The girls of Turkish origin were confronted with various obstacles to achieving their valuable life in German society. The fourth category was 'Living in a Multicultural Society', which contained two sub-categories, 'Unity' and 'Multiculturalism'. The girls aimed to live in a more inclusive society where differences were harmonized, recognized, accepted and valued.
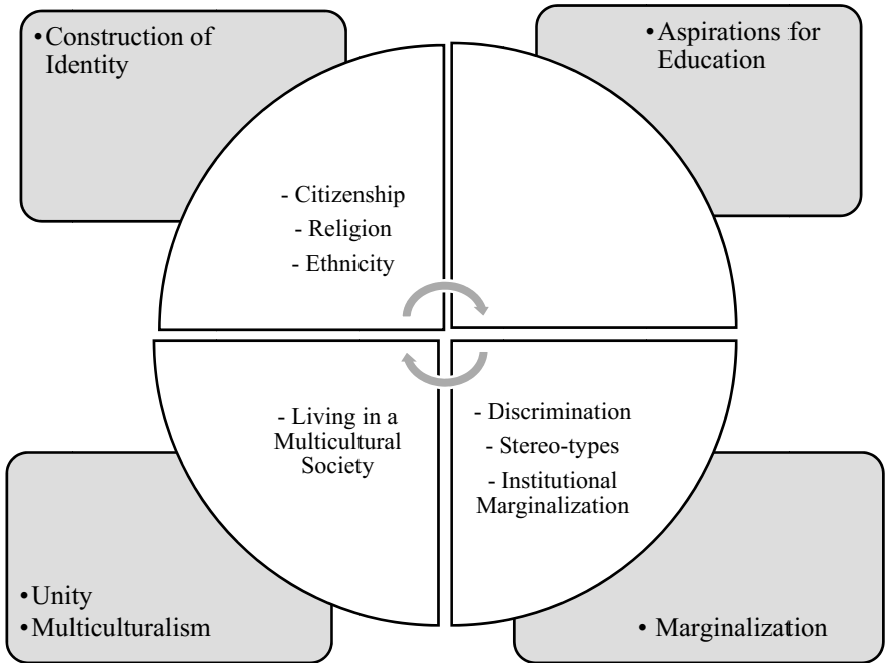
Figure 5:   Final Theoretical (Abstract) Categorization of the Findings

The theoretical coding used for theorizing the data proceeded for more than a year. Qualitative research is a long process which is performed in order to see the links between the concepts and to make sense of the results. I worked on the interpretation of the data for close to two years, which required a significant amount of reading on Germany. This included subjects such as integration policies, education, welfare, politics, contemporary research for youth, gender and identity.

Interviews were listened to several times to check if there was a missing aspect still not represented in the coding. During the final stages, I had 1050 pages of data analysis in a word document, together with diagrams, mind maps and memos. The codebook on excel sheets was checked to see if processes and procedures were followed in the analysis. A senior colleague recommended that I keep a research diary, which I could read to understand what I had been thinking and seeing during the different phases of the data analysis. Reviewing all these stages helped me visualize different aspects of the data to develop a higher level of conceptualization for theory building.

The logic of abduction is also an important aspect of Grounded Theory. Abductive reasoning occurs at all stages of analysis, but particularly during the constant comparative analysis between categories, which leads to theoretical integration. When using abductive reasoning, I decided that I would no longer adhere to the conventional view of categories but instead see what would emerge from the memos. "Abduction is, therefore, a cerebral process, an intellectual act, a mental leap, that brings together things which one had never associated with one another. It is the cognitive logic of discovery" (Reichertz, 2007, p. 220). This concept was applied in this research project to finalize the data analysis.

I would like to give examples to provide insight about the procedure of theoretical abduction. There was extensive data on the issues of discrimination and racism, inside and outside of school. I decided that it would better to distinguish between encountering discrimination and racism inside of school and encountering it in society. Similar issues were observed in the concept of agency as data revealed that participants were discussing what they would like to improve in their lives. It was very clear in the data that school and other spheres of the girls' lives were mingled. The participants' early childhood deprivations and choice of ethnic friendship were left out as there were not enough important sub-categories to explain the concept of agency in girls' lives.

For theory building, data had been analyzed in several rounds from open coding to focus coding. Memos were written for an advanced analysis of the analytical links between concepts and its indicators. In the advanced stage, the memos were helpful for theorizing the findings. For the theoretical coding, all main categories, their sub-categories, properties and the related quotes were gathered in the same pool for a holistic understanding of analytical integration.

I started to see once more how categories can be structured for analytical integration and to theorize the research findings. Categories were not regarded as a representation of the data but instead as being 'indicated' by the data (Dey, 2007). Categories must also be 'sensitizing' and provide a 'meaningful picture' that helps the reader to see and hear vividly from the perspective of the research participants (Glaser & Straus, 1967, pp. 37-38). The next table shows the process of development: open coding, focus coding and theoretical coding using memos to develop the final abstract conceptualization.
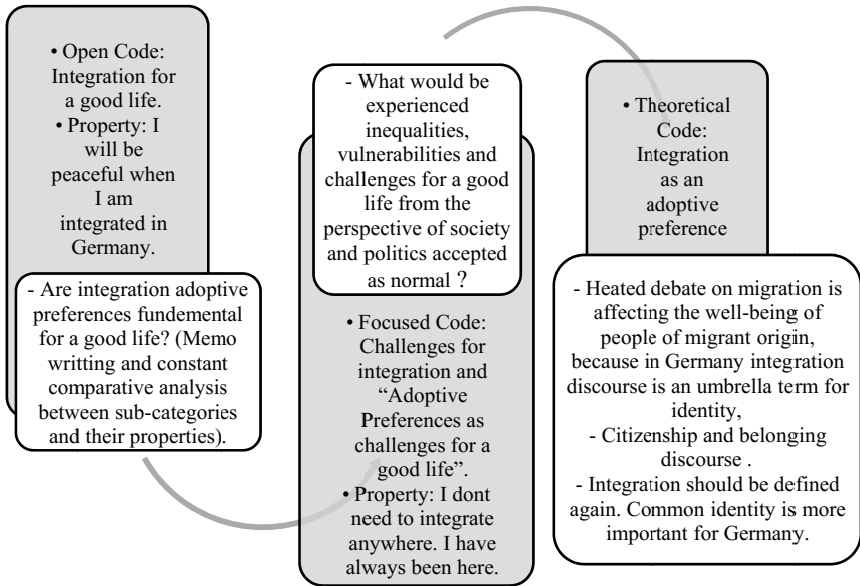
Figure 6:   Coding Process for Theorizing

6.1 Answering Research Questions

In this chapter, I would like to explain in detail how each research question was answered. The first research question is, "How do young, Turkish women of immigrant origin living in Germany describe the fundamental aspects of a good life?" To answer this question, I mainly used the focus group data because the main data on a 'good life' emerged during the focus groups interviews. Also, I used sections from the individual interview data as the girls interpreted what their opportunities were during their life-history interviews. The second research question was, "How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin living in Germany (2nd, 3rd and 4th generation) describe their identity in a cultural setting which frames them as 'foreigners'?" This required both focus group and individual interview data because the girls had their interpretations as individuals as well as their interpretations on how Turkish youths of immigrant origin have been positioned in German society. The triangulated data supported the analysis of various aspects of cultivating or building an identity in a cultural setting which frames them as 'foreigners' after living in Germany for several generations.

The third research question also required triangulated data, "How do young, Turkish women of immigrant origin living in Germany describe their ideas, aspirations, inspirations, and future plans?" The way the girls perceived group opportunities for the Turkish immigrant community could affect their inspirations, aspirations and creation of future plans. Also, I was interested in analyzing in-depth how the future plans of immigrant girls were constructed at a young age, what inspired them and what their aspirations were. I planned the individual interviews to provide data on the opportunities and obstacles for these girls at various stages in life, and also to understand the inequalities that occurred during transitions.

Finally, the fourth question was, "How do young, Turkish women of immigrant origin living in Germany describe the challenges/obstacles in their everyday life?" To answer this research question triangulated data was also necessary. Using triangulated data I was able to ascertain what young Turkish people of immigrant origin viewed as challenges and obstacles as a group.

I was interested in analyzing the personal interpretations of obstacles and challenges the girls confronted every day in school and beyond school. Also, I was interested in analysing if there was any collective agency among the people of Turkish immigrant background. If not, how are girls activated to use their agency at a personal level, to make changes in their personal lives, and indirectly, to contribute to the Turkish immigrant community.

7 Analysis and Findings

The first main category, 'Construction of Identity', was an overarching category for 'citizenship', 'ethnicity' and 'religion'. Citizenship was derived from the interview theme, "What is needed most for a good life?" In brief, it involved the advantages of being a German citizen and, in more detail, included the participants' discussion on how German citizenship makes the lives of girls of Turkish origin easier. Some professions require German citizenship therefore the participants wanted to obtain German citizenship. The girls discussed what obtaining German citizenship means in terms of having a good life in Germany. They mainly associated German citizenship with fulfilling their materialistic needs in Germany. This was used when participants referred to citizenship as a means of accessing a public life for their materialistic objectives, i.e. for professional reasons or for voting. It was not used when they defined belonging, religion, and identity using citizenship.

The religion sub-category manifested as one of the main components of a good life but it was also an obstacle for a good life. This category covered why religion was important to them in terms of building resilience and a healthy identity with which they felt included in the mainstream community. The full definition was derived from the girls discussing why they valued religion and practiced religion. This was because religion helped them to be included in a group of people with whom they could connect, be accepted and valued for who they are. Religious identity also supported them in building resilience in a society when they felt excluded and discriminated against. This sub-category was used when they connected religion with building an identity in order to have a good life, as well as when the girls associated being a Muslim with belonging and inclusion.

The sub-category was not used when they felt excluded and discriminated against because of their religious identity in everyday life in Germany. The girls identify themselves by their migration background, nationality or ethnicity. The ethnicity sub-category was related to how they associated themselves with Germany. Its full definition was on how the girls related to themselves with ethnicity in general. The sub-category was used when there was a social vulnerability that was caused because they didn't feel like they were a part of German society or accepted as Germans. This sub-category was not used when social vulnerability was caused by reasons other than belonging and identity.

'Education as an Aspiration' was the only overarching category without sub-categories. The category was defined by the question, "What are their main values in life?" In brief, it covered how the girls discussed why they wanted to get an education and, in full, included why being an educated woman was important for them. Education was not only for the financial gain of the girls. In their opinion, education was a valuable aspiration. The girls clearly meant that if they got a better education, they would have better prospects for life in Germany, which would also help them to raise their voice and be positively presented in German society. The girls' understanding of education was more abstract than concrete.

During the interviews, the girls gave many examples from their school education. This sub-category was used when the girls stated that receiving a good education was an aspiration, and necessary to build a good life for themselves, not only in a materialistic way but also to be valued, accepted and to raise their voices in German society. The girls have negative school experiences with their teachers in general. All girls mentioned their negative relationships with their teachers, which affected their school achievement and their prospects for a good school education. The sub-category was not used when the girls discussed education as having materialistic value. Also, the sub-category was not used if the girls met with exclusionary or unequal treatment outside of the school.

The third overarching theme was 'Marginalization' and its sub-categories were 'discrimination', 'stereotypes' and 'institutional marginalization'. Discrimination was derived from the question, "What are the major obstacles for girls from a Turkish origin in German society?" It included experiences of unequal treatment and a full description from girls who had been in Germany all their lives and confronted exclusion based on their headscarf, religion, migration background and ethnicity. Discrimination was challenging and decreased the quality of their lives. The teachers may have thought that children of immigrants might be school drop-outs at some point. That is why they were sent to a lower level of education to get at least a school certificate. The sub-category was used when there was an experience with discrimination. It was not used if their experience was not discrimination but something else such as stereotype or injustice.

Stereotypes defined how they experienced inequality. In brief it explored the experiences with stereotypes and in full, described how the girls have been in Germany all their lives and how they are confronted with many stereotypes of Turks in Germany. These stereotypes were challenging and decreased the quality of their lives. For example, the mainstream community thinks the main goal of girls of Turkish origin is to get married early and to have many kids, to never get a proper education nor have a decent job. The mainstream society thinks Turkish girls have pressures from their families, especially from their brothers and husbands and that they are forced to wear a headscarf, in other words, that

wearing a headscarf is not their choice. Also, the media illustrates them with all these stereotypes which are not real. In the end, these stereotypes reduce their options and opportunities for a good life. The sub-category was used when there was an experience with a stereotype and this sub-category was not used if the girls' experiences were not a stereotype but something else.

'Institutional Marginalization' is driven from the obstacles for a good life in Germany. The sub-category involved confronting structures and included discussion from the girls about their life and school education experiences linked with existing structures. These structures generally were obstacles for girls to have a good life in Germany. For example, school education tracks children from the 4th grade, such an early tracking system is such a serious structural obstacle for children of immigrants to achieve their full potential. In addition, welfare for children of guest workers, who were invited to Germany, has been ignored by German politicians. This situation has caused severe inequalities for children of immigrants who lag behind the native Germans. This sub-category was used if there was an obstacle linked with structures in Germany and this sub-category was not used if the problem was linked with anything other than structures in Germany.

The fourth overarching category was 'Living in a Multicultural Society', which consists of two sub-categories, 'Unity' and 'Multiculturalism'. Unity was derived from what the girls' need to have a good life. The sub-category is defined by not being part of the mainstream identity. Creating unity among various sub-groups and identities is necessary to integrate the whole society. It covers discussions about the girls not being accepted as part of the mainstream identity, which contributed to their exclusionary position in Germany, and may have contributed to their social vulnerability.

The girls have multiple identities, such as being Turkish, German and Muslim, at the same time. This was not accepted and recognized by mainstream society. The girls were accepted as Turkish or Turkish-Muslim which led them to experience various forms of exclusion and discrimination in German society. The girls also explained various experiences, related to their marginalized Turkish identity in Germany, which occurred because of their culture, religion or their parents' or grandparents' national identities. This feeling of not belonging to the culture and society reproduced social vulnerability for the girls. The girls are confronted with issues surrounding the use of their mother tongue and their history classes, which made them also feel excluded, discriminated against or that they were treated unfairly.

These issues clarify that these girls need to be active agents and be part of creating a new discussion which highlights how to build unity and where everyone feels included in developing a new German identity for social cohesion. This sub-category was used when their multiple identities were not recognized and accepted as part of the German identity. In addition, it was used

when there was an experience linked to unity with other sub-groups in Germany. The data has revealed two main problems.

The first problem was that the Turks were living a distinct life from the native German population. They didn't have strong friendships with people from other origins. Girls who participated in this research was isolated from German culture and from being friends with Germans. The second problem was that the girls who participated in this research were not having any friendship with other sub-groups in Germany either. This code highlighted that in a cohesive society, integration was inevitable. Integration could be achieved when all sub-group voices are harmonized. The sub-category was not used when girls excluded themselves from the mainstream identity because of religion, citizenship, and ethnicity and migration background. No relationships were found between the sub-groups for unity and integration.

'Multiculturalism' was derived from discussions concerning what the girls needed for a good life. It included the participants' relationship with the mainstream community to be part of society and the need for activities outside school. The girls discussed belonging in various spheres of life and their plans for the future. In full, the sub-category included data on the participants distancing themselves from the mainstream community, which was not familiar to them. Because of their isolation from mainstream society, they felt excluded. They interpreted that they were excluded because of their ethnicity. Their voice in the data reveals their desire to live in a community which is diverse, where diverse people are included with their diverse identities. The girls discussed what makes or does not make them part of the German society. They discussed that ethnicity, gender, migration background, religion, and identity were barriers to feeling part of Germany. Despite all the problems the Turkish girls were confronted with in Germany, they had also developed hopes for a better future, for example, they planned to move to countries where they thought diverse identities were treated better. Their aspirations to move from Germany to another country, especially to England and the USA, stemmed from them searching for a place where they are accepted with their diverse identities.

This sub-category was used when the girls distinguished themselves from the mainstream community, culturally and historically. The girls of Turkish origin did not share a similar ethnicity or religion but they shared a similar background. Their grandparents and their parents worked towards building postwar Germany with native Germans. Today, they should share equal rights in sharing the prosperity and welfare of Germany where migration background, ethnicity, and religion should not play a role. From this point of view, a common identity would unite them with the mainstream community to build social cohesion. It was used when belonging to diversity was an aspiration for these girls. It was not used when they had conflicted identities related to belonging and acceptance by society.

8 Construction of Identity

This chapter will discuss 'Citizenship', 'Religion' and 'Ethnicity'.

8.1 Citizenship

The girls immediately conceptualized citizenship as a problematic aspect of their life. In the data, a significant number of girls were German citizens and at least one of their parents were born and raised in Germany. The girls felt like 'foreigners' in German society as they revealed in the following quotes:

> Interviewer: Sizin iyi bir hayat ve de iyi bir okul eğitimine sahip olabilmeniz için var olan engeller nelerdir?
> *Interviewer: What would be the most challenging obstacle for you all in having a good school education and a good life in Germany?*
>
> Ayça: Vatandaşlık.
> *Ayça: Citizenship.*
>
> Ceren: Ben başvurdum.
> *Ceren: I have applied.*

From the participants' point of view, German citizenship was limited to a 'paper' because they experienced various vulnerabilities in their life even when they were officially German citizens. The data revealed that the problem for the girls was the tension between the materialistic value and the emotional value of the concept of citizenship. I interpreted that for the girls, the materialistic value of citizenship was about having access to the opportunities available to every citizen in Germany, such as having better access to education and job market opportunities.

For the girls, the emotional value of citizenship was having ties with a country, feeling accepted, appreciated and valued together with the other German citizens. It was obvious that German citizenship provided various opportunities for a good life for the girls. The quotes explained the tension between preserving national identity and belonging. Even though all the participants were born and spent most of their lives in Germany, Turkey was a native country for them at an abstract level that they felt they belonged to.

Ayça: Seçenek var.
Ayça: There are more choices.

Ayşe: İstediğin şeylerde zorluk çıkmıyor Alman vatandaşı olduğun için.
Ayşe: When one is a German citizen, there are no difficulties with the things that you want.

Ayça: Daha çok imkan oluyor.
Ayça: More opportunities.

In the quotes below, the girls discussed the emotional value of citizenship as losing one's roots. Citizenship for some of the participants was restricted to a paper, which would make their lives easier and offer them more concrete opportunities. The participants recognized that citizenship mattered for their career paths because some jobs they valued required German citizenship. Therefore, it was important to unpack the relationship between career paths and citizenship.

Interviewer: Bir takım meslekler için Alman vatandaşlığı gerekebilir diyorsunuz.
Interviewer: You say that for some jobs, you need to have German citizenship.

Before unpacking how the girls associated citizenship rights with an empowered life, it is important to emphasize the citizenship laws for children of immigrants. With the reform of the legislation on citizenship in the year 2000, the birthright principle was extended to include second-generation immigrants (Faist, 2013).

In the next quote, at an individual interview, Nil discussed her experience of becoming a German citizen. When Nil decided to become a German citizen and started the legal process, she emotionally felt like she was separating from her roots. It is important to highlight her lack of feeling that Germany is her 'home country' after residing in Germany all her life. The grounded concepts in Nil's quotation were the lack of societal borders, stereotypes and the stigma in society created for the youths of migrant origin.

Nil: İnsan Türk konsolosluğunda bile kendini Türkiye'de hissediyor, orda şey vardı, ben Alman pasaportuna geçmek için, antrag (anlaşma) için gitmiştim. İlk başta çok üzülüyordum, içim acıyordu, baba ben Türkiye'yi bırakacağım ben Türklük'ten çıkacağım Alman olacağım diye. Kendime kızıyordum, orda bir sıra vardı, Allah korusun ya, o sırada dedim yeter ben bu Türkler'den çıkacağım kurtulacağım, direkt birşey yaptım orda beni bekletiyor diye. Bekleme filan bitti, işte ben şimdi Alman olacağım, işlemler başlamıştır, orda beni hüzün kapladı.
Nil: One feels in Turkey even in the Turkish consulate, I went there to apply for a German passport. At first, I felt so much bitterness that I would be leaving Turkey, that I would quit Turkey. I would become German. I was mad at myself, in the line, I said God saves, it is enough, and I will get out of this Turkishness. I did this as they

*were making me wait there. The waiting is done. Now the process has started, I will
be a German, then again bitterness.*

In another focus group, during the discussion related to being a citizen of a
country, belonging and identity, Nil and Deniz discussed the issue of both the
emotional and legal parts of citizenship. Nil's emphasis was more on leaving her
roots which made her emotional. Deniz's point was that being a German citizen
was important because they had lived in Germany since birth. The girls'
approaches were different in terms of the perception of being German with its
emotional and legal aspects.

Opening these two concepts, there was an ambivalence around the
contradictory experiences of the girls. The girls felt that becoming a German
citizen was like giving up their roots. The right for formal citizenship is a moral
obligation for a state to provide to its citizens. From these two aspects, the
ambivalent voice of the girls would be related to their contradictory experiences.
The girls could blend cultures from their parents' home country and the host
country. Such a blend of cultures should be supported by public and social policies
that offer a variety of opportunities to realize both the emotional and legal
attachment of being a citizen.

Interviewer: Neden hüzün kapladı?
Interviewer: Why bitterness?

Nil: Vatanımdan ayrılıyormuş gibi geldi.
Nil: I felt I was leaving my country.

Deniz: Ama orası senin vatanın değil ki? Senin burası vatanın ofiziel (kanunen)
(56:16) olarak.
Deniz: But that is not your country. Your official country is here.

Nil: Ama niye orası da benim vatanım, niye öyle diyorsun ben Türk'üm ya.
Nil: But it is still my country, why do you say that, I am Turkish.

Deniz: Ama sen burada doğdun di mi?
Deniz: But you were born here, right?

Interviewer: Sen de Alman hissediyorum dedin az önce.
Interviewer: You also said you feel like you are German.

Nil: Dedim ya az önce ordan oraya çekiştirildik. Çok zor Allah kimsenin başına
vermesin.
Nil: I said, we were pulled from here to there. It is so difficult. God gives it to no one.
Deniz: Mecbursun buranın düzeni senin beynine sokulmuş.

Deniz: You are obliged to, you have the structure of it here in your brain.
Interviewer: Sizler için en büyük engel ne olabilir iyi bir okul eğitimi ve iyi bir
hayata sahip olmak icin Almanya'da?
*Interviewer: What would be the biggest obstacle to you having a good life and a
good school education in Germany?*

Genç Kızlar: Vatandaşlık ve çifte vatandaşlık.
Girls: Citizenship and dual citizenship.

The challenge in accessing citizenship was associated with their unwanted
situation. As a result, they interpreted that German society was treating them as
being a burden on Germany. Also, obtaining German citizenship might be
challenged by their parents' value of German citizenship. Some parents do not
think that their children should obtain German citizenship as they would go back
to Turkey one day. The parents may not want their children to lose their ethnic
and cultural ties with their homeland as they assimilate into German society.

Connected to their parents' values with respect to citizenship, in various
focus and individual interviews, the girls discussed the conflicting value of
citizenship among the generations. The parents' ideas of leaving Germany, and
their discouraging discussions about obtaining a German citizenship, contribute
to the girl's dilemma of belonging to wider Germany society in order to have a
better life by making their presence visible and their voices heard.

Ayşe: Benim babam istemiyor.
Ayşe: My father doesn't want me to.

Interviewer: Neden baban istemiyor Alman vatandaşı olmanı?
Interviewer: Why doesn't your father want you to become a German citizen?

Ayşe: Babam diyor ki sen Türk'sün (), bir ara Türkiye'ye gidersin. Alman pasaportun
olacakta ne olacak diyor. Ama erkek kardeşim Alman vatandaşı oldu. Bilmiyorum
annem istiyor Alman pasaportu olunca üniversitelerde daha çok imkan var.
*Ayşe: My father says because you are Turkish, you will go to Turkey at some point.
What will you do with a German passport? But my brother became a German
citizen. I don't know, my mother wants this because there are more opportunities in
universities once one is a German citizen.*

For the girls, citizenship, belonging and identity are tensions to be negotiated. I
interpreted that, for the girls, the concepts remained invisible under the rhetoric
of citizenship, which is related to the discriminative practices they come across
in their everyday life, that already makes them feel 'other'. The participants were
aware that they would have more chances in their lives in Germany if they
obtained German citizenship. Besides the emotional discussion of 'being

German or not', in various focus group interviews and individual interviews, the girls emphasized the idea of 'becoming Germanized' after obtaining German citizenship. In the grounded analysis, 'becoming Germanized' was consistent with losing one's values and adopting the negative sides of German culture.

An in-depth interpretation revealed that for the girls 'Germanized' meant losing their roots, being from 'nowhere' and not knowing their own roots. The girls stated that German citizenship was not necessary due to the reason of not losing one's ethnic and cultural roots. I interpreted this as the girls having difficulty finding a public space to develop an identity because citizenship allows human beings to be associated with an ethnicity and culture, which the participating girls could not relate to in Germany.

> Buse: Aslında hem istiyorum hem de istemiyorum.
> *Buse: Actually, I want it and I don't want it at the same time.*

> Interviewer: Neden hem istiyorsun hem de istemiyorsun?
> *Interviewer: Why do you want it and not want it at the same time?*

The girls may not feel like they would like to obtain German citizenship because of their unwanted situation which makes them feel like an outsider. I interpret that the issue is grounded in the girls' discussion on societal mechanisms rather than political reasons of citizenship. The girls interpreted societal constraints as influential in their lives.

> Buse: Kalpten istemiyorum, Türk olduğum için, Türk vatandaşı olduğum için, bilmiyorum.
> *Buse: I don't want it from my heart, because I am a Turk and I am a Turkish citizen.*

> Interviewer: Kalbinden neden gelmiyor?
> *Interviewer: Why doesn't it come from your heart?*
> (Silence)

> Buse: Bilmiyorum, çok karmaşık, anlatmak çok zor.
> *Buse: I don't know, it is complicated, it is very difficult to explain.*

> Ayşe: Çok engeller var aslında, kuzenim oluyor, o da okuyor, o da çok, Alman vatandaşı olması gerekliydi, Alman vatandaşı olması çok uzun sürdü, ara sıra böyle engeller oluyor.
> *Ayşe: There are so many obstacles actually. There is my cousin, in the university, she was supposed to get German citizenship, to obtain German citizenship. It took so long, sometimes there are such obstacles.*
> Elif#00:31:24-9# Yada işte diyelim polis olmak istiyorum. Türk vatandaşıyız onu da olamıyoruz, bazı meslekleri de. #00:31:36-1#

Elif: I would like to become a policewoman. We are Turkish citizens, we cannot enter some professions.

The participants of the research who were already officially German citizens didn't feel that they were part of German society. The girls emphasized the materialistic value of being a German citizen, but they highlighted that they didn't accept being a German citizen in their heart. The research illustrated how sensitive the children of immigrants are to the harm created by this public discourse, despite the fact they are citizens and most of them are fellow Muslims or other visible minorities. There is a young generation that cannot identify with German citizenship (Wilpert, 2013, p.126).

Society's exclusionary discourses on citizenship for young people of migrant origin, in addition to the views of family members regarding German citizenship, has shaped the girls' interpretation of the emotional and rational value of being a German citizen. Citizenship was seen as a problematic issue by the participants, not because access to citizenship was problematic, but because their perception of belonging, being accepted and being an active part of the wider society were problematized. As a result, their self-belonging is strongly rooted in how they interpret and experience belonging as a citizen.

8.2   Religion

According to the data obtained during the research, religion is an important aspect of girls' identity construction. In the quote below, Nil felt awkward about being banned from wearing her headscarf in public as it is as normal for her as other people wearing hairclips in their hair. As a result, Nil could not understand why the headscarf was highly politicized in Germany. Nil was wondering why wearing a headscarf was such a disturbance for the German public and why others associated the headscarf with political Islam or marginalization. She was clear that she wore a headscarf as a religious obligation which did not have any other meaning.

> Nil: Ben onu anlamıyorum, bizim başımızdaki başörtüye birşeyleri varsa başlarındaki tokaları da çıkarsınlar, ha toka takmışım ha eşarp yani ikisinin de aynı.
> *Nil: That is what I don't understand, if they have something to say about a headscarf on our heads, they must take hairclips away too, it is the same if you wear a hair clip or a headscarf.*

The findings of the OSI (Open Society Institute) supported other research in this field, showing the high relevance of the issue of discrimination against women wearing headscarves to Muslims in Berlin. "Discrimination of any kind is a barrier to a common future, especially when, in this case, the withdrawal of

women from the public sphere is a common reaction to discrimination rather than civil resistance" (2010, p. 97).

In the next quotes, Deniz adds that the headscarf was a greater obstacle than being from an immigrant background. Being of Turkish origin added to their vulnerable situation in terms of accessing to a meaningful life in Germany. The grounded concepts in the girls' discussion are the societal mechanisms associated with a lack of civil rights. In a society where civil rights are obligatory and provided by the state through legislation, girls should not be confronted with such barriers to living a good life. The girls emphasized the intersectionality of migrant background, ethnicity, and gendered treatments. The grounded concepts in the data revealed a lack of fundamental rights which constrain the opportunities for socially vulnerable girls to have a good life.

> Deniz: Başörtü daha engel, en engel, migration (göç) engelinden daha çok.
> *Deniz: The headscarf was more of an obstacle, more than our migrant background.*

> Mücelle: Türk olmak yetiyor zaten.
> *Nil: It is enough to be Turkish.*

> Interviewer: O zaman en büyük hangisi engel?
> *Interviewer: Which one is the biggest obstacle?*

> Deniz: Kopftuch (başörtü), Arkasından da Türk olmak. Yani bütün kombinasyon bizde () ((gülüşmeler)).
> *Deniz: Headscarf. Later to be a Turk, we have all the combinations ((laughs)).*

Extending the discussion, the next quotes highlight the borderline aspects of wearing a headscarf. Wearing a headscarf contradicts German society's expectations of girls of migrant origin. The girls may value wearing a headscarf for the love of their religion, values, and traditions. From the quotes below, it became apparent that wearing a headscarf is a lifestyle and, more specifically, it provides them with space, belonging and an identity.

> Deniz: Hauptschule (ilkokulda) baş örtü takmaya başladım.
> *Deniz: I started to wear a headscarf in Hauptschule[1] (Level of schools in Germany)*

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[1]   **The German *Gymnasium*** (grades 5-12 or 5-13) is an academic secondary school that prepares pupils for a university education. It begins with the fifth grade (seventh in Berlin/Brandenburg). After grade 12 or 13 (depending on the state), students earn a diploma called *das Abitur* by passing an oral and written examination.
   The *Realschule* (grades 5-10) may be a step below the *Gymnasium*.
   Hauptschule (grades 5-9 or 5-10. The *Hauptschule* is generally considered the least demanding secondary school. The Hauptschule prepares pupils for vocational education, and most of the pupils work part-time as apprentices. Upon completion of the final *Hauptschulabschluss* examina-

Interviewer: Neden?
Interviewer: Why?

Deniz: Çok istiyordum.
Deniz: I really wanted to.

Interviewer: Neden istiyordun peki?
Interviewer: Why did you want to?

Deniz: Bunlar beni çok çekiyordu çok, bunlara çok <u>imreniyordum</u>. <u>Aşırı</u> derecede.
Deniz: These were (referring to her friend) attractive to me, I was so envious of them, so much.

The girls emphasized that religious practices were important and dominant in the lives of Turks living in Germany. The grounded concepts of this data revolve around Germany's discourse for a democratic society, which may be considered ignorant in terms of making policy for Turks, who were framed only as 'guest workers' in Germany. As a consequence, Turks as a sub-group were not considered when making welfare and social policies in Germany.

In the following quotes, the girls highlighted the fact that mosque-related activities might have had an influence in uniting Turks living in Germany. Mosques may serve as necessary welfare support to enable community belonging in a foreign country. Also, associating the quotes below with the quotes above, the mosques might represent a place for unity in which people unite with other diverse Turks, who are from the same nation-state but different in terms of their sub-cultures.

Interviewer: Neden Almanya'da yaşayan Türkler'in Türkiye'deki Türkler'den daha dindar olduğunu düşünüyorsun?
Interviewer: Why do you think Turks living in Germany are more religious than the Turks in Turkey?

Deniz: Evet çünkü burada çok <u>çevre var</u>, İslami çevreler var. Biz mesela Türkiye'den daha religiösüs (dindarız) 20:16-5
Deniz: Because there are environments here, Islamic environments. For instance us, we are more religious than people in Turkey.

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tion, after grade 9 or 10. They also have the option of earning the more prestigious *Realschulabschluss* after grade 10. With that, the next step is often Berufsschule; an advanced technical/vocational school with a two-year course of apprenticeship and study.
Gesamtschule (grades 5-12 or 5-13) Some German states have this kind of school, which combines the three school types into a comprehensive school that is similar to an American high school.

Interviewer: Neden?
Interviewer: Why?
Deniz: Çünkü bilmiyorum yani. Eskiden öyle değildi.
Deniz: Because I don't know, it wasn't like that before.

Nil: Zamanında benim düşüncem bu, zamanında ilk generasyon ikinci generayson da aman biz Türk'üz aman kültürümüzü eğitimimizi kaybetmeyelim diye birbirleriyle hep kenetlenmişler, kenetlenecek ne kalmış ne bileyim Türklerin ülkü ocakları, Kürtler'in Kürt ocaklari hepsini toplayan bir yer varmış o da camiler. İnsanlar camide toplanmışlar ve çoğu aile ben hala görüyorum çocuklarını zorla camiye sokuyorlar.
Nil: In the meantime, the first generation, the second generation too, we are Turks, we shouldn't be losing our culture. They attached to each other, what else remained to attach to, it was Turks' Ülkü Ocak (Turkish Nationalist gatherings), and Kurdish Ocak (Kurdish Nationalist gathering). What made us all come together were the mosques. People gathered in the mosques. I see many families that still pressure their children to be a member of a mosque.

The grounded concepts that emerged from this data are 'seeking meaning in one's migrant status', 'looking for a meaning in belonging' and 'finding a place for acceptance with one's differences and diversities and belong to a diverse community'. This situation continued for other generations, who were born, raised and educated in Germany, because the social and public policy making in Germany gradually developed towards building an inclusive society.

In both the focus group and individual interviews, the girls frequently mentioned 'dirty Germans'. Nil might be referring to extreme cultural differences and an intolerance of her difference to Germans. In the lives of young, Turkish women, mosques play a role in preserving their cultural background. Islam is not only a religion in their lives, wearing a headscarf as a religious practice is a tool of agency to build resilience and stand up against being excluded. As a result, wearing a headscarf might be a form of resistance to social exclusion, i.e. threat from prejudice, xenophobia, racism, and discrimination, that the girls are confronted with in their everyday life.

In the next quote, Deniz talked of mosque activities and stated that she had been influenced on the importance of wearing a headscarf from an early age. It is another quote which would ground concepts for 'finding a space to belong to a community', 'belonging' and most importantly 'being accepted and valued' in a community which tolerates difference.

Deniz: Ben mesela anlatamam ki, bilmiyorum ki anlatamam. Ben nasıl diyeyim sana, anlatamıyorum ki, çok güzel geliyordu bana, çok güzel geliyordu bana, giyinmesi, uyması, rengarenk uymaları çok hoşuma gidiyordu. Güzel geldi, bir de biz çok camiye giderdik, çok camiye giderdik, biz buraya gelince, yatılı kaldık, biz hep camide büyüdük, ben buraya geldim, camiye gitmeye başladık. Mesela biz Frankfurt'tan tatile filan geliyorduk, ben camiye yatılı filan geliyordum, şey

medreseye filan, ondan sonra <u>ben bunları görürdüm ben çok özenirdim</u>, anlatamam niye. Ben buna İslam aşkı diyorum.

Deniz: I cannot explain, I don't know how I can explain. How can I tell you? I cannot explain, it was so pretty, it seemed to me to be so pretty, to wear, to match, a color match, I really liked it. It was pretty. Also we were going to the mosque, we went to the mosque a lot. When we came here, we stayed overnight. We grew up in the mosque, when I came here we started to go to the mosque. For instance, we came for the holidays from Frankfurt, I stayed at the mosque overnight, in the Medrese (Islamic learning center). Then I saw them, I was so envious of them, I cannot explain. I say it is an Islamic love.

In the next quotes, the interviewer analyzed how religion was influential in the girls' lives. Was religion an adoptive preference to find meaning in their social vulnerabilities and disadvantaged situation or was religion a concept in the girls' lives that they had prioritized to identify their fundamental value? The grounded concepts show the abstract conceptualization of the girls, having roots to exist, being valuable, finding meaning in their lives and resisting the development of an identity and belonging.

Nil: Bence Almanlar Türk deyince Müslüman, Müslüman deyince terörist anlıyor yani. Ben camide doğup büyüdüm (). Orada doğdum büyüdüm, beni atmışlar yani ((gülerek)) yok gerçekten ciddi söylüyorum yani. Ben kendimi bildim bileli camideydim ().

Nil: I think Germans understand us as Muslims when they hear that we are Turkish, they believe that we are terrorists when they hear that we are Muslim. I was born and grew up in the mosque, they threw me there (smiling). No, I am serious. Since I have known myself, I was in the mosque.

The quotes above also reveal that Nil found many answers to her questions about her belonging and identity through reading the religious book, which she couldn't find in German society. A lack of social support in the community made her attach to Islam. The girls might have identity problems relating to not knowing where they really belong to. The grounded concepts show that they attend mosque activities to be religious and to get answers to their questions about their lives.

According to the grounded concepts, I claim that Islam was not margina-lized because Islam itself was threatening non-Muslim societies. Islam was marginalized because these young people could not identify themselves with Turkish-ness or German-ness. Islam, or being Muslim, functioned in identity formation and belonging in a country where diversities, such as identities, nationalities and ethnicities, were excluded in policymaking. Although wearing a headscarf is marginalized, it manifested itself as a resistance to not being welcomed in Germany even when they had been living there all their lives.

Opportunities and challenges might present themselves together in the girls' lives. For example, belonging to the religion of Islam, and wearing a headscarf, provides the girls with identity and a feeling of belonging. In addition to identity and belonging, wearing a headscarf is a resistance to societal challenges, such as exclusion, which the girls are confronted with in German society. The Turks are diverse and are also divided into various sub-groups in Germany. I interpreted that religious organizations functioned in gathering these diverse people from Turkey. I claim that the term 'integration into German society' emphasizes becoming part of Germany and adhering to German traditions and culture, rather than living in a society of cohesion and diversity.

On the other hand, being affiliated with Islam and wearing a headscarf, which is gendered, intersected with the girls' Turkish ethnicity to establish good life opportunities. The grounded concepts are a lack of healthy identity formation and a lack of healthy belonging, which would be a blend of different cultures, such as Turkish, German and Islam in this case.

Gül: Çünkü biz daha çok kısıtlanıyoruz, Türkiye'de nasılsa Türk'tür kimse kimseye birşey yapmaz diye, milli gururumuz oluyor ya hani milli sevgimiz filan. Çocuklarını bırakabiliyorlar ama Almanya'da aman Almanlar pis onlar, ama birşey yaparlar, diye diye çocukları eve kapatıyorlar kapatmışlar. Ve bu jenerasyonlarca böyle devam ettirilmiş. Türkiye'de böyle değil, benim kuzenlerim hem saat ne olursa olsun çıkıyorlar dışarıya, ama burda kısıtlanıyorlar çocuklar, ne kadar kısıtlanırsa o kadar daha kötü şeylere meyilli olurlar.
Gül: Because we are limited. In Turkey everyone is Turkish, no one is going to do anything to one another. We have a national pride, we like each other, we can leave kids alone, but in Germany families constrain their children in case the dirty Germans do something to their kids, they keep them at home. It has continued through the generations. It is not like that in Turkey, my cousins go out at whatever time, but here they are limited, more kids are limited, there is more potential for bad things.

Interviewer: Sizce, bu bir hayali soru, bunu bilemeyiz. Siz Türkiye'de olsaydınız Türkiye'de büyümüş kızlar olsaydınız yine böyle çok dindar olur muydunuz?
Interviewer: This is a hypothetical question. If you were born and grew up in Turkey, would you be as religious as you are now?

Deniz: Olmazdım (hemen söyledi) sanmıyorum, çünkü biz camiye Almanya'da Türklü'ğümüzü kaybetmemek için, kültürümüzü kaybetmemek için, Alman'laşmayalım diye daha çok kenetleniyoruz. Burda mesela, Türk deyince Müslüman geliyor aklına anlıyormusun was ich meine (ne dediğimi) (1:50:38-6) öyle mi çünkü fast jeder Türke hier (herkes Türk) (1:50:42-8)
Deniz: I wouldn't (she said immediately). I think because we go to the mosque in Germany, not to lose our Turkishness, not to lose our culture, not to become

German. That is why we attach more. Here for instance, Turks mean Muslim in peoples' mind. Do you understand what I mean? Everyone is a Turk here.

In another focus group, being affiliated with Islam and wearing a headscarf contributed to their social vulnerability as the grounded concepts reveal. Islam as a religion was associated with the recent terrorist attacks in the world, which caused a disadvantaged situation for the girls. In the grounded concepts, Islam, as a religion, provided an identity and mosques, that serve as a space of belonging, which they could not find in the wider German society. In this regard, a 'mainstream identity' was necessary for the girls to identify themselves with the majority and with other sub-groups living in Germany. From this perspective, the girls might have two main challenges. The first main challenge was isolation from the majority identity, i.e. not being a 'proper' German, because of a lack of relating to the majority society. In Germany, there is not a strong discourse that Muslim youth are also part of Germany.

The second main challenge for the girls was relating to other sub-groups in Germany. This situation might create confusion for the girls, as they were isolating themselves within their own sub-group, to identify themselves with their own culture and traditions and find answers to the challenges to their religion.

Grounding the dilemmas of the girls from existing literature, Islam is expressed as the hallmark of identity by some immigrant women, and it has been rediscovered and reconstructed in this context. In this way, the religion provided a general framework that helped individuals to understand the world and find an answer for the unexplainable (Altuntaş, 2009, p. 345).

Wearing a headscarf in Germany has been a contradictory issue, both in politics and the public rhetoric. Analyzing the roots of the headscarf, the rhetoric surrounding the wearing of the headscarf became a political discourse in 1997. "The president of the German office for the protection of the Constitution, Peter Frisch, said that Islam would probably become the biggest problem for Germany's internal security. Peter Frisch discussed that wearing headscarves could be interpreted as a sign of Muslims' deliberate self-exclusion from German society" (Collet, 2004, p. 131).

The girls might be experiencing exclusion because of their headscarves in the public sphere. According to stereotypes, these girls may be associated with fundamental Islamist women who are forced to wear headscarves, are oppressed by men and do not have basic rights in their lives. The girls in this research highlighted such stereotypes very often during the interviews. The girls might be confronted as a 'threat to Germany' because of the lack of structures, which would allow them to be active equal agents in the public sphere. The grounded

concepts revealed that girls of Turkish origin had an ambivalent voice when they defined their identity and belonging in Germany society. The interpretation of the data on girls' plural identity was that it was not visible and accepted in German society. It is this invisibility that causes ambivalence for the girls.

The participants found it challenging to find appropriate places for socializing and building identities. Altuntaş (2009, p. 345) had a similar analysis. In her research she claimed immigrant women who were born in Germany, and those who came to Germany at a young age, could adopt neither a Turkish or German identity. For them, the Islamic identity was more acceptable and provided them with a way out. I claimed that being Turkish at the same time as being German was contradictory. Their plural identity has not been accepted or acknowledged by Germany society, that is why girls might choose to be Muslim, as being Muslim was more inclusive of people with diversities.

Research into the identity of immigrants revealed results similar to those found in this doctoral research project (Koç, 2009, p. 114). The integration problem was an identity problem. The participants' ambivalent ideas, discussions, views, discourses, identities, and belonging needed in-depth research. In various focus and individual interviews, an ambivalent discussion occurred. As described above, the girls were negotiating with identities such as Muslim, Turkish and German. As a result, they built themselves an identity related to religion and ethnicity.

As a result, the girls were shaping their identity and at the same time positioning themselves to belong in Germany. The following chapters will discuss cultural ambivalences connected with the ethnicity of the girls. The girls had to deal with their families or communities' expectations of being Turkish. In contrast, the girls experienced contradictory expectations from German society for girls of migrant origin to be German. The contradiction of their ethnic experiences could be one reason for the ambivalence in their voice and actions.

8.3 Ethnicity

The participants positioned themselves the way German society was positioning them. The following quotes described how the societal perceptions about their identities were contributing to their vulnerabilities. The girls may have confusion in their identity and sense of belonging, as described above, but both German and Turkish societies may not see these young people as 'proper Turkish' or 'proper Germans'. It may be that these girls do not know who they are as a result of where they are.

In the quote below, the participants discuss living in such a tense society that they might have problems acknowledging ethnicity. The formation of the girls' plural identity could be more challenging in the midst of the tense integration, migration, belonging and citizenship discourses in Germany. For example, in the quote below, Ayça highlights her experiences of being seen as a Turkish girl living in Germany, in Germany, and also of being seen as a Turkish girl living in Germany, in Turkey. She defined herself as 'foreign'. Being foreign made them feel as if they were not sure who they were and where they belonged. In her opinion saying only 'I am Turkish' is not correct, as they were born, grew up and lived all their lives in Germany. Such discourses challenge their ethnicity in constructing an identity.

In the quotes below, Nil highlights how to 'survive' in the extreme diversity of Germany, where many religions, backgrounds, and ethnicities live together. In Nil's quotation, she focuses on the emotional reasoning that makes Turkey her home. Her quote could be interpreted as being valued and accepted because of her cultural background.

> Nil: Ama orda hepsi Türk. Orda göze batmıyor, orası kendi vatanımız kendi milletimiz birşey olsun ta, devlet nedir, onun en üst bakanına kadar çıkabiliriz, neden çünkü dilleri var orda yetişmişler
> *Nil: But there everyone is Turkish, you do not attract any attention. There it is your own country, if something happens to you there is a state and you can go to the highest parliament because you have the language.*

Aynur in her quote continues to highlight the contradictory dual experience they have in their lives. Having a Turkish migrant background and living in Germany permanently contributes to their ambivalent experiences. She emphasized she felt divided between the two cultures and traditions. She highlighted that when she is in Turkey, she misses Germany and when she is in Germany, she misses Turkey. Aynur finishes by saying, "I hope, God does not give this situation to anyone". It could be interpreted as it being difficult at her age to make sense of the experiences she has had.

> Aynur: İkili hayat oluyor, ikiye bölünüyorsun. Demek istediğim, biz burada doğduk büyüdük, burdaki insanların kültürleriyle büyüdük, yetiştik onlarla piştik diyelim ne, ayni zamanda ailemiz elinden gelen kadar kendi Türklüğümüzü kendi traditsyonlarımızı Sippe'erimizi (akrabalık ilişkisi) (39:06) şunumuzu bunumuzu öğretti, ama bir yanın oraya gidiyor bir yanın buraya gidiyor. Ben burdayken Türkiye Türkiye diye ağlıyorum, Türkiye'deyken de Almanya Almanya diye ağlıyorum, ben kalmam burda diyorum (). İkiye ayrılıyoruz, çok zor bir durum, Allah kimseye vermesin.

Aynur: There are two lives, you are divided into two. What I want to say is, we were born here and grew up here, we were nurtured with the culture of the people here, grew up, we grew up (she uses an expression in Turkish). At the same time our families taught us as much as possible, our traditions and kinships, but one side of you is going here, one side of you is going there. When I am here, I cry for Turkey, Turkey and when I am in Turkey I cry for Germany, Germany. I say I cannot stay here. We are divided into two. It is such a difficult situation. God gives it to no one.
Deniz: Ya. Wir sind <u>zwischen</u> zwei Sachen, <u>zwei Ufern</u> (iki birşeyin ve iki ülkenin arasındayız) diyebiliriz (39:25) B<u>iz</u> Türkiye'ye gidiyoruz <u>aha Almancı</u> buraya geliyoruz <u>aha Türk</u>, biz kaldık ortada biz yeni bir vatan mı kuralım ()
Deniz: Yes, we are in between, two things, two lands. When we go to Turkey, they say look she is German, we come here, they say look she is a Turk, we stay in between. We should build a country.

The girls were negotiating how to structure and define themselves in a country where they hear negative comments about people of immigrant origin. They are stigmatized in Germany and they interpret that their pluralism is not accepted. In the below quotes, being 'foreign' and 'ambivalent' as a result of assimilating and 'becoming German' are the main issues for the girls. All these quotes gathered from various focus and individual interviews revealed the need for the presentation of diverse ethnicities in everyday life in the public sphere.

Interviewer: Sizi ne Alman hissettiriyor kendinizi?
Interviewer: What makes you feel German?

Nil: Herşey, burda doğduk burda büyüdük. Sonuçta onların kültürleriyle büyüdük büyümedik diyemeyiz.
Nil: Everything, we were born here and grew up here. In the end, we grew up with their culture, we cannot say we didn't.

Deniz: Biz kindengarten Uwe, Sara, Maria hepsi deutsch tamam mı, Türk'te var yakın görüyoruz ama, tabi daha yakın Almanlar'dan ama (3) eem Almanlar'sız <u>olmuyor</u>.
Deniz: In kindergarten, we had Uwe, Sara, Marie, all German. Okay, we feel Turkish is closer than German but we cannot stay without Germans.

Interviewer: Neden Almanlar'sız olmuyor?
Interviewer: Why it is not possible without Germans?

The girls had difficulty to identify themselves with German-ness. There are dominant factors in their lives demanding that they feel mostly German as they were socialized in Germany. The girls predominantly responded that they were Turkish even though they had been highlighting that they were German. This

ambivalent voice could be a result of not having policies in place to create opportunities for diversity and to support the development of plural identities.

> Nil: Alıştık çünkü, çok afedersin bizi çekiştirdiler (zorladılar) büyütürken Almanlar çekiştirdi kindergarten da, grunschule de, hauptschule de şimdiki okullarda hala çekiştiriyorlar ki böyle düşünelim, beynimizi bir şekilde yıkamaya çalışıyorlar. Kötü anlamda değil, bakış açısı, başka hayatta var, başka düşünce de var diyorlar. Onlar, o yönü gösteriyor size, o yönü gösteriyor sana. Türkler'de diyor ki sakın bakma orası kötüdür bu tarafa bakın. Türkler seni şuraya buraya çekiştiriyor. Almanlar seni çekiştiriyor, mecburen kiliseye girmek zorundasın, mecbursun ben Katolische ben Evangelische kindergartende büyüdüm. Hani onların dinine göre yetiştim, ordan çıktım camiye gittim camiden çıktım kiliseye gittim derken, yani her dinde alaturka (46:16) olduk biz ().
>
> *Nil: We got used to, sorry, but they pressured us when we were growing up, Germans pulled us in Kindergarten, grundschule, and hauptschule, in the current school. We are still pulled to think like that, they are trying to brainwash us. Not in a bad way, it is a perspective, there is another life, there are other thoughts. They show this way to you, Turks show you another way and tell you not to look at the other side. It is bad. The Turks pull you here and there. Germans are pulling you here and there. You are obliged to go to church, you are obliged. I grew up in a Catholic, Evangelic kindergarten. I grew up according to their religion, I got out of there. I went to a mosque, I got out of the mosque. I went to church, that is in every religion, we became Alaturka (people who are envious for the past).*

> Deniz: Fifty-fifty her ülkeden kötüleri de var, ben öyle birşey değilim, ben Türk'üm.
> *Deniz: It is fifty-fifty, in every country, there are bad people, I am not like that, and I am Turkish.*

> Nil: Tarih dersinde bir ara, diskusyonlar (tartışmalar) vardı, birden bire durdum dedim biz Almanlar diye başladım cümleye ama spontan oldu, yanımda Türk bir arkadaş vardı bana bir baktı biz Almanlar mı dedi, durdum dedim ki siz Alman'lar dedim.
> *Nil: In history lesson, there was a discussion. I stopped and started the sentence with "we Germans", it was so spontaneous. There was a Turkish friend next to me, he looked at me and said "we Germans?" I stopped and said "you Germans".*

Nil has also discussed the changes from the time her parents lived in Turkey. She was aware that she is more familiar with her parents' experiences from the past. She loved these stories. These experiences from her parents and experiences from her own life in Germany would contradict each other. Nil highlighted that her 'parents' time' was visible in their lives. At the same time, she was attached to Germany. Nil's feeling of being between two cultures and her ambivalent voice could be grounded in 'being foreign everywhere', 'Turkish communities'

isolation from mainstream culture' and 'a lack of developing a plural identity and belonging'.

> Nil: Senin ailen zamanındaki Türkiye'nin düzeni de senin beynine sokulmuş. <u>Kalbimi yarıya ayırmışlar</u>, ben Alman arkadaşlarıma kötü diyemem <u>onlar benim canlarım</u>. Öğretmenlerim var bana o kadar yardım etmiş, o kadar çok Alman insan var çok şey borçlu olduğum. Ben onları satamam ki, ben onlarla büyüdüm, bana birşey olsa bana yine Alman devleti bakacak. Ben onları atıp ben Türk'üm diyemem, sadece Alman'ım diyemem. Bir yanım Alman çünkü bir gün ben Türkiye'de ebediyen yaşarım diyemiyorum çünkü ben, ileriki hayatımı <u>garantiye almadan</u> Türkiye'ye giderim diyemem, neden diyemem, 10-15 sene sonra diyorum.
> *Nil: The structure of Turkey is your family's time in Turkey. I feel like my heart is divided into two, I cannot say anything bad about my German friends, they are in my heart. I have teachers who helped me so much, there are so many German people I feel so thankful for. I cannot give them up. If something happens to me, the German state will take care of me. I cannot throw them away and say I am Turkish, I cannot say I am only German. One part of me is Turkish and one part of me is German because I cannot go to Turkey without guaranteeing my life. I can say, maybe in 10-15 years time.*

> Deniz: Peki senin düşüncen ne? Anlayamıyorsun di mi?
> *Deniz: Okay, what is your idea? You don't understand, right?*

The data obtained during the project revealed the young people narrowly defined being German or European as something in which they didn't fit or belong. The German Turks, however, fostered an affinity towards creating cosmopolitan, hybrid, global and reflexive identities that refined their European identities, stated differently, although at the outset they may be prone to be perceived as communal (Kaya, 2009, p. 399).

Society contributes to their ambivalent life experiences. In Nil's example when she starts her discussion in a history lesson with "we Germans", she was corrected with the reaction of a few other fellow colleagues that she was 'Turkish'. Ethnicity drives strong divisions in society. At the conceptual level, society contributes such ambivalent experiences because diversities and plural identities are not accepted in society, ethnicity determines opportunities and obstacles for the girls.

9 Education as an Aspiration

The girls discussed their aspirations and life plans both in the focus groups and during in-depth individual life-history interviews. Through the interviews, girls have highlighted the importance of a school education and the importance of being an educated young woman in German society.

The participants discussed the fact that education is a fundamental aspect of a good life. If they have a good education, they may have better labor opportunities in the future and a better life as a result. In the interviews, most participants pointed out that, in their lives, the most important factor in their life is to study and have a good career. After obtaining education and skills for a good work, they can think of other aspects of their lives.

> Tuğba#00:14:06-2# Okuyan insanların yaşamının daha kolay olduğunu öğrendim yani onlar o kadar ee sonradan o kadar zorluklar çekmiyorlar zum beispiel benim annem şimdik <u>meslek sahibi değil</u>, liseden sonra okula devam etmedi üniversiteye gitmedi onun için şimdik mesleği yok yani bütün yaptıkları <u>boşuna gitti</u>. Onun için ben birşey başarmak istiyorum, sonradan zorluklar çekmeyeyim diye. Zum beispiel dedemde şey, fabrika gibi bir yerde çalışıyor böyle Kohle'yi şey yapıyorlar, o yani öyle çok zor işler yapıyorlar, çünkü okulda gitmedikleri için <u>okumadıkları</u> için, onun için ben okumak istiyorum, öyle bana olmasın diye. #00:14:52-5#
>
> *Tuğba: Your environment, I learned that people who studied have easier lives, so that much later, they do not have difficulties. My mother doesn't have an occupation. After she completed high school, she didn't go to school, she didn't go to university. That is why she doesn't have an occupation, that is why all she did is wasted. That is why I want to succeed at something, in order to not have difficulties later. For example, my grandfather worked in a factory, coaling, doing very hard jobs. They are doing hard jobs because they didn't go to school and they didn't study. That is why I want to study, so I don't have to do the same.*

In the below quote, Tuğba says she would like to study more to have an occupation because she has realized the kind of difficulties people have if they do not study and do not have an occupation. Their difficult situation in Germany might also play a role for them to raise their voices to be accepted as part of German society. Girls interpreted that a 'better education would bring more opportunities to be accepted in German society'. Girls used the observed experiences of their relatives in order to plan their future prospects.

In the following quotes, girls highlighted the fact their families are advising them to choose high-rank careers as opposed to jobs considered to be low rank in the societal hierarchy.

> Ceren: Benim annem der ki sen evde temizlik yapma başkaları senin için yapsın, sen öyle yüksek bir (.) amtta (devlet dairesi) çalış diye. Abitur bitirmiş oluyoruz, üniversiteye gidiyor olacağız, güzel bir üniversite olsun. Evet, babam şey der, ben bu hataları yaptım sen benim gibi <u>sürünme</u> yani hayatını <u>kurtar</u>, öyle der.
>
> *Ceren: My mother says, "don't do the cleaning, let others do for you" and, "you work at a very high workplace". We might finish Abitur and go to university, a good university. Yes, my father says, "I made mistakes, don't suffer like me, save your life".*

Participants had high inspirations and aspirations for a career. In different focus group settings, participants mentioned they would like to further their education and go to do Abitur, which allows one to access higher education, or gain a vocational education and have a good job. Even in the Hauptschule interviews, girls highlighted that they try hard to do Abitur in order to have good vocational training. Participants perceived that having a lower level of education will not give them a life they value.

> Ayşe: Benim annem ve babam için aşşağılan<u>mamak</u> çok önemli. Ben diyorum o zaman, ben iş sahibi olursam, herkes der <u>bu kız</u> okumuş, herkes söyler.
>
> *Ayşe: For my mother and father, to not be insulted is very important. I say that when the time comes and I have a job, everyone would say that girl studied, everyone would say.*

The data revealed that their parents, or other people in their surrounding environment, verbally supported girls for getting a good education. It was not possible to examine how solid was the support that girls received from their families for school education or future planning. The quotes revealed only that their parents had supported them from a young age to study and have high career aspirations. Education for the girls have meaning, which includes aspirations of being emancipated, to be independent and to live a life with their own resources to have an active role in Germany.

A discussion on life plans was also part of the interviews to deeply understand their motivations. In a different focus group and individual interviews, participants highlighted the importance of independence. All participants involved in the project had high career aspirations and goals. Some participants highlighted that they would like to live a life without being dependent on anyone. Girls conceptualized being independent in various spheres of their lives. Education is one aspect that is viewed as a tool to access a good career choice. Good career

choices could support women economically to be independent and empower them to raise their voices.

> Ayşe: Ben üniversiteye gitmek istiyorum.Pilot olmak istiyorum.
> *Ayşe: I want to go to university. I want to become a pilot.*

> Manolya: Doktor olmak istiyorum da başaramamaktan korkuyorum (). Ama abitur yapmak istiyorum önce ondan sonra daha belli değil, ondan sonra ne yapacağım.
> *Manolya: I want to become a doctor but I am afraid of not succeeding. But I want to do abitur first. Later, it will be clearer what I will do.*

> Ayça: Ben de abitur yapacağım ama ondan <u>sonra</u>sı belli değil. Kimseye <u>muhtaç</u> olmayalım, kimseden birşey beklemeyelim, kendi hayatımızı kendimiz elimize almamız için.
> *Ayça: I will also do abitur but I don't know what I will do later. I don't want to depend on anyone, or accept anything from anyone, to get my own life in my own hands.*

The discussion is continued in the quotes below. It revealed that girls' educational aspirations are strongly linked to those of being emancipated women. Interestingly, the girls highlighted having freedom and being independent as their main aspirations. The participants also argued that being independent and having freedom is much more important than having money. They were aware of gendered roles and their life experiences had shown them that being an emancipated woman is more acceptable in German society. According to their interpretations, being independent is safer than depending on someone.

> Nil: Bağımsız olmak. Komple yeni bir sayfa açıyorsun, sadece sen varsın, hani seni kurtaracakta, düşürecekte hiç kimse yok, hiç bir insan yok kendi ayaklarının üzerinde yaşamayı öğreniyorsun, hani bir Insel'e (adaya) gider insan kendi, hani yetenekleriyle ayakta kalmaya çalışır ya kendi ayaklarımın üzerinde durmak. Bir evim olsun, işim olsun, param olmasın ama kendimi yürütebileyim (1:56:50-9) kendimi. İstediğin yere gideceksin, istediğin şeyleri yapacaksın, ayağına kilitli, hani ayağına bir (3) ya, darf keine Klemme sein (kelepçe olmamalı) (1:57:32)
> *Nil: Being independent. Besides liking, I don't know anyone, one opens a completely new page, there is only you, there is no one to save you or fail you, there is no one, you learn to live on your own two feet. Like when you go to an island, you are yourself with your own talents, you try to stand, standing on your own two feet. I would like to have a house, I would like to have a job. I wouldn't have money but I would take care of myself first. You will go wherever you want, you will do whatever you like, and there will not be any chains to your feet.*

Deniz: <u>Aynen</u> öyle. Mesela telora çok önemli, anlıyor musun, hayatta istediğin şeyi (3) alacaksın, anladın mı "weiß du was ich meine" (ne dediğimi biliyor musun) öyle (1:57:46-8) hani şey yönden hayatımda yapmak istediğim şeyi yapmak isterim.
Deniz: Exactly. For instance, tolerance is important, do you understand? You will get what you want in life, do you understand? Do you understand what I mean? (she said once again in German), so that's the way I would like to do things.

Also, the data reveals that informal education opportunities could encourage girls to overcome their limits to achieve better educational opportunities. Mainly, the girls emphasized that their free time activities involved sports and spending time with their families and friends. The participants also highlighted there were not many activities in their neighborhood or they were not well informed about these activities.

When their teachers offered them free time activities, they engaged in these activities. In the following quotes, Ayse emphasized that she did not find a place for herself after school. The reason for this lack of integration could be that girls are not able to find activities that are culturally relevant, or that the activities offered might be inconvenient. Extra-curricular activities could be a crucial way for girls to find valuable activities and to enhance their educational process outside school education.

Ayşe: Almanya'da çok gezecek yer yok.
Ayşe: There are not many places to go in Germany.

Interviewer: Sizin katılabileceğiniz gençlik aktiviteleri var mı? Onlara katılabiliyor musunuz?
Interviewer: Are there any youth activities you can take part in? Can you participate in those?

Ayça: Katıl<u>madım</u> da, önceden bir kere katılmıştım da şimdi son zamanda katılmadım. Eem mesela yaz tatilinde öğretmenimiz bir tane kağıt vermişti, broşür, (.) ondan vermişti, eem mesela eem Rhein'in orda, altstad (tarihi şehir merkezinde) ta, orda işte, (.) Heinrichheine –Allee deniliyor işte, eem, spor filan yapıyorlardı, Atletik filan ona katılabiliyorduk filan, öyle bir teklifte bulundu. Burda olanlar gidebilsin diye.
Ayça: I didn't participate before. I participated once, I didn't go recently. For instance, during our summer vacation, our teacher gave us a brochure, for a place near Rheine, the old town. The place is called Heinrich Heine-Allee. They do sports, athletics, so we could join. It was offered like that, for those who could go.

Interviewer: Sizler Almanlar'ın veya başka ülkelerden insanların olduğu yerlere gidiyor musunuz?
Interviewer: Do you go to places where there are Germans and people from other countries?

Ayça: Tabi mutlaka Almanya'da yaşadığımız için, kesinlikle gidiyoruz.
Ayça: Yes of course, as we live in Germany, we definitely go.

The girls highlighted that mosque-related activities were the only activities they were attending. These activities were not what girls preferred to attend in the beginning. Also, girls did not find these activities relevant to their needs. The grounded concept could be a lack of public space that supports young peoples' educational process.

Interviewer: Onun dışında neler yapıyorsunuz mesela? Türk derneklerinin veya camilerin yaptıkları aktivitelere katılıyor musunuz?
Interviewer: What else do you do? Do you attend activities at Turkish associations or mosques?

Kızlar: Evet katılıyoruz ((yüksek bir ses tonu ile))
Girls: Yes we do ((with a high tone of voice)).

Cemre: Annem zorla götürdü () ((gülüşmeler))
Cemre: My mother took me by force (laughter)).

Ceren: Beni de annem götürdü ama sonra güzeldi, eğlenceliydi arkadaşlarla öyle vakit geçiyor.
Ceren: My mother also took me there but later it was good, fun. It was a good time with friends.

Ayça: Camiye gidiyorduk, her Cumartesi filan işte öğreniyorduk sonra tiyatro oyunu yaptılar, işte bir olayı ee oynadık. İlk ben de ilk öyle birşey katıldığımda öyle oldu zaten. O zamandan beri zaten benden sonra küçük yeğenlerim de gitti ilahi filan söylediler.
Ayça: We were going to the mosque, we were learning every Saturday, we were doing theater, we played. When I participated for the first time that happened. Since then, after me, my small cousins went to sing carols.

Young people in urban areas met with obstacles to approaching social activities. Free time activities would also positively influence girls' education and life achievements. Girls would benefit from extra-curricular activities as they would enhance their educational opportunities to build a meaningful life in Germany.

Elif #01:06:52-0# Ya burda nasıl diyeyim, bizim yaşımızda, bizim yaş grubumuzdaki, (3), insanlara çok birşey şey yapmıyorlar, angebot (aktivite) yapmıyorlar Türkiye´de mesela kafeler var gençlerin gittiği burda ((Menge'de- semtin adı)) bir tane kafe var, sadece <u>oma'lar var</u>, sadece <u>yaşlı yaşlı</u> insanlar var,oraya gidip (gülüşmeler) #01:07:13-9#

Elif: How can I say here, they don't do things for people of our age, they don't offer anything. For example, in Turkey there are cafés for young people, here in Menge (the name of neighborhood where this young lady is living), there is only one café where young people go. There are only grandmothers there, only old people going there (laughs).

Demet#01:07:36-2# Annem şey getiriyor, flier (broşür) bakıyoruz <u>tatilde ne angebotlar</u> (olanaklar) filan var, hep bakıyorum hep böyle küçük çocuklar için veya nasıl Theaterstück <u>für ältere</u> ((yaşlılar için tiyatro gösterileri))#01:07:48-1#

Demet: My mother brings brochures, we look for summer offers and such. I am always looking. It is always for little children or, for example, theaters for older people.

As a result, girls need various types of support to organize their lives in order to approach their educational goals, improve their lives, raise their voices and live the good life they value. School education should incorporate informal education possibilities to enhance opportunities for girls.

10 Marginalization

This chapter will discuss 'Discrimination', 'Stereotypes' and 'Institutional Marginalization'.

10.1 Discrimination

The participants highlighted various experiences related to unequal treatment, injustice, and unfairness in different spheres of their lives.

In the quotes below, the girls commented that they were not as disadvantaged as others because they had German friends. The grounded concepts are 'part of Germany' and 'being accepted by Germans'. Other girls of Turkish origin were building glass ceilings because of all the discrimination they confronted.

> Deniz: Evet evet, doğru ifade etmişim, Türk kızları böyle yemiş yemiş darbeyi bunlar artık böyle ama bunları da hor görmemek lazım. Çünkü bunlarda yemiş yemiş darbe yemiş Grundschule'den beri artık böyle bi Kapselhülle (içine kapanmak) (1:42:36-0) yapmışlar, bi bağlamışlar die haben keine Lust mehr (ondan bıkmışlar) biz yinede şanslıyız, mesela çok yakın Alman arkadaşlarım vardı anlıyor musun, onları o şeyden çıkarmak zor weis du was ich meine (ne dediğimi biliyor musun) (1:42:54-6).
> *Deniz: Yes, yes, I expressed correctly. The Turkish girls always accepted the troubles, we shouldn't be seeing them as bad. (According to the researcher's understanding, the girls accepted all difficulties without saying anything). Because they always had troubles, since Grundschule, they became a closed and isolated community inside German society, and they don't desire anything more (According to the researcher, the Turkish community was closed inside of them). We are still lucky, for instance, I have close German friends, do you understand? They are like that, it is hard to help those young people, do you understand what I mean?*

> Gül: Onları yaşadıkları yerden çıkarmak mümkün değil.
> *Gül: It is not possible to take them away from where they live now.*

The girls pointed out that aggressive election propaganda exists in Germany. The girls highlighted how they interpreted these political tensions with their hybrid

identities. As was discussed extensively, the participants felt threatened because of the negative discussions on migration in Germany. Hostile politics mostly targeted people from Turkish, Muslim backgrounds and not other Muslim groups, such as former Yugoslavians. The participants associated this hostile political discussion with Germany's past. The girls discussed their concern about the political parties' hostile propaganda during the elections.

In various group and individual interviews, the girls raised their concerns about the political discussions and their discomfort surrounding these discussions. The grounded concept emerging from the data was that diversity is seen as a threat rather than a natural part of German society. During the elections, the migrant population was framed as having a negative impact on Germany.

> Tuğba #00:26:18-5# Birde şimdi Almanya'da bir tane Partei ((parti)) var. Yani birde böyle demokrasili Partei'lar (politik parti) varya SPD CDU bir tane NPD mi ne. Onların böyle strasseler'de (sokaklarda) şeyler var böyle plakatlar (tabela) var orda yazıyor İslama karşılar. Öyle şeyler çok Almanya´da, ben de düşünüyorum, () yavaş yavaş öyle şeyler görüyorsun, birde okulda görüyorsun öğretmenlerin başka ülkeden gelen çocuklara başka gözlen baktığını görüyorsun. Ondan sonra, başka ülkeye gitsem mi diye düşünüyorsun () #00:26:50-3# Öğretmenler hep başka gözlen bakıyor sana, hissediyorsun. #00:27:30-5#
> *Tuğba: Now in Germany there are these parties, I mean like the democratic parties, SPD, CDU, and another one, I don't know if it is NPD. They have posters on the streets and they write things against Islam. There are so many of these things in Germany. I think slowly one sees things, as well in the schools from teachers. They see kids who are coming from other countries with a different eye, then I wonder if I should go to another country. Teachers look at you with a different eye, you can feel it.*

The political climate was associated with Germany's past. The girls' interpretation of the discourse was the result of the educational limitations and a welfare system that focuses on building cohesive sustainable societies. The young people were described with their ethnicities and migration status even while living all their lives in Germany. Ethnicity and migration status also determined their opportunities.

In the quotes below, the grounded concepts involve how the invisibility of plural identities could constrain the image of young people of migrant origin. Public discourses made ethnicity a primary factor for school success. The discourse could create a reality in which the young people are framed as a burden to the education and welfare system. This may lead to lack of access to various opportunities for a good life.

Dilek#01:00:45-4# Test yapsınlar Alman ve Türk öğrencileri arasında baksınlar kim daha iyi, yani şimdi Almanlar'ı şey yapmak istemiyorum da ama #01:00:54-6#
Dilek: They can test Turkish and German students, and see the difference, who is better, so now I don't want to do anything. (According to the researcher, the participant does not want to say anything negative about her native German peers).

Interviewer#01:00:54-6#: Ne yapacaklar sonra o sonuçlarla, ne tür güzellikler getirecekler?
Interviewer#01:00:54-6#: What will they do with those results?

Dilek#01:00:54-6#: Hani mesela, benim das was ich rausziehe aus den Zeitungs-artikeln ((gazetelerden anladığım kadarıyla)) und sei es einfach (hani böyle) Türkler böyle Almanlar kadar akıll değiller mesela benim rausziehen ((çıkardığım)) benim ettiğim #01:01:13-4# #01:01:15-4# Ya evet o zaman şey yapabilirler, o zaman bir Almanla Türk´ü yanyana koyup baksınlar mesela #01:01:21-3#
Dilek: As I understand from the newspapers the Turks are not as clever as Germans. Yes, there are times they can do things well, there are times they can put a German and a Turk together and look for an example where the Turks can do better. (According to the researcher, someone could compare school test results of Turkish and German origin pupils).

Demet #01:01:36-9# Dilek´nin dediği şey çarşıda hep Flyer asılı, Auslander Alman şey yazmışlar, kaç tane Bewerbung (başvuru) yazmış, kaç tane unterricht emmm yani yabancı ülkeden gelen insan, hep absage veya bi tane şey. Her yerde asılı çarşıda, gördüm. Bewerbung konularında dedi ya demin Almanlar'ı daha çok seçiyorlar Türkler'i seçmek istemiyorlar, auslanderlar'ı (yabancı) seçmiyorlar diye belki o olabilir bizim için. #01:01:58-6#
Demet: As Dilek says, they put posters in the city, they compare foreigners and Germans, they studied how many applications they have received. People coming from foreign countries got more refusals, it is hung everywhere in the city center. On the topic of applications, as I said recently, they chose Germans more, they don't want to choose Turks. They don't choose foreigners, that is maybe how it may be for us.

Sedef#01:03:15-1# Ben neden olduğunu da anlayamıyorum ben çünkü biz de aynı, şekilde büyüdük aynı şekilde derslerimizi yaptık, notlarımızı aldık iyi hani hauptschule, realschule ayrımı yapsalar tamam diyeceğim ama hani auslander, Deutsch diye yaparlarsa anlamıyorum ama hani bence o bizim için bir engel olabilir, başka engeller, #01:03:36-0#
Sedef: I don't understand why because we grew up the same. We did our lessons the same way, we got our grades. If they do discriminate between hauptschule and Realschule, I say okay, but I don't understand discriminating between a foreigner and a German, I don't understand. It could be an obstacle for us, another obstacle.

As a result, from the girls' perspective, it is not possible to understand by which terms they are excluded and why they are described as outsiders in Germany's public and policy discourses. The participants considered themselves a part of Germany. The political and societal discourses may constrain their opportunities in everyday life. The girls' experienced exclusion and discrimination is embedded in a lack of diversity policies which increase the invisibility of pluralities. It is evident that the girls' interpretations of discrimination, racism, and stereotypes are rooted in Germany's political discussions and manifest as exclusion and vulnerability in their lives.

Considering the various issues that have been discussed already, the girls may interpret their experiences as racism and discrimination. What the girls considered to be a good school was a school where everyone was treated equally. The grounded concept in the data would be a school which emphasizes and celebrates differences. Another grounded concept would be a school where all backgrounds and differences find meaning by existing in cohesion.

> Nur: Ayrım olmayan bir okul bence ().
> Nur: Not to have discrimination
>
> Ceren: Bencede. Herkes aynı
> *Ceren: I think so too. All are the same.*
>
> Interviewer: Eksik olan birşey var mı, bu Türk kökenli kızlar için önemli olur diye.
> Interviewer: Is there anything missing, that would be important for girls of Turkish origin?
>
> İnci: Ayrım yani.
> *İnci: Discrimination.*
>
> Demet #00:45:03-4# Bence dışlanmamak #00:45:05-2#
> Demet: Not to be discriminated against.

In the quotes below, I interpreted that both Deniz and Nil's voices were contradictory because in one of the quotes they criticized Germany's integration policy and in the next quote they emphasized their intolerance of ethnic diversity in Germany. For instance, Deniz emphasized she was a German nationalist and she didn't like Turkish attitudes. She might be right to criticize the attitudes of Turkish parents who don't want their children to socialize with their German peers. Deniz might raise her voice as 'being a German nationalist' as she needed to become part of Germany. She might be trying to find a balance by associating herself with extremism and a nationalism to deal with the ambivalence she encounters. Deniz's headscarf would immediately frame her as a 'Muslim woman of Turkish, migrant origin' which might be a determining factor for her opportunities.

Deniz: Ben mesela, ben bu düşünceyi biraz anlıyorum. Biraz milliyetçilik mi var ben de, <u>bak</u> bazı Türkler'in davranışlarını talore edemiyorum, mesela dediğim gibi Almanya'dalar kaç sene Almanca konuşamıyorlar. Çocuğunu gymansium'a (akademik oryantasyonlu lise) göndermiyor, Türkler olmadığı için, <u>bu ne</u> anlamıyorum. En basiti mesela Almanya'da yaşıyoruz, apotheke (eczane) de bir tane başörtülü yeter benim için, <u>çok olunca</u> insan göz altında oluyor, direkt böyle negatif.
Deniz: For example, I can understand this idea a bit. I think I have some nationalism. Look, I cannot tolerate the attitudes of some Turks, for instance, for so many years they are in Germany and they cannot speak German. I will send my child to gymnasium, but I cannot send them because there are no Turks. I don't understand why the most basic is pharmacy. For instance, we live in Germany, for me one person with a head scarf is enough at the pharmacy. If there are more, people are under the eyes, directly it is negative.

Nil: Bu hale getirdiği için böyle, aslında Alman okulunda senin ne yönde olduğunu, ne tarafta olduğunu göstermek yasaktır. Ne <u>kreutz</u> taşıyabilirsin, ne Allah yazısı ne de <u>eşarp</u> <u>aslında</u>, öyle diyorlar okulda öğretmenler. Aslında biz şöyle böyle yapamayız. Git bakalım öğretmenlerin <u>kaç tanesi</u> haç takıyor, onlara neden kimse kızmıyor. Git bakayım <u>kaç kişi</u> dövmeli çalışıyor, dövmelerde küfürler yazıyor, niye onlara kızılmıyor. Bizim sınıfta <u>yalın ayak</u> iki tane öğrenci var, hippi mi diyorlar ne diyorlar, yalın ayak geziyorlar, hani sisteme karşı tepki veriyorlar.
Nil: It became like that, actually, in German schools. It is forbidden to show on which side you are. You can't carry a cross or a writing of God or a headscarf, that is how teachers say it. Actually, we don't do it like this. Go and see how many teachers wear crosses, why does nobody get mad at them? Go and see how many of them work with tattoos, tattoos that curse, why don't they get mad at them? In our class, there is a boy who has bare feet, which is called being a hippy, he opposed the system.

Deniz: Kapitalizme.
Deniz. Capitalism.

Diversities are treated differently in the German community. Being against capitalism or wearing a cross as part of the Christian religion is not seen as a threat in the German community. The girls interpreted that wearing a headscarf, being a woman, being Turkish and of immigrant origin reduced their opportunities for a good life. As a result, the discrimination of diversities is an obstacle to the girls associating themselves with the wider society.

Nil: Kapitalizme karşı gelmesi bunun için yalın ayakla gezmesi, onları hiç kimse dışlamıyor, onlarla herkes içli dışlı oluyor, neden biz Müslümanlar, baş örtülü kızlar üzerinde insan bir adım geri atıyor. (19.49). Ben onu anlamıyorum, bizim başımızdaki başörtüye birşeyleri varsa başlarındaki tokaları da çıkarsınlar, ha toka takmışım ha eşarp, yani ikisinin de aynı.
Nil: He is opposed to capitalism, that is why he has bare feet. He is not discriminated against, everyone is so close with him. Why is it with we Muslims, girls with headscarves, people go one step back? That is what I don't understand, if they have something to say about the headscarf on our heads, they must get rid of hairclips too. It is the same if you wear a hair clip or head scarf.

Nil pointed out that in German schools, religious or political ideology is banned. But the sensitivity in their school is on banning headscarves. The other ideologies or religious symbols, including wearing a cross, are not seen to be as threatening as Islamic symbols in their school. The emerging concepts from the data suggest that their diverse identities, i.e. being Muslim, being a woman, being Turkish and having a migrant origin, are causes of deprivation in their lives.

The next quotes are examples of how discrimination and exclusion discourses might determine their good life opportunities. The grounded concepts in this quote involve the restriction of diversity and lack of civil rights opportunities. These concepts are functionalizing agency in society to express opinions of various diverse identities, where all people contribute, develop and advance the community they live in together.

In the next quote, Deniz explains her opportunities in a world of contradictions. Deniz is aware that her religion, head scarf, and Turkish name are constraints in German society. She emphasized that there were other opportunities, such as being attractive or speaking proper German, that would contribute to a good life. In the end, there are dominant factors which restrict opportunities. Constraints were more external than internal in the girls' lives. The grounded concept is that plural identities cannot function together for the advancement of society in a world of contradictions. In contrast, hidden discriminatory and racist practices create constraints for human well-being.

Deniz: Ben bunu anlayamıyorum, benim yönden. Başörtülüysen, çekiciysen, Almancan iyi değilse tabi ki gefundenes Opfer (kurban olmak) (25.11) tabi sen birşeysin, kurban yani, gelen giden şey yapar, ama senin konuşman iyiysen, good artikulen (ifade etmek) yapabilirsen, flexibilsen, Alman arkadaşların varsa, çok açık konuşursan ürkek konuşmazsan her yere ulaşabilirsin. Aslında varya, Almanya'da politikaya bile girebilirsin. Doğru bu ama sen kurban olman lazım.
Deniz: I don't understand that, from my way. If one has a headscarf, if you don't speak good German, of course one is a victim, of course you are a victim (she repeats in Turkish). People come and go, but if you speak well, if you express

yourself well, if you are flexible, if you have German friends, if you speak openly and if you are not shy, you can approach everywhere. Actually, you can also become a politician in Germany. It is correct but you need to be a victim.

In the next quotes, the grounded concepts reveal how Deniz has positioned herself in German society. She has tried to remain rooted to her own culture and traditions that are also important for her to build a plural identity. Deniz's quote emphasized the difficulty she has living in a diverse society in which she can't position herself. The grounded concept would be finding a mainstream identity for all. One would belong without being discriminated against, excluded, but at the same time one would relate to mainstream culture, which is dominated by German culture, and Germany's diverse sub-groups and diverse cultures.

The participants' interpretation was generally that foreign pupils were treated worse than others. The girls interpreted such teachers' attitudes as a threat because hostility and discrimination towards people of migrant origin were discussed frequently. The grounded concepts in this data are a lack of visibility of diversities and a lack of meaningful opportunities at school, and beyond the school, to realize their plural identity. As a result, the girls interpreted each issue they experienced as racism and discrimination.

Interviewer: Öğretmen bu davranışı herkese mi gösteriyordu?
Interviewer: Is this the attitude?

Ceren: Yabancılara
Ceren: Foreigners.

Tuğba: #00:46:33-5# Çünkü Türk olduğunu görüyorlar, azıcık başka konuştuğunu da görüyorlar. Bilmiyorum o zamanda hemen değişik bakıyorlar bilmiyor böyle komisch oluyor. #00:46:46-5#
Tuğba: Because, when they see you as Turkish, they see you speak a little bit different. It is a little bit comic.

Interviewer: #00:46:46-5# Nasıl değişik bakıyorlar? #00:46:47-3#
Interviewer: How different do they look?

Tuğba: Sana başka gözle bakıyorlar.
Tuğba: They see you with different eyes. (Silence).

During the interviews, the girls frequently discussed school education experiences involving their teachers. The next quotes reveal how teachers contributed to the participants' experiences with their educational aspirations. In the quote below, the young woman interpreted the teachers as a challenge to approaching their educational aspirations for the future.

Interviewer: Sizin için diğer engeller neler Almanya'da?
Interviewer: What are the other obstacles you may confront in Germany?

Ayça: Okul ve öğretmenler
Ayça: The school and teachers.

Ayşe: Bu okulda vardı bir öğretmen ((gülerek)) bilmiyorum ().
Ayşe: There used to be a teacher in that school ((laughter)), I don't know.

Ayça: Biraz o abartılıydı, Nazi gibiydi.
Ayça: He was like a Nazi.

Ceren: Kanında vardı, zaten saklamıyordu adam ().
Ceren: It was in his blood, he wasn't making it a secret.

I interpreted that the girls were not discriminated against in each situation. Because of their age, they may not separate the meaning between exclusion, discrimination, and racism. The girls may frequently use the words 'racism' and 'discrimination' because in Germany, discussions on discrimination and racism are frequently used in media and politics. In the end, negative interactions with teachers were obstacles to achieving their educational aspirations and a good life. In the quotes above, Tuğba emphasized that the teachers made her feel 'other', she explained this as feeling like 'you are Turkish and you are different'.

I would argue that Tuğba's highlight of this attitude towards migrants in Germany was very tense and exclusive. These discussions mainly gave a certain message to girls, that they are not enough, or not qualified to be a part of Germany even though they have been in Germany all their lives, that they have to go back to their home country one day. Tuğba also emphasized this in the quote below. Teachers did not mean to be bad to her, but they saw her as different. The participants interpreted many interactions with teachers as being excluded, being discriminated against and being different. Most participants felt like they were reminded frequently that they came from another origin. These experiences resulted in main obstacles for the girls approaching their educational goals in the future.

Tuğba: #00:46:47-3# Yani böyle kötü bakmıyorlar ama şey bakıyorlar ama böyle şey bakıyorlar sen Türksün () demek ostiolar, bilmiyorum nasıl söyleyeyim ki bakışını. #00:46:59-2# #00:47:01-2# o zaman hemencik böyle senior dışladıklarını hissettiriyor, aynı olmadığını hissettiriyor. #00:47:12-8#
Tuğba: So they don't look at you in a bad way, they look at you as if you are Turkish. What I want to say is, I don't know how to describe this look, that time you feel you are little bit discriminated against, you feel that you are not the same.

The majority of the participants discussed the teachers' views of them as affecting their future possibilities for a good education. The grounded concepts in this data would be a lack of social policies that enhance the young peoples' education opportunities and their expanded choices for access to the desired labor market.

> Ceren: Bizi daha çok <u>assosyal</u> görüyorlar. Mesela benim öğretmenim bana açıkça söyledi, sen bu okulu <u>başaramazsın</u> sen <u>hauptschuleye</u> git ya da <u>gesamtschuleye</u> git dediler.
> *Ceren: They see us more as anti-social. For instance, my teacher told me openly that I could not succeed in this school, that I should go to Hauptschule or Gesamptschule.*

> Ayşe: Öyle bir adam, bir öğretmen bizim, geleceğimizi <u>kırıyordu</u> zaten, başka okullarda başka öğretmenlerde var böyle, mesela bir öğretmen kardeşime de öyle resmen yani, kardeşimin, babamın suratına dedi adam bu çocuk <u>okumaz</u> diye ama aslında kardeşimin notları <u>süper</u>. Bu çocuk okumaz dedi, babam sonra çok kızgın oldu, babam bağırdı çağırd orda, yani çok, iki öğretmen başarıyor bizim geleceğimizi mahvetmek için.
> *Ayşe: Such a man, our teacher, he was breaking our future. In other schools, there are other teachers like that. One teacher obviously, concerning my brother, told to my father's face that this child cannot study, even though my brother's grades were super. This child cannot study he said, my father was so mad, my father screamed there. So two teachers succeeded in devastating our future.*

Continuing the concept of 'different perceptions between Germany's sub-groups', the girls distinguished their teachers as 'Turkish' or 'German'. The quotes below emphasized that the girls highlighted that they had good 'German' teachers although it happened quite rarely in their opinions. The ethical differences are evident in the girls' school educational well-being. The girls interpreted that their teachers' ethnic origin, i.e. Turkish or German, might define the value of the communication between them.

> Interviewer: İyi öğretmenleriniz de yok mu burada, sizlere destek olan?
> *Interviewer: Don't you have a good teacher here, who is helping you here?*

> Kızlar: <u>Tabi ki</u> var ((yüksek sesle)).
> *Girls: Of course there is ((loudly)).*

> Ceren: Türk öğretmenimiz de var.
> *Ceren: We have a Turkish teacher.*

> Interviewer: Türk olmayan ama sizleri çok seven öğretmenleriniz yok mu? 54:30 Min:
> *Interviewer: Don't you have teachers who love you but are not Turkish?*

Kızlar: Var ama Frau XX (Öğretmen ismi) rektör yardımcısı, o bizi çok seviyor ve de çok anlıyor. (Pek çoğu hep beraber)
Girls: There is, Mrs. XX (they say the name of the teacher), she is the vice director of the school, she loves us and she understands us very much. (The majority of them agree).

Ayşe: İyi bir kadın, herşeyi konuşabiliyorsun, çok anlayışlı, çok tatlı birisi.
Ayşe: Good woman, you can talk about everything, she is very tolerant. She is very sweet.

Ayça: Çok iyi bir öğretmen. Çok açık konuşuyor bizimle, her konuda yardımcı olmaya çalışıyor.
Ayça: She is a very good teacher. She speaks with us very openly, she is trying to help us in every matter.

After positive discussions about the teachers, the dialogue in the focus groups returned to negative experiences with 'German' teachers who excluded them in class to stop from furthering their education. The girls interpreted this situation as being treated badly because of their migrant background. The grounded concepts in the data revealed that ethnicity was a sharp factor determining borders and boundaries. These borders and boundaries may determine what the girls' real opportunities to realise their educational aspirations.

Ayşe: Hepsi kötü olsa çok kötü olurdu herşey (gülerek). Benim de burada bir öğretmen vardı, aşşağılıyordu beni, İngilizcem çok kötüydü benim, (3) kadın da aşşağıladı beni, sen delisin, sen yapamazsın bunu. Ben de o anda dışarı çıktım sınıftan, babamı aradım, okula geldi öğretmenle kavga etti. Öğretmen sonra korktu, öyle demek istemedim dedi. Varya hep bize yapıyor. Annem veya babam olunca karşısında birşey diyemiyorlar utanıyorlar.
Ayşe: There was a teacher, she was teasing me. My English was very bad, she insulted me and she said you are crazy, you cannot do that. At that moment, I went out of the classroom, I called my father. He came to school and fought with the teacher. The teacher was afraid then, she said I didn't want to say it like that. Do you know what they do to us? When my mother or father is there in front of their face, they cannot say anything.

The girls emphasized that when extra-curricular activities were organized, the majority interests dominated the activity plan. The grounded concepts in Tuğba's data would be that the girls could not identify themselves with the majority culture, an obstacle to achieving their educational goals.

Tuğba#00:42:10-4# Zum beispiel öğretmenlerlen şeye gidiyorlar hep kircheye, o zaman Türk olunca dışlanıyorsun. Onlarlan kircheye gidiyordum da ama böyle dua

mua etmiyorum çünkü ben Müslüman'ım orada dışlanıyorsun bize ((coughs)) bazen böyle <u>Veranstaltung'lar</u> ((toplantılar)) oluyor (3) ya böyle nasıl desem, öyle şeyler de işte (5) yaaa bir de öğretmenler hemencik böyle zum beispiel (örneğin) sınıfa giriyorsun ismin zaten hemencik <u>anlıyorlar</u> Türk olduğunu (gülerek) o da doof oluyor ((gıcık oluyor)) oluyor çünkü benim ismim Tu<u>ğ</u>ba onun için hemen Tuğba (she mentions that teachers cannot pronounce her name properly) diyorlar onun için ya insan bir süre sonra bıkıyor. () #00:42:59-5# Yani <u>Müslümanlar</u> da katılıyor yani katılacak bir yer olması öyle şey olmaması bütün öğrencilerin. #00:43:32-0#

Tuğba: For example, teachers were always going to church, at that time if you were Turkish you were discriminated against. I went to church with them but I didn't pray because I am a Muslim. I was discriminated against there. There are sometimes meetings, how can I say, such things like teachers immediately understand your name, it is also irritating because my name is Tuğba, they say Tugba (g is used as soft g in Turkish and both sounds very different). After a while people are tired. So Muslims could also join, so a place, there is not a thing for all pupils.

Interviewer: #00:43:32-0# Diyorsun ki gideceksek bir yere hep birlikte gidelim.
Interviewer #00:43:35: You say that if there is a place to get together, we should go altogether.

Tuğba: #00:43:35-8# birde kirche olmasın, bir yer olsun <u>bütün</u> öğrenciler yani böyle religion olarak öyle şeyler bence olmasın. #00:43:46-3##00:43:47-7# yani sadece senede bir kere oluyor auf jeden Fall (kesinlikle). (3) zum beispiel kiliseye gidiliyorsa hep beraber <u>camiye de</u> gidelim, Jude'ların şeyine de gidilmesi önemli. Biz onların şeyini <u>tolerieren</u> yapıyorsak onlar da tolerian yapması lazım bence. #00:44:05-0#

Tuğba: Yes, but also not a church, there must be a place for all pupils and not just for religion I think. It definitely happens once in a year. For example, if we go to church together we go to the mosque together, it is also important to go to a Jewish thing. If we tolerate their things, they should also tolerate others, I think.

The girls were confronted various discriminatory practices in various life spheres. It would be interpreted that these discriminatory practices decreased the quality of their lives in which they were also developing obstacles to human development.

10.2 Stereotypes

Stereotypical discussions are the other realities they are confronted with. Besides rhetorics of discrimination and exclusion, the girls deal with the stereotypes of being Turkish. Living in a society, which has stereotypes about who is from Germany and who is not from Germany, who can belong and who cannot belong to Germany, might be a burden for the girls.

In the quotes below, the girls highlighted their experiences of stereotypes and generalizations. These experiences revealed how the stereotypes limited their chances of a good life. These stereotypes also stagnated prejudices and discrimination as obstacles for valuable opportunities.

Şeyma: Ben senden korkmuştum, sen Türksün, Türk kadınları beni yanlış anlar hele kapalılarsa.
Şeyma: I was afraid of you, you are Turks. Turkish women would misunderstand me, even more when they have a headscarf.

Deniz: Ağbin gelir beni dövmeye öyle diyorlar.
Deniz: Your brother might come and beat me up.

Şeyma: Evet ağbin beni döver, böyle çok duydum ben, ağbin var mı diye soruyorlar.
Şeyma: Yes, they say your brother would beat me up. I have heard that so many times, they ask if I have a brother.

Selda: Siz manyak mısınız dedim ne korkusu?
Selda: I said are you maniacs, what fear?

Deniz: En basiti mesela benle şey yaptılar, beispiel mesela bir iş teklifi geldiydi bana foto shooting (fotoğraf çekimi), anladın mı, gelmiş bana telefon ediyor, foto shoting ister misin dedi, ben de bilmiyorum dedim. So adam dedi schuldigung (özür dilerim) dedi, hast du ein bruder dedi (erkek kardeşin var mı?), profesyonel adam. Ondan sonra beni foto shotinge (fotoğraf çekimine) çağırdı.
Deniz: The basic thing, for example, I got a job offer for a photoshoot, do you understand? I got a phone call, he asked if I wanted work in a photoshoot?. I said I don't know, so the man said sorry do you have a brother, he is a professional man, then he invited me for a photo shoot.

Nil: Anlattın mı ona ağbinin olduğunu.
Nil: Did you explain to him that you had a brother?

Deniz: Profesyonel adam, ya dedim, hemen tereddüt etti, ağzı dili dolandı, ya, haben wir problem, bu konu problem filan, hani öyle zor oluyor filan.
Deniz: A professional man, I said, he was skeptical, he stuttered, he said we have a problem, this is a problem, and it was difficult.

Nil explains the situation above is a problem of discrimination. The girls experience society's stagnated concepts of immigrant women. Their lives are on the border between the limited capital of their socio-economic status and the opportunities available to them by welfare. These borderline opportunities became life experiences as a matter of citizenship, exclusion, stereotyping or discrimination. The grounded concepts from the data involve the lack of

structures in the German system in which the girls could find meaning, reason, acceptance and the possibility to raise their voices to contribute as active agents.

Nil: Ya da şu ayrımcılık ve önyargı olayı filan vardı ya hani, hiç gördünüz mü diye, onu görmemize gerek yok ki onu burnumuza kadar sokuyorlar şöyle, bir okula yazılmak istediğimizde ilk sordukları soru was für eine <u>Staatsangehörigkeit</u> hast du (milliyetin nedir)? Hani bu bence bu çok saygısızlık ve kötü birşey.
Nil: This discussion on discrimination and stereotypes, if we have experienced it or not, we don't need to experience it, they are inserting this into our nose like this when we want to register at a school. They ask what our nationality is, I think it's very disrespectful and something very bad.

Deniz: Biz şimdi konuşuyoruz da, wir sind keine Opfer ama normal (biz kurban değiliz) (1:34.42)
Deniz: We know talk, but we are not victims, but it is normal.

Nil: Niye normal? Normalleştirildiği için <u>normal</u>.
Nil: Why is it normal? Because it is normalized.

Deniz: du mußt diesen unterschied haben, zum beispiel du kannst nicht (1:34:57)
Deniz: Do you understand the difference? You cannot.

Nil: Integrasyondan bahsediyorlar. Nasıl mümkün olsun integration
Nil: They talk about integration. How is integration possible?

During the interviews, without asking what challenges they had in their life, stereotyping had become a frequently highlighted issue. Significantly, the girls perceived that stereotyping was limiting their opportunities in Germany.

Duygu: Ama insan yoruluyor ister istemez.
Duygu: People are getting tired whether they want to or not.

Interviewer: Niye yoruluyorsunuz?
Interviewer: Why do you get tired?

Ceren: Yoruluyorsun hep kendini göstermeye hep kendini <u>doğru</u> göstermeye anlıyor musun, <u>immer</u> Klarheit verschaffen, <u>immer (her zaman açıklamak zorundasın)</u> kendini açıkla, kendini bul, bizde böyle değil sizde böyle şöyle yoruluyorsun (1:41:43-2) ben açıkçası ich hab kein <u>Bock</u> Mehr Dazu (buna bağlı değilim). Benim konuşmaya mecbur değilim, tamam o zaman git, anlıyor musun? Wenn du schon Vorurteile hast (önceden önyargıların varsa), Wenn du Schon (önceden) önceden herşeyi böyle tatmışsan bile Schon, Weiss du was ich meine. Burda kızlar utangaç, kendini geri çekiyor (1:42:01-3)

Ceren: It is tiring to show yourself all the time, show yourself as correct, do you understand? Always clarifying, always explaining yourself, finding yourself, it is not like this with us, it is with you, openly I have no more interest. I don't have to talk about it all the time, go. If you already have stereotypes, if you have already tasted such things before, do you know what I mean? Girls here are shy and staying behind.

Stereotypes are great burdens for the life of the girls and are decreasing their opportunities. The girls associated stereotypes as burdens because 'prior to stopping stereotypes' no one would accept them integrating or becoming part of Germany. For the girls, integration is being a part of Germany. The participants also clarified that they have always been in Germany as 'Germans', and they do not have to adjust or integrate with Germany. There are many different Turkish people and they all have different ways of life which cannot be generalized.

10.3 Institutional Marginalization

The girls were tracked according to their school success and the teachers' recommendations in the German school system. The girls experienced that even though their grades were high enough to attend a higher level of education, they were recommended for a lower level of educational institute.

Buse: Sorun çıkmıştı, 4. sınıftaydım, sen hauptschule'ye gideceksin dediler. Annem hayır dedi, kızımı realschuleye götüreceğim. Okulda ya hauptschuley'e ya da gesamtschule'ye götür dediler. Annem de istemedi zorlan buraya geldik. Yazdırdılar, hiç burada sorun da çıkmadı, üstelik benim notlarım önceden de iyiydi.
Buse: There was a problem, in the 4th grade, they said you will go to hauptschule. My mother said no, I will take my daughter to Realschule. School said to take her either to hauptschule or gesamtschule. My mother didn't want to and we forced it and came here. They registered me here, there wasn't any problem, also my grades were good before too.

Interviewer: Bu tür konular ne gibi engeller yaratıyor size?
Interviewer: What kinds of obstacles do these matters bring to you?

Kızlar: Notları düşük veriyorlar (bir çoğu aynı anda)
Girls: They give lower grades (many said at the same time).

In the quotes below, the girls emphasized their vulnerability during educational processes. They interpreted that their lower level of education was related to their 'otherness' in German society, which is reflected in the fact that school education is one of the determining factors for educational achievement.

Buse: Yada zorlan hauptschuleye gönderiyorlar. Bizi fazla şey yapmıyorlar, istemiyorlar ki bizi başarılı olmamız için.
Buse: Or they are forced to go to hauptschule. They don't do anything for us, they don't want us to be successful.

Ayça: Bizi geri kalmış zannediyorlar.
Ayça: They think we lag behind.

Interviewer: Neden?
Interviewer: Why?

Ayça: <u>Kendilerini</u> üstün göstermek için bence.
Ayça: To make themselves feel higher.

The following quotes show that to be able to go beyond their limitations, the participants had to struggle to further their education. In the second quote, due to structural inequalities, the teachers' belief was that children of immigrant origin could not achieve the higher level of education, even if their elementary education had been successful in qualifying them to go to the mid-level of education (Realschule). In various interviews, the girls highlighted the unfair treatment of teachers, despite the fact their grades were good enough to go to a higher level of education. In the following quotes, the girls discussed their interpretations of how teachers' perceived them.

The girls were confronted with these cultural conflicts as obstacles in their school education. Living in parallel societies caused a conflict in cultural understanding in the girls' lives. Such practices were evident in the girls' lives and these negative experiences during school education may be factors for the inequality of their school education.

In the next quote, a young woman felt culturally threatened during her swimming lessons because of a school policy. The girls' pluralities and diverse needs may be threatened by how they deal with the controversy between their cultural needs and the schools' expectations.

Yasemin#00:22:28-9#: Benim en nefret ettiğim bizim hep 5. bir de 10.sınıfta yüzmemiz var. Bizim Türk kızlarının yani başörtülü olanlarının da yüzmelerini istiyorlar, 5. sınıfta oğlanlarla beraber. Yapmak istemeyince hemen yapmak zorundasın diyorlar. İstemiyorlar diyelim, ya da zeynep diye bir kız arkadaşım sudan korkuyor. Onu da zorladılar onun için, o belki hiç iyi değil. Onlar biz Müslüman olduğumuz için, diyelim hastayız, hani oluyorya, şey sokma şeyi, yani bize yüzmek zorundasınız diyorlar. Yapamayız biz çünkü biz, onun için çok tartıştık öğretmenlerle onun yüzünden. #00:23:16-5#
Yasemin: What I really hate is, always in the 5th grade and also in the 10th grade, we had swimming. Turkish girls, especially those who have head scarfs, don't want to

swim together with the boys. When they don't want to, they say you have to. I have a girlfriend called Zeynep, she is afraid of water. They forced her as well, that is why maybe she is not good. As we are Muslims, we say we are sick, (meaning they have their period), that happens, they say we have to swim as well. We cannot. We had many discussions about this with the teachers.

Interviewer #00:23:16-5# Peki ikna ettiniz mi onları? #00:23:22-4#
Interviewer: Did you convince the teachers?

Yasemin #00:23:22-4#: İkna edemedik ki. #00:23:22-4#
Yasemin: We could not convince them.

Interviewer #00:23:22-4#: Sonra ne oldu? #00:23:24-9#
Interviewer: What happened then?

The girls' school education was restricted because conversations could not find a concession to balance the school's interest with the girls' cultural norms. The grounded concept highlighted in the next quote is plurality as a threat to the wellbeing of school education and a good life. In the girls' interpretation, the majority population's norms were dominating the discussions, and the views of Germany's sub-groups were not included. The concepts emerging from the quotes below include plural needs as obstacles and a threat in everyday school education, the clash of cultural norms, the invisibility of the experienced dysfunctionalities and diversities.

Yasemin #00:23:24-9# Gitmedik. Annemgil, yazdılar bugün gelemiyor diye. Ne yapabiliriz ki. Bizim elimizden birşey gelmiyor diyorlar, yapmak zorundasın diyorlar. Alman kızları yapıyorsa siz de yapacaksınız diyorlar. Öğretmene sorduk, izin vermediler sonra bizde dedik ki gelmeyeceğiz ama zorlayamazlarda bizde öyle ikna edemedik. Annemgil işte öyle yazdı diye. #00:23:50-9#
Yasemin: We didn't go. My mother wrote a letter to say I was not going. What else could we do? There was nothing we could do. As the German girls do, you also have to do as they say. We asked the teacher, they did not allow. We were not going, they could not force us but we could not convince them. My mother said it like this.

Mine #00:25:11-5#: Engeller, diyelim klassen fahrt (sınıf gezisi) oluyor ya, üç gün mesela, bazı anne ve babalar istemediler. Oğlanlarla kızlarla orada beraber kaldık istemediler. Ama öğretmenler schule müssen (zorunlu) dediler, o da problemdi. #00:25:37-2# #00:26:26-1# #00:26:41-5# yani öğretmenler bizi anlamalı. Yani onlar bizi iyice tanımadıkları için Almanlar'ın annesi babası birşey demedikleri için, onlar zaten onlar alışkın oğlan kız beraber birşey yapmaya, ama anlamıyorlar bir anne istemediğinde, anlamıyorlar. Onun için çok sıkıyor birisini (kesintili ses). #00:27:13-1# mümkün değil,olmuştu bir Rus kız da annesi babası geldi, mümkün değil, gelecek

diyorlar, sonradan geldi. #00:27:50-4# #00:28:08-2# ya gelmeyince, diyelim sana notu kötüleştiriyorlar. Diğer kızlar her gün geldikleri icin 1 alıyorlar. Biz diyelim bir kere gelmeyince oluyor, yani bizim elimizden birşey gelmiyor ki yapalım, biz yapmak istiyoruz ya olmuyorsa olmuyor, sinir oluyorsun, gitmeyeceğiz.

Mine: Let's say obstacles, there are class trips lasting three days, some mother and fathers did not want it. The boys and girls stayed together. Teachers said it was a must. The teachers should understand us. Since they didn't know us very well, the German mothers and fathers did not say anything, they were used to doing things together, but they didn't understand why a mother didn't want it, that is why it makes us tired (with a lower voice). Not possible. A Russian girl's mother and father came to school to talk with the teachers, they said it was not possible, she has to come. If one does not go, they could give us a bad grade. Let's say, when we don't go we get a 6, other girls get. We cannot do anything, we want to do something about that but nothing is happening, I get mad and will not go.

The girls had various experiences during their everyday school lives of being excluded from feeling valued and accepted by their teachers. The attitudes of the teachers towards young people of migrant origin could empower or disempower them to have meaningful school experiences. As a result, the structures created an obstacle for the girls to achieve a good school education and good life opportunities in Germany.

11 Living in a Multicultural Society

The following chapter will discuss 'Unity' and 'Multiculturalism'.

11.1 Unity

During the interviews, themes connected to exclusion and unfair treatment were the main topics analyzed in order to find grounded concepts to explain abstract phenomena. I interpreted that the girls' experiences were a reflection of dealing with Germany's political debates on immigration and integration in their everyday lives. According to Tuğba's interpretation, being German was determined by hair color and eye color rather than citizenship, which they were eligible to obtain. The interpretations of the girls were reflections of the constraints driven by the representation of diversity and plurality in policy and the public space.

> Deniz: du bist <u>schwartz kopf (siyah kafalısın),</u> siyah gözlüsün, siyah saçlı. Ne kadar <u>kağıt üzerinde Alman olsan bile Türk'sün</u>. Alman'ların gözünde <u>Türk'sün</u> sen.
> *Deniz: You have a black head, you have black eyes and you have black hair. Even if you are German on paper, you are still Turkish. In the eyes of Germans, you are Turkish.*

In different focus groups, the participants pointed out that 'equal opportunities for everyone' and 'anti-discrimination' were the most important components of schooling. I argue that the girls emphasized such concepts because these were the political debates taking place in Germany.

In the next quote, Nil gave an example of how societal constraints functioned. According to that quote, one had legal rights to apply for a job according to his or her preference. However, in the process, societal mechanisms might restrict existing opportunities because of a lack of fundamental rights. A lack of visibility of diversities and pluralities have already been discussed in many quotes. In the next quote, fundamental rights overlapped with the lack of visibility of pluralities. As a consequence of this overlap, one's external and internal functionings were restricted.

Nil: Ablam otobüs şöförü Verkehrsmeisterlik (terfi almak) için (21:31) çalışıyordu, benim tarih dersimde iyi olduğu için benden yardım istemişti. Ben de ona tarihten ona soruları vermiş bunları öğren diye. Onları çalışmıştık ve de <u>çok süper</u> öğrenmişti<u>,</u> beraber yattık o gece. Geceleri <u>kalkıyordu</u> soruların cevabını bana söylüyordu. Girdi, <u>herkes alınmış</u>, üç kişi alınmış, o üç kişinin içinde ablamın ismi de var. Verkehrsmeister'ler (21:59) seçiyorlar bunu kendi aralarında bir tanesi ablamın arkadaşı gelip demiş ki ablama, böyle böyle diye, ablam demiş neden almadılar, <u>o kadar</u> çalıştım ki neden almadılar, kendimden emindim diye. Adam da demiş <u>aslında</u> sende vardın. O listeden üç kişiden biriydin ama biz senin yerine bir Alman'ı almayı tercih ettik demişler. Ablam dedi ki ben daha sonra saçımı <u>sarıya boyatıp</u> oraya gideceğim. Bunu çok ciddi bir şekilde söyledi. Bir dahakine girdiğimde <u>saçımı sarıya boyatıp, hatta gerekirse mahkeme kararı ile ismimi değiştireceğim</u> ve bu benim <u>zoruma gitti</u>. Bu bir diğeri de geçen hafta oldu, benim sınıfta yeni tanıştığımız bir kız var, çok iyi çok cana yakın ama bana dedi ki sakın Alman'ların yanında benimle Türkçe konuşma. Ben de dedim ki herhalde dedim Almanlar'a karşı saygısızlık olmasın ne dediğimizi anlasınlar diye öyle söyledi dedim. Bu sefer bu bana dedi, ya öyle diye geçiştirdi. Almanlar'ın yanındayken yanlışlıkla Türkçe' den birşey sordum. Bana ne cevap verdi biliyor musunuz, ben anlamıyorum, ne konuştuğunu anlamıyorum dedi. Sonra dedim, sen <u>neden</u> böyle birşey dedin<u>, neden</u> kendi <u>kimliğini saklıyorsun</u>. Dedi ki sen burayı bilmiyor musun? Ben Türk olduğumu veya Türkler'i ne kadar çok sevdiğimi göstersem de hani onları, Türkleri <u>kötülemezsem</u>, Türk olduğumu <u>övünerek</u> söylersem, beni <u>hor</u> görürler ve arkadaşlık <u>yapmazlar</u>, notlarım düşer ama Türkler'in kötü olduğunu söyler, kendimin Almanlaştığımı söylersem, Alman oldugumu, ileri görüşlü, modern olduğumu anlatmaya çalışırsam, onların beynine <u>sokarsam</u>, daha iyi not alırım dedi. Ve <u>dediği gibi de oluyor</u>. Yani, tüm öğretmenler onu çok seviyor. Babam Alman annem Türk diyor.

Nil: My sister is a bus driver, she was trying to get a promotion. As my history is good, she asked me for help. We studied questions someone gave her, we slept together that evening and she woke up during the night and gave me the answers to the questions. She took the exam, three people were accepted and out of these three names my sister's name was also there. Someone told her that one German was selected to be promoted. My sister said, "I was so sure of myself". The man said, "you were also on the list but we decided to take one German". My sister said, "next time I will go there, dye my hair blond and I will change my name in the court". It was so sad for me. The other thing just happened last week. In our class there is a girl, she is very friendly. She told me, "please do not speak to me in Turkish when there are Germans". I thought that it was because she didn't want to be disrespectful to Germans when they didn't understand what we said, and she said something like, "yes, it is". Accidently, when we were together with other Germans, I told her something in Turkish. Do you know how she answered me? "I don't understand what you said". Later on, I said that why did you speak like that, why do you hide your identity? She said to me, "don't you know here, if I say I am Turkish and if I show how much I love Turks, if I don't say bad things about Turks, if I say I am Turkish proudly, they will hurt my feelings and they will not become my friends,

and my grades will go down. If I say Turks are bad and if I say that I became a German, I am a German, I am a liberal and if I try to explain to them that I am modern, if I put it in their brains, I will get better grades". She said and it happened as she said. "My father is German and my mother is Turkish", she said.

Connecting the grounded concepts with the next quote, the external and internal functionings are restricted by one's diversity. The plural identities, which are undermined in the public space, create different mechanisms to be dealt with. In the next quote, in order to reduce 'the harm of her diversity', the young woman framed her ethnic identity as being Turkish and German. At the grounded conceptual level, the data reveals how societal mechanisms create a situation in which young people have to struggle. Pluralities of identity would be embedded in the systems and structures to create diverse opportunities for all kinds of people.

Nil: Benim bir sınıf arkadaşım var. Babam mı annem mi Türk diyor ve bana Türkçe öğretmediler diyor. Biz Alman'ız, Türkler'i sevmiyoruz diyor, öğretmediler diyor. Biz Alman'ız, Türkler'i sevmiyoruz diyor.
Nil: I have a classmate, she says, "my father or my mother is Turkish". "She didn't teach us Turkish", she says, "we are Germans and we don't like Turks".

Interviewer: Oysa aslında Türkçe biliyor.
Interviewer: She actually speaks Turkish.

Nil: Evet çokta güzel biliyor
Nil: Yes, she speaks very well.

Interviewer: Sende bunun öğretmenlerin hoşuna gittiğini düşünüyorsun?
Interviewer: Do you think the teachers like it?

Nil: Çokta güzel hoşuna gidiyor.
Nil. They like it very much.

Interviewer: Yani sana bunu açık açık söyledi.
Interviewer: She openly told you that.

Nil: Evet, hatta sen bunların ne olduğunu bilmiyor musun dedi. Hani ben bunları, Türkler'i kötülemez de onları yüceltmeye çalışmazsam ve kendimin de Türk olduğunu söylersem beni aralarına almazlar, notlarımı da düşürürler dedi ve dediği gibi de oldu.
Nil: She even said, "don't you know what these people are?" If I don't say bad things about Turks and if I don't put them in a higher place and if I say I am Turkish, they are not going to take me inside with them, they will give me lower grades and it happened as she said.

Lale: Ben Türk değilim ben Alman'im diyeceksin ben burda doğdum diyeceksin (26:30), zor ama başarılacak (3), başarılabilir, sehr selten nicht jeder (çok nadiren herkes değil) (26:42). Onların gözüne kadar sokacaksın, savaşacaksın
Lale: You will say that I am not a Turk, I am a German, I was born here, too many things. It is difficult but one can succeed, but not many people can achieve that . One will immerse into their eyes and one will fight.

Deniz: Bu insanı yıpratıyor.
Deniz: It is very wearing.

The participant highlighted that climbing the ladder, or even becoming a politician was possible, by speaking proper German language, being proactive and tolerating differences with Germans and sacrificing oneself to say, "I am German and I can only speak the German language". I claim that the girls have interpreted that they have to obliterate their plural identities and emphasize their 'German-ness' and their 'German identity' to have value in German society.

The girls have contradictory voices because of how they have been negatively 'framed' and 'narrated' in the German political discourse. I highlight that 'being integrated into German society' was also controversial and contradictory within the context of the girls. The grounded concepts in the quote were a 'lack of acceptance of diversities' as an everyday reality, rather than an abnormality, and 'confronting obstacles for a meaningful life' due to not being accepted with their pluralities. The external and internal constraints overlapped to reduce possible functionings to have a meaningful life.

Deniz: Salak demeyeyim ama benden geri kalmış insanlar benim önüme geçebiliyor da ben onun yanına gidebilmek için o kadar savaşmak zorunda kalıyorum. Hani milletin önüne atılıyor işleri, şöyle böyle, biz savaşmak zorunda kalıyoruz. Mesela ben bir iş yerini aradım telefonda konuştum, direk dedim şöyle böyle richtig geil, hochdeutsch (gerçek yüksek Almanca) (1. 27:39) güzel konuştum, adam dedi gelin görüşelim und (ve) gittim, adam başörtüyü gördü dedi açılır mısın dedim hayır. Kusura bakma alamıyorum dedi, ama telefon da direkt dedi, gelin alırım.
Deniz: I don't want to say something stupid but people behind me are coming in front of me, for me to go near him/her, why do I need to fight that much? People get work in front of them, this and that we need to fight. I called a workplace and directly I said this and that, I spoke really high German, I spoke well. The man asked if I could come to speak, so I went. When he saw my head scarf, he said, "Can you open it?", I said no. He said, "I am sorry, I cannot take you", but on the phone he said, "Come, I will take you".

Nil: Sorun nerde biliyor musunuz, onlar bizi olduğumuz gibi kabul etmek yerine bizi değiştirip kabul etmek istiyorlar, sorun orda. Onlar diyor ki integrien (entegre) yapın diyorlar biz size integrien (entegre) yapmayız demiyoruz ki biz sizin gibi olmayız diyoruz.

Nil: Do you know what the problem is? Instead of accepting us as we are, they want us to change, then they want us to accept, that is the problem. They say integrate. We didn't say we wouldn't integrate but we said we cannot be like you.

The girls had confronted various exclusionary experiences in their everyday life. The concepts grounded in the data were 'being different' and 'being other'. The young people could not find a space to realize their being. In the next quote, the girls highlighted the possibilities of being visible and acceptable in the community. She again returned to the existing reality that fewer people could access opportunities for emancipation in Germany. She emphasized that 'sacrificing oneself' wcould be interpreted as having various challenges. The grounded concept in the data is the expansion of opportunities for all without discriminating, restricting and stigmatizing diversities.

Interviewer: Kurban olmak deyince nasıl kurban oluyorsun? Neyim kurbanı oluyorsun?
Interviewer: What do you mean when you say that you have become a victim? A victim of what?

Deniz: Viel mit Deutschen zusammen sein (bir çok Alman ile berabe olacaksın), tolerieren (telore etmek), integrieren (entegre olma) (25:47) dışlamayacaksın pek Almanları'da mesela.
Deniz: You will have many Germans, tolerate them, integrate, you will not discriminate against Germans much.

Interviewer: Beni düzeltin eğer yanlış anladıysam. Siz diyorsunuz ki başörtümüz olsa bile, eğer çok Alman arkadaşımız varsa, girişkensek, dili düzgün konuşuyorsak, modern görüşlüysek, açıksak, Almanya'yı seversek açılmayacak kapı yok diyorsunuz.
Interviewer: Please correct me if I am wrong. You say that despite having a headscarf, if we have many German friends, if we are open, if we speak proper German, if we seem modern and liberal, there is no door in Germany which cannot be open?

Deniz: Ama o çok nadir. Yüzde belki 2-3 percent bunu elde edebiliyor, başarabiliyor, çok az. Şansın varsa, eğer şansın varsa iyi bir geleceğin varsa hani.
Deniz: But it is too rare. Maybe 2 or 3 percent can have that, succeed like that, too little. If you are lucky, if you have luck and have a good future.

Participants emphasized that the political discourse in Germany was to assimilate young people with migrant backgrounds. The German discussions on 'living together' had a weaker voice in the integration debate. This sub-category was not only a discussion on how the participants interpreted the hostile migrant rhetoric of right-wing parties, but also highlighted how significantly the sub-groups were excluded from the benefits of democracy.

Interviewer #00:27:30-5# Mesela örnek verebilir mission, nasıl hissediyorsun, garden hissediyorsun bunu? #00:27:30-5#
Interviewer: Can you give me an example, how do you feel it, where do you feel it?

Tuğba #00:28:59-8# mesela biz gesichte'de (Tarih dersinde) öğrendik eskiden Judeler'len (Yahudilerle) den onlara da başlanmış böyle işte onları hep böyle <u>değişik gözlen</u> bakmışlar, Alman'dı ama başka şeyi düşün, ismi ne başka religion oldukları için başka gözle baktıklarını şey ettiler, onları öldürdüler, şey ettiler, bence şimdik <u>bizde de</u> öyle olmaya başladı. Çünkü Naziler'le çok olaylar olmaya başladı, <u>Türklere' de</u> çok şey diyorlar böyle bazen dışlıyorlar bir de öyle şeyler görüyorsun, hani yani bile ol İslam'a karşı Almanya'da Partei (parti) bile <u>erlaubt</u> ((yasak değil)) olduğunu görüyorsan o zaman bence öyle şeyler yapılmaması lazım çünkü <u>gegen</u> <u>Judemtum</u> ((Yahudilere karşı)) deseler de aynı eskidendi şimdi de gegen <u>İslam</u> diye protesto ediyorlar. Onun için bence yani o olaya yol gidiyor bence. #00:29:56-5#
Tuğba: For example, we learnt in history, that in the past, the Jews, they always saw them with an another eye, but they were Germans too. I think that is what it is, they were from another religion, they were looked at from another eye. Things happened, they were killed, now it is the same with us, because there are a lot of Nazi things. They also talk about Turks like that, discriminating against them, you also see that parties against Islam are not banned. Things are not done because they spoke against Jews in the past, now they are against Islam and protesting. That is why, I think, everything is going that way.

Interviewer #00:29:56-5# Hangi yol, ne düşünüyorsun #00:30:00-0#
Interviewer: Which way, what do you think?

Tuğba: #00:30:55-8# #00:30:00-0# yani işte ((gülümseyerek)), ya işte bütün yabancı kökenli insanları ülkelerine gönderecekler yada bizlere onlara yaptıklarını yaparlar. #00:30:11-9# O plakatlardan, protestolardan, okulda böyle <u>Themenler</u> ((konular)) olduğunda zum beispiel (örneğin) ama benim başörtüm yok ama başörtülü kızlar niye camiye yani yüzmeden mesala bizim okulda bir kız var üstü tamamen kapalı birşey giyiniyor. Onları işte böyle <u>başka gözlen</u> görüyorlar, akseptieren <u>yapmıyorlar (kabul etmiyorlar).</u> Böyle niye o öyle giyiniyor niye Einfach (basitçe) bizim gibi yaşamıyorlar diye, bizim <u>onlar</u> gibi yaşamamızı istiyorlar, Onun için öyle işte. Onlar böyle <u>diskoya</u> filan gidiyor benim için Islam da öyle birşey olmadığından, birde biz de öyle birşey olmadığından ben gitmiyorum onun için de <u>başka</u> gözlen bakıyorlar, normal yani. İşte bazen öyle şeyler oluyor. Ya bazen hala dışlandıklarını ya da bazı ya daha bazı <u>başka</u> gözlen bakmaları yani zum beispiel sen Türk'sün senin ama hepiniz insansınız diye söylememeleri gerek. #00:31:44-6#
Tuğba: From those posters in the school we have themes, for example, I don't have a scarf but some girls wear a scarf while they are in the mosque. In our school, there is a girl that dresses to cover her body during the swimming lessons. They see her with another eye, they don't accept her. Why is that? Why is she wearing that? Why not live basically like us? They want us to live like them. They go to disco, in my Islam, there is not such a thing, also with us there is not such a thing, I don't go,

that is why, they see us with another eye, it is normal, it is normal, it happens like that sometimes. It it still discrimination, or seeing us with another eye, for example, you are Turkish but they don't say you are all human beings. So this (smiling), so they will send all people of foreign origin back to their home.

The participants highlighted their needs for plurality and diversity in school education. For example, in the quotes below, the girls interpreted that their history lessons insulted their background. The grounded concept in the data is that the girls could not see their backgrounds included in Germany's discourse. Even if their background was included, the discourse was negative. The girls felt uncomfortable during their history lessons. In the next quotes, the girls interpreted their history lessons.

Ceren: Bence de yabancıları. Dersi anlatırken de Türkler'i örnek gösteriyor mesela. (5) tarih dersinde mesela. Türkler böyle böyle yaptılar zamanında, Osmanlı zamanında filan.
Ceren: I think it is foreigners. During lectures, for instance, they give examples of Turks. In history lessons for instance. Turks did that in that time, in the Ottoman time.

Ayça: Kötüye çekmeye çalışıyorlar bizim geçmişimizi.
Ayça: They try to make our past look bad.

The quotes below show the girls' anxieties in associating their unwelcomed situation in Germany with the history of Germany's Jewish past. The girls interpreted that in the history classes, the Second World War taught them about "being proud" and "speaking openly" to their teachers.

Ayça: Kendi geçmişlerinden anlatıyorlar burada yaşadığımız için.
Ayça: They tell us their past as we are living here.

Ayşe: Sanki gurur duymuşlar gibi, o konuyu konuşuyoruz.
Ayşe: As they speak they are proud of it, as they speak about this subject.

Ayça: Almanlar bunları yapmasaydı gibisinden.
Ayça: Germans didn't do this.

Ayşe: Açıkça konuşuyorlar, böyle böyle oldu ondan sonra.
Ayşe: They openly say that this happened then.

The following quotes discussed, not only "being disturbed about the history of Jews", but also that the only history they learned was German history, which mainly focused on the Second World War and the Ottoman Empire. The participants did not only complain about their unwanted situation, but the fact

was they didn't learn about the history of other countries. The grounded concept in this data is that the curricula and pedagogy might not include youths with migrant origin backgrounds, or may not embrace and appreciate the participants' culture and historical contribution to building post-war Germany. It may be the reason why the participants interpreted their history lessons negatively.

> Gül: Mesela bizim öğretmenimiz bir tane kağıt veriyor, onun üstünde sorular var. Sizce neden böyle, Hitler neden öldürdü, onu konuşuyoruz sadece.
> *Gül: For instance, our teacher gives us a paper and there are questions about it. Why do you think it was like that? Why did Hitler kill? We spoke about it.*
>
> Ayça: Sonra normale çekiyorlar şey vardı diye savaş vardı diye, normal diye.
> *Ayça: Then they make it a normality, there was a war, it was normal.*
>
> Nermin: Mesela biz şimdi Berlinermauer neden burayı yıktılar, neden oraya Mauer (duvar) koydular.
> *Nermin: For instance, we are now learning why they destroyed the Berlin Wall. Why build a wall there again?*
>
> Ayça: Neden Almanya ikiye ayrıldı.
> *Ayça: Why Germany was divided into two.*
>
> Ayşe: Hep Almanya hakkında işte yani () ((gülerek))
> *Ayşe: It is always about Germany. ((laughter))*
>
> Kızlar: ((hep bir ağızdan)) sanki başka ülke yok.
> *Girls: ((all together)) There, it is not like any other country.*

In the following quotes, the interviewees described that they didn't learn about the history of other countries. During this discussion, they claimed that the history teachers were proud of Germany's past, and they taught German history as if everything that happened during the Second World War was normal. The grounded concepts in this data are that participants interpreted their history lessons as a reflection of their broken identity, which was invisible, or that they could not find a voice in the majority life setting.

> Ceren: (3) Çünkü biz hep o konuyu gördük. Mesela ağbimin okulunda her ülkeden başka bir tarih şeyi öğrendiler. Biz de o var, onun için öyle düşünüyoruz. Başkada neden anlatsınlar. Almanya'yı kötülemek için anlatmazlar. Zaten öğretmenim öyle gurur duyarak söylemiyor.
> *Ceren: Because we always studied that subject matter. For instance, in my brother's school, they learned the histories of different countries. We also have that, that is why we think like that. Why are they telling, not decrying Germany? Although, my teacher did not say that she was proud.*

In the quote below, Nil explained how hard it had been for her to explain what 'jihad' meant in Islam. Jihad's real meaning is not about conquering others, it means conquering yourself. The girls are challenged by their lack of knowledge of the exact meanings of concepts in different traditions, cultures, and religions.

Nil: Evet, biz, ben din dersine katılıyorum. Cihat olayi falan açıldı, millet benim üstüme daldı, hani böyle kötü değil, hepsi beni çok seviyor ben de onları çok seviyorum, sağolsunlar ama, hepsi, cihat ne demek, sen Müslümansın, bu insanlar böyle, <u>sen de mi</u> öylesin, bilmem ne bilmem ne. Gel şimdi anlat onlara cihatın ne demek olduğunu. Savaş değil, insanları yakıp yakmak değil. Nefsinle cihat olduğunu, cihat için zamanımızda cihatın kağıt kalemle yapıldığını <u>gel</u> anlat. İki saat onlara bunu anlattım, sonra millet anladı. <u>Kusura bakma</u> biz İslamiyeti <u>terörist</u> olarak gördük, biz bunları yanlış olarak değerlendirdik. Seni de yanlış olarak sanıyorduk ama değilmişsin. Ama bunu bunlara anlatmak gerekiyor, anlatmak için bilgi gerekiyor, bunlara anlatmak için dil gerekiyor, bunları anlatmak için o kadar çok şey gerekiyor ki, ve <u>sabır</u> gerekiyor.
Nil: I took part in a religion lesson. There was a topic on Jihad and people attacked me. They are not all bad, they all like me, I also like them and thank them, but from all of them, "What is Jihad"? You are Muslim, these people are like that, you are also like that. "I don't know, I don't know, explain to me what Jihad is". It is not a war, it is not burying and destroying. Jihad is with your instinct, in our times it is done with paper and pen. I explained it for two hours and people understood. They said sorry, we saw Islam as terrorism, we evaluated this wrong, we also thought you were wrong, you weren't. It needs to be explained to them. To explain one needs knowledge, to explain to them you need a language, to explain you need so many things, and patience is needed.

Interviewer: Az önce dediniz ki Türkiye'deki Türkler bizim kadar dindar değil. Neden öyle düşünüyorsunuz?
Interviewer: As you said, Turks in Turkey are not as religious as you are. Why do you think like that?

Deniz: Evet, çünkü onlar <u>baskılı</u> değil, onlar, (5) birşey denmiyor, kaçmaları lazım değil.
Deniz: Yes, because they don't have pressure like us, they are not told something, they don't have to hide from anything.

Interviewer: Siz neden kaçıyorsunuz?
Interviewer: What are you hiding from?

Deniz: Biz, Yahudi var, Katolik var, Christ (36:16-6) var, ipsiz var sapsız var () tabi Türkiye'de de var ama burada (3) Ama burda wir sind auf der Kippe ((durumumuz kritik)) (36:21-7) tamam mı? Biz şey yapmasak mesela biz bir Türk'le kontağımız gitmese ister istemez insanlık hali ayak uyduruyorsun, alkol de içersin. Bu

Türkiye'de de var. Benim kuzenlerim var Türkiye'de onlar açık saçık, ama hani domuz eti yersin, özenirsin die hat einen Freund (onun erkek arkadaşı var) benim niye Freund'um (erkek arkadaşım) yok (36:42), yok, ondan sonrada onlan yatıp kalkarsın, ondan sonra standar geliyor normal geliyor sana herşey. Ben cok arkadaşım var, und deswegen sagt man verdeutscht (Alman'laşmak) (36:53) Alman'laşıyor, anlıyor musun? Ben mesela çok serbestim, Alman arkadaşımın evinde bile uyuyorum, domuz eti filan pişiriyor ben yemiyorum ama yinede arkadaşlığımız iyi yani, anlıyor musun? Bu insanlar die wissen nicht wie man (bilmiyorlar nasıl)/ Fingerspitzengefühl (yetenek), die wissen nicht (bilmiyorlar) ayırt etmesini (37.10) bu insanlar dozunu bilmiyorlar. Birde tabi ki Türkiye'de hepsi Türk şu Fatma, bu Ayşe filan. Tabi farklı büyüyorlar ama Türkiye'de mesela (3) korkuları yok pek. Und wenn die was machen, das ist normal (ve eğer yaparlarsa bu normaldir) (37:26) akşamları gezmek normal, bizde değil ama biz yapamayız burada, mesela ben gittim Türkiye'ye gece 12'de ich gehe raus (dışarı çıkmak), ich gehe raus (dışarı çıkarım), kimse sormaz etmez, soramaz da, biz öyleyiz yani ama gitmem rahat olmam, anlıyor musun? Türkiye'de öyle değil, Türkiye'de du bist frei (özgür olmak), ama tabi ki illa ki yapanlar var, kötü insan var, ipsizler var, kötüsü de var, orada da prostitution (kadınlarla ticaret) (37:56) var.

Deniz: There are Jews and Catholics, there are Christians. There are people doing nothing. Of course, these are also in Turkey. But here our situation is very critical. Okay, for example, if we don't have contact with a Turk, we are all humans, we might adjust to other people, drink alcohol. It is also in Turkey. I have cousins, they are all open-minded. If you eat pork, you might envy it, to have a boyfriend, you might say why I am not allowed to have a boyfriend? After all, you might start sleeping with boys. After all, it may become the standard and everything becomes normal. I have a friend, we are becoming Germans, do you understand (she says the same sentence first in the German language, and then in the Turkish language). For example, I am very free, I can sleep at my German friend's (she wants to say, girlfriend, because in Turkish language verbs don't have gender as in the German language). She cooks pork, I don't eat but still our friendship is good, can you understand. These people don't know how to separate things, know the limitation of things (she again says the same sentence in German language and later in the Turkish language). And also, in Turkey everyone is Turkish, that is 'Fatma', this is 'Ayşe' (she gives Turkish female names as an example). Of course, they grow up differently but they don't have many fears in Turkey. When it is normal for people they go out during the night. For us it is not normal here, for example, when I am in Turkey I go out during the night, at 12 o'clock I go out. Nobody makes it a problem, nobody asks, nobody can ask. We are like that but I would not go because I cannot be comfortable, do you understand? It is not like that in Turkey, in Turkey you are free, but of course, there are people who are doing bad things, bad people, people who are doing nothing, there are bad ones, there are also prostitutes.

Sedef: #00:13:18-3# Benim için çoğu Türk kızları, iki kültür arasında kaybolmuş, ne öyle yapsan da yaranamıyorlar galba ((ses vurgusu değişiyor)), ne de öyle yapsalar yaranamıyorlar. Ondan sonrada bir değişik oluyorlar bence. #00:13:37-6#

Sedef: For me, most Turkish girls are lost in two cultures. Whatever they do they cannot make both German and Turkish cultures happy. Then, these girls become different.

Interviewer: #00:13:37-6# Nasıl değişik oluyorlar? #00:13:39-7#
Interviewer: How does it become different?

Defne: #00:13:39-7# <u>Görünüşleri</u> yani, (3). Şey, ondan sonra. Evet giyiniş tarzları, kültür herşeyi değişiyor bence, (3) birde em, integration şey bence (3), burdaki kurallara uyabilmek. #00:13:57-6# Dengeyi tutabilmek, hep aslında böyle dengeyi tutabilmek hem Alman kültürünü yaşamak hem de kendini bir Türk olarak kaybetmemek benim için en önemlisi #00:22:20-9#
Defne: Their appearance, later, yes the way they dress up, culture, everything becomes different. The integration is adjusting to the rules here. To be in balance, actually always to be in balance, to live in the German culture at the same time and not to lose the Turkish culture is most important for me.

Ayşe: Ama zaten belli, biz böyle yaptık, burayı burayı böyle yaptık. Resmen gurur duyuyormuş gibi anlatıyorlar. Haha biz diye. Biz Almanlar böyle böyle yaptık, böyle oldu.
Ayşe: But also it was obvious, in class teachers were saying "this and that happened". They explained it as if they were proud that we Germans did this, that they were proud that it happened.

Ceren: Tam biz demiyorlar da, böyle böyle yaptık, o yüzden şimdi böyleyiz, şu anki sonuçtan <u>çok gurur duyuyorlar.</u>
Ceren: They didn't say that it was exactly us, but they said we did it like this. That is why we are like we are now, they are so proud of the current situation.

Ayşe: Bu olmasaydı bu böyle olmazdı, sanki mecburduk demeye getiriyorlar, bu zamana geldik, bu böyle oldu. Türkler buraya geldi, bu olmasaydı Türkler buraya gelemezdi. Sizler burda olmazdınız. Öyle öyle anlatıyorlar, zaten anlaşılıyor, aşşağılanmamak için, dediğini.
Ayşe: If it didn't happen it wouldn't be like that, it seems like they are trying to say that we were obliged, we came to this time. It happened like that so the Turks came here, if it didn't happen like that Turks wouldn't come here, you wouldn't be here. They say it <u>like that, it is obvious that they say it like that to humiliate us.</u>

Leaving Germany one day was a topic of discussion in many of the focus groups and individual interviews. Generally, the girls planned to go to Turkey, the United States or to the United Kingdom to live and study. When I asked them why, they gave examples from their friends' experiences or from their own trips. I argue that the participants may have such an aspiration to go to the United Kingdom and the United States because these countries are already well known for hosting diverse populations.

Also, another reason to move to these countries might be that they are already popular in the media through music and films, which might seem interesting to the participants, especially considering their unwanted situation in Germany. Germany may be lacking in their provision of free time activities and welfare support for youths to become active citizens and to use their agency. The participants might be imagining that these other countries are accepting and give people with diverse backgrounds resources to be a part of society. Conceptually, the agency to have a fulfilling life in a place where differences are an advantage rather than a disadvantage emerged from the grounded data.

> Elif #01:30:28-9# Amerika'ya gitmek istiyor. #01:30:31-0#
> *Elif: She wants to go to America.*

> Dilek#01:30:31-0# Amerika'da ne yapacak ya? ((hep bir ağızdan sesler)) #01:30:32-7#
> *Dilek: What is she going to do in America? ((mixed talks altogether)*

> Demet #01:30:33-5# Orda yaşam başka, insanlar başka, kültür başka, başka dil konuşuluyor. #01:30:39-6# #01:30:53-7# insanlar farklı #01:30:54-4#
> *Demet: There, life is different, people are different, the culture is different, a different language is spoken. People are different.*

> Tuğçe#01:31:04-6# Benim arkadaşlarım mesela Austauschhüler (değişim öğrencisi) olarak bir seneliğine oraya gittiler, (3), dediler, okulda angebotlar (aktiviteler) var ((karışık sesler)) arkadaşım şimdik orda ve çok memnun orayı çok sevdi, hatta yine gelecek, geri gelecek ondan sonrada gidecek. İki sene sonrada oraya yerleşmeyi düşünüyor. Başka bir arkadaşım daha var, o da oraya gitmeyi düşünüyor, hep gidenler oraya geri gideceğim diyor. #01:31:38-8#
> *Tuğçe: I have friends, they went there as an exchange student for a year. They said there are offers (mixed voices). My friend is now so satisfied and liked it there so much, she will even go again. She will go back and later she will go again. In two years time, she wants to settle there. I have other friends who want to go there. All people want to go there.*

In the quote below, Tuğba emphasized that in her opinion they had been unfamiliar with German culture because, in their immediate environment, they mainly had Turkish communities. This caused a reason for them to be more accustomed to the Turkish culture, as their everyday life was shaped by Turkish culture. The communities the girls lived in preserved culture from Turkey, but at the same time blended itself with the new cultures.

> Tuğba: Ben Türk'üm çünkü biz daha çok Türk kültürünü, Türk yemeklerini, Türk düğünlerini, herşeyi Türkçe öğrendik. Biz sadece Almanya'daki hayatı öğrendik. Nereye gidilir, nasıl konuşulur, Almanlar'la nasıl anlaşılır, bunları öğrendik.
> *Tuğba: I am a Turk because we learned more about the Turkish culture, Turkish food, Turkish weddings, we learned it all in Turkish. We only learned about life in Germany, where you go, how you speak, how you get along with Germans, learned these.*

Tuğba also continued to emphasize that even though they were accustomed mainly with the Turkish culture, Turkey was a country they didn't know very well and therefore they may feel foreign in Turkey. Tuğba commented that there might be a country they could belong to that is created from both cultures, German and Turkish. At the conceptual level, the girls' lives are on the border between the various diversities to which they belong. They belonged to a diverse Turkish community which gathered at mosques and they interacted with, but were not familiar with, the majority culture and the other diverse sub-populations in Germany.

The quote below reveals that for the girls Turkey is also a 'foreign country' which is different from the 'blended Turkish culture' in Germany. The grounded concepts emerging from the quotes are the lack of diversity which is visible in everyday life, not just in policies but also in practice. The girls highlighted that "there needs to be a new country that is made from a combination of Turkey and Germany". Isolation from the diversities of Germany, while at the same time being unfamiliar with their roots, was an issue in their lives. This could cause an issue of processing plural identity and having multiple belongings.

> Tuğba: #00:48:38-2# Türkiye'de olunca herşey çok değişik geliyor, herşey konuşmaları farklı geliyor zum beispiel sizin konuşmanız benim konuşmamdan başka (), o değişik geliyor, yani orda bilmiyorum, okul değişik, trafik değişik, herşeyi değişik. Burada da işte kültürü neyi değişik, yani ikisine de ait hissetmiyorum () yani bir tane ülke kurmaları lazım, ikisi böyle gemischt ((karıştırılmış)) olması lazım () o zaman ait hissedersin yani. #00:49:09-2#
> *Tugba: I don't feel like I belong to both because when I am in Turkey everything seems so different, everything. Speaking is different, for example, your speech is different from mine, that seems different. There, I don't know, school is different, traffic is different, everything is different. Here the culture is different, so I don't feel I belong to both. They should build a new country where both are mixed, then you might feel like you belong. Because we didn't live their culture, also how can I say, we don't eat their food, their life, we don't live like them. On the other hand we hang around like them, we don't speak like them, we don't behave like them, we don't act like them, there are so many different things.*

At the conceptual level, their feelings of being foreign could be linked to a lack of diversity in their everyday life. This situation overlaps with the dysfunctionality of their plural identity. They experience a plurality in their identity but this identity does not have meaning in their lives since society divides people according to their national or ethnical identities.

Ayça: Türkiye için Almanız, Almanya için Türküz yani ().
Ayça: We are German in Turkey, Turks in Germany.

Manolya: Ben bilmiyorum kim olduğumu.
Manolya: I also don't know who I am.

Ayça: İkisi arasında bir yerde.
Ayça: Somewhere in between.

Ceren: Evet Almanya'da, Türkiye'de de aslında, (3) Ayça gibi ikisi arasında öyle birşey.
Ceren: Yes Germany, also in Turkey too, in between like Ayça.
((Silence))

Ayça: Aslında yarı yarı birşey yani çünkü sadece Türk'üz diyemeyiz. Burada büyüdük burada yaşıyoruz, burdaki imkanlarla şey yapıyoruz yani, ama. Ama yinede Türk'üz yinede içimizde yani Alman'a karışmış () birşey var yani, bence bunu hiç kimse yalanlayamaz.
Ayça: Actually, it is half and half because we cannot say we are only Turkish. We were born here, we live here, and we do something with the opportunities here. But still, we are Turkish but there is something inside mixed with Germans, there is something, I think no one can lie about that.

Demet:#01:10:28-0# Biz her yerde yabancıyız, öyle diyeyim. ((Gülüşmeler)). #01:10:31-2#
Demet: Let me say that we are foreigners everywhere. ((laughter))

Ayşe: Her yer bizim ülkemiz, hem de hiç bir yer bizim ülkemiz değil.
Ayşe: All countries are ours, and at the same time none of the countries are ours.

Demet: Kendimi birazcık Türkiye'ye ait hissediyorum, birazcıkta Almanya'ya, çünkü benim ailem Türkiye'den geldi, ama ben burada doğdum, büyüdüm; Almanlarla, Alman okullarında. En çok Almanya'yı biliyorum, Türkiye'yi birazcık anneannemden biliyorum.
Demet: I feel a little bit from Turkey and a little bit from Germany because my family comes from Turkey, but I was born and grew up here with Germans in German schools. I mostly know Germany. I know Turkey a little bit from my grandmother.

The participants discussed that they don't have to integrate into anything or anywhere because they have always been in Germany. I claim that if there were 'welcoming' discourses in the society, the girls would identify themselves with Germany. The political and societal discourse said that they do not fulfill the German prototype as their culture, history, and traditions are distinct from Germans. This discourse would make them feel that they are not part of the German nation-state.

Integration or belonging to Germany are concepts which are not connected with their lives because they have always been in Germany and they don't need to integrate anywhere. At the conceptual level, the grounded concept is how diversities could blend to create a mainstream identity for all backgrounds. Different sub-groups could find meaning and a reason to belong and relate to this identity.

> Nil: Ya entegrasyonun manası onların seviyesinde olmaksa, ve onları tolerieren yapmak, onlara saygı göstermekse ve onlardan saygı beklemekse, yok hayır onlar gibi dinini terk etmek, Türklüğü unutmak, kültürlerine bağımlı olmak, onların yaşam tarzına kenetlenmekse hayır. Olamam ki zaten, böyle bir imkanım şansım yok buna.
> *Nil: If the meaning of integration was being at their level, tolerating them, respecting them and accepting respect from them, but it is not. It is to leave your religion, to forget your Turkishness, to be attached to their culture, to adjust to their lifestyles, no (she emphasized no). I cannot because I don't have a chance and opportunity for that.*

> Deniz: Ja klar (evet öyle), ben burda doğma büyümeyim. Ich kenn nichts anderes (I don't know anything else) (41.11-7) hatta benim konuşmam filan, ben practice çalışıyordum beni telefonda konuşurken hep Alman sanıyorlardı. Geliyorlardı Türk, üstelik başörtülü, acayıp şaşırıyorlardı.
> *Deniz: Yes it is, I was born and grew up here. It was not something else, even when I was working at the doctor's practice. They always thought I was German when I spoke on the phone, when they came and saw a Turk with a headscarf, they were so shocked.*

The young people did not feel like they belonged in Germany or Turkey as a nation-state. The participants were ethnically Turkish, their parents and grand-parents had created a new culture and customs in their new German 'homeland', together with their reserved culture from Turkey. There was also another problematic issue of being German they had been referring to through the interviews. German history and genocide were linked with their own unwanted situation in Germany, as people of migrant origin were threatened by the right-wing political rhetoric.

Linked to the above discussion, the discourse on integration made them feel uncomfortable, as everyday discussions were creating tension in the debate about the integration of migrants. It might be a reason why participants highlighted that integration and peace were important components for a good life. At the conceptual level, Germany's history was linked with its current integration and migration issues, generally with their unwanted situation. Conceptually at the abstract level, respecting all people of plural and diverse backgrounds would bring societal cohesion in the nation-state. The main political concept was 'integration' in Germany. Integration at the conceptual level reflects the blending of all diversities to build a space in which all people are valued, empowered, accepted and equally treated.

> Demet #00:23:12-4# Entegrasyon olmazsa huzur da olmaz. #00:23:15-9#
> *Demet: If there is no integration there is no peace either.*
>
> Tuğçe#00:23:15-9# O zaman önce entegrasyon gelsin sonra huzur. #00:23:17-9#
> *Tuğçe: Then integration comes before peace.*
>
> Sedef #00:23:17-9# Ben de şey diyorum zaten dengeyi tutabildikten sonra insan, integrieren yapabildikten sonra kendini, huzur da gelir diye düşünüyorum ben. #00:23:24-9#
> *Sedef: I think when a person is in balance, when a person is integrated, peace will come, I think.*

Besides the contradictory circumstances, transgenerational tensions were also creating conflict in the girls' lives. The girls interpreted that conflicts with their parents impacted how they experienced their positions in Germany. Their parents' lack of German language skills and lack of improvement of those language skills, after living in Germany for many decades, was a problem for the girls. Their parents' attitudes towards being part of the German society constrained how the girls defined their identity in Germany.

Cultural diversity lets children of immigrant origin grow up with a split identity. It is difficult to develop a synthesis of both cultures. The data obtained from this research highlights the view of the participant girls that the 'cultural blend' was not accepted in the German school system. Koç (2009, p. 114) described how the children feel like they are not liked or appreciated as children of 'foreign workers' in German society.

Children of immigrant-origin are treated by 'others' as people from a backward and under-developed culture. Language difficulties are a large factor that fosters disrespect in the native environment. They are strangers and they are made to feel like strangers. Even second and third generation children are seen as

foreigners, they are not seen as part of a single society. These factors might make them feel like strangers in Germany society and as a result the young participants developed a separate culture and carried on the cultural differentiation of the parents' generation.

As a result, the data revealed that the young participants were ready to feel part of Germany if society and politics would have inclusive discussions about young people of migrant origin. If their diversities and pluralities were seen as an asset for German society, their multiple belongings and plural identities would find meaning and be valuable in the public sphere. I claim that the concept of unity would eliminate the girls' ambivalent identities, reinforced ill-belonging and controversial discourse on diversities.

11.2 Multiculturalism

The following quotes reveal how girls of migrant origin experienced Germany's history and how they interpreted it. Mannitz and Schiffauer illustrated (2004, p. 60) that immigration was evidently not considered a significant part of contemporary German history. Immigrants were clearly not seen as members of German society's future.

The textbooks in Germany reveal migration within Turkey and Western Europe as a reaction to poverty, but there is not a single word about the industrialized countries' own interests in the recruitment of the immigrant workforce. In the quotes below, the girls also relate their 'otherness' to Germany's past. The grounded concept obtained from the data is that the girls could not position themselves in a society where diversity was still lacking in the public sphere.

> Ayça: Kendileri yedi milyon insanı öldürürken iyiydi ().
> *Ayça: It was good that they killed seven million people.*

> Ceren: Zaten biz bu okulda 5.sınıftan beri tarih dersinde Nazi zeit, Hitler'i konuşuyoruz, hiç başka bir tarihi konuşmadık yani () ((gülüşmeler))
> *Ceren: After all, in this school, since 5th grade, we hear in history lessons about the Nazi time, Hitler, we didn't speak about any other history though. ((laughter))*

The girls might have difficulties in relating their identities especially in a historically traumatized country like Germany. The girls related their unwanted situation in Germany to the genocide during the Second World War. There was not enough data collected in this project to interpret how the history lessons were taught. What kinds of dialogues and classroom discussions were taking place?

What kinds of materials were used to teach the history lessons? The interpretation in this dissertation was limited and based on how the girls interpreted history lessons in their diverse classroom settings with their plural identities.

> Ayça: Beğeniyorlar herhalde yaptıklarını () ((gülerek))
> *Ayça: I think they like what they have done. ((laughter))*
>
> Ceren: Hep Nazi zeiti konuşuyoruz, Hitleri konuştuk, 5.sınıftan beri aynı.
> *Ceren: We always speak about Nazi time and Hitler, since the 5th grade.*
>
> Ayşe: Hitler, Hitler, Hitler..
> *Ayşe: Hitler, Hitler, Hitler...*

In the following quote, Leyla emphasized her distance from the issue as a 'Turk'. She may be reflecting on being a young woman of migrant origin, who hadn't felt appreciated and accepted by others. Leyla wears a head scarf and comes from a very low-income family, her parents are illiterate. According to Leyla's experience, the history teacher associated her with Muslims in Palestine and discussed how contemporary Jews were treating Palestinians. The grounded concept obtained from these quotes is that the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, and religion can create stereotypical views of a person.

> Leyla: Hoşlarına gidiyor. Şöyle anlatayım gesichte (tarih), benim tarih dersim çok iyiydi. ögretmenlerimle de çok iyi anlaşıyordum. Tarih dersinde birşey okumuştuk, orda Yahudilere yapılan işkenceleri izledik o filimde, ve ben Türk olarak millete göstermemek çabasıyla ağladım, yani çok zoruma gitti. Şöyle zoruma gitti ordaki insanlar günahsızdı. Öğretmen de gerçekten size o kadar kötü şey yaptılar nasıl ağladın dedi. Dedim ki ordaki insanların şimdiki İsrail ile bağlantısı yok. O insanlar yanlış yapmadı, o insanların günahı, suçu yok dedim. Ama dedim şimdiki İsrail'lilere ben gider aynısını yaparım. Onlar gördü o acıyı tattı, onlar olmasa da onların başına gelmese de onların annesinin veya anneannesinin başına geldi. Bu acıyı biliyor bu insanlar, hala da gidip bu acıyı başka ülkelere veriyorlar.
> *Leyla: They like it. I say it's like that. In the history lesson, my history lesson was good, I got along with my teachers well. We studied in the history lesson, there we watched the torture of Jews in a film, and as a Turk, I tried not to show my tears to the other people. It was so hard for me, those people had no sins. The teacher said they did very bad things to you, why do you cry? I said those people had no links with current Israel, those people didn't do anything wrong, those people had no sins, but I would do the same to current Israelis. They saw, they tasted this pain, even though they didn't experience it, their mother or grandmother experienced it. They know this pain, still, they go and do the same to other countries.*

The girls also felt pressured about using their mother tongue. The girls were told not to speak Turkish in the school environment while their other peers were allowed to speak their mother tongue.

> Ayşe: Abitur'a da Türkçe dersi, yazmıyorlar çünkü Türkçe öğrenmemizi istemiyorlar. Öğretmenle konuşmuştum, Türkçe dersi görüyorum haftada bir kere, Abitur Türkçe dersi var, Türkçe, ama söylemiyorlar, kağıtlarda yazmıyor ama var okulda, istemiyorlar o dili öğrenmemizi. Çok kötü birşey yani.
> *Ayşe: There is a Turkish lesson, they don't write because they don't want us to learn Turkish. I spoke with the teacher, I have Turkish lessons two times a week, and there is a Turkish lesson in Abitur. Turkish, but they don't say it, it is not written. It is such a bad thing.*

The participants also raised problems of using the Turkish language in state-level exams. There was a language policy which allowed young people to take exams in their mother tongue but it was not implemented for the Turkish language. The quotes below highlighted the participants' interpretation of how other minority languages were treated in schools. According to the interviewees' experiences, other pupils who spoke another language, such as Russian, were not urged to speak only the German language.

> Ayça: Burda Türkçe konuşmamızı yasaklıyorlar, bir tane çocuk vardı, Rusça konuştu, ona birşey demiyorlar ama biz konuşunca yasak.
> *Ayça: They are forbidden to speak to us in Turkish here. There is a boy, he spoke Russian, they didn't tell him anything, but when we speak, it is forbidden.*

> Ceren: Alman okulunuzdasınız niye, neden Türkçe konuşuyorsunuz.
> *Ceren: You are in a German school, why do you speak Turkish?*

> Ayça: Burda Türkçe konuşulmaz, Almanca konuşulur diyorlar ().
> *Ayça: You cannot speak Turkish, only German can be spoken.*

> Buse: Evet öyle disorder.
> *Buse: Yes, that is what they say.*

Analyzing the meaning beyond the data, one could see that the mother tongue was strongly linked with their identities. Not being able to speak their mother tongue might be a threat to their educational well-being. In order to realize their identity, the girls' plurality was necessary in everyday school practices.

> Ayça: O zaman insan unutuyor dilini, gittikçe Almanlaşıyorsunuz. Yasaklıyorlar çoğu şeyi. Türkçe konuşmamızı yasaklıyorlar. Evet ama biz konuşuyoruz ().Sanki kendi dilimizi bize yasaklama gibi birşey yani. Anne dilimizi tabi ki konuşacağız,

doğal birşey. Tabi ki öğretmenlerle konuşurken Almanca konuşuyoruz veya sınıfta olduğumuzda herkesin anlaması için ama <u>kendi</u> aramızda ve öğretmenler duydu mu bize bunu yasaklayamazlar, çok yanlış birşey.

Ayça: That is when a person forgets her language, when we get Germanized. They forbid many things. They forbid us to speak Turkish. Yes, but we speak it. It is like forbidding our own language to us. It is our mother tongue, so of course we will speak it, it is natural. Of course, when we speak with our teachers we speak German or when we are in the classroom for everyone to understand but when we speak between us, teachers cannot forbid this, it is very wrong.

Ceren: Yasak değil de <u>uyarıyorlar</u> işte neden burda Türkçe konuşuyorsunuz, Almanca konuş diye.
Ceren: It is not forbidden but they warn us, why do we speak Turkish? Speak German.

Buse: Almanlaştırıyorlar ya bizi, Alman vatandaşlığı için.
Buse: They are Germanizing us, for German citizenship.

Considering this issue in terms of existing research, Europe uses religion, citizenship, and ethnic origin to draw social boundaries. At the same time, race remains a taboo term (Tran *et al.*, 2012, p, 161). Although such a comparison is problematic, it served as a point of departure for a broader debate about how the Turk's situation in today's Germany is linked to Germany's specifically Jewish past, and the problems of a newly emerging Germany as well as a national identity (Wilhelm, 2013, p. 26). Muslim communities are anxious that they may be the new target of the Neo-Nazis' holocaust, especially after experiencing the Neo-Nazi murders and tense politics in Germany.

"Nachmani (2009, p. 132) discusses this issue ironically, comparing the potential victimhood of Muslim migrants to the annihilation of the Jews and the destruction of their communities prior to and during World War II. In this scenario, Europeans are seen to be the Muslims' Nazi oppressors. For Muslim migrants, World War II and the fate of European Jews serve as a warning not to believe in European expectations that imply that if Muslims assimilate or integrate into the European culture, they will be saved".

In various focus groups and individual interviews, the girls highlighted that they have friends of every origin but they mainly get along better with their Turkish peers. Their choice of friendship was also strongly linked to their belonging and identity and how they positioned themselves in Germany. In the following quotes, the girls discussed why they preferred to be friends with young people of Turkish origin.

Deniz: Benim daha çok Türk arkadaşım var.
Deniz: I have more Turkish friends.

Interviewer: Birlikte zaman geçirdiğiniz genelde Türk mü? Neden?
Interviewer: Who you spend time with? The Turks? Why?

Deniz: Daha yakın geliyor sana?
Deniz: They feel close to you.

Nil: Biz birbirimizi daha iyi anlıyoruz. Birbirimizi çok daha iyi anlıyoruz, kültürümüz aynı ben mesela ben bir Alman kızıyla dışarı çıksam. Almanlar Türkler'den daha iyi oldu desem bile, hani bir yandan onlar bizden daha iyi olamaz ama ().
Nil: We understand each other easily. We understand each other better, we have a similar culture. I, for example, would never go out with a German girl. Even if I say, Germans are better than Turks, on the other side they cannot be better than us.

The participants felt mostly that they are part of Turkish culture, even when they accept Germany as a culturally diverse country, and enjoy taking part in other activities with people of different origins. The girls still preferred occasions when there were other Turks because they thought the Turks were friendlier and warmer than people of other origins. This could be due to them not having encountered or not becoming acquainted with young people of other origins in Germany.

Ceren: Türkler'in olduğu ortam <u>daha</u> farklı.
Ceren: The atmosphere is different when there are Turks.

Ayça: Değişik oluyor yani. Farklı yerlerden gelen ama aynı ülkeden olan ortamlar bence hoş ve sıcak oluyor.
Ayça: It is different though. It is interesting to be in places with people coming from different places, but from the same country.

Ayşe: <u>Türk</u> olduğumuz için kan çekiyor yani () ((gülüşmeler)). İnsan daha cana yakın oluyor, anlaştığı, öyle insanın hoşuna gidiyor, ayni memleketten kimseyi görmesi iyi oluyor ya.
Ayşe: As we are Turks, blood is attracting (she uses an expression) ((laughter)). I feel closer to them, it's easier to get along, I like it, seeing a person from the same country is nice. I think the atmosphere is nice when there are people from different places but from the same country.

The following quotes revealed that the participants were interested in remaining together with people from their background. The girls should have ties and belong to cultural, religious and ethnic-oriented organizations to sustain one side of their identity to find a balance in Germany.

Ayşe: Tükler'in <u>ara</u>sındayız ya.
Ayşe: As we are together with Turks.

Ceren: Atmosfer sıcak.
Ceren: The atmosphere is warm.

Interviewer: Türkler'in olması önemli birşey mi?
Interviewer: Was it important to have Turks?

Ayça: İnsan kendi insanından anlıyor daha çok ()
Ayça: A person understands her own people well.

Interviewer: Oraya Alman, Rus veya Polonya'lılar gelse?
Interviewer: If Germans, Russians, and Polish people come there?

Ceren: Onlar daha <u>soğuk</u> davranıyorlar, Türkler'i görünce bir.
Ceren: They act colder, once you see Turks.

In the neighborhoods where the data was collected, there was a lack of collaboration between the school and other social welfare institutes to support these young people. The schools offered limited options for them. In the data, it is shown that youth participation, belonging and identity development and informal education opportunities are vital. The quotes above revealed a need for multiculturalism to enhance their well-being in the German society. To sum-up the interpretation of the findings, the girls highlighted their desire to live in a society where different identities and diversities were valued and accepted as a part of society. Gathering the voices of the girls in the various quotes, the girls desired to live in a multicultural society where they were part of the mainstream culture in harmony.

12 Discussion of the Research Findings

The data were interpreted through the lenses of contemporary issues in the German society such as discourses on integration, educational opportunity, exclusion, inclusion, citizenship, and belonging. I conceptualized the girls' interpretation of their reality as being affected by school discourse. I discussed that the schools' discourse was rooted from the main debates in German society on immigrants and immigration.

12.1 Answering Research Questions

In the main category 'education and aspirations', the girls highlighted that being educated was of value in order to be heard and be a part of German society. I claim that the girls of Turkish origin anticipated that their unequal position in the German society would end when they were educated and had a profession to contribute to Germany. I discuss that the girls' desire to be educated should be addressed by providing equal educational opportunities linked to social welfare opportunities. The girls would then have the freedom to choose and create a life that she values and finds meaningful. Creating a system where there are several opportunities to develop diverse identities is crucial for a system that desires the creation of a good society.

The girls also desired to live a good life in a good society, which was conceptualized as living in a multicultural society with unity. The girls were aware that they held a plural identity which meant they could not label or describe themselves with a single belonging and a single cultural root. For a good life, a good society should be created where diversity is united and various multiple identities live their life in harmony. Each person, regardless of their differences, could contribute to a good society where multiple identities and diversities could live together cohesively.

How do immigrant origin Turkish girls (as 2nd, 3rd and 4th generations) describe identity in a cultural setting which frames them as 'foreigners'? This was the second research question and was answered using the 'construction of an identity' category and its sub-categories 'citizenship', 'religion' and 'ethnicity'. The girls emphasized that identity construction was complex and that they had

developed their identity with discourses around citizenship, religion, and ethnicity. How the girls constructed their identity was shaped by how they understood themselves in the German society. This included still being framed as a 'foreigner', how they interpreted that German society understood their identities as Turkish despite being dual citizens or German citizens, their Islamic background and also being ethnically Turkish. All these concepts that build identity intersected with one another to position the girls' fragile identity in the social construction of Germany.

How do immigrant origin Turkish girls describe their ideas on aspirations, inspirations, and future plans? This third research question was answered using the main category 'education as an aspiration'; the main category 'construction of identity' and its sub-categories 'citizenship', 'religion' and 'ethnicity'; and the final category 'living in a multicultural society' and its sub-categories 'unity' and 'multiculturalism'.

The girls were inspired to pursue a good education in order to raise their voice in German society. Also, raising their voice meant contributing to Germany alongside the other citizens of Germany. From this aspect, the girls aimed to develop identities where their Turkishness, German-ness and Islamic identity were acknowledged and visible in German society. The girls aspired to live in a society in which they were not expected to limit their diverse identities or express the richness of their identity as a single culture or background. In reality, they did not feel this was their situation. The girls aspired to live in a society where ethnicity and religion were not restrictions but opportunities. Citizenship was seen not only as a document that determined rights, obligations, and responsibilities. Citizenship could be conceptualized inclusively for various identities, ethnicities and religious affiliations to live in a unified multicultural society.

How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe the challenges/ obstacles in their everyday life? This final research question was answered with the main category 'marginalization' and its sub-categories, 'discrimination', 'stereotypes' and 'institutional marginalization'. The girls observed that they were treated differently in German society and that their 'different treatment' made them more vulnerable in the social construction of German society. The discrimination and stereotypes the girls were confronted with, because of their Turkish ethnicity and Islamic background, remained as constraints to having opportunities for the life they valued in Germany. Discrimination and stereotypes were also limiting them from using opportunities as tools to build a good life. Institutional marginalization, in addition to systemic and structural deprivations, marginalized the girls' Turkish and Islamic identities to try to make them belong to the social construction of Germany. Institutional marginalization challenged the construction of a good society in which the girls could find opportunities to develop the good life they desired.

12.2 How the Research Data Incorporates with the Theory of the Capability Approach

In this chapter, I will justify how the research findings linked to the theory of the Capability Approach (please see the detailed coding system attached in the Appendix (Part G) and discuss how they were in line with this approach).

As discussed earlier, capabilities are opportunities which people can turn into valuable actions, or 'functionings', which may help them have a valuable life. Sen stated that functionings are "the various things" a person may value doing or being (1999, p.75). The Capability Approach focuses attention on what a person can do with his or her current capabilities and what limits people from having a good life.

According to the Capability Approach, the ends of well-being, justice and development should be conceptualized in terms of people's capabilities to function, that is, their effective opportunities to undertake the actions and activities that they want to engage in, and be whom they want to be. These beings and doings, which Sen is framing as functionings, together constitute what makes a life valuable. What is ultimately important is that people have the freedom or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the lives they want to live, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be. Once they effectively have these substantive opportunities, they can choose the options they value most. In capability theory, conversion factors are defined as limiting capabilities, another central concept identified in the research, as obstacles, limitations, and inequalities the girls were confronted with.

This research focused on women because women have often been socialized to believe that a lower living standard is what is right and fitting for them, that some great human goods, i.e. education or political participation, were not for them at all (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 128). The fact is that women are the primary victims of socio-cultural deprivation and have difficulty accessing resources (Berenger & Verdier-Chouchane, 2011, p. 281). Women are much less likely than men to be literate, and still less likely to have a pre-professional or technical education (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 242). When women enter the education and labor market, the women are confronted with various difficulties such as sufficient child support, intimidation from their family or spouse, sex discrimination in hiring, or lower wages compared with men in similar conditions. Women all over the world have a lack of support for central human capabilities because they women. This unequal treatment is causing capability deprivation and creating problems for justice and equality between genders. Women have especially been excluded from education and unequally treated in terms of access to the labor market.

The research also focused on 'agency' for removing obstacles, limitations, and inequalities in order to have a good life. The Capability Approach takes

'agency' as the center of the theory to discuss what a person is able to do in terms of removing obstacles to having a meaningful life. Agency defines what a person can achieve in his or her current condition to contribute to a valuable life. Discussing the theoretical concept of the findings using the lenses of the Capability Approach, the analysis showed that the Capability Approach attaches great importance to agency. Education in any context should promote agency and, as a key element of agency, education should facilitate the development of autonomy and empowerment (Walker, 2006).

Biggeri, a researcher of children and capabilities, (Biggeri *et al.*, 2011, p. 22) explained that seeing children as subjects of capabilities means that we consider them endowed with agency and autonomy, that they are able to express their points of view, values, and priorities. I claim that a good life is possible when children and youth are promoted to use their full potential to build a valuable life to live for themselves. Without empowering the full potential (agency) of children, building and sustaining a good life for all would not be possible. A lack of agency could cause vulnerability and disadvantage in one's life.

By linking agency, empowerment (voice) and education, capabilities would develop choices for life, not limitations for school education and as a result, life. Education would promote individual agency to make meaningful decisions for one's actions for a flourishing and worthwhile life. For example, school education should focus on primarily providing opportunities for a meaningful life. In this regard, Biggeri (2006) suggests that including the voices of children and youth in education would expand their capabilities. Equal opportunity for school education should be considered as a basic capability that relates to its crucial importance for a good life.

The capability to be educated is basic, since a lack of education would essentially harm and disadvantage the individual. Lack of education, in terms of the various types of education (informal learning and schooling), determines a disadvantaged life and, in some cases, makes it impossible to compensate in the later years. I would argue that a deprivation of capabilities emerges from the intersection among various spheres of external factors (society: such as societal values on what the life of a female should be) and internal factors (cultural or family values: such as how a female's life would be). From this perspective, I claim that the defining capabilities may take its roots from the perspectives of vulnerable youths, and empowerment would take its roots from the fundamental rights to promote a flourishing life.

Education should also incorporate life skills and teach children how to be autonomous, how to cooperate and collaborate, and how to interact with others and with the world (World Health Organization, Dubois, and Trabelsi, 2007; Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). That is why the capabilities of youth should be

discussed, firstly from the perspective of school education and secondly from the perspective of the goal to expand humans' capabilities for a good life. Extending my discussion, I would also propose that the goal of education should focus on emotional and social development, developing inspirations and aspirations for a good life.

> "Discrimination is often inherent in the category system, laws, and regulations, institutional policies, and practices. The problem is not simply a perception or a way of categorizing and stereotyping people of migrant background, but also a basis for action, for discrimination, for the exercise of institutional power over them" (Bruns, 2008, p. 156-158). Crenshaw (1995, p. 358) also discussed "structural/political intersectionality" and how power differentials around gender, race, and ethnicity are entangled with each other. Crenshaw also theorized about 'intersectionality' in considering inter-categorical differences at both the structural and political level. In the frame of the discrimination and exclusion discourses, Crenshaw highlighted (2010, p. 26) that the intersectional experience was greater than the sum of racism and sexism. The data revealed that the girls were confronted by structural and systematic inequalities, which might marginalize their identities and create social vulnerability for them. Institutionalized forms of exclusion of immigrant backgrounds include denying opportunities, privileges, and positions generally available to a member of the majority population.

Concerning the analysis of this research, there may or may not be discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, class, or gender. However, institutions and their agents are typically required to make distinctions in order to differentiate and categorize for purpose of making judgments and taking actions (Burns, 2008, p. 159). As a result of these discriminatory judgments and actions, certain individuals and groups may be disadvantaged (or advantaged and excluded). For example, even though the girls had good school grades, inspirations to achieve their maximum capacity and aspirations of creating a good life in Germany, the girls of Turkish origin in Germany have been confronted with various challenges because of the limitations in society and in school education.

Nussbaum (2000) suggested that there are three types of capabilities, basic, internal, and combined capabilities. Nussbaum (2000, p.78-80) developed a universal list of capabilities. These are 'life', 'bodily health', 'bodily integrity', 'sense, imagination and thought', 'emotions', 'practical reason', 'affiliation', 'other species', 'play' and 'control over one's environment'. Nussbaum (2007, p.70) explained the need for this universal list by saying "all of them are implicit in the idea of a life worthy of human dignity". Robeyns (2003, p.36) explained that Sen wanted to promote the Capability Approach as a general approach for evaluating individual advantages and social arrangements of a good life or constitutional principles

As a result, the findings of this research highlighted existing opportunities, perceived opportunities, experienced challenges and interpreted challenges of the girls of Turkish origin living in Germany. The findings of this research contributed to the creation of a framework to analyze the opportunities, needs, expectations, aspirations, values, and obstacles, and to operationalize the Capability Approach as a framework. Also, the research provided concepts of capabilities which extend the list of Nussbaum's Capability Approach.

Table 9:   Capabilities for a Good Life

Being acknowledged and valued with plural or multiple identities
A common identity for a plural society
Having a school environment one feels emotionally accepted in
Having emotional belonging and attachment to a place or a country
Having an emotional citizenship in a country
The right to be educated in informal education settings

Finally, this research contributed to the Capability Approach by suggesting a list of capabilities for a good life. The essential concepts in contributing to the Capability Approach are identity, creating self, self-awareness, awareness of the opportunities and systemic and structural deprivation in society, fundamental rights, empowerment, aspirations, and inspirations.

12.3 Validity and Reliability of the Research

The key aspects addressed for the ethical consideration were validity and reliability. Credibility, which means confidence in the truthfulness of the wider community, includes addressing the findings to see if they make sense to others. To be able to understand the credibility of this research, I gathered two groups of young, Turkish women of migrant origin, aged between 16 and 21 years old, at the end of the data collection process. Each group consisted of six girls. I asked them to read the previous data and then to divide the data between them to focus and understand certain areas in more depth. In the group discussion, I asked them what they had understood from the data and if they believed these girls were truthful in their telling of their experiences in school education and their life in Germany. In the two group meetings, the girls agreed with their interpreted experiences.

During the process of analysis, I worked with a qualitative and quantitative expert who acted as a conBuset during each step. I shared my coding schemes, memos, my codebook and findings with this person. I also had a group of doctoral

and post-doctoral fellows, with whom I shared and discussed my research analysis during different phases. The feedback and comments I received during the expert consultation, the doctoral and post-doctoral student meetings, as well as the peer group debriefing, helped me to refine my analysis to increase its credibility.

Another consideration is Transferability (external validity). This is the relevance of applying the results to other contexts. I assume that as the interview guidelines were focused on the participant's ideas of a good life, the research results would be applicable for the same age group in similar contexts. I also claim that some research results would be relevant to other sub-groups in German society. Dependability reveals whether the findings have consistency and can be repeated. Confirmability, or the level of neutrality in the study, looks at the extent to which the results are shaped by the participants as opposed to the biases and motivations of the researcher (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

During the process of the analysis, I looked for help from others, such as doctoral or post-doctoral researchers, who had used Grounded Theory methodology in addition to senior researchers. I would like to highlight that when I prepared the codebook, my peers received the data and checked the codebook to see if they agreed with my interpretations. There were always comments and feedback, which I incorporated into the different phases of the analysis.

The final step is Confirmability, to assess validity and reliability. I engaged in methods throughout the data collection and analysis to improve the confirmability of the study findings. One of these involved describing the procedures and steps openly in the dissertation. I also kept all research related documents as a soft and hard copy. I additionally sought to guard against bringing my own personal biases into the data analysis.

Charmaz (2006) highlighted that even though many researchers have now started to apply Grounded Theory analysis to their data with more flexibility, the assumptions they brought with them to the data were not neutral. Thus, given my knowledge of not being a neutral observer, and understanding that I may also have my own biases, I tried to control my actions. For example, during the data collection process, I was careful how I posed the questions, and during the analysis process, I tried to be as objective as possible and tried to see the whole process as an outsider. My position in this research has been more of an outsider.

I was in Germany for professional reasons. My main similarity with the girls was speaking somewhat the same mother tongue because the participants used a mixture of the Turkish and German languages in their everyday life. I asked during all the interviews, both in the focus groups and individual interviews, why they spoke a mixed language. The answer was because they spoke Turkish and German at a similar proficiency level. I tried to keep as

neutral as possible during the process of the research. Also, I myself have lived in many countries. That means I had my own experience of being an outsider, other, different, a migrant, an international degree student, and an international researcher.

I considered myself throughout the research process as an outside researcher who was answering the questions and the concepts of the research objectively. I also discussed this with colleagues from Germany, Europe and the US who were working with similar issues especially in the European context. During the data collection, organizing, arranging and applying the initial analysis, I worked with a student assistant to discuss the process and present biases. She is a second generation female of Turkish origin who is bilingual in German and Turkish and a Master's student in Educational Science.

During the data collection, I was careful to ask the participants if I did not understand something because it would be almost impossible to approach them again. In the data analysis, I followed Charmaz's approach to Grounded Theory. I considered Grounded Theory from the perspective of epistemology, just as Bryant (2003, p. 120) stated that Charmaz had contrasted Glaser's objectivist form of Grounded Theory with her constructivist form.

Essentially, the former was based on a far more problematic principle since the role of the observer was centered on being active, selective, and interpretive. Bryant continues to discuss that although "it is important for researchers to indicate their stance with regard to core epistemological and ontological issues, this may have little or no bearing on the value and robustness of their research".

From the perspective of Grounded Theory for validity and reliability, Glaser and Strauss achieved a redirection of a positivist-oriented concern among qualitative researchers seeking reliability and validity in response to criticisms from quantitative methodologists. Glaser and Strauss offered a method with a solid core of data analysis and theory construction. Their method contrasted with the strategy of those who sought procedural respectability through the collection of vast amounts of unanalyzed, and often unanalyzable, data (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 33).

Both the objectivist/positivist and the constructivist/ interpretive accounts are partly flawed. The former cannot maintain the fiction of data as given, and the neutrality of the researcher/observer. The latter, based on questioning all claims of knowledge, cannot sustain its own claims of knowledge that underlie its critique of positivism, i.e. that all knowledge claims that underlie its critique formulations contain the basis for a clear and cogent response to this paradox. In their justification and characterization of the method and the grounded theories so produced, Glaser and Strauss stressed that such theories had to fulfill the several criteria, namely 'fit', 'grab', 'work', 'relevance', and 'modifiability',

stated in this stark manner. These may not seem to offer a basis for justifying one's research, but as guidelines, they are a potent starting point, particularly if underpinned by an appreciation of the pragmatist view of theories as tools to be judged by their usefulness and suitability.

Charmaz developed a cogent set of criteria in her account (2006, p. 182-183), incorporating 'credibility', 'originality', 'resonance', and 'usefulness'. So rather than seeing the claims of Grounded Theory-based approach, I would argue that the method actually offers a far more cogent set of criteria that other non-Grounded Theory method researchers, reviewers, and assessors should be encouraged to consider and adopt (Bryant, 2003, p. 121). In this particular doctoral research project, to maintain credibility, the interview guidelines were checked properly by senior and junior researchers. In addition, the data had always been recorded using audio and visual tools. All of the data was stored safely. During different stages of data collection, transcription and analysis, various experts were consulted. During each data collection phase, a student assistant helped with the collection and transcription of the data. In terms of originality, this doctoral research project was one of the more recent studies which discussed education from a welfare aspect through the lenses of the Capability Approach. This was relatively new in German literature and Capability Approach.

For resonance, I was convinced by the senior researchers that this research was important in understanding the needs and expectations of girls of Turkish origin living in Germany. The knowledge of this dissertation might support current educational development, reform and policy initiatives in Germany. As a result, the various aspects of the findings could contribute to German education and welfare reforms for girls. Overall, I focused on methodological issues concerning concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and conforma-bility utilizing techniques to avoid problems in validity and reliability issues. As a researcher, I have remained free from bias to keep the integrity of this study. As explained above, I have elaborated the data several times to approach valid results. The categories were compared several times to check if there were any new emerging concepts which would help answer the research questions. Also, to explain the categories explicitly, the quotes were considered critically to ascertain if they were rooted analytically in theory. Quotes which explained the researched phenomena were gathered together and the quotes which did not explicitly explain the phenomena were eliminated from the analysis in order to build a cohesive theoretical explanation of the data.

13 Contribution of Doctoral Research to Educational Science and Capability Approach Research in Germany

"The social vulnerability of children and youths of migrant origin has been an important topic for educational science research in Germany; because the proportion of children and adolescents with a migration background are at higher risk of social exclusion than native children and adolescents. Also, in 2014, the level of continuing education uptake among people with migrant backgrounds was only 8%, half as much as those without migrant backgrounds (16%). The levels are particularly low among people originating from Turkey (4.5%)". (German Education Report, 2016).

This dissertation arises from concerns about the nature and consequences of immigration status for young Turkish women in Germany. From this perspective, the two goals of the research were identified. The first goal was to investigate how girls of Turkish origin living in Germany developed a positive view of themselves, such as empowerment, agency, emancipation, inspirations and aspirations and how they were challenged at school and in German society. The second goal was to ascertain how girls of Turkish origin living in Germany interpreted challenges to seeking a good life in school and the wider society. As a result, the research aimed to investigate how young, socially vulnerable, female, Turkish immigrants interpreted a good life and a good school education, and how the girls actively used their agency to achieve a good life and a good school education in Germany.

I have problematized the above-mentioned concepts from the good life aspect in order to analyze the inequalities and agency of potentially marginalized identities of socially vulnerable girls. As a result, the questions of this research are: How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe the fundamental aspects of a good life? How do young, Turkish women of immigrant origin (2nd, 3rd, and 4th generation) describe identity in a cultural setting which frames them as foreigners? How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe their ideas, aspirations, inspirations, and future plans? How do young Turkish women of immigrant origin describe the challenges/obstacles of their everyday life?

Four main categories were identified in the findings of the research. The first main category is the Construction of Identity, it has three subcategories: Citizenship, Religion and Identity. The second main category is Aspiration for Education, the third main category is Marginalization and it has three sub-categories: Discrimination, Stereotypes and Institutional Marginalization. The fourth main category is Living in a Multicultural Society and its sub-categories are Unity and Multiculturalism.

This research is framed with Sen's (1970, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1992, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2009) conceptualization of the Capability Approach to welfare and well-being, as well as Martha Nussbaum's concept of education and agency (1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2010, 2011, 2016, 2018). The Capability Approach (Nussbaum 2011, Sen, 1993) discusses what a person is able to do with the given resources and what a person needs in order to live a life which he/she desires to live. The Capability Approach is an evaluative approach to analyzing what the limitations are in a person's life which prevent them from living a good life. Biggeri and Libanora's (2011) implementation of the Capabilities Approach was used to design the interview guidelines.

Sen (1982, 1993) developed the concept of agency, which includes moral motives, as well as many other motivations that were excluded from the welfarist framework, such as commitments to religion, social commitments and moral beliefs. The Capability Approach opposes two main aspects of the utility-based definitions of well-being, it is open to interpersonal comparisons of well-being and presents a multidimensional structure which allows new elements in the assessment of the quality of life (Sen, 1982). Well-being and Capability (Sen, 1993) offer a framework in which the well-being of a person and her freedom of choice can be assessed in multiple dimensions.

In Germany in the last decade, there has been a compelling amount of research on the good life of children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds and children living in poor households within the context of childrens' well-being. (Andresen, 2018, 2017, 2014, 2013, 2012). Also, ethnic differences, gender, interculturality, structural issues, migration and educational science (Diehm, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2011, 2010), as well as children, youth, migration and social justice (Hünner-Kreisel, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2016, 2015), have all been researched in depth.

I have structured this chapter to discuss the following questions separately. What are the most important findings of this research which will make the best contribution to social science in Germany? Why is the chosen theoretical model important? What are the implications for education, policy and future research?

13.1 What is the Most Important Finding of this Research Which Will Contribute Most to Social Science in Germany?

The most important finding of this doctoral dissertation, which will contribute most to social science, is the analysis of aspects of a good life from the perspective of Turkish origin. The data presented in this dissertation was obtained from girls and is limited in German educational science research. The emerging concepts, main overarching categories and their sub-categories made a cohesive theoretical explanation of the research questions.

As a result, there are four distinct emergent categories that reflect the intersection of identity, aspirations and perceived obstacles. The concepts which emerged from the data revealed that the most important values of girls of Turkish origin are concepts relating to civic values. In order to promote these values for girls of Turkish origin, it is necessary to create inclusive discourses in society. As the data revealed, public attitudes and discourses regarding people of migrant origin are exclusive and discriminative. If the political rhetoric included the values of these girls, they would be empowered to contribute positively to transform German society.

Nussbaum (1997) argues that Socratic education is important for the development of an individual as a citizen. The achievement of personal progress requires an education which develops critical thinking, awareness, political and social engagement, the ability to recognize and respect the others as citizens with equal rights regardless of which country they come from, and the ability to worry about the availability of equal opportunities extended to all citizens of the globe (Nussbaum, 2010).

Nussbaum suggests that a properly designed liberal education cultivates three basic capacities among cosmopolitan citizens to free their minds from narrow traditions, customs and habits. These include the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions (Socratic self-examination), the capacity to identify with a global moral and human community, and finally the capacity for narrative imagination. This is the ability to imagine cultural differences in order to decipher alternative narratives of the 'other' and relate or connect to them in a meaningful and sympathetic way (1997).

13.1.1 The factors that contribute to the identity of girls of Turkish origin (citizenship, religion, ethnicity)

The data has revealed that for identity building, citizenship discourses of society shape girls' interpretations of how they understand and experience citizenship.

Although citizenship discourse also has a significant role emotionally (losing roots) and materialistically (restriction or potential for existing opportunities) in their lives. I claim that 'integration' is a politically used terminology in Germany and this research highlights the importance of creating a new German identity for youths from ethnically and religiously diverse origins. This would enable them to feel like they belong in Germany and that they are Germans with a non-Christian and non-European background.

If young people were given a chance to hold multiple identities in the public view, such as one person defining himself or herself as Muslim, Turkish, German, European and Eastern or Anatolian at the same time and feel associations with all backgrounds, such a possibility would create stronger identity formation especially for children and youths of migrant origin. Also, such a transformation in society, to acknowledge identity and belonging, would develop a better inclusion for all people living in the same society, create cohesion for a good life for all and as a result create good societies.

13.1.2 The importance of education as a route to the good life

The data meaningfully revealed that girls want to be educated in order to raise their voice, be noticed, recognized, accepted and valued in German society. The data highlighted that girls clarifying who they are, what they believe in and being accepted with their ethnicity, migrant background and religion are important aspects of a good life. From their perspective, education does not have a materialistic value, education means independence, emancipation, acknowledgment, being heard, being valued, being accepted by society and living in a liberating society to become the person they would like to become.

I also argue that transforming societies to provide a good life for all starts from compulsory public education. I propose that future research should focus on extending the goal of education to transform societies. The school education is the fundamental public sphere for realizing and practicing positive transformation of society. Societal well-being is as important as individual wellbeing, as a result, a good life for a person is not possible without a good society. Today's school systems, are not capable of preparing children and youths to practice and gain experience of how to build a good society and contribute to positive societal transformation. This is the case in Germany and in Europe as a whole.

Expanding the professional meaning of teachers to include nurturing children and society, creating innovative school systems to fulfill the needs of society, and restructuring both the teaching philosophy in school education and the child and youth welfare provision for today's complex times would all empower children and youths to re-structure institutions to create a good society.

13.1.3 The nature and extent to which girls of Turkish origin are marginalized

Girls are marginalized due to structural inequalities, structural discrimination, and a lack of acknowledgement of their plural identities. In addition, the school education sphere is a micro-society which represents the societal and political debates of Germany. Curricula and school education are obviously not based on harnessing diversities to create a new definition of German identity or to empower all young members of society to participate and be aware of societal challenges for a good common future.

Inclusion would not only provide personal satisfaction to individuals, the inclusion of all voices would provide well-being for all society. The data reveals exclusion would result in the marginalization of girls, which is not only harmful to the lives of girls. Exclusion of others also prevents all members of society from jointly enjoying a cohesive community where diverse people and values are united. From the data obtained in this study, a good society is considered to be inclusive by valuing and accepting all backgrounds and one which provides opportunities according to the needs of individuals and various sub-communities, regardless of religion, ethnicity or citizenship.

13.1.4 The idea of a multicultural society

The data obtained shows that girls extensively highlighted that they felt they were not German enough for Germany and not Turkish enough for Turkey. As a solution to the ambivalent situation, many girls plan to move to another country one day. Girls wonder where they will go and how they will integrate because they have always been in Germany. If it is proposed by German society that they are solely German, they feel it is not possible for them because their identities are constituted of oriental cultural roots, a blend of Islam and Turkishness rooted from Anatolia, which is different from German or European cultures. If it is proposed girls are solely Turkish, this it is not possible for them either because they grew up in German institutes with German perspectives, values, and culture. The data reveals that the girls who participated in this research are not only Turkish or only German, they are a mixture of German, Turkish and Muslim.

Data emphasize a good society for a good life for these girls is "where members of the society are only called humans not identified as Muslims, women with veils, Turkish, migrant or foreign". The ideal society is not reflected as a multicultural society where people of the same society live in their own ethnic or cultural sub-community. A good society from the perspective of women of Turkish origin is a community where cultures, ethnicities and religions are united and where their resources or the way they are treated is not

determined by their appearance, where they originated, what their names are or what their religious affiliations are.

13.2 Why is the chosen theoretical model important?

The Capabilities Approach has some key features. Firstly, it intersects cultural, social and economic variables with individual developmental processes, which is unusual as most theories are discipline-specific (e.g: Sen, 2010; Nussbaum, 2017; Alkire, 2016; Robeny, 2018). I highlight that it does not specify particular attributes, goals, styles of life or institutions but allows for a range of possible manifestations of each capability in different political contexts.

As this doctoral research directly contributes to educational science research, I would like to apply Capability Approach theory to education with the goal of contributing to educational science research. Education contributes to human development and general empowerment (Sen, 2002). The contribution from school education to develop civic capabilities is an important part of educational processes (Nussbaum, 1997; Sen, 2005, 2009). Nussbaum (2010), has written extensively on the relationship between liberal education and citizenship as this type of education fosters logical reasoning and critical self-examination and recognizes common needs and aims.

In a recent article, Vaughan (2018) claims that little attention has so far has been paid to the relationship between capabilities, values, and education. Capabilities (enhanced or deprived) during the school education process should not be limited to academic skills and competencies but should also include civic competencies such as participation, understanding different identities in a society, understanding not only ethnic, religious and gender diversities but also gaining a deeper perspective of the specific diversities of individuals as well as certain groups. School education should influence pupils' future capability to gain values and support them to acknowledge diverse perspectives and to be an active member of the society they live in. School education should, in principle, provide the conditions for each individual to develop and realize their own agency goals as objectively as possible, rather than transmitting certain values (Peppin *et. al*, 2012).

Applying the Capability Approach to educational science research opens up a discussion on what kinds of capabilities school education should foster for pupils who are part of a society in which there is considerable diversity and inequality. Capabilities scholars (De agree, 2012) working on education have drawn on Fraser's identification of three dimensions of equality, representation, recognition and redistribution, to theorize about how school education processes relate to unequal power structures in wider society.

This doctoral research project also examined that girls of Turkish origin experience various structural obstacles to resolving inequality in their lives. I would argue that the school education should focus on teaching pupils not only how to be civically engaged but empower them to develop creative solutions to transform structural obstacles they are confronted with in their everyday lives. As a result, beyond the development of values relating to social justice during school education, the sort of civic capabilities a member of a democratic society needs in order to innovate solutions for poverty, racism, exclusion, sexism, nationalism, discrimination and inequality should be developed. School education should support the enhancement of capabilities for children and youths to be genuinely engaged and be concerned with the well-being of all members of society.

The data obtained during this study revealed that school education reinforces negative political debates and societal rhetoric on youths of migrant origin. This is because educational spaces are typically permeated by social structures such as gender, race, and class, so that all identities and voices are not afforded the same respect (Walker, 2010).

The results of this research project emphasize that all diverse perspectives, ethnicities, religions, and cultures should be harmonized in the school education space to empower pupils to practice how to live and build a united, diverse society. Also, the capabilities that are necessary to balance a society that is fair in this sense should be specified more precisely (Ziegler, 2018).

The Capability Approach is applied in youth, social work and educational science research accordingly in Germany (Otto *et. al*, 2010, 2017, 2018a, 2018b; Ziegler, 2018), however, this approach needs more development with regard to my sample in a German context. It seems to have considerable potential for social science research, theory, and policy in Germany.

13.3 What are the Implications for Education and Policy?

Furthermore, recent Capability Approach literature also emphasized that "people should at the same time, be equally empowered to contribute to the collective control of the conditions and decisions that affect their common fate" (Otto *et. al*, 2018). "Creating conditions for human flourishing is social and political in so far as it stresses the fact that emancipation depends on the transformation of the social world, and is not just a version of identity politics that merely focuses on the inner self" (Otto *et. al*, 2018). The data obtained in this study demonstrates wide-ranging issues in what girls of Turkish origin perceive the ways in which they are marginalized, and their potential capabilities hindered.

The results of this research points to a strong policy shift for a migrant society Germany to develop schools for harmonizing various religious and ethnic

diversities and to create a new mainstream German identity with which children and youths from non-Christian and non-European backgrounds can meaningfully associate themselves. The data reveals that this is necessary for a cohesive and productive society.

School education curricula should include policies, missions, visions, goals and philosophies of education designed to develop the capabilities of children and youths to unite their diverse identities and practice diversity in unity. Schools should be public spaces where children and youths are nurtured to be human beings who live with others harmoniously on the same planet.

In addition to the above-mentioned suggestion for policy making, the results of this research would propose policy changes such as better diversity awareness and recognition of the discriminatory beliefs and practices of institutional structures, with a view to create a positive societal transformation. A strong policy change is necessary in order for schools to develop a mainstream German identity and practice, in the school education sphere, how to function effectively as a cohesive, harmonized society would with participation from diverse ethnic and religious people.

Primarily, the function of public institutes for children, youths and education should be critically evaluated for a diverse society to be able to eliminate structural inequalities for greater inclusion. Secondly, the school education system and curricula should not only focus on developing academic skills and competencies but also focus on developing pupils' civic capabilities to flourish in a good society.

The data obtained in this doctoral research project aligns well with a similar discussion in recent Capability Approach research. Acconcia, *et. al.* (2017, p. 261) argues that it is necessary to develop a holistic policy in which the individual context, as well as the processes and outcomes of youth programs, are taken into consideration without neglecting heterogeneous values and life aspirations.

13.4 Further Research

Analyzing the data of this research, two points would be significant for developing further research questions to investigate similar phonemes. Firstly, in Turkish communities and in German society, girls have not discussed what it means to be a woman in their families. Examining opportunities and vulnerabilities for the girls from a gender perspective would be necessary for the expansion of gender equality in school education research in Germany. As a result of this research, significant concepts for vulnerability are national and ethnic identity, linked to identity citizenship and religion for limiting the possibilities of a good life.

Significantly, girls of Turkish origin, in different cities and different settings, highlighted similar intersecting concepts of identity, citizenship and

religion as limiting their opportunities in German society. The data collection had started with without a prior literature review for a quality data Grounded Theory analysis. The findings of this research suggest that further research on the school education and health and well-being of girls of Turkish origin, and women or youths of migrant origin, is necessary. Proposed research areas include: identity development, belonging, empowerment, agency of socially vulnerable youth to contribute to a positive transformation in society, and finally, deprivation of collective capabilities to create a good society because of racism, xenophobia, otherness, exclusion and discrimination against people of migrant origin in Germany.

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Appendixes

A   Part of Raw Data Analysis for 'a Good Life and a Good School Education'

Good Life for all Girls in the World	Good Life Opportunities for Girls of Turkish Origin of the same age Living in Germany	Good Life Opportunities for Girls from other backgrounds
Being independent	Knowing who you are	Sports
Going to school	Speaking proper German	Partying
Having a family	Learning proper Turkish	Drinking
Having a home	Going to school	Boys
Having parents	Protecting one's body	Eating so healthy
Dressing up properly	Dressing up as one wishes	Not speaking any other language than German
Eating enough food	Spending overnight at a friend's place	So much freedom
Not having wars	Free time activities	Being able to go out during the night
Play	Play	Being able to attend all school trips
Being healthy	Having citizenship	No need to integrate to a country
Having freedom	Having a good education	Just coming from one country
Having enough money	Not being discriminated against	Play
Having toys or enough materials to be entertained	Being accepted	Hard work at school
Going to the doctor	Being valued	Not having a family
Protecting their body	Not being insulted	Independence
Having friends	Being healthy	Being healthy
Having a room of one's own	Not having racism	Having enough money
Being happy	Balance	Being happy
Being free	Not assimilating	Being free
Peace	Not having hostility	Peace

Good School Education for all Girls in the World	Good School Education Opportunities for Girls of Turkish Origin of the same age Living in Germany	Good School Education Opportunities for Girls from a German Background
Respect	Respect	Good grades
Being valued	Being valued	Independence
Good teachers	Not to be discriminated against	Money
Good school materials	Anti-racism	Good school materials
Independence	Good teachers	Sports
Good school materials	Emancipation	Healthy lifestyle
Equality	Independence	Being Valued
Emancipation	Good school materials	Good teachers
Not being discriminated against	Learning different histories	
Anti-racism	Learning one's mother tongue	
	Equality	

B   Open Coding Phase Results

Open Coding (Initial Phases)

Integration- Exclusion- Prejudice- Stereo-types- Discrimination -Racism- Lack of teacher's support- Good teachers- Bad teachers- Liberty to do things- Family support for freedom- Freedom- Privacy- Friendship- Balancing cultures- Dual identities- Dual ideas- Balancing act- Space- Belonging- Identity- Pluralism- Emotions- Fulfillment- Religion- Marginalization- Resistance- Resilience- Ethnic identity- Idea on majority and minority- Space in the society- Ideas on host/home country- Where is home- Being a foreigner- One's own place- Instinctive value of identity- instinctive value of citizenship- Restrictions- Having no control- Political participation- Hostile society- Aggression- Meaning to what is happening in the society- "Us" and "You all" inside of school- School discussion driven from hot public and political debates of Germany- Public and political opinions for participants- Language- Socialization- Balance between family values and societies values- Balancing culture- Aspirations- Voice- Values- School culture- schools' ethos- Social exclusion- Cultural conflict with non-migrant peers- Resources and used resources- Limitations- Meaning of life- Dreams and future plans- Family's acceptance of their daughters- Family's narratives- Negotiating who I am- Well-being in society- Foreigners- Happiness- Education and job as priority in life- Being different- Class difference- Ideas about host society-Structural barriers- Good school- Bad school- Mother tongue- History, Culture and language teaching in culturally diverse schools- Being germanized- Meaning of hostility- Discrimination and citizenship- Fairness and justice- Cultural adaptation of families- Appreciation of Germany- Contradictory voices- Challenges of living in Germany- Life satisfaction- Coupled narratives- Families' own narratives and participants life and school experiences- Conflict in different life spheres (family, friends, Germans)- High aspirations from life- Culture and traditions are affecting one's life opportunities (conversion factors in Capability Approach)- Childhood deprivation- Lack of family support- Mother's lack of language skills- School support- Ideas on contemporary issues of Germany- One's own feeling of being excluded due to a lack of knowing another culture- Experience of parallel societies- Gender inequality- Contradictory discussions- Acceptance in the family from a girl- Assimilation discussion- What is my role in the society- Hybrid identities-Germany's history and having an immigrant origin- Contradictions- Where is my home- Freedom- Cultural conflicts- Family relationships- Concept of home- Being between two chairs- Need of a country where one feels emotional and psychological attachment- Normalizing discrimination and racial diversity.

C   Sozioökonomischer Fragebogen

1 - Ich bin _____ **Jahre alt.**

2 - **Wie viele Geschwister hast Du?**

_____ **jüngere** (n) Bruder/Brüder   ☐ trifft nicht zu

_____ **jüngere** Schwester/ Schwestern   ☐ trifft nicht zu

_____ **ältere** (n) Bruder/Brüder   ☐ trifft nicht zu

_____ **ältere** Schwestern/Schwestern   ☐ trifft nicht zu

Ich habe **keine** Geschwister   ☐

3 - Welche Staatsangehörigkeit hast Du?

      Deutsch   ☐

      Türkisch   ☐

      doppelte Staatsangehörigkeit   ☐

4 - Wo bist Du geboren?

Ich bin in Deutschland geboren   ☐

Ich bin in der Türkei geboren   ☐

5 - Wo hast Du bislang gelebt? (a oder b**)**

a) - Ich habe ausschließlich in Deutschland gelebt   ☐

b) - es war wie folgt: ☐
    Ich habe _____ Jahre in der Türkei gelebt
    und bin nach Deutschland gekommen,
    als ich _____ Jahre alt war.

**6 - Sind Deine Eltern in Deutschland geboren,
oder kommt einer von ihnen oder beide aus der Türkei?**

Meine Eltern sind in Deutschland geboren   ☐

Ein Elternteil kommt aus einem anderen Land   ☐

Beide kommen aus einem anderen Land   ☐

7 - Welchen Schulabschluss hat Deine Mutter? (a oder b**)**
a) Falls sie die Schule in der Türkei besucht hat:

Ilkokul ☐

Ortaokul ☐

Lise ☐

Meslek okulu ☐

Keine Schulbildung, kann aber lesen und schreiben ☐

Keine Schulbildung, kann nicht lesen und schreiben ☐

b) Falls sie die Schule in Deutschland besucht hat:

Hauptschule (8. /9. Klasse) ☐

Realschule /mittlere Reife (10. Klasse) ☐

Fachhochschulreife ☐

Abitur ☐

Hat keinen Abschluss ☐

Geht noch zur Schule ☐

8 - Welchen Schulabschluss hat Dein Vater? (a oder b**)**

a) Falls er die Schule in der Türkei besucht hat:

Ilkokul ☐

Ortaokul ☐

Lise ☐

Meslek okulu ☐

Keine Schulbildung, kann aber lesen und schrieben ☐

Keine Schulbildung, kann nicht lesen und schrieben ☐

b) Falls er die Schule in Deutschland besucht hat:

Hauptschule (8. /9. Klasse) ☐

Realschule /mittlere Reife (10. Klasse) ☐

Fachhochschulreife ☐

Abitur ☐

Hat keinen Abschluss ☐

Geht noch zur Schule ☐

9 - Mein Vater ist:

Vollzeiterwerbstätig (35 Stunden und mehr) ☐

Teilzeiterwerbstätig (15 bis unter mehr) ☐

Geringfügig beschäftigt (unter 15 Stunden) ☐

Arbeitslos ☐

Im Erziehungsurlaub oder in sonstiger Beurlaubung ☐

In Ausbildung ☐

Hausmann oder aus sonstigen Gründen nicht erwerbstätig ☐

10 - Meine Mutter ist:

Vollzeiterwerbstätig (35 Stunden und mehr) ☐

Teilzeiterwerbstätig (15 bis unter mehr) ☐

Geringfügig beschäftigt (unter 15 Stunden) ☐

Arbeitslos ☐

Im Erziehungsurlaub oder in sonstiger Beurlaubung ☐

Hausfrau oder aus sonstigen Gründen nicht erwerbstätig ☐

10 -In welcher Sprache sprecht ihr hauptsächlich zu Hause?

Eher auf Deutsch ☐

Eher auf Türkisch ☐

Deutsch und Türkisch ☐

11 -Was ist Deine Muttersprache?
Meine Muttersprache ist _____

12 - Wie viele Personen leben mit Dir in Eurem Haushalt?
Insgesamt sind wir _____ im Haushalt.

13 - Hast Du ein eigenes Zimmer?

Ja ⬜ (Wenn ja, dann weiter mit Punkt 14.)

Nein ⬜

Falls Du kein eigenes Zimmer hast, mit wie vielen
Personen (außer Dir) teilst Du Dein Zimmer?   Anzahl _____

Und mit wie vielen Brüdern oder Schwestern teilst du Dein Zimmer?
      Ich teile mit meinen Brüdern.   Anzahl _____
      Ich teile mit meinen Schwestern.   Anzahl _____

14 - Was machst Du üblicherweise in Deiner Freizeit?

A-   Fernsehen ⬜

B-   Musik hören ⬜

C-   Videos/DVDs anhauen ⬜

D-   Im Internet surfen ⬜

E-   Nicht tun, „rumhängen" ⬜

F-   Bücher lesen ⬜

G-   In die Kneipe gehen ⬜

H-   Zeitschriften oder Magazine lesen ⬜

I-   in die Disco, zu Partys oder Feten gehen ⬜

J-   Playstation, Nintendo spielen, Computerspiele ⬜

K-   Jugendfreizeittreff, Jugendzentrum besuchen ⬜

L-   Sport in der Freizeit, wie Rad fahren, Skaten, Kicken usw. ⬜

M-   Training / aktiv Sport treiben (Fitnessclub, Sportverein…) ⬜

N-   Sich mit Leuten treffen ⬜

O-   sich in einem Projekt / einer Initiative / einem Verein engagieren ⬜

P-   etwas mit der Familie unternehmen ⬜

Q-   shoppen, sich tolle Sachen kaufen ⬜

R-   etwas Kreatives, Künstlerisches machen ⬜

15 - Wie viele Bücher gibt es ungefähr bei Euch zu Hause?

D   IYI OKUL EGITIMI OLANAKLARI – GOOD SCHOOL
EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES (Opportunity for agency)

Herkes icin önemli imkanlar (Important opportunities for all)	Türk kizlari icin önemli imkanlar (Opportunities for Turkish girls)	Alman kizlari icin önemli imkanlar (Opportunities for German girls)	Türk kizlari icin engeller (Limitations and obstacles)	Engelleri asmak icin yapilanlar (Agency) (Things to do to overcome limitations and obstacles)

E   IYI HAYAT IMKANLARI – GOOD LIFE OPPORTUNITIES
(Opportunity for agency)

Herkes icin önemli imkanlar (Important opp for all)	Türk kizlari icin önemli imkanlar (Opportunities for Turkish girls)	Alman kizlari icin önemli imkanlar (Opportunities for German girls)	Türk kizlari icin engeller (Limitations and obstacles)	Engelleri asmak icin yapilanlar (Agency) (Things to do to overcome limitations and obstacles)

F   IYI HAYAT IMKANLARI-GOOD LIFE OPPORTUNITIES
   (Opportunity for agency)

Herkes icin önemli imkanlar (Important opp for all)	Türk kizlari icin önemli imkanlar (Opportunities for Turkish girls)	Alman kizlari icin önemli imkanlar (Opportunities for German girls)	Türk kizlari icin engeller (Limitations and obstacles)	Engelleri asmak icin yapilanlar (Agency) (Things to do to overcome limitations and obstacles)

G   THE CODE BOOK

Interview Topic	Structural Code Name	Structural Code Definition
What would be the main necessity for a Good Life?	Citizenship	Brief Definition: Advantages of being a German citizen. Full Definition: Participants have discussed German citizenship makes their life easier. Some professions require German citizenship because of that they would like to obtain German citizenship. Girls have discussed what it means to obtain German citizenship for their good life in Germany. They mainly associated German citizenship for fulfilling their materialistic needs in Germany. When to Use: When participants refer to citizenship as a means to access public life for their materialistic objectives, for example; for professional reasons or for voting. When not to Use: When they define belonging, religion and identity with citizenship.

| What manifests itself as the main component of a good life? | Religion for Building and Resilience and an identity | Brief Definition: Why religion is important for them to build resilience and healthy identity which they feel included as a part of the community.
Full Definition: Girls have discussed why they value religion and practicing religion. Because religion helps them to be included in a group of people which they connect, be accepted and valued as who they are. Religious identity also supports them to build resilience in a society for building a good life where they feel excluded and discriminated against by mainstream society.
When to Use: When they connect religion for building an identity for a good life. As well as, when girls associate being a Muslim with belonging and inclusion.
When not to use: When they feel excluded and discriminated because of their religious identity in their everyday life in Germany. |
| How do Turkish girls living in Germany experience inclusion or exclusion? | Acceptance by mainstream society | Brief Definition: What it means to be a minority and what kind of life experiences girls have connected to who is included and excluded from mainstream society.
Full Definition: The girls discussed how much they know about German culture, their distinction, and inclusion in mainstream culture, and why and how they feel 'foreign'. The girls gave examples of various situations they have been in at school and outside school where they felt they are not from Germany, they are treated as if they are foreigners who are not part of Germany and who need to be left out because of their ethnic and religious identities.
When to Use: When they define being part of Germany regardless of their ethnic and religious identity, somehow they feel they are accepted by the mainstream society, especially, how and when they feel excluded in Germany.
When not to Use: When culture is associated with belonging, identity. Exclusion, as they experience, should be directly related to their religion and |

		ethnicity.
What are the values?	Equality in the Public Sphere	Brief Definition: The girls discussed their need to be included and valued. Full Definition: The girls discussed extensively how they are made to feel that they are not part of Germany due to their diverse identities. When to Use: When the code relates to the need of being part of the society and need for equality in when people are included in the public sphere. When not to Use: When they associate inclusion with religion, citizenship, belonging and identity.
What are their needs?	Belonging to a Diverse Society	Brief Definition: Participants' relationship with the mainstream community to be part of society. Full Definition: Participants have distanced themselves from the mainstream community, which was not familiar to them. Because of their isolation from mainstream society, they feel excluded from being part of it. They interpret that they are excluded because of their ethnicity in various life experiences. Their voice in the data reveals they desire to live in a community which is diverse and where diverse people are included with their diverse identities. When to Use: When they distinguish themselves from the mainstream community, culturally and historically. Girls of Turkish origin do not share similar ethnicity and religion but they share a similar background as their grandparents and their parents worked towards building post-war Germany. Today, they should share an equal right to share the prosperity and welfare of Germany where migration background, ethnicity and religious origin should not play a role. From this point of view, a common identity would unite them with the mainstream community to build social cohesion When not to Use: When they discuss exclusion without relating their ethnicity and identity.

What are the values for being accepted and included?	Education as an Aspiration	Brief Definition: The girls discussed why they want to get an education. Full Definition: The girls discussed why being an educated woman is important to them. It is not only for financial gain but in their opinion education is a valuable aspiration. The girls clearly meant if they get a better education, they will have better prospects for life in Germany, which will also help them to raise their voice and be positively presented in German society. The girls understanding of education is more abstract than concrete. When to Use: When they mention education as an aspiration in their lives, to build a good life for themselves not only in a materialistic way but also for being valued, accepted and raising their voice in German society. When not to Use: When they discuss education as a materialistic value.
Challenges in School Education	Interactions with Teachers	Brief Definition: Communication and experiences of girls in school education. Full Definition: During the interviews, the girls gave many examples from their school education. When to Use: When girls link their experiences with teachers in school education. Girls generally have negative school experiences with their teachers. All girls have mentioned that their negative relationships with their teachers affected their school achievement and their good school education prospects. When not to Use: If girls confront exclusionary or unequal treatment outside of school.
What resources are available outside school?	Extracurricular Activities	Brief Definition: Needs for activities outside school. Full Definition: The girls highlighted their need for activities outside school, which are limited in their own experiences. When to Use: When girls need a good life or good school education which is linked with non-formal or informal education. When not to Use: When the need for education is other than informal and non-formal education.

What do they need to have a good life?	Ill Belonging	Brief Definition: The girls discussed belonging in various sphere of life. Full Definition: The girls discussed what makes them, or stops them being, part of German society. They discussed ethnicity, gender, migration background, religion and identity as barriers to feeling they are part of and they are belonging to Germany. When to Use: When there is a lack of being fully accepted as part of mainstream society. When not to Use: When girls link exclusion with ethnicity, religion and migration background
What do they need to have a good life?	Unity of Identities and Differences	Brief Definition: Lack of not being part of the mainstream identity. Full Definition: The girls have discussed that they are not accepted as part of the mainstream identity, which contributes to their exclusionary position in Germany and which may contribute to their social vulnerability. Girls have multiple identities such as being Turkish, German and Muslim at the same time. This is not accepted and recognized by the mainstream society. Girls are accepted as Turkish and Turkish-Muslim which leads them to experience various types of exclusion and discrimination in German society When to Use: When their multiple identities are not recognized and accepted as part of the German identity. When not to Use: When they exclude themselves from mainstream identity because of religion, citizenship, ethnicity and migration background.
What are the most important causes of obstruction?	Ill Identity and Belonging Development Re-Producing Social Vulnerability	Brief Definition: Problems in developing and belonging. Full Definition: The girls explained various experiences caused by their marginalized Turkish identity in Germany, i.e. because of their culture, religion and the national identity of their parents or grandparents. This ill belonging reproduced social vulnerability for these girls.

		When to Use: When there is a social vulnerability caused by feeling like they are not part of German society or accepted as Germans. When not to Use: When a social vulnerability is the cause of other reasons than belonging and identity.
What do they need to have a good life?	Aspirations to Belong to a Diverse Society	Brief Definition: Plans for the future. Full Definition: Despite all the problems Turkish girls are confronted with in Germany, they still develop hope for a better future, such as planning to move to countries where they think people with diverse identities are better treated. At the same time, the girls wanted to live in countries such as the USA and England where, from the media, they see various backgrounds living together. Their inspiration to move from Germany to another country, especially to England or the USA, is a desire to live in a place where they are accepted with their diverse identities. When to Use: When belonging to a diverse society is an aspiration for these girls. When not to Use: When belonging is not part of their future plans but means something else.
How do they experience inequality?	Stereotypes	Brief Definition: Experiences with stereo-types. Full Definition: Girls have been in Germany all their lives and they are confronted with many stereotypes about Turks in Germany. These stereotypes are challenging and decrease their quality of life. For example, the mainstream community thinks the main aim for girls of Turkish origin is to get married early and have many kids, without receiving a proper education or a decent job. It is also believed that they have pressures from their families, especially brothers and husbands, that they are pushed to wear a headscarf and that wearing a headscarf is not their choice. Also, the media illustrates them using these stereotypes which are not real. In the end, these stereotypes are reducing their options and opportunities to

		have a good life. When to Use: When there is an experience with a stereotype. When not to Use: If their experience does not involve a stereotype but something else.
Why do they need to be empowered?	Creating a Multicultural Society	Brief Definition: Issues for a multicultural society. Full Definition: The girls are confronted with issues of language use and the teaching of history in Germany which makes them feel excluded, discriminated or unfairly treated. These issues make it clear that these girls need an inclusive multicultural society that makes them feel included. When to Use: When there is a need for a multicultural society linked to history and their mother tongue. When not to Use: When creating a multicultural society is linked with concepts other than language and history.
How do they experience inequality?	Confronting Structural Inequalities	Brief Definition: Confronting structures. Full Definition: The girls discussed their life and school education experiences linked with the existing structures. These structures have generally been obstacles to the girls having a good life in Germany. For example, school education tracks children from the 4th grade. Tracking at such an early age is such a serious structural obstacle to children of immigrants reaching their full potential. As well as ignoring welfare making for children of guest workers, who were invited to Germany. This situation caused severe inequalities for children of immigrants and led to them lagging behind the native children. When to Use: If there is an obstacle linked to structures in Germany. When not to Use: When the problem is linked with anything else other than structures in Germany.

What are their needs?	Unity for Integration	Brief Definition: Creating unity is needed for integrating the whole society. Full Definition: The girls discussed their experiences of meeting other youths in Germany who come from various backgrounds. When to Use: When there is an experience linked to unity with other sub-groups in Germany which facilitates integration. The data has revealed two main problems. The first problem is that Turks are living a distinct life from the native German population. They don't have strong friendships and the girls who participated in this research are isolated from German culture and from being friends with Germans. The second problem is that the girls who participated in this research do not have any friendships with other sub-groups in Germany. When to Use: This code will highlight that in a cohesive society, integration is inevitable. Integration can be achieved when all sub-groups in Germany unify in harmony. When not to Use: If there is no link with the unity of sub-groups in Germany for integration.