

Dealing with Discrimination and the Struggle for Social Advancement in Migrant Families: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of a Study on Adolescent Generational Dynamics in Turkish Migrant Families Subjected to Marginalization

Vera King, Department of Education, University of Hamburg

Hans-Christoph Koller, Department of Education, University of Hamburg

Janina Zölch, Department of Education, University of Hamburg

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Vera King, Department of Education, University of Hamburg
Hans-Christoph Koller, Department of Education, University of Hamburg
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What are the effects of experiences of discrimination on the adolescent process of detachment from the family? What strategies and forms do migrant families develop to deal with discrimination and how do parents' ways of contending with discrimination affect those of their sons? Those are the central questions addressed by this study of the educational careers and adolescent detachment processes of sons from Turkish migrant families. Foregrounding the theoretical and methodological approaches, the study examines how the strategies handed specifically to sons influence their personal and educational histories. One of our findings is that the ways adolescents are able to address experiences of discrimination are heavily influenced by intergenerational communication processes.

Youths from Turkish immigrant families in Germany are disadvantaged both within the educational system and on the job market; they are frequently addressed as outsiders to German culture and – similar to their parents, in part, yet different from them – find themselves in many respects marginalized, even in the face of concerted efforts to integrate and advance in the new culture. In particular, those migrant families living in ethnically segregated quarters of large German cities experience specific forms of discrimination. What are the effects of these experiences of discrimination on the adolescent process of detachment from the family? What strategies and forms do migrant families develop to deal with discrimination and how do parents' ways of contending with discrimination affect those of their sons? These are the central questions of our study on the educational careers and adolescent detachment processes of sons in Turkish migrant families. We focus on the intergenerational communication of mechanisms for dealing with discrimination between parents and sons and how different means of communication influence the sons' adolescent biographies and educational careers. In the process, we offer insights into the study's methodological and theoretical framework.

The various mechanisms employed by parents in dealing with discrimination and marginalization were identified

and categorized through case reconstruction. Such qualitative methods allowed us to examine the complexity of *intergenerational* relationships and the resulting conditions for adolescent transformation in the subsequent generation. Indeed, one parallel concern of our work is to identify which methods are most viable for a differentiated analysis of migrant families' distinct biographical and familial forms of contending with marginalization, stigmatization, and discrimination.

The results of our study show interdependencies between the parents' means of acknowledging and productively dealing with the painful aspects of migration and experiences of marginalization, on the one hand, and the leeway allowed for intra-familial, intergenerational differences and adolescent transformation, on the other. Differences in the degree to which parents are able to accept and process losses, crises, and conflicts arising from migration can be characterized in terms of distinct *family cultures*. In the best case, potentially productive strategies for dealing with discrimination and marginalization develop out of these family cultures, which, in turn, generate space for adolescent transformation. The intergenerational effects will be illustrated through the comparison of generations within two families of our sample.

1. Young Turkish Men in the Family and German Educational System – Open Questions and Methodological Approaches

Empirical studies reveal that students from immigrant families have lower chances of successfully completing their education than natives and, additionally, that male youths in this group on average perform worse than females. Young Turkish males, who also represent the largest immigrant group in Germany, constitute a particularly disadvantaged population (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001; Ackeren 2006; Stanat and Christensen 2007; Crul 2011). As a result of their everyday exposure to intense racism, these members of the second and third generation of Turkish immigrants “frequently [grow] up with discriminating practices, with the experience of being treated as ‘strangers’ and with public discussions about ‘foreigners’ that do not integrate and have a disposition to violence and delinquency” (Schramkowski 2007, 54, translated). Our study – funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) – traced the development of formally successful and less successful educational careers of male adolescents from Turkish families living in large German cities (King et al. 2011; Koller et al. 2010). To examine the causes of their divergent educational developments, we performed a comparative analysis of the young men’s biographies, specifically with regard to the dynamics within the family and the intergenerational relationship between parents and sons. In addition to the educational institution, the family constitutes a key factor explaining the degree of educational involvement and success of subsequent generations (Boudon 1974; Zhou 1996; Alba and Waters 2011a). While numerous studies show that educational resources and, to some extent, ambitions are handed down intergenerationally (Steinbach and Nauck 2004; Ditton et al. 2005; Terrén and Carrasco 2007; Alba and Waters 2011b), it remains unclear precisely how this intergenerational transfer takes place (Becker and Lauterbach 2010, 18–19). Our goal, then, is to describe how, during the process of adolescent transformation, experiences in the family are processed by its members and how the frames of reference specific to the family culture or milieu are in turn handed down to subsequent generations and modified. The complexity of our research question demanded as precise an examination of this dynamic as possible using qualitative reconstructive design in the form

of a differentiated analysis of the distinct biographical (and intergenerationally communicated) mechanisms migrants use to contend with marginalization, stigmatization, and discrimination. For example, what distinguishes forced processes of conformity, in particular, is that they are hardly recognizable as such but rather are “normalized”. Reconstructive methods of social research have proven particularly well-suited for bringing into focus not only these “normalizing” constructions, these dynamics of conformity and the associated mechanisms of concealment, but also the dynamics of rebellion, resistance, and other strategies for dealing with conflict, and, more significantly, they enable us to examine the complex forms of intergenerational transfer of experiencing and dealing with the negative aspects of migration. The process of migration, separation from the country of origin, and relocation to a foreign country, can be accompanied by improved living conditions and greater contentment, but also by loss, a sense of failure, and seemingly insurmountable social boundaries. While some of these dynamics can be clearly observed and identified in the parent-child relationship, others remain entirely masked, even desymbolized, inarticulable.

Our study is guided by the observation that educational careers are decisively influenced by the way these young men deal with the dual challenges of adolescence and immigration (King 2005; King and Koller 2009). Our research question focuses on the reciprocal effects of two dynamics: educational development under circumstances of immigration and adolescent transformation. Adolescent detachment is understood, here, as the potential redefining of the parent-child relationship toward greater emotional, cognitive, and behavioral leeway (see Steinberg 1966), which must be preceded by the processing and reconstructing of familial experience. Migration and the necessary separation and reorganization within the immigrating family and its members create specific conditions for the processes of transforming childhood relationships, of separation and adolescent restructuring. From this perspective, potential resources and strains of adolescence within the context of migration can be closely examined with regard to the respective familial, educational/institutional, and societal conditions of the receiving

country *beyond* culturalizing and ethnicizing reductions. Therefore adolescence within the context of migration must be examined with regard to these conditions and not from a culturalizing or ethnicizing perspective. What scope of opportunities is available under what circumstances for the adolescents to deal with their biographical experiences and to construct life concepts? And which forms of dealing with marginalization and discrimination are developed in the process?

Youths in immigrant families experience adolescent transformation under special conditions, insofar as they are usually labeled “outsiders” in contrast to the “established” (in the sense of Elias and Scotson 1965) within entities, such as peer groups, school, or public life, that take on greater significance in the course of adolescence (see also Juhasz and Mey 2003; Ceylan 2006, 32). These special conditions include living in ethnically segregated quarters, a phenomenon which can be observed frequently in large German cities. In “Western Germany’s large cities by now a large part, in some cases *already the majority of the younger generation*, lives in poor quarters with a high share of foreigners” (Strohmeier 2006, 16, translated, emphasis added). Such quarters must be considered problematic, as they are characterized by difficulty accessing higher education and, often, higher levels of discrimination (ibid., 38). Subjectively, these factors also transform themselves, “for the persons concerned[,] into a feeling of being excluded from the social world” (Tietze 2006, 147, translated). As Tietze (2001) described in her study on young males from immigrant families in Parisian suburbs and in Hamburg’s Wilhelmsburg, which is known as a problem area, the *stigma* of one’s home (in the sense of Goffman 1963) subtly merges with the adolescents’ self-perception. The question arises, then, which strategies are developed by the concerned persons to deal with these experiences of marginalization proactively and constructively. According to a further thesis, to be addressed later in greater detail,

adolescents’ ability to and strategies for facing such experiences are largely determined by intergenerational communication processes.

2. Intergenerational Facets of Social Mobility and Immobility in the Context of Migration and Marginalization

The social situation of young men and women who are born in the country to which their parents have migrated and whose parents are typically employed in lower-status jobs is peculiar and, in some respects, paradoxical. Although they never migrated themselves, they are addressed as immigrants in many contexts. Even if they have been educated in Germany and speak only German, they are still considered foreigners. And as much as they may try to adapt, as “visible minorities” (Benbassa 2010; see also Mecheril 2000) they are still discriminated against, perceived as different, and marginalized on the labor market, in the educational system, in the housing market, and in the media. Discrimination, here, must be understood as more than merely individual remarks or actions “directed at members of certain groups with the intention to demean or discriminate” (Hormel and Scherr 2010, 7, translated) but as the marginalizing effects of structural and institutional conditions.¹

To experience this sort of discrimination means that the sons and daughters of immigrants in the social position of being “different” are confronted, as the French migration researcher Sayad (2006) emphasizes, with the far-reaching consequences of *heteronomous* conditions, that is, of decisions they did not themselves make. Their life history’s central experience of feeling different or not belonging is, on the one hand, the result of structurally, institutionally, and economically discriminating conditions and effects of prejudices within the society of the country to which the family immigrated, which affect even personal relations in everyday practices. Yet, children of the second or third generation face the consequences of a migration that is not

1 Within the scope of our study’s qualitative empirical design, we have elected not to objectively determine the discrimination our subjects experienced, but instead focused our efforts on tracing which experiences of discrimination the subjects themselves choose to share and how they narrate

these experiences. As our first case study demonstrates, this approach excludes forms of *indirect* thematization, i.e. the description of experiences that are discriminatory but which are not perceived or described by the subject as such. The interviews made reference to explicit and implicit dis-

crimination in various spheres and at various levels, both in everyday situations at school or work and in the neighborhood, as well as structural discrimination within the educational system or housing and job market.

their own and that was undertaken for reasons and contexts from which they remain in a sense cut off, but which still influence their process of socialization and development and are conveyed to them largely by their parents.

It is paradoxical that parents, who sometimes moved great distances to escape from suffering or to seek social and economic advancement often seem to become locked into the circumstances they initially establish upon arrival. As a rule, many of these very mobile parents, who sometimes took great risks during the migration process, find little success in climbing the social ladder or to moving away from a quarter that, while it offers the companionship of other immigrants is, at the same time experienced negatively as a ghetto or symbol of social marginalization. The migrating, parental generation appears to be extremely mobile and immobile at once. It has crossed borders only to find itself entrenched, sometimes even entrapped, in conditions characterized by social restriction and marginalization. Great hopes or expectations that the children might be able to transcend these limitations are, however, widespread in many immigrant families. But due to institutional discrimination in the educational system and on the labor market these expectations are objectively difficult to realize and, subjectively, often ambivalent and associated with great potential for disappointment, guilt, and shame within the generational relationship. Therefore, the specific tension between social (and psycho-social) mobility and immobility characterizing the parents' life generates, in a modified way, a basic tension in the lives of their children. This tension experiences its pivotal climax in the adolescent educational and developmental process. Not only might it be difficult for the children to develop and define their own wishes and goals in relation to the expressed or unexpressed aspirations of their parents, but, in addition, the aspirations of the parents and the wishes of their adolescent children to transcend borders by way of social advancement harbor an enhanced risk potential due to unfavorable conditions in the receiving society (King 2005). "Detachment from one's family," as Tietze points out, "results in an increased exposure to general societal rejection. For young people from immigrant families, therefore, acquiring autonomy vis-à-vis their parents and their social environment is accompanied by a certain

ambivalence and an increased degree of social vulnerability. This is illustrated by a special kind of sensitivity towards social marginalization not developed in the same way by non-immigrant young adults" (2006, 159, translated). Thus, these risks and specific vulnerabilities, the intergenerational entanglements, ambivalences, and obstacles must also be taken into account in our analysis in order to adequately capture the dynamics and the sometimes complicated personal histories of efforts toward advancement and educational development. Additionally, this raises the important risks, ambivalences, and obstacles connected with and conveyed intergenerationally by the position of being different.

3. Methodological Design - Object and Method

To examine the contexts described above, data was collected using narrative interviews with twenty young men between the ages of 19 and 24, with formally successful and less successful educational careers, as well as with their parents (when possible with both parents, otherwise with at least one). Interviewing both young men and their parents enabled us to consider the views of both generations in our interpretation of the narratives, allowing us, in turn, to decipher intergenerational processes. "Formally successful" refers to those adolescents who have achieved university-entrance qualifications (Abitur). "Less successful" are those with poor educational achievement or none at all. All families interviewed live in large German cities, many of them in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The special character and everyday nature of "story telling" makes narrative interviews especially well-suited to reveal the gradual layering of biographical experiences, even beyond consciously available self-representations. An interview guide was developed for post-interview questioning to address potentially unanswered questions concerning our object of study. Sons, fathers, and mothers were interviewed separately. The majority of interviews were held in German, and a small number of parents requested to be interviewed in their native language.

Analysis of the transcribed interviews was performed using methodological triangulation, employing the method of sequential analysis modeled on the objective hermeneutic

(Oevermann 2000),² as well as narration analysis following Schütze (1983).³ Objective-hermeneutic sequential analysis provides precise access to the difference between the subjective meaning and the latent objective meaning structures of selected text passages, while the procedure of narration analysis allows for the interpretation of the narrative structures in the text as a whole. To meet the requirements of reflexivity (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1996; King 2009), our analysis also takes into consideration the design of the research situation, as well as the allocation of roles and “positioning” of family members in the respective settings.

In order to illuminate the adolescent detachment process, the following issues were given particular attention in the evaluation of the interviews with the sons:

- how differences and similarities between the lifeworld of the family of origin and the educational background of the parents, on the one hand, and the lifeworld of the sons, who are part of the German educational system, on the other, are represented;
- how parents’ wishes and plans for their sons’ lives appear in the narratives of the young men.

With regard to the relation of formal and semantic aspects of subjects’ statements, relationships were identified between narrative style and the specific modes of representation of corresponding content (e.g. idealization or devaluation of self and/or others, forced emphasis on closeness or distance, minimization or harmonization vs. orientation on conflict, etc.) and analyzed as forms of expression of the configurations of adolescent detachment processes. Following the analysis of all interviews, portraits of the participating families were prepared as a starting point for the development of a typology through systematic case comparisons.⁴ By way of type construction varying patterns of

relationships between adolescent detachment processes and educational careers were developed, from which, in turn, conceptual and theoretical conclusions were drawn.

The interplay between the quality and dynamic of the parent-child relationships and experiences specific to migration, on the one hand, and the adolescent detachment processes and educational career, on the other, is conveyed in a variety of ways. Operationalizations suited to register only the subject’s explicit attitudes and self-constructions easily miss the complexity and subtlety of family dynamics and the ways family members deal with these dynamics in the course of adolescent development. More precise information, beyond interviewees’ subjective interpretations, on the effects of the qualities of the parent-child relationship can be gathered through more detailed case analyses that allow us to reconstruct, as precisely as possible, the processes of development and the subjects’ methods of dealing with dynamics in the family. As such, detailed case analyses better reveal the various interplays between the factors examined in our study, namely, family dynamics, processes of adolescent development, and educational careers.

4. Familial Resources and Strategies for Dealing with Marginalization

Several studies have examined the social (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990) or biographical capital (Bertaux 1997) necessary for migrant families to improve their social status under conditions of discrimination and marginalization. Above-average parental aspirations for their children regarding education and advancement have been identified internationally, in many cases even for migrant groups possessing low levels of economic and cultural capital (for example Kurz and Paulus 2008, 5501). While such ambitions may be considered a positive resource, they can only partially be

2 For more on the methods and logic of objective hermeneutics, see Reichertz: “Objective hermeneutics proceeds from the singular (reconstruction of the structure of single cases) to the general statement (generalization of structure) by means of the principle of falsification; reconstruction of structure and generalization of structure are conceived of as the outer poles of a targeted research process in which the results of a number of single-case structural reconstructions are condensed into a more general structure. A case structure, once reconstructed, may be used in the interpretation of further examples of the same type as

a heuristic to be falsified. ... If, in the course of the analysis of the text, a location can be found which contradicts the structural description previously spelled out, then the hypothesis may be said to be falsified. The goal of structural generalization is always the discovery and description of both *general* and *single-case specific* instances of rule-governedness, the so-called generative rules ... With the aid of this positive knowledge of the general and the single case soft prognoses for the future of an action system should be set up. Precise deterministic statements are, however, impossible: one can only indicate the scope

for transformations. ... The procedure of objective hermeneutics is currently viewed as one of the most widespread and reflective approaches in German qualitative research” (2004, 292).

3 For more on narration analysis in the context of biographical research, see the overviews by Apitzsch and Inowlocki (2000) and Riemann and Schütze (1991).

4 For more on the logic of type construction following Weber’s construction of the ideal type and the associated form of generalization, see the in-depth work of Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr (2008, chap. 6).

realized by the children, or only with difficulty. Another study concerning the social capital of immigrant families (Delapierre 1993) focused on the specific ability of fathers to act socially and politically and, thus, to attain *social power*. “Social power refers to the ability of the head of the family to become part of the community or other wider networks . . . , to become aware of information which will be relevant for their children, and to transform this information into strategies of action” (Delapierre 1993, 173, translated). Delcroix’s study (2000) was mainly concerned with biographical capital (following Bertaux 1997). As a main result of her study Delcroix pointed out that the narrative transfer of life stories and migration biographies allows children to develop a more explicit, more conscious, and, in turn, more self-conscious examination of their own identity concepts. These results already point to the centrality of intergenerational dynamics and the need for analysis of children’s concepts and social positioning in relation to familial and parental capacities and social placement. They also indicate, in particular, the significance of the often neglected dimension of *symbolizing* the experiences of migration and the capacity for creative ways of addressing the conflicts arising from migration. According to our thesis, decisive are not the biographical narratives as such, but the *quality*, i.e. the degree to which parents authentically represent their struggle to surmount the migration experience – including dealing with discrimination and the patterns of interpretation associated with it. For idealizations or other forms of skewed representations of the parental generation’s means of dealing with migration are more likely to create unfavorable preconditions for the children’s ability to deal with the same phenomena.

In our research we encountered numerous examples of narratives in which parents related a story that did not have the effects described by Delcroix. Upon closer examination, we determined that it is rather the degree to which parent’s

stories convey the reality of their experience, in other words, whether it reflects the father’s (or mother’s) grappling with the difficult aspects of his (or her) own biography, that proves to be significant – specifically, that is, the extent to which parents are able to directly address separation anxiety and loss, discrimination and the shame and hurt associated with it. This becomes apparent when, potentially painful, difficult aspects of migration and the related emotions are acknowledged in such narratives and interview statements rather than suppressed, trivialized, or glamorized, or if mainly idealizations and debasements (of self or other) constitute the central focus. As also shown by recent results of narrative research (Habermas 2011) and narration analysis, clues for the undigested – and therefore especially enduring within generational dynamics – aspects of life histories can be found particularly in the formal features of narratives. For example, narrative suppressions and distortions indicate that, within the dynamics of intergenerational exchange, unresolved issues and aspirations of the parents might be handed down, binding subsequent generations, who blindly adopt them. In another context, Bude describes this mechanism of binding vividly, following Faimberg (1987), as “*identificational capturing*” (*identifikatorische Gefangennahme*) (2010, 273, translated). Aspects of the parental generation’s biography with which they could not cope and which elude symbolization in the stories available to them are integrated into the children’s own histories, so that “there is no space for the discontinuity of experience between the generation of parents and children” (ibid., translated). In contrast, the parental generation’s capacity to symbolize and integrate even the painful aspects of the migration process (such as experiences of separation, loss, and unfulfilled hope, but also of marginalization, discrimination, and rejection) opens up potential for the proactive and constructive management of conditions in the receiving country, as our research shows.⁵ In the following, we provide an outline of

5 To avoid any misunderstanding, we would like to emphasize that we are not concerned with judging the parenting styles of the families we interviewed, or promoting any particular kind of behavior within these families. This would, indeed, be flawed, if for no other reason than because our examination of the intergenerational dynamics is concerned to a large extent with unintentional parenting “styles.” The quality and content of familial

interaction and communication represent much more the expression of specific patterns of managing that arise from a certain constellation of resources, constraints, and the methods of processing the immigrant experience. We are concerned, here, with fleshing out the relationships between the sons’ educational histories and the means by which parents process their own experience within the context of immigration. To that extent, it also bears

emphasis that “coping strategies” in the narrower socio-psychological sense referring to various attempts to reduce and manage stress and conflict (see the overview by Weiss 2005 as well as Glassl 2008 and Hack-Polay 2012) are not the focus of this study. Our study is concerned much more with the reconstruction of variants of the relationship between parental processing of the migration experience and the resulting generational dynamic.

some of the results of our study. Space precludes offering a detailed case analysis or a presentation of the study results in their entirety (for this see Zölch et al. 2009; Koller et al. 2010; King et al. 2011). By way of illustration, we will instead outline the characteristics of two family types in condensed form, describing cases whose analysis was especially instructive regarding the questions and theses under discussion.

5. Forced Integration of Parents – Unfocused Rebellion of Sons: The Yıldırım Family

The case studies were typologized using the method of Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr (2008, chap. 6). A total of six different variants, or types, of relationship between the educational careers of the sons and their detachment processes during adolescence was determined and analyzed with regard to generational relationships and the processing of the family's migration history.⁶ The Yıldırım family can be categorized as a type characterized essentially by *forced integration and the parents' denial of discrimination*; in turn, the sons' educational success is put persistently at risk by destructive and boundless forms of unfocused *rebellion*. How can the background of this type be analytically categorized? Analytical categorization of this type of background derives from an understanding of hyperadaptation as a strategy for dealing with disadvantage, marginalization, and discrimination (Goffman 1963). The greater the pressure to eliminate social difference, the greater the effort to escape the disadvantage or risk of marginalization resulting from it through the most perfect possible integration. The differentiated methodological approach of our study brings clearly into focus the costs of such forced integration: the masking and communicative and interactive desymbolization of hardships and aggressive feelings on the part of parents; the subsequent difficulties of the sons to appropriately conceptualize disadvantage and marginalization for themselves; and, finally, the often unfocused, explosive forms of rebellion that throw the sons off the track of educational success and successful "integration" into the educational system. This dynamic is well illustrated in the case of the Yıldırım family.

Mr. Yıldırım was born in a major German city as the son of immigrant workers. The first six years of his life, however, he lived with his grandparents in Turkey. After returning to Germany, he quit middle school (*Realschule*) without any sort of diploma, despite two years of repeating grades, and began to work in his father's store. In the course of his preparations for marriage, he attended night school to earn his secondary school certificate (*Hauptschulabschluss*) at the age of seventeen. After attending trade school he completed a technical apprenticeship that made it possible for him to pursue a career at the level of lower management. *Ms. Yıldırım* was born in a major city in Turkey, also lived initially with her grandparents, and was brought to Germany at the age of school entry by her parents. She obtained a secondary school certificate (*Realschulabschluss*) and completed training as a physician's assistant. She was active in this profession at the time of the interview.

Their son *Şevket* was 19 years old at the time of the interview. He was born in Germany, visited kindergarten and grade school there and achieved the grades to attend high school (*Gymnasium*). After twice having to repeat a year, he left school at the age of 18 without any formal qualification.

The *parents'* narratives present a migration history in which discrimination and marginalization seem to play absolutely no role. According to their representation, they had always been integrated, so there was never a reason to set them apart as "other." Any apparent doubts, even in their retrospective narration, are quickly dismissed. The following passage is exemplary of this narrative tension. Asked directly whether she had experienced discrimination, *Ms. Yıldırım* responds: "No. Definitely not. Definitely not. Not a bit. (1) In no way. I work, as I said, in a doctor's office (inhales). Quite the contrary, there, I am (.). Maybe also because of the language. Maybe it's age, in the meantime, because at the beginning (hesitantly and then in softened tone of voice) no, there was nothing, no

⁶ For more on our typology, see appendix, as well as King et al 2011. A total of six types were developed, descriptions of which are provided in the appendix. The Yıldırım family has been designated Type III.

not at all. No, absolutely not. If you have a (.) good pronunciation and can (hesitantly) argue convincingly and talk to people, no. (1) No, I can't say that."⁷ Both parents draw clear boundaries between themselves and other immigrants. Mr. Yıldırım: "If I, eh? Eh, I don't know, would run around with a beard and a turban and things like that, if everyone would look at me, then it would be no wonder, I'd say, uh, as opposed to uh now how I walk around more Western. Or, behave like a Westerner, you know what I mean?"

According to their narratives, the basis of their success is their abilities, which exceed even those of native Germans – in that sense this depiction constitutes a hidden thematization of discrimination which does not appear to them as such. Mr. Yıldırım: "Because for me it's clear, you're a foreigner? (...) Eh so. When you (.) apply at a company, eh you're a foreigner, but I have to stand out with my qualifications so they say 'Well, that's the kind of foreigner I definitely need to get to know!' That's the way I saw it, the way I think. I say, you have to stand out among the masses by having, well, with a good diploma, you know? My name isn't Hans Meier, after all. So eh, that was for me the most important thing and that's what I did." Insofar as the parents "hyperadapt" and appear to identify entirely with social majority, to the point of complete self-denial; insofar as they deny or ignore any form of discrimination, but also the aggression necessarily associated with such extreme conformity, the sons' experiences of discrimination can hardly be dealt with appropriately. In cases of this type, the rebellion of the sons is not directed explicitly against migration-specific discrimination, but rather more diffusely against everything in school that is experienced as injustice, discrimination, and arbitrariness. Corresponding forms of boundless rebellion and destructive aggression can go so far as to put educational success permanently at risk, whereby sons are perceived even by the parents as uncontrollable, seething pressure cookers. The extent to which parents are able to identify with their sons' anger is expressed in Mr. Yıldırım's palliative descriptions of "Şevket's shortcoming" that "he is not the kind of person

who swallows and says, yeah, it's okay and so on" and his description of his son's educational success or failure as dependent solely upon the teacher's good will. The consequences for the son of this parental behavior are that he experiences himself chiefly as powerless – and that means he is at the mercy of both his teachers and his own emotions. Thus, Şevket relates that his math teacher promised him a "2" [B] on his report card, but then he actually got a "4" [D]. When he approached her about it, Şevket said she responded: "No. That is definitely correct.' I thought, no way, I'm going to complain. And then she said, 'Yeah, go ahead, go and complain.' And she laughed and walked away. She laughed at me. There, something like that can make me flip out; I'm a very temperamental person."

Şevket describes school, and the behavior of teachers in particular, as inexplicable, arbitrary tyranny that no one can escape – without, however, making any connection to the notion of discrimination against migrant children. Case reconstructions of the family show that Şevket got no support from his parents – who deny or ignore the price of their conformity, as well as every form of discrimination – in dealing with or appropriately understanding the difficulties with which he was confronted as a result of his being a young male Turkish immigrant. He perceives himself as an "equal" among Germans, who is, at the same time, particularly in school, subject to a constant and agonizing despotism against which he must rebel again and again with ferocity, which, in turn, has disrupted his educational career.

6. Parents' Open Confrontation with Marginalization – Sons' Greater Leeway: The Güngör Family

In contrast to the Yıldırım family, the case of the Güngör family represents a typical migrant family constellation which, despite significant crises and conflicts, manages to develop an open and productive way of dealing with experiences of discrimination and, thus, to offer their offspring means of constructively processing their specific situation as sons of Turkish migrants. In families of this type, the son is not only educationally successful; he even

7 (1): pause of one second; (.): pause of less than one second.

manages during adolescence to develop an independent, detached life concept. First, a brief outline of the Güngör family's migration history:

The father of 25-year-old Engin migrated as a guest worker to Germany about thirty-five years ago and did not achieve what he had hoped for through migration. Engin's mother followed her husband to Germany after their wedding. She emphasized during the interview that she lost career options available to her in Turkey as a result of her migration. Because of the disappointing course of the migration project for themselves, Engin's parents developed high aspirations for their two sons, calling implicitly upon their children to prove the success of the migration project after all through their own educational success. These high expectations also derive from the assumption that a respectable social status will protect the children against similar experiences of discrimination. Thus, educational success seems to be a joint project: For long periods of time the focus is not on the sons' wishes, but rather on a larger group ("we") that has this end in view. It is, therefore, the sons' task to achieve success on behalf of the family.

This description outlines a common constellation typical for many of the interviewed families. What is more, the family lives in Wilhelmsburg, known as one of the problem areas in Hamburg, which is – as clarified by Tietze (2001) – "not the worst example within the city of Hamburg," but has a particularly "bad reputation."⁸ As Tietze reports, merely stating their address decreases young people's chances of obtaining a job. Mr. Güngör also describes such a situation regarding the allocation of university places: "If someone from Wilhelmsburg, if makes an application, then this happens: Oh, his postal code is Wilhelmsburg, (smiles) well, (...) In this case, we rather let it drop, don't we? So, the other one comes in. Yes, it has happened, we have already seen this thing happen, from one or the other, haven't we? Or, okay, we can't prove it, but (.) we had a lot of difficulties to get in at first."

Many inhabitants of this quarter – like Mr. and Ms. Güngör – refer to the sense of solidarity among immigrant families and criticize what they see as unjustified stigmatization. At the same time, many of them feel virtually trapped by the exclusion and marginalization by a society that did not receive them as accepted members, since these dimensions of "social inequality are not only about the question of lower or upper class, but about being insiders or outsiders" (Bude and Willisch 2006, 8, translated). They amount to a social exclusion "from the recognition and affiliation contexts dominant in our society" (ibid., translated; see also Hills and Agulnik 2002) and determine the experiences of those excluded, who are trapped in their life circumstances. The fact that Wilhelmsburg is an island underscores the imagery of imprisonment and exclusion, as well as the sensed social prejudices and hostility of the majority society, as illustrated by the following quote. Ms. Güngör: "Um yes. Yes, uh because um Wilhelmsburg is an island, an island two and three times over, meaning once with water around it, once the industry and ... we are slowly but surely being poisoned here, because the air is very bad here. ... It's really bad here. And um (.) the children didn't want to leave, that's why I have stayed, I didn't want to take away the children's friends, that's why I have stayed, otherwise I would have moved away long ago. Yes, and because the people, they are okay, really nice people, really nice inhabitants uh and elsewhere they say differently, but I know the people here personally and therefore I have completely different opinion. Of course there are rotten apples everywhere, sure, but basically they are really nice people and I am trying to give something."

Ms. Güngör's descriptions accentuate the powerlessness and aggression, distress and ambivalence of a housing situation resulting from exclusion and the tension between mobility and immobility – to have travelled far and to be now virtually trapped and marginalized in a "triple" island status. At the end, she mentions her own commitment, which refers to the urban quarter as well as to her sons – she is "trying to give something." Both parents describe

⁸ Wilhelmsburg is characterized by social housing; its share of social housing is nearly three times the Hamburg average (31.2 percent compared to

11.1 percent). Regarding income, the high percentage of unemployed between the age of 15 and 65 (10.8 percent), and recipients of welfare benefits

(26.5 percent) is remarkable (average: 6.3 percent and 11.6 percent respectively) (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2010, 52f).

themselves as being active within their quarter and in school. In addition, they try to create a supportive environment for their sons, for instance, by using the quarter's support programs. They talk to the teachers and, despite their language difficulties, even act as parents' representatives. You could say: Within the island of the excluded, whose living conditions affect them seriously, they provide with great diligence, with commitment and *social power* (Delapierre 1993), the conditions for their sons to manage the leap away from the "island," from the place and symbol of their distressing stigmatization.

With regard to the sons' development, the described constellation, typical for immigrants, contains considerable risks. The burden of achieving educational success in place of their parents, or of compensating the parents' distressing experiences of discrimination and, further, of having to achieve the success of their parents' efforts, can potentially complicate the children's detachment process. The particular, paradoxical tension between mobility and immobility can also be found within the objectives of the sons, who are supposed to be socially mobile and to achieve advancement without moving too far away from the parents. The sons of this family and of this type of family, however, manage to recognize their parents' great share in their educational project and yet to follow their own path in the end. In the case of Engin Güngör, the son interviewed in our study, his particular way of dealing with the parents' educational mission can be described as adopting it at first, but adapting and varying it during adolescence. One decisive factor for this is that the parents are able to articulate their suffering explicitly for themselves and do not need to suppress it. Despite the restrictions related above, there are still sufficient options available within the family's generational relationships for the sons to develop independently. The parents adopt a rather reflective attitude and offer space for independent decisions. An equally significant factor is the secure emotional foundation of their relationship, which promises the necessary support to implement these decisions, which cushions distances between parent and child which may arise from advancement, and offers space for adolescent development. During the interview, Engin emphasizes that his path was rougher due to the multiple disadvantage of being a young person

in a migrant family living in the socially segregated "bad neighborhood" of Wilhelmsburg, but that he nevertheless managed to rise above his circumstances in an exceptional way. With his high grade on the final exams he was able to surpass the elite of German medical students, a fact that further elevates his victory and gives him a thorough satisfaction perceptible in his narrative. Thus, his parents' attitude and his educational success allow Engin to balance aggressive impulses resulting from the discrimination he experienced as a result of his migration background and to harness them for himself.

In summary, this family type shares the following characteristics: their common background is painful experiences in the context of migration; the costs of emigration are to be compensated for by the success of the children; and the parents themselves structure their lives as engaged and proactive members of their community who confront discrimination. Thus, the painful experiences of migration remain representable and communicable. The parents do not turn their backs on others from their migrant group, as with the Yıldırım family, but rather act in solidarity with them, as much as possible within their means, to represent the interests of migrants and their children. They also attempt "to give." The son of the Güngör family, too, has chosen a path upon which he, as a result of his success, very clearly distinguishes himself from his peers in the migrant community; at the same time, however, he continues to be, in a figurative sense, "the advocate of Turkish immigrants."

7. Conclusion

Immigrant families living in ethnically segregated quarters of large German cities experience specific forms of discrimination. Both families examined, here, reside in neighborhoods affected by local segregation, i.e. in a so-called problem area with a large immigrant population and low socio-economic status. But while marginalization and discrimination tended to be denied in the interviews with the parents of the Yıldırım family, the Güngör family's experiences of social marginalization and stigmatization resulting from their migration background and the neighborhood they live in constitute a central element of the interview. One characteristic of the Güngör parents is that, despite their clearly expressed feelings of anger and disappointment, they

do not sink into in passive resentment. Instead, they deal actively with the problems of coexistence and are strongly involved in the neighborhood. Engin Güngör, the son, also experiences discrimination in his school and neighborhood. But due to the proactive and productive way his parents deal with those problems, he – in contrast to Şevket, the Yıldırıms' son – manages not to be limited by them in the course of his education. Instead, he uses his educational success to balance his aggressive feelings emanating from the experience of discrimination and to make use of them.

Qualitative case reconstruction allows us to point out that the ways adolescents are able to address experiences of discrimination are also heavily influenced by intergenerational communication processes. In our project, for instance, interdependencies appeared between the way the parents are able to acknowledge the painful sides of migration (not only the inevitable separations and losses constitutively associated with migration, but also the experiences of marginalization that are created by society and vary depending on social conditions) and to deal with them productively, on the one hand, and the leeway allowed for intra-familial, intergenerational differences, on the other. In this sense qualitative reconstructive methods allow us to describe significantly differing family cultures that are characterized by the degree to which losses, crises, and conflicts can be accepted and confronted. These family cultures produce potentially productive strategies for dealing with discrimination and marginalization, which generate potential space for adolescent transformations. This is not to say that such intergenerational dynamics are the sole determinant of how the younger male generation deals with experiences of discrimination. Further studies are required to determine the meaning and significance of the

dynamics we discuss here within the totality of possible influencing factors. The factors that need to be taken into account include structural conditions like type of immigration, citizenship regime, educational system, labor market, and local context (see Alba and Waters 2011a), but also strategies developed by migrants or migrant families. Thus, the second of the types discussed above (the Güngör family) can be interpreted as a variation of “selective acculturation” as a strategy through which both parents and children adapt themselves to the society of the country to which they immigrate, yet, at the same time, remain embedded in their ethnic community to a certain degree (ibid., 2–4). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) emphasize that such “dual strategies” are particularly relevant for members of discriminated groups. Our results show how such dual strategies – targeting advancement into the social majority, yet acknowledging in both word and deed the relationship to one’s country of origin and admitting experiences of discrimination – can be expressed in intergenerational dynamics.

Focussing on intergenerational dynamics, our study shows that experiences of discrimination and marginalization take effect on several levels: They can motivate advancement and, thereby, have the converse effect of creating intergenerational tension by passing on the task of compensating parents’ failed aspirations to the children. They can also impede detachment because the family is experienced as the only place of shelter and safety. Conversely, proactive and constructive ways of dealing with discrimination and disadvantage on the part of parents may also build bridges to support the struggle for adolescent self-positioning *both* in relation to the family *and* to extra-familial relationships.

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Appendix: Typology

Interdependency between adolescence and educational career	Less successful educational careers	Successful educational careers
Weak adolescent transformation	Type I: "Failure in mission"	
	Type II: "Orientation difficulties"	
	Type III: "Rebellion"	Type IV: "Dependence"
Developed adolescent transformation		Type V: "Conformity to mission"
		Type VI: "Appropriation and variation of mission"

Type I: High parental aspirations for children's education, serving to fulfill parents' own needs; the difference between the generations is symbolized in a weak manner; fragile relationship with regard to recognition – aspirations remain external for sons and cannot be appropriated. Attitudes toward experiences of discrimination vary according to situation.

Type II: Inconsistent parenting (e.g. changing or absent primary carers) and incoherent parental aspirations for children's education. This coincides with a merely superficial detachment, so that orientation difficulties arise. Inconsistent means of dealing with discrimination within the family.

Type III: Hyperadaptation and denial of discrimination by the parents; the sons' educational success is put permanently at risk by destructive and boundless forms of rebellion.

Type IV: Sons' prolonged educational careers tend to sustain dependency and defer conflict-laden, divisive decisions within the family (e.g. return to country of origin).

Type V: The parents have explicitly high aspirations associated with a tendency to perpetuate intimacy and close ties in the family; very limited tolerance of separation; sons have a greater tendency to conform to the aspirations handed down to them from their parents and to stay close to them; passive resignation as a family strategy for dealing with discrimination.

Type VI: Enabled by parents' behavior during the difficult process of detachment, the sons get the chance to map their educational career and to define their own life path. Active, constructive approach to dealing with discrimination in the family.

Vera King
vera.king@uni-hamburg.de

Hans-Christoph Koller
hans-christoph.koller@uni-hamburg.de

Janina Zölch
janina.zoelch@uni-hamburg.de