



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 Zeitungsartikeln ((gazetelerden anladığım kadarıyla)) und sei es einfach (hani böyle) Türklere böyle Almanlar kadar akıllı 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 Türklere'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, bak bazı Türkler'in davranışlarını talore edemiyorum, mesela dediğim gibi Almanya'dalar kaç sene Almanca konuşamıyorlar. Çocuğunu gymnasium'a (akademik oryantasyonlu lise) göndermiyor, Türkler olmadığı için, bu ne anlamıyorum. En basiti mesela Almanya'da yaşıyoruz, apotheke (eczane) de bir tane başörtülü yeter benim için, çok olunca 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 kreutz taşıyabilirsin, ne Allah yazısı ne de eşarp aslında, öyle diyorlar okulda öğretmenler. Aslında biz şöyle böyle yapamayız. Git bakalım öğretmenlerin kaç tanesi haç takıyor, onlara neden kimse kızmıyor. Git bakayım kaç kişi dövmeli çalışıyor, dövmelerde küfürler yazıyor, niye onlara kızılmıyor. Bizim sınıfta yalın ayak iki tane öğrenci var, hippie 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 varsın 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, Almanca iyi değilse tabi ki gefundenes Opfer (kurban olmak) (25.11) tabi sen birşeysin, kurban yani, gelen giden şey yapar, ama senin konuşman iyiyse, 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 diğere 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 assosyal görüyorlar. Mesela benim öğretmenim bana açıkça söyledi, sen bu okulu başaramazsın sen hauptschuleye git ya da gesamtschuleye 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 Gesamtschule.

Ayşe: Öyle bir adam, bir öğretmen bizim, geleceğimizi kırıyordu zaten, başka okullarda başka öğretmenlerde var böyle, mesela bir öğretmen kardeşime de öyle resmen yani, kardeşimin, babamın suratına dedi adam bu çocuk okumaz diye ama aslında kardeşimin notları süper. Bu çocuk okumaz dedi, babam sonra çok kızgın oldu, babam bağırıp çağırıyor 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: Tabi ki 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. Onlarla kircheye gidiyordum da ama böyle dua

mua etmiyorum çünkü ben Müslüman'ım orada dışlanıyorsun bize ((coughs)) bazen böyle Veranstaltung'lar ((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 anlıyorlar Türk olduğunu (gülerek) o da doof oluyor ((gıcık oluyor)) oluyor çünkü benim ismim Tuğba onun için hemen Tuğba (she mentions that teachers cannot pronounce her name properly) diyorlar onun için ya insan bir süre sonra bıkmıyor. () #00:42:59-5# Yani Müslümanlar 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 bütün 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 camiiye de gidelim, Jude'ların şeyine de gidilmesi önemli. Biz onların şeyini tolerieren 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 kapalırsa.

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 geldiymi 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 Staatsangehörigkeit 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 normal.

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 doğru göstermeye anlıyor musun, immer Klarheit verschaffen, immer (her zaman açıklamak zorundasın) kendini açıkla, kendini bul, bizde böyle değil sizde böyle şöyle yoruluyorsun (1:41:43-2) ben açıkçası ich hab kein Bock 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 hauptschuleye'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: Kendilerini 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 oluyorsa, 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 dysfunctions 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 için 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.