BALANCING BETWEEN BELONGING AND DISTINCTION

Integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund in relation to national integration discourses in Germany

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This thesis has been written as part of the master program Human Geography – Globalization, Migration and Development. During this master program I was inspired to learn more about integration and multiculturalism. According to my belief that the support of the majority is necessary for the wellbeing of the minority, I wanted to understand more about personal integration experiences of migrants in relation to integration perceptions of the majority. With thanks to Huib Ernste I found an internship in Germany and my research adventure began.

Both the internship and thesis writing have been a challenging and sometimes tough process, but was definitely an educative experience. Some things did not go according to plan, but I am very much happy and proud to present this document. During my research I have learned to build a new network of contacts, I have improved my German language skills and I have gained a brother understanding of the concept of integration. I have especially enjoyed organizing workshops in Dortmund. Talking to the youngsters has inspired me to personally contribute to a respectful, open and caring society.

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Summary

In the last decades, international migration flows have brought social and economic changes in both sending countries and receiving countries. Migration flows also influence perceptions on culture and nationalism. New cultural influences; norms, values, habits, religion etc., are brought into the host country. Processes of change, adaption and integration are resulting from intercultural migration influences. Both migrants and the host society have to redefine their standards, habits and identity and have to work out how to live together.

Also in Germany, a shift towards moralization of the concept of integration or even towards emerge of assimilation discourses is present. Immigrants in Germany are expected to adapt towards the 'German culture', so a cultural unity can be maintained in society. However, this concept of integration creates a dualistic situation in society, wherein 'German' and 'foreigner' are put opposite. And, the term integration becomes shallow because active participation in German society and economics and German citizenship is not enough to become a 'German'. Despite the efforts of migrants to integrate and even despite the fact that second-generation migrants are actually born and raised in Germany, the ethnical origins will always distinguish them from the German majority. While residents with migration backgrounds manage to integrate both their culture of origin as well as the German culture in their lives, it is not accepted by others in society.

The main problem identified in this integration debate is the gap between integration strategies and discourses on the national level and the everyday life integration experiences of migrants on the local level. Yet, there exist interrelations between national discourses and local experiences. Especially when studying integration it is important to understand how these interrelations function. The way integration is approached on the national level will reflect on the integration experiences on the local level. The other way around, how migrants handle integration and how they react on societal discourses does influence the integration attitudes in society. This interrelation is especially interesting when focused specifically on youngsters with migration backgrounds. As young adults with migration backgrounds they relate to both their culture of origin and the German culture. Especially second-generation migrant youngsters take a special position in this debate. Born and raised in Germany they differ from their parents, but confronted with othering practices in German society they are also aware of their differences regarding native Germans. Understanding how integration is interfered in the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds could provide insight on how interaction between local experiences and national discourses is shaped.

The aim of this research is to map and understand the interrelations between integration politics and integration discourses in the German society and local integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund. Experts' opinions on the current state of youngsters with migration backgrounds, an analysis of national German integration debates and

discourses in politics and society, and a theoretical framework on integration and integration related issues are also added to provide context for the research. Data collection on the integration experiences of youngsters were collected in two workshops. One was held in *Nordstadt*, the migrant district of Dortmund, and one was held in *Dorstfeld*, a mixed district in the west of Dortmund. The theme of integration is discussed in this study by the analysis of three themes: Identity Construction, Exclusionary Practices and Spatial Issues.

Results of the study

This study showed that integration is often referred to as belonging by both migrants and the German society. Youngsters with migration backgrounds talk about the desire to belong to a community, where they are recognized and respected, but also in German society integration discourses include discussion about cultural belonging of migrants and the need for migrants to assimilate to the cultural standards of Germany. When integration is interpreted as belonging, it means that othering practices often play an important role; defining who belongs to 'us' and who is 'the other'. The process of othering seems to a way of constructing an identity for the host country. Othering puts the white majority of German society in a powerful position to set standards of normality, and this reflects on the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds when they realize they are approached as foreigners because of their names and appearance. This process of othering means youngsters are affected negatively by the differentiation they face in everyday life, feeling unable to challenge the representation society has about them.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds naturally try to combine the culture of origin with the everyday culture they live in. However, this is not accepted yet in German society and the youngsters still face the stigmatization because of their different ethnical origin. Although the youngsters in *Nordstadt* do not feel discriminated, the experts confirm that growing up in *Nordstadt* means growing up with a disadvantaged position. The second-generation youngsters in *Dorstfeld* indicated that they often only feel emotionally connected to the culture of their origins, but although it is only emotional, they still face the consequences of their different origins in daily lives.

The German education system is one of the places in everyday life where the youngsters face discrimination because of their ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. PISA studies (The Program for International Student Assessment of the OECD) found out that youngsters with low socio-economic backgrounds or migration backgrounds are structurally disadvantaged in the German education system. Indirect and structural disadvantage in the education system results in disempowerment of the youngsters with migration backgrounds.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund also face disadvantages based on their place of residence. Especially youngsters living in *Nordstadt* face discrimination because they live in a

migrant district. Spatial clustering of migrants is seen as a failure of integration processes or unwillingness of migrants to integrate. However, due to its industrial history the city Dortmund is strongly segregated and especially newly arrived migrants find their first place of residence in *Nordstadt*. Residents of *Nordstadt* feel strongly connected to their neighborhood and perceive this as positive, because it is a place where different cultures can live next to each other peacefully.

Finally, spatial differences of integration experiences are also visible on the local level, between the two neighborhoods studied. The youngsters living in *Nordstadt* strongly connect to their neighborhood and mostly stay amongst themselves, while youngsters in *Dorstfeld*, living in a mixed neighborhood have more opportunities for encounters with 'German society' in everyday life. Although the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* have a better understanding of their position in German society, they also have more negative attitudes towards German society than youngsters in *Nordstadt*.

Conclusions of the study

This study reveals the contradiction regarding integration in Germany. On the one hand Germany aims to maintain cultural unity in its society, expecting migrants to assimilate. On the other hand, societal disunity is present in Germany because of othering practices. This duality also reflects in the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds. These youngsters feel a need for belonging, but they feel like outsiders in Germany because of othering and stigmatization. This enlarges the disunity between native residents and residents with migration backgrounds in society.

Secondly, this study pointed out the impact of this disunity and the othering practices in German society. It results in disempowerment of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The youngsters are disadvantaged in everyday life: having less possibilities and chances to succeed in education and on the labor market than their native peer contacts. More importantly, the youngsters are emotionally disempowered, because they feel they cannot fight the stigmas, disadvantage and othering. The negative attitudes in German society affect their self-esteem and self-images. Stigmas about these youngsters are maintained, when the youngsters feel they cannot fight them.

Finally, spatial organization is an important aspect of integration. This study showed that on the one hand spatial proximity of migrants provide safety and shelter for youngsters with migration backgrounds, especially when the host society is stigmatizing and excluding. Youngsters living in a mixed neighborhood are more confronted with negativity of the host society and therefore are also more negative about their lives in Germany. On the other hand, spatial segregation of migrants, like in *Nordstadt* is disadvantaging youngsters with migration backgrounds. These youngsters are more excluded from city life in Dortmund. So, social proximity is important for the well-being of youngsters with migration backgrounds, but at the same time spatial mixing is also important for their participation in German society.

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1. Introduction

In the last decades, international migration flows have brought social and economic changes in both sending countries and receiving countries. Migration flows also influence perceptions on culture and nationalism. New cultural influences; norms, values, habits, religion etc., are brought into the host country. Processes of change, adaption and integration are resulting from intercultural influences. Both migrants and the host society have to redefine their standards, habits and identity. "Individuals and groups need to work out how to live together, adopting various strategies that will allow them to achieve a reasonably successful adaptation to living interculturally" (Berry et al., 2006, p305).

Also Germany faces some challenges related to integration in the last decades. Especially, from the late 1980's the debate on integration became relevant (Ehrkamp, 2006). Since this time, Germany is dealing with shaping integration criteria and conditions. A shift towards moralization of the concept of integration or even towards emerge of assimilation discourses is visible in German integration politics. Immigrants in Germany are expected to adapt towards the 'German culture', so a cultural unity can be maintained in society. Most Germans are not especially negative towards migrants, but under the surface there is a fear of foreign influences, especially the Islam. It is therefore, that in German society integration is seen as adaption towards the Western (non-Islamic) culture. This creates a dualistic situation in society, wherein 'German' and 'foreigner' are put opposite. The term integration however becomes shallow because active participation in German society and economics and German citizenship is not enough to become a 'German'. Migrants and residents with a migration background are labelled as 'the other' because of their ethnical origins. Furthermore, the concept of 'the German culture', to which every migrant should adjust, is not unambiguous and clear. Germany wants to have a clear cultural unity, but over time it showed that this could not be defined. The cultural identity of Germany is been debated over years, but has resulted in misunderstandings between Germans and migrants. Despite the efforts of migrants to integrate and even despite the fact that second-generation migrants are actually born and raised in Germany, the ethnical origins will always distinguish them from the German majority. While residents with migration backgrounds manage to integrate both their culture of origin as well as the German culture in their lives, it is not accepted by others in society. Prejudices and stigmatization still put those Germans apart from 'the Germans'.

The main problem identified in this integration debate is the gap between integration strategies and discourses on the national level and the everyday life integration experiences of migrants on the local level. The way integration is approached on different levels varies per level, making it difficult to understand how the different approaches can relate to each other. Yet, there exist interrelations between national discourses and local experiences. Especially when studying integration it is important to understand how these interrelations function. The way integration is approached on

the national level will reflect on the integration experiences on the local level. The other way around, how migrants handle integration and how they react on societal discourses does influence the integration attitudes in society. The interrelation of influence between different levels is what is shaping the dynamics around integration processes. This interrelation is especially interesting when focused specifically on youngsters with migration backgrounds. As young adults they will determine the society of the future. What they experience today will shape their ideas for tomorrow. As young adults with migration backgrounds they relate to both their culture of origin and the German culture. Especially second-generation migrant youngsters take a special position in this debate. Born and raised in Germany they differ from their parents, but confronted with othering practices in German society they are also aware of their differences regarding native Germans. What does integration exactly mean in these youngsters' lives? The youngsters are part of the German society and are German citizens, but they are still faced with integration issues as they are not seen as proper Germans by German society. A better understanding of how these youngsters integrate and how they live their lives, could provide valuable insight into how the interaction between local everyday life experiences and the national discourses are interrelated.

1.1 Societal and scientific relevance of the research

The understanding of the interrelations between local experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds and national integration discourses is of societal relevance, because it provides insight on how interactions between the national and the local level are constructed. By understanding the impact of national discourses on local integration experiences and vice versa, insight on the process of influence is gained. By understanding this process, it becomes known which elements of the integration process and which integration related themes are important on both levels. Furthermore, the bottlenecks in the process of influences become visible; what national influences hinder migrants in their integration process or what situations on the local scale are seen as obstacles for successful integration processes. With these insights negative impacts can be signalized and understood. This knowledge will help to design better applicable integration policies that accurately respond to the needs of both migrants and the host society. Hereby, the knowledge of today can be positively turned into stimulating measures in the future.

Secondly, by understanding the integration experiences of migrants on local level, the integration debate is given a new dimension. The Dortmund case of this study will provide local input to the German integration debate. This is important because integration processes are mostly taking place in the city on levels of work, school and neighborhood (Omidvar, 2012). Understanding of integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds brings the integration debate to the city level.

Furthermore, this study provides insight in the everyday life experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. Statistics on migration and integration determine the number of foreigners or the number of migrants, but statistics of residents with migration backgrounds are rarely defined (Worbs, 2006). The second-generation migrants in Germany, mostly consist of children of former guest workers, but actual numbers are not known (Worbs, 2006). Still, the second-generation of migrants in Germany have to deal with integration and stigmatization because of their ethnical backgrounds. This study is contributing to their position by giving space for youngsters with migration backgrounds to express their feelings about their position. Insights on the practical everyday life of youngsters with migration backgrounds, will help to understand what position these youngsters have in today's society. By understanding how youngsters with migration backgrounds relate to the German society, the engagement (or lack of engagement) towards Germany is more understandable. The well-being of migrants, partly depending on attitudes from the host country, influences the psychical and social engagement towards the new society (Ehrkamp, 2006; Ward et al., 2011).

The scientific relevance of this research is its contribution to the theoretical integration debate and especially to the role of youngsters with migration backgrounds in it. Already some studies have investigated the importance of the migrants' experiences in the process and the relation between experiences, integration and attitudes. For example Hudson et al. (2007) emphasize the including of migrants' experiences in the debate and Ehrkamp (2006) has written about integration experiences of migrants and the impact for German society. Their research shows how society impacts the experiences and perception of migrants. This thesis, then, is not pointing out a new theme, but is contributing to this theme. The focus on youngsters with migration backgrounds, however, is rather new. Somerville (2008) and Berry et al. (2006) have studied identity construction processes among youngsters with migration backgrounds, giving special attention to the position of second-generation migrants. However, actual integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds are relatively unknown. These youngsters still have to deal with integration, especially when society is approaching them as 'different' or 'foreigner' because of their ethnical origins. This study aims to contribute to the theoretical integration debate that focus on this particular group.

1.2 Theoretical embedding of this study

Although the position and experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds are often not specifically mentioned in integration research, the importance of inclusion of migrants' perceptions in the theoretical integration debate is stretched out in different arguments in theory. First, the well-being of migrants and their integration process is related to the debate on integration (both national as local). These debates have impacts on the migrants' personal life. Ehrkamp (2006) describes the

pressure migrants experience by the debate and the conditions imposed. Furthermore, she argues that emerging assimilation discourses (as in Germany) forces migrants to a leave-or-assimilate choice, which increases the pressure on migrants and will affect their well-being. Ward et al. (2011) argues that discrimination and exclusion lead to less psychological and social adaption towards the host society. So, negative attitudes will result in pressure, less well-being and less integration. Ehrkamp (2006) brings up the same statement; she argues that the integration debate can result in disengagements of politics and society. However, when migrants have possibilities to integrate, the psychological and social adaption is often better and the migrants feel more satisfied (Ward et al., 2011). Also Aycan and Berry (1996) have found this relationship between integration and the well-being of migrants. They argue that exclusion from work will result into psychical problems of migrants. While work is seen as an important factor in the integration process, the lack of work leads to feelings of social exclusion and lack of purpose. Al these arguments show the relation between migrants' well-being, their integration process and the integration debate. Inclusion of migrants' experiences will not only provide insight in this relationship, but will also contribute to improvement of the well-being of migrants and their integration process.

Secondly, migrants will be understood better when their experiences of and perception on integration are heard, which contributes to a better social dialogue in society. The integration of migrants results in social and geographical changes in society. Ehrkamp and Leitner (2003) describe the process of changes in society during integration, whereby migrants become active in politics, create their own institutions and social meeting places. When migrants can express their needs it is more clear which changes are needed, both socially and geographically. This will give more clarity to society, whereby every city can make agreements on new developments, including both native inhabitants' opinions as migrants' opinions.

Furthermore, the experiences of migrants can provide lessons learned about integration. Especially Ward et al. (2011) focus on the development of the integration process. They argue that their research on migrants' experiences helped to evaluate the process. Firstly, they have found distinction between different regions, which can provide which (spatial) factors are important in the integration process. The research did also result in more insight in factors that influence the integration of migrants. With this information Ward et al. (2011) gained insight in the success factors of integration, which investments were necessary and how policy making could adapt to this knowledge.

The empirical part of this study focuses on the local scale, whereby data is collected from the city of Dortmund. Cities become more and more important in the integration process. Migration focuses mostly on urban areas and therefore cities must deal with migrants and integration (Omidvar, 2012). The city is the place where migrants and natives live, work, study and play; the local scale is where lived experiences take place (Omidvar, 2012). The city's welcoming approach and the social

cohesion in a city influence the well-being of its inhabitants and the integration of migrants. Hudson et al. (2007) argue that local communities are important for the social cohesion in a city, both migrant communities and other social groups in the city. Social divisions need to be tackled locally he argues. Local communities are not only influencing integration processes, but are also impacted by the input of migrants (Omidvar, 2012). It is therefore that cities and local governments are important in the integration process. Omidvar (2012) states that "cities have a critical role to play in integrating newcomers, engaging their residents, and creating opportunities and a sustainable future for all" (p1). Also local actors and governments can provide opportunities, in work, school or social space that can improve integration of migrants, which will positively influence both migrants and the city (Omidvar, 2012).

1.2.1 Philosophical embedding

This research is inspired by the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens. His theory focuses on the relationship between social structures and human agency. Giddens approaches social structure as a way of shaping social life (Wade & Schneberger, 2006), but the repetition of the acts of individuals agents can also reproduce a structure (Gauntlett, 2001). So, traditions, institutions, moral codes and established ways of doing things create a social structure (Gauntlett, 2001), that shapes social behavior of human beings. But, this social structure can be changed when people start to ignore it, replace it or reproduce it differently (Gauntlett, 2001). This means that the relationship between social structures and human agency is dynamic. Therefore, research adapting the structuration theory focuses on social practices structured by space and time (Wade & Schneberger, 2006).

This research relates to this philosophy, because the structure of the integration debate is shaped by human agency. It focuses on the role of experiences in the structure of the integration process and how those influence each other. It is placed on the interface between perception and policy. It points out how people (unconsciously) react on structures. Also, the context of this research is shaped by the spatial and social segregation, caused by the history of the Ruhr area, in Dortmund.

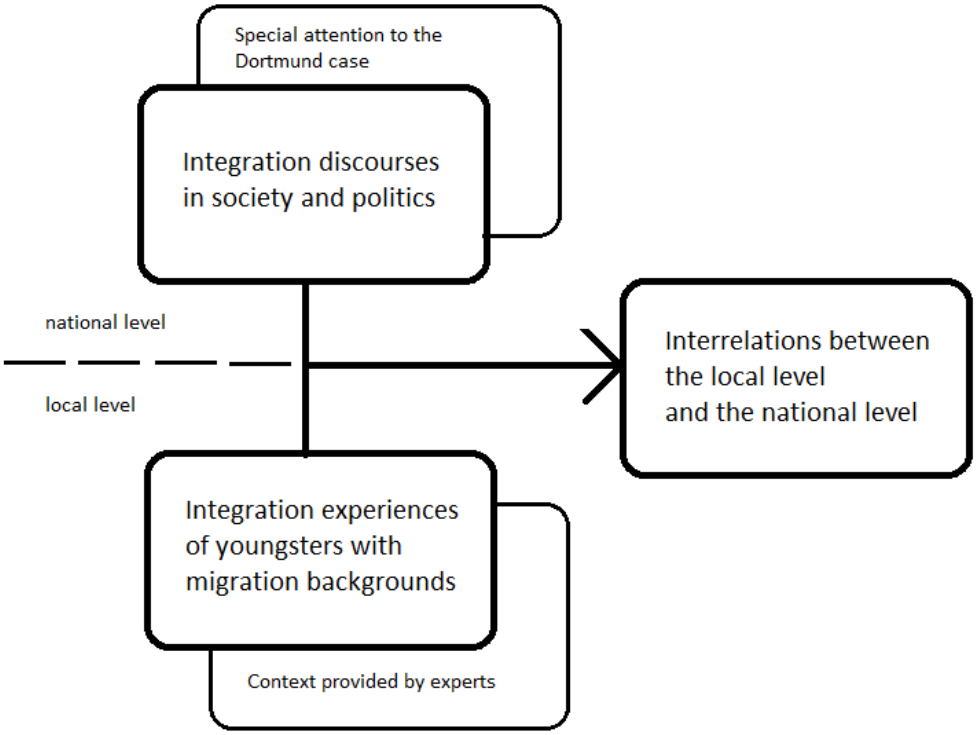
1.3 Research design

The aim of this research is to map and understand the interrelations between integration politics, integration discourses in the German society and local integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds to gain insight in the interrelations between the different levels. Experts' opinions on the current state of youngsters with migration backgrounds, an analysis of national German integration debates and discourses in politics and society, and a theoretical framework on integration and integration related issues are also added to provide context for the research. To meet this objective following research question and its sub-questions are designed.

How do youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund experience integration in their lives and how are these experiences related to German integration politics and national integration discourses in German society?

1. How is integration defined and approached in literature and what are the aspects relating to it?
2. What integration discourses are present in German politics and German society?
3. How do experts describe the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund?
4. How do youngsters with migration backgrounds experience integration in their lives?
5. How are local integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund and national integration discourses in Germany related to each other?
6. What insights are gained from this study and how can these insights improve integration processes?

1.3.1 Visualization of the design



Justification of the design

By studying the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds and the integration discourses in German society and politics the interrelation between those two levels are revealed, providing insight in the influencing process between those two levels. Within the research there is special attention for the Dortmund case and the experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds are underpinned by experts' opinions.

1.4 Structure of the report

The different chapters of this report answer the sub-questions described in 1.3. The report consist of different layers, together constructing the framework to determine the interrelations between the different elements. The framework is constructed as a pyramid; providing a broad theoretical basis, a description of integration discourses in Germany and context of the Dortmund case and the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund provided by experts to finally underpin and embed the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds, as shown in Figure 1. This pyramid framework is used to structure the results in a way the interrelations between the different levels become clear. Analysis of the interrelations will provide a setup for conclusions and recommendations.

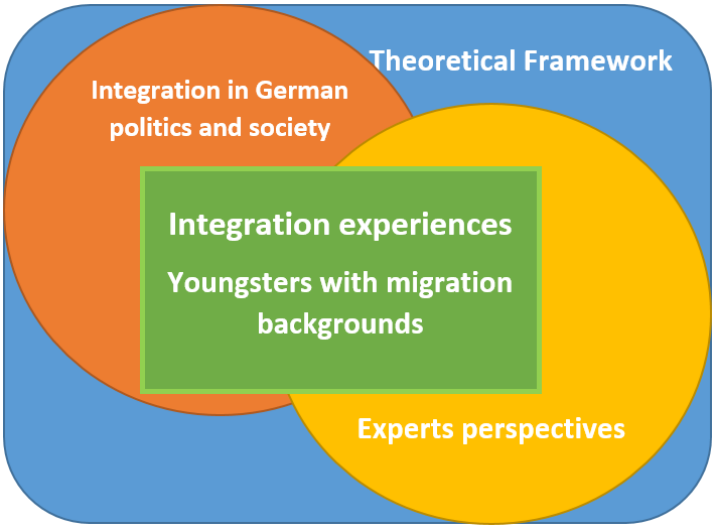


Figure 1 Top view of pyramid structure of thesis report

The first layer of this pyramid, the theoretical framework, is described in chapter 2. In this chapter the concept of integration, with special attention to the normative shift of it, and the impact on identity construction, spatial segregation and exclusionary practices are discussed. There is special attention to the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds within integration theory. The theoretical framework constructs a grounded basis for this study and provides an imbedding of the results of this study.

In chapter 3 the methodology and data collection of this study are described. Three types of data collection have been applied, of which the focus group method is highly adapted. The development from an initial plan of focus groups into an applicable data collection method of workshops is explained. Also, the implementation of the workshops and the data analysis process is discussed. With this chapter the methodology of this study can be understood, which increases the understanding of the structure of the empirical part of this report.

The integration discourses in Germany are discussed in chapter 4. Political integration debates are discussed in this chapter as well as integration discourses in German society. The integration debate is put in context of German history. Shortly, the position of migrants within these debates is pointed out. This chapter provides an overview of current integration discourses in Germany that will help to understand the situation youngsters with migration backgrounds in Germany live in.

In chapter 5 a short case description of the Dortmund case is given. The city Dortmund is the context of the presented case study. It is important to understand the immigration history, urban processes and integration policies of Dortmund. In this chapter provides a context to the following empirical data.

The expert opinions and insights on the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds is presented in chapter 6. To be able to link the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds to the current situation in Dortmund, it was important to provide more context to it. The expert interviews gave input for this chapter, providing insight in everyday life in Dortmund, situations in different neighborhoods and the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund society. Hereby, the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds are given context and underpinning arguments.

The last layer of this research is the collection and understanding of integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund, presented in chapter 7. It is highly important to understand what integration means for these youngsters, apart from theories. Therefore, terms and practical situations that fit their everyday life are used in this study. The discussed topics are reflecting their everyday life, but indirectly the influence of integration discourses in German society are recognizable.

In chapter 8 the actual analysis of the interrelations between the different layers is described. In this analysis the previous chapters are compared with each other, in order to understand the different connections. Hereby, a setup for the following conclusions are given.

In the final chapter of this report the conclusions are given. The conclusions are based on the analysis of chapter 8. Also, recommendation for practice and a reflection on process and product is described in this chapter.

2. Integration as multi-definable object and its impacts

In politics and policy making the word integration can have multiple meanings in different situations and cases (Phillips, 2010). Integration can be approached as migrants having equal chances and possibilities to participate in society as native residents. Here, the definition of integration focusses on participation in society, politics and the labor market. This concept is closely linked to the economic situation and education of migrants and thereby becomes measurable. This definition of integration is accepted and constructs the basis for other integration definitions. In some concepts of integration culture and lifestyle is included, besides societal and economic participation. Here, integration is defined as adapting to or even adoption of the dominant culture and lifestyle of the host country. Approaching integration in a cultural way, it includes norms, values and behavior and the concept shifts towards assimilation (Ehrkamp, 2006). Assimilation discourses further rise when integration is approached as responsibility of migrants. Officially, integration is seen as a two-way process, where both migrants and the host country should invest in achieving some level of integration; at least in the EU, where the European Commission has defined integration as a two-way process (Phillips, 2010). Yet, politicians and policymakers often associate integration with a one-way process, whereby adaptation of minority ethnic groups is expected (Phillips, 2010). By forcing migrants to adopt cultural and behavioral norms and at the same time expect migrants to take their own responsibility for that, assimilation discourses are stimulated. Although, it is contested to use the term assimilation in integration politics, the integration definitions used are often very similar to the definition of assimilation (Ehrkamp, 2006). Assimilation takes place when a minority group fully adopts the norms, values, customs and attitudes of the prevailing culture (Ehrkamp, 2006). An assimilation discourse arises when migrants are forced to assimilate by exerting social pressure on migrants and exclusionary processes that promote behavioral adaption (if not adapted, you are not included) (Ehrkamp, 2006). There is assumed that migrants become indistinguishable from the majority overtime, in a cultural and behavioral way. Assimilation discourses tend to approach both the host society and minority groups as homogenous, neglecting unequal power relations within a society (Ehrkamp, 2006). It assumes a welcoming environment towards migrants, where migrants are stimulated to assimilate. However, disadvantage of minority groups and creation of exclusionary environments, driven by racism and xenophobia, are a reality migrants face (Ehrkamp, 2006). Furthermore, the assimilation discourses leave aside the existence of cultural identities of minority groups or the construction of new identities among migrants (Ehrkamp, 2006). It leaves out the personal experience of migrants and overlooks some important processes migrants face during assimilation or even integration. Also processes of transnationalism are neglected by assimilation discourses, ignoring the existence of international communities in a globalizing world (Ehrkamp, 2006). Assimilation discourses are too much limited by

the focus on cultural and spatial distinguishability; it forgets about individual experiences of migrants and native inhabitants as well as global processes that influence assimilation and integration processes.

2.1 Citizenship in relation to changing approaches of integration

In relation to integration, citizenship is also influenced by emerging assimilation discourses. "Citizenship is usually defined as a form of membership in a political and geographic community" (Bloemraad et al., 2008, p154). Formal citizenship is given to native inhabitants, based on place of birth or parental origins, or can be acquired through naturalization, as a sign of sufficient integration. Naturalization often requires at least a period of legal residency, knowledge about the country and mastering the dominant languages (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Citizenship provides a legal status, representing the first dimension of citizenship, and "examines who is entitled to hold the status of citizen" (Bloemraad et al., 2008, p156). Secondly, citizenship is about having rights; it includes a liberal understanding of the relationship between inhabitants and the state, both having rights and obligations (Bloemraad et al., 2008). This dimension of citizenship promises equality before the law for every legal inhabitant (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Nonetheless, formally guaranteed, substantively this equality cannot be maintained in society. The third dimension of citizenship is political participation, but can also be approached as social and economic inclusion in society (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Exclusion from political, social or economic participation based on gender, race, class or religion is a struggle well known in history, but also nowadays a sensitive topic when talking about naturalization and integration. Finally, citizenship contains a feeling of belonging, it provides people a feeling of being included in the community (Bloemraad et al., 2008). However, for a 'we' to exist, some 'others' have to be excluded from community. Here, nationalism becomes relevant, the feeling of belonging to a nation. This dimension of citizenship is not only including formal aspects of citizenship (like legal status and political institutions), but also includes cultural and social meaning (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Hereby, citizenship is not only formal, but also includes a normative aspect. Just as integration becomes a normative understanding (which can even be approached as assimilation), also citizenship is approached in new ways, now a more neo-liberal way of governing has come up, in which cultural aspects become more important.

First, citizenship is moralized, meaning that there is a shift towards the importance of culture and norms and values, instead of the legalization of citizenship (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Having the right papers and comply with requirements laid down is becoming less important than understanding the culture of the host country and adapting the 'right' set of norms and values (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Secondly, there is a 'responsibilization' of citizenship, meaning that citizens, or in case of migration the immigrants, themselves are responsible for an active citizenship

(Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Migrants themselves are responsible for active participation and sufficient integration in the host society. Both individualization and 'responsibilization' of society, during the emerging of neo-liberal thoughts, set a focus on socio-economic participation of all citizens, especially new immigrants (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Formal citizenship, like legal status and equal rights seem to become less important, even though "rights and legal status promote participation and a sense of belonging, which in turn facilitate social cohesion and common political projects" (Bloemraad et al., 2008, p157). The 'responsibilization' and moralization of citizenship arise from the rise of cultural assimilation, as discussed above, and neo-liberalism (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Neo-liberalism from a governmentally perspective constitutes a governing form based on individualism, whereby individuals, the private sector and communities become more responsible for public tasks (Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). This neo-liberal force stimulates the 'responsibilization' of citizenship and results in expectations of an active participation society. Assimilation involves the adaption of norms and values and the adoption of customs and attitudes of the host country, and implies one common community having one common culture.

Together with the changing interpretation of the concept of citizenship, one can argue that also the concept of integration slightly changes. Moralization and 'responsibilization' is also visible in integration definitions. Including an increasing number of cultural aspects and the emergence of assimilation discourses show a moralization of integration. Also, integration is also 'responsibilazed', when migrants are expected to actively invest in their integration, personally responsible for participation in society. Processes of moralization and 'responsibilization' partly define the current understanding of integration and the existing attitudes towards migrants. On the other hand, these processes require a clearly defined common culture of the host countries. A guide to and an example for immigrants to adapt to. Yet, it is questionable if this actually exists in Western host countries. Is it possible to have one clearly defined culture, which characteristics are reflected by all native inhabitants? Still, debates about *what is 'our common culture'?* and *what is 'our national identity'?* become more relevant. In public debates and national politics, the national cultural identity debates draw away the attention from integration processes towards integration results. The main focus is now on the amount of adaptation towards the common culture, overlooking the adaptation process migrants go through. Hereby, also impediments and constrains migrants experience in the adaptation process are overlooked in most debates.

2.2 Identity construction in integration processes

Identity construction processes are an important aspect of the integration process, because both migrants and the host society need to adapt to each other's presence. The emergence of culturally plural societies is a consequence of immigration (Berry et al., 2006). The process of acculturation, as

result of intercultural contacts, includes cultural and psychological changes of one's cultural identity and social behaviors (Berry et al., 2006). In between two cultures, immigrants have to find a new place they can relate to. Also a host society has to react on new cultural influences, which includes rethinking of its national and cultural identity. The socially and politically construction of identities goes through "individual identification and group formation, shared experiences, and the narratives that groups tell about themselves" (Somers (1992) in Ehrkamp, 2006, p1676). Identities are produced through "ascriptions of identity and processes of labelling" (Ehrkamp, 2006, p1676). It is therefore that representation of immigrants in media, political debates and public discourses are important aspects in the process of migrants' identity construction. "Immigrants internalize, grapple with, and often contest and challenge such labels and ascriptions" (Ehrkamp, 2006, p1676). For example, Turkish immigrants in Germany participate in local politics and are claiming their place in German society to assert their belonging in it, but on the other hand, contest the label of guest worker and temporary inhabitant and reject the expectations of assimilation to protect their culture and identities (Ehrkamp, 2006). Fanon (1967) gives insight in the psychological process of the production of his own identity as a black man, 'the other'. "The white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, stories" (Fanon, 1967, p111). Subjugation and subjectification of immigrants can result in disempowerment of minority groups. Fanon (1967) explains: "I am being dissected under white eyes, the only real eyes. I am fixed. Having adjusted their microtomes, they objectively cut away slices of my reality. I am laid bare. I feel, I see in those white faces that it is not a new man who has come in, but a new kind of man, a new genus" (p116). Identities are relational; a minority is only 'the other', because they are measured against the majority (Fanon, 1967; Ehrkamp, 2006). Fanon (1967) states this: "For not only must the black man be black; he must the black in relation to the white man" (p110). There are unequal power relation whereby the majority has the power to set standards of 'normality' and categorize differences as 'the other' (Ehrkamp, 2006). Usually, in this process the majority sees itself as inferior to 'the others' (Ehrkamp, 2006). Processes of othering, but also emerging assimilation discourses in politics and society, shape the way immigrants view themselves in relation to native residents (Ehrkamp, 2006). Assimilation discourses reinforce the 'othering' process, because by asking similarity differences are highlighted, which makes adaption even more impossible (Ehrkamp, 2006). But this also provides reason for media and public to point out that migrants are unassimilable, which is seen as a threat (Ehrkamp, 2006). Besides, media also has a significant part in the formulation of expectation for adaption of migrants to the majority culture (Ehrkamp, 2006).

On the other hand, processes of othering do not only define 'the other', but also determines 'the self'. Therefore, identity construction is a dialectical process whereby both migrants and host societies define themselves by defining the 'other' (Ehrkamp, 2006). Host societies are only host societies because of immigration. In relation to immigrants the identity of a host society is defined, it

is “deeply intertwined with the presence and perceived or produced difference of immigrants” (Ehrkamp, 2006, p1677). New social and cultural influences of immigration ask rethinking of national identity and culture of host countries. It is therefore that debates on integration become normative. Not only economical or demographic changes impact host countries, especially the cultural influences of immigration ask for adaption of host societies.

2.3 Spatial aspects of integration processes

Integration is often linked to spatial segregation in cities. Spatial mixing of ethnic minority groups is seen as successful integration. One can define residential segregation as “a neutral concept referring to the unequal distribution of a population group over a particular area" (Bolt et al., 2010, p171). However, “spatial segregation can also be seen as one dimension of assimilation” (Bolt et al., 2010, p171), because spatial assimilation is assumed to increase when assimilation in other domains proceed (Bolt et al., 2010). Assimilation aims migrants to be spatially not recognizable too, implying that migrant communities will not exist overtime (Ehrkamp, 2006). Then, spatial ethnic segregation is seen as poor integration and is treated as a threat for social cohesion (Phillips, 2010; Bolt et al., 2010), because migrants are limiting their contact with the host society (Ehrkamp, 2006). Plus, minority ethnic neighborhoods are seen as problem areas; containing social deprivation, poverty, exclusion and a population not willing to integrate (Phillips, 2010). Yet, it is not true that residential segregation is always a cause or effect of poor integration, it can also be a sign of social exclusion and discrimination or it can reflect a sense of identity and belonging to a particular group or neighborhood (Phillips, 2010). It is underestimated what influences the majority has in maintaining ethnic segregation. In most cities, the highest levels of ethnic segregation are in white neighborhoods housing residents with a high socio-economic status (Phillips, 2010). Although, this type of residential segregation is seen as ‘normal’, within these neighborhoods migrants are often avoided or even harassed, resulting in settlement of migrants in a neighborhood they feel more connected to. Yet, settlement patterns as well as housing conditions are seen as indicators of integration, understanding “minorities’ ability to gain access to good-quality, safe, affordable accommodation and neighborhood support services” (Phillips, 2010, p211) as an aspect of integration. In a broader context of social integration these indicators are also impacting community relations, neighborhood stability and the well-being of minority ethnic groups (Phillips, 2010). Spatial mixing of minorities and good housing conditions for minorities are assumed to improve intercultural encounters and communication and to decrease deprivation of neighborhoods by reducing clustering of poverty and criminality in particular neighborhoods.

2.3.1 Segregation policies in the European Union

Many countries of the European Union carry out housing policies related to their integration discourses, because of a growing awareness of the importance of social and spatial inclusion. Broadly, three different discourses on integration and its housing policies can be distinguished in the EU-15 (most important Western immigration countries in Europe). Firstly, most EU-15 countries, like Denmark, Finland, Belgium, Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain and Greece, define integration as cultural assimilation and spatial dispersion of ethnic minorities (Phillips, 2010). Consequently, integration policies aim "the minimization of cultural difference, through programs of social orientation, and promote ethnic desegregation through housing integration, often at the expense of housing choice" (Phillips, 2010, p212). For example, in Denmark integration is equal to assimilation, because they want to avoid 'ghettoization' of neighborhoods (Phillips, 2010). Segregation, whereby cultural minorities distinguish themselves from the majority, are seen as a threat for neighborhood stability and a sign of lack of integration, even when Danish research did not clearly proved a link between integration and segregation in Denmark (Phillips, 2010). Also in Germany, strict desegregation policies are conducted to improve integration, despite the missing of a clearly defined link between integration and segregation (Phillips, 2010). Ethnic segregation in Turkish neighborhoods is seen as an expression of refusal to adapt to German society (Bolt et al., 2010; Ehrkamp, 2005). Overall, there is a little knowledge on the experiences with and effects of segregation for ethnic minority groups living in these areas (Phillips, 2010). Nonetheless, many EU immigration countries assume this relation and adjust their policies to it. Secondly, in some immigrant countries, like the Netherlands, the UK and Ireland, integration is seen as a process of inclusion of ethnic minorities, while social diversity is remained (Phillips, 2010). Therefore, housing policies focus on "fostering good community relations, eliminating barriers to inclusion and responding to the different housing needs of a socially and culturally diverse population" (Phillips, 2010, p213). These policies need commitment to multiculturalism, grounded in the understanding of an inclusive society, where there exists a balance between difference and equality (Phillips, 2010). Yet, as example of the UK, some policies for asylum seekers with no legal status, do control settlement of these immigrants and also allow some assimilation and desegregation ideas (Phillips, 2010). The different policies can coexist, because they apply to different migrants groups, but still a contradiction in discourse is observable. Finally, in a minority of EU immigrant countries, residential segregation is not directly related to integration (as in the examples before), but more to other aspects, like class and socio-economic status. Consequently, housing segregation policies are based on other discourses and therefore have a different elaboration than the first and second discourse that was discussed. For example in France, integration is defined as a class-based process, visioning assimilation and ignoring racialized and religious divisions among migrants that already exist (Phillips, 2010). Portugal and Sweden define integration and housing segregation in

relation to socio-economic segregation (Phillips, 2010). These three discourses reflect the way different countries approach their new citizens. Still, sometimes other policies are constructed, that form a contradiction with the discourse (like the example of the UK given above) or the integration discourse within a country shifts towards another. For example, in the Netherlands and Sweden social rights for migrants have been increased, which fits a multicultural vision, while on the other hand immigration control and migrant settlement control has increased too in the same countries (Phillips, 2010). In last years, countries with tolerant policies on cultural diversity shift towards an assimilation position, reflecting concerns about multiculturalism and current xenophobic responses of society (Phillips, 2010).

2.3.2 Other ideas on spatial segregation and migrant communities

The linkage between integration and spatial segregation is based on the idea that intercultural communication and encounters between migrants and native residents do stimulate the adaption process of migrants. This partly finds its origins in the *contact hypothesis*. In basis, the contact hypothesis proposes that anxiety towards 'others' (members of a minority) can be reduced by contact between majority members and their 'others' in a non-threatening environments, so empathy towards 'the other' arises and comfort is created in further, regular intergroup engagement (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). This approximation takes place on an individual level and a local scale; personal attitudes of one individual towards another is improved. Crucially, the contact hypothesis suggest that improved personal relations with an individual member of a minority group will eventually result in an improved attitude towards the minority group as a whole (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). The prejudices towards a minority will erode, because on individual level these prejudices are proven wrong. Therefore, the contact hypothesis has inspired urban planners and policy makers to create places and moment of encounters between different social groups (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Social and spatial segregation is from this point of view a missed opportunity or even an obstacle for social integration.

However, the contact hypotheses has its limitations. Matejskova and Leitner (2011) argue that encounters in local spaces can improve attitudes towards minority groups, but that this in basically always a process between two individuals. The suggestion that the contact hypothesis also improves relations with entire minority groups is too optimistic (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Positive attitudes towards an individual were not extended towards the whole group; rather, the particular individual is seen as an exception to their ethnic group (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Conflicts and hostility between different social groups are endorsed by much broader and complex processes of marginalization and different power relations among groups (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Jackman and Crane (1986) even argue that the development of an affectionate relationship between migrants

and native inhabitants is impossible when the underlying inequality is remained among them. “The pertinent issue may not be whether a personal relationship of equality is generalized to the group as a whole, but rather whether the black friend was ever equal in the first place” (Jackman and Crane, 1986, p476).

Also from the migrants’ perspective the contact hypothesis is limited to a local level. Van Liempt (2011), who studied Somalis migrants moving from the Netherlands to the UK, argues that good personal relations between migrants and native residents do not mean migrants do not feel excluded or experience marginalization or discrimination. Especially, superficial everyday contacts lose their meaning, “when the overall political climate is anti-immigrant or even anti-Muslim” (van Liempt, 2001, p3396). Van Liempt (2011) argues that “current understandings of segregation and integration are too focused on cultural aspects, and overlook structural factors that obstruct immigrants” (p3385). Migrants express they need small social distance to a community, so they can express their identity (van Liempt, 2011). Besides the comfort migrant communities can provide, they also provide special services and contacts. In mixed neighborhoods migrants often are treated with feelings of pity or inequality, while in migrant communities migrants find a save and protective place to live.

2.4 Exclusionary practices in integration processes

Integration and acculturation is not only involving psychological processes but also requires development of social skills and social behaviors, needed to function in a culturally complex daily world (Berry et al., 2006). Understanding integration as becoming part of a new society, it means inclusion in society and its everyday life. Yet, when inclusion to something exist, there must also be exclusion from something. Citizenship entails a tension between inclusion and exclusion, between citizenship as participation and citizenship as legal status (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Likewise, integration entails a tension between inclusion and exclusion. Immigrants often have to deal with exclusionary practices in everyday life, for example by racist remarks and disadvantage at the labor market. Exclusionary practices basically distinguish different groups based on for example gender, ethnicity or religion and disadvantage this group because of its characteristics. Discrimination always derives from racist prejudices and stigmatization of certain groups. “Discrimination can be a behavioral manifestation of prejudice, but prejudice and discrimination are distinct and one may be evident without the other” (Williams & Neighbors, 2011, p801). Some ethnic groups are systematically discriminated and are more disadvantaged than other ethnic minorities in the same country. The most disadvantaged minority groups in almost all European immigration countries are the Muslim and Roma population. Muslim and Roma minorities, experience high levels of housing disadvantages caused by poverty and lack of structural integration (education and employment) and as impact of direct and indirect discrimination in the housing market (Phillips, 2010). Muslim segregation causes worries about social unrest and

declining of social cohesion (Phillips, 2010). There is a fear of 'Islamization' and even terroristic threats in own countries. Muslims groups often are accused from self-segregation; the process of self-isolation and self-exclusion of one group from the majority. Though, it is not certain whether the alleged self-segregation actually exists, constraining of social and spatial mobility of these groups is emerging (Phillips, 2010). Muslim segregation is seen as a failure of this group to achieve social and spatial integration (Phillips, 2010). However, these segregated communities are partly produced by institutional racism and racist harassment and abandoned by native residents (Phillips, 2010). Also the Roma population is a minority group discriminated more often. In most European countries minimal social and spatial mixing of the Roma population is required, ignoring social rights of citizenship, like access to basic housing amenities (Phillips, 2010). Authorities and the public seem to prefer separation over integration. Roma's live in highly segregated and deprived areas, excluded from society, consistently experience xenophobic attitudes (Phillips, 2010). This racial discrimination is rejected by The European Commission in the Race Equality Directives in 2000, but at least four countries failed to meet the requirements (Phillips, 2010).

Discrimination is an actual topic in integration debates, because migrants increasingly express their discontent about discriminatory practices they face in everyday life. This increase of dissatisfaction among migrants is related to increasing integration among them argues El-Mafaalani in Sadigh (2013). The feeling of being discriminated and the resistance against it indicate an expectation of equal treatment (Sadigh, 2013). International comparative studies in Europe show large differences between for example migrants living in Scandinavia and migrants living in East Europe (Sadigh, 2013). The amount of experienced discrimination among migrants is much higher in Scandinavia as it is in East Europe. This finding is not consistent with the actual inequality, but it shows the general sensitivity of unjustified social inequality (Sadigh, 2013). It shows the attitudes and identification of minorities with the host society (Sadigh, 2013). Especially second-generation migrants' experience and oppose social inequality (Sadigh, 2013). It is not true that first-generation migrants did not have to deal with prejudices, but they did not express they feel discriminated (Sadigh, 2013). In contrast, second-generation migrants expect to have equal chances as native residents and want to claim this too. Studies from France show youngsters with migration backgrounds protest against discrimination because they do identify with France; "I am French, so I ask for equal opportunities, but I was discriminated against" (Sadigh, 2013, p1). This example shows that these migrants identify themselves as citizens of the host country and also want to be recognized in this way. It indicates integration and the willingness to be included in national society.

2.5 Focus on youngsters with migration backgrounds

Youngsters with migration backgrounds have to deal with integration issues on some level in their lives. With the normativity of integration nowadays, youth with migration backgrounds (both first and second-generation) need to deal with the integration of two cultures in their lives. They need to link to their culture of origin as well as to their society of settlement (Berry et al., 2006). Berry et al. (2006) constructed a framework in which "the degree to which people wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity; and the degree to which people seek involvement with the larger society" (Berry et al., 2005, p306) are captured. This research is focused on youngsters with migration backgrounds (both with own migration experiences as well as second-generation migrants) in 13 countries and from 26 different cultural backgrounds (Berry et al., 2006). The research investigates how youngsters with migration backgrounds relate to their culture of origin and the culture of their host country, constructing four different profiles. An *ethnic profile* is maintained by 22.5% of all participating youngsters; showing "a clear orientation toward their own ethnic group, with high ethnic identity, ethnic language proficiency and usage, and ethnic peer contacts" (Berry et al., 2006, p313). 18.7% of the youngsters have a *national profile*; "showing a strong orientation toward the society in which they were living" (Berry et al., 2006, p313). These youngsters show a strong national identity, are proficient in national language and use it predominantly, have mostly peer contacts from the national group and show low support for family obligations (Berry et al., 2006). The *national profile* and the *ethnic profile* are almost entirely oppositely. More striking are the other two profiles. The largest group of the participants (36.4%) maintained an *integration profile*; "indicating relatively high involvement in both their ethnic and national cultures" (Berry et al., 2006, p314). These youngsters strongly endorse integration, showing both ethnic and national identities, reporting high national language proficiency and average ethnic language proficiency and having peer contacts in both national and ethnic contexts (Berry et al., 2006). Finally, 22.4% of the participating youngsters showed a *diffuse profile*, with results that are not easily interpretable. "This profile appears similar to young people described in the identity formation literature as 'diffuse', characterized by a lack of commitment to a direction or purpose in their lives and often socially isolated" (Berry et al., 2006, p316). These youngsters often are uncertain about their place in society, lacking skills and ability to make contact to be part of the larger society (Berry et al., 2006). Remarkably, the *diffuse profile* dominates among recently arrived youngsters (who live in the host country for less than six years), while the *national profile* is very low among these youngsters (Berry et al., 2006). Among youngsters who are born in the host country of lived there from their childhood on (more than 12 years) the *integration profile* dominates, followed by the *national profile;* while the *ethnic profile* is maintained by several youngsters, apart from their residence time (Berry et al., 2006). This research shows that youngsters differently react on integration issues. Time

of residence is very important for a feeling of belonging and for adaption towards a new cultural situation. The youngsters have to deal with identity construction; find out who they are and where they belong. Still, some youngsters maintain strong ties towards their ethnic origin, as a conscious choice to retain their ethnic identity.

The identity construction process among second-generation migrants is different from the process first-generation migrants have to go through. Waters (1994) shows that second-generation youngsters have different perceptions on their identity and can differently choose to construct their identity among national and ethnic identities. Interviewing children of Caribbean immigrants in New York City (USA), Waters (1994) argues that some identify themselves as black Americans, distinguishing themselves from white Americans, but not explicitly emphasizing their Caribbean origins. While other second-generation youngsters adopt a strong ethnic identity, distancing from American blacks (Waters, 1994). It seems to be important not just to be recognized as migrants, but specifically by their Caribbean origins. This group seems very similar to the youngsters with an ethnic profile described by Berry et al. (2006). In contrast, first-generation Caribbean immigrant youngsters often identify as immigrants, not worried about how they are seen by others, as white or black Americans (Waters, 1994). Without own migration experiences, the second-generation youngsters relate differently to their country of origin. They realize they differ from both native residents: they look different, as well as from their parents: they have not experienced an immigration journey (Somerville, 2008). Nowadays, in a globalization era, the second-generation is born in the host country, but also maintains ties with their origin country, constructing transnational characteristics (Somerville, 2008). Somerville (2008) discusses identity construction among second-generation Indo-Canadians. She argues that second-generation migrants describe themselves as a mixture of ethnic and national identities (Somerville, 2008). Actually, these youngsters maintain several identities that link them to both countries. “They feel emotional attachment and belonging to their Indian families in India and promote their ties to their parents’ country of origin as a way to express these connections. Simultaneously, these second-generation youth feel an emotional connection to Canada and promote their belonging within Canada“ (Somerville, 2008, p28). Furthermore, these youngsters approach identity as a shifting process, whereby the identity you feel today can be different from how you describe yourself next week or next year (Somerville, 2008). In contrast to first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants mostly only relate emotionally to their country of origin and have often no practical experiences with it. This is a theoretical form of identification. However, they are still able to connect to their parents’ birthplace, while building a strong connection to their own country of birth at the same time (Somerville, 2008). So, identity construction among different ethnic or national identities is something several generations have to deal with. Migration influences are not less important for

second-generation youngsters as they are for first-generation youngsters, they just differently relate to it.

2.5.1 Exclusion of youngsters with migration backgrounds

Youngsters with migration backgrounds are more sensitive towards stigmatization and exclusion. Negative influences can significantly impact their attitudes. Small incidents in everyday life, for example an aged lady crossing the street to avoid a group of youngsters, can be understood as rejection or exclusion (Sadigh, 2013). Experienced discrimination by youngsters with migration backgrounds is often based on a recurring rejection or exclusion (Sadigh, 2013). The feeling of 'not being good enough' makes the youngsters demotivated and insecure about themselves. This rejection forces youngsters to find acceptance and appreciation elsewhere (Sadigh, 2013). Some youngsters become introspective and withdraw from society by mostly focusing on their equal ethnic environment (Sadigh, 2013). Other youngsters point out their migrant status and show their macho attitudes (Sadigh, 2013). This resistance can appear to be aggressive, but is meant to gain acceptance of their origins. This can explain why youngsters with a *diffuse profile* or an *ethnic profile* (as described by Berry et al., 2006) report significantly more discrimination than youngsters with a *national profile* or an *integration profile* (Berry et al., 2006). Youngsters with *diffuse profiles* and *ethnic profiles* are less involved in society and are therefore sensitive towards supposed negative influences from it.

2.6 Most important theoretical statements

The literature on integration issues show that the definition of integration become multi-definable. The concept of integration shifted from socio-economic inclusion towards cultural and behavioral adaption. This normative shift also encouraged the rise of the assimilation discourse in integration debates. Integration is *moralized* and *responsibilazed*; cultural and normative adaption towards the host countries cultural standards is a migrants' own responsibility.

In identity construction processes in integration processes, the white majority of the host country has a powerful position. By practices of othering ethnic minorities are stigmatized and labelled. Yet, the host society is also challenged to reconstruct its cultural identity. Migrants construct their identity by internalizing, contesting and challenging the given labels. However, migrants are disempowered by othering practices, because in this process the white majority has the power to set standards of normality where to migrants have to adapt. Migrants have a disadvantaged position because of their origins and are expected to adapt towards the given norms.

Integration processes are often linked to segregation issues, because spatial mixing is assumed to be a part of a successful integration trajectory. Many European integration countries conduct desegregation policies to stimulate integration of ethnic minorities. This preference for desegregation

is also stimulated by xenophobia and fear for migrant communities, as threat of social cohesion. However, it also can be argued that migrant communities or small social distance towards other migrants is important in the integration processes of migrants. Especially when exclusion and inequality are present in society and the local environment is negative towards cultural differences, migrants need safety and recognition. This will help them to find their place in society and to shape their lives in the new country.

Exclusion and discrimination are important and sensitive topics in integration debates. When migrants have lived for a longer time in a country, they are more aware of their disadvantaged position and contest this. When becoming integrated, migrants also become sensitive for unjustified social inequality. They identify themselves as equal citizens and also want other to approach them in this way. So, experiences of discrimination indicate an integrated position and a desire to become fully included in society.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds, both first and second-generations, have to deal with integration in their lives by the integration of two cultures. Studies have shown that time of residence is influencing the identification processes of youngsters. Newly arrived youngsters are often diffused about their belonging, while second-generation migrants have integrated the two cultures in their lives. Although not always accepted by society, youngsters with migration backgrounds naturally integrate different cultures and remain a transnational lifestyle.

3. Methodology and data collection

The data of this research is collected through a case study. This type of flexible research design "investigates a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1989, p23; Soy, 1997). A case study helps to answer the why's and how's of a research question. The questions focus on a limited number of events or conditions and their interrelationships (Soy, 1997). Different variables of interest and multiple sources of evidence are included in a case study (Yin, 1989). This makes a case study a suitable method for studying complex social phenomena. Opponents of the case study method argue that results of a case study cannot be extrapolated to fit an entire question, since they only apply to a narrow field (Shuttleworth, 2008). On the other hand, case studies provide more realistic responses and give more insight in causes and reasoning than statistical surveys. Furthermore, when published, case studies can have a stronger impact on the general public than a statistical survey, because they represent different personal situations and experiences (Shuttleworth, 2008). Although a case study is an essential tool to investigate personal and local cases, persons or conditions, it cannot be easily generalized to a larger scale such as a population (Shuttleworth, 2008). A case study can be strengthened by complimenting it with statistical data (Shuttleworth, 2008). Yin (1989) distinguish three case study designs: (1) exploratory cases, that are conducted to define research questions and hypotheses, (2) explanatory cases that aim to investigate causal relations between an event or conditions and its effects and (3) descriptive cases that illustrate events and their specific context. The case study design of this project has an explanatory character, aiming to discover interrelations between local integration experiences and national integration discourses. The case study method is conducted as general strategy, to compare empirically discovered patterns with patterns that are predicted based on literature research (Yin, 1989). Because of the flexible character of the case study method, it might introduce new and unexpected results that influence the focus of the research (Shuttleworth, 2008). Still, the method helps to collect and analyze the data, and to explain the case and its causal interrelations (Yin, 1989).

Yin (1989) suggest six sources of evidence for data collection: (1) documents, (2) archival records, (3) interviews, (4) direct observations, (5) participants observations and (6) physical artefacts. In this research, documents, interviews, direct observations and participant observations are the main sources in the data collection process. The data is collected by three methods; desk research, expert interviews and focus groups. The qualitative data is gathered from both secondary sources (desk research) and primary sources (focus groups and expert interviews). The desk research consists of a general mapping of the national debate on integration and cultural identity in Germany. Scientific articles, newspapers, policy documents and project plans are used to provide data that can help analyzing national discussions, opinions and situation (problems and opportunities) on general

integration, national identity and specific data about youngsters with migration backgrounds. Furthermore, desk research provides good basic information about the local situation in Dortmund. The desk research helps to create a background for the further data collection and provides basic information for the expert interviews and focus groups. Desk research will take place in the orientation phase, during the start of the internship and data collection process and in the writing phase. The desk research is reinforced and supplemented with expert interviews.

Those expert interviews as well as focus groups are used to map and understand the opinions and experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds towards integration and identity construction. The interviewed experts are researchers, youth workers, officials or migration organization leaders. Their knowledge relates to migration and integration processes and (projects with) youngsters with migration backgrounds. The aim of these expert interviews is twofold; first to contribute to the mapping of the experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The expert opinions help to embed the experiences of the youngsters, by providing more insight on the everyday situations the youngsters live in, but also by reflection on their behavior. Those experts' opinions ground and underpin the experiences of the youngsters. Secondly, the expert interviews contribute to the mapping of discussions, opinions and situations around integration and cultural identity in both Germany and Dortmund. The expert opinions on social debates and national integration politics provide inside knowledge and professional opinions that complement the literature and media research (gathered during the desk research). The twofold aim of this part of the research helps to expose relations between national discourses and debates on integration and the experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The experts shed light on how the discourses affect the behavior of the youngsters and how the attitudes of the youngsters contribute to current existing discourse in German society. As researchers of migration and integration processes or employees of migration organizations these experts can provide both formal information about integration and its influences on education and neighborhoods as well as personal experiences with integration processes, the German school system and the life in different districts in Dortmund. Furthermore, by working with youngsters, some experts can provide information about opinions and integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. Experts cannot provide actual data about experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds, but they provide an overall background in which the primary data obtained from the youngsters is embedded. The selection of the experts for the interviews is based on the development of a personal contact network in Dortmund. The first experts selected are researchers of ILS that focus on the living world of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund. The next experts for the interviews, selected based on the networks of those researchers, were employees at migration organizations and of the municipality of Dortmund. These experts referred in turn to other contact persons and organizations of interest. In this way a

network of people supporting the project was established, creating the best opportunities to gather data and get in contact with youngsters.

Expert interviews with youth workers were a way to get in touch with the youngsters themselves. With organizational help of the youth workers focus groups of youngsters with migration backgrounds were organized, both first-generation migrants and second-generation migrants in different neighborhoods in Dortmund. Focus groups help to explore attitudes, opinions and perceptions towards integration, through an open discussion between the members of the group (Kumar, 1999). Focus groups are structured in three phases: introduction, core discussion and closure. Each phase has its own characterization with a set of questions (Slocum, 2006). The discussion is focused by and develops around these questions (Slocum, 2006). During the discussion different opinions, experiences and perspectives of the participants can be explored. In advance preparations, like the selection of topics and the design of questions that focus the discussion, are important to use this method successfully (Kumar, 1999). Advantages of this method are the relatively ease of organizing a meeting and the speed at which detailed information is collected, such as opinions and experiences (Kumar, 1999). Being in a group, people feel more at ease and the threshold to talk is lowered. However, the gained data is not directly representative for the whole migrant community or not even for all youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund or Germany. The focus groups help to explore the diversity of opinions and experiences, but provide no insights on the extend of these (Kumar, 1999). Furthermore, some people may dominate the discussion, whereby other opinions are outweighed, or the involvement of the researcher can influence the discussion (Kumar, 1999). In this case open questions, reduced to the reality of the youngsters, not using theoretical terms, can help to open up an open discussion and minimize the influence of the researcher. Properly prepared, the focus group can gain valuable and personal data.

3.1 Data collection process

Although the data collection process was planned in advance, unexpected situations in the process required revision of the chosen collection methods. Especially the organization of the focus groups among youngsters with migration backgrounds needed adaption to the existing conditions. This influenced the sample selection process and the design and execution of the data collection method (focus groups). Some characteristics of the method are adapted to the conditions of the youngsters with migration backgrounds, while others could be maintained. All the decision to adjust the method are made in order to gain more or better data from the youngsters. The adaption and changes that were made are explained in the paragraphs below.

3.1.1 Development form the initial plan to the organization of workshop

The initial idea for the collection of integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds was to organize focus groups. To involve the spatial aspect in this data collection the focus groups should be established in different city districts, such that spatial aspects and influences of integration can be taken into account. The city district *Nordstadt* is typified as migrant district. One focus group will be organized in this district to investigate how this affects the integration experiences of youngsters. Results should be compared to results from a focus groups in another district with a lower share of migrants, to understand the impact of living in a migrant's district. However, establishing contact with youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund was challenging. Most schools did not react to emails or phone calls while others (mostly *Gymnasiums*) stated that the teachers and students were too busy finishing the school year to participate in the research. It was not possible to get in contact with teachers for expert interviews or with youngsters to conduct focus groups or small interviews. Eventually, youth workers from *'Jugendtreff Stollenpark'* (short: Stollenpark) in *Nordstadt* and '*Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff*' (short: HWMT) in *Dorstfeld* were willing to support this project by helping gathering youngsters that could participate. After first contact with the youth workers of *Stollenpark* an evening of the '*Jugend Forum Nordstadt'* was attended. This initiative creates a platform were youngsters can discuss about politics or neighborhood matters. This evening the group of youngster that would be part of the research could be observed. The meeting took an hour, which was quite a long time to concentrate for the youngsters. During this meeting some guests talked about their organizations and the importance of education and politics, which required the youngsters to listen. Afterwards there was some time reserved in which the youngsters could ask some questions. The event was a bit chaotic; people walked in and out during the session, talked with each other in different languages and looked at their phones. Most youngsters looked uninterested, as if they attended out of obligation. Afterwards, I talked with two youngsters about integration and discrimination. The youngsters were friendly and helpful, but also impatient. It was difficult to really get some clear and informative answers.

Due to this experience with the youngsters and through collaboration with the youth workers the implementation of the initial plan had to be revised. The sample selection process and the design and execution of the focus groups needed to be adapted to the current circumstances. There were too much uncertainties and changeable conditions to meet all criteria of an organized focus group. Still, a group meeting would be better than conducting personal interviews, because the interaction between the youngsters could provide (indirect) information about their personal experiences as well as their group behavior. Therefore I designed workshops that did comply with important criteria of the focus group methodology, but that were adapted to the situation and circumstances of the youngsters. For this purpose, some focus group criteria had to be reframed, but the workshops still have their basis in

the focus group methodology. After consultation of the youth workers of both *Stollenpark* and *HWMT* (separate from each other) it was decided to arrange two workshops of 30-60 minutes. The workshops took place in the youth community centers of *Stollenpark* and *HWMT* in respectively *Nordstadt* and *Dorstfeld*. The exact location of the youth centers in the neighborhoods is presented in Figure 2.

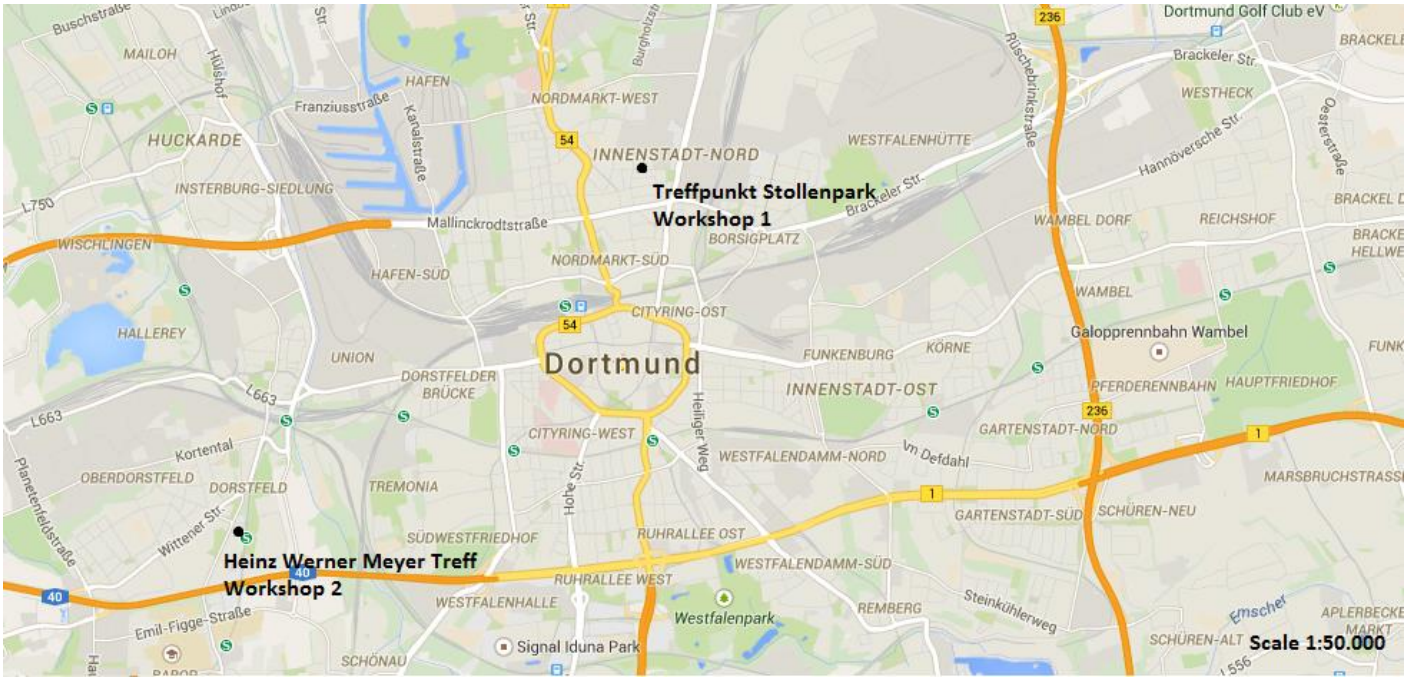


Figure 2 Locations of the youth community centers in Dortmund

The workshops would take place in an informal setting and should connect to the capabilities and life experiences of the youngsters. The introduction phase of the workshops contains a small introduction of the workshop leader, the project and the workshop activities. It would not contain any opening questions. The core discussion, the most important part of the workshops, should provide substantive input of the youngsters, and therefore required comfort and activation. Comfort is created by an open sphere; when the youngsters feel welcome and safe to talk about integration and identity and when they know their opinions and experiences are heard and appreciated. And to activate the youngsters, the workshop needed a concept whereby these youngsters are stimulated to express themselves; and which still provides enough and clear data for this project. A group discussion can be too static, so it was decided to design some activities, based on pedagogic methods that could help to activate and develop the discussion. Involvement and interest of the youngsters requires responsibility of them, but also guidance of the workshop leader. The challenge for this workshop is to both stimulate the youngsters to get involved to obtain the desired information as well as to give the youngsters space to give their own input and create their own output. Didactic activities help to both create boundaries for and control of the activity as well as space for own initiative and input of the group (Dirkse-Hulscher & Papas-Talen, 2007). Furthermore, interactive activities help to get the youngster actively involved instead of passively present. This requires activities that challenge the youngsters to get actively

involved and that lead to outcomes that will obtain useful data. The activities should encourage responsible behavior and an open attitude. As was learned from small talks with the youngsters on the first evening, the topics should connect to their experiences and perceptions. Therefore, talking about feeling welcome, feeling at home and a feeling of belonging to culture and geographic locations (country, city, and neighborhood) could be a starting point to talk about integration and cultural identity. The activities should involve manageable questions and topics that these youngsters understand and relate to. Furthermore, to active the youngsters the workshop leader would be actively involved in the workshop. With these considerations to two activities were designed, described in Box 1 and Box 2 (and Appendix 1). A small question form (see Appendix 1) for evaluation of the workshop and gathering of information about sample criteria (like, country of birth, origin of parents and passport) was designed to conclude the workshop.

Box 1 - Activity 1 Thermometer worksheet
Goal
To create visible data of primary attitudes towards (four elements of) integration.

Description
On the worksheet there are 4 questions related to integration (feeling at home, friends and cultures, school and work and politics), with each a picture of a thermometer. By marking the thermometer, the youngsters can rank their experiences to answer to the question (0= very negative experiences, 10= very positive experiences). With every question there is also space to write down notes or arguments to explain the ranking. This creates a start to talk about topics like home, society, school, belonging and exclusion. The worksheet can be found in Appendix 1.

Box 2 - Activity 2 Poster discussion
Goal
To create an overview of experiences and opinions of the youngsters on integration related themes in four domains of their lives.

Short description
Four posters (each representing a domain: family and friends, school, neighbourhood and German society) lie on tables. To start the discussion themes related to integration are introduced by asking some open question. Every participant can write down a relevant word/answer/note on a post-it and paste it on one of the posters. It is also possible to explain or comment the post-it. Hereby a framework is created that will help develop the discussion on the introduced themes.

Possible questions to open the discussion
- Do you feel welcome in Germany and why?
- With whom do you have contact and why?
- Who is supporting you? /Where do you get support?
- How was it to apply for a job, example?
- What sphere is present on your school?
- How are you chances for the future and why?

3.1.2 Sample selection process

Preferably, the research samples should consist of youngsters between 14-20 years old, boys and girls mixed. Youngsters in this age group are aware of integration processes and their position as (second-generation) migrant in a host society. Furthermore, youngsters in this age group have experiences with the German education system or entering the German labor market. The participating youngster should have migrated themselves (first-generation) or have parents that migrated to Germany (second-generation). Preferably, the samples are a good mix of different ethnical backgrounds and generations, such that a wide range of experiences and opinions can be collected.

Through collaboration with the youth workers from *Nordstadt* and *Dorstfeld*, the spatial criterion of the samples was met, but it was more difficult to meet the other criteria, since it was not possible to select the youngsters on forehand. By involvement of the youth workers existing networks and group structures of youngsters were accessed, but youngsters are free to come and go at all times in the youth communities centers. Participation in projects and activities is voluntary and the youngsters decide to participate or not at the start of the activity. So, also the participation in my project could not be guaranteed. Dates and places for the workshops were established, but which youngsters would participate could not be determined on forehand. This did influence the sample size; during the group meeting people walked in and out and some youngsters only participated in one part of the workshop. For this reason the size of the samples varies, from the lowest number of participants in one activity to the highest number of participants, who participated in the whole workshop, see Table 1. The uncertainty about the attendance of the youngsters did also influence the ethnical diversity and division in gender and age of the sample. It was possible that only a group of friends would show up or that some youngsters had other activities to attend, which could lead to an unbalanced distribution of these characteristics in the sample. However, the focus is on migration generations, ethnical diversity and neighborhood of residence; gender and age are of secondary importance. To understand the relation between national discourses and the experiences of youngsters, generation, location and ethnical diversity are expected to be more distinctive than age and gender.

In the end, the research samples represent different characteristics; diversity in generations, ethical backgrounds and age. Only the representation of gender is unbalanced, with an overrepresentation of male participants. The first workshop was held at *'Jugend Treff Stollenpark'*, with a mix of first-generation and second-generation youngsters. The second workshop was held at the '*Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff'*, with only male, second-generation migrants. The exact characteristics of the samples can be found in Table 1.

Table 1 Characteristics of research samples

Characteristic	**Sample 1 Stollenpark**	**Sample 2 HWMT**
Location	*Nordstadt*, Dortmund	*Dorstfeld*, Dortmund
Number of participants[1]	9-15	6-9
Age	14 – 25 (majority 15-17)	14-18
Gender	12 male, 3 female	9 male
1st/2nd generation	50/50 share	All 2nd generation
Ethnical background	Turkish (2nd gen), Romanian & Bulgarian (1st gen)	Lebanon (3), Egypt (1), Iran (1), Ghana (1), Unknown (3)
German passport	75% yes, others 1nd generation	66% yes, others conscious decision

3.1.3 Implementation of the workshops

Although the workshops were prepared and planned on forehand, some situations or reactions of the youngsters could not be prepared for. It was not certain whether the youngsters would be willing to open up and share their experiences. Both group meetings contained circumstances that could not be prepared for, but that did influence the activities, as will be explained below. Furthermore, it was decided to not record the workshop meetings, despite the fact this is a requirement in a focus group meeting. Recording the workshop could affect the discussion and could hinder the youngsters to talk openly, whereas an open and safe sphere was needed, where the youngsters felt comfortable. Also the activities and discussion where often too chaotic to create a clear recording. As researcher I participated as discussion leader, while making notes at the same time. This is not ideal, but it was the best option given the circumstances. Youth workers supported the role of the discussion leader and also managed the discussion and activities and pointed out important findings. Personal influences from the discussion leader at the answers, comments and discussion of the youngsters were tried to be minimized, but the discussion leader had to be actively present during the workshops. To activate the youngsters, the activities were explained with personal examples, supplementary question to clarify the opinions of the youngsters were asked, and the discussion leader walked around the room to answer questions. The questions were completely open (no suggestions) and suggestive words, like discrimination or disadvantage were avoided.

Furthermore, it is realistic to reflect on my presence as workshop leader and researcher. I was an outsider in the group; as young, white female I clearly did differ from the participating youngsters. This provoked reactions of the youngsters, which reflected in their behavior. Especially the male

[1] The number of participants varies, because some youngsters only participated in one part of the workshop

participants showed off macho behavior at the beginning of the workshops. For example, they yelled to each other, they all introduced themselves to me as 'Ali' and they made remarks about sex. On the other hand, as foreigner in Germany I could also relate to them and it helped to let the youngsters open up to me. The youngsters could explain me, the foreigner, how things are organized in Germany. For example, how the school system is structured, and how they experiences living in Dortmund and German society.

Workshop 1 Stollenpark

The first workshop was held on Wednesday evening (17:00h) April 16, at the youth community center *Treffpunkt Stollenpark* in *Nordstadt*. In advance, a small explanation of this evening was given to the youth workers, so they were prepared. After some small preparations for the activities, the youth workers gathered youngsters that were present in the building. Everyone who wanted to come was introduced to me and took place at the table. The sphere was immediately relaxed, there was laughing and the youngsters were curious what was going to happen. However, it was also a bit chaotic; people walked in and out and talked in different languages. The majority of the participants were young boys, who directly showed their macho attitudes by raising their voices and yelling to each other. At the same time there was a table football competition, so a few youngsters were not interested to participate and left after the first few minutes. The workshop started with a word of welcome and a small explanation of the aim of the evening. It was directly clear that the youngsters could not concentrate for a long time and that their behavior would remain chaotic. However, after explanation of the first activity everyone could work individually on their own worksheet, which went well. Some of the participants spoke no or little German, because they lived for only a few months in Germany. Two youth workers present, I and some youngsters explained the activity several times. I walked around to answer questions and to ask further questions about underlying reasons. Most participants were serious and tried to fill in the worksheet as good as possible, an example is shown in Figure 3. A few boys were only trying to distract others and seemed not willing to seriously participate in the workshop. So, some of the responses could not be used, because the participants did not take the questions very seriously. An example is given in Figure 4. Al the worksheets of the youngsters are presented in Appendix 2. After the first activity, the youngsters were a bit restless and some left the room. After a short explanation activity two started. The youngsters found it difficult to answer the questions in the right way, or to give reasons for their

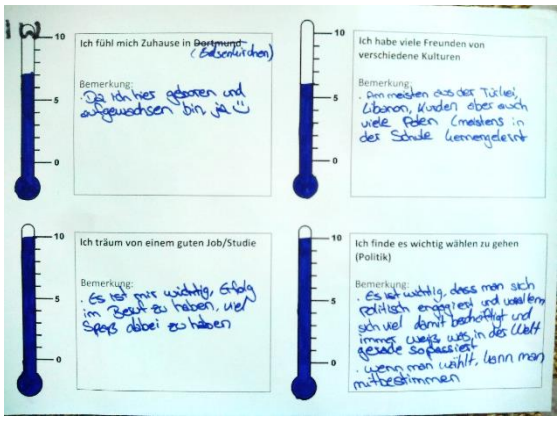


Figure 3 Example of a completed worksheet

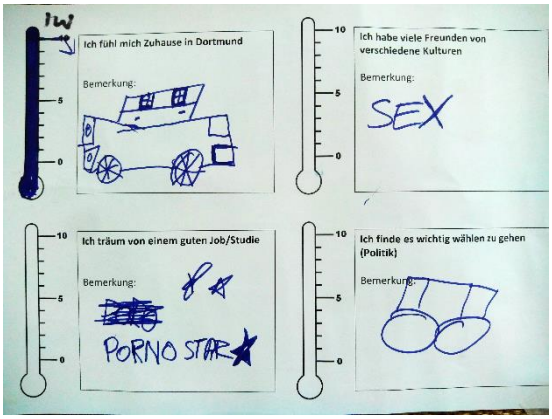


Figure 4 Example of an unreliable response

feelings. For example, one boy told me he did not like the people at school, but he could not tell me why. The second activity focused more on the reasoning behind the feelings and experiences, which challenged the youngsters. By talking personally with them they were helped to write down some reasons and arguments and after some time, most understood better what was expected of them. However, the sphere was still chaotic and the youngsters walked around and talked to each other, so a good discussion about the posters was not possible. Instead, personal talks with the youngsters were held and put on paper, in order to understand their experiences and reasoning. After half an hour, most youngster wanted to leave. They filled in a short form with personal information of the sample information and left. They were all still nice and friendly, but could not concentrate any longer. After the workshop ended, some drinks and bites were taken with the youth workers and some youngsters. The youth workers were enthusiastic about the workshop and enjoyed the time. Also my experience was very positive. A lot of useful data was gathered with the activities, but also by observations and experiences working with these youngsters. An impression of the workshop is given in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Impression workshop 1

Workshop 2 HWMT

The second workshop was held on Friday evening (19:00h) April 25, at the youth community center *Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff* in *Dorstfeld*, a district in the west of Dortmund. This evening would have an informal character and I arrived at 17:00h to cook with the youngsters. Upon arrival and meeting the youth workers, I noticed that there were no youngsters (15+) in and around the building. In the kitchen, children (up to 12 years) were making pizza and others played soccer outside the building. I started helping the children make their pizzas and talked with them. The older youngsters had left the building

after a fight this evening, I was told. There were some disagreements about their behavior towards a youth worker and this afternoon they had a talk about that, whereby some youngster were angry and left. Yvonne Johannsen, the youth worker that helped to organize this workshop, expected that at 19:00h, when all the children (up to 12 years) should leave, the youngsters would come back, although it was still uncertain how much of them would be there and would be willing to participate. Around seven o'clock, the youngsters arrived, all boys, obviously showing their macho attitudes. It was unsure whether they would be willing to get involved in the activities. In consultation with Yvonne Johannsen it was decided to start with the second activity, the poster discussion, which directly provided space for discussion. If this would not work out, the thermometer worksheet could be used to bring more structure in the discussion. Despite a slightly tense sphere all youngsters agreed to come to the kitchen to eat some pizza and to participate in the workshop. The start of the evening was a bit difficult, because the situation was chaotic, with eating and laughing, and the youngsters seemed uninterested in seriously answering questions. However, after some minutes (and some encouragement of me and the youth workers) the youngsters did answer the questions and started to write down their ideas on the memos. An example of a poster is given in Figure 6. I started to ask more questions and tried to understand their reasoning. This did start a bit of a discussion and the youngsters opened up and started talking about what they really did experience in everyday life. The sphere became more relaxed and the answers more serious. Although this was also a sign for some to leave, most youngsters interacted with each other and gave examples about their experiences and feelings. During the discussion the youngsters opened up and shared what they thought and felt with regard to identity and integration. In contrast to the first workshop, these youngsters (who were slightly older) were able to give arguments, interact with each other and come up with new perspectives. Also these youngsters were conscious of the fact that they were 'foreigners'. This discussion provided good qualitative data for the research project. At 20:30h the workshop ended and the youngsters left. The youth workers, just like myself, were very enthusiastic about this evening, because it had worked out well. The youngsters had opened up and told things that were also new for the youth workers. The data gathered during this workshop provides a valuable insight in the everyday life experiences and reasoning of the youngsters. It is a collection of honest and open expressions of these youngsters, which is of large contribution to the understanding of their life worlds.

Figure 6 Example of a completed poster

3.2 Data analysis process

Finishing the data collection process, two types of data needed to be processed: the expert interviews and the worksheets, posters and report of the workshops. The data of the workshop activities was directly usable for analysis. To add more context information a report of the discussion written and notes on the situation, the sphere and my personal impressions directly after the workshops were put on paper. The data from the expert interviews needed some more processing. After each interview a report was written, containing all topics discussed and all information provided by the experts. However, these reports do not contain a literal transcription of the interview, but a stylized version of the conversation. All interviews were held in German, which means that the interviews needed translation to English to allow them to be used in the research. The advantage of literal transcription and translation of the interviews did not outweigh the work investment needed and the risk of inaccuracies during translation. Therefore, the interviews were processed in a personal representation of the interview containing all interview topics and statements, making use of important, relevant quotes as suggested by Meulenberg (1990). These reports contain an introduction with relevant information, the actual report of the interview and a short reflection on the characteristics of the interview and the expert. To make sure these reports represented the interview well, all reports were send to the experts for conformation. Comments were processed, such that the reports are a right representation of the interview. Three experts could not read the English reports, but agreed on the fact that these reports would be used in this project. All interview reports are attached in Appendix 3.

Further analysis of the gathered data is based on the Grounded Theory approach as described by Helen Scott (2009). This methodology is not used to develop a new theory, but it provides a basis for the analyzing process. The Grounded Theory approach is using different steps of structuring to analyze the collected data. The coding process is especially interesting and has inspired the analytical process preceding this report. The first step in Grounded Theory is an *open coding*, whereby the collected data is interpreted and coded (Scott, 2009). In the open coding process every piece of data is identified, named and categorized, by asking: “what is this about?”, “what is this word/sentence/paragraph telling me?” (Borgatti, 2006). The representative words used for the coding name all the different messages in the data and help to structure these. It is possible that one sentence has different code names. Using open coding, every significant data is interpreted to systematically categorize the data and thereby recognize code categories (Scott, 2009; Borgatti, 2006). Code categories are formed by a collection of similar open codes that all refer to one thing, like an institution, an activity, a general opinion or a social relation (Borgatti, 2006). To discover and construct the code categories in a systematic way, it is important to make notes during the whole coding process (Scott, 2009). All my coded data, the expert interviews and the worksheet, posters and discussion reports of

the workshops, is collected in Appendix 4. Some codes are used more frequently than others and sometimes multiple codes are applicable to one piece of data. Figure 7 shows an example of the coding of the expert interview reports, whereby all the useful data is noted and named. The opinions, statements and examples in the expert interview reports are coded and analyzed, to understand the core topics, interrelations and theoretical concepts. The report of the group discussion of Workshop 2 HWMT is processed in the same way as the interview reports. The coding is used to translate the experiences and examples of the youngsters to core codes and theoretical concepts. An example is given in Figure 8. The materials of the workshop activities, the posters and worksheets, are first structured in overviews and then coded; an example is given in Figure 9. In this coding process different colors are used, each representing a core code, whereby the data is directly translated to core issues and themes. Full color coding and explanations can be found in Appendix 4. To connect the different codes and to recognize the code categories, notes and small overviews help to structure the open coding (Scott, 2009). The memos help to develop a 'thin theory' that covers relationships between codes and categories (Scott, 2009). An example of one of the memos is given in Figure 10. To define the code categories the codes from the open coding process were taken and put on paper. Some codes are put together under one name, a code category. The importance of codes in this project depends on the frequency of the use of a particular code during the open coding process.

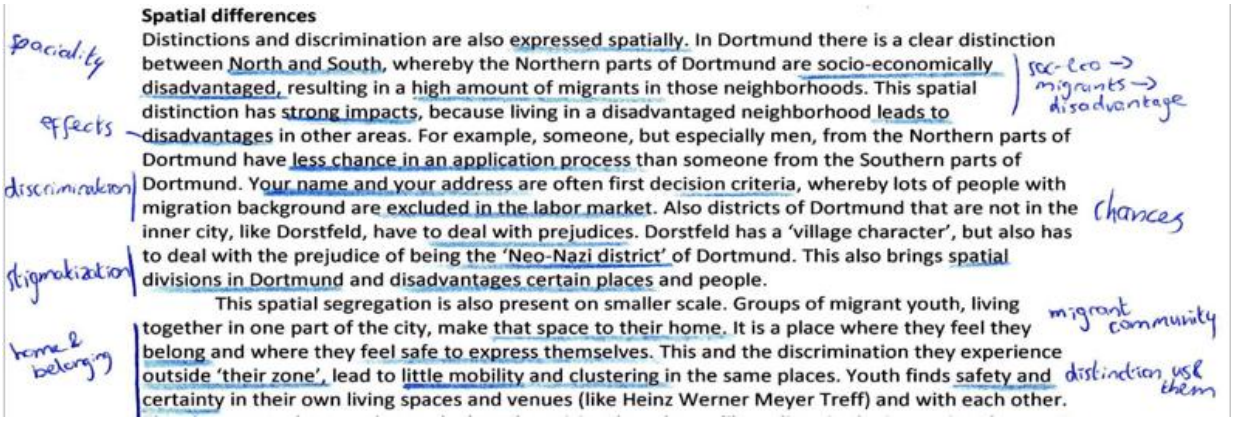


Figure 8 Example of the coding of an expert interview

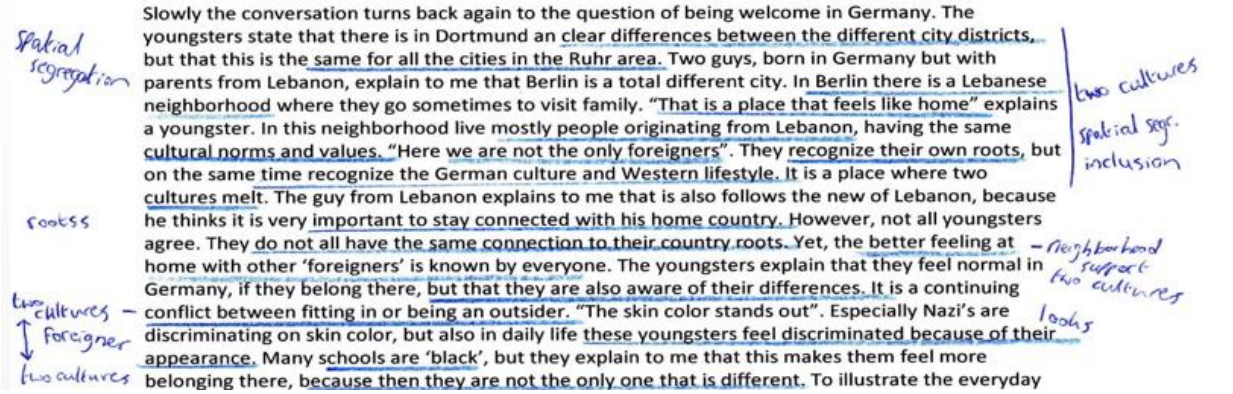
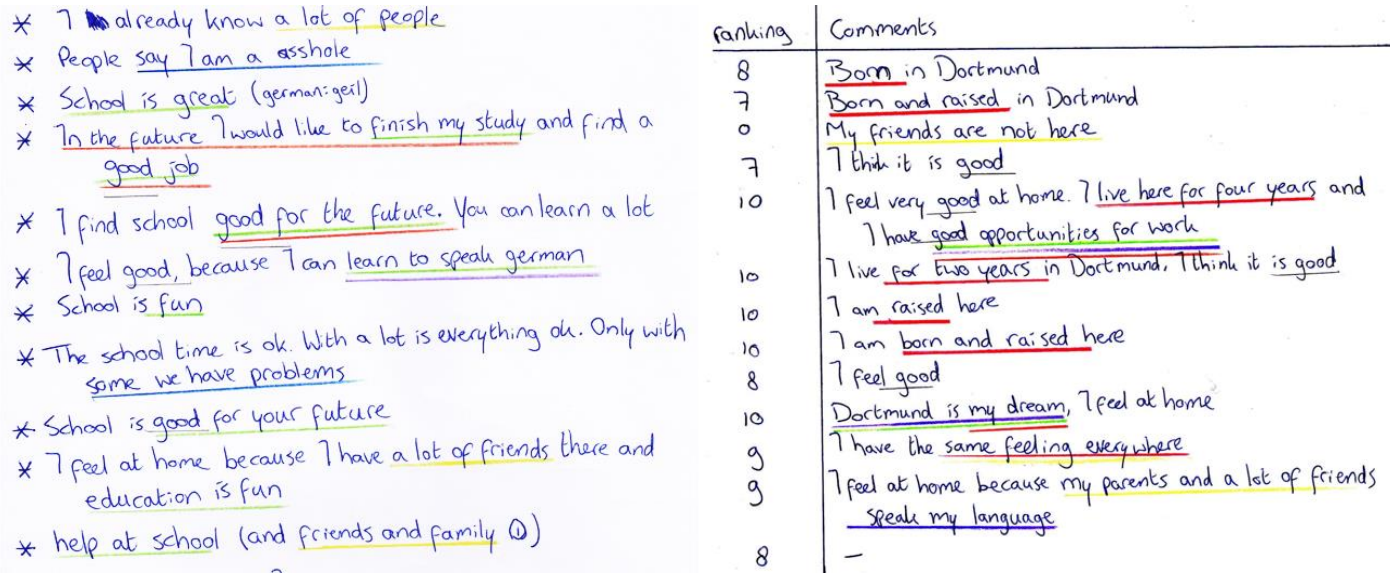


Figure 7 Example of the coding of the group discussion, workshop 2



- I already know a lot of people
- People say I am a asshole
- School is great (german: geil)
- In the future I would like to finish my study and find a good job
- I find school good for the future. You can learn a lot
- I feel good, because I can learn to speak german
- School is fun
- The school time is ok. With a lot is everything ok. Only with some we have problems
- School is good for your future
- I feel at home because I have a lot of friends there and education is fun
- help at school (and friends and family ☺)

ranking	Comments
8	Born in Dortmund
7	Born and raised in Dortmund
0	My friends are not here
7	I think it is good
10	I feel very good at home. I live here for four years and I have good opportunities for work
10	I live for two years in Dortmund, I think it is good
10	I am raised here
10	I am born and raised here
8	I feel good
10	Dortmund is my dream, I feel at home
9	I have the same feeling everywhere
9	I feel at home because my parents and a lot of friends speak my language
8	–

Figure 9 Example of the coded data of the workshops

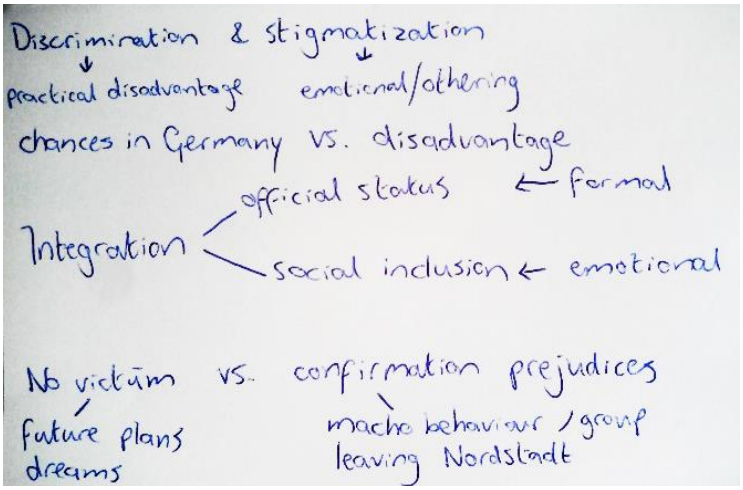


Figure 10 Example of notes taken during the process

Next in the analysis process is *selective coding*, a process of choosing one or more core categories (Borgatti, 2006; Scott, 2009). The core categories form the core of the research, around which all the other elements of the research is arranged (Borgatti, 2006). To select the core categories of this research, all the categories are put in schemes that show relations between the different categories. Those schemes are presented in Appendix 5. These overviews led to one final scheme presenting three core categories. Figure 11 presents the final scheme of the selective coding process, whereby three core categories, *identity*, *exclusion* and *space* represent the core categories of the research in which other topics, like citizenship, stigmatization, discrimination and segregation, are embedded. The scheme also shows how different categories and concepts are related or influence each other. The core category *identity* represents the process of identity construction in integration processes. The focus is on identity issues that both migrants and host countries encounter, when facing integration. It also shows the relations between integration processes and identity construction

processes and how these influence each other. The core category *exclusion* represents the exclusionary practices in everyday life that migrants face in their integration process. It focuses on stigmatization and discrimination in neighborhoods, at schools and at the labor market. It is not about exceptional cases, but about everyday situations youngsters with migration backgrounds face, and it includes forms of indirect discrimination. The third core category *space* represents the spatial aspects of integration processes. The focus is on spatial effects, spatial influences and spatial expressions of integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The spatial aspects are mostly visible on local level, and in this core category mostly focuses on neighborhood level. The selective coding process is also the basis of the structure of this report. The three core categories, *identity, exclusion* and *space*, provide the three most important elements around which this report is built up. The content of the subsequent chapters is structured in paragraphs that are classified according to the three core elements of the data. Each respective paragraph discusses the important themes and relations of a core element, as described above. Also in the following chapters the overall theme, integration, will be discussed, with special attention to the substantive developments of this concept. The basis of the structure is designed by this overall theme of integration and the three core elements, identity, exclusion and space, but each chapter will has its own characteristics and elements of focus.

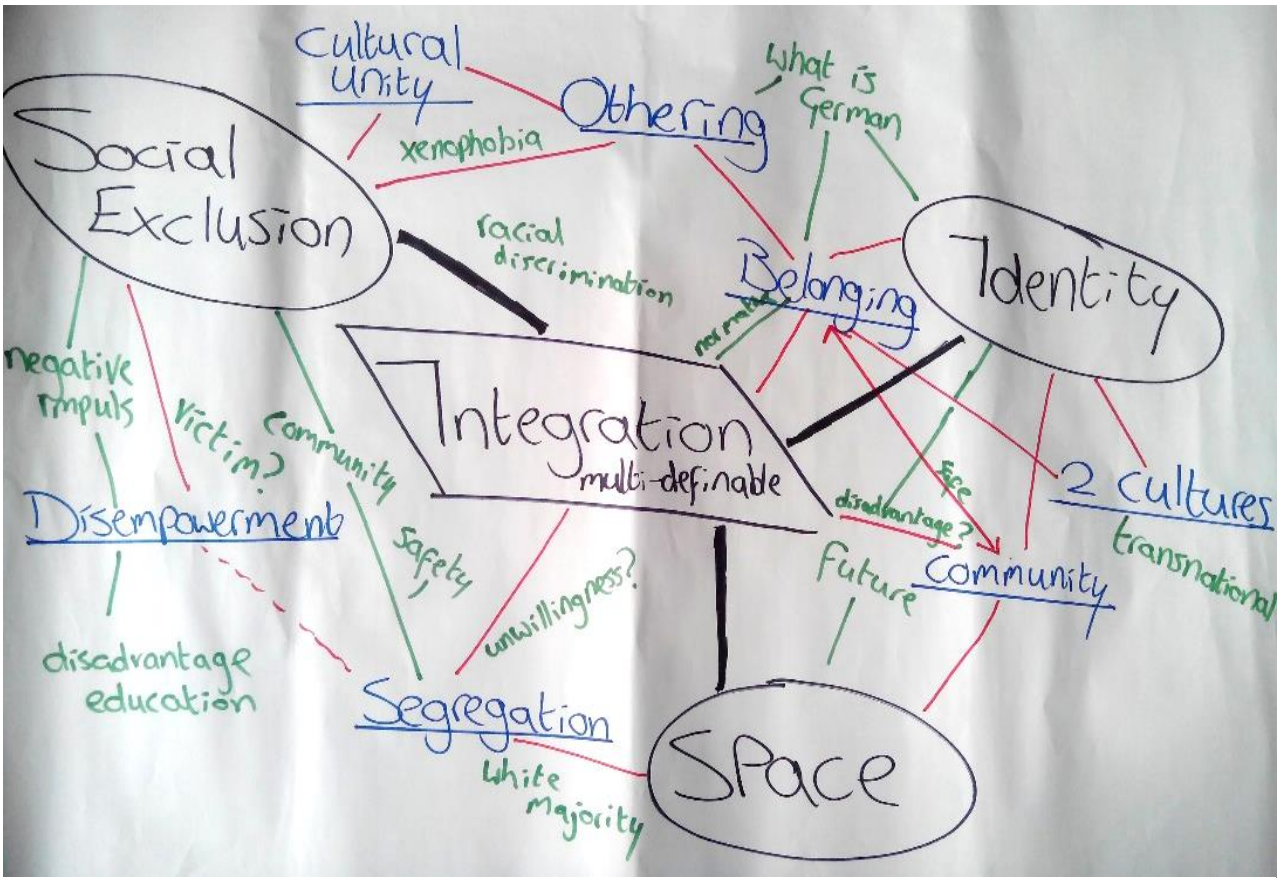


Figure 11 Final scheme with core elements

4. Integration discourses and political debates in Germany

Germany is transforming into a multicultural society, dealing with inhabitants from different cultures. The latest figures of 2012 show that 20% of the total German population (81.9 million) has a migration background, which includes 9% of the total population which has a foreigner status (Destatis, 2012a). Remarkably, the figures show that 20.5% of the inhabitants with a foreigner status do not have migration experiences themselves (Destatis, 2012a). This can refer to second-generation migrants, born in Germany, who are forced or choose to keep their foreign passport. The largest group of foreigners (20.3%) is originating from Turkey, followed by other Europeans (like Italians, Croatians, Poles, Greeks and Austrians) and Asian people (Destatis, 2012b). Over time, Germany has known two large international immigration waves, the first starting in the mid-1950s. Labor migrants from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal came to Germany to work (Glitz, 2012). Through strong economic growth a lack of available manpower arose (Glitz, 2012). During the recession in 1973/1974 the active recruitment stopped, but family reunions continued (Glitz, 2012). The second wave of international immigration was in the late 1980's and early 1990's, when the Former Soviet union collapsed and political changes were implemented in Eastern Europe (Glitz, 2012). Ethnic German migrants from Poland and the Former Soviet Union and refugees from wars in Former Yugoslavia came to Germany (Glitz, 2012). The first group is called *Aussiedler* and has a specific background with Germany (resulting from WWII) and therefore is differently distinguished than other migrants (Lüttinger, 1986).

4.1 German history in relation to migration

World War II has changed Germany as a nation, but also still is influencing debates on migration, integration, citizenship and nationalism today. To understand the current debates on integration and multiculturalism in Germany, understanding of land (re)formation processes after WWII is important and therefore some important circumstances and decisions are discussed. After WWII, large migration flows occurred across whole Europe. The most extensive was the migration of 8 million native Germans, who were forced to leave their homes in former East Prussia, Silesia, Pomerania, and Bohemia (nowadays Poland and Chez Republic, see Figure 12) to move to the new borders of West Germany (Falck et al., 2012). Germany was in that time divided in four zones (British, French, USA and Soviet as is shown in Figure 12) in which the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic and the other three merged into the Federal Republic of Germany (Falck et al., 2012). The native Germans that were forced to migrate mostly settled in the South-East (Bavaria and lower Saxony) and West (North Rhine-Westphalia) of the FRG (Falck et al., 2012). The living circumstances of those expelled Germans were not very well. Free movements was restricted and the economic situation was uncertain

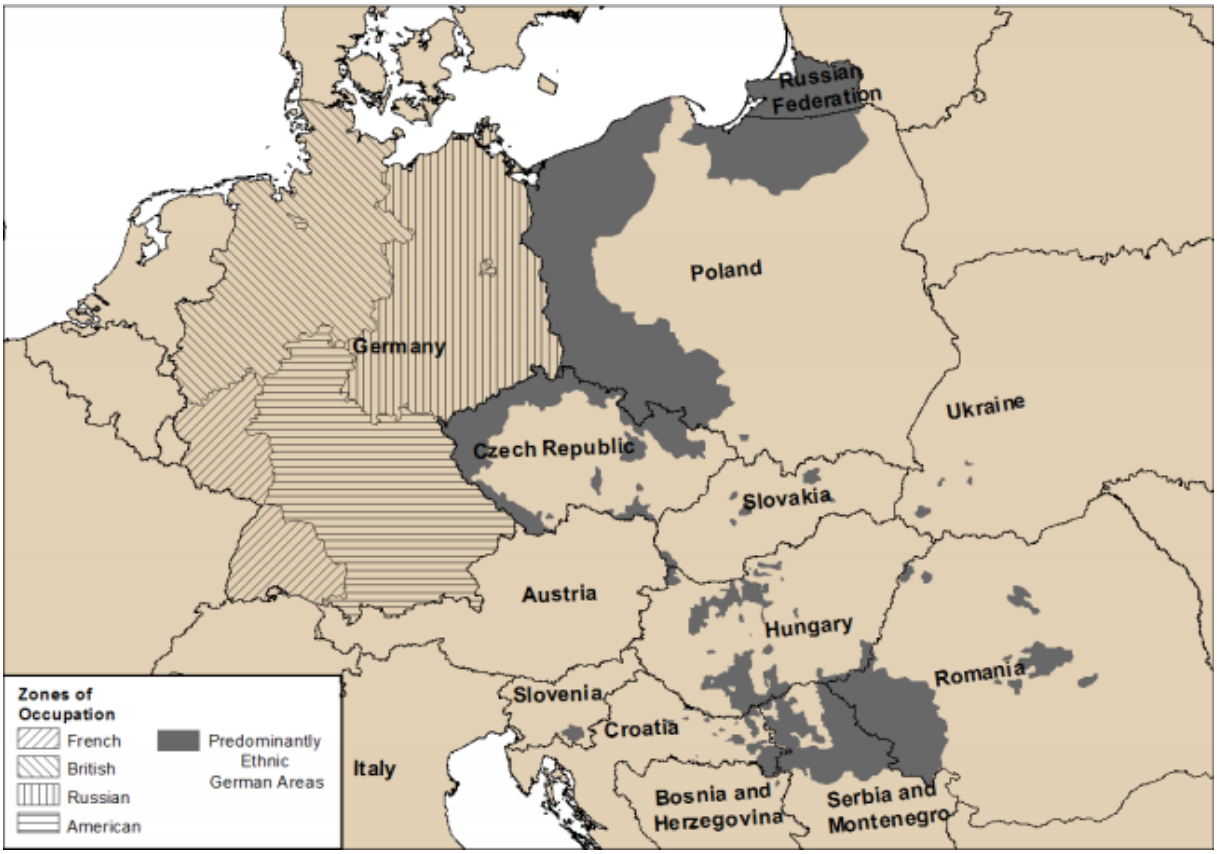


Figure 12 Zones of occupation and predominantly ethnic German areas (Source: Falck et al., 2012)

(Falck et al., 2012). Later on, new policies and laws were conducted that regulated the situation of the expelled Germans, to improve social and economic circumstances and reduce unemployment (Falck et al, 2012). For a long time, those ethnic, but expelled Germans had a particular place in society and legislation. Some native Germans stayed in countries like Poland, Czech and other former Soviet countries. Later in history, these native Germans, also immigrated back to Germany (Lüttinger, 1986) and they also were treated differently in terms of access to citizenship than other migrants, because of their German ethnicity. However, the complexity of these processes is too high to discuss it all, the relevance of this history mainly can be found in its effects on the perspective on integration.

After WWII, Germany had to win back the trust of other European countries. Therefore, the German government had actively promoted European unity and had contributed a lot (also financially) to the European Union (Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam, 2014). Especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the abolishment of the German Democratic Republic, Germany, under the direction of Federal Chancellor Kohl, actively participated in bringing together West and East Europe (Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam, 2014). However, the integration between West and East Germany went not as well. Especially East Germans had a hard time integrating in the consumption society, with fierce competition and high unemployment rates (Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam, 2014). Also on the issue of citizenship and integration West and East Germany could hardly agree on political level (Baldwin-

Edwards & Schain, 1994). When international labor migration emerged Germany had to find new ways to deal with international influences of other cultures. This caused tensions in politics and the meaning and content of German citizenship was debated intensively (Baldwin-Edwards & Schain, 1994). German citizenship was differently interpreted for ethnic German immigrants and international labor migrants; for example ethnic Germans could vote, but for labor migrants this right was denied (Baldwin-Edwards & Schain, 1994). Although this distinction is nowadays not so topical anymore, it will affect the shaping of the concept of citizenship and the attitudes towards migration, especially in politics.

4.1.1 New immigration flows in Europe

With the enlargements of the European Union in 2004 and in 2007, the migration flows from new EU states into the former EU-15 significantly increase (Breford, 2013). The immigration inflow from Bulgaria and Romania after 2007 is especially providing new input for the integration debate in Germany (Kurtenback, 2013). This migration flow, called *Armutszuwanderung* (poverty immigration), starts a new debate on the effects of migration. Dr. Stephan Articus, Managing Director from the *Deutschen Städtetages* (a voluntary association of districts and county's cities in Germany), argues that the large increase of migrants from Bulgaria and Romania brings several problems in German cities (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2013). Especially people escaping poverty often end up in social insecurity, caused by lack of stable income due to lack of education and language skills (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2013). Furthermore, these people live in temporary shelters or overcrowded houses, so called *Schrottimmobielen*, and therefore are socially excluded (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2013). This and incidents of forced prostitution, crime and beggary lead to disintegration in the cities argues Dr. Articus (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2013). He calls upon national politics and EU to act stronger on this topic. In national politics, the CSU has started the debate on the growing problems with respect to migrants from Bulgaria and Romania (Zeit Online, 2014a). In this debate the migrants are often stigmatized as 'causes of problems', for example CSU argued that under Bulgarian and Romanian migrants often welfare fraud is committed (Zeit Online, 2014a). This statement puts the migration of Romanians and Bulgarians in a negative sphere and others are warning for that. They think the debate on this migration flow is overdramatized (Zeit Online, 2014b). Herbert Brücker states that migrants from Bulgaria and Romania are actually better integrated in German society than other South-European migrants (Zeit Online, 2013a). However, he also agrees on the existing problems of housing and health, which have not been classified in statistics yet, but argues that those facts are enlarged by the media (Zeit Online, 2013a). He states that it is wrong to conclude that the inflow of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants influence the welfare state and public finances as a whole (Zeit Online, 2013a). Moreover, other voices warn for possible damage of the German economy by the

debate on *Armutsverwanderung*. Martin Wansleben, Director of the Deutsche Industrie- und Handelskammertag (German Chambers of Industry and Commerce), argues that Germany will need 1.5 million skilled workers from abroad in the coming years, to "secure growth and stabilize the social system" (Zeit Online, 2014b, p1). Although there are integration problems with this new flow of migrants, the stigmatization of this new migrant group will enlarge the problems even more (Zeit Online, 2013a). Wansleben argues that a solution for the migration problems is to turn the German society into a 'welcoming culture' for workers from abroad (Zeit Online, 2014b). This new flow of migrants and its new discussion show tension in Germany between the societal and economic advantages these migrants bring and the social and cultural difficulties the incoming migration causes, although it still seems difficult to openly express these difficulties and the fears underneath.

4.2 Integration in political debates

From 1988 on integration became a relevant discussion topic in Germany (Ehrkamp, 2006), because the notion that Germany is an immigration country gained support. However, only from late 1990's on actual integration policies where designed and society got involved in the integration debate (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview; Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). For a long time it was assumed that the labor migrants would return to their home countries. But, with the acceptation of being a country of immigration integration became a high discussed topic in German politics; integration policies were developed and an integration regime was constructed (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). In 2000 the German government set up the Süßmuth Commission, aiming to promote a heterogeneous Germany, with social and political participation of all migrants (Pautz, 2005). This resulted in a political discussion on integration discourses and the definition of German identity (Pautz, 2005). It was discussed how integration should look like and which criteria the migrants should meet.

In the political integration debate the economic integration of migrants is important (Glitz, 2012). Integration measures conducted by governments focus on the fostering of the German language and higher educational achievements among the children of migrant origin (FRG (2007) in Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Two important policy strategies in integration debates are mentioned. First, integration through work; policies focus on participation in the working society and even measures cutting of benefits of unemployed migrants are taken (Glitz, 2012; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Second, social integration on a local scale have become important (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). This integration strategy counters segregation and stimulates children as well as older immigrants to get locally involved and achieve social integration (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). However, governments on national, regional and local level do not actually collaborate. A master plan is missing states Klaus Bade, Chairman of SVR (Foundation for integration and migration) (Zeit Online, 2012a). On a local level there are many initiatives regarding education, living space and urban development to

increase integration (Zeit Online, 2012a) However, the support from higher government levels is missing, which leads to an "uncontrolled growth of integration policies and individual measures" (Zeit Online, 2012a, p1). This missing overall structure in policies is a result of a missing strategic approach.

Fundamental to this missing vision on integration is the shifting towards a normative debate on migration, focusing on social and cultural integration. For years (1988-2002) migration and integration were discussed in German politics, which did not lead to an integration strategy, but to immigration restricting policies and political strategies for the enforcement of Germany's cultural identity. This debate is known as the *Leitkulturdebatte*, a debate on Germany's guiding culture (Pautz, 2005). The *Leitkultur* debate was a normative debate on Germany's cultural identity and the role of immigration. It stimulated nationalist and racist discourses in Germany, both in politics and society (Pautz, 2005). Pautz (2005) states that the *Leitkultur* debate is basically a neo-racist debate, a debate based on a social and political phenomena of racism distinguishing on culture. The *Leitkultur* debate is in principle rooted in Samuel Huntington's 'paradigm' of the *clash of civilizations*, a theory that explains international relation in terms of cultural incompatibility (Pautz, 2005). The basis for this paradigm can be found in the *French Nouvelle Droite*, a movement focusing on the purity of cultures. According to this movement, demanding cultures need to be separated in order to retain their specific characteristics (Pautz, 2005). In practice, *The Nouvelle Droite* focusses on the negative effects of globalization, of which migration is the most important. Both the host countries population and migrants are seen as victims of globalization, because neither of them are able to retain their culture in the same country (Pautz, 2005). "Every culture has an equal right to maintain its purity, but cultures are incommensurable" (Pautz, 2005, p42). This statement suggest cultural segregation, leading to social and political marginalization of cultural minority groups, upholding racism in a new form (Pautz, 2005). Huntington's idea that Western cultures should be maintained implies that assimilation of immigrants is a way of maintaining 'cultural health' (Pautz, 2005). Practically, Huntington implies that immigration from other civilizations, like Islam, are bringing the clash of cultures in the domestic realm and are threatening the Western (white and protestant) civilization and therefore restrictive immigration and assimilation policies are legitimized (Pautz, 2005). The *Leitkultur* debate is based on the similar conviction that rejects multiculturalism, because the original culture of a host country should be retained. As Schönbohm, a right wing CDU politician, states "we will have a pluralism of cultures in Germany but German culture must be its basis" (Schönbohm (1999) in Pautz, 2005, p44). The *Leitkultur* debate did redefine German identity, based on an old-fashioned blood-and-soil definition (being part of the German *Volk* (people), because of your historical connection) and a definition of cultural belonging (Pautz, 2005). Citizenship is more defined in terms of origin than in terms of naturalization. Actually, the debate promoted othering of migrants, differentiating 'us' from 'them'. "Immigrants, who could no longer be ignored as a substantial part of society, could nonetheless

be excluded from political participation for it by being firmly labelled as culturally incompatible" (Pautz, 2005, p47). Based on the *clash of civilizations*, integration of non-European cultures in the German culture is deemed impossible. So, "the German culture is now the yardstick for measuring the degree of assimilation necessary for non-European immigrants to be integrated" (Pautz, 2005, p49). So, the *Leitkultur* debate did not provide a vision on integration, but stimulated limitation of immigration. It is therefore that existing integration measures often focus on understanding and mastering German language and culture. A transnational lifestyle, as result of globalization processes and migration, is mostly denied. Migrants can easily maintain social, economic and political ties with their home countries, because of improved communication and transport technologies, meanwhile interacting with their host countries and actively participating in society (Ehrkamp, 2006). However, mixing of cultures and lifestyles is still seen as not likely.

4.2.1 Assimilation discourses in German politics

The *Leitkultur* debate functioned as an anti-immigration discourse (Pautz, 2005) and laid the foundation for the assimilation discourse in German politics. Although, political statements vary a lot, a growing assimilation discourse can be observed (Ehrkamp, 2006). Assimilation is not often expressed directly in the integration debate, but on the background does play a role. On first sight most political parties are not in favor of assimilation. For example CDU states that "integration does not mean assimilation. Its goal is not the complete adaptation of migrants to the culture and ways of life of the receiving state" (CDU, 2001, p17). However, in the same document the CDU also believes that the "basis for living together in Germany is not multicultural arbitrariness, but the value system of Christian occidental culture" (CDU, 2001, p17-18). Although CDU states that integration is not assimilation, they claim that a good German society is based on a Christian and Western value system, which is typically drawn from the *Leitkultur* debate. Non-Christian and non-Western migrants should adapt to a Christian and Western value system; how can this not be interpreted as assimilation? Also other parties stick to ideas of assimilation, which show a clear link to the *Leitkultur* debate. A member of the SPD, former Minister of Interior, stated in an interview that assimilation is "desirable, but not imperative" (Die Tageszeitung, 2005, p3). But, in the same interview, he states that the German cultures should be protected (Die Tageszeitung, 2005). Only the NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) expresses itself freely against migrants, integration and 'Islamization' (NPD, 2013). One of their documents, named '*Vorrang für Inländer*' (priority to nationals), mainly focusses on the economic disadvantages, the high costs of integration and threatening of the German culture (NPD, 2013).

An important factor encouraging the assimilation discourse is the emerging fear for what '*fremd*' (foreign) is. The xenophobe of German society for Islamic culture is started in politics and stimulated by the *Leitkultur* debate. Right wing populist parties become popular and Wilders' ideas

from the Netherlands find entrance (Zeit Online, 2013b). Besides the NPD there is Thilo Sarrazin, politician of SPD. He is a key-figure in these anti-migrant ideas. Sarrazin wrote a book called *'Deutschland schafft sich ab'* (Germany abolishes itself); within he claims that Germany loses its identity by tolerating foreign influences (Spiegel Online International, 2010). The book is bought by a lot of people in Germany, although the book is quite expensive and not easily readable (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). The book is not only bought by supporters of Sarrazin, but also by other Germans that are apparently do want to hear what Sarrazin has to tell (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Sarrazin encourages fears and xenophobia by claiming that Muslims refuse to integrate in German society (Spiegel Online International, 2010). Although some think he is just a racist, he has more and more followers in society, even Muslim woman who refuse to wear head scarves (Spiegel Online International, 2010). This 'Sarrazin situation' shows the normativity of the integration debate: it is not so much about actual integration, but also about what you want to believe is true about integration. And it shows how German politics influence integration discourses in society.

4.3 Integration discourses in society

To describe the integration discourses in society is a tough task. The opinions of the people differ from person to person and are subjects of influence for politics and media. Over the last years, right wing politicians find an increasing audience in German society and different newspapers publish studies on integration processes and migrant behavior that contradict each other. It is hard to understand the actual integration situation in Germany. Therefore, discourses in society are mostly based on what the citizens think is true or what they want to believe (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). The integration debate in society has also become highly normative.

On first sight, the general integration discourse in German society is open towards different cultures. A lot of Germans state to accept differences in culture. It is said that 'others' are accepted and that integration is going well (Zeit Online, 2013b). Also, the integration debate is too negative, think many citizens (Zeit Online, 2012a). However, Klaus Bade, Chairman of SVR (Foundation for integration and migration) states that German society is living in a paradox. On the one hand acceptation of differences is expected, but on the other hand fear for differences increases (Zeit Online, 2012a). This leads to feelings of fear for migrants and their cultural influences that are not 'aloud' to be expressed, but do exist under the surface. Furthermore, El-Mafaalani (2013), a German sociologist and migration researcher, reveals another paradox of German society. He argues that the integration of migrants in Germany is improving; social participation, political participation and the (economic) viability of migrants has increased over the years (El-Mafaalani, 2013). Meanwhile, the integration discourse in society is mostly determined by the opposite opinion (El-Mafaalani, 2013); that the integration of migrants is getting more difficult and that most migrants do not succeed to

integrate adequately in German society. This paradox can be explained by three assumptions German society is making: (1) Integration of migrants happens without any investments from society (2) German society does not have to change because of integration and (3) a conflict-free and harmonious society is the result of successful integration (El-Mafaalani, 2013). When conflicts between different ethnic groups do occur in German society, this increases the supposition that integration processes are not successful in Germany, which determines the integration discourse to a large extent.

In German society the definition of Germany's cultural identity is also an actual topic. Usually, the German identity is constructed by determining what it is not (Zeit Online, 2009). Hereby, a distinction is made between what is 'German' and what is 'Fremd' (foreign). Some Germans do not recognize their German identity in the current culture, because of the different foreign cultural influences that cause changes; they feel like strangers in their own country (Zeit Online, 2013b). This phenomenon can stimulate negative integration, whereby Germans turn away from 'the others' and create segregation (Zeit Online, 2013b). The focus on what German identity is not, is one reason for popularity of right wing politic parties. These parties encourage the process of othering and are strengthen feelings of fear (Zeit Online, 2013b). Germans fear foreign influences, but most of all they fear the Islam. The emerging of this religion in 'their country', but in particular the negative attitudes around it, encourage rejection of this religion. If migrants are accepted, it is with the exception of their religion (Zeit Online, 2013b).

Although integration needs participation of both migrants and local inhabitants, most native German citizens are passively waiting for integration to succeed. They expect migrants to adapt to the German cultural norms and think integration is successful when the migrants are no longer 'foreigners' to them. The distinction between what is German and what is foreign is not desirable, but is still maintained. There is an idea of integration arisen that expects migrants to assimilate (Zeit Online, 2013c) and when migrants still differ they are not successfully integrated, it is assumed. However, nobody is reflecting on this assimilation discourse and the actual integration status of migrants is often unknown, because realistic criteria of integration are unknown (Zeit Online, 2009). As El-Mafaalani (2013) stated, it can be assumed that migrants are integrated, precisely because they have their own opinions and identity (Tageschau.de, 2014). El-Mafaalani argues that the actual problem of the 'integration struggles' is that Germans are excluding '*das Fremde'*, regardless how well integrated migrants are, mastering of language and growing up in Germany (Tageschau.de, 2014). Strong feelings of fear and ignorance of the foreign dominate the attitudes towards integration and is blurring the debate. Here the strong impact of politics or known persons (as Sarrazin) becomes clear. Although Germans are not openly negative about migrants and integration, there is fear of foreign influences which creates a negative vibe in the integration debate.

Some extreme right groups in Germany are extremely anti-migration and are threatening the safety of migrants and the peace in society. These groups of Neo-Nazi's prefer a 'traditional German culture', without interference of other cultures. Over the years tragic violence incidents have took place in Germany, whereby Neo-Nazi's threatened, injured, of even killed immigrants. For years, this phenomenon was ignored by politics and society (Der Westen, 2012). Since 2011, however, the violence of Neo-Nazi's have increased (Zeit Online, 2012b), which did stimulate the emerging of opposite reactions, resulting in demonstrations against Neo-Nazi's. The debate on integration and migration is sharpened by extreme right populist ideas and the rise of these Neo-Nazi ideas is alarming. The documentary 'Blut muss fliessen' shows the sympathy for Hitler and the singing of hate songs expressed during Nazi-concerts (FilmFaktum, n.d.). The documentary maker is undercover during more than 50 concerts and the activities in the film are therefore really going on in German society (ibid, n.d.). Furthermore, he is not only visiting German concerts, but also concerts elsewhere in Europe, what expresses the problem beyond German borders. The presence of officials, and even the chairman (Udo Voigt) of the NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) at these Neo-Nazi concerts (Spiegel Online Video, 2012) confirms that the emerge of the extreme right Neo-Nazi movement is also affecting German politics. On the other hand, in the past years an opposite movement is visible in Germany. Many citizens openly reject the ideas and activities of Neo-Nazi's and their impact on society has clearly declined over the past years (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview).

4.3.1 The position of migrants within the debate

What politics is saying about multiculturalism and integration is often not noticed by society, because most people are not interested in politics (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Also most migrants did not feel offended by the integration debate, because they did not feel personally addressed (they do not recognize themselves in the debate) (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). However, this changed after the Sarrazin debate, which was broadly discussed in the media (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Nowadays, the national debate is often followed by migrants, because the debate is affecting their everyday life (Ehrkamp, 2006). In the political arena are made decisions that will affect their lives, but more important, the discussion will also affect the attitudes of German society. The stigmatization because of migration backgrounds, resulting from the intense debate on integration, is an everyday confrontation for a lot of migrants (Ehrkamp, 2006). The negative opinions in the debate and the negative sphere around the debate affect migrants emotionally (Zeit Online, 2012c). The assimilation discourse slipped in the debate, without noticing, while actual assimilation is for most migrants neither acceptable nor feasible (Ehrkamp, 2006). Integration, on the other hand, is often seen as an advantage in everyday life and is experienced positively by 78% of the German Muslims and by 52% of the immigrant Muslims in Germany (Zeit Online, 2012c). The migrant group that achieves the

poorest result in assimilation, the Turks, show the highest rates of naturalization (Diehl and Blohm, 2003). Turks are the least accepted migrants in Germany, known for strong (emotional) attachments to their homeland, but they also are the most willingly to integrate in Germany, even if they have to give up their Turkish passport (Diehl and Blohm, 2003). Naturalization brings them a higher social status, especially when they achieve a high level of individual assimilation (Diehl and Blohm, 2003). Also second and third generation migrants, born and raised in Germany and mastering the German language, are often integrated or willing to integrate. Still, they also have to deal with the labelling and stigmatization (Zeit Online, 2009). Integration and German citizenship does not keep Germans with migration backgrounds from being labelled as the other (Zeit Online, 2009). The migrants or Germans with a migration background themselves almost have no influence on that, they depend on what Germans think of them (Zeit Online, 2009). This shows that integration is not only a case of migrants, but that also the host society should invest in integration processes. According to the study presented in Zeit Online (2012c) most Muslims are feeling well in Germany, but do not want to give up their Muslim identity. Also, they experience pressure of the assimilation expectations and think that Germans are often negative about their culture (Zeit Online, 2012c). These experiences can influence the integration process negatively, because integration needs a certain degree of safety. Especially young migrants or youngsters with a migration background show the willingness to be part of German society, particularly when in possession of a German passport, but also feel restricted because of stigmatization and discrimination they face (Zeit Online, 2012c). Migrants state that there is a feeling of acceptation needed, before integration will work out (Zeit Online, 2012c).

As result of former policies some German cities have specific migrant districts: neighborhoods where a lot of migrants (used to) live. Nowadays, policies focus on desegregation, which forces migrants to move (Ehrkamp, 2006). This measure, used to increase integration, is, according to interviewees of Ehrkamp (2006), a typical statement whereby the own initiative of migrants is overlooked. Within the integration process there is no space for own ideas about the process (Ehrkamp, 2006). Nowadays, fears exist that those neighborhoods are locations of violence and criminality (Ehrkamp, 2006). Also in spatial context, migrants are dealing with stigmatization.

4.4 Exclusionary practices and the German education system

Within the German education system youngsters with migration backgrounds are structurally disadvantaged because of their socioeconomic and ethnic origins. This hinders the integration process of these youngsters, just as their personal development and future possibilities. This structural discrimination not only hinders the youngsters, but also results in ethnic segregation in schools, especially when children from migrants are placed together in one class (Die Welt, 2014), which eventually affects social structures in society.

The school system in Germany exists of different layers. From the age of 6/7 years old, all German kids compulsory go to the *Grundschule* (Nutting et al., 2010). The *Grundschule* lasts for four years, until the age of 10. After the *Grundschule* the teachers decide to what type of school the children have to go next (Nutting et al., 2010). This decision is based on the marks of the pupils (Nutting et al., 2010). There are three major options after the *Grundschule*: the *Hauptschule*, the *Realschule* or the *Gymnasium* (Nutting et al., 2010). At the *Hauptschule* students receive a general education as basis of a practical vocational training (Siemens, n.d.). The study program lasts five years and contains a lot of practical knowledge and skills (Siemens, n.d.). During *Realschule* students complete an advanced education program (Siemens, n.d.). Students are educated with a specific professional orientation, which provides an entitlement for further education and a basis for professions of all kinds (Siemens, n.d.). The *Gymnasium* educates its student to attend a university or vocational academy (Siemens, n.d.). The *Gymnasium* is the most academic stream of secondary education. Although the decision for the secondary education is made soon in the education pathway, it is officially possible to switch from school during the education (Nutting et al., 2010). After completion of the *Hauptschule* or the *Realschule* there are opportunities for continuing education to attain an *Abitur*, the final certificate gained after completion of the *Gymnasium* (Nutting et al., 2010). However, those opportunities vary per region in Germany. Another type of school is the *Gesamtschule*, where all students attend the same school and are not separated after the *Grundschule* (Nutting et al., 2010). Figure 13 gives a structural overview of the German school system.

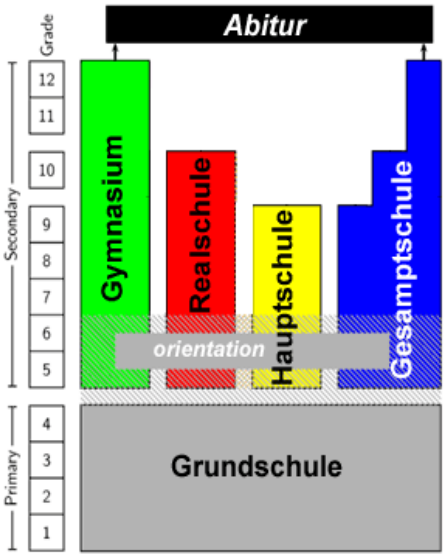


Figure 13 The German School system (Source: http: //www.earlystart.co.uk/esgerman1/06age.htm)

The German school system has been criticized because of the early decision moment (at the age of 10) for secondary school (*Hauptschule, Realschule* or *Gymnasium*) and the rigidity of the system, which makes it difficult to change schools. Furthermore, within the school system indirect disadvantage is present, based on socio-economic status. The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a large-scale international comparative study, conducted by the OECD, aiming to evaluate education systems worldwide (OECD, 2014). This study showed the large differences in educational performance of children in Germany and the relation to the socio-economic background of these children (*ESPON, 2013*). The PISA studies from 2001 and 2007 show that children coming from a poor or immigrant family are disadvantaged in the system (Spiegel Online, 2007). Although the performances of students at *Gymnasiums* are good, there are problems at the *Hauptschulen*. A lot of youngsters with migration backgrounds are advised to attend the *Hauptschule* because of their

assumed disadvantage (Spiegel Online, 2007). Students are discouraged to attend school, because they see no chances for themselves because of their backgrounds (Spiegel Online, 2007). The lack of opportunities at the *Hauptschule* leads to lot of problems with students. A shocking example is the case of the *Rütli-Schule* in Berlin-Neukölln, where violence became so uncontrollable that the rector wrote a cry for help to the national government (Spiegel Online, 2006). In this letter she describes the situation at the school; 83.2% of the students have a non-German origin (34.9% Arabic and 26.1% Turkish) and the share of non-German students is growing, while all teachers are native Germans (Spiegel Online, 2006). The situation in the school is full of aggressiveness, disrespect and ignorance of the teachers; students do not bring their books or teaching materials and destroy belongings in and around the school; and many teachers do not dare to enter a classroom without their mobile phones in case of emergency (Spiegel Online, 2006). The rector points out the hopelessness of the situation and the poor future prospects for the students (Spiegel Online, 2006). She refers to poor domestic environments of the students and the poor cooperation with the parents of the students (Spiegel Online, 2006). In the end, the rector demanded the dissolution of the *Hauptschule* (Spiegel Online, 2006). This letter started a debate on the German education system and new developments for the *Rütli-Schule* in Berlin. Although the reactions after the PISA results were a bit timid, the outcry over the *Rütli-Schule* led to direct actions. Since 2008, the *Rütli-Schule* is part of the first *Gesamtschule* in Berlin and Deutschland (Spiegel Online, 2010). A large amount of money is invested in a new campus, safety and security and new facilities, like music and sport accommodations (Spiegel Online, 2010). After this change, many students got their *Abitur* (*Gymnasium* diploma) and with the help of social workers the contacts with parents are much better (Spiegel Online, 2010).

This whole discussion and development around the *Rütli-Schule* has also led to more attention for the situation at German schools. *Rütli-Schule* has become a synonymous for failing schools and is known all around Germany. Other problem school also reached out to the government by letters (Spiegel Online, 2009). School leaders warn for deterioration of the education and a 'ghettoization' of some city districts (Spiegel Online, 2009). A lot of *Hauptschule* have to deal with school distance, school dropouts and illiteracy and a shortage of money, teachers and care takers (Spiegel Online, 2009). Besides, good students often leave the city district to join a private school, which increases the process of segregation in cities and has negative effects for the problem districts (Spiegel Online, 2009). Although the letters of other school leaders lead to publicity and national attention for the problems at the schools, there are no direct solutions for those problems. In 2011, five years after the *Rütli-Schule* situation, many schools that complained about their situation are still dealing with the same problems (Spiegel Online, 2011), especially in city districts with large groups of children with a migration background. Yet, following the example of *Rütli-Schule*, more *Gesamtschule*n are formed in Germany and the education system is still in debate.

5. Description of the Dortmund case

Dortmund is a city located in the Northwest of Germany, in the Federal State of North Rhine Westphalia (NRW). It is part of the most highly and most densely populated area in Germany, the Ruhr area. Dortmund is the 8th largest city of Germany and has 580,000 inhabitants. Herewith, Dortmund is the largest city in the Ruhr district, which has a total population of 5 million inhabitants. Dortmund also has a relatively high share of non-German inhabitants; 30.5% of all inhabitants have a migration background (Stadt Dortmund, 2013).

Dortmund is a city formed by migration, from an early time Dortmund is influenced by different cultures. The city is located on the cross point of two important formal Hanziatic trade routes, which caused early migration patterns (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). Around 1900 it was discovered that Dortmund was located near coal storages, starting an industrialization period with coal mining and steal production (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). This new industrialization, taking place in Dortmund and surrounding cities forming the Ruhr area, was the most important reason for large immigration flows of guest workers from Poland, South-East Europe and Turkey (*ESPON, 2013*; Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). Therefore, plurality is a central aspect for Dortmund and its integration politics (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). The industry in the Ruhr area was centered in the north of the area, which explains why the working class have settled in the Northern parts of the cities in the Ruhr area (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). After the decline of the coal and steel industries since 1950 the unemployment has grown and was logically concentrating in the Northern parts of the cities, because the low-skilled workers living there had difficulties finding a new job (*ESPON, 2013*). This created a sharp distinction with a strong economic character between the North and South of Ruhr cities, such as Dortmund (ESPON, 2013). The defining line in the Ruhr area lies along the highway E40, which is therefore called 'Social equator of the Ruhr area' (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). The Northern neighborhoods of the Ruhr cities are disadvantaged from an economic perspective (ESPON, 2013). This also results in a distinct difference between Northern and Southern neighborhoods regarding unemployment rate, socio-economic status, number of migrants and number of children (ESPON, 2013; Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). Figure 14 shows a categorization of level of disadvantage of the city districts of Dortmund. The categories are based on a combination of three indicators: child poverty, unemployment and single parenthood and have a socio-economic character (*ESPON, 2013*). The Northern parts of Dortmund are more socio-economically disadvantaged than the Southern parts of Dortmund. Although the Northern areas of the Ruhr cities are often inhabited by large number of migrants, it is not possible to state this distinction is also a cultural segregation (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview).

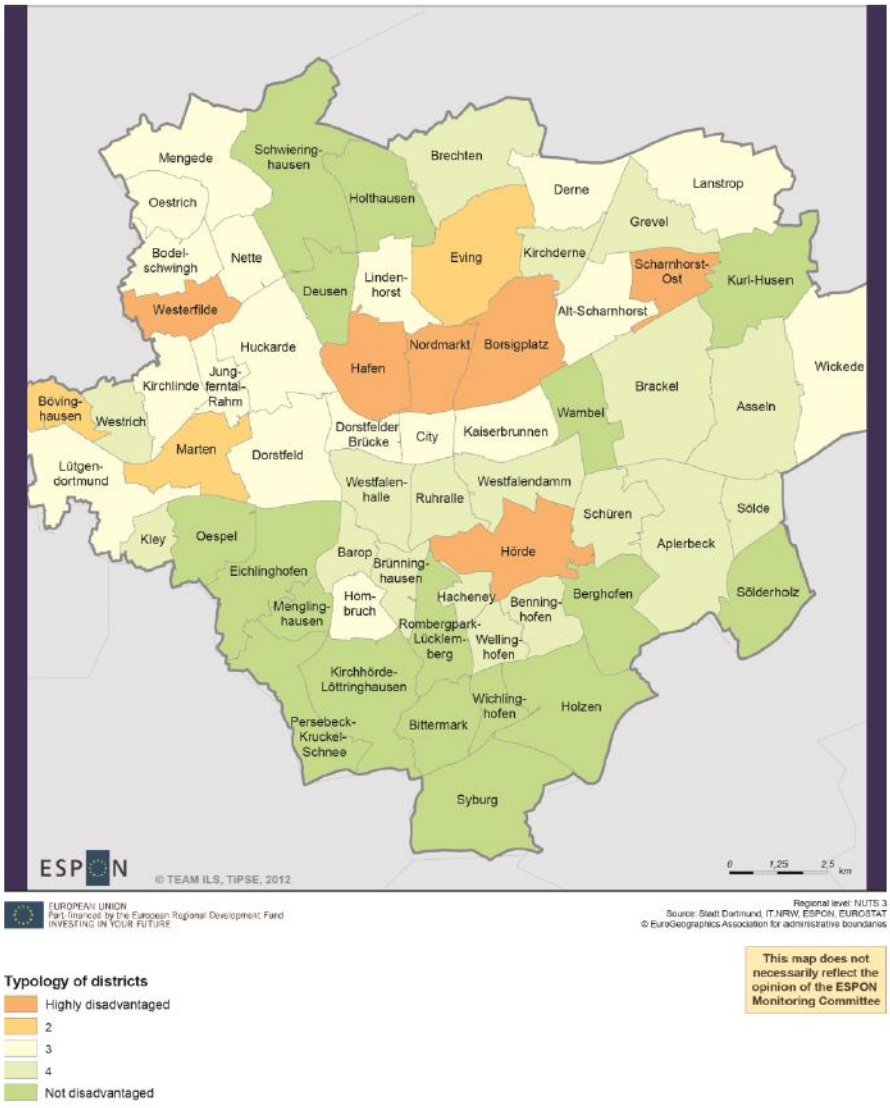


Figure 14 Disadvantage level in city district in Dortmund (Source: ESPON (2013))

5.1 Segregation in Dortmund

The most disadvantaged areas in Northern Dortmund are *Hafen*, *Nordmarkt* and *Borsigplatz*, together simply called *Nordstadt* (Northern city). From statistics it appears that 65.2% (in 2013) of the inhabitants in *Nordstadt* is migrant or has a migration background; native Germans are a minority group in this district (Stadt Dortmund, 2013). In *Nordstadt* 138 nationalities are represented (in 2013), from all over the world (Ruhrnachrichten, 2013). The share of Turkish inhabitants is with 6844 inhabitants in 2012 19% of the total *Nordstadt* population (number retrieved from Stadt Dortmund, 2013), by far the largest, followed by Europeans, mainly from Poland, Greece and Macedonia (Ruhrnachrichten, 2013). While the Turkish share of inhabitants is shrinking, especially the number of Bulgarians and Romanians is rapidly increasing (Ruhrnachrichten, 2013). An important reason for the high share of migrants in this city district is the housing market (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). Many migrants had difficulties to find housing in Dortmund and moved into large, empty building there

(Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview), which were much cheaper than in other districts of Dortmund (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). *Nordstadt* also has an important function as arrival district for immigrants, around 33% of the new inhabitants of Dortmund finds his first house in *Nordstadt* (Nordstadtblogger.de, 2013; Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview).

Within the multicultural and multi-ethnical *Nordstadt* the communities are strong and people feel connected to each other (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). In *Nordstadt* people feel at home, because different cultures can co-exist within one neighborhood (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). Also youngsters are committed to each other and their neighborhood (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). Still, *Nordstadt* is also a city district with a lot of problems, like unemployment, criminality and housing problems. In *Nordstadt* there are a lot of 'problem houses'; neglected, unhygienic houses were many people live in miserable conditions (Nordstadtblogger.de, 2013). Although the amount of these houses is decreasing, for many new migrants families, especially with a lot of children, those houses are their only way out (Nordstadtblogger.de, 2013). In German newspapers, Dortmund *Nordstadt* is named because of police intervention, crime incidents, illegal practices, like a cannabis plantation, or unemployment. However, these problems are not caused because of the high share of migrants in this district, what is sometimes assumed, but by the economic segregation in the city (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). The low economic status in *Nordstadt* is causing the problems in the neighborhood (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview). In the last years, *Nordstadt* got more attention from governmental organizations and projects focusing on development of the district and improvement of the living conditions are set up (Hesse, 2014, Expert Interview).

The spatial segregation in Dortmund is not only showing differences in socio-economic status, but also in educational achievements. This becomes clear when the socio-economic clusters (showed in Figure 14) are linked to school data. Twice as much pupils visit a *Gymnasium* in the South of Dortmund (South: 53.8%; North: 26.4%), while three times as much children in the Northern parts of Dortmund visit a *Hauptschule* (South: 4.0%; North: 12.3%) (*ESPON, 2013*). In both the Northern and the Southern districts of Dortmund only around 20% of the children with a migration background attend *Gymnasium* (*ESPON, 2013*), in addition to the resp. 55.2% of Germans living in the South and 28% of the German children living in the North of Dortmund attend *Gymnasium* (*ESPON, 2013*). This is only the case for *Gymnasium*s, the *Hauptschule* is attended by respectively more non-Germans than native Germans (*ESPON, 2013*) So, in comparison to the Southern part of Dortmund, in the Northern parts of Dortmund a smaller number of children attends higher education entrance qualification (*ESPON, 2013*). This results in less attendance to universities. Although, the segregation is based on socio-economic status, the entrance to higher education is often also more difficult for children with a migration background as shown in Figure 15 (*ESPON, 2013*). Also the number of early school drop-outs is higher among non-

German pupils. Schools in Dortmund are socio-economically and ethnically segregated, also influencing the number of drop-outs, which is higher among non-German children (*ESPON, 2013*).

One reason for the high number of migrant children attending *Hauptschule* in Dortmund is the existence of special inflow classes for migrant children that are specifically related to *Hauptschule*. In most cities new migrant children join regular classes (mixed with native Germans) and attend extra language classes (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). However, in Dortmund special classes are organized for new migrant children, who do not speak German, where these children get special education together with other migrant children (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). These special classes are coupled to the *Hauptschule*, resulting in a move of youngsters from the special classes into the regular *Hauptschule* (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). Disadvantage of these special classes is that it is more difficult for new migrant children in Dortmund to gain access to the *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). Plus, from the start the migrant children are excluded from regular education, which sets them apart from German culture and German children, which can hinder their integration trajectory.

Over time, the numbers have improved and more children from the Northern parts of Dortmund attend *Gymnasiums* (*ESPON, 2013*). This can be related to education improving projects started in Germany. The project 'Sozale Stadt' (Social City) is focused on development of *Nordstadt* to improve the living conditions in this city district. Education is one of the key elements in this program (*ESPON, 2013*). The two most important national programs are "Educational Package", aiming to improve education and social participation of children from a low socio-economic background, and "Learning Locally", supporting cities do develop and improve the education management system (*ESPON, 2013*).

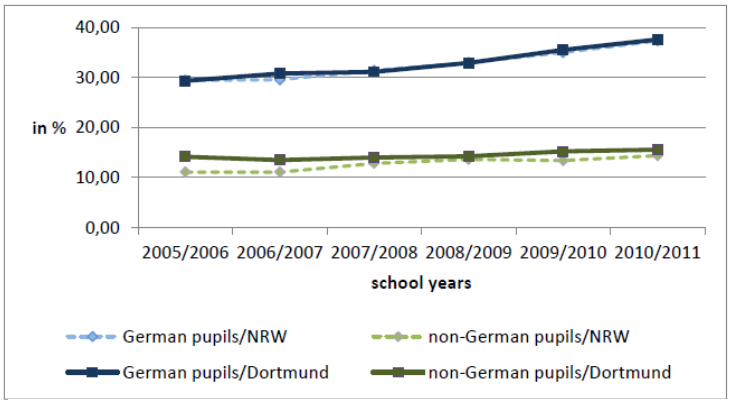


Figure 15 Percentage of youngsters attending higher education (Source: ESPON (2013))

5.2 Integration policies in Dortmund

The official integration department of the municipality in Dortmund is called *Migrations- und Integrationsagentur Dortmund Kommunales Integrationszentrum* (MIA-DO KI). The MIA-DO KI is part of the municipality of Dortmund - *Amt für Angelegenheiten des Oberbürgermeisters und des Rates* (Office for Mayor and Council Affairs) (Stadt Dortmund, 2014a). This is special for the municipality of Dortmund, in other cities this can be arranged differently. It supports initiatives in the field of

integration and supports further development. The MIA-DO KI is not the implementing institution, but it uses political instruments to support and steer initiatives of others (Stadt Dortmund, 2014a). The reason for this working method is that the MIA-DO KI always wants citizens to participate in the projects. They argue that integration is not something that needs a top-down implementation, but that it can only take place in good communication and participation of different actors and citizens. This is also the most important reason that the MIA-DO KI is part of the *Amt für Angelegenheiten des Oberbürgermeisters und des Rates* (Office for Mayor and Council Affairs). Next to the supporting activities the MIA-DO KI also awards good integration and participation initiatives, to stimulate these projects and initiatives.

The most important document in the integration policies in Dortmund is the *Masterplan Integration* (MI). This is an agreement on the concept of integration and a structure for the integration processes in Dortmund (Stadt Dortmund, 2014b). By means of this agreement, different actors from politics, the municipality, labor unions, welfare organizations and migrant organizations work together to improve integration processes in Dortmund. The MI was developed in 2005, by a participatory process. In 2006, by means of the MI, a new integration policy model was developed, themed *´Gemeinsam in Vielvalt – Zuhause in Dortmund´* (Together in diversity – at home in Dortmund) (Stadt Dortmund, 2014c). This model is based on human rights, the value of the constitution and the equal dialogue on eye-level (Stadt Dortmund, 2014c). ´Gemeinsam in Vielvalt´ states that diversity in society enriches the skills and experience of all involved, overcomes all kinds of prejudices and fears and accepts differences. Also, the notion ´Integration´ is redefined as “the equal participation of people from different backgrounds in the social, economic, cultural and political life in Dortmund based on the value of constitution” (Stadt Dortmund, 2014d, p1). Also, different important domains in integration policies were developed, including education, language support, children and young people, political participation of migrants and intercultural opening of administrations (Stadt Dortmund, 2014b). This last point is important in Dortmund. It contains an agreement and commitment between different organizations and companies to fairness and respect for people in business. Companies commit themselves to create a work environment free of prejudice and exclusion and aim to recognize, involve and use different talents to improve their results and serve the customers (Stadt Dortmund, 2014b). This means that there is more focus on inter-/multicultural aspects in education, work, management etc.

6. Expert reflections on positions of the youngsters in Dortmund

To be able to link the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds to the current situation in Dortmund, it was important to provide more context to it. The expert interviews gave input for this chapter, providing insight in everyday life in Dortmund, situations in different neighborhoods and the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund society.

6.1 Integration processes and identity related issues

Integration is a process that all youngster with migration backgrounds face in life. Although a lot of these youngsters are born in Germany, have a German passport and speak the German language, they still have to deal with some forms of integration (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Integration has become a normative concept, including informal aspects of feeling at home or being welcome (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). When integration is turning towards a cultural issue, these youngsters are assessed to how much they differ from the native majority (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Integration of these youngsters is therefore closely linked to identity. These youngsters experiences difficulties settling into German culture, because they are often identified by their skin-color or exotic name, which leads to othering, stigmatization and exclusion. At the same time, although they have similar facial attributes and skin color, the youngsters feel outsiders in their homeland, where their parents are born, because of the lack of language skills and understanding of culture (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). This means that in both countries the youngsters are approached as outsiders, leaving them in a state between two cultures. This means that they each have to find out for themselves what it means to be German, and also what it means to have a migration background and how to relate to their culture of origin. The youngsters have to combine their origin with their current life in Germany (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). Most youngsters with migration backgrounds have close ties to their origins, by family, friends, trips and media, but at the same time also want a future in Germany and therefore need to be encouraged to be included in German society and participate in social life, politics and labor market (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). Over time, the connection with the country of origin will change and the importance of these ties will become less, especially for future generations (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). The migrant youngsters have to find a place where they belong and redefine their identity (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). The informal aspects of integration, but also the stigmatization and discrimination the youngsters face in relation to integration issues, do influence the self-consciousness of these youngsters as well as their integration trajectory (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Most youngsters have a kind of ‘trauma’; they feel disappointed by the prejudices, stereotypes, the rejections and the disadvantages (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). They grow up with the idea they have fewer chances than native inhabitants, which leads

to uncertainty and a low self-esteem (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). These feelings affect their self-esteem and identity; it deals with questions of home and belonging, because these youngsters face disadvantages because of their origin, while being an inhabitant of Germany (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview).

Stigmatization and discrimination are disadvantaging and victimizing these youngsters. The feeling of being discriminated and disadvantaged as minority group is as important as the actual disadvantages by discrimination. By the victimization of youngsters with migration backgrounds, there has emerged a kind of 'comfort zone'; a state of mind in which these immigrant youngsters seem to wait passively for society to change and better opportunities to come (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). It is not that these youngsters are happy with their position, but these youngsters kind of like the image of being a 'bad boy' (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). The prejudices are unfair and denigrating, but for these youngsters it has become normal to also label themselves as 'trouble makers', not by actually making troubles, but by showing of macho-behavior (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). This behavior hinders the integration progress of these youngsters, but also causes difficulties in their education and job application processes (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Although society should to be open and welcoming towards new influences, migrant youngsters should be open to a new mind-set and changes in order to learn and adapt to the new culture and habits (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). The youngsters should be actively involved, just as society, in creating an open and respectful society (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview).

For first-generation migrants the integration process is very important. They do not only have to deal with informal aspects of integration, but also they need to integrate as German citizens; getting to know the systems, society and German language (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). The increasing inflow of Romanians and Bulgarians, especially in Berlin, Dortmund and Duisburg, which is currently taking place, is creating a new population of first-generation immigrant youngsters that deal with these integration issues. These youngsters face a lot of problems because they do not know the language, or the systems and structures in Germany, and they lack the capability to participate in society, education or the labor market (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). As these new migrant youngsters integrate, they will start building a new future, but along the way they will need to deal with the issues described above. They will have to find a place where they belong, and as part of their integration redefine their identity. A lot of them will also face stigmatization and discrimination in this process, especially in particular neighborhoods, at schools and work (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview).

6.2 Exclusionary practices and its impacts

Youngsters with migration backgrounds often face some aspects of stigmatization or discrimination, like being called names, exclusion from certain places or difficulties attending schools. Stigmatization and discrimination means the youngsters are judged on their appearance, instead of their capabilities (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Also, they are labelled as 'the other', allowing distinction-making to be maintained. Hereby prejudices can be guiding principles for interaction. For example, it is often assumed that migrants (also second or third generation) know everything about the 'home country' and are still actively living 'that culture', which is perceived as totally different form the 'normal German life'. This leads to conversations about their origin and assumed differences (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). These conversations put youngsters with migration backgrounds in an uncomfortable position, whereby they constantly have to defend their formal and informal German citizenship (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). Being approached as a foreigner, the youngsters also are seen as one group: the people with migration backgrounds. Although seen as one, all migrants have different backgrounds, resulting in a diverse cultural capital (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). This maintains prejudices and puts the youngsters in one group, ignoring individual aspects. One example that explains this approach is when guys with migration backgrounds, try to go to the disco. Often these youngsters are refused and therefore excluded from this type of night-life, because of their appearance and skin color (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview), but most of all because of the prevailing prejudices about groups of youngsters with migration backgrounds (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). But also in other aspects, like social spaces or labor market, youngsters with migration backgrounds experience little social mobility (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). This exclusion confirms the ideas of the youngsters that they are disadvantaged and leads to a continuation of the distinctions already present. This means that these youngsters experience their skin color as a disadvantage and they perceive that they have fewer chances than native inhabitants (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). The discrimination affects their self-image, apart from factual discrimination these youngsters feel discriminated and experience disadvantage because the world around them imposes this on them (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview).

Facing stigmatization and discrimination youngsters with migration backgrounds grow up in a world full of distinctions and unconsciously also learn to draw distinctions themselves (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). This results in stigmatization and discrimination among each other, whereby different ethnical groups stigmatize each other by calling names or verbally use prejudices (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview ; Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). Kurds are often discriminated by Turks and mutually Turks discriminate each other for habits or religion (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). The Romanians and Bulgarians, respectively new migrant groups in Germany are

discriminated by a lot of different groups in society: Germans, others with migration backgrounds and even mutually. Both blame each other of being a 'Gypsy' and they do not want to be compared with each other (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). This mutual discrimination can cause tensions among the different migrant groups, even in the youth community centers, because prejudices, language or origins can hinder the mixing of different groups of origin (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). Still, the youth community centers do not allow discrimination and aim to bring all these youngsters together. It is therefore that in these centers the youngsters learn to put their prejudices aside and respect each other, simply by meeting each other and be involved in activities together (Sirin and Caliskan, 2014, Expert Interview). However, in society prejudices and differences are often maintained, teaching these youngsters to draw distinctions and maintain these. Drawing distinctions is inherent to people, also to youngsters with migration backgrounds, which can lead to mutual discrimination (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). This developments complicates acceptation of different form of appearance, cultures and habits and is therefore influencing integration processes, also for youngsters with migration backgrounds (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview).

6.2.1 Disadvantage in the education system

One of the areas where youngsters with migration backgrounds face discrimination is education. Their backgrounds are often a ground for disadvantage in this important aspect of their development (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). First of all, it is difficult to attend the education you want or the school of your choice (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview; Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). In the education system a lot of discouragement exists, as well as a lack of support for development and difficulties to attend higher education (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). The German education system includes indirect discrimination, based on socio-economic backgrounds, but also ethnical backgrounds and appearance are reason for discrimination in the education system (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). It is assumed that parents have a large influence on the education progress of their children and that the education level of the parents influences the capabilities of the children (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Herewith is assumed that it is not possible for children to work at a higher education level than their parents did (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). This understanding is a result of the organizational structure of the German school system, whereby schools do not overcome needs for support and materials, but relay on the input and support of the parents (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Children need a place to study at home, the right materials and support of their parents with homework and school activities. Schools partly judge future possibilities of students on the abilities of the home situation of the students, trying to estimate if student can receive enough support during their education (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). In this system a migration background is a large disadvantage, because most of the migrants came to Germany as industrial workers, nowadays

living a relatively low socio-economic status (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). It happens more often that potential is overlooked. Starting at school, the children are expect to reach a certain level to start. Children with migration backgrounds often do not reach the same level as native German children, resulting in a disadvantaged start, whereby potential is overlooked (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Moreover, it is assumed that good support is more difficult to provide for these parents (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). So, the youngsters with migration background are not discriminated directly, but the system discriminates indirectly, because it provides disadvantages based on cultural backgrounds, despite the individual possibilities of the children (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview).

On the other hand it is also known that parents from another cultural (non-Western) background are not used to co-deciding about their child's education and supporting them in their education and career (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). These parents do care about the futures of their children, but do not always understand the system of education. But they do desire to achieve a better life for their children then they grew up with (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). As migrants, the parents also experience the disadvantages; feeling the prejudices and seeing how these affect their children (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). This means that they feel stimulated to encourage the youngsters to be outstanding and attend the best education possible (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). However, often the parents are not aware of the tools they need to establish that, because they do not understand the German education system (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Moreover, these ambitions can cause pressure for the youngsters; not everyone has the ability to study at universities (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). It puts the youngsters in a difficult situation, stuck between their traditional home situation and the culture expected at the German school system; a basis for difficulties in the German school system (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). Youngsters should be able to choose the education that fits their needs and parents should encourage and help them in this decision. Family plays an important role in the decision-making of children and can provide support to make the right educational decisions (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Getting parents more involved in the education process means they will understand the system better and so provide better support for their children (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). This means the youngsters will have more opportunities to get better results and finish their schools.

Also, youngsters are depending a lot on support of the teachers throughout their education. Especially, when the youngsters want to attend higher education, for example from *Hauptschule* into *Realschule*, because there is no existing institutional way for this process (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). Commitment, encouragement and availability of the teachers is very important in this process, because these aspects partly determine the education trajectory of youngster with migration backgrounds (Ramos Lobato, 2014, Expert Interview). However, teachers often seem to stigmatize or

discriminate and do not offer the right support for the youngsters to develop, because it is assumed that migrant youngsters cannot reach high education (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). Also, teachers and youth workers often support stigmatization, be it unconsciously (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). Drawing distinctions based on ethnical backgrounds, for example by organizing special activities to support this group, is stimulating stigmatization (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview).

Discrimination in education is also expressed in the appreciation of skills. Multiculturalism and multilingualism are often seen as an advantage, still children with migration backgrounds often are not appreciated because of these characteristics (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). For example, speaking English or Chinese as second language is highly valued in Germany, while speaking Turkish or Arabic as a first language next to German is not seen as an advantage (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview). This means that the bilingual skills of many migrant children are undervalued relative to children with other backgrounds.

6.2.2 Disadvantage at the labor market

Youth with migration backgrounds often experience more difficulties attending higher education than native Germans (El-Mafaalani, 2014, Expert Interview) and do also experience more difficulties attending the labor market (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview;). It is not unusual that youngsters have to send between 50 and 100 application letters to get a job or an educational work place (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview), which is approximately 10 times more than native Germans have to apply to get an equal job (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). In addition to the current economic climate in Germany; a smaller amount of jobs and education work places are available, resulting in stricter selection procedures. The reason for the unequal distribution on the labor markets is twofold. On one hand, employees can maintain prejudices towards youngsters with migration backgrounds that influence their decision to hire these youngsters (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Especially girls with head scarves experience difficulties during the application process (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). The different temperaments are not understood or youngsters are rejected because of their exotic name or the multicultural neighborhood they live in (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview; Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). On the other hand, difficulties during applications are caused by inadequate preparations of the youngsters. They do not know how to prepare their interviews and application letters or are not aware of their own qualities and strengths (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Also, a large amount of rejections of their applications can make the youngsters insecure or demotivated (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Also, their parents often cannot give them the right support to improve their application skills, because they also experience difficulties entering the labor market (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Still, a proper CV does not guarantee a good application process; discrimination, prejudices and poor preparations can decrease the success on the labor market.

6.3 Spatial aspects of integration processes

Nordstadt is one of the most disadvantaged and stigmatized areas of Dortmund (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). Prejudices about *Nordstadt* and its inhabitants exist in Dortmund and gives this neighborhood a bad attitude (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview; Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Living in *Nordstadt* can be a disadvantage, because people often stigmatize the inhabitant for living there (Herdt, 2014, Expert Interview). As a result of this stigmatization people from *Nordstadt* have less chances in an application process than some from Southern parts of Dortmund (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Name and address are often the first selection criteria, whereby a lot of migrants from *Nordstadt* are excluded from the labor market (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview; Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). These prejudices and stigmatization are also affecting children and youngsters (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). It is often assumed that children growing up in *Nordstadt* come from a subordinate environment (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Also attending a school in *Nordstadt* is seen as a disadvantage (Tekin, 2014, Expert Interview). Schools in *Nordstadt* are not popular and numbers of pupils are decreasing, because of the bad reputation (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). Even migrants living in *Nordstadt* find the population of migrants on these schools too large and prefer to send their kids to other schools (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). This is not always possible, because children living in the neighborhood of the schools have priority to get access to the school (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). Quite often, families living in *Nordstadt* move out of the area immediately when they achieve a higher socio-economic status (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview). In this way the inhabitants of *Nordstadt* are also maintaining the stigmatization and the socio-economic distinctions in the city (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview).

Spatial stigmatization and discrimination affects the mobility of the inhabitants; social mobility in education and at the labor market (Akin, 2014, Expert Interview), but also spatial mobility. Groups of migrant youth, living together in one part of the city, cluster and make that space their home (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). It is a place where they feel they belong and where they feel safe to express themselves (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). The stigmatization and discrimination they experience make them feel outsiders outside 'their space', leading to little spatial mobility and clustering in the same places (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Youngsters in *Nordstadt* especially have a strong connection with their neighborhood (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). Their activities mostly take place in the neighborhood and its surrounding (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). The youngsters find safety and certainty in their own living spaces and venues (like youth community centers) and with each other, but feel uncomfortable and insecure moving out of the area (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). They often move in groups outside their neighborhood, which creates some threatening appearance for others, which can lead to rejection and stigmatization (Johannsen, 2014,

Expert Interview). Another important reason for little social mobility is the socio-economic status (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). In his research *'Jugendliche Lebenswelten'* (life-worlds of youngsters), Jörg Plöger connects gender, socio-economic status and mobility, giving special attention to migration backgrounds and neighborhoods. Stating that a higher socio-economic status gives people better opportunities to travel and provide a wider range of movement (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). On the other hand, for children with a lower socio-economic background it is more difficult to obtain the necessities for travelling, like a bike, a public transport season ticket or a lift in their parent's car (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). Also, children with a lower socio-economic status are more flexible in their activities and time distribution (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview). So far it has been difficult to establish a causal relation (in this research the socio-economic status is based on actual profession of the parents, grouped according to necessary educational level as well as average incomes), but in general socio-economic background does affect mobility (Plöger, 2014, Expert Interview)). It is explicable that this relation is also expressed between the different city districts and that youngsters in *Nordstadt* experience little mobility than youngsters in the Southern parts of Dortmund.

Also other districts in Dortmund, especially in the inner city, are dealing with prejudices (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). *Dorstfeld*, a district in the West of Dortmund and home of the participants of the second workshop, has a 'village character', but also deals with the prejudices of being the 'Neo-Nazi district' of Dortmund (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). This also brings spatial division in Dortmund and disadvantages certain places and people (Johannsen, 2014, Expert Interview). Nowadays the problems with Neo-Nazi's are few, also in *Dorstfeld*, but still the prejudices and stereotypes are maintained, affecting its inhabitants. Not only native Germans are seen as racists, but it also influences how migrants feel they are approached in this district.

7. Experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds

Youngsters with migration backgrounds have to deal with integration issues in their everyday life. Though, theoretical terms like integration, identity construction, othering practices and discrimination do not connect to the world of these youngsters. Therefore, terms and practical situations that fit their everyday life, like feeling at home, feeling welcome, being German or not, entering the labor market and support at schools are used in this study. It was highly important to understand what integration means to them, apart from theories, and therefore the youngsters were given space to contribute their own experiences and topics into the discussion. The discussed topics are reflecting their everyday life, but indirectly the influence of integration discourses in German society are recognizable.

7.1 Integration experiences

One of the first aspects to talk about when exploring integration processes is the feeling of being welcome or being at home. In both workshops this topic was discussed at first, but interpreted differently. The participating youngsters in Workshop 1 Stollenpark, living in the migrant district *Nordstadt*, referred often to their birthplace in Germany, “I am born and raised in Dortmund” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1) or to the length of their stay in Dortmund, “I feel very good at home, I live here for four years” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). The feeling of being at home is closely linked to being at one place for a long time. These youngsters feel connected to Dortmund because they are born and raised there, or at least have lived there for a few years. Almost all participants reacted positively to the question “do you feel at home in Dortmund?”, often using the word good. Only one participant states that he/she does not feel at home in Dortmund, because his/her friends are not living here. Further discussion shows that family and friends are also important for the others. The family provides security, support and a safe haven, “I think family and friends are important because you can trust them and they help you with everything” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2). These youngsters feel at home, because the environment they live in provides a home for them, with family and friends and recognition of culture and language. “I feel at home because my parents and a lot of friends speak my language” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). In *Nordstadt* migrants have formed communities based on migration, origins and culture that creates a safe place for these youngsters, where they can find recognition. “We live together as foreigners here” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). “The neighborhood is important, because you live together so to say” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2). Also, the sphere at the youth community center is positive and safe. The youngsters see it as a second home and the youth workers are seen as their supporters, creating a safe environment. “When I need something Vedat (youth worker) will help me” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2). There is not much mentioned about other people, outside the neighborhood or elsewhere that are influencing their experiences negatively.

These youngsters do not experience much negativity towards their 'foreign' status, which can be explained by the little contact with Germans. "We mostly stay among us" (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2).

The youngsters in *Dorstfeld* (Workshop 2 HWMT) also referred to their families and people they trust when talking about feeling at home in Dortmund. "No matter what happens, family is there for you". It is clear that family provides a safe home for these youngsters, as well as for the youngsters at *Nordstadt*. All youngsters in *Dorstfeld* were born in Germany, but none of them mentioned this or referred to it when talking about home. Living together with other migrants was not directly given as ground for home feelings. The neighborhood, *Dorstfeld*, was rated differently. On one hand these youngsters feel at home because of positive experience with people: "here are people with whom one has grown up" (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1), "Feeling partly at home, because some are nice and one helps each other" (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1). On the other hand these youngsters also express that they do not feel welcome in some situations. They mention the presence of Nazi's in *Dorstfeld*, "Some are Nazi's here and want us, foreigners, go away" (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1) and everyday discrimination they face, "Many have prejudice based on appearance" (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1). The feeling of not being welcome has different aspects; everyday discrimination and othering. During the group discussion it becomes clear that these youngsters experience an ongoing feeling of being 'the foreigner'. "We are always the foreigner, in both lands" (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD). They live in between two cultures, feeling an outsider in both of them. Born and raised in Germany, they are seen as rich Westerners in the countries of their parents. They do not speak the language flawless and are influenced by the German culture. People over there mark them as foreigners and these youngsters feel they do not totally belong there. However, also in Germany these youngsters are labelled and approached as foreigners, even when born in Germany, speaking the German language accent free and participating in German society. Although formally being German, their foreign origins still put them apart from Germans. Feeling at home is determined by experiences that prove you are in the right place. Recognition is an important aspect of this. The youngsters in *Nordstadt* are positive about their neighborhood, because they recognize their 'foreigner status' and origins and they know they do not stand out because of that. Living in another district and interpreting 'feeling at home' differently, the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* determine being at home as being in a place where you are not the only foreigner. It is important for these youngsters to recognize their origins or their differences in each other. Two guys, originating from Lebanon, tell about a Lebanese neighborhood in Berlin, where they feel totally at home, because it is a place where Lebanese and German cultures are combined, like in their daily lives. Also others agree that being around other migrants and foreigners gives them some comfort. For example, some school are labelled as 'black schools', but these youngsters feel they belong there, because there they are not the only ones that differ from 'the standard'. The youngsters

in *Dorstfeld* are more confronted with the fact that they are standing out from native Germans and that they are seen as foreigners, because of a lower share of migrants in *Dorstfeld*. Yet, they also prefer to stay in their own neighborhood. “We never got to Aplerback (a relative white neighborhood in Dortmund), it is the neighborhood of the rich” (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD), “We have no friends there, so we have no business being there” (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD). These youngsters prefer to stay among each other, creating a safe environment for themselves. Yet, in *Dorstfeld* these youngsters sometimes also get confronted with judgments or ignorance of other inhabitants. This confrontation leads to a more critical perspective towards the welcoming of German society and their own experience of feeling at home. The confrontation with their differences shows them the stigmatization and discrimination they face, not only on a practical level, but also on a more emotional/social level.

A feeling of being at home is created by being around people in which you recognize yourself, your life and your origins, and by being around people that love and support you. It is about being in a place where you feel you belong, where you recognize behavior and people. The participating youngsters in Dortmund find this environment mostly around other migrants, not only because they can share their origins and experiences of daily life, but also because they share the status of being an outsider of German society. On the other hand, staying among migrants also creates distance towards German society and is putting these youngsters in an outsider position. Both processes are strengthen each other.

7.1.1 The importance of language

Another important aspect of integration is language. Especially for first-generation migrants, mastering the German language will help them become included in society and the labor market. The first-generation youngsters of workshop 1 Stollenpark were very aware of the importance of language. They talked about their dreams to get a good job in Germany, but also pointed out that their language skills should be improved to reach that. Some participating youngsters were just arrived in Germany and did not speak German at all, but some youngsters, living in Germany for a longer time or even second-generation youngster, also did not speak German very well. They had difficulties with their vocabulary and pronouncing. So, attending German schools and even being born in Germany does not always guarantee mastering of the German language. These youngsters grow up in *Nordstadt*, a migrant district in Dortmund. They grow up with youngsters with migration backgrounds, from all kind of cultures, speaking all kinds of languages. This environment is influences their lives and lifestyle, but also their language skills. The youngsters do not speak German very well, because most people around them speak their language. “I feel at home in Dortmund, because my parents and a lot of friends speak my language” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). These youngsters have a lot of ‘foreign’ friends, speaking their language, but do not speak to German very often. “I do not have German friends, but that is good

for now" (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). "I only have Arabic friends" (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). "I have friends from different cultures" (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). So, on one hand they understand the importance of language for their integration and participation in German society, but on the other hand in practice the mastering of the German language can be difficult, because these youngsters are living in communities, speaking their own languages.

The participating youngsters in *Dorstfeld* (Workshop 2 HWMT), all second-generation migrants, spoke German very well. Also among each other they spoke German, it is the language that connects them. These youngsters told me that their German is better than the language of their parents. "My German is very good and in my own language I have an accent" (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD). Although these youngster do speak the language of their parents, their German is often better, because it has become their daily language. Some participating youngsters stated they prefer to speak German over other languages. Still, the choice of language depends on the situation and environment. At home or in their home countries they speak the language of their origins, but in most daily activities they speak German. These youngsters are bilingual and also think and dream in two languages. However, the youngsters agreed that the German language is taking over and that their 'own language' is becoming less important. "When we come over there, we have a big accent" (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD). So, the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are not talking about the importance of language, but experiencing the integration of German language in their lives, because of the daily activities. They are participating in Germany society, being part of the daily life in Germany and therefore do speak German very well. For these youngsters the German language is the way they are used to in their daily lives. Speaking another language has more an emotional content, because it connects them to their origins.

7.2 Citizenship and identity construction

Talking with youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund, the concept of integration was defined in different themes, to get closer to the everyday life of these youngsters. Integration can be expressed formally, but also socially and culturally. It seemed that the cultural and social aspects of integration are more topical for these youngsters than the formal aspects. For youngsters who just arrived in Germany and who officially have a foreigner status, the formal citizenship is of higher priority than for others. Youngsters new in Germany are aware of the importance of citizenship, language and inclusion at the labor market. It shows that the participating youngsters in *Nordstadt* (workshop 1 Stollenpark) all had a German passport if possible. The ones without German passport were newly arrived migrants, but they explained that they wanted a German passport in the future. The German passport provided them certainty and the possibility to build a future in Germany they wanted (good study or job). However, the participating youngsters in *Dorstfeld* (workshop 2 HWMT), all born in Germany, did not all have a German passport, even if it was possible. Most of them did have a German

passport, because born and living in Germany a German passport provides those advantages. Nevertheless, some did choose to get another passport. For example, one guy with a Lebanese background chose a Lebanese passport over a German passport, while his brother does have a German passport. For this guy the choosing of a passport had become an emotional and cultural issue. He felt by getting a German passport he would deny his Lebanese origins. So, the formal citizenship has two aspects. First it is important for new migrants as well as second-generation migrants, because it provides a secure status and most youngsters aim to obtain one. On the other hand, formal citizenship also contains cultural and emotional aspects, which influence the decision to accept a German passport or not. The advantages of a German passport, like certainty and better opportunities of work, are sometimes not reason enough to overcome the cultural decision that has to be made. Choosing a German passport can feel like giving up your identity or your origins and choosing to adapt to German cultural norms. These emotional and cultural aspects of citizenship show the impacts on identity issues of these youngsters.

7.2.1 Identity construction and cultural mixing

This exposes a tension between origin and being German and shows the position of these youngsters in between cultures. Youngsters with migration backgrounds experience an ongoing tension between connecting to their origins and living their daily lives in Germany. Remarkably, the youngsters living among other migrants in *Nordstadt*, expressed themselves more positively about being a German and combining their origins with their daily life in Dortmund than the youngsters in *Dorstfeld*. The youngsters in *Nordstadt* (Workshop 1 Stollenpark) expressed themselves positively about living in Germany, mostly mentioning the opportunities for study and work, “I have a lot of chances in Dortmund/Germany, because there is a lot of work in Germany” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). One reaction was outstanding: “Dortmund is my dream, I feel at home” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). However, these quotes show the positive perspectives these youngsters have, the only struggles they seem to experience are difficulties with the German language. Having no German origins seems not a problem in their daily life, but the opinion about German society get a bit more negative when talking about politics. “No fan of politics” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1) and “I find politics not so good” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1) express some struggles youngsters can experience towards politics or aspects of German society, but it cannot explain exactly what or why. These youngsters seem to experience not much tension between their foreigner status and their daily lives.

The difficulties of living in between two cultures is more expressed during Workshop 2 HWMT. The youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are like regular German guys, born in Germany, attending schools or working and participating in their neighborhood and society. On the other hand, they live in Germany with their families and parents, whom are first-generation migrants and often not integrated as good

as their children. The parents of these youngsters are raised in a different context and do not have to deal with the issues these youngsters face. The youngsters connect differently to German society, but also to their origins. The connection with their origins is mostly emotional, not practical. Although some youngsters claimed they wanted to go back to the country of their parents when they are old and that they would like to also teach their children about their origins, most youngsters see their future in Germany. For example, talking about choice of partner, at first some youngsters claimed the importance of being with someone with the same origin. They care about sharing their origins, culture and language. But in further discussion it seems that most of them, is valuing the possibility to share origins, but that it is not a necessity. Moreover, it seems that all boys have German girlfriends. This makes clear that the connection with their origins is mostly emotional, not practical. It becomes visible by respecting and valuing family norms and values making their decisions. The connection with their origins is important for these youngsters, because it is also the connection to their family history. On the other hand, in daily life these youngsters live among Germans and feel Germans themselves. Born and raised in Germany, mastering the language and attending schools, these youngsters want to be part of German society. However, labelled as foreigner, they feel outsiders, because of their origins. This creates the gap between the connection with their origins and the daily life in Germany. It sets a sharp distinction between 'German' and 'foreigner' and it seems that the youngsters should choose to be only one of those. This is causing feelings of being rejected for their origins and appearance and leads to difficulties to combine two cultures. One guy, without a German passport, stated that he even does not want to be German anymore and expressed that in a choice for a foreign passport. "Why should I want to fit in if I cannot be like them" (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD). Proud of his origins, he is rejecting the force to fit in what is seen as German culture. The aversion to be labelled as German and the rejection of a German passport create a disadvantaged position for this guy. However, he presented a minority opinion and most other participants do have a German passport, wanting to be a full member of society and to be participating like others do. Their ideal is a society where all humans are equal, regardless background or culture. The issue of choosing a formal German citizenship has now become an emotional decision to embracing or rejecting a new German identity. It is not only about formal aspects, but also about emotional factors influencing identity.

7.3 Exclusion and disadvantage

Not only a German passport or mastering the German language determine full participation in society, but also inclusion and mobility determine how migrants are integrated in society. The youngsters in *Dorstfeld* (Workshop 2 HWMT) live in a mixed neighborhood, as a minority, confronted with exclusion from particular situations and negative attitudes of Germans towards their migration backgrounds. Despite their formal German citizenship, they still are recognizable connecting to their origins and not

recognized as Germans. This is expressed in daily life by negative approaches and little incidents. They are looked at on the streets, sometimes angry or worried, or people calling them names or make sweeping movements with their arms, referring to their opinion that these youngsters are not welcome. Some youngsters had incidents whereby they or their friends were beaten up. These examples show rejection these youngsters face, from their perception. These examples are not factually underpinned, but they reflect the experiences of rejection these youngsters face. Among the youngsters there exists a feeling that they are more often held accountable for their behavior than German youngsters. They experience rejection, not only on behavior, but also on appearance. “The skin color stands out” (Workshop 2 HWMT, GD). They share experience of rejection at disco’s or being checked by the police for no reason. Some people, even cops, try to provoke them, by indirect insults. Reacting will give troubles and thereby confirm the existing prejudices. One clear illustration of everyday discrimination is given. One of the youngsters was in the supermarket and saw an employee talk to a costumer that had a question or something. The employee was friendly to this costumer. When later this youngster himself asked the employee something, the employee was not friendly, but reacted curt and did not want to help the youngster very well. Others confirmed or recognized this story, it is an example of the sort of behavior these youngsters face. It is not only their foreign appearance that leads to discrimination, but also their ‘macho-attitude’ and ‘crimi-look’. Having tattoos and hanging around together can lead to rejections and a negative image. Some of these youngsters have difficulties getting a job, because of their tattoos. On the other hand, this image also gives them a status, providing recognition.

In contrast, the participating youngsters in *Nordstadt* (Workshop 1 Stollenpark) did not have a lot of negative experiences with Germans. Talking about school, the neighborhood and society, these youngsters are mostly positive. They see a lot of opportunities in Dortmund and are not much aware of what others think of them, it seems. However, some reaction during the workshop provide some insight on everyday discrimination these youngsters face. Two youngsters express that they have some troubles at school sometimes: “People say I am an asshole” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2) and “Only with some we have problems” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2). Also, someone is expressing a negative aspect of his/her neighborhood: “Bad people” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2), but could not explain that. These comments can also be seen as normal teenagers’ troubles at schools, with other youngsters. Most youngsters participating in Workshop 1 Stollenpark are very positive about their lives in Dortmund and there are no signs they experience everyday discrimination.

When talking about discrimination it also has to be said that migrants not only are discriminated, but are also discriminating themselves. The youngsters themselves are also influenced by prejudices and sometimes also maintain these distinctions made. For example, during the group discussion in Workshop 2 HWMT some youngsters complained about the number of Poles living in

Dorstfeld, which was followed by some discriminating prejudices about Poles and Romanians, which led to laughter. These youngsters, most of them originated from Arabic countries, maintain prejudices they hear about other migrant groups, especially Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians, even if they have experienced discrimination themselves. During Workshop 1 Stollenpark discrimination among each other was not so clear. In the youth community center respect is very important and the youngsters from different origins did not clearly discriminate each other. It was clear though that different groups with youngsters of the same origin gathered together, but during the Workshop it was not clear if this was excluding or disadvantaging others.

7.3.1 Disadvantages in education

One of the environments were these youngsters face everyday discrimination is schools. The German school system is indirectly discriminating youth with a low socio-economic backgrounds, which are often children of migrants. The youngsters participating in Workshop 1 Stollenpark did speak very positively about their schools. They emphasize the importance of education and are using it to make their dreams come true. There were no direct signs given that they feel disadvantages because of their origins or socio-economic backgrounds. There is no explicit sign of discrimination at school, by youngsters or teachers. The youngsters living in *Dorstfeld* (Workshop 2 HWMT) however, had mixed opinions about their schools. On one hand the youngsters realize the importance of education for their future: “The people there help us for our future” (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1) and is school a meeting place for their friends: “You get to know people there” (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1) and “I have real friends there” (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1). But on the other hand these youngsters experience some difficulties: “Teachers must always be right” (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1) and “Teachers are unfair” (Workshop 2 HWMT, A1). These expressions show that these youngsters experience some friction with their teachers. Later on, during the group discussion, it becomes clear that these youngsters have different experiences with education and applications. One guy told that he had to send 170 application to get an ‘Ausbildungsplatz’ (an education workplace following up the ‘*Hauptschule*’). He told that he had good grades and should have some possibilities, but still he could not find a job or an educational workplace. Possible reason for this can be that this guy has no German passport. The youngsters themselves explain this situation by discrimination on appearance. Not only because of their skin color, but also because of their ‘crimi-look’. Their rough image often leads to rejection, also in application processes. However, other youngsters have more positive experiences at schools. They tell me they are trying to switch to the ‘*Gymnasium*’ and get their ‘Abitur’ (finishing of *Gymnasium*). They dream of good jobs and really want good opportunities to make that come true. The present youth workers directly support these youngsters and encourage them to work hard for their dreams. The support for these youngsters to improve their educational career is given by the youth workers.

7.4 Future expectations of the youngsters

As first- or second-generation migrant in Germany, these youngsters have to find their way in living in between two cultures. But what is their future? The participating youngsters were all positive about their future in Germany. Especially the youngsters from *Nordstadt* (Workshop 1 Stollenpark) see a bright future in Germany. They dream of studying, having good jobs and building their lives in Germany. “In the future I would like to finish my study and find a good job” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A2). These youngsters are very positive about Germany and the possible lives they could have, they are optimistic for the future. “I have a lot of chances in Dortmund/Germany, because there is a lot of work in Germany” (Workshop 1 Stollenpark, A1). The only obstacles these youngsters seems to experience is learning the German language, this applies to the first-generation migrants. They live in a multicultural neighborhood, connected with their origins and feeling at home among other migrants. Still, these youngsters see their future in Germany; combining two cultures is not seen as an obstacle for them. They seem not to be aware or hindered by discrimination or stigmatization.

The youngsters living in *Dorstfeld* (Workshop 2 HWMT) are more critical about their daily life in Dortmund. They experience disadvantage, discrimination and stigmatization, which impacts their perspectives on life in Germany. Still, most of the participating youngsters want to stay in Germany, only a few are thinking about going ‘back’ to their country of origin. This desire to go back arises from a strong connection to their origins. During the group discussion it became clear that sharing the same norms and values is important to these youngsters. Also, recognition of their origins and the acceptation of it is important. However, the connection to their origins is mostly emotional, not practical. This emotional connection is strengthened by the foreigner status ascribed to them by Germans. Yet, these youngsters attend German schools and are dreaming of their future in Germany. They long for equal opportunities and changes and the possibility to participate in their society, so they can build their home and a steady future. The influence of the new German culture is visible, they are no first-generation migrants holding on to other cultures. These youngsters have learned to combine best of both worlds and want to build their lives with it, in Germany.

8. Relating integration experiences and integration discourses

In order to understand the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds, one first need to understand how national discourses influence society's perceptions of immigrants and cultural differences, and how these perceptions influence the experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. Integration discourses and integration experiences are interrelated on different levels and are influencing each other constantly. In this chapter, integration and its impacts on identity construction, exclusion and space are discussed, using all the data presented before and linking the different experiences and developments on different levels to each other. In this way, the interrelations between individual experiences, local development and national discourses and politics become visible. This analysis will form a basis for the final conclusions.

8.1 Integration as moving target

Political and societal perceptions on integration have a real impact on the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds; it determines their perceptions on their lives in Germany. Firstly, youngsters with migration backgrounds still link integration to citizenship; a formal status, that provides rights and security in the new society. These youngsters are very aware of the importance of formal citizenship, especially when they have just arrived. First-generation youth migrants are aware of the improved chances they have when they have a German formal status. However, some second-generation youth, although aware of the importance and advantages of a formal German passport, choose to reject it and maintain their foreign citizenship. This situation is exceptional, but still an option for some. However, the justification of this decision is not formal, it is emotional. Citizenship for them is emotional because it is linked to their social and cultural perceptions. This phenomenon is explained by Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) when they argue that citizenship is moralized. Having German citizenship, is not only containing a formal German status, but also requires understanding of German culture and norms and values. The citizenship is moralized and now includes cultural and behavioral issues, which impact the youngsters' ideas on having the German citizenship.

The moralization and 'responsibilization' of citizenship, as described by Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) is also applicable to the concept of integration. Over time, there is a shift in the definition of integration. A basic understanding of integration includes active participation in society and equal chances at the labor market, which is a socio-economic perspective on integration. The concept of integration can also include cultural issues and lifestyle, where integration is approached with a more normative perspective (Phillips, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2006). The concept of integration now includes more personal and emotional aspects of life, focusing on traditions, behavior, habits, religion etc., resulting in a more normative debate on migration and integration. In German politics, where the integration

debate is relatively new, integration is a multi-definable concept with a strong normative content. Pautz (2005) describes the *Leitkultur* debate in Germany, a good example of how German politics approaches migration and integration. The *Leitkultur* debate shows how immigration and integration issues result in cultural identity issues, wherein Germany focuses on constructing and preserving German cultural values. This is reflected in integration debates, by practices of othering and a normative approach towards the integration trajectory of migrants, and in the public opinion of German society. El-Mafaalani (2013) explains how in German society it is assumed that successful integration will result in a harmonious society with cultural unity, while German society is not changed and the German society itself does not have to invest in integration processes. This paradox reflects the moralization and responsibilization that Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) discussed. Integration, defined as 'adaption to the cultural identity of the German population', is seen as the responsibility of migrants themselves. The strong cultural orientation in integration, have resulted in an understanding among Germans that integration processes have become more difficult in recent years. Although, integration processes are improving in Germany; migrants have better positions and living conditions, a more negative opinion dominates the public opinion. Understanding of integration shift towards assimilation discourses, involving cultural adaption and belonging to the same cultural meanings. This is also reflected in the lives of migrant youth. Integration is no longer only measured by socio-economic chances and performance. Youngsters with migration backgrounds are judged on how much they differ from the majority. Especially for the second-generation youth, who were born in Germany, speak the same and attend the same schools as native German youngsters, these differences are mainly ethnical and cultural. This reflects the rise of assimilation discourses in German society. The youngsters are formally German, integrated in German everyday life and culture, but still are expected to assimilate. These youngsters are not approached as Germans, as they will continue to be different because of their origin.

With the shift towards normativity, integration problems have a different meaning in the lives of migrant youth. The youngsters talk about integration by means of 'feeling at home' and 'being welcome'. For them, integration is a cultural matter, which they can embrace or reject. The concept of feeling at home is often related to the time they spent in the host country, especially by the youngsters living in *Nordstadt*. These youngsters refer to their arrival and the time they have spent in Germany, concluding that Dortmund/Germany is their (new) home. Also the second-generation migrants in *Nordstadt* refer to their place of birth, which is in Germany, and conclude that Germany is their home. All participating youngsters in both areas strongly feel that their families and friends create the sense of home for them. Also, people who say they do not feel at home, refer to the lack of friends in their new country. Furthermore, youngsters also refer to their neighborhoods when talking about integration and belonging. It seems important for these youngsters to belong to a group or a

community, for example the group of other youngsters that they grew up with or the community of foreigners and migrants, as present in *Nordstadt*. This positive experience of belonging to a community contrasts with the negative experiences of rejection, prejudices and discrimination that the youngsters have with other inhabitants of the neighborhood, who give them the feeling of not being welcome in Germany because they are immigrants. Especially youngsters in *Dorstfeld* refer to the duality they experience in their neighborhood and stress the importance of being with people who understand your background. So, integration in the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds is about a sense of belonging to a place and a community, and is linked to not being the only foreigner in the community or area. Youngsters feel a sense of belonging where they recognize their history and background and where they find acceptance because of it. It is about finding a place where they are not always 'the other', but where they are respected for their background and future dreams. For these youngsters this sense of belonging is often not present in society as a whole, but only at a specific place or with specific people. This either indicates a lack of integration (because the youngsters do not feel they belong in German society, it is likely they are not successfully integrated yet) or it indicates a requirement for successful integration (to become successfully integrated, the youngsters need a place/people that let them feel they belong to).

The need for a community that these youngsters feel, can be related to current social processes in German society. As the definition of integration is shifting towards assimilation the connection of integration with a sense of belonging is put in context. Assimilation discourses in general, assume complete adaption of immigrants to the host society's culture, norms and values, it aims to achieve cultural unity within one country. In Germany, where assimilation discourses arise both in politics and in society (not openly, but under the surface this discourse wins support) the vision of cultural unity mostly determines integration policies and politics. This vision favors one cultural community, where if one does not meet the social and cultural norms of this community, one does not belong to the community and is perceived as 'the other' or 'the foreigner'. Assimilation discourses stimulate practices of othering and exclusion in society. Migrants also experience the effects of these practices in their lives, as they experience that without complete assimilation they cannot be fully part of 'the German community'. The expected assimilation, which migrants cannot achieve, push the migrants into other communities where they are included and where they sense a feeling of belonging. This explains the need for community that the youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund feel and why they relate feelings of inclusion and belonging to integration.

8.2 Identity construction processes

Identity construction is closely associated with integration processes. Especially youngsters with migration backgrounds, who grow up with two cultures, face identity construction processes;

connecting to both their country of origin and their new host society. Identity construction as part of the integration processes is also related to othering practices and a sense of belonging. Shaping an identity is identifying what you are and what you are not. Representations of immigrants in the media, political debates and public discourses are also important when constructing an identity in the integration process. Migrants internalize or challenge these representations, trying to construct their own identity as an immigrant in a new country. The host society is also redefining its cultural identity, reacting on the new cultural influences. A host country is only a host country because of its immigrants. In this process of defining identity, othering practices are important to define who part of the host society is and who the foreigner, 'the other' is. These processes are also reflected in integration debates in Germany. The country is actively debating about what it means (or should mean) to be German. New cultural influences of migration do change German society, and the German population has to decide how to react on it. On one hand, German society expects migrants from different cultures to be respected and accepted in German society, while on the other hand German citizens often fear 'das Fremde' (the foreign), especially the Islam. These othering practices maintain unequal power relations, because these are focused on host society's ideas of migrants. The white majority is in a position to label the ethnic minorities, setting standards of normality, being able to exclude some groups or individuals. It is therefore that othering practices often result in disempowerment of minority groups, because these people have no chance of adjusting the representation that exist about them. This effect of othering is also visible among youngsters with migration backgrounds in Germany. Youth workers explain that most youngsters with migration backgrounds do experience negative effects of othering practices, like victimization and insecurity. Especially processes of stigmatization and discrimination that are resulting from othering practices cause a low self-esteem among these youngsters. In a way, the youngsters are traumatized by the negative attitudes they face in everyday life. They experience a negative pressure from it. For example, in application processes most youngsters already feel they have less chances than native German youngsters, because they assume German youngsters are better candidates for jobs. This puts youngsters with migration backgrounds in a victim role, in which they are youth with little chances for the future. The youngsters have difficulties challenging the representation that exists about them and they passively wait until the majority changes their perception. It also stimulates these youngsters to label themselves as victims or trouble makers.

When youngsters with migration backgrounds talk about their identity they directly refer to their dual cultural status. A formal status is important for them (discussed in the first paragraph), but does not seem to determine their identity. Only some youngsters rigorously choose to reject a German passport, because they feel it undermines their identity. Most of the youngsters see the formal status separate from their identity. They refer to an emotional connection they feel to their country of origin,

but also try to actively participate in German society, to construct a secure future in their 'new' homeland. One the one hand, youngsters with migration backgrounds feel they often cannot completely identify with a German identity, but on the other hand, they also do not feel part of their culture of origin. Not having practical connections to these countries and shaped by Western influences, the youngsters feel they do not belong in the culture of their parents. Then again, confronted with practices of othering, it makes them feel as if they are excluded from German society. The only way they can construct their identity is to combine both cultures they live in and create a new identity. Despite the exclusion they experience, it seems normal for these to combine two cultures into one identity. For example, the youngsters living in *Nordstadt* are positive about the combining of two cultures and do not seem to experience any problems with it. They see their future in Germany positively and do not seem to be hindered by the different backgrounds they have. On the other hand, the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* do want to combine their two cultures, but do experience some difficulties with that. Their connection to their origin is mostly emotional, because as second- generation migrants these youngsters experiences their culture of origin only from their family at home, and their everyday life is filled with German culture. However, living in a mixed neighborhood, these youngsters still experience stigmatization because of their cultural origin, which is reflected in their perceived identity. Do they want to combine the two cultures? Do they want to be seen as German or not? Constructing an identity also means deciding on how important their ethnic identity is to them.

These results can also be found in other research on identity construction among youngsters with migration backgrounds. Berry et al. (2006) argue that combination of two cultures or even adaptation of the new cultures mostly is seen among second-generation youngsters or youngsters that live more than 12 years in the new host country, which is the case for the second-generation youngsters in Dortmund. The participating youngsters seemed to be open to a more transnational identity combing good things from both cultures. This is also similar to the description of Somerville (2008), who argues that second-generation migrants are more flexible about their identity, because they manage a transnational lifestyle. Especially the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* seemed aware of the merging of cultures, as living in a mixed neighborhood makes them aware of their position. Whilst dealing with this situation, they are also more aware of the identity construction processes they undergo, combing two cultures. Furthermore, Berry et al. (2006) state that newly arrived youngsters (up to 6 years) mostly show confusion about their identity, not knowing where they belong. My results partly showed this, but my results also show a national orientation. The first-generation youngsters in *Nordstadt* had difficulties to exactly define their place of belonging. They seemed positive about their life as migrants in Germany, but could not tell how to integrate their culture of origin and the newly experienced culture in Germany. These youngsters seemed not aware of the need to redefine their identity or at least they could not express it. Still, these youngsters experience a feeling of belonging

in *Nordstadt* and see Germany as their new home, despite being aware of the disadvantage they have not mastering the German language. This can be explained by the multicultural character of *Nordstadt*, where migrants live in communities, accepting the different cultures that are present. Also the high number of Romanians and Bulgarians who live in *Nordstadt* improves the feeling of being at home for them. This idea of belonging in *Nordstadt* can positively influence their identity construction and merging of cultures. Finally, there are only a few youngsters in Dortmund that maintain a strong ethnic identity orientation, similar to the results of Berry et al. (2006), who argue that this ethnic profile is not related to time of residence. Especially in *Dorstfeld* some youngsters were openly rejecting a German identity, not wanting to be seen as German and rejecting a German passport. Although these youngsters are a minority among youngsters with migration backgrounds, their reasons are understandable for all youngsters. The stigmatization, everyday discrimination and exclusion practices they face, make them feel angry and powerless. The youngsters feel the rejection and exclusion, which reflect on their identity construction process.

8.3 Exclusionary practices in everyday life

Approaching integration as a sense of belonging, it not only relates to identity construction, but also to inclusion in everyday life. Integration can be described as being included in the new host society, or more practically, in everyday life in the host country. Logically, when inclusion is included in integration, exclusionary practices are also related to it. What if migrants are not included in society, or at least experience exclusion in everyday life situations? A lot of migrants in Germany have to deal with prejudices and racism, especially the Roma population and Muslims. These population groups are largely stigmatized and discriminated in Europe. In Dortmund it is the Roma population and the Turkish Muslims that often live in *Nordstadt*. Remarkably, the youngsters living in *Nordstadt* (with Roma or Turkish backgrounds) explained they did not feel discriminated. They do not come in to contact as much with German society, because they mainly stay in *Nordstadt*, living in a multicultural neighborhood. The youngsters in *Dorstfeld* (Arabic or African backgrounds) on the other side, did talk about stigmatization and everyday discrimination they face. As they live in a mixed neighborhood they are confronted with their differences every day and how native Germans approach them. It seems that the youngsters from *Nordstadt* are not aware of discrimination, while the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are very aware of their different origin and seem to experience a lot of disadvantage because of it. It has to be noted that experienced discrimination is not equal to the amount of actual discrimination that is taken place (El-Mafaalani, 2013). It is not sure if the youngsters in *Nordstadt* are actually not discriminated or if the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are actually as much discriminated as they experience. The youngsters in *Dorstfeld* gave examples of the everyday discrimination they face, like being ignored at the supermarket or being refused at discos. This everyday-discrimination is stimulated by othering

processes in German society. The discrimination and stigmatization separates the youngsters with migration backgrounds, they become excluded from some social groups and from daily life. It is therefore that this exclusion also affects identity construction and integration processes among these youngsters. Being excluded or stigmatized, the youngsters feel unwanted; asking themselves if they still want to belong to this society. A lot of youngsters, especially in *Dorstfeld* expressed that everywhere they go they feel like a foreigner, in Germany, in their neighborhood and in their country of origin. It seems like they feel do not belong anywhere, only amongst likeminded - like their friends and family. It is therefore, that some youngsters in *Dorstfeld* choose to reject a German passport and maintain their ethnic identity and citizenship. However, most youngsters with migration backgrounds see their future in Germany, wanting to be involved and included in society. These youngsters have their own ideas about how German society should be; open to new influences, where everybody can live respectfully together, without any discrimination, so everyone has equal right and chances.

8.3.1 Exclusion from education

One specific form of everyday discrimination in Germany is the lack of support in the education system. Last years' PISA study showed large differences in the educational performances of children in Germany in relation to the socio-economic background of these children (ESPON, 2013). The performances of children at the *Gymnasium* are good, but especially at the *Hauptschule* problems arise. The PISA study showed that children from families with a low socio-economic status or migration background are disadvantaged in the German education system. The discrimination in the system is indirect and systematic. Because some children have a low socio-economic background, it is assumed they are not able to perform on a higher level as their parents did. In the German education system, a large part of the education depends on the home situation of the students: support and possibilities to study. Often, migrant parents are not used to this system and do not know how to support their children, therefore their children are more disadvantaged. Furthermore, migrant children also experience disadvantage based on prejudices by teachers. Some teachers do not give the same amount of support and commitment towards children with migration backgrounds assuming these children already have less chances and capabilities, or because their potential is overlooked. Generally speaking, low expectations are placed on children of migrants. The youngsters in Dortmund also experience this. There are more Gymnasiums in the south of Dortmund, whereas in *Nordstadt* most schools are 'black schools', with a high share of migrant children. The youngsters have little choice when it comes to which school to go to, and it is difficult them to attend higher education. Also at the labor market youngsters with migration backgrounds have fewer chances others, they are often not well prepared and are not aware of how to behave during an application process, or they are discriminated because of their appearance, name or their place of residence. Case studies show that

youngsters with migration backgrounds have to send out more applications to find a job than native Germans, sometimes up to 100 applications. Especially the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are aware of the disadvantaged position they have. They have experienced the discrimination in application processes and know what it is like to be disadvantaged at schools, because teachers are not supportive. Still, all youngsters appreciate the education they have and see it as an investment for the future. All youngsters, both in *Nordstadt* and *Dorstfeld*, express big dreams and future plans in Germany. They are willing to be educated and become an active participant on the labor market. However, the disadvantage and discrimination does often affect their plans. Some youngsters who want to get their *Abitur* (*Gymnasium* diploma) feel unsure about the options. Will they get help from teachers to realize the transition? The youth community centers are a big support for them, the youth workers stimulate the youngsters to work hard and dream big. Yet, the effects of othering, stigmatization and disadvantage in everyday life seem to have more of an impact. When talking about application processes some youngsters expressed that they do understand why bosses prefer a German employee over an employee with a migration background. Shockingly, they argue they would make the same choice, which shows they agree with the idea that native Germans are more capable than they are. Of course, this is a strong statement and needs some nuance, which did happen later on in the discussion by other youngsters present at the workshop. Still, it shows the impact that a society has on youngsters with migration backgrounds. Being discriminated, stigmatized and differentiated, these youngsters are not only practically disadvantaged in their everyday life and development, but it also affects their self-image and self-confidence. When regularly hearing negative things based on (unchangeable) characteristics they have- like ethnicity and appearance, youngsters with migration backgrounds start to believe themselves that they are less capable than native youngsters. This affects both their future plans as well as their willingness to invest in their future.

8.4 Spatial expressions and distinctions

Integration processes always include a spatial dimension. For example, it is assumed that spatial mixing improves integration, and is often even perceived as a result of successful integration. In most European immigrant destinations strong desegregation policies are present, aiming to improve integration processes by stimulating spatial mixing (Phillips, 2010). Spatial assimilation is also becoming more important in the emerging assimilation discourses in integration politics. Germany too conducts strong desegregation policies, with the understanding that it will stimulate minimization of cultural differences and will improve integration. Although many cities in Germany know spatial mixing of ethnicities, cities in the Ruhr area, including Dortmund, are strongly segregated. As a result of the former industrial period, the residents of the Northern parts of the Ruhr area have a significantly lower socio-economic situation than the residents of the Southern parts.

Segregation is also often defined in the share of migrants, level of education and the amount of children. The Northern parts of Dortmund, *Nordstadt*, are significantly more disadvantaged than other city districts. *Nordstadt* has a reputation of being a criminal area, where the inhabitants either conduct criminal activities or just have little chances in life. This reputation is strengthened by desegregation policies, because these create the perception that migrant communities are a threat for society. It is even a perception that migrants who live closely together, such as in *Nordstadt*, are not willing to integrate. However, *Nordstadt* is often the first place of residence for a large amount of immigrants, because there are little possibilities for them in other city districts. This phenomenon is not self-segregation, but a forced reaction on exclusion of other parts of the city by the majority communities. It is therefore, that migrants who become more successful and conduct a higher socio-economic status, leave *Nordstadt* to live elsewhere, which means the prejudices and low socio-economic circumstances of *Nordstadt* are maintained. Phillips (2010) argues that levels of segregation are much higher in white neighborhoods, but that these are seen as normal, underestimating the power of the majority to exclude ethnic minorities. And that exactly that idea is visible in Dortmund, where migrants are forced to stay in *Nordstadt*. The bad reputation and poor living conditions about *Nordstadt* are maintained by the white majority. Still, it is assumed that migrants themselves are responsible for spatial integration. The 'white resistance' in this process is often overlooked.

Furthermore, the situation in *Nordstadt* is often not as bad as people assume. *Nordstadt* is also a place where people feel at home and where different cultures meet and live next to each other peacefully. Inhabitants of *Nordstadt* feel strong connections to each other and to the neighborhood. This city district is seen as their space where they feel they can live their lives openly. Also youngsters with migration backgrounds living in *Nordstadt* express that they feel strongly connected to their neighborhood. They meet different cultures and feel at home with people who understand their backgrounds. The youngsters themselves also notice that they do not have a lot of native peer contacts, but this is not seen as a disadvantage. Youngsters living in *Dorstfeld* express that they also feel connected to their neighborhood, especially in relation to other neighborhoods, as they feel they do not belong in white neighborhoods. It is therefore that the connection to their neighborhood is more specifically as they only feel at home in their area, where they can hang out with friends who have similar backgrounds.

One could argue that the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are better integrated, because they are spatially mixed with native inhabitants, increasing the encounters with native residents. On the one hand, this is true because the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* have a more realistic perspective of their situation in Dortmund and German society, but on the other hand youngsters in *Dorstfeld* also have more negative attitudes towards Germany. They do see their future in Germany, but experience a lot more disadvantage and stigmatization on the way. These issues influence their attitudes towards

German society negatively, which can result in resistance against 'what is German'. Other researchers in this field do not seem clear yet on whether spatial segregation actually hinders integration processes. Some believe it does, but for example van Liempt (2011) argues that migrants need ethnic communities to have a safe place from where they can open up towards a new society. This is reflected in the need of the youngsters to belong to a community. So, from the experiences of the youngsters with migration backgrounds in *Dorstfeld* and *Nordstadt* it is not clear if spatial segregation does negatively influence integration processes.

8.5 Main interrelations and focus

This study showed that integration is often referred to as 'belonging' by both migrants and German society. Youngsters with migration backgrounds talk about the desire to belong to a community, where they are recognized and respected, but also in German society integration discourses include discussion about cultural belonging of migrants and the need for migrants to assimilate to the cultural standards of Germany. When integration is interpreted as belonging, it means that othering practices play an important role; defining who belongs to 'us' and who is 'the other'. This process of othering seems like a technique used to construct an identity for the host country. Othering puts the white majority of German society in a powerful position to set standards of normality, and this reflects in the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds when they are approached as foreigners because of their names and appearance. The youngsters are affected negatively by the differentiation they face in everyday life, feeling unable to challenge the perceptions society has about them.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds naturally try to combine the culture of origin with the everyday culture they live in. However, this is not accepted yet in German society and the youngsters are currently still facing stigmatization because of their different origins. Although youngsters in *Nordstadt* do not feel discriminated, the experts confirm that growing up in *Nordstadt* means growing up with a disadvantaged position. The second-generation youngsters in *Dorstfeld* indicated that they often only feel emotionally connected to the culture of their origins, but still they face the consequences of their different origins in daily lives.

The German education system is one of the places in everyday life where the youngsters face discrimination because of their ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. PISA studies found that youngsters with low socio-economic backgrounds are structurally disadvantaged in the German education system. This results in disempowerment of the youngsters with migration backgrounds.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund also face disadvantages based on their place of residence. Especially youngsters living in *Nordstadt* face discrimination because they live in a migrant district. Spatial clustering of migrants is seen as a failure of integration processes or unwillingness of migrants to integrate. However, due to its industrial history the city Dortmund is

strongly segregated and especially newly arrived migrants find their first place of residence in *Nordstadt*. Residents of *Nordstadt* feel strongly connected to their neighborhood and perceive this as positive, because it is a place where different cultures can live next to each other peacefully.

Finally, spatial differences of integration experiences are also visible on the local level, between the two neighborhoods studied. The youngsters living in *Nordstadt* strongly connect with their neighborhood and mostly stay around the area, whilst youngsters in *Dorstfeld*, who live in a mixed neighborhood have more opportunities for encounters with 'German society' in everyday life. Although the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* have a better understanding of their position in German society, they also have more negative attitudes towards German society than youngsters in *Nordstadt*.

9. Conclusions and reflection

The main findings of this research focus on the interrelation between integration discourses on the national/societal level and the local integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The dynamics between these levels is what makes integration experiences worth studying. This study focuses on integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds who have spent most of their lives in the host country, with the aim to understand the role of integration in their lives. Their personal experiences show the influence of national integration discourses.

This research is structured according to four core concepts: integration, identity, exclusion and space. These concepts represent the core characteristics of the interrelations discussed in this report. Because of the high coherence of these elements, the conclusions will focus on the most important interrelations discovered in this study, as discussed in chapter 8.

9.1 Integration approached as belonging to society

This study showed that both German society as well as youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund often approach integration as: "belonging to society". This definition includes socio-economic aspects and more importantly cultural belonging. In the normative turn of integration othering practices determine who is integrated and who is not. In other words, who belongs to society and who does not. It is therefore that this definition of integration is closely linked to identity construction. Othering decides who belongs to the 'us' and who is 'the other'. Identity construction processes of both the host country and migrants are strongly influenced by these labels. Distinctions between different cultural or ethnical groups are made, resulting in a culturally divided society. Because of this and the emergence of an assimilation discourse in German society, integration is defined as adjustment towards the host country's culture, lifestyle and norms and values. However, this cultural approach of integration brings Germany itself in a dualistic situation, stretching between the distinction making practices and the wish for cultural unity in the country. By using integration processes as measure of adjustment for migrants, Germany aims to maintain cultural unity in the country. This desire is strengthened by the fear for new cultural influences, especially for Islam and 'poverty immigration' from Bulgaria and Romania. Moreover, the emerging assimilation discourse in German society stimulates the expectation that migrants should fully adapt towards German culture. However, in German society the culturally-based distinction by othering practices is also present, which stands opposite of the desire for cultural unity in the country. Furthermore, one clearly defined German cultural identity, represented by every citizen, does not seem to exist. The othering practices contribute to the construction of Germany's cultural identity, but also increases the societal disunity.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds naturally integrate both the culture of origin and the culture of the host country into their lives. They are comfortable to both express the culture of their parents as well as the German culture. Especially for second-generation migrants the connection to the culture of their parents is often theoretical, whilst the connection to the German culture is practical. The German culture determines their everyday life. These youngsters associate integration with belonging to the German society; being included in it. They express the importance of being 'just as German as others'. These youngsters do not want to be approached as 'the foreigner', because they do not want to be outsiders. The youngsters feel a need for community and togetherness; they search for a place where they belong. However, othering practices, prejudices and stigmatization by German society make them feel as if they do not to belong in the Germany society, despite integration. Especially second-generation migrants, who were born and raised in Germany, who master the German language and who attend the same schools as native peer contacts, struggle with the rejection they experience by the German society.

Youngsters with migration backgrounds experience friction between belonging and distinction. The tension between their efforts to integrate two cultures in their lives is complicated because German society is not accepting the emerging of new cultures. Germany tries to reach cultural unity within its country. However, exclusionary practices, by means of othering and stigmatization, bring distinctions and inequality in society.

9.2 Disempowerment of migrants

Stigmatization and exclusionary practices influence integration experiences of youngsters, as it increases the desire for connectedness and inclusion but also increases the awareness of their disadvantaged position in society. The youngsters feel they have to defend themselves and disprove the negative prejudices perceived and said about them. Although the connection to their culture of origin is often only emotional, in German everyday life they face disadvantages because of it. This position of disadvantage separates youngsters from their native German peers and seems to strengthen the emotional connection to their origins. When the youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund are approached as foreigners, they feel excluded from German society. This exclusionary practice by German society stimulates withdrawal from society by youngsters with migration backgrounds. The youngsters become more focused on the places where they feel they do belong and they 'resist' society, because that society is setting them apart. The exclusionary practices have a significant negative influence on their desire to be included. The need for connectedness and belonging is still there, or even increasing, but now found in migrant communities and not in German society.

The othering, stigmatization and disadvantage result in disempowerment of youngsters with migration backgrounds. Firstly, the youngsters are practically disempowered. This shows when for example they have more difficulties attending higher education because of their origins, or when they have smaller chances on the labor market because of their foreign name and appearance. Prejudices about migrants and foreigners bring these youngsters in a disadvantaged position and decrease their chances for the future. So these youngsters are disempowered in everyday life. Secondly, youngsters with migration background are emotionally disempowered, because they feel like they cannot change their disadvantaged position. When actual discrimination is difficult to indicate, it is important to notice that youngsters feel disadvantaged in everyday life. Youngsters are angry about stigmatization and disadvantage, but they also feel like victims. German society is disadvantaging them, but they do not feel able to change the existing prejudices about them. This brings them into a passive state of waiting, feeling disempowered to fight the prejudices and false assumptions themselves. Furthermore, existing stigmas are maintained when youngsters do not fight them. When youngsters are disadvantaged in education and less youngsters with migration backgrounds finish *Gymnasium*, the stigma that youngsters with migration backgrounds are not able to enter higher education is maintained. This indirect disempowerment does also affect the youngsters' self-esteem and identity construction. They feel less than native Germans and the distance between them increases. That is when they feel excluded from German society and spend more time among each other.

9.3 Position of spatial segregation in integration process

The existence of migrant communities and its spatial proximity can be interpreted both negatively, as a threat to social cohesion, and positively, as a secure basis for migrants. This study found that both interpretations carry truth. On the one hand disadvantages strong segregation in Dortmund migrants spatially and socially, because they are excluded from other (richer) neighborhoods. The *Nordstadt* has a negative reputation which is maintained by othering and stigmatization, so living in the *Nordstadt* provides a disadvantaged position in other parts of the city and in society as a whole. But on the other hand, the strong migrant communities in the *Nordstadt* provide both safety and belonging for migrant individuals. When German society is exclusionary and judgmental, the migrant communities provide a place of shelter.

These two interpretations of spatial segregation are also represented when comparing different city districts in Dortmund. Youngsters living in the *Nordstadt* have less encounters with German society than youngsters living in *Dorstfeld*. Youngsters in *Dorstfeld* are more confronted with the disadvantage and discrimination they face because of their origins, while youngsters in the *Nordstadt* live more protected from these confrontations. Youngsters in *Nordstadt* have a strong connection to their neighborhood and feel save and valued there. Although both groups of youngsters

see their futures in Germany and are willing to actively participate in German society, the youngsters in *Dorstfeld* have lower expectations of their ability to accomplish this than youngsters living in *Nordstadt*. The segregation in the city both disadvantages as well as advantages the youngsters; on the one hand, provides segregation a safe place, a community where they belong, but it also excludes them from German societal life. On the other hand, the youngsters that are more confronted with German society, are also more negative about it.

9.5 Final recommendations for practice

With the gained insights in the interrelations between integration discourses on national level and integration experiences on local level, some final recommendations can be made. Firstly, a host country should accept that its cultural identity is not a fixed given. The desire for cultural unity and the fear for other cultural influences bring Germany in a difficult situation, where they are afraid of change. However, a society and a culture will change over time, even without immigration. A society which is more open to change will in the end be more successful in gaining cultural unity. Cultural unity does not mean a restricted set of criteria, but it is a society of unity where everyone has its place and feels connected to each other.

Secondly, Germany should actively address direct and indirect disadvantage. These disadvantages play a significant role in sustaining the current situation in German society. One the one hand, fear for migrants and prejudices cannot be proven wrong when migrants are not fighting them. On the other hand, when migrants do not get the opportunity to disprove the prejudices and stigmas, they will get disempowered. When migrants have more opportunities to develop themselves to active participants of society, there are more incentives to change the stigmas. So, for Germany to gain integrated migrants and unity in society, they should provide the possibility for migrants to participate like any other citizen. For a start, they will need to stop distinguishing migrants from native inhabitants. Especially second-generation migrants should not be treated differently. Also, well-intentioned initiatives that try to improve the situation of migrants are currently still distinguishing them from the majority. However, when youngsters with migration backgrounds are treated like any other German youngsters, they have the opportunity to be just as good citizens as their native peer contacts.

Finally, there is a significant need for Dortmund to fight distinction and stigmatization. With the strong spatial and social segregation in the city, youngsters with migration backgrounds are already in a disadvantaged position. It is therefore important that local authorities improve the social mixing. Although the spatial segregation issues cannot be solved at once, it would help to start on improvement of social cohesion. Changes in the education system can help to improve social mixing of youngsters and will discourage exclusion and disadvantage of youngsters with migration backgrounds. For example, instead of special classes for newly arrived migrant-children in the

Hauptschule (as described in chapter 5.1), Dortmund should organize mixed classes with special German language lessons for migrant children. In this way, migrant youngsters are not separated and integrate in the German education system from the start, which will improve the social mixing of youngsters in the future. Also, if youngsters with migration backgrounds attend the *Gesamtschule* they have more possibilities to attend an education that fits them. The organizational structure of these schools is not restricted by the strict division of the regular *Hauptschule-Realschule-Gymnasium* levels, so it provides more possibilities to attend higher education and get the *Abitur*. This will help youngsters with migration backgrounds to positively improve their position and to challenge any the wrong representations.

9.6 Reflection on process and product

This study includes both a theoretical and an empirical section. The theoretical section consist of a theoretical framework underpinning the study, and the empirical part of this research consist of primary material: the experts' reflections on the position of youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund and the integration experiences of the youngsters themselves, and secondary material: the investigation of integration discourses in German society and politics. All parts are of equal importance when aiming to understand the interrelations between integration discourses and integration experiences. However, the analysis in chapter 8 shows that the ratio between theory, primary material and secondary material does not reflect each other correctly. The gathered primary data on the integration experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds does not reflect all themes discussed in the theoretical framework and the collected German integration discourses, and the content of the primary material of this study is not as rich in content as the theoretical part and the secondary materials. This is partly because there was not enough time and resources to organize more or in-depth workshops in Dortmund. The two workshops that took place did not provide the possibility to discuss one topic multiple times, so there was no opportunity for reflection in the data gathering process. Also, the integration experiences of youngsters do not directly relate to theoretical issues or national integration debates, they are more related to their everyday lives and emotions. For example, disadvantage in the German education system is an actual topic in the German integration debate, but these youngsters perceive this differently. They like to go to school and dream of things they want to achieve in live, not aware of the disadvantaged position they have because of their background and education. These youngsters say they do not notice the indirect discrimination, they only experience direct stigmatization and disadvantage, like being confronted with racism or rejection on the labor market. In this study the connection to theory and national discourses is made, and it is therefore that some themes presented in theory, do not reflect the experiences of youngsters. These themes do not

directly occur in the lives of youngsters with migration backgrounds. More in-depth research is necessary in order to explore further the results of this study.

The empirical part of this research focuses on youngsters with migration backgrounds and spatial differences in Dortmund. It compares integration experiences of youngsters in relation to their non-German backgrounds and it explains these experiences from a spatial context. Although these two characteristics are of main importance, the integration experiences are also influenced by other factors, like gender, level of education and socio-economic background. Gender issues influences the perception of youngsters, because boys and girls are treated differently, both by their families and community as by society. The level of education also influences the perception towards integration. When attending higher education in Germany, youngsters will have more chances in the future and therefore be more positive about integration. However, when attending the *Hauptschule*, the chances of youngsters with migration backgrounds are significantly lower. Also the socio-economic backgrounds determines how youngsters with migration backgrounds are perceived by society, for example in education. But it also determines how the youngsters perceive themselves. The environment they grow up in determines their expectations and options for the future. Further research into these factors will improve the understanding of the integration experiences of these youngsters in Dortmund and their position in German society.

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Interviews and workshops

Akin, Serdar (2014) Being a migrant, integration issues in Germany and exclusion. April 1. Report in Appendix 3.

El-Mafaalani, Aladin (2014) Integration and integration related issues in German politics. April 24. Report in Appendix 3.

Herdt, Tatjana (2014) Integration, education and neighbourhoods in Dortmund. March 26. Report in Appendix 3.

Hesse, Oliver (2014) Orientation on the local situation in Dortmund and integration politics. March 13. Report in Appendix 3.

Johannsen, Yvonne (2014) Integration of youth with migration backgrounds and spatial issues. April 1. Report in Appendix 3.

Plöger, Jörg (2014) Leisure time and mobility of youngsters, related to gender, space and socio-economic status. March 18. Report in Appendix 3.

Ramos Lobato, Isabel (2014) Educational inequalities related to poverty and social exclusion. March 14. Report in Appendix 3.

Sirin, Selda and Caliskan, Vedat (2014) Youth in Dortmund Nordstadt. March 28. Report in Appendix 3.

Tekin, Aysun (2014) Education and work for youth with migration backgrounds. April 29. Report in Appendix 3.

Workshop 1 Stollenpark, Activity 1 Thermometer Worksheet, held 2014 April 16th at *Treffpunkt Stollenpark*, Dortmund, Germany. Results in Appendix 2.

Workshop 1 Stollenpark, Activity 2 Poster discussion, held 2014 April 16th at *Treffpunkt Stollenpark*, Dortmund, Germany. Results in Appendix 2.

Workshop 2 HWMT, Activity 1 Poster discussion, held 2014 April 25th at *Heinz-Werner-Meyer-Treff*, Dortmund, Germany. Results in Appendix 2.

Workshop 2 HWMT, Group Discussion, held 2014 April 25th at *Heinz-Werner-Meyer-Treff*, Dortmund, Germany. Report in Appendix 2.

Appendix 1 Workshop materials

Description of the workshop activities

Activity 1 Thermometer worksheet
Goal
To create visible data of primary attitudes towards (four elements of) integration.

Equipment
Worksheet with 4 Thermometers pictured on them
Markers

Description
On the worksheet there are 4 questions related to integration (feeling at home, friends and cultures, school and work and politics), with each a picture of a thermometer. By marking the thermometer, the youngsters can rank their experiences to answer to the question (0= very negative experiences, 10= very positive experiences). With every question there is also space to write down notes or arguments to explain the ranking. This creates a start to talk about topics like home, society, school, belonging and exclusion.

Activity 2 Poster discussion
Goal
To create an overview of experiences and opinions of the youngsters on integration related themes in four domains of their lives.

Equipment
4 Posters each representing a domain: Family and friends, School, Neighborhood, German society
Post-its and pens for the participants

Short description
The four posters are pinned on the wall or lie on tables. To start the discussion themes related to integration and identity can be introduced by asking some open question. Every participant can write down a relevant word/answer/note on a post-it and paste it on one of the posters. It is also possible to explain or comment the post-it. Hereby a framework is created that will help develop the discussion on the introduced themes.

Possible questions to open the discussion
- Do you feel welcome in Germany and why?
- With whom do you have contact and why?
- Who is supporting you? /Where do you get support?
- How was it to apply for a job, example?
- What sphere is present on your school?
- How are you chances for the future and why?
- What do you like (or not) of the German culture and why?

Thermometer Worksheet Activity 1

Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung:

Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung:

Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung:

Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

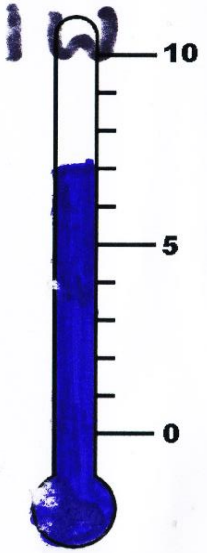
Bemerkung:

Final question form

Wie alt bist du?	
Wo bist du geboren?	
Hast du einen Deutsche Reisepass?	
Wo sind deine Eltern geboren?	
Wie würdest du dieses Treffen beurteilen (1-10)?	

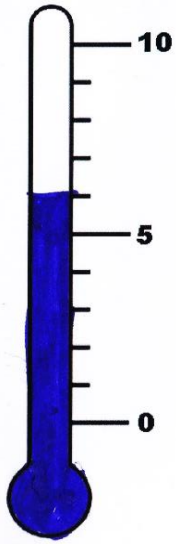
Appendix 2 Data from the workshops: worksheets, posters and report

The digital versions of the worksheets and posters from Workshop 1 and the posters and report from Workshop 2 are presented in this Appendix.



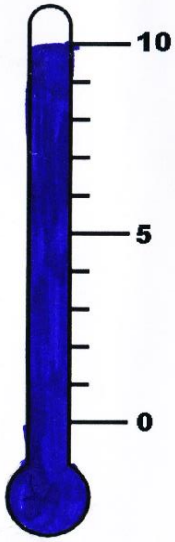
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in ~~Dortmund~~ (Bolsenkirchen)

Bemerkung:
. Da ich hier geboren und aufgewachsen bin, ja :)



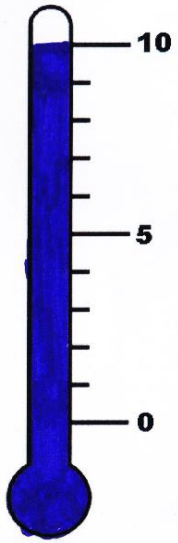
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung:
. Am meisten aus der Türkei, Libanon, Kurden aber auch viele Poln (meistens in der Schule kennengelernt



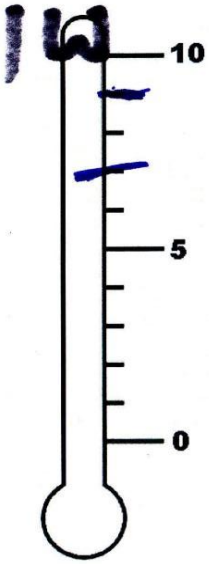
Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung:
. Es ist mir wichtig, Erfolg im Beruf zu haben, viel Spass dabei zu haben



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

Bemerkung:
. Es ist wichtig, dass man sich politisch engagiert und vorallem sich viel damit beschäftigt und immer weiss, was in der Welt gerade so passiert
. wenn man wählt, kann man mitbestimmen

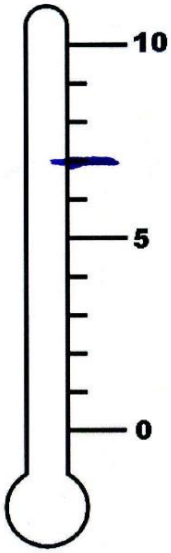


Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung: Le 4 Fühle
Ich Finde es Gut!

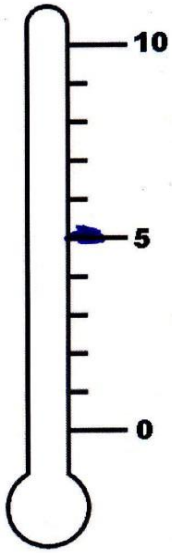
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: Ja Ich habe Viele Freunde hier Ich finde es auch gut... !



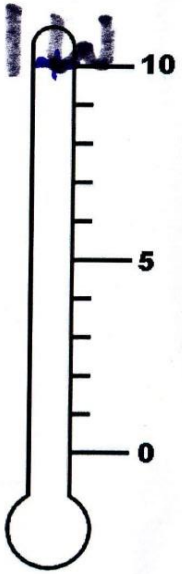
Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung: Ich will Lieber Mechatroniker werden



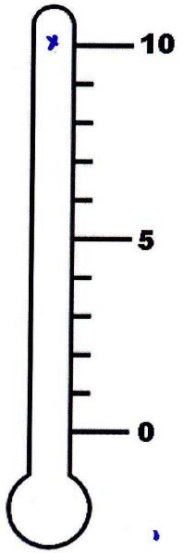
Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

Bemerkung: Weil ich Finde es Gutt!



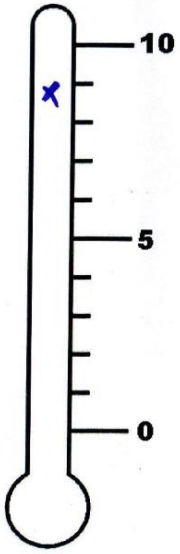
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung: Ich fühle mich zuhause in Dortmund sehr gut, ich Lebe seid 4 jahren in Deutschland/Dortmund und kann guten job haben.



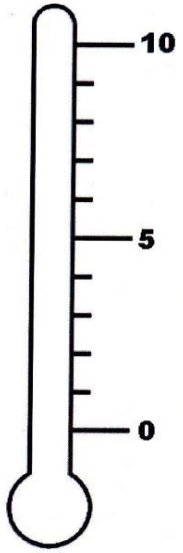
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: Ich habe sehr viele Freunde hier in Dortmund. ~~und paar teil~~ Und meine Freunde in Dortmund sind sehr gute Freunde



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

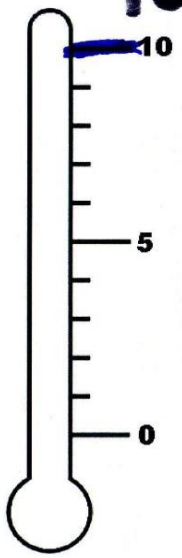
Bemerkung: In Dortmund/~~Dt~~ Deutschland habe ich sehr viele schaunsen weil hier in Deutschland viele jobe ~~hab~~ ist.



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

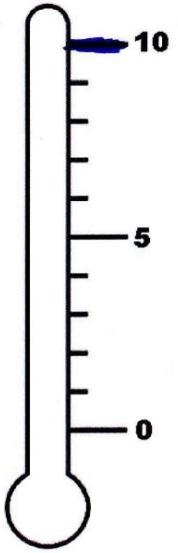
Bemerkung:

IW



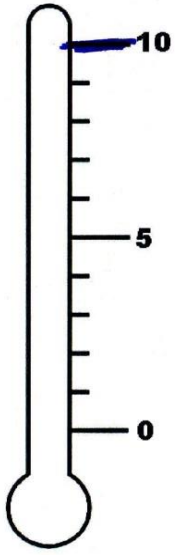
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung: Ich binn seit 2 Jahren in Dortmund und ich Finde es Gut!



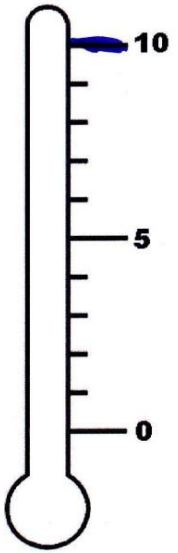
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: Ich habe Vielle Freunden in Dortmund und ich Finde es voll gut weil wir uns alle ausländer hier Zsm. Lieben.



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

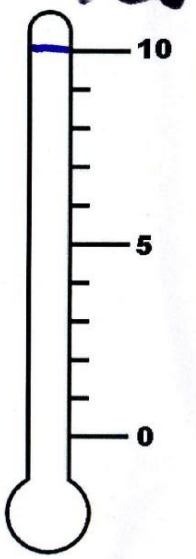
Bemerkung: Ich wills Lieber gerne Mechatroniker werden.



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

Bemerkung: Ich finde es Gut

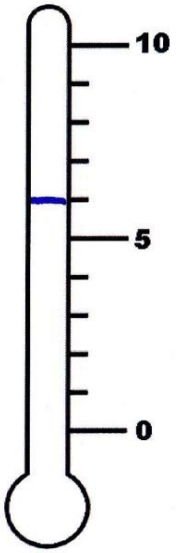
IW



Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

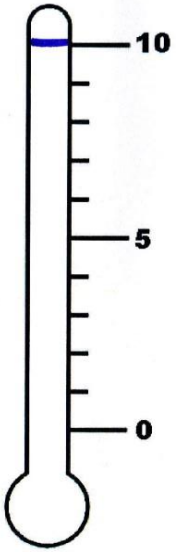
Bemerkung:

Weil ich hier auf gewachsen bin.



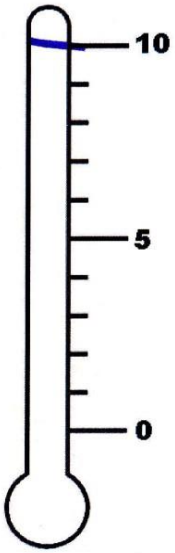
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: Ja, ich habe viele verschiedene Freund, wegen der Schule



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung: Ja, weil ich einen guten Beruf haben will.

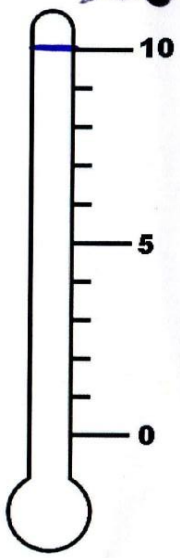


Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

Bemerkung: ~~Ja, ich~~

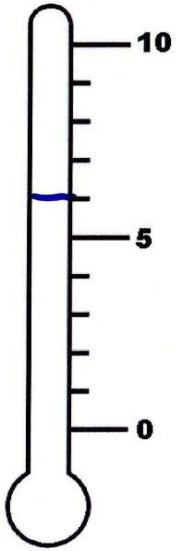
Ja, ich finde das wichtig, weil das unsere Zukunft bestimmt.

IW



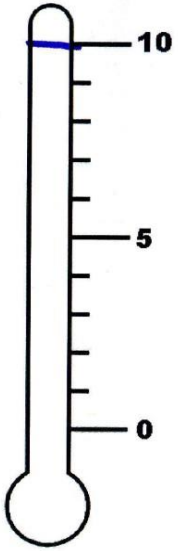
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung: weil ich hier Geboren und auf-gewachsen bin.



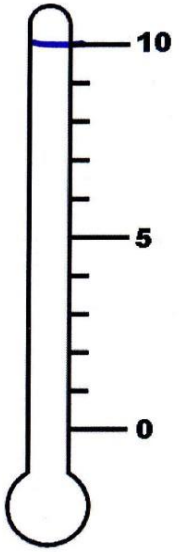
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: Ja, ich hab viele Freunde von verschiedene Kulturen.



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

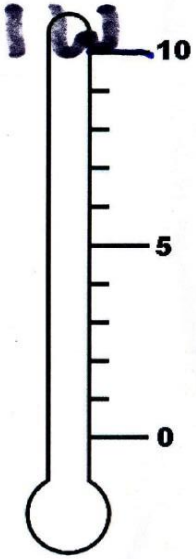
Bemerkung: Ja, weil ich guten Beruf will.



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

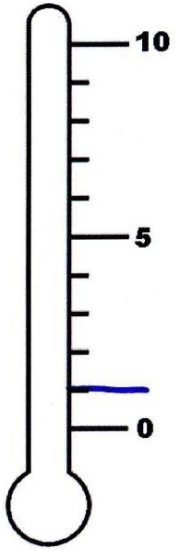
Bemerkung: Ich finde es sehr wichtig, weil es unsere Zukunft betrifft.

Dzheni



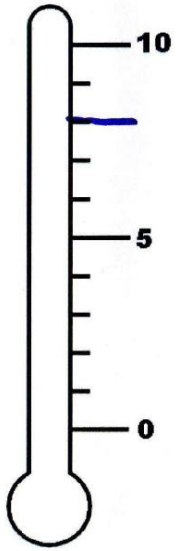
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung: ich Fühle mich zuhause in dortmund weill Dohtmund ist mein Traum



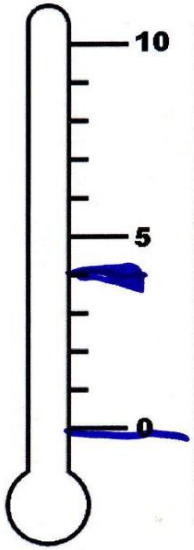
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: ich habe ~~nicht~~ hit Soo viele Verschiedene Freunde



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

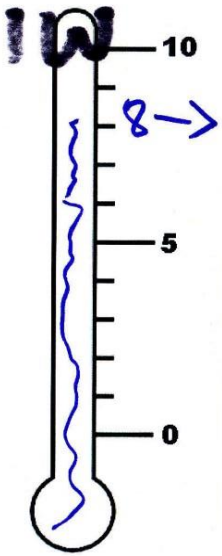
Bemerkung: ich wollte Auto.mescheinika werden



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

Bemerkung: ich Finde nicht sooo gut politik

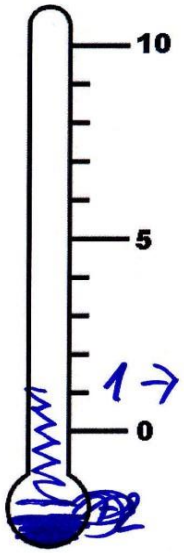
Stefan



Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung:

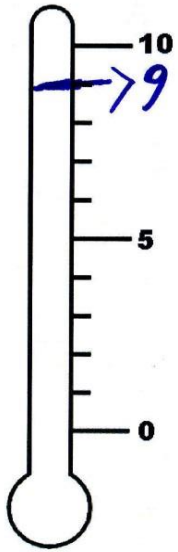
fuv mich ist Glassi ich cone fo Nov tmund



Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung:

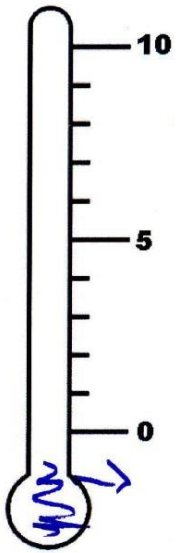
Nuv Avabō



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung:

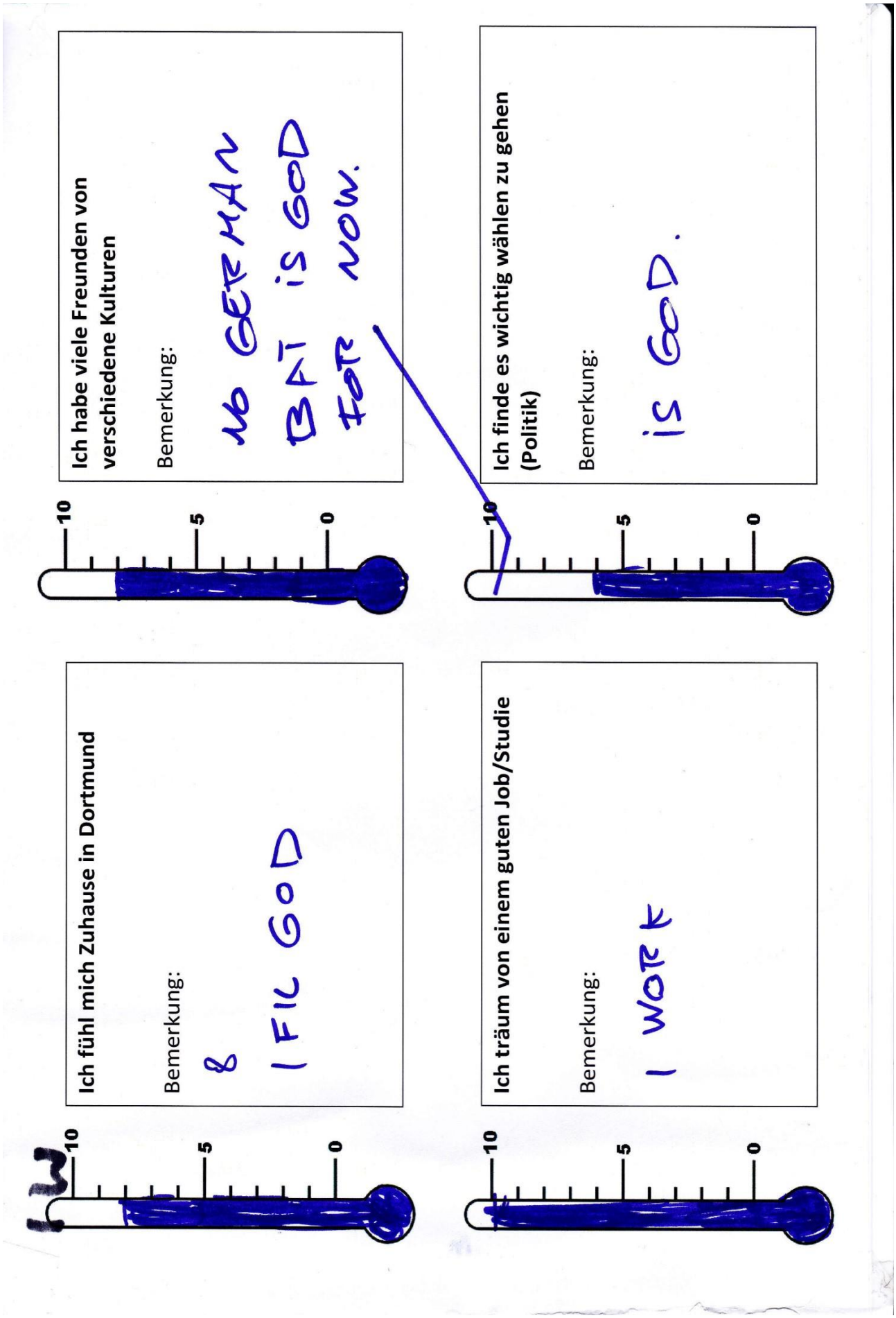
AUtO HandeL

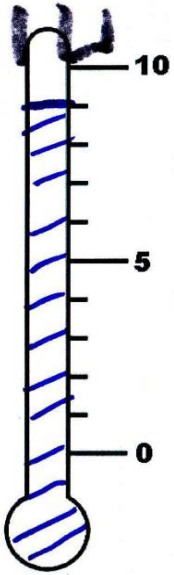


Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

Bemerkung:

OOOv Caine arg Fan PoLiTik

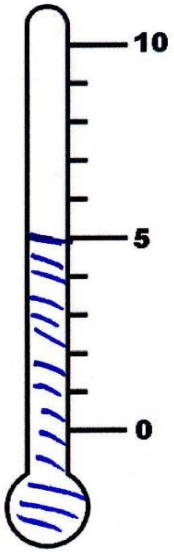

Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen
Bemerkung:
NB GERMAN BAI IS GOD FOR NOW.
Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)
Bemerkung:
IS GOD.
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund
Bemerkung:
8
I FIL GOD
Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie
Bemerkung:
I WORK
10
5
0



Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung:

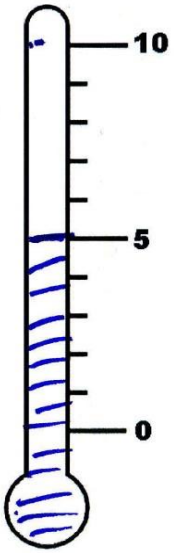
[redacted] I have same feeling everywhere



Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung:

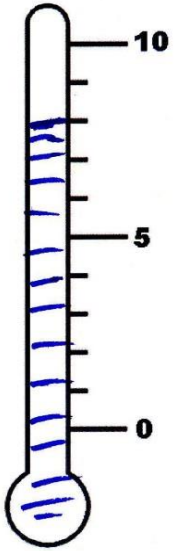
no german



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung:

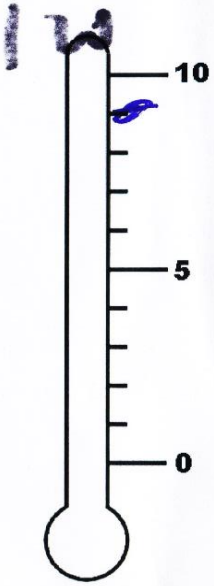
[redacted] no work bad language



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

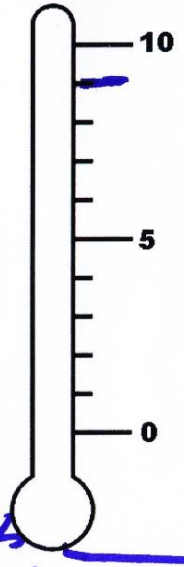
Bemerkung:

good thinking



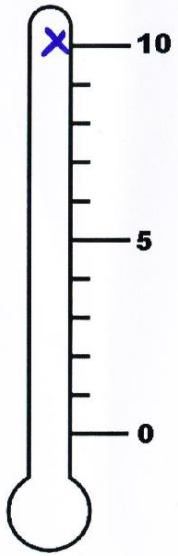
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung: ~~Ich fühle mich~~ ~~Zuhause in Dortmund~~ ~~Wohl in Dortmund und ist~~ ~~Mein Traum~~ In Dortmund Fühle ich mich Gut weil ich viele in meine spradie Freunde habe und Eltern



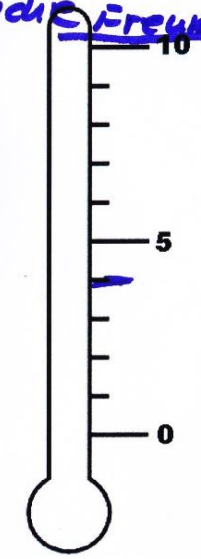
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung: ~~Ich habe~~ ~~Soo viele~~ Ich habe nicht so viele Ausländische Freunde hab nur Türkische und Bulgarische



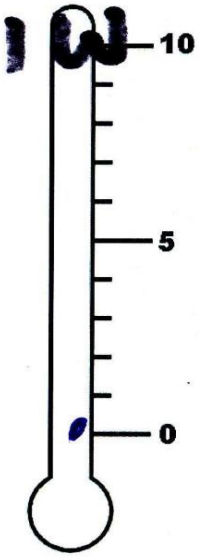
Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung: Also ich kann in Dortmund/ Deutschland sehr guten Berufe, Job haben.



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

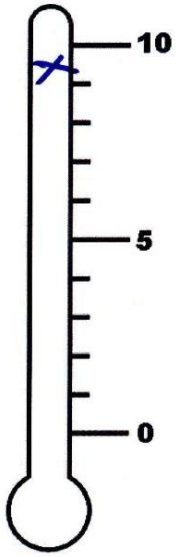
Bemerkung:



Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

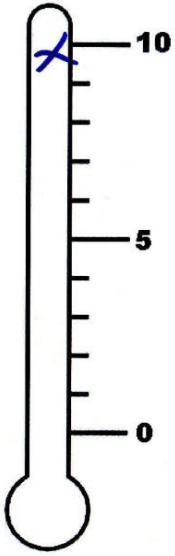
Bemerkung:

- Freunde sind nicht hier



Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung:



Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

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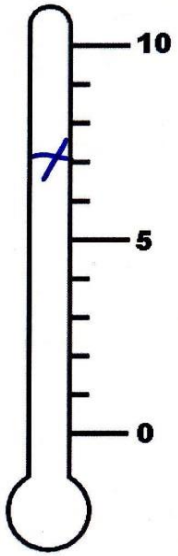

Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

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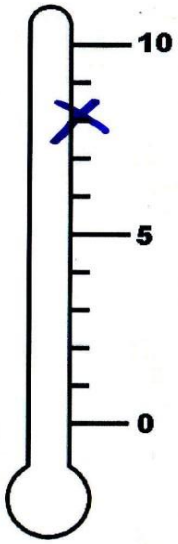
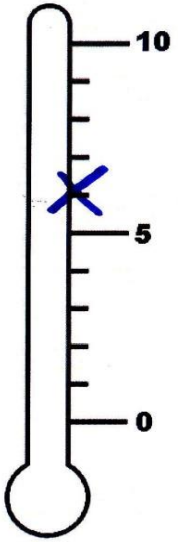


Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

Bemerkung:



Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

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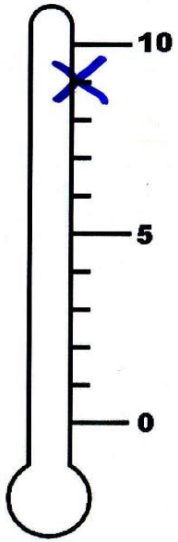

Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

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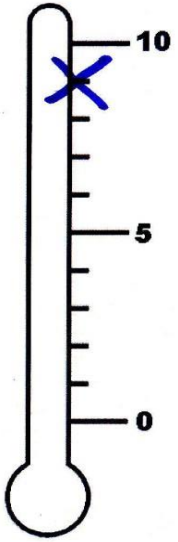

Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

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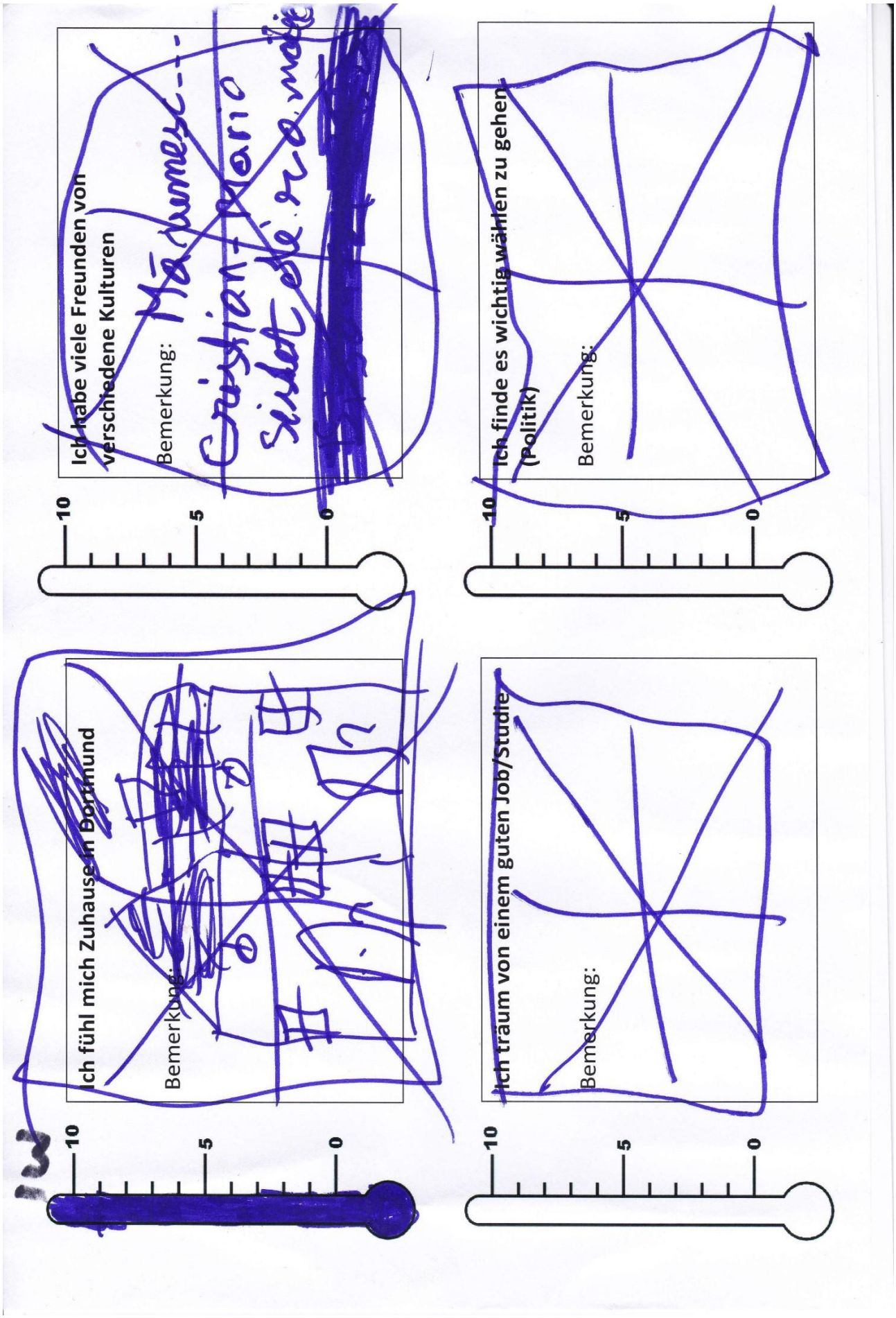
Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen
Bemerkung:
10
5
0
Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund
Bemerkung:
10
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Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)
Bemerkung:
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Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie
Bemerkung:
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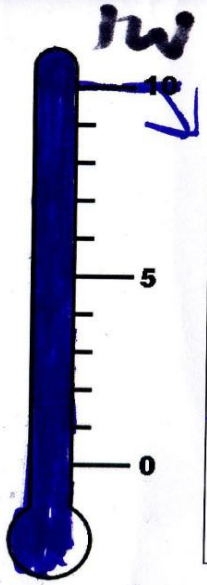

Ich fühl mich Zuhause in Dortmund

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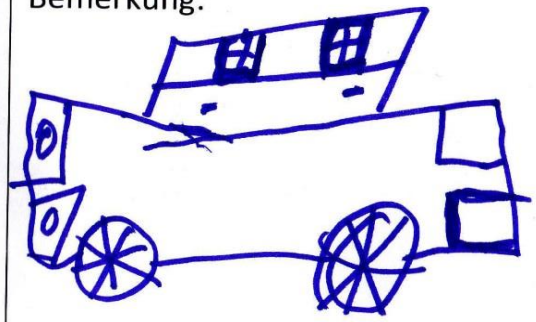

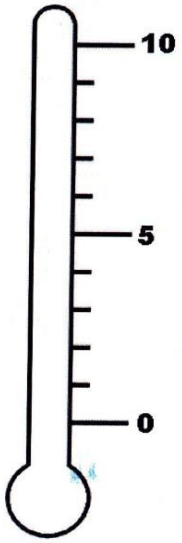

Ich habe viele Freunden von verschiedene Kulturen

Bemerkung:

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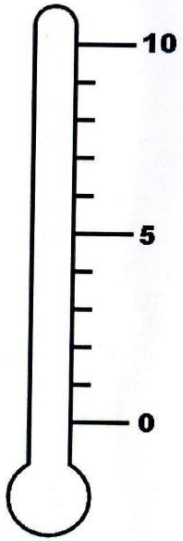
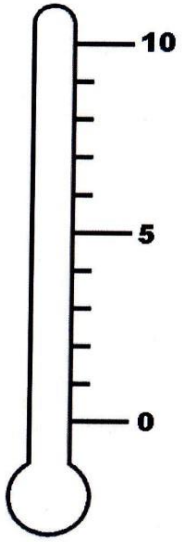


Ich träum von einem guten Job/Studie

Bemerkung:

PORNO STAR



Ich finde es wichtig wählen zu gehen (Politik)

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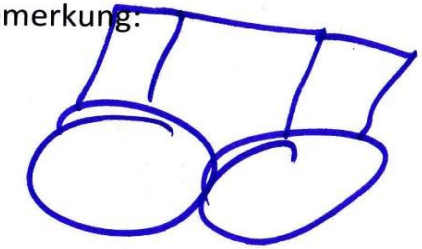
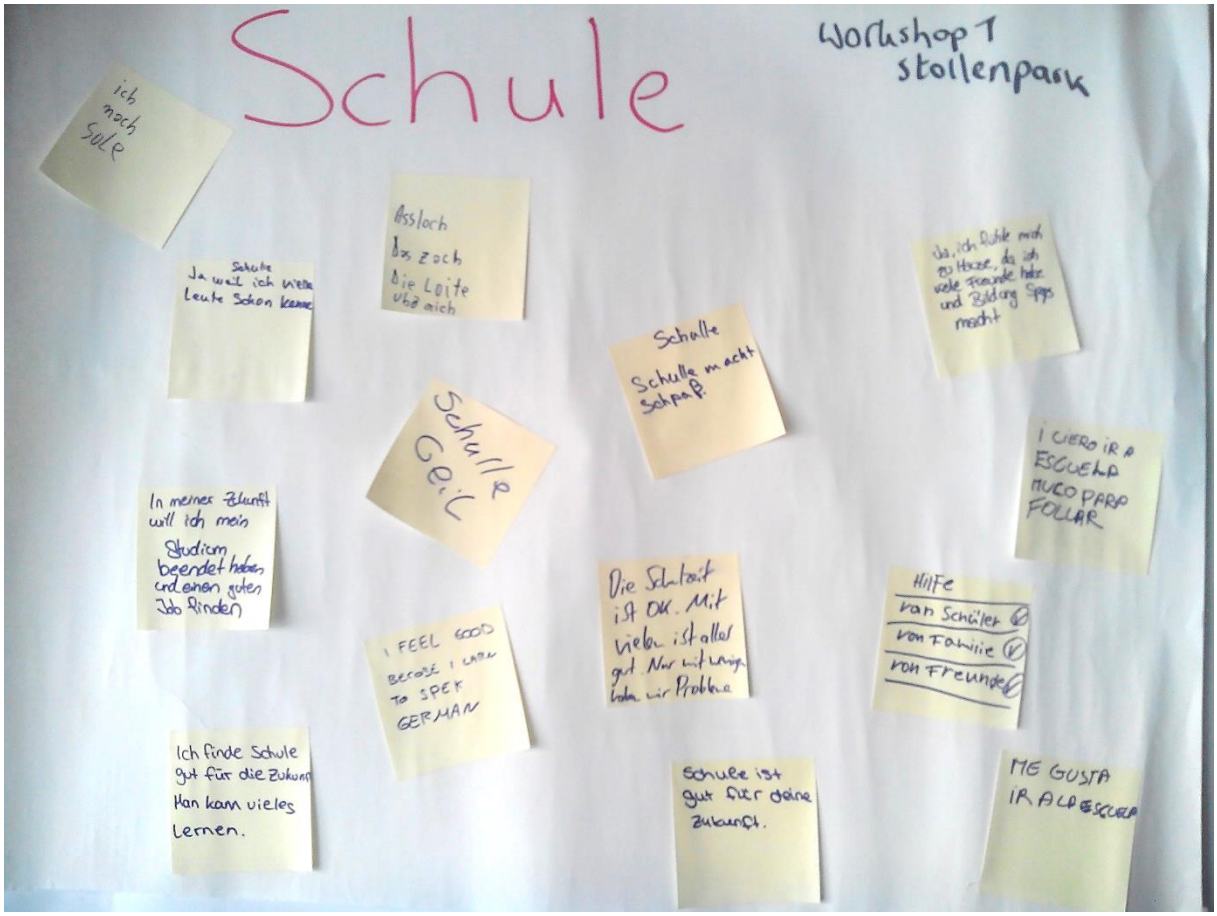
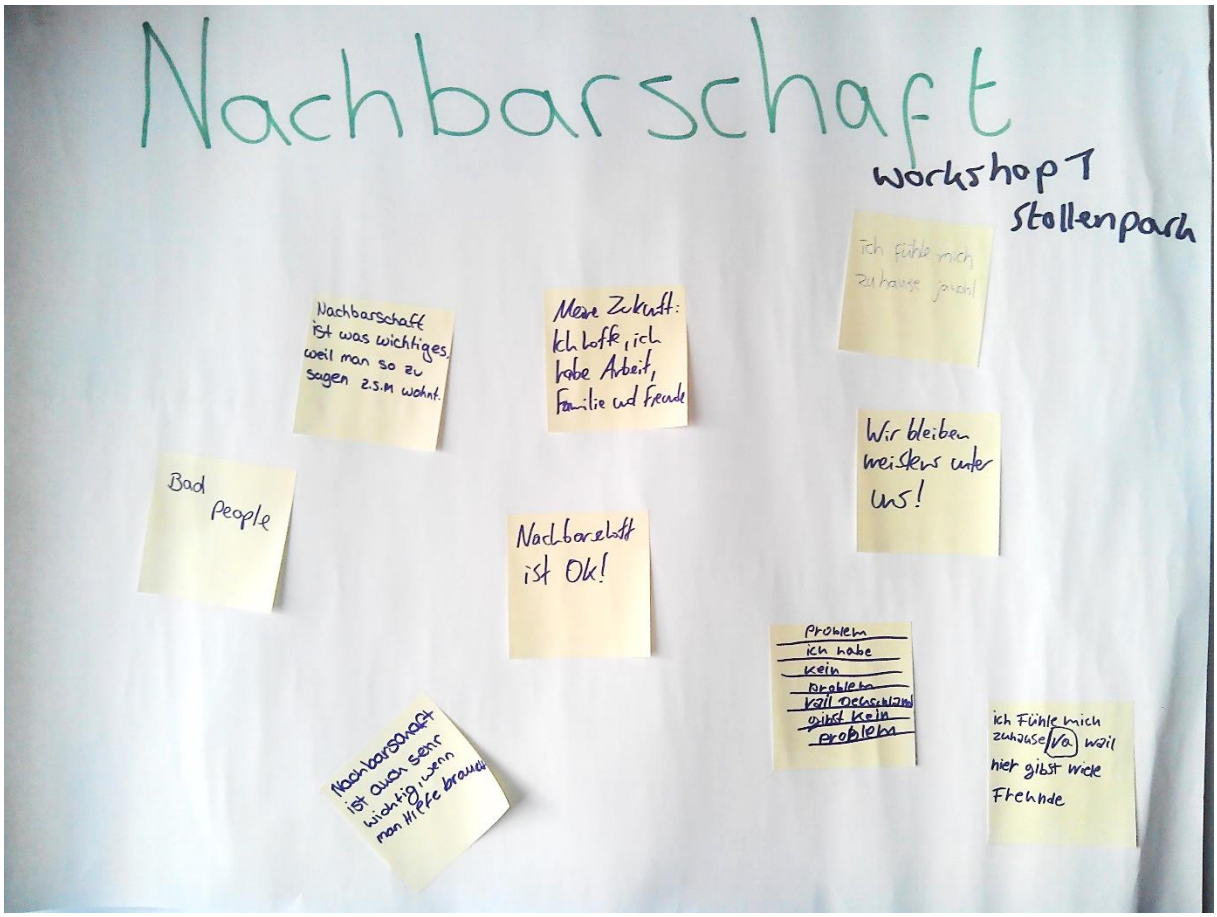
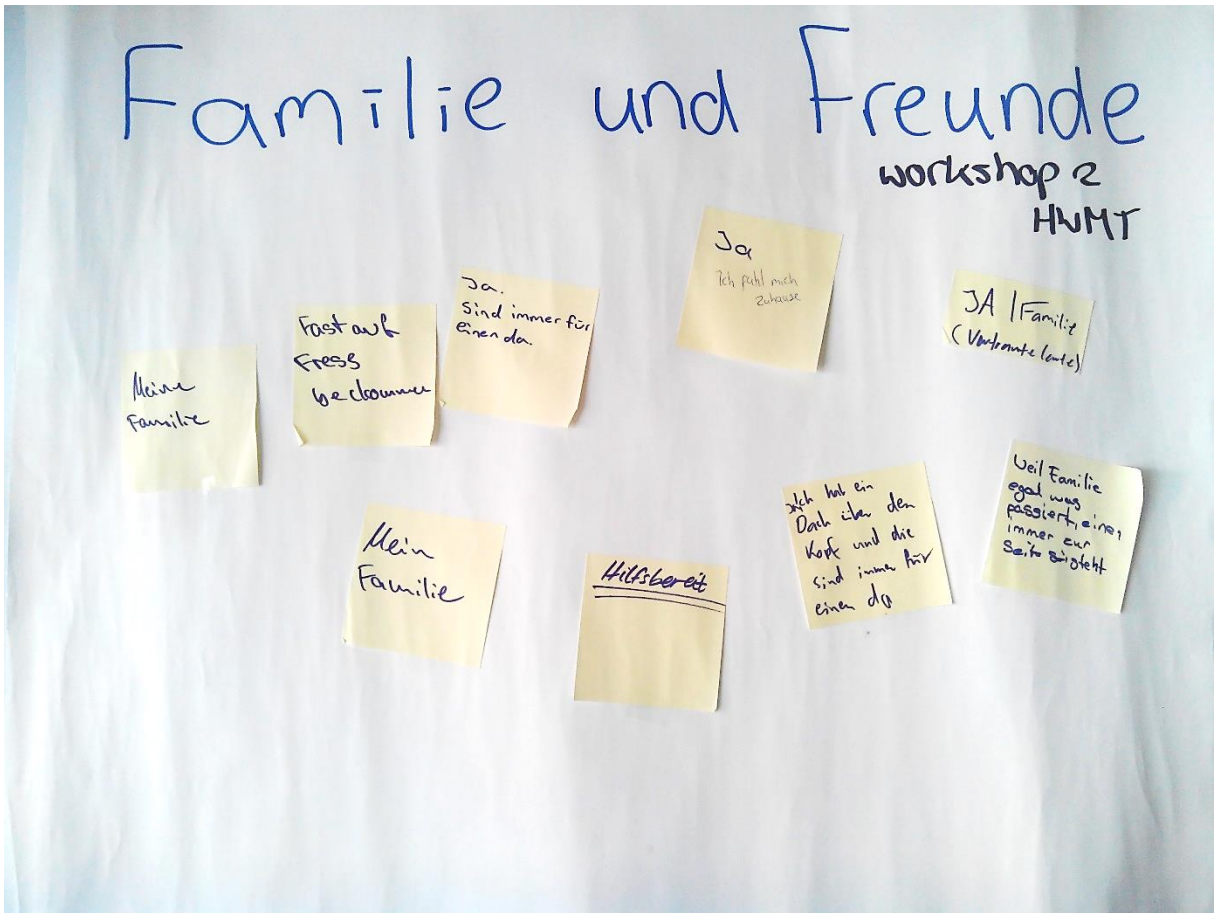


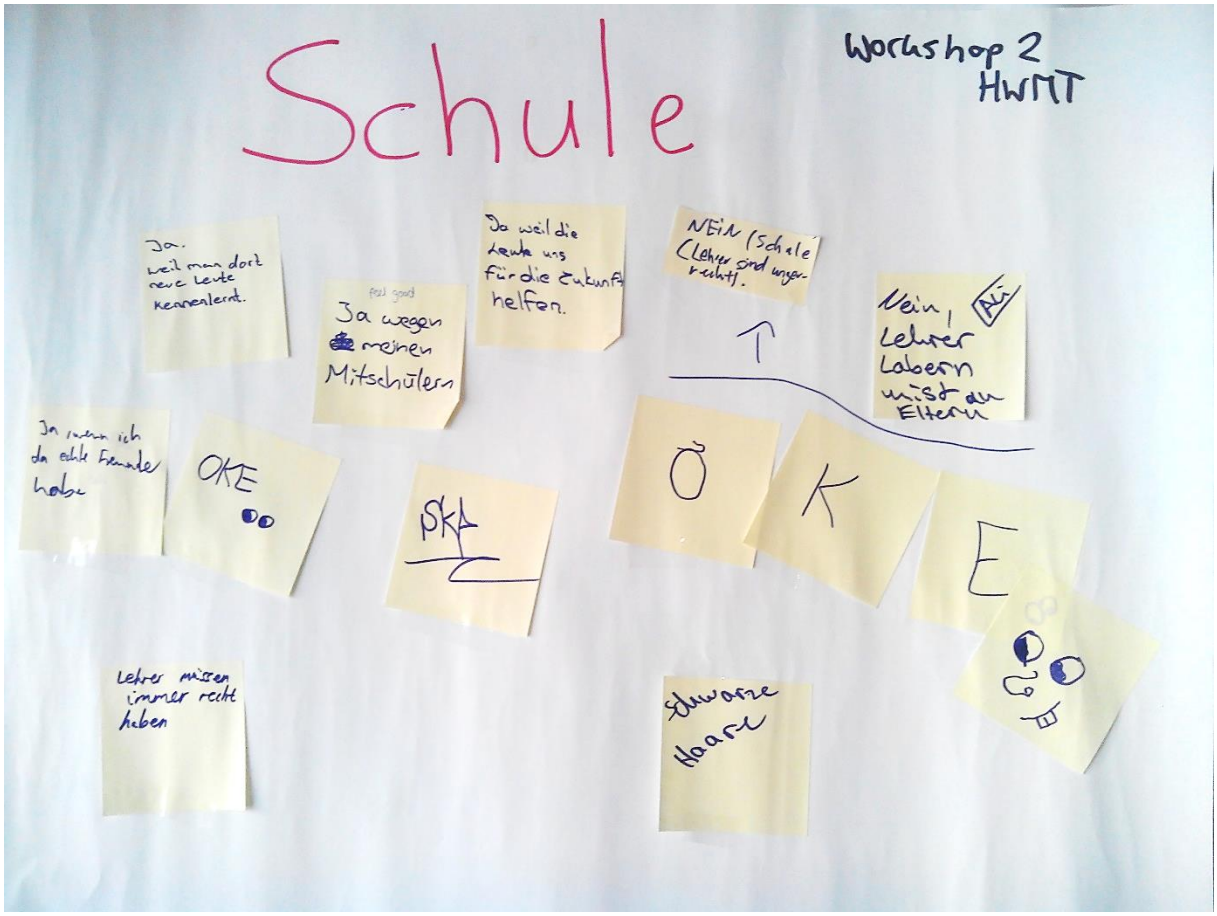
Familie und Freunde
Workshop 1
Stollenpark
ich File mich zu hauze bai maime Freunde wege ich mit in ob gue Wacssen
Ja weil ich vielle Freunde und koll egen habe...
Ich finde Familie und Freunde wichtig weil man die vertrauen kann und hilfen dir bei allem.
Wen ich Hilfe Broch?
Ich Hab main grosse Bruda er mach mich glucclic
Ja, ich werde von meiner Familie unterstützt, helfen finanziell, aber natürlich auch bei Problemen, geben Rat etc.
In meiner Zukunft will ich noch mehr Zeit für meine Freunde + Familie haben
YES I FEEL GOOD BECOSE IS MY FAMILI.
Familie und Freunde sind wichtig. Wenn man Hilfe braucht
CIERO MURIR MAS RAPID I ME YAMO CATALIN
we denken andere über mich? -> zuverlässig -> hilfsbereit
TENGO 1 NINO 15 NINAS
Ich fühl mich zuhause weil zu Hause für mich da ist, wo meine Familie + Freunde leben
I HAVE ONE CHILDREN.
X NO COSE SI EN FUTURO ME QUEDO CON LA FA

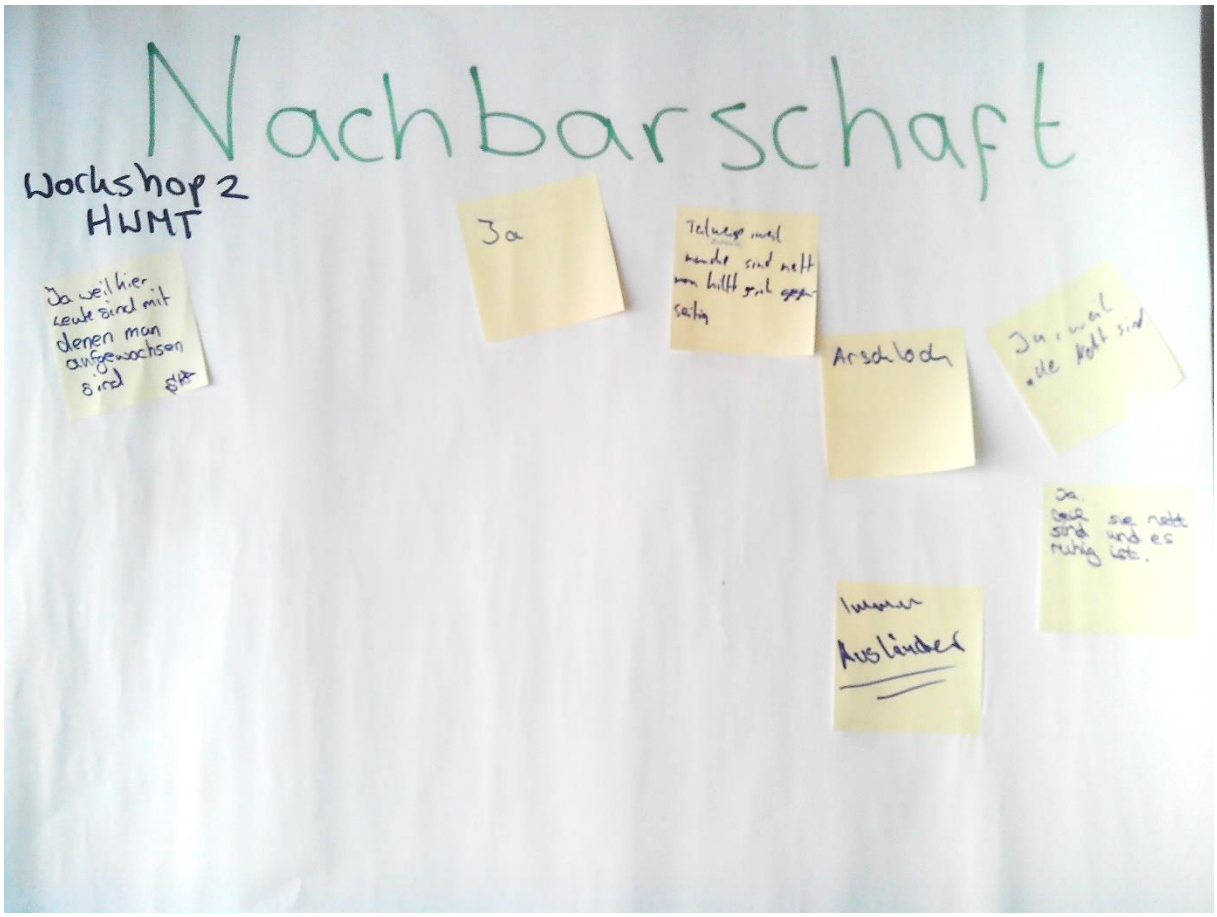

Schule
Workshop 1
stollenpark
ich mach Sule
Assloch Das zach Die Leite uba aich
Schulle Ja weil ich viele Leute Schon kenne
Schulle Schulle macht Schpaß.
Schulle Geil
I CIERO IR A ESCUELA MUCO PARA FOLLAR
In meiner Zukunft will ich mein Studium beendet haben und einen guten Job finden
Die Schulzeit ist OK. Mit vielen ist alles gut. Nur mit wenigen haben wir Probleme
Hilfe
von Schüler
von Familie
von Freunde
I FEEL GOOD BECOSE I LARN TO SPEK GERMAN
Ich finde Schule gut für die Zukunft Man kann vieles lernen.
Schule ist gut für deine Zukunft.
ME GUSTA IR A LA ESCUELA


Nachbarschaft
workshop 1
Stollenpark
Ich fühle mich zuhause jawohl
Nachbarschaft ist was wichtiges, weil man so zu sagen z.s.m wohnt.
Meine Zukunft: Ich hoffe, ich habe Arbeit, Familie und Freunde
Wir bleiben meistens unter uns!
Bad People
Nachbarschaft ist Ok!
Problem
ich habe
kein
problem
vail Deutschland
gibst kein
problem
Nachbarschaft ist auch sehr wichtig, wenn man Hilfe braucht
ich Fühle mich zuhause va wail hier gibst viele Freunde

Gesellschaft
workshop 1
Stollenpark
Ja Wenn ich Hilfe brauche dann erkläre Ich an meine Lehrerin dann sie Hilft..
Wenn Ich was brauche der redet abim hilft mir schon
- gefällt - (in DE) CHICAS
- gefällt nicht - (in DE) CHICOS
ME GUSTA LAS CHICAS POR TIENE OCULOS GRADE
Ich finde Gesellschaft wichtig für den Mensch.
LA PUERTA ESTA CIERADA POR K NO SE HABLAR GERMAN
I SEE MY FUTURE VERY HARD BECAUSE I DONT SPEAK GERMAN
CHICAS
ich finde das wichtig für die Zukunft.
NO TENGO POBLEMAS POR K TENGO TRABAJO
YES BECOSE I DONT HAVE A (JOB)
Die Biliard Tiss muss Ge Tauss


Familie und Freunde
workshop 2
HWMT
Meine Familie
Fast auf Fress beckommen
Ja. Sind immer für einen da.
Ja
Ich fühl mich zuhause
JA | Familie (Vertraute Leute)
Mein Familie
Hilfsbereit
Ich hab ein Dach über den Kopf und die sind immer für einen da
Weil Familie egal was passiert, einen immer zur Seite steht


Schule
Workshop 2
HWMT
Ja. weil man dort neue Leute kennenlernt.
Ja wegen meinen Mitschülern
Ja weil die Leute uns für die Zukunft helfen.
NEIN (Schule (Lehrer sind ungerecht).
Nein, Lehrer Labern mist an Eltern
Ja wenn ich da echte Freunde habe
OKE
SKA
Ö
K
E
Lehrer müssen immer recht haben
Schwarze Haare


Nachbarschaft
Workshop 2
HWMT
Ja
Ja weil hier Leute sind mit denen man aufgewachsen sind
Arschloch
Ja, weil alle Nett sind
Ja. Weil sie nett sind und es ruhig ist.
Immer Ausländer

Gesellschaft
Workshop 2
HWMT
Ja, wenn Mensch freundlich und Gastfreundlich sind
Nein, weil Viele aufgrund des Aussehens Vorurteile haben.
teilweise
Nein, weil hier manche Nazis und viel Ausländer
Gute Arbeit
Ich fühl mich hier wohl, da man hier immer eine Zukunft hat
Ja. Weil wir zusammen vieles durch gemacht haben.
Viele Arrogante Leute die angeben. Aber auch nette Leute die hilfsbereit sind.
Ja. Oft findet man Hilfsbereite Menschen.

Workshop 2 HWMT – Group discussion

Experiences of the participating youngsters around integration and discrimination
25-04-2014 19:30-20:30; Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff Dortmund
By Annelies Beugelink

A report of the substantive group discussion during Workshop 2 is given in this document. The comments and stories of the youngsters are documented in this report, sometimes their statements are quoted literally, sometimes their message is described in own words, but always with respect to their experiences, feelings and stories.

The first topic we spoke about, on the occasion of the first activity, was 'feeling at home'. It was clear immediately that this subject is topical in their everyday lives. The youngsters told me that they feel a foreigner everywhere. They live in between two cultures, feeling an outsider in both of them. "We are always the foreigner, in both lands". In their homelands they are seen as foreigners, because they come from the West. Family and others back home assume they are rich and have a better life there in Germany. Therefore, when they go back, they experience a lot of jealousy and are confronted with people who try to get money out of it. Not a good place to be at home. Furthermore, born and raised in Germany, these youngsters speak the language of their homeland not as perfectly as they speak German. "When we come there, we have a big accent". Another aspect that socially exclude them form the people living in the country of origin. However, also in Germany, where they are born and raised, they feel like foreigners. German society is setting them aside. "We are always differently looked at". Outrage is notable, in both countries they feel an outsider, despite their own feelings. "My German is very good and in my own language I have an accent", and still they are not recognized as Germans. This exclusion is also in other ways present in their daily lives. They tell me stories of incidents they had. These incidents vary from angry or worried looks towards them, till friends that are beaten up by people. They experience othering on different levels in their lives. Sometimes they are looked at, or people call them names because of their roots or make sweeping movements with their arms, referring to their opinion that they are not welcome here. They also tell something about the Nazi's, who live in Dorstfeld. Although, most inhabitant of Dorstfeld are politically right, the problems with Nazi's are almost over. None of the youngsters have real experiences with Nazi's, but they refer to the stigma of Dorstfeld, of being a Nazi village. When talking about Dorstfeld another important issue is referred to: the spatial aspect of the social exclusion. First there is a complain that there live a lot of Poles in Dorstfeld. Some discriminating prejudices about Poles, but also about Romans being losers, are expressed and laughed about. After some laughs and a correcting remark of one of the youth workers, the conversation continues. Still, this was an example of the mutual discrimination that often is present by migrants. However, conversation about this topic is difficult. The youngsters express their experiences in other city districts of Dortmund. Most of the time they stay in their own neighborhood. "We never go to Aplerback, it is the neighborhood of the rich". "We have no friends there, so we have no business being their". Aplerback, a district in the south of Dortmund, is known for being white and rich, not a place where these youngsters feel included or at home. However, also in their own neighborhood, Dorstfeld, they experiences exclusion. Sometimes, they feel unwell in their neighborhood, judged or ignored by others. "Especially the older people are rejecting!". These people have troubles with adapting to the changes in Dorstfeld. But also in other situation these youngsters feel ignored and not welcome. "We are more often held accountable for our behavior". They are more often controlled by the police, but also neighbors are calling upon them to correct their behavior, "more often than Germans". However, after some reflection it is not sure if is really true, but it is clear that there is a strong feeling that it is true.

The youngsters also experience rejection in other parts of their everyday lives. One guy, born in Germany but without German citizenship, explains to me that he had to send 170 applications to get an 'Ausbildungsplatz', an educational workplace following up the 'Hauptschule'. He told that he had good grades and should have some possibilities. Still, he had difficulties finding a job or an educational workplace. When I asked the youngsters about the reason for these application difficulties,

they explained to me that they are discriminated because of their appearance. Not only while they look as migrants, but also because of their 'crimi-look'. One youngster showed me his tattoos and told me that these lead often to rejection. All youngsters agreed that they are seen as rough guys from the streets and that this image can lead to rejection. Other youngsters, attending high schools, explain that they want to attend the 'Gymnasium'. They have ambitious plans and want good opportunities for high education and jobs. Expressing these ideas and plans it directly becomes clear that the employees of the Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff support these kids in these future plans. "I know you can make it work" and "When you work for it, you can make your 'Abitur' (finish Gymansium)" are encouragements the youth workers give to the youngster. To work hard for their dreams and believe they can make it.

Later on, the youngsters discuss if they feel welcome in Germany. The youngsters state that there is an clear differences between the different city districts in Dortmund. This is the same for all the cities in the Ruhr area. Two guys, born in Germany but with parents from Lebanon, explain to me that Berlin is a total different city. In Berlin there is a Lebanese neighborhood where they go sometimes to visit family. "That is a place that feels like home" explains a youngster. In this neighborhood live mostly people originating from Lebanon, having the same cultural norms and values. "Here we are not the only foreigners". They recognize their own roots, but on the same time recognize the German culture and Western lifestyle. It is a place where two cultures merge. The guy from Lebanon explains to me that he thinks it is very important to stay connected with his home country. Therefore, he stay updated about the news in Lebanon. However, not all youngsters agree. Not all of them have the same connection to their country of origin. Yet, the comfort and feeling at home among other 'foreigners' is known by everyone. The youngsters explain that they feel normal in Germany, they feel they belong there, but that they are also aware of their differences. It is a continuing conflict between fitting in or being an outsider. "The skin color stands out". Especially Nazi's are discriminating on skin color, but also in everyday life these youngsters feel discriminated because of their appearance. Many schools are 'black', which makes the youngsters feel more belonging there, because they are not the only ones who differ. To illustrate the everyday discrimination these guys experience, one youngster gives me an example. He was in the supermarket and saw an employee talk to a costumer. The employee was friendly. Later on, when the guy himself asked the employee something, this men was not friendly, but very brusque and did not want to help the guy. The outrage was notable and others confirmed his story. Other youngsters did also tell that they had difficulties to get in disco's or that they were often checked by the police for no specific reason. They explain that some people, even cops, sometimes try to provoke them, by giving some indirect insults. When reacting on these the youngsters can expect more trouble and are blamed of confirming the prejudices. When talking about these subjects I feel that there is some outrage, but also some other feelings (maybe disappointment?). In the conversation one guy (without a German passport) states that he doesn't want to be German. It doesn't bother him that he is seen as an foreigner, but that he is proud of his roots. He doesn't even want to be a German and for that reason he still doesn't have a German passport. When I ask a bit further he explains that fitting in has negative sides. It is difficult if you have to be someone else than you are. "Why should I want to fit in if I cannot be like them". He states that he is proud of Lebanon. When others interfere in this discussion it becomes clear that it is not so easy after all. They sketch an ideal society, where all people are equal, because they are humans. That is their ideal, when there is no distinction based on color or ethnical backgrounds. Some express that they like to be called German, in addition to the guy from Lebanon before. They see themselves as Germans, in language and lifestyle and are looking for recognition of that. On the other hand they also do not want to be excluded from their origin and its culture. Some say they prefer both identities, they feel both German and connected to their origin. It appears that it is a tough decision to decide if you want a German passport or another. It is a decision if you want to be German or not and if you want to be called a German. It is clear that a German passport has a lot of advantages. Especially by application procedures, where you have better chances because of your passport. Further, as an official citizen you have more rights and possibilities. However, discussing these advantages, it is also is noted that they still are discriminated because of their address or their name. A passport cannot take away these kind of prejudices. Someone is telling about the new anonymous application procedure whereby no picture of the applier is asked, to counter

discrimination on appearance. Some youngsters are cynical about this application procedure and believe that name and address will still distinct them from native Germans. One guy states that if he had to choose, he also would prefer to hire 'Hans' instead of 'Ali'. He and other laugh about that, but he explain his statement. "Foreigners are not that 'pünktlich' (punctual) as Germans", they do not have the German mentality. So, he states, he could agree with the prejudices. If he needed someone for work at the office he would hire a German. Foreigners can do other work, like being an technician. A bit shocked I ask what the others think of this. Some youngsters argue that they also know a lot of 'foreigners' that have good jobs, and they give example of family and friends. The guy who made the statements before admits that this is true and states that he is just affected by all the prejudices about him. "The Germans are influencing us with their prejudices". These youngsters are raised with distinction and now believe themselves that they differ from 'the Germans'.

The discussion about being German is very typical for this generation of migrants. Their parents are raised in a different context and do not have to deal with these questions. There is a differences between first and second generation migrants visible. Second generation migrant youngsters do not live in the same situation as they parents do. They connect differently to both Germany and their country of origin. However, most youngster want their kids to also get to know their culture of origin. Struggling combining two cultures, they also want their children to learn the culture of their parents. There is a deep connection with the roots of their parents. However, they have also German influences that make this connection different from their parents. Where in Lebanon Jews are the enemies, these guys have Jewish friends here in Dortmund. Also most youngsters prefer to speak German instead of Arabic or another language. When discussing the use of language it is notable that different places and situations can lead to different choice of language. They have thoughts and dreams in both languages. However, the German language is taking over, because of the daily use of it. This shows that the connection with the origin is not always practical (speaking language, stay connected, visit the country), but often more emotional. One guy from Lebanon states that he would go back to Lebanon (although not born there and not visited much) and he knows that other family members want that to go too. Nowadays, these youngsters do not go back often, some never, but still there exist that deep connection inside. There is a distinction visible in the group, whereby some youngsters really want to go back to their country of origin and want to be buried there. While, others feel connected to their origin country, but still see their future in Germany. This division also is visible when talking about choice of partner. The guys state that a girlfriend from the same culture is preferable, because there is a natural understanding of culture, language and background. They agree that it would be easier to both know the same cultures. Some youngsters are quite rigorous and express that a girl should also have the same religion and preferable speak the same languages, while others state that love is the most important factor in this choice. They state that their future will be in Germany. They feel connected to their roots and want to share this with others, but it is not a necessity in partner choice. Here again the distinction in emotional connection to their origin becomes visible. In the partner choice, but also in other choices, like study and work, the opinion of the family is very important. It is not exactly that these youngsters base their choices on making their parents proud, but there is something that respects the family norms and values that leads to choosing what is 'right'. Fun fact is that, despite these distinction, all guys mostly have German girlfriends. Relationships with girls from the same culture (or another culture then German) also are not so traditional as is normal in their culture of origin. The norms and values of both guys and girls have changed and relationships are not as traditional as the ones from their parents. This also shows that the connection with their origin is often more emotional than practical. It shows that (second generation) migrants do change while living in another culture. They have the ability to take the good things from both cultures.

Appendix 3 Reports of expert interviews

Interview Report Aladin El-Mafaalani

By Annelies Beugelink

Function: Sociologist and Migration Researcher at Fachhochschule Münster
Topic: Integration and integration related issues in German politics
24-04-2014 14:45-15:45; Telephone interview

Defining integration and assimilation

When talking about integration, it is firstly needed to define the concept of integration. Integration can be focused on participation in society and at the labor market, but it can also include culture and lifestyle. Integration of culture and lifestyle is often focused on and is much more difficult to achieve than the other form of integration. Approaching integration as having similar changes and possibilities to participate in society, as El-Mafaalani prefers, it becomes a concept that is better measurable and more feasible. Integration here is closely linked to the economic situation and education, while it is focused on having the same chances at the labor market and in the education system. When focusing on integration of culture and lifestyle, the debate often shifts towards assimilation. The status of being assimilated can never be achieved by migrants. The only people who have that 'status' do have one parent that has no migration background or is adopted by two native inhabitants. So, actually they are culturally German and not really assimilated. Assimilation is a process that does no good to society. It is wrong to ask for assimilation of culture or lifestyle, while it deprives people's rights. Assimilation is only a good thing when creating the same rights for everyone. Actually, assimilation or the idea that assimilation is needed is the reason for problems in migration and integration processes. These ideas cause wrong expectations.

Discrimination in Germany

Practices of discrimination are present in Germany, just as they are at other place around the world. Discrimination is not locality specific, it can take place everywhere. However, difference is made by the way of dealing with it. Direct discrimination is everywhere, but it becomes a real problem when it is practiced structurally. In Germany there is indirect discrimination. Generally it is difficult as 'colored person' to say you are German. Being German is more than having the right passport and speaking accent free German. You can be labeled as stranger, just because you look different. This distinction is not based on legal status, languages or participation, but on appearance and the feelings of native Germans. Nowadays, a lot of second and third generation Turks in Germany feel German, but are still addressed to as migrants. This indirect discrimination is also present in the education system. The distinctions made on ethnic background and appearance have discriminating effects. It is a fact that youth with migration backgrounds have little chances attending higher education. Discrimination is also visible in other domains. For example, speaking a second language, next to German, is highly valued, especially English or Chinese. However, a lot of children with migration backgrounds speak both German and Turkish or Arabic, but these languages are not valued as high as others. So, the potential of children with Turkish or Arabic backgrounds are not valued as high as the potential of others. From a young age, when children just start at school, there are expectations of what level a child should start at. Children with migration backgrounds often do not reach the same level as native German children. Potential is overlooked and these children already start with a disadvantage. These types of discrimination are indirect and structural. The most important reason for children with migration backgrounds having fewer opportunities in the German education system is because the school career of children is closely linked to the socio-economic status of the parents. It is assumed in the German school system that parents have a large influence on the education progress of their children and that the education level of the parents influences the children in such way that it is not possible for them to work at a higher education level themselves. This understanding results in the organizational structure of the German school system. Children need a place to study, the right

materials to study and parents (or others) that can support them doing their homework and school activities. The schools do not overcome these needs and therefore children are depending on the support from their homes. Schools partly judge future possibilities of students on the abilities of the home situation of the students, if the students can receive enough support during their education. Migration backgrounds are a large disadvantages, because it is assumed that good support is more difficult to provide for these parents. On the other side, it is a fact that parents from another cultural background are not used to co-decided and support their children during their educational career. Most parents want the best education possible for their children, but are not aware of the tools they need to establish that. Also in this situation the children are stuck between two cultures, between their traditional home situation and the culture expected at the German schools. This situation is the basis for the difficulties of children with migration backgrounds in the German school system. The children are not discriminated directly, but the system discriminates indirectly, because it provides disadvantages based on cultural backgrounds, despite the individual possibilities of the children.

German politics and integration

What politics is saying about multiculturalism and integration is often not observed by society. Negative attitudes towards migration and integration stay unnoticed, because most people are not really interested in politics. Also, most migrants do not feel attached to in the integration debate. However, this changed since the Sarrazin debate. When Thilo Sarrazin, member of the SPD, wrote a book about migration and multiculturalism in Germany and thereby negatively approached the migrants in Germany, especially their religion, the Islam. The debates around and with Sarrazin are noticed by society and lots of migrants or people with migration backgrounds feel if they are personally judged by this man. Sarrazin states that integration is going badly in Germany and that German society suffers from migration, because the migrants do not integrate. However, this is not the truth, states El-Mafaalani. Integration in Germany is going well, it is going better than before. That makes sense because a lot of so called 'migrants' are second or third generation migrants, who are born and raised in Germany. However, Sarrazin is enlarging some current problems in integration processes and presents a false reproduction of what is going on. One of his topics is the high unemployment rate among migrants. However, the total employment rate in Germany is high nowadays, so of course the unemployment among migrants does also increase. Especially in the Ruhr area and Berlin is the unemployment among migrants high. However, in cities like Munich, Stuttgart and Frankfurt, where also a lot of migrants live, there is no distinction in unemployment rate between native Germans and inhabitants with migration backgrounds. Further, in these large cities, integration is going very well and also on a spatial level the native Germans and migrants are mixed. The Ruhr area and Berlin are exceptions to this situation. In these large cities there are few jobs, resulting from the collapse of the industries. And these unemployment of migrants affects their children. They also have difficulties getting good jobs. However, this is not a problem of integration, but a problem of employment. Increasing of unemployment is a problem of migrants as it is for Germans. "As integration is concerned, the situation in Germany has not been as good as it is now", states El-Mafaalani.

Still, the question remains how the integration debate could escalate during this time. El-Mafaalani wonders about the amount of books of Sarrazin that are sold in Germany. There are more countries where politicians are negative about migration and integration, for example Wilders in the Netherlands, but these politicians have no influence on most people (excluding supporters). In Germany the book of Sarrazin is soled many times. The contents of the book is already known, it is similar to many other messages, the book is not well-written, it is boring and it costs 34 euro, which is quite a lot. What is the reason that this book is sold so much in Germany? Not only by supporters of the SPD, but also by lots of Germans, that not openly express their worries about integration processes, but apparently do want to hear what Sarrazin has to tell. So, the Sarrazin debate is not about the process of integration, but about what people believe is true about integration. It is all based on an idea of what integration is and how it should function. There exist a lot of ideas about integration and its functioning, but El-Mafaalani states that increase of integration leads to an increase of societal conflicts instead of more harmony in society. When migrants first arrive in a new country, with a new

culture and a new language, they do not feel right to freely speak up to society. However, when integrated more migrants also learn to participate in their new society. They feel part of it and therefore also feel in the right place to speak up for themselves. They stand up for their rights, which is a sign of successful integration. This can cause friction with traditional cultural values in an immigration country, but that is normal. The problem here is that most natives assume that integration means that the migrants will adapt to their culture, which will result in a harmonious society. However, integrated migrants want to get involved in society, in their own way, with head scarves and mosques for example. Next to this cultural friction, integration also means that migrants participate at the labor market. This means that they compete for jobs, just as others do. Integration will change a society, states El-Mafaalani. A good example of this changing society is the USA, where it is normal that there is not one stereotype of an 'American'. In Germany, with upcoming multiculturalism, society is changing. There does not exist one 'typically German'. So, integration is not creating harmony, but is reached when all are participating in society, even if that costs conflicts and changes.

Citizenship and cultural differences

Recognizing that integration in Germany is actually going well, El-Mafaalani explains that in most areas there are not many problems according to migrants. He argues that citizenship is the most important problem, or better said, lacking official citizenship is the problem. When migrants cannot get a German citizenship, they do not have a secure future. They are stuck with uncertainty about their futures, are they allowed to stay living, which rights do they have etc. This is the kind of insecurity that is hindering integration processes. Other problems are mostly solved in time, but the uncertainty of citizenship is difficult. Uncertainty results in lack of investment in the new host country, because it is unsure if the investment is worth it. After some certainty that these migrants are allowed to stay, and if they have rights and opportunities they will start to invest in their integration. So, the main problem of integration is often not the migrant, but the host county, Germany. El-Mafaalani states that Germans are the problem, because of their fear for other cultures and the Islam and the structural discrimination that is going on. They take harmony as a measure, but at the same time are disturbing this harmony because they are not used to be an 'immigration country'. The German tradition is very German, not multicultural and therefore all these cultural changes are hard to accept. Furthermore, when migrants get German citizenship, still the question remains, when can you be called a German? This discussion is very topical in Germany, but also hard to process. It is about German identity and is sharpened by the upcoming multicultural society. However, El-Mafaalani states the most difficult parts in the integration process are over and that German society is heading in the right direction. Germans are just not prepared to such big changes. This is not a big problem that cannot be overcome, it just need habituation. Nowadays, Germany is in a cultural crisis, like Europe is in an economic crisis. The troubles with multiculturalism can be explained by the German history. For a long time Germans try to figure out what it means to be German. Their image has been ugly for a long time, because of the WWII. German society often has not a positive self-image, there are no national holidays for example (not ones especially for Germany). When 'found' their own culture, new changes are present, which needs adaption again. So, nowadays Germany is struggling with the questions what is German and who are the Germans. However, where in the past the focus was often on minorities, new policies should focus on the majority. The majority in Germany should also keep up with the changing society. There is an acceptation needed that Germany is an immigration country yet.

Experiencing discrimination

Interesting about discrimination is that people who are discriminated the most, people who have no rights and opportunities, often do not feel discriminated, just because they do not know how their situation could be different. When you recognize discrimination and you know what it really means, you know what it means to fit in. One known example in Europe shows that in Scandinavia, where migrants have the best opportunities to integrate also feel the most discriminated. While in South-east Europe, where migrants often have no good opportunities for their futures, do not feel discriminated at all. However, this does not mean that in South-east Europe migrants are not discriminated, they just

do not recognize it, because they do not know what it is to be included. So, if people tell you they feel not discriminated, this does not mean that they are actually not discriminated. It means they do not experience discrimination because they do not recognize it. The exact reason for this is not known, but some researches have proven this relation.

Reflection on the characterization of the interview

This interview was held over telephone, so there was no personal contact. Nonetheless, the sphere was calm and open. The start of the interview was a bit difficult, because the questions were not focused enough. After defining the concept of integration, the interview went smoothly. As migration researcher, Aladin El-Mafaalani is a real expert on migration and integration issues in Germany. Therefore, he could analyze the integration processes in Germany and reflect on the current discourses, but he also could explain more about why the German education system is discriminating. The interview focused mostly on Germany in general (politics and discourses), so the gained data was not specific related to youngsters with migration backgrounds in Dortmund. During the interview it became clear that Aladin El-Mafaalani is pro-migration and pro-integration, meaning he did disagree with right-wing politicians. During the interview Aladin El-Mafaalani suggested some articles that could support the statements he made in this interview and would help build my research. Overall, the open sphere, the expertise of Aladin El-Mafaalani and the possibility of discussion increased the value of this interview. It provided very valuable insights on integration issues in Germany.

Interview Report Aysun Tekin

By Annelies Beugelink

Function: Employee of *Unternehmen Bildung Vielfalt* (UBV)
Topic: Education and work for youth with migration backgrounds
29-04-2014 11:00-12:15; UBV Office, Dortmund

Work of UBV

The UBV is an organization of entrepreneurs and companies from different sectors and cultures, aiming to contribute to the economy and society of Dortmund. Important issues the UBV is dealing with are: intercultural opening of enterprises and institutions, economic diversity of immigrant businesses, education and training and cultural engagement. The UBV stimulates an education network and creates a platform for the sharing of experiences and activities. The UBV is also started to support youngsters in finding work and attending the right schools. 95% of the youth involved by UBV has a migration background. They have finished high school (mostly Hauptschule) and are trying to find an educational workplace, a job or a position at another college. Most of these youngster have a low socio-economic background. Especially this group of youth experiences difficulties during application processes. Most youngsters send between 50 and 100 applications, but often receive no answers. Plus, due to the current economic situation in Germany less jobs and education places are available. This results in a stricter selection, whereby school results and work experience are more important. These difficulties arise because a lot of employees have prejudices towards youngsters with migration background. The different temperaments are not understood and often the prejudices are very basic, based on ideas and appearance. Especially girls with head scarves experience difficulties during the application process because of prejudices. However, these difficulties are also caused by not adequately preparations of the youngsters. Often they are not sure about how to prepare their interviews and applications letters, because they are not aware of their own qualities and strengths. This is partly related to the fact that a lot of these children does not receive support from their parents. So, a proper CV does not always guarantee a good application process. Other factors, like discrimination and poor preparations, influences the success at the labor market.

Spatial influences

The spatial aspect also plays an important role in the application process. Employees and entrepreneurs often select the participants based on living area. The Nordstadt has a very negative image and there consist a lot of prejudices towards this district and its inhabitants. The Nordstadt is seen as the part of Dortmund where drugs dealing, prostitution, criminality and robbery are taking place. These negative images are also coupled to the children living there, assumed that they come from a negative milieu. Especially children of new migrants, mostly living in the Nordstadt and attending school in the Nordstadt experience disadvantage. To stop these negative effects, Nordstadt has to become a better place to live, needing consequent rules and restructuring. First it is necessary to understand how criminality has come into this city district, because nowadays the living conditions in the Nordstadt have become worse compared to the 1980's, when Tekin started to live in the Nordstadt. A reason for this deterioration is the growing unemployment in Dortmund and especially in the Nordstadt. Because of the cheap housing in the Nordstadt, lots of unemployed people are forced to live there and new migrants are attracted to find their first house in the Nordstadt. This leads to a negative system, in which the Nordstadt remains a negative character, which discriminates the inhabitants of this district. Especially the youth has a hard time developing themselves, because they are stuck in the prejudges of others. These youngsters are not less capable or less smart than other youngsters in Dortmund, they just have not as much chances as others. This is affecting these children negatively, both their future as their self-image.

Youngsters and their environment

The chances for different youngsters in Dortmund are not the same. Two people can have the same school results, but still have different chances. This is related to their backgrounds, which are often a ground for discrimination. But, also the environment of the children plays a large part in their future chances. First, the family plays an important role in the decision making of the children. Although the youngsters have to make their own decisions, the family can provide them support to make these decisions. Tekin suggest that parents have to be more involved in this process and should support their children in the decisions they have to make for the future. Parents do care about the future of their children and want to be involved in this choices. Most parents have great future plans for their children and want them to achieve the best possible. These parents are also migrants and face prejudices and see how it affects their children. They also experience the disadvantages they have as migrants and know it is difficult to overcome the prejudices. This often stimulates them to try to achieve a better life for their children. Therefore, the children have to be special. They have to attend the best education and become special persons. However, in this support what is best for the kid is sometimes overlooked. Not all children have the ability to study at universities. Moreover, these expectations can cause pressure for the youngsters. They have to achieve high goals that are often not reachable for them. Youngsters should choose the education that fits them, also if that is an education place or vocational training. And parents should help their children to make these decisions. The UBV is trying to involve parents in this process and tries to convince them of the importance of the right educational continuation. The UBV wants to support the children not only on the level of decision making, but also in other areas and therefore they involve parents and family in their approach. When involving the family from the beginning, the youngsters will achieve better results and finish their schools. “If you know the parents, you can reach the kids”. The parents play an important role in the development of the youth. Often youngsters are demotivated by the high pressure and the large amount of rejections of their applications. It can happen that these youngsters decide to apply for an education place, because this is easier and costs less time. However, after a year these youngsters have to drop out of school because the individual and independent learning is too difficult for them. They are then in a worse situation than before, because now they have a negative experience that affects their motivation and self-esteem and they have a list with bad marks to add to their CV. This proves that it is often difficult for youngsters to estimate their chances to finish an education.

Another important factor in the environment of the youth are the teachers at their schools. Tekin argues that schools should be more involved in the educational trajectory of the youngsters. Problems that occur at schools between youth and teachers, like disrespectful behavior towards teachers, can also be related to the behavior of the teachers themselves. Often the teachers are also influenced by prejudices, which leads to poor control and assumptions that “this kid is not going to make it anyway”. Tekin argues that these prejudices and attitudes of teachers affect the behavior of the youngsters. Teachers should be more personally involved with the trajectories of the youth and support them and their parents to make the right decisions. The teachers should be more sensitive towards the youngsters, try to understand them and trust them so they can develop themselves. Other practical improvements could be that schools provide tests to help to choose a school or provide examples and ideas of future possibilities. The requirements for jobs becoming stricter and higher education is valued more. Some youngsters therefore have fewer chances at the labor markets and they should be prepared better for this new situation. This also requires commitment of companies. An example of a typical application process. 120 youngsters apply to an educational workplace. After the first selection they have to make an assessment. Than 4-5 youngsters are chosen to do an internship at the company. After the internship period, only one of them gets the job. This is a change of 1 at 120 for a job.

At schools in Nordstadt work teachers with migration backgrounds. However, these teachers are often stuck in the system and feel pressured at school. They have a hard time to approach the children in a different way. Tekin is disappointed hese teachers do not use their knowledge of their cultural background to support the children in different ways. She argues that the migration

experiences of the teachers could help to understand and to approach the children in a different way than German teachers do.

Experiences of youth

The UBV organizes consultation meeting with youngsters every afternoon. Here the youngsters can get help and advice. Tekin argues that youngsters can always be reached if you are real to them. If your intentions are honest and you are willing to listen to the youth and help them, these youngsters are willing to speak to you. Most youngsters have a kind of trauma, they are disappointed by the prejudices, the rejections and the disadvantages. UBV tries to reach each of these youngsters personally and give them the best approach possible. At the UBV work people with different migration backgrounds and people without migration background, so a very diverse cultural capital is available. Tekin argues: “Not everyone with a migration background is the same”. ‘A migration background' is seen as one, but all those migrants have different backgrounds and people from Turkey differ from people of Bulgaria. The UBV wants to reach each youngster that needs advice, despite their migration background and tries to adapt their support to the personal situation of the youngsters. At the UBV the coaches are called ‘Abi’ and ‘Abla’, which means older brother or older sister. This creates a personal relation with openness and honesty. This does not mean that there are no restrictions and limits that must be held, but the attitude of the coaches is very important. You can be respected by these youngster and tell them what is good to do and what is not. The personal attitude is important, because the youth can feel if they are not liked or rejected, even if this is not pronounced but only thought.

As said before, most youngsters experience a lot of pressure to study and to become as ‘good’ as possible. This takes away their motivation, because they also feel the pressure of the difficulties they experience. Most youngster know and feel that they are disadvantages, because of their migration background. The fact that they have a different skin color is experienced as a disadvantage. It is not a fact that a different skin color is a disadvantage in Dortmund or Germany, but these youngsters experience it is a disadvantage. They feel they cannot compete at the labor market with native Germans. Because of the experience of disadvantage and disappointments, they grow up with the idea that they have fewer chances than native inhabitants. Tekin refers to a youngster that made it through some application rounds, found out that his two competitors where native Germans and wanted to voluntarily withdraw from the application, because he thought that he had no chance to get the job. There are more youngsters that underestimate their own qualities and feel like they cannot compete with native inhabitants. With these experiences the youngsters are stuck between two cultures. They do not belong to the countries of their parents, but they feel they also do not belong in Germany. This leads to questions such as: Who am I and where do I belong? It can have a negative effect on youngsters that they feel they do not belong anywhere. It creates space for uncertainty and a low self-esteem. And so, negative thoughts are anchored inside, but also based on experiences. It is a fact that many companies have prejudices about the work qualities of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The UBV tries to cooperate with German and cultural divers companies to reach a more honest and positive application process. Tekin does not believe in new methods as anonymous application procedures. It is ok that these methods are tested, but the real problem lies deeper. An anonymous application procedure cannot take away the prejudices and ignorance. Other projects that support youngsters in their application process are often successful, but end after good results. Hereby, the deeper problem is not solved. “The discrimination is taking place in the heads of people; that is where the problems start”.

Change is needed

To create better chances for the youngsters that are now disadvantaged it is highly important to overcome prejudices. If these prejudices remain, it is not possible to actually make a change. Prejudices do affect both society as well as youth with migration backgrounds. When putting the prejudices aside, these youngsters can be supported to develop themselves. Tekin refers to an example of a boy, who

had a macho attitude and had to support mathematic lessons given at UBV. This guy was not interested in school he told, had a bad grate for mathematics and was forced to help as punishment of his school. However, when he was given responsibilities and Tekin told him she trusted him to do this job, the boy changed. He felt appreciated and is willing to take his responsibilities. He has now finished his school with good grates. This shows that a different attitude towards youngsters can help them to develop their strengths. Many boys have this macho attitude that causes failure at schools. They are intelligent, but their behavior hinders their development. This shows that recognition and support are very important. It can even motivate to show what your strengths are, to develop these and to achieve something. The discrimination at Nordstadt is an example of a way whereby the youngsters are approached negatively, and puts that macho image on them.

Tekin argues that schools should be more personal in their approaches towards the youth. To look at the qualities and possibilities of the youngsters and help them to further develop that. If the teachers know the personal situation of the children, if they are interested and concerned, they can build on personal relations with youngsters. If the youth feel that they are seen and valued, commitment, respect and thankfulness will follow. Tekin also argues that schools should involve the parents more. If you can involve parents, you also will see the positive influence they have on the behavior of their children. Parents with migration background are often not involved with the educational trajectory of their children. They also have to learn how they can support their children in education. The most important change has to be that the teacher work with passion. If they really care and try to give their students the best, it will affect a lot of negative situations positively.

Reflection on characterization of the interview

This interview was held at the office of the UBV. It was a calm sphere, wherein an open conversation was possible. The start of this interview was a bit difficult. The answers where sometimes short and the questions did not directly provide enough input for a good conversation. Later on the conversation went more smoothly, whereby Aysun Tekin was telling a lot about her experiences with youngsters and giving examples of situations. This contributed to a clarification of previous answers and the current situation in Dortmund. Aysun Tekin is born in Turkey and moved to German during her youth. She has lived in Nordstadt for a very long time and has seen the changes the district has undergone. At the UBV she works with colleagues with different migration backgrounds as well as native Germans.

Aysun Tekin did give some good examples that clarified the situation for me. She also had a strong opinion on what was going wrong and what should be better. She was very critical to schools and teachers in Dortmund. She explained a lot about what was going wrong in the German education system and the approach of the teachers. She strongly believed that most problems could be solved by a different attitude and approach of the teachers. She also was promoting the work of UBV, in contrast to the failures of the teachers. Her opinion was strong. Due to this interview I learned more about the German education system, especially about the trajectory afterwards, but I need to reflect on the level of criticism.

Interview Isabel Ramos Lobato

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Researcher at ILS and participated in ESPON Project TiPSE
Topic: Educational inequalities related to poverty and social exclusion
14-03-2014 10:00-11:15; ILS office Dortmund

Spatial segregation

The distinction made between North and South Dortmund in the project is based on a class analysis based on three indicators: child poverty, unemployment and single parenthood. It is therefore that this distinction has a strong economic character. The Northern neighborhoods are disadvantage from an economic perspective. This distinction between North and South is not only typical for Dortmund, but for most cities in the Ruhr area. This results from the industrial period of the Ruhr area, whereby the Northern parts of the cities where working class areas. After the declining of the coal and steel industries in the Ruhr area, unemployment has grown, concentrated in the Northern parts of the cities. The highway E40 is also referred to as the 'Social equator of the Ruhr area', because it draws the economic distinction between North and South. With the economic distinction, the Ruhr area is also divided according to unemployment rate, socio-economic status, number of migrants and number of children. However, it is not possible to state that this distinction is a clear cultural segregation, because it is based on economic factors. Interpretation of the relation with education is difficult. The numbers in the report are based on the cluster data, assuming that students attempt schools near their homes. However, there are a lot of studies that under scribe the difficulties that students with a non-German background have gaining access to higher education. This has also a direct link with relation between education achievements and social-economic status, because migrants often have a lower social-economic status than Germans. However, the interrelation between neighborhood and educational achievement is mostly based on the economic situation, not on ethnicity.

Education system and discrimination

The education system in Germany is managed on federal level, meaning there is little space for local management. However, Dortmund has made a small adjustment to the federal education system. It has special classes for new migrant children, who do not speak German. In these special classes they get special education together with other migrant children. In contradiction with other cities, where new migrant children join regular classes and extra languages classes, the separate classes in Dortmund are linked to the 'Hauptschule', resulting in a flow into the regular 'Hauptschule'. This way it is more difficult for new migrant children to gain access to the 'Realschule' or 'Gymnasium'. There exists no institutional way for this process, it depends on the commitment and encouragement of the teachers. The dependence on the teacher is not only in relation to new migrants children, but also other children with migration background are depending on encouragement and deployment of the teachers. Often, it is difficult for students with a migration background to attend higher education, because of lack of support. Other reasons for difficulties enter higher education for children with a non-German ethnicity are the language deficiency and a low socio-economic situation, as discussed above.

Nationalism in Germany

Isabel Ramos Lobato's personal experience is that nationalism is a sensitive concept in Germany. It can be difficult to talk about the position of different ethnicities or discrimination. Integration and discrimination can be sensitive topics to talk about. The last few years the sensitiveness has become less, with opening of the debate.

For a long time Germany has not seen itself as an immigration country, even if there were a lot of guest workers living in Germany. It is always assumed that these migrants would return to their countries. As a result there were no migration or integration policies for a long time. A lot of things

were adapted to a multilingual society. For example, in restaurants there were menus in different languages. Only since the millennium, Germany has started to accept the inflow of migrants and the status of an immigration country. After this realization also migration and integration policies were designed. However, since this short period, a lot of migrants are not adjusted to these policies and integration can be hard to achieve (because of former, more accepting policies).

Possible research themes

Interesting themes for my empirical research are the impact of stigmatization on lives of young (second generation) migrants, their ideas for their future and how they see their changes and the challenges in their education career.

The first topic, impact of stigmatization, is closely linked to the debates about the normativity of integration and the upcoming of assimilation discourses. It would be interesting to know how those young migrants are confronted with those discourses and what they think of it, if they are stigmatized or discriminated or if it has no impact on their lives.

The second topic, their ideas for their future, could provide interesting information about how young migrants position themselves and how they see their possibilities to grow in their careers. This related to the first and the third theme.

The third theme, challenge in education, could provide insight in the link between integration and education. It would be interesting to understand how young migrants evaluate the education system and their own possibilities. Further, it would be interesting to know if they experience difficulties in attending university, if they are supported and encouraged by their parents and teachers.

Possible contacts

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Reflection on characterization of the interview

This interview was held in my office at ILS. The sphere was very relaxed and it was a good conversation in a relaxed environment. Isabel Ramos Lobato was also explaining me a bit more about German culture, like nationalism and the characteristics of the Ruhr area. Isabel Ramos Lobato is born in Germany, but her father is from Spain and immigrated to Germany as a guest worker. Therefore, she has some experience with having a migration background, but we did not really talk about that.

The interview was based on the TiPSE Project Isabel Ramos Lobato was working on. She also gave me the report. She was clarifying some findings from the report and was explaining about the research methods and the reliability. It sketched the situation in Dortmund well, without making quick assumptions. Further, this interview helped me to get a more general idea about German history towards integration and cultural characteristics of society.

Interview Report Jörg Plöger

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Researcher at ILS and Project expert on *Jugendliche Lebenswelten*
Topic: Leisure time and mobility of youngsters, related to gender, space and socio-economic status
18-03-2014 10:00-11:00; ILS Office Dortmund

Jugendliche Lebenswelten project

The project Jugendliche lebenswelten aims to understand the relation between leisure time and mobility and gender, space and socio-economic status. In cooperation with schools in three cities in the Ruhr area, 560 young students participated in the project. The three participating schools in Dortmund where all located in the Nordstadt; a Gymnasium, a Hauptschule and a Gesamtschule. It was not possible to visit other schools in the South of Dortmund, but in the other two cities a broader variety socio-economic contexts could be represented. The clearest finding was the relation between mobility and gender. There is a clear distinction in leisure activities between boys and girls. Girls are often more involved in family activities and creative activities, while boys do more sports or consume media. Especially, for children with a migration background this distinction is clear, because girls are often more limited by their family then boys. The study also found a relation between mobility and socio-economic status. Although it was difficult to exactly measure the socio-economic background of the participating children (Based on the actual profession of both mother and father, which were then grouped according to necessary educational level as well as average incomes. Resulting in 3 groups (high, medium, low). In about ¼ of the cases the information provided was not sufficient to establish socio-economic background), a relation between mobility and socio-economic status can be observed. Often a higher socio-economic status gives better opportunities to travel and a wider range of movement. For children from a lower socio-economic background it is more difficult to obtain the traveling needs, like a bike, a public transport season ticket or a ride with the car from their parents. Shortly, it is more difficult to be mobile, although ride along, fare dodging and walk are also opportunities to increase mobility. So, there is no clear structure of levels, but in general socio-economic background is affecting mobility. There are also relations between mobility and migration background or neighborhood, but these are closely linked to socio-economic statuses and resulting therefrom.

Another notable difference between the Northern and the Southern parts of the cities is that children in the Nordstadt are often having a strong connection with their neighborhood. Their leisure activities mostly take place in the neighborhood and its surroundings. This is linked with socio-economic status. Children from a higher socio-economic background often cover a wider surface with their activities and their activities are often more constant during the week. This is because they can allow themselves to take part in different sport, music or other associations, which take place on fixed times in the week. Notably, children with a lower socio-economic status are more flexible in their activities and time distribution; a differences between structured (formal) activities and unstructured (informal) activities can be noticed.

Dortmund Nordstadt

From statistics it appears that 50-70% in the Nordstadt is migrant or has a migration background. The communities in the Nordstadt are therefore very strong and real. Also at schools, the students feel connected and are committed to each other and their neighborhood. Although, the Nordstadt is stigmatized from outside and is one of the most disadvantaged areas in Dortmund, it could be questioned if this is also experienced in the Nordstadt. People from the Nordstadt are not so much confronted with other parts of society and could have a different perspective on stigmatization and their status. This could be very interesting for my research. Especially, in comparison to students living in the Southern parts of Dortmund, whom are often more confronted with their ethnicity, pressure and German culture.

Yet, schools in the Nordstadt are not very popular, because of its stigma's. The number of students at these school is decreasing. Also people living in the Nordstadt find the share of migrants at the schools too large. They prefer to send their kids to other schools. However, this is not always possible, because children in the neighborhood of the schools have priority to get access to the school.

Concept integration in Germany

For the last five years integration was a highly discussed topic in Germany. There were created new policies and there was discussion about what integration should look like. However, over time this is changing. More people think differently about migration and integration. It has now a more positive status, because it is also an enrichment for Germany. The German population is shrinking and the economist are worried about the availability of labor force. Hereby, migration brings new perspectives, while it could solve the problem of shrinking population and shortage of work force. Besides, more and higher educated migrants live in Germany, whom enrich German economy.

The attitude in Germany towards migration is changed. It has been accepted that Germany is an immigration country. Also, integration processes are no longer approached as a task for migrants only. The development of a welcoming culture is discussed more, so integration becomes a co-operational, participative process for both migrants and the host society. In other large German cities, like Hamburg and Frankfurt this is more visible than in Dortmund. Structures in Dortmund are still linked to the industrial times and there is still a clear spatial distinction. In other cities, the mixing between people with different backgrounds is more natural and there is more acceptance of the cultural colorfulness of German society. Moreover, many migrants or people with a migration background are irritated by the constant labeling of their ethnicity.

Possibilities for contacts

Probably it will be difficult to conduct a group discussion at the Gymnasium, especially with older groups, because it is the end of the year. The Hauptschule is often more flexible in time management. The contact information of the Herr Dr. Köneke of the Gymnasium is not up-to-date, because he has retired.

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Reflection on the characterization of the interview

This interview was held in the office of ILS, the sphere was very relaxed and the interview gave also a good opportunity to learn more about the work of Jörg Plöger as well as that of ILS. Jörg Plöger is a native German, married to women from Peru. He is very open to multiculturalism and has a positive vision on future possibilities regarding integration and multiculturalism.

In the interview Jörg Plöger explained more about his project; the methods he used, the results and how this could relate to integration. The project was not directly related to migration or integration, but there were interesting cases that helped me get a better overview of the living situation of youngsters in Dortmund. Later on, the conversation was more about integration and Jörg Plöger also shared his personal experiences (in relation to his wife) and his personal opinion. He was very positive towards the future of multiculturalism in Germany, not impressed by current problems and prejudices. He believes society will change her attitudes and he pointed out areas in Germany where this process is going very well.

Interview Report Oliver Hesse

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Employee at MIA-DO Kommunales Integrationszentrum Dortmund
Topic: Orientation on the local situation in Dortmund and integration politics
13-03-2014 15:00-16:00; Office MIA-DO Dortmund

The MIA-DO KI and the Masterplan Integration

The Migrations- und Integrationsagentur Kommunales Integrationszentrum Dortmund (MIA-DO KI) is part of the municipality of Dortmund - 'Amt für Angelegenheiten des Oberbürgermeisters und des Rates' (Office for Mayor and Council Affairs). This is specific for the municipality of Dortmund, in other cities this can be arranged differently. In Dortmund the MIA-DO KI is a strategic body that designs integration increasing instruments and creates networks with different actors according to integration. It supports initiatives in the field of integration and supports further development. The MIA-DO KI is not the practical executor, but it uses political instruments to support and guide initiatives of others. The reason for this working method is that the MIA-DO KI always wants citizens to participate in the projects. They argue that integration is not something that needs a top-down implementation, but that it can only take place in good communication and participation of different actors and citizens. This is also the most important reason that the MIA-DO KI is part of the 'Amt für Angelegenheiten des Oberbürgermeisters und des Rates' (Office for Mayor and Council Affairs). Next to the supporting activities the MIA-DO KI is also award prizes for good integration and participation initiatives, to stimulate these projects and initiatives.

The most important document in the integration politics in Dortmund is the Masterplan Integration (MI). This is an agreement on the concept of integration and a structure for the integration processes in Dortmund. It is a strategic plan applying to all the integration processes in the city. Initiatives, projects and policies are adapted to this document, so there is a clear structure in integration politics in the whole city. The MI is used by the MIA-DO KI as guidance for their work; the MIA-DO KI converts this political document into actual integration projects. The MI covers all the integration forms in Dortmund, it applies to different types of migrants and also second generation migrants and high skilled migrants.

History of and city life in Dortmund

Dortmund is a city that is formed by migration; from an early time Dortmund is influenced by different cultures. The city is located on the cross point of two important formal Hanziatic trade routes, which caused early migration patterns. Later on, around 1900, it was discovered that Dortmund was located near coal storages. This was the beginning of an industrialization period, with coal mining and steel production. This new industrialization, which also took place in the surroundings of Dortmund and formed the 'Ruhrgebiet', was the most important reason for large migration flows of guest workers from Poland, South-East Europe and Turkey. So, from an early time Dortmund was influenced and formed by the inflow of different cultures. It is therefore that plurality is important for Dortmund and is a central aspect of integration politics.

Although integration organizations and the municipality of Dortmund favor diversity and respect for different influences, there are also opposite voices present in Dortmund, in form of racist organizations and Neo-Nazi's. However, the last few years their impact has decreased. More threatening for society are the prejudices that live in people's heads. "There is a general assumption that migration causes problems in the city". This is not based on truth, but on prejudices. Although most of the successful entrepreneurs and shops in the 'Nordstadt' are managed by migrants, many people cannot believe that migrants can contribute to city life and economy. However, this can lead to fear, stigmatization and social exclusion of migrants. Hesse argues to counter this, education about multiculturalism should start at a young age.

District Nordstadt

Although migrants live everywhere in Dortmund there are some neighborhoods where migrant groups are concentrated, whereby 'Nordstadt' is the most important district. In this city district there is a large diversity in presented cultures and ethnicity. "In the Nordstadt people feel at home", because there is the possibility to live together in different cultures. On the other hand, it is also the city district with a lot of problems, like unemployment, criminality and housing problems. However, the cause of these problems is not the fact that there live a lot of migrants, but the economic segregation in the city. There is a clear economic distinction between the North and the South of Dortmund. This is the most important reason that a lot of migrants live in the Nordstadt. It is not the presence of migrants, but the low economic status in the Nordstadt, that causes a lot of troubles. In the last years, this city district got more attention, for example the project 'Sozale Stadt' (Social City), that is focused on development of the 'Nordstadt' to improve the living conditions in this city district.

Problems with education and the school system are not especially concentrated in the Nordstadt. The unequal distinction of schools is also due to a non-academic background or a low socio-economic status. It reaches further than only a migration background, although languages and new structures are also reasons for troubles in education.

Contacts and further possibilities

To develop my research further Herr Hesse has made a few suggestions for contacts.

- Jugendforum Nordstadt – a platform for and by youngster of 'Nordstadt' for discussion about this neighborhood
- Respekt Büro – Part of Jugendamt Dortmund. Works together with youth to start integration campaigns
- Bunt Kickt Gut – Initiative that bring integration through soccer
- Alevitische Jugend Dortmund – A religious organization, also active in the field of integration and neighborhoods.

Reflection on characterization of the interview

This interview was held in the office of the MIA-DO. The sphere was good and despite my level of German we could understand each other very well. Oliver Hesse is one of 5 employees at the office, some have migration backgrounds themselves. He is a native German inhabitant and has lived in Dortmund for a long time. He feels connected to his city and has a lot of sympathy for the diversity and multiculturalism in his city. Oliver Hesse could also talk about current problems in the city, especially the Nordstadt. He worries about the negative attitudes among society, he was talking about problems with integration and prejudices, especially in the Nordstadt. However, he was also very positive about new chances and possibilities for the future. While involved with a lot of projects on integration in Dortmund Oliver Hesse is trying to positively change attitudes and prejudices. His message was to be positive about diversity and integration and that communication could improve the future of Dortmund. He stated that diversity is what is strengthen Dortmund. He was interested in my project, because he wanted to know what (a part of) his target group would think about his projects.

Interview Selda Sirin and Vedat Caliskan

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Employees at Treffpunkt Stollenpark
Topic: Youth in Dortmund Nordstadt
28-03-2014 18:30-19:00; Treffpunkt Stollenpark Dortmund

Treffpunkt Stollenpark

Treffpunkt Stollenpark is a community center for youth living at Nordstadt. It is a place where youngster come together to meet, to play or to undertake activities. It is open to everyone, although there are time limits for different age groups. A lot of different cultures are represented in the youth center. The largest group is youth with a Turkish background, who live in Germany for a long time or are born here. The youth workers working at the Treffpunkt Stollenpark organize different events, like sport competitions, movie nights and dance classes. They aim to bring the youth together and let them communicate with each other. There are also other projects organized, that try to give the youngster a chance to express themselves. For example, in one project everyone could photograph their neighborhood as they experience it. Also excursion to other cities, like München, Berlin and Amsterdam, are organized, whereby the youngsters are educated in history and culture. These projects can help youth to participate in society and become heard. Jugendforum Nordstadt is also an initiative that help youngsters to actively participate in society. It is a discussion platform whereby youngsters come together to discuss themes in politics, education or other. Often there are some guests invited from youth organizations in Dortmund that try to motivate this youth to get involved in society. Jugendforum Nordstadt also wants to give youngsters the opportunity to be heard and to let the quests know what they think or to ask questions. So, the aim of the workers of Treffpunkt Stollenpark is twofold, on the one hand they try to bring the youth together and give them a save place where they can spend time. On the other hand they also try to present opportunities for the youth to get actively involved in society.

Problems in different cultures

The youth workers working at Treffpunkt Stollenpark also have to deal with intercultural problems. Most of the youth workers (all that I spoke to) have a Turkish background and speak Turkish. This way, youngsters can also express themselves, when they do not speak German very well. The meetings and activities however are all in German, while it is open for everyone. The last few years an increase of the inflow of Romanians und Bulgarians has taken place. These groups concentrate in the cities of Dortmund and Duisburg. Also in Treffpunkt Stollenpark more and more Romanians and Bulgarians are represented. Although these youngsters seem not to be aware of their problems (or telling others they do not have any problems with integration) the youth workers notice that these groups have a lot of problems in Germany according to language, school and work. They have no idea of the structures in Germany and have not the capabilities to participate in education, society or the labor market. However, it is very difficult to talk to them, because of the lack of common language. Further, these groups feel often unsafe and offended. This can lead to aggressive behavior, not because they are angry, but because they feel helpless. Also, they have difficulties to deal with authorities, like police or municipality, because they are used to corruption. They fear the same troubles as they had in their home countries, but do not understand the troubles they have now.

Other problems occurring are discrimination. Although all the people involved at Treffpunkt Stollenpark have migration backgrounds, there is still discrimination present. The youngsters often have to deal with discrimination at schools or in their neighborhoods. They are not only discriminated by Germans, but also by other ethnical groups. Kurds are often discriminated by Turks and mutually Turks disadvantage each other for habits, religion etc. Also Romanians and Bulgarians do not mix. Both blame the other of being ‘Gypsy’ and they do not want to be compared to each other. In Treffpunkt Stollenpark all of these nationalities are represented and discrimination is not allowed. It is difficult to

bring all the youth together and some activities aim a special ethnical group, like a Balkan Night. However, instead of discriminating each other, Treffpunkt Stollenpark tries to bring the youngsters together and let them actively work on their goals and dreams. They want to support them to become active in society and not allow discrimination, but also not discriminate themselves. The youngsters also learn to live with diversity and to respect other ethnical groups.

Reflection on the characterization of the interview

This interview was held in an office at the Treffpunkt Stollenpark. First I had the opportunity to join the Jugend Forum Nordstadt, a meeting with youngsters from the Nordstadt, where they could talk about different topics. Afterwards I first met some youngsters and could held a small interview with them. The sphere was very chaotic and there was not much time and space for this interview. However, Selda Sirin and Vedat Caliskan where very nice and wanted to help. Selda Sirin and Vedat Caliskan are both born in Turkey and migrated to Germany at a later age. They use this background to improve their contacts with the youngsters involved. The interview was also a bit uncomfortable, while it was a bit chaotic, with co-workers and youngsters walking in and out. Further, both Selda Sirin and Vedat Caliskan had some difficulties to understand the aim of my project. Stll, they knew a lot about the experiences of the youngsters and they could tell me a lot about the experiences in their work. They could sketch the situation form the inside, because they meet the youngsters every day.

Interview Report Serdar Akin

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Managing Director of *Bund der Alevitischen Jugendlichen in Deutschland*
Topic: Being a migrant, integration issues in Germany and exclusion
01-04-2014 14:30-15:45; Office BDAJ NRW Dortmund

The Bund der Alevitischen Jugendlichen in Deutschland

The *Bund der Alevitischen Jugendlichen in Deutschland (*BDAJ) is a youth organization with a religious background aiming to both maintain their culture and religion believes as well as stimulate youth to become an active participant of German society. The BDAJ does exist for 20 years now and has over 33,000 youngsters up to 27 years that are involved in 145 local member organizations in 11 federal districts of Germany. Also in Dortmund a local member organization is located. Almost all members have the same ethnical background: Turkish or Kurdish and speak Turkish and/or Kurdish. Most of the members are third generation migrants, born in Germany or live in Germany for a very long time and have an official German citizenship. In the BDAJ is generally communicated in German. The BDAJ works at three levels: national, federal and local. At all levels they actively participate in German society and politics and motivate their members to do also. Workshops, seminars, trainings and coaching are organized to involve their youngsters in politics, democracy and the multicultural society. Also music and art projects are conducted, mostly against racism and war and to improve intercultural dialogues. Although, all members have the same ethnical background, the BDAJ aims to involve other cultures in these music projects, because they want to carry out the norms and values of equivalence. Further, they often work together with other youth organizations in Germany and Europe to create new contacts, get to know other cultures and increase respect and tolerance to others.

The BDAJ prefers to speak about inclusion over integration, but is actively lobbying for both actively involved youngsters as for an open, respectful society. For example they lobby for more ethnical difference in public professions, like police and fire department. They aim for the youth involved to become more active in society and politics. The BDAJ maintains ties with Turkey and their original roots, but they want to combine these with their current lives in Germany. Most of the members of BDAJ also have close connections with Turkey, through family, friends, vacations and media. However, BDAJ aims to combine both cultures. They argue it is possible to be part of German society, while having connections with Turkish culture. “We encourage our youngsters to also live with their heads in Germany”. Further, time will change the importance of those ties with Turkey; the next generation will feel less connected and it is therefore important to already invest in inclusion in German society. Alevis are discriminated in Turkey and do not have many rights there. Therefore, most Alevis want to stay in Germany for the future. The BDAJ supports them and helps them to shape their lives in Germany and become active citizens.

Lives of youngsters with migration background

Although Germany offers a lot of rights and chances that are not available for the Alevi youth in Turkey, integration in German society causes problems too. Most of the youth experience little social mobility. It is difficult to attend the education you want and the school of your choice. Also teachers often discriminate and do not support these youngsters to develop themselves and attend higher education. There exists a lot of discouragement in de education system, but also in other areas of society. For example, a lot of youngsters with a migration background are refused in discos and discriminated and stigmatized because of their names and skin color. These youngsters experiences more difficulties entering the labor market; a migrant has to apply 10 times more than a native German to get an equal job. The bad results of the PISA are often assigned to young man with Turkish backgrounds. This stigma leads to more prejudices and excluding and discrimination of this population group. It is difficult to overcome these distinctions, but the upcoming of ‘Gesamtschulen’ is positive according to Serdar Akin. At these schools there is a more fair chance to attend the best possible education and distinction in

migration backgrounds or socio-economic statuses become less important. Also a lot of youngsters experience a spatial stigmatization. It is difficult to grow up in the Nordstadt. Also, when families achieve a higher socio-economic status, they move out of the Nordstadt immediately, maintaining the distinction of socio-economic status. This is the case for a lot of industry cities in the Ruhr area. Unfortunately, the socio-spatial background of a youngster one can explore through vocabulary, education, dreams and perspectives. This means that the social-spatial background is influencing development and future perspectives of youngsters.

National debate

In Germany the debate on integration is very topical. For a long time this topic was ignored, migration was denied and everyone was convinced that guest workers would return home one day. For years there was a lack of integration policies. Since 10/15 years this has changed and nowadays integration policies and initiatives are actively developed by governments and organizations. However, the first generation of migrants, the formal guest workers are not very well integrated and do not speak the German languages. It is difficult for them to get integrated now, at an older age, because in the past it was possible for them to live in Germany without integration. The next generations do also feel the effects of that, because they are also stigmatized as poorly integrated, even if it is not true. New generations of youngsters with migration backgrounds have chances to be part of German society. These youngsters want to be involved, but it takes time to realize this, because of the late development of integration politics.

The stigmatization is a problem a lot of migrants have to deal with. The national debate in Germany is negative and mostly forgetting about positive examples. Problems with integration are often reported, but the overview is out of balance. For example 70% of the Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in Germany have a high education in their own country, but in Germany it is difficult to find work. In the media they are often approached negative, while they also have a lot of chances to add something to German economy and culture.

Also the BDAJ experiences some stigmatization. It is a religious organization with a Turkish/Kurdish background and therefore labeled as a migrant organization. The BDAJ tries to fit in, like other German religious themed organizations. “We want to be a normal German organization, just like the ‘Evangelische Jugend’” (Christian youth organization), without a label for special ethnicities. However, in the current regulations for organization, a German organization gets support from the government when they have (1) enough members, (2) are represented in the majority of federal districts, (3) of which at least two are in former East-Germany. That last requirement cannot be reached by the BDAJ, because in former East-Germany do not live many migrants, resulting in no national support for the BDAJ. They excluded by the regulations, but there are also possibilities to talk about these regulation and by time, this is slowly changing. On the other hand, it also can be financially favorable to be registered as migrant organization, because of the financial support for these types of organization. By stimulating migrant organizations also the division between those and other organizations is maintained.

The distinction making is also experienced by individual migrants. Although they are officially German and have a German citizenship, they are often labeled as ‘the other’. Citizenship is no longer only formal, but also normative. Even if you are a German citizen and even if you are integrated and actively participate in society, you will always be ‘the other’. This othering is not based on citizenship or integration, but mostly on name, skin color and appearance. Germany has to deal with these processes and be more open to include other forms of appearance and citizenship than they are used to before. Negative stigmatization and prejudices should disappear and be replaced by respect. By time more interventions are implemented that support mixing of people with migrant backgrounds and native Germans. For example there are anonymous applications, whereby name and photo are covered, so the employer only can assess the qualifications. There also exist quotes, whereby the percentage of migrants in the labor market is managed. These measurements cannot directly take away the distinctive culture, but it helps to let these distinctions be less important at long term.

Reflection on characterization of the interview
This interview took place in the Fritz-Henßler-Haus, in the office of the BDAJ NRW. The sphere was relaxed and open and I had a good connection with Serdar Akin. He was interested in my project and very passionate about the work of the BDAJ. He is involved in this work for years, also in the board of the BDAJ (he even has his own page at Facebook, as famous person). Serdar Akin has a Turkish background, but feels very involved with the German culture.

This interview gave an overall view of the situation of Turkish youngsters in Germany. It helped to broaden the perspective on the situation and link it to more national situations and debates. Serdar Akin talked a lot and gave his opinion very clearly. He has a positive vision for the future and ensured me more than once that time is needed and that integration will increase in the future. Further, he argued that despite the problems that can occur nowadays, integration is going very well. He is optimistic about the willingness of both migrants and native inhabitants. He argues that there is a lack of respect sometimes and that some problems are enlarged, but that the actual situation in Germany is not bad at all.

Interview Report Tatjana Herdt

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Employee at *Respekt Büro*
Topic: Integration, education and neighborhoods in Dortmund
26-03-2014 14:00-15:00; Office Respekt Büro Dortmund

The Respekt Büro

The Respekt Büro designs and uses new forms of participation with youth and wants to inform and support youths to shape their lives, be involved in social contexts, develop project ideas and capture these in social spaces. There are three work areas in which the Respekt Büro is involved: democracy progress, intercultural competence and violence prevention. By organizing workshops and trainings the Respekt Büro tries to involve and support youth from the age of 14 years and older, but also aims to support teachers, pedagogues and youth workers. The Respekt Büro organizes events for all the people in Dortmund, irrespectively to gender, ethnical background, religion or place of residence. The basic principle of the Respekt Büro is that diversity belongs to life and that it is already here, but that people have to learn to deal with it and to respect it. "Diversity is normal, dealing with it is what causes friction". It is therefore that the Respekt Büro is open for everyone.

The activities that are organized by the Respekt Büro are divers. There are serious workshops, discussions and trainings, but also activities with arts and music. For example some young artists have participated in an exhibition and in March there is a 'Creative Day', where all the youngsters of Dortmund can come together and enjoy different activities around creativity and arts.

Stigmatization and education

Stigmatization is a problem that often occurs in Dortmund. Many youngsters, born here, are still labeled as the other. The most important cause of this stigmatization is the distinction made on ethnical background, often made by youth workers and teachers. It is therefore that the Respekt Büro is open to everyone and does not organize special events for specific groups, but tries to involve everyone every time. Also at schools, the youngsters are often approached to their family background. Often, prejudices are guiding principles for interaction. It is assumed that second or thirds generation migrants know everything about the 'home country' and that there are still actively living 'that culture', totally different from the 'normal German life'. The second and third generation migrants themselves are tired of the references to their background. They are tired of the integration discussion. They feel 'German', so the concept of integration has little meaning to them. They do not want to be approached to their ethnical background. However, this attitude from the migrants themselves does not mean they do not face disadvantages. Especially at school, youngsters are disadvantaged because of their ethnical backgrounds. Many students cannot get access to the education they want and many of them attend the 'Hauptschule', although they prefer another school. This disadvantage is not easy to explain, it is based on many prejudices. Although, many do say that multiculturalism and multilingualism are an advantage, still children with a migration background are disadvantaged. There are even champagnes that promote special job offers for youths with migration background, to increase the share of these youngsters at the labor market.

Segregation and neighborhoods

Tatjana Herdt confirms the spatial segregation in Dortmund and the origin from the reforms in the industrial sector. Also, she points out that the housing market has played an important role. Many migrants had difficulties to find houses in Dortmund and moved into large, empty buildings. This resulted in specific ethnical communities in different parts of Dortmund. Nowadays, there also live a lot of students in the Nordstadt and the neighborhood is not so bad, but it has a bad attitude. The fact you live in the Nordstadt can disadvantage you, because a lot of prejudices about the Nordstadt and its inhabitants exist.

Contact and further possibilities
With Tatjana Herdt and Stefan Woßmann has been agreed that there could be organized a workshop together. Whereby they gather some youngsters from Dortmund and I design and organize a workshop. Further consultation will be held after 7 April.

Other contact possibilities

- KFS VITA e.V. An education and youth Centrum for Russians in Dortmund. They organize a lot of leisure activities and every Saturday there is a Russian school.
- VMDO e.V. Union for all migration organizations in Dortmund. There does also exist a 'Jugendtreff', which could give possibilities for group discussions
- In the same building on the third floor is the office of the Alevitische Jugend Dortmund
- Prof. Dr. Aladin El-Mafaalani, specialist in relation integration and education; could be an option for another expert interview

Reflection on the characterization of the interview
The interview was held in the Fritz-Henßler-Haus, a building containing different youth and migration related organizations. The sphere in the building was nice and the office of the Respekt Büro showed the passion for their work in the city. The interview was held in another small office. The start of the interview was a bit difficult. My experience was that Tatjana Herdt did not understand what I was exactly asking. Later on the interview went more smoothly and Tatjana Herdt could tell a lot about the experiences of migrants and youngsters. Tatjana Herdt is born in Russia and later immigrated to Germany. She is a mother and actively involved by migration organizations, for example the KSF VITA e.V., where the Russian community can gather. Example she gave me, where often based on the experiences of her children.

This interview helped me to on one side get an idea of the work of the Respekt Büro, which is part of the Jugendamt of Dortmund. It sketched some examples of the aims of these kind of organizations that are related to governmental institutions. On the other hand this interview did provide examples of experiences of youngsters with migration backgrounds. It provided a look at the insiders' opinions and experiences. Tatjana Herdt was a calm person to talk to, with passion for her work. However, I could taste some irritation about the stigmatization she and her kids still have to deal with.

Interview Report Yvonne Johannsen

by Annelies Beugelink

Function: Urban Planner at *Die Urbanisten e.V*. /freelance employee at Youth Welfare Service
Topic: Integration of youth with migration backgrounds and spatial issues
01-04-2013 11:30-12:30; Office die Urbanisten e.V. Dortmund

Identity and self-consciousness

Integration is an important topic in the lives of youngsters with migration background. Although most of them are born in Germany and have a German passport or a double citizenship, they still have to deal with some kind of integration. Integration has become a normative concept; it now also includes feeling at home and being welcome. It is therefore that integration is closely linked to identity. Youth with migration background notices that they look different than the 'normal German'. Often the youngsters are approached by their skin color. However, in their homeland, where their parents are born, they do not differ in appearance, but feel outsiders because of lack of languages and of understanding of culture. They live in between two cultures, where they have to find their home and identity. This is affecting their identity and self-consciousness and co-defines their integration trajectory. When integration has so much to do with the way you differ from the majority, stigmatization and discrimination are themes these youngsters also have to deal with. Often integration and discrimination are seen as practices of society towards the migrant communities. Migrants argue that society must be welcoming, to open up for new influences and cultures and to create changes for youth with migration backgrounds to participate and develop. On the other hand, integration also requires an open perspective from the youngsters themselves. "Society has to be open, but you also have to be open yourself". They have to be open to undergo changes and to learn to adapt to new habits and cultures. Assimilation is not required, but living in a new country requires investments from both parties. Yet, it turns out that the youngsters with migration backgrounds kind of 'like' the status of being the 'bad boy'. "Having a 'bad-boy' image is also very cool". They are stigmatized as the 'foreigner' and the 'guys causing troubles', which is unfair and denigrating, but which has become so 'normal' that the youngsters also label themselves as the 'bad boys'. Not by causing troubles, but by acting sturdy and turn the negative aspects into a macho character. Further, the stigmatization puts those youngsters in 'victim role'. They are a minority with little chances. This is partly true, but it creates also a position which makes the youngsters passive to combat the prejudices. "Sometimes the victim role fits the youngsters". It creates a kind of 'comfort zone'; passively waiting for the German society to change and for better chances to come. However, discrimination and stigmatization are causing seriously disadvantage for these youngsters, which take those youth in an unfortunate position.

Discrimination

Discrimination is an issue every youngster with a migration background has to deal with. Even youngsters that are born and raised in Germany are discriminated, because they look different and their parents are not born here. It is discrimination of everyday they are confronted with; unemployment and difficulties attending higher education. These youngsters are constantly judged on their appearance, instead of their capabilities. This unwelcoming character of the German culture affects their understanding of feeling at home in Germany. By stigmatization and differentiation this youth grow up in a world full of distinctions. They learn how to deal with it, but unconsciousness, they also learn how to draw distinctions themselves. This is manifested by the mutual stigmatization and discrimination. Different ethnical groups stigmatize each other by calling each other names or verbally confirm prejudices. Mostly for fun, but still the prejudices are maintained, even among themselves. All of these youngsters have the unofficial status of 'foreigner' and they feel connected to each other, but still the differences are maintained. Sometimes, this can lead to mutual discrimination. Second generation migrants, discriminated by Germans; pass it on to new groups of migrants: the Romanians

and the Bulgarians. These two groups of migrants are discriminated by almost everyone in society, including people with a migration background. Making a distinction is becoming an indispensable process in the heads of people, also in the heads of youngsters with migration backgrounds. Discrimination is often there, because the practice of making distinctions is always there. This development makes is difficult to accept different forms of appearance, culture and habits and thereby is affecting integration of migrants, also of youngsters with migration backgrounds.

Spatial differences

Distinctions and discrimination are also expressed spatially. In Dortmund there is a clear distinction between North and South, whereby the Northern parts of Dortmund are socio-economically disadvantaged, resulting in a high amount of migrants in those neighborhoods. This spatial distinction has strong impacts, because living in a disadvantaged neighborhood leads to disadvantages in other areas. For example, someone, but especially men, from the Northern parts of Dortmund have less chances in an application process than someone from the Southern parts of Dortmund. Your name and your address are often first decision criteria, whereby lots of people with migration backgrounds are excluded from the labor market. Also districts of Dortmund that are not in the inner city, like Dorstfeld, have to deal with prejudices. Dorstfeld has a 'village character', but also has to deal with the prejudice of being the 'Neo-Nazi district' of Dortmund. This also brings spatial divisions in Dortmund and disadvantages certain places and people.

Spatial segregation is also present on smaller scale. Groups of migrant youth, living together in one part of the city, make that space to their home. It is a place where they feel they belong and where they feel safe to express themselves. This and the discrimination they experience outside 'their zone', lead to little mobility and clustering in the same places. Youth finds safety and certainty in their own living spaces and venues (like Heinz Werner Meyer Treff) and with each other. They hang out a lot together and when they visit other places, like a disco in the inner city, they go together. Youth often is moving in groups, unaware of their appearance and its effects, while it can appear threatening or aggressive. At discos these groups of youngsters, especially with migration backgrounds, are refused and excluded. This activity of discrimination is for the youngsters a confirmation of their disadvantaged position and makes it more difficult to reflect on their own excluding behavior. The spatial distinction are maintained.

Reflection on the characterization of the interview

This interview was held at the office of die Urbanisten. It was a relaxed environment and the sphere was open. There was one other employee in the room working, but she did not take part in the interview. Yvonne Johannsen is born in Germany and came to Dortmund to study. She is a city planner, and besides works with youngsters at the Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff as employee of the 'Jugendamt'. She tries to combine those two, which is expressed in some projects of die Urbanisten, trying to involve youngsters. Yvonne Johannsen is also involved in the Jugend Forum Innerstadt West.

The interview was very interesting because Yvonne Johannsen could share experiences from youngsters at her work. She gave good insights from their living worlds. She also was the first one that could critically reflect on the behavior of the youngsters. This was very helpful, because now the youngsters with migration backgrounds were not only victims, but also responsible inhabitants of the city. It gave a new perspective to my gathered data and the opinions and experiences I heard before.

Appendix 4 Coded data

All the papers with coded data are collected in this appendix. The data of the workshops is organized first. The data of the expert interviews is coded from the interview reports. The versions of these presented reports can differ from the final reports presented in Appendix 3.

Representation of coding used for data of workshops

Workshop 1 Stollenpark – Activity 1

① Feeling at home in Dortmund

ranking	Comments
8	Born in Dortmund
7	Born and raised in Dortmund
0	My friends are not here
7	I think it is good
10	I feel very good at home. I live here for four years and I have good opportunities for work
10	I live for two years in Dortmund. I think it is good
10	I am raised here
10	I am born and raised here
8	I feel good
10	Dortmund is my dream, I feel at home
9	I have the same feeling everywhere
9	I feel at home because my parents and a lot of friends speak my language
8	–
–	drawings
–	drawings

Workshop 1 Stollenpark – Activity 1

(2) Friends from different cultures

ranking	Comments
1	only Arabic friends
6	most are from Turkey, Libanon or are Kurds, but also a lot from Poland (get to know them at school)
9	–
7	I have a lot of friends, I find that good
10	I have a lot of friends in Dortmund; these are good friends
10	I have a lot of friends in Dortmund and I find that totally good while we live together here as foreigners.
6	I have a lot of different friends because of school
6	I have friends from different cultures
8	No german friends, but that is good for now
1	I don't have a lot of different friends
5	no German friends
9	I don't have a lot of foreigns friends, only Turkish and Bulgarian
6	–
–	drawings
–	drawings

Workshop 1 Stollenpark - Activity 1

③ Dreams about work/study

Ranking	Comments
9	Car trade / dealer
10	For me, it is important to be succesful at work, while having fun
10	–
7	I would like to be electronic engineer
9	I have a lot of chances in Dortmund/Germany, because there is a lot of work in Germany
10	I would like to be electronic engineer
10	I would like to have a good job
10	I would like to have a good job
10	I work
8	I would like to be car trader/dealer
5	no work because of bad language
10	In Dortmund/Germany I can have a good job
9	–
–	drawings
–	drawings

Workshop 1 Stadlenpark - Activity 1

④ Voting (in politics) is important

ranking	comments
0	no fan of politics
10	it is important to get engaged to politics and get involved and always know what is happening in the world. If you vote you have a say
7	–
5	I find it good
–	–
10	I find it good
10	I find it [illegible] important, while it determines our future
10	I find it very important, while it concerns our future
6	is good
4	I find politics not so good
8	good thinking
4	–
9	–
–	drawings
–	drawings

Workshop 1 Stollenpark – Activity 2

① Family and friends

* I am supported by my family, financial, but of course also with problems. Give advice etc.
* I feel at home [redacted] with my friends, because we grew up together
* I feel good because its my family
* I feel at home, because home is for me where my family and friends live
* I have a kid (future with family)
* In the future I want to have more time for family and friends
* I find family and friends important because you can trust them and they help you with everything
* I [redacted] have a lot of friends and colleagues
* Family and friends are important when you need help
* Others think I am reliable and helpful
* When I need help? I have a big brother, he makes me happy

2 comments [redacted] in not understandable Spanisch\ Italian

Workshop 1 Stollenpark - Activity 2

② School

* I like school
* I already know a lot of people
* People say I am a asshole
* School is great (german: geil)
* In the future I would like to finish my study and find a good job
* I find school good for the future. You can learn a lot
* I feel good, because I can learn to speak german
* School is fun
* The school time is ok. With a lot is everything ok. Only with some we have problems
* School is good for your future
* I feel at home because I have a lot of friends there and education is fun
* help at school (and friends and family ☺)
* I like to go to school? (spanish)

2 comments in Spanish, one not understandable
last comment is interpretation

Workshop 1 Stollenpark – Activity 2

③ Neighborhood

* neighborhood is important, because you live together so to say
* Bad people
* neighborhood is also very important when you need help
* neighborhood is ok
* My future: I hope I have work, family & friends
* I feel at home, I do
* We mostly stay among us. (society)
* I don't have problems, because in Germany are no problems
* I feel at home because I have a lot of friends here

Workshop 1 Stollenpark - Activity 2

④ Society

* When I need help I tell my teacher and she helps (school)
* When I need something Vedat (worker at Stollenpark) will help me (neighborhood)
* I find society important for people
* I find it important for the future
* I see my future very hard because I don't speak German
* I don't have a job
* I have no problem working (spanish)
* Something with door/port and no speaking German (spanish)

* the billiard table must be changed

4 unreadable comments in spanish about girls

Workshop 2 HWMT - Activity 1

① Family and friends

* my family
* my family
* They are always there for me
* I feel at home
* helpful
* I get to eat
* I have a roof over the head and they are always there for me
* family and trusted people
* No matter what happens, family is there for you

Workshop 2 HWMT - Activity 1

② School

* You get to know people there
* feel good because of my classmates
* I have real friends there
* oke
* Teacher must always be right
* The people there help us for our future
* No! teachers are unfair
* No, teachers tell your parent your 'crap'
* OKE
* black hear
* ska

Workshop 2 HWMT - Activity 1

③ Neighborhood

* Here are people with which one has grown up
* Feel partly at home, because some are nice and one helps eachother

* All are nice
* people are nice and it is quiet
* Always foreigners
* assholes
* ja

Workshop 2 HWMT - Activity 1

④ Society

* Some are Nazis here and want us, foreigners, go away
* feel good when people are friendly and hospitable
* many arrogant people who let you know, but also nice people who are helpful
* We have gone through a lot together (neighborhood/family+friends)
* Many have prejudice based on appearance
* I feel good here, because one has always a future here
* Partly at home
* Good work
* often one finds helpful people

Workshop 2 HWMT – Group discussion

Experiences of the participating youngsters around integration and discrimination
25-04-2014 19:30-20:30; Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff Dortmund
By Annelies Beugelink

The first topic we came to speak about, on the occasion of the first activity, was about feeling at home. It was very clear that this was a topic that is very real in their lives. The youngsters told me that they feel a foreigner everywhere. They live in between two cultures, feeling an outsider in both of them. "we are always the foreigner, in both lands". In their homelands they are seen as foreigners because they come from the west. Family and other back home assume they are rich and have a better live there in Germany. Therefore, when they go back, they experiencing a lot of jealousy and people trying to get money out of it. Not a good place to be at home. Furthermore, born and raised in Germany, these youngsters speak the language of their homeland not as perfectly as they speak German. "When we come there, we have a big accent". Another aspect that socially exclude them form the people living there. However, also in Germany, where they are born and raised, they feel a foreigner. German society is setting them aside. "We are always differently looked at". Outrage is notable, in both countries they feel an outsider, despite their own feelings. "My German is very good and in my own language I have an accent", and still they are not recognized as Germans. This exclusion is also in other ways present in their daily lives. They tell me stories of incidents they had, starting with angry or worried looks towards them, till friends that are beaten up by people. They experience othering on different levels in their lives. Sometimes they are looked at, or people call their names because of their roots or make sweeping movements with their arms, referring to their opinion that they are not welcome here. They also tell something about the Nazi's, that they are present in Dorstfeld. However, it appears that Dorstfeld is politically right, but that nowadays problems with Nazi's are almost over. Mentioning this is name the prejudice of Dorstfeld, but none of the youngsters have real experiences with Nazi's. Talking about Dorstfeld another important issue is named, the spatial aspect of the social exclusion. First there is a complain that they live a lot of Poles in Dorstfeld. Directly some discriminating prejudices about Poles, but also about Romans being losers, are expressed and laughed about. After some laughs and a reprimand the conversation can go on, but this was an example of the mutual discrimination that often is present by migrants. However, conversation about that topic is difficult. They tell about their experiences in other city disctricts of Dortmund. Most of the time they stay in their own neighborhood. "We never go to Aplerback, it is the neighborhood of the rich". "We have no friends there, so we have no business being their". Aplerback, a district in the south of Dortmund is known being white and rich, not a place where these youngsters feel included or at home. However, also in their own neighborhood, Dorstfeld, they have some excluding experiences. Sometimes, they feel unwell in their neighborhood, condemned or ignored by others. "Especially the older people are rejecting!". These people have troubles with adapting to the changes in Dorstfeld. But also in other situation these youngsters feel ignored and not welcome. "We are more often held accountable for our behavior". They are more often controlled by the police, but also neighbors are calling upon them to correct their behavior, "more often than Germans". However, after some reflection it is not sure if they really more spoken to, but it is clear that there is a strong feeling that it is true. This topic is very real in their lives and they have a strong feeling of rejection.

This rejection is also present in other areas of their lives. One guy, born in Germany but without German citizenship, tells me that he had to send 170 applications to get an 'Ausbildungsplatz', an educational workplace following up the 'Hauptschule'. He told that he had good grades and should have some possibilities, but still he could not find a job or an educational workplace. On my question about the reasons for that the youngsters told me they are discriminated because of their appearance. Not only while they look as migrants, but also because of their 'crimi-look'. One youngster showed me his tattoos and told me that these lead often to rejection. All youngsters

agreed that they are seen as rough guys from the streets and that this image can lead to rejection. Other youngsters, attending high schools, tell me that they want to change school and attend the 'Gymnasium'. They have a lot of dreams and really want good opportunities and jobs. Expressing these ideas and plans it directly becomes clear that the employees of the Heinz-Werner-Meier-Treff support these kids in these future plans. "I know you can make it work" and "When you work for it, you can make your 'Abitur' (finish Gymansium)" are encouraging the youngster to work hard for their dreams and believe they can make it.

Slowly the conversation turns back again to the question of being welcome in Germany. The youngsters state that there is in Dortmund an clear differences between the different city districts, but that this is the same for all the cities in the Ruhr area. Two guys, born in Germany but with parents from Lebanon, explain to me that Berlin is a total different city. In Berlin there is a Lebanese neighborhood where they go sometimes to visit family. "That is a place that feels like home" explains a youngster. In this neighborhood live mostly people originating from Lebanon, having the same cultural norms and values. "Here we are not the only foreigners". They recognize their own roots, but on the same time recognize the German culture and Western lifestyle. It is a place where two cultures melt. The guy from Lebanon explains to me that is also follows the new of Lebanon, because he thinks it is very important to stay connected with his home country. However, not all youngsters agree. They do not all have the same connection to their country roots. Yet, the better feeling at home with other 'foreigners' is known by everyone. The youngsters explain that they feel normal in Germany, if they belong there, but that they are also aware of their differences. It is a continuing conflict between fitting in or being an outsider. "The skin color stands out". Especially Nazi's are discriminating on skin color, but also in daily life these youngsters feel discriminated because of their appearance. Many schools are 'black', but they explain to me that this makes them feel more belonging there, because then they are not the only one that is different. To illustrate the everyday discrimination these guys experience, one youngster gives me an example. He was in the supermarket en saw an employee talk to a costumer that had a question or something. The employee was very friendly. When later on the guy himself asked the employee something, this men was not friendly, but very brusque and did not want to help this guy very well. The outrage was notable and others confirmed his story. Other youngsters did also tell that they had difficulties to get in disco's or that they were often checked by the police for no specific reason while hanging out on the streets. They explain that some people, even cops, sometimes try to provoke them, by giving some indirect insults. When reacting on that the youngsters can expect more trouble and are blamed that confirm the prejudices. When talking about these subjects I feel that there is some outrage, but also some other feelings (maybe disappointment?). In the conversation one guy (without a German passport) states that doesn't want to be German. He says that it doesn't bother him that he is seen as an foreigner, but that he is proud of his roots. He doesn't even want to be a German and for that reason he still don't have a German passport. When I ask a bit further he explains that fitting in has negative sides. It sometimes is so difficult and asks of him to be someone else than he is. "Why should I want to fit in if I cannot be like them". He states that he is proud of Lebanon. When others interfere in this discussion it becomes clear that it is not so easy after all. They sketch an ideal society, where all people do count, because they are humans, not because of their roots. That is their ideal, when there is no distinction based on color or ethnical backgrounds. Some express that they like to called German, in addition to the guy from Lebanon before. They see themselves as Germans, in language and lifestyle and are looking for recognition of that. On the other hand they also do not want to be excluded from their origin and its culture. Some say they prefer both identities, they feel both German and connected to their origin. It appears that it is a tough decision to decide if you want a German passport or another. It is a decision if you want to be German or not and if you want to be called a German. It is clear that a German passport has a lot of advantages. Especially by application procedures, where you have better chances because of your passport. Further, as an official citizen you have more rights and possibilities. However, discussing these advantages it is also is noted that they still are discriminated because of their address or their name. A passport cannot

take away these kind of prejudices. Someone is telling about the new anonymous application procedure whereby no picture of the applier is asked, to counter discrimination on appearance. There are some cynical reaction that still the name and address do count. One guy states that if he was the boss also should prefer to take 'Hans' instead of 'Ali'. He and other laugh about that, but he explain his statement. "Foreigners are not that 'pünktlich' (punctual) as Germans", they do not have the German mentality. So, he states, he could agree with the prejudices. If he needed someone for work at the office he would hire a German. Foreigners can do other work, like being an technician. A bit shocked I ask what the other think of this and of this is really true. Others argue that they also know a lot of 'foreigners' that do have good jobs, and they give example of family and friends. The guy who made the statements before admits that is also resent by this prejudices and that it has a lot of disadvantages that are not necessary. "The Germans are influencing us with their prejudices". These youngsters are raised with distinction and now believe themselves that they are different than 'Germans'.

This discussion about being German is a subject that is very typical for this generation. Their parents are raised in a different context and do not have to deal with these questions. There is a differences between first and second generation migrants visible. These youngsters do not live in the same situation as they parents do and they connect in a different way to both Germany and their country of origin. However, most youngster tell me that they want their kids to also get to know their origin culture. Struggling combining two cultures, they also want their children to learn the culture of their parents. There is a deep connection with the roots of their parents. However, they have also German influences that make this connection different from their parents. Where in Lebanon Jews are the enemies, these guys have Jewish friends here in Dortmund. Also most youngsters prefer to speak German instead of Arabic or another language. When discussing the use of language it is notable that different places and situation can lead to different choice of language. They have thoughts in both languages and also can dream in both languages, but the German language is taking over, because of the daily use of it. This shows that the connection with the origin is not always practical (speaking language, stay connected, visit the country), but often more emotional. One guy from Lebanon states that he would go back to Lebanon (although not born there and not visited much) and he knows that other family members want that to. Nowadays, these youngsters do not go back often, some never, but still there exist that deep connection inside. There is a distinction visible in the group, whereby some youngsters really want to go back to their origin and want to be buried there, others feel connected to their origin country, but still see they future in Germany. This division also is visible when talking about choice of partner. The guys state that a girlfriend from the same culture is preferable, because there is a natural understanding of culture, language and background. They agree that it would be easier to both know the same cultures. Some youngsters are quite rigorous and express that a girl should also have the same religion and preferable speak the same languages, while others state that love is the most important factor in this choice. They state that their future will be in Germany. They feel connected to their roots and want to share this with others, but it is not a necessity in partner choice. Here again the distinction in emotional connection with their origin becomes visible. In the partner choice, but also in other future choice, like study and work, the opinion of the family is very important. It is not exactly that these youngsters base their choices on making their parents proud, but there is something that respects the family norms and values that leads to choosing what is 'right'. Fun fact is that, despite these distinction, all guys mostly have German girlfriends. Relationships with girls from the same culture (or another culture then German) also are not so traditional as is normal in their origin culture. The norms and values of both guys and girls have changed and relationships are not as traditional as the ones from their parents. This also shows that the connection with their origin is often more emotional than practical. It shows that (second generation) migrants do change while living in another culture. They have the ability to take the good things from both cultures.

Interview Aladain El-Mafaalani – Researcher Fachhochschule Münster

Relation education and migration and German politics

24-04-2014 14:45-15:45; Telephone interview

by Annelies Beugelink

Defining integration and assimilation

When talking about integration, it is firstly needed to define the concept of integration. Integration can be focused on participation in society and labor market, but it can also include culture and lifestyle. Integration of culture and lifestyle is often focused on and is much more difficult than the other form of integration. Approaching integration as having similar changes and possibilities to participate in society, as El-Mafaalani prefers, it becomes a concept that is better measurable and more feasible. Integration here is closely linked to the economic situation and education, while it is focused on having the same chances on the labor market and in the education system. When focusing on integration of culture and lifestyle, the debate often shifts towards assimilation. The status of being assimilated can never be achieved by migrants. The only people who have that 'status' do have one parent that has no migration background or is adapted by to native inhabitants. So, actually they are culturally German and not really assimilated. Assimilation is a process that does no good to society. It is wrong to ask for assimilation of culture or lifestyle, while it deprives people's rights. Assimilation is only a good thing when creating the same rights for everyone. Actually, assimilation or the idea that assimilation is needed is the reason for problems in migration and integration processes. These ideas are cause wrong expectations.

Discrimination in Germany

There is discrimination taking place in Germany, just as it is over the whole world. Discrimination is not locality specific, it can take place everywhere, but difference is made by the way of dealing with it. Direct discrimination is everywhere, but it becomes a real problem when it becomes structural. In Germany there is indirect discrimination. Generally it is difficult as 'colored person' to say you are German. Being German is more than having the right passport and speaking accent free German. You can be labeled as stranger, just because you look different. This distinction is not based on legal status, languages of participation, but on appearance and the feelings of the Germans. Nowadays, a lot of second and third generation Turks in Germany feel German, but are still addressed as migrants. This indirect discrimination is also present in the education system. The distinctions made on ethnic background and appearance have discriminating effects. It is a fact that youth with migration background have little chances attending higher education, but discrimination is also visible in other elements. For example, speaking a second language, next to German, is highly valued, especially English or Chinese. However, a lot of children with migration background speak both German and Turkish or Arabic, but these languages are not valued as high as others. So, the potential of children with Turkish or Arabic backgrounds are not valued as high as from other. From a young age, when children just start at school, there are expectations of what level a child should have. Children with migration backgrounds often do not reach the same level as native German children. Potential is overlooked and these children already start with a disadvantage. These types of discrimination are indirect and structural. The most important reason that children with migration backgrounds have fewer opportunities in the German education system is because the school career of children is closely linked to the socio-economic status of the parents. It is assumed in the German school system that parents have a large influence on the education progress of their children and that the education level of the parents influences the children in such way that it is not possible for them to work at a higher education level themselves. This understanding results of the organizational structure of the German school system. Children need a place to study, the right materials to study and parents (or others) that can support them by their homework and school activities. The schools do not overcome these needs and therefore children are depending on the support from their homes. Schools partly judge future possibilities of students on the abilities of the home situation of the students, if the students can receive enough support during their education. Migration backgrounds are a large disadvantages, because it is assumed that good support is more difficult to

provide for these parents. From the other side, it is a fact that parents from another cultural background are not used to co-decided and support their children in their educational career. Most parents want the best education possible for their children, but are not aware of the tools they need to establish that. Also in this situation the children are stuck between two cultures, between their traditional home situation and the culture expected at the German school system. This situation is the basis for the difficulties for children with migration backgrounds in the German school system. The children are not discriminated directly, but the system discriminates indirectly, because it provides disadvantages based on cultural backgrounds, despite the individual possibilities of the children.

German politics and integration

What politics is saying about multiculturalism and integration is often not observed by society. Negative attitudes towards migration and integration stay unnoticed, because most people are not really interested in politics. Also most migrants do not feel approached to in the integration debate. However, this changed since the Sarrazin debate, when Thilo Sarrazin, member of the SPD, wrote a book about migration and multiculturalism in Germany and thereby negatively approached the migrants in Germany, especially their religion, the Islam. The debates around and with Sarrazin are noticed by society and lots of migrants or people with migration backgrounds feel if they are personally judged by this man. Sarrazin states that integration is going badly in Germany and that German society suffers from migration, because the migrants do not integrate. However, this is not the truth, states El-Mafalaani. Integration in Germany is going well, it is going better than before. That makes sense because a lot of so called 'migrants' are second or third generation migrants, who are born and raised in Germany. However, Sarrazin is enlarging some current problem in integration processes and presents a false reproduction of what is going on. One of his topics is the high unemployment rate among migrants. However, the total employment rate in Germany is high nowadays, so of course the unemployment among migrants does also increase. Especially in the Ruhr area and Berlin is the unemployment among migrants high. However, in cities like Munich, Stuttgart and Frankfurt, where also a lot of migrants live, there is no distinction in unemployment rate between native Germans and inhabitants with migration backgrounds. Further, in these large cities, integration is going very well and also on a spatial level the native Germans and migrants are mixed. The Ruhr area and Berlin are exceptions on this situation. In these large cities there are few jobs, resulting from the collapse of the industries. And these unemployment of migrants affects their children. They also have difficulties becoming good jobs. However, this is not a problem of integration, but a problem of employment. Increasing of unemployment is a problem for migrants as it is for Germans. "As integration is concerned, the situation in Germany has not been as good as it is now", states El-Mafalaani.

Still, the question remains how the integration debate can escalate during this time. El-Mafalaani wonders about the amount of books that is sold in Germany. There are more countries where politicians are negative about migration and integration, for example Wilders in the Netherlands, but these politicians have no influence on most people (excluding supporters). In Germany the book of Sarrazin is soled many times. The contents of the book is already known, it is similar to many other messages, the book is not well-written, it is boring and it costs 34 euro, which is quite a lot. What is the reason that this book is sold so much in Germany? Not only by supporters of the SPD, but also by lots of Germans, that not openly express their worries about integration processes, but apparently do want to hear what Sarrazin has to tell. So, the Sarrazin debate is not about the progress of integration, but about what people believe is true. It is all based on an idea of what integration is and how it should function. There exist a lot of ideas about integration and its functioning, but El-Mafalaani states that more integration leads to more conflicts instead of more harmony. When migrants first arrive in a new country, with a new culture and a new language, they do not place in the right place to speak up. However, when integrated more they also learn to participate in their new society. They feel part of it and therefore also feel in the right place to speak up for themselves. They stand up for their rights, that is a sign of good integration. This can cause friction with traditional cultural values in an immigration country, but that is normal. The problem

friction because expectations!

here is that most natives assume that integration means that the migrants will adapt to their culture and that harmony is reached. However, integrated migrants want to get involved in society, in their own way, with head scarves and mosques for example. Next to this cultural friction, integration also means that migrants participate at the labor market. This means that they compete for jobs, just as others do. Integration will change a society, states El-Mafaalani. A good example of this changing society is the USA, where it is normal that there is not one stereotype of an 'American'. In Germany, with upcoming multiculturalism, society is changing. There does not exist one 'typically German'. So, integration is not creating harmony, but is reached when all are participating in society, even if that costs conflicts and changes.

Citizenship and cultural differences

Cleared up that integration in Germany is actually going well, El-Mafalaani explains that in most areas there are not very much problems. He argues that citizenship is the most important problem, or better said, lacking official citizenship is the problem. When migrants cannot get a German citizenship, they do not have a secure future. They are stuck with uncertainty about their futures, are they allowed to stay living, which rights do they have etc. This is the kind of insecurity that is hindering integration processes. Other problems are mostly solved in time, but the uncertainty of citizenship is difficult. Uncertainty results in lack of investment in the new host country, because it is unsure if the investment is worth it. After some certainty that these migrants are allowed to stay, and if they have rights and opportunities they will start to invest in their integration. So, the main problem of integration is often not the migrant, but the host county, Germany. El-Mafalaani states that Germans are the problem, because of their fear for other cultures and the Islam and the structural discrimination that is going on. They take harmony as a measure, but at the same time are disturbing this harmony because they are not used to be an 'immigration country'. The German tradition is very German, not multicultural and therefore all these cultural changes are hard to accept. Furthermore, if migrants become German citizenship, still the question remains, when can you be called a German? This discussion is very topical in Germany, but also hard to process. It is about German identity and is sharpened by the upcoming multicultural society. However, El-Mafalaani states the most difficult parts in the integration process are over and that German society is heading in the right direction. Germans are just not prepared to such big changes. This is not a big problem, that cannot be overcome, it just need habituation. Nowadays, Germany is in a cultural crisis, like Europe is in an economic crisis. The troubles with multiculturalism can be explained by the German history. For a long time Germans try to figure out what it means to be German. Their image has been ugly for a long time, because of the WWII. German society often has not a positive self-image, there are no national holidays for example (not ones especially for Germany). When 'found' their own culture, new changes are present, which needs adaption again. So, nowadays Germany is struggling with the questions what is German and who are the Germans. However, where in the past the focus was often on minorities, new policies should focus on the majority. The majority in Germany should also keep up with the changing society. There is an acceptation needed that Germany is an immigration country yet.

Experiencing discrimination

Interesting about discrimination is that people who are discriminated the most, people who have no rights and opportunities, often do not feel discriminated, just because they do not know how their should their situation could be different. When you recognize discrimination and you know what it really means, you know what it means to fit in. One known example in Europe shows that in Scandinavia, where migrants have the best opportunities to integrate also feel the most discriminated. While in South-east Europe, where migrants often have not so good opportunities for their futures, do not feel discriminated at all. However, this does not mean that in South-east Europe migrants are not discriminated, they just do not recognize is, because they do not know what it is to be included. So, if people tell you they are not discriminated, this does not mean that they are not, it means they do not experience discrimination because they do not recognize it. The exact reason for this is not known, but some researches have proven this relation.

Interview Aysun Tekin – Unternehmen Bildung Vielfalt (UBV)

Education and work for youth, importance of good environment

29-04-2014 11:00-12:15; UBV office, Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

Work of UBV

The UBV is an organization of entrepreneurs and companies from different sectors and cultures, aiming to contribute to the economy and society of Dortmund. Important issues the UBV is dealing with are: intercultural opening of enterprises and institutions, economic diversity of immigrant businesses, education and training and cultural engagement. The UBV stimulates an education network and creates a platform for the sharing of experiences and activities. The UBV is also started to support youngsters in finding work and attending the right schools. 95% of the youth involved by UBV has a migration background. They have finished their high school (mostly the Hauptschule) and are trying to become an educational workplace, a job or a place at another college. Most of these youngster have a low socio-economic background. Reason for this is that especially this group of youth experiences difficulties during application processes. These difficulties are often two folded. Most youngsters send between 50 and 100 applications, but receive often no answers. Thereby, in the current economic situation in Germany, there are less jobs and education places available, which results in a stricter selection, whereby school results and work experience become more important. These difficulties arise because a lot of employees have prejudices towards youngsters with migration background. The different temperaments are not understood and often the prejudices are very basic, based on ideas and appearance. Especially girls with head scarves experience difficulties during the application process by prejudices. On the other side, are these difficult also caused by not adequately preparations of the youngsters. Often they are not sure about how to prepare their interviews and applications letters, because they are not aware of their own qualities and strengths. This is partly related to the fact that a lot of these children does not receive support from their parents. So, a proper cv does not always guarantee a good application process, other factors, like discrimination and poor preparations, influences the success on the labor market.

Spatial influences

The spatial aspect also plays an important role in the application process. Employees and entrepreneurs often select the participants based on living area. The Nordstadt has a very negative image and there consist a lot of prejudices towards this district and its inhabitants. The Nordstadt is seen as the part of Dortmund where drugs are dealt, prostitutes work and where criminality and robbery are taking place. These negative images are also coupled to the children living there, assumed that they come from a negative milieu. Especially children of new migrants, mostly living in the Nordstadt and attending school in the Nordstads experience disadvantage. To stop these negative effects, the Nordstadt have to become a better place to live and that needs consequent rules en restructuring. First it is necessary to understand how criminality has come into this city district, because nowadays the living conditions in the Nordstadt have become worse compared to the 1980's, when Tekin started to live in the Nordstadt. A reason for this deterioration is the growing unemployment in Dortmund and especially in the Nordstadt. Because of the cheap housing in the Nordstadt, lots of unemployed people are forced to live in there and new migrants are attracted to find their first house in the Nordstadt. This leads to a negative system, in which the Nordstadt remains a negative character and that discriminates the inhabitants of this district. Especially the youth has a hard time developing themselves, because they are stuck in the prejudges of others. These youngsters are not less capable or less smart than other youngsters in Dortmund, they just have not as much chances as others. This is affecting these children negatively, both their future as their self-image.

Youngsters and their environment

The chances for different youngsters in Dortmund are not the same. Two people can have the same school results, but still have different chances. This is related to their backgrounds, which are often a

ground for discrimination, but also the environment of the children plays a large part in their future chances. First, the family plays an important role in the decision making of the children. Although the youngsters have to make their own decisions, the family can provide them support to make these decisions. Tekin suggest that parents have to be more involved in this process and should support their children in the decisions they have to make for the future. It is not that the parents don't care about the future of their children or do not want to be involved in this choices. Contrary, most parents have great future plans for their children and want them to achieve the best possible. These parents are also migrants and feel the prejudices and see how it can affect their children. They also experience the disadvantages they have as migrants and know that it is difficult to overcome the prejudices. This often stimulates them to try to achieve a better life for their children. To become a better life than their parents, the children have to be special, they have to attend the best education and become special persons. However, in this support what is best for the kid is sometimes overlooked. Not all children have the ability to study at universities. Moreover, these expectations can cause pressure for the youngsters. They have to achieve high goals that are often not reachable for them. Youngsters should choose the education that fits them, also if that is an education place or vocational training. And parents should help their children to make these decisions. The UBV is trying to involve parents in this process and tries to convince them of the important of the right educational continuation. The UBV wants to support the children not only on the level of decision making, but also in other areas and therefore they involve parents and family in their approach. When involving the family from the beginning, the youngsters will become better results and can finish their schools. The parents play an important role in this developments of the youth. Often youngsters are demotivated by the high pressure and the large amount of rejections of their applications. It can happen that these youngsters decide to apply for an education place, because this is easier and costs less time. However, after a year these youngsters have to stop because the individual and independent learning is difficult for them. They are then in a worse situation than before, because now they have a negative experience that affects their motivation and self-esteem and they have a list with bad marks to add to their cv. This proves that it is often difficult for youngsters to estimate their chances to finish an education.

Another important factor in the environment of the youth are the teachers at their schools. Tekin argues that school should be better involved in the educational trajectory of the youngsters. Problems that occur at schools between youth and teachers, like disrespectful behavior towards teachers, can also be related to the behavior of the teachers themselves. Often the teachers are also influenced by prejudices, which leads to poor control and assumptions that "this kid is not gonna make it anyway". Tekin argues that these prejudices and attitudes of teacher effect on the behavior of the youngsters. Teachers should be more personal involved in the trajectories of the youth and support them and their parents to come to the right decisions. The teachers should be more sensitive towards the youngsters, try to understand them and trust them so they can develop themselves. Other practical improvements could be that schools provide tests to help to choose a school or provide examples and ideas of future possibilities. The requirements for jobs becoming stricter and higher education is valued more. This youth has therefore fewer chances on the labor markets and they should be prepared better for this new situation on the labor market. This also requires commitment of companies. An example of a typical application process. 120 youngsters apply to an educational workplace. After the first selection they have to make an assessment. Than 4-5 youngsters are chosen to do an internship at the company. After the internship period, only one of them gets the job. This is a change of 1 at 120 for a job.

At schools in the Nordstadt work teachers that have a migration background themselves. However, these teachers are often stuck in the system and feel the pressure at the schools. They are having a hard time to approach the children in a different way. Teking is disappointed that these teachers do not use their knowledge of their cultural background to support the children in different ways. She argues that the migration experiences of the teachers could help to understand and to approach the children in a different way than German teachers do.

Experiences of youth

The UBV organizes consultation meeting with youngsters, every afternoon. Here the youngsters can come to get help and advice. Tekin argues that youngsters can always be reached if you come to theme as a real person. If your intentions are honest and you are willing to listen to the youth and help them, these youngsters are willing to speak to you. Most youngsters have a kind of trauma, they are disappointed by the prejudices, the rejections and the disadvantages. UBV tries to reach each of these youngsters personally and give them the best approach possible. At the UBV work people with different migration backgrounds and people without migration background, so a very diverse cultural capital is available. Tekin argues: "Not everyone with a migration background is the same". 'A migration background' is seen as one, but all those migrants have different backgrounds and people from Turkey are different from people of Bulgaria. The UBV wants to reach each youngster that needs advice, despite their migration background and tries to adapt their support to the personal situation of the youngster. In the UBV the coaches are called 'Abi' and 'Abla', which means older brother or older sister, which creates an personal relation with openness and honesty. This does not mean that there are restrictions and limits, which must be held, but the attitude of the authoritative is very important. You can be respected by these youngster and tell them what is good to do and what is not. The personal attitude is important, because the youth can feel if they are not liked or rejected, even if this is not pronounced but only thought.

As said before, most youngsters experience a lot of pressure to study and to become as 'good' as possible. This takes away their motivation, because they also feel the pressure of the difficulties they experience. Most youngster know and feel that they are disadvantages, because of their migration background. The fact that they have a different skin color is experienced as a disadvantage. It is not a fact that a different skin color is a disadvantage in Dortmund or Germany, but these youngsters experience it is a disadvantage. They feel that they cannot compete at the labor market with native Germans. Because of the experience of disadvantage and disappointments, they grow up with the idea that they have fewer chances than native inhabitants. Tekin refers to a youngster made it through some application rounds, found out that his two concurrents where native Germans and wanted to voluntarily withdraw from the application, because he thought that he had no chance to get the job. There are more youngsters that underestimate their own qualities and feel that they cannot compete with native inhabitants. With these experiences the youngsters are stuck between two cultures. They do not belong in the countries of their parents, but they feel they also do not belong in Germany. This leads to questions such as: Who am I and where do I belong? It can have a negative effect on youngsters that they feel they do not belong anywhere. It creates space for uncertainty and a low self-esteem. And so, negative thoughts are anchored inside, but also based on experiences. It is a fact that many companies have prejudices about the work qualities of youngsters with migration backgrounds. The UBV tries to cooperate with German and migration companies to reach a more honest and positive application process. Tekin does not believe in new methods as anonymous application procedures. It is ok that these methods are tested, but the real problem lies deeper. An anonymous application procedure cannot take away the prejudices and ignorance. Other projects that support youngsters in their application process are often successful, but end after good results. Hereby, the deeper problem is not solved. "The discrimination is taking place in the heads of people, that is where the problems start".

Change is needed

To create better chances for the youngsters that are now disadvantaged it is highly important that prejudices are overcome. If these prejudices remain, it is not possible to actually make a change. Prejudices do affect both society as the youth with migration backgrounds. When putting the prejudices aside, these youngsters can be supported to develop themselves. Tekin refers to an example of a boy, who had a macho attitude and had to support mathematic lessons given at UBV. This guy was not interested in school he told, had a bad grate for mathematics and was forced to help as punishment form his school. However, when he was given responsibilities and Tekin told him they she trusted him to do this job, the boy changed. He feels appreciated and is willing to take his

responsibilities. He has now finished his school with good grates. This shows they a different attitude towards youngster can help them to develop their strengths. Many boys have this macho attitudes that causes failure at schools. They are intelligent, but their behavior hinders their development. This shows that recognition and support are very important. It can even motivate to show what your strengths are, to develop these and to achieve something. The discrimination in the Nordstadt is an example of a way whereby the youngsters are approached negatively, and puts that macho image on them.

Tekin argues that schools should be more personal in their approaches towards the youth. To look at the qualities and possibilities of the youngsters and help them to further develop that. If the teachers know the personal situation of the children, if they are interested and concerned, they can build on personal relations with youngsters. If the youth feel that they are seen and valued, commitment, respect and thankfulness will follow. Tekin also argues that schools should involve the parents more. If you can get the parents involved, you also will see the positive influence they have on the behavior of their children. Parents with migration background are often not involved in the educational trajectory of their children. They also have to learn how to do that and how they can support their children in it. The most important change has to be that the teacher work with passion. If they really care and try to give their students the best, it will affect a lot of negative situations positively.

Reflection on characterization of the interview

This interview was held in the office of the UBV. It was a calm sphere, wherein an open conversation was possible. The start of this interview was a bit difficult. The answers where sometimes short and the questions did not directly provide enough input for a good conversation. Later on the conversation was going better, whereby Aysun Tekin was telling a lot about her experiences with youngsters and giving examples of situations. This contributed to a clarification of previous answers and the current situation in Dortmund. Aysun Tekin is born in Turkey and moved to German during her youth. She have lived in the Nordstadt for a very long time and have seen the changes the districts has undergone. At the UBV she works with colleagues with different migration backgrounds as well as native Germans.

Aysun Tekin did give some good examples that clarified the situation for me. On the other hand did she have a strong opinion on what was going wrong and what should be better. She was very critical on the school and teachers in Dortmund. She talked a lot about what was going wrong in the German school system and the approach of the teachers. She was strongly believed that most problems could be solved by a different attitude and approach of the teachers. She also was promoting the work of UBV, in contrast to the failures of the teachers. Her opinion was very strong. For this interview I can learn more about the German school system from the inside, especially about the trajectory afterwards, but I should reflect on the level of criticism. I wonder if it all does the teachers justice.

Interview Isabel Ramos Lobato – TiPSE Project

Educational inequalities related to poverty and social exclusion

14-03-2014 10:00-11:15; ILS office Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

Spatial segregation

The distinction made between North and South Dortmund in the project is based on a class analysis based on three indicators: child poverty, unemployment and single parenthood. It is therefore that this distinction has a strong economic character. The Northern neighborhoods are disadvantage from an economic perspective. This distinction between North and South is not only typical for Dortmund, but for most cities in the Ruhr area. This results from the industrial period of the Ruhr area, whereby the Northern parts of the cities where working class areas. After the declining of the coal and steel industries in the Ruhr area, unemployment has grown, concentrated in the Northern parts of the cities. The highway E40 is also referred to as the 'Social equator of the Ruhr area', because is draws the economic distinction between North and South. With the economic distinction comes also a distinction on unemployment rate, socio-economic status, number of migrants and number of children. However, it is not possible to state that this distinction is a clear cultural segregation, because it is based on economic factors. Interpretation of the relation with education is difficult. The numbers in the report are based on the cluster data, assuming that students attempt schools near their homes. However, there are a lot of studies that underscribe the difficulties that students with a non-German background have gaining access to higher education. This has also a direct link with relation between education achievements and social-economic status, because migrants often have a lower social-economic status than Germans. However, the interrelation between neighborhood and educational achievement is mostly based on the economic situation, not on ethnicity.

Education system and discrimination

The education system in Germany is managed on federal level, meaning there is little space for local management. However, Dortmund has made a small adjustment to the federal education system. It has special classes for new migrant children, who do not speak German. In these special classes they get special education together with other migrant children. In contradiction with other cities, where new migrant children join regular classes and extra languages classes, the separate classes in Dortmund are linked to the 'Hauptschule', resulting in a flow into the regular 'Hauptschule'. This way it is more difficult for new migrant children to gain access to the 'Realschule' or 'Gymnasium'. There exist no institutional way for this process, it depends on the commitment and encouragement of the teachers. The dependence on the teacher is not only in relation to new migrants children, but also other children with migration background are depending on encouragement and deployment of the teachers. Often, it is difficult for students with a migration background to contain higher education, because of lack of support. Other reasons for difficulties enter higher education for children with a non-German ethnicity are the language deficiency and a low socio-economic situation, as discussed above.

Nationalism in Germany

Compared to other European countries, nationalism is a more sensitive concept in Germany. To be proud to be a German often feels weird and it is difficult to express national symbols. Also, is it difficult to talk about the position of different ethnicities or discrimination. However, this does not mean that there is no discrimination or that integration is always going smoothly. These are sensitive topics to talk about, but in practice there are also present in Germany. The last few years the sensitiveness has become less and nationalism is expressed more (for example by soccer matches).

Typically, migrants concentrate in former West German areas, while in the former East German areas are much less migrants. Yet, it is the former East German areas where right wing politicians gain popularity.

For a long time Germany has not seen itself as a immigration country, even if there were a lot of guest workers living in Germany. It is always assumed that these migrants would return to their

countries. As a result there were no migration or integration policies for a long time. Only since the millennium, Germany has started to accept the inflow of migrants and the status of a immigration country. After this realization also migration and integration policies were designed. However, since this short period, a lot of migrants are not adjusted to this policies and integration can be hard to achieve (because of former, more accepting policies).

Possible research themes

Interesting themes for my empirical research are the impact of stigmatization on lives of young (second generation) migrants, their ideas for their future and how they see their changes and the challenges in their education career.

The first topic, impact of stigmatization, is closely linked to the debates about the normativity of integration and the upcoming of assimilation discourses. It would be interesting to know how those young migrants are confronted with those discourses and what they think of it, if they are stigmatized or discriminated or if it has no impact on their lives.

The second topic, their ideas for their future, could provide interesting information about how young migrants position themselves and how they see their possibilities to grow in their careers. This related to the first and the third theme.

The third theme, challenge in education, could provide insight in the link between integration and education. It would be interesting to understand how young migrants evaluate the education system and their own possibilities. Further, it would be interesting to know if they experience difficulties in attending university, if they are supported and encouraged by their parents and teachers.

Possible contacts

Gisela Schultebraucks-Burgkart: Schulleiterin der Grundschule Kleine Kielstraße und Mitglied der Dortmunder Bildungskommission
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Reflection on characterization of the interview

This interview was held in my office at ILS. The sphere was very relaxed and it was a good conversation in a relaxed environment. Isabel Ramos Lobato was also explaining me a bit more about German culture, like nationalism and the characteristics of the Ruhr area. Isabel Ramos Lobato is born in Germany, but her father is from Spain and immigrated to Germany as a guest worker. Therefore, she has some experience with having a migration background, but we did not really talk about that.

The interview was based on the TiPSE Project Isabel Ramos Lobato was working on. She also gave me the report. She was clarifying some findings from the report and was explaining about the research methods and the reliability. It sketched the situation in Dortmund well, without making quick assumptions. Further, this interview helped me to get a more general idea about German history towards integration and cultural characteristics of society.

Interview Jörg Plöger – Project Jugendliche Lebenswelten

Leisure time and mobility, related to gender, space and socio-economic status

18-03-2014 10:00-11:00; ILS office Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

Jugendliche Lebenswelten project

The project Jugendliche lebenswelten aims to understand the relation between leisure time& mobility and gender, space and socio-economic status. In cooperation with schools in three cities in the Ruhr area, 560 young students were involved. The three participating schools in Dortmund where all located in the Nordstadt; a Gymnasium, a Hauptschule and a Gesamtschule. It was not possible to visit other schools in the South of Dortmund, but in the other two cities a broader variety socio-economic contexts could be represented. The clearest finding was the relation between mobility and gender. There is a clear distinction in leisure activities between boys and girls. Girls are often more involved in family activities and creative activities, while boys do more sports or consume media. Especially, for children with a migration background this distinction is clear, because girls are often more limited by their family then boys. The study also found a relation between mobility and socio-economic status. Although it was difficult to exactly measure the socio-economic background of the participating children (Actual profession of both mother and father which were then grouped according to necessary educational level as well as average incomes. Resulting in 3 groups (high, medium, low). In about ¼ of the cases the information provided was not sufficient to establish socio-economic background), a relation between mobility and socio-economic status can be observed. Often a higher socio-economic status gives better opportunities to travel and a wider range of movement. For children from a lower socio-economic background it is more difficult to become the traveling needs, like a bike, a public transport season ticket or a ride with the car from their parents. Shortly, it is more difficult to be mobile, although ride along, fare dodging and walk are also opportunities to increase mobility. So, there is no clear leveling, but in general socio-economic background is affecting mobility. There are also relations between mobility and migration background or neighborhood, but these are closely linked to socio-economic statuses and resulting therefrom.

Another notable difference between the Northern and the Southern parts of the cities is that children in the Nordstadt are often having a strong connection with their neighborhood. Their leisure activities mostly take place in the neighborhoods and its surrounding. This is linked with socio-economic status. Children from a higher socio-economic background often cover a wider surface with their activities and their activities are often more constant during the week. This is because they can allow themselves to take part in different sport, music or other associations, which take place on fixed times in the week. Notably, children with a lower socio-economic status are more flexible in their activities and time distribution; a differences between structured (formal) activities and unstructured (informal) activities can be noticed.

Dortmund Nordstadt

From the statistics it appears that 50-70% in the Nordstadt is migrant of has a migration background. The communities in the Nordstadt are therefore very strong and real. Also at schools, the students feel connected and are committed to each other and their neighborhood. Although, the Nordstadt is stigmatized from outside and is one of the most disadvantaged areas in Dortmund, it could be questioned if this is also experienced in the Nordstadt. People from the Nordstadt are not so much confronted with other parts of society and could have a different perspective on stigmatization and their status. This could be very interesting for my research. Especially, in comparison to students living in the Southern parts of Dortmund, whom are often more confronted with their ethnicity, pressure and German culture.

Yet, schools in the Nordstadt are not very popular, because of the stigmatisering, and are shrinking. Also people living in the Nordstadt find the share of migrants at the schools to large. They prefer to send their kids to other schools. However, this is not always possible, because children in the neighborhood of the schools have priority to get access to the school.

Concept integration in Germany

For the last five years integration was a highly discussed topic in Germany. There were created new policies and there was discussion about what integration should look like. However, over time this is changing. More people think differently about migration and integration. It has now a more positive status, because it is also an enrichment for Germany. The German population is shrinking and the economy is worried about the availability of labor force. Hereby, migration brings new perspectives, while it could solve the problem of shrinking population and shortage of work force. Besides, more and higher educated migrants live in Germany, whom enrich German economy.

The attitude in Germany towards migration is changed. It has been accepted that Germany is an immigration land and that integration is not only a case of migrants. To create a welcoming culture is discussed more, so that integration becomes a co-operational, participative process for both migrants and the host society. In other large German cities, like Hamburg and Frankfurt this becomes clearer than in Dortmund. Structures in Dortmund are still linked to the industrial times and there is still a clear spatial distinction. In other cities, the mixing between people with different backgrounds is more normal and there is more acceptance of the cultural colorfulness of German society. Moreover, many migrants or people with a migration background are irritated by the constant labeling of their ethnicity.

Possibilities for contacts

Probably it will be difficult to conduct a group discussion at the Gymnasium, especially with older groups, because it is the end of the year. The Hauptschule is often more flexible in time management.

The contact information of the Herr Dr. Köneke of the Gymnasium is not up-to-date, because he has retired.

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Interview Oliver Hesse – MIA-DO Kommunales Integrationszentrum Dortmund

Orientation on local situation in Dortmund and possibilities empirical research

13-03-2014 15:00-16:00; Office MIA-DO Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

The MIA-DO KI and the Masterplan Integration

The Migrations- und Integrationsagentur Kommunales Integrationszentrum Dortmund (MIA-DO KI) is part of the municipality of Dortmund - 'Amt für Angelegenheiten des Oberbürgermeisters und des Rates' (Office for Mayor and Council Affairs). This is special for the municipality of Dortmund, in other cities this can be arranged differently. In Dortmund the MIA-DO KI is a strategic body that designs integration increasing instruments and creates networks with different actors on integration. It supports initiatives in the field of integration and supports further development. The MIA-DO KI is not the practical executor, but it uses political instruments to support and steer initiatives of others. The reason for this working method is that the MIA-DO KI always wants citizens to participate in the projects. They argue that integration is not something that needs a top-down implementation, but that it can only take place in good communication and participation of different actors and citizens. This is also the most important reason that the MIA-DO KI is part of the 'Amt für Angelegenheiten des Oberbürgermeisters und des Rates' (Office for Mayor and Council Affairs). Next to the supporting activities the MIA-DO KI is also award prizes for good integration and participation initiatives, to stimulate these projects and initiatives.

The most important document in the integration politics in Dortmund is the Masterplan Integration (MI). This is an agreement on the concept of integration and a structure for the integration processes in Dortmund. It is a strategic plan for all the integration processes in the city. Initiatives, projects and policies are adapted to this document, so there is a clear structure in integration politics in the whole city. The MI is used by the MIA-DO KI as guidance for their work; the MIA-DO KI converts this political document in actual integration projects. The MI covers all the integration forms in Dortmund, it applies for different types of migrants and also second generation migrants and high skilled migrants.

History of and city life in Dortmund

Dortmund is a city that is formed by migration; from an early time Dortmund is influenced by different cultures. The city is located on the cross point of two important formal Hanziatic trade routes, which caused early migration patterns. Later on, around 1900, it was discovered that Dortmund was located near coal storages. This was the beginning of an industrialization period, with coal mining and steel production. This new industrialization, which also took place in the surroundings of Dortmund and formed the 'Ruhrgebiet', was the most important reason for large migration flows of guest workers from Polen, South-East Europe and Turkey. So, from an early time Dortmund was influenced and formed by the inflow of different cultures. It is therefore that plurality is important for Dortmund and is a central aspect in integration politics.

Although integration organizations and the municipality of Dortmund favor diversity and respect for different influences, there are also opposite voices presented in Dortmund, in form of racist organizations and Neo-Nazi's. However, the last few years their impact has decreased. More threatening for society are the prejudices that live in people's heads. "There is a general assumption that migration causes problems in the city". This is not based on truth, but on prejudices. Although most of the successful entrepreneurs and shops in the 'Nordstadt' are managed by migrants, many people cannot believe that migrants can contribute to city life and economy. However, this can lead to fear, stigmatization and social exclusion of migrants. Hesse argues to counter this, education about multiculturalism should start at a young age.

District Nordstadt

Although migrants live everywhere in Dortmund there are some neighborhoods where migrant groups are concentrated, whereby 'Nordstadt' is the most important district. In this city district there is a large diversity in presented cultures and ethnicity. "In the Nordstadt people feel at home",

because there is the possibility to live together in different cultures. On the other hand, it is also the city district with a lot of problems, like unemployment, criminality and housing problems. However, the cause of these problems is not the fact that there live a lot of migrants, but the economic segregation in the city. There is a clear economic distinction between the North and the South of Dortmund. This is the most important reason that a lot of migrants live in the Nordstadt. It is not the presence of migrants, but the low economic status in the Nordstadt, that causes a lot of troubles. In the last years, this city district got more attention, for example the project 'Sozalie Stadt' (Social City), that is focused on development of the 'Nordstadt' to improve the living conditions in this city district.

Problems with education and the school system are not especially concentrated in the Nordstadt. The unequal distinction of schools is also due to a non-academic background or a low socio-economic status. It reaches further than only a migration background, although languages and new structures are also reasons for troubles in education.

Contacts and further possibilities

To develop my research futher Herr Hesse have made a few suggestions for contacts.

- Jugendforum Nordstadt – a platform for and by youngster of 'Nordstadt' for discussion about this neighborhood
- Respekt Büro – Part of Jugendamt Dortmund. Works together with youth to start integration campaigns
- Bunt Kickt Gut – Initiative that bring integration through soccer
- Alevitische Jugend Dortmund – A religious organization, also active in the field of integration and neighborhoods.

Interview Selda Sirin and Vedat Caliskan – Treffpunkt Stollenpark

Youth in Dortmund Nordstadt

28-03-2014 18:30-19:00; Treffpunkt Stollenpark Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

Treffpunkt Stollenpark

Treffpunkt Stollenpark is a community centre for youth in the Nordstadt. It is a place where youngster can come together, to meet, to play or to undertake activities. It is open to everyone, although there are time limits for different age groups. A lot of different cultures are represented in the centre. The largest group is youth from a Turkish background, who live for a long time in Germany or are born here. The youth workers working at the Treffpunkt Stollenpark are organizing different events, like sport competitions, movie nights and dance classes. The aim is to bring the youth together and let them communicate with each other. There are also other projects organized, that try to give the youngster a change to express themselves. For example, in one project everyone could photograph their neighborhood as they experience it. Also excursion to other cities, like Munchen, Berlin and Amsterdam, are organized, whereby the youngsters are educated in history and culture. These projects can help youth to participate in society and become heard. Jugendforum Nordstadt is also an initiate that help youngster to actively participate in society. It is a discussion platform whereby youngster can come together, to discuss themes in politics, education or other. Often there are some guests invited from youth organizations in Dortmund that try to motivate this youth to get involved in society. Jugendforum Nordstadt also want to give youngsters the opportunity to be heard and to let the quests know what they think or to ask question. So, the aim of the workers of Treffpunkt Stollenpark is twofold, on the one hand they try to bring the youth together and give them a save place where they can spend time. On the other hand they also try to present opportunities for the youth to get actively involved in society.

Problems in different cultures

The youth workers working at Treffpunkt Stollenpark also have to deal with intercultural problems. Most of the youth workers (all that I spoke to) have a Turkish background and speak Turkish. This way, youngsters can also express themselves, when they do not speak German very well. The meetings and activities however are all in German, while it is open for everyone. The last few years an increase of the flow Romanians und Bulgarians have taken place. These groups concentrate in the cities of Dortmund and Duisburg. Also in Treffpunkt Stollenpark more and more Romanians and Bulgarians are represented. The youth workers notice that these groups have a lot of problems in Germany according to language, school and work. They have no idea of the structures in Germany and have not the capabilities to participate in education, society or the labor market. However, it is very difficult to talk to them, because of the lack of common language. Further, these groups feel often unsafe and offended. This can lead to aggressive behavior, not because they are angry, but because of helplessness. Also, they have difficulties to deal with authorities, like police or municipality, because they are used to corruption. They fear the same troubles as they had in their home countries, but do not understand the troubles they have now.

Other problems occurring are discrimination. Although all the people involved at Treffpunkt Stollenpark have migration background, there is still discrimination. The youngsters often have to deal with discrimination at schools or in their neighborhoods. They are not only discriminated by Germans, but also by other ethnical groups. Kurds are often discriminated by Turks and mutually Turks disadvantage each other for habits, religion etc. Also Romanians and Bulgarians do not mix. Both blame to other of being 'Gypsy' and they do not want to be compared to each other. In Treffpunkt Stollenpark all of these nationalities are represented and discrimination is not allowed. It is difficult to bring all the youth together and some activities aim a special ethnical group, like a Balkan Night. However, instead of discriminating each other, Treffpunkt Stollenpark tries to bring the youngsters together and let them actively work on their goals and dreams. They want to support them to become active in society and not allow discrimination, but also not discriminate themselves. The youngsters also learn to live with diversity and to have respect for other ethnical groups.

Interview Serdar Akin – Bund der Alevitischen Jugendlichen in Deutschland

Being a migrant, integration and exclusion

01-04-2014 14:30-15:45; Office of BDAJ NRW Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

The Bund der Alevitischen Jugendlichen in Deutschland

The *Bund der Alevitischen Jugendlichen in Deutschland* (BDAJ) is a youth organization with a religious background aiming to both maintain their culture and religion believes as well as stimulate youth to become an active participant of German society. The BDAJ does exist of 20 years now and have more than 33,000 youngsters up to 27 years that are involved in 145 local member organizations in 11 federal districts of Germany. Also in Dortmund is a local member organization located. Almost all members have the same ethnical background: Turkish or Kurdish and speak Turkish and/or Kurdish. Most of the members are third generation migrants, born in Germany or live in Germany for a very long time and have an official German citizenship. In the BDAJ is generally communicated in German. The BDAJ works at three levels: national, federal and local. In all levels they actively participate in German society and politics and motivate their members to do also. Workshops, seminars, trainings and coaching are organized to involve their youngsters in politics, democracy and the multicultural society. Also music and art projects are conducted, mostly against racism and war and to improve intercultural dialogues. Although, all members have the same ethnical background, the BDAJ aims to involve other cultures in these music projects, because they want to carry out the norms and values of equivalence. Further, they work often together with other youth organization in Germany and Europe to create new contacts, get to know other cultures and increase respect and tolerance for others.

The BDAJ prefers to speak about inclusion over integration, but is actively lobbying for both actively involved youngsters as for an open, respectful society. For example they lobby for more ethnical difference in public professions, like police and fire department. They aim for the youth involved to become more active in society and politics. The BDAJ maintains ties with Turkey and their original roots, but they want to combine this with their current lives in Germany. Most of the members of BDAJ also have close connections with Turkey, through family, friends, vacations and media. However, BDAJ aims to combine both cultures. They argue it is possible to be part of German society, while having connections with Turkish culture. "We encourage our youngsters to also live with their heads in Germany". Further, time will change the importance of those ties with Turkey; the next generation will feel less connected and it is therefore important to already invest in inclusion in German society. Alevis are discriminated in Turkey and do not have many rights there. Therefore, most Alevis want to stay in Germany for the future. The BDAJ support them and helps to shape their live in Germany and become an active citizen.

Life of youngsters with migration background

Although Germany offers a lot of rights and chances that are for the Alevi youth not available in Turkey, integration in German society has problems too. Most of the youth experiences little social mobility. It is difficult to attend the education you want and the school of your choice. Also teacher often discriminate and do not support these youngsters to develop themselves and attend higher education. There exists a lot of discouragement in de education system, but also in other areas of society. For example, a lot of youngsters with a migration background are refused in discos and discriminated and stigmatized on their name and skin color. It is for this youth more difficult to enter the labor market; a migrant has to apply 10 times more than a native German to get an equal job. The bad results of the PISA are often assigned to young man with Turkish backgrounds. This stigma leads to more prejudices and excluding and discrimination of this population group. It is difficult to overcome these distinctions, but the upcoming of 'Gesamtschulen' is positive according to Serdar Akin. In these schools there is a more fair chance to attend the best possible education and distinction in migration backgrounds or socio-economic statuses becomes less important. Also a lot of youngsters experience a spatial stigmatization. It is difficult to grow up in the Nordstadt and when families get a higher socio-economic status, they move out of the Nordstadt immediately,

maintaining the distinction of socio-economic status. This is the case for a lot of industry cities in the Ruhr area. Unfortunately, the socio-spatial background of a youngster one can explore through vocabulary, education, dreams and perspectives. This means that the social-spatial background is influencing development and future perspectives of youngsters.

National debate

In Germany the debate on integration is very topical. For a long time this topic was ignored, migration was denied and everyone convinced that the guest workers would return home one day. For years there was a lack of integration policies. Since 10/15 years this have changed en nowadays integration is concept actively worked on by governments and organizations. However, the first generation of migrants, the formal guest workers are not very well integrated and do not speak the German languages. It is difficult for them to get integrated now, at an older age, because in the past it was possible for them to live in Germany. The next generations do also feel the effects of that, because they are also stigmatized as poorly integrated, even if it is not true. New generation with migration backgrounds have changes to be part of German society, they want to get involved, but it takes time to realize this, because of the late development of integration politics.

The stigmatization is a problem lots of migrants have to deal with. The national debate in Germany is negative and mostly forgetting about positive examples. Problems with integration are often reported, but the overview is out of balance. For example 70% of the Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in Germany have a high education in their own country, but in Germany it is difficult to find work. In the media they are often approached negative, while they also have a lot of chances to add something to German economy and culture.

Also the BDAJ experiences some stigmatization. It is a religious organization with a Turkish/Kurdish background and therefore labeled as a migrant organization. The BDAJ tries to fit in, like other German religious themed organizations. "We want to be a normal German organization, just like the 'Evangelische Jugend'" (Christian youth organization), without a label for special ethnicities. However, in the current regulations for organization, a German organization gets support from the government when they have (1) enough members, (2) are represented in the majority of federal districts, (3) of which at least two are in former East-Germany. That last requirement cannot be reached by the BDAJ, because in former East-Germany do not live many migrants, resulting in no national support for the BDAJ. They excluded by the regulations, but there are also possibilities to talk about these regulation and by time, this is slowly changing. On the other hand, it is financially favorable to be registered as migrant organization, because financial support for these types of organization. By stimulating migrant organizations also the division between those and other organizations is maintained.

This division made is also experienced by individual migrants. Although they are officially German and have a German citizenship, they are often labeled as 'the other'. Citizenship is no longer only formal, but also normative. Even if you are a German citizen and even if you are integrated and actively participate in society, you will always be 'the other'. This othering is not based on citizenship or integration, but mostly on name, skin color and appearance. Germany has to deal with these processes and be more open to include other forms of appearance and citizenship than they are used to before. Negative stigmatization and prejudges should disappear and be replaced by respect. By time more interventions are implemented that support mixing of people with migrant backgrounds with native Germans. For example there are anonymous applications, whereby name and photo are covered, so the employee only cans asses the qualifications. There also exist quotes, whereby the percentage of migrants in the labor market is managed. These measurements cannot directly take away the distinctive culture, but it helps on long term to let these distinctions be less important.

Interview Tatjana Herdt – Respekt Büro

Integration, education and neighborhoods in Dortmund and possibilities empirical research
26-03-2014 14:00-15:00; Office of Respekt Büro Dortmund
by Annelies Beugelink

The Respekt Büro

The Respekt Büro designs and uses new forms of participation with youth and wants to inform and support youths to shape their lives, be involved in social contexts, develop project ideas and fasten these in social spaces. There are three work areas in which the Respekt Büro is involved: democracy progress, intercultural competence and violence prevention. By organizing workshops and trainings the Respekt Büro tries to involve and support youth from the age of 14 years and older, but also aims to support teachers, pedagogues and youth workers. The Respekt Büro organizes events for all the people in Dortmund, irrespectively gender, ethnical background, religion or residence. The basic principle of the Respekt Büro is that diversity belongs to life and that it is already here, but that people have to learn to deal with it and respect it. "Diversity is normal, dealing with it is what causes friction". It is therefore that the Respekt Büro is open for everyone, despite migration background, but that is not focused on the backgrounds.

The activities that are organized by the Respekt Büro are very divers. There are serious workshops, discussions and trainings, but also activities with arts and music. For example some young artists have participated in an exhibition and in March there is a 'Creative Day', where all the youngsters of Dortmund can come together and enjoy different activities around creativity and arts.

Stigmatization and education

Stigmatization is a problem that often occurs in Dortmund. Many youngsters, born here, are still labeled as the other. The most important cause of this stigmatization is the distinction made on ethnical background, often made by youth workers and teachers. It is therefore that the Respekt Büro is open to everyone and does not organize special events for specific groups, but tries to involve everyone every time. Also at schools, the youngsters are often approached to their family background. In a few examples is sketched a situation where prejudices are guiding principles for interaction. Often is assumed that second or thirds generation migrants know everything about the 'home country' and that there are still actively living 'that culture', totally different from the 'normal German life'. The second and third generation migrants themselves are tired of this constant naming of their background. They are tired of the integration discussion and feel 'German', so the concept of integration has little meaning to them. They do not want to be approached to their ethnical background. However, this attitude from the migrants themselves does not mean that there are no disadvantages. Especially on school the disadvantage because of ethnical background becomes clear. Many students cannot get access to the education they want and many of them attend the 'Hauptschule', although they prefer another school. This disadvantage is not easy to explain, it is based on many prejudices. Although, many do say that multiculturalism and multilingualism are an advantage, still children with a migration background are disadvantaged. There are even champagnes that promote special job offers for youths with migration background, to increase the share of these youngsters at the labor market.

Segregation and neighborhoods

Tatjana Herdt confirms the spatial segregation in Dortmund and the origin from the reforms in the industrial sector. Also, she points out that the housing market has played an important role. Many migrants had difficulties to find houses in Dortmund and moved into large, empty buildings. This resulted in specific ethnical communities in different parts of Dortmund. Nowadays, there also live a lot of students in the Nordstadt and the neighborhood is not so bad, but it has a bad attitude. The fact you live in the Nordstadt can disadvantage you, because a lot of prejudices about the Nordstadt and its inhabitants exist.

Interview Yvonne Johannsen – Heinz Werner Meyer Treff/die Urbanisten

Integration of youth and spatial issues

01-04-2013 11:30-12:30; Office of die Urbanisten Dortmund

by Annelies Beugelink

Identity and self consciousness

Integration is an important topic in the lives of youngsters with migration background. Although most of them are born in Germany and have a German passport or a double citizenship, they still have to deal with some kind of integration. Integration has become a normative concept; it now also includes feeling at home and being welcome. It is therefore that integration is closely linked to identity. Youth with migration background notices that they look different than the 'normal German', often they are approached by their skin color. However, in their homeland, where their parents are born, they do not differ in appearance, but feel outsiders because of lack of languages and of understanding of culture. They live in between two cultures, where they have to find their home and identity. This is affecting their identity and self-consciousness and co-defines their integration trajectory. When integration has so much to do with the way you differ from the majority, stigmatization and discrimination are themes these youngsters also have to deal with. Often integration and discrimination are seen as things that society from outside does to the migration communities. Society must be welcoming, to open up for new influences en cultures and to create changes for youth with migration backgrounds to participate and develop. On the other hand, integration also requires an open perspective from the youngsters themselves. "Society has to be open, but you also have to be open yourself". They have to be open to undergo changes and to learn to adapt to new habits and cultures. Not that assimilation is required, but living in a new country requires from both sides investments. Yet, often turns out those youngsters with migration backgrounds kind of 'like' the status of being the 'bad boy'. "Having a 'bad-boy' image is also very cool". They are stigmatized as the 'foreigner' and the 'guys causing troubles', which is unfair and denigrating, but which has become so 'normal' that the youngsters also label themselves as the 'bad boys'. Not by causing troubles, but by acting sturdy and turn the negative aspects into a masochistic character. Further, the stigmatization puts those youngsters in victimization, where they are a minority with little chances. This is partly true, but it creates also a position which makes the youngsters passive to combating the prejudices. "Sometimes the victim role fits the youngsters". It creates a kind of 'comfort zone'; passively waiting for the German society to change and for better chances to come. However, discrimination and stigmatization are causing seriously disadvantage for these youngsters, which take those youth in an unfortunate position.

Discrimination

Discrimination is an issue where every youngster with migration background has to deal with. Even youngsters that are born and raised in Germany are discriminated, because they look different and their parents are not born here. It is discrimination of everyday they are confronted with; unemployment and difficulties attending higher education. These youngsters are constantly judged on their appearance, instead of their capabilities. This unwelcoming character of the German culture affects their feeling at home in Germany. By stigmatization and differentiation these youth grows up in a world full of distinctions. They learn how to deal with it, but unconsciousness, they also learn how to draw distinctions themselves. This is manifested by the mutual stigmatization and discrimination. Different ethnical groups stigmatize each other by call each other names or verbally confirm prejudices, mostly for fun, but still the prejudices are maintained, even among themselves. All of these youngsters have the unofficial status of 'foreigner' and they feel connected to each other, but still the differences are maintained. Sometimes, this can lead to mutual discrimination. Second generation migrants, discriminated by Germans; pass the discrimination trough to new groups of migrants: the Romanians and the Bulgarians. These two groups of migrants are discriminated by almost everyone in society, included people with an own migration background. Making a distinction is becoming an indispensable process in the heads of people, also in the heads of youngsters with migration backgrounds. Discrimination is often there, because there is always

being distinguished. This development makes is difficult to accept different forms of appearance, culture and habits and thereby is affecting integration of migrants, also youngsters with migration backgrounds.

Spatial differences

Distinctions and discrimination are also expressed spatially. In Dortmund there is a clear distinction between North and South, whereby the Northern parts of Dortmund are socio-economically disadvantaged, resulting in a high amount of migrants in those neighborhoods. This spatial distinction has strong impacts, because living in a disadvantaged neighborhood leads to disadvantages in other areas. For example, someone, but especially men, from the Northern parts of Dortmund have less chance in an application process than someone from the Southern parts of Dortmund. Your name and your address are often first decision criteria, whereby lots of people with migration background are excluded in the labor market. Also districts of Dortmund that are not in the inner city, like Dorstfeld, have to deal with prejudices. Dorstfeld has a 'village character', but also has to deal with the prejudice of being the 'Neo-Nazi district' of Dortmund. This also brings spatial divisions in Dortmund and disadvantages certain places and people.

This spatial segregation is also present on smaller scale. Groups of migrant youth, living together in one part of the city, make that space to their home. It is a place where they feel they belong and where they feel safe to express themselves. This and the discrimination they experience outside 'their zone', lead to little mobility and clustering in the same places. Youth finds safety and certainty in their own living spaces and venues (like Heinz Werner Meyer Treff) and with each other. They hang out a lot together and when they visit other places, like a disco in the inner city, they go together. Youth often is moving in groups, unaware of their appearance and its effects, while it can appear threatening or aggressive. At discos these groups of youngsters, especially with migration backgrounds, are refused and excluded. This activity of discrimination is for the youngsters a confirmation of their disadvantaged position and makes it more difficult to reflect on their own excluding behavior. The spatial distinction are maintained.

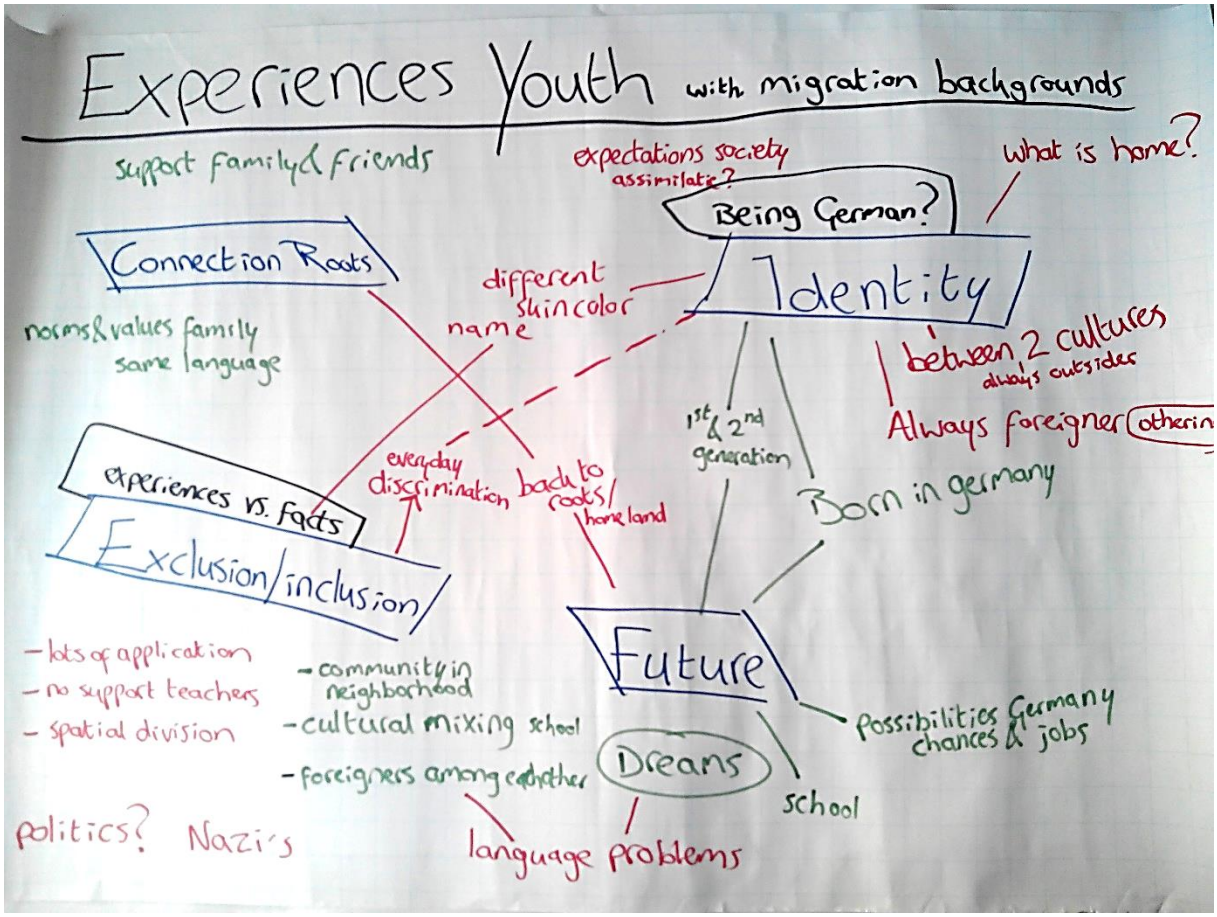
Reflection on the characterization of the interview

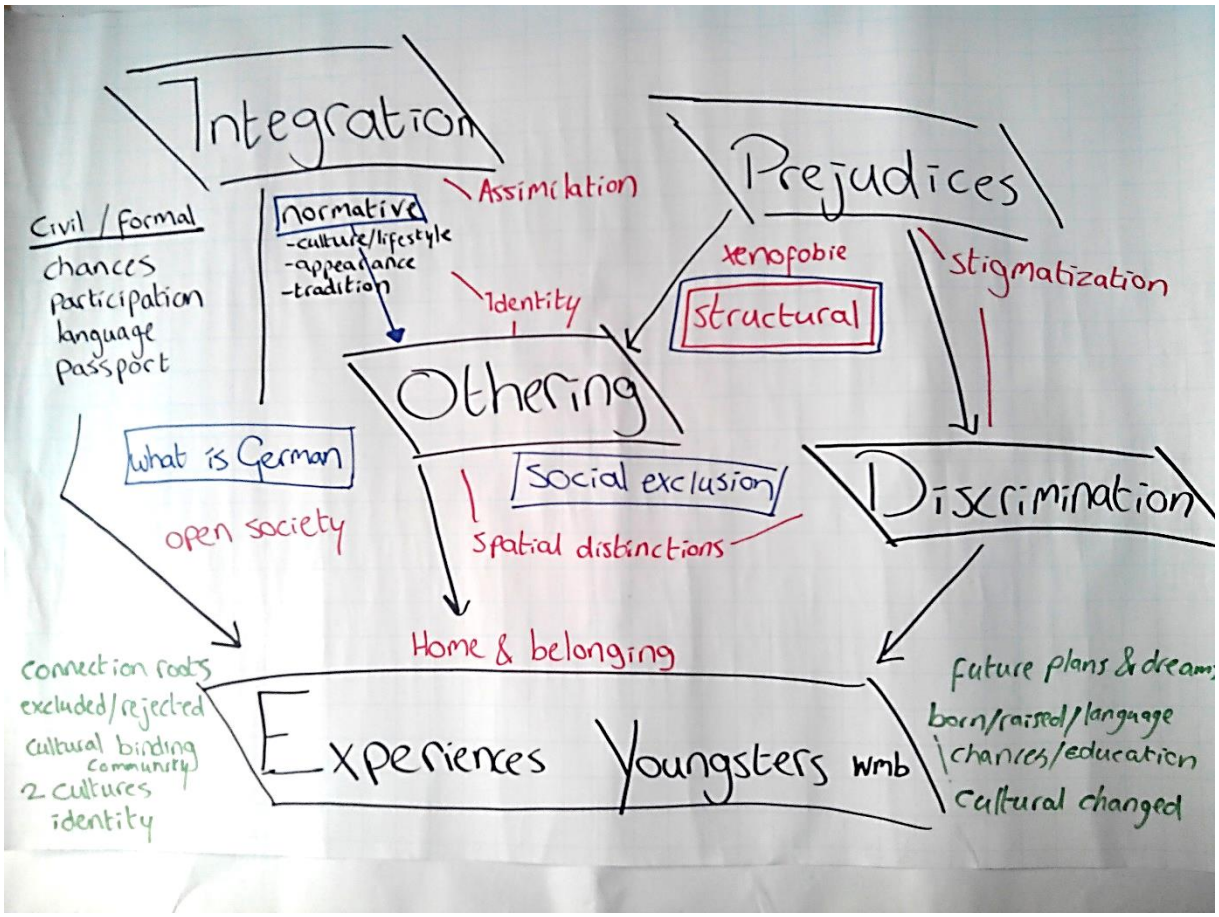
This interview was held at the office of die Urbanisten. It was a relaxed environment and the sphere was open. There was one other employee in the room working, but she did not take part in the interview. Yvonne Johannsen is born in Germany and came to Dortmund to study. She is a city planner, and besides works with youngsters at the Treff. She tries to combine those two, which is expressed in some projects of die Urbanisten, trying to involve youngsters. Yvonne Johannsen is also involved in the Jugend Forum Innerstadt West.

The interview was very interesting because Yvonne Johannsen could share experiences from youngsters at her work. She had a good inside in their living worlds. She also was the first one that could critically reflect on the behavior of the youngsters. This was very helpful, because now the youngsters with migration backgrounds were not only victims, but also responsible inhabitants of the city. It gave a new perspective to my gathered data and the opinions and experiences I heard before.

Appendix 5 Structure schemes of code categories

The three schemes, presenting the core categories of the data analysis and the interrelations between them, are presented in this appendix.




Integration
Civil / formal
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participation
language
passport
normative
-culture/lifestyle
-appearance
-tradition
Assimilation
Identity
Prejudices
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structural
stigmatization
Othering
what is German
open society
Social exclusion
Spatial distinctions
Discrimination
Home & belonging
connection roots
excluded/rejected
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community
2 cultures
identity
Experiences Youngsters wmb
future plans & dreams
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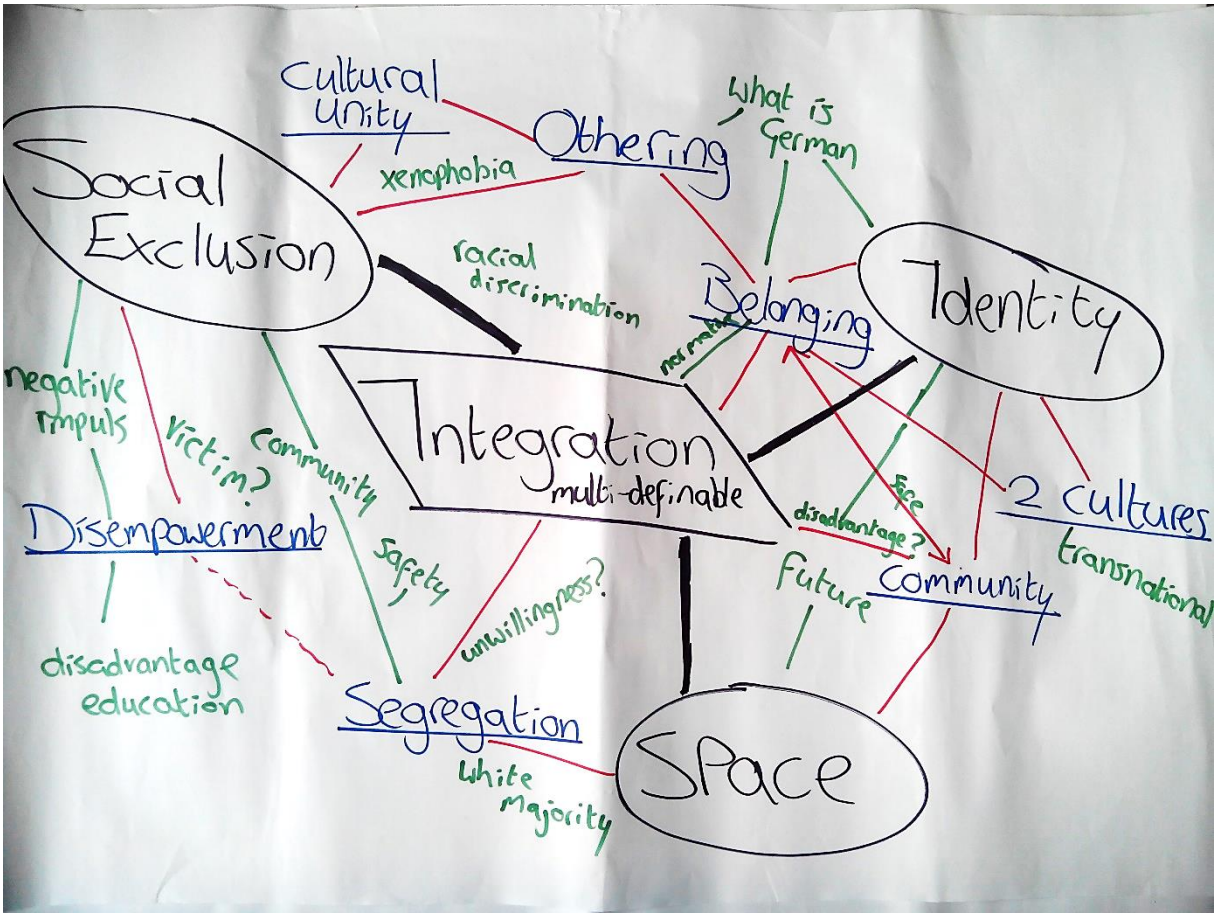
Social Exclusion
Cultural Unity
xenophobia
Othering
What is German
racial discrimination
Belonging
normality
Identity
negative impuls
Victim?
community
Integration
multi-definable
Disempowerment
safety
unwillingness?
disadvantage?
face
future
community
2 cultures
transnational
disadvantage education
Segregation
White majority
Space