

Pupils in the context of multiple and multidirectional migration during  
their obligatory schooling years

Schüler und Schülerinnen mit mehrfacher und mehrdirektionaler  
Migrationserfahrung im Schulpflichtalter

Von der Erziehungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät

der Universität Leipzig

angenommene

DISSERTATION

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE

(Dr. phil.)

vorgelegt

von Beatrix Bukus

geboren am 1. Februar 1985 in Budapest, Ungarn

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Tag der Verteidigung: 23. März 2020

*"Hmm...also wie können so sagen, dass hier die Leute wenn sie sagen sind aus Russland sprechen Russisch, dann kommen sagen die Gruppe das ist eine Russische, wenn kommt einer dann sagen das ist ein Syrische, wenn kommt eine dann sagen er ist ein Türke.*

*Aber was bist du denn?*

*Ich bin ein normaler Mensch. Ich bin ein ganz normaler Mensch. " (Cihan 223-227)*

## **Abstract**

This book is about the experiences of school-age children with multiple and multidirectional migration, and about how they challenge the established conceptualisation of social and educational integration and contribute to a better understanding of globalisation and transnationalism. Reasons and ways my study participants got involved in this form of migration were elaborated on, and their experiences and the effects on their lives and educational attainments were examined. This exploration connects to the scarce research literature on the diverse forms of migration among children and delivers evidence for the importance of looking into the individual biographical experiences of school-age children in order to rethink and adapt concrete measures supporting local educational and social integration.

The qualitative study was conducted in the city of Leipzig located in the state of Saxony in Germany, among thirteen school-age children attending local public schools recruited according to the criterion that the pupil had undertaken at least two international relocations during their obligatory schooling years. This group of children occupies a special position on the continuum between nomad and sedentary groups and challenges conventional dichotomies used for the categorisation of migration. Multilingual data was gained through problem-centred interviews and ego-centred network maps and analysed with the qualitative content-analysis method of Mayring.

Multiple and multidirectional migration was experienced in the Leipzig context by two distinct groups of school-age children: firstly, among those who were part of war-induced family migration and arrived after passing through several transit locations; and secondly, among those whose caregivers settled as part of labour migration in one European Union (E.U.) country, but due to the economic hardship following the world economic crisis of 2008 involuntarily relocated. The findings underscore the problematic nature of the monolingual practice of public schools and their orientation towards a sedentary life of their pupils. These are in sharp contrast with the needs of pupils, who have educational careers transcending several national and local contexts, experiences with different languages of instruction and school institutions, and with processes of temporary educational and social incorporation into new contexts. The data has proved that the local process of social and educational incorporation is influenced by several factors related to experiences at previous localities and has underlined the necessity of the recognition of previously acquired knowledge and skills. Acknowledgment of the characteristics and needs of these pupils offers the opportunity to public school practitioners to overcome their invisible, unconscious, uncontested, ideological and restrictive practices

guided by monolingualism, sedentarism, their understanding of migration as a one-time relocation from one national society to another for the purpose of long-term settlement, as well as their understanding of integration as a process of exclusive incorporation into one local and national context. This critical self-reflection of public school practitioners proved to be even more pressing given that the data unveiled several impeding educational and social experiences of the pupils which were caused by practices leading to collisions between different spatial units such as the local, the national, and the transnational and thus brought to light manifestations of transnationalism and globalisation.

## Acknowledgement

I would like to thank and acknowledge the support and advice of:

- Bukus Erika and Bukus Zsolt
- Katalin Thalwieser
- Prof. Dr. habil. Barbara Drinck
- Dr. Elżbieta M. Goździak
- Prof. Dr. Matthias Middell
- Prof. Dr. Frank Hadler
- Prof. Dr. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu
- Prof. Dr. habil. Halina Grzymała-Moszczyńska
- Prof. Dr. Susan Martin
- Dr. Martina Keilbach
- Dr. Elke Reisner
- Prof. Dr. Anatoli Rakhkochkine
- Prof. Dr. Christine Hunner-Kreisel
- Krisztina Juhász
- Dr. Claudia Popov-Jenninger and Ulf Jenninger
- Dr. Christine Mäkert
- Anke Langrehr
- researchers at the international conference “Children Migrants & Third Culture Kids. Roots and Routes” at the Jagiellonian University 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> of June 2013
- PhD students of the Research Academy Leipzig in the timeframe October 2012 –July 2015, with special thanks to Alina Osiac and Alexandra Athanasopoulou
- my pupils at the Bicske Refugee Center in Hungary in the timeframe from March 2009 until June 2011
- my pupils at the 16<sup>th</sup> high school of the city of Leipzig in the timeframe from August 2015 until June 2018
- my students in the in-service teacher training program for German as a Second Language of the Herder Institut of the Leipzig University in the timeframe from October 2015 until July 2018

- Aimee Cagle
- Shapiro, Shawna; Farrelly, Raichle; and Curry, Mary Jane
- Schimi

I thank the following organisations for their financial support in form of a PhD scholarships:

- post-graduate programme “East-Central Europe in Transnational Perspective” at the Graduate Centre Humanities and Social Sciences of the Research Academy Leipzig
- Faculty of Education of the Leipzig University
- Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Theoretical Framework .....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 Globalisation, transnationalism, changes in migration patterns .....	7
2.1.1 Globalisation – globalisation and education .....	7
2.1.2 Transnationalism – transnationalism and education .....	10
2.1.3 Changing patterns of migration in the world, in the European Union, and in East-Central Europe .....	17
2.2 Role of children in migration .....	22
2.3 Children in the context of migration.....	25
<b>3. Secondary literature review .....</b>	<b>28</b>
3.1 Preliminaries to the search for relevant literature.....	28
3.2 Catalogues, languages and key words .....	31
3.3 Secondary literature on nomad, semi-nomad, and other types of mobile children .....	40
3.4 German secondary literature on the migration and education nexus.....	43
3.4.1 From ‘Ausländerpädagogik’ to intercultural pedagogy and the children with migration background .....	43
3.4.2 German educational science and transnationalism .....	47
3.5 Secondary literature from countries of the East-Central European region.....	51
3.5.1 Educational situation of immigrant pupils in Hungary from the viewpoint of the Hungarian pedagogical literature and international grey literature .....	51
3.5.2 Secondary literature from other countries of the East-Central European region.....	57
<b>4. Research questions and research methods.....</b>	<b>61</b>
4.1 Research questions .....	61
4.2 Research methodology and research methods.....	62
4.2.1 Methodological transnationalism.....	64

4.2.2 How the biographical approach is well-suited to overcome methodological nationalism in research on migration in education science .....	68
4.2.3 Research in a multilingual setting, using interpreters in qualitative research.....	73
4.2.4 My participants are children .....	78
4.2.5 My participants are asylum seekers and refugees.....	83
4.2.6 Problem-Centred Interview and Ego-Centred Network Drawing .....	85
4.2.7 Data collection process, sampling and transcription.....	91
4.2.8 Data analysis .....	95
<b>5. Cases and Context .....</b>	<b>101</b>
5.1 Context of the research: Recent migration trends and educational legal framework in Saxony, and in Leipzig specifically.....	101
5.2 Case profiles and overview of their routes .....	109
David.....	109
Gül.....	111
Irina .....	115
Evelyn .....	116
Helena .....	118
Leonardo .....	120
Cihan .....	123
Suleyman.....	125
Aslan .....	127
Stella .....	131
Luise.....	135
Amir .....	137
Zairbek .....	140



<b>6. Findings of the data analysis .....</b>	<b>145</b>
6.1 Reasons for and circumstances of the involvement in multiple and multidirectional migration.....	145
6.1.1 Reasons and decision-making.....	145
6.1.2 Process of migration .....	151
6.2 Participation in formal education .....	157
6.2.1 Access and attendance to formal education .....	158
6.2.2 Learning the language of instruction of the school.....	161
6.2.3 Challenges, problems and coping strategies with regard to schooling .....	164
6.2.4 Transformative educational experience: developing the comparative view.....	167
6.3 Time outside school.....	168
6.3.1 Free time activities, informal and non-formal learning experience.....	168
6.3.2 Living conditions .....	173
6.3.3 Social contacts .....	175
6.4 Effects of the multiple and multidirectional migration on life and education.....	177
<b>7. Discussion and outlook.....</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>Secondary literature.....</b>	<b>188</b>
<b>List of Figures and Charts.....</b>	<b>218</b>
<b>Table of content for the Appendix.....</b>	<b>219</b>

## 1. Introduction

One of the motives for this dissertation stems from the findings of a previous pedagogical case study I conducted in 2008 at a public primary school in Budapest (Bukus 2014). The overall aim of the study was to compare the official and unofficial school-level categorisation and statistical data collection practices concerning foreign citizen pupils attending a public school. The goal of this exercise was to highlight that, from a pedagogical perspective, the group of pupils involved and/or affected by international migration was much bigger and more diverse than was shown by official and unofficial statistical categorisation and data collection. Alongside this mapping process, the study also revealed that the pedagogical practices at the researched public school often faced challenges imposed by pupils in the context of migration<sup>1</sup> who were attending this public school only temporarily.

The pedagogical challenge associated with the involvement of school-age children staying temporarily in a country of educational provision<sup>2</sup> is not one unique to Hungary. By looking into the literature on child migration we find that in other places in the world, and in different periods of history, there have been children involved in temporary migration. From a pedagogical point of view, temporary migration imposes complex challenges on all educational institutions along the educational pathway of a pupil. For example, in the case of circular migration the pupil spends a temporary period in a school located in the country of origin, is in transit in the country of destination, and then returns to a school in the country of origin<sup>3</sup> for a particular period. In short, any form of migration in which the obligatory schooling period is divided into phases by international migration poses a new set of challenges, both for the pupil and the educational institutions.

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1 The term ‘pupils in the context of migration’ refers in the research to school-age children who are affected by migration in any way. This wider term includes both those who have their own migration experience and those who do not (e.g. second generation, children left behind in the sending country of the care-givers). We can distinguish several subgroups within this wider group depending on the aspect of categorisation (e.g. legal status, border-crossing, level of voluntarism, etc.). A typology will be proposed in the section 2.3.

2 I use the term ‘country of educational provision’ in order to avoid the term ‘host society’. The latter is highly problematic in nature. Instead I use the terms ‘country of educational provision’ or ‘country of origin’ and ‘country of destination’.

3 It is important to refer to the findings of Čapo Žmegač (2010, 241); according to whom, upon return migration the country of origin becomes in many cases a country of destination, and return turns into a form of immigration.

This research is embedded in the current policy discussions on the free movement of labour within the European Union. Parts of these discussions are about the often contradictory policies regarding migrants and children, as well as migrants and the family unit. The right of free movement, as well as wider political, economic, technological and social factors (see the next section) have led to an increased involvement of populations in non-settler forms of migration. These changes in migration patterns in the European Union challenge the traditional orientation of educational integration and directly enrich educational research with new topics.

As a reaction to the changes in migration pattern, educational science has already provided some insights into the effects of different forms of migration on pupils' educational careers. The present research focuses on the subgroup 'pupil migrants'<sup>4</sup> within the group 'pupils in the context of migration'. A preliminary examination of the pedagogical secondary literature on pupil migrants' education in national research contexts shows that, until recently, migration was frequently conceptualised as a one-time and unidirectional movement. Consequently, in most national contexts included in my secondary literature analysis, the main body of the pedagogical secondary literature focuses on the long-term educational and social incorporation of pupil migrants. On the other hand, there is a smaller, but significant body of research literature available that addresses the special needs of highly mobile, semi-nomad and nomad populations. The following schema shows that the focus of the present research is on pupil migrants who are situated midway along the continuum between mobile and sedentary pupils, rather than those who have a one-time international migration experience and can be considered as being involved in a long-term or permanent settler migration. Chapters 2.3 and 3.3 deliver definitions of the terms used in the illustration below.

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4 The term 'pupil migrant' refers to a school-age child who has his or her own international migration experience.

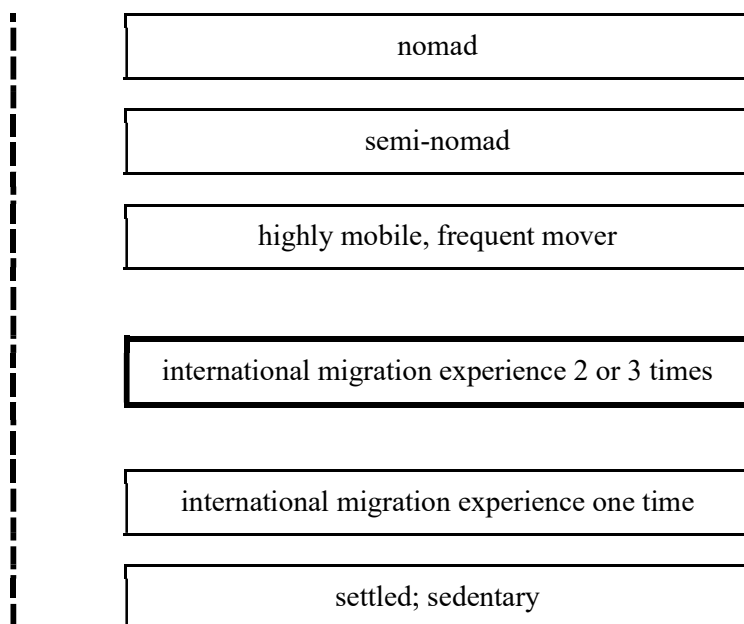


Figure 1 The sedentary and nomad continuum

The present research builds on the experiences of children who are at the age of obligatory schooling<sup>5</sup> when they have their own multiple and multidirectional migration experiences, and who, at the time of the research, were attending a public school in the city of Leipzig, Germany. The migrant pupils in question have either migrated to the European Union and then moved inside it, have emigrated from and then immigrated to the European Union, or have been involved in inner-European mobility<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, the theoretical context of the present research focuses on pupils who are (internationally) mobile multiple times during their years of attending formal education. The first research question aims to map which group of school-age children gets involved in this form of migration and why.

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5 The term ‘school-age’ can be defined by reference to national legislations on education. As the present study involves the state of Saxony in Germany, this term covers the period between 6-18 years (§28 Sächsisches Schulgesetz 16. July 2004 and 26. April 2018).

6 There are many, often conflicting, definitions of the terms ‘migration’ and ‘migrant’. The term ‘mobility’ is often used in policy papers for the migration of European citizens. This term evolved from the discussion about the weaknesses of the binary ‘internal’ and ‘international’ migration (see Bailey and Boyle 2004, 233). In the present book I consider the pupil to be a pupil migrant if he or she crossed an international border for a period of time longer than three months. In this way, I manage to exclude those who might have crossed international borders without the intention of changing their centre of life. At the same time, by reducing the time period to three months, I can include those involved in short-term temporary migration as well.

The main objective of my research is to draw attention to children with multiple way stations in their educational trajectories by analysing their educational biographies and by pointing to the complex dynamics that surround the involvement of these pupils in public educational institutions. The choice of this objective is linked to the children's rights agenda, which influences child migration research to a large extent. This agenda argues for the recognition of children's rights in migration policies, as well as the recognition of children's agency and perspective (White et al. 2011, 1161). This is closely linked to the current research interest on the contradictory categories of *child* and *migrant* in the field of childhood studies<sup>7</sup>. As Davidson points out:

*“To speak of child migrants is to bring together two different cultural categories. The dominant modern discourse of childhood sees childhood ‘as a weakness itself’ (Christensen, 2004:42) and marks out ‘the child’ as ‘a passive and unknowing dependant’ (Jenks 1996:124). Children are defined by their innocence and vulnerability. ‘Immigrants’, by contrast, especially ‘illegal immigrants’ and ‘asylum seekers’, are generally attributed with agency and cunning. ‘Immigrants’ supposedly constitute a threat to that which we hold dear, whereas children are one of the things that we hold dear – they are our future, they are precious and loveable. [...] The ‘child migrant’ is thus almost a contradiction in terms, [...].” (Davidson 2011, 462f).*

In my book I wish to show the readers how and why school-age children get involved in and experience multiple and multidirectional migration, what tasks they are confronted with during their integration processes at the various way stations, and how they see the effects of this form of migration on their lives and educational careers. I will prove that a pupil's integration process starts much earlier than the actual time of his or her arrival in a new location and subsequent entrance into a state-run school. I will furthermore discuss why it is necessary to look into the biographical experience, knowledge and skills that a pupil has brought along if a school wants to effectively guide the pupil in the process of integration. By adding my findings on the studied group to the available knowledge on the impact of the different forms of migration on children's lives and educational careers, I aim to drive attention to the differences of needs among pupils in the context of migration.

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<sup>7</sup> Childhood studies include different disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, migration studies, etc. They all have one common focus: the child, and his or her agency and voice.

I conducted problem-centred interviews with 13 pupils who attended different public schools in the city of Leipzig, Germany. The biographical data was enriched with the data gained by the ego-centred network maps the pupils drew about each way station of their lives. The interviews were analysed by the method of content analysis by Mayring. The choice for both the method of data collection and data analysis was strongly influenced by the features of the respondents.

Chapter 2 embeds the research in wider political and social processes and their interpretation within educational research. It presents different conceptualisations of globalisation and transnationalism, and will furthermore reflect on the current migration patterns in the world, in Europe and in the East-Central European<sup>8</sup> region that is relevant from the research perspective of my study. It discusses the role children play in international migration and presents a typology for the term ‘children in the context of migration’. Chapter 3 offers a secondary literature review. Chapter 4 presents the process and methods of data collection and analysis and describes the specificities of multilingual research with children, and particularly research in which some of the children were involved in forced migration. Chapter 5 includes the case profiles and the context of the research. Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the data analysis. Chapter 7 recapitulates the main findings and formulates some conclusions for teachers and schools, as well as those who are involved in the training of teachers. The appendix consists not only of all interviews in full-length, but all documents associated with identifying the study participants, the interview questions guide, the consent form, the network map, as well as the data analysis charts.

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8 The term East-Central Europe has historical, political and geographical dimensions, and its definition can vary across time and space. In fact, just like other terms such as ‘western’, ‘central’, ‘eastern’, ‘northern’ or ‘southern’ – the region labelled as ‘east-central’ has various valid definitions. This work uses the definition of Paul Magocsi (Historical Atlas of Central Europe. 2002. University of Washington Press): *"East Central Europe as the lands between the linguistic frontiers of the German- and Italian speaking peoples on the west and the political boundaries of the former Soviet Union on the east. The north-south parameters are the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas. [...] At present this comprises the countries of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece [...] the eastern part of Germany (historic Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Prussia, Saxony, and Lusatia), Bavaria, Austria, and northeastern Italy (historic Venetia), and towards the east, the lands of historic Poland-Lithuania (present day Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine up to the Dnieper river), Moldova and western Anatolia in Turkey."* (Magocsi 2002, xi) The political changes since the publication of the book in 2002 may alter the list to an extent, but does not change the boundaries set in the definition.

Interestingly, by the time I have finished writing this book, a relatively large number of school-age children from East-Central European countries who have lived and attended schools in the United Kingdom for years have arrived to the public school system of the city of Leipzig. They have moved on with their families to Germany due to changes invoked by the process of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union (BREXIT)<sup>9</sup>. These pupils belong to the group of children having a multiple and multidirectional migration experience. Most of them probably bring schooling experiences in their country of origin and their first country of settlement along with them, and they all face the challenges of integration into the Leipzig context after having experienced temporary integration somewhere else within the European Union. I dedicate my findings to these school-age children and their teachers.

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<sup>9</sup> Unpublished communication from the coordinator for migration issues at the educational authority of the city of Leipzig (Landesamt für Schule und Bildung Standort Leipzig, Dr. Mäkert) on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 2018.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Globalisation, transnationalism, changes in migration patterns**

In this section I will embed the research in those wider political and social processes that offer the framework for a research on pupil migrants with multiple way stations during their educational pathway. I will describe these wider processes from the perspective of educational science, whereby I build mainly on secondary literature sources from the German and the US context.

#### **2.1.1 Globalisation – globalisation and education**

The interrelation between migration and education and the heterogeneity of pupils resulting from international migration has been discussed recently, not only within the framework of intercultural pedagogy, but also as a subtopic of educational research on the nexus between globalisation and education. The editors of the journal *'Globalisation, Societies and Education'* note in their editorial introduction to the first volume of the journal that *"... in [...] areas, and certainly in our view in education, consideration of globalisation has remained somewhat separate from the mainstream, and it has not received similar levels or forms of interest."* (Globalisation, Societies and Education, 3) Later they add that this is surprising *"given the central role that knowledge, information and education are assumed to play in this new global knowledge economy"* (Globalisation, Societies and Education, 6). Heterogeneity among pupils is often discussed as one outcome of globalisation, and therefore I wish to discuss this phenomenon in greater detail.

Globalisation is interpreted and defined by numerous economic, political, cultural and social theories as well as many sub-theories of these. Most of the literature focuses on the political, economic and technological aspects of globalisation, while the examination of cultural and social aspects has a robust and growing body of literature as well (e.g. Dean and Ritzer 2012, 545ff). Raewyn Connell states that even major theorists of globalisation do not necessarily refer to non-Western/non-metropolitan social thought when developing and presenting theories of globalisation (2007, 63). Although there is tremendous literature available on globalisation and an even bigger body of literature that derives conclusions from it, this literature itself is generally not globally-aware.

Globalisation studies, and those which use globalisation as a framework of analysis, tend to emphasise specific aspects of globalisation as particularly pressing. These include, for instance, the changing role and authority of nation-states, the role of multinational corporations,



the impact of recent developments on the environment, the presence of global inequalities and the role technology plays in globalisation. It is also important to note that globalisation theories have produced dichotomies such as global/local, global North/global South, homogeneity/heterogeneity, etc., that shape the discourse. These terms are frequently used in the literature related to the effects of globalisation on education as well. In the education-related secondary literature one can find inconsistency in particular with how authors define globalisation, which theoretical frameworks and definitions they derive conclusions from, how they position themselves with respect to the given dichotomies and whether the authors focus on only one aspect of globalisation (e.g. the changing role of the nation-state) or the whole phenomenon in its complexity (see Crossley and Watson 2003, Chapter 5 and 6). One has to be cautious, as some authors may concentrate only on one aspect of globalisation while simultaneously taking this as constitutive of the entire phenomenon.

With regard to the German debate on globalisation, Wulf and Merkel (2002) state that educational science has only sporadically reflected on the phenomenon of globalisation (cf. also ZfE 2003, H.2; Bauer et al.1999). Scheunpflug (2003, 158) finds that educational science is still confronting the challenge of developing a theory capable of interpreting the influences of globalisation on education, identifying new topics stemming from globalisation that are relevant for education, and reflecting on the social frame of reference of educational research. The literature usually deals with particular aspects of the whole topic, the most common of which being the following:

- (1) the universal spread of the model of the national state-sponsored public education system (e.g. Adick 1992; Ramirez and Boli 1987; Meyer et al. 1992),
- (2) the changing role of nation-states with regard to the regulation and control of education, which results from an international educational standardisation, as well as from international quality comparisons in the form of performance tests (Mortimore 2001 and references therein),
- (3) international convergences in higher education (e.g. Masschelein and Simons 2005),
- (4) the spread of supranational, international and transnational educational programmes and institutions (Hornberg 2010 and references therein),
- (5) market liberalisation and the influences of free market principles on education (e.g. Peters and Besley 2006; Ward 2012),

- (6) heterogeneity in societies and among pupils and students resulting from international migration (e.g. Suarez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; McAndrew 2007)
- (7) topics that stem from the positioning of education in a world society (global education) (e.g. Adick 2002, *Bildung und Erziehung Spezialheft Globalisierung und Weltpädagogik* Jg.55. Heft 4. 2002; Trembl 1996; Seitz 2002; Standish 2012)
- (8) impact of improved transportation and communication links on societies and the educational implications of this (e.g. e-learning literature).

As part of the globalisation discourse in educational research, there has been a slow shift away from the national orientation in specifying research topics and the unit of analysis. For instance, Gippert's (2010) chapter about transnational educational history shows that current trends in historiography – which aim to overcome the national unit of analysis by rather focusing on transfers and exchanges between cultures – are starting to be reflected in the educational historiography as well (see also Schriewer 2007, 12). The author argues – in line with, for instance, Matthias Middell (2006) – that the exclusive orientation towards the nation as a unit of analysis hinders the educational historian in identifying important research topics and analysing flows and exchanges taking place over national boundaries that play a significant role in shaping educational history. This approach builds on the assumption that, while the nation-state might have become the leading political, economic, social and cultural unit over the last approximately 200 years, its emergence is not only due to homogenisation processes and boundary-setting; parallel to this, it is also due to flows of information and people over these boundaries and a constant exchange in different domains of life (Hadler and Middell 2010). This focus on transfer and exchange helps the researcher to step out of the national unit of analysis and engage with topics beyond it. A prominent result of this is, for instance, the volume on educational knowledge transfer in different historical educational spaces edited by Wislender and Möller (2013).

Very often, literature on both globalisation and transnationalisation in educational science and other fields presents these themes as something genuinely new. The discussion of these phenomena in historical science helps us to understand their historical emergence. Engel and Middell (2005), as well as Middell and Naumann (2010), conceptualise globalisation and transnationalisation as processes of spatial unit formation different from the national one. According to the authors, the current period of history can be characterised by a co-presence of different spatial units in which the hierarchical order between the local, the national, the regional, the transnational and the global is changing (Engel and Middell 2005, 5). The authors

emphasise that spatial units are constructed and negotiated by different actors throughout history (Engel and Middell 2005, 18), and are outcomes of entanglements and interactions over boundaries as well as control over these (Middell and Naumann 2010, 162). Schriewer, in his inaugural lecture on comparative and international educational science in 1994 at Humboldt University, states something similar: *“Systematisch weiterführend sind desgleichen Einsichten, die aus der Analyse der transnationalen Wanderungs-, Diffusions- und Rezeptionsprozesse erwachsen, welche die europäische und dann die weltweite Bildungsgeschichte insbesondere seit dem 19. Jahrhundert mit zunehmender Intensität durchziehen. Denn solche Analysen beleuchten, über den konfliktreichen Prozeßcharakter von Internationalisierung und Globalisierung hinaus, die diesen Prozessen historisch konkret zugrundeliegenden Vermittlungsschritte durch handelnde Akteure und / oder soziale Gruppen”* (Schriewer 1994, 30).

This perspective is relevant to educational research in two ways. Firstly, it helps to conceptualise nationalisation, globalisation and transnationalisation as spatial unit formation processes that are negotiated and constructed by different actors over time, which allows them to be captured empirically. Secondly, a historical perspective on nationalisation, globalisation and transnationalisation allows one to overcome the exclusive national container orientation in educational science as well as to understand the specific features of these in the present in contrast to previous periods of history. For the purpose of my research, this approach is useful because it calls attention to the negotiated character of spatial units and to the problem of methodological nationalism inherent in education research.

### **2.1.2 Transnationalism – transnationalism and education**

In the last two decades, the so-called transnational approach in social scientific inquiry proved to be one way to address topics which clearly go beyond national frameworks. In the section of the secondary literature review dedicated to this, we will see how this approach has been adopted by educational inquiry as well. Given the fact that the present research deals with migrant pupils’ educational biographies which go beyond national units, it is worthwhile to interrogate the term ‘transnational’ and its variants in detail. My aim with this section is to give the theoretical framework of my findings on the interviewed pupils’ embeddedness in a transnational social space, as well as the intensity and character of their transnational activities.

The term ‘transnational’ and its compounds have a long history (Saunier 2009), but an intensive investigation of this concept was revived in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. *„In the 1960s the word “transnational” was widely used by students of economic processes to refer to the establishment of corporate structures with established organizational bases in more than*

*one state*” (Martinalli 1982, cited by Glick-Schiller et al. 1995, 49). Later, from the 1990s on, the concept came to be used widely in different social science disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and political science. The most influential findings resulted from sociological and anthropological research into migration and migrants’ lives in American contexts (e.g. Dominicans in Boston in Levitt’s work published in 2011, or migrants from St. Vincent, Grenada, the Philippines, and Haiti to the U.S. described by Glick-Schiller et al. 1995). The German educational science literature which focuses on migrant pupils builds on the development of the transnationalism concept within the framework of migration sociology and migration anthropology. It is important to note, however, that the concept has been interpreted and operationalised in other disciplines as well, and therefore educational science may apply different concepts of transnationalism to different research subjects (see the transnational educational history in the previous section).

The first phase of the recent research into transnationalism was dominated by empirical research carried out by cultural anthropologists. Glick-Schiller and her colleagues define the term ‘transmigrant’ as follows: *“Immigrants are understood to be transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span borders.[..] Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns within a field of social relations that links together their country of origin”* (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992, 1). They further define *“Transnationalism as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement”* (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992, 1). These definitions were critiqued for not facilitating clear and measurable criteria for what qualifies as transnationalism and who qualifies as a transmigrant. The authors themselves later acknowledged that they discussed these phenomena as if they were unique and novel in the history of migration. They were criticised, for instance, by Morawska (2001), who stated that: *“a vigorous academic industry has developed in the past few years around the idea of new transnationalism”* (2001, 175) which does not take the findings of immigration history into account (see also Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004, 1187). Morawska found many similarities between current migration patterns in and to the US and the experiences of Southern and Eastern Europeans who migrated to the US around the turn of the 19th century (1870-1914).

Foner (2007) phrases her question a bit differently: by asking not how new transnationalism is, but rather how much is new about it. The author finds that advanced transportation and communication technologies allow for a more frequent, immediate and intimate communication between immigrants. Although doubts around immigrant loyalties and anti-immigrant

ideologies are still present, a debate about the return of migrants to their country of origin is not a core part of the immigration debate (2007, 2487f). Furthermore, migrants' remittances to their country of origin have become big business, and are promoted in many countries whose economies are deeply dependent on them through the form of governmental responses to facilitate transnational migration. Waldinger and Fitzgerald formulate an additional novel element in their critical writing: they claim that in comparison to the historical forms of transnationalism, the current shift is away from assimilation to multiculturalism. In their view, *"...the better view lies beyond the simplistic dichotomy of assimilation versus transnationalism, as these are not theories but rather social processes, inextricably intertwined"* (2004, 1193).

In the subsequent years more empirical research was conducted on the topic of transnationalism, such as the 'Comparative Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project' (1996-1998), in which 1202 persons of Dominican, Salvadorian and Columbian heritage participated. Portes refers later to the results of these studies: *„Subsequent research has indicated that regular involvement in transnational activities characterizes only a minority of immigrants and that even occasional involvement is not a universal practice[...]"* (Portes 2003, 876f). Toward the end of the first phase of social science research on transmigrants and transnationalism, Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt concluded that *"Transnational migration studies form a highly fragmented, emergent field which still lacks both a well-defined theoretical framework and analytical rigour"* (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 218).

Portes (2003, 874) concludes that transnational migration is not new, but transnationalism from an analytical perspective is novel. In other words, it is not new that migrants maintain ties over national borders and create social spaces that span national societies. There are perhaps new aspects of the current transnationalism of migrants, but in the social sciences the way out of methodological nationalism that was offered by the concept of transnationalism is important. Bommes (2002) is, however, not convinced that transnationalism succeeded in introducing a new analytical framework in the social sciences. He argues that although transnationalism has succeeded in detaching social space, national society and the nation-state territory from each other, the container approach wherein a social space is determined by territory and place could not be overcome by it. A later critique also states that, for instance, in an African context, where nation-states might not be the most relevant political, social and cultural units, it is worthwhile to use the term pluri-local social units (Oßenbrügge 2004, 28; Jensen 2004, 35f).

An important step in the development of transnationalism was made by Guarnizo, who distinguished between two forms of transnational activities:

*“The basic concept of “Transnationalism from Above”, as I understand it, is that multinational corporations, media, commoditization [...] and other macro-level structures and processes that transcend two or more states are not produced and projected equally in all areas, but are controlled by powerful elites, who seek, although do not necessarily find, political, economic and social dominance in the world. [...] In contradistinction to the homogenizing and elitist forces of “transnationalism from above”, “transnationalism from below” generates multiple and counter-hegemonic powers among non-elites. It is a creation of a new social space - one spanning at least two nations - that is fundamentally grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of quotidian actors.”* (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 67)

The debate has continued in recent years, and still none of the related core terms (inter alia transnationalism, transnational migration, transnational migrant, transmigrant, transnational social field, transnational social space, transnational community, transnational activities, pluri-local social space/pluri-lokale soziale Räume, Transnationalisierung) have a generally accepted definition with solid theoretical underpinning.

Transnationalism as a migration related term entered the European scientific context through the work of sociologists (Thomas Faist, Ludger Pries, Stephen Castles) and anthropologists (e.g. Transnational Communities Programme, University of Oxford, 1997-2003). Thomas Faist, for instance, addresses the terms transnational social field and transnational social space.

*“The linchpin of Faist’s thesis is the concept of transnational social spaces. It is his articulation of a systematic theory of such spaces that is the product of what Glick-Schiller and her colleagues (1992, p. 5) identified as the desideratum of a ‘social science unbound’. Faist (1999, p. 15; Faist 2000a, p. 243) describes this as going beyond the ‘container concept of space’ (see also, Beck 2000) that he thinks characterizes both assimilation theory and ethnic pluralism. Moreover, it can be seen as a parallel to what both Glick-Schiller et al. and Portes describe, without much elaboration as ‘social fields’.”* (Kivisto 2001, 566)

Faist’s definition of the transnational social space is: *“Transnational social spaces consist of combinations of social and symbolic ties and their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places. The reality of transnational exchanges indicates that migration and return migration are not definite, irrevocable, and irreversible decisions; transnational lives in themselves may become a strategy of survival and betterment. We then speak of transmigrants. And even those migrants who have settled for a considerable time in*

*the immigration country can entertain strong transnational links and may thus participate in transnational social spaces.*” (Faist 2000, 197)

The German educational literature does not build on the definition of Faist, although the latter manages to call attention to the dynamic nature of transnationalism<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, by using a fairly broad perspective, it also includes those persons who are settled but are part of a transnational network. Adick’s definition refers exclusively to those who are ‘leibhaftig mobil’ (2005, 264), so she excludes from her definitions those pupils who socialise in a transnational social space but do not have their own migration experience. Pries focuses, just like Faist, on the social space and its transnational character. He sets up a typology of internationalisation in which transnationalisation is one form.

*“Eine bedeutsame neue Qualität internationaler Migration am Ende des Jahrhunderts besteht darin, dass der Anteil von mehrfacher, mehrdirektionaler, Erwerbs- und lebensphasenbezogener und etappenweiser flächenräumlicher Wanderung zunimmt und sich jenseits der (national-) gesellschaftlichen Grenzziehungen neue Migrationsnetzwerke und transnationale Lebenswirklichkeiten aufspannen, wodurch, das schon seit Jahrhunderten bestehende Gerüst von Weltwirtschaft mit neuen sozialen Verflechtungszusammenhängen gefüllt wird. Es entstehen neue multi-lokale Transnationale Soziale Räume.”* (Pries 1997, 35)

He derives his argument from various space concepts and attempts to detach social space from territorial place.

*“Transnationalisierung führt zur Herausbildung dauerhafter und dichter pluri-lokaler und nationalstaatliche Grenzen überschreitende Verflechtungsbeziehungen von sozialen Praktiken, Symbolsystemen und Artefakten. Diese grenzüberschreitenden Formationen können vorwiegend ökonomische, soziale, kulturelle und politische Dimension haben - in aller Regel ist ihre Dynamik aber durch komplexe Wechselwirkung zwischen diesen Dimensionen bestimmt.”* (Pries 2008, 166)

He further defines transmigrant as follows:

*“Transmigranten zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass der Wechsel zwischen verschiedenen Lebensorten in unterschiedlichen Ländern für sie kein singulärer Vorgang ist, sondern zu einem Normalzustand und zu einer Normalitätserwartung wird, in dem sich ihr gesamter*

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10 Hornberg (2010, 63ff) refers not only to Pries, but also to Faist in her introductory chapter.

*Lebensraum pluri-lokal über Ländergrenzen hinweg zwischen verschiedenen Orten aufspannt.*” (Pries 2001, 14ff)

This short overview already shows that the definition of transnationalism can vary widely. Firstly, the definitions are shaped to a large extent by which disciplinary framework is conceptualised. Secondly, definitions vary by whether their emphasis is on migrants themselves or on the transnational network that the migrant is involved in. According to one definition, the involvement in a transnational social space (or transnational social field) is the basis for a transnational way of living (Glick-Schiller, Szanton-Blanc, Basch, Portes, Faist, Pries). Others define transnationalism in a rather narrow way: *“Although transnationalism has been defined broadly as the way in which “transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations – familial economic, social, organizational, religious and political that spans borders” (Basch at al. 1994, 7), in my readings of the transnational literature I find that mobility constitutes a centerpiece of migration.” [...] movements of bodies across space, the physical translocation of migrants across boundaries dividing two or more nation-states” (Mahler 1998, 76).* By this definition, only those who have their own regular migration experience qualify as transmigrant. Another, rather blurred definition, which aims to draw a line between temporary labour migrants, permanent migrants and transnational ones, calls attention away from migration and focuses instead on activities; without, however, a clear definition of what sort of activities might qualify as transnational: *“Temporary labour migrants, who sojourn abroad for a few years, send back remittances, communicate with their family at home and visit them occasionally are not necessarily transmigrants. Nor are permanent migrants who leave forever and simply retain contacts to their homeland. The key defining feature is that transnational activities are a central part of a person’s life” (Castles and Miller 2009, 32).* Guarnizo considers two important categorical points of differentiation: core versus expanded transnational practices, where these are opposite endpoles of the same scale, because *“...of course individuals’ lives are transnationalised in varying degrees. In this respect Guarnizo (2000) identifies what is termed core transnationalism, which is understood to involve activities that form an integral part of everyday life, are regular and are patterned and therefore predictable. This is contrasted with expanded transnationalism, which is characterised by occasional involvement in transnational practices.” (Williams and Baláz 2008, 109).*

There is only a brief history of transnational migration research in Europe, which started a decade later than the studies in the North American context. The main reason for this is that the migration research in Western Europe mainly focuses on the social inequality and social position of migrants in their country of settlement (Scheibelhofer 2005a, 22). The European



legal context, the geographical setting and the specific migration patterns called for an adjustment of the transnational approach for the European research context. Studies such as those of Glorius (2007), Kreutzer and Roth (2006), Müller-Mahn (2005), Nieswand (2005), the Trans-Net project (2008-2011), and Weissköpel (2005) aim to adopt and develop the concept of transnational migration within the European context by describing transnationalisms in its complexities, and by taking both sending and receiving countries into account as well as the legal, social and educational status of the migrant.

In her review of the European transnational migration research, Scheibelhofer points out that there is still no model to explain the formation of ‘transnational social spaces’ (2005a, 26). This lacuna might also stem from the fact that the concept of ‘social space’ is variously theorised and empirically difficult to capture. In German educational science one often comes across the ‘social space’ concept of Bourdieu (1985). Bourdieu defines social space as multidimensional, with principles of differentiation and distribution. Actors in the social space have a position which relates to other positions. Social space is constructed by different sorts of capital that are accepted and valorised differently depending on the particular social space (Bourdieu 1985, 9f and cf. Kramer 2011, 33ff; Oßenbrügge 2004, 19.)

In migration sociology concerned with transnationalism there are two concurrent definitions of social space. Firstly, there is that of Faist (2000, 199f), who writes: *“Transnational social spaces consist of combinations of sustained social and symbolic ties, their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic processes, not static notions of ties and positions. Cultural, political, and economic processes in transnational social spaces involve the accumulation, use, and effect of various sorts of capital, their volume and convertibility: economic capital, human capital, such as educational credentials skills and know-how, and social capital, mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties.”* The other definition, which has been adapted for the purposes of educational science, is that of Ludger Pries mentioned above.

In conclusion, while interpreting the data provided by my respondents, it is worthwhile to bear in mind the following: the concept of transnationalism and other related ones are not clearly defined, but they call attention to the exploration of social interactions beyond national borders which generate ties between persons at different locations. The exploration of the intensity, the frequency and the nature of these activities will be relevant for my analysis.

### **2.1.3 Changing patterns of migration in the world, in the European Union, and in East-Central Europe**

Changes in migration patterns directly impact how children become involved in migration and which new challenges state-run educational provision faces because of the presence of ever more diverse migrant pupil populations. In this section, I will discuss some of these changes which are considered relevant for my research and for a pedagogical inquiry into the migration-education nexus in general.

The blurring of binary categories used for the description of migration is one sign of wider changes in global migration patterns. King (2002) describes how the dichotomies used for describing migration were developed on the model of the settler migrations from Europe to the Americas and the guest worker programmes in Europe during the post-war period. He argues that current forms of migration escape the binary categories of '*internal and international*', '*country of origin and country of destination*', '*voluntary and forced*', '*temporary and permanent*' and '*legal and illegal*'. In the case of intra-European migration, many of these categories are challenged as well. In many respects intra-European migration is internal, but in others it is international (Bailey and Boyle 2004, 233). From an educational point of view, I propose to consider the migration of a child within Europe as international in cases in which the child crosses international state borders. The reason for this is that in Europe, the state borders overlap the legislative borders of state-run educational systems in all cases. However, in our typology proposed in section 2.3, I include internal migration as an important category, because in many cases, although the child might not cross an international border, an educational legislative border is crossed within the same country. From the pedagogical perspective it is important to consider this.

With regard to the dichotomy of 'country of origin' and 'country of destination', two critiques can be formulated. Firstly, research on return and circular migration (Čapo Žmegač 2010; Çaglar 2013) questions the meaning of these two terms. According to empirical findings, in many cases the country of origin becomes a country of destination, just as a return migration might become a simple immigration. Secondly, in cases in which a migrant's life unfolds in a transnational social space, the strict distinction between sending and receiving country becomes superfluous. From a pedagogical point of view, the distinction between country of origin and country of destination is less important than the considerations of the order and number of countries of educational provision and the country of birth. The typology proposed in section 2.3 will therefore include the country of educational provision as a relevant category.

The dichotomy of 'voluntary and forced' is also challenged by the fact that certain forms of migration, such as poverty-induced economic migration, as well as any form of 'mixed cause migration', can be placed only with difficulty into this dichotomy. With regard to children, the dichotomy is even more complicated when we consider the extent to which children are involved in the decision-making about their own migration (see next section).

The categories 'temporary' and 'permanent' migration vary in their definition in different jurisdictions with regard to the parameter of duration of stay. Therefore, there is no unified definition for temporary or permanent migration in the European Union. In her field work, Çağlar (2013) finds that among temporary migrants crossing the Ukrainian and Hungarian border, it is difficult to determine what type of movement can be considered as temporary, circular, permanent or return migration (2013, 162). According to the author, circular migration is closely related to temporary migration, but it is different from it. The stay in circular migration is for a limited time and the mobility is bidirectional, which means repeated movement occurs between the countries of origin and destination. In other words, circular migration is a repeated cross-border movement between two countries. Return and repetition are the distinct characteristics of this form of migration (see also Newland et. al. 2008, 2). With regard to education where the migration from one legal framework of educational provision to another takes place, the question of how long a pupil has to attend school in order to no longer be considered temporary proves challenging.

A specific change in global migration patterns has been coined with the term 'feminisation of migration'. This refers to the fact that proportionally more women have become involved in migration than ever before, and that women are no longer exclusively considered as tied migrants who follow the bread-winning male relative (Bailey and Boyle 2004, 238), but are instead considered independent migrants to an equal extent. These two changes also affect the children of these migrant women. Alongside the reimagining of the concepts of male migrant and female migrant, the male and female roles, as well as their responsibilities in a family unit, are also undergoing change. These changes provide new areas of investigation for educational research; for instance, into children left behind (see chapter 3.5.2).

On the level of the European Union, increasingly complex patterns of migration and mobility are becoming apparent. Three processes contribute to this. One is the diversification of motives for migration (labour migration, retirement migration, migration for education, lifestyle migration, forced migration, tourism) as well as the simultaneous mixed presence of these different migration and mobility types in most European countries. Secondly, since the early 1990s a large number of European countries, including those of East-Central Europe,

became sending, receiving and transit countries at the same time, in that they were accommodating, receiving and sending migrants who have mixed reasons for migration (see Koser and Lutz 1998). Thirdly, the political facilitation of the free movement of European nationals within Europe has contributed to a greater number of temporary movements. Engbersen et al. (2013) examine the example of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian labour migrants in the Netherlands and whether the usual typology of temporary, circular and settler migration is sufficient for capturing the migration experience of those involved in a research survey conducted between 2009 and 2011. The authors find that besides these old patterns, a considerable group of migrants are also involved in a so-called 'liquid migration'. This term refers to movements in which the migrant tries his or her luck in new and multiple countries, benefitting from open borders and open labour markets. This form of migration is a more individualised one, where migration is less network-driven and less organised around family responsibilities. According to Engbersen, this so-called 'liquid migration' is characterised by the temporary nature of stay, primarily involvement in legal labour migration, multiplicity and multidirectionality, an individualised life strategy, and unintentional unpredictability (2012, 99f). The author's main intent is to call attention to the need for recognition of different migration types among migrants, as well as to the new, liquid form of migration occurring among migrants from East-Central Europe since the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007. The author primarily focuses on young independent labour migrants working in one particular country, but his findings could be tested among those labour migrants who migrate with their families and in other countries as well. The findings of Ní Laoire (2011) suggest, for instance, that a sizable proportion of the Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian migrants arriving in Ireland after 2004 were children. This suggests that findings like those of Engbersen, which call for an updated typology of migration patterns, are needed with regard to family and child migration as well (see also Wallace 2001, 47; Morokvasic 2004, 7ff).

These three trends – i.e. the diversification of migration types as well as their simultaneous presence; the parallel status of countries as sending, receiving and transit countries; and the proliferation of temporary labour migration within the European Union – have an impact on children's involvement in migration as well as on state-run public educational systems (Bukus 2016, 135). These systems will need to adapt to the new challenges which emerge from the diversification of educational pathways among pupil migrants. They will need to accommodate the needs of a highly diverse migrant pupil population in which pupils differ in their migration routes, their length of stay, their or their caregivers' motives for migration, etc. Temporary stay also challenges the traditional concept of educational integration and calls for innovative policy and pedagogical measures. Additionally, under the conditions of the current migration patterns

within the European Union, the state-run educational systems have to consider their role in preparing citizens growing towards adulthood for a successful potential participation in these movements, as well as reincluding those who have already completed migration. My research focuses within this framework, on those international migrant pupils who have had more than two way stations during their educational career but cannot be considered as highly mobile or (semi-)nomadic.

Good research relies on appropriate and accurate statistical data on the population in question. In the case of the present research, accurate numbers of primary and secondary school-age children involved in intra-European mobility would be needed. To access this statistical data is challenging for two reasons: problems in measuring intra-European mobility and difficulties in accessing data on child migration. With regard to the former, administrative data sources (e.g. population registers, immigration registers, residence permit registers, work permit registers, etc.), statistical data sources (e.g. census), and survey data on migration is administered and collected within national frameworks. This leads to a variety of different categories of data collection, as well as to differing definitions of key terms such as ‘migrant’ (Kupiszewska et al. 2010, 29; Benton and Petrovic 2013, 4; Haug 2004, 286). Additionally, these datasets usually are unable to measure short-term or commuting forms of migration. Due to the fact that those using the right of free movement neither register with local authorities on departure nor on arrival, exact statistics on intra-European mobility are lacking (Bukus 2016, 136). The target group of the data collection can also vary from country to country. The time criterion used for distinguishing a migrant from another type of traveller can vary from the establishment of permanent residency (e.g. Poland and Slovakia), through a length of stay of at least a year (e.g. Estonia, Italy, Sweden), to a stay of as little as three months (e.g. Belgium, Slovenia) (UN 2008, 2).

Comprehensive European statistics on migrants using the right of free movement and on migrants involved in temporary migration are inadequate. Temporary intra-European mobility often remains unrepresented or underrepresented in official statistical migration data sets. The report compiled by the European Commission in 2011 reveals how many different national definitions of ‘temporary’, ‘circular’ and ‘return’ migration exist and how differently EU Member States set up their policies and statistical categories referring to these forms of migration. The report concludes that the current data collection is not capable of recording these forms of movement, because they consider migration to be a one-time, long-term change of residence across borders and because the definitions used in different statistical regimes are not harmonised (2011, 65f).

Accessing statistical data on child/pupil migrants is also challenging due to the lack of data (see also Ackers and Stalford 2004, 15). Two potential sources for data collection are through migration statistics and educational statistics. In the former, problems stem from the fact that age-aggregated data is not always readily available. In the latter, a pupil appears in the school statistics most often as a foreign citizen, but this category is not necessarily divided into further sub-categories. For this reason, disaggregating the number of foreign citizen pupils from EU member countries is difficult. Additionally, school statistics often collect their statistical data for a school year, which in practice is not always capable of capturing temporary migration.

Despite all these barriers in data collection, according to the Eurostat data in 2011 there were 48.9 million foreign-born residents in the EU. Of those, 32.4 million were born outside of the EU and 16.5 million in another EU member state. Only in Luxemburg, Ireland, Hungary, Cyprus and Malta was the foreign-born population of those born in other EU member states larger than the foreign-born population born outside the EU (Vasileva 2012, 2). Intra-European mobility is considered to be relatively low, but reports refer to the probable underestimation or invisibility of real intra-European movement. The MPI report finds that those involved in intra-European mobility are more often third-country nationals than European citizens (Benton and Petrovic 2013, 4). Country and group specific statistics are also available. For example, the report compiled by Schneider and Parusel (2011) finds that of the circular migrant non-EU foreign citizens in Germany, 10.7 percent are third country nationals. The authors also find that some migrant groups are more likely to be involved in circular migration (e.g. citizens of Ukraine, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, etc.), and that the average rate of persons under 18 years of age is 6.3 % among all circular migrants. However, the proportion of children among circular migrants varies according to country of citizenship, so that the proportion reaches 10.5 % of Serbian circular migrants and 16.6 % of Kosovar circular migrants (2011, 59) (Bukus 2016, 137).

Temporary migration – and circular migration as a form thereof – is often highlighted in EU policy papers as a triple win solution. It offers a solution to labour shortages; prevents brain- and skill-drain and contributes to the development of the sending country; and it contributes to the personal enrichment of the migrants themselves (Triandafyllidou 2013, 4). There has, however, been little empirical evidence delivered for any of these three ‘wins’.<sup>11</sup> The present

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11 Triandafyllidou suggests on the basis of case studies on circular migrants between seven country pairs (Greece-Albania, Italy-Albania, Spain-Morocco, Hungary-Ukraine, Poland-Ukraine, Italy-Morocco, and Italy-Ukraine) that there is only a moderate gain for the country of origin and the migrant himself. Meanwhile, the

research reflects on the third aspect, i.e. the win of the migrant worker. We concentrate on cases in which the migrant moves with family and children. The level of access of these family members to health care, housing and educational provision contributes to the overall ‘win’ of the migrant (Bukus 2016, 147). The present research aims to better understand how the educational pathway of pupils with more than two way stations unfolds, how these pupils link way stations to each other and how they evaluate their pathways.

## **2.2 Role of children in migration** <sup>12</sup>

The present study relies on research findings that are closely related to child migrants. These include: children’s role in migrant families, children’s impact on migration, family migration, the migration of a parent, migrating mothers, the situation of children left behind<sup>13</sup> in the country of origin of the migrant caregiver, as well as independent/unaccompanied child migration. In recent years, several disciplines that are comprised under the umbrella term ‘social studies of childhood’ have called for more attention to children’s roles in and influence on migration, as well as their own experience of migration (Dobson and Stillwell 2000; Ní Laoire et al.2012; Orgocka 2012; Hess and Shandy 2008; Goździak and Ensor 2010; King 2002,102; Huijsmans 2011). Migration studies, anthropology and human geography (McKendrick 2001, 464) all call for research on children, as by having an adult-centred research perspective these disciplines cannot study their topics from the viewpoint of children. This general trend in the Western social sciences to acknowledge the child as a distinct actor who exercises agency and actively shapes his or her environment is critiqued, for instance, by Hunner-Kreisel and Stephan. They note that while children might form a distinct group that research should observe, in many social and cultural contexts they and their experiences cannot be studied detached from their family (2013, 12). Orellana Faulstich et al. take as an example the so-called ‘parachute-kids’ (South-Korean independent migrant children to the US in the 1990s) and draw our attention to the same problem: *“The individualistic focus of traditional Western views of child*

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country of destination does not need to deal with the problems and costs of long-term integration, and its labour shortage is efficiently addressed (2013, 234f).

12 Some lines in this chapter are based on the publication Bukus 2016, 137-141.

13 Huijsmans offers the term ‘stayer’ as a synonym, allowing the term to reflect on the often active role of children in decision-making regarding migration. According to him the term ‘left-behind’ labels only passive children (2011, 1307).

*development tends to neglect the collective interests of families and to ignore the tight links that may connect children to larger family networks” (Orellana Faulstich et al. 2001, 587).*

Migration of children is not a new phenomenon. Fass compares the current child migration with historical ones occurring in the US American context. He argues that a historical analysis of these earlier child migration experiences would shed light on the development of our current interpretation of child migration. Fass writes that “*contemporary images of child migration usually assume that mass migration is both a new phenomenon and a threat to the stability necessary to child life and its proper development[...]But historians need to make the public aware that their current view of children (our view of children) is a product of a particular history*” (Fass 2005, 938-9). Similarly to Fass, Klapper (2007) analyses the migration experiences of children in the migration flows between 1880 and 1925 to the United States.

There are several articles describing how children are influential on the decisions of their caregivers about migration, as well as how children get involved in migration themselves. Fass calls attention to the fact that the migration decisions of families were influenced by children in previous phases of history to the same extent as they are today (Fass, 2005, 941f). With regard to current migration paths, White et al. point to the fact that migration of children is often interpreted from the viewpoint of the welcomed forms of migration such as labour migration. From this perspective, discourses around child migration often suggest that children are dependent family members who are a burden on the migration of the caregivers (White et al. 2011, 1163; see also Orellana Faulstich et al. 2001, 578). In contrast to these assumptions, there is research evidence depicting how children can become initiators of migration, as well as how they play a motivating role in encouraging migration. Horton (2008), for instance, describes how mothers decide to migrate based on their perception of what it means to be a child and what it means to be a good mother, on the basis of research among Mexican and Salvadoran immigrant families and women in California. Along the same note as these discussions, other researchers focus on the right of children to participate in migratory decision-making. Ackers (2000), for example, addresses the scope to which children have the right to decide what is in their best interest. He points in his analysis to the fact that research should focus not only on what role children may play in the formation of migratory processes, but also on how much right children have to take part in a decision which has an outcome related to them. Similarly to Ackers, in her article on independent child migration (see also the terms separated, unaccompanied, trafficked), Orgocka to the difficulties of clearly distinguishing ‘forced’ and ‘voluntary’ migration in the case of children. She finds that in many cases the level of participation in the actual decision-making is under-researched, or due to ideals of childhood



researchers who do not recognise how often children consciously decide to get involved in trafficking, illegal or economic migration (2012, 5). In line with these research topics the first research question I collected data on was the participation of the pupils in the decision-making.

Parallel to these developments in childhood studies as well as in reaction to the needs of migrant labourers within the European Union, research on families and their experience with migration requires more academic attention. According to Bailey and Boyle, the exclusive focus on the economic rational theory of migration overshadows the importance of the family unit in migration. The authors argue that in order to fully understand migration and its impacts, we have to research how the involvement in a family influences migration and, conversely, how migration influences families (2004, 203ff).

Current phenomena of temporary and circular forms of child migration, as well as the presence of children left behind in the caregiver's country of origin, are anything but new or unique in the European context. In other geographical and historical contexts involvement of children in migration has also been discussed in these ways. Olwig (1999) analyses children's perspectives on their families' migration from the Leeward Island of Nevis to the UK and their separation from their parents. Another example of children left behind is discussed by Lu (2012), in her article about the impact of internal migration of parents on the education of children left behind in rural areas of China. In her data analysis, Lu comes to the conclusion that the migration of parents does not necessarily always have good effects on the educational outcomes of their children. Despite the geographical and other contextual differences it is worthwhile to look into the secondary literature in other parts of the world, especially in cases where the topic of analysis shows many similarities. The findings of Lu, for instance, show many parallels to those of Robila (2011), who presents the results of a survey on the – partially negative – impacts of parental migration on children's educational outcomes in Romania. Both authors find that the simplistic assumption – that through remittances, the educational success of children left behind may increase – proved to be inaccurate. Educational success, according to the authors, depends on many other factors, such as who is migrating from the family, the role of siblings, the level of satisfaction of the parents with their migration, the age when the child is left behind, as well as gender differences.

The discussion of Fry about the shifting politics of education for returnee children in Japan may also offer an interesting parallel to the European context. Fry focuses on those children who migrated as part of a family from Japan during the 1960s, when many Japanese companies posted employees to newly established branches abroad. Her analysis shows how the society and the educational system reacted to the return of these children after they had stayed a couple

of years abroad, as well as how this reaction changed over time. She finds that while until the 1970's, return migrant children were at first considered to be 'incomplete' Japanese, a shift of politics towards internationalisation of Japan occurred, and as a result the returned Japanese were re-evaluated as beneficiaries of international experience and bearers of foreign language skills (Fry 2009, 368ff). The author shows how a temporary stay abroad can be constructed by a society as abnormal at one time, but only one decade later can be considered normal, or even desirable. If we apply this shift to the European context, it becomes clear that the discourses evolving around pupil whose educational pathway does not fit the dominant patterns of the sedentary population are constructs of a particular time.

Similar to return migration, circular migration and the children and youth involved in it have already been described in other contexts and at other times. Duany (2002) examines the circular migration occurring between the United States and many countries in close geographical proximity (e.g. Mexico, Jamaica, Dominican Republic), and on the circular flows between Puerto Rico and the United States. The long-standing migration channel and its practices have been analysed in the last decades, also with a focus on children and youth (de Jesus and Sayers 2007, Prewitt-Diaz and Seilhamer 1987, Nogueras and Prewitt-Diaz 1980, Rivera-Medina 1984, Zúñiga and Hamann 2009).

However migration is interpreted in different social contexts and at different times (see Bravo-Moreno 2009, 424), examples from other parts of the world help us to interpret current phenomena in child migration in the European context. Making use of research results from other countries could enrich European research on the current internal mobility of laborers and their families in the European Union with various different perspectives.

### **2.3 Children in the context of migration**

In the following I present a typology which I developed for the purpose of determining an exact definition for the group of my respondents. The secondary literature review in the following chapter will show that the labelling practice of 'children in the context of migration' varies widely, depending on many factors. These factors include, among others, the migration experience of a society, the academic career of a topic in a national framework, and the influences of secondary literature sources published in other countries. Labelling is furthermore influenced by statistical and other administrative data collection practices. Terms may change over time and alongside the society's experience with migration. For this, the switch-over from the term 'Ausländerkind' to the term 'Kind mit Migrationshintergrund' is a good example.

In different languages and in different national contexts, one comes across many terms, such as: ‘foreign child’, ‘foreign citizen child’, ‘non-X citizen child’, ‘migrant child’, ‘immigrant child’, ‘emigrant’ child’, ‘child with a non-X mother tongue’, ‘foreign language speaker child’, ‘non-X speaking child’, ‘child with a mother tongue other than X’, and ‘child of immigrant parents’. Furthermore, there are numerous labels for some specific sub-categories such as ‘child migrant’, ‘child left behind’ (or ‘stayer child’), ‘return migrant child’, ‘highly mobile child’, ‘Third Culture Kid’, ‘asylum seeker and refugee child’, ‘trafficked child’, ‘independent child migrant’, etc.

The confusion in labelling stems partially from the fact that the term ‘migrant’ does not have a unified definition either. In addition, due to the invisibility of some child groups in the migration and educational statistics, the terms referring to them might be underdeveloped. The term ‘*children in the context of migration*’ offers a way out of this terminological confusion. It aims to capture the wide variety among children who are affected by migration in many different ways. The following diagram draws on the results of the literature review presented in the next section and aims to capture the meaning of this term. My goal with this typology is manifold: firstly, it enables me to locate my target group (child migrants who are involved in multiple international migrations during their obligatory schooling age) within the wider group of ‘*children in the context of migration.*’ Secondly, the typology may help teachers and other pedagogical professionals to familiarise themselves with the different forms of involvement in migration among children. Thirdly, they might use the typology and its questions in order to get to know their own pupils and their experiences. Furthermore, this typology helps future researchers to identify those forms of migration which have not yet been described among school-age children.

The typology is self-explanatory, given that it is supposed to be used independently from this book as well. One note on the content is, however, necessary: the abbreviation CCEP stands for country of current educational provision.

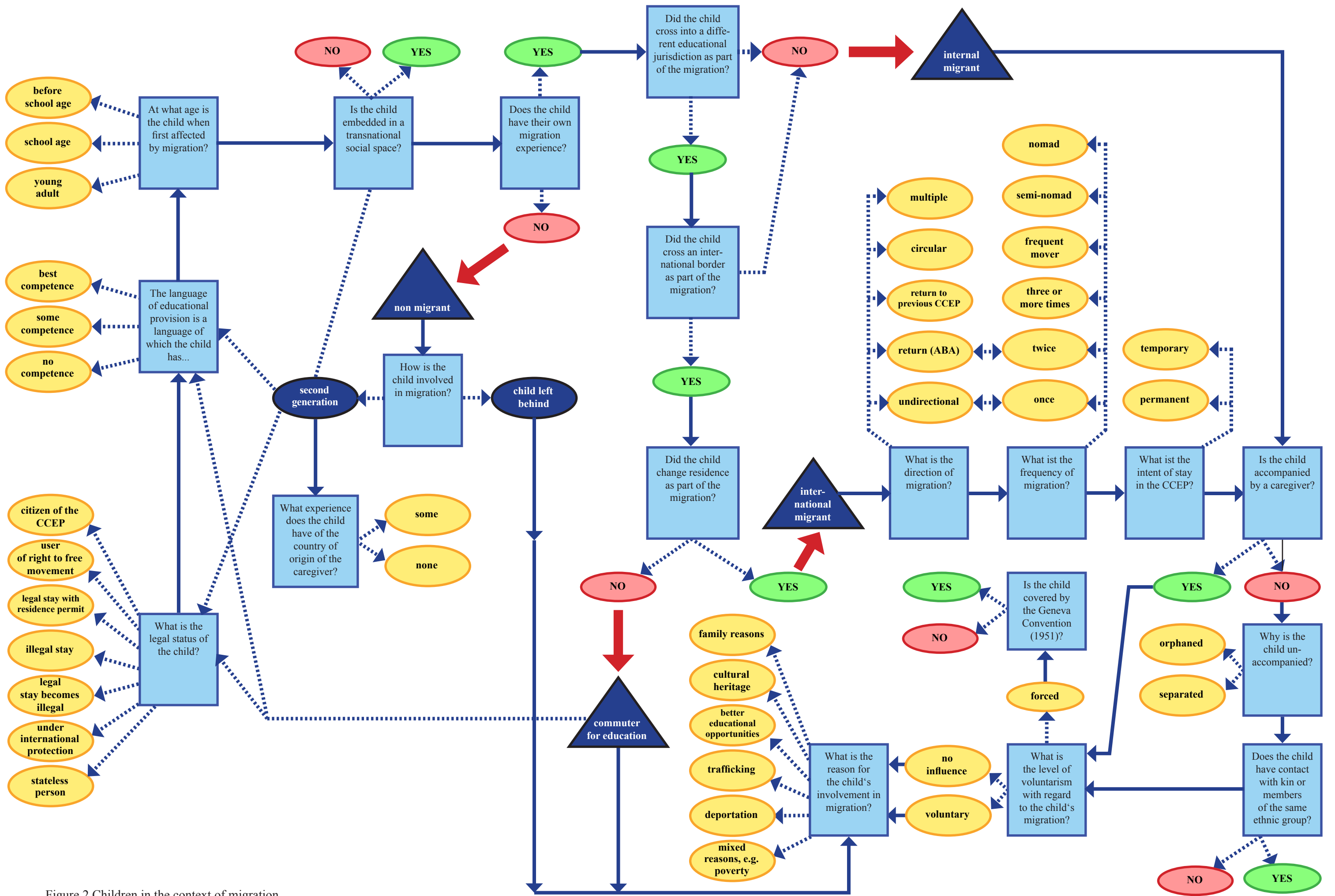


Figure 2 Children in the context of migration

### **3. Secondary literature review**

#### **3.1 Preliminaries to the search for relevant literature**

The present research deals with educational biographies that belong to children migrants and which unfold in different national contexts. Bearing this in mind, this section addresses two theoretical, epistemological aspects of the general research design and the secondary literature review before these are presented in detail.

Firstly, one notices that educational science research on the migration-education nexus is, in most national contexts, dominated by the perspective of the receiving/host society, which gives privilege to topics of integration. The dominant research paradigms of assimilation, multiculturalism and transnationalism all focus on a better understanding of what it means to arrive and integrate to a new social environment (cf. Čapo Žmegač 2010, 231ff). While the transnational paradigm aims to include the aspect of multiple-simultaneous involvements, it still cannot entirely overcome the national social unit into which a migrant is supposed to belong.

These dominating paradigms, in an alliance with sedentary thinking (which will be elaborated on further in section 3.3), tend to be blind to topics that arise from multiple mobilities and temporary stays or end up exoticising them. The reason for this is mainly due to political and ideological programs that frame the discussion on migration and education. Ní Laoire et. al. (2011), for example, find that in the Irish context, because of racialised politics of integration (including the educational segment), temporary migrant pupils from East-Central European countries are not even regarded as a significant group for discussions on (educational) integration. The presumed features of these children as white, young, usually Christian and mostly EU citizens suggests a barrier-free (educational) integration for them, which might only extend to some linguistic difficulties (2011, 73). As this example shows, what we know about a social phenomenon is embedded in a complex power dynamic. With regard to a temporary migrant pupil attending school in Ireland for a couple of years, our knowledge about this pupil is dependent on who has the capacity to conduct research on him or her and in what ideological and political environment this research process is embedded: the host society or the sending society which might be, at the same time, the country of return. My research aims to focus on educational biographies that unfold in many social contexts and on their owners, whereby these biographies might challenge the current understandings of social and educational integration.

The second aspect we have to address here is ‘methodological nationalism’. Methodological nationalism refers to an epistemological attitude in the social sciences where the researcher assumes the nation as a naturally given unit of analysis and that nations equate with societies

(cf. Yıldız 2018). Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2003) identify three variants of methodological nationalism: “1) ignoring or disregarding the fundamental importance of nationalism for modern societies; this is often combined with 2) naturalisation, i.e. taking for granted that the boundaries of the nation-state delimit and define the unit of analysis; 3) territorial limitation which confines the study of social processes to the political and geographic boundaries of a particular nation-state.” (2003, 577-578).

This is inherent in educational research in two ways. Firstly, the historical development of state schooling coincides with the emergence of the nation-state as a dominant political and social model during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ramirez and Boli argue that state-sponsored education was an important tool to construct a unified national polity and strengthen the European model of national society (1987, 3). The modern school system<sup>14</sup> is universal by now, because “*it became a central feature of the Western, and subsequently the world model of the nation-state and its development*” (Meyer et al. 1992, 129). In a similar line, Adick (1992) develops her argumentation in a world-system theoretical approach and claims that all modern nation-states face similar economic, social and cultural challenges while securing their sovereignty and unity. Public mass education develops into an institution capable of tackling these challenges (Ramirez and Meyer 2002, 93).

Secondly, scientific educational inquiry reflects the same convictions about the national unit. Educational science –established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup> – was divided from a very early stage into general educational science (Allgemeine Erziehungswissenschaft) and comparative education<sup>16</sup> (Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft). This division reflects the assumption that nations are unified, and are linguistically and culturally homogenous entities that can be studied only by a clear distinction between the ‘own’ and the ‘other’. (Allemann-Ghionda 2004, 23; Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006, 72). Basch and Gundara (2012) draw our attention to the fact

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14 Adick defines the modern school as “allgemeines, allgemeinbildendes, öffentliches Pflichtschulsystem, das Erziehung Unmündiger und Unterrichtung gesellschaftlichen Wissens in institutionalisierten Lehr- und Lernprozessen durch eine professionalisierte Lehrerschaft organisiert und das mittels Qualifikations-, Selektions- und Legitimationsprozessen ‘kulturellen Kapitals’ individuell und ungleich zuteilt.” (Adick 1992, 22f)

15 In the German context the first university professorship in pedagogy was held by Ernst Christian Trapp in 1779 in Halle (Seitz 2002, 343).

16 In the Anglo-American terminology the term education is used for both educational praxis and the scientific inquiry into it (Seitz 2002, 348).

that both comparative and intercultural education build on the a priori existence of boundaries, territories and sovereignties, and treat social relations and cultures as territorialised. In their view, education served mostly as the reinforcement and reproduction of these borders and territories, and perpetuates the categories of belonging, inclusion and exclusion with its normative discourse (391ff). Educational science developed in particular national and linguistic contexts, which leads to methodological nationalisms in its approach and terminology (see Adick 2008, 184). Palomba, for instance, calls attention to the fact that intercultural and comparative educational research does not necessarily include and merge in its praxis the conceptual diversity of basic terms such as 'education' in the different languages (2012, 447).

Both branches of comparative education (Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft) - comparative education (Komparatistik) and international education (Internationale Erziehungswissenschaft)<sup>17</sup> - traditionally had a focus on topics that went beyond the nation-states. The inner heterogeneity of societies, for instance, was not a topic of interest in German educational research until the 1960s (Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006, 102). The history of intercultural education (interkulturelle Pädagogik) begins with a period of 'Ausländerpädagogik' between the 1960s and the 1970s with its focus on the 3Ds: deficit, difference and discrimination of foreign citizen children and pupils (Diehm and Radtke 1999, 20). In critique of this approach, intercultural pedagogy developed into a practical approach and an interdisciplinary research field (Diehm and Radtke 1999, 136; Roth 2002, 33ff).

Methodological nationalism is a set of challenges that most social science disciplines have to tackle. Migration studies, human geography and history are three fields of study which lead the discussions about methodological nationalism. Within the discipline of educational science, historical educational research has started to overcome methodological nationalism by adapting a transnational approach. For instance, Gippert's (2010) chapter about transnational educational history shows that the current trends in historiography – which aim to overcome the national unit of analysis by instead focusing on transfers and exchanges between cultures – are starting to be reflected in the educational historiography as well (see also Schriewer 2007, 12). The author argues – in line with, for instance, Matthias Middell (2007) - that the exclusive orientation towards the nation as a unit of analysis hinders the educational historian in

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17 Comparative education describes and studies foreign national educational systems in a cross-national framework. International education researches international cooperation and aims to contribute to international peace (Seitz 2002, 345f).

identifying important research topics and analysing flows and exchanges taking place over national boundaries that played a significant role in shaping educational history. This approach builds on the assumption that while the nation-state might have become the leading political, economic, social and cultural unit over the last approximately 200 years, its emergence is not only due to homogenisation processes and boundary-setting, but, parallel to this, also flows of information and people over these boundaries and a constant exchange in different domains of life (Hadler and Middell 2010). This focus on transfer and exchange helps the researcher to step out of the national unit of analysis and engage with topics beyond it. Along the same lines, Wishmeyer and Möller (2013) edited a volume on education knowledge transfer in different historical educational spaces.

Methodological nationalism is an approach which can be constraining in cases where the researcher is not conscious of its complexity. The way out is not necessarily by putting on transnational lenses, but by making sure that the nation is equalled with society in cases in which doing so serves the interest of the research design. I argue that methodological nationalism can be overcome only when the researcher attempts to overcome the unwished and unplanned constrictions caused by an unintended methodological nationalism in all steps of the research process.

In my own research process, I aim to overcome methodological nationalism by contextualising the topic alongside examples from other geographical and time contexts. In the search for relevant secondary literature, I developed a strategy to address the fact that research on child migration is, in most cases, embedded in national traditions. This embeddedness manifests itself in the key words that are used to label a secondary literature item, as well as the (in)visibility of an item in a library catalogue and meta-catalogue. The next section will elaborate on this strategy.

### **3.2 Catalogues, languages and key words**

A secondary literature review can never be entirely complete, especially if it is carried out by one researcher. It is always constrained by the language skills of the researcher, among other factors. In the case of the present research, the literature included was published in English, German and Hungarian. To a lesser extent, secondary literature is included which was published in a language other than these, which could be read with the help of translation software.

Language restrictions have their influence not only on the level of concrete reading of the literature, but already in the search process. Therefore, identifying key words in the different



languages is a first step of the search process. This is, however, very much influenced by the actual status of disciplinary research with regard to the field (educational research on the migration and education nexus) as well as the influence of this on the practice of librarians. They are the people who enter the key words for literature items in a catalogue, as well as those who are responsible for positioning a new item in the already given structure of a particular catalogue. In different national contexts the transfer of knowledge between the library practice and the findings in a discipline varies.

In many cases, the identification of key words depends to a large extent on the familiarity of the researcher with the research traditions and the history of the topic in question within a particular national context. In the case of the present research, research topics and foci around the migration-education nexus are very different in the German national context than from the US-American or any national context in the East-Central European region. This is due to the different experiences with international migration in the period of time when educational scientific research has been conducted. Thus, familiarity is also needed about the general migration history of the contexts in question. Due to the fact that educational science practice is embedded in a national context, the researcher has to develop some familiarity with the developments within the discipline itself. For example, the rough categorisation of the internal development of the German educational research on migrant pupils into the phases of 'Ausländerpädagogik' and 'interkulturelle Pädagogik' allows us to identify the relevant sections of a German catalogue. These, however, do not help when different national catalogues or meta-catalogues are being used.

During the literature search one can identify those disciplines and fields of inquiry which might have produced results relevant to the core question. In the case of the present research, beyond educational science these disciplines and research field were: anthropology, migration studies, childhood studies, human geography and sociology. This is important to mention, because in many cases catalogues offer an option of narrowing down by discipline.

All catalogues have a geographical scope and all catalogues are influenced by a dominant perspective, a dominant language and a dominant set of literature. It is important to be conscious about the fact that although a meta-catalogue would claim to have a global scope in its database, it actually depends very much on the features of the network of participating libraries. For instance, the WorldCat catalogue, which is operated by the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, might not even include an item which is among the first search results in a German regional catalogue. One has to bear in mind during the secondary literature search that the accessibility

and visibility of research results is part of wider power dynamic with regard to information, as well as the right to conduct research which fulfils requirements on a global scale.

The catalogues used in the search can be distinguished between those which go beyond national units and those which are part of a national structure. Meta-catalogues which integrate many national and regional catalogues include, for example, the Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog and the Worldcat catalogues. National structures are built up differently, and three examples will serve to illustrate this. In the German national context there are meta-catalogues for diverse state catalogues (Gemeinsamer Bibliotheksverbund, Bibliotheksverbund Bayern, Südwestdeutschen Bibliotheksverbundes, Verbundkatalog Nord-Rhein-Westfalen, Hessisches Bibliotheksinformationssystem und Kooperativer Bibliotheksverbund Berlin-Brandenburg), state level catalogues (e.g. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), university-based catalogues, local city catalogues and specialised catalogues.

In the Czech Republic, catalogues relevant for this research were the National Library, the specialised national pedagogical catalogue (National Pedagogical Museum and Library of J.A. Komenský), a specialised pedagogical library with regional scope (Education and Research Library of the Pilsener Region) and the university-based catalogues (e.g. Masaryk University in Brno).

In Hungary, similar to the Czech Republic, the National Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), the national pedagogical library (Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár es Múzeum) and the university-based libraries were relevant sources.

For the East-Central European countries, the meta-catalogue Central and Eastern European Online Library delivered results with full text access. There is a general observation that meta-catalogues with an East-Central European orientation do not necessarily contain titles with an educational focus, and furthermore, those catalogues that do have a focus on education do not include the East-Central European region in their scope. In the Central and Eastern European Online Library subject words are in English. However, subject words in the languages of the participating countries proved to be useful as well.

Catalogues with an educational focus have been used here (Education Research Complete and Education Resource Information Center, Fachportal Pädagogik FIS Bildung Literaturdatenbank), as well as catalogues that focus on dissertations and habilitations (Freie Universität Berlin Dissertationen Online).

The secondary literature search was divided into two phases. In the first phase, I identified catalogues and deepened my knowledge on the research topic by reading a number of directly

relevant research articles. In this phase, catalogues and journal databases (e.g. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig) were consulted. In preparation of the second phase it became clear that it is useful to conduct searches not only by keywords and subject words, but also by using other classification codes such as the WebDewey Dewey Decimal Classification and the Regensburger Verbundklassifikation (RVK DO 9000 - DO 9009 Ausländerpädagogik und interkulturelle Erziehung).

After realising that the inherent logic of catalogues is built on a national container concept, the countries of search had to be identified. The secondary literature on migrant education varies from country to country. The main reason for this is that although migration is something that goes beyond borders and spans nation-states, the legislation and policies on migration are still shaped mainly within a national framework. Historical experiences with migration as well as recent trends lead to a unique migration profile for each country, and sometimes even for a region or a city. Thus, the secondary literature on migrant education is enveloped by the national framework.

This research is interested in the multiple migrations of pupils within the European Union, but obviously not all countries can be included in the literature review. Limitations imposed by language, as well as accessibility and time, require a reduction in the number of countries. This reduction cannot, however, be made arbitrarily, but must be made with consistent selection criteria. Here, the selection was made as follows. Literature from Germany and to some extent Austria was included, because although the secondary literature on migrant education in these countries is dominated by the one-time and unidirectional migration type, these countries have engaged with this field in the wider European context since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, they are interesting in terms of contextualising new topics within the migration-education nexus.

Literature from Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland was included because East-Central Europe is a wide area, difficult to define, and the search had to be limited to concrete countries. These four countries show similarities in their pre- and post-1989 migration patterns. In an ideal case the selection criteria would have been that all countries which experienced temporary emigration or immigration should be part of the sample. In this respect, country pairs with circular migration such as Ukraine-Hungary, Albania-Italy, Romania-Spain, and Poland-Ireland should have been part of the literature review. However, apart from Poland and Hungary, these countries were involved only in searches of the meta-catalogues. For

example, the European Library offered titles with clear reference to these countries and in languages which were accessible to the researcher.

The United States of America was included because the catalogues specialised on education – Education Research Complete and Education Resource Information Center – both have a clear focus on the literature referring to the US context, and because temporary migration between Mexico as well as other countries in the Caribbean region and the United States have been significant over the last couple of decades. Literature from Ireland should have been included because since 2004, Ireland has received temporary migrants from different East-Central European countries; however, due to logistical constraints this did not happen.

Because of its territorial focus and scope, the KVK Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog was preferred over the WorldCat catalogue, while the latter served only as a source of keywords.

The secondary literature related to globalisation and transnationalism (in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) clearly builds on sources from the German and the US contexts.

In the second phase of the literature search I searched the following catalogues with the following strategy<sup>18</sup>:

Name of the catalogue	Key words, subject words
Freie Universität Berlin Dissertationen Online	bildungsraum, bildungsräume, migration, bildung, migrant, schüler, kind
Österreichische Dissertationsdatenbank	bildungsraum, bildungsräume, migration, bildung, migrant, schüler, kind
KVK Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog (Deutschland (SWB, BWB, HBZ, He-BIS, HEBIS-Retro, KOBV, GBV, DNB, Stabi-Berlin), Österreich (ÖBV, Ö. Landesbibl., Ö. Nationalbibl.), Schweiz (SwissBib, Westschweizer-BV-Rero)	Freitext: child migrant, Bildungsraum, Bildungsräume, 'migration' und 'bildung', 'mobilität' und 'bildung', 'zirkulär' und 'bildung', 'temporäre migration' und 'bildung', 'children' and 'European Union', 'transnational' und 'education', 'transnational' und 'bildung', 'transnational' und 'schüler', 'biographie' und 'bildung'

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18 I thank Klara Jagrova and Agata Szybura for their help with the Slovak, Czech and Polish catalogues.

<p>Fachportal Pädagogik FIS Bildung Literaturdatenbank</p>	<p>(Schlagwörter: SEITENEINSTEIGER) und (Schlagwörter: MIGRATION)  (Schlagwörter: RUECKWANDERER)  (Schlagwörter: WANDERARBEITER)  (Schlagwörter: Migrationshintergrund) und (Schlagwörter: Bildungslaufbahn)  (Schlagwörter: Bildungslaufbahn) und (Schlagwörter: Migration)</p>
<p>Education Research Complete</p>	<p>TX 'child' AND TX 'migration' AND TX 'education' AND 'Europe'  TX 'child' AND TX 'migration' AND TX 'education' AND 'Europe' AND 'transnational' 'learning' AND 'migrant student'  'migration' AND 'education' AND 'trajectory' AND 'child'</p>
<p>Education Resource Information Center (ERIC)</p>	<p>'student mobility' narrowing to: elementary secondary education  abstract: 'migrant' and 'Hungary/Poland' 'migrant' and 'Europe' and 'education' 'return migrant' 'circular migrant' 'highly mobile (HHM) families' 'relocation' and 'children' 'military personnel' and 'relocation' 'student mobility'</p>
<p>Central and Eastern European Online Library</p>	<p>search in all, keyword migration, subject sociology  search in all, keyword migration, subject education  search in all, keyword circular migration, migration temporary migration, circular migration, migrant child, child migrant, transnational, migrant education, migrant school children left behind, Euro-orphans, Romanian circular migration, children and youth with a migration background, migráció;</p>
<p>The European Library</p>	<p>'child' AND 'migration' AND 'education'</p>

<p>Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár és Múzeum (Hungary) Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár (Hungary)</p>	<p><i>'migráns tanuló' /Migrant student/, külföldi állampolgár tanuló 'külföldi tanuló' /Foreign citizen pupil/, 'migráns szülők gyereke' /Child of immigrant parents/, migráns gyerek /Immigrant child/, 'nem magyar ajkú gyerek' /non-Hungarian speaking child/, 'nem magyar anyanyelvű gyerek' /Child whose mother tongue is not Hungarian/, 'nem magyar állampolgár gyerek' /Non-Hungarian citizen child/, Külföldi állampolgárságú tanuló /Foreign student with XY citizenship/, 'Magyarul nem beszélő migráns tanuló' /Immigrant student not speaking Hungarian/, 'menekült' /refugee/</i></p>
<p>National Library (Czech Republic) National Pedagogical Museum and Library of J.A. Komenský. (Czech Republic) Education and Research Library the Pilsener Region (Czech Republic)</p>	<p><i>'vzdělávání cizinců' /foreigners' education/ zahraniční žák /foreign student/ děti cizinců /children of aliens/ školství /education/ cizinec /foreigner/ dítě /child/ dítě cizí národnosti /child of foreign nationality/ migrant /migrant/ přistěhovalec /immigrant/ integrace žáka /integration of students/ multikulturní výchova /multicultural education/ migrace /migration/ etnická menšina, národnostní menšina /ethnic minority/ národnost /nationality/ uprchlík /asylum seeker/ multikulturní výchova /multicultural education/ dítě migrujícího pracovníka /child of migrant parents/, integrace žáka /school integration/ kulturní integrace /cultural integration/ adaptace žáka /student adaptation/ děti cizinců – Česko /children of aliens – Czechien/ integrovaná výchova – Česko /integrated teaching – Czechien/ integrace imigrantů – Česko /integration of immigrants – Czechia/</i></p>

<p>Slovak National Library Slovak Education Library Bratislava University Library Bratislava Portal to Catalogs and Collections of Slovak Libraries (Meta-catalogue KIS3G Project)</p>	<p>vzdělávání cizincov /foreigners' education/ zahraničný žiak /foreign student/ školstvo /education/ cudzinec /foreigner/ dieťa /child/ dieťa cudzie národnosti /child of foreign nationality/ migrant /migrant/ prist'ahovalec /immigrant/ integrácia žiaka /integration of students/ multikultúrna výchova /multicultural education/ migrácia/migration/ etnická menšina, národnostná menšina /ethnic minority/ národnosť /nationality/ utečenec /asylum seeker/ multikultúrne vzdelávanie /multicultural education/ migrujúcich pracovníkov /child of migrant parents/ kultúrna integrácia /cultural integration/ adaptácia žiaka /student adaptation/ adaptácia na školu /school adaptation/ kultúrna integrácia /cultural integration/</p>
<p>National Library of Poland Educational Research Institute Warszawa Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewodzka (Pedagogical Provincial Library) in Warsaw Pedagogical University of Cracow Library Jagellonian University Library Adam Mickiewicz University Library in Poznań Publiczna Biblioteka Pedagogiczna w Poznaniu /Public Library of Education in Poznan/ Publicznej Biblioteki Pedagogicznej w Pile i filii /Public Library of Education in Pile and Affiliates/</p>	<p>Edukacja cudzoziemców / foreigners' education/ Studenci zagraniczni /foreign student/ edukacja /education/ Cudzoziemiec/obcokrajowiec /foreigner/ dziecko /child/ Dziecko cudzoziemskie /child of foreign nationality/ migrant /migrant/ imigrant /immigrant/ Integracja uczniów /integration of students/ wielokulturowa edukacja /multicultural education/</p>

Pedagogical Digital Library	<p>migracja /migration/  Mniejszość etniczna /ethnic minority/  narodowość /nationality/  Ubiegający się o azyl /asylum seeker/  dziecko azylant /child asylum seeker/  dzieci uchodźcy /refugee children/  Edukacja wielokulturowa /multicultural education/  Dziecko migrantów /child of migrant parents/  Integracja szkolna /school integration/  Integracja kulturowa /cultural integration/  Adaptacja ucznia /student adaptation/  Adaptacja szkoły /school adaptation/  Integracja kulturowa /cultural integration/  edukacja reemigrantów /education of returnees/  reemigrantów /returnees/  cudzoziemcy /foreigners/  cudzoziemców  cudzoziemcami  eurosieroctwo /child left behind/  European orphans</p>
Google Scholar	<p>'child migrant' and 'Poland'  'child migrant' and 'Hungary'  'child migrant' and 'Slovakia'  'child migrant' and 'Romania'  'temporäre migration' and 'bildung'  migration and education and children and ('Bulgaria' or 'Romania')  'Schüler' and 'migrant' and 'Polen'  'space of education'  'Bildungsräume', 'Bildungsraum'</p>

Chart 1 Key words for catalogue search



### 3.3 Secondary literature on nomad, semi-nomad, and other types of mobile children

As has been shown in section 1.1., children with multiple way stations during their obligatory schooling years do not fit into the categories of the ‘sedentary’, ‘settler migrant’ or ‘highly mobile’ child populations. However, insights gained from the research on sedentarism and nomadism as well as their interpretation from an educational scientific perspective proves to be relevant for the purpose of this research. Due to this reason, I present first secondary sources on the nomad, semi-nomad and mobile children, before I move on to the research literature from different national contexts.

Luchtenberg sees a challenge and an opportunity in the growing number of mobile pupils for the development of multicultural education and suggests looking into previous practices for mobile pupils: *“There are nearly no concepts of how to deal with students who will attend school in Germany only for a limited time. It might be worthwhile to consider a model that is tested with regard to children of circus artistes and workers: a school in their country of origin would be a base school for them and provide them with a portfolio about their achievements, their learning materials etc.”* (Luchtenberg 2004,61).

The literature on semi-nomad or nomad children and highly mobile youth populations, as well as the literature on migrant children, appears to be entirely distinct and with no reference to each other (e.g. the chapters in Danaher et al. 2009 are exclusively about semi-nomad and traveller children and youth).

According to Danaher, mobile communities consist of groups of nomadic pastoralists, migrant fishermen, fairground/showground people, Gypsy Travellers, barge people and circus people. (2012, 1). Danaher uses the terms Gypsy and Traveller as a compositum; however, the latter is comprised also by groups which are not Gypsy. O’Hanlon provides a European definition of the Travellers: *“The Traveller community in the EU, including the UK, comprise Romany Gypsies, Irish Travellers, Welsh Travellers, Scottish Gypsy/Travellers, New Travellers and Occupational Travellers (including show/circus/barge people).”* (2010, 240)

In the European context, for example, Vanderbeck (2005, 2009) has analysed the educational and social service provisions for semi-nomad gypsy youth in Great Britain and found that formal schooling represents a clear ‘sedentarisation’ approach towards semi-nomad pupils’ lives (2009, 325). The author came to this conclusion in his ethnographic fieldwork conducted at the Travellers Education Service designed for Gypsies, Travellers of Irish

Heritage<sup>19</sup>, Eastern European Roma, and circus and fairground families<sup>20</sup>. He also drew attention to the practice of contrasting formal and informal forms of education and of the non-acknowledgement of the latter as equivalent to the former, not even in cases where the effectiveness of informal education is higher. The same was found by Krätli (2000), who reviewed the research literature on education provisions for nomadic pastoralists and other nomadic groups such as hunter-gatherers, mobile fisher groups and Gypsies. Geographically the review covers central Asia (particularly Mongolia and China), south-west Asia and the Middle East (mainly Iran, Jordan and Israel), Africa (especially Kenya, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania, Ethiopia, Somalia), and Eastern Europe. He found that the supposed historical superiority of sedentarism has been expressed in educational provisions for mobile pupil populations and that these provisions fail to acknowledge the necessity of a mobile lifestyle of their families (2000, 57).

*“Education is supposed to promote sedentarisation in the following ways: by imposing a standard system designed for sedentary people and therefore making it necessary for the nomads to stay near settlements, if they want their children to go to school; by accustoming nomad children to a sedentary lifestyle in boarding schools; by denigrating nomadic culture and inculcating in the children the values and world-views of sedentary society.”* (Krätli 2000, 5).

The authors find in the secondary literature that governments address mobility, sparse population and remoteness by introducing alternatives to the standard educational structure. The most common forms of this found in the literature are boarding schools, but there are a few examples of mobile schools (tent-schools, schools-on-wheels and various kinds of collapsible schools) and distance education using radio broadcasts (2000, 18ff). In the same line as Krätli, who describes the Mongolian case in the second half of his review<sup>21</sup>, Stolpe (2003) and Stolpe

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19 Secondary literature on Irish travellers includes, for example, Radzewicz 2012 and Hamilton et. al. 2012.

20 More on the Service: <https://www.learningtrust.co.uk/content/travellers>

21 „Compulsory state education for every child aged between eight and eighteen years began in Mongolia in 1940, with the majority of the population being nomadic pastoralists. The system relied on hundreds of schools with dormitory facilities, built in all the settlements including the small rural centres. Education was entirely free, with more than 15 percent of GDP invested in it. Within the following twenty years Mongolia passed from just about 2% to more than 90% basic literacy. By 1990, before liberalisation, the country had almost reached one hundred percent literacy. The system had a standard curriculum, teacher-centred and highly academic. From

and Steiner-Khamsi (2005) describe how a successful (1940-1990) boarding school model in Mongolia was destroyed after 1990 due to new policy regimes. Furthermore, with a clear focus on education and social inequality, there is an emerging field of study on the mobility of Australian Aboriginal People (see Hill, Lynch and Dalley-Trim 2012; Prout 2008; Navin, Hill and Doyle 2012).

Although at first sight the differences between highly mobile (semi-nomad, nomad) pupils and the migrant pupils in European public educational institutions might be more obvious, one can also find many similarities between them. Semi-nomad and nomad pupils come from a population where migration is part of a longer tradition, whereas the migrant pupils in Europe have moved away from the tradition of sedentarism. The former group is constituted by a significant number of people with a cohesive group belonging, while the migrant pupils in Europe are conceptualized as moving individuals (or small families). There might also be differences in the number, direction and the frequency of movement (every month or every week versus moving after years or decades of stay). There are also significant similarities, however; for instance, the pupils in both groups may change schools frequently, might be absent from school due to relocation, are familiar with different localities and possess skills necessary for mobility, have a different sense of belonging and attachment to places, and last but not least, they must confront the sedentary orientation of public education and their educational pathway being labelled as fragmented.

The main challenge is that mobility is a variable on a continuum between two poles of sedentary life and nomadism, and each point in this spectrum stands for a different life and educational situation. Kätli argues, therefore, that the educational questions for mobile people can be tackled only as part of their whole lifeworld, wherein mobility plays a central role (2000, 59). His argument is supported by my findings presented outlined in chapters 6.1 and 6.3.

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*September to early June, apart from one month of holiday in the winter, school age children from nomad households lived in the rural centres, either staying with relatives or lodging in the school dormitory. Schools were well staffed with highly motivated and comparatively well paid teachers, most of whom came from a nomadic background and had close relatives amongst the nomads. Life in the dormitories is described as happy, despite the homesickness, thanks to the warm and familiar environment created by the staff. Indeed, there seems to have been no antagonism between the school culture and nomadic culture. To the extent to which the formal curriculum reflected a urban sedentary way of life, the sympathetic human interface neutralised the potentially negative implications.” (Krätli 2000, 18)*

Danaher and Henderson conclude that mobility becomes a problem from an educational point of view if we cannot think beyond the settled/itinerant binary. *“Sedentarism is the binary in the Western, industrialized world that constructs fixed residence as the sociocultural norm from which itinerancy and mobility deviate and are thereby positioned as pathologies.”* (2011,60) In their chapter, the authors try to challenge the view that fixed residence is a natural and preliminary precondition for formal schooling, and demonstrate the way in which this view constructs the mobile learner as deviant. Binaries are usually invisible, unconscious, uncontested and ideological, and they restrict alternative thinking. This binary evolved over millennia alongside the development of agricultural practices and the industrial revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century. The *“pathologization of uprootedness in the national order of things”* (Malkii 1992, 32) can be overcome only when mobile persons and communities are recognised as one type of the wider population, neither better nor worse than other types. Danaher and Henderson claim that current public educational provisions are going to be challenged only when the failure of current mainstream solutions becomes manifest and when the system acknowledges its deficiencies and opens up to alternatives (2011, 73) (Bukus 2016, 148).

### **3.4 German secondary literature on the migration and education nexus**

This section will situate the research question within the wider German education literature on the migration - education field. My goal is to draw attention to wider tendencies of researching migration among children and pupils in the German context, as well as to draw on sources that potentially inform the data analysis.

#### **3.4.1 From ‘Ausländerpädagogik’ to intercultural pedagogy and the children with migration background**

Germany was characterised throughout its history by the co-presence of linguistic, cultural and ethnic minorities and according to the migration history it has always been a sending and a receiving country for international migrants; but the *“verschiedene Facetten der Migrationsgeschichte aus und nach Deutschland sind im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Gesellschaft wenig präsent: stattdessen hat sich die historisch-politisch gewollte Idee, Deutschland sei vor allem ein Auswanderungsland, in den Köpfen festgesetzt, und bis Ende der 1990er Jahre ist dieser Mythos mit der seitens der Politik zu vielen Gelegenheiten wiederholten Formel ‘Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland’ gespeist worden”* (Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006, 30). Economic migration from Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, the former Yugoslavia and Turkey to Germany in the following decades after the Second World War (see

Bade 2000, 331) triggered, however, a systematic debate about the self-perception of German society and about the heterogeneity and integration process of the foreign-born population. In this debate and in the educational response to the presence of foreign-born pupils, “[...]wirkte die historische Trennung von ‘fremd’ und ‘eigen’ nach und erst ab den 1990er Jahren sind beide Diskussionsstränge zusammengeführt worden.” (Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006, 103) The systematic move away from the research field of the ‘Ausländerpädagogik’ (1960s-1970s) and into the direction of intercultural pedagogy (Interkulturelle Pädagogik) took place in the 1970s in the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>22</sup> (see Mecheril 2004, 90ff). The first phase of migrant education - ‘Ausländerpädagogik’ - built on a possible return of the migrant pupils to their country of origin or was aimed towards a full assimilation to German society (Allemann-Ghionda 2009, 136). This phase considered the presence of the foreign-born pupil population as necessitating extra attention and resources that could be met in the form of additional help at school. Later on, education and educational science acknowledged changes in the German society towards heterogeneity and moved from the deficit orientation to a focus on differences (Gogolin and Nauck 2000; Gogolin et al. 2003). While the shift to multicultural education was successful, the PISA results, for instance, have shown that the current educational approach in Germany is not entirely sufficient for migrant pupils (Luchtenberg 2004, 61). It is worthwhile to note that the educational inequality of pupils with migration background, a core topic in the educational science literature, is still embedded in the framework of the national society (e.g. Diefenbach 2010). The recent sociological discussions about inequality (Bayer et al. 2008; Berger 2008; Gerhards 2013; Fauser et. al.2012), which aim to use units of analysis other than only the national, have not yet entered the educational inequality research on migrant pupil populations.

German educational research has been focused until recently exclusively on children with migration background who themselves or whose parents have migrated to Germany once and with the aim of long-term settlement. Although the educational scientific literature has drawn

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22 The German Democratic Republic was represented officially both inside and outside of the country as ethnically, culturally and linguistically homogeneous. Krüger-Potratz (1991) describes, however, the presence of foreign-born populations in the DDR and tries to fill the gaps in migration and minority scholarship that were caused by the iron curtain (13). The author finds that intercultural education was considered a responsibility of the particular school with the aim of a peaceful society, but due to the ‘homogeneity of the student population’ the topic of intercultural education was not relevant enough for scientific inquiry (36f)

attention to the inherent diversity of migrant pupils, up until 2000<sup>23</sup> the official educational statistics referred only to pupils with foreign citizenship.

The PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) test (2000, 2003, 2006, 2009) successfully drew attention to the need for a more precise system of categorisation and data collection on pupils in the context of migration. It incorporated questions in its pupil survey about the country of birth of the pupil and his or her parents, the language spoken most frequently at home and - from 2003 on - about the year of arrival to the host country in cases where the country of birth is different. In PISA the term ‘pupils with an immigrant background’ is used for first and second generation immigrants and excludes, for example, those who were born abroad but had at least one parent born in the country of assessment (OECD 2010, 4).

Another change contributed to a higher awareness of the impreciseness of the category of foreign citizenship. This was the new citizenship law coming into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2000. According to this law, those children born to foreign citizen parents can obtain German citizenship by birth, provided a parent has been residing in the Federal Republic of Germany lawfully for eight years and has an unlimited residence permit or a valid residence permit of at least three years duration prior to the birth of the child. This legal change made a large number of pupils in the context of migration invisible by categorising them as German citizens.

The Mikrozensus 2005 introduced and defined the category label ‘Person mit Migrationshintergrund’, which became a leading term in educational science as well (cf. Herzog-Punzenberger und Hintermann 2018, 31; Mecheril 2010; Knappik and Mecheril 2018). The term ‘Person mit Migrationshintergrund’ can be defined as follows: *“Zu den Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund zählen alle nach 1949 auf das heutige Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Zugewanderten, sowie alle in Deutschland geborenen Ausländer und alle in Deutschland Ausländer, und alle in Deutschland als Deutsche Geborene mit zumindest einem zugewanderten oder als Ausländer in Deutschland geborenen Elternteil.”* (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012,7). The term includes the following groups:

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23 Following the decision of the Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK), since 2000 all states have to include a core set of data (Minimaldatensatz or Kerndatensatz) categories in their public school statistics. The category of foreign citizenship was used until 2007 when – as a reaction to the increase of awareness with regard to the insufficiency of the category of foreign citizen – the Kultusministerkonferenz launched a new category to the core data set: “non-German family language” (nichtdeutscher Verkehrssprache) (obligatory category) (KMK 2007, 8 and 11).

Bevölkerung insgesamt
1 Deutsche ohne Migrationshintergrund
2 Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im weiteren Sinn insgesamt
2.1 darunter: Migrationshintergrund nicht durchgehend bestimmbar
2.2 Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im engeren Sinn insgesamt
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.1 Personen mit eigener Migrationserfahrung (Zugewanderte) insgesamt
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.1.1 Ausländer
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.1.2 Deutsche
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.1.2.1 (Spät-)Aussiedler
<i>nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.1.2.2 Eingebürgerte
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.2 Personen ohne eigene Migrationserfahrung (nicht Zugewanderte) insgesamt
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.2.1 Ausländer (2. und 3. Generation)
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.2.2 Deutsche
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit einschließlich ,ohne Angabe', nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.2.2.1 Eingebürgerte
<i>nach Staatsangehörigkeit, nach Alter oder Aufenthaltsdauer</i>
2.2.2.2.2 Deutsche mit mindestens einem zugewanderten oder als Ausländer in Deutschland geborenen Elternteil
2.2.2.2.2.1 mit beidseitigem Migrationshintergrund
2.2.2.2.2.2 mit einseitigem Migrationshintergrund

Figure 3 'Person mit Migrationshintergrund'

The term reflects a strong focus on unidirectional and one-time migration with the aim of long-term (social) integration and cannot capture other dynamic population movements and other forms of social participation. Due to the fact that the term distinguishes by citizenship on the first level and by the individual migration experience only on the second level, it remains incapable of including, for example, the group of return migrant pupils (a German citizen 'Third Culture Pupils' who started to attend school abroad and returned to the German public educational system in a higher school grade). The term, therefore, does not cover the entire diversity of the children and pupils in the context of migration. Luchtenberg argues that just like this term, the approach of multicultural education in general implicitly takes migration as a permanent phenomenon for granted. The author states:

*"Now we find a paradoxical situation in Germany: the country and its educational bureaucracy have begun to accept the situation of permanent migration and to look seriously for concepts to improve learning conditions for students with a migration background as well as to implement concepts to prepare all for life in a multicultural society. It is paradoxical because the need to deal with non-permanent migration and its impact of education has arisen at this selfsame moment."* (Luchtenberg 2004, 60f)

She calls attention to the complex pattern of contemporary migration, that not all migration is permanent, and that there is an increasing number of multidirectional and multiple movements with new social and spatial references. (ibid. 55) The influence of international migration can

lead to very different constellations in the life and educational pathways of children. The non-moving and long-term settled pupil as an ideal type is challenged by dynamic forms of migration such as temporary, circular or transmigration (see Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Coe et al.2010; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001).

### **3.4.2 German educational science and transnationalism**

The German educational research literature has started to open up to different types of migration in order to effectively address the inherent diversity of the migrant pupil population.

*“Forschungsergebnisse wie diese stützen die Bedeutung einer differenzierten Betrachtung von Migrantentypen für die Erziehungswissenschaft, und sie zeigen insbesondere die Notwendigkeit einer vertieften Beschäftigung mit dem Konzept der Transmigration. Insbesondere mit Blick auf die in der Bildungsberichterstattung und Bildungsforschung bislang übliche Operationalisierung von ‘Migrationshintergrund’ wird deutlich, dass die dichotome Kategorisierung von Sprachpraxis oder von Erkundungen zum Lebensraum – Deutsch oder Sprache der Familie, Deutschland oder Herkunftsland – der Komplexität der aktualisierten Praktiken nicht entsprechen. Zu vermuten ist, dass dies auch für andere Aspekte bildungsrelevanter Lebenslagen gilt. Bisher weitgehend unerforscht ist im deutschsprachigen Kontext zum Beispiel, ob das Phänomen der Transmigration sich auch auf Bildungsbiografien auswirkt- ob und in welchem Umfang etwa Kinder oder Jugendliche Teile ihres Bildungsganges im Herkunftsland der Familie erleben, obwohl sie in Deutschland geboren oder aufgewachsen bzw. ansässig sind.” (Gogolin and Pries 2004, 15)*

German educational research thus identifies the pupils in a transnational social space as a new type of pupils needing to be addressed by educational inquiry. Although this might be only a specific form of migration, most of the literature on migrant pupils in the German context which looks beyond the original focus deals with this type.

Fürstenau (2004), in her research on the value of multilingual skills in a transnational social space and the strategies of migrant pupils of Portuguese heritage in Hamburg to valorise their family language skills, is one of the first studies that aims to address the capital value of language skills beyond a national unit of analysis. The author adapts the ‘transnational social space’ concept of Ludger Pries (1997, 1998, 2001, 2008) and operates with different phrases like transnational orientation, transnational learning pathway, socialisation in transnational social space, transnational lifepath, etc. (Adick 2005, 261). Fürstenau and Niedrig (2007a) edit an empirically oriented volume with a special focus on the identity of young people whose lives



span across borders. In the Editorial introduction the authors refer to transnationalism as a new approach in migration studies that tries to capture and analyse cross-border entanglements, but lack a comprehensive theoretical basis: *“In Ermangelung einer ausgearbeiteten theoretischen Rahmung dient uns das Transnationalismuskonzept vor allem als Sensibilisierungskonzept, um Phänomene zu fokussieren, die aufgrund eines „methodologischen Nationalismus“ (Wimmer/Glick-Schiller 2002) in der Migrationsforschung oft nicht in den Blick kommen”* (2007a, 238). In a study on young people with different legal status, they analyse how transnationalism can be acted out differently depending on the legal framework the young person is embedded in. According to the authors, illegal and asylum-seeking statuses in Germany can lead the young people to manage their transnational connections in a rather subtle way, and they suggest that a successful incorporation into the host society does not weaken but may rather strengthen the transnational ties of the individual (Fürstenau and Niedrig 2007b; Fürstenau 2007). This is in line with the claims of Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004 outlined in chapter 2.1.2) and my own findings presented in chapter 6.3.3.

Seukwa (2003, 2006) analyses the strategies young asylum seekers and refugees in Germany develop to transfer skills and competences from one national society to another and to valorise cultural capital in different national social contexts. With this research Seukwa goes beyond the national unit of analysis, and his results correspond with the latest findings about the Bourdieu capital theory in a transnational perspective (Erel 2010; Nowicka, 2013).

Hornberg (2012) argues that with the spread of the International Baccalaureate in public schools, the transnational educational space – specifically the transnational educational product – enters the national educational space.

Adick (2005) aims to systematically assess what transnationalisation might mean for education. She distinguishes between three levels, which she sums up in the following definition:

*“Der Begriff ‘transnationale Bildungsraum’ könnte also als Oberbegriff stehen für alle drei Aspekte der Transnationalisierung im Bildungswesen: Ein ‘transnationaler Bildungsraum’ setzt demnach ‘transnationale Konvergenzen’ voraus, wirkt aber gleichzeitig an deren Erzeugung und Weiterentwicklung mit. Ein ‘transnationaler Bildungsraum’ bezeichnet ferner grenzüberschreitende Bildungsprozesse lebhaftig mobiler Menschen, ihre Lernprozesse und ihren Erwerb von Qualifikationen und Zertifikaten in transnationalen Sozialräumen. Ein ‘transnationaler Bildungsraum ist schließlich das, was transnationale Anbieter als Bildungsmaßnahme anbieten, wodurch die*

*Lernenden transnational anerkannte Zertifikate erwerben und ihre Chancen auf virtuelle wie auch leibhaftig grenzüberschreitende Kommunikation und Mobilität erhöhen.*” (2005, 264, emphasis mine)

Similarly to Adick, Hornberg (2010, 72) builds her argumentation on these three elements of the concept of transnational educational space: socialisation in a transnational social space, transnational convergences in education and transnational education provisions.

To clarify what she means by Bildungsraum she writes the following:

*“In einer kurzen und einfachen Arbeitsdefinition sind ‘Bildungsräume’ – in Analogie zu ‘Sozialräumen’ – solche Sozialräume, in denen Menschen interagieren und handeln mit dem Zweck, Bildung zu erwerben oder zu vermitteln. Ohne hier auf bildungstheoretische Diskurse eingehen zu wollen, wird dabei unter ‘Bildung’ das verstanden, was im Deutschen in dem laut Peter Menck (1998, S.16) fast wie ein Wort verwendeten Begriffspaar ‘Erziehung und Bildung’ ausgedrückt wird, das den Gegenstand der Erziehungswissenschaft markiert.”* (Adick 2008, 176)

For the purpose of this study, it is relevant that Adick derives the concept of the ‘Bildungsraum’ from the ‘Sozialraum’, moreover from a particular one of Ludger Pries.

*“Im Folgenden wird das Sozialraum-Konzept von Ludger Pries (2008a, S.223ff) bevorzugt, weil dieses von Ansatz her mit der Transnationalisierungsthematik verknüpft ist und sich daher für die Klärung von ‘transnationalen Bildungsräumen’ anbietet.”* (Adick 2008, 177) and *“Sozialräume konstituieren sich – im Unterschied etwa zu flüchtigen Sozialbeziehungen – durch eine jeweils eigene Konfiguration von sozialen Praktiken, Symbolen und Artefakten, und zwar auf allen oben genannten Ebenen der alltäglichen Lebenswelt, der Organisationen und Institutionen. Aus diesem Grunde wird hier davon ausgegangen, dass auch ‘Bildungsräume’ durch für die jeweils typische Konstellation von Praktiken, Symbolen und Artefakten empirisch beschreibbar sind.”* (Adick 2008, 177)

Adick legitimates her choice by stating that her aim is to define ‘transnational educational space’ and the ‘transnational social space’ concept of Pries’ migration sociology is an appropriate source for her. In my view, these three concepts – ‘transnationalism’ ‘social space’ and ‘transnational social space’ - have to be problematised separately before being integrated into a new concept in the field of education. Fürstenau and Niedrig (2007a, 242f) also refer to the fact that the concepts of ‘transnational social space’, ‘social space’ and ‘space’ are inadequately defined.

To my mind, it is important to make a distinction between the involvement of a child in a ‘social space’ and involvement in an ‘educational space’, especially if one aims to distinguish between formal, non-formal and informal education, as well as individual education in a virtual space. A better understanding of the pupil’s involvement in a ‘social space’ contributes towards, but is not equivalent to, a clear conceptualisation of the pupil’s ‘educational space’. When a child is embedded in a transnational social space, it might not necessarily be involved in a transnational educational space (see chapter 6.2, 6.3).

Furthermore, the definition of Adick suggests that the learning pathway is embedded in a ‘transnational educational space’, but her definition does not reflect the dynamic aspect of the educational pathway of migrant children, which may be constituted by multiple different stations. Her definition can be interpreted as if one would be part of a transnational social space for one’s entire life after becoming part of it. I aim to investigate the question that asks whether the educational pathway is constituted by different stations, and whether or not all of these way stations can be an educational space with a very different profile.

My dissertation aims to add to our knowledge about the diversity of pupil migrants’ educational experiences with examples of migrant pupils with at least two international border-cross movements during their compulsory education. The ‘one-time and unidirectional migrant’ and the ‘transnational migrant’ are, in my view, only two particular types among many other migration experiences. Therefore, the focus of the dissertation is not to capture what a ‘transnational educational space’ is; however, it is possible that among the findings one or the other of the educational spaces will be labelled as transnational. ‘Transnationalism’ and ‘transnational social space’ are not the main point of this dissertation, because the current debates around the two concepts in the social sciences make it challenging to overcome the dilemma of multiple definitions and the varying geographical and social contexts where the terms play out differently. Fürstenau and Niedrig acknowledge the difficulties around the terms and suggest that:

*“Eine naheliegende Lösung dieses Dilemmas besteht darin, von vornherein zwischen einer „weiten“ und einer „engen“ Fassung des Konzepts zu differenzieren (z.B. Itzigsohn et al. 1999: broad vs. narrow transnational practices; Guarnizo 2000: core vs. expanded transnationalism; Levitt 2001: comprehensive vs. selective transnational practices) oder gar von einem Kontinuum von mehr oder minder transnationalen Praktiken auszugehen. Entsprechend nehmen Levitt/Waters (2002) bei ihrem Versuch, „Transmigranten“ zu definieren, eine graduelle Abstufung vor: Diese reicht von einer sehr engen Definition, der*

*zufolge nur Personen, die zur Erledigung ihrer Alltagsgeschäfte regelmäßig grenzüberschreitend mobil sind, als Transmigranten bezeichnet werden können, über ein etwas erweitertes, aber dennoch eng umgrenztes Konzept, das auch Personen umfasst, die zwar im Herkunfts- oder Ankunftsland der familiären Migration verwurzelt, aber gelegentlich innerhalb ihrer transnationalen Netzwerke mobil sind, bis zu Personen, die als vollkommen sesshaft gelten, aber dennoch in transnationalen Netzwerken leben, sozialisiert werden und entsprechende Ressourcen für transnationale Aktivitäten und Identitätskonstruktionen vorfinden, die je nach Bedarf aktualisiert werden können.”*  
(Fürstenau and Niedrig 2007a, 236 ff)

The authors, however, do not mention further aspects that contribute to an even more diverse range of definitions and empirical variations of transnationalism and transnational social space. These are the aspects of (1) regional context (transnationalism in the EU-Turkey context differs from the US-Mexico or Ghana-Germany context, for example); (2) legal status of the migrant (the transnationalism of e.g. asylum seekers, refugees, labour migrants, female domestic workers, illegal/undocumented immigrants plays out differently); (3) educational level and social status (see the concept of Massey (1994) of ‘the power geometry of time-space compression’) and (4) age (generation 0.5, generation 1.0, generation 1.5 and generation 2.0 or 3.0) (Bukus 2015).

### **3.5 Secondary literature from countries of the East-Central European region**

In order to complement the rather scarce German literature on the different forms of migration among children, I searched for available relevant scholarship in the East-European context. In the followings I will present these in detail.

#### **3.5.1 Educational situation of immigrant pupils in Hungary from the viewpoint of the Hungarian pedagogical literature and international grey literature**

In Hungary the term ‘social and educational integration’ is mainly associated with the biggest Hungarian minority, the Roma. Historical national minorities have been a focus of interest for the pedagogical inquiry (Boreczky et al. 2011, 30ff; Jakab 2011, 150). There are very few research results on children or pupils in the context of migration in Hungary available. Aside from one large systematic research project on foreign-born pupils attending Hungarian public

education (Feischmidt, Nyíri, and Árendás 2006), what research does exist focuses on a small range of special cases or particular topics.

I have mapped the secondary research literature focusing on foreign-born pupils living in Hungary by searching in the book and newspaper catalogues as outlined in chapter 3.2. Furthermore, I mapped international comparative studies on pupils in the context of migration that included Hungary. This chapter analyses the findings of the Hungarian secondary literature on the educational situation of immigrant pupils. It begins with the results of three international comparative studies and then discusses the findings of the Hungarian literature in thematic blocks.

Hungary participated in the PISA assessment tests. In PISA the term ‘pupil with an immigrant background’ is used for first and second generation immigrants and excludes, for example, those who were born abroad but had had at least one parent born in the country of assessment (OECD 2010, 4). Generalisations of the PISA 2009 report on immigrant pupils in Hungary are rather positive, in that both first and second generation immigrant pupils outperform pupils without an immigration background. (OECD 2010, 69f).

According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index III, which has a focus on the availability of targeted policies in different areas, in the area of education Hungary has limited strategies and budgets for intercultural education, authorities provide limited and outdated data on schools, and public schools deny access to undocumented migrants and often to children of some legal migrants as well. Schools are not required to address newcomer pupils’ special needs<sup>24</sup> (MIPEX III).

Two other comparative studies concentrate on asylum seeker and refugee minors. One analysing the integration of refugee and asylum-seeking children in the educational systems of EU member states finds that irregular migrant pupils have to pay a fee to access Hungarian public education (Nonchev and Tagarov 2012, 58). Access to compulsory public education is often restricted for asylum seeker and refugee pupils due to the unavailability of school places or to the fact that only a few schools accept these pupils. According to the country report, asylum seeker pupils are often denied access to school because they are not considered ready to enter public education (Iván 2012, 15). The educational integration of asylum seekers and refugees depends mostly on school principals and teachers, as well as some compensatory short term projects organised by NGOs (Iván 2012, 20).

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24 <http://www.mipex.eu/hungary>

According to the UNHCR 2011 report, school enrollment rates of asylum seeker and refugee minors are unknown in Hungary because no reliable data is available (ibid. 11). Hungarian language courses are available for recognised refugees at the Reception Centre Bicske and at a few schools which developed their own intercultural programmes concentrating on language instruction (ibid. 40). Grade placement is dependent on the pupil's Hungarian language skills (ibid. 27), and there is a general lack of teacher training in teaching Hungarian as a second language and the teaching of asylum seeker and refugee pupils.

Results of the few studies conducted in Hungary on the educational situation of immigrant minors show a scattered rather than comprehensive picture of the topic. Firstly, results of studies will be presented that focus on immigrant pupils in state-run public education.

There are two studies available focusing on ethnic Hungarian immigrant pupils. Kováts and Medjesi (2005) find that while ethnic Hungarian pupils might have no language difficulties, their educational integration poses some serious challenges. These stem mainly from legal status, differences between national curricula (e.g. Romanian and Hungarian), as well as the general process of integration into a new social environment. (ibid, 8).

The study of Erőss et al. (2011) focuses on ethnic Hungarian pupils from the autonomous province of Serbia Vojvodina coming to Hungary to participate in education, both at the secondary and the tertiary level. In the timeframe between 1990 and 2007, ethnic Hungarian immigrant pupils became a permanent clientele of state-run secondary and higher educational institutions in southern Hungary, mainly in the city Szeged. Forced migration from Yugoslavia in the 1990s was originally intended to be on a temporary basis, but many migrants established more stable ties with Hungary which have lasted until the present day (2011, 7). Due to changes in legislation in 2007, Serbian citizens were categorised as third country nationals who are entitled to tuition free access to public education in case their parents can provide evidence of legal stay, regular income and housing. Furthermore, schools providing Hungarian language instruction in Serbia have been established, and as an outcome of these two changes the number of educational immigrants has decreased in recent years. However, the authors emphasise that educational immigration is still part of a long run family strategy, in which educational attainment at a Hungarian school may provide more chances for the future success of the pupils (ibid 10.) The cases presented in the study reveal that the major reasons for the educational migration were the will to study in the Hungarian language and the possible future aspirations. However, in many cases a complex mixture of linguistic, ethnic, economical and individual reasons lead to an enrollment into a Hungarian state-run secondary institution.

Jakab (2011) has published an overview article about the educational situation of immigrant pupils in Hungarian state-run public institutions. According to him, the pedagogical provisions are rather random and inconsistent, and there is no comprehensive strategy for the educational integration of foreign-born pupils that schools could adopt. Grade placement takes place either by age or according to the Hungarian language skills of the newcomer pupil (see also Paveszka and Nyíri 2006, 138ff). The quality of educational provisions depends on the attitudes, knowledge and skills of individual teachers. Teachers, however, tend to ignore the difficulties of the non-Hungarian speaking pupils and associate the pedagogical challenges attached to them usually with those of Hungarian Roma pupils (Jakab 2011, 154; Paveszka and Nyíri 2006, 143). The article focuses overall on deviancy, deficiency and problems that immigrants pose to public education. His findings are supported by other authors. Boreczky et al. (2011, 36) state that learning difficulties are often explained by language deficiency or the pupils' personality and lack of talent, as well as agreeing that educational intervention for foreign-born pupils is mostly dependent on individual teachers and the school's principal. Nyíri goes even further in his interpretation of his research findings about Chinese immigrant pupils in Hungarian public schools and suggests that "school's admission strategies concerning foreign pupils are similar to strategies for admitting disadvantaged or disabled children." (2006, 38ff).

The most comprehensive study focusing on foreign-born pupils whose ethnic background is one other than Hungarian is the multi-sited ethnography of Feischmidt, Nyíri and Árendás (2006). The researchers investigated different aspects of migrant pupils' education in public institutions by focusing on these pupils, their parents, their school teachers and their classmates. The research included schools both in and outside of the capital, as well as at all levels of public education. Paveszka and Nyíri (2006) address the different aspects of educational integration in the framework of this study. The authors call attention to the fact that many schools reject immigrant pupils if they do not speak Hungarian. In case there is a dropout, the school usually explains this as the lack of individual talent or due to a disadvantaged family background. (132). The research found that many schools do not consider the educational integration of foreign citizen pupils as their task and have no information about the rights and regulations related to foreign citizen pupils (134). Just like Nyíri, the authors found that many schools associate immigrant pupils with pupils, who have disabilities (2006, 143).

Chinese pupils form a special group within the immigrant pupil group for different reasons. Many Chinese immigrant families have permanent ties with China through their entrepreneurial activity, which results in the emergence of and involvement in transnational social fields. During his research on Chinese communities, Nyíri found that public schools sometimes

introduce fees for school attendance in order to keep the number of immigrant pupils low. Chinese pupils who arrive at a young age usually struggle in Hungarian schools on their own without any help. As a result, the dropout rate is high and the social integration of these young people fails (2003, 168). The author discusses what integration means in the case of such a transnational group, which raises the question of educational integration as well. The parents of these pupils orient their choices in a global context and decide on secondary and higher education, which ensures their children a competitive degree with enhanced possibilities (Nyíri 2010, 167ff). Many families make educational decisions as a part of a wider family strategy to accumulate different sorts of capital at different sites. In cases where the state-run public Hungarian school does not serve these strategies, and if they can afford it, they prefer international schools (Nyíri 2010, 163).

In 2004, as a result of a bilateral agreement between the Chinese and Hungarian governments, a bilingual primary school opened in Budapest that accepts mainly, but not exclusively, Hungarian and Chinese pupils (Fülöp et al. 2007, 335). Vámos (2006) examines the school after its first school year. She finds that beyond Chinese and Hungarian pupils, pupils born in Mongolia, Syria, Greece, Italy and Brazil also attend the school. She also calls attention to the high fluctuation and absence rates of pupils, which is part of their migratory experience with their family (87). As a concluding remark she poses the question of how the Chinese-Hungarian bilingual school can, as a state-run school, bridge its simultaneous public and international profile in fields like languages of instruction, examinations, and textbooks (89).

A very similar hybrid state-run school with an international profile is discussed by Vámos (2011), who describes the transformation process of a state-run primary school in 2008 into an English-Hungarian bilingual school which accepts international pupils whose parents work at the NATO operation in Pápa city. The author conceptualises the presence of the international pupils in the framework of transnational migration and uses the term for pupils who realised multiple movements in different directions (198). The author concludes that the school implemented a bilingual and intercultural program successfully, and that the presence of the foreign-born pupils had a positive impact on the quality of education for the local Hungarian pupils as well. She suggests that the Hungarian state should consider the support of such 'state-run international schools' because not only the foreign-born, but also the Hungarian pupils, can benefit from this kind of schooling (206).

There are further research results available that have migrant children in focus but analyse aspects other than educational integration (e.g. Vietnamese pupils' acculturation Győri 2009);



however, I did not find any research about pupils attending schools run by migrants or international schools operating in Hungary.

The group of asylum seekers and refugees is rather invisible in pedagogical research. There are two case studies focusing on this group of pupils. Harmatiné (2010) discusses a special classroom at the primary school close to the Debrecen Reception Centre. She points to the very important paradox that by the time a school declares itself ready to integrate asylum seeker pupils, the local Hungarian parents have withdrawn their children from the school, which puts it under pressure. Another challenge she discusses is the high fluctuation rate stemming from the official asylum procedure (56). At the centre of the other case study is a special Hungarian language teaching program of a secondary school in Budapest (Hublik 2013) targeting mainly refugee pupils.

We can summarise as follows: Hungarian pedagogical inquiry has discovered the topic of the migration-education nexus in the last two decades. The rather few studies available concentrate on immigrant pupils within the wider group of pupils in the context of migration, but their strong point is that they give an insight into the immigrant pupil populations' inherent diversity (such as international pupils of NATO families, Chinese transnational migrants, ethnic Hungarians with mixed migration patterns, economic migrants and asylum seekers and refugees). The literature often operates with a very mixed and not always consistent terminology, and this linguistic impreciseness may partially contribute to the invisibility of some pupils of interest (e.g. return migrant children, children left behind, children of mixed marriages, and third culture children). Furthermore, arguments are often underpinned with educational statistical data that reflects only foreign citizen pupils.

The available literature concentrates on pedagogical interventions and the concrete coping mechanisms of the pupils or their teachers, with a descriptive rather than explanatory approach. The interrelation between educational achievement and discrimination – or other factors such as the socio-economic background of the pupil, migration experience, or individual factors – are not thematised. Vámos (2011, 2009) also concludes that the Hungarian pedagogical research has not yet investigated the educational biographies of different migrant types and how the diversity of immigrant pupils impacts the schools' efficiency to address their special needs.

Furthermore, the language use of the literature often gives the impression that the presence of immigrant pupils in the Hungarian educational landscape is considered a problem that poses only burdens and costs on the hosting society and hosting institutions. A remarkable exception is the study of Vámos (2011), who finds that a well-organised school can turn the presence of

the non-Hungarian speaking pupils into an advantage for all. A case in point is the existence of the two state-run public schools with international profiles.

In comparison to the German secondary literature, one can find many similarities to the earlier years of *Ausländerpädagogik* in Germany (see Diehm and Radtke 1999, 26ff): assimilation approach, arbitrary and random solutions, strong focus on the lack of language skills in the language of pedagogical instruction, focus on deficits of the pupils and a lack of a comprehensive pedagogical strategy underpinned with educational scientific research results. On the other hand, we can identify some strong points; for instance, that both pedagogical inquiry and practice already recognises and acknowledges the diversity of immigrant pupils, even if not its full scope. The topic of intercultural education has been weakly institutionalised (see for instance the Intercultural Psychology and Pedagogy Centre at the Eötvös Loránd University<sup>25</sup>) thus far, but topics related to pupils in the context of migration is a slowly emerging field of study.

### **3.5.2 Secondary literature from other countries of the East-Central European region**

I have conducted a search for secondary literature on child migration published in the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Poland, and to some extent Romania because of the possibility of finding research literature on temporary forms of migration as well as return migration to these countries. Because of the language limitations of the researcher, this section builds on the results of the catalogue searches and considers only those publications which were published in English or German. Therefore, the aim of this section is not to give a detailed insight into the educational situation of different migrant groups in the various countries. Rather, the aim is to highlight the main topic of social and educational inquiry and draw on publications available in English or German which are directly relevant to my study.

The titles published in the Czech Republic and in the Slovak Republic show many similarities with the Hungarian secondary literature. Most of the publications refer to immigrant children settled in the country (inter alia Martinková, 2011; Vavřečková and Dobiášová 2012; Iljuk and Švarcová 2008; Ondrušková, 2005). A special focus is to be seen on asylum seeker and refugee children (inter alia Šrámková 1995; Bačáková and Closs 2013), and in the case of

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25 <http://ippk.elte.hu/en/>

the Czech Republic on Vietnamese immigrant children (Kašparová and Hučín 2010). Most of the publications are project reports, handbooks for teachers, or teachers' descriptions of their own experiences with foreign pupils. Some titles include foreign pupils together either with minority or with handicapped children (Sloboda 2000). Language barriers and special teaching practices for non-Czech and non-Slovak speaking pupils constitute an important topic of these publications. The number of publications registered in the library catalogues is all in all rather modest.

The Polish secondary and grey literature has – besides the focuses on the situation of immigrant and refugee children (inter alia Danilewicz 2006; Halik et al. 2006; Balicki 2010; Nowicka 2011; Jaszczyszyn and Andrzejewska 2012; Klerek and Kubin 2012; Czerniejewska and Marek 2010; Marek 2009; Rękawek 2007) and Polish children who are left-behind (inter alia Strzelecka-Ristow 2009; Bożena 2011; Fidelus 2008; Walczak 2008; Boćwińska-Kiluk and Bielecka 2008; Kolankiewicz 2008; Zielińska 2008) – a third focus on highly mobile Polish children. The latter are presenting results of qualitative studies on children involved in circular migration (Kawecki et al. 2012; Rakhkochkine 2010), as well as about those who returned to Poland after spending some years abroad with their caregivers (Czerniejewska 2010; Grzymala-Moszczyńska et al. 2015). Results on school-age children returning to their country of origin are closely related to the focus and findings of my study. Czerniejewska (2010, 262) describes the complexity of the phenomenon as follows:

*“The children in my research are highly mobile: they often stay in one school for limited periods of time; moving between different countries they are faced with different curricula and teaching styles as well as changing social and familial situations. Such variability, rotation and constant change, though dominant in today’s discourse on mobility, presents challenges for educators trying to develop an appropriate pedagogical and social approach to highly mobile students. This level of mobility also affects available statistical data; thus, existing data are often limited to estimates.”* (2010, 262)

The author discusses educational and cultural implications, as well as the impact of migration on the identity of three groups living in Poznań: immigrant children, children left-behind by their parents and foreign-educated returnee children. According to her findings *“in the case of immigrant or return migrant students, problems can result from differences in curricula, insufficient language skills, the cultural otherness of classmates, and unfamiliarity with pedagogical methods”* (Czerniejewska 2010, 267), which is in line with the findings of my study. How relevant the topic of returnee children is for the Polish context is described by Grzymala-Moszczyńska and her colleagues:

*“Dynamic migrations seem to be one of the most overt demographic phenomena in Poland nowadays. By the end of year 2014 over 2 mln Polish citizens lived outside Poland including around 400 000 school-age children and teenagers. Although the numbers are pretty high, most of the emigrants perceive their emigration as temporary and declare intentions to return to Poland within next few years. According to the research results, one of important reasons for their return is a wish that their children attend school in Poland. Indeed, the data collected by Central Statistical Office of Poland shows that the number of return migrants has been growing since 2010. This means that more and more children and teenagers who were born or have lived abroad for a few years are starting or continuing their education in Poland. However, neither an exact number of these students nor reliable data concerning their adaptation to the new environment have been collected so far.”* (Grzymala-Moszczynska et al. 2015, 169)

The findings of this study are supporting the findings of Czerniejewska (2010) and of my study, in that it identifies *“differences between former and new school programs, insufficient Polish language competence (especially concerning specific vocabulary related to such school subjects as maths, biology or physic) and lack of support and understanding for their difficulties offered by schools and other respective institutions. Additionally, they rarely received sufficient professional support from psychologists or language therapists. Some of the students experienced difficulties in achieving a satisfactory position in the peer group and in some cases they were even exposed to discrimination-type of treatment”* (Grzymala-Moszczynska et al. 2015, 169) as the most important challenges their study participants faced. In a narrow sense my research aims to develop further understanding of those pupil groups who enjoy education in different state-run school systems, and therefore these two studies can be considered as the most closely related publications.

In the cases of Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova and Ukraine, the situation of children left-behind is discussed in both grey literature and research articles. With regard to Romania, the Central and Eastern European Online Library offered some titles concerned with the impact of parental migration on their children’s development and on family relations. Robila (2011) conducted a survey with 382 5-8<sup>th</sup> grade children of whom one or both parents lived abroad. The author presents a complex set of factors that influence the effects of parental migration on children and suggests that migration policy should consider migrants as part of a family (2011, 333). Adumitroaie and Dafinoiu (2013) focus on the relation between perceptions of parental rejection and psychological adjustment among 284 high school teenagers. The authors find significant differences between the effect of the mother’s migration and of the father’s. Cozma

and Popa (2010) call attention to the fact that most of the Romanian literature on the migration-education nexus deals with children left-behind, while questions related to the education of children who are involved in temporary migration or those who were born and schooled abroad but 'return' to Romania as school-age children are neglected (2010, 311). An exception concerning the latter group is Brebulet et al. (2012). They publish a quantitative study on the re-adaptation of children who have spent, on average, three years abroad with their parents. The authors include 245 pupils of those estimated 21 000 return migrant children who migrated back to Romania between 2008 and 2012, mainly from Italy and Spain.

There are two common points in all research articles: one is that adequate statistical numbers on children involved in migration in different ways (stayers or returnees) are lacking (see Guentcheva 2010, 55). Secondly, challenges arising from migration for children could be addressed only on a local level with the consideration of local/regional migration specificities. The reason for this is that migration patterns can differ regionally. In their analysis on contemporary migration from Romania, Ungureanu, Popescu and Bondoc (2010) offer the following overview: *"At the level of 2001, the situation was the following (Sandu, 2000, pp. 22-23): (1) Italy is the favourite destination of the emigrants from Moldavia; (2) Turkey is preferred by the inhabitants of Dobruja and the Eastern Muntenia; (3) Germany is the main destination of the migrants from Banat, Southern Transylvania and Western Oltenia; (4) Hungary is the destination of migrants from Covasna, Harghita, Mureş, Cluj, Sălaj and Bihor; (5) Yugoslavia receives migrants from Oltenia; (6) France is preferred by migrants from Maramures; (7) Spain is the destination of migrants from Bistrița Năsăud, Alba, Dâmbovița and Teleorman"* (2010,149). The fact that migration processes may differ in their type, length, destination and other factors means that research on children affected by migration has to take these specificities into consideration as well.

This section has provided some evidence for the difficulties and boundaries of identifying relevant literature for my research. The scarcity of scholarly work on the different forms of migration among children and pupils suggests the exploratory nature of the present study. The next chapter will guide the reader through the process of this exploration by presenting the methodological considerations, the data collection and analysis.

## 4. Research questions and research methods

### 4.1 Research questions

This research aimed to analyse the educational biographies of school-age children who have multiple and multidirectional migration experiences. Participants in the study relocated over international borders at least twice into different locations during their obligatory schooling years, and at the time of the interviews they attended state-run educational institutions in the city of Leipzig in Germany. From the research questions I aimed to gain data on the perspective of the pupils on the following: Who are the pupils who get involved in this form of migration? In which educational settings were they involved at the different way stations? In which socio-spatial frameworks were they embedded at the different way stations? And finally, was this form of mobility considered an asset or a risk for their educational success?

My research was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do school-age children characterise the reasons for and circumstances of their involvement in the process of the multiple and multidirectional migration?
2. How do they characterise their participation in formal, informal, and nonformal education during their multiple and multidirectional migration? By the term ‘participation’ I mean:
  - the pupil’s access to and attendance in educational programs,
  - the pupil’s motivation for and experiences with learning the language of instruction,
  - the pupil’s attitude and motivation towards participation in formal education and in the life of the school and the local community,
  - the concrete challenges the pupil faced at the way stations along their educational trajectory, including the current way station of Leipzig.
3. What do participants perceive to be the effects of the multiple and multidirectional migration on their lives and educational participation?

This study has a partially explorative but mainly descriptive nature (Drinck 2013, 146). It follows a circular design in which the different phases of research – such as formulating the question, the secondary literature review, data collection and data analysis – take place in parallel and influence each other. In such a circular research design the initially formulated research questions and the methods of data collection are refined several times in the light of

previously collected data. The circular research design favours the theoretical sampling strategy presented in detail in section 4.2.7 (Herfter and Rahtjen 2013, 118).

## 4.2 Research methodology and research methods

What Doná states in the following quote with regard to forced migration research is highly pertinent to my own research:

*“Forced migration researchers implicitly or explicitly embrace the ideal that the knowledge they generate will ultimately help the uprooted and displaced: research into the suffering of others can only be justified if alleviation of that suffering is an explicit objective, Turton wrote in 1996 (p. 96). The preoccupation with forced migration researchers to contribute to social change has been noticeable since the institutionalization of the field of refugee studies (Stein and Tomasi 1981; Zetter 1988) and continues to be present (Gingrich 2002; Black 2001; Jacobsen and Landau 2003). As such, forced migration research is 'partisan', rather than neutral, to the plight of the subjects of its investigation: studying the experiences, causes and consequences of displacement is done with the implicit or explicit intent to influence the development of better policies and programmes on the part of governments, non-governmental and inter-governmental agencies and refugee community organizations.” (2007, 2010)*

The author argues that because of this orientation, the researcher has to make a clear decision which role is assigned in knowledge production to those who are meant to be the beneficiaries of our research (see also Yu and Liu 1986, 495). Qualitative methods of data collection and an epistemological frame that looks for subjective meaning constructions may effectively tackle this issue.

This research follows a *qualitative interpretative* approach and a *reconstructive* research logic, and is rooted in the epistemological positions of *symbolic interactionism*, *sociology of knowledge and phenomenology* (Flick 2005, paragraph 23; Schmidt-Grunert 2004, 22ff). All of these epistemologies agree that reality is constructed and is represented by meanings which depend on viewpoint. Consequently, research is commonly seen as a second-order construct about the first-order constructs of the participant. The main goal of such a research approach is to understand and analyse subjective interpretations (Herzog 2013, 152). Many studies related to mine (e.g. Fürstenau 2004; Siouti 2013; Ní Laoire, Carpena-Méndez, and Tyrrell 2011) were carried out similarly: with a qualitative interpretative research design which aimed for the reconstruction of understandings and interpretations of the participants with regard to a given

matter of concern, through the use of semi-structured and narrative forms of interviews as well as other participatory forms of data collection.

In order to be able to explore subjective views within the research design, and the data collection in particular, this study followed the three core principles of *openness, process orientation and communication*. Openness percolates the entire research process. It implies inquiry into the meanings and interpretations of participants, rather than a narrow focus on the hypothesis of the researcher. It allows the participants to elaborate on their subjective views without these being characterised as true or false, and without any constraints which might prevent the articulation of unpredictable or seemingly non-relevant content. Openness is expressed in the way in which questions are asked and how these motivate the participants to narrate freely.

Process orientation suggests that at different points in time, individuals attach different meanings to a given topic that can be best traced in a biographical perspective. Furthermore, this principle means that the interview is considered a process which is constructed by both participant and researcher (Schmidt-Grunert 2004, 53ff).

The principle of communication refers to the use of language which reflects daily speech patterns, characterised by natural turn-takings in a language which is comprehensible to both the participant and the researcher and which facilitates an open interaction during the data collection process (Reinders 2012, 27ff). In short, in the interpretative qualitative research design the participants are in focus and the data collection process aims to elicit their interpretation of the subject matter.

The following section discusses the pitfalls and shortcomings of the analytical lens of methodological nationalism and proposes the alternative of methodological transnationalism. Subsequently, the biographical approach will be discussed in light of its compatibility with methodological transnationalism. The following three subsections will elaborate on the specificities of the group under investigation (multilingual participants from diverse backgrounds, child participants, asylum seeker and refugee participants) and the consequences of these specificities for the data collection process, research ethics and data analysis. Section 4.2.6 will describe the data collection methods used and the reasons for choosing these, while section 4.2.7 will give an overview of the data collection process, the sampling strategy and the sample itself.

Uwe Flick discusses the development of qualitative research in the German and the US American contexts and finds that these “*discussions are engaged in very different topics and*



*methods and that there is only a limited exchange among both*” (Flick 2005, paragraph 20). Some of the following sections mainly build on secondary literature from Germany (e.g. the biographical approach), others from the US-American context (e.g. research pertaining to asylum seekers and refugees), and I attempt to consider the relevant methodological sources from both contexts within practical limitations and without the claim of systematic or contrastive coverage.

#### **4.2.1 Methodological transnationalism**

The concept of methodological nationalism and its presence in educational scientific inquiry has been discussed in chapter 3.1. Due to the fact that the subjects of my study are child migrants and their educational biographies, it is necessary to discuss which forms of methodological nationalism are inherent in migration research in the wider sense and in *migration research in educational science* in particular.

Methodological nationalism has been present in migration research in three different ways.

Firstly, although migrants’ lives unfold in more than one socio-spatial framework, migration research often situates them solely in the context of one nation-state. This simplification leads to the usage of dichotomies such as sending and receiving country, or the partial and simplified conceptualisation of integration from the standpoint of the receiving society (Dahinden 2013,85). This approach is based on the assumption that societies and the political and national framework of the nation-state and its territory overlap, and consequently one is either part of a society or not. (Amelina and Faist 2012, 1709; Glick-Schiller 2007, 43; Meeus, 2012; 1777; Nowicka and Cieslik 2014, 3)

Secondly, migrants are predominantly categorised on the basis of their ethnicity. Glick-Schiller formulates that *“Even those scholars who begin their study by critiquing the ethnic group as a unit of analysis or demonstrating the constructed nature of ethnic boundaries, present their data as the study of a population identified ethnically as Turks, Moroccans, Kurds, Haitians, Brazilians”* (Glick-Schiller 2007, 51; see also Faist 2013, 109). In her view, this bias is a result of assimilationist approaches in US-American sociology, which are built on concepts of a homogenous society. From the 1960s onwards, these approaches were substituted by the politics of multiculturalism, according to which, society is composed of distinct ethnic communities. Interestingly, *“until the 1960s the term nationality was more widely known and more precisely reflected the methodological nationalist bias of migration research. Reference to migrant groups as nationalities in contrast to indigenous culturally differentiated groups*

*that have been designated national minorities is still part of the European migration discourse. The transformation in the US migration literature of nationalities to ethnic groups was a discursive move that placed populations defined by cultural difference completely within the US national space without reference to their transnational connections.*” (Glick Schiller 2007, 50). With reference to Hurh and Kim (1982, 75), the authors Yu and Liu (1986, 499) already called attention to the problem of the ethnic lens in (forced) migration research three decades ago, and pointed to the fact that a transcultural methodology is needed for the study of asylum seekers and refugees.

The third way in which methodological nationalism manifests itself in migration research is the naturalisation of ethnic belonging, which means that nationality and ethnicity are often considered by migration scholars to be something naturally given. Using analytical categories such as “Greeks”, migration scholarship often disregards the self-identification of the participants, as well as the problematic thinking in regards to ethnic belonging (Amelina and Faist, 2012, 1710; Dahinden 2013, 94ff).

Frequently, the contextualisation of migrants happens implicitly. The alternative of ‘methodological transnationalism’ suggests that the contextualisation of phenomena should happen in an explicit way and should allow for contextualisations other than the national one. However, how this can happen is a topic of current debate: “*Yet, although criticisms of methodological nationalism have been increasingly accepted within migration studies, we still lack a systematic reflection on how to build an empirical research programme that goes beyond*” (Amelina and Faist, 2012, 1708).

What method designs are appropriate for work in a transnational analytical framework? Among these are, for example, the multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995; Köngeter and Wolff 2012), the multi-sited matched sample, analysis of (virtual) networks, and transnational surveys (see Faist 2013 for detailed description of these designs).

There are two core questions discussed in the framework of methodological transnationalism: firstly, how to treat with awareness the ways in which shared or individual implicit notions of spatiality influence the decision on the unit of analysis, the sample, the site of research and the interpretation of data. In other words, how can the researcher reflect on her or his own understanding of spatiality while remaining open to the understanding of space of the participants?

Scheibelhofer (2010, 2011, 2013), in her research on highly-qualified researcher migrants from Austria to New York City, studies the spatial concepts of the researcher, the participants

and the institutions involved. She emphasises the importance of space-sensitive research on migration in order to enable analysis of the spatial understanding of actors and to identify spaces in which actors are embedded. She argues that in order to overcome methodological nationalism there is no need for a special methodology, but rather that it is important to reflect on spatial concepts during the entire research process (2010, 11).

The second core question is how to contextualise phenomena which cannot be contextualised exclusively in the national socio-spatial framework, i.e. how to work out from empirical data the different socio-spatial contexts in which a phenomenon is embedded.

Weiss and Nohl (2012a, b), in the framework of their project on the cultural capital of highly-qualified migrants, engage with the question of how to situate cases in macro-social contexts and how to reconstruct how these contexts shape cases. In their specific vocabulary, the term *case* refers to social phenomena (e.g. individuals) for which empirical data is collected. *Context* refers to macro socio-spatial frameworks which are not necessarily territorially fixed or mutually exclusive. Their aim is to understand in which context a case can be best understood, and also to allow for contextualisations alternative to the national one (see also Nieswand 2006). They also argue that an advanced decision for a context pre-structures the conception of the case and determines which causal relationship can be found between the case and its context(s) (2012b, 58). Weiss and Nohl use the documentary method of data analysis and the comparative method inherent in it as a strategy to work out contexts from the empirical data.

In educational science – for instance, in the field of historical research – Marcelo Caruso attempts to implement elements of a transnational methodology. In his research on transfer processes of classroom norms, he finds that transfer happens in entangled in-between places rather than between national spaces. In his lecture at the University of Leipzig in 2015, he pointed to a current difficulty of transnational methodology, that being that the terms are not yet clear and coherent: ‘socio-spatial framework’, ‘context, space’, ‘spatial frame of reference’ are all attempts to catch macro- frameworks (national, supranational, international, transnational, global) that can be, but do not have to be, territorially fixed and mutually exclusive, and out of which the national framework is only one among others.

In my dissertation, there is no possibility to resolve these terminological difficulties, especially because future empirical research will further refine the contours of this terminology. I adopt the terminology of Weiss and Nohl (2012) for the purposes of my dissertation, because their attempt to work out alternative contexts from empirical data is close to my research approach.

These two core questions of a methodological transnationalism – reflexivity about notions of contexts and empirically founded contextualisation – have been decisive in many ways from the beginning of my research.

- I choose educational biographies as cases.
- The adoption of the concept of the transnationals allows for calling some of the implicit assumptions in the field of education into question: necessity of sedentarism for educational success, as well as the assumption that migration/mobility is a disadvantage or risk for educational attainment. These allow me to ask my participants whether they see any enrichment through their migration experience or any additional skills or knowledge due to multiple relocations.
- I have avoided the normativity of the term integration and thus did not formulate my research questions in harmony with the prevalent questions of educational integration, which have a focus on the success or failure of integration into formal educational settings.
- I reflected on the predominant conceptualisation of migrant pupils in the educational secondary literature as young persons who relocate from one national container to another. Instead, I build on the very recent attempts to formulate a transnational approach in educational science (Adick 2005 and 2008; Siouti 2013).
- I consistently asked the question of what the pupil is supposed to integrate into in order to go beyond the prevalent understanding of educational integration.
- I remained open to the topic of transfer of knowledge and skills between different locations.
- I remained open to the dynamic reconfiguration of contexts when relocation over international borders takes place and allow an embeddedness in multiple contexts simultaneously.
- I remained open to the self-contextualisation of the participants by using the data collection methods of problem-centred interview and ego-centred network drawing.

Like Faist (2013, 108), who asks how migration can be contextualised, I ask how the educational biographies of children with multiple and multidirectional migration experiences can be contextualised.

Besides discussion on transnational migration and transnational social space, some aspects of the analytical lens of methodological transnationalism have also been adopted in educational

science: Adick (2005, 2008), for instance, who works on the conceptualisation of the term ‘transnational educational space’, draws attention to the fact that the concept of the ‘transnational’ is relevant for educational science, as it calls attention to the relational model of space in which territory and social space do not necessarily coincide. In her study on the transnational migration of second generation pupils between Germany and Greece, Siouti (2013) falls into many of the pitfalls of methodological nationalism, but manages to highlight the relevance of simultaneous embeddedness in multiple contexts for the educational success of the participants.

Based on all these, an important field of research gains contours: how pupils can be prepared for an active involvement in multiple contexts and how different aspects of social inequality are directly linked to the possibility of participating in more than one context. A possible prognosis might be that, similar to the shifting politics of education for returnee children in Japan (see section 1.3, page 20), a simultaneous active participation in multiple contexts will be considered as an important constituent element of a better social position. In any case, embeddedness in different contexts has to be analysed from the perspective of inequality as well. Furthermore, in light of such a prognosis, the very core meaning of educational integration has to be revised.

The following section will introduce the reader to the biographical approach in migration research and in migration research in education science.

#### **4.2.2 How the biographical approach is well-suited to overcome methodological nationalism in research on migration in education science**

The biographical approach is used in many disciplines (e.g. sociology, psychology, history, etc.) and in many interdisciplinary research fields (e.g. migration studies, childhood studies, gender studies, etc.), and, according to Apitzsch and Siouti, it can be considered as an autonomous interdisciplinary research field (2007, 5f). Felden (2008, 8f) points to the fact that since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, (auto-) biographies have been subject to scientific analysis, and beside literary studies (Literaturwissenschaft), historiography and philosophy, education science has considerably contributed to the development of this research approach. Later, the development of the approach took different directions at different points in time in the US-American and the German contexts, as well as in different disciplines (sociology, psychology, education science). German sociology, for example, did not utilise the approach in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but showed interest from the 1970s onwards (cf. Bielefeld Sociologists’ Working Group and Fritz Schütze). In contrast, in the US-American context, the Chicago School of Sociology

(Apitzsch and Siouti 2007, 3) made biographies a principal focus up until the 1940s (Kempf 2013, 55). Biographical research into migration was a core part of the US-American sociological research in the 1920s. One of the most influential works in the field of studying migration was by two sociologists at the Chicago School of Sociology, William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, who published the work with the title *The Polish Peasant in Europe and in America* in 1918 (Apitzsch and Siouti 2007; Juhasz 2003, 87; Breckner 2009, 23f).

German educational science and psychology showed intensive interest in biographies around the 1920s. During the period of National Socialism and in the post-war period, however, this interest diminished entirely. *“Mit der realistischen Wende in der Erziehungswissenschaft (Roth 1967) kam es im Laufe der 1960er Jahre und frühen 1970er Jahre jedoch zu einer Hinwendung zu den quantitativen Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung, während biographische Ansätze in der Erziehungswissenschaft in dieser Zeit keine Rolle mehr spielten”* (Krüger 2006, 15). In the 1960s, a renewed interest in biographies occurred in many disciplines at the same time (Krüger and Deppe 2013, 62). Felden (2008, 10) draws attention to the controversial discussion on the necessity to distinguish the biographical approach of education science from the one in social sciences in general. Marotzki (2006, 60) argues that such a distinction points to the fact that German education science utilises the biographical approach in many of its subfields, but the subfield of educational theory (Bildungstheorie) analyses biographies with the special goal of empirically reconstructing the meaning of core concepts such as Bildung, Lernen or Erziehung (recent examples Fuchs 2011; Rosenberg 2011). A definition of the approach for the discipline in general would be the following:

*“Im Zentrum des Interesses der erziehungswissenschaftlichen Biographieforschung steht das Bemühen, Lebensgeschichten unter dem Focus von Lern- und Bildungsgeschichten zu rekonstruieren (vgl. Marotzki 1990).”* (Krüger 2006, 14)

The advantages of a holistic approach to biography with a specific focus on one aspect are discussed by Guerin and Guerin (2007, 154), who, in the context of their participatory community research with refugees, discuss the principle of 'Non-Compartmentalisation of Research Topics'. They mean that although the research might focus on only one aspect (e.g. education), this cannot be detached from other domains and aspects of life.

The biographisch orientierte erziehungswissenschaftliche Migrationsforschung (migration research in education science with an orientation to biographies) is a growing field (e.g. Bukow et.al. 2006; King and Koller 2009, Hummrich 2009, Rose 2013, Nohl 1996, Siouti 2013). This subfield has great potential in multiple ways. Firstly, the biographical approach suits the study

of migration especially well, because it captures migration as a process from the perspective of migrants who refer to their experience with the whole process (departure, transit, arrival(s)) in view. Furthermore, the biographical approach allows one to capture both those aspects of migration which supported the old pattern of orientation and those which called for its transformation. This potential is exploited by those educational studies which analyse the educational potential of the transformative force of migration.

In harmony with Guerin and Guerin (2007, 154), who plea for the non-compartmentalisation of life domains, the biographical approach offers an insight into how the experience of migration is connected to other spheres of life, how the migration experience depends on different life phases, social status, etc., and what role social and biographical context plays in the interpretation of migration (Breckner 2007, 118)

A further important advantage of analysing biographies is that it can help the researcher to capture diversity and complexity and tackle homogenising and essentialising tendencies in academic research (Clark-Kazak 2009).

Its main potential is in its compatibility with the analytical lens of methodological transnationalism, in that it remains open to the different perspectives which arise if the biography is contextualised in a local, national, supranational, transnational or global context. In the study of transnationalisation from below and every day transnational practices, the biographical approach gives insight into the reference groups and contexts of reference of the individual (Bukow and Spindler 2006, 33). This allows one to question the exclusive focus on the receiving society, and to induce a change of perspective to the sending or transit country or supranational social contexts.

Biographies are produced in the form of narratives. These are part of everyday interaction and occur in different forms. Through narratives people make sense of their lives, and in case of dissatisfaction the narrative has the potential to facilitate action for change. Through sense-making, the person gains biographical knowledge “*welches für die aktuellen und zukünftigen Konstruktionen der Biographie verwertet wird.*” (Hoerning 2000, 4).

Eastmond introduces four different dimensions of life with regard to their relation to the narrative: life as lived, life as experienced, life as told and life as text (2007, 249) and states that “*Narrative also inevitably reduces experience which, in its vitality and richness, always far exceeds the expression which a person can give it (Bruner 1986). Thus, stories cannot be seen as simply reflecting life as lived, but should be seen as creative constructions or interpretations of the past, generated in specific contexts of the present*” (Eastmond 2007, 250).

Despite a long-standing discussion around the validity of biographical data as a form of primary research data (Rosenthal 2005, 49f, Juhasz 2003, 90f), today there is consensus that

*“Mit der Analyse individueller Erfahrungen könne folglich immer auch gleichzeitig auf allgemeine soziale Strukturen geschlossen werden. Diese Konzeption bildete eine zentrale Grundlage für das Verständnis davon, dass sich in Biographien stets als Ergebnis sozialer Entwicklungen einerseits gesellschaftliche Strukturen abbilden bzw. reproduzieren, andererseits sich diese erst im biographischen Verlauf herausbilden bzw. produziert werden.”* (Kempf 2013, 54)

Biographies – in which the social and the personal are closely interrelated – serve as frameworks for people to make sense of their lives, given the declining role of traditional normative frameworks such as family, nation or class (Breckner 2007, 116).

Despite all the advantages of the biographical research approach in migration research, one aspect proves to be challenging. This is the role of the researcher in the coproduction of research data, the control over which is a common challenge in all qualitative approaches, because *“An explorative and inductive approach systematically geared towards maintaining openness must start with an explication of one’s own preconceptions and commonsense knowledge on the matter of concern”* (Hollstein 2011, 408).

In the research on migration, this reflexivity has to expand on the understanding of biography as such, because *“Biographische Selbstthematisierungen unterliegen soziokulturellen Regelungen und Ressourcen, die festlegen, was für die Angehörigen einer Kultur oder Gesellschaft als biographische Wirklichkeit gelten kann und soll”* (Straub 2000, 139).

Intercultural reflexivity does not refer only to the reflexive act of the researcher, but is part of a much wider, ongoing reflexive process of education science methods in intercultural educational research, which will be discussed in the section on data analysis (Mecheril and Darowska 2014; Hummrich 2014, Schröder 2014, Bukow 2014).

In my study, the boundaries of the researcher’s perspective were mitigated by theoretical sampling, comparative analysis and discussion of the material in a group of researchers (Hollstein 2011, 409). Furthermore, biographical reflexivity (Ruokonen-Engler and Siouti 2013) as a tool of a migration researcher proved to be relevant for my research. In the suggested reflection scheme I disclosed, in the form of memos, answers to the following questions:

- What personal experience do I have with migration?
- How did I come to the study of this specific topic in the field of migration?



- What is my relationship to the topic being investigated?
- How did I gain access to the field?
- How does my own position (age, gender, class, economic status, legal status) influence interaction in the field and the data collection process?

This self-reflection takes place throughout the entire research process, from the formulation of the research question and the construction of the research field, to the conduct of the data collection, the data analysis and the writing process (Ruokonen-Engler and Siouti 2013, 255).

The fact that I have relocated nine times and lived in seven different locations in four different countries, as well the fact that, as an adult, I have relocated between the Hungarian, the US-American and the German academic environments, influenced my choice of question and target group. Furthermore, pedagogical work with pupils who were in transit in Hungary had an impact on the formulation of my research design. The fact that I have been living in a dynamically changing set of transnational practices and in a multilingual social environment for the last decade also has had an impact. Being a person with migration experience in the research site made access to the studied pupils easier. The participants felt relaxed speaking German to a person for whom German is also a second language.

Insiderness means that the researcher shares common knowledge and membership of the same group with the participants of the study, i.e. they share the same cultural, linguistic, ethnic or national background (Nowicka and Cieslik 2014, 6). During my research the insider and outsider positions were located along a continuum and varied along different metrics. As mentioned above, the fact that I am also a second language speaker of German made me an insider for many pupils, and similarly, the fact that they perceived me as if I belonged more or less to the same generation increased feelings of insiderness (Ganga and Scott 2006). With the same interview partner, in some domains, based on similar biographical experiences, the researcher was an insider, and in other domains an outsider. This insider-outsider dynamic varied in every interview.

The insider-outsider perspective builds on the assumption of a container society, in which the members share the same cultural, linguistic, ethnic or national background and a person either belongs to the group or not (on the outsider role, Pérez 2006). In the case of the participants, exactly this assumption is challenged by their life experiences. For my participants, the researcher almost has to go through the same migration route in order to fully become an insider. When this is not the case, research with participants with multiple migration experiences has to either be built on the cooperation of many researchers from the different

locations involved in the biography of the participant, or must come to terms with the fact that the researcher is in some respects an insider and in others an outsider.

I was perceived in many interviews as an insider because I am a migrant with multiple migration experiences, because I live as a migrant in Leipzig, and because I speak several languages. How dynamically co-constructed the insider and outsider positions are is shown by the question posed to me by one of my participants as to whether or not I spoke German when I arrived in Germany. When I asked why he wanted to know, he answered that it is important because then he would not have to explain to me how difficult it is to learn the language after arrival. In interviews (conducted in Greek and Romanian) where the interpreter was from the same country as the participants, the insider-outsider perspective was reproduced and the pupil found it easier to talk to the interpreter with whom she shared knowledge (see section 3.2.3).

The researcher's insider or outsider position occurs not only in relation to the participants of his or her study, but also in relation to the dominant academic discourse of his or her discipline within the academic context in which the study is conducted. Academic contexts differ in their intellectual academic styles, methods and scientific terminology. In migration research, somewhat paradoxically, research foci and terminology show great variety across national contexts, and this makes it even more challenging for a researcher to conduct her or his study from a transnational perspective (Borkert and De Tona 2006).

### **4.2.3 Research in a multilingual setting, using interpreters in qualitative research**

Qualitative data collection methods and methods of data analysis have been developed with monolingual individuals in mind and with the assumption that the interviewer and the interviewee share at least one language to a level of competence/fluency sufficient to conduct an interview.

The data collected in this study stems from interview settings in which:

- the interviewer and the interviewee use a language which is a learned/second language, each with different levels of competence/fluency,
- the interviewer and the interviewee use more than one learned languages, in which each speak with different levels of competence/fluency, in a dynamic way,
- the interviewer and the interviewee work with an interpreter.

These settings are quite different to those in which the interview is conducted only in one language in which both participants have the same levels of competence/fluency in the language used.

The monolingual normativity of both the qualitative interview method and method of data analysis have both been challenged by my research setting. The conference report 'Mehrsprachigkeit in qualitativen Forschungsdesigns' suggests that reflection on the cross-cultural aspects of qualitative research can serve to enrich qualitative methodology and that this must be adapted to a multilingual reality in the field (Liebeskind and Inhetveen 2008). This section will discuss aspects of this theme.

The participants, the researcher and the interpreters in my study are all multilingual. When I first met a potential participant, I offered him or her the languages I could use (English, German, Turkish, and Hungarian) in an interview, and in this way secured for the participant the full freedom to choose the language they felt the most comfortable in for the interview. In fact, in some instances, Turkish or Hungarian was the language which enabled me to explain the main goals of my study to the pupil and ask her in which language she wanted to communicate during the interview. Participants in my study did not necessarily share a common language with the researcher, and when they did, it was not necessarily to the level which would be a prerequisite for an interview. In these cases, the pupil asked for an interpreter for the language in which they felt most comfortable. In some instances, although the pupil requested an interpreter for one of her family languages, the pupil would still choose English or German at the beginning of the interview to communicate with the researcher instead. Therefore, all interviews fit three linguistic situations:

- (1) the interview was mainly conducted in a language which was a learned language for both the participant and the researcher (English and/or German). Sporadic code-switching to another learned language(s) was carried out by both the participant and the researcher.
- (2) the interview was conducted in a family language of the participant with the help of an interpreter. The family language of the participant was also a family language of the interpreter and the translation took place into German or English, which was a learned language for both the interpreter and the researcher.
- (3) the interview was conducted in a family language of the participant, which was a learned language for the interpreter, and was then translated into English, which was a learned language for the researcher, but a family language for the interpreter.

These cross-cultural and cross-language settings, the fact that the qualitative interview took place with multilingual persons, and the involvement of interpreters in some interviews, have immense consequences for the data collection process, the data collected and the data interpretation. As Temple states: “...cross language research means that it is neither epistemologically, methodologically, nor ethically sound to assume that interpretation and translation can be treated as mere technical exercise” (Temple 2008, 361).

In fact, all study participants had multilingual skills at the time of the interview. I gave the right to the pupils to choose the language they wished to use in the interview (regarding asymmetry and the politics of language use see Lutz 2011, 351 and Temple 2004, 194). We can assume that in each language the pupil would have expressed himself or herself differently, and therefore the data is also a result of the specific language constellation during the interview. The participants were used to multilingual settings and to communicating in a second or foreign language, as well as to using the languages in a very dynamic way, such as code-switching and translanguaging (Woodley and Brown, 2016; Canagarajah 2013). A special consideration was on the culturally sensitive nonverbal communication of the researcher. In some instances, the presence of two adults – or in the cases of teenage male participants, the presence of two women – caused shyness (on the gender of researcher and interpreter see Temple and Edward 2002, 14).

The influence of the interpreter on the interview setting is manifold. Temple, Edwards, and Alexander describe their own practice regarding research in which the interviews were conducted by a person who spoke the same language as their study participants. They trained the interviewers prior to the interview, and afterwards they conducted an in-depth interview with the interviewers about their lives and their thoughts about the research itself (2006, 7). These measures were taken by the researchers in order to control the influence of the interviewers on the research and to find ways of interpreting data that was collected by a person other than the researcher due to language reasons. Based on these experiences, I combined these steps by meeting with the interpreters prior to the interview. In this meeting, aspects of self-reflection and good practice of interpretation were covered, including the following points:

**Before the interview:**

- The interpreter and the researcher reflect on their knowledge and attitudes with regard to the research topic and the research participant.
- In the specific case of this research, conscious and unconscious images of the interpreter about “good” schooling and about the sedentarism-education nexus have to be reflected upon.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The interpreter has to reflect upon their own social position: socioeconomic background of family and self, education, features of social space, foreign language skills, occupation, etc.</li> <li>• The interpreter has to reflect upon possible shared knowledge with the interview participant. (e.g. “You know as it is in our country...”) and pitfalls of the unintended creation of insider-outsider roles in the interview (Temple 2004, 197).</li> <li>• The interpreter has to reflect upon their own migration experience.</li> <li>• The researcher and the interpreter discuss the ethical aspects of conducting research with children.</li> </ul>
<p><b>During the interview:</b></p>
<p>The most common mistakes in interpretation (based on Inheteen 2012, 37ff):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• adding information to what the participant is saying,</li> <li>• explicit interpretation of what the participant said: “He means by saying xy that...”,</li> <li>• implicit interpretation of what the participant said, such as changing of the oral text without making explicit,</li> <li>• changing specific vocabulary used by the participant with the intent of making it more understandable for the researcher,</li> <li>• shortening of the verbatim of the participant or giving only a content summary of what the participant has said,</li> <li>• using mimics and gestures in an unintended way which influence the interview,</li> <li>• assuming that the interview takes place between the interpreter and the participant and not between the researcher and the participant.</li> </ul>
<p><b>After the interview:</b></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The interpreter has to reflect immediately after the interview on how they felt during the interview and on their impressions of the interpretation work.</li> <li>• The interpreter has to reflect upon their thoughts about the participant as a person and the behaviour of the participant during the interview.</li> <li>• Transcript: the interview has to be transcribed in its full version. The transcript includes the oral interpretation provided during the interview and the translated version of the participants verbatim, even if these show differences. In this way the interpreted and the translated version can be compared, allowing for quality control.</li> </ul>

Chart 2 Good practice of interpretation

Each interpreter is different: both the relationship between the participant and the researcher and that between the interpreter and the researcher played out differently in each interview. This required great flexibility and consequently, they sometimes had very different results. Some participants had prior experience of talking with the help of interpreters, while others had experienced this only in shorter, everyday situations. Independent of the participant’s prior experience with interpreters, communication with the help of an interpreter results in different data than direct communication. One main effect is that long flows of narration cannot be produced without interruption, and the interruption affects the motivation of the speaker to continue the free narration. The participant and the interpreter handle their turn-taking as well

as the sequence of the narration and the translation allow. This is one practical aspect which directly shapes the research design in terms of which method of data collection can be used and how this has to be adapted to the linguistic circumstances. This is the reason why the narrative interview in its classical form could not be used, and why the problem-centred interview was used instead. How the linguistic situation and the presence of an interpreter shaped the data collection will be discussed in section 4.2.6 (see also Henkelmann 2012, 113ff).

The relationship between the participant, the researcher and the interpreter has a major impact on the quality of data. In qualitative research, the data gained during an interview is a co-production of the participant and the researcher, and when an interpreter is also involved then this third person is also involved in data production. The interaction between participant and interpreter, between participant and researcher, and between researcher and interpreter is mediated by three different cultural and biographical frameworks. Assumptions about what the other persons share in terms of cultural and biographical experience influence the way in which one formulates his or her questions and answers. This had a decisive influence on the data in cases where the participant and the interpreter originated from the same country and shared the same first language. In these instances, the participant pupil assumed a shared knowledge between the interpreter and himself or herself, but not with the researcher (see also Temple and Edwards 2002, 18). On the basis of this partially true assumption, the pupil decided to orient his or her answers towards the assumed background knowledge of the interpreter. After noticing this, the researcher had to ask for further clarification.

On the basis of translation studies, Temple, Edwards and Alexander see “*the translator as an author of a new text rather than a technician who re-produces the original in another language*” (2006, 4; see also Temple 1997, 613). Translators have to decide on notions and words, and this decision is always a subjective one based on the interpreter’s cultural and linguistic frame of reference, biographical experience and knowledge. Considering all this, the data I analyse in my study is a construct on the third level: it is first formulated by the participant in the interview, then secondly translated by the interpreter and thirdly interpreted by the researcher (e.g. Tuijter 2009, 187; Palenga-Möllnbeck 2009, 159). It is challenging to control the process of how the data changes and gets modified. However, due to the linguistic circumstances of the field researched, there is no better solution than to reflect on the text with the interpreters and to make the pitfalls of this practice transparent. The alternative would be not to conduct research under such linguistic circumstances.

In order to avoid data distortion caused by interpretation, guided by the suggestions of Inhetveen, I have combined oral translation during the interview and written translation during the transcription as a measure of control (2012, 36). In this way, the oral text was transcribed as it was on the audio script and additionally, the interpreter (who also acted as the translator) translated the original answers of the pupil - in case the oral interpretation was inadequate - once more. In this way, differences between the oral interpretation during the interview and the translated text during the transcribing process could be contrasted, which resulted in some control of the quality. On the other hand, it can be claimed that translation creates a new text and the researcher is interpreting this new text rather than the original verbatim of the participants.

Given the plurality of ways in which reality is construed, concepts have different meanings and connotations in different contexts. Temple illustrates this with the example of the concept of 'family' (1997, 611) and its meaning in interviews conducted with people from England and from Poland (note: methodological nationalism inherent in the example). Similarly, Tuider discusses this challenge with the examples of the concepts of 'motherhood' (Tuider 2012, 39) and 'child' (2009, 180) in her transnational studies. In this regard my research is a minefield, as concepts such as freetime, school, family, etc., had a different meaning in each interview I conducted. Based on the fact that the adaptation of qualitative research for cross-cultural and cross-linguistic fields has just begun, my research cannot rely on previously established knowledge and practice in this regard. One further challenge arises from the fact that the multilingual data is presented in monolingual English academic writing. My research has shown that the era of methodologies and methods based on the normative implicit assumption of sedentarism, monolingualism and monoculturalism is over.

#### **4.2.4 My participants are children**

Qualitative social science methods have been developed in the context of research with adult participants (Vogl 2012, 22, Heinzl 2012, 27). Reflection on how qualitative data collection methods and techniques can be adapted for use with children is rather rare (Fuhs 2012,86). Growing awareness of the need for such reflection stems from changing perceptions in Western societies, with children increasingly being seen as active individuals with agency, with their own interpretation of their lives and ability to reflect on their biographies (Behnken, Mikota and Zinnecker 2009, 171, Krüger and Grunert 2001, 129). Specifically with regard to the interview method, Fuhs suggests: *“Insgesamt lässt sich feststellen, dass die methodische Voraussetzung für Interviews mit Kindern bisher noch wenig erforscht sind”* (Fuhs 2012, 92).

The German and American secondary literature on data collection methods in childhood studies (Christensen and James 2001; Lange and Mierendorff 2011) and qualitative methods with child participants defines who belongs to the category of child based on age, but does so in a rather arbitrary way without explicit justification. In the German educational literature, for instance, it is common practice to make a clear-cut distinction between the age groups under 13/14 and those above, labelling the latter group as youth. In my research, I use the term child (school-age child) for young persons who are entitled to participate in state-run education in the state of Saxony in the Federal Republic of Germany. Given the specific characteristics of the participants in my research sample and because of the research questions I wished to address, it was necessary to take a wider range of ages in the sample rather than an age-homogenous group. Furthermore, as I will describe later, age is a social and cultural construct, the meaning of which varies widely in my sample.

This section will begin by discussing some of the reservations towards the reliability and validity of data provided by child participants. Subsequently, specificities of this group with regard to data collection methods, especially the qualitative interview, will be discussed. The section closes with some considerations on the ethical aspects of conducting research with child participants.

### **(1) reliability and validity of data provided by child participants**

Children are often considered incomplete adults who do not have the necessary skills and attitudes to deliver the same reliable and plausible research data as an adult participant would (Mahon, Clarke, and Craig 1996, 148). The most common reservation is that children do not have the level of ability to remember, reflect, and narrate, nor the wider set of psychological, interactive, cognitive and linguistic competences which are prerequisites for participation in an interview (Heinzel 2012, 28). Vogl, who analysed 112 qualitative interviews with 56 children, finds that the specificities of child participants have to be reflected upon, but her empirical data falsifies the assumption that data provided by children is unreliable and invalid due to the lack of necessary competences and skills (2012, 327). The author finds that the level of some central skills necessary to provide reliable data in a qualitative interview are available as follows: self-reflexivity from age 9, the ability to change perspective from age 7, ability to narrate from age 12, the required memory performance from age 10-11, and the ability of logical thinking, hypothetical thinking, abstract thinking, differentiation, and generalisation from age 11 (Vogl 2012, 12 and 197; Lockl and Schneider 2011, 93). She concludes that *“ab 11 Jahren gibt es keine Einschränkung mehr in Interviews aufgrund kognitiver Fähigkeiten des Kindes”* (Vogl



2012, 237). She also falsifies a common assumption that children are not capable of differentiating between reality and their own desires.

Lipski, who similar to Vogl, also discusses the reliability of research data provided by children, raises the concern that children often tend to provide answers which adults wish to hear and which do not have any negative consequences for them (Lipski 2000, 78). Likewise, Vogl draws attention to two closely related issues: on the one hand, children often provide socially desirable answers, especially when they do not have their own opinion (280); and on the other hand, there is a high risk of suggestibility, which means that if adults suggest an answer, children tend to accept it (284). These issues are closely linked to the point raised by sceptical voices that the relation between the researcher and the child participant is an authority relation (Vogl 2012, 20), which limits the reliability of data. How the child and the adult make sense of themselves and each other in an interview situation and whether they experience it as an authority relation depends on many factors. In line with this, Fuhs suggests: *“Die Erhebungssituation wird also von Kindern eindeutig asymmetrisch definiert, wobei die Kinder auf ihnen bekannte Muster des Erwachsenen-Kind Verhältnisses zurückgreifen. In die Erhebungssituation gehen also bisherige Erfahrungen der Kinder mit Eltern, Lehrern, oder anderen Erwachsenen ebenso ein wie die bisherigen Erfahrungen des Interviewenden mit Kindern”* (1999, 159). The research design and research questions are influenced by the researcher’s own childhood experiences, socially established interpretations of childhood at a given time and in a given context, and the researcher’s previous (research) experiences with children (Heinzel 2012, 26). These have to be reflected on prior to and during the data collection process.

In my study, one of the core challenges was to remain open towards difference and diversity. Each of the participants had a different background (linguistic, cultural, biographical, economic, etc.) which was again different from that of the researcher. In such a setting, it is impossible to control all the aspects that might influence the interview. When a participant is not narrating freely but slips into a question and answer mode during the interview, it is difficult to determine if that is due to the place (a classroom), to the assumed hierarchy between child and adult, or to previous experiences with interviews. For future methodological research, it would be interesting to describe the specificities of conducting qualitative interviews with children from diverse backgrounds and thereby challenge the homogenous understanding of the group of children. In my research, for example, children’s previous experience with interviews (e.g. asylum interviews and school-intake interviews) turned out to have a powerful influence: participation in my study was refused in some instances due to some previous negative

experiences with interviews. Another influential factor was the psychological state of mind of the participant. This aspect will be addressed later on.

My research confirms the finding of Vogl with regard to the non-decisiveness of age: “*Alter eines Befragten ist nur ein sehr vager Anhaltspunkt für dessen Kompetenzen*” (2012, 271). She suggests that individual differences (e.g. biographical experiences, cultural background, family background, etc.) have a bigger impact on a child’s communicative competence and performance in an interview than age differences. According to the experience of my study, the researcher has to be aware of which automatic meanings are attached to the categories of age in the particular social, cultural, economic and political context of the research. In my research experience, one age group cannot be considered internally homogeneous, and the same age does not have the same meaning with two different child participants. This is especially true for children and youth who are shaped by the powerful experience of migration in one way or another.

## **(2) child-friendly interviewing**

Besides paying attention to the different aspects and possible pitfalls of the child-adult relationship (e.g. hierarchy and suggestibility), it is important to consider further specificities of children in order to be able to collect reliable data. It is difficult, however, to determine exactly which child-specific aspects have to be considered when conducting an interview with an individual child. One reason for this is that the group of children is very heterogeneous, and due to cultural diversity, it is not possible to make general statements about what qualifies as appropriate (Christensen and Allison 2001, 161; Vogl 2012, 23).

Working with child participants clearly revealed the implicit assumptions and normativity inherent in the qualitative interview method, which predefines what qualifies as acceptable research participation, as acceptable answers during an interview and acceptable patterns of biographical narration (Ecarius 1999, 149). This normativity is paradoxical given that openness is considered to be a central principle of qualitative research (Heinzel 2012, 28).

What characterises a child-friendly interview? Children are often asked by adults about their present and future but less about their past, so the interview might turn out to be the first time that they have told their life story (Krüger and Grunert 2001, 137). Another unusual role for the child is that he or she is established by the researcher as an expert on a topic (Trautmann 2010, 46f). However, it is important to ask very concrete questions that are relevant to the reality of this expert, and in a simple language which is easily understandable for the child. The success of the interview can depend on how contact is established. If it happens through a teacher, the researcher has to make sure that the child does not interpret the interview as an examination.

The establishment of contact involves some ethical issues as well, which are discussed in section 4.2.6. The researcher has to take the biorhythms of the child participants into consideration: after school, children might be hungry and tired and not want to stay at school any more. Due to the fact that children are used to concentrating for no longer than a school lesson, one can expect a child to concentrate approximately as long as a class in school. In case there are two tasks, it is important to take a break between them. It is advisable that the interview is combined with some activating method of data collection, such as acting, fantasy stories, drawing, etc. However, in some instances multitasking might be a problem.

### **(3) research ethics**

Research ethics refers to the application of a set of rules and moral principles with the aim of preventing harm to the participants, as well as securing that the research is respectful and fair. The basis for a research ethic for research with children is the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 12, as well as considerable research experience in medical and psychological fields. There are various ethical guidelines focusing on research conducted with child participants, differing by discipline and country. In my research I have used the “Code of Practice on research ethics”, developed by the Glasgow Centre for the Child and Society after a conference entitled ‘Ethical issues in research with children’ held at the University of Glasgow in 2005. The letter of consent is in the Appendix. According to this regulation, I handed over the potential participant an information sheet and a consent form, both translated into the language in which the potential participant claimed to have the highest degree of competence. In the consent form, I requested that both a care-giver and the child agree to participation. Due to the fact that contact to the participants was established through teachers, it was important to ensure that the children participated voluntarily, because *“for example, children who are required to participate in research in schools may not feel in a position to dissent, simply because most (if not all) tasks and activities in school are compulsory”* (Morrow and Richards 1996, 101). In two cases, the interview did not take place because the pupil clearly did not want to participate in the research. I also gave the right to child participants to express their willingness to be taped by handing over the tape recorder, letting them turn it off and on and try to record themselves with it. After each interview was transcribed, the transcript was given to the participant upon request as well. Another risky aspect was that the confidentiality and avoidance of disclosure of the data was not entirely possible to secure, as the gatekeeper German as a second language teachers are able to recognise pupils from the description.

Lastly, it is important to note that child participants might express specific needs for help or advice. In these instances, it would seem appropriate for researchers to refer the child to a local counselling or support service (Mahon, Clarke, and Craig 1996, 151), which I did a number of times after the interviews.

#### **4.2.5 My participants are asylum seekers and refugees**

The fact that half of my sample was involved in forced migration, and thus was part of the host country's asylum procedure while living in asylum centres, had major implications for (1) access (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 2007), (2) building the relationship between participant and researcher, (3) the data collection process, and (4) methods and the associated time for the investigation. Three major implications proved to be central for my research, but in the relevant research literature further aspects are discussed (e.g. on culturally appropriate methods Goodkind and Deacon 2004; special methodology on studying psychosocial determinants of health and wellbeing during resettlement, Gifford, Bakopanos, Kaplan and Correa-Velez 2007; for survey research see Bloch 2004 and 2007; comparative research Chatty 2007).

Firstly, as White and Bushin state with regard to the Irish context, the asylum system had a central impact on narration and interview participation among the pupils:

*“In countries of the Global North, such as Ireland, the asylum system operates as a ‘system of power’ (Paliwala, 1995; White, 2002). As a ‘system of power’ the Irish asylum system exercises control over different groups of people simultaneously, and at different times and in different places. It reproduces social, economic, political and legal contexts that marginalise, disempower and work against the interests of those seeking asylum. What this means is that those involved in research processes – both as researchers and participants – cannot be considered to exist ‘outside’ of these relations of power.” (White and Bushin 2011, 327)*

The asylum system and its procedures pre-conditions those who are involved in it with regard to the act of biographical narration (Thielen 2009, paragraph 7 ff; Eastmond 2007, 260). In this context, the recollection of a person's own biography happens with the purpose of delivering a convincing life story which fulfils the criteria of the 1951 Geneva Convention. The narration is provided to unknown official persons, in many cases several times after each other. Those who go through such a practice collect their negative experience of biographical interviews prior to any academic study. This experience also determines the attitude of those seeking asylum towards the interview as a scientific data collection method: reluctance to participate, giving

falsified content, sharing of facts but not personal views and interpretations, portrayal of oneself more as a victim and less as an agent, and the lack of trust towards the interviewer. Gül expressed the latter point several times when she mentioned that all she learned during her migration process was not to trust anybody (cf. Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway 2007, 303).

In analogy with the childhood studies researchers Christensen and Prout (2002), Doná applies the following categories for the different forms of ‘participation’ in research: the participant is an object, a subject, a social actor, or a participant and co-researcher (2007, 212). Due to the difficulties in building trust with my participants (mainly due to a lack of time and activities together), some interviews remained on the level where the pupils were subjects, but not actors or participants, in my interviews. In many instances, the children were reluctant to go into details, or to share information which they considered sensitive and personal. A year-long experience in working with asylum seeker and refugee individuals helped me to avoid topics which would have risked the relationship with my participants (see also Yu and Liu 1986, 485). Such a moment was, for instance, in the first interview with Gül. She listed Romanian as a language she speaks. As I asked how it is that she knows Romanian, she answered that she likes to learn languages. I noticed that she was giving a vague answer and that there was something that she did not want to share, but I moved on to the next question. Otherwise, the pupil would have felt threatened to be asked about a life experience too sensitive to be narrated in a first encounter with a researcher. In the second interview, as part of the explanation of the ego-centred network map, it turned out that Gül had learned Romanian during her year in Bucharest.

As covered in section 4.2.3, an oft-discussed topic in research with migrants is the insider-outsider positioning and perspective. In the case of those pupils who lived at an asylum centre while participating in the study, socio-spatial isolation automatically suggested an insider perspective for the pupil and an outsider one for the researcher. In the interview with Suleyman, the pupil expressed how difficult it was for him to tell me anything, as he knew I could not even imagine what he had experienced.

This setting influences how the interpreter is involved in the interview process as well. In one case I consciously did not tell the interpreter that the pupil was involved in forced migration, with the aim of ensuring that the interpreters’ attitude towards the participant remained free of preconditions. This conduct had a disadvantage, however, in that the interpreter did not understand many of the expressions and topics specific to the life of a person who is part of an asylum procedure and lives in an asylum centre. This again led to confusion on the part of the

pupil and disrupted the flow of the interview in a significant way. The lesson learned is that in an interview setting where the participant, the interpreter and the researcher come together, all three are part of the politics of labelling, as well as the power struggle over who is labelling whom and with what purpose (Zetter 2007).

Secondly, the success of qualitative interviews depends on the level of narrative competence of the participant. Narrative competence skills are transferable skills from the first language to the second language of a person; however, if a learner of a second language is at the beginning of the language acquisition process, they might not have a strong narrative competence yet. In many instances, it was obvious that the pupils could understand stories and were also able to produce them. However, this can be temporarily interrupted by post-traumatic stress disorder or symptoms of Ulysses Syndrome (Achoteguí and Rohr 2014). In order to avoid this, conducting more than one interview with a considerable time gap between each lead to different and richer data.

Thirdly, in most of the secondary literature on the methodology of research with refugees, special ethical aspects are raised (a complex ethical approach for cross-cultural research settings based on principles from theoretical and applied ethics, human rights, social work and community development is proposed by Pittaway, Bartolomei and Hugman 2010, 242ff). One of the core principles discussed is the responsibility of the researcher not to churn up traumas and not to cause further anxiety or emotional distress (Thomas and Byford 2003; Pittaway, Bartolomei and Hugman 2010, 234) by the data collection. Therefore, in some interviews I consciously stopped the conversation at a certain point in order to protect the participant. A further ethical consideration is in the use of language in reporting on the data collected with asylum seekers and refugees (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 2007, 293), whereby a language which reifies the pupils refugee status, engages in othering and depicts the participants as vulnerable and traumatised persons without any resilience and agency has to be avoided (Shapiro 2018). In light of the specificities of the target group, the next section will describe the data collection methods.

#### **4.2.6 Problem-Centred Interview and Ego-Centred Network Drawing**

The choice of data collection method depends on several factors, such as the previous knowledge of the researcher about the researched topic, the epistemological framework, the characteristics of the participants of the study in general and their communicative and narrative competence specifically (Reinders 2012, 88f).

In the research tradition of the biographical approach, the most commonly used data collection method is the narrative interview (Labov and Waletzki 1967; Schütze 1977), which aims to generate free and detailed story-telling by the interviewee. As it is an unstructured version of interviewing, its outcome is highly dependent on the narrative competence of the interviewee (Scheibelhofer 2008, 409). (The term ‘narrative competence’ means a set of cognitive and language skills which enable a person to reflect on their own life and express these reflections via language, in the form of a story. This skillset is developed during biographical socialisation. Straub 2000, 137f; Breckner 2009, 139.)

There are three reasons why the classical narrative interview method does not suit this study. Firstly, the interviews were conducted either with the help of an interpreter or in a language which was a foreign language for the participant. This cross-language setting influences the level of communicative and narrative competence, makes dynamic mutual clarifications necessary during the interview process, and thus sets boundaries for a free, uninterrupted and detailed narration. Secondly, as already described in section 4.2.5, the attitudes of the group of asylum seekers and refugees towards biographical interviews may be shaped by their special experience, which puts further limits on a free and detailed narration. Thirdly, a uniform narrative competence cannot be assumed for the participants, as this is shaped by their different biographical experiences, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, psychological conditions, social backgrounds, etc. (Hoerning 2000, 4). The pilot testing (December 2013 and March 2014) proved these factors to be critical and suggested that an alternative to the the classical narrative interview method needed to be chosen.

The study follows a descriptive and interpretative approach which favours looking for an alternative to the narrative interview, one which elicits biographical narration but does not rely exclusively on it and which handles the issues mentioned above. Among the semi-structured data collection methods, the problem-centred interview proved to be the most suitable for this study.

Witzel developed the problem-centred interview method in 1982 for a study about the coping mechanisms of young people with unemployment immediately after leaving school (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 76f; Scheibelhofer 2008, 403). Later, the method was used for the study of various topics – e.g. studies about consequences of individualisation, unemployment, pupils’ learning motivation, future perspectives of youth – and in different research areas, such as sociology of medicine, gender studies, environmental studies and social work, as well as in migration studies (Scheibelhofer 2005b, 20). It is a method which has proven to be suitable for studying child and teenage participants (Reinders 2012, 107; Schmidt-Grunert 2004, 72ff). This

form of interview is developed on the basis of a literature review, from the development of a semi-structured interview question guide through the phases of pilot testing, modification of the question guide, interviews, and finally, data analysis. It is a semi-structured interview form which combines different interviewing styles into one: it opens with an open narrative-generating question, followed by narration, with a consequent dialogic form of interview along a previously prepared guide of open questions, and lastly, a short survey of basic data. It combines deductive and inductive ways of formulating the research questions: deductive in the sense that some questions derive from the theoretical knowledge of the researcher, while others gain shape during the interview, on the basis of the information provided by the participant (Witzel 2000, paragraph 3). The interview guideline is in fact prepared in advance, which secures the comparability of the different interviews, but the general flow of each interview follows the story-line of the interviewee.

The basic principles of the problem-centred interview are *problem-centring*, *process-orientation* and *object orientation*. The interview centres on a social problem and aims to reveal the perspective of the individual on this problem, and is secured by the constant intervention of the interviewer during the dialogic process of the interview. The social problem is identified prior to the interview from the background of the available knowledge of the researcher (theoretical knowledge, everyday knowledge and contextual knowledge). The second principle of process orientation is twofold: on the one hand, through theoretical sampling the data collection and the data analysis take place in a circular process, and on the other, the dialogic interview emerges in an iterative way by means of specific questioning techniques. Finally, according to the third principle, namely object orientation, the actual realisation of the interview process – whether the narrative or the dialogic part of the interview is emphasised – depends on the topic of the research and the characteristics of the participants (Witzel 2000, paragraph 4; Witzel and Reiter 2012, 24ff). The latter is especially crucial in the case of my research, which can only evolve as a cross-cultural and cross-language dialogue. The context of a statement in most cases differs from that of the researcher (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 76). The process and object orientation allows clarifications, such as what it means to live in a refugee centre/camp or how verbal racism concretely manifests itself in schoolyards.

In the case of my own research the start of the interview presented two specific challenges. Firstly, many of the interviews started with an explanation of the role of the interpreter, and the initial question, designed to elicit narration, was not necessarily followed by a free narration. Many of the participants had experience talking with the help of an interpreter, and thus segmented their initial narrations into short accounts. Others started with the narration but



consciously kept it short in order to be translated. The second challenge was associated with the openness to the self-contextualisation of the participants. As a result of this, the initial opening question had to be spatially sensitive and avoid the formulations: *that you have lived already in many countries, cities*. The sentence used was:

*“I find it interesting that you have lived already at many places. I want to get to know you. Please tell me your life story so far. There is no good or false, I am interested in everything you wish to share with me.”*

The most important communication strategies in this interview form are: (1) asking for examples, (2) asking for details, (3) asking the participant to make comparisons, e.g. between past and present, (4) summarising and revealing unclarified aspects, (5) reflecting on ideas from the interview for further elaboration, and (6) confronting the participant with contradictions (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 78). The question guide is in the Appendix.

In this form of interview, the researcher’s perspective is systematically reflected and disclosed. This prior knowledge serves much as a road map and travel guide to a well-informed traveller, in that these do not include everything about the locality the traveller visits. The interviewee possesses this local knowledge (Witzel and Reiter 2012, 2f). This echoes the concept of biographical reflexivity (section 4.2.2).

In order to gain data in connection with the socio-spatial contexts in which the pupils’ (educational) biographies unfolded, as well as to include a more child-friendly participatory method of data collection, the *ego-centred network drawing* was utilised. Although Herz, Peters and Truschkat (2015) have recently explored a possible way to conduct qualitative structural analysis on network maps (see also Hollstein and Straus 2006), this research used the network drawing (the process and the product) only as an additional source of data in the sense of triangulation, without analysing the map itself. The analysis comprises only the transcribed interview text which was generated during the drawing and during the explanation of the network map.

In the pilot interviews, the pupils found it overwhelming for the interview and the network drawing to take place during the same session, and doing this also led to confusion as to what exactly their task was. Therefore, in the later interviews the problem-centred interview and the network drawing were separated or took place at two different points in time. The explanation of the network drawing resulted in further biographical narration as well as detailed answers to follow-up questions. If the network drawing took place at a different point in time than the problem-centred interview, then the latter was conducted in its full version; however, if both

were carried out in the same session, one after the other, then the follow-up part of the interview was covered by the explanation of the network drawing.

Network analysis is a proven way to reconstruct transnationalisation from below and has been extensively used in migration research (Herz and Olivier 2012; Scheibelhofer 2006; Kanagavel 2013; Block, Warr, Gibbs and Riggs 2012). Network analysis has several forerunners in the first half of the 20th century (e.g. Georg Simmel, Leopold von Wiese, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown), but Jacob Levy Moreno is considered to be the founding father of this form of analysis (Schnegg 2010, 22f). Based on his work in the Mitterndorf refugee camp (Scherr 2013) and in connection with the *'Stehgreiftheater'* and the psychodrama, he developed sociometry, which was a starting point for further development from the 1940s onwards, leading to a fully established research field in the US American context from the 1960s (for a historical overview in the US American context see Raab 2010, for the German context Ziegler 2010).

Schnegg cites the following definition of network analysis: *“(1) die Analyse der sozialen Beziehungen zwischen Akteuren als wichtiger Bestandteil gesellschaftlicher Ordnung, (2) die systematische Erhebung und Auswertung empirischer Daten, (3) die graphische Präsentation dieser Daten und (4) mathematische und computergestützte formale Modelle, um zur Abstraktionen dieser Daten zu gelangen (Freeman 2004: 3)”* (Schnegg 2010, 21). In this definition, actors can be, for example, organisations, households, individuals, etc (Trezzini 1998, 379).

Although network analysis is predominantly conducted in a quantitative research approach, qualitative methods can complement the quantitative approach in many respects, as these allow access to individual interpretations and perceptions of relations and their meaning for one's actions and decisions. Especially in explorative studies, qualitative methods of data collection are more suitable, which is often the case, e.g. in the study on migrants (Hollstein 2010, 461f; Franke and Wald 2006).

Berkemeyer and Bos (2010) and Brock (2013) give an overview of the multifaceted research on networks in educational research, first adopted for research on socialisation and childhood, and recently for purposes of educational governance and innovation. Ego-centred network analysis is a specific form, as defined below:

*“Unter einem egozentrierten Netzwerk versteht man die Beziehungen einer fokalen Person (Ego) zu anderen Personen (Alteri), mit denen sie in einem direkten Kontakt steht. Statt von einem egozentrierten Netzwerk wird manchmal auch von einem persönlichen Netzwerk gesprochen. Die notwendigen Angaben stammen meist von Ego; d. h. die fokale Person*

*gibt Auskunft über ihre Beziehungen zu anderen Personen, über die Beziehungen zwischen diesen Anderen sowie über deren Eigenschaften.” (Wolf 2010, 471)*

Ego-centred network maps can be differentiated into unstructured, half-structured and structured forms (Hollstein and Pfeffer 2010). The choice of one type depends upon to what extent the researcher wants the maps to be comparable, and whether the map itself is the main goal of the research or only a tool to generate narration. Within the structured types of ego-centred network map, the standardised and the non-standardised version differ in that the meaning of the circles is fixed. For the purpose of my study, I used a non-standardised structured map, which had four additional sectors of family, free time, school and work. The network map and the related question guide are in the appendix.

The ego-centred network maps were collected in three steps: firstly, the respondent pupil wrote the names of persons on the card, after which I asked for concrete information on the person and the pupil's relationship with him or her (Wolf 2010, Herz 2012). The focus of these questions were the location of that person and the means and language of interaction. Every pupil filled in one separate network map for each way station of their biography. A yet unresolved challenge arose from the static nature of the network map in a number of ways: due to the time-intensive work needed for the pupils to draw one map, a pragmatic limit of three maps arose for the data collection. For pupils who were involved in serial migration within a short time, in which the network might have changed frequently, there was practically no possibility to ask the pupil to draw a map for each location. A related question is how the duration of a stay at a way station is an influential aspect on the reconfiguration of the network, and how it is possible to capture the physical mobility of the persons on the network map while the Ego is physically not mobile. I gave a geographical and time limit to each map: I asked the participants to indicate with whom they had regular interaction when they were between ages X and Y and when they lived in place Z. Another unresolved challenge is how to best capture changes in the characteristics of the persons on the map during a period of time which is relevant for the Ego. In the instructions, because of the cross-cultural and cross-language research situation, I avoided formulations such as ‘persons who are important to you’, and asked instead about persons with whom the pupil had contact.

Data collected by means of the problem-centred interviews and the ego-centred network maps were complemented by field notes taken during home visits and other common free-time activities, as well as during the regular German as a foreign language classes that were offered by the researcher for interested participants of the study. These classes took place once a week

in the home of the researcher and served the main purpose of learning German. However, during and after the classes, informal conversations were important sources of information with regard to the pupils' views and experiences. Furthermore, some second language learning exercises proved to be useful sources of information. One example is the "hedgehog task", in which the learner has to write sentences around a central question. Some interview questions (description of school, free time, daily routine at the way stations) could be transformed into such a task and realised during a learning session.

Defenders of the participatory child-centred research approach suggest that the closer the data collection process is to the young person's everyday life reality, the easier it is to reduce stress and bring about a natural environment for the data collection. If we consider that school-age children are very much used to solving schoolbook exercises, these can be utilised for research purposes as well. Language learning exercises are especially useful with research participants who provided data in a foreign language during the interview and the network drawing.

Triangulation of different sources of data (interview, network drawing and the field notes) is one possible way of following the quality criteria of qualitative research. According to Herzog (2013, 165f) and Steinke (2009), qualitative research follows its own set of criteria for quality which are different from those of quantitative research. Further criteria used in my study were: interpretation of the data in researcher groups, data analysis along a codified method (Mayring content analysis), and respondent validation occurring alongside the transcribed interview text. These and other aspects of the data collection process are presented in the next section.

#### **4.2.7 Data collection process, sampling and transcription**

The data collection started in October 2013, with the pilot interviews taking place in December 2013 and March 2014. Further interviews and network drawings took place in March and April 2014 and between January and May 2015 as well as in June 2017. The interviews were collected in the city of Leipzig and all participants were residents of the city at the time of the data collection. The main criteria for eligibility for sample were the following:

- the child attends a state-run school in the city of Leipzig, Germany
- the child has already relocated at least twice over international state borders during the years of school-age, but relocation is not part of his or her family's lifestyle (nomad, diplomat).

In qualitative research, the sample is not intended to be representative, but rather follows one of the qualitative sampling strategies, aiming to look for cases with relevant characteristics. Due to the fact that my research was neither built on a hypothesis (sampling through counterexamples) nor were the important influencing features identified (qualitative sample plan or selective sampling) at the beginning of the research process, the study followed the theoretical sampling strategy. In this strategy, the case selection and the analysis of the collected data happens in parallel. Cases are chosen which show meaningful differences or similarities with previous cases until the researcher has the impression that the cases already involved exhaust the development of theoretical concepts (Kelle and Kluge 2010, 41ff; Witzel and Reiter 2012, 61).

I obtained access to pupils through social workers working in migrant counselling NGOs and through German as a second language teachers leading the special language integration classes in state-run secondary schools and three participants were my own pupils. The pupils involved in the study attended five different schools. Doná talks about the undocumented participants of the study who shape the research outcomes in manifold ways (2007, 2014). In the case of my study, the gatekeepers' (absent) knowledge regarding the pupil's migration route and the way stations had a strong filtering effect on who they suggested for the study.

I received information about the pupils (way stations and family language) from the gatekeepers prior to the first meeting. After being introduced to the pupils by the gatekeepers, I gave the pupil a short information sheet about the purpose of the study and sample questions and the letter of consent in his or her language. I asked the pupils to read this through and show it to their parents as well (regarding the problem of informed consent, see Hugman, Bartolomei and Pittaway 2011; Hopkins 2008). At the second meeting, if the pupil and the parents agreed to a participation in the study, we organised a time and place to conduct the first interview and the pupil chose the language of the interview. The interviews took place in multiple settings: a school classroom, in a café, in a seminar room in a university building, as well as in a private room in an asylum centre, at the home of the pupil, at the home of the researcher, and in the school garden.

Resulting from the special needs of the target group, the researcher offered free weekly German classes in her home. Some pupils attended more than a year, which facilitated the establishment of a trust relationship between the participant and the researcher. That such a relationship provides further access to data is shown by one special case, which is profiled in detail in section 5.1. Furthermore, the regular contact between participants in the study and the

researcher made it easier to organise a follow-up interview, to discuss the transcript, or to gain information during informal conversations. Due to this long-term contact with pupils, language abilities and language of communication also changed. For example, even if the first interview might have taken place in the first language of the pupil, later on, as the pupil's German skills improved, German became the language of communication between the pupil and the researcher.

The following chart shows the languages used in the interviews and the language skills of the persons involved.

	<b>Language used by the pupil during the interview</b>	<b>Participant pupil</b>	<b>Interpreter</b>	<b>Researcher</b>	<b>Language of transcript</b>
David	Romanian	Romanian is the first language	Alina Romanian is the first language	Interpreter and Researcher use English.	Romanian and English
Gül	1 <sup>st</sup> interview: Arabic and English 2 <sup>nd</sup> interview: German Network Map: German	Arabic is a first language German and English are foreign languages	Omar (1 <sup>st</sup> interview) Arabic is the first language German is a foreign language	Interpreter and Researcher use English.	1 <sup>st</sup> interview: Arabic and English 2 <sup>nd</sup> interview: German
Irina	German and Albanian	Albanian is one first language	Aurelia Albanian is the first language	The interview takes place in German, with some switching to Albanian. Interpreter and Researcher use German.	German and Albanian
Evelyn	Greek	Greek is one foreign language	Alex Greek is the first language.	Interpreter and Researcher use English.	Greek and English
Helena	Russian	Russian is a second language	Alina Russian is a first language.	Interpreter and Researcher use English.	Russian and English

Leonardo	Spanish	Spanish is a second language	Cormac Spanish is a foreign language.	Interpreter and Researcher use English.	Spanish and English
Cihan	German, English and Arabic	Arabic is one first language	Omar Arabic is the first language.	The interview takes place in German, with some switching to Arabic.  Interpreter and Researcher use English.	German and English
Suleyman	English	English is a foreign language	no interpreter		English
Aslan	German	German is a second Language	no interpreter		German
Stella	German	German is a second language	no interpreter		German
Luise	German	German is a second Language	no interpreter	The interview takes place in German, with some switching to Turkish.	German
Amir	German	German is a second Language	no interpreter	The interview takes place in German, with some switching to Turkish.	German
Zairbek	German	German is a second Language	no interpreter		German

Chart 3 Multilingual research setting

Due to the different scripts involved besides the Latin (Cyrillic and Arabic), a close cooperation with the interpreters was necessary, especially in the preparation of the transcript.

As was indicated in section 4.2.3, the transcripts include the oral interpretation provided during the interview as well as the translated version of the participants verbatim, if these show differences. In this way, the interpreted and the translated versions can be compared, allowing

for quality control. The transcripts were prepared with the same person who was the interpreter during the interview. However, for the two interviews conducted in Greek, the interpreter and the person who was involved for the transcription were different. A special difficulty arose in connection with the transcript rules, which were difficult to follow in the transcription process of the interviews conducted with the help of an interpreter. Within the limitations of the study, there was no further possibility to revise the transcript text according to the appropriate usage of transcription rules.

The language skills of the pupils and the researcher, as well as the nature of cooperation with the interpreter, influenced the data collection process in many ways; for example, with regard to developing the relationship to the participant, the possibility of further communication with the pupil, the maintenance of the relationship, and the quality of the transcript. In all cases however, the interpreters served as a control and enriched the data collection and analysis, as they provided their insights into the data. Some interviews could not take place because of the lack of an available interpreter.

The sampling strategy had to take the cost and time intensive character of the research (translation of letters of consent and information sheets into ten different languages, interpretation during the interview, cooperation over the transcription and discussion of the data) into account.

There were 19 interviews conducted with 16 pupils, but the data analysis builds on 15 interviews from 13 pupils, their network maps and the associated memos of the researcher.

The concept of anonymity in my study is only partially realised due to the characteristics of the research site, because although names are changed, geographical names and spoken languages are not altered. For gatekeepers and other schoolteachers, for example, the participants of my study might be recognisable.

#### **4.2.8 Data analysis**

I started with free coding of the first interview texts. Codes emerged from the question guidelines and the interviews themselves. Coding and the conducting of further interviews happened in parallel. This allowed me to refine the already existing categories and add new ones. The category development followed the inductive process of Mayring (2010, 86). The following codes emerged inductively from the first interviews:



Education at the way station
Enrollment into the new school
Class methods
Learning strategies
Subjects and scripts
Transition to regular class
Marks and certificates
Class repetition
Language learning
Reason to move and participation in moving
Relocation process
Arrival in a new place/first experiences at new place
Comparison of place one and two
Difficult and easy aspects of life at the new place and new school
Duration of stay at way station
Camp
Life at the way station
Free time at the way station
Contact with other people
Peers and friends
Language use
Evaluation of moving twice
Plans for the future
Place of birth and origin
Occupation of parents

Chart 4 First version of the coding tree

In a second round, the codes were organised around four themes and finally were matched with the research questions.

Migration	Reason for moving Relocation process Participation in moving Arrival in a new place/first experiences at new place Comparison of place one and two Difficult and easy aspects of life at new place and new school Duration of stay at way station Camp	2.a Current location is clearly defined before departing from location of origin 2.b The stay at the locations between location of origin and current location planned as temporary 2.c The location(s) between location of origin and current location are foreseen and planned 2.d The relocation was organised by legal means or by illegal means 2.e The family/caregivers have connections at the destination 2.f Duration of stay at the temporary location(s)
Education at the way stations	Enrollment into the new school Language of instruction Class methods Learning strategies Coping strategies Subjects and scripts Transition to regular class Marks and certificates Repetition of class level Language learning Problems at school	
Life at locations	Life at way station Free time at the way station Contact with other people Peers and friends Language use	
Evaluation of the involvement in multiple and multidirectional migration	Evaluation of moving twice Plans for the future	

Chart 5 Coding tree<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> cf. Bukus 2018, 245.

Every research question was divided into units of analysis which emerged from the coding. Afterwards, I defined what data belong to each category as follows:

<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Unit of Analysis</b>	<b>Unit of Coding</b>
Research question 1. How do school-age children characterise the reasons for and circumstances of their involvement in the process of the multiple and multidirectional migration?	Analysis Chart 1 How do school-age children characterise the reasons for their and their families' involvement in migration?	All meaningful sentences about the known reasons for themselves and their caregivers' involvement in migration.
	Analysis Chart 2 How do school-age children characterise their participation in the reasons and decision-making for migration?	All meaningful sentences about how children participated in the decision-making for migration.
	Analysis Chart 3 How do school-age children characterise the process of and participation in migration?	All meaningful sentences about the plans, the temporariness, the level of foreseeability, the means of organising relocation, the contacts at the way stations, and the duration of stay at a location.
Research question 2 How do school-age children characterise their participation in formal education during the process of the multiple and multidirectional migration?	Chart 4.1. Access and attendance of formal schooling	All meaningful sentences about how and when the child accessed formal education at a particular way station, how the child found the school and how the matriculation took place, which grades were not completed, which grades had to be repeated and how the previous school experience was recognised at a new way station
Participation in formal schooling	Chart 4.2. Language of instruction of formal schooling	All meaningful sentences about the language of instruction at school, how and where this was learned and what challenges were faced while learning it

Participation in formal schooling	Chart 4.3 Problems/challenges and coping strategies while attending formal schooling	All meaningful sentences about problems/challenges which occurred at the various way stations and how the child coped with these
Participation in formal schooling	Chart 4.4. Other topics mentioned in connection with attending formal schooling	Topics mentioned in connection with attending formal schooling such as difference of access, attendance, language of instruction, problems, challenges and coping strategies
Research question 2 nonformal and informal education, free time	Chart 5 Activities outside school (=not offered by a formal institution) in free time, in times of not accessing and/or not attending formal schooling, including informal and nonformal learning	How do school-age children characterise their time spent outside school, including the time when not accessing or not attending school during the process of the multiple and multidirectional migration?
	Chart 6 Living conditions, living environment	All meaningful sentences about the living conditions and living environment during all stages of the multiple and multidirectional migration
	Chart 7 Social contacts, language use	All meaningful sentences about the social contacts and the language(s) used with these persons during all stages of the multiple and multidirectional migration, not including the social contacts made at the local school that the participant attended (these were discussed under formal schooling).
Research question 3: What do participants perceive to be the effects of the multiple and multidirectional migration on their lives and educational participation?	Chart 8 Effects of multiple and multidirectional migration on life and education	All meaningful sentences about the effects of the multiple and multidirectional migration that child identifies as having influenced his/her life and educational participation.

Chart 6 Mayring analysis charts

The analysis followed the steps of the *zusammenfassende Inhaltsanalyse* (summarising content analysis) by Mayring (2010, 69ff).

The steps were as follows:

4. All sentences from all interviews which matched with a unit of analysis were collected in one chart.
5. Paraphrase: The original citation was paraphrased in that all repetitions and words serving only as clarification or spangling were deleted. The content was paraphrased in a unified simple style using simple grammatical form and 3. Person Singular.
6. Generalisation: The step of generalisation aimed to elevate the content from an abstract level, so that all meaningful utterances are represented on the first reduction level.
7. Repetitive paraphrases were deleted and only those which were bearing relevant content to the research question remained. In case of doubt, theoretical concepts guided the decision.
8. Reduction: As part of the reduction, paraphrases with the same content were bundled and paraphrases similar in form or content were integrated. This level was guided by the theoretical concepts and the research questions.

All charts are in the appendix.

## 5. Cases and Context

### 5.1 Context of the research: Recent migration trends and educational legal framework in Saxony, and in Leipzig specifically

Leipzig, a city in the federal state of Saxony, and its state-run public secondary schools offered the site for my research. I recruited respondents who attended state-run public secondary schools at the time of the interview, and Leipzig was their center of residency after already having crossed international borders at least two times during their obligatory schooling years. This section aims to familiarise the reader with the local setting in terms of the migration trends in the time frame 2013-2017 (years of data collection) and the regulations and measures relevant for the educational integration of newcomer migrant pupils. This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, to legitimise why Leipzig proved to be an appropriate site for the research question. Secondly, this section gives the framework for the findings in chapter 6 and for the conclusions and recommendations for the local educational integration practices and teacher-training outlined in chapter 7. I will draw on statistical data from Saxony and Leipzig about the population with a migration background and foreign citizenship, including pupils attending state-run public schools, as well as on Saxonian regulations and policies regarding the educational integration of newcomer migrant pupils.

In the respective period the number of those belonging to the foreign-born population and of those that have a migration background shows a stable growing tendency, both on the state level and in the city of Leipzig. Based on data published by the Statistical Office of the State (Statistisches Landesamt des Freistaates Sachsen) and from the Saxon Federal State Commissioner for Foreign Nationals (Sächsischer Ausländerbeauftragte), I compiled the following three charts for the purposes of a short insight into the tendencies in the respective period:

Year	Total population in Saxony	Foreign-citizen population (F) and persons with migration background (MH)	Top five country of origin	Source of information
2013	4.044.209	F: 106.663 2.6 % MH: 171. 380 42.260 under 18 years	Russian Federation, Poland, Vietnam, Ukraine, China	SAB Jahresbericht 2013, 170- 174

2014	4.049.504	F: 123.648 3.0 % MH: 175.910 42.480 under 18 years	Poland, Russian Federation, Vietnam, Ukraine, China	SAB Jahresbericht 2014, 130-134
2015	4.065.830	F: 164.230 4.0 % under 15 years: 21.722 15–25 years: 31.346 No data on MH	Syria, Poland, Russian Federation, Vietnam, Ukraine	SAB Jahresbericht 2015, 152-156
2016	4 081 783	F: 182 245 4.5 % under 15 years: 26 975 15–25 years: 34 407	Syria, Russian Federation, Poland, Afghanistan, Vietnam	SAB Jahresbericht 216, 145, 2017, 125-129
2017	4 077 464	F: 195 227 4.4 % under 15 years: 29 800 15–25 years: 34 952	Syria, Poland, Russian Federation, Afghanistan, Romania	SAB Jahresbericht 2017, 125-129

Chart 7 Population of Saxony and the proportion of foreign citizens

The source of data defines a foreign citizen as a person who has foreign citizenship, while the persons with a migration background (implementing the definition of the Mikrozensus 2011) is a wider category, given that

*“Der Begriff »Migrationshintergrund« schließt vielmehr alle Menschen ein, die entweder selbst über eine Migrationserfahrung verfügen bzw. deren Eltern zugewandert sind. Nach der Definition des Statistischen Bundesamtes zählen zu den Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund Personen mit einer ausländischen Staatsangehörigkeit, (Spät-) Aussiedler sowie in Deutschland Eingebürgerte. Daneben bezieht der Begriff auch in Deutschland Geborene mit deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit ein, die zumindest einen zugewanderten oder als Ausländer in Deutschland geborenen Elternteil haben.” (SAB Jahresbericht 2013, 2)*

This first chart shows that the proportion of foreign citizens is a rather modest one in comparison with, for instance, the federal average of 11.2 % (SAB Jahresbericht 2017, 121). However, the number is growing yearly. It is also interesting to note that a significant proportion

of the population with foreign citizenship can be considered children and youth. The composition of the foreign citizen population is a heterogenous one, and was also shifting during the respective time period. Due to the fact that this state hosts an incoming population with very different migration profiles, this heterogeneity suggests that Saxony is a suitable site for tracing the different forms of migration. The lack of immediate proximity to Poland suggests that temporary migration based on commuting is probably not relevant for many pupils, and therefore Saxony does not present the challenge of differentiating between those involved in multiple and multidirectional migration and those who are involved in a commuting form of temporary migration.

Year	Population of Leipzig city	Foreign citizens in Leipzig	Source
2013	520.838	25.814 5.0 %	SAB Jahresbericht 2013, 171
2014	539.039	31.597 5.9 %	SAB Jahresbericht 2014, 131
2015	552.878	38.047 6.9 %	SAB Jahresbericht 2015, 153
2016	560 472	41 999 7.5 %	SAB Jahresbericht 2016, 144
2017	575 355	49 843 8.7 %	SAB Jahresbericht 2017, 126

Chart 8 Population of Leipzig and the proportion of foreign citizens

Leipzig is a medium-sized city of Germany, and it is among the 10 cities that have the most inhabitants (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018). The city had a growing population between 2013 and 2017, and the percentage of the population with foreign citizenship was also increasing even more significantly in comparison to the overall Saxonian percentage, which suggests that the topic of integration is of growing importance for the city community.

The next charts are dedicated to the pupils who have foreign citizenship and those with a migration background. Kemper (2017) points to the fact that in all federal states the terms used for and the way of collecting school statistics varies widely. In the state of Saxony, the definition of the term ‘migration background’ is wide, and it also does not follow the recommended definition of the federal level (158).



*“Im Bereich der Schulbildung wird das Merkmal »Migrationshintergrund« im Freistaat Sachsen bereits seit 2008 als freiwillige Angabe berücksichtigt. Nach dieser Statistik liegt ein Migrationshintergrund dann vor, wenn Kinder zwei- oder mehrsprachig aufwachsen, und sie selbst oder mindestens ein Elternteil oder Großeltern nach Deutschland zugewandert sind, ungeachtet ihrer gegenwertigen Staatsangehörigkeit und ungeachtet des Aufenthaltsstatus.” (SAB Jahresbericht 2013, 167-168)*

It is not possible to compare the following data about Saxony with those from other states, because as Kemper explains: “Eine representative Darstellung für Deutschland insgesamt ist anhand der vorliegenden Landesdaten nicht möglich. Hiermit geht einher, dass inhaltlich stringente Vergleiche zwischen den Bundesländern nicht – bzw. nur unvollständig – möglich sind” (Kemper 2017, 164).

However, it is interesting to draw attention to the fact that from the 2012/2013 until the 2017/2018 school year, the number of pupils with a migration background doubled, and the proportion of EU citizens was around half of these students.

<b>School years</b>	<b>Total number of pupils attending a general educational institution in Saxony</b>	<b>Number of pupils with migration background</b>	<b>Source of data</b>
2012/2013	435.622	20.793, of which 13.018 are from the EU	SAB Jahresbericht 2012, 244, 2013, 184-187
2013/2014	438.839	22.903, of which 16.850 are from the EU	SAB Jahresbericht 2013, 184-187
2014/2015	453.261	26.239, of which 21.939 are from the EU	SAB Jahresbericht 2015, 168-171
2015/2016	453 261	31 060, of which 18 612 are from the EU	SAB Jahresbericht 2016, 142-145
2016/2017	463 773	38 547, of which 23 537 are from the EU	SAB Jahresbericht 2017, 142-145
2017/2018	471 249	42 269, of which 24 145 are from the EU	SAB Jahresbericht 2017, 142-145

Chart 9 Number of pupils and the proportion of pupils with a migration background in the obligatory schooling institutions (allgemeinbildende Schulen)

Finally, I wish to present the available data on the pupils attending German as a second language preparatory classes which were established for the newcomer pupils at Leipzig city public schools. Unfortunately, no published statistics are available. The basis for the following overview is the data compilation of the migration coordinator Dr. Mäkert at the educational authority of the city of Leipzig (Landesamt für Schule und Bildung Standort Leipzig) provided in September 2018. The source of this data are the forms which were filled out by her and her colleagues during the special counselling interviews with newcomer pupils who were aiming to enrol in a public school. Prior to the beginning of the school year 2015/2016 access to all information from the special counselling interviews with newcomer pupils was not possible, given that some of these were conducted at schools. Starting from the school year 2015/2016 newcomers were interviewed solely in the educational authority and therefore providing statistical data was possible only for the school years 2015/2016, 2016/2017 and 2017/2018. The data refers only to pupils with their own migration experience and who do not have any knowledge of German as a language of school instruction, and therefore must enrol in a language preparatory class in an obligatory schooling institution (allgemeinbildende Schule).

School year	Number of pupils	Top countries of origin (number of pupils)
2015/2016	1261	Syria (452) Afghanistan (208) Irak (154) Lybia (35) Chechenya (33) Rumania (32)
2016/2017	1725	Syria (445) Irak (90) Afghanistan (46) Chechenya (31) Rumania (22) Lybia (21)
2017/2018	1843	Syria (156) Rumania (56) Irak (36) Chechenya (24) Afghanistan (18) Lybia (17)

Chart 10 Pupils attending a language preparatory class at an obligatory schooling institution in Leipzig (allgemeinbildende Schulen: Grundschule, Oberschule, Gymnasium).

From the statistical data presented above, my conclusions are the following: Saxony, and Leipzig in particular, proved to be a good research site for my study about a specific form of migration among children, given its heterogenous and steadily increasing incoming foreign citizen population which has a significant proportion of children and school-age youth. The growing number of pupils with a migration background furthermore suggests that a deeper analysis of the needs of those involved in multiple and multidirectional migration might have significance for how the state-run school system deals with the diversity of newcomer pupils. Here I will present those regulations and measures established which aim to support the integration process of newcomer pupils.

Reich (2002, 17ff) proposes that the running models for the educational integration of newcomer pupils in Germany fit four categories: (1) submersion in the regular classes (monolingualism in German as a second language), (2) submersion in the regular classes with additional (either included in the timetable or added to it) German as a second language instruction, (3) submersion in the regular classes with additional instruction in the first language of the pupil, and (4) submersion combined with bilingual instruction limited to one or a couple of subjects. The author also states that there is no empirical evidence supporting whether one model is more efficient than the other (ibid. 21).

Kunz (2008) offers an overview of all measures undertaken to facilitate the newcomers' educational integration in the different federal states of Germany, which proves to be a difficult enterprise given that every state has a different set of regulations and measures in place which utilise a non-uniform terminology and labelling (181 and 190f). She points, however, to the role model of the states of Hamburg, Bayern and Saxony, given that these issued an official curriculum for German as a second language which then served as an example for some other states (Berlin, Bremen, Niedersachsen, Thüringen, and Rheinland-Pfalz) to develop their own curriculum as well (ibid. 194). The basis for the curriculum in the state of Saxony is laid down in the regulation (Verwaltungsvorschrift) titled '*Die Sächsische Konzeption zur Integration von Migranten*' enacted on the 1. August 2000, and in the '*Lehrplan Deutsch als Zweitsprache für Vorbereitungsgruppen/Vorbereitungsklassen an allgemeinbildenden Schulen*' issued in 2000 and updated in 2009 and 2018. These documents offer the overview of the three-step model followed in Saxony and outline the measures supporting the educational integration of newcomer pupils (this model would be type (2) according to the categorisation of Roth 2002). Firstly, they refer to the right of all school-age children residing in Saxony to access state-run education regardless of their legal status. Among the measures are a special counselling interview at the local educational authority about the educational trajectory and career of the

newcomer child. After this interview a school is assigned where the child starts to attend a German as a second language (Deutsch als Zweitsprache, DaZ) preparatory class (on the critique of the term see Dirim and Pokitsch 2017). During the time in this class, the educational and social integration of the child is guided by a DaZ mentor teacher ('Betreuungslehrer'), who is responsible not only for the German as a second language instruction, but also for:

- engaging with the subject teachers and the school principals so that the above-mentioned regulations and the curriculum are enacted
- advising the school principal, the teachers, parents and pupils in all migration-related topics
- cooperation with the subject teachers with the goal of preparing the pupil for the participation in the life of the regular classes. German as a second language instruction should therefore be organised with the special focus on the development of competences in the German academic language ('Bildungssprache'), and subject language classes should adapt language sensitive teaching methods.
- deciding about the progress of the pupil from phase 1 to 2, as well as to 3, and organising special support if needed.
- undertaking measures to raise awareness for plurality and multilingualism in the school community and setting up a structure at the school which enables the DaZ curriculum to be put into action
- cooperation with service providers outside of the school who facilitate the social and educational integration of the pupils

Beyond the measures already mentioned (education counselling interview, access to language preparatory classes, mentor DaZ teacher), newcomer pupils are entitled to the right to participate in language instruction in their first languages and can apply for an exam in their first language, which substitutes the final examination in the second foreign language. These last two measures are not obligatory and are limited to a number of languages, and therefore not accessible for all pupils.

The two documents outline the three-phase model of educational integration. During the first phase, the newcomer children exclusively attend the preparatory class and learn the basics of German as a second language. Those who are not alphabetised in the Latin alphabet yet are alphabetised in this phase. The preparatory class is attended by a group of pupils who show heterogeneity in age, origin, first, second and foreign language skills, experience with formal education, etc.

The mentor DaZ teacher diagnoses the progress of language acquisition of each pupil, decides the characteristics and needs of the pupil based on these results, and then recommends to the heads of the classes in each and every case at what point in time they believe the pupil should enter the second phase. During this phase, the pupil attends some subject lessons with his or her regular grade (starting with the less language intensive subjects such as sports, art, or music, and then followed by math and the other subjects), and parallel to this they participate in further DaZ lessons. During the second phase, the main focus is on the acquisition of the German academic language and the goal is the preparation of the pupil for the successful participation in the regular lessons and in the life of the class. Whether a pupil is ready to leave this phase and be fully integrated in a regular class is based on the results of a linguistic diagnostic observation tool called ‘Niveaubeschreibungen’.

After the pupil has been integrated in the regular class he or she is still entitled to some DaZ lessons, though these are designed in close cooperation with the subject content teachers and take place as a supplement to the regular timetable of the pupil.

The three-phase model of educational integration has the positive side of giving a uniform structure for all state-run institutions for the task of inclusion of newcomer pupils. The effectivity of the measures is, however, dependent on the persons included (children, teachers, mentor teachers, social workers, school principals, outside-school service providers), and there is no empirical evidence for the effectivity of the Saxonian measures. The goals and actions of the obligatory measures are all focused on the quick acquisition of the German academic language and the participation in the monolingual mainstream classes. Maintenance of the first language skills is an individual responsibility of the pupil and is a task delegated for the after-school domain.

This chapter aimed to offer a framework for the findings within the wider migration trends of the research site, as well as provide insight into the educational integration model for newcomer pupils. The next section will offer the context by introducing the reader to the profiles of the study participant pupils and presenting a short biographical account for all of them.

## 5.2 Case profiles and overview of their routes

In this section I aim to provide the reader with short bibliographical overviews of my study participants. As discussed in chapter 4.2.2 migration is a life experience that can be best understood and analysed in the context of the whole biography. Thus, my aim with the following overviews and the route map (at the end of this chapter) is to help the reader to understand the routes and life experiences at the various way stations of my respondents and give the biographical context of my findings presented in chapter 6. Each profile starts with the pseudonym of the respondent and the respective migration route. The information is referenced with the line numbers of the interview transcripts, which helps the reader to look up direct quotes of the participating pupils. The sequence of the profiles follows the sequences of how the interviews were conducted. As outlined in the previous section (5.1), the abbreviation DaZ stands for Deutsch als Zweitsprache, which refers to German as a Second Language.

### David

**Route: 1. Faget/Timis, Romania, 2. Fortosa, Spain, 3. Beziers, France, 4. Leipzig, Germany**

David was 15 years old at the time of first interview and 16 at the time of the second interview (1:4). He was born in Faget village in Timis county, in Romania (1: 22-23). He attended kindergarten and the first three grades in his home village at a public school, but did not complete the third grade (1: 47, 1: 76-77, 2:84-85, 2:170-172). His parents have a lower education and the family language is Romanian (1: 118). David has one older sister (1: 149). He spent his free time in Romania with cousins and friends in a park and did sports (1: 254-257, 2:149-151).

The family (parents, David, sister, grandparents, and cousins), as well as some neighbours and friends left to go to Spain and look for a job when he was nine years old. There were no other people who remained in Romania that David would have kept in touch with. In Spain he kept in contact only with the relatives who lived in France (2:200, 209).

His parents did not find work for a year so they maintained their transitory lifestyle in Spain, and David did not attend school there either (1: 84-85, 2:228-229). He did not have any contact with the local people and therefore did not learn Spanish (2:241-244). He spent the whole day with his mother at home or in parks, and he watched Romanian television (2:237-238).

After it became clear to the family that his parents would not find a job in Spain (1:380-381), the family moved to Bezier City, France, where some relatives lived (1:190-193). David, who was ten years old at the time, enrolled in a local public school in the grade level 5 (1:95).

The first 3-4 months he attended a French language class (2:362-363, 413-415). He completed the grade levels 5, 6, 7 and 8 in Bezier (1:103-104). He estimates that he learned French well (1:125). His mother's aunt had been living in Bezier for a long time, and David's cousins attended the same school he did (2: 337-339). He received help in language learning and in the subject content from his cousins, who had gone through the same process years before (1: 348-351, 2:346-348, 355-356). He also learned English at school, however, he did not like the teacher and skipped most of the classes (2:473-475). This was not different for other subjects either. He was also involved in practical training as a car mechanic, which he attended together with other foreigners such as Arabs, Turks, and Romanians (2:694,698, 719-720). The common language of communication among them was French. In the afternoons, he attended homework sessions at school and spent time with friends in the library (1: 249-251). His parents did not learn French, so they could not help David at home (1:368-369). The most important thing for David in Bezier was that he was surrounded by so many friends and relatives, mainly Romanians. In his free time he used to go bowling or to the disco with them (2:785-787).

The family stayed there for four years (1:103). David's parents were working during this period, but when they lost their job they decided to move on to Germany (1:190-193).

At the time of their arrival in Germany, Romanian citizens did not yet have the yet to work (1:190-193). Therefore, David's parents occasionally found work for days or a week at a time, and then would look for a new job, so they lived in a transitory phase (2:531-533). David attended the DaZ class of a high school, and at the time of the interview he was already partially integrated (2: 371-374, 382, 390-395) in grade level 7 (field notes). He says that in the classes he was forced to copy without understanding what he was writing (2: 371-374). He had been attending school in Leipzig for 4-5 months at the time of the interview (1: 128, 2:395). He skips a lot of classes because he does not understand anything in the lessons. He goes with other students from school into the city centre and chats with them, and after a couple of hours, he returns to school. Among these friends are Romanian, Arab and local German students (2: 495-525). He speaks Romanian and his friend translates his words into German (2: 524). He never does any homework. His best friends are two Romanian boys who arrived in Leipzig years before him (2: 512-517, 904-905).

He believes that in Romania he has learned more (1:269-270). He recognises some similarities in the language and the fact that he had friends and cousins around both in Romania and France (1:502-503). He thinks that there are some differences between the schools in France and in Romania. The former was better equipped (1:291) and the teachers was friendly. When

he disturbed the class, he was sent out of the classroom. In Romania, on the other hand, the classrooms were bare (1:294) and the teachers sometimes beat the students (2:311-313, 326, 330-331). He thinks that the teachers in Romania were better trained than in France. At all the way stations, mathematics has been his favourite subject (1:318-319) because he did not really understand the other subjects (2:424-425). He uses Internet for playing purposes (online football) but never for learning (1:359, 2:666, 670-671). He keeps in contact with friends from Bezier in French and Romanian over Skype and Facebook (2:643-644, 650, 656-657, 661).

He thinks that with every move he has lost something (1:408-409). For instance, he wanted to stay in France because he developed high competency in French and he wanted to complete school and become someone. But after his parents moved, he lost this chance and now in Leipzig he has to start from zero again (1:421-423). By moving he also had to part from his aunt, cousins and friends he had in Bezier. He sees his way stations as being separate (1:481). In the future he does not know where he will live, but he wishes to return to France (2:1055-156).

## **Gül**

**Route: 1. Aleppo, Syria, 2. Afrin, Syria, 3. Aksaray, Turkey, 4. Bukarest, Romania, 5. Aksaray, Turkey, 6. München, Chemnitz, Schneeberg, Germany, 7. Leipzig, Germany**

Gül was born in Aleppo and lived in the city with her parents until she was 14 years old (1: 41, 1: 141). Her mother speaks Arabic as a first language and her father speaks Kurdish. The family languages are Arabic and Kurdish (2: 53-54, 2: 56-58). Her mother had a small hairdresser shop where she worked as a hairdresser and cosmetician, while her father was a long-distance truck driver (1: 132, fieldnotes). Gül has an older brother who studied to become a hospital nurse (fieldnotes).

She attended a local public mainstream school in Aleppo in the mornings. She remembers having the subjects mathematics, social sciences, geography, religious studies, and English, and she was one of the best students in her class (1: 67-68, 2: 60-62). The afternoons and weekends she spent with her friends and relatives. In her free time she went swimming, played basketball, went to the cinema, listened to music and visited her friends in their homes. She did not attend any formal after-school activity and beyond homework she did not study anything else in her free time (1:94-97).

Because of the war in Syria, the family left to stay with her father's relatives in Afrin (2: 63). Gül lived there for about two months and used the time for language learning. She learned English every day from her cousin's father, who had studied English language and literature at



university. They learned basic vocabulary. To Gül it was clear that they would go to Germany, because her mother had informed herself on the Internet and decided to flee to Germany with the family. Based on this decision, Gül decided that English could be helpful for her to communicate with young people in Germany (2:62-71). She only attended the local public school for two days, because her Kurdish language knowledge was not enough to follow the instructions, and she especially had difficulties with reading in Kurdish. In her free time she met with friends and relatives and practiced Kurdish with them. It was a special wish of hers that her friends did not speak Arabic with her, but rather Kurdish. This time for her in Afrin was an intensive English and Kurdish language learning experience (2:75-81).

Gül then moved to Aksaray in Turkey, where her brother immediately found a job as a nurse and learned Turkish. She stayed with her sister and brother in a flat. Her brother worked and she and her sister took care of the household and the cooking. She did not attend school during the four months she lived in Aksaray. She found a local friend who also spoke Kurdish, and she asked her friend to teach her Turkish (2:85-90). Beyond learning from her friend, she also learned Turkish from the brother, who wrote down vocabulary lists for her and which she learned during the day when she was in the flat. She says that due to the fact that there was nothing to do all day (for instance, there was no television and nothing in the flat), she spent her time learning Turkish and talking to her local girlfriend (2: 85-90, 2:92-96) .

Afterwards Gül ended up in Bukarest, Romania with her parents and lived in an asylum centre. She did not talk too much about this period of time, although she spent almost a year there. During this time she felt very isolated and spent most of the time with her parents and sister in their accommodation. Sometimes she went to the McDonalds nearby. She did not attend the school. She learned some Romanian during these months (fieldnotes).

There might be several reasons, but in the interview it was not elaborated why the family returned to Aksaray. Her parents returned to Aleppo to sell their flat (2:121-124). She became separated from her parents around this time, and within a couple of days she travelled to Germany with her sister through smugglers. She ended up in Stuttgart, where she spent about 2 months. She described this time as a very stressful one. She felt lonely, she did not understand German, and she could not eat and sleep. She was transferred to Chemnitz, to an accommodation where only children lived, and shortly after to an accommodation centre in Wahren, in Leipzig, where she found herself in a friendly atmosphere and could use English for daily communication. She stayed there for four months and started to learn some German words. During the transfer to Wahren she became separated from her sister for about one month

against her will. This was due to the fact that her sister was 20 years old, and from a legal perspective she was not considered a child but an adult, and therefore had to be dealt with differently in the asylum system. One day the officers at her accommodation informed her that they had found her parents and she managed to talk to them on the phone. Her parents were already in Germany, and due to the family reunification all family members got emplaced in an asylum centre of the city of Leipzig. The relocations within Germany and its asylum system lasted around six months. She did not attend any school during this time and she believes that it would have been impossible because she felt so sad, tired, and lonely, and she was also worried about her parents. Because of this, she did not feel that she had any headspace for learning (2: 103-110, 2:112-119, 2:121-126, 2: 128-131, 2: 199-201).

In the asylum centre the family lived in two rooms and shared the bathroom, the toilet and the kitchen with other families who lived on the same floor (2:31-35). These families were from Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia and Turkey (2: 38-40). They received their mail through the reception centre of the asylum centre, where they explained to the family which authority office had invited them to an appointment. In this accommodation centre she spoke Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, English, and German (2: 42-44, 2: 47-49). She considers the German spoken by the foreigners in the asylum centre to be an incorrect version of German, and thinks that the asylum centre is a very bad environment for learning German (2: 6-7). She was also offered to attend a German course in the asylum centre with the other occupants, but she refused because she considered the learning environment among the other foreigners not constructive for her (2: 14-21). During her months in the asylum centre she joined a theatre project, which was initiated by two local German volunteers. The theatre group met for about three months once every week and prepared a theatre performance about the topic of asylum seeking. She considered this environment very important to her because she had contact to local Germans and practiced the language during the theatre sessions (2: 23-25, 2:29). Every Saturday she attended two hours of German class with a Hungarian woman (the researcher herself), who is trained as a teacher for German as a second language. In her free time she studied on her own with the help of dictionaries. She translated texts and wrote them in her notebook. The parents had not yet learned German at the time of the interview, therefore Gül could not ask them for help with her homework (1: 473-475, 2:1-12).

When the family moved out from the asylum centre to their own flat where Gül had her own room, she considered this a very positive thing, since she finally had her space to study in quiet after so many months (2: 8-12). She thought that her own initiative to talk as much as

possible, to attend all her classes at school, and to learn German at home on her own were very important ways of improving her German language skills (2: 4-5, 2: 26-272: 154) .

She found the school with the help of the social workers of the asylum centre. She was matriculated in the second half of a school year, and she attended the DaZ class for about one month before becoming partially integrated in the subjects mathematics and IT in grade level 7. In the following school year she was integrated into a class in grade level 8. Using mathematics as an example, she explained that she did not understand neither the language nor the content because she thinks that the expectations at the various grade levels in her previous school and the school in Leipzig differed, and because she was lacking some previous stages in her knowledge that would enable her to follow the content in the Leipzig school in grade level 8 (2: 145-148). She did not know how to fill in her knowledge gaps. With the help of her private German teacher from Saturdays she tried to organise classes at a local NGO, but there were no free places. In other subjects, such as geography, she did not understand anything in the lesson either. Despite these difficulties she attended all her classes. From August 2015 onwards she attended the 8<sup>th</sup> grade of the secondary grammar school (Gymnasium) in Leipzig (2: 133-141, 2: 145-148, fieldnotes).

With regard to the atmosphere in the class, she felt very frustrated because her classmates laughed at her and she felt treated as a foreigner (2: 156-159). For her, to be a foreigner meant not to be like a German and to be an asylum seeker. In her regular classes she did not have any friends, but she found many friends in the DaZ class (1: 418-422, 2: 161-162). The quality of her relationship with her classmates had an impact on her language performance. She spoke confidently in the DaZ class, but in the regular classes she never dared to say anything. She remembered only one occasion in the ethics class when she had to describe the religion of Islam, and she proved to her classmates that she is able to speak in German (2: 167-172).

She believes that if it is not necessary to move to another country, the best thing is to stay where one was born. In a foreign location one has to learn the language and learn the city. Although the family has relatives in Hannover, Gül did not want to move from Leipzig, where she had acquired knowledge about the locality for the last 15 months (2: 176-182).

The relocation process for Gül was a period of difficulties and pain, but at the same time she valued that she had learned many languages (2: 185-188). She was focused on her future and her goals (2: 190-193). Her plan was to do the Abitur and to study either as a pharmacist, as an interpreter, or as a police officer (2: 196-197).

Since she moved with her family to a flat, she spends the afternoons mainly at home and goes to a gym three times a week with her cousin or her mother (2: 203-207). She talks to her friends from Aleppo - who are either still in Aleppo or in Russia – via WhatsApp and Viber (1: 145-149, 2: 212-214). She has a close friendship with another refugee boy from Afghanistan, with whom she speaks English (fieldnotes).

## **Irina**

### **Route: 1. Venice, Italy, 2. Patos, Albania, 3. Leipzig, Germany**

Irina was 13 years old at the time of the interview. She says that she comes from Albania but she was born in Venice, Italy (3-4). She lived in Venice until she was 8 years old. Her parents are both from Albania and moved at a young age to work in Italy (15-23). Both parents have learned Italian, so they use Albanian and Italian as family languages (10-11). She attended kindergarten in Venice and also started to attend the public primary school there (9). She had all the standard subjects such as geography, English, history, and mathematics. She learned English at school from the first grade on, without interruption, at all way stations (59-63). She was living with her parents and her brother, as well as an uncle in Venice (25). She says that at this time, half of her family lived in Albania (100). She spent all her summers in Albania with her grandparents and other relatives (uncle, aunt, cousins). She kept in contact with these family members via Skype (101-122). After school she spent her time with her family or her cousins and did her homework (130-142). At school she also had friends, one Albanian girl and one Arabic speaking girl. She spoke in Italian with both (145-150).

She was nine years old when she and her parents moved back to Albania, and they lived there for three years (169). She found these years enjoyable. She liked school, she had six lessons every day, and she always had high marks; out of 10, she always had 9 or 10. She thinks it was no problem for her to move because she already spoke Albanian (189-191). Her grandfather and her aunt, who are both teachers, also helped her by practicing reading together in the afternoons (197-204). She felt like every other student at school (214). She attended the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grades in Albania and feels it was a simple continuation of the Italian grades (225-226). In the afternoons she spent time with her girl friend, who was her neighbour and also attended the same school (237-242). On the weekends, she spent time with her grandmother and cousins (239-240). In the 7<sup>th</sup> grade she attended a private German language course for a year with her sister (280-293).

Her father moved to Leipzig one year after they relocated to Albania, so he lived apart from the family for about two years (246-247). She was 12 years old when she moved to Leipzig. In Leipzig she lives with her parents, her sister, one aunt and one uncle (246-261). The rest of the family lives in Albania. She talks to them via Skype or phone once a week (263-272). For the summer she has plans to go home (275-276). At the time of the interview she had been living in Leipzig for 9 months (52-53). Given that she arrived with some knowledge of the German language, she became partially integrated after two months into grade level 7 (297-299, 338). She spent two classes per day in her regular subjects. Now she has physics, biology, German language and literature, music and P.E (303). She considers the subjects to be similar, so there is nothing new for her in this regard. The only challenge she faced is that she did not understand the text where the task is described (311-312). In biology, she already knew the content because she had learned it in Albania, so that was very helpful for her (323-324). She could follow the classroom interactions but could not understand what she read in the book (334-335). She had friends both from the DaZ class and her regular classes, and at school she speaks only German (342-346). In the afternoons she plays on the computer, watches television, and goes to a lake with her parents (353-354).

She did not experience the twofold relocation as something special. She felt content in all three countries. In Germany she also has no problems because, although she speaks less German than the others, her content knowledge in the subjects is better than that of her classmates (363-364,366, 372-373,377).

## **Evelyn**

**Route: 1. Thessaloniki, Greece, 2. Xanthi, Greece, 3. Cyprus, 4. München, Germany, 5. Xanthi, Greece, 6. Thessaloniki, Greece, 7. Xanthi, Greece, 8. Leipzig, Germany**

Evelyn was 15 years old at the time of the interview. She was born in Thessaloniki to Georgian parents (188-189). She lived in Thessaloniki her first year and then moved with her family to Xanthi, where she lived until she was five. Between the ages of 5 and 7 she lived with her parents in Cyprus, where one of her uncles opened a restaurant in which her parents also worked. Because of another restaurant business her parents and her uncle moved to Munich, where she lived with them at the age 8. She moved back to Xanthi and lived there two years (ages 9-11). The following two years they lived in Thessaloniki, and the two years after that in Xanthi once more (301). At the age of 14, the family moved to Leipzig (11-76, 129-130). The family languages vary; with her parents they are Georgian and Russian, and with her

grandparents they are Greek and Turkish (333-360, 653-654). Beyond the Greek and Roman scripts, Evelyn also learned the Georgian one from her grandfather at the age of 13, before they moved to Leipzig (340-347). She was first alphabetised in the Greek alphabet in the Greek school, but knows the Latin alphabet as well from her English and German classes (330).

Evelyn attended a public school in Cyprus where the language of instruction was Greek (332). She attended second grade in a public school of the Greek state in Munich. She remembers that within the same building the German school and the Greek school were separated from each other, and she attended the Greek one with Greek books and the Greek language. She does not remember any difficulties, as she understood the language (112-117). After she returned to Greece, the schools had contact with each other and the transfer was unproblematic (220-229).

In the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grade she attended a private language school and learned English and German twice a week (731-767).

She was very sad when her parents decided to move to Leipzig, because she had to leave relatives and friends behind. She says that for her, Greece is a dream country, and she loved to live there (891-894).

At the time of the interview in Leipzig she was partially integrated and attended the classes of biology, geography, physics, gymnastics, music, and chemistry (428-432). She is in 8<sup>th</sup> grade, the same grade as she would be in Greece (514-522). She recognised many things that she had already learned in Greece, but because of the language barrier she cannot answer the teacher (444-454, 492-493).

She characterises the days at school with stress and boredom (551). She developed a lot of complications and cannot concentrate (559-536). She suffers from the racism of other students in that they treat her as a foreigner, and they want to exclude her as if the school was their territory (568-573).

The family struggles with an inner conflict as to whether they should stay in Germany or return to Greece. Her mother sees a future in Germany because of the good working opportunities and the schooling for the children, but her father wants to return to Greece (590-603). Evelyn does not like to live in Leipzig, but understands that because of the economic crisis she would not have good opportunities in Greece. She wants to have a school certificate which will enable her to study law and work anywhere in Europe that she wants (825-835, 891, 898, 900).

She says, first of all, that she did not lose anything due to relocations because it was worth it to change to all of these countries and that she also learned all these languages. She has learned to be strong and to be able to deal with things that change around her (876-889). Given that the move to Leipzig was an involuntary one, she struggles to see any advantage of this move for her life (898, 900). She does not feel welcomed in her social environment in Leipzig and she would hold it important to prosecute racism at school. She thinks when a new child arrives at the school, the teachers should introduce her or him to the others. She thinks it would be important to assess what the new students know in the different subjects. It would be helpful if the classroom teachers spoke a foreign language and if, upon the student's arrival, a teacher who speaks his or her language and the other teachers would all speak with him or her together (913-914, 917-918, 925-927, 939-941).

She believes that when a student comes to Germany from another country for a year or a period of time they should only have German classes until they know the language. Because right now they are also going to the other classes, they are alone because they do not know the language. She thinks it's useless, but if they were to spend this year only learning German then it would be better, because then they would have time to learn the language and to adapt (946-950).

Her parents, an uncle, an aunt, two cousins, and her brother and sister live in Leipzig. Her grandmother, two cousins, an uncle and an aunt live in Thessaloniki (153-165). She keeps in touch with them on a daily basis via Skype (605-614).

## **Helena**

### **Route: 1. Kint Yurt, Chechen Republic, 2. Biala Podlaska, Polen, 3. Leipzig, Germany**

Helena was 15 years old when she arrived in Leipzig. She is a citizen of Russia (15-16). Her family language is Chechen and she learned Russian as a second language through Russian cartoons, films and television (459, 467-469). She lived in a village called Kin-Yurt and attended the local school. She claims to have finished 9 grades there, even though she only lived there until the age of 13 (30-31, 39, 47). She said that her school was not so good and that is why they moved, as her mother wanted her to get a better education (58, 61-62). She knew that they would move to Europe (202, 204). In her school she had learned all the subjects in Russian, and she also had Chechen language and literature classes (476-477) as well as English classes (481).

In her home village she got up late in the morning because her school started in the afternoon. After school she watched a film and took care of her smaller brothers (122-137). She has three brothers and two sisters (142). She says that every day was the same for her (117).

She also spent free time at her grandmother's place (146-147). Her mother was working during the day in construction (157-158) and her father was working as well. At school she remembers having mathematics, geography, biology, music and P.E, with the latter two being her favourite subjects (164-170). When she compares the school she attended in Chechnya with the ones in Poland and in Germany, she thinks that the Polish and German schools are entirely different from the ones she knew from Chechnya. She had never seen a school like the schools in Germany or Poland. (250-251, 310).

It was not clear to her that the family would have a stop in Poland, as they wanted to arrive to Germany directly (197-198). She was excited about arriving to Europe, because that was something that she had only dreamed about before (201-204). She lived at the Biala Podlaska Asylum Centre in Eastern Poland (71). She liked living there because it was similar to her home village. She learned some Polish from a Polish teacher who had lived in Russia for a longer time. She attended school for 5 to 7 months out of the 8 months they lived in Poland (23, 207). She attended regular classes and her favourite subject was biology (176). At the school she befriended another Chechen and an Ingush speaking student, and had her brothers and sisters as friends as well (224-225). The other Russian and Chechen speaking students helped her at school because they had been there longer than Helena (267). In her free time, she played tennis at the asylum centre or spent time in the special playing room of the centre (609-616).

One of her friends at school was returned to her location of origin because of the negative asylum decision (238-239). In light of this result, Helena's family also decided to move on from Poland. She does not have any more connections with the friends from the previous two locations (284).

After living in Poland to 8 months, she then moved to Germany, where she had been living for almost a year at the time of the interview. She was 16 years old at the time of the interview (17-18, 642).

She arrived in Germany and lived in an asylum centre in Berlin for one or two months, and then in Chemnitz for another few months before she was redistributed to Leipzig. At the time of the interview, she lived in an asylum centre (324-333).

She considers living in Germany to be better than living in Biala Podlaska (312). She has been attending the German class for more than a year and has not started to attend the regular classes (357). She made friends in the DaZ class and in the asylum centre (369-370). With these friends she speaks Russian, Chechen and German (664-683).



She thinks that traveling in the dark in a car for three days was the only frightening experience – everything else was good as it was (698-707).

In the future she wants to study to become a veterinarian, and she wants to live in a village and open a business. She plans her near future (she mentioned three years) to be in Leipzig (320, 739-749).

## **Leonardo**

**Route: 1. Caravallo, Peru, 2. Osaka, Japan, 3. Shikoku, Japan, 4. Madrid, Spain, 5. Guadalajara, Spain, 6. Sacedon, Spain, 7. Marchamalo, Spain, 8. Leipzig, Germany**

Leonardo was born in Caravallo, a town in Peru. He stayed there only four months after his birth due to a war between Peru and Ecuador. His father stayed in Peru and Leonardo fled with his mother to Columbia, where the family got a visa to Japan. His mother was studying at the university at this time and his father was a soldier in the army (12-15, 18-19, 22, 24, 193).

The whole family moved to Osaka. Leonardo lived in Japan until he was seven years old. His first language is Japanese and he considers the Japanese culture the most influential for him because he grew up in this cultural environment (27-28, 161, 169). His parents were working long hours in a chicken factory (7-19), therefore Leonardo did not spend much time with them during these years (106-108, 128-130). This resulted in the fact that when the family moved to Spain when he was 7, he did not speak any Spanish. In Japan his parents spoke Spanish with each other, but Leonardo talked to them in Japanese (169-180). He mentioned that they moved several times within Japan because of his parents' work, but he spent most of his time in Osaka (92, 134-143). Leonardo attended a whole-day nursery institution. He remembers this being a big building with a park around it (86-88). Every morning he had to get up early, get dressed in the nursery uniform and walk a long distance to school (96-97). During the day he learned, played, ate and slept at the nursery, and sometimes he visited the Buddhist temple with the other children (103, 119-120). He entered the first grade of primary school in Shikoku. The primary school was part of a whole-day care institution with a kindergarten and school. He spent the whole day at school, and in the school there were facilities for learning, eating, sleeping and playing (114-117). He also slept at the school and remembers participating in special events like Halloween (148-150).

When Leonardo was seven his parents decided to move to Spain. The reason was that they considered Japan to be transit station only and eventually wanted to return to Peru. In the meantime, however, the family of his mother, including his mother and her siblings, relocated

to Spain (185-186, 192-195). They decided to move on to Spain to reunify the family and find better jobs (31-32). Leonardo perceived Spain as very different and very new for him, a country with different traditions and culture. One big difference for him was that the school in Spain looked very different and served only the purposes of study, while the one in Japan had been like a home (207-209). He missed Japan, especially the food and technology and the living environment he had there. He thinks that how people interacted with each other and how traffic was organised was also very different between the two cultures (286-293). The Japanese school had a more practical orientation and there were a lot of different activities beyond studying (301-303). In Spain the time in the school was dedicated only to studying and exams, and the afternoons and evenings were free (316). In Japan he played volleyball and in Spain he switched to football (73-74). In Spain he also attended a ballet course (328-333). He felt very shy after he arrived in Spain, but the local students were friendly to him and included them in their activities. He could easily find friends (343-344).

The family spent some time with Leonardo's grandmother, who lives in Madrid, and then moved on to places where the parents could find work (213-214). The reasons for the multiple moves were that they did not find work. They lived in Sacedón, in Azupeca, in Guadalajara and in Marchamalo (219-220, 229-230, 386-387, 392-397, 406-417). He stayed in Madrid for six months and attended a public school where he was enrolled in a regular class in grade level 2. He did not know the Latin alphabet and wanted to enroll in the first grade, but the school insisted on enrolling him according to his age (260-262, 268). He had to learn the script on his own (271-272). He was copying what his classmate was writing without understanding what he was copying (232-242, 379-382). After that the school organised a Spanish study class for him. He left the school and relocated to Sacedón where he was enrolled in a regular grade. Due to the fact that he arrived late in the school year and because he did not have any Spanish language competence, the teachers suggested that he repeat the grade (249-253). He describes the first year as survival, where he just followed his intuition and copied from his classmate without understanding a word (368-372). It was in Sacedón where he stopped copying and tried to do the tasks by himself. He had the most difficulties with Spanish language and literature (397-398). His favourite subjects were a mixture of biology and geography (403-405). He moved to Azupeca only for a few months, lived about two years in Guadalajara, and then four years in Marchamalo. In Marchamalo, which he describes as a very small, quiet town, he attended the secondary school. He was sixteen years old when he moved to Leipzig in Germany (429).

He remembers that for the first four or five years (until 2009), their life in Spain was going very well. His parents could work, the health system was free and his mother could maintain

their lives. However, because of the economic crisis his mother did not get paid for her work, the health system was no longer available for free and his mother became depressed because she could not support his family (37-40, 437-442). Around this time his parents separated, although both still remained in Spain. His mother then married another man. They stayed in Spain for another four to five years hoping that things would get better but then his mother and sister made the decision to move to Germany. They informed themselves about the conditions and opportunities in Leipzig from an uncle (his mother's brother), who had been living there for a longer time (45-48, 446-447). Leonardo visited Leipzig with his mother and sister once to gain their own impression, and after that they decided to move to Leipzig to start a new life (52-55). His mother's husband found a job with the help of his uncle, and after six months Leonardo and his mother and sister moved to join him (446-447). When the family first decided to move to Germany, Leonardo attended some private German classes offered by a German speaking woman living in Spain in order to learn some basic vocabulary (481-493). He mentioned as well how useful it would have been for him to speak better English, which he studied at school. In Spain he did not realise how important it is to learn English, but when he relocated it became obvious for him that everything he studied at school is important (507-510).

Leonardo was excited about moving because he got good impressions of Leipzig during his one week visit. He found Leipzig very organised and a place like a museum, with a long history (453-458). After his arrival he did not attend school for three months because he was already 16 years old. After an interview where he articulated his wish to study and not to work, he was enrolled in a high school's DaZ class, and then, after a couple more months, in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade (473-482). He was nervous during his first days at school because he did not know how to answer if somebody talked to him and did not know how the other students would react to him. In the DaZ class he found three friends: one from Korea, one from Vietnam and one from Romania. He speaks English with them, and the Romanian friend helps him with German as well. He had been attending the school for nine months at the time of the interview. He attends the regular classes in mathematics, geography, physics and chemistry (526-527). He says that he has already learned most of the content in Spain, but now he has to learn it all in the German language (535-539). After school he translates the words with the help of dictionaries and internet dictionaries; however, there are many subject-specific words he does not find in the dictionary. He compared his situation to Spain where he had the same task: when he does not understand something, then he has to look it up in the dictionary (546-547).

In his class he found the classmates friendly. They asked him questions about how he says things in Spanish. Despite having difficulties expressing himself, he thought he would find

friends in his class (565-567, 572-573). He was pleasantly surprised that he had no problem as a foreigner. He was afraid of racism but on the contrary, he feels treated very well. He found friends and he received a lot of help from his cousin, who had been living in Leipzig for a longer time (583-589).

In Spain he wanted to study medicine and become a doctor. Now that he is already 17 years old, he is not sure that he can attend the school for free to get an Abitur. More likely he will complete until the tenth grade only and then study to become a physiotherapist (699-707).

He misses his friends and family members who still live in Spain, and of course the Spanish language (595-598). He keeps in contact with family members and friends in Spain via Whatsapp and Skype (599-605). Some family members visited them over Christmas, and he is working in the summer holiday to save money for a flight ticket to visit his father and other relatives in Spain (fieldnotes).

In Leipzig he attends the school in the mornings, then he goes home, eats and does his homework (612-615). In the afternoons he goes to football practice. Football has become a central part of his life and he dreams of becoming a professional football player. He is on a senior team where most of the members are Germans, though there is one Turk and two Columbians. He uses German for communication during practice. Towards the second half of the school year he started to work as a coach for smaller kids who learn to play football. He was also preparing for an exam to become a member of a local football club of Leipzig (620-637).

When he compared the three places he has lived, he considered all to very different from each other. He felt the most attached to Japan and then to Spain (655-657, 665-667). But he thought that it was enriching for him to learn many languages and to learn about different cultures and religions (644-646). He thought that if he managed to learn Japanese and then also Spanish in such a short time, he would not have any difficulties learning German either (675-681, 690-694).

## **Cihan**

### **Route: 1. Damaskus, Syria, 2. Rostow, Russia, 3. Leipzig, Germany**

Cihan was born in Damascus and lived there until he was 8 years old. He lived there with his parents, two sisters and some other relatives. His mother's first language is Russian and his father's is Arabic, and they use both languages as family languages (37-41). At the time he was living in Damascus, five of his uncles and one aunt lived in the United States, and one uncle lived in Leipzig. All of them worked as doctors (17-18). He did not have regular contact with

his relatives living abroad, but in the year of the interview a big family visit was planned in Leipzig (21-24). His grandparents on his mother's side lived in Rostow, Russia (62, 187).

He attended a private international educational institution for kindergarten for the age group 4-6, and from age 7 he attended the primary school (26-29, 31,33). The language of instruction was French (26-29). He remembers singing French songs in the kindergarten and later speaking in French the entire day with all of his friends (33, 35). He also studied English at school. He had many friends in school, and currently two of his best school friends live in Syria and in Jordan (61-62). In Damascus he completed the first two grades at the international school. In the interview he does not mention anything about the year when he was 9 years old. This was probably a time for the family to plan how they would move out of the country.

When he arrived in Rostow, he turned 10 years old (66, 81-82). In Syria he would have started grade 5 at this age, but in Rostow he was placed in grade level 4 (74-75, 77-84). When he arrived to Rostow he did not know anybody beyond his mother and grandparents. He went to a park and started to talk to local children. In this way he got to know many children, and all of them attended the same school. He was very popular and he knew everybody at the school (68-72). He found the Cyrillic alphabet difficult and had problems with reading (91, 97). In his free time he attended a Taekwondo course with local Russian children (101-103).

While he was living in Rostow, his father was commuting between Leipzig and Damascus (107-108). They kept in contact via Viber and Whatsapp (109-116).

He thinks he has forgotten English and French in the last few years because he does not have many chances to use them. When he lived in Russia he had to concentrate on the Russian language, and in Leipzig on German (47-50).

The biggest differences between the schools in Rostow and Damascus were that in Damascus there were school buses, and the lessons were in the afternoon and the classes were shorter, about 35 minutes in length. In Rostow the classes were 55 minutes long and the classes started in the morning. He did not perceive any other differences (123-129).

In the school in Germany at the time of the interview he was partially integrated. He attended biology, music, P.E, history, mathematics and DaZ. He did not understand anything from the subjects and felt as if he was not really present in the classes. He notified the teacher but has not received any help (136-137, 139-140, 142).

In Leipzig he made friends with children from Lithuania, Czech Republic, Spain, Serbia, France, Turkey, and Syria all of them. He met all of them in the DaZ class. He speaks Arabic, English, German, Russian and French with these students (167-170, 174-179).

He considered the schools at each location to be very different from each other, such as in content and in time schedule (145-149, 159-161).

While he was living with his parents and an uncle in Leipzig, his grandparents lived in Rostow and Damascus (187). On Facebook he had friends from all over (199-209).

He planned to transfer to the Gymnasium for the upcoming academic year because he wanted to follow the path of his uncles and work in Dubai or a similarly rich place. In order to reach his goal, he needed an Abitur (213-218).

He critiqued that people – himself included – are judged on the basis of where one is from. If one says that he is from Russia, then he is called a Russian. He considers himself just a simple human being, for whom this type of categorisation is inconvenient. In the Russian school he had several friends and the girls even wanted to go out with him, but he felt perceived by others as something exotic and different (223-227, 236-238).

In Germany he feels a huge difference in the way children and people interact with each other. In Damascus he could interact with others freely and could arrange some common activities (e.g. games) randomly. On the other hand, in Germany children were often playing on their computers, and he had to make an appointment to be able to spend some time with another child. He thought that these differences were the reasons why he has not been able to find any German friends yet (229-234).

## **Suleyman**

**Route: 1. Khost, Afghanistan, 2. Iran 3. Istanbul, Turkey, 3. Bulgaria, 4. Serbia, 5. Bicske, Hungary, 6. München, Chemnitz, Schneeberg, Germany, 7. Leipzig, Germany**

Suleyman was 14 years old at the time of the interview (4). He was born in Khost, a town in the Eastern part of Afghanistan (smaller than Leipzig). He lived there in a house with his parents, an older brother and a younger sister (12, 15-16, 106). His father worked as a doctor (29). His mother speaks Dari and the father speaks Pashtu, and the local school also used both languages for instruction (26-27, 104). In his home town Suleyman often could not attend the school, due to it being locked for security reasons. The boys and the girls attended school at a different period of time in the day. A class consisted of about 35 students. He was in grade 11

when he left his city (18-20). He had the subjects English, Pashtu, Dari, chemistry, P.E, biology, and sometimes he had computer classes (25-27, 36-37).

When he was fifteen he started to have a private English class twice a week with a friend of his father (29-31). In his free time he played basketball, football and cricket with his friends (102). He did not have any more contact with these friends after he left his home town (100).

In the family it had been a topic for a long time that they wanted to leave the country. But Suleyman did not know concretely when his father wanted to start their trip (41-42). He found the trip from Afghanistan through Iran, Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and finally in Germany very scary (47-48). He considers the circumstances not suitable for humans and he found it very exhausting to walk and to travel by car and ship (88-89, 144-145). At each station he remained a short period of time, ranging from days to four months. He thinks that during the trip he grew up and arrived to Germany as an adult. He learned a lot about other people, and even months after arrival he could not comprehend how the trip had changed him (50-53). At the different way stations he did not attend school and did not do anything (91-93). In Hungary he lived at the Bicske Asylum Centre and spent his time walking to the neighbouring supermarket. The days in the Asylum Centre were boring for him, and he walked sometimes and talked to other Afghanis (82-86).

After arriving in Germany, he was first in an asylum centre in Munich for a week, then he was transferred to Chemnitz for a week, then to Schneeberg and afterwards finally to Leipzig, where he lived in the asylum centre about three months (57-61). He says that he was transferred several times because too many asylum seekers had arrived at the centre and they needed to be moved (63-64). He did not know anything in Leipzig and did not know how to find a shop where he could buy a mobile phone sim card. He got to know a girl from Syria in the asylum centre who explained the city to him in English. He had already made a friendship with two other asylum seeker boys from Kosovo when he was in the centre in Schneeberg, and he met them again later, in the school in Leipzig he was attending at the time of the interview (66-74, 140-141). He did not have contact to locals at the way stations so he did not learn anything from the local languages. He used English for communication if it was necessary (128).

He did not attend school for a year and is glad to be back at school in Leipzig where he can spend some time with friends. For him the most challenging part is to get up in the mornings and arrive to school on time, as well as to learn German. He had been attending the DaZ class for six months at the time of the interview. He receives some help from his Syrian friend and

uses dictionaries to learn the language. He received a place in a secondary grammar school (Gymnasium), where he became partially integrated in grade 9 (116-120, 130-132, 134-136).

He says that his home town and Leipzig are not comparable at all. For him the biggest difference is that in Leipzig the boys and the girls are not separated, and he is also taught by female teachers. In Leipzig both genders have the same freedom, and it is not relevant if somebody is a female or a male. Everybody is working. In Afghanistan, males and females are strongly separated (24-25, 122-123, 147-152).

## **Aslan**

### **Route: 1. Damascus, Syria, 2 Istanbul, Turkey, 3. Leipzig, Germany**

Aslan was born in Damascus. He completed the first three grades of primary school in the public school system (4-8). Because of the war, he moved to Istanbul with his parents and sister and spent a year there. He attended the fourth grade of primary school in a mainstream school of the Fatih district (14). After completing the school year the family moved to Leipzig, and he had been living in Leipzig for nine months at the time of the interview (4-8). He could matriculate to a public school only three months after arrival, and attended a mainstream middle school of the city for six months (175-177). He was 11 years old at the time of the interview and left Syria at the age of 9 (4-8).

His parents told him in Damascus that he would not attend more classes in his school. Two days before leaving to Istanbul by airplane, they told him that they were moving to Turkey. He had never been to Turkey before, and based on the news he had heard from the television he was afraid of the new environment (233-236). He was positively surprised when he found out that in Fatih there were so many mosques and that he could make friends with other Syrian and Arabic speaking children (96-98). His father moved half a year later to Leipzig, where he had contact with his brother. It was clear for Aslan that they would move to Leipzig soon, but it was not clear to him when exactly. He did not have any fear; on the contrary, he was looking forward to the relocation because his uncle had told him so many good things about Leipzig and his life there (226-229, 231, 270-273).

In Damascus he lived in the suburb, in a flat with his parents. He spent the weekends with his grandmother who lived in the city centre (17-21). Fridays he attended the Friday prayer with his family members, and on the weekends he played and learned with his grandmother. His grandmother taught him the Arabic language and understanding the Quran by reading it together (37-38, 46-47). His mother worked as a teacher for Arabic language and literature and



mathematics in the mainstream school system (35). His mother completed the Quran school and learned the Quran by heart. In Leipzig Aslan studies the Quran with his mother, given that his grandmother stayed back in Damascus (46-47,157-158).

In Damascus he had one sister, and by the time he lived in Leipzig he had two younger sisters and a younger brother (49-50).

In Damascus he lived according to a well organised daily routine. In the morning he attended school, and in the afternoon he studied for two hours followed by one hour of play time before the evening prayer and sleeping (55-56). In school he had six subjects: Arabic language and literature, biology, mathematics, English, P.E and music. Other subjects (history, chemistry, geography, and physics) were introduced only at grade level five (61-63). His favourite subject has continuously been mathematics at all three locations (65).

First, his grandmother and an aunt moved to Istanbul and mapped the options for schools with the help of the local Turkish neighbours. They recommended the school which Aslan attended (91-94). He had his school certificates from the first three grades and arrived at the new school with these in December (152-154).

Differences between the schools in Istanbul and Damascus manifested in the behaviour of Aslan's schoolmates. In Istanbul he described himself as a foreigner who was not wished to be there by the local students. He had many troubles at school, and his explanation is the fact that he was perceived as a foreigner. Nobody wanted to be friends with him and he was not accepted, or he was even blatantly rejected, by his peers at school. At the school in Istanbul he did not find any friends; on the contrary, he only had troubles because he did all the homework and was a good student, which made the local students angry with him (165-172). He compares his experience in Istanbul as similar to the one in Leipzig, and concludes that it would be best if somebody can attend school where he or she was born. The reasons he gives as to why he was not accepted by his peers is because he does not curse and does not use a mobile phone like other pupils, which makes him different. The other reason is that the local students simply do not like foreigners (68-72, 74, 76-78, 218-222).

He attended the school in Istanbul in the afternoon, which he considers inferior to attending in the morning while his head is fresh (138-140). He did not attend any language preparatory classes, but instead the subject classes in Turkish language and literature, ethics, mathematics and biology (126). He considers the system in Leipzig better because he can first learn the language and then enter the subject classes (132-133). For him the first four months were very difficult in Turkey, but then towards the end he enjoyed it (123). He would sit down with his

father's iPad, which had a translator program on it. He would type in a page from the school book and read the translation of it (129-130). After he understood the content, he read the Turkish text several times consecutively until he had learned it by heart (135-136). In the first four months he also received help from the local Turkish neighbours. The three young daughters helped him by writing his homework on a paper, which he copied two or three times (142-146). During the time in Istanbul his father learned some Turkish, but his mother did not. She was working at a mosque (different from the one Aslan attended) and held Quran study classes (148-150).

The teachers in the school in Istanbul were better than in the other schools at the different locations, because they repeated the words many times and explained everything in detail if he did not understand. In Germany that is not the case, as the teachers say everything only once. Unlike his peers, the teachers in Istanbul were friendly and helpful and never made him feel like a foreigner; on the contrary, he felt that the teachers treated him like every other student (76-78, 112-115).

In Fatih district he liked that there were so many mosques. He attended one mosque on a regular basis and found about twenty Arabic speaking friends from Syria there. On Saturday mornings he played on a football team organised by the mosque community. In this team there were four to five local Turkish children, but most of the team members were Arabic speaking children, partially from Syria. They rented the football pitch together and he translated between the Turkish-Arabic speaking trainer and the team members (96-103). In the afternoons he ate, slept and played football with his brother, who was too small to join the mosque team. On Sundays the mosque organised Quran studies and Arabic language classes which he also attended in the morning, because he says did not want to forget the Arabic language. On Sundays at the mosque he also learned to play the drum by watching a drummer and one of his friends playing the drum. Before they left Istanbul he got his own drum, and in Leipzig he keeps on practicing (157-160, 246-250). He would talk with his friend in Istanbul, who asked the drummer teacher his questions and channelled answers back to him. He only met these friends in his free time, on the weekends. At the school he attended, he and his brother, sister and cousin were the only non-Turkish speaking students (108-109).

At the end of the summer holiday he was already in Leipzig and the family started to visit the mainstream schools, but none of them had or wanted to offer a free place where he could matriculate. Therefore, he started school in December (170-177). In the three months directly after arrival, Aslan studied the German language with his aunt, who is a local German pharmacist. They had two hours of language learning every day, whereby the aunt's

intermediate Arabic language skills were of help. She built up the vocabulary by themes and checked what Aslan had learned on the following day (179-191).

In Leipzig he spends his free time with his cousins. He has all in all around twenty children of different ages from the family (200-201). All live close to each other in the district of Grünau. Some of the cousins have attended the mainstream school system for years, which is relevant in their choice for a secondary grammar school (Gymnasium). Given the fact that he already spoke some German by the time he managed to matriculate, he only attended the DaZ class for two months before he was partially integrated into the fifth grade, into the subjects of biology, mathematics, history and English. In the upcoming school year he will attend the regular fifth grade in the secondary grammar school (203-205, 255, 264-268, 224).

He finds a big difference between the school experiences in Damascus and the ones in Istanbul and Leipzig, both in regard to the language use and the relation to friends. In Damascus he was the best student and everybody accepted this. In the other two cities – apart from the students in the DaZ class and the teachers – this caused him a lot of trouble and he felt rejected. Because of him being a foreigner, he was also a target of physical violence (165-168, 212-214, 218-222).

As an example, in biology, which he had in all three cities, he explained that all grade levels have their own level of expectation in the particular subject. There are some topics in which he completed the fifth grade, but in others he had to learn the new content. He has difficulties in history and geography, as he had not had these subjects before (259-268).

He evaluates the twofold moves as very difficult for him. It was difficult because at every location he had to speak many languages and learn new ones, and sometimes he was mixing these. Aslan thinks that it would be better if people moved only to a country in which people speak the same language as in the country of origin. Learning the language of the host country takes a very long time. The other difficulty is related to friends. In Damascus he had many friends at school and he knew all of his schoolmates. Since the fourth grade, however, he has had no friends at school. He does not like to go to another country, and he does not like not to speak the language of that country and feel like a foreigner. He would have preferred to relocate only once and then stay at the country of destination forever, but of course if there was no war in Syria he would have preferred to stay at home (277-287, 289-295).

The positive sides of the multiple relocations are that he knows many people and has learned about other countries. There are a lot of things he does not have to learn from books anymore because he learned it by living in a particular location. He thinks that it is a great asset

for him that he knows more than only the city of Damascus. He considers it an important opportunity that he learned mathematics in more countries because, for instance, in Germany he has math every day, and this will help him to realise his future plan (297-306).

His solution for the children with multiple relocations would be to build schools in Turkey which use only Arabic or only German, and the students could choose which one they want to attend. So for those who will move on from Turkey and not settle there forever, it would be good to have choices for the language of instruction at school (309-313).

Aslan wants to become an engineer and wants to complete his studies in Germany since the reputation of the German educational system in Arab countries is high, and because his family members collected good experiences (224, 226-229). Aslan already had his first impressions about Germany while living in Damascus, because he spoke with his uncle living in Leipzig via Skype (231).

## **Stella**

### **Route: 1. Sofia, Bulgaria, 2. Palma de Mallorca, Spain, 3. Leipzig, Germany**

Stella was 15 years old at the time of the interview. She was born in Serbia and since her first birthday she lived in Sofia. Her father is a Serb, her mother is a Bulgarian, and they use both languages as family languages (1, 5-6). Her father's parents live in a small town in Serbia only 80 Km away from Sofia. Stella spends every summer with her grandparents. Stella describes the summers with her grandparents and her cousin in Serbia as idyllic, where she played in their big garden and ate well because of her grandmother's meals (103-107, 112-114). She visited them very often, also throughout the year. She also had regular contact with her grandparents in Sofia (94-97). She attended a kindergarten and matriculated to a public primary school, which offered Russian as a second language (61-65). The language of instruction in her school was Bulgarian (121). She completed the fourth grade in Sofia and had good marks at the school. She did not learn English there because this was introduced in grade level 5 (125-127). When she was attending the third and fourth grades in Sofia, she took the underground to school every morning. Her mother was working at an IT company as a business consultant and her father was an engineer (76, 92-93). Stella's parents showed films to her about Spain and she was then dreaming about Spain. She describes the move in the interview as if it had been her idea which her parents made come true. She wanted to relocate to Spain, but she was sad to leave her grandparents behind (149-161).

In the second half of the fourth school year, Stella's parents moved to Palma de Mallorca because her father had found a new job. She stayed behind with her grandparents in Sofia to finish the school year. At the age of 10, she started the school year in Palma de Mallorca in a public school. Her parents had gathered information about the schools and the enrolment process prior to Stella's arrival at the end of the summer (162-178).

She matriculated in the sixth grade because the grade placement was based on the year of birth, and she was told that those born in 2000 have to attend the sixth grade. Therefore, she never attended the fifth grade (180-184).

She was enrolled regularly and she had all the subjects. She learned Spanish with the help of language learning software in the lessons which she spent with a teacher in the computer room. The software was helpful because it pronounced the words out loud as well. From her teachers, she received a big, compiled language learning exercise collection, which she worked on individually in the afternoons. She claims to have spent a lot of time learning the language on her own in the afternoons with the help of these sheets. She found friends at school easily, because the locals were friendly with and supportive of her. She found that the locals in Palma de Mallorca were not bothered that she was not from Spain, and she had no fear to speak the language. In her class she was friends with everyone. She considers all of these positive experiences with her peers to be the reason why she learned Spanish in three months (200-204, 210, 212-214, 222-233, 240-249).

The family lived about four years in Palma when her father decided to look for a new job in Leipzig with the help of his German colleague (8-11, 332-333). Stella had completed the sixth grade of the primary school and the 1<sup>st</sup> year (7<sup>th</sup> grade) of the secondary school twice. After the sixth grade she was asked whether she wanted to repeat the grade or move on to the secondary school. She feared a lot of the repetition in the grade, so she insisted on moving on to the secondary school level, and if necessary she would repeat that grade. She did not get marks for the 6<sup>th</sup> grade but finished the first year of the secondary school with a certificate (23-57). She is not sure whether the school was better than the one in Bulgaria, because in the sixth grade of the primary school in Spain she learned almost the same things as in the first grade in Bulgaria (216-217, 389-390). In her school there was only one other girl whose first language was different from the language of instruction (251-252).

Her parents knew well beforehand that they would move to Germany. She was sad about this move because by this time she had found many friends in Palma and spoke the language

fluently. She felt just like one of the others and never felt as if she was a foreigner (210-212, 342-345).

She attended the eighth grade in Leipzig. At the time of the interview she was 15 years old and had been living in Leipzig for one year and seven months (13). For the first half of the school year she attended a DaZ class, in the second half she was partially integrated and in the second school year she was fully integrated (402, 383-385).

In contrast to her experiences in Palma, she feels treated as a foreigner and has not found local friends. She describes her life as if she was trapped in a box, and she is always lonely (335-340, 466-468). She spends all her free time with her family and her new-born brother. She finds learning German difficult because the local students laugh at her mistakes and the way she speaks German (200-204). She expresses fear to speak in German. She thinks that the local German speaking students understand her but still make fun of her. She identifies herself as a foreigner along with other students from the DaZ class. She is verbally attacked with many racist remarks, and she makes sense of these by saying that the local students probably do this because of jealousy; because they are envious how much better the foreigners are than them. The foreigners are multilingual and have seen many countries, in contrast to the locals who have difficulties learning a language. She wishes that all these local students would have to go through the same life experience as those whom they call foreigners and want to send back to their countries (346-434).

She started within a week after her arrival in Leipzig. She was matriculated to the DaZ class where she felt very welcomed. She had a girl friend from Spain who left Leipzig soon after, which was a big blow to her (45466-468). All her friends are from the DaZ class, and even after becoming partially integrated she spends the lesson breaks with them (433-436). She speaks German, Russian and Spanish with them (436-437). She was afraid of her classmates in the regular classes, so she skipped a lot of classes for half a year (383-385, 402-403).

She finds huge differences in the content and the classroom methods between the school in Leipzig and in Palma. For instance, in the Spanish music class, they played different instruments and sang. In the German class, they learn about the history of music. In the history lesson in Germany she learns only about Germany, while in Spain they learned about other countries' histories as well. She thinks it is a great asset for her to have studied Bulgarian, Spanish and German history. She thinks that the frontal teaching method is the most difficult for her, because she has to sit and copy from the blackboard. She learns more when she gets a task in which she has to look up the information by herself and she can interact with her

classmates. She has to face a big disadvantage in physics and in chemistry because these subjects are not introduced until grade level 8 in Spain, but in Germany they are already introduced in grade level 6. Therefore – due to the fact that she arrived in the German system in the grade level 8 – she already has two years of back log in these two subjects. She worries about this and does not know how she will manage this problem (125-143, 235-236, 378-385, 383-385, 389-390).

In her free time in Leipzig she reads an online blog in Bulgarian where the users publish their stories. She also writes short stories in Bulgarian on this website (262-265, 266-268).

Her future plan is to do the Abitur in one of the three countries. However, she does not consider moving back to Sofia to study despite the fact that there is a very good Spanish high school there she would be willing to attend, because her grandparents are old and she cannot live with them during her high school years. To return to Spain would also be unrealistic because she does not want to go back without her parents. She needs an Abitur because she wants to study fashion design at a university in England or in Spain. She knows that to study in England is very expensive, so she investigated her options in Madrid and Barcelona. In the future, though, she wants to work in England (289-296).

She evaluates her way as balanced and mentions both advantages and disadvantages. A clear advantage is that, at the age of 15, she speaks and writes Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian, Spanish, English and German (257-258, 478). This will help her to find a good job abroad. She is happy to have seen different cultures and traditions and get to know the customs of different places. The biggest challenges were in language learning and in losing old friends and finding new ones at all the way stations (272-275, 277-279, 335-340). When telling of her experiences, she tells from the perspective of a strong contrast between her experiences in Palma and in Leipzig, and she interprets her experience in Leipzig through the lens of her integration process in Palma. This manifests in the way she describes her language competences. She felt comfortable in the Spanish language, which she learned in a very short time, and in German she feels good, but not as good as a German speaking student (202-206).

She visited Sofia two summers in the last five years, but she does not have any friends there anymore because they find her very different and they can no longer find a common language in which to speak with each other (277-279, 325). In the first summer in Leipzig she did not go home because she participated in an internship (281-287).

She contacts her grandparents via Skype and telephone every day. Her grandfather learned how to use Facebook, and they send photos to each other (327-330).

## **Luise**

**Route: 1. Shiraz, Iran 2. Turkey, 3. Afghanistan, 4. Ankara, Turkey, 5. Greece 6. Serbia, 7. Hungary, 8. München, Chemnitz, Schneeberg, Germany, 9. Leipzig, Germany**

Luise was 18 years old at the time of the interview (5). She was born in Afghanistan and her family moved with her to Shiraz, in Iran, when she was six months old (6-7). She attended primary school and the secondary school with Persian as a language of instruction (70). This language was a second language for her, given that her family language was Dari (75-80). She had the school leaving certificate from the 9<sup>th</sup> grade when the family decided to move on given some troubles regarding her father (12-13). Luise attended a private school in Iran, because she was preparing to become a doctor (56, 64-65). She mentioned several times throughout the interview that citizens of Afghanistan were not equally treated in Iran and that had influence, for instance, on the accessibility of study places (61-62). Because of this, it was very important for Luise to prove that she was not worse than the local students, and due to this motivation, she achieved good results at the Iranian school (102-107). The foreign languages at her school were Arabic and English. In her last school years she also attended an English summer language course (87-94, 98-100). She spent her free time with a Turkish speaking neighbor girl with whom she learned some Turkish, and she also attended summer courses for sports and painting. At this time, her life was already multilingual; she learned Arabic at school and at a Quran school, and she spoke Dari as a family language, which she learned to write and read from her parents when she was 10. Persian she learned to speak in everyday life, and to write and read in her first school year (130-144).

The family first tried to move on to Turkey, but got caught and were deported to Afghanistan. On the second try they managed to get to Ankara (16-24). The parents of Luise collected some information from a family member – who had been living in Greece for a long time – about which European country could be a good place to start a new life. It became clear for them that the target would be either Germany or Austria, given that her father was not allowed to work in Turkey and they saw little chance to build up a new life there (150-157). The family got on boats to Greece, whereby one of the brothers sank and was transported back to Turkey. At the time of the interview with Luise her brother was still living in Turkey (26-27, 159-160).

Luise and her family got through the Balkan route in 2015 and reached Germany. This period lasted for 9 months (162). She considered this time enriching, because she did not learn



about any of these countries in Iran, and she walked through all of them during this long journey. She got to know several countries, the people, the customs, languages, and cuisines (164-173). After spending a couple of weeks in refugee shelters and being transferred several times within Germany, the family received a place at a refugee accommodation in Leipzig (33-36, 178, 181-183). In the first days after arrival they met their basic needs with the help of a woman from Afghanistan, who had been living in Leipzig for a longer time (185-194). After being able to move out to a flat, the family befriended a neighbor, a local citizen, who taught some German to the children. In the first 6 months Luise did not attend school, but spent her time at home painting and playing football with the neighbors (196-202). The social worker responsible for the family tried to arrange places at schools, but they did not have any capacity (210-212).

For Luise, starting school meant joining the outside world. Although she found it difficult at the beginning, in a short time she became friends with several students at school, as well as at a special community program for girls in the neighborhood of her school (204-208, 217-220, 278-279). She found it negative that there were many students with migration background at her new school, but on the other hand she appreciated the supporting attitude of her teachers there (222). At the beginning she was attending only the German as a second language class, and two months later she started to attend subject classes in grade level 9. She expressed satisfaction with her school and the only critique she formulated is that she found it difficult to attend the German as a second language class with students from grade level 5 (292-294). In her free time she attended the activities of the above mentioned community program, was a member of a football club and attended a painting course (202).

As a big difference between her school in Shiraz and her school in Leipzig she mentioned her level of freedom as a woman in dressing and physical appearance, as well as the nature of contact to men in everyday life (225-233).

With regard to the school subjects, such as math and biology, the content was very similar to what she had learned in Iran (239-242). The content of the history classes, however, was completely new, given that it was all about German history. In the interview, Luise expressed her wish to learn about the history of her country as well, for which she needs a book from Afghanistan (244-250).

She considered herself capable of getting through many difficult life situations (264-267). Her first year in Leipzig was difficult due to the family violence problems (284). It was also a disruption that the family had to move back to a refugee shelter after already living in a private flat for some months. Despite these difficulties Luise managed to build a social life and learn

German. She attended the second half of a school year for grade level 9, and then repeated the same grade level for a whole school year. In the 2017/2018 school year she was attending grade level 10 and preparing for the Realschulabschluss (school leaving certificate from 10<sup>th</sup> grade) (fieldnotes).

She never gave up on her dream to become a dentist (274-275). She plans to attend school until she manages to do an Abitur and then go on to study at a university. All in all, she is satisfied with being in Leipzig and she believes that if someone really wants something, they can also achieve it (270, 272).

## **Amir**

**Route: 1. Al-Nabek, Syria, 2. Mersin, Turkey, 3. diverse places along the Balkan route 4. diverse cities in Germany, 4. Leipzig, Germany**

Amir was born in Al-Nabek, a city about 80 km from Damascus, Syria. He called his city a village of Damascus (19-22). Amir lived in Al-Nabek with his big family, and his school played a central role in his life given his future plans to study at the university one day (22-28). He describes that the grade levels 6, 9 and 12 were the most important ones, in which the certificates are issued to the students. The obligatory schooling period finished after 6 years, and the professional orientation depend on the results of the 9<sup>th</sup> grade (150-158). In his free time he did kickboxing, met up with his friends, and attended an English course for a year. He also worked in a food shop when he was 13 years old (176-180, 332-333, 616-617, 641-644). He completed 7 grades in a local school with Arabic as a language of instruction, and he started to attend the 8<sup>th</sup> grade when the family moved to Turkey due to the Syrian war (16-19). He was issued a certificate from the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, despite only completing half of that year (134-135).

He left his home town with his mother and father, three sisters and brother when he was 13 and a half years old (163). The family first fled to Lebanon by car and then traveled by plane to Turkey. His father had to stay in Lebanon due to lack of official papers, and at the time of the interview with Amir in Leipzig his father was still living in Lebanon (250-264).

The family collected some information from an uncle living in Istanbul at the time and choose Mersin as a target location (26, 266-272). Amir reports that they had hopes for the continuation of schooling as well as securing an operation that one of his sisters needed to undergo. In Mersin they could rent a flat immediately, and with the help of recommendations from their relatives, Amir found a Syrian private school with Arabic as a language of instruction (43, 274-277, 414-456).

After arriving in Mersin in April, he decided to start working in a fruit and vegetable shop until the new school year started in September. He was not only responsible for the sales, but for preparing some products and handling the cash register as well. He describes his working activity with pride, given that despite his young age, he took on a lot of responsibility and earned 30 Turkish Lira a day. On the other hand, he reports working for 12 hours and that his feet were hurting at the end of the day (279-290, 298-311).

During this time he learned Turkish in 3-4 months, partially through his conversations at work, partially by studying in tandem with a Turkish man who spoke some Arabic, and also by highlighting new words in his bilingual dictionary (277-279, 372-411).

At school he matriculated in grade level 9 and worked hard to be able to participate in the examination at the end of the year (180-187). He successfully completed the school year with a certificate. He reports this school as being very similar to his Syrian school, where he always had to learn all the books by heart. He was very proud to be the second best at his school in Mersin. At this school the language of instruction was Arabic and he learned Turkish, English and French as foreign languages (431-446, 453-460).

He considers his life in Turkey to be a continuation of his life in Syria. How people kept in contact with each other was very similar, his school experience was similar and the language of instruction did not change. However, he also considers the time in Mersin to be a time where he took on responsibility, given that his father was not with them anymore. He continued with the same activities in Mersin that he did during his life in Al-Nabek: he attended school, worked in his free time, did sports and spent time with his friends (31-35, 358-361).

Given the fact that the family did not see any chances to finance the necessary operation for Amir's sister, they decided to move on from Turkey (530-535). Originally the family wanted to move on to a country which had less major refugee flows from Syria. They considered Great Britain, among others, but when they got caught in Germany they could not move on any more (537-553). He said that at this time a lot of people moved on, and so they informed themselves from these people (487-482). First, they traveled to a city in Turkey where they took the boat. They continued their journey through Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary and Austria. From there they traveled by train to Munich, and after a couple of days they took the train to Berlin. In Berlin they faced a hostile welcome. They were verbally attacked by the local citizens, and they had to spend a week on the street due to not being accepted to any sort of accommodation. He found the journey – of which a major part the family completed on foot by spending nights in forests – very exhausting. The family was first transferred to an asylum center in Chemnitz,

and after a couple of days to a refugee shelter in Leipzig (43-76, 462-466, 494-496, 554-556). In the first four months Amir did not have access to school and spent his time learning German in a language course offered at his accommodation (559-562). After four months he received a place in a high school, where he first started to attend the German as a second language class, and after two months he also joined some other subjects with his grade (564-566). He considered it unfair that his certificate from Turkey was not recognized for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade (224-228). He spent half of the school year, as well as the entire following school year, in grade level 8 in the Leipzig high school. Given the age difference between him and his classmates, he found it difficult to find common topics with them. Despite these challenges, Amir considers his classmates to have been an immense help in learning German (676-690). In Leipzig he lives with his family in a flat. In his free time he does sports, meets his friends, learns via Internet from his mentor from Potsdam and helps his mother and sisters (85-96, 625-634).

Amir was integrated into the 9<sup>th</sup> grade at a Gymnasium in Leipzig for the 2017/2018 school year (96). He had been learning German for 18 months at the time of the interview, and he feels able to continue his life after the two years he has already spent in Germany (102-103). Because of this he applied for the NewStart Fellowship, a special program for migrant students at the secondary school level. He was not accepted but plans to submit his application once more (111-121).

Amir emphasizes many times the difference in the learning methods in Syria and in Germany. In the former he had to learn books by heart, but this is not a requirement in the schools he attends in Leipzig (14-16, 184-187, 510-511).

Amir considers his journey from his home town to Leipzig educational, where one can learn from life experiences (60-61). He was able to develop a positive viewpoint which helps him to see the advantage in everything he went through. Some of these advantages are, for instance, that he saw several countries, got to know people from these countries, and had the chance to learn languages (660-663). As he describes his way along the Balkan route, he tells how he used all the languages he had learned before in order to communicate with the different people (462-476). He believes that the most important thing is to remain focused on the future and not to think too much about the past experiences (127-128).

At the time of the interview he had been living abroad for four years, and he felt able to continue his life only after he learned German and was fully integrated to a Gymnasium (101-103, 122). He never gave up his dream to finish an Abitur and study at the university. He wishes

to study medicine at an American university, and to keep on studying until he is a professor (125-127, 605-608).

## **Zairbek**

### **Route: 1. Schali, Chechen Republic, 2. Biala Podlaska and Gdańsk, Polen, 3. Chemnitz und Leipzig, Germany**

Zairbek comes from a city located in the middle of the Chechen Republic. His father is a house builder and his mother a dressmaker (132-134). He has one brother and one sister, and all his friends and relatives lived in the same city. Zairbek attended school in his home town from age 6, though he notes that he was outside of the school having fun with his friends more than he was attending his lessons (107-111, 119-130). He describes his childhood as very idyllic and free from any problems (166). In the 7<sup>th</sup> grade he started to work in the afternoons with his father and brother, which offered him an opportunity to learn how a house is built and how the electricity and water supply of a building is constructed. Furthermore, the family ran a small business that renovated old pieces of furniture, which Zairbek helped with (134, 149-150, 152-153, 155-161). Zairbek felt that he was surrounded by peers and friends who shared the same principles as him (Muslim religious principles), and with whom he could always have fun (he calls it frisky and playful fights between boys) (160-170). Zairbek started school at the age of 5 and finished 9<sup>th</sup> grade with a certificate at age 14 (58-62).

The reasons that his father chose to leave their home town with the whole family were political ones, which Zairbek only understood when the family was already in Germany. He was not involved in the decision making and before it happened he could have never imagined leaving his home town. He considers the relocation as a process of becoming an adult, and understanding life and political problems. He refers to the fact that his country is not safe and it is difficult to build a life there (182-198).

The family organised their ways to Poland by illegal means and stayed at Polish refugee centers Biala Podlaska and nearby Gdańsk for almost 8 months. After arriving, Zairbek informed himself about his new surroundings from Chechen persons who were staying at the same camp. They got a single room, and he was afraid that they would stay in it for a year like many other persons at the Biala Podlaska reception center had (270-277). He was glad to be transferred to the refugee center near Gdańsk, given that the family got two rooms there and he could matriculate into the local Gymnasium. After a pause of 6 months (between August and February) he attended the Gymnasium for three months in grade 11 (279-284). He found

friends, and given the similarities between the two languages he could follow the classes and communicate in Russian with friends and teachers. He found this school and the behaviour of the students similar to that in his home town, so he could have fun. In the afternoons he learned from the internet how to write software programs and some Spanish words. During this time, he also made friends with local and Chechen persons. Given that he considered Poland his final destination, he was learning the language from his friends and at school in the regular lessons. He also had some success in the Russian language class where he was the best. This language also helped him to communicate with the older teachers at the school who knew some passive Russian. He did not attend an additional Polish class. His advantage was a familiarity with the Latin alphabet due to his English classes at his school in Schali (68-76, 288-298, 308-312, 317-320, 323-325, 340-344). During his stay in Poland, he was stressed about not knowing when he would move back to his home town. That is the reason why he reports not to have learned too much during these months (347-350).

His father then made the decision that the family would move to Germany, given his impressions that to build a new life in Poland would be difficult due to financial reasons and lack of access to housing. Zairbek still does not understand why he agreed to leave Poland (365-368).

The family first arrived in Chemnitz. Then after a month, they were transferred to an asylum center in Leipzig, from where they moved out to a flat within six months. Due to a rejection of the asylum claim the family moved back to an asylum center. At the time of the interview the family was living in a private flat but their case was still pending. They have to be issued a new identification card every six months (370-379).

He is aware of the fact that he is supposed to finish the secondary school in Germany, but sees the new language of instruction at school and the lack of peer relations as the main obstacles in realising this. He has only one good friend who he got to know at the asylum refugee center, and he is the only person he trusts (352-360).

Zairbek matriculated in Leipzig to a high school, into the German as a second language class. He did not have a good experience with his first teacher (425-426). Around this time he did some martial arts, but soon after he stopped attending the practices. Between August 2015 and February 2017 he attended school, but many days he was absent on sick leave (425-429). He felt demotivated by the fact that there was a large gap between his expectations and what the educational system offered him. He thought that his certificate from the 9th grade and his school attendance in Poland would be recognised, or that after learning German he could prove his knowledge in a test so that he could start with his vocational education. Instead, he had to

attend the 9<sup>th</sup> grade for the second half of his first school year in Leipzig, and then he had to repeat it again. He did not understand why he had to attend the 9<sup>th</sup> grade four times, and he left the school without a school certificate at the age of 18. This was also due to the fact that at school his mind was occupied with all the problems he had in his life, and he never felt concentrated enough to participate in the learning process (439-447, 449-454).

After leaving school he started to work at a private security company. He travels with his Chechen colleagues to different locations in Germany and works as part of the security personnel. He considers his job to be good, given that it helps him to have some break from his problems (431-436). If he does not work, he spends a lot of time sleeping (29).

He contrasts the time spent in Shali and the time after leaving it. He refers to the fact that he lost his friends who shared the same principles and mentality as him, and the persons with Chechen background who he got to know in Germany differ in a negative way from the ones at home (160-170). Zairbek struggles to find friends either with Chechen background or with different ones in his new life in Leipzig. (352-355).

Zairbek has not really accepted the fact that he had to leave his home town and his life there behind. He considers the time since he left as a dark period, which is a reason he has not been able to finish his secondary school education. He keeps in contact with all his previous classmates, and throughout his narration he compares himself with them and with the life he would have lived if he would not have had to leave (383-389, 182, 367).

Among all the students who were subjects of my study, Zairbek is the only one who clearly separates himself with regard to his participation in the decision making, relocation process, and future plans from his family. He needed more than two years to realise that he had moved away from his home town and that his family is not planning a return soon.

Zairbek considered the multiple relocation a process which developed a serious character. These experiences transformed him from a child that had a lot of fun to an adult who is very silent, serious and can solve problems. He described the three locations with three colours: green, black, and dark black. He thinks that his life stopped in Shali, and since then he is not really living despite wishing that he could live again. (457-461, 402-418)

His future plans depend on the result of his asylum claim. If this gets rejected he would be glad to return to his home town and finish grades 11 and 12, and then enter university to study as a game software designer. In case he is issued a residence permit, he wishes to visit his home town for half a year. Afterwards he wants to find a job in Germany and live a transnational lifestyle, in which his home town would stand for life and Germany for work. He and his best

friend also play with the idea of setting up a shop business for Chechen products together (383-389, 396-400, 411-418).

Chapter 5 aimed to depict the research site and give an insight into the biographies of the research participants in order to provide the context for the interpretation of the findings. The next chapter will present the findings and discuss them in light of the theoretical concepts and their practical relevance. Readers are welcome to return to the case profiles while reading the findings.



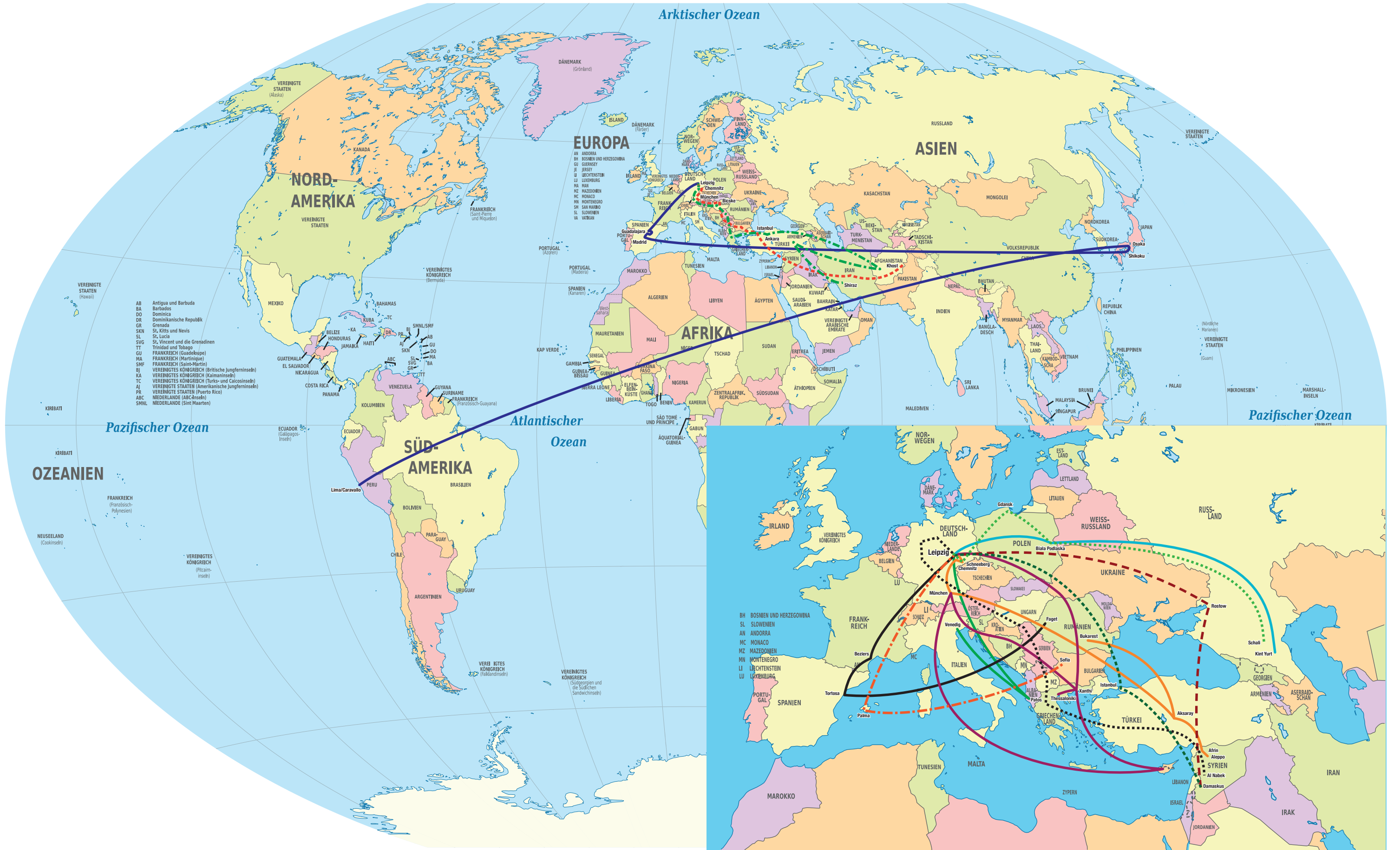


Figure 4 Route map of the study participants

- |        |   |          |       |        |       |         |   |
|--------|---|----------|-------|--------|-------|---------|---|
| David  | — | Helena   | —     | Aslan  | ⋯     | Amir    | ⋯ |
| Gül    | — | Leonardo | —     | Stella | - - - | Zairbek | ⋯ |
| Irina  | — | Cihan    | - - - | Luise  | ⋯     |         |   |
| Evelyn | — | Suleyman | ⋯     |        |       |         |   |

## 6. Findings of the data analysis

### 6.1 Reasons for and circumstances of the involvement in multiple and multidirectional migration

The first research question (How do school-age children characterise the reasons for and circumstances of their involvement in the process of the multiple and multidirectional migration?) was divided into two parts: one focus of the analysis was on the reasons and the decision-making (6.1.1), and the second was on the process of the migration (6.1.2). The following two sections will present my findings regarding this first research question.

#### 6.1.1 Reasons and decision-making

The answers to the question as to why the families migrated and why the children migrated are not necessarily identical. As mentioned in chapter 2.3, the findings of Ackers (2000) and Orgocka (2012) suggest that in the study of the reason and decision-making for migration of families it is worthwhile to consider children as active and distinct actors in the decision-making. According to the authors, the level to which children are allowed to participate in the reason and decision-making can be located on a continuum, and it is worthwhile to address the scope to which children have the right to decide something (in this case the migration process) that has an outcome related to them.

In line with this, I analysed all meaningful quotes which corresponded to (1) how did the children participate in the reason and decision-making process (see Analysis Chart 1) and (2) what were the reasons for the decisions made by their parents/families that children were aware of (see Analysis Chart 2).

With regard to the participation of the children in the reason and decision-making process, I found that their level of involvement can be located along the active-passive continuum, which supports the findings of the relevant secondary literature:

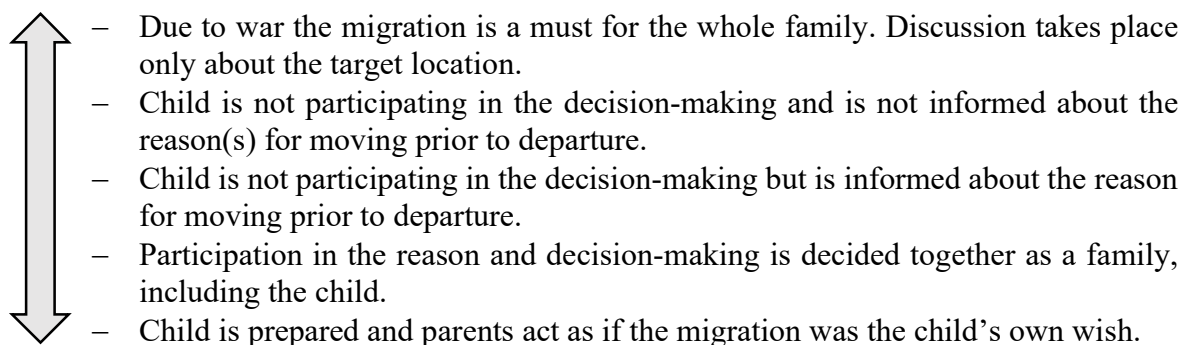


Figure 5 Participation of children in the reason and decision-making

The study participants' answers suggested that as they get older the children might become more aware of their own, distinct opinion; however, they still act as part of a family, as the following quotes also illustrate:

*"From Romania I left when I was little, I went with my parents in Spain so that they could work."* (David, 190-191)

*"Well, I don't know, I wanted to stay in the school in France..."* (David, 421)

Older age and a distinct opinion, however, does not necessarily mean that the child was entitled to a more active role in the decision-making process, as the following quotes from Zairbek – who was already 14 and 15 years old at the time of the relocations – illustrate:

*"Z: Das weiß ich nicht. Ich weiß nicht, warum wir unsere Heimat verlassen haben. F: Das hat er nicht gesagt? Z: Nein."* (Zairbek, 182-184)

*"Ja, in Poland ein bisschen schwer mit Geld und Wohnung und so, das war ein bisschen Problem. Hat mein Vater gesagt, wenn Leben schwer, fahren wir nach Deutschland. Ich weiß nicht warum habe ich ja gesagt und gesagt ich will hier kommen. Wir sind hier gekommen."* (Zairbek, 365-368)

All participants considered themselves and were considered by their parents as part of the family, although in all cases apart from that of Leonardo, that did not mean that they were entitled to the active role of a participator in the decision-making about the migration of themselves and their family. As stated, the exception is Leonardo, who was already 16 years old at the time of the second relocation of the family and gained equal position with his mother to decide:

*"...because in Spain I saw my mother sad because she didn't have work with which to pay the house, the water, all the necessities and my mother and I decided, to leave everything there in Spain and to come here to Germany to start another life."* (Leonardo, 53-55)

In line with the findings of Orellana Faulstich et al. (2001) and Hunner-Kreisel and Stephan (2013), who refer to the collective interest of the families, most of my study participants had to compromise on their own interests (e.g. leaving behind a school system where they see an opportunity to advance, leaving behind family members and a social environment), which was more and more conscious to them the older they were. This passive role in the decision-making, however, does not necessarily mean that the parents did not fit the process of migration to the needs of the child. For instance, in the cases of Irina (220-221), Aslan (233-235), Stella (163-

164) and Evelyn (536-537), the timing of the move took the rhythm of the school year into consideration.

The second step of the analysis focused on the reasons known to my participants about why their families decided to relocate multiple times during the years of the child's obligatory schooling.

The reasons mentioned by the participants are manifold. Although the more detailed reconstruction of the migration process (6.1.2) puts the following categorisation into a wider context, after analysing all meaningful sentences related to what reasons are known to the children, I found the following:

<b>First move because of war and consequent move because:</b>
second location is considered temporary until the relocation to the target country is prepared.
second location is an unplanned one and the relocation is continued to the target location.
moving on from the first country of asylum because the conditions for building up a new life are considered inadequate (e.g. access to healthcare, work and housing).
second location is considered temporary before a family reunification.
<b>First move for a (better) employment and consequent move(s) because of:</b>
(better) employment.
successful business entrepreneurship.
unemployment (not accessing work, losing job as part of the world economic crisis).
<b>Other reasons (e.g. better educational opportunity, political reasons) and consequent move because:</b>
second location is an unplanned one and the relocation is continued to the target location.
short stopovers on the route to the target (including the renewed attempts to reach the target after deportation).

Chart 11 Reasons for relocation

These findings allow me to discuss some of the dichotomies (‘voluntary vs forced’, ‘sending vs receiving country’, ‘temporary vs permanent migration’) which often serve as descriptors and

categories for analysing migration. As discussed in chapter 2.2.3 these dichotomies are challenged by current trends of migration, and in order to emphasise this I will discuss how these dichotomies are not necessarily capturing the diversity reflected in my data either, and how my findings call for a more complex categorisation.

The dichotomy of '*voluntary vs forced*' focuses on the reasons for departing from the location of origin. Migration can be considered *voluntary* if it takes place by free choice, and the term '*forced migrant*' refers to persons who migrate not as a result of their free will/choice, but rather due to circumstances in the location of origin which do not allow the person to meet basic physiological and safety needs (e.g., displaced persons, asylum seekers, and refugees), or occur without their informed consent (e.g., trafficked persons).

The '*voluntary vs forced*' categorisation is a highly contested one, given that this serves as a basis for accessing resources and being entitled to rights (Zetter, 2007). It is important to question to what extent this can contribute to the design and implementation of suitable educational provisions. In educational research and practice, the categorisation along this dichotomy is prevalent in many contexts. A clear distinction in the German context, for instance, is shown in the special status of asylum seekers and refugee populations within the national legal system, which has resulted in distinct treatment of these pupils within education research. In contrast to earlier American scholarship, where asylum seeker and refugee pupils often remained undifferentiated from other immigrant pupils (McBrien, 2005), the German scholarship has always handled this group as something different. However, in both contexts, a systematic comparison of these groups with regard to educational needs, resources and challenges is still a desideratum (Pinson, Arnot and Candappa, 2010; Rutter and Jones, 1998).

As I discussed above, in most cases and prior to most relocations my study participants did not have a completely free choice, but rather moved as a result of the decision of their caregivers. In this sense, my study participants – except for Stella, who herself wished to move to Spain ("*Ich war ein sehr interessante Kind. Die Idee ist von mir gekommen dass wir nach Spanien gehen.*" Stella, 146-155); and Leonardo, who decided with his mother – all study participants migrated not voluntarily, but with consent/approval of their families' decisions.

The findings suggest that the reasons which allowed or didn't allow families/caregivers freedom of choice in departing from their location of origin can be located along a continuum rather than expressed by the dichotomy:

voluntary ————— forced

The cases of Leonardo, David, Irina, Evelyn and Stella are closer to the voluntary end pole of the continuum. Whether or not the parents chose to move voluntarily, however, is also not a clear-cut category. In the cases of David (move from France to Germany), Irina (move from Italy to Albania), Stella (move from Spain to Germany) and Leonardo (move from Spain to Germany), the caregiver(s) lost their jobs due to the economic crisis and the move is not narrated as a free choice, considering that they had an established life in the respective countries. A possibility would be to regard these cases as *involuntary* in order to make the clear distinction to *forced*, in which the safety and consent aspects are decisive. *Involuntary* would instead express that the family decided to relocate only because they could not maintain their way of life under the changed economic circumstances.

*“and well, after that we went to Spain, the first four or five years, Spain was very good – there was work, there was health, help, there was everything. But then the crisis came, which complicated things for all of us. First, there was no work, there was no money to pay the people who worked, and then lots of problems. Now health we have to pay it – before it was free. After that, we were living for another, three years, four years, four or five more years and then, well we decided. Well, before, an uncle of mine of the family came here to Germany and he told us the situation, how it was – at the beginning it was difficult because of the language but little by little, with help, we could start a new life here in this country.”*  
(Leonardo, 37-48)

For the cases Gül, Cihan, Aslan and Amir, the reason for departure was the Syrian war, which meant that they and their families could not meet their basic needs at the location of origin. The families of Suleyman (from Afghanistan), Helena (from the Chechen Republic), and Zairbek (from the Chechen Republic), on the other hand, decided to move from locations shaped by protracted war situations and political and economic instability. Luise lived as an immigrant in Iran when the family had to move due to political reasons.

Only in the case of Evelyn’s family was the reason for the first move identical with the subsequent ones, while the other families’ second moves were always due to different reasons than their first reasons for moving. This fact – that multiple migration is induced by multiple reasons – supports my argument that the categorisation along the ‘*voluntary vs forced*’ dichotomy might hinder us in gaining a more accurate understanding of the different moves and their rationales within the individual biographies, as well as tailoring educational policy and practice to the complexity of these needs.

My results suggest that although it is important to consider the reasons which allow or don't allow families and their children freedom of choice in departing from their location of origin, especially in the case of forced migrant pupils (Shapiro, Farrelly and Curry 2018), a narrow focus on this is not sufficient. In section 6.1.2. I will discuss those other aspects that my study participants considered just as relevant during relocation and at the respective way stations as the reasons for leaving their homes.

The second dichotomy I wish to discuss here is the one of '*sending vs receiving country*'. These categories are challenged by my data as well. Given the multiple migration during their obligatory schooling years, my study participants have, in many cases, multiple sending countries. In the cases of Irina, Leonardo, David and Stella, the relative continuity of the educational career, as well as the number of years of attending school at each location, suggest that from the perspective of the Saxonian educational system, these children have two sending countries: for Irina, Italy and Albania; for Leonardo, Japan and Spain; for David, Romania and France; and for Stella, Bulgaria and Spain. Asking for the sending country – or in other terms, for the country of origin – would not allow educators to respond to the needs of these pupils, given that in their case the school experience in the second location is as decisive as in the country of origin. In these cases, as well as in those who had a shorter stay and school attendance at previous locations (Helena, Zairbek, Cihan, Aslan, Amir, and Evelyn) a more adequate question, both for statistical and pedagogical purposes, would be to ask in which locations a formal educational institution was attended. The only cases the dichotomy is capable of capturing are those of Luise, Suleyman and Gül, whose migrations unfolded between the sending and receiving locations, with several transit way stations without school attendance.

Thirdly, my data calls the '*temporary vs permanent migration*' dichotomy into question. King (2002) shows how these were developed in the context of the settler migrations from Europe to the Americas and the guest worker programs in Europe in the post-war period (Bukus 2016). My findings support his argument that this traditional binary category is blurred and can't capture the migration experience of my study participants in a satisfactory way. Depending upon how the families think about the location in terms of considering it a temporary or a settled one, the integration of the children into formal schooling was also considered to be temporary or long-term. Leonardo (in Spain), David (in France), Irina (in Albania), Evelyn (in Greece) and Stella (in Spain) attended school at the way station prior to Leipzig (Saxony, Germany) with the perspective of permanent residency. Given the lack of a standard definition of temporary migration (see 2.1.3) and in the light of the diversity of the lengths of stays among these pupils (Leonardo: 8 years, David: 4 years, Irina: 3 years, Evelyn: 5 years, Stella: 3 years),

an additional question addressing length of stay and length of school attendance in the previous location(s) proves to be necessary in order to properly address needs.

In summary, the findings associated with the first research question suggest that multiple and multidirectional migration was found in the Leipzig (Saxony, Germany) context among two groups: those who move on from their first country of settlement due to the economic crisis, and those who reach Germany through transit way stations. However, in attempting to analyse the data according to the dominant dichotomies voluntary/forced, sending/receiving country, as well as temporary/permanent migration, I discovered that such a simplistic, a priori categorisation would hinder me from recognising the complexities of the data. My analysis of the individual migration and educational trajectories complicated the narrative. The goal of the next chapter is to highlight additional, equally important aspects of the migration experience that impact the educational participation and social integration of school-age children and adolescents, in order to argue that from an educational research standpoint capturing the diversity of pupils' experiences can serve as a basis for educational policy.

### **6.1.2 Process of migration<sup>27</sup>**

Besides the reasons for and degree of free choice in their relocations, my study participants also narrated about how and under what circumstances they moved from one location to the next. In this section I draw on all meaningful sentences of the interviewees which refer to one of the following codes associated with the relocation process:

- Current location is clearly defined before departing from location of origin
- The stay at the locations between location of origin and current location is planned as temporary
- The location(s) between location of origin and current location are foreseen and planned
- The relocation was organised by legal means or by illegal means
- The family/caregivers have connections at the destination
- Duration of stay at the temporary location(s) (see coding tree in the annex).

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<sup>27</sup> The content of this subchapter is derived from my publication Bukus 2018.



My aim with the detailed analysis of the data about these aspects was to develop a more nuanced understanding about the ways in which families perceived the planned migration route prior to departure, and also how they view the current and the previous way stations. Furthermore, after the dichotomies discussed above proved to have shortcomings for capturing the complexity of my data, my goal was to examine each individual’s entire migration and educational trajectory, rather than simply categorising the children based on only one or two specific aspects. I aimed at identifying those aspects of the migration trajectory which were as impactful on the educational participation of the children as the primary reason(s) for departure from the location of origin. After analysing this data, I found that the migration experiences of my study participants can belong to one of these types of perceptions about the migration trajectory:

<b>Current location is clearly defined before departing from the location of origin and</b>
the location between is foreseen and temporary (legal + connections).
the location between is not foreseen and temporary (illegal +no connection).
<b>Current location is not defined as a target before departing from the location of origin and</b>
location between is considered temporary.
location is not considered as temporary, but permanent – reasons to move on: business related, joblessness, economic crisis, health/operation needs in the family.

Chart 12 Perceptions about the migration trajectory

My findings suggest that the perception of and reactions to the challenges in Germany appear to be dependent on the ways in which families perceived the planned migration route prior to departure, and how they view the current and the previous way stations. Thus, there are two key factors impacting the educational participation of pupils. The first is whether the family made a clear-cut decision about the final country of settlement (here, Germany) prior to leaving the country of origin. The second is whether the family considers the time spent between the location of origin and the current location of settlement to be only a transit phase, which influences the attitudes and behaviors of school-age children in regard to language learning, formal education, and engagement with the new context. Given that this conceptualisation of transit is mainly – but not exclusively – to be found among those who left their location of origin due to war, it is easy to see how this factor might be confused with that of the original motive for migration.

I choose four biographies to exemplify these findings. Two pupils were involved in the economic migration of their families and did conceptualise the way station(s) prior to the one in Germany as the location(s) of permanent settlement, also meaning that they did not have Germany as a target country in mind prior to departing from home. The two other pupils, who were involved in forced migration, had the transit locations in mind as temporary, with Germany as the intended destination. I show two biographies each to illustrate that the pupils' participation in formal schooling at the second or subsequent stage seems to be influenced by a number of factors. In the cases of the families and pupils involved in E.U. internal labor migration, they considered their first country of settlement as the main target. Consequently, if their subsequent way stations became targets, this was the result of an *involuntary* move due to the economic crisis.

The case of Stella illustrates a migration experience in which the first country of settlement was the intended target country for long-term settlement. Their subsequent move to Germany was unintended when they left their location of origin. This way of thinking impacted how the family and my participant Stella perceived the subsequent move – resulting from economic crisis – and how Stella experienced both learning a new language and participating in formal education in the new context. Stella's family lived for about four years in Palma before her father decided to search for a new job in Leipzig with the help of a German colleague. Stella experienced the relocation to Germany very negatively, which she expressed by constantly contrasting her time in Leipzig to her ideal years in Spain. In comparison to Stella's time in Spain, where she spent considerable time studying independently, in Leipzig she skipped many classes and had no sense that she could succeed. In speaking about her future plans, she mentioned Germany as being a temporary way station in her life. She discusses a successful educational and social experience at a location which was perceived as a long-term settlement location (Spain); in contrast, she speaks about her current location (Germany) as one of necessity, where she is aware of the challenges she must overcome to integrate successfully, yet she lacks the motivation to do so. In sum, her level of motivation is deeply affected by how the migration trajectory unfolded and the fact that the current location was not planned at the time of departure from the location of origin.

The next case of internal-European migration belongs to David. In contrast to Stella's family, David's parents were unskilled laborers who left their home country seeking better working opportunities. After four years, when David's parents lost their jobs, they moved to Germany. At the time of their arrival there, Romanian citizens did not yet have the right to work; therefore, David's parents found occasional work. David attended German classes at a

high school, and by the time of the interview he was incorporated into the regular classes of a public school. David believes that the relocations had a negative impact on his schooling. He thinks that with every move he has lost something and that his way stations are separate blocks in his life. He wanted to stay in France because he developed a high level of competence in French, and he wanted to complete school and become successful. He speaks about the time in France as a good time, when he was content with both his academic performance and his life after school. After his parents moved to Leipzig, he lost all of this and was supposed to start over again. He also had to leave family members behind.

*“Well, I don’t know, I wanted to stay in the school in France, there I understood very well the language and I wanted to continue there, maybe to do something, to become someone ...and as we moved...it is rather difficult to start from the beginning, from zero once again.”* (David, 421-423)

David is completely resigned; he has given up on learning German, and he skips school. After rebuilding his life in France, David did not want to take on the challenge a second time. In the future, he wishes to return to France.

These first two cases have in common that both pupils initially considered the locations prior to moving to Germany (i.e., Spain and France, respectively) to be places of permanent residency. The families of Stella and David think about their migration as one relocation between the location of origin and the location where the family can build a life for themselves. Both pupils are resigned after experiencing that the efforts put into the integration in Spain and in France do not pay off in Germany.

Furthermore, in David’s case, where the first way station in Spain was treated as temporary until the caregivers found employment, illustrates that although the conceptualisation of a way station as temporary is found mostly among those involved in forced migration, it can also be present for economic migrants. This supports my previous argument that the simplistic divide between voluntary and forced migrant pupils hinders gaining a full picture of the experiences that shape the pupils’ educational needs at the current way station.

The next two cases, in contrast, illustrate a conception of the migration trajectory as one with multiple moves and transit phases between the location of origin and the clearly defined target. Specifically, the cases of Aslan and Gül depict a migration plan with Germany as the target country, with way stations along the route. Their interviews demonstrate the impact of this type of migration experience on the youth’s educational participation.

Aslan's family had contacts in the target city in Germany and organised their migration route legally. After the school year in the transit station in Istanbul, Turkey, the family moved to Leipzig to stay with family members who had been living there for over a decade. Aslan had been living in Leipzig for nine months at the time of the interview. He was learning German outside of school from a native speaking German family member. He reported being aware that he would live in Leipzig long-term, and he reported high motivation to learn German and succeed in the formal education system. Three months after arrival, Aslan matriculated into a Leipzig public middle school in grade five. He was 11 years old at the time of the interview. Aslan found the time in Istanbul challenging but enriching. He thinks that it would have been easier to arrive directly to Leipzig from Syria and not have had to go through difficulties in Turkey. He conceptualises the relocation as a onetime event which was disrupted by a transit year.

In contrast to the cases of Stella and David, the German location was planned as the target destination for Aslan, and the pupil focused on successful participation in the formal schooling and context. Even if there is a short-term incorporation into the educational system of the transit country, the pupil may remain motivated and engaged at the target location. The case of Aslan points to those factors identified above as influential. Aslan's family had contacts at the way stations, did not get involved in the asylum system, and anticipated spending time in the transit location, which allows this case to be positioned differently on the voluntary and forced migration continuum than a case where the family lacks these resources. In this respect, the case of Aslan contrasts with the final case – Gül – presented next.

Gül was born in Aleppo, Syria and lived in the city with her parents until she was 14. Because of the war, the family left Aleppo to go to her father's relatives in Afrin, Syria. Gül lived there for about two months. It was clear to her that her family would go to Germany, because her mother learned about it through the Internet and she decided to flee to Germany with the whole family. Based on this decision, Gül moved to Aksaray, Turkey, where her brother immediately found a job as a nurse. She lived with her sister and brother in a flat, separate from her parents. She did not attend school in the four months she lived in Aksaray. Gül's family did not have contacts in Turkey or Germany and organised their travel through illegal means.

Next, Gül ended up with her parents and sister in Bucharest, Romania, living in an asylum centre. The way station in Romania was neither planned nor foreseen by the family. As the asylum system in Bucharest did not allow access to public schooling, Gül did not participate in formal education for a year. During that year, her family lived in isolation at the asylum centre.

The family then returned to Aksaray, Turkey, and her parents eventually returned to Aleppo and sold their flat.

Gül's parents had Germany in mind as the target location, which led to a new attempt to reach it. This time around, however, Gül became separated from her parents and travelled for a couple of days with smugglers to Germany, along with her sister. She was moved to various locations within Germany and after many months she arrived in Leipzig, where the family was reunited. Between the time the family left Aleppo and was reunified, approximately two years had passed. During this time Gül did not participate in formal education. After starting school in Leipzig, she considered it a new start and was enthusiastic. She was matriculated to grade seven, and in the following school year she was integrated into a regular eighth grade class.

Gül's case further supports my argument that we cannot thoroughly evaluate or predict a pupil's educational participation by categorising solely along a dichotomy. It is important to examine how the experiences along the migration route also affect the pupil's educational participation. Gül and Aslan's cases show that despite gaps due to the transit phase, their motivation and enthusiasm to tackle the challenges in Germany persisted, which provided a good basis for succeeding in acquiring a certificate from a high school. In contrast, Stella and David, whose families did not plan to move on from the first migration location, experienced a loss of motivation to participate in school, thereby negatively impacting their academic success.

Lastly, I wish to discuss that in all four cases the availability of contacts at the target location seemed to be impactful on the decision-making and reasons for the relocations. The influence of having contacts in the migration process is well described (Gamper and Reschke, 2014; Herz 2014; Social Networks Volume 53), and my findings support these studies. Having contacts at the target location had a positive influence on the process of migration. It made, for instance, in the cases of Aslan and Cihan, a legal way of relocation possible. These contacts served as sources of information which helped the families to better plan their relocation. Leonardo tells in this regard:

*“Well, before, an uncle of mine of the family came here to Germany and he told us the situation, how it was – at the beginning it was difficult because of the language but little by little, with help, we could start a new life here in this country.”* (Leonardo, 46-48)

*“...and before we came here my mother paid us the tickets to come here for a week, and arriving here, well, seeing Germany, it has some history no, it was like going to a museum for my part I liked it a lot because it was very organised, it had interesting things like the*

*bottles with the pfand recycling is something which interests me, I don't know, it drew my attention.*" (Leonardo, 453-458)

The parents of Irina, Evelyn and Stella also found employment opportunities through their contacts. The value of these contacts becomes explicit if we focus on the experiences of Suleyman, Luisa, Gül, Helena, Zairbek and Amir, who did not have any contacts at the target location. These children got involved in illegal ways of relocation and the national asylum systems, because if they would have had contacts they would have organised their routes like the families of Aslan and Cihan.

Even within the same case like David's, the positive impact becomes apparent. At his first location in Spain the family did not have any contacts, the parents did not find employment and David lived his daily life isolated, with only his mother. In contrast to that, in the second location of France they moved to family members, and he attributes the successful educational and social integration to the help of his cousins.

*"Just that while I was there in school, there were some of my cousins that helped me a lot."*  
(David, 347-348)

This citation further supports the argument of those studies which provide evidence on the positive influence of educationally successful coethnic peer relations on the integration process of migrant pupils (cf. Bygren and Szulkin 2007; Riegle-Crumb and Callahan 2009; Shin, Daly and Vera 2007).

This chapter aimed at finding answers to the questions of how children are involved in the decision-making process of their families, why they relocate multiple times, and how the process of migration was for them in general. The next chapter discusses the experiences in formal education at the different way stations.

## **6.2 Participation in formal education**

My second research question aimed at mapping all formal, informal, and nonformal educational settings in which the interviewed pupils participated during their multiple and multidirectional migration process. With the term "participation" I aimed to capture all meaningful sentences about

- the pupil's access to, attendance, as well as attitude and motivation towards attending formal, informal, and nonformal education,
- the pupil's motivation for and experiences with learning the language of instruction in the formal and informal educational settings,

- as well as the concrete challenges associated with education the pupil faced at the way stations, including the current way station of Leipzig.

Resulting from the fact that the study participants were all school-age when they relocated, most of the data could be gained about the participation in formal schooling. The following subchapters will discuss the different aspects of participating in formal schooling, while the data corresponding to the participation in nonformal and informal educational settings will be the topic of chapter 6.3.

### 6.2.1 Access and attendance to formal education

The involvement in multiple and multidirectional migration put a series of burdens on the pupils. Grade repetition, never attending a particular grade level, or spending a year without going to school are among these burdens. Apart from Evelyn and Aslan, all study participants had to experience one or two of these burdens. Evelyn managed to enjoy continuity in her educational biography because the first relocation happened within the Greek state educational system (“They did the Greek school. The Greek books.” Evelyn, 116-117), and with the second international move her school certificates were recognised (“I: She had all the papers from Greece with her grades as well, with everything so that they know that she has finished and she has to be in that level, in that class. So she had everything. R: OK so it was recognized. You have the feeling that it was recognized you completed grade 7 in Greece? I: Δηλαδή ας πούμε όταν ήρθες εδώ το αναγνώρισαν ότι είχες τελειώσει την 7η τάξη και ότι έπρεπε να είσαι στην 8η, δεν υπήρξε πρόβλημα ; E: Ναι I: There was no problem. They recognized it.” Evelyn, 536-543). In the case of Aslan the first relocation happened during his primary school years (“Ja also Zeugnis aus erste und zweite und dritte Klasse und ich musste in die vierte.” Aslan, 91), and given that the family’s second relocation to Leipzig took place only at the end of the school year, Aslan arrived with completed primary school years and could enter the fifth grade of a high school.

David had to experience the most disadvantages. In his educational biography, he has one year without attending school (while in Spain), and grades 3 and 4 were never completed (“*D: Nu, deci am fost la gradinita si pana pe a doua, deci urma sa termin a doua si sa trec pe a treia. Dar nu am mai trecut, deci am plecat in Spania (No, I was in the kindergarten and until the second grade, so, I finished the second grade and was to pass to the third grade. But I didn’t, as we left for Spain.*” David, 169-172), and he had to repeat grades when he was enrolled into the 7th grade in Leipzig. That he had to experience these disadvantages bears relation to the

temporary nature of his family's stay in Spain and to the common practice of enrolling pupils into a grade level according to their year of birth or to the availability of free places in a class.

The most common challenge the pupils had to face was grade repetition. This was probably considered by the respective schools an effective measure to give time to the pupils to learn the language of instruction and to develop some academic language skills in the new language of instruction.

Besides David, it was Stella who also missed an entire grade level, given the matriculation was based on her age and not on her previous school experience:

*“Nee warte: In Bulgarien war ich bis in die vierte Klasse und in Spanien. Hhmm die fünfte habe ich gar nicht gemacht, in Bulgarien habe ich die vierte abgeschlossen und wo wir in Spanien waren da waren wir in die Firma und die sagten welche Klasse und welche Schule besuche ich. Und die haben einen Blatt gehabt und da steht welche Jahr du geburt bist und danach in welche Klasse musst du und ich war in 200 (lacht) hmm 2000 (lacht) und steht ich muss in die sechste Klasse. Ich musste in die sechste Klasse aber ich musste die fünfte machen. Aber wenn wir so gedacht haben haben wir so gelasst weil dann wenn ich in die fünf gehen dann kann ich nicht höher und ich habe Angst von Wiederholen, wenn ich wiederholen höre es ist keine Ahnung wie ein Stress für mich keine Ahnung, ich weiß es nicht”* (Stella, 41-49)

That the enrolment into a particular grade level happens not according to previous school experience and level of subject content knowledge is mentioned as a burden, apart from Stella, by Leonardo, Zairbek and Luise as well. For instance, when Leonardo arrived from Japan to Spain, he would have needed to be alphabetised in the Latin script first. This special need could be met by enrolling him into the 1<sup>st</sup> class of the primary school. By enrolling him into the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade, he had to tackle his problem by himself:

*“We arrived in Spain, he was seven, for the age, I thought they should put him back into the first class to learn Spanish, the language, the grammar. But they told me no, but they told me he had to go in with the students of the same age.”* (Leonardo, 260-262)

*“Yes, I didn't know how to read or write, nothing, because in Japan it's another script, and it was very complicated for me. I don't remember now how difficult it was.”* (Leonardo, 271-272)

The following chart presents the overview of these results:



<b>pupils/ experience with continuity</b>	<b>Evelyn, Aslan</b>	<b>David</b>	<b>Stella</b>	<b>Gül, Suleyman, Luise</b>	<b>Irina, Helena, Leonardo, Cihan, Amir, Zairbek</b>
no year without school	✓	–	✓	–	✓
no missing grade	✓	–	–	✓	✓
no grade repetition	✓	–	–	–	–

Chart 13 Continuity in the educational trajectory

Not recognising school certificates about already completed grades was mentioned as a burden by Luise, Amir and Zairbek. All three pupils had a certificate of the 9<sup>th</sup> grade when they arrived in Leipzig. If these had been recognised, the pupils could have entered a special preparatory year for the vocational school (Berufsvorbereitungsjahr). Instead, they were all enrolled in the high school (Luise and Zairbek in grade level 9 and Amir in grade level 8), which left them a very short time to prepare for the final examination in grade level 10. The impossibility to pass a high school final examination if a pupil arrives at the age of 15 or older was recognised in 2017 in Saxony. Traf (2020) describes a special project called *‘Vorbereitungsklasse mit vertiefter zweiter Etappe für Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund mit stark unterbrochener Bildungslaufbahn’* (Preparatory Class with an intensive second phase for pupils with disrupted educational career) was created for those pupils who would have difficulties entering a regular grade of a high school and passing one of the final examinations (Hauptschulabschluss or Realschulabschluss). The reasons might be the lack of schooling in the country of origin, disruption in the educational biography, or a combination of other factors like age and level of competence. In this project class, the pupils are not enrolled in a regular class but instead study for two years in a small group of 10 pupils, following a special curriculum based on the requirements of the Hauptschulabschluss. After this preparatory phase it is decided for each individual case whether the pupil should enter the respective grade level of the high school or the preparatory year for the vocational school. This project was in the pilot phase for the 2017/2018 and 2018/2019 school years, and it follows the goal of avoiding that pupils leave the school system without any certificate, which happened both to Luise and Zairbek. The following citation stands for the challenges elder pupils face after their last relocation:

*“Ja das stimmt. Die 9. Klasse zweimal gemacht. Viermal 9. Klasse, das ist nicht so gut. Das mag ich nicht, wieder lernen wegen der Sprache. Wenn ich die Sprache schnell lerne,*

*kann ich Hauptschulabschluss machen, aber wegen der Sprache habe ich nichts gelernt. Ich habe 9. Klasse in Tschetschenien beendet und in Poland beendet und dann habe ich gedacht, wenn ich nach Deutschland komme, dann gehe ich an die Universität oder lerne einen Beruf und nicht so. Ich dachte ich gehe weiter. Aber ich habe mein Zeugnis gezeigt und haben nicht akzeptiert. Die haben gesagt du musst in 9.Klasse gehen. Und dann hat die Schule gesagt, dass ich nochmal machen muss. Erstmal lernst du Deutsch und dann kannst du Abschluss machen.” (Zairbek, 439-447)*

Relocating multiple times challenges educational systems designed for sedentary populations (see chapter 2.3 Krätli 2000, 5). As I cited in chapter 3.3, it is Danaher and Henderson (2011) who suggest that sedentarism and fixed residence are constructs of the industrialised world which became norms. Mobility of any form deviates from this norm, and as my data suggests, this deviation gains expression in that the educational system does not react to the needs of the newcomer pupils. As a result, they repeat or miss grades, spend years without attending school, are enrolled due to structural criteria rather than their educational needs, and their certificates are also not recognised. Beyond these challenges my study participants were, in most cases, left alone with the task of learning the language of instruction, which will be the topic of the next section.

## **6.2.2 Learning the language of instruction of the school**

Among my study participants only David, Aslan, Amir and Leonardo were monolingual in their location of origin and become multilingual due to the relocations. All other participants already had a multilingual practice either due to family settings (Gül, Evelyn, Suleyman) or schooling (Irina, Helena, Luise, Zairbek). Despite the great advantage of speaking several languages, entering a new school institution set up for the local sedentary community meant for all of my study participants that they had to learn a new language which was the only language used for instruction (see the monolingual habitus of the school, Gogolin 1994). In connection with their experiences with learning the language of their new school, my study participants narrated about their experiences with learning subject content in a second language at different way stations, their strategies to learn a new language, and the kind of support they received in this process.

The findings of my study suggest that a relocation within a multiple and multidirectional migration process means several changes between schools and of language of instruction for school-age children. Apart from Amir – who attended a private school in Turkey with Arabic as a language of instruction – and Evelyn – who attended a Greek school in Cyprus and

Germany (in Munich) – for all other study participants, changing schools meant facing the challenge of learning a new language of instruction. This fact allows interpretation of the migration process in the case of the specific group of school-age children not only as a relocation between specific geographical contexts, but also as a relocation between language spaces. Following the transnational approach in my research practice, I aimed to work out the most relevant context of the different life domains (schooling, social life, free time activities, etc.) in each individual case. I found that while the pupils have transnational activities in the form of social interactions and visits (see chapter 6.3.3), their schooling experience can be best contextualised as a local one. Only the two above mentioned cases exemplify experience with transnational educational spaces (Arabic school in Turkey following the Syrian curriculum and the Greek state schools abroad.) Therefore, my findings support the argument that being embedded in a transnational social space does not automatically mean being part of a transnational educational space.

Achieving Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency in a new language takes about 5-7 years. My study participants, however, were integrated after shorter periods of time in the new language environment (see chapter 6.1), which allowed them to acquire the language only to a certain extent before they relocated again. The monolingual habitus of their schools and their temporary integration resulted in a complex linguistic situation. While they acquired Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills in multiple languages, they had a lower chance of achieving a good Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency in any of those languages which they use during their schooling years. Language is a tool used for accessing new elements of content, to process these and link with already available knowledge, as well as to accompany those processes when the new knowledge is used for solving problems. In subjects like mathematics, the curriculum content is set up in a way that the same topics are encountered throughout the different grade levels, increasing in complexity and building on previous learning. In the cases of my study participants this creates a language specific challenge, given that some of the content was acquired in one language and later content in a different language; when a particular topic occurs in a higher grade level, previous knowledge then has to be recalled. Evelyn narrates about this problem as follows:

*“Ah she says that, for example, the rules in chemistry, they have different languages and a different code and so she can’t understand it. Even though she knows the thing in Greek, you know, but here she can’t understand it because it’s different.”* (Evelyn, 444-44)

*“Yea it happened in chemistry once that she recognized the thing but she couldn’t talk about it because of the language.”* (Evelyn, 453-454)

The citation sheds light on the complex challenge of developing Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency. The specific features of the language used in the subject classes is well described in the German context. The specific term ‘Bildungssprache’ sheds light on the fact that the language register the pupils ought to require is composed not only of the special terminology of a subject (Fachsprache), but also knowledge of genres specific to the content, as well as a series of lexical, morphological and syntactic features (Tajmel and Hägi-Mead 2017, 52).

Participants of my study were mostly left to handle this task alone. In most locations, the pupils’ new school practiced the model of submersion by introducing the pupil into his or her new class and waiting for the natural flow of language acquisition by receiving the input from the classroom interaction. Stella experienced additional language support in Palma de Mallorca in the form of some one-to-one lessons and worksheets for home. David, in Bezier (France), as well as all study participants in Leipzig, attended a language preparatory class for a couple of months after entering school. All models which address the language challenges of newcomer pupils have advantages and disadvantages. The submersion model has the strength that the newcomer pupils are part of the class community from the first day on and have the chance to attend all lessons. The weakness of this model, on the other hand, is that special needs such as the lack of knowledge of the respective alphabet cannot be met during the regular lessons. The model of the preparatory class is valued by the pupils because they have a period of intensive language learning before being confronted with subject content, as well as a protected multilingual context where the new language can be used without the pressure of perfection. On the other hand, pupils cannot attend a series of subject classes, which is a burden on learning the subject content.

The most common language learning strategies the pupils narrated about were translating words and sentences, using paper and online dictionaries, learning from friends who had the same task to learn the respective language and using settings of informal learning in the interaction with neighbours, parents, grandparents and aunts.

I found that for only four pupils – Gül, Evelyn, Suleyman and Amir – Leipzig was the first time that they used a language different from their family language in school. Irina in Italy, Helena and Zairbek in the Chechen Republic, Leonardo in Japan, Cihan in Syria and Luise in Iran all used a different language at school than with their families. David, Helena, Leonardo, Aslan, Stella and Zairbek collected experience with learning a second language at the way station prior to Leipzig. This suggests that most of the pupils involved in multiple and multidirectional migration arrived in Leipzig with extensive experience about learning a language and learning a language during subject content acquisition. Therefore, it may be

necessary to map these experiences and build on them. In the cases of Leonardo and Irina, even German language skills were already present at the time of entering the Saxonian school system (Leonardo 481-493, Irina 297-299), which suggests that some families start to tackle the challenge of integrating into a new language space prior to entering into it.

In the multiple and multidirectional migration process, entering a new language space proves to be one of the most challenging aspects for the interviewed pupils. The access to the subject content and the chance of being able to pass examinations depends on the level of their academic language proficiency. In most cases, they had to cope with this special task on their own, building on their previous experiences and learning strategies. What challenges and problems my study participants faced in this process is the topic of the next section.

**6.2.3 Challenges, problems and coping strategies with regard to schooling**

The study participants highlighted the most common problems and challenges they encountered at the different schools in their role as a newcomer and mentioned those strategies they used to tackle the bundle of tasks a newcomer has. The problems could be categorised as problems resulting from conditions on an organisational and structural level, problems related to the social context, problems in the context of language and subject content learning and problems associated with their own characteristics and setting.

<p><b>problems/challenges resulting from structural/organisational conditions</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• no continuity to be recognised between schools transfer of knowledge and skills is not realisable completed grades (certificates) not recognised</li> <li>• different content and structure subjects introduced at different grade levels which leads to gaps in knowledge</li> <li>• language preparatory class is age heterogeneous (11-18) which negatively affects quality of learning</li> <li>• repetition of classes with much younger classmates (3 years of age difference)</li> </ul>
<p><b>challenges resulting from social context</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• teachers’ reactions are not adequate to the needs of the pupil</li> <li>• no chance to use and practice language in subject class</li> <li>• intolerant and hostile pupils, stress with pupils classmates laugh at the pupil in subject class feeling inhibited by classmates, not daring to use the new language inhibited by not speaking like a native</li> <li>• feeling in competition with local pupils in order to avoid being labelled as a foreigner</li> </ul>

<b>challenges related to subject content and language learning</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• double workload: learning the language and new content at the same time</li> <li>• subject terminology is not to be found in dictionaries</li> <li>• content workload is bigger than in previous schools</li> <li>• even when content is recognised as already familiar, not enough language skills to express content knowledge</li> </ul>
<b>challenges related to personal characteristics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• parents don't speak the language so they cannot help with school tasks</li> <li>• fragmented primary school attendance, therefore slow learner</li> <li>• very different language systems which makes language learning more difficult</li> </ul>

Chart 14 Challenges, problems with regard schooling

The fact that pupils do not recognise a continuity in their schooling and that every change to a new school felt like a start from the beginning can be best illustrated by the following citation:

*“Well, I don't know, I wanted to stay in the school in France there I understood very well the language and I wanted to continue there, maybe to do something, to become someone ...and as we moved...it is rather difficult to start from the beginning, from zero once again.”* (David, 421-423)

The state-run schools my study participants attended were not able to cope with the tasks associated with these pupils: assessing previously acquired subject content knowledge, comparing grade level contents for recognition purposes, or offering the possibility to fill-in gaps which occurred from curricular differences. However, without having an international database about the contents handled in different curricular contexts and tests assessing subject content knowledge, and without interpreters for school admission interviews and testing, these problems can hardly be handled professionally on the level of one educational institution. There is, however, some potential for improvement at the school level with regard to the challenges related to the social context. To recognise the need of the newcomer pupils for additional support and to secure a welcoming and tolerant atmosphere in the classroom is a capability of all teachers.

In spite of the various factors which make the already complex task of a newcomer pupil even more challenging, the pupils' reactions to these are guided by a series of constructive coping strategies. The following chart presents both the coping and the avoiding strategies.

<b>constructive (goal conscious) coping strategies</b>	<u>asking for and accepting support from other people:</u>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• asking friends, same-age relatives, pupils with similar challenges for help and support with learning tasks</li> <li>• receiving help from adult family members or other adults (neighbours)</li> <li>• practising the language as much as possible</li> <li>• attending after-school homework programs</li> </ul> <p><u>learning strategies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• attending all classes</li> <li>• listening in class carefully</li> <li>• doing homework</li> <li>• learning by heart</li> <li>• looking up new words in a dictionary</li> <li>• translating texts with translating softwares</li> <li>• copying from a classmate, even if content is not understood</li> <li>• using learning opportunities of open learning forms to engage with language with less pressure</li> <li>• attending the library</li> </ul> <p><u>using personal resources to tackle challenges:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trying to survive and using intuition</li> <li>• using another language (English, Russian) to build social contacts and receive help</li> </ul> <p><u>emotional strategies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trying to be a good pupil as compensation</li> <li>• taking motivation from classroom situations which were mastered successfully</li> <li>• developing ideas about how the school could better react to the needs of newcomers</li> </ul>
<p><b>avoiding strategies/ non-coping</b></p>	<p><u>action level:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• skipping classes</li> <li>• avoiding social contact with classmates</li> </ul> <p><u>emotional level:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• boredom</li> <li>• frustration</li> <li>• hopelessness</li> <li>• fearfulness</li> <li>• lack of concentration</li> </ul>

Chart 15 Coping strategies with regard schooling

All in all, the pupils mentioned more coping strategies than avoiding ones. Interestingly, apart from the after-school program and the library, all coping strategies took place in the time after school and depended on the initiative of the pupils themselves. This also proves the fact that the tasks and challenges a newcomer pupil has to tackle are considered by the school to be

private problems. This fits very well into the concept of assimilation, in which all needs different from the ones of the mainstream are considered deviant, and the person that is different has the responsibility to cope with the challenges effectively.

#### **6.2.4 Transformative educational experience: developing the comparative view**

Linda Morrice applied Mezirow's theory of transformative learning to refugee populations (2012). She found that migration is an intense process of learning which can lead both in positive and in negative ways to the transformation of the frame of reference and understanding of the world. While she focuses on the negative outcomes of transformative learning by refugees, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 6.3.1, here the positive outcomes will be presented.

A central feature of the interviews with pupils with multiple and multidirectional migration experience was that they learned to think in more than one frame of reference, and to reflect and compare the following aspects of their realities:

- teacher-pupil relationship,
- teaching methods,
- disciplinary strategies,
- school equipment,
- arbitrariness of organisational and structural features (length of lessons, free days, etc.),
- differences in grade systems,
- content of national history teaching,
- math symbol systems,
- continuity and discontinuity in subject content level,
- English language learning experience in different contexts

Due to their experiences with getting incorporated in various cultural, social, language and schooling contexts throughout their educational career, the pupils had the chance to widen their knowledge about the world and develop a perspective which enables them to interpret their impressions about a new context in a wider perspective. In case a pupil manages to acquire a secondary school leaving certificate, which can be considered a prerequisite for further success



in life, the comparative perspective they have would be a great advantage in comparison to the sedentary pupils.

Furthermore, in case the pupils had the chance to share their view and knowledge in the schools, the sedentary pupils would be able to profit from it as well. A concrete example would be the amendment of the traditional history teaching in favor of elements of the transnational history material, with a focus on the transfers and exchanges between nation-states and with the presentation of historical events in a wider (global) perspective. Without knowing about the criticism the national history material has received, Stella pointed to the shortcomings of this tradition of the history material and teaching as follows:

*“Die sind was ganz anderes weil hier in Deutschland ist nur über Deutschland über DDR und Hitler und so und in Spanien war über alle Länder.”* (Stella, 407-408)

*“Ne aber z.B. über Russland und so die Länder die so zählen. Hier nur über Deutschland. Ich kann die bulgarische, die spanische und die deutsche Geschichte.”* (Stella, 410-413)

In the model of assimilation, the newcomer pupil only has deficits in comparison with the sedentary pupils. In the framework of this model, it is not a consideration to recognise and utilise those elements of knowledge and experience which might be an asset to the quality of teaching of all pupils. In order to ensure benefits for all, instead of confronting the pupil with only the new content, schools and teachers could start with examining the question of how the pupil experienced a particular topic prior to coming to the new system, and introduce him or her to this in a comparative way.

### **6.3 Time outside school**

The next three subsections will discuss further aspects of life of the pupils with multiple and multidirectional migration experience. Migration is a process which impacts all life domains, and although experiences of language learning and formal schooling might be the most central for the school-age migrant children, it is not possible to understand their involvement in this type of migration without gaining insight into other facets of their life.

#### **6.3.1 Free time activities, informal and non-formal learning experience**

In this section I present activities which the study participants undertook after school and during the times when they did not access formal schooling. One of the major findings is that the pupils undertook several activities which can be considered as ‘informal’ or ‘non-formal learning’.

Overwien, in his chapter (2013), gives an overview on the various definitions of both concepts in the US, the EU and the German context, as well as the changes of their meanings over time. The author states that currently there is no single definition for these concepts, and therefore any choice would be arbitrary. Similarly to Overwien, Annen (2012) also offers an overview of the various approaches to these concepts both on a diachronic and a synchronic level. In the analysis of my data I followed the definition of the European Commission (2000). According to the document *A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*

*“There are three basic categories of purposeful learning activity.*

***Formal learning** takes place in education and training institutions, leading to recognised diplomas and qualifications.*

***Non-formal learning** takes place alongside the mainstream systems of education and training and does not typically lead to formalised certificates. Non-formal learning may be provided in the workplace and through the activities of civil society organisations and groups (such as in youth organisations, trades unions and political parties). It can also be provided through organisations or services that have been set up to complement formal systems (such as arts, music and sports classes or private tutoring to prepare for examinations).*

***Informal learning** is a natural accompaniment to everyday life. Unlike formal and non-formal learning, informal learning is not necessarily intentional learning, and so may well not be recognised even by individuals themselves as contributing to their knowledge and skills.” (2000:9)*

The most common non-formal learning activities mentioned in the interviews were the following:

- learning a foreign language (English, German, Turkish) from relatives/friends
- attending a private language (English, German) course/class
- attending a German language course at the refugee shelter
- attending a Quran school to learn the Arabic language and read the Quran
- learning the Arabic language from and reading the Quran with relatives
- learning to work in construction (electricity and water) and to restore pieces of furniture in the family
- participating in a theatre project

- doing homework

These findings are in line with Rauschenbach (2008), who suggests that supporting families are important in the realisation of non-formal learning activities. The study participants extensively used their interactions with relatives and friends in order to expand their foreign language skills. Gül narrates about her non-formal learning in transition in Turkey as follows:

*“Ja mein Bruder ist seit ein Jahr in der Türkei und er kann sehr gut Türkisch reden und er hat mir gehilft er schrieb die Wörter und ich du und so und habe gelernt und also ganz allein zu Hause gelernt. Weil ich habe nichts gemacht zu Hause, kein Fernsehen kein nichts, mein Bruder in Arbeit meine Schwester und ich wir sind alleine zu Hause und wir haben für den Bruder gekocht und geputzt natürlich.”* (Gül 2, 92-96)

Learning languages from other persons, in a course, or while reading the Quran are all experiences of language learning on which the process of the formal schooling and the preparatory classes could build upon. Knowledge on how to learn a language, how the grammar works, or how to paraphrase in case a word is missing are valuable bases for being introduced to a new language of instruction. As we saw in the section on the challenges and coping strategies, pupils also used their language skills as a way to overcome difficulties in engaging with the new social environment and school content.

*“Mit Arabische spreche ich Arabisch mit Türkische Türkisch wenn die Familie kommt aus Afghanistan sie hat ein Mädchen vierzehn Jahre alt und sie war mein Freund und mit sie Englisch aber ich versuche auch mit sie Deutsch reden.”* (Gül 2, 42-44)

Migration transforms the pupils’ attitude towards learning as well. For instance, Leonardo recognised the importance of learning English by moving to Germany:

*“When I arrived here I only spoke a little English, and when I went into the DAZ class, only DaZ I had to speak English, English and nothing else, English, and then I realised how important it is to learn languages, no, in Spain English didn’t really draw my attention, why would I use it, but you know, you change country and it’s important, I realised that everything you do in school is important.”* (Leonardo, 507-510)

The multilingual skills and practices of the students are in sharp contrast with the school practices shaped by the monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1994). The students did not narrate about any practice of the formal schooling which would have built on the multilingual skills or the language learning strategies of the pupils. The maintenance of language skills remained a task

for the time outside school. Language practice was one of the main fields in the informal learning processes as well. Pupils mentioned activities like:

- practicing a language (Turkish, Kurdish) in conversations with relatives/friends
- practicing English in conversations in the new living environment
- practicing language in translation work
- self-study with word cards or a dictionary
- tandem-language learning

Further activities in which informal learning supposedly occurred were:

- learning to orient at a new locality, discovering the city
- learning to play the drum and to sing
- learning to apply for a scholarship
- learning to work for long hours, to multitask, to take responsibility for a shop and money, learning the value of money
- experiences in different living environments (countryside, smaller towns, cities) and their specific infrastructure

Being involved in the migration process triggered some learning:

- about rules of adult life in general
- about different countries, their customs and traditions in the migration process
- to compare countries, recognise similarities and differences
- about racism
- about being a foreigner and a refugee

The experience of learning that one is different and one belongs to the categories of a foreigner and a refugee are negative outcomes of the transformative learning process, as we have already mentioned in the previous chapter. The data gained from the participating pupils strengthens the argument of Morrice (2012), in which she states that the outcome of transformative learning processes is not always positive. In her interviews with newly arrived asylum seekers in the UK, she found that these persons had disbenefits for their identity construction and learned that their symbolic or social capital accumulated so far has no value in the new context (2012. 263f). This is an experience that my study participants also had to make within the school system. Furthermore, Morrice draws attention to how asylum seekers learn from the interaction with

the local society and the discourse of the media about “*who and what they are not.*” (2012, 267) My findings are in line with her case study, in that it

*“has underlined how transformative learning not only involves epistemological processes of changing ways of thinking and changes how the world is perceived, but it can also involve a more profound ontological process where individuals have to adjust their sense of who they are and what they can be in the world. It has demonstrated the importance of considering the social and cultural factors that shape the transformative experience and highlights the need for learning theories to recognise the potential disbenefits and negative outcomes of learning on identity and conception of self.”* (Morrice 2012, 267)

In the German context, the pupils speak about themselves and other newcomer students already using the label ‘Ausländer’, ‘foreigner’, and talk about their experiences with racism, exclusion and hostility as the following citations show:

*“Sehr schlimm weil die deutsche Kinder haben nur gelacht und verstehen nichts und bist ein Ausländer und so.”* (Gül 2, 156-157)

*“Die fragen dich nicht ob du Ausländer bist, vielleicht gehst du nach Spanien und die nehmen dich wie eine Spanier. Hier ist es ein bisschen different.”* (Stella, 345-346)

*“Also zu mir sagen sie nicht aber wissen sie warum? Weil ich bin wie die Farbe aber die andere Ausländer die sind andere verschiedene Farbe und die wissen dass sie Ausländer sind und sind aus Syrien oder keine Ahnung und die anfangen was zu machen. Und das ist scheiß weil..ich bin Ausländer ich kann zu die gehen uns ich sag’s keine Ahnung eigentlich ist schlecht für die Deutsche weil niemand will Russisch, Bulgarisch, Englisch und Spanisch lernen.”* (Stella, 355-359)

For Amir and Suleyman, for instance, identifying with the role of the refugee resulted from the harsh living conditions they had. Amir reported that in his first way station, his family was able to rent a flat right after arrival, while in his current context he was homeless at first:

*“Das wussten wir von den Menschen. Und wir haben auch nachgefragt. Wie gesagt, man muss immer nachfragen. Dann sind wir nach München und in München umgestiegen. Wir sind so 60 Stunden in München geblieben. Dann sind wir nach Berlin gefahren. In Berlin mussten wir eine Woche auf der Straße bleiben. Ja also es gibt keine Wohnung, man darf in Deutschland keine Wohnung mieten oder für ein Hotel bezahlen, wenn du keinen Ausweis hast. Ja, also das ist ein syrischer Ausweis, bitteschön. Und das ist unser Pass. (...) Nein, wir mussten auf der Straße schlafen. Ich hab auch auf der Straße geschlafen. Wie ich im*

*Wald in Ungarn, wie ich im Wald in Serbien oder wie ich im Wald in Mazedonien oder wie ich im Wald in Griechenland oder wie oder wie oder wie.” (Amir, 487-496)*

Besides the informal and non-formal learning activities the pupils spend their free time by carrying out one or another from the following activities:

- sports
- painting
- watching television and movies
- surfing the Internet
- walking, shopping
- playing with their mobile phone
- praying
- spending time with family
- spending time with friends

It is worthwhile to mention that Suleyman referred to the fact that at some way stations, due to the illegality of stay, it was not possible to undertake any activities other than sitting and waiting, which means that for most of the formal and non-formal activities the legal status is a prerequisite.

### **6.3.2 Living conditions**

Although the main focus of this study is to describe how school-age children are involved in multiple and multidirectional migration and how this affects their educational participation, it is not possible to ignore the impact of living conditions. In this section I aim to point out four factors the pupils narrated about which indirectly had an immense influence on their educational and social integration.

Firstly, those who applied for a status as an asylum seeker became part of the state asylum system. Gül, Helena, Suleyman, Luise, Amir and Zairbek narrate how they became objects of multiple transfers between refugee shelters and private accommodations at different locations. This system is characterised by temporariness, which protracts the phase of time when the pupil is not attending school and not engaging with the local context. Luise and Zairbek describe this as follows:

*“Ja und dann waren wir zwei Wochen in München, und 15 Tage in Chemnitz und 15 in Schneeberg und dann haben wir nach Leipzig eine Woche im Hotel und dann haben wir eine Wohnung und dann nochmal in Heim gegangen und das war schon 6 Monate.” (Luise, 181-183)*

*“Nein, nach Chemnitz, dort ist ein Heim, ein Monat oder so...und dann Leipzig in ein Heim, sechs Monate und dann eine Wohnung in Markleeberg bekommen. Dann habe ich eine negative Antwort bekommen, dann in ein andere Heim gegangen und jetzt haben wir diese Wohnung bekommen.” (Zairbek, 370-373)*

For these pupils the relocation lasts several months longer after arrival, given the instability of their accommodation and also partially due to their legal status.

Another consequence of being part of the refugee supplying system was that the pupils lived in a rather smaller space with their family members and shared the facilities with other asylum seeker persons. Gül, for instance, reflects on the fact that concentrating and learning under such conditions is rather difficult.

*“Also letztes drei vier Monat ich war so schlimm ich kann nicht so gut Deutsch reden aber dann habe ich eine Kraft geholt und ich habe gelernt und gelernt in die Schule und ich habe zu viele Kontakte mit die deutsche Leute gemacht und sie haben mir helfen natürlich und ich gehe immer zu meine Klasse die achte Klasse ich habe also immer gegangen und ich habe gehört gehört und gehört und jetzt ist es bei mir so gut dass wenn jemand zu mir redet ich kann verstehen und ich habe immer zu Hause gelernt und gelernt aber ich war im Heim und Heim war so schlimm weil ich habe mit den Leuten im Heim gesprochen auf Deutsch und so aber jetzt sind wir in einer Wohnung und jetzt ist so gut weil wir sind in eigener Wohnung und ich habe meine Zimmer und ich lerne in Ruhe und so und ich gucke immer nach dem Buch zu Deutsch lernen und so und im Wörterbuch wenn ich habe nicht verstanden dann ich übersetze und ich schreibe alle in mein Heft und so immer Deutsch Deutsch lernen lernen bis jetzt jetzt kann ich ja bisschen gut Deutsch reden.” (Gül: 2:1-12)*

It has been well described how insecurities with regard to legal status negatively influence the process of social and educational integration (Goździak 2014; Gonzales 2016). My findings support this in that I found how Zairbek, a pupil whose legal status was re-examined every half a year, was demotivated by this:

*“Ne, noch nicht. Wir warten auf die Antwort, das ist das Problem, wir wissen nicht was wir bekommen, positiv oder negativ, das mag ich nicht. Jedes halbe Jahr müssen wir Ausweis*

*umtauschen. Jetzt muss ich vierte Juni gehen. Das ist das Problem, wir wissen nicht bleiben wir hier oder machen eine Abschiebung. Das ist Problem. Seit zwei Jahren so.” (Zairbek, 375-379)*

The process of social and educational integration is affected by a series of factors, among which the security and stability of legal status and housing are two of them. School-age children need a level of stability in order to be able to concentrate on learning and tackling all tasks in the new environment.

### **6.3.3 Social contacts**

Chapter 2.1.2 outlined the various definitions of the concepts of transnationalism and transnational social spaces, and chapter 3.4.2 discussed how German educational science adopted these concepts for its purposes. In this section, I will present my findings on the degree and nature of transnational activities of my study participants. Due to the fact that my study participants are children, I considered it worthwhile to look into their experiences with leaving persons behind and setting up new contacts in the new locality. My aim is to show that while the pupils’ formal, nonformal and informal educational experiences can be best contextualised as local, in other domains such as with family and friends the pupils carry out transnational activities (see chapter 6.2.2).

Additional to the biographical interviews, I collected ego-centred network maps (see chapter 4.2.6), in which the pupils could present all contacts they had while living in a particular way station. This map had the sections school, family, work and free time, and in this way served as a triangulation of the data collected in the interviews.

The ways pupils used to keep contact with persons living in other places fit into three categories. Firstly, there were Helena und Suleyman, who had only local contacts at the location of origin and despite the multiple relocations still have only local connections. Secondly, Irina, Evelyn, Cihan, Aslan, Stella and Luise, who already had transnational contacts at their location of origin and kept on having them along their multiple migration route. The third group, comprised by the examples of David, Gül, Amir, Zairbek and Leonardo, did not have any transnational connections at their location of origin, but due to the multiple moves their social space became transnational.

How the students keep up on the interactions over international borders varies and is dependent on age, resources, the legal status of the pupils, as well as the availability of electricity and internet in the other locations. Having both personal and virtual contact to persons in another location were found in the examples of Irina, Stella and Leonardo.



In the other cases, the once personal connections transformed into virtual ones, and the pupil uses social media platforms, internet-based phone services, mobile phones and online gaming platforms in order to communicate with their friends and relatives.

My findings draw attention to the fact that one child might be part of a transnational social space, but the domain of education unfolds in interactions with local actors. In other words, I found that the pupils show transnational practices in some domains of their lives, while in another domains they do not, and this constellation might change with age, context and life circumstances. Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) argue that due to the fact that the container model of society is seen as a legitimate conceptualisation, the appearance of foreigners and their connections to people at different places are considered as something deviating from the norm (1179). The authors explain assimilation as a social process of making differences between persons who belong to different national societies by means of exclusion and distinguishing members and outsiders. They suggest that transnationalism and assimilation are social processes which are intertwined, rather than a dichotomy. The authors argue that orderliness of international migration and the migrants' attempt to maintain ties to multiple groups and places clashes with the mechanisms of states to reinforce the boundaries of national societies. My research findings can be best understood in the light of this argumentation. Pupils who have the experience of having lived in multiple places and have the skills (e.g. language) and the possibility to maintain their social connections at these places are facing the process of assimilation as soon as they enter the state-run school. In this sense, the biographies of my study participants are platforms of the clash between the intertwined processes of assimilation and transnationalism.

Drawing on the findings of Fry (2009), who described how the perception of returnee students in Japanese education shifted (see chapter 2.2), it is easy to recognise that the currently prevalent, limited focus on the deficits of the pupils is something that can change. If the school system recognises that pupils might need to act in other social contexts than only the local one, the experiences, knowledge and competences of the pupils with multiple migration experience might become relevant for the learning processes. This change is, however, closely linked and therefore dependent on the historically defined function of the state-run schools: ensuring homogeneity of the national society and enshrining the understanding that nation-states contain societies.

### 6.4 Effects of the multiple and multidirectional migration on life and education

My third research question focused on the effects of multiple and multidirectional migration from the perspective of the pupils. The answers showed three ways of evaluating the impacts.

Irina, for instance, considered her involvement in this form of migration to have no special effects on her educational career. She did not experience any problems stemming from the fact that she lived and attended schools at different places and in different languages. She did not consider it challenging in any way to be embedded both in a network of transnational social ties and to tackle those tasks and challenges she had during the integration process in a new local context.

David and Leonardo, on the other hand, experienced the multiple relocation and multiple integration to local contexts rather as a wandering from one container to the next. They experienced all way stations as separate, because cultures, languages and the social contexts were entirely different from their perspective. Due to this, every relocation meant a new start (in that it meant learning a language, building up social connections, integrating into a school and getting to know the living context), and therefore they experienced their involvement in this form of migration as a chain of integration processes.

The other pupils developed a rather balanced view on the advantages and disadvantages of their experiences, somewhere midway between the view of Irina on one end pole and David and Leonardo on the other. These students mention advantages and disadvantages which can be paired almost like two sides of the same coin. Their answers suggest that what they consider as an obstacle can also be seen as an enrichment for their lives and educational careers. The following chart summarises these points:

Advantages	Disadvantages
<b>language</b>	
learning about different countries, people and languages	learning a new language in every country mixing languages one is living outside the home country
<b>social contacts</b>	
getting to know new persons, learning how to communicate and having a wider social environment	losing social/peer group and establishing it in the new context

<b>attending formal schooling</b>	
learning school subjects in different school systems	incompatibility of school curricula and subject content, and discriminatory enrolment into lower grade levels
<b>challenges</b>	
developing a stronger, more resilient personality which can cope with problems and challenges occurring in the context of migration	risking a difficult journey between locations quick transformation into an adult or into a different person cannot keep on the normal track of life, interruptions self- image of being the best (pupil) gets lost
<b>belonging</b>	
multiple belonging / patchwork identity	being a foreigner (Ausländer) conflict between self-perception and perception by others, who insist on an exclusive belonging

Chart 16 Effects of multiple and multidirectional migration

These findings can be best understood in the light of the conceptualisation of globalisation by Engel and Middell (2005) and Middell and Naumann (2010), as outlined in the theoretical chapter, in which

*“... Globalisierung durch eine permanente Dialektik von Deterritorialisierung einerseits (durch Verflechtung, Beschleunigung von Kommunikation und Mobilität, etc.) und Reterritorialisierung andererseits (durch das Streben nach möglichst souveräner Ausgestaltung von Handlungsmöglichkeiten und Identifikationsprozessen) gekennzeichnet ist.”* (Engel and Middell 2005, 21.)

The lives of these pupils are arenas of collisions between different spatial units, in that processes aiming at the strengthening of the nation-state clash with their everyday lives and transnational practices. Their experiences are a manifestation of these collisions and the struggle between two different processes of spatialisation.

The transnational research approach I applied here allowed me to look into their agency when their lifestyle comes into conflict with the assumption that the nation-state is the natural container for societies. Their agency gained contour in practices such as their attempts to maintain their connections in other places, to expand and cultivate their multilingual skills, and to develop a critical comparative perspective on formal education.

## **7. Discussion and outlook**

The major objective of my study was to draw attention to the fact that the newcomer pupil population group is a heterogenous one with regard to their resources and needs, and this was explored and exemplified with a particular group of pupils involved in multiple and multidirectional migration. The research aimed to explore how school-age children get involved in multiple and multidirectional migration during their obligatory schooling years and how they reflect on the effects of this migration experience on their educational trajectory. This chapter aims at discussing the main findings as well as the limitations of my research. Furthermore, I provide suggestions for public schools and highlight those characteristics of the pupils involved in multiple and multidirectional migration which on the one hand necessitate special pedagogical attention, and on the other offer potential for increasing the overall quality of education at the schools they attend.

One core aspect of globalisation is human migration across international borders, which leads to the diversification of local sedentary communities. The newcomer population itself is a diverse one with regard to its different plans for and ways of engaging with the process of migration, including incorporation into a new social context. Therefore, the newcomer's resources and needs vary and differ from each other. As part of the complex scientific endeavour of mapping the different forms of involvement in migration and their relevance for the process of incorporation, educational science engages, for instance, with the special cohort of children and their own migration experiences. As part of the growing body of research focusing on the various forms of how children get involved in migration and how this experience affects their education and schooling, I conducted my study in order to understand one particular form of migration involvement among school-age children. I followed a child-centred perspective in order to acknowledge the child as an actor who exercises agency, and is capable of reflecting on his or her own experiences and narrating about these as part of his or her responsibility for other pupils who face the same challenges in the future.

The wider political and social relevance of my study is related to the agenda for the free intra-European mobility, which promises a triple-win solution for the sending and the receiving population, as well as for the migrants themselves. My findings suggest, however, that this agenda is not necessarily fully considering the interests of those who migrate with school-age children who then attend local state-run schools after relocation. Although accessing and getting enrolled into a local educational institution is in most cases not problematic, this does not automatically mean accessing the subject content which is conveyed through the pedagogical

communication. State-run educational institutions with their monolingual habitus are often lacking measures and didactical solutions for simultaneous language and content acquisition for those who acquire the language of instruction as a second language, and they are not necessarily ready to serve the needs of the diverse newcomer pupils. This is further complicated in the cases of multiple and multidirectional migration with a temporariness of residency at one particular location, as this clashes with the time needed to acquire a language to a level which is needed for academic purposes and for acquiring subject content. My findings furthermore suggest that the pursuit of language acquisition is only one aspect of a complex set of challenges associated with the status of being a newcomer pupil. My results imply that the third pillar of the EU triple-win agenda is not necessarily ensured for those who migrate with school-aged children.

The other political and social relevance of the study is related to the proliferation of relocations with the purpose of temporary residency, either as part of an asylum-seeking trajectory or for the purpose of obtaining better economic opportunities. Temporariness stands in sharp contrast to the basic requirement for a successful participation in the state-run schooling founded for local sedentary children. In case the temporary forms of migration will increase in the next decades, one of the major social questions will be how state-run schools can accommodate the needs of non-sedentary pupils. With my study, I aimed to demonstrate which effects the sedentary-mobile binary has on the lives and educational careers of one particular group of pupils, and my goal was to formulate the question for future research: Is temporary educational integration possible and how?

Before I formulate recommendations for pedagogical practitioners in the light of my findings, I aim to discuss the strengths and the limits of my study.

A clear shortcoming of the study is the low number of respondents and the focus on one site, which allows the exploration of a new topic but hinders any sort of generalisation. The access to relevant literature on the involvement of school-age children in different forms of migration in the different countries was also limited due to language reasons. A further limitation resulted from the multilingual research setting, in that the cooperation with the interpreters while conducting the interviews and the process of transcribing was not always as uniform as in a monolingual setting. A shortcoming is that a new child-friendly participatory data collection method aiming to work with pupils who have refugee experience and experience with being interviewed by immigration authorities could not be developed. Beside all these deficiencies, in addition to the study's explorative nature with regard to the target population

and the nature of multilingual data collection, one strength is that in my study I moved away from the traditional method of educational scientific inquiry regarding the topic of migrant pupils, which usually is centred around the question of integration from the viewpoint of the hosting population. I adopted the approach of methodological transnationalism in that I aimed to work out the most relevant context for the respondents' lives and actions from the interviews themselves. Instead of conceptualising migration as a simple change of residency between national societies, my goal was to capture the experiences of the respondents as a dynamic process with links and transfers between the different way stations, and leaving it open for them to describe which context is relevant for them. Furthermore, the data showed that the context of the different life domains might not only be different, but also is dynamically reconfiguring over the process of multiple relocations depending on several factors. This approach allowed me to capture the phenomenon of globalisation itself by showing that the lives of these pupils is an arena of collisions between different spatial units, in that processes aiming at the strengthening of the nation-state clash with their everyday lives and transnational practices. Their experiences are a manifestation of these collisions and the struggle between two different processes of spatialisation. From the pedagogical point of view, these findings are relevant because school practitioners might be able to realise their role in facilitating or mitigating these collisions, and acknowledge and build on the pupil's agency when their lifestyle and worldview comes into conflict with the assumption that the nation-state is the natural container for societies.

In the following, my objective is to discuss some of the findings with recommendations for local teachers and school principals, academic staff involved in teacher training, local educational authority practitioners, and educational policy makers. Some of the findings might be applicable in other contexts as well. My overall goal is to draw attention to the fact that the group of newcomer pupils is a heterogenous one, and that the one-size-fits-all measures and regulations do not necessarily meet their needs. In order to support this argument, I will build on the examples from my findings on pupils with multiple and multidirectional migration experiences. In order to be able to present the findings, recommendations and outlook in a concise way, I will use the abbreviation 'MMM pupils' for pupils with multiple and multidirectional migration experience.

**I. Two groups of school-age children get involved in the form of multiple and multidirectional migration: those who move on from their first country of settlement due to economic or political changes (e.g. a crisis or Brexit), and those who are in transit and reach Germany through transit way stations.**

Recommendation: While the Saxonian regulation on the educational provision for newcomer pupils contains remarks on the heterogeneity among newcomer pupils, it would be useful to outline for teachers what special needs and characteristics are associated with the involvement in the different forms of migration (see typology), as well as the pedagogical relevance of these.

Outlook: Further interviews from different local contexts are needed to elaborate on whether involvement in multiple and multidirectional migration is occurring among other groups of pupils as well. Furthermore, a systematic comparison of characteristics and needs of pupils involved in other forms of migration is also needed.

**II. The trajectories of the study participants devalue the traditional dichotomies used for describing migration, while the focus on the individual migration trajectory and experience proved to be more adequate.**

Recommendation: In the counselling interview at the educational authority with the newcomer pupil, data on the educational biography should be collected in a systematic way. This information should then be forwarded to the schools. Biographical interviews on language learning and schooling experience should be part of the linguistic diagnosis during the matriculation to the language preparatory class.

Outlook: Traditional categories (e.g. voluntary and forced) are to some extent still relevant for the pedagogical practice. Therefore, further research is needed to determine how to capture relevant information about a newcomer pupil by combining these categories but allowing space for individuality.

**III. The conceptualisation of the migration route and the access to formal education have major impacts on the overall educational career of the child and are more important than the reason for relocation.**

Recommendation: In the counselling interview the biographical data should be collected in the presence of the parents/caregivers, and should include the possibility that the family can elaborate on their current needs in the context of their entire route.

Outlook: Counselling interviews should be supplied with a standardised question guide which is developed on the basis of empirical research.

**IV. The process of incorporation into the new context is influenced by earlier experiences with schooling, learning and languages. How this process takes place is dependent on several factors which are not directly related to the ongoing incorporation process itself.**

Recommendation: Teachers in the new context should consider the enrolment into the Saxonian state-run school as a new phase of life which is not detached from the previous phases. The motivation and attitude of the pupils might be dependent on previous experiences with language and subject content learning as well as the process of incorporation into a new social environment. The pedagogical practice in a new context should be built on these previous experiences of the pupil.

Outlook: The valorisation of previous experiences and previously acquired skills and knowledge is difficult, because the access of these is dependent on communication. Often there is no common language between teachers and pupils which would be satisfactory enough to communicate. Language mediators are needed to facilitate this exchange.

**V. Enrolment into a school and into a grade does not necessarily take place according to a complex consideration of all factors, such as previous school and language learning experience, the personal characteristics of the pupil and recognition of the school certificates. This further impedes the process of incorporation.**

Recommendation: The enrolment process should involve language and subject content teachers as well, and should avoid a deficit-orientation.

Outlook: Further research is needed into the curricula of other locations/other countries, with the aim that local educational authorities have a database which helps them to have some transparent information on what content is conveyed in which grade level in the different countries and locations of origin.

**VI. MMM pupils do not see the continuity in their educational trajectory because at all way stations, the local integration takes place separate from all previous or following/future experiences. They also experience disruption (missing grades, no grade level, repetitions) in their schooling.**

Recommendation: Teachers should be trained to recognise the container approach to societies inherent in their work, and to realise their responsibilities in preserving those skills which enable pupils to participate in different contexts.

Outlook: Further research is needed into how the container approach to society manifests in the everyday pedagogical practice and how the practice of othering at school facilitates the conflict resulting from the involvement in multiple contexts. Additionally, it is a political question whether state-run local schools can follow the goal of enabling pupils to become – and in case of the MMM pupils, to remain – active members of multiple social contexts.



**VII. For a long period after enrolment into the local state-run school, pupils do not access content knowledge due to linguistic reasons.**

Recommendation: As the Saxonian German as a second language curriculum also states, every lesson is also a language learning lesson for pupils who learn the local language of instruction as a second language. Language sensitive methods should be applied in all subject lessons in order to avoid discrimination (cf. Tajmel and Hägi-Mead 2017).

Outlook: Further teacher training and pedagogical supplementary material is needed for enabling subject content teachers to develop and adopt a different view on their tasks. This is not yet part of the Leipzig University teacher training, and the regulations do not make concrete recommendations about what the tasks of the subject teachers are in their lessons. The relatively low number of pupils who learn German as a second language frames them as being the exception and the ones who disturb the monolingual order.

**VIII. MMM pupils are often left alone with the double workload of learning the language and the content at the same time. Only some pupils access private tutoring or additional support outside school.**

Recommendation: While it is important to organise in-service and pre-service teacher training on language sensitive teaching methods and offer teachers support to engage with their tasks that are altered by the needs of their pupils, supplementary and outside-school support in the form of private tutoring and online content is also urgently needed. The educational authority should consider revising the school books with special attention placed on the needs of second language learners, and publish supplementary material closely related to the regular school books. Bilingual teachers from the respective countries could develop bilingual subject-specific dictionaries, which would help pupils in the first phase of language learning to engage with terminology.

Outlook: Online databases for educational videos on school subject content are needed as a supplement to classroom instruction. With the help of these videos, language learners would have the chance to engage with new content several times in their own learning rhythm, and in case of lacking additional support, they would still be able to access help. Asylum seeker and refugee teachers should be utilised for the educational support of newcomer pupils.

**IX. MMM pupils build on their previous experiences with language learning and integration and have several coping strategies.**

Recommendation: If school practitioners are fully aware of the complex set of tasks that a newcomer pupil has to deal with, they might recognise, appreciate and build on the coping strategies of their pupils. Empowerment of these pupils might help to prevent destructive ways of dealing with the workload, pressure and conflicts.

Outlook: Pupils' empowerment and the systematic reflection on their strengths and resources could be introduced as part of the German as a second language (DaZ) curriculum.

**X. Pupils are often seen by the local pupils through the lens of their lack of skills in the language of the new environment, and there are few pedagogical measures where the MMM pupils could show their strengths.**

Recommendation: Teachers should be trained to recognise strengths of all their pupils and facilitate with classroom management to ensure that these are brought to light in order to increase the overall quality of education.

Outlook: Further social and educational programs are needed at schools which help local pupils to reflect on their conceptualisation of societies and to offer a platform for exchanges that helps them consider alternatives to the deficit-orientation and othering.

**XI. MMM pupils have competences, skills and knowledge to act in multiple social contexts.**

Recommendation: The school practice should approach newcomer pupils in their entirety and not only their deficit. For instance, translanguaging pedagogy would valorise and utilise the available language skills.

Outlook: There are several tools for assessing language skills. However, the assessment of content knowledge of second language learners needs to be developed in the future.

In line with the recommendation formulated with finding No. I, in the following I will outline those special characteristics of the pupils with multiple and multidirectional migration experience which I consider to have an impact on the pedagogical practice concerning them.

- The MMM pupils have skills in multiple languages and use translanguaging practices in their everyday life. It would be important to bridge the strong discrepancy between the monolingual practice at school and their multilingual practice outside school, and to incorporate their multilingualism into the process of learning and the time at school as well.
- The MMM pupils might lack some content knowledge due to the fact that subjects are not necessarily introduced at the same grade level in the different localities. There should be some transparency about which subjects a pupil has learned and for how long. This assures that the pupil is not confronted with an impossible task and that support measures can be organised adequately.
- MMM pupils develop a comparative perspective and even have knowledge about how particular content is dealt with in different contexts. In order to give local pupils the opportunity for reflection and learning, teaching should evoke and motivate the pupils' comparisons.

- MMM pupils are part of multiple social contexts, some of which transcend the border of the local environment. This should be considered just as legitimate as any other forms of social involvement. Communication at schools should reflect on its unquestioned orientation toward a normal order of things and its conceptualisation of the relations between societies and individuals. Education should strengthen those competences which allow pupils to be active and constructive on local, national, transnational and global levels.
- MMM pupils' biographies are as normal as any other biography. Their special needs arise from the discrepancy between the practice of their schools and the reality of their lives. Schools should reflect on why only the pupils have to bear the consequences of this discrepancy.
- MMM pupils bring schooling experiences and certificates with them. Schools should aim at recognising and building on these. This is especially important if a pupil has attended multiple schools in different state-run school structures.
- MMM pupils often cannot show their content knowledge due to the fact that they are asked about it in a language they are still learning. Alternative ways of assessment might lead to more adequate ways of teaching them.
- MMM pupils are learners of the new language of instruction, but this does not mean they are deficient in any way. Incorporation is a process which is not similar to taking stairs, where the end and sequence order of the stairs is clearly defined (Pries 2015).
- MMM pupils learn new content and the new language (including academic register and subject terminology) in each lesson. In this sense, they deal with two tasks at the same time. Given that they have dealt with this task before, they have several strategies to tackle the double challenge.
- MMM pupils consider mobility as something natural, and therefore their goal might not be the long-term settlement at their current location. Schools should reflect on their inherent understanding of what integration/incorporation means, how this translates to their everyday pedagogical practice, and whether this is open for an alternative understanding of integration/incorporation or if it leads to conflicts.

While securing a welcoming and tolerant classroom atmosphere and the support of language learning are core tasks for teachers who have pupils with any form of migration experience, I listed above some of the special needs of the MMM pupils. I believe that meeting these needs

does not only facilitate the incorporation of these pupils, but also has a potential positive impact on the overall quality of education at state-run schools, in that

- the use of multilingual skills of MMM pupils facilitates the retreat from the monolingual practice of the schools and in this way promotes the development of linguistic resources for the sake of all pupils;
- the local pupils get the chance to overcome their focus on the deficits and use the presence of the newcomer pupils to practice and learn foreign languages, as well as to learn more about the world and global issues;
- the content instruction overcomes its inherent methodological nationalism, in that it reflects on its view and symbols and utilises the comparative perspective, which allows all pupils to reflect on their roles as global and regional actors;
- the local school moves away from its deficit orientation and the unquestioned order of things by acknowledging that being a learner of a language does not mean to be deficient, and in this way schools can contribute to a more tolerant community life around them.

Danaher and Henderson (2011) concluded that mobility is a problem from an educational point of view only because pedagogical practitioners cannot go beyond the assumption that sedentarism is the norm. The authors challenged the view that fixed residence is a natural and preliminary precondition for participation in formal schooling, and in their work they showed the ways in which this view constructs the mobile learner as deviant. This view of the schools is invisible, unconscious, uncontested and ideological, and restricts alternative thinking. Danaher and Henderson claim that current public educational provisions are going to be challenged only when the failure of current mainstream solutions becomes manifest and when the system acknowledges its deficiencies and opens up to alternatives (2011, 73). My respondent's narrative and biographical experiences prove that the shortcomings of the mainstream schools' provisions have already become manifest in many localities. The MMM pupils' experiences unfortunately support, however, the impression that the acknowledgement of the deficiencies and opening up to alternatives is still a long way into the future. Nevertheless, one should remain optimistic that the educational authorities, state-run educational institutions and the teachers serving in these recognise that their clientele is a diverse group of children and young adults, and recognise their responsibility in shaping not only the future of these children and their families, but also the social cohesion of societies. I personally believe in the powerful role teachers play in shaping the future of individuals and communities, and their capacity to reflect on invisible, unconscious, uncontested and ideological views that would restrict them from returning to their mission of serving the best interest of all pupils.

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## List of Figures and Charts

Figure 1 The sedentary and nomad continuum .....	3
Figure 2 Children in the context of migration.....	27
Chart 1 Key words for catalogue search .....	39
Figure 3 ‘Person mit Migrationshintergrund’ .....	46
Chart 2 Good practice of interpretation.....	76
Chart 3 Multilingual research setting .....	94
Chart 4 First version of the coding tree.....	96
Chart 5 Coding tree .....	97
Chart 6 Mayring analysis charts.....	99
Chart 7 Population of Saxony and the proportion of foreign citizens.....	102
Chart 8 Population of Leipzig and the proportion of foreign citizens .....	103
Chart 9 Number of pupils and the proportion of pupils with a migration background in the obligatory schooling institutions (allgemeinbildende Schulen).....	104
Chart 10 Pupils attending a language preparatory class at an obligatory schooling institution in Leipzig (allgemeinbildende Schulen: Grundschule, Oberschule, Gymnasium).....	105
Figure 4 Route map of the study participants .....	144
Figure 5 Participation of children in the reason and decision-making.....	145
Chart 11 Reasons for relocation.....	147
Chart 12 Perceptions about the migration trajectory.....	152
Chart 13 Continuity in the educational trajectory .....	160
Chart 14 Challenges, problems with regard schooling .....	165
Chart 15 Coping strategies with regard schooling .....	166
Chart 16 Effects of multiple and multidirectional migration .....	178

## **Table of content for the Appendix**

Interview question guide for the test interview and the network map drawing

Final interview question guide and guide for the network map drawing

Declaration of consent template

Information sheet for the participating student and his/her parents template

Network Map

Interpreter training guide

Flyer for participant recruitment

Interview Transcripts

## **Interview question guide for the test interview and the network map drawing**

**Contact to student** through Jugendmigrationsdienst Leipzig.

**Student** arrived with a social worker, who was present in the interview as well.

Student, 15, born in Rumania, lived in Spain, France and in Leipzig, attended school in Rumania, France and Leipzig.

**Information sheet** handed out for the participating student and his parents in Rumanian.

**Declaration of consent** in Rumanian was signed and handed over.

**Interpreter:** Rumanian-English

**Structure:**

1. Warm-up, introducing the interviewer and the interpreter, the place of interview
2. Explanation on the structure of the interview, consent form and information sheet
3. General questions (age, schools, languages, family)  
----- until here consecutive interpretation----
4. opening question to facilitate free narration
5. topic related key words on cards with the repetition of the opening question  
----- no interpretation -----
6. structured questions with consecutive interpretation
7. thanking and closing remarks

**Mistakes:**

- a fall back into the general question-answer structure
- The student has strong expectations towards the interview structure and process, he assumed how the roles are (interviewer and respondent) and he behaved according to these assumptions. I did not manage to deconstruct these assumptions of him.
- There was no time to develop trust and the atmosphere was disturbed by the presence of the social worker.
- The interpreter felt uncomfortable when the student answered in short sentences. She started to reinterpret and rephrase the interview questions and finally she talked more than anybody else.
- The interpreter and the respondent shared common knowledge which was unfamiliar for me. The interpreter often added passages of detailed explanation how the student might mean something („As it is in Rumania..”).

**What needs to be addressed?**

- How to remove the expectation of the respondent towards interview and the role of the respondent? A good opening question is needed.
- Training of the interpreter, reflection on the interpreter's prior knowledge, expectations, attitudes and define the role of him in the interview setting.

- Role of the language in the structure of the interview: narrative interview is not suitable.
- The narrative interview depends mainly on the narrative competence of the respondent. Research has to adapt its method to the fact that the respondent are (1) children; (2) an interpreter is enabling the interview, (3) narrative competence is highly culturally dependent competence and not universal.

## Final interview question guide and guide for the network map drawing

### Interview process:

- 1. Warm-up and explanation of the role of the interpreter** (*I do not speak your language, but he helps me to communicate with you. He will translate word by word what you say and what I say. So, he is only helping the communication between you and me. You can stop your sentences whenever you feel comfortable and then he will translate it to me. In this way, I can follow your story.*)
- 2. narration and network map drawing generating opening question:**

*“You have mentioned that you have lived and attended school already at several places. I want to know a bit more about these places. I want you to tell me about your life and also about your education so far.*

*As a start I will ask you to draw me maps to help me to understand your life and your education better. These maps consist of dots, where each dot stands for a person who was important for you. The point in the middle is you. The closer you draw a dot to the centre, the more important the person was for you. The four segments – family, education, free time, work – help you to remember the different people you were engaging with. I want you to take a new map every time you think there was a big change in your life, e.g. moving abroad or changing school. Try to think back and tell me everything that is interesting for you. I will say very little, and maybe only take some notes. I do not want to interrupt you, because I am interested in what you tell me. There is no right or wrong answer, beautiful or ugly map.*

*After you think you told me more or less everything about your life and are content with the maps, I will ask you some questions related to what you have told me. He will translate what you say because otherwise I cannot follow your story. So just tell me your story and here you are the maps and the pencil.”*
- 3. network drawing and narration** (translated)

#### 4. **Structured questions** (translated):

Detail questions: Could you explain me in detail what ...

Example questions: Could you give me an example...

Formulations: You have mentioned that....

Inviting further comment: As far as I understand....

Comprehension question: You just talked about, but I did not understand...

Confrontation: Before you said that,.. but right now you say, ...did I understand you correctly?

#### 5. **Closing and thanking**

##### **Notes from the interview:**

Date:

Place:

Duration, time:

Interpreter and languages used in the interview:

Circumstances of the interview:

### **Final Interview Question Guide and Guide for the Network Map Drawing**

#### 1. **Warm-up:**

I introduce myself and the interpreter. I show the student the tape recorder and explain why it is important to use it. I explain the letter of consent. I describe the process of the interview.

#### 2. **Narration+ dialogic interview:**

“I find it interesting that you have lived already at many places. I want to get to know you. Please tell me your life-story so far. There is no good or false, I am interested in everything you wish to share with me.”

Student tells his biography and interpreter helps the communication between the participant and the researcher. The student leads the conversations, the researcher only asks some further questions like in a normal every-day dialogue:

- *Please think about a weekday/weekend in..... How did you spend your time?*
- *Imagine that a UFO arrives from the Mars. How would you describe him the place you lived in .....*?
- *How was your school?*
- *How did you spend your free time?*
- *What did you find especially good or bad at this location in.....?*



- *Which languages did you use when you were living in .....?*
- *How was your move from ..... to.....?*
- *How did the change of residence change your life?*
- *To what extent was your life similar to your life in .....?*
- *How did the change of residence influence your social contacts?*
- *How was your first month in .....?*
- *What did you find especially easy or difficult?*
- *How did you arrive to your new school?*
- *How were the first couple of months at the new school?*
- *Was your school the same as your previous school? How were the subjects?*
- *Which difficulties did you have at the new school?*
- *How would you tell your friend what it means to move twice?*
- *What did you find easy or difficult, good or bad in moving twice?*
- *How would you compare yourself with other students from school?*
- *If you had to symbolize or if you had to draw your three waystations how would you do it?*
- *What would you do differently?*
- *What plans do you have for the future?*

### 3. **Network drawing and narration**

I show you some maps of mine. These are all the waystations of my life and will show you now my map of Leipzig. In the middle of the map imagine yourself. A dot represents one person. I am interested in your social connections at the different waystations you lived at. The closer circle you draw a dot on, the more important that person was to you. I ask you to draw the dots but also to explain me:

How old were you?

Where did you live?

To whom did you have contact to?

How close was this person to you?

What did you do together?

How did you stay in touch?

Where did this person live?

How often did you talk to this person or how often did you meet in person?

Which language(s) do you use to communicate?

4. Closing: thank you for your story. We will transcribe now the interview and then will give you the text if you want.

## Questions in German:

Ich finde es interessant, dass du schon vielmal umgezogen bist. Ich möchte Dich kennenlernen. Erzähl mal bitte über dein Leben vom Anfang an. Es gibt kein falsch oder richtig. Ich interessiere mich für alles was du für wichtig hält.

Denke mal bitte an einem Wochentag /Wochenende in\_\_\_. Wie hast Du deine Zeit verbracht? Stell dir mal vor, dass ein UFO vom Mars kommt. Wie würdest du ihm dein Wohnort beschreiben?

Wie war deine Schule?

Wie hast du deine Freizeit verbracht?

Was fandst du besonders gut oder besonders schlimm an diesem Wohnort?

Welche Sprachen hast du an diesem Wohnort benutzt?

Wie war dein Umzug?

Wie hat der Umzug dein Leben geändert?

In wie weit war dein Leben genauso wie am vorherigen Lebensort?

Wie hat der Umzug deine Kontakte geändert?

Wie war dein erster Monat?

Was fandst du besonders gut oder besonders schwierig?

Wie bist du an eine neue Schule gekommen?

Was hast du in den ersten Monaten in der Schule gemacht?

War die neue Schule ähnlich zur vorherigen? Z.B. wie fandst du die Fächer?

Welche Schwierigkeiten hast du an der neuen Schule gehabt?

Wie würdest du einem Freund erzählen was es bedeutet zweimal umzuziehen?

Was fandst du gut oder schlecht, einfach oder schwierig daran dass du zweimal umgezogen bist?

Wie würdest du dich mit den anderen Mitschülern vergleichen?

Wie würdest du deine drei Leben-Stationen symbolisch darstellen?

Was würdest du anders machen?

Welche Pläne hast du für die Zukunft?

## Nertzwerkkarten

Bitte zeichne für jede Station wo du gelebt hast eine Karte: ein Ort=eine Karte .

Bitte zeichne die folgenden an:

Wie alt warst du?

Wo hast du gelebt?

Mit wem hast du Kontakt gehabt?

Wie nah war diese Person zu Dir?

Was habt Ihr zusammen gemacht?

Wie habt ihr Kontakt gehalten?

Wo lebte diese Person?

Wie oft habt ihr gesprochen, wart ihr zusammen?

Welche Sprache(n) spricht ihr zusammen?

## Declaration of consent template

### Declaration of consent

.....volunteers to participate in an interview in the framework of the dissertation research project entitled “Spatial Dimensions of Educational Pathways of Migrant Students” at the University of Leipzig. Not participating in the interview does not have any negative consequences.

I am informed about the following:

- The interview takes place in the language proposed by the participant prior to the interview and a bilingual interpreter will be used.
- The researcher, Beatrix Bukus, hands over to the student an information sheet with basic data on the researcher, the interpreter, the research project, sample questions of the interview. This information sheet, translated into the first language of the participant, is meant to inform both the participating student and his/her parents about the interview.
- In case of participants under 18 years the consent of the parent or legal guardian is obtained prior to the interview.
- The interview is composed of three elements: basic demographic questions, an interview and an ego-centred network drawing.
- The interview will be recorded with a digital audio recorder and saved to a .wav file on the computer of the researcher. After the interview it will be transcribed and the audio material deleted. Neither the recorded sound material nor the transcribed text version of the interview will be accessible for third persons other than the researcher and the interpreter.
- All data will be anonymised and the text will be used exclusively for the purpose of the research project.
- The transcript will be shared with the participating student and his/her parents upon request. Citation from the text will not include any personal detail which would make the interview participant recognisable.
- The participant and his/her parents sign the form of consent voluntarily prior to the interview and have the right to cancel their participation at any time or request the deletion of the recorded material without any negative consequences for them. The consent form will be stored separately from the interview materials and serves only the purpose of proving that consent has been given to use the data for research purposes.

I acknowledge the points set out above and voluntarily agree to them. I agree that the interview be recorded, transcribed, anonymised and analysed, and that sections of the interview text might be used in an anonymous form as quotation for research purposes, publications and development of research praxis.

Student participant

Parent(s)

Researcher

Interpreter

Date:

## Information sheet for the participating student and his/her parents template

### **Information about the researcher:**

Beatrix Bukus: 29 years old, Hungarian citizen, dissertation research at the University of Leipzig on student migrants. She speaks Hungarian, German, English and Turkish.

Tel.: 0049 157 50 93 5748

E-Mail: [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

### **Information about the interpreter:**

### **Information about the research:**

Title: Spatial Dimensions of Educational Pathways of Migrant Students

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Anatoli Rakhkochkine

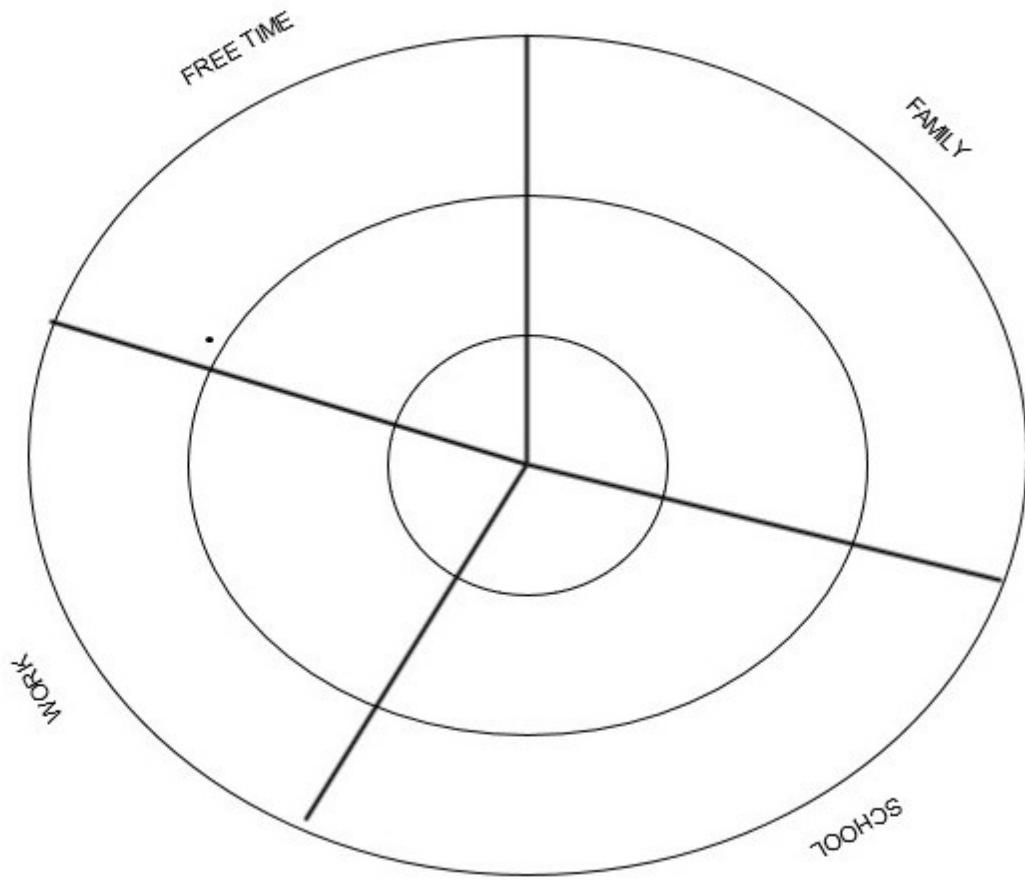
Website: <http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

The research is composed of basic demographic questions, an interview and an ego-centred network drawing. The researcher meets the participating student two or three times.

### **Sample questions of the interview:**

- Since you started school, in which places have you lived and where did you attend school?
- Could you please describe me the school you attended in place A and B and C (teachers, language of instruction, books, and content, daily routine, subjects?)
- Which advantages or disadvantages did you experience by attending school in place A, B and C?
- Could you use your knowledge and skills learned in place A later on at place B and C? What was similar at all places with regard to school and learning?
- Do you know something special only because you have lived in place A, place B and C?

# Network Map



## **Interpreter training guide**

### Before the interview

The interpreter and the researcher have to reflect on the knowledge and attitudes of the interpreter related to the research topic and the research participant.

In the specific case of this research conscious and unconscious images of the interpreter about “good” schooling and about the sedentarism-education nexus have to be reflected upon.

The interpreter has to reflect upon their own social position: socioeconomic background of family and self, education, features of social space, foreign language skills, occupation etc.

The interpreter has to reflect upon possible shared knowledge with the interview participant. (e.g. “You know as it is in our country..”) and pitfalls of the unintended creation of insider-outsider roles in the interview.

The interpreter has to reflect upon their own migration experience (Siouti, Irini and Minna Ruokonen-Engler. 2013 Doing Biographical Reflexivity as a Key Tool in Transnational Research Settings. In: Transnational Social Review: A Social Work Journal 2/2013.).

### During the interview

The most common mistakes in interpretation:

1. adding information to what the participant is saying
2. explicit interpretation of what the participant said: “He means by saying xy that...”
3. implicit interpretation of what the participant said, change of the oral text without making explicit as above
4. changing specific vocabulary used by the participant with the intent of making it more understandable for the researcher
5. shortening of the verbatim of the participant or giving only a content summary of what the participant has said.
6. using mimics and gestures in an unintended way which influence the interview
7. Assuming that the interview takes place between the interpreter and the participant and not between the researcher and the participant.

### After the interview

The interpreter has to reflect immediately after the interview on how they felt during the interview and on their impressions of the interpretation work.

The interpreter has to reflect what they think about the participant as a person and the behavior of the participant during the interview.

Transcript: the interview has to be transcribed in its full version. The transcript includes the oral interpretation provided during the interview and the translated version of the participants verbatim, even if these show differences. In this way the interpreted and the translated version can be compared allowing for quality control.

### **Transcript rules:**

(.) means break and as many seconds so many dots for example three second break (...)

kindergarten underline if there is a stress on the word

((lauch))

((deep breathing))

mayb\_ in case a word is not finished but broken down you can write a \_ after the last clear voice

(...?) in case you do not understand a word

### **Structure of the interview-transcript:**

The interviewer asks sg. in English: "How are you today?"

The interpreter tells this in Greek: "Πώς είστε σήμερα?"

The transcriptor writes into brackets if the interpreter translated something very different than the original question in English (eg. „Αισθάνεστε καλά σήμερα” Do you feel good today?)

The student answers in Greek: „Σας ευχαριστώ είμαι μια χαρά”.

The interpreter translates into English: „Thank you I am fine”.

The transcriptor writes into brackets if the interpreter translated something very different than the original question in English (e.g. ευχαριστώ δεν είμαι και τόσο άσχημα „Thank you I am not too bad”)

In the audio file **everything that is said** has to be typed in. In case there is another language used (eg. Turkish) which the transcriptor does not understand an empty space should signalise this eg. (FOREIGN WORDS HERE)

Pls. insert sometimes the second where you are in the audio file eg. ( blalblala 5:30 Min)

### **Literature sources**

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## Flyer for participant recruitment

Have you and your child lived in TWO OR MORE COUNTRIES BEFORE COMING TO GERMANY? If so, we would like to talk to you.

We are conducting RESEARCH at the University of Leipzig on children's education.

If you would like to PARTICIPATE please contact us here:

Name: Beatrix Bukus

E-Mail : [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Tel: 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

We will pay costs associated with your participation.

Timeframe: February-May 2014

Avez-vous et votre enfant véçú en DEUX OU PLUSIERS PAYS AVANT avant de venir en ALLEMAGNE? Si c'est le cas, on voudrait parler avec vous.

On fait des RECHERCHES a l'Université de Leipzig sur l'instruction des enfants.

Si vous voudriez participer, veuillez nous contacter ici:

Nom: Beatrix Bukus

E-Mail : [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Tél: 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

On payera les dépenses de la participation.

Période d'enquête: fevrier-mai 2014

Leipzig Üniversitesi'nde çocuk eğitimi üzerine yapılan bir araştırma için Almanya'ya gelmeden önce İKİ YA DA DAHA FAZLA ÜLKEDE yaşamış ebeveyn ve çocukları arıyoruz.

Eğer bu koşula uyuyorsanız, lütfen bizimle iletişime geçin.

İsim: Beatrix Bukus

Email: [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Telefon: : 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

Araştırmaya katılımdan dolayı çıkan masraflar karşılanacaktır.

Katılım süreci: Şubat-Mart 2014

Haben Sie und ihr Kind schon in ZWEI ODER MEHR LÄNDER gelebt bevor Sie nach Deutschland gekommen sind? Haben Sie Zeit für ein Gespräch?

Die FORSCHUNG an der Universität Leipzig beschäftigt sich mit der Bildung von Kindern mit Migrationserfahrung.

Wir würden uns über ihre TEILNAHME freuen:

Beatrix (Vorname) Bukus (Nachname)

E-Mail : [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Tel: 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

Die Kosten, die durch die Teilnahme entstehen, werden erstattet. Zeitfenster: Februar-Mai 2014

Dumneavoastra si copilul dumneavoastra ati trait in DOUA SAU MAI MULTE TARI DIFERITE INAINTE DE VENIREA IN GERMANIA? Daca da, noi am vrea sa vorbim cu dumneavoastra.

Noi suntem implicati in CERCETARE despre educatia copiilor la Universitatea din Leipzig.

Daca doriti sa PARTICIPATI, va rugam sa ne contactati aici:

Nume: Beatrix Bukus

E-mail: [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Tel: 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

Va vom plati costul in functie de participarea dumneavoastra.

Perioada: Februarie-Mai 2014

هل أقمت أنت وأولادك في بلدين أو أكثر قبل مجيئك إلى ألمانيا؟ إذا كان كذلك، نريد أن نتحدث معك.

نحن بصدد إعداد بحث في جامعة لايبزيغ عن تربية الأطفال، إذا كنت ترغب في المشاركة رجاء الاتصال بنا هنا سندفع لك مقابل المشاركة معنا.

اسم: Beatrix Bukus

Email: [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Tel: : 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

الاجال فبراير/شباط مارس/حزيران

Czy z twoim dzieckiem mieszkaliś przynajmniej w dwóch krajach przed Niemcami? Jeżeli tak to chcemy z tobą rozmawiać.

Przeprowadzamy badanie w zakresie wykształcenia dzieci na uniwertecie lipskim.

Jeżeli chcesz wziąć udział (pokrywamy koszty związane z udziałem) prosimy o kontakt:

Beatrix Bukus: [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Tel: 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

Będziemy płacić koszty związane ze swoim udziałem.

Okres badania: od lutego do maja 2014.

Жили ли Вы со своим ребенком в ДВУХ ИЛИ БОЛЕЕ СТРАНАХ ДО ПРИЕЗДА В ГЕРМАНИЮ? Если да, то мы бы хотели поговорить с Вами.

В Университете Лейпцига мы проводим ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ на тему детского образования.

Если Вы хотите ПРИНЯТЬ УЧАСТИЕ, то свяжитесь, пожалуйста, с нами:

Беатрикс Букус

E-mail : [beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de](mailto:beatrix.bukus@uni-leipzig.de)

Тел.: 0049 157 50 93 57 48

<http://migrantstudentbiographies.blogspot.de/>

Мы оплатим расходы, связанные с Вашим участием.

Время проведения: февраль - май 2014 г.

## **Interview Transcripts**

Interview Transcript of David, 15 years old

Leipzig, 6. December 2013

D: David, R: Researcher, I: Interpreter

- 1 R: My first question is how old are you, because I don't know anything about you at this point.
- 2 I: Sa incepem prima parte a interviului, cati ani ai? (Let's start the first part of the interview with the  
3 question "how old are you"?)
- 4 D: Cincisprezece ani. (Fifteen years old)
- 5 I: He is fifteen years old.
- 6 How old are you Beatrix? (Cati ani ai Beatrix?)
- 7 R: I am 28.
- 8 I: Beatrix are douazeci si opt de ani, la fel ca mine, si eu am 28 de ani. (Beatrix is 28 years old, exactly  
9 like me, as I am 28 too.)
- 10 R: What's your name again?
- 11 I: Cum te numesti inca o data? (What's your name again?)
- 12 D: Matache David.
- 13 R: So, David. I am Beatrix and she is Alina. I would be interested when did you start school and in  
14 which country and in which city you started school.
- 15 I: Beatrix vrea sa afle cand ai inceput scoala, in care tara si in care oras. (Beatrix would like to know  
16 when did you start school, in which country and in which city).
- 17 D: Am inceput scoala prima data in Romania, deci cand eram mic si dupa aia in Franta, in orasul  
18 Beziers. (I first started school in Romania, when I was little, and afterwards in France, in Beziers city).
- 19 I: He first started school in Romania and then he transferred with the family in France, in Beziers city.  
20 Pot sa te intreb in care oras in Romania ai fost la scoala? (I'm sorry, can I ask you in which city in  
21 Romania you attended school?)
- 22 D: In Romania nu eram in oras, eram intr-un sat, in comuna Faget (judetul Timis). (In Romania I didn't  
23 live in a city, but in the Faget "commune", Timis county).
- 24 I: He was in a very small district in Romania, in Faget.
- 25 R: I started school in Budapest because I am a Hungarian.
- 26 I: Ea a inceput scoala in Budapesta, pentru ca este din Ungaria. (She started school in Budapest because  
27 she is a Hungarian).
- 28 R: Actually we live in neighboring countries.
- 29 I: Noi venim de fapt din tari apropiate, Ungaria si Romania. (Actually we come from neighboring  
30 countries, Romania and Hungary).

31 R: Later I went to school in Germany and Turkey.

32 I: Mai tarziu a urmat scoala in Turcia si acum este in Germania. (Latter she attended school in Turkey  
33 and now in Germany).

34 R: So, as you can see, we can find some things in common, maybe the countries are different but the  
35 changes...

36 I: Dupa cum vezi, exista cateva asemanari intre voi pentru ca si ea a facut scoala in mai multe tari, chiar  
37 daca tarile sunt diferite. (As you can see there are some similarities between you two as she also  
38 attended school in different countries, even though the countries are different).

39 R: Maybe that is why I became interested in your educational career.

40 I: De asta a si fost interesata de cariera ta educationala, sa afle de ce atatea schimbari in atatea orase,  
41 atatea tari, pentru ca si ea este un exemplu de acest gen. (That is why she became interested in your  
42 educational pathway, to find out more about why so many changes, in different cities and countries, as  
43 she herself is also an example of this).

44 R: What type of school was the school in Romania, was it a public school or by the church?

45 I: Ce fel de scoala ai urmat in Romania, publica/privata? Iti amintesti? (What kind of school did you  
46 attend in Romania, was it a public/private/church one? Do you remember?)

47 D: Cred ca era publica. (I believe it was a public one.)

48 I: In Romania most of the schools are public, especially the ones in small villages, so it is not really  
49 possible to have a private one.

50 R: Ok. And the later one, it was in Italy as far as I understood?

51 I: Si celelalte scoli pe care le-ai urmat, ai spus in Franta si mai departe unde ai mai fost? (And the later  
52 schools...you said in France, and then, where else have you been?)

53 D: Si aici (And here - Germany, nowhere else).

54 I: So, he's only been to France and Germany to school, after Romania. Ce fel de scoli erau acestea, tot  
55 asa statale sau private, din cate stii tu? (What kind of schools were these, public or private as far as you  
56 know?)

57 D: Nu, erau statale. (They were public ones).

58 I: These were also public school.

59 R: Did you also move between cities in France or Germany or did you only move to one city in France  
60 and one city in Germany (Leipzig)?

61 I: Te-ai mutat din oras in oras in Franta si Germania sau direct dintr-un oras din Franta ati venit intr-un  
62 oras din Germania, in acest oras? (Did you also move between cities in France or Germany or did you  
63 only move from one city in France to one city in Germany – Leipzig)?

64 D: Am venit din Franta, dintr-un oras, direct aici. (We moved from one city in France directly here in  
65 Germany).

66 I: They came directly from that town in France, here to this city, Leipzig.

67 R: Can you remember how many years you spent in the Romanian school, in French school and in  
68 which grades did you start school in these countries?

69 I: Iti mai aminstesti cati ani de scoala ai facut in Romania, in Franta si acum de cat timp ai inceput  
70 scoala in Germania. Adica vrea sa stie exact in ce clasa ai inceput si terminat in Romania, in ce clasa  
71 erai cand te-ai mutat in Franta sau daca ai pierdut vreun an in Franta mutandu-te acolo si acum in  
72 Germania in ce clasa esti. Cum au decurs lucrurile din punctul asta de vedere? (Can you remember how  
73 many years you attended school in Romania, in France and now in Germany. She wants to know in  
74 which grades you started and ended school in Romania, in France and now in which grade you are in  
75 Germany. How things developed from this point of view?)

76 D: Pai, in Romania am trei clase, deci pana in clasa a 3-a. (In Romania I attended the first 3 years of  
77 school, so until I finished my third year)

78 I: Deci aveai ...6-7-8 ani cand ai terminat, daca ai inceput la 6 ani. (So, you were 8 years old when you  
79 finished if you started when you were 6 years old.).

80 D: Nu-mi amintesc...(I don't remember)

81 I: In Romania he did the first three years of elementary school ... so he did it when he was 6, 7 and 8  
82 years old. Si mai tarziu? (And later?)

83 D: Si mai tarziu dupa aceea am plecat, deci am plecat in Spania, dar in Spania nu am fost la scoala, si  
84 din Spania ne-am dus in Franta. (Later, afterwards, we left for Spain but in Spain I didn't attend school  
85 and afterwards we went to France).

86 I: Si cati ani aveai cand ai ajuns in Franta? Cat timp nu ai fost la scoala avand in vedere ca erati in  
87 Spania? (How old were you when you reached France? For how long you didn't attend school while  
88 you were in Spain?)

89 D: Pai, aproape un an. (Well, for almost a year I didn't attend school.)

90 I: Afterwards, after Romania, they didn't go directly to France but they first went to Spain. But he didn't  
91 attend school in Spain for one year. Afterwards they went to France and re-started attending school. Si  
92 in Franta in ce clasa te-ai dus, ai pierdut ceva ani din ce facusei in Romania.. ai continuat sau ai inceput  
93 de la zero? (And in France in which grade did they put you in , did you lose some of the previous  
94 school years you had done in Romania, did you start from zero, or did you just continue the school?)

95 D: Nu, m-au pus in clasa a 5-a. (No, they put me into the 5-th grade).

96 I: So, they put him into the 5-th grade, which is the first year of the secondary school.

97 R: Ok. And in which grade they enrolled you here in Leipzig?

98 I: Si acum in Leipzig in ce clasa te-au acceptat? (And here in Leipzig in which grade they accepted  
99 you?)

100 D: In DaZ 1 Deutsche....

101 R: And how many years did you go to school in France?

102 I: Cati ani ai fost in Franta la scoala? (How many years did you go to school in France?)

103 D: Patru ani (Four years).

104 R: So, the 5,6,7,8.

105 I: A cincea, a sasea , a saptea si a opta. (Fifth, sixth, seventh and eight)

106 D: Da (Yes).

107 R: What's the language that you use at home with your family?

108 I: Care este limba pe care o vorbesti acasa cu parintii, familia ta? (What's the language that you use at  
109 home with your family?)

110 D: Romaneste. (Only Romanian)

111 R: Ok. Because for example I also speak Hungarian with my parents but if I am in Turkey or in  
112 Germany I have to use Turkish or German in school.

113 I: Beatrix spune ca ea atunci cand vorbeste cu parintii ei, foloseste maghiara dar daca este in Turcia  
114 foloseste limba turca si daca este in Germania foloseste limba germana, de asta te-a intrebat daca in  
115 familie vorbiti alte limbi. (Beatrix says that she speaks Hungarian with her parents but if she is in  
116 Turkey she uses Turkish language and when she is in Germany she uses German in school, so that is  
117 why she was curious whether you used in the family context other languages.)

118 D: Nu. (No)

119 R: Which are the languages that you had to use in schools, because you told me that you use Romanian,  
120 but what about the other schools you attended, which were the languages that you used?

121 I: Care limbi ai folosit in fiecare tara in care ai fost, ai reusit sa vorbesti franceza in Franta, spaniola in  
122 Spania? (Which languages you used in every country you have been to, have you managed to speak  
123 French in France, Spanish in Spain?)

124 D: Spaniola o stiu un pic de tot dar Franceza o stiu bine. (I only know very little Spanish but I know  
125 good French).

126 I: Si acum in Germania. Ai venit de prea putin timp...(And now in Germany? You have been here for  
127 little time so maybe you don't know German?..)

128 D: De vreo trei luni. (I have only been here for three months..)

129 I: So he speaks very good French but he knows very little Spanish because he didn't have time to learn  
130 Spanish in less than one year and now he has only been here for 3 months in Leipzig, so he doesn't  
131 know good German.

132 R: Ok, he is going to know very well.

133 I: Spune ca te vei descurca foarte bine si cu Germana in curand (She says that you will be able to learn  
134 a very good German soon).

135 R: I also had to learn Turkish in five months and a half.

136 I: Ea a trebuit sa invete limba turca in cinci luni si jumatate. (She had to learn Turkish in 5 months and

137 a half).

138 D: Ohhh...E cam grea limba! (oh, this language is a bit difficult)

139 I: He says that it is a rather difficult language, and in 5 months is even more difficult...

140 R: Yeah, but if nobody else around you speaks any other language but Turkish, then you have to!

141 I: Daca nimeni nu vorbeste alta limba langa tine decat turca, nu ai ce face, trebuie sa o inveti. (if  
142 nobody else around you speaks any other language but Turkish, then you have to learn it, there is no  
143 other way)

144 R: Can you tell me if you have brothers, sisters and what your parents do, so that I understand a little  
145 about your family context?

146 I: Poti sa ii spui daca ai frati, surori sau ceva despre parintii tai, ca sa inteleaga cate ceva despre  
147 contextul general familial? (Can you tell her if you have brothers, sisters and what your parents do, so  
148 that she understands a little about your general family context?)

149 D: Pai, am o sora, mai mare. Este acasa (Well, I have an older sister, she's at home).

150 I: He has an older sister, she is at home (not in Romania, but in Leipzig). Parintii tai lucreaza? (Do  
151 your parents work here?)

152 D: Nu. (No)

153 I: He's parents don't work in this moment.

154 R: Ok. And the reason for moving, was in your case/ or the parents case due to work?

155 I: Motivul transferarii parintilor din Romania in strainatate a fost pentru a munci? (And the reason for  
156 moving, was in your case/ or the parents case due to work?)

157 D. Da, pentru a munci. (Yes, for work)

158 I: Yes, it was always for work.

159 R: For me, once it was work, once it was study/schooling.

160 I: Pentru ea, o data a fost pentru a lucra, din alt punct de vedere a fost scoala. (for her, once it was for  
161 work and other time it was for studying).

162 R: My father is a truck driver and my mother is a chemist.

163 I: Tatal ei este sofer de camion si mama ei este chimist. (her father is a truck driver and her mother is a  
164 chemist).

165 R: How we are going to proceed...we had these questions now but in the next phase I am going to pose  
166 a general question and you can answer it by saying whatever comes to your mind in connection with  
167 that and Alina is not going to interpret because ...you can talk to Alina if it is comfortable ...

168 I: Asta a fost prima parte a interviului care se baza numai pe intrebari de acest gen dar din acest  
169 moment va fi ceva mai liber daca este bine si pentru tine, iti va adresa o intrebare care va fi cu raspuns  
170 liber deci vei vorbi cat vei putea si spera sa vorbesti cat mai mult ...daca simti ca ai nevoie de ajutor pot  
171 sa ma implic eu si te pot ajuta fara nicio problema. Ideea este sa vorbesti fara ca noi sa te intrerupem ca



172 sa aflam cat mai multe lucruri. (How we are going to proceed...we had these questions in the first part  
173 of the interview, but now, in the next phase, she is going to pose a general question and you can answer  
174 it by saying whatever comes to your mind in connection with that.. and you should speak as much as  
175 you like to without us interrupting you so that we can find out many things about you...if you need I  
176 can talk to you as well)

177 R: So, as you know, I am interested in your education so, can you tell us about the different stations that  
178 you had, what it meant for your education and how did you learn, why, from whom did you learn? So,  
179 just freely, what comes to your mind...

180 I: Daca ii poti vorbi putin despre toate aceste statii din viata ta din punct de vedere educational, in  
181 Romania, Franta...Germania...Ce au insemnat aceste lucruri pentru tine si cum le vezi din punctul asta  
182 de vedere,,tot ceea ce vrei tu sa povestesti ...Romania ce ti-a dat, ce ti-a oferit Franta, Germania din  
183 momentul in care ai venit , si cum au influentat viata ta pana acum...(She is interested to know about all  
184 these stations in your life from an educational point of view, in Romania, France, Germany...what did  
185 they offer you all these experiences ...all you want to talk about, it's a free answer...and how this  
186 learning in these different places influenced you life until now)

187 D: Din Romania am plecat cand eram mic, am plecat cu parintii in Spania ca ei sa munceasca. Dupa ce  
188 nu a mai fost de munca in Spania, am plecat in Franta la matusa mea, la sora mamei. Acolo am stat  
189 pana a fost de munca si aici am venit iarasi ca sa munceasca parintii mei. Dar romanii nu au dreptul la  
190 munca aici. (From Romania I left when I was little, I went with my parents in Spain so that they could  
191 work. After it became impossible to find work in Spain, we moved to France to my aunt, my mother's  
192 sister. But when there wasn't any type of work left, we had to move again and we came here. But  
193 unfortunately Romanians do not have rights to work here).

194 I: Dar din punct de vedere al scolii, cum te simti tu avand in vedere ca ai facut scoala in Romania, apoi  
195 ai avut ocazia sa faci scoala in Franta si acum in Germania. Cum vezi acest mediu al scolii ? Numai  
196 despre scoala vreau sa imi raspunzi. Ma refer la colegi, la ambient, ce gen de lucruri noi ai invatat, sunt  
197 similitudini/asemnari sau deosebiri, intre cum era viata in Romania din punct de vedere scolar , cum a  
198 fost mai traziu in Franta si cum e acum in Germania? Despre carti, ce materii ai invatat, ce carti ai  
199 folosit, cum erau profesorii? Absolut orice vrei tu sa spui dar din punct de vedere al scolii. (But from a  
200 school perspective, how do you feel considering the fact that you attended school in Romania,  
201 afterwards in France and now in Germany...How do you see the school environment...please only  
202 answer about the school ...I mean colleagues, environment, what kind of new things you learned, are  
203 there similarities or differences between the school life in Romania, later in France and now in  
204 Germany? What about books you used, subjects, how were the teachers? Everything you want to tell  
205 me correlated with school...)

206 D: Pai da, in Romania era bine la scoala, si in Franta a fost bine. Acolo am facut practica, mecanic, si  
207 am invatat si foarte putina engleza, pe care am uitat-o. Cam atat... (Yes, school was good in Romania,  
208 and in France too. I did some mechanics practice there – applied discipline and I even learned some  
209 English that I already forgot. That's it...)

210 I: Cartile ti se pareau mai grele in Franta decat in Romania? (Were books more difficult in France than  
211 in Romania?)

212 D: Un pic...(A little)

213 R: To be honest, it's not so easy to speak freely so that is why I prepared a couple of words that could  
214 help you elaborate a little bit more...

215 I: Exact asa cum ai vazut, e putin mai greu sa vorbesti singur daca nu ai niste intrebari pe care sa te  
216 bazezi asa ca Beatrix s-a gandit sa faca niste carduri mici cu cuvinte care sa te ajute sa contextualizezi  
217 ce vrea ea sa afle de la tine. Cu ajutorul acestora vei putea sa vorbesti cate ceva despre fiecare din  
218 domenii. Le alegi, nu trebuie neaparat sa vorbesti despre toate. Oricare preferi, alegi si vorbesti despre  
219 fiecare dintre ele. (As it is difficult to speak freely, Beatrix thought about making some little cards with  
220 words, that could help you contextualize what she wants to know...with these you can talk more as you  
221 pick one or several and you say what you want to say about each of them)

222 D: Picks word - La scoala (At school)

223 I: Trebuie sa spui ceva despre biletul pe care l-ai luat. (Now you have to say something about this word  
224 you picked) Tu vorbeste cate ceva despre cuvint, eu nu trebuie sa traduc ceea ce spui pentru ca ea vrea  
225 doar ca tu sa vorbesti in romana. (Say something about this word, I won't have to translate because she  
226 only wants you to keep talking about this word, in Romanian)

227 R: You can tell him that I don't know anything about his educational pathway so he has to paint me a  
228 picture.

229 I: Nu are nicio idee despre toata excursia asta a ta din punct de vedere educational si vrea decat sa ii  
230 crezi tu o poteca, o cale ca sa poata sa isi imagineze si sa picteze imaginea transferarilor tale dintr-o  
231 tara in alta, numai din punct de vedere educational/scolar. (She has no idea about your educational  
232 "trip" and wants you to help her to create a pathway, so that she can create a picture and imagine these  
233 movings from a place to another, from country to country in an educational view)

234 R: I want to go home now and tell my husband, I met Daniel and he was doing this and that, so that I  
235 can record correctly ..

236 I: Vrea sa poata sa se duca acasa si sa spuna sotului ei despre ce a facut astazi , "am aflat despre un  
237 baiat din Romania care s-a dus la scoala si a facut aia aia aia..avea carti de genul ala, i-a placut sau nu i-  
238 a placut scoala ..avea vecini cumsecade /urati/ frumosi/ necumsecade" (She would like to go home and  
239 tell her husband that she met a boy from Romania that has done this and that , that had this type or that  
240 type of books, that liked or didn't like school, that had good/ugly/beautiful neighbors)...

241 D: Deci mie mi-a placut scoala in Franta si in Romania, si aici imi place. Mai sunt niste prieteni turci  
242 cu care vorbesc dar nu prea mult pentru ca nu pot. Am citit niste carti care erau in franceza, carti de  
243 istorie mai vechi. (I liked school in France and Romania. I like it here too. I have some friends to whom  
244 I speak but not much because I can't. I have also read some old history books.)

245 I: Ok, daca asta este tot ceea ce vrei sa ne spui despre scoala, alege alt biletel si poveste-ne cate ceva.  
246 Asta e interesant. (ok, if this is all what you had to say about school, pick another word and tell us  
247 something. This one is interesting.)

248 D: Ok. Teme pentru acasa...(homework). In Franta nu aveam, le faceam acolo la scoala, aveam un loc  
249 unde se fac temele si era o profesoara acolo care ne ajuta si le faceam Deci acasa nu aveam teme. (In

250 France we didn't have any, we did our homework after school, in a place where everybody did the  
251 homework, and there was a teacher that helped us in doing it. So at home I had no homework.)

252 I: Deci era un after school, ramaneati acolo dupa orele de clasa ca sa faceti temele...(so it was like an  
253 afterschool, you stayed there when classes finished in order to do the homework)

254 D: Da (yes). Am facut si sport dar nu mai pot sa fac pentru ca am o problema cu rotula. (I also did  
255 sports but I can not do it any more as I have some problems with my knee cap).

256 I: Si in Romania si in Franta? (In Romania and France too?)

257 D: Da. (Yes)

258 I: Cum erau profesorii in general, in Romania si in Franta? (How were teachers like in Romania and  
259 France?) Din punct de vedere calitativ, te invatau? (Did they really taught you, how were they  
260 qualitatively? )

261 D: Ma invatau, ma ajutau. (They taught me, they helped me)

262 I: Deci chiar simti ca ai invatat cate ceva in Franta? (so you think you have really learned a lot in  
263 France?)

264 D: Da. (Yes)

265 I: Dar la un nivel mai inalt fata de cel din Romania? Crezi ca daca ai fi ramas in Romania in acea  
266 perioada, ai fi invatat mai multe sau mai putine? (But was the learning in France at a higher level that  
267 in Romania? Or do you think that if you stayed in Romania in the same period, you would have learned  
268 more or less than in France?)

269 D: Da cred ca in Romania as fi invatat mai multe. (I believe that in Romania I would have learned  
270 more.)

271 I: He says that in Romania, if he hadn't moved to France, he would have learned better. Instead in  
272 France , even though the professors were very nice, the qualitative level was not that high. I mean, he  
273 says that he would have learned much more in Romania than in France.

274 R: Can he tell me a little bit about exams, notes, school reports, how are these?

275 I: Ce poti sa ne spui despre examene, teme pentru acasa, sau despre raporturi scolare. Faceti ceva de  
276 genul asta la scoala - ori in cadrul oreleor de curs ori acasa - daca aveati ceva de facut ? (what can you  
277 tell us about exams, school reports and homework, did you do anything in this sense during  
278 school/classes or at home?)

279 D: Nu, le faceam la scoala dupa ore, toata clasa. (No, we did everything in school, after classes, in  
280 groups or the whole class.)

281 I: So he is saying that they did everything in the school, during the after school program, the whole  
282 class or in groups.

283 R: Can he tell us anything else?

284 I: Altceva mai poti sa ne spui? Vrei sa alegi un alt biletel de aici? Ce poti sa ne spui, absolut orice  
285 despre procesul tau de invatare? Cum te simti o persoana mai culta, mai educata datorita scolii pe care

286 ai urmat-o? Ce vezi tu bine in toate aceste lucruri sau chiar si negative? Absolut orice vrei tu sa  
287 spui.(what else can you tell us? Do you want to pick another word? Can you tell us something about  
288 you learning process, how do you fell an educated person thanks to the school you attended? What type  
289 of things do you consider as being good..positive in all this and which one, if there are any..negaive?)

290 D: In Franta era fain, era bine, era o clasa frumoasa, mare, amenajata bine, ma jucam cu alti copii.. (In  
291 France it was ok, really nice, there was a beautiful classroom, with many interesting things, I played  
292 with other children.)

293 I: Si in Romania? (and in Romania?)

294 D: Dumneavoastra stiti bine cum era in Romania. (You know how classrooms are in Romania.)

295 I: He says that in France the classroom was really really nice, very new and very huge classroom, and  
296 there was space even for playing with his classmates and it was all very well organized. He liked  
297 spending his time in the classroom. But in Romania the classroom was devastating ...

298 R: Ok, so until now I understood that the school in Romania and the teachers were good but the  
299 classroom was a misery and later on in France you found the teachers low quality but you found the  
300 atmosphere of the school good.

301 I: Din ceea ce a inteles pana acum deci, in Romania avantajul este ca profesorii sunt foarte buni dar  
302 situatia vizibila este dezastruoasa pentru ca clasele sunt asa cum sunt, in schimb in Franta profesorii nu  
303 sunt la acelasi nivel ca in Romania, dar in schimb iti ofera alte oportunitati, gen clase noi, frumoase,  
304 constructii noi...Asa este? (so she understood until now that the school in Romania and the teachers  
305 were good but the classroom was a misery and later on in France you found the teachers low quality  
306 but you found other opportunities, like the atmosphere of the school good, beautiful new classrooms,  
307 new buildings, etc)

308 D. Da. (yes)

309 R: In the different places, which subjects did you like most, was for example one subject in Romania  
310 and later on Spain or France that you liked most?

311 I: Ai avut vreo materie preferata care ti-a ramas de exemplu din Romania si care ai dus-o mai departe si  
312 in Franta si care a ramas materia ta preferata sau ai descoperit ca ai vreo alta materie preferata in Franta  
313 fata de cele pe care le aveai in Romania? Si in momentul de fata, care e materia ta preferata? (Did you  
314 have one favorite subject in Romania that you continued to prefer later on in France or did you discover  
315 that you had some other new favorite subjects in France rather than the ones you used to have in  
316 Romania? And now, which is your favorite subject?)

317 D: In Romania materia mea preferata era matematica si cu ea am continuat si in Franta, si aici, Imi  
318 place foarte mult matematica. (In Romania I liked very very much mathematics, it was my favorite  
319 subject and it continued to be in France and here in Germany).

320 I: Spuneai mai devreme ca iti place foarte mult sa citesti carti despre istorie. (Earlier you were saying  
321 that you like very much reading history books)

322 D: Imi plac si cartile si matematica. (I like both books and mathematics).

323 I: He likes very very much mathematics that he started studying in Romania for the first time and he  
324 continued to study it later on in France and now in Germany also but he also likes very much reading  
325 history books and he has done it very much in France.

326 R: And where did he get his books from (the history books)?

327 I: De unde iti procurai in Franta de exemplu cartile de istorie? (Where did you get you history books  
328 from, in France for example?)

329 D: De la scoala, din biblioteca scolii, cand mergeam cu scoala la biblioteca. (From the school, from the  
330 library school, when we used to go with the classmates to the library.)

331 I: Deci mergeati cu toata clasa la biblioteca? (so you used to go with all the classroom at the library?)  
332 He used to go to the library together with the whole group, the whole classroom, and there they picked  
333 up books that he/they took home).

334 R: As far as I understood, you could read with ease/easily history books written in Romanian and  
335 French.

336 I: Din cate a inteles, tu poti sa citesti cu usurinta carti de istorie scrise in Romana si Franceza. (As far as  
337 we understood, you could read with ease/easily history books written in Romanian and French).

338 D: Da (Yes)

339 R: Was there anybody in these places helping you with the language or in doing homeworks?

340 I: A fost cineva pana acum in viata ta care sa te ajute cu scoala, adica ma refer la parinti sau un  
341 meditator, ai facut meditatii in Romania sau un Franta sau aici? Dar cu limba, cum te-ai descurcat, te-a  
342 ajutat cineva sau ai facut cursuri de limba? (Was there anybody in these places helping you with the  
343 school, I mean parents or a private teacher? Did you have private lessons in Romania or France, or  
344 here? What about the language, how did you manage, did anybody help you or did you attend language  
345 courses?)

346 D: Cand am ajuns in Franta mai erau verisori de-ai mei care erau acolo cu mine la scoala si ei imi mai  
347 explicau, ma mai ajutau si cu ei am invatat. Nu am facut niciun curs separat de limba . Ei ma ajutau si  
348 cu temele, imi explicau cum trebuia sa fac. (When I arrived in France there were some cousins of mine  
349 already living there and attended the same school as I did, so they helped me, they explained  
350 everything to me. I didn't attend any language course, it was them who helped me with homeworks and  
351 explained me how I had to do everything).

352 I: So he had a lot of help when he was in France, from his cousins and other relatives as they were  
353 already there and they helped him not only with the French language but also with the homeworks as  
354 they explained him everything, and he never attended a French course. He only studied in this way.

355 R: Did you use internet for learning, for example on-line dictionaries, etc?

356 I: Ai folosit internetul ca metoda de invatare, de exemplu wikipedia sau dictionare online, sau nu  
357 folosesti aceste resurse? (Have you used internet as a method for learning, for eg. Wikipedia or on-line  
358 dictionaries, or you don't use this type of resources?)

359 D: Nu, niciodata. (No, never)

360 I: He never used internet for these reasons, for learning.

361 R: Ok. The last question for these little words, does you family help you, do they teach you in  
362 Romanian, do they read something for you? You know...Whatever you consider that you learned from  
363 you father and mother...

364 I: Te-au ajutat si parintii tai cu cate ceva la invatat, in procesul de invatare? Ori in Romana cand erai  
365 mai mic, in Romania ori in Franta cand erai mai mare, iti explicau cate ceva? (Did your parents help  
366 you in the learning process, in Romania when you were a little boy or in France when you were older,  
367 did they explained or helped you?)

368 D: Nu, in general nu m-au ajutat, pentru ca mama stie putina franceza dar tata nu stie. (No, generally  
369 they didn't help me because my mother speaks little French but my father doesn't.).

370 I: So he usually didn't get help from his parents because his father doesn't speak French and his mother  
371 only speaks little French, so when she could help him, it was a very little help.

372 R: What can you tell me about Spain, what is the reason for your moving there? It was for a short  
373 time...why?

374 I: Spune ca a auzit atat de multe lucruri despre Romania si Franta dar nimic despre Spania. Ar vrea sa  
375 stie totusi motivul pentru care v-ati dus in Spania pentru un timp atat de scurt. Si de ce au decis parintii  
376 tai dupa putin timp sa plece din Spania si sa mearga in Franta? (Beatrix says that she heard a lot about  
377 Romania and France but nothing about Spain and the short time of the moving there ..why? Why did  
378 your parents decide to move there, and then, after such a short period of time, they decided to move  
379 again , this time to France?)

380 D: Pentru ca nu mai era de munca in Spania. (Because there was no work opportunity any more in  
381 Spain.)

382 I: So, there was no work possibility for his parents in Spain, and that is why he didn't attend school  
383 there, as it was such a short period of time.

384 R: My last question: If you compare your educational way with those who are/were in your classroom  
385 in Germany or France, how do you evaluate it, what's kind of advantages that come out from these  
386 stations and what kind of disadvantages?

387 I: Ea vrea sa stie daca toate aceste opriri din viata ta, cu mutarile Romania-Spania-Franta-Germania din  
388 punctul de vedere al invatamantului, vrea sa stie daca ai avut avantaje sau dezavantaje fata de colegii  
389 tai? Deci ai obtinut lucruri bune fata de ei, pentru faptul ca te-ai mutat incontinuu si ai facut aceste  
390 schimbari, sau le vezi ca pe niste dezavatanje fata de colegii tai, care nu au facut aceste lucruri?

391 Cum consideri, au influentat pozitiv sau negativ viata ta aceste opriri/statii in Spania/Franta/Germania?  
392 (She wants to know if all these stations in your life, moving from Ro-Sp-Fr-Ger, from an educational  
393 point of view, left advantages or disadvantages in comparison with you colleagues? So, did you obtain  
394 good things because you moved continuously and had these changes in your life or do you see it as a  
395 disadvantage in comparison with your classmates that haven't done such things. What do you consider,  
396 did these stations in Spain/France/Germany influence positively or negatively your life?)

397 D: Pai in Franta era totul bine, era foarte bine si la scoala intelegeam tot...dar totusi nu era de munca si

398 ne-am gandit sa venim aici ca sa lucreze parintii mei aici. Oricum si aici imi place si vreau sa invat,  
399 deci e totul ok. (Well, in France everything was alright, actually very very good, and with school also  
400 because I understood everything ...but still there was no work for my parents and we thought about  
401 coming here. Anyway, I like it here too, and I want to learn, so everything is ok.)

402 I: Dar tu consideri ca fata de colegii tai te simti altfel, mai pregatit sau mai putin pregatit din cauza  
403 acestor mutari, deci au fost un avantaj sau au fost un dezavantaj, pentru ca simti totusi ca ai pierdut cate  
404 ceva, de exemplu cativa ani de scoala ..(But do you consider that, in comparison with you colleagues  
405 you feel more prepared – in the school perspective – or less prepared, because of these movings and  
406 stations, so were they an advantage or a disadvantage because you feel that you lost something .Maybe  
407 some years of school for example..)

408 D: Deci era un dezavantaj ...simt ca am pierdut ceva mutandu-ma...(I feel like it was a disadvantage  
409 'cause I lost something with the moving continuously.)

410 R: So there is nothing that you would consider that you learned or you know only because you have  
411 lived in so many places.

412 I: No, actually he sees all the situation like a disadvantage..

413 R: Yeah, but in what terms...why? Can you tell me why do you feel like that?

414 I: Vrea sa inteleaga mai bine de ce crezi totusi ca este un dezavantaj faptul ca te-ai mutat de mai multe  
415 ori , ce simti tu ca iti lipseste tie fata de altii care nu s-au mutat si nu au experienta asta pe care o ai tu?  
416 (She wants to understand better why you think it is a disadvantage the fact that you moved several  
417 times, what do you feel that you missed or you don't have in comparison with your classmates that  
418 haven't moved and don't have the experiences you have?)

419 D: Pai, nu stiu, deci eu am vrut sa raman la scoala in Franta, acolo intelegeam bine limba si am vrut sa  
420 continui acolo, poate sa ies ceva, sa ajung ceva, si uite asa cum ne-am mutat, e cam greu iarasi sa pleci  
421 de la zero...(Well, I don't know, I wanted to stay in the school in France, there I understood very well  
422 the language and I wanted to continue there, maybe to do something, to become someone ...and as we  
423 moved...it is rather difficult to start from the beginning, from zero once again.)

424 I: Si ai fi facut ceva legat de matematica, ti-ar fi placut sa continui cu domeniul asta sau ai fi schimbat  
425 mai tarziu? (would you have continued in doing something correlated with mathematics, with this area,  
426 or do you think you would have changed later this subject?)

427 D: Cred ca as fi schimbat poate mai tarziu...(maybe later I would have changed it)

428 I: So ...he sees these movements from one country to another as disadvantages because for the first time  
429 in his life in France he had the opportunity to learn in a good school that he liked as he liked French  
430 very much and attending the courses and he hoped to be able to continue the school there but his  
431 parents couldn't stay there any longer because they had their reasons so he was very disappointed  
432 leaving France and the study he was doing and graduating there could have allowed him to have a  
433 future, could have opened a door for him for doing something with his life, a career, but afterwards,  
434 moving to Germany he had to start from the beginning again, from zero once again .. “destroying” his  
435 career chances...

436 R: Despite, I would reformulate it, for a positive question, I mean: The things that you learned in  
437 Romania, could you use them later on in Spain or France or the ones learned in France, later on in  
438 Leipzig? Packing the things ..like a luggage..a backpack...does it worth somethings that you have lived  
439 already in these places?

440 I: Ar vrea sa stie daca ceea ce ai facut in Romania se poate lega intr-un fel sau altul cu ceea ce ai facut  
441 mai tarziu in Franta, cunostintele pe care le-ai acumulat in Romania ti-au folosit mai tarziu in Franta, si  
442 mai departe cele invatate in Franta ti-au folosit in Germania, sau toate s-au deconectat intre ele si nu au  
443 mai avut vreo legatura, si atunci rucsacul pe care il ai in spate – bagajul de informatii acumulat – s-a  
444 facut din ce in ce mai mare sau l-ai pierdut complet? (She would like to know if the things that you did  
445 in Romania are correlated with what you later did in France and if you used the knowledge  
446 accumulated in Romania, later on in France...and the one accumulated in France was useful later in  
447 Germany...or everything became disconnected and had no relation whatsoever to each other ...and  
448 then, the backpack of knowledge that you have on you back became bigger and bigger or you lost it  
449 completely moving from one place to another?)

450 D: Din Romania in Franta unele informatii mi-au folosit dar din Franta in Germania nu prea..(From  
451 Romania to France some information was useful but from France to Germany not really.)

452 I: La ce te referi exact, din Romania in Franta da?...la anumite materii sau..?(What to you exactly mean  
453 by from Romania to France yes?...to subjects ...or what?)

454 D: Pai...da...la citirea de carti si la matematica, la scris se aseamana ... (Well..yeah..reading books,  
455 mathematics, the writing is similar..)

456 I: Si din Franta in Germania simti ca ai pierdut cate ceva din bagajul de informatii?(And from France to  
457 Germany you feel that you lost something from your luggage of information?)

458 D: Da (yes)

459 I: He sees the situation between Romania-France correlated, not only because of the language which is  
460 very similar, but also because of the writing and reading belletristic (narratives, literature) and  
461 mathematics was another subject he used easily thanks to the language issues..So he accumulated these  
462 huge baggage of information from Romania to France but moving to Germany he lost everything  
463 because of the language issues ...so now he lost a little from the baggage that he had before...

464 R: So, if I go home now and I tell my husband that I met Daniel and he asked me...how would you  
465 draw this pathway...How shall I picture it, this pathway? What would you recommend me, what shall I  
466 use, are these stations? What are the relations or the links between these stations? How are they situated  
467 to each other?

468 I: Vrea sa stie daca, ducandu-se acasa si povestindu-i sotului ei despre tine, Daniel a facut asta asta  
469 asta...a fost acolo si acolo...Ea, ca sa poata sa deseneze o imagine despre tine din punct de vedere  
470 educational , nu stie cum sa o deseneze...Pentru ca nu stie daca, dupa parerea ta, aceste opriri/statii din  
471 aceste tari, se pot lega intr-un anumit fel intre ele, formand o carare/o poteca, sau sa le vada, sa le  
472 imagineze despartite? Cum le vezi? Ea daca vrea sa deseneze aceasta imagine, trebuie sa le vada  
473 impreuna, ca ceva unit care merge spre viitor, sau separat, care nu au nicio legatura una cu alta? (She  
474 wants to know if, by going home she will have to tell her husband about you...Daniel did this and that



475 ...he went there and there...For her, to be able to draw a picture of you from an educational point of  
476 view, she would have difficulties as she doesn't know how to do it... She doesn't know if, in your  
477 opinion, these stations in these countries could be correlated, creating a pathway, or should she see  
478 them separately? How do you see them? If she wants to draw this picture, should she imagine these  
479 together, like something united that have been going from the past straight on forward, or like  
480 something different, separate things that have no connection to each other?)

481 D: Le vad cam separate... (I see them separately)

482 I: Deci nu consideri ca se pot uni, deci dupa parerea ta, ea ar trebui sa le deseneze separat... (so you  
483 consider that they cannot be united, in your opinion she should draw them separately)

484 R: So you mean something like this (separately)? .....Beatrix drawing..

485 I: Deci toate separate...oprirea in Spania, Franta si Germania..? Nici macar o asemanare?(so everyone  
486 of them separate from the other ...the Spain station...France, Germany? Not even a similarity?)

487 R: Shall I understand that this is an island and we are in the ocean?

488 I: Trebuie sa le inteleaga ca niste insule...si noi suntem in ocean? (Shall she understand that this is an  
489 island and we are in the ocean?)

490 D: Franta poate nu e asa de separata de Romania...(maybe France is not that separate from Romania..)

491 I: France maybe and Romania are not that separate..and these are the only ones a little correlated..

492 R: But these are linked only because of the language or also because of the content? What did you find  
493 so similar between these 2 places?

494 I: Sunt mai legate cele 2 fata de celelalte numai datorita limbii, asta este singurul motiv sau mai sunt si  
495 alte motive, de exemplu contextul in care ai trait, mediul inconjurator, persoanele care erau langa tine,  
496 prietenii, ceva legat de viata ta sociala in Franta si Romania? Sunt si acestea motive sau numai din  
497 punct de vedere al limbii sunt legate, pentru ca franceza se aseamana cu romana? (But are these 2  
498 linked in comparison with the others only because of the language, is this the only reason or are there  
499 other reasons too...for example the context where you lived, environment, people around you,  
500 something correlated with you social life in Romania and France? Are these reasons too or is the  
501 language the only one?)

502 D: Si pentru limba si pentru prieteni, verii si prietenii mei erau acolo in Franta, pentru asta..(For  
503 language and friends too, relatives, cousins, and friends were there in France, that's why.)

504 I: Deci ai reusit sa ai prieteni, sa te simti bine, sa te distrezi..(so there you managed to have friends,  
505 have a good time, enjoy)

506 D: Da (yes)

507 I: So he doesn't see the Romania-France correlated only because of the language issues but also  
508 because of the social environment ..because not only were his relatives there but he also made a lot of  
509 friends in France ...

510 R: Ok. Well, actually at this point I can only say thank you...We are going to transcribe everything you

511 said because that gives us the chance to read it through once more and I hope that maybe we could sit  
512 down once more so that things I just didn't understand I can ask again...

513 I: Iti multumeste foarte mult pentru acest interviu ...Poti sa te linistesti putin acum ca s-a terminat si  
514 poti sa si razi putin...Spera totusi daca tu vei vrea, sa te mai intalnesti cu ea o data in viitor in asa fel  
515 incat sa ii spui anumite lucruri pe care nu le-a inteles foarte bine in aceasta intalnire . Inca ceva mai  
516 vreau sa iti spun, vom asculta impreuna cu ea aceasta inregistrare si vom transcrie totul la calculator in  
517 asa fel incat sa vezi si tu si parintii tai aceasta transcriere si sa vada si ei despre ce s-a vorbit astazi ca sa  
518 nu fie nicio problema ...Asa vom avea si varianta scrisa a acestui interviu. (so, at this point she thanks  
519 you for the interview, now you can relax a moment and you could even smile a little ..she hopes you  
520 would accept another meeting in the close future so that you could explain things that she didn't  
521 understand very well in this meeting. Another thing, we will listen together this tape and we will  
522 transcribe everything on the computer so that you and your parents could have the transcription and  
523 could see what we have been talking about today...so we will also have the written interview)

524 R: Due to the fact that I am always admiring students and people like you who speak so many  
525 languages and have lived in so many contexts, I would like to give you a small present ...

526 I: Datorita faptului ca Beatrix apreciaza foarte mult tinerii care sunt exact ca si tine, care au plecat din  
527 locul natal si au calatorit in diverse locuri in lume pentru diverse motive, vrea sa te incurajeze si mai  
528 mult cu un mic cadou ...Oricum se bucura si ii place f mult experienta pe care ai avut-o pana  
529 acum...(Due to the fact that she is always admiring students and people like you who speak so many  
530 languages and have lived in so many contexts, countries, for different reasons, she would like to give  
531 you a small present to encourage you to continue like this)..

532 R: As I had to learn Turkish in a short time, I had to use this type of visual dictionary and due to the  
533 fact that you have been to France, know French and now German, maybe a little Spanish and Italian, I  
534 was looking for a dictionary especially for you, it is designed for you...I hope that in the tram, like I did  
535 in Turkey, you will open it and maybe at least basic vocabulary you can learn easier..

536 I: Datorita faptului ca si ea a invatat turca intr-un timp foarte scurt, cinci luni si jumate, si a avut nevoie  
537 de un dictionar, si avand in vedere experienta ta din trecut ca ai fost in Franta, deci stii Franceza, ai fost  
538 in Spania, deci putina spaniola stii, stii putina italiana, si putina engleza, asa vei putea sa inveti si  
539 germana cu ajutorul acestui dictionar si ea spera ca tu sa te folosesti de el exact cum a facut si ea, in  
540 tramvai sau unde vrei tu, autobuz sau masina ...Uitandu-te la poze vei invata mai usor germana...Acesta  
541 este cadoul ei pentru tine si spera sa te ajute foarte mult pentru ca ea asa a invatat turca...iti va fi de  
542 ajutor cu siguranta..(As she also had to learn a language in a short time,...Turkish.. she had to use this  
543 type of visual dictionary and due to the fact that you have been to France, know French and now  
544 German, maybe a little Spanish and Italian, I was looking for a dictionary especially for you, it is  
545 designed for you...I hope that in the tram, like I did in Turkey, you will open it and maybe at least basic  
546 vocabulary you can learn easier..Looking at the pictures you will learn German with ease...this is her  
547 present for you and she hopes it will help you a lot)

548 D: Multumesc (thank you very much)

549 I: He says thank you very much

550 R: I thank you, and I hope that we can see each other once again in January maybe ...and I wish you a  
551 very nice new years eve..and I hope you can spend it with people whom you love...

552 I: Ea iti multumeste foarte mult si spera ca in Ianuarie, daca vei putea, sa ne mai intalnim o data noi trei  
553 , daca tu si parintii tai veti accepta si spera sa aveti un Craciun si un an nou fericit alaturi de cei dragi si  
554 pe care ii iubesti..(she thanks you, and hopes that we can see each other once again in January maybe  
555 ...and she wishes you a very nice new years eve..hoping you could spend it with people whom you  
556 love)

557 D: Thank you

558 R: Ok, thank you.

Interview Transcript von David, 15 years old

Leipzig, 13. März 2014

D: David, R: Researcher, I: Interpreter

- 1 R: And... as you remember from last time, I am interested in your education, in your schooling.
- 2 I: Dupa cum iti amintesti de data trecuta, ea este interesata de educatia ta si de scoala pe care ai  
3 urmat-o. (as you remember from last time, she is interested in your education, in your schooling ).
- 4 R: I prepared these maps.
- 5 I: Ea a pregatit aceste foi, aceste hartii. (She prepared these sheets, these maps.)
- 6 R: And I'll show you my version of it.
- 7 I: Si aceasta este versiunea ei pentru aceasta harta. (and this is her version of the map)
- 8 R: For example, this is when I lived in Budapest. In the middle it is me -I:in mijloc este ea- and  
9 every little dot is a person.
- 10 I: Si fiecare punct pe care il vezi este o persoana. (and every little dot is a person.)
- 11 D: Aha (means yes)
- 12 R: The closer the person I put in these circles, the more important this person is for me.
- 13 I: Cu cat punctele se afla mai spre centru, cu atat aceste puncte/persoane sunt mai importante pentru  
14 ea. (the closer the dots are to the centre of the circle, the more important this person is)
- 15 R: For example, this is my mother.
- 16 I: Pentru ea, de exemplu, punctul/numarul 1 este mama ei. (for example, for her this point 1/number  
17 1 is her mother).
- 18 R: And...here..I mean..this is for example the family...this is the free time. This is work and this is  
19 school.
- 20 I: Este impartit in familie, timpul liber, munca/job, si scoala. (it is divided in family, free time,  
21 work and school.
- 22 R: So, you know mother is in the family.. and my best friend is from school.
- 23 I: Mama, dupa cum vezi tu este in familie si prietena ei cea mai buna punctul 10 este de la scoala.  
24 (the mother, as you can see, is in the family, and her best friend, point 10, is from the school)
- 25 R: ..I want to ask you, I want to ask you to draw a map of every place where you lived. I know it's a  
26 big task but I want to know which people you lived together and with who you interacted.
- 27 I: Ea ar vrea sa desenezi o astfel de harta pentru fiecare loc in care ai fost, in fiecare tara, ca sa poti  
28 sa explici fiecare persoana cu care ai intrat in legatura sau cu care ai avut vreun contact. (She would  
29 like you to draw a map for every place where you lived, every country, by explaining the people  
30 you were in contact with and with whom you interacted)

31 R: And of course, it helps me a lot if you also explain a little bit who this person is, how, I mean  
32 what did you do with this person, in which language you spoke, and where this person lived at that  
33 time.

34 I: Ar fi foarte bine daca ai reusi sa descrii aceasta persoana, aceste puncte sa le descrii si sa spui ce  
35 legatura are cu tine, unde v-ati cunoscut, ce limba vorbiti, ce sentimente ai fata de aceasta persoana.

36 R: And I have many of these papers so you can use this and every time you think there is a big  
37 change, and new people come in, you just take another sheet and you draw a new map.

38 I: De-asta a adus mai multe foi, dupa cum vezi sunt mai multe exemplare, in asa fel incat, tu, pe  
39 fiecare dintre ele, atunci cand exista o mare diferenta intre un loc si altul, tu schimbi foaia si  
40 completezi o alta foaie cu alte persoane daca locul s-a schimbat. (For this reason she brought  
41 different papers, as you can see there are different ones, so that you can use each of them every time  
42 when there is a big change, and you fill in a new one when new people come in.)

43 R: So for example I am sure that the people in Romania, when you lived in Romania, were very  
44 different from when you lived in Spain or in France.

45 I: De exemplu, oamenii pe care i-ai cunoscut in Romania, cu siguranta erau foarte diferiti fata de cei  
46 pe care i-ai cunoscut in Spania sau Franta. (for example, the people you knew in Romania were  
47 very different, I'm sure, from the people you knew in Spain or France)

48 R: You have to know that this is not an exam, this is not you know, this is not a good map or a bad  
49 map or ugly map, I'm just interested in you and how you lived until this point and what people you  
50 were surrounded with. So, kind of, take it easy and just tell me a little bit about yourself.

51 I: Trebuie sa stii ca asta nu e un chestionar deci trebuie sa fii comod si relaxat, pur si simplu o  
52 intereseaza sa vorbesti despre tine si aceste persoane in asa fel incat sa inteleaga locurile unde ai  
53 fost si ce-ai facut in viata. (You have to know that this is not a questionnaire/like exam so you have  
54 to take it easy and feel comfortable, she is only interested to know something about you, the persons  
55 you were surrounded by and the places where you lived and what you did)

56 R: I know it's very difficult because I can't talk to you because I don't know your language but  
57 Alina is going to help and she will translate everything you say.

58 I: Stie ca e foarte dificil sa vorbesti cu ea prin intermediul meu care sunt interpretul dar acesta este  
59 situatia si o sa incercam sa ne descurcam bine, ca si data trecuta. (She knows it is difficult because  
60 she can only talk to you through me as interpreter, but in this situation I will try to help and do my  
61 best translating everything, as last time)

62 R: So, I mean ..I have actually also...wait a minute....I have these ones as well...

63 I: Are si aceste creioane...(she has these pencils)

64 R: Or these ones .... And, I mean the floor is yours, I mean like the first period should be  
65 somewhere in Romania I think, because this is where you were born, in Romania.

66 I: Acum poti sa incepi sa desenezi hartile si daca vrei, consideri ca cel mai important ar fi sa incepi  
67 din Romania avand in vedere ca acolo te-ai nascut si sa incepi sa completezi.(Now you can start

68 drawing the maps, and if you want to consider it important, you should start from Romania, as you  
69 were born there)

70 D: Pai in Romania deci..nu am stat mult timp deci doar in Franta si Spania (Well, in Romania I  
71 didnt stay long so only in France or Spain)

72 I: In Romania, I haven't lived for a long time, so only in Spain or France.

73 R: Yeah, but you said it last time that you started the primary school there.

74 I: Data tracuta ai spus ca ai inceput totusi scoala in Romania.(Last time though, you said you strated  
75 school in Romania)

76 D: Da (Yes)

77 R: So, like those 3 years, when you were in Romania in the primary school, can you remember that,  
78 how was a day of yours?

79 I: Poti sa iti amintesti totusi, chiar daca a fost o perioada de 3 ani la scoala, cum era in Romania?  
80 (Can you remember that 3 years period of school, how was it in Romania?) Pai.. ((Beatrix laugh))  
81 cam multi ani..(Well, there 's been many years)

82 I: Well, so many years have passed..

83 D: Pai, am mers la gradinita si dup-aia am mers, am continuat pana pe a doua sau pe a treia si dup-  
84 aia am plecat. (well, I attended the kindergarten and afterwards I continued until the second or the  
85 third grade and afterwards I left)

86 I: I went to the kindergarten there and then I studied there until I was in the second or third grade of  
87 the primary school and afterwards I left.

88 R: With whom did you live?

89 I: Cu cine ai trait? (With whom did you live?)

90 D: Pai cu verii mei, cu sora mea, si cu prietenii, vecinii. (with my cousins, my sister, my friends and  
91 my neighbours).

92 I: With my cousins, my sister and my friends and neighbours.

93 R: Ok, then it means .....((A,B, D laugh))... Well, one dot is one person.

94 I: Un punct- o persoana. (one dot - one person)

95 D: Pai, din familie? (well, from the family?)

96 R: Yes.

97 I: Da (yes)

98 D: Pai, mama prima data. (well, my mother first of all).....Deci asa..si al doilea..deci sora-mea.

99 I: My sister is the second (dot)

100 R: Aha...

101 D:..... Asa. Deci, si al treilea e tata(the third is my father).....Si.....aici sunt prietenii din  
102 timp? (and here are the friends during free time?)

103 I: Here is free time. Free time este timpul liber. (free time means free time) Deci,prietenii din timpul  
104 liber. (so your friends from your free time)

105 R: Yes, free time.

106 D: Pai deci in Franta sau peste tot? (well, then in France or everywhere?)

107 I: He asks me whether he should write about his friends in France or wherever it doesn't matter?

108 R: First I would be happy if he could stay in Romania in those first 3 years and think back with  
109 whom you spent your time, your free time after school in Romania.

110 I: Ar fi mai bine daca deocamdata pe foaia asta te concentrezi pe Romania si daca ai vrea sa  
111 vorbesti despre timpul tau liber de atunci in Romania (it would be better for now if you just  
112 concentrated on Romania and how you spent your free time then, when you were there)

113 D: Pai in Romania timpul meu liber eram tot timpul cu verii mei, deci cu prietenii eram (Well in  
114 Romania in my free time I was all the time with my cousins and with my friends.)

115 I: In Romania I was with my cousins and with my friends all the time.

116 R: And did you...like at the school, can you describe a little bit the school that you attended there?

117 I: Poti sa imi descrii putin scoala pe care ai urmat-o? (can you describe a little bit the school that  
118 you attended there?)

119 D: Deci in Romania? (so, in Romania?)

120 I: Da (yes)

121 D: Deci in Romania..deci sa spun despre prieteni...sau? (so, from Romania, I should speak about  
122 friends or...?)

123 I: Scoala (school) . Descrie putin scoala (describe a little bit the school)

124 D: Pai, cum ca nu stiu? (well, how, 'cause I don't know?!)

125 I: He doesn't know exactly what he should say about the school, what you mean by..

126 R: Yeah, I mean just imagine that I have never been to Romania so I can't imagine the school  
127 that you attended ..like what, like if you say ok, I attended the school in Romania, but I don't know  
128 what it is actually, I mean ..

129 I: Ea este o straina, nu este romanca ca noi si ar vrea ca atunci cand descrii cuvantul scoala sa iti  
130 imaginezi tot ce iti vine in minte despre scoala, sa o faci sa inteleaga ce inseamna pentru tine,  
131 descrie putin acest cuvnt, ce inseamna. (she is a foreigner, not a Romanian like us, so she can't  
132 imagine the school there, so she would like you to describe and make her understand what the  
133 word school actually means for you)

134 D: Pai...nu stiu cum...(well..I don't know how..)

135 R: Like...when did you start..in the morning, what did you learn, what types of books did you use,  
136 in which language did you learn.

137 I: De exemplu, la ce ora incepeai dimineata orele, cand terminai, ce fel de carti aveai, ce invatai, in  
138 ce limba era totul. (for example, at what time did you start classes in the morning, what types of  
139 books did you have, what you learned and in which language).

140 D: Deci incepeam dimineata la 7 (I started classes at 7 in the morning.)

141 I: He used to start school in the morning at 7.

142 D: Deci terminam la 12. (I used to finish at 12.)...Si era pauza aia de la 10 (and there was the break  
143 at 10)

144 I: Well, he started at 7 and he finished at 12 o'clock in the afternoon but he had a (long) break at 10  
145 o'clock.

146 R: Aha, ok. And what did he do after the school?

147 I: Si ce faceai dupa ore? (and what did you do after school?)

148 D: Pai dupa ore ma duceam acasa, dup-aia stateam cu verii mei, deci cu prietenii, ca stii eram acolo  
149 intr-un sat si eram toti, eram intr-un parc (after school I usually went home and afterwards I used to  
150 spend my time with my cousins, so with my friends, 'cause we were in a small village and we were  
151 there together in a park)

152 I: After school I used to go home and spend my time with my friends and with my cousins, as my  
153 cousins were my friends ...and he said 'you know how Romania is, in a small village'..

154 R: Ok...If you take another sheet...because ..how old were you when you moved to Spain?

155 I: Cati ani aveai cand te-ai mutat in Spania, daca vrei sa completezi pe o alta foaie) (how old were  
156 you when you moved to Spain, if you like to take another sheet to fill)

157 D: Deci..aveam 6 ani. (so...I was 6 years old)

158 I: He was 6 years old

159 R: Aha..ok, but you said you started the school in Romania, so, you spent 3 years of school in  
160 Romania so you couldn't be...you should be ...you should have been already 9 years old, no, when  
161 you moved?

162 I: N-ar fi trebuit sa ai cam in jur de 9 ani daca totusi ai facut scoala timp de 3 ani in Romania?  
163 (shouldn't you have been like 9 years old if you spent 3 years of school in Romania?)

164 D: Nu. 6 ani aveam cand am ajuns in Spania. (no, i was 6 years old when I got to Spain)

165 I: No, I was 6 years old when I went to Spain.

166 R: Ah, ok. So you went only to the kindergarten in Romania, then.

167 I: Deci ai fost numai la gradinita poate in Romania. (so you went only to the kindergarten in  
168 Romania then)



169 D: Nu, deci am fost la gradinita si pana pe a doua, deci urma sa termin a doua si sa trec pe a treia.  
170 Dar nu am mai trecut, deci am plecat in Spania (No, I was in the kindergarten and until the second  
171 grade, so, I finished the second grade and was to pass to the third grade. But I didnt't, as we left for  
172 Spain.)

173 I: I was in the kindergarten but I also attended the first and the second grade of the primary school.

174 R: Aha, ok. And, when you went to Spain, these people remained the same or new people came (?)

175 I: Cand te-ai mutat in Spania, au ramas aceleasi persoane din Romania sau au aparut alte persoane  
176 noi in Spania? (when you moved to Spain, these people from Romania remained all along or other  
177 new people came in?)

178 D: Toate persoanele din Romania au ramas, deci era mama, tata, sora-mea, bunicii si verii. (All the  
179 persons from Romania remained, so there was my mother, my father, my sister, my grandparents  
180 and my cousins.)

181 I: All the persons that surrounded me in Romania, remained with me, like my cousins, my mother,  
182 my father, my sister, and my grandfather and grandmother.

183 R: So, 10 of you?

184 I: Deci cam 10 erati cand ati plecat? (so there were like 10 of you when you left?)

185 D: Da, ca am plecat cu totii. (yes, because we all left)

186 I: Yes, all of them left.

187 R: Ok. ((laugh))

188 I: Yes, they all moved.

189 R: So, ok then, the father, the mother ..

190 I: Tata, mama..(the father, the mother..)

191 D: Sora, bunicii (the sister, the grandparents)

192 I: The sister and both of the grandparents

193 D: Si verii, matusa-mea, eram multi (and the cousins, my aunt, we were a lot of persons)

194 I: His cousins and his aunt. There were lots of them ((laugh))

195 R: ((laugh)) Yeah good, that's good...a big family. And did anybody remain in Romania that you  
196 had contact with when you were in Spain?

197 I: A ramas cineva in Romania dintre cei cu care aveai contacte atunci si dup-aia cand te-ai mutat in  
198 Spania a ramas cineva totusi in urma? (And did anybody remain in Romania that you had contact  
199 with when you were in Spain?)

200 D: Deci din Romania nu a mai ramas nimeni acasa la noi. (From Romania nobody remained home.)

201 I: From Romania no one remained.

202 R: And in another country, did you have any relatives?

203 I: Si in alte tari, ai mai avut rude prin alte tari? (and did you have any other relatives, in other  
204 countries?)

205 D: Da, in Franta. (yes in France)

206 I: Yes, I have others in France.

207 R: And when you stayed in Spain, did you have contact to the relatives in France? Like, did you call  
208 them or did you visit them or did they come to you?

209 I: Cand erai in Spania ai avut legaturi cu cei din Franta, va vizitati, va telefonati (when you stayed  
210 in Spain, did you have contact to the relatives in France? did you call them or did you visit  
211 eachother?)

212 D: Da, cu un var de-al lui tata (yes, with my father's cousin)

213 I: Yes, with my father's cousin.

214 R: Did you call him weekly or daily? Or, I mean, how regular?

215 I: Va sunati zilnic sau saptamanal , sau in ce mod? (Did you call him weekly or daily or how  
216 regular?)

217 D: Da, asa, saptamanal. (yes, like weekly)

218 I: Like weekly.

219 R: Oh, weekly? Ok. And in Spain, how did you spend the day, you stayed there for a year, am I  
220 right?

221 I: Ai stat in Spania cam un an, nu? (you stayed in Spain for like a year, right?)

222 D: Da. (yes)

223 I: Yes

224 R: How was a general day, did you work at that time, or did you stay at home with the family?

225 I: Ce faceai in Spania, descrie-mi o zi obisnuita din acel an petrecut in Spania, ai lucrat sau ai facut  
226 ceva? (what were you doing in Spain, describe a normal day from that year in Spain, did you work,  
227 or did you do something?)

228 D: Deci nu faceam..eram toata ziua cu ai mei. (so, no I didn't do anything, I was just with my  
229 parents the whole day)

230 I: I was the whole day with my parents, I didn't do anything.

231 R: Din you have any...did you have a television or something...I mean the entire day you did  
232 something I'm sure that you...did you meet other people maybe or did you go out to the park or you  
233 read a book or watch the television?

234 I: Si totusi cum iti petreceai acest timp, te uitai la televizor sau citeai o carte, te duceai afara cu  
235 prietenii intr-un parc sau cum? (and still, how did you spend this time, watching TV or reading a  
236 book or going out with friends in a park or, how?)

237 D: Ma uitam la televizor, mai ma duceam cu mama intr-un parc, mai erau niste prieteni ..(I watched  
238 Tv, sometimes i went out with my mother to the park, there were some friends..)

239 I: I watched Tv, I went with my mother to the park, I saw some friends ..

240 R: Did you get to know anybody in Spain, like local Spanish?

241 I: Ai cunoscut spanioli locali, deci ai avut contacte cu persoane de acolo din Spania? (did you get to  
242 know local Spanish people, did you have any contact with anybody from Spain?)

243 D: Nu pentru ca nu stiam sa vorbesc spaniola, deci nu stiam. (no, because I couldn't speak Spanish  
244 so, I couldn't.)

245 I: No because I didn't know Spanish so I couldn't interact.

246 R: Aha....In the TV, was it Romanian TV and how did you install it in your home?

247 I: Televizorul era in romana, si cum l-ati instalat, in ce fel? (the TV, was it Romanian TV and how  
248 did you install it in your home?)

249 D: Deci era spaniol. Aveam digitala si prindeam si un program din Romania, deci ProTVul. (so, it  
250 was Spanish. We had a "digital" and got a Romanian chanel as well, it was ProTv)

251 I: They used to have a...Spanish tv but it was through the sattelite and they managed to have a  
252 Romanian channel and so they watched ProTv.

253 R: oh, OK! With a big ..like you have this tube, or a little box, or how did you install it, the TV?

254 I: Era prin antena satelit sau prin ce sistem era televizorul? (was it through a sattelite antenna or  
255 through which of the systems was the tv installed?)

256 D: Pai era cu parabolica. (well, it was with an antenna)

257 I: Well it was with that great satellite antenna ((gesture with the arms))

258 R: Oh, ok! On the balcony?

259 D: 00:19:10 Da. (yes)

260 R: ((laugh))

261 D: ((laugh)) Da. (yes)

262 R: So, from Spain you moved to France, yeah? Am I right?

263 I: Deci din Spania te-ai mutat in Franta? (so, from Spain you moved to France?)

264 D: Da, deci si acolo am crescut pana la anii astia. (yes, and there I grew up until now).

265 I: Yes, and there I grew up until now.

266 R: ((laugh)) Ah, ok! And how did you feel about the moving from Spain to France, were you happy  
267 about it?

268 I: Cum te-ai simtit la mutarea din Spania in Franta, erai fericit? (And how did you feel about the  
269 moving from Spain to France, were you happy about it?)

270 D: Da..deci prima data nu cam, ca nah...eram asa obisnuit in prima zi si nu cam, dar dup-aia dupa o  
271 luna m-am obisnuit , era bine. (Yes, at first not so much, 'cause I wasn't used to ..but after a month  
272 I got used to it, it was fine).

273 I: In the first moment I wasn't very pleased about it, but after a month I got used to it and liked it.

274 R: Aha.ok Good. So, Romania and Spain. And now, we have France. Yeah? Because you say in  
275 France, you know life started ((laugh)) so, you started school, you started to have friends, your  
276 cousins were there, so how was life in France?

277 I: Ii vorbesti acum putin despre Franta, pentru ca in Franta ai avut prietenii, verii, scoala, ai inceput  
278 sa te simti altfel, cum era acolo? (and now, could you talk a little bit about France, as you had your  
279 friends there, your cousins, you started the school, you started having a different life, so how was it  
280 there?)

281 D: Pai, in Franta era bine de tot, deci eram multi, eram prieteni, erau veri de-ai mei, era fain. Si  
282 eram multi! (well, in France it was very very good, we were so many, we were friends, there were  
283 my cousins, it was quite nice. And we were so many!)

284 I: In France it was very very nice, a nice experience because there were lots of us, friends and  
285 cousins, all together, so..

286 R: These are the cousins that you were phoning every week when you were in Spain?

287 I: Verii cand spui, te referi la cei pe care ii sunati cand erati in Spania? (These are the cousins that  
288 you were phoning when you were in Spain?)

289 D: Da. (yes)

290 R: Ok. Do they still live in France?

291 I: Ei continua sa locuiasca in Franta acum? (do they still live in France now?)

292 D: Da. (yes)

293 I: Yes.

294 R: And do you still..can you call them or do you have any contact to them nowadays from Leipzig?

295 I: Si acum ii mai sunati, mai vorbiti, mai sunteti in contact cu ei? (and nowadays do you call them,  
296 do you speak, do you have any contact?)

297 D: Mai am sunat (yes, we still phone them)

298 I: Yes, we still do.

299 R: Ok. Do you speak actually Romanian with them or French?

300 I: Vorbesti romana cu ei sau franceza? (do you speak Romanian with them or French?)

301 D: Romana (Romanian)

302 I: Romanian.

303 R: Yeah?

304 D: Si la scoala vorbeam franceza (and in school I spoke French)

305 I: And in school I used to speak French.

306 R: Oh, ok! Ok. And what was the, the kind of the first very difficult thing for your French school,  
307 what was very different in your French school than in the Romanian one , if you remember?

308 I: Ce-a fost atat de diferit la scoala francezeasca fata de scoala din Romania? (what was very  
309 different in the French school in comparison with the Romanian school?)

310 D: Pai era..Era si clasa, care arata taman bine, si profesorii cam, ca in Romania era cam greu  
311 ...daca nu stiai bine luai si bataie !((laugh)) (Well, it was (different) ...as there was the classroom  
312 which looked really nice, and even the teachers were, but in Romania it was harder...'cause if you  
313 didn't know, they used to beat us.)

314 I: In France everything was different because the classroom was much nicer, and the teachers were  
315 not nicer but they were quite alright. In Romania they used to get angry with us and actually get  
316 phisical if we didn't know the answer to the questions.

317 R: Oh, yeah? Because in Hungary you know, they used to have a long stick and then you had to do  
318 like this ((gesture)) and ((sound))!

319 I: In Ungaria au acest..(in Hungary they have this..)

320 D: Asa e si in Romania. (it is the same in Romania)

321 R: Yeah, they do?

322 I: Yeah, it works in Romania.

323 R: Or, they did like this, ((gesture)) and then here, on your hand and then like this! ((gesture))

324 I: Sau asa, in felul asta, in cap iti faceau asa. (or like this, in this way, on your head they did like  
325 this)

326 D: Si te mai trageau si de perciuni((laugh))! (And they also used to pull your hair!)

327 I: And they used to pull here ((gesture)) and here ((gesture)) the hair.

328 R: Oh, Ok! That is very uncomfortable. And in France, they didn't do this, right?

329 D: Nu, in Franta nu era. Deci in Franta nu faceau, deci cand se enervau te dadeau afara din clasa,  
330 doar atat. (No, in France wasn't like that ..so, in France they wouldn't do it, actually when they  
331 were all nervous they just kicked you out of the classroom, that's it.)

332 I: In France they were not allowed to do this kind of things, and if they got upset, they only threw  
333 you out of the classroom.

334 R: Ok. But were you in the same class with your cousins or did they attend another class?

335 I: Erai in aceeasi clasa cu verii tai sau ei erau in alta clasa? (were you in the same class with your  
336 cousins or did they attend another class?)

337 D: Pai eram cu 2 din ei si mai erau altii in alta clasa mai mare, deci stiau mai bine, deci..(Well, I  
338 was together with 2 of them but there were others, older, in a different class, so they were more  
339 advanced)

340 I: I was attending the same classroom with 2 of them, but there were others that were older than me  
341 and these 2 and they attended another class.

342 R: Ok. And when, I mean when you went there you didn't speak any French, how did you  
343 understand the teacher?

344 I: Cand ai ajuns acolo nu intelegeai franceza deloc, cum iti intelegeai profesorii? (when you went  
345 there you didn't speak any French, how did you understand the teachers?)

346 D: Deci nimic. Doar atata ca, cand am fost acolo la scoala deci mai erau veri de-ai mei si m-au mai  
347 ajutat ei. (Well, nothing. Just that while I was there in school, there were some of my cousins that  
348 helped me a lot.)

349 I: I couldn't understand anything at the beginning but fortunately my cousins helped me a lot.

350 R: Aha. In the class they were sitting next to you and just translating what the teacher was saying or  
351 ..?

352 I: In clasa erau langa tine in banca si iti traduceau ce iti spunea profesorul?(In the class they were  
353 sitting next to you and just translating what the teacher was saying?)

354 D: Da, ca ma puneau cu ei ca nu stiam, si m-au bagat acolo langa ei si sa ma ajute ei cand nu  
355 intelegeam (Yes, as they put me together with them because I didn't know much, so they put me  
356 next to them so that they could help me when I didn't understand.)

357 I: They put me inside the same classroom with them, for this reason: in order for them to help me.

358 R: Aha. That's good, yeah. And did you use the same books, like the other French students, or did  
359 you have other materials prepared by the teachers?

360 I: Ai folosit aceleasi carti ca si francezii sau voi romanii aveati alte materiale? (and did you use the  
361 same books as the French or you had other materials for Romanians?)

362 D: Nu, deci noi romanii faceam altceva, deci noi invatam franceza. (Well no, because us, the  
363 Romanians, we were actually doing something else, we were learning French.)

364 I: We, we were learning French, we were actually doing something else, different than the French.

365 R: Aha, so it was similar to this DaZKlasse that you are doing here, like the German second  
366 language class here in Leipzig.

367 I: Ah, deci este asemanatoare cu ce faci aici in Germania, cu germana ca a doua limba..?

368 D: Deci aicea, in (DAZ) aicea in Germania faci ce fac si ailalti. Deci germana nici nu trebuie sa te  
369 invete, deci direct iti da foaia ce face si el, si iti da pixul si scrie! Si dup-aia o intreb, ce trebuie sa  
370 scriu, ce trebuie sa fac aici ? Pai scrie si tu dupa noi! Si eu scriu dar nici nu stiu ce fac, nici nu  
371 stiu...(Well, here in DATS? in Germany, one does whatever the others also do. They don't even  
372 have to teach me German, as they directly give you the sheet of paper and the pen and say: start  
373 writing! And after a while I ask, but what should I write, what should I do here? Well, you write  
374 what we write, just copy! And I start writing, but I don't even know what I am doing.)

375 I: In Germany is different than in France because it's much harder as they don't make any  
376 difference between Romanians and German students and actually they make us write the same

377 things as Germans do and if you dare to ask the teacher what does it mean, what should I write, she  
378 just only says: you just copy from the others and do the same as the others do!

379 R: But is it the whole day like this here in Germany or only in some subjects?

380 I: Toata ziua este asa sau numai anumite materii sunt asa? (But is it the whole day like this or only  
381 in some subjects?)

382 D: Pai anumite materii. (only some subjects)

383 I: Some classes are like this.

384 R: Ok, some. Because you said when we met first that you had some German classes where you  
385 learned only the language and then in other classes you are with the regular students.

386 I: Spuneai prima data cand ne-am intalnit ca ai anumite clase de germana care sunt numai clase de  
387 germana si altele care sunt clase normale, cu materii normale cum fac si ceilalti. (you said when we  
388 met first that you had some German classes where you learned only German language, and other  
389 regular classes, with regular subjects and students).

390 D: Da. (yes) Dar acum am trecut dimineata deci am facut, m-au bagat..am avansat un pic (yes but  
391 now I've passed that, and they put me in..I'm more advanced)

392 I: Yes but now I am a little more advanced and they put me in another type of class.

393 R: Oh, ok. After how many months?

394 I: Dupa cate luni ai avansat? (After how many months you advanced?)

395 D:...Dupa 4-5 luni (after 4-5 months)

396 I: After 4 or 5 months.

397 R: Ok, waw! It must be very difficult!

398 I: Trebuie sa fie foarte dificil! (It must be very difficult!)

399 D: Da e cam greu. (yes, it's rather hard)

400 I: It's rather hard, difficult.

401 D: Si daca trece un an si tot nu stiu nimic. (Even if another year passes, I will still don't know  
402 anything.)

403 I: Even if another year passes, I will still don't know anything.

404 R: Aha, yeah. German is very very difficult.

405 I: Germana e foarte dificila. (German is very very difficult)

406 D: Da (yes)

407 R: And in France, did you have the same, that first you were learning only language and then you  
408 entered the classroom or subjects or did you, like..

409 I: In Franta cum era, la fel ca aici in Germania ca mai intai faceai o clasa de franceza si de abia dup-  
410 aia te bagau in clasele normale, sau..? (And in France, did you have the same as in Germany, that  
411 first you were learning only French and only after that you entered the regular classroom or ..?)

412 D: Deci faceam clasa de franceza, deci vreo 3 sau 4 pana invatam, deci asa ca sa ma descurc si dup-  
413 aia m-au bagat direct in clasa cu francezii (So, we were attending the French class like up to 3-4  
414 months until we learned, so that we could manage and after that they put me directly in the same  
415 classroom with the French)

416 I: I attended the French class for about 3or 4 months , they did this with every foreign student and  
417 after that, 3 or 4 months I was allowed to enter the classroom and do the same as the French  
418 students did.

419 R: Which subjects did you find, kind of the easiest, because of course, nothing was easy, but which  
420 did you feel like you can follow easier?

421 I: Avand in vedere ca probabil nici una dintre materii nu a fost usoara pentru tine, totusi care a fost  
422 una dintre cele mai usoare pe care ai considerat-o? (considering that none of the subjects was very  
423 easy for you, still was there one that you considered easier or the easiest?)

424 D: Pai..matematica ce imi placea mie..... si in rest nimic, ca nu prea le intelegeam. (Well,  
425 mathematics is the only one I liked, otherwise nothing, 'cause I didn't really understand.)

426 I: Nothing else but mathematics which is the only subject I liked.

427 R: Because last time you mentioned also history.

428 I: Data trecuta ai spus si despre istorie. (last time you mentioned history as well)

429 D: Da da (yes, yes) Da si istorie (yes, history as well) ((laugh))

430 R: Why do you like history?

431 I: De ce iti place totusi istoria? (why do you like history?)

432 D: Pai, nu stiu, imi place ca povesteste de mult timp si imi place ca e antica, spune , deci imi place  
433 ca povesteste lucruri asa antice...(Well I don't know, I like it as it tells things of the past, ancient  
434 periods, so that's why, as it narrates events from ancient times.)

435 I: I like it because it tells stories that happened in ancient times.

436 R: Did you actually have any Romanian book to read in France and now in Germany, or ?

437 I: Ai avut vreo carte scrisa in limba romana in Franta sau acum in Germania pe care sa o citesti?  
438 (Did you actually have any Romanian book to read in France or now in Germany?)

439 D: In limba romana, nu (no, not in Romanian)

440 I: Not in Romanian.

441 R: But in French you can already read?

442 I: Dar in franceza poti deja sa citesti carti, nu? (But in French you can already read books, right?)

443 D: Da. (yes)



444 I: Yes.

445 R: Do you actually have French now in the German school?

446 I: Inveti franceza acuma in scoala asta in Germania? (Do you actually learn French now in the  
447 German school?)

448 D: Nu. (no)

449 R: No French?..English?

450 D: English ((gesture)) - so and so..

451 R: Yeah? And in France as well?

452 I: Ai invatat engleza in Franta? (did you learn English in France?)

453 D: Da dar nu stateam ca fugeam de la ore. (yes, but I usually skipped these classes) ((laugh))

454 I: Yes but I didn't attend the classes because I used to run away.

455 R: Oh!

456 D: Nu-mi placea. (I didn't like it.)

457 I: I didn't like it.

458 R: You didn't like, you don't like the language or you didn't like the teacher?

459 I: Nu iti placea limba sau profesorul? (you didn't like the language or the teacher?)

460 D: Nici limba nici profesorul. (neither the language nor the professor)

461 I: 00:31:36 I didn't like none of them.

462 R: ((laugh)) Was she an old bitch?

463 I: ((laugh)) Era o nesuferita batrana? (was she a disgusting old one?)

464 D: Nu, se enerva prea repede, ca eu sunt cam greu asa de cap, ca nu prea inteleg, si se enerva. (no,  
465 she got nervous easily and, as I am a little 'slow', as I didn't really get things, and she got angry)

466 I: As I'm not very very fast with my memory, she used to get nervous with me all the time..

467 R: Ok, then she is a real bitch!

468 I: Yes, she didn't have (?)

469 R: And which subjects did you learn , I mean you say like you had English and you had  
470 mathematics and you had history, what else? What subjects did you have in the school in France?

471 I: Ce alte materii ai mai avut in Franta in afara de matematica, istorie, engleza? (which other  
472 subjects did you have in France besides mathematics, history and English?)

473 D: Pai am avut toate materiile aproape. Deci am avut biologie, toate..dar la altele nu mergeam. (well  
474 I had almost all the possible subjects. So, we had biology..everything..but I usually didn't attend  
475 these classes)

476 I: I had every kind of subject that a normal school has, like biology or some other things that I  
477 didn't attend.

478 R: Ok...and the fact just now, that you have, are the same like in France, or they have something  
479 special here in Germany?

480 I: Sunt aceleasi materii pe care le ai si acum in Germania sau aici e ceva diferit? (are these here, in  
481 Germany, the same subjects you had there, or maybe here there's something different?)

482 D: Da e ceva diferit dar nu chiar tot..(Some of the classes are different, but not really everything.)

483 I: Some of the classes are different, not everyone but some.

484 R: Can you give me an example?

485 I: Poti sa dai un exemplu, care ar fi diferita? (Can you give me an example, which is different?)

486 D: Pai, uite, la biologie, asta e diferita...si...mai este o materie nu stiu cum se zice care e diferita si  
487 aici mai la alte materii nu ma duc. (well, for example, the biology is different..and there is another  
488 subject which I don't recall the name that is different and other more that I don't attend)

489 I: For example the biology course is different and there are some other courses that he doesn't  
490 remember the names but he doesn't attend these courses.

491 R: Do you actually have to attend all classes here in Germany or you choose which one you have to  
492 attend?

493 I: Esti obligat sa participi la toate orele sau poti sa alegi tu la care sa participi si la care nu? (Do you  
494 actually have to attend all classes or you choose which one you have to attend?)

495 D: Pai..normal da, sunt obligat dar nu stau eu ((laugh)) (well, normally, yes, I am obliged but I  
496 choose not to attend)

497 I: Usually, I am obliged to attend every course but I usually do not.

498 D: Am aici niste prieteni, si ei sunt nebuni..((laugh)) (here I have some friends ..and they are  
499 like..crazy)

500 I: I have here some friends and they don't teach me good things ((laugh))

501 R: Ah, ok ((laugh)) And what do you usually do with them if you skip the classes, I mean I  
502 understand it totally, but if you just go somewhere with them, what do you usually do? Of course ,  
503 if you want to tell me! ((laugh))

504 I: Daca vrei sa ii spui, cand chiulesti de la ore, unde te duci cu prietenii tai, ce faceti? (if you want to  
505 tell her, when you skip classes where do you go with your friends, what do you usually do?)

506 D: In oras. (in the city)

507 I: To the city, downtown.

508 R: Yeah, yeah. And I mean, are they Romanian or other, what type of friends are they, where are  
509 they from?

510 I: Ce fel de prieteni sunt, de unde sunt? Sunt romani? (what type of friends are they, where are they  
511 from? Are they Romanians?)

512 D: Da, din Romania. (yes, from Romania.)

513 I: Yeah, they are Romanians.

514 R: And they used to live here already before you and your family arrived here?

515 I: Ah, si erau deja aici cand te-ai mutat tu aici cu familia ta? (And they used to live here already  
516 before you and your family arrived?)

517 D: Da ei, prietenii mei erau aici da. (Yes, my friends were already here)

518 I: Yes they were already here when we moved.

519 D: Si mai vine cu noi si neamt si arabi ..(and Germans and Arab people come with us as well)

520 I: But also German people and Arabs come with us.

521 R: How do you talk to them?

522 I: Cum vorbesti cu ei? (How do you talk to them?)

523 D: Pai ..ne intelegem cu asta, ca astia prietenii meu stiu sa vorbeasca ...nemteste. (well, we get  
524 along with them, 'cause my friends know German )

525 I: My Romanian friends know German and through them I can speak with..

526 R: Aha..ok..And, in the meantime, did your parents find jobs in Leipzig, or are they still looking for  
527 a job?

528 I: Intre timp parintii tai si-au gasit un job sau inca isi mai cauta? (in the meantime, did your parents  
529 find jobs , or are they still looking for one? )

530 D: Pai..au gasit..dar nu e asa toata ziua deci ..e pe zi, cand este de lucru o saptamana, dup-aia nu  
531 mai este, dup-aia este iar. (well, they did find something but ..it's not like permanent..so is more  
532 like every single day, it may be that there is work for a week, after that nothing, afterwards for one  
533 other week)

534 I: Yes they managed to find something but it's not something permanent, it's more like this day  
535 they have it and maybe they will have it for a week, but you never know if tomorrow they will  
536 have it.

537 R: Ok...Oh..I know it's a stupid question, but do you sometimes write homeworks?

538 I: Stie ca e o intrebare cam prostiasca dar iti faci teme cateodata? (she knows it's a stupid question,  
539 but do you sometimes write homeworks?)

540 D: Temele? ((laugh)) Nu le fac deloc! (homework? I never do it!)

541 I: ((laugh)) I never do my homework!

542 R: ((laugh)) But..and if you meet the guys after school or instead of school, what do you usually do?  
543 I mean do you do some sport together or are you just hanging out, talking to each other or you go  
544 up to one and watch films or what do you usually do?

545 I: Chiar daca intelege ca tu in timpul scolii in loc sa te duci la cursuri te duci sa te intalnesti cu  
546 prietenii sau dupa scoala te intalnesti cu ei, vrea sa stie daca..ce faceti exact cu prietenii, adica sport,  
547 sau vorbiti, ori decat va intalniti asa si stati, petreceti timpul impreuna? (even if, during school,  
548 instead of going to classes you meet your friends, or maybe you do it after the school, she would  
549 like to know what you usually do with your friends, I mean sports, or just chat, or you just hang out  
550 and sit somewhere, enjoying freetime together?)

551 D: Deci prima data..cand ne intalnim, cand intram in scoala..si stam cam vreo 3 ore..deci cand vine  
552 materiile alea mai grele si nu ne place, dup-aia plecam . (well, the first time when we meet ..is when  
553 we have to enter the school and we sit like this together for about 3 hours, but when we have to  
554 attend the difficult subjects and we don't like it, we just go.)

555 I: We usually meet at school, in front of the school, every morning and after 3 hours of talking, if  
556 something..some difficult classes we have to attend, we just skip classes and decide not to attend  
557 together.

558 R: And what do you do in that time?

559 I: Si ce faceti in timpul ala cand plecati de la scoala? (and what do you do in that time that you  
560 leave school?)

561 D: Pai..mergem in oras la un magazin de aici, (Hoffe?) si acolo este wifi gratuit si acolo stam pe  
562 internet, bem un suc, mai vorbim, si dup-aia mergem inapoi la ore ca chiulim o ora sau doua si dup-  
563 aia mergem inapoi. (well, we usually go to the city in a shop here, Hoffe and there is free wifi and  
564 we connect to the internet, and we drink a juice and talk, and afterwards we go back to classes as  
565 we normally skip 1 hour or 2 and then we turn back)

566 I: We usually go to ..here I don't know exactly, to Hoffe, is something like..it's a..., it has internet  
567 free, they drink a coffe or go on to the internet, and only for 1 hour or 2 because afterwards they  
568 have to turn back to school.

569 R: Ok. And usually what websides do you kind of..read or what are the topics that you look up, you  
570 know sport use, or you look up films or, I mean, you know, if you go to the internet, what do you  
571 look for there?

572 I: Cand te duci la internet, ce fel de site-uri iti place sa privesti, ce gen de siteuri, de sport, de filme,  
573 de informatie? (when you go to use internet, what kind of websites do you enjoy watching, what  
574 kind of websites, of sports, of movies, for information?)

575 D: Facebook.

576 I: Facebook.

577 R: And in Facebook, do you have contact to people still in Spain or in Romania?

578 I: Si pe Facebook ai contacte din Romania si din Spania, cu care ramai in contact? (And in  
579 Facebook, do you have contact to people still in Spain or in Romania?)

580 R: Or where are these friends from?

581 D: Da, deci am avut acum vreo 2-3 saptamani..cu..prietena..si m-am despartit de ea (yes, I had .. for  
582 example like 2-3 weeks ago ..with my girlfriend..and I broke off with her)

583 R: Aha.

584 I: I had and I still have contacts with people from Romania and Spain and actually 2 weeks ago I  
585 had my last contact with my girlfriend because we broke out

586 R: Oh! Where was she?

587 D: Ca ea e in Romania si eu sunt aici, si nah..('cause she's in Romania and I'm here..so..)

588 I: She's in Romania and I'm here..and that's why..

589 R: Yeah..

590 D: Si prietena mea e unguroaica. (And my girlfriend is a Hungarian)

591 I: And my girlfriend is a Hungarian.

592 R: Really?! So, a beautiful Hungarian as me! ((laugh))

593 I: ((laugh)) Una frumoasa la fel ca ea! (a beautiful Hungarian, as her!)

594 R: ...((laugh)) When did you actually get to know her?

595 I: Cand ai cunoscut-o? (When did you actually get to know her?)

596 D: In Franta. (in France)

597 R: Ah! ok!

598 D: Deci e o vara de-al lu' vara mea..(she's a cousin of a cousin of mine)

599 I: She's a cousin of one of his cousins.

600 R: Ok! And you lived in the same city in France?

601 I: Ati trait in acelasi oras in Franta? (you lived in the same city in France?)

602 D: Da. (yes)

603 R: Ok. And then, after you moved to Leipzig, she moved back to Romania?

604 I: Si dupa ce tu te-ai mutat in Leipzig, ea s-a intors inapoi in Romania? (And then, after you moved  
605 to Leipzig, she moved back to Romania?)

606 D: Da. (Yes)

607 I: Yes.

608 R: With her family?

609 I: Cu familia ei? (With her family?)

610 D: ((gesture – nod - yes))

611 R: Yeah, so I know it is very difficult ..

612 I: Stie ca e foarte dificil..(she knows it is very difficult..)

613 D: Pai..problema e distanta..ca vezi, eu am fost in Germania si ea in Romania, si nah..s-a maritat  
614 (well..the problem was the distance..'cause you see, I am in Germany, she is in Romania, and  
615 well..she got married)

616 I: She got married..

617 R: Oh!!She got married?

618 D: ((nod-yes))

619 I: Because of the distance, as she was in Romania while he..

620 D: Si cu un prieten de-al meu..(and with a friend of mine)

621 I: With a friend of mine..

622 R: Ah, ok....But, did you also marry her, did you want to marry her as well?

623 I: Si tu vroiai sa te casatoresti cu ea? (and did you want to marry her?)

624 D: Nu..(no..)

625 R: Ah! Maybe that is the problem!

626 I: Poate ca asta era problema! ((laugh)) (Maybe that was the problem!)

627 B,D,A ((laugh))

628 R: All women want to marry! ((laugh))

629 I: Toate femeile vor sa se casatoreasca! ((laugh)) (All women want to marry!)

630 D:....Pai da, sunt tanar..(well, I am young!)

631 I: I am too young..

632 R: Yeah..Just wait, a couple of years and then you are not going to say this.

633 I: Mai asteapta cativa ani si dup-aia o sa vezi ca nu mai zici asa. (Just wait, a couple of years and  
634 then you are not going to say this)

635 R: And, who else is in the Facebook, I mean you say people from Spain, people from France,  
636 people also from Romania, like, do you chat with them or do you talk to them in Romanian or also  
637 in French?

638 I: Aceste contacte pe care zici ca le ai pe facebook, sunt din Spania, Romania si Franta, nu? Si in ce  
639 limba vorbesti cu ei, in franceza si in romana? (these contacts that you sau you have on Facebook,  
640 are people from Spain, Romania and France, right? So, in which language do you speak, in French  
641 or also in Romanian?)

642 D: Cu prietenii? Da, deci din Franta, in romana vorbesc, si mai am niste prieteni francezi, cu care  
643 vorbesc franceza.. (With my friends? Yes, from France we speak Romanian but there are some  
644 others, French friends, to whom I speak French)

645 I: With my friends from France, the ones that are French I speak French, but most of them are  
646 Romanians that live in France, so that's why we speak Romanian.

647 R: Aha, ok. And if not Facebook, than what else on the internet?

648 I: Si daca nu e facebook, care alta maniera de a comunica? (And if not Facebook, than what else to  
649 communicate?)

650 D: Skype.

651 R: Aha.

652 D: Si doar atat. (and that's it)

653 I: And that's it.

654 R: With whom do you use skype?

655 I: Cu cine folosesti skype? (With whom do you use skype?)

656 D: Deci, folosesc cu prietenii din Franta, ca mai ne jucam pe skype si vorbim..(well, I use it with  
657 my friends from France, as while we play on skype we also talk)

658 I: I use skype also to play, and I play online with them, with my friends from France, and  
659 meanwhile we talk, while we play.

660 R: Ah, ok!

661 D: Cu prietenii din Franta,din Romania,din Spania(with friends from Fr, Ro, Sp)

662 I: With friends from Romania, Spain and France.

663 R: Ok! What is this game? I mean what type of game can I imagine?

664 I: Ce gen de joc e asta, ce joc e asta care il jucati? (what is this game you play, I mean what type of  
665 game?)

666 D: Fotbal. (football)

667 I: Football.

668 R: Ah, football! So, online football game! And then, while you are playing, you have also the skype  
669 and you talk to each other.

670 I: Ah, si in timp ce te joci, ai castile si vorbesti cu ei..(ah, and while you are playing, you have also  
671 the skype and you talk to each other)

672 D: Da (yes)

673 R: Ok! ((laugh)) That's great! I use skype with my parents! Like every week I talk to them in skype.

674 I: Ea foloseste skype pentru a vorbi cu parintii ei in fiecare saptamana. (she uses skype to talk to  
675 her parents every week)

676 R: Ok, so, if you are in France now ..

677 I: Daca acum esti in Franta..(so, if you are in France now..)

678 R: Can you make the dots for me? ..like family, to whom you lived together, with whom did you  
679 spend your free time together, whether you worked maybe and you know, who in the school.

680 I: Poti sa faci punctele pe harta asta repede, legat de Franta unde ai avut cea mai...familie, timp  
681 liber, job nu cred ca nu cred ca ai lucrat si scoala. (could you make the dots on this map ..related to  
682 France where you had like ..your family, your free time, a job maybe even though I don't think you  
683 worked and your school)

684 D: Deci familia, deci parintii...asa...deci sora....asa...verii..(so the family..so..parents..and..the  
685 sister...and the cousins..)

686 I: So..parents, sister and cousins.

687 D: Deci verii, si in timp liber prietenii .....prietenii..(so, cousins and in the free time, friends, the  
688 friends)

689 I: Friends...

690 D: Deci, si dup-aia mai mergeam asa, deci seara mai ieseam pe undeva, iara cu prietenii..(so, some  
691 other friends to whom I sometimes went out in the evening, again with the friends)

692 I: Other friends

693 D: ..Si munca, n-am munca, am facut practica in Franta.(and work, I didn't have any job, I did some  
694 practice in France)

695 I: I haven't worked, I've never worked but maybe...you know...practice?

696 R: Aha, yeah! Where did you do that, what was your task?

697 I: Unde ai facut-o si ce trebuia sa faci acolo? (Where did you do that and what was your task?)

698 D: Mecanic (mechanic).

699 I: Mechanic.

700 R: Ah, the car repair! Ah, ok!

701 I: Reparatii de masini? (car repair?)

702 D: Da (yes)

703 I: In Franta? (in France?)

704 D: Da (yes).

705 I: Yes, in France.

706 R: Ok! So now I know who to call if my car is bad!

707 I: ((laugh)) Acum stie pe cine sa sune daca i se strica masina! (So now she knows who to call if her  
708 car goes bad!)

709 R: ((laugh)) Can you describe a little bit this place, I mean with whom did you work together there?

710 I: Poti sa ii descrii putin locul si sa ii spui cu cine ai lucrat acolo? (Can you describe a little bit this  
711 place, I mean with whom did you work together there?)

712 D: Pai..eram acolo, acolo in oras unde mergeam la scoala. (well, I was there..there in the same city  
713 where I attended school)



714 I: In the same city..I was working in the same city where I used to live in France.

715 R: Did you have a French teacher in the car mechanic place or..?

716 I: Ai avut vreun profesor acolo care isi facea masina, la mecanica? (Did you have a French teacher  
717 in the car mechanic place or..?)

718 D: Pai erau, dar erau (“estrangers” ?) nu erau francezi, erau marocani, erau turci, arabi erau..nu  
719 erau francezi. (well, they were “foreigners” but they weren’t French, they were marroccans, turks,  
720 arabs..but not French)

721 I: They weren’t French, the people who used to come there, but they were marroccans, or arabic  
722 people and turks.

723 R: Ah, Ok! How did you talk to them? Like, if you had the task together, how did you do it  
724 together?

725 I: Si cum vorbeai cu ei daca trebuia sa faci ceva impreuna cu ei? (How did you talk to them? Like,  
726 if you had the task together, how did you do it together?)

727 D: Pai erau acolo, deci ei aveau aia, serviciul ala de mecanica..deci stiau franceza, erau acolo. (well,  
728 they were there, it was them who owned the car service..so they knew French as they were there)

729 I: Oh! So they owned, these people owned this place and spoke French because they knew French,  
730 everyone knew it.

731 R: Ok! So...ok! So, can you make a couple of dots of those people who you worked together in a  
732 daily basis?

733 I: Poti sa faci niste puncte pentru aceste persoane cu care lucrai in acea perioada? (So, can you  
734 make a couple of dots of those people who you worked together in a daily basis?)

735 D: Da (yes) .....

736 R: Who are they?

737 I: Cine sunt exact daca poti sa scrii si cate ceva? (who are they exactly, if you could write it  
738 down?)

739 R: Yeah, one dot is one person. So, who are these people?

740 I: Un punct, o persoana..Deci cine sunt persoanele? (one dot is one person. So, who are these  
741 people?)

742 D: Deci asta era...deci mai era un baiat acolo cu mine, tot roman. Eram in practica, eram doi. (so,  
743 this was..so there was another boy in there with me, Romanian as well. We were doing practice in  
744 two)

745 I: We were doing practice together with another Romanian boy in this mechanic.

746 R: Ok, so this Romanian boy and then, no other collegues, you were only together in one big car (?)

747 I: Deci erai tu cu romanul asta si lucrati..cu mai cine? (so there was only you and this other  
748 Romanian boy working there..someone else?)

749 D: Pai si erau muncitori acolo ..deci erau muncitori, era totul (''estrangers''?)..deci ala era marocan,  
750 si erau numa\_ de-astia, (''estrangeri''?) (well, there were people working there ..foreigners..so there  
751 was the Marroccan guy, but there were only foreigners)

752 I: So, they were all foreigners working there and...

753 R: Ok, do you still have contact to this people..?

754 I: Mai vorbesti cu aceste persoane, mai esti in contact cu ei? (do you still speak to, are you still in  
755 contact with this people?)

756 D: Nu (no)

757 R: No? Ok. So, In France, as far as I understand, when you went to school .. not always..and then  
758 you had.. you spent your free time with your cousins and you had also the practice sometimes in a  
759 week..?

760 I: Deci, din ce intelege pana acum, in Franta ai petrecut cea mai mare parte a timpului cu verisorii,  
761 in timpul liber ieseai cu prietenii, nu prea te duceai la scoala si ai avut si aceasta practica. Cam asta  
762 ar fi rezumatul..? (so, as far as she understands, in France you spent your free time with your  
763 cousins and you went out with your friends, you went to school..but not really, and you also had the  
764 practice. This should be it..?)

765 D: Da (yes)

766 R: Did you have the practice every day?

767 I: Ai avut aceasta practica in fiecare zi? (Did you have the practice every day?)

768 D: Deci da, in fiecare zi. (yes, every day)

769 I: Yes, every day.

770 R: And how did you spend the weekends?

771 I: Si cum petreceai weekendurile? (And how did you spend the weekends?)

772 D: Pai, in weekend nu era practica, deci sambata si duminica nu aveam. (well, in the weekend there  
773 was no practice, so on Saturday and Sunday I didn't have it)

774 I: Cum ..cum petreceai tu weekendurile? (And how did you spend the weekends?)

775 D: Pai ma duceam cu prietenii la discoteca..si mai mergeam peste tot, umblam. ((laugh)) (well, I  
776 used to go to the disco.. but we were wandering everywhere, hanging out)

777 I: I used to go out often, most of the part of the weekend just outside and in the night to the disco.

778 R: And, with who?

779 I: Cu cine te duceai? (with who did you go?)

780 D: Ma duceam cu niste prieteni care erau tot din Romania, deci ieseam cu prietenii, mergeam in alt  
781 oras, la alt prieten, si cu ala ne plimbam, deci mergeam la discoteca..(I used to go with some  
782 friends, who were from Romania as well, we used to go out, to another city, to another Romanian  
783 friend, and with this one we used to take some rides, going to the disco..)

784 I: So, we used to go to..

785 D: La biliard (to play pool)

786 R: ((laugh)) Billiards! ..or bowling

787 D: Bowling..

788 I: Yeah, I used to go, in France, outside with some Romanians friends of mine, but we were actually  
789 taking the car of one of them and going to another city in order to go to the disco or bowling..

790 ((telephone sound)) .....R: It speaks English! I have to make...

791 D: Ma scuzati ..(excuse me..)

792 R: Ok, so...what was the question?

793 I: Yeah, they were going in another city in order to...with Romanians.

794 R: Yeah, did ..with the cousins or, who were they?

795 I: Erau verii? (were they your cousins?)

796 D: Erau prieteni din Romania (they were only friends from Romania)

797 I: Only Romanian friends..not cousins.

798 R: Ah, Ok!

799 D: Am intalnit multi acolo, multi romani eram. (I met many of them there, we were lots of  
800 Romanians)

801 I: There, I used to meet a lot of Romanians..

802 R: Oh, ok!

803 D: Din toate tarile aproape! (from almost every country of the world!)

804 I: I should say from almost all the countries of the world not only Romania.

805 D: Din Ungaria..deci cu ei stateam acolo...eram vecini.(from Hungary..so we were staying there  
806 together..we were neighbours)

807 I: We were neighbours with Hungarians.

808 R: Ah, Ok!

809 D: Si verisoarele mele, deci fratele lui tata, fetele lui sunt unguroaice. (and my cousins, so my  
810 father's brother, his daughters are Hungarians)

811 I: His cousins are Hungarians because they are the daughters of his father's brother, and they are  
812 Hungarian.

813 R: Do they also speak Hungarian or they are Romanian speakers?

814 I: Vorbesc ungureste sau vorbesc romana? (do they speak Hungarian or Romanian?)

815 D: Deci romana, dar cu mama lor vorbesc ungureste. (they speak Romanian, but with their mother  
816 they speak Hungarian)

817 I: Ah! They speak Romanian, but with their mother they speak Hungarian.

818 R: Ah, Ok! It's interesting, yeah. Ah...people from school are the same?..like , yeah, people from  
819 the school are the ones who are in work and who are in the free time or do you have any person  
820 who you met only in the school, exclusively there?

821 I: Persoanele de la scoala, din categoria scoala sunt aceleasi cu acelea de la timpul liber si munca  
822 sau e cineva care lipseste sau cineva pe care poti sa il adaugi? (People from the school, the school  
823 category, are the ones who are in work and who are in the free time or do you have any person  
824 missing or that you would like to add?)

825 D: Deci, cineva care lipseste....nu chiar toti..(someone is missing, not like ...everybody)

826 I: Someone is missing, I should add some others..

827 R: Why don't you add them?

828 I: Poti sa ii pui, sa ii adaugi? (could you add them?)

829 D: Aici? (here?)

830 R: Yes.

831 R: Who is this person?

832 I: Cine este aceasta persoana? (Who is this person?)

833 D: Deci, sora-mea...ea nu mergea cu mine (my sister, she didn't use to come with me)

834 I: My sister, she didn't come with me ..

835 R: What do you mean?

836 I: Ce vrei sa spui ca ea nu mergea cu tine? (what do you mean that she didn't come with you)

837 D: Deci ea lipsea din persoanele cu care mergeam eu ..in timp liber, in weekend cand ieseam. (I  
838 mean she was missing from the persons to whom I usually went out..in my free time or the  
839 weekends when I went out)

840 I: Oh! That she was missing from my free time, for example she never came with me in my free  
841 time, I only met her at school.

842 R: Aha, ok! And at home!

843 I: Si acasa stateai cu ea, nu numai la scoala!?! (at home as well, right? not only in school!?)

844 D: Acasa nu cam mult timp, vreo jumate de ora, cam asa..(not that much at home, only like a half  
845 an hour)

846 I: Not that much, only half an hour.

847 R: Did she live with you or did she live with somebody else?

848 I: De ce, traia cu altcineva sau cu tine acasa? (why, did she live with somebody else or with you?)

849 D: Sora-mea? Deci, ramanea cu mama si cu tata, ca eu nu stateam acasa, nu stateam mult timp. (my  
850 sister? She only stayed at home with my mother and father, while I didn't, I didn't stay that much at  
851 home)

852 I: So, it was him that was never at home ! ((laugh))

853 R: ((laugh)) Ah, ok! Ok Ok...

854 R: How old is she now?

855 I: Cati ani are acum? (How old is she now?)

856 D: Sora-mea..17. (my sister..17)

857 I: Seventeen.

858 R: Aha, ok. And she is not married yet, is she?

859 I: Nu e casatorita inca, nu? (And she is not married yet, is she?)

860 D: Nu (no)

861 I: No, not yet.

862 R: Did she move with you here in Leipzig, as well?

863 I: S-a mutat si ea cu voi in Leipzig? (Did she move with you here in Leipzig, as well?)

864 D: Da, s-a mutat. (yes, she did)

865 I: Yes she's here.

866 R: ..If you take now a sheet for Leipzig....

867 I: Acum vom lua foaia pentru Leipzig (you will take now the sheet for Leipzig)

868 R: ..who are the people around you?

869 I: Cine sunt, cine e lumea din jurul tau? (who are the people around you?)

870 D: Pai aici cine sa fie decat mama, tata si sora-mea? (well, who else should be here except my  
871 mother, my father and my sister) Ca altcineva cine sa fie decat ei? (who else could it be except  
872 them?)

873 I: Who else should be here apart from my family..?

874 R: Yeah. I mean ((laugh)) for example you go to school, so..

875 I: De exemplu te duci la scoala ..deci ai putea..(for example you go to school, so you could..)

876 D: Da, ma duc la scoala..ma duc la scoala si dup-aia stam cu prietenii astia doi si stau cu ei 2-3 ore  
877 si dup-aia vin inapoi acasa. (yes, I go to school..I go to the school and then we gather with my two  
878 friends, and I pass my time with them for like 2-3 hours and afterwards I come back home)

879 I: I go to school but afterwards I only see these two friends of mine and we gather and we stay or go  
880 visit the town for 2-3 hours and afterwards I go back home.

881 R: And who are these people exactly once more?

882 I: Cine sunt acești doi prieteni încă o dată dacă vrei să repeti? (And who are these two friends  
883 exactly once more?)

884 D: Deci sunt băieții aia de la școală..aia doi români. (so, they are those boys from my school, those  
885 two Romanians)

886 I: Two Romanian guys that are also his colleagues in the school.

887 R: Ah, ok! They have been living here for a longer time already?

888 I: Traiesc aici de mai mult timp decât tine? (They have been living here for a longer time than you?)

889 D: Da (yes)

890 I: Yes... They have been living here for more than me.

891 R: Ok. Did they come from Romania directly to Leipzig ...or did they also live in another parts of  
892 the world like you?

893 I: Au venit din România direct aici în Leipzig sau și ei au venit din alte părți ale lumii ca și tine?  
894 (Did they come from Romania directly to Leipzig ...or did they also come here from another parts  
895 of the world like you?)

896 D: Nu...din România direct în Leipzig. (no...from Romania directly to Leipzig)

897 I: They came from Romania directly to Leipzig.

898 R: Ok. Do they speak German?

899 I: Vorbesc germană? (Do they speak German?)

900 D: Da (yes)

901 I: Yes.

902 R: How long has it been that they live here?

903 I: De cât timp locuiesc ei aici? (How long has it been that they live here?)

904 D: De..păi nu știu..decă părinții lor sunt de mai mult timp..părinții lor..și ei..nu știu, de 2 ani..(well, I  
905 don't know, I know their parents have been here for a long time but them..I don't know...2 years ..)

906 I: I really do not know precisely but their parents have been living here for many years and I think  
907 they have been living here for two..

908 R: Ok. So it means that within 2 years you can also learn German.

909 I: Ah, deci în 2 ani și tu vei putea învăța germană ((laugh)) (So it means that within 2 years you can  
910 also learn German.)

911 R: ..because they did.

912 D: Poate (maybe) ((laugh))

913 I: ((laugh)) Maybe.

914 R: Now..we have Romania, we have Spain, we have France and we have Leipzig. Well, Leipzig we  
915 don't have ..yeah? Mother, father, sister. Yeah? And school ..the two Romanian boys. Yeah? Do  
916 you work here in Leipzig?

917 I: Lucrezi aici in Leipzig? (Do you work here in Leipzig?)

918 D: Nu (no)

919 R: No? And the free time is with these 2 boys from the school?

920 I: Si timpul liber este cu acesti 2 baieti de la scoala? (And the free time is with these 2 boys from  
921 the school?)

922 D: Da (yes)

923 R: Ok. I am interested in..ah, if you think back what you learned in the Romanian school, ..and then  
924 later, here..in France, and now in Leipzig..what could you use from the things that you learned  
925 there, in here?

926 I: Daca, uitandu-te la hartile astea, ce poti sa spui ca ai obtinut si ai invatat din prima plansa, ca sa  
927 poti sa o folosesti in a treia, de exemplu in Franta? (if you look at these maps and think, what do  
928 you believe you have obtained and learned from the first map, that you could use in the third one,  
929 for example in France?)

930 D: Deci, ce-am invatat..de la familie sau la scoala? (so, what I learned..from the family or the  
931 school?)

932 I: Do you mean family or school, or exactly which..

933 R: Yeah, I mean actually both, I mean now first the school, like what you have learned at the  
934 school, was it useful or useless or how do you think about it in France and now in Leipzig?

935 I: Hai sa incepem cu scoala, sa ne gandim la scoala. Ce ai putea sa spui despre Romania si cum ti-a  
936 folosit in Franta sau in Leipzig ..(let's start with the school, so think about that. What could you tell  
937 me about the Romanian one and how did you manage to use it afterwards in France or in Leipzig?)

938 D: Deci in Romania e greu ..(well in Romania is difficult)

939 I: In Romania is difficult.

940 D: E foarte greu. (is really difficult)

941 I: In Romania is very difficult.

942 R: But for example, the things that you learned in mathematics, do you use later in France?

943 I: Dar matematica pe care in invatat-o in Romania, ai folosit-o mai tarziu in Franta? (but  
944 mathematics, that you learned in Romania, did you use it later in France?)

945 D: Da (yes)

946 I: Yes.

947 R: And, the kind of..the change from France to Leipzig ... how was it for you?

948 I: Cum a fost schimbarea din Franta in Leipzig? (how was it for you the change from France to  
949 Leipzig?)

950 D:..... Pai, nu chiar asa de greu. (well, not that difficult in the end)

951 I: Not that difficult after all.

952 R: Aha. It is not difficult because you learned the same or..?

953 I: N-a fost dificil pentru ca inveti cam aceleasi lucruri sau..? (It was not difficult because you  
954 learned the same or..?)

955 D: Cam..aceleasi lucruri. (almost .. the same things)

956 I: Yes, I learned maybe, I could say, the same things.

957 R: Ok.. Than, let's imagine now that you can help the teachers and the school he does, what they  
958 should change .. what would you suggest them?

959 I: Hai sa ne imaginam ca tu ai putea sa ii spui directorului scolii sau celui din sistemul de conducere  
960 a unei scoli ca ai putea sa schimbi ceva, ce ai schimba, ce le-ai spune sa schimbe? (Now let's  
961 imagine you could tell someone from the school board what they should change, what would you  
962 tell them to change, what would you suggest?)

963 D:.....Pai, io stiu..(well, I don't know..)

964 R: Which you feel difficult here, or which you had difficult when you changed from here to here.

965 I: In sensul ca, ce le-ai sugera ca sa te ajute pe tine in ceea ce ai avut tu dificultati din schimbarea  
966 asta la ..asta, deci cand te-ai mutat de aici, aici. (in the way that what would you suggest them to do  
967 to help with your difficulties encountered .. when you changed from here to here)

968 D: Pai da, deci sa schimbe persoanele, ca sa nu stiu , ca nu-s prea cam te ajuta. Nu cam prea te baga  
969 in seama. (well, they should change some of the persons working there, as they are not really that  
970 helpful. They don't really care)

971 I: Maybe they could start with the personnel, with the teachers I mean because they are not ..

972 D: Profesoara..(the teacher) Deci nu te prea baga in seama. (she doesn't care that much) Deci iti da  
973 foaia si pixul si scrie si daca o intreb ce sa fac, scrie acolo dupa noi. ( so she gives me the sheet of  
974 paper and the pen and she says write, and if I ask her what I should write, she says just write as we  
975 do) Dar eu nu stiu ce fac (but I never know what I am doing/writing)

976 I: The teacher is not really helpful because ..she only comes next to me and she says: take the pen  
977 and the piece of paper and start writing and I say: but I don't know what to write, what we are  
978 talking about, it doesn't matter, you just..

979 R: But is it a language problem or just because she is impatient?

980 I: E din cauza ca tu nu stii limba, din cauza asta nu te ajuta ea sau asa e ea..? (but is it a language  
981 problem, that you don't know it, that she doesn't help or is she somehow..?)

982 D: Pai si din cauza ca nu stiu limba si ea e cam..asa e si ea. (well, it's like this because of the  
983 language 'cause i don't know it, but also because of her, she is not that..)



984 I: Maybe she doesn't care that much but also the fact that I do not know the language ..is important.

985 R: Is there anything that you understand now in the German school only because you learned in  
986 France?

987 I: Este ceva pe care il stii acum foarte bine in Germania numai datorita faptului ca ai invatat acel  
988 lucru in Franta? (is there anything that you know now in Germany only because you have learned it  
989 in France?)

990 D: ..Da. (yes)

991 I: Yes.

992 R: Can you give me an ((interrupted))

993 D: Deci, si ce-am facut noi aici, la scoala nu am facut....Deci ce am facut cu doamna pe tabla, la  
994 scoala nu am facut asa. (so, what we did in here, in the school I've never done it..so what the  
995 lady/teacher did today on the blackboard, at the school they've never done it)

996 I: For example, what you did today ..was very good because I never did this in school. What you  
997 did, I mean writing at the blackboard it's..they have never done this.

998 R: Aha..How do you learn now in the German school ..like do you have the books..or only the  
999 teacher is writing on the blackboard?

1000 I: Cum inveti acum in Germania, dupa carti sau sunt totusi profesori care scriu la tabla? (How do  
1001 you learn now in Germany, on the books or are there still teachers who write on the blackboard?)

1002 D: Profesori care scriu la tabla...(there are some teachers who write on the blackboard..)

1003 I: There are some .. that write at the blackboard.

1004 R: Ok. So, yeah, we are towards the end because I see that everybody starts to be .. tired.

1005 I: Incepem sa fim putin cam obositi si asa ca..o se ne apropiem de sfarsit. (as everyone starts to  
1006 become a little tired .. we are getting towards the end)

1007 R: What I was interested in actually, because here we have training teachers..

1008 I: Ceea ce ma intereseaza de exemplu este ca noi aici avem trainer profesor, de astia de fac ca  
1009 profesorii. (what I'm interested in, for example is that, you know here we have trainers-professors,  
1010 you know like the teachers)

1011 R: I am talking to you because I would like to ask you, by having your story, to give some kind of  
1012 advices, what could be better.

1013 I: Adica ar vrea sa te ajute, spunandu-ti o poveste cum ca lucrurile se pot imbunatatii, daca vrei  
1014 ((interrupted)) (I mean, she would like to help you, by telling your story, that things could get  
1015 better, if you want to)

1016 R: Because you are not the only student who has to change .. school so many times.

1017 I: Pentru ca nu esti singurul student care a trebuit sa schimbe atatea locuri in scoala. (Because you  
1018 are not the only student who had to change school so many times)

1019 R: Like..you have this experience now .. can you tell me what .. how it could be easier for you, like  
1020 what..what was the most difficult on this way and how it could be maybe easier?

1021 I: Ar vrea sa ii spui cum ar putea sa fie mai bine pentru tine, si cum ar putea sa iti usureze munca.  
1022 (she would like you to tell her how it could be easier for you, better, and what should be done to  
1023 make it easier)

1024 D: Pai io nu stiu cum sa zic dar e mai bine aici asa cu doamna cum facem noi o data pe saptamana.  
1025 Ma simt mai bine aici... decat la scoala. (Well, I don't know what to say but it's better here with the  
1026 lady/teacher, the way we do it, once in a week. I feel better here....than in school)

1027 I: He says he's feeling very well here, in this context, and with you, rather than at school.

1028 R: Ok. .... Ah, you know, we don't know where are you going to live next year..

1029 I: Noi nu stim cand vei pleca, in general lumea nu stie unde vei pleca peste un an. (we don't know  
1030 when you'll go, generally people don't know where you'll go live in a year from now)

1031 R: But after visiting school or rather living, living in Romania, living in Spain, living in France, and  
1032 now living in Germany .... Ah, where can we imagine the future? Where can we imagine your  
1033 life?

1034 I: Dupa atatea mutari din Romania, in Spania , in Franta , Germania, unde te, cum poti sa iti  
1035 imaginezi ca vei f\_ , unde crezi ca vei fi? (after living and moving from Romania to Spain, to  
1036 France, to Germany, where can you, where can you imagine the future, where do you think you'll  
1037 be?)

1038 D: Nu stiu.. ((laugh)) (I don't know)

1039 I: I really don't know.

1040 D: Nu ..(?)...Nu stiu deci nu stiu unde, poate .. poate iar poate merg in alta tara, poate nu stiu. (No..I  
1041 don't know where, so I really don't know..maybe ..maybe again maybe I'll go to another country,  
1042 maybe I don't know.)

1043 I: Maybe I'll move again to another country but maybe I will not, I really don't know.

1044 R: The things that you learned, learned on these places, both the school and the 'practicum' for  
1045 example, or now with your friends when you skip school and you just hang out and you use internet  
1046 ...does it prepare you for living in Romania, does it prepare you for living in Germany..or you think  
1047 from now on actually you can be anywhere ..?

1048 I: Faptul ca ai atata experienta, faptul ca te-ai mutat de atatea ori si ca in timpul scolii chiulesti sau  
1049 nu chiulesti cu prietenii, crezi ca aceaste lucruri te pregatesc mai mult pentru a locui in Germania,  
1050 sau mai mult in Romania sau poate, in alta parte? (The fact that you have such an experience, the  
1051 fact that you moved so many times in different places, the fact that you skip school with your  
1052 friends or when you didn't, and attended, do you think these things prepare you for living in  
1053 Germany, or maybe more for living in Romania, or maybe somewhere else? )

1054 D: Pai nu stiu ca aici nu cam prea cred ca stau ..ca..nu stiu, as vrea sa ma cam intorc inapoi in  
1055 Franta. (well, I don't know ..'cause I don't think I will stay long here ..'cause I don't know, I kinda'  
1056 would like to go back to France)

1057 I: I really don't think I will remain in Germany because I would like very much to go back to  
1058 France.

1059 R: What's the reason for this?

1060 I: Care ar fi acest motiv? (What's the reason for this?)

1061 D: Pai, nu stiu..ca nu prea cam mai este de munca aici si cum suntem noi romanii fara drepturi..nu  
1062 suntem chiar asa de (vazuti?)...si nu stiu daca mai stam. (Well, I don't know..maybe because there  
1063 is nothing to work here, and, as we Romanians, are without rights, .. we are not that  
1064 (known?/seen?)..so I don't know if we are going to remain here any longer)

1065 I: Because of my parents' work ..work is not that easy to find and, as Romanians do not have too  
1066 many rights here, maybe we'll go back to France.

1067 R: Aha..ok..OK! Thank you very much, it was a great interview! ((laugh))

1068 I: Multumesc((laugh))

1069 D: ((laugh))

1070 R: I turn this off.

Interview Transcript of Gül, 15 years old

Leipzig, 3. April 2014

G: Gül, R: Researcher, I: Interpreter, M: Mother, F: Father, I: Other family members

- 1 R: ..So ((erm))...actually..here I show my example. Because I also lived ((ehh)) I also lived  
2 in many ((ehh)) cities. And this is my life in Budapest.
- 3 بهاي ال...الدياغرام تقريبا بتحاول ت..إيه..(توضح لك إنها عاشت في أكثر من مدينة.. وهاي الطريقة لتمثيل ال..المدن  
4 .. :I
- 5 الي..عاشت فيها (transcriber). (وهذه حياتها في بودابست
- 6 R: mhm. I want to understand ((ehh)) the three stations Syria, Turkey, Leipzig a little bit  
7 better so for each station we are going to draw a map like this.
- 8 إمم..(بدها ترسم ل- ((إمم (بدها تحاول تست ((إمم..(تفهم ال..المحطات التلتة ((إيه (تركيا- سوريا تركيا و .. :R>  
9 )) :I
- 10 ألمانيا >ألمانيا..وبدها لكل منطقة ترسم شكل مثل ((إيه (هاد
- 11 R: In the middle, it is you, <G: yes.> and these circles ((ehh)) mean- and on these you can put  
12 a little dots, every little dot is actually a person so for example this is my mother this is my  
13 father this is ((ehh)) my grandmother, yeah? This.. is whe- when I lived in Budapest this was  
14 my family, so family school work, if you worked somewhere, and free time.. and the closer  
15 the dot is to you the more important the person was.
- 16 I: في الوسط <تمام بعدين :M> .. تمام)) ..امم ((طبعاً في المركز بيكون ال..الشخص الي بدنا ندرسه مثل..هاي هية  
17 كل
- 18 أبوها أمها عائلتها <ستها- بالضبط .. :M> النقاط هاي يتمثل..كل واحدة فيها يتمثل شخص)) ..إيه ((مثل هاي إمها هاي  
19 تمام
- 20 و كلما (transcribeG: . و..طبعاً)) إيه ((مقسمة لجزء مثل هاي وقت الفراغ)) إيه ((العائلة ال..المدرسة ال..العمل  
21 كانت
- 22 نقطة ما أقرب إليك, كلما كان هذا شخصاً مهماً أكثر بالنسبة إليك)
- 23 R: mhm, okay.. And this is actually only a help.. So that you can.. remember back, with  
24 which people you were interacting at the different stations.. how you lived and you can.. give  
25 me a- an insight into your life.
- 26 I: تمام..هاي طبعاً الشكل الي بدها ترسمه (transcriber) وهذا كان في الحقيقة مجرد وسيلة مساعدة, لتعينك على تذكر  
27 الذين كنت تتعاملين معهم خلال المحطات المختلفة..(وبتطلب منكم إنه تحاولي تتذكري في كل محطة مين الشخص الي  
28 تعاملتي
- 29 معهم في..سوريا وتركيا و..ألمانيا
- 30 <M> :>ال..الشخص مين بتعني فيون يعني..؟
- 31 I: What exactly, by “persons” what exactly do you mean?

32 R: mhmm I am interested in the education of the child, so.. it means also home education,  
33 family education.. But also if ((ehh)) what she did in her free time.. I mean how did she spend  
34 her life ((ehh)) after school or in the weekend, ((ehh)) and of course, mostly about school.

35 ((I: امهم)), (هل بالضبط هية.. يعني بتهتم أكثر شي بتعليم الطالب (transcriber: الطفل), (وبتهتم طبعاً بال- بكل النواحي  
36 يعني بالتعليم.. في مثل في المدرسة.. وبالنسبة للسرة)).. إيه (وقت الفراغ كيف كانت مثل تقضيه)).. إيه (في الدرا- في  
37 المدرسة مثل مين كان إلها أصدقاءها أو معارفها.. هيك يعني

38 R: mhmm.. So you were born in Syria <G: yes>, in which city? <G: in.. Aleppo> In Aleppo  
39 ((mhmm)).. ((ehh)) and you started Kindergarten there or.. primary school? <G: yeah primary  
40 school> And which age?

41 R: ((ehh)) in.. class seven <G: mhmm I stop in class seven, I have problem in Syria, after I go  
42 out Syria ((ehh)) I have now in class nine. But I can't because I don't have Syria is in problem.  
43 >

44 R: mhmm. So between the age of six and.. <G: seven> No, okay. So, whi- which classes did  
45 you attend in Syria?

46 G: ما فهمت بالضبط

47 I: ((. امم)) (شو الصفوف الي.. درستيتها في سوريا

48 G: ((ahh)).. In.. garden.. <M: مشان وتوضحي الصورة صح  
49 > in ((ehh)) schulegarden.. und ((ehh)) in class one two three four five six sev- seven.

49 > in ((ehh)) schulegarden.. und ((ehh)) in class one two three four five six sev- seven.

50 <G: ((mhmm))> In seven, I stop.

51 R: Can you describe me a little bit.. ((ehh)) what subjects did you learn at the school? <G:

52 in...> How was the school I mean.. was it (..??)

53 G: For me.. for people and for my teacher it's very good. Yes, because I can.. My teacher ask

54 me anything I can speak I can.. ev- everything yes. <I: إيه شو كان رياضيات بالانجليزي

55 Mathematics> Mathematics is.. my.. <R: your favorite subject> Yes.

56 R: Which subjects did you have in Syria?

57 شو المواضيع الي درستيتها في سوريا.. مواضيع الدراسة. (transcriber: المواد الدراسية) <G: >مواضيع مثل شو؟

58 I: مثل

59 ..يعني ((إيه)) (رياضيات.. عربي.. تاريخ.. إنجليزي

60 M: المواد كلياً عنا نحننا الديانة العربي الرياضيات القراءة.. اجزمايعات <R: تاريخ جغرافيا وطنية, كله. كل هدول

61 >.المواضيع

62 I: They have all kinds of... subjects. Mathematics, sociolo- social sciences, geography,

63 religious studies <M: > وكانت علماتها عالية فيهم and so on. Yeah.

64 M: .علماتها كانت عالية وكانت وكانت من الشاطرين الوائل

65 I: She was among the top ((ehh)) students and she was, yeah.. She was a.. hard-working  
66 student. Yeah.

67 R: ((ehh)) did you also have foreign language like English or.

68 G: Yes, I can speak English I can speak little bit Turkish I can speak Kurdish, Arabisch, little  
69 bit Romanisch.

70 R: mmmm where did you do- where did you learn Romanisch? <M: Kurdish ((\*laughter\*))>

71 G: ' Romanisch, I- in Syria I.. I like speak anoth- another.. di- different language, because this  
72 I go I... in like school in language. I did it in Romanisch. Yes.

73 R: mmmm, and Kurdish? Do you use Kurdish in the family?

74 G: Yes, my family Kurdish.

75 R: Okay, so you family language is Kurdish and Arabic.

76 G: Ara- Arabic yes.

77 R: Okay... mmmm okay. Whe- when you had to leave Syria, did you have any school papers  
78 that you could take with you or..

79 M: شو؟

80 I: ((لم- لما اضطررتي تتكري سوري كان معك )) ايمم (( school papers )) (وثائق مدرسية  
81 شهادة, مثل الشهادة يعني  
82 I: تمام. كان معك أي شهادات أو شي . <R: أبدا > Nothing.  
83 F: ما بيعطونا الشهادة إل للتاسع. التاسع ما وصلته لسا... )؟

84 G: ((ehh)) In Syria don't give me in.. Just in nine, class nine.. but I don't... in nine

85 I: She did not..

86 R: mmmm.. okay. How was an afternoon there, like after school.. when did you finish? <G:  
87 Yes..> when did you finish in a-.. Wednesday..?

88 G: In.... in Syria? <G: mmmm.. we are still in Syria> ((\*laughter\*)) I finish in one o'clock, I  
89 come with my family, I eat. After I.. <I: yeah, she studies you know, does her  
90 homeworks..> after I go with my friend, I see my friend, after I go with my family in cuisine  
91 and.. (...?) yes.

92 R: mmmm yes.. yeah Aleppo is a big city, so.. <G: ما فهمت عليها > Aleppo is a big city.. <I: حلب  
93 مدينة كبيرة..>

94 G: Yes it's very big. Yes, I go with my friend, I shopping.. all.

95 R: mmmm.. di- did you have any other like.. for example sport class, or language class after  
96 school or or in the weekend?

97 I: (( امم )) ((كان عندك مثل .. حصص رياضة أو فنون أو كذا (transcriber): (بعد المدرسة, أو في عطلة السبوع

- 98 G: Yes. I have I have in.. mahlen, -in Deutsch-, in Deutsch, in school.. <G: malen..
- 99 painting> <M: <رحلت>
- 100 I: trips and.. yeah.
- 101 R: Excursions, you mean?
- 102 I: Excu- yeah like يعني ((ehh)).. رحلت ((ehh)) excursions yeah, yeah..
- 103 R: Okay, and it was organized by the school or..?
- 104 I: ني كانت تنظمها مثل المدرسة أو ال..؟
- 105 G: Yes yes. <M: أكيد>
- 106 R: mmmm. And did you attend any religious education after school or..?
- 107 I: (( امم )) (( ابيه )) ((كنتي مثل تروحي تاخدي دروس دينية مثل بعد ال ..مدرسة أو كذا؟
- 108 ل بس يعني نحنا ..هيكى بين بعض تلفزيون هيكى عنا عادتنا وتقاليدنا بالدين..بطرح المواضيع على بناتي مشان دائما يكون
- 109 :M
- 110 عندن اطلع بكل شي في الحياة .
- 111 I: She didn't really attend any ((ahh)) schools, but she basically had it's own family
- 112 atmosphere (transcriber: they had their own religious traditions) in which.. <M: لأنه نحنا بالنهاية>
- 113 > yeah, because they are at the end Muslims and, yeah.
- 114 I: She likes to teach them> عندن M: بحب كل شي يعرفوا بناتي أنا كل شي ,يعني من صغرن معلمتن لزم يكون عندن
- 115 <everything اطلع بكل شي في الحياة
- 116 I: She like to teach he- her..daughters everything, yeah.
- 117 R: ((ehh)) may I ask what your profession is? What did you work in Syria?
- 118 I: شو.. )؟
- 119 I: (( ايه )) ((شو اشتغلتي في سوريا أو ..>M: >أنا كوافيرة
- 120 I: She's a.. coiffure, you know.
- 121 G: Frisure.
- 122 R: Ahh, Friseurin.
- 123 M: مناكير بوديكير معالجة فيزيائية بشرة <G: Alles>
- 124 I: Skin..yeah yeah
- 125 R: Okay, mmmm.. Okay ((emm)) and then how old were you when you moved.. moved from
- 126 Syria?
- 127 G: (( ابيه )) ((لما طلعت من سوريا كم كان عمري؟
- 128 I: (( ابيه )) ((كم عمرها لما طلعت من سوريا؟

- 129 G: تلتطعش؟ أربعطعش؟
- 130 F: (...تلتطعشر سنة تقريبا <M>: <M> في سنة تقريبا
- 131 G: Fourteen.
- 132 R: And ((ehh)) did you leave somebody behind? Do have still family members, relatives,  
133 friends in Syria?
- 134 I: كان لسا عندك أقارب أو أصحاب في..سوريا؟
- 135 G: Yes I have friends I have my family in Syria, yes.
- 136 R: Ho- how can keep in touch with them?
- 137 I: كيف تقدري تتواصلتي معهم؟
- 138 G: كيف بتواصل معن .In Whatsapp in Viber in..in Facebook..all of these
- 139 M: Skype.. <G: Internet> Internet.
- 140 R: mhmm, okay. ((emm)).. When you moved to Turkey yeah? It was a move to Turkey..
- 141 <G: Yes> Wh- where exactly?
- 142 G: In Aksaray.
- 143 R: In Aksaray <G: yes> Okay. And ((emm)) like could have the chance to attend school
- 144 there? Or? <M: (..?)> Ho- how long were you in Aksaray? <G: أنه أنا سجلت بشي مدرسة بتركيا أو
- 145 <G: كذا>
- 146 M: Oh..
- 147 G: No. (...??) (..?) in Turky (transcriber: that was exactly as she -the interviewee  
148 pronounced it).
- 149 I: How long.. قديش قعدنا بتركيا قديش قعدنا ؟ <G: قديش قعدنا بتركيا
- 150 <I: One month> . شهر يعني شهر . <F: شهر تقريبا > ش- يعني شهر . M: تقريبا ال ((..))ايه ((
- 151 G: One month I stay in Turky.
- 152 R: Okay. And in the- in the c-, because you were in a regufee camp, yeah?
- 153 G: Yes.. No... عم تقول انه إذا أخذنا كامب بتركيا قعدنا بتركيا
- 154 I: .يعني م- ))ايه ((يعني لجزئين ))ايه ((مخيم لجزئين
- 155 G: My brother becau- because problem in Syria, go out Syria and Turky stay at home and-  
156 and my family I go with my brother. (transcriber: Her brothers fled Syria into Turkey where  
157 they settled, as we shall see below)
- 158 أنا عندي اتنين شباب ..هربتن لانه انطلبوا للنظام ,ياخدوهن عسكرية .هربتن عاسطنبول .فأخذوا بيت بعدين طلعلنا لعندن  
159 :M
- 160 I: ((Umm)), she has two sons and they were ((umm)) requested ((ehh)) summoned by the



161 syste- by the regime to- to serve in the military. And she had them flee the country, like, go  
162 to-, yeah. And ((ehh)) they settled in Turkey, and they ((ehh)) caught up with them later.

163 R: Mhmm. Are they still in Turkey or did you come together? <I: لساتهم في تركيا أو؟ > <F:  
164 لساتهم..>

165 I: Yes.

166 R: They are still in Turkey.

167 M: بيحكى تركي بلبل

168 R: In Ak- in Aksaray? <G: yes. In Aksaray>

169 I: They speak Turkish fluently.

170 R: Wow!

171 G: Yes. My brother perfect speak Turkish. <M: And English. باللكنة الميركية.>

172 I: And American-.. He speaks almost native-like English. Yeah.

173 R: How did they learn so well?

174 M: لخالن. عندي ما شاء ال عندي شي يعني معروف بعيلتي بيقولو الذكاء الخارق عند اولدي من ال

175 I: They always say that intelligence is always present in her family.

176 G: You know Palmera in Spain? <F: وكنا نحنا نشجعن (...??)> <I: ما شاء ال Palmera. You know  
177 Plamera? <R: No..> You don't know Palmera. Okay. This in ((ehh)) language in English in  
178 American. <R: mhmm> Yes. In (..?) my brother in Syria can speak very good. Go outside in  
179 Turkyia <M: لحاله بتركيا > And working, he can speak Turkish.

180 R: Mhmm. Okay.

181 M: And little Russi <G: Little bit Russi>

182 I: Russian.

183 R: You can be a proud mother. Yeah. So how do you keep in touch with- ((ehh)) with the  
184 brothers?

185 I: (...?) Skype.

186 G: In Internet.

187 R: Okay. <M: فرجزيا صورته > And do you have any other ((ehh)) friends or relatives in other  
188 countries? Or here in Germany maybe?

189 G: I have here a friend here in Germany or Syria. Just.

190 R: Okay. Who are these friends in Germany?.. Ahaaaa!! <G: My brother> Masha'Allah!  
191 (\*loud laughter\*)

192 R:((ehh)) You can tell that in case I was not married I would really consider.

193 G: Not married! (\*loud laughter\*)

- 194 M: شو ؟
- 195 R: Can you translate?
- 196 I: Yeah. Okay. ((ehh))
- 197 I: -يعني بتمزح بتقول إنه في حال ما تجوزت يعني بتفكر ت
- 198 (\*loud laughter\*)
- 199 M: أنا موافقة
- 200 I: She accepts ((\*laughing\*))
- 201 R: I read too many books so I am dangerous!
- 202 (\*laughter\*)
- 203 I: ..قرأت كثير كتب فيعني مش قليلة
- 204 R:((\*laughing\*))
- 205 M: يا ريت بتنمي
- 206 I: Sh- she hopes.
- 207 R: So ((emm)) yeah. How did you experience the change from Turkey to Leipzig and why
- 208 Leipzig?
- 209 I: (( امم )) (كيف تقبلتي الانتقال من تركيا لليبيز و ليش ليبيز؟
- 210 G: I have problem very in Syria, you know this and I come in Turky, and my family little bit
- 211 my family all in here or in Leipzig or in Germany. Because this I come here und tell me in
- 212 Germany it's very good, school good all this good, I come here.
- 213 R: Mhmm, di- ((ehh)) did you know before how Leipzig is or did you have contacts to the city
- 214 already?
- 215 M: What?
- 216 كا-)) امم ((كنتي عندك فكرة مثل قبل ما تيجي علييغ إنه كيف البلد أو كان عندك مثل معارف دلوكي عليها أو حكو لك
- 217 :I
- 218 -كيف مثل أو أعطوكي فكرة كيف ال
- 219 M: ل, أنا دايمًا <F>((??...)) بعد إنذك <F>((??...)) بعد إنذك. أنا دائما ((ايه ((بدخل عالنترننت وباخذ فكرة عن اللجوء
- 220 بشكل عام. فكننت دائما تجي إصبعتي عاللجوء اللماني. وشفنت المعاملة وشفنت السلوب الي عم يقدموه للعزولية اللي هون
- 221 وشفنت الحضارة وشفنت التقنيّة الي عندن, فسبحان ال قلت ل يعني نحنا عايشين بسوريا من داخليتنا نحنا عايشين حياة
- 222 أوروبية.
- 223 لو نحنا بسوريا)) ,ايه ((طبعًا ما وصلت سوريا للحضارة الي وصلنّه فيها ألمانيا ,بس نحن كفاميلي دائما عايشين حياة
- 224 أوروبية.
- 225 فاخترت ألمانيا حسيّتها كثير قريبة من حياة أولدي ونمط عيشتنا.

226 I: She always studied on the internet ((umm)) like- searched on the internet about being a  
227 refugee and she always found Germany to be the best choice, because of the treatment and the  
228 technology and the culture. And ((umm)) generally, their life in Syria is European-style and  
229 they always ((umm)), they found Germany to be the best, the most suitable place.

230 R: Mhmm, okay. Did you know anything about the schooling system before?

231 I: كان عند فكرة عن النظام التعليمي من قبل؟

232 هل أنا ما عندي هالفكرة ,بس ولكن بعد إيجيت وأخذت معلومات من هون ومن هون ,يعني أنا في كل الحوال ما دام عندي  
233 :M

234 قرار إنه أنا أجزي على ألمانيا عندي ثقة ببناتي وبعقلية بناتي يعني ,إنه عندن استيعابي .هل انهم ما شاء انهم لسا ببداية  
235 المدرسة

236 وما شاء ال بتحكي ألماني بشكل واضح .الثانية ما شاء ال ألماني وأخص الإنجليزي كمان بيساعدها كمان بشكل واضح .فأنا

237 عندي ثقة فيهن قبل ما اخذ نموذج التعليم .فأنا قلت بأي دولة نزلوا اولدي أنا واثقة انهم راح يتأقلموا مع الجوب بشكل-لنه

238 حياتهن أوروبية عقليتن أوروبية .وعندن لغة إنجليزية ,ف- وارتحت نفسيا للموضوع

239 I: She didn't really have an idea before, but when she came to Germany she were sure that  
240 ((ehh)) her children can make it. And when she came here she asked around and yeah she  
241 ((ehh)) she was pretty sure wherever they go they can always make it. (transcriber: The mom  
242 also talked about her daughters having some command of the English language which the  
243 interpreter -me- mistakenly forgot to mention)

244 R: Yeah. I also have no doubt.

245 I: ((. اييه ((هي كمان ما عندها شك

246 R: How did you find exactly the school, and did you enroll in the school?

247 I: كيف اندليتوا عالمدرسة وكيف كانت إجزراءات التسجيل في المدرسة؟

248 هل بالنسبة لراما)) ,ايه" ((يوغن أمت "سجلها ,لن نحنا ضيعنا بعضنا .بعدينة إجزتمعنا ول- وعملولنا لم شمل مع بعض  
249 :M

250 ف"يوغن أمت "هو الي سجلها وأنا كثير بتشكرو فعل وبرفع راسي بشي اسمه "يوغن أمت "إنه احتضن بنتي وسجلوها  
251 ودخلوا

252 مرحلة تعليم منيحة بالنسبة لها ,وجزابولي اياها لعندي جزاهزة .بالنسبة لنور ,عندي تحت المشرفة هية الي اعتنت فيها  
253 .وسجلت لي اياها بالمدرسة

254 I: ((emm)).. ((ehh)).. عفا ؟ <G: راما > <M: راما > <R: Gül> Gül.. Jugendamt? <M:

255 yeah> Yeah, Jugendamt ((ehh)) enrolled her. And ((emm)) she is very thankful to the  
256 Jugendamt.. and for Nour, coordinator downstairs. And, umm, when they first came here they  
257 were separated, but then the government brought them back together and- yeah. R:So, ((ehh))  
258 you came with the children and the father was separated or? How did you separate?

259 I: كيف قصدك ب separated يعني كيف قصدك إنه كنتوا مفرقين عن بعض؟

260 ..هل نحنا لما طلعلنا بأخر مرحلة باسطنبول نطلع كلياتنا سوا ..بعدينة العدد كان كثير كبير .طلعلنا أول دفعة الي هوة أن و

261 :M

262 وجزوزي ..وعلى أساس بناتي حيلقونا بالدفعة الثانية .بس أنا الي بعرفه الكل مع بعض .بس من كتر ما كان عبطة وعجقة  
263 في  
264 الموضوع ,فحننا طلعلنا لحال ,وأنا بعرف إنه بدهن يلحقوني .فأنا لما وصلت رومانيا ,مسكونا برومانيا ,وبناتي ما عاد  
265 عرفت شي  
266 عنهن ,أخدوا الموبايل مننا والرقام وما عاد عندي شي .هون ضيعت بناتي .فاضطريت أرجزع بعد فترة لسوريا مشان  
267 أجزمع شوية  
268 مصاري مشان أرد أرجزع لسطنبول مشان آخذ بناتي وأجزبي على ألمانيا. فلمن رجزعت على اسطنبول بشوف اولدي  
269 الشباب  
270 بيقولولي إنه نحنا الب- إخواني طالعنهن لحقناهن وراكن .وأنا هون ما عاد عرفت شي عنهن لحتى جزيت للمانيا لهون  
271 وسألت  
272 .هون كثير بعدينة ((أبييه ((ما شاء ال طلع عندن تقنيات عالية .وصلونا لبعض  
273 :I .الحمد ل  
274 :M .أكيد الحمد ل  
275 I: ((Umm)) Well, it's a bit complicated actually ((emm)), there was a lot of.. a large number  
276 of refugees, and they had to send them in two batches. And ((emm)) she.. she was in the  
277 first batch, and actually ((ehh)) there lots of ((ehh)) kinda.. because the number was huge  
278 and ((ehh)) she didn't know anything about her daughters. And ((ehh)) especially when  
279 they went to Romania and they ((ehh)) had to give away their cellphones, and so she lost  
280 contact with them. She had to go to Syria to make some money, to get back to Turkey and  
281 take her daughters back. And then her broth- her sons told her that they ((ehh)) they sent  
282 her daughters after them already. So ((ehh)) then after came to back to Germany, the  
283 system here the government was to ((uhh)) find them and bring them back together.  
284 (transcriber: This part was unfortunately very poorly translated. What the mother actually  
285 said was that she and her husband had to go on the first batch of refugees from Istanbul,  
286 which ended up in Romania where they got caught by the police and had hand in their  
287 mobile phones. In the mean time, the two daughters were on already on their way to  
288 Germany. The mother then had to go back from Romania to Syria to save some more  
289 money and go back to Istanbul. When she got Istanbul, here sons told her that the two  
290 girls must be in Germany already. So then she came to Germany and the German  
291 government was able to bring the family back together again.)  
292 R: So, ((ehh)) Gül arrived directly to Leipzig or to another city?  
293 I: ((؟ امم ((أول شي كنتوا في ليبزغ وال نزلتوا ب مدينة غير <R: ليبزغ <M: >ل ل .ليبزغ

294 I: Leipzig.

295 R: Mhmm, which ((ehh)) which subjects do you have now at school? What, how is the daily  
296 routine at the school?

297 G: ((Ehh)), I- just language, don't in school school don't <R: No other subjects> No. no.

298 <R:Only language> Yes. In.. بتصنيف الفعال كذا هيك . ((...?)) <I: Yeah. Grammar, ye- yeah.  
299 Vocabulary>

300 R: How many months have you been here?

301 G: ((Ehh)), one month.

302 R: Only one month. <G: Yes.>

303 R: Yeah, and ((ehh)) what did the teacher say, how long are you in this German.. German  
304 class? How many months?

305 I: ليمنى حظلي في ايه ((كم شهر حظلي في ال .. German class ؟ <R: ؟ في المدرسة> Yeah .  
306 R: . هل لبين ما أتعلم أنا اللغة .بعدين لحد- لبين ما أتعلمها حا أكمل دراستي أنا  
307 I: تمام . Until she ((ehh)) she can like- ((ehh)) get a good hold of the language, and then .  
308 .((umm)) she will continue her.. studies.

309 R: Mhmm, okay. ((Emm)).. Did the school ask when you were there first, what did you  
310 learn in Syria, what subjects did you have do you have any papers, so did they ask you  
311 about your life, educational life in Syria?

312 I: ((هل سألوكم عن حياتكم في سوريا شو المواد الي كنتوا درستوها أو شو ال..؟  
313 ايه ((أكيد سألو ايه أكيد سألو ل نور ساءلينها ولبنتي ساءلينها كمان .بما إنه أنا لسا جديدة يعني ,اليوم أول يوم عم بروح  
314 )) :M

315 ((ايه ((وجزاويتن ...))؟ ((وأخذنا كذا كذا هيك هيك كنا ندرس .قالوا لها شو أحب موضوع عندك قالت لن رياضات .حتى  
316 سألوها  
317 شو بتحبي بالمستقبل تطلعي قائلهن صيدانية

318 I: Yeah. ((Ehh)) They did ask her, yeah. And ((emm)) they asked her what is you favorite  
319 subject, she said mathematics. And then, ((emm)) they told her what would like to become,  
320 she said she wants to become a pharmacist.

321 R: Mhmm, a pharmacist. <G: yes.> (..?)

322 M: ان شاء ال

323 R: En sha'Allah ((\*laughter\*)). Okay, ((emmm)).. Do we maybe make the little points? So  
324 that I have my three maps, and I don't..

325 M: what?

326 I: امم بدها تبلش ترسم بال- الرسمة الي حكينا عنها

327 M: Okay.

328 R: One for Aleppo, one fo- for Aksaray and one for Leipzig. <G: Okay.> .... So, ((emm)) just  
329 mother, father, ((ehh)) did you have ((ehh)) grandparents for example?

330 I: كان عندك جزدود مثل في سوريا؟

331 M: .طبعاً طبعاً

332 R: Because, like, if I see th- the, you know, with whom ((ehh)) you are surrounded ((ehh)) I  
333 understand better in which context you are moving in your life.

334 ايه ((بدها)) امم ((تاخذ فكرة عن الناس الي كنتي تعرفيهم في كل منطقة عشان تعرف)) ايه ((الجو الي انتي كنتي عايشة  
335 )) :I

336 (transcriber: This part is unfortunately not successfully interpreted) فيه كا- تعليميا في كل منطقة

337 M: هادا سؤال بس ما فهمنا نحنا ,يعني نحنا <F>((...)) هل نحنا <F>((...)) قصدك انت بضمن المحيط الراسي؟

338 هل هي ,أكيد الجانب الدراسي بيشمل أكيد ال- الجانب الاجتماعي .فبالتالي بدها تحاول تعرف معارفها أصحابها ,الناس الي  
339 :I

340 كانت تلتقي فيهم - <M>: طب كيف بدنا نقل أصحابها معارها يعني إذا بدي قل لها مثل كلمة “منى” <ل هي ما رح- هي  
341 كيف ال

342 ما بتحتاج السماء <M>: ايه؟ <بس إنه)) ايه ((بدها تعرف بس فقط ال-)) ايه .. ((عدد الناس مثل تحاول تحدد إنه مثل  
343 بالزبط

344 في الفري تايم كانت تقضيه مثل مع أصحابها .. what exactly do you mean by the ..?

345 R: mhmm. ((ehh)), so for example: If this is ((ehh)) you are between the age of zero, so  
346 birth, <G: Yes.> and ((ehh)) the first, how many years? The first up untu- until the class  
347 seven. Yeah? So, for example you lived with your mother. <G: Yes.> Yeah? And also your  
348 father? <G: Yeah.> Sister and brother? <G: Sister and borther.> Two brothers? <G: Two  
349 brother and two sisters.> Like this. Yeah? Grandmother? <G: Yes.> Also? <G: Yes. Also  
350 father also my mother.> mhmm <G: Yes, all.> So, in this way. And then, friends. Your  
351 friends from school. <G: Yes.> Or.. <G: from school or for my family.> Okay. So, just if  
352 you- if you make little points and you say what the points stands for.

353 G: Oh my God. Okay.

354 فهمت عليها . <M>: قولي لي .قولي لي .شو؟ <بدي حط إنه من رفقاتي بالمدرسة ,مين رفقاتي من برات المدرسة كذ . <F>:  
355 :R

356 بسوريا ,بتركيا ما عندك حدا <M>: ؟( .(..عم نحكي عن سوريا أيام المدرسة نحنا <Yes .

357 R:So many! <G: So many, yes.> So many! <G: Yes!> Who are the best friends?

358 G: One.

359 R:One. One girl, okay. <G: Yes.> Is she from the neighborhood? Or? Do- does she live in the  
360 same- <G: Yes. Same school, same city, same-> Okay. Do you speak Kurdish? Or do you  
361 speak Arabic? <G: Arabisch.> Mhmm. And here, with all family members Arabic? <G:  
362 Kurdish Arabic.> Okay, mhmm.

363 في إليها أصدقاء من الكراد وفي إليها أصدقاء من العرب ضمن المدرسة يعني . <F: مدرسة مشككلة >بالمدرسة كانوا بنات  
364 :M

365 هيك مع بعضن وبطلعوا لعندي عالمزرعة هنة والفاميلي تبعن كلهن يطلعوا)). ايه ((مثل بال-))ايه ((من بره مثل في عندها  
366 بنات خالتها بنات احوالها بنات عمامها ,فدائما كلياتنا عنا مزارع نحنا بسوريا .دائما يروحوا عالمزارع عند بعض سباحة  
367 ولعب

368 .وتنس وبيغ بونغ ويعني يلعبوا مشككل .فهيك كانت بقضي حياتها .هي بتحدد بقى هل انتي هون ,حددي رفقات المدرسة  
369 :R .ما أنا قلت لها بنت واحدة ,كانت أكثر شي معي

370 .إيه هل هي بنت هي وعيلتها بنعرفهن بس أربع أصدقاء بالمدرسة أربع رفقة وهي البنت الي أكثر شي مقربة لها ,بالدراسة  
371 :M

372 .عرفتي؟ فإنتي حطيهن الربعة

373 G: Yes. What I said you, I have so many friends in Arabisch, Kurdish, my school, my family.  
374 All! .. Ba bas-, but I have one best friend in girl, in Arabisch.

375 R: mhmm. Where is she now?

376 G: In Syria.

377 R: Okay, do you kes- kep-, do you keep touch with her?

378 G: Little bit ((\*sigh\*)).

379 M: ما في عنا شبكة هنيك . No internet

380 R: mhmm, mhmm. ((emm)) If like- lot of people, we forget about it. Yeah? <G: yes.> ((ehh))  
381 in Turkey only two months, you say? <G: yes. Two months.> ((ehh)) how many of these  
382 people were the same here on this map?

383 M: What?

384 :I (( امم ))((مين- ))ايه ((كم شخص من الناس الي كانوا هون كانوا نفسهم هون موجزودين؟

385 R: Like I want to understand with whom you moved.

386 G: My family, just.

387 M: .لحالنا احنا

388 G: My family just.

389 M: .إزا عم بتحددي هي تركيا ,نحننا لحالنا بس

390 G: My- in Turkyia, just my family, I don't have family my father, I don't have family my  
391 mother, sorry, <O: (....?)> I don't have friends. Just my mother.

392 R: mhmm, mhmm. And ((ehh)) now in Leipzig?

393 G: Leipzig, I have friends. <R:Did you find friends?> Yes.

394 R: Where are-, like- are they from the Deutsch class or they Germans?

395 G: School, yes. <R:At your home or?> Yes, have very .. friends or in school on- I can

396 speak, yes an- all..

397 R: Where are from? The- these friends where are they from?

398 G: ((ehh)) in Syria, in Espania, in Spanish, <R:mhmm> in Turkyia in all. <R:mhmm> In

399 Afrikya, yes. <R:Okay> In different.

400 R: mhmm, and which is the language that you use?

401 G: English, Deutsch. <R:English, Deutsch> yes.

402 R: Okay. Do they speak German?

403 G: Yes! Yes <R:How did they learn?> I can understand. <R:How did they learn? ((ehh))

404 your friends, how did they learn German?>

405 G: I don't know, I don't know exactly but .. One year some- one year, some fu- ((ehh)) five

406 ((ehh)) monat. (...?) <R:((\*loud laughter\*))> <M: ((\*laughter\*))> (...?) some different!

407 R:mhmm, ((ehh)) how do you feel, like you speak so many languages. Can you make a use of

408 it here in Germany?

409 I: فيكي تستفيدي من اللغات الكثيرة الي بتعرفيها هون في ألمانيا؟

410 G: Yes. Exactly. I like- I like speak different language. Now I speak Deutsch not problem

411 for me I ((ehh)) study another language no problem for me. Because I like dis.

412 هل ((بتقل لي)) ايه ((راما, ماما لو في مدرسة أقوى من الي أنا قعدتها, كنت تعلمت اللغة بخلل شهر. بس مدرستها

413 :M

414 ما فيها هالقوة لسا يعني. يعني <F: صار لها جديدة عالش- >على حسب)) ايه ((ذكاءها بتحب أقوى بزمانه صار عندي

415 هي

416 شغلة صغيرة, حطيت لها بي سوريا)) ايه ((دورة. أجزت عم تبكي عم بتقول له لبوها انت حطيتني بضمن الكسالى أنا بدي

417 تحطني بضمن الوائل مشان أنافس الوائل مو أنافس الكسالى. بالفعل طلعت, فهية عم تتمنى تقول لو في مدرسة أقوى من

418 هاي,

419 تقدر تحتضني وتمسكني مزبوط أنا بطلع أوكي.

420 I: Umm, she wou- she would like to find even a better school she is current in. She want a

421 stronger school th- that goes even tougher on her, because she likes the challenge and

422 she can, yeah, she does not ((ehh)) accept to be ((ehh)) like treated easily and she wants

423 even toughe- tougher education. More challenging, yeah.

424 R: mhmm, did- ((ehh)) it's a question to both of you. <G: Yes> ((ehh)) do you see a risk

425 ((ehh)) with regard education by- by this moving, like, two times moving?



- 426 M: What?
- 427 I: ((-امم)) (بتلقي مثل زي ((امم)) (مخاطرة أو ((اييه)) (يعني مجازفة مثل بهاي النتقا- الننتقال مم- مرتين من ناحية ال
- 428 ((اييه)) (تعليم؟ يعني هل بتلقي مثل <M>: <يعني قصدك من العربي للمانى؟
- 429 I: ((ehh)) What exactly do you mean?
- 430 R: mhmm, that if let's say you- you haven't moved from Syria, but she kept on going to the
- 431 local public school there, ((ehh)) if you compare that way with the way she is going now, do
- 432 you see any risk and- or do you see maybe even an advantage? So this advantage and
- 433 advantage of this.
- 434 ((م)) ((هل هي)) ((ايه)) ((كانت مثل في سوريا ب- بنظام معين, بعدين انتقلت من-)) ((ايه)) ((لليبيغ وصارت تمشي على نظام
- 435 :I
- 436 مختلف. هل بتلقي إنه مثل في ((امم)) ((M>: ..صعوبة أو اختلف ..))؟ (باللي صار معها؟ <صعوبة أو أو تحدي أو اه
- 437 M: نحنا اختلفنا <F>: .... <بدها تتحدى هاي الصعوبات لو في صعوبات
- 438 I: yeah, she needs to challenge these ((ehh)) th- these risks, <R:mhmm> problems,
- 439 yeah.
- 440 نحنا مشكلتنا بشغلة واحدة هل هية مل- عنده صعوبة ولقت في صعوبة بس ليين ما تتعلم اللغة. هي شغلة, الشغلة الثانية إنه
- 441 :M
- 442 وقت عم بتروح عالمدرسة, عم تاخذ دروس أو كي, عم ترجزع لهون, ما في هون حدا يتابعا. يعني هل هون إذا غلظت في
- 443 كلمة,
- 444 ما في حدا يجاوبا. هي الصعوبة الي عم بتلقيا بنتي. ما تبقى بس تعلمت اللغة, بالعكس بنتي قادرة تتحدى, وعم بتقول أنا حا
- 445 أدرس هون بألمانيا الصيدلة. <I>: ال يوفك ان شاء ال <امين يا رب <R>: تسلم يا رب <فأنا بحب توصل المعلومة, إنو لما
- 446 عم ترجزع من المدرسة ما في حدا يعتابع لها <F>: <بدينا نحنا نتعلم اللغة ونساعدا
- 447 I: Umm, their only problem is with regards to language that umm, when she comes back
- 448 home from school, nobody is there to help her to ((ehh)) like- to keep an eye on her, on her
- 449 ((ehh)) progressing in learning German. But ((emm)) as soon as she is ((emm)) finished
- 450 learning the language, and contin- like starts to persue her studies, she can still ((ehh)) make
- 451 it, <R: mhmm> yeah, despite the difficulties.
- 452 R: Okay, ((emm)) because you have already ((ehh)) seen the school and the teachers and the
- 453 classmates, if you compare them to the school and the teachers and the classmates back in
- 454 Syria, do you see something different or?
- 455 I: ((اهم)) ((هل)) بما إنكم شفتوا المدرسين والطلب والكذا الي معها حاليا هون, إذا فيكي عملي مقارنة بينهم وبين الي كانوا
- 456 عندها في سوريا, هل بتلقي شي- يعني اختلف شاسع مثل <M>: أكيد <وال؟
- 457 I: Yeah, yeah, a vast difference.
- 458 R:((emm)) in which regard? I mean the teaching, the style..? <I: <من أي ناحية مثل
- 459 مثل من ناحية اهتمام ال-, هل احنا عنا اهتمام بالدراسة بسوريا, عنا مو ما عنا, ((\*cough\*)) ولكن المتابعة للطالب هادا
- 460 :M

461 الي عجيني أنا فيهن .هادا الفرق أنا بالنسبة إلي فرق شاسع .المتابعة للطالب مثل ,اليومة بنتي ما راح عالمدرسة ,بدهن  
462 يعرفوا

463 ليش .بسوريا بتغيب يوم اتنين التالت لحتى بدهن تقرير طبي أو أحدا أولياء المر ,وانت عندك فكرة في هاد الموضوع . <I:  
464 مزبوط >تفضل

465 I: Yeah, ((emm)), th- the biggest difference she found and the one she liked is ((emm)) that  
466 here they keep a close eye on the student. For example, when today for example she was  
467 absent from school, they immediately want to know why. ((ehh)) in Syria, however, they-  
468 kind of reluctant. ((ehh)) they like- .. she can be absent for one, two, three, days until then  
469 ((ehh)) they would maybe ask for a medical report or ((ehh)) one of her parents to come and  
470 explain.

471 والحالة النفسية الي عند الطالب ,كمان هاد الشي حلو عندهن ,إنه بيتابعوا حالتها النفسية .يعني اليومة ,ما هي طبيعية ,اليومة  
472 :M

473 مزعوجة .نحننا عنا هاد المر ,ول في الو اهتمام ,نكون . <I: مزبوط >بس هون ,ل .هون بدهن يشوفوا إذا الطالب  
474 واقعيين

475 من عينو مبين إذا هو مبسوط وال ل .ويحاولو يحلوا الموضوع من عندهن أكثر ما يحلو الموضوع من عند الهل .لما  
476 بيعجزوا

477 بيوصلوا للهل .أنا كتير قريرت هالشغل عندن عالنت . <I: رائع عفكرة .رائع جزدا >بشكل يعني ,وأنا فخورة إنه أنا بناتي  
478 هون . <I: زي عن- زي عنا فرد شكل يعني سبحان ال < (\*loud laughter\*) >

479 I: ((ehh)) In here, wh- another thing liked very much, that they keep close eye on the  
480 psychological ((ehh)) sit- ((emm)) status of th- of the student. ((emm)) When she is- when she  
481 seems sad or, umm, depressed they need to know why. And they need to so-, they try to solve  
482 it on their part first, from their part, but when can't they would refer back to the parents.  
483 <R:mhmm, mhmm. Okay.> And this is something that does not exist not only in Syria but,  
484 nowhere in the Arab world actually.

485 R:mhmm, mhmm. Okay. You said that you speak so many languages, yeah? ((emm)) If you  
486 compare your- self and your- life with ((ehh)) the students ((emm)) in the German school  
487 now. What do you feel as an advantage? Like what ((emm)) ((ehh)) do yo- do you feel there is  
488 anything that you know because you lived already in different context, because you (...?) this  
489 way? <I: ((umm)).. can you please-..? ((ehh)) yeah, it's okay> R:((laugh)) Sorry, that if- if  
490 there anything that you learned during the way, because if you compare yourself with the  
491 students were born here, who attend school here, what do you think you are more?

492 I: -شو بتلقي مثل عندك ((ايه)) (خلينا نقول أشياء انتي بتعرفيها الطلب الي هون موجزودي وعاشوا هون و ولدوا هون و  
493 ودخلوا عن المدارس هون ((إمم)) (مثل ما بعرفوها ,شو بتحسي مثل عندك ((إمم)) advantage أو ...شو كانت هديك  
494 الكلمة ,مش عا- مش عارف يعني ,الكلمات هي بت-)) ..إمم ((شو بتحسي عندك إشي يعني خلينا نقول)) ((\*snap\*))  
495 ((ايه))

496 راحت ! ((\*laughter\*))

497 M: Drink, drink! ((\*\*laugh\*\*))

498 ((\*loud laughter\*))

499 F: شو هي ال- (...؟ (بين الطلب هو وال- , غريب يعني الشغلة <I: ل , الغري- يعني عندك )) امم > ((أو المميز؟  
500 I: .. اه إشي بتميزي فيو عن ال  
501 M: .معلش عيد السؤال نسيناه لئه احنا  
502 I: يعني المقارنة <F: فرق بين الطلب هون وهنيك عم بيقول يعني > <T: يعني انتي بتعرفي لغات كثير , فشو الشي الي  
503 >بتحسيه انك انتي مميزة عن هالطلب الي معك  
504 M: اها إنه بتحسي بشي نقص إنه عم بحكوا ألماني بشكل بحت , وانتي عم بتحاولي تتعلمي , هيك؟  
505 اه شي أكيد يعني , إنه عم يحكوا ألماني وأنا قاعدة مثل الطرش بالزفة مثل ما بيقولوا .طبعاً , ببصير حساسية من هاد الشي  
506 :R  
507 بس بكرة بتعلم وكذا هيك ما ببصير عندي أي مشكلة  
508 M: .هاي المعلومة وصلها كاملة ,بكرة بتعلم ,وما عندي مشكلة  
509 I: Umm, basically ((emm)) maybe the only thing is that ((emm)) she can always listen to the  
510 students s- speaking in- in German and she doesn't know, and then she-, you know, there's a  
511 problem here. But ((emm)) soon enough she will learn and ((ehh)) there won't be a problem.  
512 <R:mhmm> Yeah, this is basically the .. thing. <R:mhmm>  
513 R: Okay. ((emm)) If you were tomorrow the minister of education, what would you change so  
514 that schooling easier for those students who have to move to or three or four times.  
515 لو تخيلتي حالك مثل بكرة صرتي وزيرة التربية والتعليم ,شو في شو مثل تغييريه بحيث إنك تسهلي ((ايه (حياة ال))ايه))  
516 :I  
517 الطلب الي بنتقلوا بالدراسة من- من من يعني من بيئة <R: من بلد لبلد؟ > (لبلد ثاني مثل ((امم (سواء مرة أو مرتين  
518 دراسية  
519 M: >.أكيد مثل ما عم تعمل هل هية  
520 R: أكيد مثل ما عم تعمل هل بحاول ساعدن كثير ,وبحاول سهل عالطلب نفسيتهن ,وحاول خليهن يتعلموا ألماني مشان ما  
521 يحسوا بالشعور الي حسيتو أنا  
522 I: She will probably do something very similar to what you are doing right now. Try to  
523 understand ((emm)) their situation and ((emm)) to find ways to make their education easier  
524 especially with regards to language ((ehh)) learning edge. Yeah.  
525 R: Okay. So, I would like to thank you for ((ehh)) this interview, and actually, I hope you  
526 don't have this book.. <I: No.> No, not you, you are translating ((\*laugh\*)) <I: Yeah, yeah of  
527 course yeah, I know.. ((\*laugh\*))> So, I got this for you. ((ehh)) Actually, you can write  
528 Arabic or Kurdish version here, <G: Yes.> So, on all page, well, let's take this one, this is  
529 your mother's topic, yeah? <G: mhmm> So, ((ehh)) German word with also the the “artikel”  
530 <G: artikel, yeah, yeah.> Yeah? Andd then you can write in the Arabic or.. <G: mhmm>  
531 whatever, which you want, so.. Thank you for participation, yeah. <G: Okay, thank you.  
532 Thank you very much.>  
533 R: And ((emm)), ((ehh)) maybe a question, that ((emm)) on Saturdays, I am free. Can you  
534 translate?

535 I: (( امم )) ((هي بتكون فاضية يوم- أيام السبت <R: هية؟>)) <امهمم>

536 R: So, in- in the next, I would say, three months and in the end of this summer..

537 I: ((..ايه)) ((خلل))ايه ((الشهور الثلاثة, إلى نهاية ال- الصيف

538 R: If you have a need to have me for, let's say, sixty minutes or eighty minutes, once a week  
539 on Saturday, that I can offer ((emm)) free class or, you know, teaching German, help you with  
540 homework, once a week, just have a contact and help with Geman because, in Hungary, I use  
541 to work with ((ehh)) with people from abroad, I used to teach children Hungarian language, so  
542 I am happy to do it here as well.

543 I: تمام, هل هية بتعرض عليكى ((امم)) ((إذا بدك هية أيام السبت تيجي تساعدك لمدة مثل)) امم ((ساعة مثل))ايه ((في))ايه))  
544 :I

545 دراسة اللغة, هية كانت بتعمل هاد الشي في أيام ما كانت بالمجر. فا- إذا بتحبي هي بتعرض لك يعني . <M: < >!ممنونة  
546 خدمتها

547 R: طبعا ! Really <!

548 I: She will be thankful for you, yes. <G: This is not I think, this really I want, yes I need!> on-  
549 on Saturday, in the morning, for example, or, you know, in the afternoon, then we meet, we  
550 sit down, we look through the different, you know, what you have learned during the week,  
551 and ((ehh)) yeah, I try to help you. I am trained as teacher for German as a second language.  
552 <G: mhmm> <I: yeah>

553 M: ؟ فهمتي عليها <G: Yes, I understand>

554 R: Okay, so, we'll keep in touch. <G: Yes, it's okay. When you don't have anything on  
555 Saturday, you can call me you come with me, no problem, every time I- I don't have anything.  
556 Just I language in Deutsch.>

557 R: Okay, good. ((emm)) I am- I-, I am in Budapest, I have to visit my family, wait a minute,  
558 where is my calendar ... ((ehh)) my calendar.! Can you say that for a week I go home to visit  
559 my parents? <I: ((هنغاريا عشا))ايه <M: <..> هية بدها تروح لسبوع على))ايه <M: ان شاء ال بترجع بالسلمة>

560 I: She hope you return safely.

561 R: Yeah, ((\*soft laugh\*)) thank you. ((ehh)) So I come back on the twentieth, so that means  
562 the week after. ((ehh)) Already on this Saturday, this is the last Saturday in this month, we  
563 can- we can do. Okay, good. So, we- <G: Okay, I have (..?)> Okay, good. So, thank you very  
564 much again for- <G: Thank you for your- (..?)> <M: Thank you for you.> your participation  
565 and, yeah. So, I turn this off.

Interview Transcript of Gül, 16 years old

Leipzig, 25. June 2015

G: Gül, F: Forscherin

1 G: Also letztes drei vier Monat ich war so schlimm ich kann nicht so gut Deutsch reden aber  
2 dann habe ich eine Kraft geholt und ich habe gelernt und gelernt in die Schule und ich habe zu  
3 viele Kontakte mit die Deutsche Leute gemacht und sie haben mir helfen natürlich und ich  
4 gehe immer zu meine Klasse die achte Klasse ich habe also immer gegangen und ich habe  
5 gehört gehört und gehört und jetzt ist es bei mir so gut dass wenn jemand zu mir redet ich  
6 kann verstehen und ich habe immer zu Hause gelernt und gelernt aber ich war im Heim und  
7 Heim war so schlimm weil ich habe mit den Leuten im Heim gesprochen auf Deutsch und so  
8 aber jetzt sind wir in einer Wohnung und jetzt ist so gut weil wir sind in eigener Wohnung  
9 und ich habe meine Zimmer und ich lerne in Ruhe und so und ich gucke immer nach dem  
10 Buch zu Deutsch lernen und so und im Wörterbuch wenn ich habe nicht verstanden dann ich  
11 übersetze und ich schreibe alle in mein Heft und so immer Deutsch Deutsch lernen lernen bis  
12 jetzt jetzt kann ich ja bisschen gut Deutsch reden.

13 F: Was meinstest du schlecht in einem Heim zu leben?

14 G: Ja weil da sind alle Arabische und aus Tunesien und so und kann dann nicht gut Deutsch  
15 lernen und sprechen weil alle im heim die Ausländer sie reden Deutsch aber nicht die richtige  
16 Deutsch. Ja weil ich jemand frage ich und dann sagt er und dann gehe ich zu einer Deutsche  
17 und ich frage und antwortet andere so neee ich möchte nicht in dem Heim lernen . weil die  
18 haben im Heim drei Tage in Woche so Deutsch lernen ja für die neue Ausländer aber das war  
19 sehr schlimm ich habe nur einmal gegangen und habe nichts verstanden. Die Lehrerin arbeitet  
20 im Heim in Geschäft und so und sie unterrichtet auch. Für alle Ausländer im Heim, wer  
21 möchte kann kommen die lernen Wörter und der die das, zum Beispiel der Tisch und so.

22 F: Und wo hast du noch Deutsch gelernt?

23 G: In die Schule von Frau Juhász. Z.B. wenn sie spricht und ich verstehe nicht dann sagt sie  
24 anders und ich muss auf Deutsch verstehen und im Theaterprojekt das hilft mir zu viel weil  
25 alle die Deutsche Leute und wenn ich gehe dort ich kann nicht English reden und ich versuche  
26 immer zu verstehen verstehen und verstehen ich kann nicht Deutsch reden aber ich versuche  
27 Deutsch reden

28 F: Wie lange war diesem Projekt?

29 G: Die Probiere war drei Monate jede Mittwoch und im Theater habe ich Deutsch gesprochen.

30 F: Kannst du mir ein bisschen mehr erklären wie das Leben in dem Heim ist?

31 G: Also eine Etage und gibts viele Zimmer und bei uns wir haben zwei Zimmer ich und meine  
32 Schwester und für meine Mutti und Vater und die Toilette ist zusammen und die Küche und  
33 Dusche auch zusammen zusammen Männer und Frauen und z.B. du hast Post bekommen  
34 dann gehst du zur Office und da ist eine Frau und spricht Arabisch und dann sagt sie den  
35 Termin wir gehen in den Jobcenter und so oder Sozialamt und sie erklären was du machst und  
36 so .Aber schlimme ist dass wenn die kochen dann die Küche ist nicht so..

37 F: Sauber.

38 G: Ja sauber und die Toilette auch und alles zusammen . also auf der Etage eine frau mit zwei  
39 Kinder aus Syrien auch eine Familie aus Afghanistan und eine Familie aus Türkei und aus  
40 Somal.

41 F: Wie sprichst du mit diesen Menschen?

42 G: Mit Arabische spreche ich Arabisch mit Türkische Türkisch wenn die Familie kommt aus  
43 Afghanistan sie hat ein Mädchen vierzehn Jahre alt und sie war mein Freund und mit sie  
44 Englisch aber ich versuche auch mit sie Deutsch reden.

45 F: Wie hast du in dem Heim deine Zeit verbracht? Also nach der Schule als du  
46 zurückgekommen bist?

47 G: Also ich tausche meine Kleidung und ich esse und ich lege in meinem Bett eine Stunde  
48 oder zwei so und stehe auf und mache ich Hausaufgabe und dann gehe ich zu ich habe ein  
49 Freund aus Türkei und ich sitze mit sie und trinken Tee und reden.

50 F: Jeden Tag so?

51 G: Ja jeden Tag auf Türkisch und Kurdisch.

52 F: Ja du sprichst auch Kurdisch?

53 G: Ich bin Kurdisch in der Familie wir sprechen Arabisch und Kurdisch. Meine Mutter  
54 Arabisch und mein Vater Kurdisch. Ich habe Kurdisch vom Vater gelernt.

55 F: Und in Syrien hast du die Schule auf Arabisch oder auf Kurdisch besucht?

56 G: Arabisch. Kurdisch ist eine alte Sprache und Kurdisch kann man auch schreiben und lesen  
57 aber ich kann nicht schreiben und nicht lesen nur sprechen. aber auf Arabisch sprechen,  
58 schreiben, lesen alles.

59 F: Wo hast du Englisch gelernt?

60 G: Also in mein Land Syrien in der Schule aber mein Englisch war so schlimm ich kann nicht  
61 ein Wort sprechen auf Englisch. Ich reden immer Arabisch und meine Schule alles ist auf  
62 Arabisch und nur zwei Stunde in Woche habe ich Englisch. Aber wenn der Krieg in Syrien  
63 passiert und ich war in Aleppo und habe gegangen zu mein ....so ..hmm nach Afrin gegangen  
64 und da hat eine Frau sie hat gelernt Englisch in der Universität und ich habe gesagt ich  
65 möchte Englisch lernen weil vielleicht gehe ich nach Deutschland und ich kann nicht Deutsch  
66 reden aber Englisch kann mir helfen so kann ich reden mit jungen Leuten oder so. ja und ich  
67 habe mit sie gelernt drei oder vier Woche ungefähr die Wörter oder so und ich habe zu  
68 Deutschland gekommen und ich immer versuche Englisch reden aber ich konnte kein  
69 Englisch reden weil ich Deutsch lernen musste und dann später jetzt kann ich beide sprechen.

70 F: Wer war diese Frau in Afrin?

71 G: Die Cousine von mein Vater sie hat Englisch studiert.

72 F: In Afrin hast du auch die Schule besucht?

73 G: Ja ich habe besucht aber...

74 F: Wie lange warst du denn überhaupt in Afrin?

75 G: Zwei Monate und ja ich habe die Schule besucht zwei Tage weil das war so schlimm das  
76 war eine kurdische Schule und ich habe nichts verstanden ich kann kurdisch nicht lesen und  
77 habe gesagt ich möchte nicht. aber wenn ich in Afrin gekommen und sehe meine Freunde  
78 sage bitte sprich mit mir nicht Arabisch aber Kurdisch weil ich möchte lernen das ist  
79 eigentlich meine Sprache und ich habe mit Freundin gesprochen und ich habe Kurdisch  
80 gelernt von Freundin und Cousine. Also ich habe Kurdisch und English in die gleiche Zeit  
81 gelernt in diesen zwei Monaten.

82 F: Und dann wo deine Eltern nach Rumänien gegangen sind bist du nach Aksaray gegangen.

83 G: Ja.

84 F: Wie lange warst du da?

85 G: Vier Monate. Keine Schule und immer zu Hause mit Freundin aus Aksaray. Ich war  
86 einmal auf die Straße gelaufen und ich war allein und ich habe gehört eine Freundin ich kenne  
87 sie und sie ist in Aksaray und ich telefoniere und so und die Freundin von diesem Mädchen  
88 auch meine Freundin . Und wir reden auf Kurdisch zusammen und ich habe gesagt ich mag  
89 Türkei und ich mag die Sprache auch und ich habe gesagt mit mir nicht Kurdisch reden nur  
90 Türkisch und so habe ich Türkisch gelernt .

91 F: Und hast du zu Hause noch gelernt?

92 G: Ja mein Bruder ist seit ein Jahr in der Türkei und er kann sehr gut Türkisch reden und er  
93 hat mir geholfen er schrieb die Wörter und ich du und so und habe gelernt und also ganz allein  
94 zu Hause gelernt. Weil ich habe nichts gemacht zu Hause, kein Fernsehen kein nicht, mein  
95 Bruder in Arbeit meine Schwester und ich wir sind alleine zu Hause und wir haben für den  
96 Bruder gekocht und geputzt natürlich.

97 F: Und dann bist du nach...

98 G: Nach Deutschland gekommen und so in Stuttgart war mein Heim und ich war da so 2  
99 Monate und so... Ich bin mit dem großen Auto das heißt der Kamion das war mit Tee und ein  
100 kleiner Ort und habe gegessen und ein Tag oder zwei ich erinnere mich nicht das war sehr  
101 schwer ich bin ein Heroe.

102 F: Du bist. Hast du in Chemnitz die Schule besucht?

103 G: Nee noch nicht und ich habe gewartet weil ich kann nicht Deutsch reden und ich kann  
104 nicht essen und ich bin klein und dann ich habe gegangen in Chemnitz und ich war alleine  
105 und ja die Menschen waren so komisch ich weiß nicht wie kann ich sagen da waren nur  
106 Kinder und dann die Frau im Heim sie hat mir gesagt ein Mann kommt und du musst alle  
107 Papiere ihm geben und dann er ist gekommen und mit mir in andere Heim gegangen und das  
108 war sehr sehr gut und das war in Wahren und das Heim war sehr gut weil alle waren sehr  
109 freundlich und sie können auch Englisch reden und ich habe Englisch gesprochen und ich war  
110 dort vier Monate und da habe ich immer die Wörter gehabt und so gelernt und so.

111 F: Wie hast du erfahren wo deine Schwester und deine Eltern sind?

112 G: Mit meiner Schwester wir sind zusammen gekommen zu Leipzig und in Heim die haben  
113 gesagt deine Schwester muss nach Chemnitz aber du bleibst hier und ich habe gesagt warum  
114 weil ich muss immer mit meiner Schwester zusammen aber die sagen nein weil du hast keine  
115 Eltern und sie kann nicht wie meine Eltern oder die Polizei machen zu mir und ich habe ein  
116 Monat nicht gesehen und ich war dann in Wahren heim und ich war allein und ich war  
117 schlafen und der Chef ist zu mir gegangen und dann fragte ich sprichst du mit meiner Mutti er  
118 sagte ja und ich habe mit meiner Mutti telefoniert und ich habe nur geweint geweint und sie  
119 sagte ich komme zu dir und so.

120 F: Wo war deine Mutti?

121 G: Sie war in Rumänien und hat zurück nach Türkei gegangen zu meinem Bruder und sie  
122 denkt wir sind immer noch dort und er sagte nein sie sind in Deutschland und sie ist nochmal  
123 nach Syrien gegangen weil sie haben kein Geld und sie haben noch das Haus und so verkauft  
124 und dann hat sie nach Türkei und nach Deutschland gekommen und gesagt dass ich habe ein  
125 Kind hier die Rama und Nur und sie haben im Computer geschrieben und dann alle in Heim  
126 in Riebeckstrasse.

127 F: Also zwei Monate und vier Monate und so.

128 G: Es hat sechs Monate gedauert und ich habe keine Schule besucht nur im Heim Deutsch  
129 gelernt, Englisch und Kurdisch geredet also und ich habe gesagt der Mann mit den Papieren  
130 und so er hat dann die Schule gefunden und da bin gegangen und da waren viele Freunde aus  
131 Syrien auch und so wir haben gesprochen und so.

132 F: Wie war dein erster Monat in dieser Schule?

133 G: War gut aber trotzdem ich kann nicht Deutsch reden aber gut weil ich habe die Freunde  
134 und sie haben mir geholfen und die Frau Popov sie war sehr nett mit mir und hat viel geholfen  
135 aber es war nicht gut weil ich bin im Heim und z.B. ich bin auf der Straße und ich möchte  
136 etwas kaufen oder ich will etwas lesen und ich kann nicht und das war schlimm. Schon nach  
137 ein Monat habe ich Klasse besucht ich kann mich nicht erinnern aber ich habe Stundenplan,  
138 also Mathe, Informatik, also erste sie haben gesagt ich muss Französisch aber ich habe gesagt  
139 ich habe kein Französisch gelernt und weil ich kann nicht die zweite Sprache in eine Zeit  
140 lernen aber ich hatte Englisch und Geografie, Musik in achte Klasse. Also erste Jahr siebte  
141 Klasse, jetzt achte Klasse.

142 F: Weil als du angekommen bist warst du fünfzehn Jahre alt.

143 G: Ja genau .

144 F: Sag mal wie verstehst du die Matheklasse?

145 G: Ja ich habe nichts verstanden bis vor Ferien jetzt ich habe gar nichts verstanden aber jetzt  
146 bisschen. Weil was sie in Mathe gelernen ich habe es nicht gelernt in mein Land. also ich  
147 habe in mein Land nur plus und minus und mal und durch und so aber hier in Deutschland x  
148 und y gleich z ich habe gar nicht gelernt in mein Land .

149 F: Bekommst du Hilfe?

150 G: Nein auch nicht in der Klasse.

151 F: Und in Geografie?

152 G: Na ja ich verstehe auch nichts und.

153 F: Gehst du eigentlich in diesen Klassen oder schwänzt du?

154 G: Ne ich gehe immer.

155 F: Und wie fühltest du dich in der Klasse?

156 G: Sehr schlimm weil die deutsche Kinder haben nur gelacht und verstehen nichts und bist ein  
157 Ausländer und so.

158 F: Was heißt Ausländer was meinen die Kinder?

159 G: Das ist wir sind nicht ein Deutsch wir sind na ja.. ein Asyl und so.

160 F: Hast du dann in der Klasse Freunde gefunden oder?

161 G: Nein nein. Also in Klasse habe ich keine Freunde aber in DaZ Klasse habe ich Freunde die  
162 Stefanie, die Hava, Elizavet, Fatima die Jungs auch.

163 F: Welche Sprache benutzt du mit diesen Kindern?

164 G: Deutsch nur mit Elizavet rede ich ein bisschen Türkisch.

165 F: Wie kann es sein, dass du in der DaZ Klasse Deutsch reden kannst und in der Klasse nicht,  
166 wie kann es sein?

167 G: Ich weiss nicht, in DaZ kann ich super gut Deutsch reden wenn ich in meine Klasse dann  
168 fühle ich so wie mein Mund gehalten aber ich habe ein neue Fach jetzt, Ethik und das erzählt



169 über Islam und Christen und so und letzte Mal wie haben über die Islam gesprochen und ich  
170 habe auch gesprochen weil es ist meine Religion und wenn die Klasse hat gesehen ich kann  
171 Deutsch reden und das war sehr schön. Von diesem Moment habe ich gesagt ich will in meine  
172 Klasse immer Deutsch reden . ich habe keine Angst mehr.

173 F: Wenn dich ein Mädchen aus Syrien anrufen würde und fragen würde was bedeutet es  
174 zweimal umzuziehen was würdest du sagen? Wie soll sie sich vorstellen zweimal  
175 umzuziehen?

176 G: Also sehr schwer weil du hast hier gelebt und du weiss schon die Sprache und die ganze  
177 Stadt wie kannst du gehen und kommen und wenn du gehst in neue Stadt und neu Land das ist  
178 schwer für dich weil du kannst die Sprache nicht und du weiss nicht wie kannst du gehen und  
179 kommen. also ich sage bleib weil das ist besser für dich. Weil wie sind gekommen sie sagten  
180 wir müssen nicht in Leipzig bleiben und wir müssen nach Hannover gehen aber ich sage  
181 meine Mutti ich möchte nicht weil ich kenne jetzt Leipzig gut und ich möchte nicht gehen.  
182 und sie haben ok gesagt. Hannover weil die Familie von meinem Vater ist dort.

183 F: Wenn du die Rama in Syrien und die Rama jetzt vergleichst (zeichnet) was ist gleich was  
184 ist unterschiedlich?

185 G: Jetzt bin ich sehr gut ich habe keine Angst mehr und ich kann die Sprache auch und ich  
186 kann alle aber wenn ich kann ich würde in Syrien bleiben weil von Syrien bis jetzt habe ich zu  
187 vieeel schwierig und zu viel Angst gelebt. Aber ich habe viele Sprachen gelernt ich möchte  
188 alle Sprachen lernen jetzt lerne ich Russisch und auch Persisch.

189 F: Wenn du dich mit den Mitschülern in deiner Klasse vergleichst?

190 G: Die können die Sprache besser und sie immer sagen es ist egal was passiert sie denken  
191 nicht was passiert was soll sie machen und nur lachen und zu Schule kommen und Spaß  
192 machen aber bei mir ist nicht so ich bin in mein Land oder und in Deutschland aber ich sage  
193 egal was passiert ich weiss immer was passieren soll danach. ich denke immer Zukunft. ich  
194 möchte etwas machen und ich mache das. Aber die deutsche Kinder machen das nicht.

195 F: Und was möchtest du in der Zukunft machen?

196 G: Also ich möchte Abitur machen und dann arbeiten und studieren z.B. mit Polizei oder  
197 Apothekerin oder Dolmetscherin

198 F: In Türkei und Chemnitz hast du keine Schule besucht. War das gut oder schlecht?

199 G: Gut weil ich habe keine Zeit zu Deutsch lernen weil ich immer denke wo ist meine Eltern ,  
200 meine Mutti, meine Vater und Schwester ich bin allein, ich kann die Land nicht, ich habe kein  
201 frei Kopf zu Deutschlernen.

202 F: Jetzt wo du schon in der eigenen Wohnung wohnst, wie verbringst du deine Tage?

203 G: Also nach der Schule ich gehe und esse etwas weil meine Mutti hat gekocht und ich mache  
204 die Hausaufgaben, ich spiele mit Handy oder sehe ein Film ich gehe nicht raus weil ich  
205 möchte nur zu Hause sitzen weil ich war da in Heim ich möchte immer nach Hause nach  
206 Hause gehen und jetzt habe ich zu Hause und ich mag. Aber ich gehe in die Woche zweimal,  
207 dreimal Sport machen mit Cousine und Mutti und eine Stunde zwei Stunden dort und.

208 F: Du hast gesagt du machst die Hausaufgabe und wie denn?

209 G: Ich mache nur die DaZ Klasse Grammatik oder Wörter wenn ich verstehe etwas dann  
210 mache ich das. ich gucke im Handy ich habe kein Wörterbuch zu Hause.

211 F: Wozu benutzt du Internet?

212 G: Also ich rede mit Freunden in Whatsup in Aleppo und Russland und Viber auch und  
213 benutze auch die Facebook oder wenn ich habe etwas nicht verstanden ich übersetze was ich  
214 möchte und das ist alles.

Interview Transcript von Irina, 13 Jahre alt

Leipzig, 2. April 2014

IRINA: Irina, F: Forscherin, IRINA: Interpret

- 1 F: Also es geht darum, dass ich dein Leben soweit kennenlernen möchte. Ich weiß nicht wie  
2 alt du bist, wo du geboren bist.
- 3 IRINA: Ich heiße Irina und ich bin 13 Jahre alt. Ich komme aus Albanien aber ich bin in  
4 Italien geboren.
- 5 F: Kannst du mir erzählen wie lange du in Italien gelebt hast?
- 6 IRINA: Ich habe acht Jahre gelebt und dann bin ich drei Jahre habe ich in Albanien gewohnen  
7 und dann bin ich hier in Deutschland gekommen.
- 8 F: Hmm... In Italien hast du Kindergarten und Grundschule besucht?
- 9 IRINA: Ja ich habe drei Jahre Kindergarten besucht und dann in die Schule gegangen.
- 10 F: Also wenn ich richtig verstehe zu Hause mit der Familie hast du Albanisch gesprochen ...
- 11 IRINA: Ja und Italienisch auch.
- 12 F: Sprechen deine Eltern auch Italienisch?
- 13 IRINA: Ja.
- 14 F: Wie lange haben deine Eltern da gelebt?
- 15 IRINA: Mein Vater war schon achtzehn Jahre alt in Italien und ...
- 16 I: Ishte 18 vjec kur vajti babi, ne vitin 1997 apo 1990? Kur iku? Nicht achtzehn sondern mit  
17 achtzehn ist er hingegangen.
- 18 F: Und hat er deine Mutter in Italien kennengelernt oder noch in Albanien?
- 19 I: Ku u njoh me mamim? Ne Itali apo ne Shqiperi? (Wo hat er deine Mutter kennengelernt? In  
20 Italien oder in Albanien?)
- 21 IRINA: In Albanien.
- 22 F: Also sie sind zusammen hingezogen?
- 23 I: Also er war zuerst und dann hat er sie nachgeholt.
- 24 F: Und wo in Italien?
- 25 IRINA: In Venedig. Ich bin in Venedig geboren.
- 26 F: Kannst du mir ein bisschen beschreiben...
- 27 IRINA: Venedig ist eine Stadt unterm Wasser aber ich war nicht unter Wasser ich habe nicht  
28 unter dem Wasser gewohnt.
- 29 I: Auf dem Wasser , nicht unter dem Wasser. Ne uje, jo poshte ujit. Nuk ke jetuar ne pjesen e  
30 qytetit ne uje, ne qytetin e vjeter? (Hast Du nicht in der Stadtteil am Wasser, also in der  
31 Altstadt gewohnt?)

32 IRINA: Kam jetuar ne qytetin e Venecias, por jo ne uje. Jashte pjeses se vjeter te qytetit. (Ich  
33 habe in Venedig gelebt/gewohnt, aber nicht am Wasser. Außerhalb der Altstadt.)

34 I: Atje ke shkuar ne kopesht? Atje ke lindur dhe ke shkuar ne kopesht? Sa vjec ishe kur  
35 shkove ne kopesht per here te pare? (Bist du dort in den Kindergarten gegangen? Bist du dort  
36 geboren und auch dort in den Kindergarten gegangen? Wie alt warst du als du zum ersten Mal  
37 in den Kindergarten gegangen bist?)

38 A. Tre. (Drei.)

39 A. Mit drei Jahren ist sie in die Kindergarten gegangen und mit dem Wasser ist das dass sie  
40 nicht in der Stadt lebte sondern außerhalb Venedig.

41 F: Kannst du mir ein bisschen beschreiben wie dieser Kindergarten war? Also wie war ein  
42 Tag von Dir als du den Kindergarten besucht hast? Kannst du dich noch zurückerinnern?

43 I: Te kujtohet si ka qene koha e kopshtit? Te pelqente? A shkoje me deshire? A e mban  
44 mend? (Erinnerst du dich wie es im Kindergarten war? Hat es dir gefallen? Bist du gern dahin  
45 gegangen? Erinnerst du dich noch daran?)

46 IRINA: Mit hat vielgefallen, der Kindergarten.

47 I: Gefiel, hat gefallen...

48 IRINA: Ja der Kindergarten hat mir gefallen, ich habe da gespielt. Ein bisschen gemalt.

49 IRINA: Kam ngrene ushqimin ne mense. (Ich habe in der Kantine gegessen.)

50 I: Die Kantine. Sie hat in dem Kindergarten gegessen. (Nese e ke me te lehte te flasesh shqip-  
51 edhe pse ti flet shume shume mire per veten 9 muaj qe ke ketu- mund te flasesh se e perkthej  
52 une.) Ich habe nur gesagt dass wenn sie sich brav fühlt kann sie gerne sprechen, weil sie  
53 spricht perfekt für neun Monate.

54 F: Ja.. wie müssen nur gratulieren.

55 I: Und wie lange im Kindergarten?

56 F: Drei Jahre, also zwischen drei und sechs.

57 IRINA: Nein drei und fünf.

58 F: Ok und dann hast du die Grundschule auch in Venedig besucht?

59 IRINA: Ja, drei Jahre, ich habe die ganze Fächer, Geografie, Englisch, hmm, Geschichte ,  
60 Mathe hmmm und Italienisch gemacht wie hier in der Schule aber die waren für die erste  
61 Klasse und nicht so viel.

62 F: Und habt ihr auch Englisch gehabt?

63 IRINA: Ja von der ersten Klasse.

64 F: Und seitdem hast du Englisch gelernt?

65 IRINA: Ja in Albanien auch und hier auch.

66 F: Ich habe hier solche Karten. Ich zeige dir gleich meine Version davon. Das ist mein Leben  
67 in Budapest, hier in der Mitte bin ich, also in deinem Fall das ist deine Italien-Karte, in der

68 Mitte bist du und ich habe hier, du sprichst ja Englisch, du kannst ja Englisch lesen , Familie,  
69 Schule, Arbeit..

70 IRINA: Ja und Freizeit.

71 F: Ja und ich interessiere mich einfach dafür mit welchen Leuten du deinen Alltag verbracht  
72 hast. Also z.B: bei mir mein Vater, meine Mutter, meine Oma, ich habe eine Freundin gehabt  
73 ich habe nicht gearbeitet als ich in Budapest lebte und in der Schule habe ich diese Freunde  
74 gehabt. Wenn du mir zeichnen könntest dein Leben in Italien.

75 I: Per shembull, me ke ke jetuar. (Zum Beispiel, mit wem hast du dort gelebt.) Aber Beatrix  
76 ich habe auch nicht verstanden was sind die Kreise?

77 F: Ja die Kreise zeigen je wichtiger die Person für dich war, desto näher ist der Punkt zu  
78 diesem Mittelpunkt.

79 I: Hmm je näher an sie..Das ist weniger wichtig. Sa me afer qendres, aq me i rendesishem  
80 personi. Psh. Mami, babi, motra, vellai i vendos ketu. Numrat nuk te duhen. (Je näher an das  
81 Zentrum, desto wichtiger die Person. Z.B Mutti, Pappa, die Schwester und er Bruder. Die  
82 kannst Du hier einsetzen ). Aber du hast hier einen 12...

83 F: Ja das sind die Nummer aber Nummer brauchen wir nicht.

84 IRINA: Und soll ich schreiben?

85 F: Nein du kannst erzählen ich dass für mich selbst gemalt damit ich nicht vergesse aber..

86 IRINA: Aber woher weißt du dann wer das ist für mich?

87 F: Ich habe doch deine Erzählung, du erzählst und du sagst dass ist meine Mama und mit ihr  
88 habe ich viel zusammen gekocht oder so..und dann weiß ich welche diese Leute sind.

89 I: E kupton? Sa me te afert.. te ky rrethi i pare une do vija mamin, se mami eshte me e  
90 rendesishme, pra prinderit edhe vellai .... ndersa pjesetaret e tjere te familjes, si p.sh, tezja, qe  
91 jane me pak te rendesishem. (Hast du es verstanden. Je näher die Personen ...in diesem ersten  
92 Kreis würde ich die Mutti einsetzen, weil Mutti mir wichtiger ist. Also, zuerst die Eltern und  
93 der Bruder .... und die anderen Familienangehörigen z.B Tante, die weniger wichtig sind.)

94 IRINA: Une duhet te them pse e kam shkruajtur ... ? (Soll ich dazu sagen warum ich das  
95 geschrieben habe?) Also erste ist mein Vater. Thjesht. (Nur das.)

96 I: Po thjesht, ky eshte babi .... (Ja, nur das, das ist mein Vater .... )

97 IRINA: Dann die zweite meine Mutter, dann die dritte meine Schwester, und die vierte mein  
98 Bruder. Die waren meine Familie aber ich habe da war mein Onkel.

99 F: Hat er auch in Italien gelebt?

100 IRINA: Öhö ich habe die halbe Familie in Italien.

101 F: Aha und die andere halbe?

102 IRINA: Die waren in Albanien.

103 F: Und wie habt ihr Kontakt miteinander gehalten?

104 IRINA: Im Sommer ich gehe ..hmm.. ich bin in Albanien gegangen. und so.  
105 F: Wie viele Wochen?  
106 IRINA: Drei Monate...und dann habe ich...Und ich habe telefoniert mit der Familie.  
107 F: Und wo sind die Großeltern zu dieser Zeit?  
108 IRINA: Meine Großeltern sind in Albanien.  
109 F: Also dann können wir vielleicht noch Onkel...  
110 IRINA: Der fünfte ist mein Onkel.  
111 F: Und die Großeltern?  
112 IRINA: Aber die sind in Albanien.  
113 F: Aber du sagst du hast Kontakt zu Ihnen, du telefonierst, du besuchst sie, jeden Sommer für  
114 drei Monate..  
115 I: Die können trotzdem hier drauf kommen, auch wenn sie nicht da mitgelebt haben.  
116 IRINA: Die Tante, die Schwester von meiner Mutter.  
117 F: Du hast doch eine große Familie.  
118 IRINA: Und meine andere Tante.. das sind wichtig.  
119 F: Und nur telefonieren oder ab und zu auch Skype oder E-Mail?  
120 IRINA: Ja so so.  
121 F: Benutzt du diese?  
122 IRINA: Ja.  
123 F: Wie hast du deine Freizeit in Italien verbracht?  
124 IRINA: Ich habe meine Freizeit mit meiner Familie und..  
125 I: Cfare mund te them ... cfare ke bere p.sh.. (Was soll ich hier sagen .... was hast du da  
126 gemacht als Beispiel.) Was soll sie hier schreiben zum Beispiel?  
127 F: Einfach die Leute mit denen Du deine Freizeit nach der Schule verbracht hast.  
128 I: Me ke e kaloje kohen per shembull ... me kusherinj, motren, vellain.... . (Z.B. mit wem hast  
129 du die Zeit verbracht ... mit Cousinen, Geschwister ....)  
130 IRINA: Ich habe mir meiner Familie verbracht oder mit mein Cousin und so.  
131 F: Und was habt ihr gemacht? Ich war einmal in Venedig, aber wie vertreibt man die Zeit  
132 nach der Schule?  
133 IRINA: Als ich klein war ich habe gespielt mit meiner Cousine. Und wir sind mit meiner  
134 Mutter und mit meinen Eltern zu meinem Onkel und Tante gegangen.  
135 F: Zu Besuch.  
136 I: Ja.

137 F: Und wie habt ihr z.F: die Familienfeste gefeiert? Geburtstag oder Heiraten...

138 IRINA: Wie gehen. ne... wir..

139 F: Gingen..

140 IRINA: Wie gingen ins Onkels Haus oder wie feierten allein.

141 F: Und wie war die Schule, hast du da Freunde gehabt?

142 IRINA: Ja ich hatte dort Freunde.

143 F: Aus..die waren Italienisch Sprecher oder Albanisch-Sprecher? Kannst du die ein bisschen

144 beschreiben?

145 IRINA: Es war ein Italienisch und es gab nur ein Mädchen Albanisch und ein Mädchen

146 Ausländer aus Arabien oder ich weiß nicht.

147 F: Welche Sprache habt ihr gesprochen?

148 IRINA: Italienisch.

149 F: Nur Italienisch? Auch mit dem Arabischsprachigem? Mit der Albanierin nicht?

150 IRINA: Ja auch Italienisch.

151 F: Dann haben wir die Italien-Karte fertig? Kannst du dich noch z.B. zurückerinnern wo du

152 deine Hausaufgaben geschrieben hast?

153 I: Ku I beje detyrat e shtepise? Ne shtepi apo ne shkollë si ketu qe I bejme edhe ne "Hort"...

154 Ju I benit ne shtepi? (Wo machtest du die Hausaufgaben? Zu Hause oder in der Schule, wie

155 hier im Hort. Habt ihr sie zu Hause gemacht?)

156 IRINA: Wie haben, ich habe meine Hausaufgaben gemacht zu Hause und gelernt auch zu

157 Hause aber ich bin zu Hause gekommen um 4 wenn ich in Italien und dann machte ich meine

158 Hausaufgaben.

159 F: Hast du irgendwelchen Sport gemacht?

160 IRINA: Ja wie machten Sport.

161 F: In der Schule oder nach der Schule?

162 IRINA: In der Schule.

163 F: Ok. Dann die Italien-Karte ist fertig. Können wir umziehen?

164 I: Te nderrojme vend. Pas Italisë, ku shkuat? Ne Shqipëri? (Lass uns „umziehen“. Nach

165 Italien, wo seid ihr dann gewandert? Nach Albanien?)

166 F: In die Stadt wo deine Familie lebt?

167 IRINA: Ja.

168 F: Du warst dann wie alt?

169 IRINA: Neun Jahre.

170 I: Zur Familie nehme ich mal an. U ktheve me prinderit?, pra e tere familja? (Bist du  
171 zusammen mit den Eltern zurückgegangen? Also, die gesamte Familie?)

172 F: Niemand ist in Italien geblieben?

173 IRINA: Mein Onkel. Meine Familie ist in Italien gekommen...in Albanien gekommen.

174 F: Onkel, dass war dieser Onkel (zeigt auf die erste Karte) ist in Italien geblieben?

175 IRINA: Ja. Duhet te shkruaj prape?(Soll ich wieder schreiben?)

176 I: Cilet ishin pjesetaret e tjere te familjes ne Shqiperi? (Wer sind die anderen  
177 Familienangehörige in Albanien?)

178 IRINA: Meine Familie in Albanien ist meine Großeltern von meiner Mutter und von meinem  
179 Vater, und dann meine Tante, Geschwister von meiner Mutter, und dann Tante von meinem  
180 Vater, und mein Onkel, hatte ich in Albanien, und so.

181 F: OK.

182 IRINA: Und meine Cousine.

183 F: Wie viele Jahre hast du da gelebt?

184 IRINA: Drei Jahre.

185 F: Zwischen neun und zwölf? Hast du da die Grundschule besucht?

186 IRINA: Hm.

187 F: Kannst du mir die Schule ein bisschen beschreiben und deinen Schulalltag. Wie war ein  
188 Montag z. B. ?

189 IRINA: Also dort war sehr schön, ich hatte viele Fächer, sechs Stunde immer. Wie hatten  
190 Sport, aber es gab keine Sporthalle nur wenn es regnet kein Sport. Dann... ich war sehr gut in  
191 Albanien. In Albanien ist 10 eins und 10, 9 so habe ich genommen.

192 F: Hm.. und warum denkst du dass du so gut warst? War es weil du die Sachen die du in  
193 Italien gelernt hast die waren hilfreich für dich? Oder hast du völlig andere Sachen gelernt?

194 I: A te ndihmuan ne Shqiperi, ato gjera qe kishe mesuar ne Itali? A ishe ai program I lendeve?  
195 (War das Gelernte in der Schule in Italien hilfreich für dich, als Du die Schule in Albanien  
196 besuchtest. Waren die gleichen Lehrprogramme / hier als Lehrinhalte? )

197 IRINA: Also..ich hatte wenn ich in Albanien gekommen bin ich konnte Albanisch sprechen  
198 aber da haben mir geholfen, mein Großvater, der war Lehrer, erste zweite und dritte Klasse.

199 I: In der Grundschule..

200 IRINA: Hm.. Die Papa von meiner Mutter. Und da war meine Tante, die Schwester von  
201 meiner Mutter war auch Lehrerin. Mein Großvater wenn ich gekommen bin, dann meine  
202 Tante hat mir die siebte und sechste geholfen.

203 F: Nach der Schule. Also ihr habt Hausaufgaben...

204 IRINA: Nicht bei Hausaufgaben, nur so für Lesen.



205 F: Und die anderen Lehrer wussten Sie dass du in Italien schon die Schule besucht hast?

206 IRINA: Ja sie wussten.

207 F: Und was haben sie dazu gesagt? Z.B: War dein Englisch ein bisschen besser als von den  
208 anderen?

209 IRINA: Ja das war ein bisschen besser.

210 I: Meqenese ti ishe ne Itali, a te trajtonin mesueset ndryshe, sepse ti kisha mesuar ne nje  
211 shkolle tjetere. Apo te trajtuan njesoj? (Weil du früher eine Schülerin in Italien warst, wurdest  
212 du dann von den Lehrerinnen – in Albanien- anders behandelt, also weil Du in einer anderen  
213 Schule gelernt hattest. Oder wurdest du gleich behandelt. )

214 IRINA: Nein, das war egal. Ich war wie alle andere Schüler.

215 A. Sie war nicht besonders behandelt.

216 F: Hast du eigentlich die gleichen Fächer gehabt?

217 IRINA: Ja.

218 F: Z.B: Literatur und Geschichte.

219 I: Per lexim dhe gjuhe shqipe dhe histori. (Für Lesen, albanische Sprache und Geschichte.)

220 IRINA: Sepse „literature“, eshte edhe lexim, pra gjuhe shqipe, sepse ti ke bere edhe lexim...  
221 (Weil „Literatur“ eigentlich „Lesen“ ist, also auch Albanisch,... weil du doch Lesen anstatt  
222 Literatur hattest )

223 F: Was du in Italien gelernt hast hast du später in Albanien genutzt? Waren die Inhalte  
224 gleich?

225 IRINA: Nein es war nicht gleich. Weil ich war in der 4. und 5. Klasse und in Italien war ich in  
226 der 3. und das ist nicht gleich.

227 I: A te ndihmoi fakti qe kisha mesuar ne Itali dhe ne Shqiperi? (Hat es dir die Tatsache  
228 geholfen, dass Du die Schule sowohl in Italien als auch dann in Albanien besucht hattest?) Es  
229 ist ihr nicht ganz bewusst sie hat alles einfach gemacht.

230 F: Also wie ich verstehe dieser Umzug war ganz einfach für dich?

231 I: Per ty ishte e thjeshte te transferoheshe ketu, nuk e pate te veshtire? (War es einfach für  
232 dich als Du hierherzuziehen? War das nicht schwer für dich?)

233 IRINA: Ja.

234 F: Du hast deine Freunde in der Schule in Italien gelassen. Hast du neue Freunde in der  
235 Schule gefunden?

236 IRINA: Ja die wohnte neben mir und nach der Schule wir gehen zusammen Hause.

237 F: Und in deiner Freizeit warst du auch mit ihr, oder? Wie hast du Wochenende oder  
238 Nachmittage verbracht?

239 IRINA: Also am Wochenende gehe bei meinen Großeltern und dort war ja meine Cousine  
240 und ich habe meine Freizeit mit meinen Großeltern und mit meiner Cousine verbracht.

241 F: Was habt ihr gemacht?  
242 IRINA: Gespielt, spazieren gehen.  
243 F: Und dann bist du 12 Jahre alt und dann ziehe wir...  
244 IRINA: Nach Deutschland.  
245 F: Weil die Eltern hier Arbeit gefunden haben, oder?  
246 IRINA: Ja nur mein Vater, er ist schon seit 2 Jahren hier in Deutschland. Nur meine Familie  
247 ist hier, niemand. Z.B:  
248 F: Bei Familie meinst du Vater, Mutter, Bruder, Schwester?  
249 IRINA: Also nur fünf Leute. Kein Onkel, keine Oma?  
250 F: Und der Onkel?  
251 IRINA: Er ist noch in Italien.  
252 I: Nga Italia u kthye vetem familja jote apo jo? Te afermit e tjere a u kthyen? Tezet,  
253 xhaxhallaret ? apo ne marredhenie pune? (Aus Italien ist nur deine Familie zurückgegangen,  
254 stimmt das? Sind auch die anderen Angehörigen zurückgegangen? Die Tante, Onkel ... ? Oder  
255 sind sie berufstätig?  
256 IRINA: Jo nuk u kthyen. (Nein, die anderen sind nicht zurückgegangen).  
257 I: Vetem mami me babin u kthyen? (Nur Mutti und der Vater sind zurückgegangen?)  
258 I: Also hier ist es nur ihre kleine Familie. Onkel, Tante sind immer noch da. Und Oma und  
259 Opa die immer in Albanien waren.  
260 F: Dann jetzt sind wir in Leipzig. Wir können vielleicht Vater, Mutter einfach einkreuzen.  
261 IRINA: Ja zuerst mein Vater. Meine Mutter, meine Schwester.  
262 F: Und wie oft kannst du mit deiner Familie in Italien oder in Albanien sprechen?  
263 I: Sa shpesh flet me familjen ne Itali? Me tezet me xhaxhallaret, me gjysherit... cdo dite?  
264 (Wie oft hast du Kontakt mit der Familie in Italien? Also, mit der Tante, Onkel, Omas und  
265 Opas .. jeden Tag? )  
266 IRINA: Einmal in der Woche, zweimal.  
267 F: Und wie?  
268 IRINA: Mit das Handy oder mit Computer.  
269 I: Skype.  
270 IRINA: Hmm.  
271 F: Und rufst du an oder ist das deine Mutti?  
272 IRINA: Meine Mutti und dann wir sprechen.  
273 F: Wie ist es in der Familie wenn z.B: es Geburtstag gibt? Oder wenn es jetzt Sommer  
274 kommen wird.

275 IRINA: Wenn es Sommer wird wie gehen in Albanien und dann kommen wir zurück. Nur für  
276 Sommerferien.

277 F: Und du sagtest, wie viele Monate bist du hier in Leipzig? Neun Monate?

278 IRINA: Neun Monate.

279 F: Wie bist du in diese Schule gekommen?

280 IRINA: Also wenn ich in Albanien war, ich konnte ein bisschen Deutsch weil ich habe einen  
281 Kurs gemacht.

282 F: Aha. Wo war dieser Kurs?

283 IRINA: Wenn ich in Albanien war, in der siebten Klasse da habe ich und meine Schwester ein  
284 Deutschkurs gemacht.

285 I: Nicht in der Schule.

286 IRINA: Privat.

287 F: Von einem Lehrer oder in einer Sprachschule?

288 I: Bere kurs me nje mesues privat apo ishte shkollë me gjuhë të huaj. (Hast du Privatunterricht  
289 gehabt, oder hast du eine Sprachschule besucht? )

290 IRINA: Ai ishte kurs për anglisht, italisht dhe “Deutsch”A vinte mesuesi në shtëpi apo  
291 shkonit ju atje? (Es war also ein Sprachkurs für Englisch, Italienisch und Deutsch. Ist der  
292 Lehrer zu euch gekommen, oder seid ihr dorthin gegangen? )

293 I: In einer Sprachschule.

294 IRINA: Und dann hat der Freund von meinem Vater geholfen, er hat die Schule hier auch  
295 gefunden. Und so bin ich in diese Schule gekommen.

296 F: Und du hast in dieser DaZ Klasse angefangen.

297 IRINA: Nein nicht in dieser aber in DaZ 1, da konnte ich ein bisschen, da konnte ich Deutsch  
298 und dann in November bin ich hier in Daz 2 gekommen und da habe ich in die Klasse  
299 bekommen zu gehen.

300 F: In welchen Fächern?

301 IRINA: Ich gehe am Tag 2 Stunden.

302 F: Aha jeden Tag zwei Stunden. Und welches Fach?

303 IRINA: Physik, Biologie, Deutsch, Musik, Sport.

304 F: Ja du hast also die DaZ Klassen und diese Fächer. Ich würde mich dafür interessieren wie  
305 ist die Geschichte. Du hast ja Geschichte auch in Albanien gehabt.

306 IRINA: Ja...për mesimet ... (für die Schulfächer)

307 I: Die Fächer.

308 IRINA: Hm... die Fächer sind gleich wie in Albanien und ich kannte alles.

309 F: Und was du in Albanien in der Geschichte gelernt hast... ist das jetzt gleich hier oder?  
310 Kannst du die Sachen, die du in Albanien gelernt hast, nutzen?

311 IRINA: Ja ich kann das nutzen. Aber wenn eine Aufgabe da steht dann habe ich ein bisschen  
312 schwierig zu verstehen die Aufgabe.

313 I: A ka patur ndonje gje qe ndryshe mesohej ne Shqiperi dhe ndryshe ketu. Psh. Ne histori ...  
314 (Findest du dass es hier anders als in Albanien gelernt wird, z.B. in Geschichte? ) Ich frage  
315 jetzt ob sie etwas anders gelernt hat oder was ihr aufgefallen ist.

316 IRINA: Vetem dy ore kam shkuar ne histori. Vetem ne biologji ose keshtu ... (Nur zwei  
317 Unterrichtsstunden habe ich im Fach Geschichte besucht. Nur in Biologie und andere...)

318 I: Ne biologji psh. A te ka ndihmuar ajo qe kishe mesuar ne Biologji ne shume shtete, apo ia  
319 nis gjithmone nga fillimi atje ku shkon. Ti mendon se te ka ndihmuar. (In Biologie z.B. hat dir  
320 das Gelernte in diesem Fach in den verschiedenen Ländern geholfen, oder musstet du jedes  
321 Mal neu anfangen? Denkst du dass es geholfen hat? )

322 IRINA: Po. (Ja, doch).

323 I: So sie sagte Geschichte ist nur ein paar Stunden und für die nicht so relevant. Aber in  
324 Biologie z.B: Sie denkt, dass es ihr geholfen hat ihr background was die gehabt haben.

325 F: Welches Fach findest du am einfachsten?

326 IRINA: Ich finde Biologie weil das sind alles gleich.

327 I: Po matematike? (Und Mathematik?)

328 IRINA Skam bere asnjehere ketu matematike. (Hatte bis jetzt noch kein Mathe hier).

329 F: Hier kein Mathe?

330 IRINA: Nein nur Physik.

331 I: E ke te veshtire kur iken nga klasa DaZ ne klasen normale? Po tek klasa normale a e kupton  
332 mesimin? (War es schwierig für dich wenn du von der DaZ Klasse in die Regelklasse gehst?  
333 Verstehst du den Unterricht in der Regelklasse? )

334 IRINA– Po e kuptoj, por jo kur e lexoj librin (Ich verstehe alles, aber ich kann das Buch nicht  
335 lesen).

336 IRINA: Sie sagt sie versteht alles aber sie kann das Buch nicht lesen.

337 F: In welcher Klasse gehst du jetzt?

338 IRINA: Sieben.

339 F: Die Mitschüler sind genauso alt wie du?

340 IRINA: Also ein paar sind 12, und 13 so.

341 F: Hast du schon Freunde hier in Leipzig gefunden?

342 IRINA: In der Schule ja, aber nur in der Schule.

343 F: Wer sind sie?

344 IRINA: Ich habe vier Freunde aus DaZ 1, DaZ 2 und ein paar in die Klasse, das mir helfen.  
345 F: Welche Sprache spricht ihr?  
346 IRINA: Deutsch.  
347 F: Immer nur auf Deutsch? Du bist ja gut in Italienisch, kannst du Italienisch hier benutzen?  
348 IRINA: Es war eine Italienische, ich habe ein bisschen aber sie ist jetzt gegangen.  
349 F: Gibt es Schüler aus Albanien?  
350 IRINA: Es gibt nicht, ich bin nur die einzige.  
351 F: Ist die Leipzig Karte fertig oder gibt es noch Personen die wir ankreuze könnten? Was  
352 macht du an den Nachmittagen?  
353 IRINA: Am Nachmittag ich verbringe meine Freizeit Fernsehen oder in die Park gehen am  
354 See so mit meiner Familie, Computer spielen.  
355 F: Wie fühlst du, du hast ja dreimal gewechselt. Du hast wahrscheinlich sehr viel gelernt über  
356 diese Orte. Ist das vorteilhaft für dich oder war das ein schwieriger Weg?  
357 I: A eshte per ty avantazh fakti qe ke qene ne tre vende? Avantazh, do te thote te na ndihmuar  
358 te besh perpara. Mendon se do ishte me e thjeshte te kishe qendruar vetem ne Itali apo qe ke  
359 nderruar tre vende? (Ist es für dich ein Vorteil die Tatsache dass du in drei Ländern warst.  
360 „Vorteil“ bedeutet dass es Dir hilft Fortschritte zu machen. Denkst Du dass es leichter für  
361 dich wäre, wenn Du nur in Italien geblieben wärest oder doch das, dass du in drei Ländern  
362 warst?)  
363 IRINA: Also ich hatte kein Problem, dass ich drei Länder gewechselt habe, ich habe mich  
364 sehr gut gefühlt in die drei Ländern.  
365 I: Und hier auch am Anfang?  
366 IRINA: Ja. Hier war auch normal.  
367 F: Wenn du dich vergleichst mit den deutschen Mitschülern siehst du einen Unterschied, dass  
368 du vielleicht mehr weiß als sie?  
369 I: Duke e krahasuar veten me nxenesit gjermane, a mendon se di me shume, meqe ke nderruar  
370 tre vende? (Wenn dich mit den deutschen Schülern vergleichst, hast du den Eindruck dass du  
371 mehr als sie weißt, wegen deiner Erfahrung in drei Ländern?)  
372 IRINA: Also die Sprache, sie können mehr Deutsch als ich, aber in den Fächern ich glaube  
373 ich habe mehr gelernt als sie.  
374 F: Gut wenn du morgen Minister wirst, was würdest d an der Schule ändern?  
375 I: Sikur te beheshe ministre e arsimit neser, cfare do te ndryshoje ne shkollë? (Wenn du  
376 morgen Minister für Bildung wirst, was würdest du an der Schule ändern?)  
377 IRINA: Asgje, ndihem shume mire keshtu. (Nichts, ich fühle mich sehr gut so).  
378 I: Sie fühlt sich super.  
379 F: Ok. das freut mich. Vielen Dank. Viel Erfolg weiterhin!

Interview Transcript of Evelyn, 15 years old

Leipzig, 08. March 2014

E: Evelyn, R: Researcher, I: Interpreter

- 1 E: Μπέρδεμα. Τώρα εγώ τι πρέπει να κάνω;
- 2 I: Ωραία. Εμμ η πρώτη.. λοιπόν.. We start from the oldest right?
- 3 R: Yea actually from the very beginning.
- 4 I: Από την αρχή. Δηλαδή το πρώτο μέρος που πήγες στο σχολείο. Στην Ελλάδα ήταν έτσι;
- 5 E: Ναι.
- 6 I: Ε πού στην Ελλάδα ήτανε;
- 7 E: Στη Θεσσαλονίκη.
- 8 I: Στη Θεσσαλονίκη; (FOREIGN WORD HERE)
- 9 E: Εκεί ναι έμεινα, πόσο; Ένα χρόνο έμεινα; Μετά πήγαμε στην Ξάνθη. Έμεινα εκεί μέχρι τα 11,
- 10 ξαναπήγα Θεσσαλονίκη ((laughter))
- 11 I: She was for one year in Thessaloniki, then they went to Xanthi and she stayed in Xanthi until
- 12 she was 11.
- 13 R: Aha.
- 14 I: And then she went to Thessaloniki.
- 15 E: Μετά ξαναπήγα Ξάνθη.
- 16 I: Πόσο καιρό στη Θεσσαλονίκη έμεινες;
- 17 E: 2 χρόνια.
- 18 I: She stayed 2 years in Thessaloniki. Και μετά ξαναπήγες;
- 19 E: Και μετά ξαναπήγα Ξάνθη.
- 20 I: And then she went again to Xanthi.
- 21 E: Και μετά εδώ.
- 22 I: And then here.
- 23 E: Αλλά πριν να πάω ήμουνα Ξάνθη. Ναι, μετά πήγα Κύπρο.
- 24 I: Μισό λεπτό (..) Από την Ξάνθη πήγες..;
- 25 E: Όχι από Θεσσαλονίκη πήγα Ξάνθη.
- 26 I: OK. Αλλά πότε πήγες στην Κύπρο εδώ; Γεννήθηκες, πού γεννήθηκες;
- 27 E: Στην Θεσσαλονίκη.

28 I: Στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Εμμ μετά;  
29 E: Μετά από τη Θεσσαλονίκη πήγα Ξάνθη.  
30 I: Ναι κι έμεινες μέχρι τα 11.  
31 E: Ναι.  
32 I: Και μετά πήγες..  
33 E: Όχι. Πήγα Θεσσαλονίκη. Ξάνθη πήγα, έμεινα ένα χρόνο, μετά πήγα Κύπρο.  
34 I: Πόσο χρονών ήσουνα;  
35 E: ((laughter)) Νηπιαγωγείο πήγαινα.  
36 I: 6; 5 ; 5 χρονών;  
37 E: 5-6; 5.  
38 I: 5. She was in Cyprus.. Και μετά την Κύπρο πήγες Ξάνθη;  
39 E: Ναι.  
40 I: Όταν δηλαδή ήσουν έξι.  
41 E: Ναι.  
42 I: έξι χρονών.  
43 E: Ναι. Όχι εφτά.  
44 I: Όχι εφτα  
45 E: Και μετά πήγα Ξάνθη.  
46 I: Μέχρι τα 11 ήσουν Ξάνθη και μετά στα 11 πη\_  
47 E: Όχι ((laughter)) .. Λοιπόν γεννήθηκα στη Θεσσαλονίκη έτσι; Έζησα εκεί πέρα ένα χρόνο. Εμμ  
48 μετά πήγα στην Ξάνθη ναι.  
49 I: OK.Ναι.  
50 E: Μετά στη Θεσσαλονίκη πάλι; Ξάνθη, μετά πήγαμε στην Κύπρο.  
51 I: Μετά πήγες στην Κύπρο.  
52 E: Ναι  
53 I: Όταν ήσουν 5.  
54 E: Ναι  
55 I: Μέχρι τα 7.  
56 E: Μέχρι τα 7. Και μετά πήγαμε για 2 χρόνια Γερμανία.  
57 I: Στα 7.

58 E: Ναι

59 I: Πηγες στη Γερμανία μέχρι τα 9 σου;

60 E: Μέχρι τα 8

61 I: Μέχρι τα 8. Πηγες στη Γερμανία πού;

62 E: Στο Muenchen. Και μετά πάλι στην Ξάνθη.

63 I: Μετά από τα 8..

64 E: 8,9,10,11.. 3 χρόνια έζησα στην Ξάνθη.

65 I: Aha

66 E: Και μετά πήγα Θεσσαλονίκη. 11,12,13 Θεσσαλονίκη.

67 I: 11-13 ήσουν στη Θεσσαλονίκη.

68 E: Ναι

69 I: Και μετά από τα 14;

70 E: Μετά εδώ. Όχι πήγα μετά...ένα χρό\_ 13 ήμουνα, πήγα Θεσσαλ\_ Ξάνθη, έκλεισα τα 14 και

71 τώρα είμαι εδώ Γερμανία.

72 I: OK. Λοιπόν 13,14 Ξάνθη και μετά; 14. Τώρα πόσο χρονών είσαι;

73 E: 15.

74 I: 15. Leipzig. OK so she was like that.

75 R: Aha.

76 I: She was from Thessaloniki. (FOREIGN WORDS HERE)

77 E: Τι λέει;

78 R: Did you go to primary school?

79 I: Όταν ήσουν στην Κύπρο πήγες στο δημοτικό σχολείο η μόνο..

80 E: Όχι, μόνο νήπαιο.

81 I: Μόνο νήπαιο. Only..

82 R: And you started the primary school in Munich?

83 I: Άρχισες, τότε πήγες στο Δημοτικό σχολείο πρώτη φορά ;

84 COUSINE: Εδώ πέρα πήγε. Στην Ελλάδα

85 I: Δηλαδή όταν ήσουν 8 στην Ξάνθη;

86 E: Ναι



87 I: She started primary school when she was 8 in Xanthi. Δηλαδή στη Γερμανία δεν πήγες  
88 σχολείο;

89 E: Μόνο Kindergarden.

90 I: In Germany as well she went to Kindergarden. (...?)

91 R: Can you remember back to the time in Munich? Anything you remember, how..?

92 I: Πώς ήταν στο Μόναχο;

93 E: Στο Μόναχο.. ήμουνα μικρή. Είναι πολύ ωραία. Ήμουνα μικρή και δεν καταλάβαινα τίποτα.  
94 Ήμουνα με την ξαδέρφη μου, πήγαινα σε ελληνικό σχολείο όλα καλά.

95 I: She went to Greek school in Μόναχο, in München. But she remembers it was really nice. She  
96 was with her cousin. Με'σένα; (With you?)

97 Cousin: Όχι με μια άλλη.

98 I: Ah not with her. With another cousin. And it was..she has good memories but she didn't  
99 understand the language.

100 E: Πήγαινα και σε ελληνικό σχολείο. Δεν υπήρχε πρόβλημα.

101 I: She was going to a Greek speaking school so there wasn't a problem in terms of like  
102 understanding..

103 R: So all teachers were Greek teachers?

104 I: Όλοι οι καθηγητές ήταν έλληνες;

105 E: Μόνο μία.

106 I: Μόνο μια ήταν ελληνίδα. There was only one teacher who was Greek.

107 R: Aha. So it was German school but had also a Greek teacher?

108 I: Ήταν Γερμανικό σχολείο αλλά είχε μια καθηγήτρια που ήταν ελληνίδα ;

109 E: Ήταν..ναι. Αλλά ήταν έτσι μεγάλο σχολείο. Ένα κτήριο ήταν έλληνες.

110 I: There was one building..

111 E: Και χωριζόμασταν.

112 T: There was one building where there were only Greeks and so there was a division between the  
113 German and the Greeks. The others and the Greeks.

114 R: But I mean did you do the same? Like the Germans ?

115 I: Κάνατε το ίδιο πρόγραμμα με ότι κάνανε οι γερμανοί; Η σε.. ;

116 E: Όχι εμείς κάναμε ελληνικά βιβλία.

117 I: They did the Greek school. The Greek books.

118 R: OK then I know it was a Greek school probably. And then you went back to Xanthi?  
119 I: Και μετά πήγες στην Ξάνθη;  
120 R: Although, before we move.. Before we move maybe if you could tell me with who you lived  
121 in Munich and why did you move to Munich from Cyprus?  
122 I: Άμα μπορούσες να μας πεις με ποιούς ζούσες όταν ήσουν στο Μόναχο και γιατί πήγες στο  
123 Μόναχο απ'την Κύπρο;  
124 COUSINE: Το γιατί δεν ξέρει. Γενικά ούτε εγώ ξέρω για ποιό λόγο είχαμε πάει.  
125 E: Ξαναπέιτε λίγο.  
126 I: OK. Θα σου πω. Γιατί από την Κύπρο, γιατί πήγες στο Μόναχο;  
127 E: Γιατί είχαμε ανοίξει 2 restaurant και αποφάσισαν οι γονείς μου να έρθουμε εδώ. Ήμασταν  
128 όλοι μαζί.  
129 I: Her family had opened two restaurants and so her family decided that they should come here to  
130 work and to be all together. That's why they moved to Μόναχο, to Muenchen.  
131 Εμμ και με ποιούς ζούσες όταν ήσουν στο Μόναχο; (And who do you live with in Munich?)  
132 E: Με τον παππού μου, τη μαμά μου, τον μπαμπά μου, τον θείο μου.  
133 I: She lived with her grandfather, her mom, her dad, her uncle.  
134 E: Ναι αλλά ο θείος μου έζησε λίγο και μετά έφυγε.  
135 I: Her uncle left. He was living only a little time with them and then he left.  
136 E: Πήγε στη γυναίκα του και στα παιδιά του.  
137 I: And he went to his wife and kids.  
138 R: Back to Xanthi or..?  
139 I: Πού πήγε ο θείος σου;  
140 E: Γερμανία.  
141 I: Α έφυγε από τη Γερμανία να πάει σε άλλη πόλη στη Γερμανία;  
142 E: Όχι έφυγε από την Κύπρο για να πάει στη Γερμανία να είναι με την οικογένεια.  
143 I: Όχι σε ρώτησα με ποιούς ζούσες όταν ήσουν στη Γερμανία.  
144 E: Στην Κύπρο δεν είπατε;  
145 I: Όχι όχι στη Γερμανία, στο Μόναχο με ποιούς ζούσες;  
146 E: Αα με τους γονείς μου.  
147 I: When she was in Munich, in Cypr\_... like the thing what I said with the uncle it was when she  
148 lived in Cyprus. And then her uncle he went to Germany and then when she came to Germany

149 she was with her parents. Με τους γονείς σου όταν ήσουν στη Γερμανία ζούσες; ( You lived with  
150 your parents when you lived in Germany?)

151 E: Ναι ήμουν με τους γονείς μου, τη γιαγιά μου, τον παππού μου, το θείο μου, την οικογένειά  
152 του.

153 I: Basically the hole family.

154 E: Όλοι μαζί ήμασταν.

155 I: The grandfather, the grandmother, the uncle was here as well.

156 E: Όλοι μαζί ήμασταν.

157 I: They were all together.

158 R: And the other grandparents not. Because you speak about one grandparent now.

159 T: Μιλάς μόνο..

160 R: Where do they live?

161 I: Ζούσες μόνο με μια γιαγιά και ένα παππού;

162 E: Ναι.

163 I: Η άλλη γιαγιά και ο άλλος παππούς;

164 E: Η άλλη γιαγιά μου είναι στη Θεσσαλονίκη.

165 I: The other grandmother she is in Thessaloniki. Και ο παππούς; (And the grandfather?)

166 E: Και ο παππούς μου είναι από την Ξάνθη μαζί με τη..

167 I: Μαζί με την γιαγιά σου;

168 E: Εμμ πού είναι η γιαγιά τώρα αυτή τη στιγμή που είναι;

169 I: Όχι τώρα, τότε.

170 E: Η γιαγιά μου κοιτάζετε πήγε στη Ρωσία, μετά πήγε στην Ελλάδα, μετά πήγε στη Γερμανία και  
171 μετά Κύπρο και.. ((Laughter))

172 I: Her grandmother also moved. She went to Russia, she went to Germnay, to Greece. What  
173 exactly do you want to know? Would it be good if she draw a genealogy line?

174 R: Yea yea maybe.

175 I: Θέλεις να μας κάνεις ένα γενεα-, γενεα-, γενεαλογικό δέντρο; (laughter) Το είπα σωστά;  
176 Που να λες..

177 E: Οικογενειακό δέντρο εννοείτε;

178 I: Ναι ναι εννοώ με τη γιαγιά, τον παππού σοθ, τη θεία σου , το θείο σου.

179 E: Και τι να πω καθένας..

180 I: Να μας εξηγήσεις τις σχέσεις που έχουν όλοι μαζί σου. Γιατί δεν έχουμε καταλάβει ας πούμε  
181 με ποιά γιαγιά και με ποιο παππού..

182 Cousin: Είναι η μαμά της μαμάς της.

183 E: Ναι της μαμάς μου η μαμά.

184 I: The mom of her mom.

185 E: Αυτή ζούσε μια ζωή στη Θεσσαλονίκη.

186 I: She lived all her life in Thessaloniki.

187 E: Και ήρθε από τη Γεωργία Θεσσαλονίκη και έμεινε για πάντα εκεί.

188 I: OK the mother of her mother, she went from Georgia to Thessaloniki and she lived all her life  
189 in Thessaloniki.

190 E: Η άλλη η γιαγιά μου από του μπαμπά μου την πλευρά ..

191 I: Her other grandmother from her father..

192 E: Αυτή πήγε..ήταν στην Ελλάδα και μετά πήγε στη Γερμανία.

193 I: She was in Greece and then she came to Germany.

194 E: Αλλά τώρα είναι πάλι στην Ελλάδα

195 I: But now is back in Greece.

196 E: Με το παππού.

197 I: With the grandfather.

198 R: And did you have any relatives back in Georgia?

199 I: Εμμ έχεις τώρα συγγενείς.. now or in the past?

200 R: When she was in Cyprus and Munich.At that time when she was at this age.

201 I: Όταν ήσουν Κύπρο και Μόναχο είχες οικογένεια στη Γεωργία;

202 E: Όχι όλοι ήρθαν εδώ. Όλοι.

203 I: They all came here

204 E: Με το που γεννήθηκε η πρώτη ξαδέρφη μου που είναι είκοσι και..όλοι ήρθαν εδώ.

205 I: From the moment when the other cousin, the older cousin was borned they all came to Europe.

206 R: So you were actually holding contacts to family members in Germany and Greece.  
207 Thessaloniki and Xanthi.

208 I: Δηλαδή..

209 Cousin: Να συγκρίνει πώς ήταν οι οικογένεια πριν..? (Should she compare how the family was  
210 before..?)

211 T : Όχι, είχατε σχέσεις, εσύ είχες σχέσεις με την οικογένεια που ήταν στην Γερμανία και στην  
212 Ξάνθη; (No if you were in contact with the family in Germany and in Xanthi..)

213 E: Ναι.

214 I: Η οικογένειά σου ήταν και στην Γερμανία και στην ..?

215 E: Ναι.

216 I: Yea she had relations with the family in Germany and in Xanthi.

217 R: So no other relatives or friends with who you had regular contacts in other countries.

218 I: Άλλες χώρες εκτός από τη Γερμανία και Ελλάδα; Ζούσανε, ή φίλους?

219 E: Οχι.

220 R: OK so Muenchen and then im interested in the transition from this Greek school here in  
221 Munich to the Greek school in Xanthi. (15.12  
222 min)

223 I: Ωραία. Θέλει να μάθει πώς έγινε η αλλαγή μεταξύ του ελληνικού σχολείου στο Μόναχο και  
224 του ελληνικού σχολείου στην Ξάνθη.

225 E: Κανονικά, μέσω fax, τηλέφωνα..

226 I: She says normally, through fax and telephone. Ναι αλλά εσύ πώς έγινε; (But you, how did it  
227 happen) She said that it became through fax and phone calls the change.

228 E: Ε λογικά με ένα χαρτί ότι κάνει απλά μια μεταγραφή.

229 I: Yea it was a normal change (normal registry) like from one school to the other.

230 R: It was.. you didn't feel it was a challenging?

231 I: Δεν ήτανε δύσκολο, δηλαδή όταν έφτασες στην Ξάνθη;

232 E: Όχι είχα τα ξαδέρφια μου, κανένα πρόβλημα.

233 I: She had her cousins too there.

234 Cousin: Ε ήταν και μικρή.

235 I: She says she was young as well so there was no problem.

236 R: So now we are in Xanthi.

237 I: Τώρα είμαστε στην Ξάνθη όταν είσαι 8 με 11 ε; (When you are 8 until 11.)

238 R: So can you tell me a little bit about the school? How was a general day, what kinds of subjects  
239 did you learn?

240 I: Πώς ήταν το σχολείο σου, πώς ήταν μξια κανονική μέρα στο σχολείο, τι μαθήματα είχες;

241 E: Στην Ξάνθη

242 I: Ναι

243 E: Ε μερικές..στο σχολείο εντάξει, λίγο δύσκολα στην αρχή.

244 I: At the beginning it was a bit difficult.

245 E: Γιατί ήτανε κάποια κορίτσια από την τάξη μου, δεν έκανα και τόσο παρέα μαζί τους αλλά στο

246 τέλος άρχισα σιγά σιγά και εντάξει όλα καλά.

247 I: Am it was a bit difficult because there were some girls in the class that she had problems but at

248 the end she had no problem. Εμ και τι μαθήματα είχες; (And what kind of subjects did you have?)

249 E: Κανονικά ελληνικά, φυσική, μαθηματικά, ιστορία.

250 I: She had normal classes. Greek, physics, history, maths

251 R: And did you attend some sport class or did you learn something in the afternoon, the

252 weekend?

253 I: Είχες μετά το σχολείο, έκανες κάποιο άλλο..

254 E: Ολοήμερο, ναι έκανα.

255 Cousin: Ολοήμερο είναι μετά το σχολείο που τελειώνεις κατά τις

256 E: Κατα τις 2 και κάθισε μέχρι τις 5, κάνεις διάφορα πράγματα.

257 I: In Greece the school in until 2 o'clock but she had the option that she stayed until 5 and they

258 were doing other things. Τι άλλα πράγματα έκανες μέχρι τις 5; (what else did you do until 5?)

259 E: Ζωγραφίζαμε..

260 I: They were drawing..

261 E: Τρώγαμε, παίζαμε με τα παιδιά, γυμναστική.

262 I: They were doing gym, they were eating as well and they were playing with other kids.

263 R: OK so it's kind of an after school.

264 I: Είναι ας πούμε, δεν είναι κανονικά σχολείο.. (so its not a normal school..)

265 E: Οχι

266 I: OK. It's an after school.

267 R: How did you spend the weekends, who were your friends?

268 I: Τι έκανες, πώς πέρναγες τα Σαββατοκύριακα, ποιοί ήταν οι φίλοι σου, πώς περνούσατε;

269 E: Ε εντάξει ήμουνα μικρή, δεν είχα, δεν έβγαينا..

270 Cousin: Να ρωτήσω κάτι, στο γυμνάσιο δεν μιλάμε; (Can I ask something? Are we talking about

271 high school?)

272 I: Όχι. Μιλάμε για εδώ, όταν ήταν στην Ξάνθη. (No we are talking about here when she was in  
273 Xanthi.) She says that she was still young and she doesn't remember very well but she had  
274 friends and she couldn't go out like she can now on weekends alone so..

275 R: How is this city? Or Xanthi is a city or..?

276 I: Xanthi is a city.

277 R: Can you describe it a little bit? How can I imagine it?

278 I: Αμμ πώς είναι η Ξάνθη;

279 E: Η Ξάνθη είναι πολύ ωραία. Παρ'όλο που είναι μικρή είναι πολύ ωραία.

280 I: She says it's small but it..

281 R: Is it smaller than Leipzig?

282 I: Είναι μικρότερη από τη Λειψία;

283 E: Ναι είναι πολύ πιο μικρότερη.

284 I: It's smaller than Leipzig.

285 E: Σαν χωριο είναι αλλά είναι πολύ ωραία.

286 I: She says it's a bit like a village but it's really nice.

287 Cousin: Έχει το κάτι άλλο.

288 E: Ναι είναι εντελώς διαφορετικό απο τα άλλα μικρά μέρη.

289 I: She says its different from other small places.

290 E: Και από τη Θεσσαλονίκη.

291 I: And also it's different from Thessaloniki. Αλλά γιατί; (But why?)

292 E: Είναι μικρό, όλοι γνωρίζοντε

293 I: Everyone knows each other.

294 E: Τα μέρη είναι ωραία, οι φίλοι..

295 I: The places are nice as well. And the friends are really good and so they like Xanthi.

296 R: OK so do we move then to..?

297 I: Μετά πήγες στη Θεσσαλονίκη. (Then you went to Thessaloniki)

298 R: Why do you move?

299 I: Γιατί πήγες στη Θεσσαλονίκη;

300 E: Ξέρω'γω. Έτσι αποφάσισαν οι γονείς μου.

301 I: She doesn't know. That's..it was her parents decision. And they moved to Thessaloniki.

302 R: OK.And you have to change school as well?  
303 I: Και άλλαξες σχολείο;  
304 E: Αναγκαστικά ναι.  
305 I: Yea she had to.  
306 R: And how was this new school?  
307 I: Και πώς ήταν εκείνο το καινούριο σχολείο;  
308 E: Α το αγαπώ.  
309 I: Ah she loved it. (( laughters))  
310 R: Yea? Why?  
311 E: Γιατί ήμουνα η πιο μεγάλη. Ήξερα όλα τα παιδιά εκεί, είχα μεγάλες παρέες.  
312 I: She was the oldest. She knew everyone there, she had a lot of friends.  
313 R: And the things that you learn here.. in Thessaloniki it was like could you use it? Did you take  
314 any school papers with you?  
315 I: Αυτά που έμαθες στην Ξάνθη στο σχολείο, ήταν χρήσιμα όταν πήγες στη Θεσσαλονίκη;  
316 E: Ολόιδια ναι.  
317 I: It was the same apparently.  
318 E: Όλα τα ίδια ήτανε.  
319 I: Everything was the same.  
320 E: Απλά εγώ άλλαξα.  
321 I: She changed. You know everything was the same but she was the one who changed.  
322 R: Did you actually here learn to write in Greek?  
323 I: Εδώ έμαθες να γράφεις στα ελληνικά;  
324 Cousin: Όταν ήταν στο Δημοτικό, όταν ήταν 8.(When she was in primary, when she was 8)  
325 I: Yea she learned to write in Greek here.  
326 R: can you..  
327 Cousin: Στην Κύπρο δεν μάθαινες;  
328 E: Ναι και στην Κύπρο μάθαινα.  
329 Cousin: Όταν ήταν στα προνήπεια εκεί που πήγαινε.  
330 I: Here when she was in Cyprus she also learned how to write in Greek.  
331 E: Αφού στην Κύπρο μιλάνε ελληνικά..



332 I: Yea because in Cyprus they speak Greek **so she also learned to write** Greek there.

333 R: Ans did you learn to write Georgian?

334 I: Έμαθες να γράφεις στα Γεωργιανά;

335 E: Ε μερικά.

336 I: A bit.

337 R: From your parents or...?

338 I: Από τους γονείς σου;

339 E: Από τον παππού μου.

340 I: From her grandfather.

341 R: OK. When did he..like what age where you when he taught you?

342 I: Πότε σου το έμαθε ;

343 E: Πριν ένα χρόνο, πριν έρθουμε εδώ. Όταν ήμουν 13. (one year ago, before we came here.

344 When I was 13)

345 I: When she was 13.

346 E: Βασικά πριν 8 μήνες.

347 I: 8 months ago. Before coming here her grandfather was teaching her.

348 R: Aha ok. And Russian? Because you say that..

349 I: Και Ρώσικα; Και γράφεις και μιλάς ρώσικα;

350 E: Ναι

351 I: She reads and writes and speaks Russian.

352 R: And Armenian is also different from Georgian and Russian?

353 I: Και τα αρμένικα είναι διαφορετικά από τα γεωργιανά και τα ρώσικα;

354 E: Ναι αρμένικα.. είναι η θεία μου.

355 I: Armenian it's her mother.

356 R: Yea

357 I: It's not her mother but it's her aunt.

358 E: Η μαμά μου και ο μπαμπάς μου αυτοί είναι κανονικοί γεωργιανοί.

359 I: Her mother and her Dad are Georgians so she so she had no relationship to Armenian. It's her

360 aunt who's Armenian.

361 R: Oh OK OK. So and then we move back to Xanthi?

362 I: Και μετά ξαναπήγες στην Ξάνθη;

363 E: Ναι

364 I: Πώς ήταν ; (How was it?)

365 R: To the same school?

366 I: Στο ίδιο σχολείο;

367 E: Ναι. Όχι τότε ήμουνα γυμνάσιο. Ναι στην Ξάνθη ήμουνα πρώτη γυμνασίου και μετά

368 συνέχισα στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Όχι στη Θεσσαλονίκη ήμουν πρώτη γυμνασίου και μετά πήγα στην

369 Ξάνθη.

370 I: OK she was in Thessaloniki. She started the first year of high school and then she continued

371 when she went to Xanthi. Αλλά πήγες στο ίδιο σχολείο που ήταν όταν ήσουνα εδώ ή σε άλλο (..)

372 E: Όχι ήμουνα δημοτικό, εδώ είμαι γυμνάσιο.

373 I: No it was a different because it was primary and here it became high school. So it was a

374 different school.

375 R: OK can you explain a little bit what is the difference between high school and prim\_ and this

376 one here?

377 I: Ρωτάει ποιά είναι η διαφορά μεταξύ του Δημοτικού σχολείου στην Ξάνθη και του Γυμνασίου?

378 (..)

379 E: Δεν έχει διαφορά. Κανονικά είναι. Είναι τα ίδια παιδιά σχετικά. Βασικά είσαι ίδια τάξη με

380 κάποια και μετά πας μαζί τους.

381 I: Δηλαδή εδώ ήσουνα με τα ίδια παιδιά; She says there is no difference it's just high school

382 that's.. In the primary school you are with someone and then you move with them to the high

383 school. Ναι αλλά με τα παιδιά που ήσουν εδώ στην Ξάνθη τους ξαναείδες στο Γυμνάσιο; ( yea

384 but with the kids you were in Xanthi, did you see them at high school?)

385 E: Ναι

386 I: So it was the same school because it was the same kids. (24.34 min)

387 E: Μαζί τους πήγαινα ίδια τάξη.

388 I: So when she moved back to Xanthi even though she was in high school she was with the same

389 kids.

390 R: Aha ok. What subjects did you have?

391 I: Τι μαθήματα είχες στο Γυμνάσιο;

392 E: Κανονικά.

393 Cousin: Αυτά που είχα στο Δημοτικό.

394 E: Απλά παραπάνω.

395 I: Everything that she had in primary but more.

396 E: Κάτι παραπάνω αλλά τώρα να σου πω την αλήθ\_ Φυσική, Χημεία, αυτά..

397 I: Chemistry, physics

398 R: Biology?

399 I: Βιολογία;

400 E: Ναι ναι όλα.

401 R: Geography?

402 E: Γεωγραφία εμείς κάναμε μέχρι πρώτη Γυμνασίου.

403 I: They do Geography until the first year of high school. Until they are 13 and after it stops.

404 Μετά σταματάει;

405 E: ναι

406 R: Is there any subjects here at the German school that you didn't have back in ...?

407 I: Υπάρχουν κάποια μαθήματα που έχεις εδώ στο Γερμανικό σχολείο που δεν είχες..?

408 E: Είναι ίδια απλά σε διαφορετικές λέξεις.

409 Cousin: Όχι Ελλη σε ρωτάει αν υπάρχουν κάποια μαθήματα διαφορετικά. Είναι αυτά τα WTH

410 κάνεις κάτι για νερά, μαγειρεύεις..

411 I: They learn cooking, there is..(FOREIGN WORDS HERE)

412 Cousin: Όλοι μαζί μαγειρεύουνε, τρώνε μετά, ελιναι κάτι σίχαμα μιλάμε.

413 E: Εγώ δεν πάω.

414 I: They are disgusted from the thing because they all cook together and then they eat and they

415 think it's disgusting.

416 E: Και είχα πει και στην κυρία μου, λέω εγώ δεν θέλω τετ\_ Παλιά είχαμε 2 ώρες τώρα μου το

417 έκανε 3 ώρες για να μου σπάσει τα νεύρα.

418 I: Before she had 2 hours of that now she has 3 hours and it's like..she can't stand it.She doesn't

419 go.

420 E: Aber ich gehe nicht.

421 R: Ja kann ich gut verstehen ((laughter)) OK and what are the other subjects that you attend here

422 at the German school?

423 I: Ποιά είναι τα άλλα μαθήματα που κανονικά θα έπρεπε να πηγαίνεις εδώ στο γερμανικό

424 σχολείο; (What are the subjects that you should normally attend here at the German school?)

425 E: (...?)

426 I: Όχι ποιά είναι τα άλλα που έχεις γενικώς αυτή τη στιγμή. Τι μαθήματα έχεις;  
427 E: Βιολογία, Γεωγραφία, Φυσική, Γυμναστική, Μουσική  
428 I: Biology, Geography, Physics, Gym, Music.  
429 E: Έχει ένα WTH.  
430 I: WTH with water, I didn't understand what it is.  
431 E: Χημεία.  
432 I: Chemistry  
433 E: Und Küche, das Kochen.  
434 R: And for example in Chemistry the things you learned in Xanhti can you use here in  
435 Chemistry?  
436 I: Στην Χημεία ας πούμε, αυτά που έμαθες στην Ξάνθη μπορείς να τα χρησιμοποιήσεις εδώ στο  
437 μάθημα της Χημείας;  
438 E: Μπορώ αλλά είναι διαφορετικές είναι..εμείς έχουμε για παράδειγμα Α3 ξερω'γω αυτοί έχουν  
439 άλλα εντελώς διαφορετικά.  
440 I: She says she can but they have a different system. Τι εννοείς αυτο το Α3; (What do you mean  
441 with this Α3?)  
442 E: Ένα παράδειγμα ξερω'γω εμείς έχουμε ένα κανόνα αυτοί το έχουν σε διαφορετικό, σε άλλες  
443 λέξεις.  
444 I: Ah she says that for example the rules in Chemistry they have different languages and a  
445 different code and so she can't understand it. Even though she knows the thing in Greek , you  
446 know, but here she can't understand it because it's different.  
447 R: So as far as I understand you recognize that yes I notice but you can't talk about it because of  
448 the language.  
449 I: Απ'ότι κατάλαβε δηλαδή αμα δεις ας πούμε στην χημεία , λες <<Αα αυτό το ξέρω αλλά δεν  
450 μπορώ να μιλήσω η να το εξηγήσω>> για τη γλώσσα.  
451 Cousin: Το'χεις δει αυτό , το'χεις προσέξει; (Have you experienced that?)  
452 E: Το'χω πάθει ναι. Μια φορά.  
453 I: Yea it happened in Chemistry once that she recognized the thing but she couldn't talk about it  
454 because of the language.  
455 E: (...?)  
456 R: And for example do the teachers notice that 'she actually knows what I'm explaining'' but  
457 you can't reply because of the language?

458 I: Οι καθηγητές το βλέπουν ότι ας πούμε εσύ καταλαβαίνεις αυτο αλλά δεν μπορείς επειδή  
459 υπάρχει το πρόβλημα γλώσσας;

460 E: Όχι δεν μου δίνουν το δικαίωμα να κάνω, να πω κάτι.

461 I: No they never gave her the right to like say something.

462 E: Ή όταν τους ρωτάς κάτι σε λένε ξέρω'γω τι δεν κατάλαβες;

463 I: And then they are like, if she asks for something, they are like "what don't you understand  
464 there"? They are like, they are going back(?).

465 R: And is it the same in Mathematics for example?

466 I: Είναι το ίδιο στα μαθηματικά ας πούμε; Δηλαδή καταλαβαίνεις τι λέει αλλά δεν μπορείς να το  
467 εκφράσεις γιατί υπάρχει πρόβλημα γλώσσας;

468 E: Σε μερικά ναι.

469 T:She says for some things yea.

470 R: Yea but did you..for example when you arrived to Germany, did you , did they give you a test  
471 in Mathematics, a test in Biology, a test in Chemistry?

472 I: Όταν έφτασες στη Γε\_

473 R: So that they find out what you know in these subjects?

474 I: Όταν έφτασες στη Γερμανία έκανες ας πούμε ένα τεστ στα μαθηματικά , ενα τεστ στη χημεία  
475 για να δούνε τι ξέρεις;

476 E: Καμία σχέση.

477 I: No no

478 Cousin: Όταν γράφουμε τεστ γενικώς στην τάξη μας λένε πάνε στο Datsch να κάτσεις, βγές από  
479 την τάξη.

480 I: They have no test at all. Even now when the class has a test they don't do it, when they would  
481 normally have a test they go out. Βγένετε από την τάξη;

482 E: Βγένουμε από την τάξη και πάμε στο Datsch που κάνουμε Γερμανικά.

483 I: They go out and they go to the German class they have.

484 R: Aha ok (...) Hmm and then now, like what is the way out? I mean this as to be sorted out. You  
485 have to go to the normal mathematics and physics and chemistry and biology class. How are  
486 you..like do you get any help from the teachers? So that you can show "yes these things I already  
487 know and I can catch up"?

488 I: Εμμ ρωτάει δηλαδή τώρα πώς θα βγεις από αυτον τον κύκλο, γιατί πώς θα γίνει, υπάρχει  
489 βοήθεια από τους καθηγητές για να μπορείς να πεις <<OK. Αυτό το ξέρω και από εδώ και πέρα  
490 τι θα μάθω;>> Υπάρχει, οι καθηγητές σε βοηθάνε ή καθόλου;

491 E: Δεν μου δίνουν καν σημασία.

492 I: The teachers they don't even , they don't give them any kind of..like they don't care about  
493 them. So there is no help from the teachers.

494 R: Aha ok.

495 E: Μην σας πω ότι φοβούνται και τους συμμαθητές..

496 Cousin: Δηλαδή την προηγούμενη φορά είχε συμβεί ένα περιστατικό στην τάξη μου..είχα  
497 βιολογία και μια καθηγήτρια μπήκε στην τάξη και λέει αρχίζουμε μάθημα και ήταν ένας που  
498 έπαιζε με το κινητό του και η καθηγήτρια του το πήρε και έγινε μια φασαρία, αυτός φώναζε  
499 πάνω της και αυτή έκασε απλά και..

500 I: Some of the students are also afraid of the teachers. (Some of the teachers are afraid of the  
501 students) She just explained that it was the Biology, the teacher came and she said ok we are  
502 starting the class and there was a student he had he's phone and the teacher she took the phone  
503 away from him and he was really pissed and he was shouting at her and she was really afraid. So  
504 yea..

505 E: Και σε μένα ο καθηγητής των μαθηματικών μόνος του μιλάει, μόνος του ακούει, όλοι τρώνε,  
506 πίνουνε ή μια κοπέλα κάπνιζε στην τάξη..

507 I: OK her Math teacher he speaks alone all the students they are doing other stuff, they are  
508 talking, they are smoking, they are doing other things.

509 R: Which class are you enrolled in this subject? In which class, level?

510 I: Emm you want to know the level?

511 R: Yea which grade?

512 I: Τώρα σε τι τάξη πηγαίνεις εδώ;

513 E: 8

514 I: 8 class

515 R: And you should be also in the 8<sup>th</sup> class?

516 I: Κανονικά τι τάξη έπρεπε να είσαι.

517 E: 9

518 I: 9<sup>th</sup>

519 Cousin: Όχι 8

520 I: 8 θα έπρεπε να είναι και στην Ελλάδα;

521 Cousin: Ναι

522 I: She's at the same level as she should have been in Greece.

523 R: Ok. But when you arrived and you first went with your parents to the school what did they ask  
524 from you?

525 I: Όταν πρωτοέφτασες και πήγες με τους γονείς σου στο σχολείο τι σου ζήτησε το σχολείο; Τι  
526 ζήτησανε από σενα;

527 E: Χαρτιά

528 I: Some papers

529 R: Did you have any papers?

530 I: Τα είχες τα χαρτιά;

531 E: Ναι ήταν η μεταγραφή που κάνεις από το σχολείο το ελληνικό στο Γερμανικό.

532 I: It was the change of school between the Greek and the school here.

533 R: And you had all the papers saying what you know, what type of knowledge you have?

534 I: Και είχες όλα τα χαρτιά από το ελληνικό σχολείο..

535 Cousin: Για να ξέρουνε ότι έχει τελειώσει αυτή την τάξη και πρέπει να συνεχίσει..

536 I: She had all the papers from Greece with her grades as well, with everything so that they know  
537 that she has finished and she has to be in that level, in that class. So she had everything.

538 R: OK so it was recognized. You have the feeling that it was recognized you completed the class  
539 7<sup>th</sup> in Greece?

540 I: Δηλαδή ας πούμε όταν ήρθες εδώ το αναγνωρίσανε ότι είχες τελειώσει την 7<sup>η</sup> τάξη και ότι  
541 έπρεπε να είσαι στην 8<sup>η</sup>, δεν υπήρξε πρόβλημα ;

542 E: Ναι

543 I: There was no problem. They recognized it.

544 R: Emm how is a day here?

545 I: Πώς είναι μια μέρα εδώ;

546 E: Στο σχολείο;

547 I: In the school?

548 R: Yea in the school.

549 I: Στο σχολείο. Πώς είναι μια μέρα στο σχολείο;

550 E: Εε ξερω'γω...άγχος, στρες, βαρεμάρα..

551 I: It is a mixed of stress and boredom.

552 R: Aha ok. And how..Like I have the feeling that both of you were good students back in Greece.

553 I: Έχει την εντύπωση ότι ήσασταν σχετικά καλές μαθήτριες στην Ελλάδα ας πούμε

554 E: Ναι να σου πω την αλήθεια..Να σου πω κάτι στην Ελλάδα πραγματικά εγώ δεν είχα κανένα  
555 πρόβλημα από τον εαυτό μου. Ας πούμε δεν ήμουν ούτε χαζή , ούτε έξυπνη ούτε..ήμουν  
556 μεσαία. Ενώ όταν ήρθα εδώ..σου προκαλούν κόμπλεξ. Σου λένε έτσι, σου λένε έτσι και δεν  
557 μπορείς να συγκεντρωθείς.

558 Cousin: Ναι αυτό ακριβώς.

559 I: She said that in Greece she had no problem, she was a normal student, in the middle, she was  
560 a normal student but when she came here they create all these complexes to her, they tell her you  
561 are not good and they can't focus in their class.

562 R: Yea to this I can tell only one thing. That the German students who are closed they are usually  
563 not even literate in their own mother (..?)

564 I: Θα σας πει ένα πράγμα. Ότι αυτοί οι μαθητές οιο οποίοι σας προκαλούν κόμπλεξ το πιο συχνό,  
565 αυτό που γίνεται είναι ότι μάλλον δεν ξέρουν καν να γράφουνε στα γερμανικά. Δηλαδή δεν είναι  
566 καν καλοί μαθητές.

567 E: Ναι φαίνεται από την εμφάνιση.

568 I: She says **and** she can see it from the way they look. she can see it from the way they look.

569 R: Yea and in contrast to that you speak, I can't even count, how many languages.

570 I: Εσείς μιλάτε τόσες γλώσσες. Σε σχέση με αυτούς τους μαθητές εσείς μιλάτε τόσες γλώσσες,  
571 δεν μπορούμε καν να τις μετρήσουμε.

572 E: Ναι αλλά πηγαίνουμε στο δικό τους σχολείο και..

573 I: She says they are going to their school. So it's like their territory.

574 E: Είμαστε 2 είναι όλοι μαζί.

575 I: They are only two, they are all together and so..

576 E: Να σας πούμε την αλήθεια τώρα που έχουμε πάρει τους βαθμούς από το σχολείο μας είναι  
577 πολύ καλοί. 1- 2.

578 I: Now they got some grades and the grades are quit good. 1,2?

579 E: 1. Εγώ είχα 1-2. Μόνο αυτά.

580 I: She has only ones and twos

581 R: OK

582 E: Δεν έχω πρόβλημα..απλά εντάξει..

583 I: She has no problem.

584 R: And does the family plan to stay longer here or..?

585 I: Η οικογένειά σας θέλει να μείνει εδώ πολύ;



586 E: E εντάξει όχι εντάξει.

587 I: Ναι ή όχι;

588 E: Εε όχι. Οι μισοί θέλουν, οι μισοί δεν θέλουν. Οι πατεράδες μας θέλουν , οι μαμάδες μας δεν  
589 θέλουν.

590 I: The half of the family wants to stay and the half wants to leave. Their fathers they want to stay  
591 here but their mothers they want to leave.

592 R: Aa because of work?

593 I: Οι πατεράδες θέλουν να μείνουνε εδώ για τη δουλειά;

594 E: Όχι να φύγουνε.

595 I: Αα οι παμπάδες θέλουν να φύγουν; Ok sorry. The fathers want to leave and the mothers  
596 want to stay. Οι μαμάδες θέλουν να μείνουνε;

597 R: Do you have any idea why your mother wants to stay?

598 I: Γιατί οι μαμάδες θέλουν να μείνουνε και οι παμπάδες να φύγουνε?

599 E: Ε είναι πιο ευκολη η ζωή εδώ. Υπάρχει δουλειά , υπάρχει τα πάντα.

600 I: Ee because the life here is better. There is job, there are jobs here and everything is good here.  
601 Και οι παμπάδες γιατί θέλουν να φύγουνε; (And your fathers, why do they wanna leave?)

602 E: Ε εκεί είναι οι γονείς τους, είναι..τι να σας πούμε..

603 I: The fathers they want to leave because probably their parents are back.

604 R: How often do you keep contacts with the grandparents in xanthi?

605 E: Jeden Tag.

606 R: And how?

607 I: Πώς; Πώς επικοινωνείτε;

608 E: Μέσω internet, skype.

609 I: Skype.

610 E: Τηλέφωνο μερικές φορές.

611 R: The grandparents can use skype?

612 E: Em nein. Πάνε στην ξαδέρφη μου και μας βλέπουν από εκεί.

613 I: Ah they are going to their older cousin, the grandparents are going to the older cousin and then  
614 from the cousin they speak on skype.

615 R: OK

616 I: And phone.

617 R: I need, I think I need a map for the Leipzig period because you say you have mothers, fathers,  
618 cousins and uncles in Leipzig but you have another cousin, the mother, em the grandmother and  
619 the grandfather in Xanthi.

620 I: Χρειάζεται λίγο ένα, κάποιο χάρτη για την περίοδο που είσαι εδώ. Ποιό μέρος της οικογένειάς  
621 σου είναι εδώ, ποιό μέρος της οικογένειάς σου είναι εκεί ; She's gonna do it.

622 R: OK

623 E: Σε ένα χαρτί απλό ή..?

624 I: In a normal paper or how do we do it?

625 R: We just yea. Whatever you want.

626 I: Όπως θέλεις εσύ. Όπως αισθάνεσε εσύ καλύτερα.

627 E: Θα το γράψω στα ελληνικά να το μεταφράσεις.

628 I: She's going to write it in Greek. I will translate it.

629 E: Δηλαδή να γράψω τη μαμά μου και τον πατέρα μου ;

630 I: Όχι να μου πεις.. Λειψία , ποιοί είναι στη Λειψία μαζί σου και ποιοί είναι πίσω στην Ελλάδα  
631 (..) αυτοί που είναι αθτή τη στιγμή έτσι; Μιλάμε για τώρα.

632 R: And both of you as far as I understood from last time you are Greek citizens.

633 I: Και οι 2 σας είστε ελληνίδες υπήκοοι;

634 E: ναι (.....)

635 R: You didn't move together but still the citys are the same?

636 I: Εμ δεν μετακομίζατε..

637 E: Όχι μαζί , όχι μαζί

638 I: Όχι μαζί αλλά κάποιες πόλεις ήταν οι ίδιες;

639 E: Ναι είναι οι ίδιες εκτός από τη Θεσσαλονίκη. Εγώ δεν ζούσα ποτέ εκεί.

640 I: She never lived in Thessaloniki. But **she** lived.. And they never moved together but they lived  
641 at the same places. Yea.

642 E: Είναι πολύ μεγάλη ιστορία.

643 T:She says it's a big big story. (.....)(...?) (whispering)

644 R: Wow ((laughter)).

645 I: So that's Xanthi. You have grandmother, a grandmother, a cousin, a girl-cousin, a boy-cousin  
646 and an aunt. In Leipzig she has an uncle , an aunt ,that mom , a cousin –a girl- , a cousin-her  
647 brother-. She has a sister. And in Thessaloniki she has the grandmother, two cousins- girls, an  
648 uncle and an aunt.

649 R: And all of these people speak Georgian with each other or..?  
650 I: Όλοι αυτοί τι μιλάτε μεταξύ σας;  
651 E: Μεταξύ μας μιλάμε περισσότερο ρώσσικα, τούρκικα μιλάμε με τον παππού, τη γιαγιά  
652 ελληνικά.  
653 I: Ok she says Russian. They speak Russian, with their grandfather and her grandmother they  
654 speak Turkish and Greek.  
655 R: Emm and the grandparents they like what I didn't understand that they always lived in Greece.  
656 That's why they speak also Turkish and Greek?  
657 I: Οι παππούδες και οι γιαγιάδες πάντα ζούσανε στην Ελλάδα ; Γί αυτό μιλάνε Τούρκικα; Ή πώς;  
658 E: Ναι ναι ξέρουν. Αυτή τη γλώσσα την ξέρουνε πιο πολύ.  
659 Cousin: Η μητρική τους γλώσσα. Όχι η μητρική τους. Όχι ακριβώς. Ε την ξέρουνε. Την ξέρουνε  
660 όλη η οικογένεια αυτή τη γλώσσα και..  
661 I: Τα τούρκικα;  
662 E: Ναι  
663 T: All the family knows Turkish and Russian. That's why they all communicate. It's for their  
664 grandparents it's **almost** like their mother tongue. They say almost.  
665 R: OK. Because I lived in Smirni and in Smirni everybody spoke a little bit Greek because they  
666 moved to Greece to..  
667 I: Λέει ζούσε στη Σμύρνη και λέει όλοι στη Σμύρνη μιλούσανε λίγο ελληνικά γιατί όλοι  
668 μετακομίσανε πριν 80 χρόνια από την Ελλάδα στην Τουρκία. (Everyone in Smirni speaks a little  
669 bit of Greek because they moved from Greece to Turkey 80 years ago)  
670 E: Βασικά εμείς δεν μιλάμε ακριβώς Τούρκικα Τούρκικα.  
671 I: They say they don't speak Turkish, Turkish.  
672 E: Εμείς μιλάμε Τσάλκα στη Γλώσσα. Ναι είναι ένα χωριό ίσα με τα Τούρκικα είναι. Αυτοί  
673 μιλάνε με το Γιουρούμ κατάλαβες ;  
674 I: She says they don't speak **exactly** Turkish. It's the language of a village. (FOREIGN WORDS  
675 HERE)  
676 E: Έχει μια **πολύ** μικρή διαφορά αλλά είναι η ίδια.  
677 I: They say it has a small difference but it's the same.  
678 R: Can you actually use Turkish here in Germany because there are a lot of Turks here?  
679 I: Μπορείτε να χητισμοποιήσετε τα Τούρκικα εδώ; Γιατί υπάρχουν πολλοί Τούρκοι εδώ.  
680 E: Ναι αμα ας πούμε δούμε κάποιον ας πούμε μπορούμε να του μιλήσουμε.

681 I: They say that If they see someone they can speak to him or her in Turkish.

682 R: And which language do the parents use in work now?

683 I: Οι γονείς σας τι, ποιά γλώσσα χρησιμοποιούν στη δουλειά

684 E: Ελληνικά συνήθως μιλάνε. Γενικώς έξω μιλάνε ελληνικά.

685 I: Outside they speak Greek

686 E: Μέσα στο σπίτι ό,τι θέλ\_, ό,τι μας έρθει.

687 I: Outside they speak Greek , in the house they speak whatever. Whatever one of the languages

688 they know but outside it's Greek.

689 R: Alex just asked me and I also didn't know the answer. How did you end up in this school and

690 not in another one?

691 I: Αναρωτιόμασταν πώς πήγατε σ'αυτό το σχολείο και όχι σε κάποιο άλλο;

692 E: Κοίτα δεν υπάρχει θέση σε άλλο σχολείο.

693 I: There is no position in another school.

694 E: Και μας στείλανε στο πιο άσχημο

695 I: And they send them in the worse.

696 R: Who send you?

697 I: Ποιός σας έστειλε σ' αυτό;

698 E: Ε πήραμε μια βοήθεια από μια κυρία που ξέρει η μητέρα μου, ο πατέρας μου και πήραμε

699 τηλέφωνο σ' όλα τα σχολεία της Λειψίας, είπανε έτσι κι έτσι και τελικά μας στείλανε εκεί.

700 I: There was a woman, who her parents know, and she helped them and they called to all the

701 schools in Leipzig and at the end they ended up in that one.

702 R: In..yea in Xanthi do a lot of Georgians live there?

703 I: Ζούνε πολλοί Γεωργιανοί στην Ξάνθη;

704 E: Ναι όλοι σχεδόν.

705 I: She says that everyone, almost everyone is from Georgia.

706 R: Yea because I heard that there are also Armenians here?

707 I: Υπάρχουν και Αρμένιοι;

708 E: Αρμένιοι, Γεωργιανοί, Ρώσσοι, Πορτογάλοι, όλοι. ((laughter))

709 I: She says Portuguese, Russian, Georgians, Armenians .

710 E: Όλοι.

711 R: Cause the Armenians they have even a kind of Armenian language Sunday-school for  
712 children. Do the Georgians also opened something like that in Xanthi?

713 Cousin: Δεν έχει.

714 E: Τι είπε; Περίμενε δεν κατάλαβα.

715 Cousin: Αν έχει σχολείο στην Ελλάδα που να βοηθάει αυτούς τους ανθρώπους που έρχοντε από  
716 ξένες χώρες..

717 I: Αμα υπάρχει ας πούμε..

718 E: Για τους Αρμένιους ένα ας πούμε ειδικό σχολείο.

719 I: Υπάρχει ένα σχολείο που πας το Σαββατοκύριακο και μαθαίνεις Αρμένικα.

720 E: όχι δεν υπάρχει.

721 I: She says there is no Armenian school in Xanthi.

722 E: Εκτός αν πας σε φροντιστήριο.

723 I: You only have to go to a private, it's a private school. An afternoon school, private school.

724 E: Είναι μια Αρμενίδα ας πούμε που ξέρει ελληνικά, ξέρει τη γλώσσα σου τέλος πάντων.

725 I: There is an Armenian woman who speaks Greek as well and she has this class.

726 R: Ok. Did you attend this?

727 I: Πήγες σ' αυτό το σχολείο;

728 Cousin: Όχι εγώ δεν πήγα. Δεν είχα πρόβλημα εγώ, γεννήθηκα στην Ελλάδα, ξέρω ελληνικά..

729 I: She went to..she was born in Greece, she knows Greek, she went to school..

730 E: Αγγλικά πήγαινα εγώ.

731 I: She only went also to this private..in Greece there is this system of private schools, afternoon  
732 schools to learn languages. And she went for English. She learned English.

733 E: Εγώ διάβαζα και γερμανικά πήγαινα και αγγλικά.

734 I: She went for English and German.

735 R: So it's like language course.

736 I: Είναι..Yes

737 E: Ό,τι θέλεις. Ισπανικά, ό,τι θέλεις.

738 I: You can have all languages that you want.

739 R: How often did you attend these classes?

740 I: Κάθε πόσο πηγαίνατε σ' αυτά ;

741 E: Την εβδομάδα 2 φορές.  
742 I: Twice a week.  
743 R: Twice a week. OK and which age?  
744 I: Πόσο χρονών?  
745 E: Πόσο χρονών πηγαίναμε εκεί;  
746 I: Από πόσο χρονών..  
747 E: Μπορείς να πάς από πρώτη Δημοτικού.(you can go from the first class of primary)  
748 I: Εσύ εσύ (no you)  
749 E: Εγώ; Α εγώ πήγα πολύ αργά.Εγώ πήγα από έκτη Δημοτικού μέχρι Τρίτη Γυμνασίου. Αλλά  
750 δεν έχω τελειώσει.  
751 I: She went from the 6<sup>th</sup> primary, the 6<sup>th</sup> level of primary, the last year of primary until..  
752 E: 2 χρόνια περίπου. (from about two years)  
753 I:And then secondary school  
754 R: And you?  
755 I: Κι εσύ πόσο καιρό πήγες φροντιστήριο;  
756 E: Εγώ πήγαινα 2 χρόνια..  
757 I: She went two years.  
758 E: Όταν ήμουνα στο Δημοτικό  
759 I: When she was in primary.  
760 E: Μέχρι πρώτη Γυμνασίου.  
761 I: Until the first year of high school.  
762 E: Και μετά έφυγα, πήγα Θεσσαλονίκη.  
763 I: And then afterwards she went to Thessaloniki.  
764 E: Και μετά στη Θεσσαλονίκη πήγαινα άλλο ένα χρόνο.  
765 I: And then in Thessaloniki she went one year.  
766 E: Αλλά το σταμάτησα.  
767 I: But she stopped  
768 R: And which is better English or German?  
769 I: Αγγλικά ή γερμανικά; Ποιό είναι το καλύτερο αγγλικά ή γερμανικά;  
770 E: Αγγλικά

771 I: Αγγλικά, English.

772 E: Στα γερμανικά είναι κάπως έτσι..πρέπει να τονίζεις..(FOREIGN WORDS HERE) ((laughter))

773 E: Αυτηνής της κοπέλας η μητρική της γλώσσα ποιά είναι;

774 I: They are asking what's your mother tongue.

775 R: My mother tongue in Hungarian

776 I: Ουγγάρικα. Από την Ουγγαρία είναι. (Hungarian, she is from Hungary)

777 E: Δηλαδή εκεί τι μιλάνε; Τούρκικα; (So what do they speak there, Turkish?)

778 I: Όχι ουγγάρικα. (No Hungarian)

779 E: Υπάρχει αυτή, τέτοια γλώσσα; (Is there such a language?)

780 I: Ναι ναι Ουγγαρία. (Yea yea Hungarian)

781 E: Δεν το ήξερα. (I didn't know that)

782 I: They didn't know there was a language, an Hungarian language.

783 R: Yea yea it's like, you know there are Slovakia and Austria some (...?) and East from Austria

784 and Rumania And Ukraine and Serbia.

785 E: Αα κατα'κεί;

786 I: Κατάλαβες; Είναι στην κεντρική Ευρώπη.

787 E: Ναι ναι κατάλαβα.

788 R: It's a small country. We are only 10 million

789 I: Είναι μόνο 10 εκατομμύρια.Well Greece also. It's a small country. Small is relative.

790 R: I know it's a complicated question but what like wahta do you feel prepared for? By the

791 school. Do you think you are going to be able to live your future in Greece, in Germany and even

792 in Europe and even in the world? Like what do you feel you are prepared for? What can you

793 imagine, you think it's my contact.

794 E: ((deap breathing))

795 I: Ξέρει είναι λίγο δύσκολη ερώτηση αλλά θέλει να μάθει τι πιστεύετε η κάθε μια ότι είστε, για

796 ποιό πράγμα σας ετοίμασε το σχολείο, πού μπορείτε να ζήσετε, σας ετοίμασε για το μέλλον σας;

797 E: Ποιό σχολείο;

798 I: Which school? School in general.

799 E: Δεν κατάλαβα την ερώτηση.

800 I: She doesn't understand the question.

801 R: Yea because it's a difficult question. ((laughter))

802 I: Ναι λέει είναι δύσκολη ερώτηση.

803 Cousin: Σε έχει ετοιμάσει το σχολείο ας πούμε, οι καθηγητές σου έχουν πει, σου έχουν δώσει  
804 εφόδια;

805 R: I give you another (..?) because you know German school is always giving examples of  
806 German history, German language , German literature, German this and German that and the  
807 German students don't know where is Hungary, they don't know where is Mexico, they don't  
808 know where is Georgia, they are not prepared to see something else that goes beyond Germany  
809 and my question is..

810 E: Χριστέ μου.. (jesus) ((laughter))

811 I: No no. Λέει ας πούμε ότι για παράδειγμα το γερμανικό σχολείο δίνει πάντα Γερμανικά  
812 παραδείγματα. Γερμανική ιστορία, γερμανική γεωγραφία..και οι μαθητές δεν ξέρουν που είναι η  
813 Ουγγαρία, που είναι το Μεξικό και δεν είναι έτοιμοι να δούνε κάτι παραπάνω, κάτι απ'έξω. Και  
814 η ερώτηση είναι.. And your question is..?

815 R: ((laughter)) And my question is: like what , like you attended school in like differend schools  
816 in Greece and now you attend here, what are you prepared for?

817 I: Εσύ πήγες ας πούμε σε σχολεία, σε διάφορα σχολεία στην Ελλάδα και τώρα στη Γερμανία.  
818 Και θέλει να μάθει τι εφόδια πήρες, γιατί σε ετοίμασε το σχολείο,για ποιά πράγματα, πώς βλέπεις  
819 το μέλλον σου; (...)

820 Cousin: Σχετικά τι θέλει να γίνει;

821 I: They are asking is it what she wants to work?

822 R: Yea

823 I: Ναι τι ας πούμε θα'θελες να κάνεις;

824 E: Εγώ θα'θελα να γίνω δικηγόρος.

825 I: She wants to be a lawyer. (..)

826 R: Aha and like where?

827 I: Πού;

828 E: Σε ποιά χώρα; Οικονομικά επειδή στην Ελλάδα έχει κρίση, οικονομικά για μένα καλύτερα  
829 εδώ.

830 I: She says that in terms of economically, because in Greece there is a crises it's better here.  
831 Δηλαδή θα ήθελες να μείνεις εδώ; (So you would like to stay here?)

832 E: Εμμ ναι να κάνω εδώ το μέλλον..βασικά να σπουδάσω, να πάρω το χαρτί και μετά, δηλαδή  
833 εγώ μ'αυτό το χαρτί θα μπορώ να δουλέψω και σε άλλες χώρες.

834 I: She wants to study here, get the paper and then she believes that with that paper she could work  
835 in other places as well.



836 R: Within Europe or..?  
837 I: Στην Ευρώπη ή..?  
838 E: Ε όπου βγει ξέρω'γω..  
839 I: Whatever.  
840 R: Have you ever thought to work in Georgia?  
841 I: Σκέφτηκες ποτέ να πας στη Γεωργία να δουλέψεις;  
842 E: Να δουλέψω..να πάω να μείνω να τη χορτάσω έτσι..Διακοπές.  
843 I: She wants to go for holidays in Georgia. She wants to like experience Georgia to like feel her  
844 you know?  
845 R: Ok  
846 I: Αλλά όχι να δουλέψεις;  
847 E: Οχι  
848 I: But not to work.  
849 E: Δεν θα είχα πρόβλημα αλλά.  
850 I: She doesn't have a problem. Αλλά; (But? )  
851 E: Αλλά εντάξει, όπου είναι πιο καλά.  
852 I: Where its best. She says she will go wherever it's best. Wherever it's the best place to live.  
853 R: Ok. And you? What is the dream-place to live?  
854 Cousin: Το ονειρό μου;  
855 I: Πού είναι; Ποιά είναι η χώρα- όνειρο που θα'θελες να ζήσεις;  
856 Cousin: Η χώρα όνειρο για μενα είναι η Ελλάδα.  
857 I: It's Greece.  
858 E: Πραγματικά δεν υπάρχει καμία άλλη. Δεν ξέρω έχω πάθει ενα κόλλημα με εκεί. Ήμουνα τόσα  
859 χρόνια εκεί βασικά.  
860 I: She says she she's stuck with Greece. She is been there all her life and right now she is stuck  
861 with Greece.  
862 R: And it's also, partially, because the love is in Greece.  
863 E: ((laughter))  
864 I: Και είναι γιατί και το αγόρι σου είναι στην Ελλάδα.  
865 E: Είναι κι αυτό ναι.

866 I: Yea she says it's also that.

867 R: If you kind of have to think about advantages and disadvantages of the fact that you moved  
868 from Xanthi to Cyprus, back to Greece, here to Germany and then maybe in the future you are  
869 going to move again. If you think about this route. What do you think? You could only learn only  
870 be doing such a life and maybe what are the things that you lost because you had such a life?

871 I: Ωραία. Ποιά είναι τα πλεονεκτήματα και μειονεκτήματα αυτής της ζωής που έκανες; Δηλαδή  
872 που πήγες από' δω, από 'κει και πήγες στη Κύπρο, Στην Ξάνθη, στ Θεσσαλονίκη. Ποιά είναι τα  
873 καλά, τι έμαθες ας πούμε απ' όλα αυτά τα ταξίδια και τι νομίζεις ότι έχασες επειδή έκανες όλα  
874 αυτά τα ταξίδια;

875 E: Κατ' αρχας δεν έχασα τίποτα γιατί άξιζε να αλλάξω χώρες.

876 I: She says first of all she didn't lose anything because it was worth it to change all these  
877 countries and she also learned all these languages.

878 E: Και πριν τι είπες; (And what did you ask before?)

879 I: Και τα πλεονεκτήματα, μειονεκτήματα αυτής της ζωής. (Advantages and disadvantages of such  
880 a life)

881 E: Έχω μάθει να είμαι δυνατή, να μπρώ να αντέξω ένα πράγμα.

882 I: She has learned to be strong to be able to deal with things that change.

883 E: Αυτά ξερω'γω...;

884 I: That's it.

885 Cousin: Αα κι εγώ; (oo me too?)

886 I: Ναι. (yes)

887 Cousin: Εγώ δεν έχω ταξιδέψει γενικά τόσο πολύ. Εγώ έχω πάει μόνο στην Κύπρο και ήρθα  
888 εδώ.

889 I: She says she hasn't travelled that much. She went to Cyprus and then she came here.

890 Cousin: Εε για μενα το χειρότερο πράγμα είναι ότι ήρθα εδώ. ((laughter))

891 I: The worse thing is that she came here.

892 Cousin: Και το καλύτερο πράγμα είναι που, ντάξει δεν με χαλούσε η Κύπρος, ήταν πολύ ωραία  
893 εκεί, μ'άρεσε, θα'θελα να μείνω.

894 I: She liked it in Cyprus.

895 E: Εε αυτά. Εε να σου πω την αλήθεια δεν κατάλαβα τίποτα. Το μόνο που κατάλαβα είναι ότι  
896 πρέπει να πάω στην Ελλάδα. ((laughter)). Δεν έχει πλεονεκτήματα εδώ πέρα η Γερμανία, δεν  
897 υπάρχει πλεονέκτημα.

898 I: They say that here in Germany there is no advantage of being here.

899 E: Ενώ στην Κύπρο δεν είχα πρόβλημα, ήταν ωραία εντάξει.

900 I: In Cyprus she had no problem but here in Germany she doesn't see any advantage.

901 R: Maybe it comes with time.

902 I: Μπορεί να έρχεται με το χρόνο.

903 E: Μακάρι.

904 I: They hope so. (FOREIGN WORD)

905 R: If you..I know it's a very challenging question but still I pose it. If you become the minister of  
906 education tomorrow what would you change in the schools, in the school practice so that they can  
907 welcome students, who have lived at several places, better?

908 I: Αν ήσασταν Υπουργός Παιδείας τι θα αλλάζατε στο σύστημα του σχολείου για να μπορεί να  
909 καλωσορίσει και να δεχτεί μαθητές που έχουν κάνει τη ζωή αυτή;

910 E: Κατ'αρχάς εγώ ναι αν ήμουν σε μια ξένη χώρα και ερχόντουσαν άλλα παιδιά από εκεί κάθε  
911 φορά που θα ερχόταν ένα διαφορετικό παιδί θα κάναμε συνέλευση και θα έλεγα να διώξουν το  
912 ρατσισμό.

913 I: First of all she thinks that every time a new kid comes in class they would be some , like a class  
914 meeting, to kind of like remove racism.

915 E: Ή να υπήρχε ένας νόμος που οι καθηγητές τέλος πάντων να έπαιρναν τα παιδιά ξεχωριστά να  
916 τα ρωτήσουν τι ξέρουν τι δεν ξέρουν όχι όπως εδώ.

917 I: She wishes there was like some kind of law that makes teachers take these kids aside and ask  
918 them what they know, what they don't know. Assess the level.

919 R: But how can you imagine assessing the level? Because if like I assume that the German  
920 teacher doesn't speak Georgian or Russian so..

921 I: Πώς ας πούμε θα βλέπουνε τι ξέρεις και τι δεν ξέρεις γιατί πιστεύει ότι ο γερμανός καθηγητής  
922 μάλλον δεν μιλάει ούτε ελληνικά, ούτε..

923 E: Όχι ξέρεις τι; Αυτό το Datsh , αυτό είναι πολύ ωραίο πράγμα ας πούμε μπένεις εκεί μέσα και  
924 είναι παιδιά που έρχοντε από αλλού. Είσαι βολικά εκεί μέσα.

925 I: They say that in this German class they have it's really nice, they feel very well. It's like you  
926 enter there and there are all these kids from everywhere and they feel quite well and welcomed  
927 there.

928 E: Ναι υπάρχουν μερικά άτομα που μιλάνε ρώσικα, που μιλάνε γλώσσες που ξέρουμε και  
929 μπορούμε να συννενοηθούμε.

930 I: There are kids who also speak languages they know like Russian and so..

931 E: Για παράδειγμα στο DaZ έχει 4 παιδιά που μιλάνε την ίδια γλώσσα μαζί μας.

932 I: There are other 4 kids who speak Russian.

933 E: Μπορούμε να συννενοηθούμε.

934 I: They can speak with other kids. Ναι αλλά πώς νομίζεις ότι οι καθηγητές ας πούμε στα  
935 μαθηματικά, πώς ένας καθηγητής θα μπορούσε να δει τι ξέρεις και τι δεν ξέρεις; ( yea but how  
936 do you think for example a math teacher could see what you know and what you don't know?)

937 E: Εε του καθηγητή που ξέρει για σενα πράγματα, που ξέρει την ίδια γλώσσα μαζί σου, αυτή εκεί  
938 η καθηγήτρια από το DaZ αυτή ξέρει ρώσικα και μπορεί να συννενοηθεί μαζί μου καλά.

939 I: She says that for example for the teachers to assess the level the math teacher for example he  
940 should speak to her German x=class teacher, who also speak Russian, and to see what they know,  
941 what they don't know because it is like German, like this German class she knows them.

942 Cousin: Ξέρεις εγώ τι πιστεύω; Εγώ πιστεύω θα ήταν καλύτερα όταν έρχεται ένα παιδί από άλλη  
943 χώρα να κάνει μόνο αυτό που κάνουμε εμείς, DaZ. Μόνο αυτό για ένα χρόνο χωρίς να μπαίνει σε  
944 άλλες τάξεις. Όταν τα παιδιά μπαίνουν σε άλλες τάξεις, γενικώς χωρίζονται, μόνα τους είναι και  
945 τέτοια δεν νιώθουν καλά, ε όσο να'ναι δεν ξέρουν και τη γλώσσα καλά..

946 I: She believes that when a kid comes to Germany from another country for a year or a period of  
947 time they should only have this German class until they know the language. Because right now  
948 they are going to the other classes, they are alone, they don't know the language. She thinks it's  
949 useless and so if they spend this year only with this German class then it will be, they will have  
950 time to learn the language and to adopt.

951 R: OK. So that's what you would change.

952 I: Αυτό θα γινόταν, αυτό θα αλλάζαμε αν ήταν να αλλάξουμε κάτι;

953 E: Αυτό. Ακριβώς αυτό.

954 I: Exactly that.

955 R: OK. So I have no other questions.

956 I: Δεν έχει άλλες ερωτήσεις.

957 R: Thank you very much.

958 I: Σας ευχαριστεί πάρα πολύ.

959 E: Θα σας πάμε εμείς στην στάση έτσι;

960 I: They will take us to the tram stop.

961 R: yea yea I mean if...

Interview Transcript of Helena, 16 years old

Leipzig, 04. February 2015

H: Helena, R: Researcher, I: Interpreter

1 R: First I would be interested to report your name, how old are you, and in general anything  
2 you would like to share, because I just simply find it interesting, that during school you have  
3 moved so many times and if you could explain me a little bit about your life.

4 I: Это как бы в общем чтобы ты описала свою жизнь как ты жила в стольких странах  
5 потому что для неё это очень интересно для этого исследования как учась в школе ты  
6 переезжала столько раз и как это поменяло твою жизнь. В начале чтобы как-то  
7 представилась, как тебя зовут, сколько тебе лет и в общем рассказала о своей жизни в  
8 разных странах. (It's like for you to explain your life as you lived in so many countries.  
9 Because it is interesting for her, for this research how studying at school you have moved so  
10 many times and how it changed your life. At first, introduce yourself, what is your name, how  
11 old are you and tell in general about your life in different countries.)

12 H: Ну, меня зовут Хава и мне 16 лет. Ну..гражданство у меня в России. Ну..эм..ну..ну у  
13 меня в России мне было очень хорошо пока мы не переехали в Польшу. Там мы жили 8  
14 месяцев. А..потом мы от туда пришли сюда..в Германию. Ээ здесь мы уже живём почти  
15 год..ну тоже 8 месяцев как-бы. (Nu, my name is Hava and I'm 16. Nu..I have a citizenship of  
16 Russia. Nu..ehm..nu..I was very well in Russia until we've moved to Poland. There we lived  
17 for 8 months. Ah..then we came here..to Germany.. Eh we live here almost a year.. nu like 8  
18 months.)

19 I: Можно я переведу? (May I translate?)

20 H: Угу. (Uhu)

21 I: Eeh she's 16 and she was very..eh she felt very well when they lived in Russia and then they  
22 moved to Poland. Сколько вы жили в Польше? (For how long did you live in Poland?)

23 H: 8 месяцев. (8 months.)

24 I: So, they lived for 8 months in Poland and then they moved here. Сколько здесь живёте?  
25 (How long have you been living here?)

26 H: Тоже 8 месяцев. (Also 8 months.)

27 I: They have been living for 8 month here.

28 R: Which city were you born?

29 I: В каком городе ты родилась? (Which city were you born?)

30 H: Я знаете..дома родилась ну в своём селе, село у меня Кин-Юн называется. (I, you  
31 know...I was born at home in my village. The name of my village is Kin-Yun.)

32 I: Э как? (Eh how?)

33 H: Кин-Юн. (Kin-Yun.)

34 I: Eh she was born in her village. Its name is Kin-Jun.

35 R: Uhu that was in Chechnya?

36 I: Yeh-yeh.

37 R: And did you go to school in Chechnya?

38 I: Ты ходила в школу в Чечне? (Did you go to school in Chechnya?)

39 H: Да. Я там 9 классов окончила. (Yes. I have finished 9 classes there.)

40 I: She finished there 9 classes.

41 R: Aha, so from the age of 6 to...?

42 I: Это от 6 до сколько ты там была? Ну сколько тебе было лет когда вы переехали из

43 Чечни? ( It is from 6 till what age were you there? Nu how old were you when you moved from

44 Chechnya?)

45 H: Из Чечни? (From Chechnya)

46 I: Да. (Yes.)

47 H: Мне было 13. (I was 13.)

48 I: She was 13.

49 R: 13 yah? And that was primary school?

50 I: We do not have that difference.

51 R: Aha, so if you had to describe me a little bit like I'm from the Mars, you know, and I have

52 no idea about the Chechen school, how would you describe me, how was the school?

53 I: Ты можешь описать как тебе там училось, как, какая вот эта была школа? Вот если бы

54 она была из Марса, как бы ты ей описала школу в Чечне? (Could you explain how did you

55 study there, which was that school? Like if she was from Mars, how could you describe her the

56 school in Chechnya?)

57 H: Ну, например, школа была у нас не очень из лучших и учили нас там не очень. (Nu,

58 for example, the school was not one of the best and we we taught not very well.)

59 I: The school was not very well and they were taught not very well.

60 H: Поэтому..ну моя мать..моя мама..она типо хотела чтобы для нас была ну реальная

61 чистая учёба. Ну я там 9 месяцев училась. (That is why..my mother..my mother..she is like

62 wanted us to have a real pure study.)

63 I: So, it was not good level and her mother wanted better education, wanted her children to be

64 educated better.

65 H: Потом..ну потом мы переехали в Польшу. (Then.. nu we moved to Poland.)

66 I: Then they moved to Poland. Should I ask what city?

67 R: Yeh.

68 I: А город какой? (Which city?)

69 H: В Польше? (In Poland?)

70 I: Да. (Yes.)

71 H: Бяла Подляска. (Biala Podlaska.)

72 I: Где это? (Where is it?)

73 H: Ну это такое маленькое селение было тоже. (Nu that is such a small village also.)

74 I: На Востоке? (On East?)

75 H: Ну, мне кажется. Мы там в распределителе жили 8 месяцев. Ну и я 5 месяцев в школе

76 училась. (Yeah I think. We lived there in distributive camp. Nu and I studied there at school 5

77 months.)

78 I: А что это такое? (What is this?)

79 H: Ну это такой лагерь ну распределяющий по лагерям. (Nu that is such a camp that

80 distributes to camps.)

81 I: They lived in the camp, which then distributes.

82 R: Yeh yeh I understand that. And then she.. you went to school in Poland as well?

83 I: И ты ходила в школу в Польше тоже? (And did you go to school in Poland as well?)

84 H: Да. Ну 5 месяцев там тоже училась. (Yes. Nu I was studying there 5 months as well.)

85 I: 5 month she studies there.

86 R: So, at the age of 14 you were in Poland.

87 I: Когда тебе было 14 ты была в Польше? (When you were 14 you were in Poland?)

88 H: Да. (Yes.)

89 I: Uhu.

90 H: Ну..что ещё сказать? Ну потом через 8 месяцев мы..ну..переехали сюда. (What else to

91 say? Nu then in 8 months we..nu we moved here.)

92 I: In 8 months they moved here.

93 H: Ну..мы..как это? Как это сказать? Забыла. Ну там в Кемнице мы жили. В Кемнице это

94 тоже лагерь здесь. Здесь. (Nu..we..how is this? How to say this? I forgot. Nu there in Chemnitz

95 we lived. There is also a camp here in Chemnitz. Here.)

96 I: Как в Польше, да? (As in Poland, yes?)

97 H: Нет, здесь. (No, here.)

98 I: Aha. They lived in the camp as well in Chemnitz.

99 R: Chemnitz?

100 H: От туда нас.. ну распределили сюда в Лейпциг. (From there we..nu we were distributed

101 here to Leipzig.)

102 I: And then they were distributed.

103 R: Hm.

104 Н: Ну я здесь. Ну после этого уже 8 месяцев прошло. Прошло как мы сюда переехали.  
105 (Nu and I am here. Nu after that time 8 months have passed. Passed as we have moved here.)  
106 I: 8 months passed as they moved here.  
107 Н: Ну что ещё сказать? (What else to say?)  
108 I: What else to say?  
109 R: I am interested in the day, if you remember back, in Chechenia. Like, for example,  
110 Wednesday or Thursday. How was..? How did you spend the day back in Chechenia?  
111 I: Аа.. опиши вот обычный день, например среда или четверг, как ты проводила когда  
112 жила в Чечне? (Ah.. describe usual day, for example Wednesday or Thursday, as you were  
113 spending when living in Chechenya.)  
114 R: You know, like a day.. from getting up.  
115 I: От того как ты просыпалась. Можешь объяснить? (From the time you get up. Could you  
116 explain?)  
117 Н: Ее.. одинаково у меня были все дни. (Eh.. I had all days the same.)  
118 I: It was the same all days.  
119 R: Hmm like getting up in the morning, having breakfast and going to school.  
120 I: Можешь объяснить как ты просыпаешься там.. что завтракаешь, идёшь в школу..  
121 (Could you explain as you get up there, have breakfast, go to school..)  
122 Н: Ну я просыпаюсь когда полдень уже бывает. (Nu I get up when it is already noon.)  
123 I: She gets up at noon.  
124 Н: Ну в полдень просыпаюсь, потом кушала, потом одевалась и в школу сразу же  
125 отправлялась. (Nu I get up at noon, then eat, then dress and go to school at once.)  
126 I: She was getting up at noon, eating, dressing and going to school.  
127 Н: Ну после уроков я домой шла прямо. (Nu after school I went home at once.)  
128 I: After lessons she went home at once.  
129 R: How many lessons did you have?  
130 I: Ээ сколько у тебя было уроков? (How many lessons did you have?)  
131 Н: Ну 8-7. (Nu 8-7)  
132 I: 8-7.  
133 R: Aha.  
134 Н: Ну, после я домой шла. Ну там обычно день заканчивался. Я там смотрела фильм.  
135 Ну.. и.. за братьями присматривала ... за младшими. (Nu, after home I went home. Nu there  
136 the day was finishing usually. I watched a film. Nu.. and.. I was looking after brothers.. smaller  
137 ones.)



138 I: She went home and it was normal evening at home and she was looking after her smaller  
139 brothers.

140 R: How many of you are in the family?

141 I: Сколько у тебя братьев сестёр? (How many brothers and sisters do you have?)

142 H – Ну у меня 3 братьев и 2 сестёр. (Nu I have 3 brothers and 2 sisters.)

143 I: She has 3 brothers and 2 sisters.

144 R: Aha.. so many. Good. And then.. How did you spend your free time?

145 I: Как ты проводила свободное время? (How did you spend your free time?)

146 H: Ну свободное время я проводила у бабушки. (Nu I was spending free time at my  
147 grandmother's place.)

148 I: She was spending her free time at her grandmother's place.

149 H: Ну как обычно. Ну там в магазин ходили. (Nu as usually. Nu we went shopping.)

150 I: She went shopping.

151 H: Не знаю. Ну иногда с родственниками. (I do not know. Nu sometimes with relatives.)

152 I: Sometimes with her relatives.

153 H: Ну мама моя работала, её днём не бывало дома. (Nu my mother was working, she was at  
154 home at day.)

155 I: Her mother was working, she was not at home.

156 H: Она на стройках работала. А отец тоже работал, но я не помню на какой работе, но он  
157 ТОЧНО работал. (She was working on construction work. And the father was also working,  
158 but I do not remember at which work, but he was working FOR SURE.)

159 I: Her mother was working at buildings, her father was always working, but she does not  
160 remember what he was doing exactly.

161 R: Can you explain me a little bit which subjects did you have at school?

162 I: Ты можешь объяснить какие у тебя были предметы в школе? (Could you explain which  
163 subjects did you have at school?)

164 H: Математика, алгебра, геометрия, география, биология.. ну все предметы.  
165 (Mathematics, Algebra, Geometry, Geography, Biology... nu all the subjects.)

166 I: Mathematics, Algebra, Geometry, Geography, Biology.

167 R: Which was your favorite one?

168 I: Какой был твой любимый предмет? (Which was your favorite subject?)

169 H: Мой любимый ну это там..как она там? Музыкальный урок и физкультура. (My  
170 favorite subject nu that is..how is it called? Music and Physical Trainings.)

171 I: Musical lesson and Physical Trainings.

172 R: Aha. And is it still the same favorite subject? Was it the same in Poland? And is it the same  
173 here?

174 I: У тебя те же самые остались любимые предметы в Польше, здесь?

175 H: В Польше у меня был самый любимый предмет биология. (In Poland my favorite subject  
176 was Biology.)

177 I: In Poland she liked Biology.

178 R: Aha. Why?

179 I: Почему? (Why?)

180 H: Ну, потому что ну столько животных там..всё это такое. Ну мне очень нравилось.  
181 Учить тоже было нетрудно. (Nu because that nu there were a lot of animals..and things like  
182 this. Nu I liked it a lot. And it was not difficult to learn.)

183 I: There were a lot of animals. And it was not difficult to learn.

184 R: Aha. Actually when you arrived to Poland did you already speak Polish?

185 I: Когда ты переехала в Польшу ты разговаривала на польском? (When you moved to  
186 Poland did you speak Polish?)

187 H: Нет. Ну я немного умею говорить на польском. (No. Nu I speak a little Polish.)

188 I: No, she speaks a little Polish.

189 R: Can you? If you had for example me and you have to explain what it means to move from  
190 Chechnya to Poland and what it means to spend the first month in Poland? How would you  
191 describe that to me?

192 I: Как бы ты объяснила вот если бы тебе надо объяснить ей как это...мм.. как это  
193 переехать первый раз из Чечни в Польшу и что ты чувствовала в свой первый месяц?  
194 (How would you explain if you have to explain to her how is this..hm..how is this to move for  
195 the first time from Chechnya to Poland and what did you feel during your first month?)

196 H: Ну я когда переезжала, я не думала, что мы в Польше остановимся. Я думала мы прямо  
197 приедем в Германию. (Nu when I was moving, I did not think, that we would make a stop in  
198 Poland. I thought we would arrive straight to Germany.)

199 I: She thought she would not make a stop in Poland. She thought she would go to Germany.

200 H: Ну потом у меня было очень хорошее чувство, потому что я впервые в жизни  
201 отправлялась в Европу. (Nu then I had very nice feeling because for the first time in my life I  
202 was going to Europe.)

203 I: She felt very nice because it was her first time in Europe.

204 H: Ну и я всегда мечтала поехать в Европу. (Nu I always dreamt to go to Europe.)

205 I: She always dreamt to go to Europe.

206 H: И мы остановились в Польше. Задержались там на 8 месяцев. (And we made a stop in  
207 Poland. Stayed there for 8 months.)

208 I: And she stayed in Poland for 8 months.

209 H: Хорошее место было.. поэтому.. (It was a good place.. that is why..)

210 I: It was a good place.

211 H: Ну мама меня сразу первые 7 месяцев отдала в школу ну чтобы я могла учиться. (Nu..

212 mother sent me to school during first 7 months for me to study.)

213 I: Her mom sent her to school first 7 months for her to learn.

214 H: Ну у меня там было 9-8 уроков в день. (Nu I had there 9-8 lessons per day.)

215 I: She had there 8-9 subjects per day.

216 H: Ну, школа была у нас недалеко. (Nu, the school we had nearby.)

217 I: The school was near.

218 H: Ну и.. ну я в 6.30.. уже у нас уроки начинались в 6.30. (Nu..and..nu I'm at 6.30. At 6.30

219 the lessons began.)

220 I: At 6.30 the classes began.

221 H: Поэтому мне надо было раньше вставать и.. идти в школу. (That is why I had to get up

222 earlier and.. go to school.)

223 I: She had to get up earlier.

224 H: Ну, со мной чеченка и ингушка учились. А ещё мой брат и его друг тоже. (Nu.. Chechen

225 and Ingush girls were also studying with me. And also my brother and his friend.)

226 I: And she studied with the girl from Chechenia and Ingush. And her brother as well.

227 H: Поэтому мне польский язык было учить нетрудно. У меня была русская учительница.

228 Ну она (.. ?) (That is why it was not difficult to learn Polish. I had a Russian teacher. Nu.. she

229 is from.. (..?))

230 I: It was not difficult for her to learn Polish because she also had a Russian teacher. Russian

231 teacher for kids to learn Polish.

232 H: Ну, она смогла научить нас немного. Ну.. ээ потом мы переехали и наши друзья. Моя

233 подружка она ушла домой. (Nu, she was able to teach us a little. Nu..eh.. then we moved and

234 our friends. My friend (female) went home.)

235 I: Her teacher she was able to teach them a little Polish. And then.. then they moved and her

236 friend went home. Как подружка что? (How the friend? What?)

237 H: Подружка моя. ( My friend.) Она ушла со мной потому что у них был негатив. Мы

238 ушли от туда потому что у нас пока.. нету негатива. (She went home because they had

239 Negative. We went out of their as we do not have a Negative yet.)

240 I: She went home because she had Negative.

241 R: Yeh yeh. I understand this part. Yeh. Ok. When you moved from Chechenia first to

242 Poland..ehm.. the things you learned in Mathematics or Geography or Biology in Chechenia

243 was it useful in the Polish school? Could you use? Could you transfer your knowledge?

244 I: Когда ты первый раз переехала из Чечни в Польшу.. ээ.. твои знания, которые ты  
245 научилась з биологии, математики они были такие самые? Ты могла это дальше  
246 использовать в своём обучении в Польше? (When you moved for the first time from  
247 Chechnya to Poland.. eh.. were your knowledge that you got from Biology and Mathematics  
248 the same? Could you continue using them during your study in Poland?)

249 H – Нет..ээ..знаете, у нас разное было обучение. Я вообще когда переехала, я первый раз  
250 видела чтоб такое было. (No..eh..you know, we had different education. In general when I  
251 moved I saw for the first time all these.)

252 I: It was different.

253 H: Там совсем другое было всё это, уроки там всё это.

254 I: She saw for the first time all these. It was different and the subjects, and lessons.

255 H: Не так как у нас в Чечне. (Not like we have in Chechenia.)

256 I: Not like in Chechenia.

257 H: Я первым разом привыкала, а потом во втором месяце я уже привыкла. (For the first  
258 time I was getting used, but on the 2<sup>nd</sup> month I already got used.)

259 I: It was difficult for her to get used for the first month, but from the second month she got used.

260 R: Ehm you mentioned that you had friends in Poland, that were speaking also Russian and/or  
261 Chechenian. How did they help you?

262 I: Ты говорила, что у тебя тоже были друзья, с которыми ты ходила в школу в Польше,  
263 которые тоже говорили на русском и на чеченском. Насколько они тебе помогли? (You  
264 said, that you had also friends, with whom you went to school in Poland, which spoke also  
265 Russian and Chechenian. To what extent did they help you?)

266 H: Ну, одна только помогла. Она там долго жила. (Nu, one only helped. She had lived there  
267 long time.)

268 I: One helped, because she lived.. already a lot.. time there.

269 H: Ну, поэтому ей было легко и она.. ну.. понимаете ли.. объяснила что мне моя  
270 учительница говорит. Любая учительница там по биологии, по математике, всё такое.  
271 (Nu, that is why it was easy for her and she.. nu.. you know.. explained me what my teacher  
272 was telling me. Every teacher in biology, mathematics, like this.)

273 I: Можно я переведу? (May I translate?) She told her a lot.. what teacher was telling.. every  
274 teacher, because she lived for some time already in Poland.

275 H: И потом она тоже уехала. (And then she also moved.)

276 I: And she moved.

277 H: После того как я уехала сюда в Германию. (After when I went here to Germany.)

278 I: When she moved to Germany, she moved as well.

279 H: Ну что ещё сказать то? (What else to say?)

280 I: What else to say?

281 R: Do you still have to contact to your friend? To this friend?

282 I: Ээ ты поддерживаешь отношения с этой твоей знакомой из Польши? (Do you keep  
283 contact with this your friend from Poland?)

284 H: Нет, у меня ни с кем там нет связей. (No, I do not have any connections with any of them.)

285 I: She does not have any connections.

286 R: And then from Poland you went back to Chechenia? And from Chechenia you came directly  
287 to Chemnitz? As far as I...Try to translate.

288 I: Аа.. после Польши вы опять поехали в Чечню а из Чечни уже в Хемниц? (Ah.. Did you  
289 go again to Chechenia after Poland and then from Chechenia to Chemnitz?)

290 H: Сразу в Берлин. Там был такой лагерь большой. (To Berlin at once. There was such a  
291 big camp.)

292 I: To Berlin, to the camp.

293 H: Ну мы туда переехали, ну типо.. мы там жили по-моему один месяц или два месяца.  
294 (Nu, we moved there..nu.. it's like.. we lived there, as I think, 1 or 2 months.)

295 I: They lived for one or two months there.

296 H: А потом нас перевели в Хемниц. (And then we were sent to Chemnitz.)

297 I: And then to Chemnitz.

298 H: Там тоже жили почти месяц. (There we lived practically one month as well.)

299 I: They lived one month there.

300 H: Ну.. а потом у нас был Транс ну переезжание вот сюда. ( Nu.. then we had Trans nu  
301 moving here.)

302 I: They had Trans – moving here.

303 H: И на второй день нас сюда перевели. (And for the second day they were sent here.)

304 I: For the second day they moved here.

305 R: Aha. And when you moved from Poland to here how did it change your life? Was it maybe  
306 the same? You did the same here? And how was different from your life in Poland?

307 I: Когда ты переехала из Польши сюда как это изменило твою жизнь? Что было так же  
308 само как в Польше, а что было другое? (When you moved from Poland here how did it  
309 change your life? What was the same as in Poland and what was different?)

310 H: Нет, всё очень другое было. (No, everything was very different.)

311 I: Например? (For example?)

312 H: Хорошо чем в Польше. (Better then in Poland.)

313 I: Better here than in Poland.

314 Н: Ээ.. ну Бяло Подлеско было слишком маленькое.. (Biało Podlasko was too small.)  
315 А: Biało Podlasko was too small to..  
316 Н: Ну.. мне очень хорошо здесь. (I feel very well here.)  
317 I: She feels very well here.  
318 Н: Хочу уже остаться здесь на.. (I want to stay here for..)  
319 I: She would like to stay here.  
320 Н: Ну минимум на три года, так. (Nu, minimum for 3 years, so.)  
321 I: Minimum for 3 years.  
322 R: Uhu. Can you describe me a little bit where you live now?  
323 I: Можешь описать где ты сейчас живёшь? (Can you describe where you live now?)  
324 Н: Ну я живу в Лилиен страце. (I live in Lilienstrasse.)  
325 R: Lilienstrasse?  
326 Н: Да. Аллея Центре. Там на два остановка есть. Там лагерь. (Yes. Allea Center. There is  
327 in two steps.)  
328 I: At Allea Center. Two stops.  
329 Н: Там есть такой лагерь. Там я живу. Нам дали разрешение на квартиру. (There is such a  
330 camp. I live there. We were given permission for a flat.)  
331 I: She lives in that camp. They got a permission for flat.  
332 Н: Но пока мы не решили переехать на квартиру. (But we have not decided to move yet in  
333 the flat.)  
334 I: They did not decide to move to the flat.  
335 R: How was? How did you come to this school and not another one? How did you find this  
336 school?  
337 I: Как ты попала именно в эту школу а не другую? (How did you get to this school and not  
338 to another one?)  
339 Н: Ну..моей маме посоветовали в бюро.. посоветовали, что здесь лучше учат. (Nu..my  
340 mom was recommended at the office.. recommended that they teach better here.)  
341 I: Eh her mom was recommended in bioro that it's better education here.  
342 Н: Ну я хотела в другую школу, та что более в центре. (Nu I wanted to another school, that  
343 one that is more in the center.)  
344 I: She wanted to another school, in the center.  
345 Н: Моя мама меня сюда перевела. (My mom brought me here.)  
346 I: But her mom brought her here.

347 Н: Ну.. моя сестра учится в той школе которая в Алей Центре. (Nu..my sister studies in that  
348 school in Allee Center.)

349 I: Her sister studies at Allee Center.

350 Н: И мой брат тоже там учился. (And my brother was also studying there.)

351 I: Her brother also was studying there.

352 Н: Ну потом он сюда перешёл. (And then he moved here.)

353 I: And then he moved here.

354 R: And now you go only to the German class or do you also attend other classes?

355 I: А.. сейчас ты посещаешь только те уроки немецкого или тоже другие уроки? (Ah.. now  
356 you attend only that German classes or also other classes?)

357 Н: Только уроки немецкого. (Only German classes.)

358 I: Only German classes.

359 R: And how can I.. eh.. How can I imagine a day? How do you spend a day here or a weekend  
360 here in Leipzig?

361 I: А.. как ты проводишь здесь день в Лейпциге? Или выходной? (Ah.. how do you spend a  
362 day here in Leipzig? Or a weekend?)

363 Н: Ну выходные.. ну выхожу с братом маленьким, гуляю там всё такое.. (Nu weekends..  
364 nu I go for a walk with smaller brother and like this.)

365 I: She goes out with her smaller brother for a walk.

366 R: Did you find any friends here in school?

367 I: А ты нашла каких-то друзей здесь в школе? (Did you find any friends here in school?)

368 Н: Э в школе у меня только (..?) здесь друзья, ну те что со мной там в классе. А ещё у  
369 меня в лагере тоже есть друзья. (Eh at school I have only (...?) here friends, that, which are  
370 at the class with me. And also I have friends in the camp.)

371 I: She has friends at the school from class. Все? (All?) All in the class. And also she has some  
372 friends in camp.

373 R: And...uhm.. Do you live with your parents and your brothers together right now?

374 I: Ты живёшь сейчас вместе со своей семьёй, своими братьями?

375 Н: Да. (Yes)

376 I: Yes.

377 R: Ok. And I would like to ask. I show you something now.

378 I: Сейчас она тебе покажет это. (Now she will show you this.)

379 R: I'm like you. I have also moved many times in my life.

380 I: Она как и ты, она переезжала много раз в жизни. (She is like you, she moved many times  
381 in her life.)

382 R: And for each stage of my life I have made up a picture like it.

383 I: Для каждой станции своей жизни она сделала такую картинку. (For each station of her  
384 life she made such a picture.)

385 R: So, this for example Budapest, where I was born, then Munich and then Budapest, then  
386 Izmir, Turkey and then another city in Hungary and then USA and now here.

387 I: Это Будапешт, где она родилась, это Мюнхен, потом Измир, Турция, потом другой  
388 город в Венгрии и потом Штаты и сейчас здесь. (So, this for example Budapest, where she  
389 was born, then Munich and then Budapest, then Izmir, Turkey and then another city in Hungary  
390 and then USA and now here.)

391 R: And this map, this point is me.

392 I: Эта точка это она. (This point is she.)

393 R: And this little point is a person.

394 I: Каждая маленькая точка это другой человек (Every little point is a person.)

395 R: And the closer the person is to me I put it the closer on the circle.

396 I: Чем ближе этот человек к ней...а.. она его размещает ближе на этом круге. (The closer  
397 the person is to her..ah she puts it the closer on the circle.)

398 R: You see, this is free time, this is family, this is school and this is work.

399 I: Это свободное время, здесь семья, здесь школа а здесь работа. (This is free time, this is  
400 family, this is school and this is work.)

401 R: For example, my mother and my father would be in the family. And I also write that they  
402 live in Budapest now and I speak Hungarian with them.

403 I: Ээ смотри здесь её мама и отец. И она тоже написала, что они сейчас живут в  
404 Будапеште и она разговаривает с ними по-венгерски. (Eh look, here is her mother and  
405 father. And she also wrote, that they live now in Budapest and she speaks Hungarian with them.)

406 R: And I am emailing with them and I visit them 4 times a year.

407 I: Она им пишет тоже емейлы и она их.. она приезжает к ним 4 раза в год. (She writes  
408 them emails and visits them 4 times a year.)

409 R: But for example friends of mine would live in Hamburg or in Wien.

410 I: Но её друзья, например, живут в Гамбурге или в Вене. (But her friends, for example, live  
411 in Hamburg or in Wien.)

412 R: And I would like to ask you to prepare a map: one map for Chechenia, then one map for  
413 Poland, and one map for Leipzig.



414 I: Она бы тебя попросила тоже приготовить такие карты: одна карта для Чечни когда ты  
415 жила, вторая в Польше, третья карта для Лейпцига. (She would ask you to prepare such  
416 maps: one for Chechenia when you lived there, the second for Poland, the third for Leipzig.)  
417 R: So, maybe we could..ehm.. Hava? And you have said from the age of 0 to 13?  
418 I: Ну сначала от рождения до 13. (Nu from the birth till 13.)  
419 R: Can you write the name of the city or a village you from?  
420 I: Можешь написать название села из которого ты? (Could you write the name of the village  
421 you are from?) Это по чеченски? (Is it in Chechen?)  
422 H: Не..ну я просто польскими буквами написала. (No.. I just wrote it in Polish letters.)  
423 I: In Polish letters she wrote the name of the..  
424 R: Can you pronounce it?  
425 I: Ты можешь прочитать? (Can you read it?)  
426 H: Ken – Jun.  
427 R: Ken – Jun, ok. So, you are here.  
428 I: Ты здесь. (You are here.)  
429 R: And I am interested in those people, who you had contact with, when you were living in Ken  
430 – Jun.  
431 I: А.. она бы хотела узнать кто те люди, с которыми ты поддерживала контакты, когда  
432 ты жила в Чечне. (Ah.. she would like to know who is that people, you had contact with, when  
433 you were living in Chechenia.)  
434 H: У.. с кем я общалась и жила в Чечне? (Uhm.. with whom I had contact and lived in  
435 Chechenia?)  
436 I: Да. Здесь свободное время, семья, школа и работа. (Yes. Here is free time, family, school  
437 and work.)  
438 H: Ну время я проводила иногда с мамой, иногда с отцом, иногда с бабушкой. (Nu I was  
439 spending my time sometimes with mom, sometimes with dad, sometimes with grandmother.)  
440 R: Yeh. One point for your mother, one for your father, one...  
441 I: Можешь нарисовать точки.. там ближе и.. (Can you draw the point.. here closer and?) She  
442 spent some time with her mother, sometimes with her father and sometimes with grandmother.  
443 H: Ну, это мои самые близкие люди. Ну..э.. ну (Nu..these are the closest people to me.  
444 Nu..ehm..nu.)  
445 R: Can you write which language do you speak with your mother and which with your father?  
446 Maybe she could write mother, father?  
447 I: Можешь написать мама, папа, бабушка? (Could you write mother, father, grandmother?)  
448 H: Да.. (Yes.)

449 I: И на каком языке ты с ними общалась? (And which language did you communicate with  
450 them?)

451 H: Ну, на своём – на чеченском. (Mine – Chechen.)

452 I: In Chechen language.

453 R: She can write now also in Russian if it is easier for her.

454 I: Ты можешь тоже писать на русском если тебе лучше, удобнее. (You can write also in  
455 Russian if it is better to you, more convenient.)

456 R: And also your brothers and sisters.

457 I: А твои братья, сёстры? (And your brothers, sisters?)

458 H: Да. (Yes.)

459 I: She spoke Chechen at home.

460 R: How did if you spoke Chechen at home how did you learn Russian?

461 I: Если ты разговаривала на чеченском дома как ты выучила русский?

462 H: Ну русский это мой второй язык.. ну и я.. (Nu.. Russian is my second language.. nu and  
463 I..)

464 I: Russian is her second language.

465 H – По отношению к возрасту когда.. ну ребёнок подрастает ну там мультики, кино есть..  
466 на русском смотрим, ну поэтому я так развивалась на русском всё это говорила, поэтому  
467 я.. ну по телевизору учила. (According to the age when.. nu the child is growing up, nu there  
468 are cartoons, films.. we watch these in Russian, nu that is why I was developing and speaking  
469 all these in Russian, that is why I.. nu with the help of TV was learning.)

470 I: When the child grows, then it watches TV in Russian, some cartoons, films etc. So, she was  
471 growing up and learning Russian.

472 R: And in the school did you use Chechenish to learn or did you use Russian to learn?

473 I: А в школе когда ты училась это было на чеченском или на русском? (And when you  
474 were studying at school was that in Chechen or Russian?)

475 H: Ну, на чеченском уроке на моём языка говорила я, а на русском на русском говорили.  
476 Все остальные предметы были на русском. (Nu, at Chechen lessen I spoke my language, and  
477 at Russian – Russian. All other subjects were in Russian.)

478 I: All the subjects were in Russian except the Chechen language.

479 R: And did they have any other foreign language like English, German or French?

480 I: У вас был другой иностранный язык? (Did you have another foreign language?)

481 H: Английский был. (There was English.)

482 I: English.

483 H: До 5 класса. А потом.. (Till 5<sup>th</sup> class. And then.)

484 I: Till 5th year. А потом? (And then?)

485 H: А потом уже ну...как это сказать? Исключили этот язык из нашей школы. (And then  
486 already nu.. how to say that? This language was excluded from our school.)

487 I: And then it was taken out from their school.

488 R: And could you use English later for example in camps, where you were living?

489 I: Ты могла дальше использовать английский язык в тех лагерях где ты жила? (Could you  
490 use further English language in that camps you lived in?)

491 H: Нет. (No.)

492 I: No.

493 R: Ok, so, this is your family. You have one grandmother?

494 I: У тебя одна бабушка? (Do you have one grandmother?)

495 H: Да. Матери моей мамы давно нет. (Yes. My mother's mom is not here for a long time  
496 already.)

497 I: It is father's mother.

498 R: At that time did you have any family members who were not living in this village?

499 I: В то время у тебя были какие-то члены семьи, которые не жили в этом селе? (At that  
500 time did you have any family members who were not living in this village?)

501 H: Ну да, только со стороны моей мамы. (Nu yes, only from the side of my mother.)

502 I: From the side of her mother.

503 H: А все остальные жили в этом селе. (All the other were living in this village.)

504 I: All the other were living in the same village.

505 R: Ok. And the others? This is school. And this is..

506 I: Свободное время. (Free time.)

507 H: В школе у меня было только три подружки. (At school I had only 3 friends (female.)

508 I: She had only 3 friends at school.

509 H: А ну в свободное время я.. гуляла с младшим братом и иногда смотрела фильмы. Ну  
510 тогда ещё иногда играла в компьютер. (A nu at my free time I.. was playing with smaller  
511 brother and sometimes watching films. And at that time I was playing on the Computer  
512 sometimes.)

513 I: In her free time she was playing with her smaller brother, watching films and playing on  
514 Computer.

515 R: Aha. Did you use already Internet at this age?

516 I: Ты использовала интернет в этом возрасте? У тебя уже был интернет? (Did you use  
517 Internet at this age? Did you have already Internet?)

518 H: Нет. (No.)

519 I: No.

520 R: Ok. So, do we move then now to Poland?

521 I: Ээ можно чтоб мы теперь посмотрели на Польшу? Тут уже всё? (Eh may we now look  
522 at Poland? Is it all here?)

523 H: Да. (Yes.)

524 I: Yes, it's finished.

525 R: Ok. Then maybe in the same way we can make here?

526 I: Можешь так же само нарисовать здесь? (Can you draw in the same way here?) (...?) Когда  
527 ты жила в Польше возраст. От 13. Тебе было 13 тогда? (The age when you lived in Poland.  
528 Were you 13 then?)

529 H: Да. (Yes.)

530 I: Ну, то есть тогда просто 13 напиши. (Nu, then write simply 13.)

531 R: And the name of the place where you lived?

532 I: Название города, в котором ты жила. (he name of the place where you lived.) Можешь  
533 прочитать? (Can you read?)

534 H: Бяла Подляска. (Biala Podlaska.)

535 R: And do you know which city is close to this place?

536 I: А.. ты знаешь какой город близко к этому городу? (Do you know which city is close to  
537 this city?)

538 H: Ну..э.. было близко.. Варшава? Ум.. ещё.. ой я не помню. (Nu..eh.. close.. Warsaw?  
539 Uhm.. more..ou I do not remember.)

540 I: Warsaw was close and then she does not remember the other.

541 H: Любава. (Lubava.)

542 R: Yeh have you been to this cities like Warsaw or Lubav?

543 H: А не, не Любава - Любинг. (A no, not LubavI: Lubing.)

544 I: Lublin. Ты была в этих городах: Варшаве, Люблине? (Have you been to these cities:  
545 Warsaw, Lublin?)

546 H: Нет, только жила в Бяло Подляске. (No, I only lived in Biala Podlaske.)

547 I: Всё. (All.)

548 R: So, from these people, are they the same? Did you move with your entire family to Poland?  
549 Or do you have family members back in Chechenia?

550 I: Когда ты переехала все эти люди, вся твоя семья они остались с тобой? Ты переехала  
551 с целой семьёй или они ..или кто-то остался ещё в Чечне. (When you moved all these

552 people, the whole your family did they stay with you? Did you move with the whole your family  
553 or they.. or someone stayed in Chechenia?)

554 H: Ну, мой отец остался дома. (Nu, my father stayed at home.)

555 I: Eh.. her father stayed at home.

556 H: Ну, и все мои братья, сёстры были рядом когда я переехала. (Nu, and all my brothers,  
557 sisters were close when I moved.)

558 I: All her brothers and sisters were close when they moved.

559 R: It is difficult question. But I will ask her whether she has any family members in another  
560 country, for example in Chechenia. Yeh we need to find out this. And if yes, how did she keep  
561 contact with this person? Did she phone, I mean did she call on the phone or did she..?

562 I: Аа.. А ты поддерживаешь контакты с другими членами семьи.. ну с отцом? (Аа.. Do  
563 you keep contacts with other family members..nu with your father?)

564 H: Аа.. Отец потом через 2 недели когда мы переехали в Бяло Подляско, он приехал за  
565 нами. (Аа.. The father then in 2 weeks after we moved to Ciala Podlaska, he moved to us.)

566 I: In 2 weeks the father came to Biala Podlaska as well.

567 R: And your grandmother?

568 I: А твоя бабушка?

569 H: Нет.. Она осталась дома.( No.. She stayed at home.)

570 I: No, she stayed at home.

571 R: Did you call your grandmother when you were living in Poland?

572 I: Ты звонила своей бабушке когда ты жила в Польше? (Did you call your grandmother  
573 when you were living in Poland?)

574 H: Да. (Yes.)

575 I: Yes.

576 R: Ok. Yeh school? Can you explain who they are?

577 I: А ты можешь объяснить кем они были? (Could you explain who they were?)

578 H: Ну.. они были в школе моими друзьями. (Nu.. they were my friends at school.)

579 I: They were her friends at school.

580 H: Ну.. они лучше знали польский. Поэтому.. (Nu.. they knew Polish better. That is why.)

581 I: They knew Polish better.

582 H: Это была польская подружка. Ну.. это чеченка, ингушка. (This was Polish friend  
583 (female). Nu.. this is Chechen girl and Ingush.)

584 I: Eh.. This was Polish friend, this was from Chechenia and this from Ingush. It's region in  
585 Russia as well.

586 R: Aha. Which language did you speak with these children?

587 I: А.. на каком языке ты с ними разговаривала? (Ah.. which language did you speak to  
588 them?)

589 H: Ну с ними на чеченском, а с ней на польском. (Nu.. Chechen with them, and Polish with  
590 her.)

591 I: Chechen with them and Polish here.

592 R: And did you teacher..? You said there were a teacher who was teaching you through Russian  
593 Polish language.

594 I: Ты говорила, что у тебя была учительница, которая учила через русский язык ну  
595 польский язык. (You said there were a teacher who was teaching you through Russian Polish  
596 language.)

597 R: Was she working in the camp or was she working at the school?

598 I: Она работала в лагере или в школе? (Was she working in the camp or was she working at  
599 the school?)

600 H: Ну в школе. (Nu, at school.)

601 I: At school.

602 H: Она сама была полячка, но она пол жизни провела в России, поэтому знает русский.  
603 (She was Polish herself, but she spent half of her life in Russia, that is why she knows Russian.)

604 I: She was Polish. Год? (A year?)

605 H: Нет..ну пол жизни. (No.. nu half of her life.)

606 I: Aha. She was Polish but half of her life spent in Russia. So.. she knew Russian.

607 R: Aha, ok. And free time?

608 I: А свободное время? (And free time?)

609 H: Ну я.. в теннис там играла. (Nu I.. was playing tennis there.)

610 I: She was playing tennis.

611 R: Aha, ok. Did you have a tennis patch in the camp or..or how? Where did you play tennis?

612 A: Где ты играла? У вас в лагере были..? (Where did you play? Did you have in camp..?)

613 H: В лагере. В лагере и в школе. (In camp. In camp and at school.)

614 I: In the camp and at school.

615 H: Ну особые такие были кабинеты для игр у нас в лагере и в школе. (Nu there were such  
616 special rooms for playing in the camp and at school.)

617 A: There were special rooms for play at school and in the camp.

618 R: Aha, ok. So, do you think it's ready? These are the people to whom you had contact in  
619 Poland? While you were living in Poland.

620 I: Это уже готово? Это все люди, с которыми ты поддерживала контакты, когда ты жила  
621 в Польше? (Is this ready? Are these all people you were keeping contact with, when you were  
622 living in Poland?)

623 H: Угу. (Uhu.)

624 R: Ok. So, we move now to Leipzig. No! To Chemnitz or to Leipzig?

625 I: То есть сейчас мы переходим уже к Лейпцигу.. Или к Кемнице? (So, this means that now  
626 we move to Leipzig.. or Chemnitz?)

627 R: How long did you stay in Chemnitz?

628 I: К Лейпцигу? Сколько ты была в Кемнице? (To Leipzig? How long were you in Chemnitz?)

629 H: Ну.. почти месяц..ну..(Nu..practically a month..nu..)

630 I: Practically a month.

631 H – Ну, со мной особо никто и не общался. (Nu.. practically noone communicated to me.)

632 I: But no one contacted her..

633 R: And you did not go to school in Chemnitz either?

634 I: Ты не ходила в школу в Кемнице? (You did not go to school in Chemnitz?)

635 H:Нет. (No.)

636 I: No.

637 R: Ok. Then Leipzig? 14 yah? You are 14?

638 H: Было 15, когда я переехала. (I was 15, when I moved.)

639 R: Ah 15, ok.

640 H: Ну.. я сразу познакомилась с чеченской девушкой. (Nu..I met at once Chechen girl.)

641 I: She met at once Chechen girl.

642 R: 8 months and 8 months here, so it's a year.

643 I: She met a Chechen girl when she moved here.

644 R: Aha. Here at school or in the camp?

645 I: В школе или в лагере? (At school or in camp?)

646 H: Ну.. ээ.. в лагере. (Nu.. eh.. in the camp.)

647 I: In the camp.

648 H: Ээ. Эти две девушки, они учились.. то есть с моей сестрой. (These 2 girls, they were  
649 studying.. with my sister.)

650 I: They were studying with her sister.

651 H: Ну, мы в лагере познакомились. (Nu, we met in the camp.)

652 I: At the camp she made friends.

653 Н: Никто особо дома не бывает. Сестра в садике младшая, старшая в школе бывает, я  
654 тоже с братом в школе бываю. Мама в то время бывает на терминах или там на учёбе.  
655 (No one practically is at home ever. The youngest sister is in kindergarten, elder is at school, I  
656 with my brother also go to school. Mom is on termins or at study.)

657 I: No one at this time stays at home. Her smaller sister is at kindergarten. And she is at school  
658 and her brother is at school. And her mother has trainings.. or termins?

659 R: Like she is also learning German now?

660 I: Твоя мама тоже сейчас изучает немецкий? (Does you mom also learn German now?)

661 Н: Да. (Yes.)

662 I: Aha.

663 R: And this over here? Oh so many friends!

664 I: Столько много друзей? (So many friends?)

665 Н: Да. (Yes.)

666 Н: Ну вот я узнала их тут. (I met them here.)

667 R: Can you tell me which languages you use with them?

668 I: Можешь сказать какие языки ты используешь с ними? (Can you tell which languages you  
669 use with them?)

670 Н: Ну.. с ней русский использую. (Nu.. with her I use Russian.)

671 I: Russian.

672 Н: С ней – ну немного немецкий. (With her a little German.)

673 A: With her a little German.

674 Н: С ней тоже. (With her also.)

675 I: Also German.

676 Н: С Кристианом тоже, с Александрой.. (With Christian also, with Alexandra..)

677 I: Немецкий? (German?)

678 Н: Да. С Ханой на русаком говорю. (Yes. With Hana I speak Russian.)

679 I: Russian. And..last one Chechen.

680 R: So, as far as I understand you speak Chechenish, you speak Russian, you speak German and  
681 you learned also English?

682 I: Polish.

683 R: And also Polish yah.

684 I: Ну.. как она поняла, то есть ты говоришь на чеченском, на русском, тоже немецкий и  
685 учишь английский ну и польский. (Nu.. as she understood, this means that you speak  
686 Chechen, also Russian, also German and you learn English and also Polish.)



687 H: Нет. Я.. говорю на польском, на чеченском и на русском. A Deutsch Kurs я хожу пока.  
688 (No. I.. speak Polish, Chechen and Russian. And I only attend German class now.)

689 I: She speaks Russian, Chechen and Polish and.. she goes to German courses.

690 R: The last 2 questions. I mean, you have moved 2 times. What was? What do you think is good  
691 that you moved and what is bad in moving? If you had to tell the positives and negatives of  
692 moving what would you say?

693 I: Последние 2 вопроса. Вот ты переехала 2 раза и что было хорошего, что было плохого  
694 там? Если ты ты могла объяснить позитивы, негативы того что ты переехала.(The last 2  
695 questions. You moved 2 times and so what was good, what was bad? If you had to explain  
696 positives and negatives of the fact that you moved.)

697 H: Ну, негатива как я помню не было. Пока он не пришёл, мы переехали сюда. Ну здесь  
698 тоже не было негатива пока. (Nu, as far as I remember, there was no negative. Until it come,  
699 we moved here. Nu, here there was no negative as well.)

700 I: There was no negative. I think she did not get the question.

701 R: Yeh. What did you find good, what did you find not good?

702 I: Что тебе понравилось, что не понравилось, что позитивного, негативного в переездах?  
703 (What did you like, what not, what positive and negative in moving?)

704 H: А.. ну, мне всё понравилось. (A.. nu, I liked everything.)

705 I: She liked everything.

706 H - Кроме того как мы ночью.. Ну, ночью тоже ехали. Ну, на машине. (Except that thing  
707 that we at night.. Nu, at night we were also driving. Nu, by car.)

708 I: Except thing that they were driving at night as well.

709 R: And.. I mean you had to move from the Chechen school to the Polish school and from the  
710 Polish school to the German school. What did you find easy in moving from these schools, from  
711 one school to another and what did you find difficult? What was easy, what was difficult?

712 I: Эм.. Вот ты переехала из чеченской школы в польскую школу, потом в немецкую. Что  
713 из этого ты бы сказала было сложно, а что легко? Или там с переездом? (Ehm.. You have  
714 moved from the Chechen school to the Polish school and then from the Polish school to the  
715 German school. What from this you would say was difficult, and what easy? Or with moving?)

716 H: Ну.. Легко было с переездом сюда. (Nu.. It was easy with the moving here.)

717 I: It was easy here.

718 H: В Польшу надо было там 3 дня ехать из Чечни. (It was 3 days from Chechenia to come  
719 to Poland.)

720 I: She had to drove 3 days to reach Poland from Chechenia.

721 R: And would you change something in the school, who have children or students like you?

722 I: Ты бы изменила что-то в школах, в которых есть ученики такие как ты? (Would you  
723 change something in school, which have students like you?)

724 R: To make your life easier.

725 I: Чтобы сделать твою жизнь легче. (To make your life easier.)

726 H: Ну..ээ.. не было ничего плохого. (Nu..eh.. there was nothing bad.)

727 I: А?

728 H: Не было. (There was not.)

729 I: Всё было хорошо? (Everything was good?)

730 H: Да. (Yes.)

731 I: Everything was good.

732 R: Yeh? Ok. The last question: what plans you have for the future? Do you have a dream for the future?

733

734 I: Последний вопрос: какие у тебя планы на будущее? У тебя есть мечта? (The last question: what plans you have for the future? Do you have a dream?)

735

736 H: Угу. Я хочу..но.. я хочу учиться на ветеринара. (Uhu. I want.. no.. I want to study for a veterinary doctor.)

737

738 I: Ветеринара? (Veterinary doctor?)

739 H: Да. Ну на ветеринара. Ветеринар – это защита животных. (Yes. Nu to a veterinary doctor. Veterinary doctor is the protection of animals.)

740

741 I: Я знаю, у меня отец.. (I know, my father is..)

742 I: She wants to study to become a veterinary doctor.

743 H: Ну, ещё в кулинарный хочу... выучить. Кулинарный это еду там все виды готовить..

744 (Nu, also I want to culinary... to learn. Culinary is the food all kinds to cook.)

745 I: She also wants to learn how to cook.

746 H: Ну, я хочу..ум.. ээ.. в селе жить, ухаживать за животными, открыть свой.. ну бизнес.

747 (Nu, I want.. uhm..eh.. to live in the village, to take care of animals, to open my ..nu business.)

748 I: She wants to live in the village and take care of animals, to open her own business.

749 H: Ну.. это и есть моя мечта. (Nu.. this is my dream.)

750 I: It is her dream.

751 R: Uhu. And where?

752 I: Аа.. где ты хочешь жить? (Аа.. where do you want to live?)

753 H: Ну, здесь. (Nu, here.)

754 I: Here.

755 R: Here in Germany?

756 I: В Германии? (In Germany?)

757 H: Да. (Yes.)

758 R: Or here in Leipzig?

759 I: Или в Лейпциге. (Or in Leipzig?)

760 H: Да, в Лейпциге. (Yes, in Leipzig.)

761 I: Yes.

762 R: Ok, good. Thank you very much.

Interview Transcript of Leonardo, 16 years old

Leipzig, 6. Mai 2016

L: Leonardo, R: Researcher, I: Interpreter, M: Mother

- 1 R: When she asked the teacher “who are the students who have in various places”, that she said “ah  
2 yes, there's Luigi.”
- 3 L: I am an example, yes.
- 4 I: Yes an example and then I came to the school and we met in person and I was very happy when  
5 you said Spanish because at least speak a little Castilian. In reality this interview is very simple  
6 because the important thing is your life and for this, all that you consider important in your life  
7 interests us too what we want to do is to begin very openly, if you want, telling us tell us about your  
8 life in general.
- 9 L: Por mi esta bien, yo naci en peru en carabayllo que es un pueblo de Peru y de alli tambien son mis  
10 padres. Solo nos quedamos alli 4 meses en Peru y nos tuvimos que ir porque mi pais habia guerra,  
11 habia guerra contra ecuador sobre terreno.
- 12 I: Well, I was born in Peru, okay, I was born in Peru, in Carabayllo, which is a town of Peru and well,  
13 I was born, and my parents lived there too. We only stayed there for four months, there in Peru,  
14 because we had to leave, obligated to, because in my country there was war. There was a war with  
15 Ecuador over territory.
- 16 L: Y nos tuvimos que ir me fui yo con mi madre a Colombia y mi padre se quedo porque estaba en el  
17 ejercito.
- 18 I: And well, we had to leave, and I went with my father, no with my mother, to Colombia, and my  
19 father stayed because he was in the army.
- 20 L: Y bueno mi padre se quedo alli y nosotros nos fuimos a Colombia para hacer la visa para poder  
21 viajar a japon.
- 22 I: And well, my father stayed there, and we went to Colombia, to get the visa to go to Japan.
- 23 L: Y bueno.. me fui a japon estuve viviendo 7 años.
- 24 I: And well, then, I went to Japan and I was living there for seven years.
- 25 L: Y fue mi primer idioma que aprendi el japonés y bueno pues era otra cultura y tal y al principio me  
26 gusto japon porque era la cultura que me crié.
- 27 I: And well, it was the first language which I learnt, Japanese and well, then, another culture and all,  
28 and from the beginning I liked Japan because it was the culture where I grew up.
- 29 L: Y bueno aprendi el japonés bueno hablaba bien el japonés y luego despues de 7 años nos fuimos a  
30 España a vivir y trabajar.
- 31 I: And well, well, I learnt Japanese, well, I spoke Japanese well, and then after seven years we went  
32 to Spain to work.
- 33 L: Y bueno despues nos fuimos a españa los 5 años primeros estaba muy bien habia Sanidad , ayudas  
34 y bueno despues vino la crisis que nos complico a todos , primero empezo que no habia trabajo,  
35 despues no habia dinero para pagar a la gente que trabajaba y luego muchos problemas. Ahora mismo  
36 la Sanidad tenemos que pagarla y no es gratis.
- 37 I: And well, after that we went to Spain, the first four or five years, Spain was very good – there was  
38 work, there was health, help, there was everything. But then the crisis came which complicated things  
39 for all of us. First, there was no work, there was no money to pay the people who worked, and then

40 lots of problems. Now health, we have to pay it – before it was free.

41 L: Y despues de ahi estuvimos viviendo otros 3 años o 4 años mas , bueno 4, 5 años mas y despues  
42 decidimos viajar alemania y un tio mio que vivia aqui nos conto la situacion , que al principio era  
43 difcil por el idioma pero poco a poco con ayuda podriamos empezar una nueva vida aqui en este  
44 pais.

45 I: After that, we were living for another, three years, four years, four or five more years and then, well  
46 we decided. Well, before, an uncle of mine of the family came here to Germany and he told us the  
47 situation, how it was – at the beginning it was difficult because of the language but little by little, with  
48 help, we could start a new life here in this country.

49 L: Bueno mi madre y yo dicidimos porque mis padres estan separados a empezar otra vida porque  
50 en España yo veia a mi madre triste que no tenia trabajo para poder pagar la casa agua todas nuestras  
51 necesidades y decidimos mi madre y yo dejar todo en españa y empezar otra vida.

52 I: And well, my mother and I decided – because my parents are separated – my mother and I decided  
53 to start another life, because in Spain I saw my mother sad because she didn't have work with which  
54 to pay the house, the water, all the necessities and my mother and I decided, to leave everything there  
55 in Spain and to come here to Germany to start another life.

56 L: Y bueno ahora tenemos la familia porque viven un tio y primo mio aqui y bueno al principio al  
57 llegue aqui a mi me hacia mucha ilusion por las culturas a comparacion de españa y bueno pues al  
58 principio era difcil empezamos con ayudas para empadronarnos ,conseguir el Leipzig pass , una casa  
59 en condiciones porque estamos viviendo en una casa vieja.

60 I: And well, now we have all our family there, we only have here an uncle and a cousin here and us  
61 of our family, and well, and at the beginning, arriving here, I was very excited because it was another  
62 culture, compared to Spain, well and at the beginning it was difficult, we started with help from people  
63 to register ourselves ... and a house in condition for four people because we started living in an old  
64 house.

65 L: Nosotros espezamos viviendo en una casa vieja porque no habia dinero para pagar otra casa mas  
66 grande,era una casa vieja que ahora estan en obras y era muy pequeña para 6 personas que eramos.

67 I: We started living in an old house because we didn't have money to rent a bigger house, we started  
68 living in an old house, it's now being renovated, and it was very small for six people.

69 L. Y bueno despues de eso yo he empezado a estudiar en este colegio y Daz y luego en españa jugaba  
70 futbol y bueno ahora estoy aqui en un equipo pequeño y pues quisiera dedicarme en eso pero bueno  
71 es otro tema y ahora estoy en DAZ 2 estoy en clase de nuevo, bueno ahora estoy aprendiendo un  
72 poco mas ell aleman y se me hace un poco mas facil.

73 I: And well, I started to study in this school, I began in DAZ, well, in Spain I practiced football and  
74 I'm here in a small team and I would like to dedicate myself to that, well, that's another thing but, and  
75 well, now I'm now in DAZ 2 and I'm in class 9 and I'm going to learn some more German, it will be  
76 easier for me, and well, I can hold my own.

77 L: Y bueno ese es mi vida ahora. and well, that's my life now.

78 I: What she didn't understand is: how old were you moved?

79 L: Yo todavia no habia cumplido un año en peru y bueno me fui a japon cuando ya iba acumplir un  
80 año.

81 I: I didn't reach a year in Peru and I went to Japan with nearly a year of age. I stayed there until nearly  
82 seven. Que explique como fue mi vida en japon explain how was my life in Japan? Where did you  
83 live, what school did you go to, how was your life?

84 L: En japon llegamos no me acuerdo mucho los primeros años pero el caso es que me metieron en

85 una guarderia y empecé ahí y el edificio era de dos plantas y tenía un parque grande.

86 I: In Japan, we arrived, I don't remember much of the early years, but well, they put me in a nursery,  
87 well a nursery, I started there. I'll say how was the building, well it was two floors and we had a big  
88 park.

89 R: In what part of Japan?

90 L: En Osaka, bueno nosotros vivimos en varios lugares en Osaka, no me acuerdo de los nombres pero  
91 sí en Osaka.

92 I: In Osaka. Well, we lived in various places, I don't remember the names. Well, in Osaka.

93 L: Y bueno de allí tenía que levantarme pronto porque allí en ese colegio desde mi casa era muy lejos  
94 y teníamos que levantarnos pronto también teníamos un traje que eran pantalones cortos y una camiseta  
95 y teníamos que ir andando al colegio.

96 I: And well, my daily life was to get up early because the school was very far away. We had to get up  
97 and I put on a uniform which was shorts and a shirt and we had to go by foot to the school.

98 L: Y bueno después de eso llegábamos, jugábamos y después comíamos y comíamos.

99 I: And after that we arrived, we played and we studied and then we ate and we slept there.

100 L: Y eso era siempre toda la semana que habíamos algunas veces que íbamos a un templo.

101 I: And this was always, every week, there were times we went to a temple.

102 L: Ese templo era nuestro dios y era un buda.

103 I: It's a temple, the gods they have in Japan are the Buddhas.

104 L: Y bueno y luego pues hacíamos nuestra vida y tal y después mis padres trabajaban en una pollería  
105 que cogían pollos y engancharlos en un gancho y ese era su trabajo.

106 I: And well, then, we had our life and all, then my parents worked in a chicken factory, they prepared  
107 chickens, they took chickens and they had to hang them on a hook. This is what my parents occupied  
108 themselves with.

109 L: Y bueno eso es lo que recuerdo en los 7 años.

110 I: And well, this is what I remember until I reached seven.

111 R: Did you begin with the primary school too in Japan? Here there is Kindergarten and then...

112 L: Bueno en Japón era solo una guardería y después seguía o sea no era como aquí y siempre íbamos  
113 al mismo colegio y teníamos para comer para dormir y era como una casa.

114 I: Well, in Japan there is Kindergarten, and I continued well, in Japan it's not like here – it's not like  
115 this building here, we went to the same building, like a Kindergarten, but they have for eating, for  
116 sleeping, a room for studying, it was like a house. (changing the scene of the interview)

117 R: You explained to us some of your life there, you said to us that you visited a temple.

118 L: Bueno si íbamos al templo y yo estaba con mi colegio porque era muy tradicional los budas.

119 I: Well, yes, we left it at the temple, I was with my school, yes it was very traditional there, praying  
120 to the Buddhas.

121 M: Has explicado cómo íbamos al colegio? (Did you explain about walking to school?)

122 L: Yo comenté un poco lo de las pollerías.

123 I: I explained them a little about that. I also commented on what you were working at, the chicken  
124 factory.

125 M: Si nosotros viajamos cuando luigi tenia 4 meses de edad y fue creciendo y entro a la guarderia  
126 y esta guarderia era budista y el se quedaba mucho tiempo porque yo tenia que trabajar desde las 7  
127 de la mañana hasta las 7 de la tarde.

128 I: Yes, we went to Japan when Luigi was four months old, and when we arrived he entered the nursery,  
129 and he stayed a long time in the nursery because I worked from seven in the morning until seven in  
130 the evening.

131 I: Until seven you were in this Kindergarten?

132 M: No, el estuvo hasta los 6 años porque a los 7 entro al colegio.

133 I: No, he was there until the age of six and in the seventh year he entered school.

134 R: In Osaka?

135 M: Si, no, fue in Shikoku.

136 I: Yes, no, in Shikoko.

137 L: Ah in Shikoko, but we weren't living in Osaka?

138 M: Si pero al principio.

139 I: Yes, but at the beginning.

140 L: Ah, at the beginning.

141 R: Can you explain to me a bit, Shikoko is a...

142 M: Una isla de japon es una parte de japon.

143 I: An island, Shikoko is an island of Japan, a small island of Japan.

144 R: How can one, because we, clearly, haven't been there, how can we imagine, how is a day, for  
145 example, at school there?

146 L: Yo recuerdo muy poco , yo recuerdo que yo comia y dormia y nos duchabamos alli pero a lo mejor  
147 como en Halloween haciamos actividades del colegio por las nohes te acuerdas? Y dormiamos alli.

148 I: I remember very little, I remember that, I ate, we slept there, sometimes we ate, showered there,  
149 then we ..., I remember for example, at Hallowe'en, all that, they did activities at the school, in the  
150 evenings.

151 M: Se quedaron alli y hicieron actividades y se quedaron alli a dormir en la escuela yo no estuve la  
152 verdad en esas actividades porque tan solo para los niños y recuerdo que en españa perdio un año  
153 porque llego tarde.

154 I: There were two days there, they did activities there, and they stayed to sleep in the school, and they  
155 did activities, and well I wasn't there at those times, it was all for the children, then the school, he  
156 started in school, and then we moved to Spain then.

157 R: Did you live there together with the family in Shikoko?

158 M: Si, con el padre de Luigi. yes, with the father of Luigi.

159 R: Did you learn to write in Japanese?

160 L: Si, yo aprendi a escribir.

161 I: Yes, I learnt to write.

162 M: Very little.

163 L: Escribia muy poquito.

164 I: Writing very little, but.

165 M: Pero si hablaba y aprendio en japones porque estaba muchas horas en la guarderia y yo pasaba  
166 pocas horitas con el y yo llegaba y estaba ya durmiendo y despues le levantaba para llevarle otra vez  
167 al colegio por eso yo hablaba el 50 porciento de japones y el solo hablaba en japones y el no hablaba  
168 en español.

169 I: But speaking yes, he learnt to speak Japanese, because he was many hours in the nursery and I was  
170 few hours with him. I picked him at seven and at nine he was sleeping and then the following day he  
171 went back to the nursery. He spoke Japanese and when we went to Spain, I spoke to him all the time,  
172 he didn't speak Spanish.

173 R: You spoke Spanish with Luigi at home?

174 M: Yo hablaba español con el pero llego un momento que como no estabamos tanto tiempo juntos  
175 hablabamos poco el español y el no entendia y empezabamos a hablar todo en japones y el decia no  
176 puedo entenderte me puedes hablar en japones y al estar muy poco tiempo juntos el y yo hablabamos  
177 solo en japones.

178 I: I spoke Spanish with him, but there arrived a time, because we spent very little time together, I  
179 switched to Japanese. He would said to me "I don't understand you, I can't understand, speak to me  
180 in Japanese". There was very little time to communicate together so I spoke to him in Japanese.

181 R: At the age of seven you went to Spain because of work?

182 L: Bueno por familia tambien no?

183 I: Well, for family too, no?

184 M: Bueno nos fuiimos a españa porque mis padres y mis hermanos vivin ya en españa.

185 I: Well, we went in the end to Spain, my parents already lived in Spain then, also my siblings, we  
186 didn't think to live Luigi.

187 L: Porque nosotros no pensabamos ir a españa por trabajo (Yes but (s)he's asking why we went to  
188 live in Spain to live). Por trabajo o por familia? For work....

189 M: Si por trabajo porque nosotros no pensabamos ir a japon a vivir y fue temporal para conseguir  
190 dinero y luego volver a nuestro pais para seguir estudiando yo pero al estar tantos años porque  
191 realmente vivi 10 años en japon.y mis padres ya vivir en España decidimos ir a España.

192 I: For work yes, we didn't think to live in Japan, it was to live for a while, to work and earn some  
193 money and then to go back to my country, for me to keep on studying because I was studying there,  
194 but so many years, because I lived nearly ten years in Japan, and in the meantime my parents had  
195 moved to Spain.

196 R: Can you explain to me a little, how was this move, how did you experience this move?

197 L: Bueno en ese momento no me daba cuenta pero era algo nuevo cada vez cambiaba a otro pais y  
198 eso me gustaba osea vviir a japon me gusto pero cuando fui a España que era otra cultura y tal pues  
199 no se me gusto mucho.

200 I: Well, let's see, it was a moment, I was young, I didn't realise, to change a country, living in Japan I  
201 liked but in Spain, a different culture, different tradition, something I like a lot.

202 R: Okay, when you moved to Spain, was it something totally new or was it something you already  
203 knew a little?

204 L: Bueno cuando yo viaje a españa fue algo nuevo toalemnte nuevo, el idioma, el colegio que eran  
205 diferente, no era como japon que hacias como si estuvieras en tu casa, pero españa era estudiar y  
206 luego a casa.

207 I: Well, when I arrived in Spain, it was something new, totally new, everything, the language, then  
208 the schools which were different, in Japan, it was like you were in your house, in Japan it was like



209 that, the schools were like that, while in Spain it was for study and then home.

210 R: Can you explain a little how was the first month in Guadalajara?

211 L: Bueno cuando fui a españa fui a Madrid a Alcala de Henares a la casa de mi abuela que vivia alli  
212 y nos quedamos cuantos años ?

213 I: Well, when I arrived in Spain, we went to Madrid the first time, a suburb of Madrid, we went to my  
214 grandmother who lived there and we stayed?

215 M: 3 meses, no, 6 meses.

216 I: There, three months, no six months.

217 L: 6 meses en Madrid nos quedamos y despues decidimos ir a Guadalajara a una pueblo llamado  
218 Sacedon.

219 I: Six months we were living in Madrid, and then we decided to go to Guadalajara, a town called  
220 Sacedón.

221 L: Cunto tiempo nos quedamos?

222 I: how long were we there?

223 M: Un año.

224 I: A year.

225 L: Nosotros estuvimos en sacedon y luego a Guadalajara y luego.

226 I: We were in Sacedón and then in Guadalajara a year.

227 M: Fuimos ese lugar solo por trabajo pero no habia mucho y luego fuimos a Guadalajara porque alli  
228 habia trabajo para mi.

229 I: There wasn't much work in this place, but there wasn't much work, so we moved closer to the  
230 centre, to the centre of Guadalajara.

231 R: And how was the school there in Spain?

232 L: Bueno cuando fuimos a madrid la primera vez pues no me enteraba de nada porque era español y  
233 lo que me dedicaba a hacer era.. nos ponía en una clase normal y teníamos una compañera al lado y  
234 me copiaba.

235 I: Well, when I went to Madrid, the first time, I didn't understand anything because I didn't speak  
236 Spanish, what I did, they put me in a normal class and I had a classmate beside and I did what the  
237 classmate did.

238 R: How long was it like that?

239 L: Yo creo que los 6 meses, los 6 meses me copiaba de mi compañera y me acuerdo una experiencia  
240 de que como copiaba todo hasta su propio nombre.

241 I: Six months, I was six months always there, I was copying my classmate, I remember, I had an  
242 experience, I was copying what he was doing as far as writing his name, I was named like him!

243 L: Bueno despues ellos me pusieron a clases separado para estudiar español y despues de 6 meses  
244 que estuve alli me fui a sacedon , me metieron en una clase normal y bueno a esa epoca habia un  
245 poquito solo como a lo mejor defenderme como "hola" "que tal" y un poquito mas llegue un poco  
246 tarde a finales de de clases para acabar el curso y que empiece las vacaciones y claro pues no tuve el  
247 tiempo suficiente para aprender el idioma asi que decidieron los profesores repetir la misma clase  
248 para estudiar español

249 I: Well, after that they put me in a class separated for studying Spanish. After that we went to Sacedón  
250 and I went into a normal class, and well, in that period I knew a little, at least to say "hello, how are

251 you” and a bit more, but, I arrived there a little late, after the classes were finished and well, then,  
252 there wasn't enough time to learn Spanish well, so the teachers decided to repeat the same class, to  
253 study Spanish.

254 R: So you did the first year of school in Japan and then the second year in Spain you did twice, the  
255 second time to learn Spanish.

256 M: Nosotros viajamos a españa ,el tenia 7 años por la edad a el le correspondia estar en la primera  
257 clase y yo queria evitar que lo pusieran porque queria que aprendiese el español pero me dijeron que  
258 no porque en Segundo iban los de 7 años y eso le correspondia y dijeron que iban a tratar de nivelarlo  
259 y que aprenda el idioma y estar igual a sus compañeros pero tuvo que hacer de nuevo segundo.

260 I: We arrived in Spain, he was seven, for the age, I thought they should put him back into the first  
261 class to learn Spanish, the language, the grammar, but they told me no, but they told me he had to go  
262 in with the students of the same age.

263 R: It's very important what you say because with what I do with this book, maybe the practice changes  
264 a little in these situations. In Spain you had to learn how to read, how to write in the Latin script?

265 L: Si bueno si.

266 I: Yes, well, yes.

267 M: El no sabia ni escribir ni hablar.

268 I: He didn't know how to read or talk.

269 L: Si empece desde 0 porque en japon era otra manera de escribir y fue muy complicado para mi yo  
270 ahora no recuerdo lo dificil que fue.

271 I: Yes, I didn't know how to read or write, nothing, because in Japan it's another script, and it was  
272 very complicated for me. I don't remember now how difficult it was.

273 R: Let's think a little when you arrived in Spain, do you remember what were the things you lacked  
274 of Japan, which weren't in Spain.

275 L: Que yo extraño? What I missed?

276 R: Yes! And then what were the things you liked of Spain, that you said great, that you were happy,  
277 that weren't in Japan.

278 L: Cuando yo viaje a españa lo que yo hechaba de menos de japon fue la comida que me gustaba  
279 muchos los shushis el arroz sin sal osea la comida y despues habia muchas cosas en japon habia  
280 mucha tecnologia y bueno habia muchas cosas y vivamos en casa con suelo de tatami y es de bamboo  
281 y me gustaba mucho ese suelo porque era mas comodo que estos y la cocina estaba en el medio de  
282 la casa y bueno echaba de menos esas cosa y habia tambien mesas con calentadores y bueno esas  
283 cosas y luego tambien las calles y la manera de comportarse de la gente que era fui diferente de japon  
284 pues era muy diferente coches , autobuses y como te conte que habia mas bicicletas y cuidan mucho  
285 su ciudad y me gusto mucho porque era otra cosa.

286 I: When I arrived in Spain, what I missed from Japan, first, was the food, which I liked a lot, the sushi,  
287 a type of rice, and then, they had lots of things in Japan, lots of technology, lots of things, then as I  
288 said to you, the tatami, this floor, it's not like this floor here, it was much smoother. The kitchen was  
289 in the middle, the kitchen in the middle of the living room and well, I missed this, we also had a table  
290 you could put your feet under and there was a heater underneath and I missed this a little. And well,  
291 in Spain, what I most realised, was the street, the way people behave which each, which was very  
292 different to Japan, it was very different, all cars, buses, in Japan there were lots of bicycles, the  
293 Japanese take care of their cities, also the classes, which I liked a lot, another form.

294 R: How were the classes different the classes in Spain and in Japan, you said very different.

295 I: La diferencia es que en japon habian muchas cosas no solos estudiabas.

296 L: The difference is that in Japan you did lots of things, lots of things, not only studying.

297 M: Fue mas practico.

298 I: It was more practical.

299 L: Si era mas practico y era estudiar y jugar pues despues de salir te aseabas un poco comias y despues  
300 dormian era un poco diferente y haciamos muchas actividades en japon.

301 I: It was more practical – there were lots of things you did, you studied then you went out to the street  
302 to play, you go out, then you washed, rested a little, you ate there, then slept, it was very different  
303 there, you did lots of activities.

304 R: In Japan?

305 L: En japon si y muchas cosas en japon y en españa era muy diferente a comparacion que solo se  
306 estudia y habia examenes y despues salias al patio y era muy diferente.

307 I: In Japan, yes, lots of things, in Spain it was very different in comparison, you only study there and  
308 you do an exam and well, then you go out into the courtyard.

309 R: In the afternoons you were free?

310 L: En japon no eso fue en la escuela.

311 I: In Japan no, there was school.

312 I: What time did it begin?

313 M: De las 8.

314 I: From eight.

315 L: Desde las 8 hasta en la tarde y en españa eran mas cortos y la tarde lo tenias libre.

316 I: From eight until four in the afternoon, in Spain until four no, then the evening you had free.

317 R: What you did you do in your free time when you lived in Spain?

318 L: Bueno en japon aparte del colegio cuando llegabamos los zapatos de calle nos teniamos que  
319 quitarnos y habia unos zapatos especiales para el colegio para andar por el colegio.

320 I: Well, in Japan, apart from in school, when we arrived we took off our shoes, and there were special  
321 shoes for walking to school.

322 L: En japon recuerdo que cuando llegabamos a un sitio nos teniamos que sacar los zapatos siempre y  
323 en mi tiempo libre pues en japon con mi madre jugaba al baloncesto y despues cuando llegue a España  
324 cambie de deporte porque era solo futbol alli en España y yo veia a la gente como pateaban a un balon  
325 y queria meter en 3 palos y desde alli me entro la curiosidad y empece a practicarlo y hubo un año  
326 que como no hablaba muy bien el español pues entre a clases de baile y yo creia que era un baile de  
327 hip hop o asi al final me meti a ballet y al final de año baile delante de todo el colegio.

328 I: Well, in Japan, I played volleyball with my mother. Well, then when I arrived in Spain, well I  
329 changed sport, it was football, all football, football, I looked at the people who were kicking the ball  
330 trying to get it between the posts, it drew my curiosity and there I began to play. There was also a  
331 year, still I didn't know well, what it consisted of, Spanish and all, it was a mistake, there was in my  
332 school, they did activities, dance, I thought it was a dance of the street, like that, in the end I signed  
333 up for ballet and in the end I ended up dancing in front of the whole school.

334 R: Well, maybe it helped you for the football after, like...(all laugh)

335 L: Si me ayudo.

336 I: Could be yes.

337 R: The girls were very happy?

338 L: Las chicas si hice muchos amigas. the girls, the girls yes, well we made friends.

339 R: How was it making friends?

340 L: Si en españa hice muchos amigos y era muy facil hacer amigos y era timido y siempre me  
341 arrinconaba pero luego los españoles se acercaban me hablaban y yo tambien y empezamos a coger  
342 confianza .

343 I: Well, in Spain, it was very easy to make friends. I arrived there very shy, I'm shy when I arrive in a  
344 new place, retreat a bit, and in Spain they came up to me, spoke to me, that gave me trust.

345 R: The friends you had in Japan, did you stay in contact with them?

346 L: No, ya con ninguno ya no me acuerdo mucho de japon.

347 I: No, nobody, I don't remember very well, from Japan very little, now I don't have any contact.

348 R: After making the change, after moving to Spain, a couple of years later did you keep up contact?

349 M: Solo con mis amigos.

350 I: Only with the my friends.

351 L: No solo con amigos de mi madre.

352 I: Only with friends of my mother.

353 R: Given this experience you had in the school in Spain, you began in the normal class and you copied  
354 from you classmate and then in the class to learn Spanish, but for you, thinking now how it was, what  
355 would be a better way to do things, if you know what I'm saying

356 L: Que piensas de lo que yo hice?

357 I: You mean in what way I did it?

358 R: Not for you exactly, but what could the school do, or all the school system, how could it organise  
359 itself better to make things easier for you?

360 L: Bueno..

361 I: Well.

362 M: En españa o aqui?

363 I: In Spain or here?

364 L: España para mi bueno yo lo que recuerdo que cuando fui a españa y ellos me pusieron en clases y  
365 no me dieron facilidades porque fue cogermme en una clase donde me correspondia y bueno me  
366 presentaron y bueno solo era eso y bueno mi metodo fue sobrevivir y eso y mi intuicion era hacer  
367 eso y copiaba lo que hacia mi compañera.

368 I: Spain, for me, well what I remember, when I arrived in Spain and they put me in a class, they didn't  
369 facilitate much, because it was to take me and put me in a class that I corresponded to, and then, they  
370 put me there, at most saying "kids, we have a new student, this is Luigi", then, just that, and I tried to  
371 survive, look at what they did, my intuition was to do this, try to do things, because I didn't understand,  
372 I copied from my classmate.

373 R: When was the first time that you said to yourself "ah good, I can read, I can understand, I can  
374 follow what the teacher is saying"?

375 L: Bueno eso no me acuerdo mucho pero yo no sabia nada de español pero lo que yo veia o lo nque  
376 yo intuia me ayudaba mucho pero no me acuerdo mucho cuando leia y creo que fue en sacedon la

377 primera vez y veía lo que hacía los compañeros e intentaba hacerlo solo porque cuando fue la primera  
378 vez era solo copiar copiar copiar.

379 I: Well, I don't remember the first time exactly, I didn't speak Spanish, I just followed my intuition,  
380 but it was in Sacedón I think, it was there for sure the first time, I tried to follow what people did,  
381 then I tried to do it for myself, I stopped just copying from my classmates but tried to do it  
382 myself, not just copying, copying.

383 R: After the second class then you went on, the third, the fourth?

384 L: No tuve ningún problema desde ahí seguía mis clases e intentaba aprobar y después nos fuimos a  
385 Guadalajara

386 I: From then on, no problem, I followed my classes, I tried to pass, and after we went to Guadalajara,  
387 no? Then we went to Guadalajara, then, which is another city of Madrid.

388 M: A Guadalajara.

389 I: Of Guadalajara.

390 L: Así que estudié en Sacedón y después en Azuqueca y después a Guadalajara y luego a Marchamalo  
391 fue el último lugar donde vivíamos.

392 I: As well as studying there was a lot of moving in this period, first I went to Sacedón, then to Azuqueca,  
393 then to Guadalajara the city, and then to Marchamalo, it's a town I lived in, the last place we lived  
394 before we lived here.

395 M: La dificultad de él era la escritura e iba a comprensión de lectura y eso lo ha llevado varios años  
396 el nivel así un poco y lo demás lo llevo muy bien.

397 I: The only thing was writing, Spanish language and literature, it took him a few years to get that up  
398 to the level, everything else went quite well, no problems.

399 R: What subject did you like most?

400 L: Bueno mi asignatura que me gustaba era conocimiento o es como biología y luego estaba el deporte  
401 después me gustaba un poco de todo y eso pero más esas dos asignaturas y en biología era una mezcla  
402 de biología y geografía y eso es lo que me gustaba más.

403 I: Well, in this period I liked most “knowledge”, biology, I liked sport, then, I liked everything a bit,  
404 but especially sport and “knowledge” which is this subject for small children, which is like a mixture  
405 of biology and geography.

406 I: To clarify a little, in Madrid, you spent a few months in the school in Madrid, then another few  
407 months in Sacedón, then another few in...

408 L: Azuqueca.

409 I: Azuqueca.

410 I: Then others in Guadalajara, then in...

411 L: Marchamalo.

412 I: Marchamalo.

413 I: A few months each time, then you stayed for years in Marchamalo.

414 M: Eso fue en 2008-2009 y en 2010 en Marchamalo. it was 2008, 2009 and then from 2010 in  
415 Marchamalo.

416 L: Bueno en 2010 a 2014 estuve en Marchamalo.

417 I: Good, from 2010 to 2014 I was in Marchamalo.

418 I: Marchamalo is a city or...?  
419 L: es un pueblo un pequeño pueblo.  
420 I: It's a town, a small town.  
421 L: Es una pueblo pequeño y estuve 4 años allí y era muy tranquilo el pueblo y allí hice yo la ESO.  
422 I: Well, I was there for four years, it's a very quiet town, there I went into secondary school, which is  
423 the obligatory secondary education.  
424 R: So in Spain you did like three years in secondary school?  
425 L: Seis años en primaria cuatro años en ESO.  
426 I: Six years in primary four years in secondary.  
427 R: How old were you were you when you came to Germany?  
428 L: 16 años.  
429 I: Sixteen years old.  
430 R: It's going to be a little repetitive, we are arriving at another change, it's going to be the same  
431 questions again. You knew this time that you were going to change country with your family?  
432 L: Aver la situacion allí era muy difícil no había trabajo para mantenernos y después pues nos  
433 comentaron que aquí estaba muy bien y que se puede trabajar y era otra vida y al saber eso y ver  
434 como a mi madre mal y tenía problemas de salud n y verla así porque no hay trabajo y no se podía  
435 vivir pues como me deprimía un poco y tomamos la decisión los tres de venir y probar la vida aquí  
436 a estar así sabíamos que los primeros años sería difícil pero más adelante íbamos a estar mejor.  
437 I: At the beginning, the situation there was very bad, since there was no work... then here they let us  
438 know that the situation here was good and that you could work, it was another life, to know this, and  
439 I saw my mother, one time she got very bad, she had some problems my mother, she couldn't work,  
440 couldn't maintain us, to think of how to do things, I got a little depressed, we took a decision the three  
441 of us, why not come here, to begin a new life, you know, at the beginning it was difficult but after a  
442 while we got used to it, to get better with it.  
443 R: You know someone here ?  
444 M: Yo tengo un hermano que vive aquí in Leipzig y él tenía un trabajo para mi esposo para trabajar y  
445 después de 6 meses vinimos nosotros y fue así.  
446 I: I have a brother who lives here in Leipzig and he got a job for my husband and he came first and  
447 after six months we came.  
448 I: How did you prepare for this move, when you were in Spain?  
449 L: Bueno primero cuando me dijeron que íbamos a venir aquí me emocionó porque era otro mundo  
450 otra cultura y antes de venir aquí a vivir mi madre compró unos billetes y al llegar aquí y ver Alemania  
451 era como aprender cosas nuevas y como el método de reciclar las botellas y eso pues algo  
452 interesante y llama la atención.  
453 I: Well, first, when they told me we were moving here I got emotional, I was excited because, another  
454 world, another culture, another thing in comparison, and before we came here my mother paid us the  
455 tickets to come here for a week, and arriving here, well, seeing Germany, it has some history no, it  
456 was like going to a museum, for my part I liked it a lot because it was very organised, it had interesting  
457 things like the bottles with the Pfand, recycling is something which interests me, I don't know, it drew  
458 my attention.  
459 R: Did you come directly here to Leipzig?  
460 L: Si.

461 I: Yes.

462 R: Again, we will have the same questions: how did you find the school and how were the first two  
463 months after arriving?

464 L: Cuando viajamos aqui al comienzo nos dijeron que ibamos a empezar rapido osea unos dias  
465 despues , mis hermanas tuvieron que esperar un mes para entrar al colegio y yo yo mas o menos 2 o  
466 3 meses despues porque mi situacion porque tenia que trabajr ya con la edad y querian una entrevista  
467 conmigo para preguntarme sobre mi futuro si seguir estudiando o trabajando y despues me metieron  
468 al colegio y los primeros dias no tenia miedo pero si estaba nervioso de como me iban a tratar los  
469 nuevos compañeros y era dificil porque no sabia que me iban a preguntar y alli conoci a tres chicos  
470 que mas adelante se convirtieron en amigos que uno era de corea el otro de vietnam y la chica que  
471 viene de Rumania y me trataron muy bien y bueno antes de venir aqui fui a clases de aleman en  
472 españa.

473 I: When I arrived here, well, at the beginning, they said, let's go to school, and my sisters and I, my  
474 sisters had to wait a month to start school and me a little more, two and a half, three, because they  
475 told me that I was of an age when I could work too, they wanted an interview with me to find out  
476 what I wanted to do after, if I wanted to continue studying or begin working already. well, then, after  
477 that they told me I could start school, I started, the first few days, I wasn't scared or anything but I  
478 was a bit nervous, how my classmates would treat me, a little of everything, bit by bit it was a little  
479 difficult, and I was a bit scared if somebody asked me something what would I say. Well, then I got  
480 know some friends there, three – one from Korea, one from Vietnam and one who comes from  
481 Romania, well they treated me well, before coming here I went to some private classes, to begin a  
482 little.

483 I: In German.

484 L: Si en alemania.

485 I: Yes with German.

486 R: The private classes, you said you took private classes in Spain, was that like for example a teacher  
487 who came in the afternoon or how did it work exactly?

488 L: Bueno eran clases particulares y era una vez a la semana.

489 I: Well, we could go in the afternoons, it was once a week.

490 M: Era una chica alemana que vivio mucho tiempo en alemania y ella daba clases de aleman y tenian  
491 que pagar y yo 5 clases y el tambien.

492 I: It was a German woman I knew who had been living in Spain for a long time and she gave private  
493 classes, I went four or five times and Luigi went too.

494 L: Y bueno empece a aprender los articulos y algunos verbos y asi para que no sea tan dificil y no  
495 venir tan perdido y cuando llegue aqui ya no era tan dificil y ya sabia un poco y eso lo aprendi en 5  
496 clases alli en españa.

497 I: And well, there I started to learn the articles and some verbs, a little to begin, we weren't so lost,  
498 the first few words came a little easier, already we knew a little, the articles, some verbs I knew, this  
499 I learnt in five or six classes, with my classmates.

500 R: You also had English in school?

501 L: Si.

502 I: Yes,

503 R: When you arrived here, did you only do the DAZ or did you have other classes here as well?

504 L: Cuando fui alli hablaba en ingles y cuando fui a DAZ tambien hablaba ingles y solo eso y ahi es

505 cuando me di cuenta lo importante que es el ingles y en españa no me interesaba mucho y bueno te  
506 das cuenta que es importante para cuando sales de tu pais.

507 I: When I arrived here I only spoke a little English, and when I went into the DAZ class, only DAZ.  
508 I had to speak English, English and nothing else, English, and then I realised how important it is to  
509 learn languages, no, in Spain English didn't really draw my attention, why would I use it, but you  
510 know, you change country and it's important, I realised that everything you do in school is important.

511 R: How did you speak with your friends, the Korean...?

512 L: Yo hablo en ingles y hablamos en ingles pero con mi compañera y yo hablamos en español porque  
513 y me impresiona porque hablas muchos idiomas y entiende español pero no se atreve a hablar en  
514 español pero con los demas habla en Ingles.

515 I: I speak in English, I have a friend, well she hasn't been in many places but she impressed me  
516 because she speaks lots of languages, she has a little Spanish, well not to speak, she has Serbian, other  
517 languages, lots of languages, you know, well with them I spoke English, only English.

518 R: Is his name Daniel?

519 L: No, ella es una chica y se llama Isabella. no it's a girl, her name is Isabella. (laugh)

520 I: How many months have you been in the school now?

521 L: 8- 9 meses ahora.

522 I: Eight or nine months now.

523 R: And you are DAZ 2?

524 L: Estoy ahora en DAZ 2 y estoy en algunas clases como matematica gografia fisica quimica en la 9  
525 clase.

526 I: I'm in DAZ 2 and in some classes, I'm in DAZ and then in Mathematics, Geography, Physics and  
527 Chemistry, in the ninth class.

528 R: Now you are doing classes here in Germany, and I suppose you had the same classes in Spain.  
529 What you did in those classes in Spain does it help you much to follow what you?

530 L: si entiendo las clases? Geografia si, geografia es una asignatura que no me gusta mucho y sobre  
531 todo la geografia, no la historia ,la geografia si me ayuda mucho la situacion donde esta el Himalaya ,  
532 el Misisipi y los Andes y en matematica estamos dando algo que ya he dado en España y pues si se  
533 me esta haciendo facil y matematicas y fisica y quimica pero las formulas la tabla periodica pero hay  
534 muchas palabras que no entiendo mucho y me dedico a copiarlas y despues a traducirlas.

535 I: Geography yes, geography is also a subject that interests me a lot, geography, not history, yes it  
536 helps me a lot, the situations, where is Malaysia, the Mississippi, all that, I don't know, in Mathematics  
537 we are doing some things I already did in Spain so I find it very easy, yes I remember everything,  
538 Physics and Chemistry, the problem, sure there is the periodic table formulas, equations, but there are  
539 words you don't understand, lots of words, so I write down the words and then I translate them here.

540 I: How do you manage to translate them?

541 L: Pues con el diccionario o con el movil

542 I: With the dictionary or with the mobile.

543 R: So in the afternoon and then you write the homework and you translate?

544 L: Si por las tardes llego a casa y traduzco bueno en clase tengo el diccionario pero no escunetro todas  
545 las palabras y son tan complicadas y bueno tengo que venir aqui a traducirlas

546 I: Yes, in the evening I come back home and I translate, in school I have a dictionary, but such  
547 complicated words aren't there, I have to come back here to translate them.



548 R: Is there anyone who can help you with these things or...?

549 L: Por ahora no pero ahora estoy en la misma situacion que cuando llegue a España. Algunas cosas  
550 se pero tengo que buscar y buscar, ahora mismo estoy empezando y bueno en febrero empece las  
551 clases.

552 I: Well, now no, but, that is, I'm now in the situation like in Spain, there are words that I don't  
553 understand, but I look them up.

554 L:

555 I: Yes, now I'm only beginning with the classes – in February I started.

556 R: And you are in the ninth class?

557 L: Si.

558 R: How old are your classmates?

559 L: Pues tendras 2 años menos que yo creo , 16 ,17 años

560 I: I suppose they are the same age as me, sixteen or seventeen years old.

561 R: You said that in the DAZ class you have friends, how is it in the new class?

562 L: Si,pues en novena clase , los compañeros se impresionan porque vengo de España dicen que es un  
563 bonito idioma y me preguntan como se dice eso , como se dice lo otro en español y asi se va haciendo  
564 amigos ,si bueno con ellos no he hablado mucho pero me hacen preguntas.

565 I: In the normal classes, well, the Germans are impressed that I come from Spain, they say that it is  
566 pretty, a pretty language, and they ask me how do you say this or that in Spanish, and that, like that,  
567 we are becoming friends, well, yes, with them I haven't talked a lot but they ask me things like that.

568 R: And you speak with them always in German?

569 L: Si con ellos en siempre en aleman , con los amigos de DAZ siempre en Aleman y las cosas que no  
570 puedo decirlas le pregunto a mi amiga de Rumania y le pregunto como se dice las cosas porque ella  
571 sabe un poquito de aleman.

572 I: Yes, with them always in German, with my friends from DAZ always in German, well if there's  
573 something I don't know then I ask my friend from Romania because, she knows a little more than me.

574 R: Again, it's more or less the same question, what were the things when you came here, what were  
575 the things that you missed a lot from Spain and what are the things that you said “ah good, I'm happy,  
576 because this is better here than in Spain”.

577 L: Cuando llegue aqui la ciudad en comparacion a la ciudades de España es muy diferente en los  
578 tranportes , los tranvias es la primera vez que los veo , lo que echo de menos de España son mis  
579 amigos , mi familia y bueno tambien el idioma ,no puedo comunicarme y lo que me gusta de aqui es  
580 la gente , hay mucha gente que trata bien y yo creia que iba a ser mas dificil y tambien pensaba en los  
581 problemas sobre la Raza todo eso y bueno al llegar aqui si conseguí amigos y bueno me junto con mi  
582 primo que lleva tiempo viviendo aqui.

583 I: When I arrived here, that is, the city, in comparison to the city in Spain where I lived, first it was  
584 transport, the train, the tram, it was the first time I saw it, and what I miss from Spain is firstly my  
585 friends, the family, no, then, also the language, you can't speak the same as in Spanish here, you know,  
586 and what I like from here is ? There are a lot of people who treat you well, I thought it would be more  
587 difficult, already, then I thought a little bit about the problems of race and everything, in Germany  
588 yes, well, I made friends, I could already speak a little English, and I found out a lot from a cousin of  
589 mine who is also living here, and well.

590 R: Do you keep in contact with your friends in Spain?

591 L: Si me escriben mucho mis amigos de España, preguntan como estoy aqui , alla tambien son muy  
592 fanaticos del futbol , me preguntan como me va aqui en el futbol y como os comente , pues les hace  
593 ilusion de que hagan las pruebas aqui y pues si me hablan todo el dia y preguntan como es alemania  
594 porque la situacion no esta muy bien alli y no creo que pudiera estudiar alli.

595 I: Yes, lots with my friends, they ask how I am here, they're very fanatic about football too, they ask  
596 me how it's going for me here in the football, how the time is, it excites them that I'm doing these  
597 trials, they talk to me still, they ask how Germany is, because the situation there too isn't very good,  
598 and the guys don't want to stay there and study here.

599 R: You still have family in Spain?

600 L: Si tengo a mis abuelos a unos tios a mi padre.

601 I: Yes I have grandparents, aunts and uncles, my father is there too.

602 R: And you say you talk to them – do you talk with Skype or Facebook or WhatsApp?

603 L: Por Whatsapp y con mi Abuela hablamos por Skype y con mi padre hablo por Line.

604 I: with WhatsApp, we talk with WhatsApp, with my grandparents on Skype, with my father with  
605 WhatsApp or Lime.

606 R: In the morning you are at school, and then in the afternoon with homework and all that, but do you  
607 still have free time here?

608 L: Bueno es un poco dificil porque voy al colegio vuelvo, cocinamos y otros arreglan la casa y  
609 comemos despues y bueno cada uno hace sus cosas y yo hago mis deberes e intento hacer todo lo que  
610 puedo hasta la hora que llegue la hora de mi entrenamiento y yo no entreno cerca de aqui , entreno en  
611 el otro lado de Leipzig , en Plagwitz y es una hora de vaije en tren

612 I: It's that, I go to school, I come back, we all cook, other things, we tidy the house and cook, we eat,  
613 then everyone has things to do, then I do my homework, I try to do what I can before training, I don't  
614 train near here, I train in another side of Leipzig, Plagwitz, I have to go there, it's an hour's trip from  
615 here in the tram.

616 R: How many times a week do you go to football training there?

617 L: Cuando llegue alli empece con los de mi edad y claro me dicen que soy muy bueno y ahora entreno  
618 tambien con los mayores de mi equipo y voy todo los dias desde Lunes ,Martes,Miercoles , Jueves y  
619 Viernes.

620 I: Well, when I started there I was with my team, with those of my age, but well, they told me I play  
621 very well at football, and so, now I train also with the senior team, so I go every day, Monday,  
622 Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday.

623 L: Bueno porque me gusta mucho el futbol, es mi ambicion y ya lo dije yo quiero jugar en un gran  
624 equipo.

625 I: Well, also because I like football, it's my ambition, I already told you I want to play with the team.

626 R: Are they all Germans?

627 L: Bueno en mi equipo, de mi misma edad son todos menos uno que es de turquia y el ya sabe hablar  
628 aleman muy bien y en los mayores hay muchos alemanes pero hay dos colombianos que tambien  
629 juegan en ese equipo.

630 I: Yes, all Germans, well, in the team of my age they are all Germans, well one is Turkish but he  
631 already knows how to speak German very well, because he came here when he was very young, then  
632 the older ones, there's lots of Germans but there are two Colombians who also play on this time.

633 R: Do you speak Spanish with them?

634 L: Si con los colombianos hablo en español y con los alemanes , bueno con todos hablo en aleman y  
635 si hablas en tu idioma es como una mala educacion a los demas.

636 I: With the Colombians yes and I also speak German with the Germans, because, well, we all simply  
637 speak German, because for them, to speak various languages is bad manners.

638 R: If we look for a symbol or various symbols or an image for the various stations of the life, if we  
639 give you a paper and we ask you to draw.

640 L: Mi vida?

641 R: Well not necessarily just your life but more the different places in which you lived.

642 L: Me podria llamar que soy un bicho raro pero por una parte me siento diferente porque he conocido  
643 otra cultura otros lugares, otra cultura ,otro idioma.

644 I: Well, I could be considered an oddball (lit. strange bug) because I have lived in lots of places, all  
645 different, that is for one part I feel, I like all this, I know, I get to know another culture, another  
646 language, another language which is another culture, language, culture.

647 R: To say it somehow differently, if you think about the various places in which you have lived, how  
648 do you see the relation between those places, is there a thread? Are they all separate for you? Or are  
649 they all more or less...

650 L: Bueno un poco separado porque son otras culturas osea japon tiene su religion y españa otra cultura  
651 es muy diferente todo pero si te digo la verdad, los paises que me ha gustado mas han sido España y  
652 Japon, bueno por ahora mas que Alemania porque a lo mejor he vivido mi infancia y he disfrutado y  
653 ahora tengo que trabajar y currarmelo y ahora tengo que estudair aleman para hacer otra cosa y  
654 sinceramente me gusta Japon.

655 I: Well, I see them a little separate because they are other cultures, the Japanese, their religion, their  
656 culture, then Spain is another culture, very different everything, but, but to tell you the truth, the  
657 countries I like the best are Spain and Japan.

658 R: More than Germany?

659 L: Que lo disfrute sobre todo porque es un pais que va a hacer muchas cosas y en españa si te digo la  
660 verdad me ha gustado mucho , hay mucha gente que te va a ayudar y que aproveche las cosas como  
661 por ejemplo que yo no aproveche en estudiar ingles y nada mas llegar aqui felizmente que se un poco  
662 con eso me llegue a defender aqui y lo valoro mucho porque me esforzado no solo para complacer a  
663 mi madre sino tambien para mi mismo porque se que al final iba a utilizar eso.aprovechar el idioma  
664 y las cosas que te ofrece la vida.

665 I: For now more than Germany all told, maybe for childhood, because you enjoyed life, as a little one  
666 like that, you enjoy it, but now I have to work, to take care of things, to study German to do something  
667 else after, well, clearly I liked Japan the best.

668 R: The question is this, for example, if there is a child who calls you, all this life with various places,  
669 school in various places, would you give advice to a child like that, what advice would you give the  
670 child or, also, what would you tell them about the difficulties.

671 L: Pues los cambios que he tenido en el colegio de un pais a otro y cuando estaba en España mi madre  
672 me decia que hablaba japones y yo me impresionaba y cuando llegue a españa tuve que aprender el  
673 idioma que necesite un año y medio mas y me sorprendo y digo que si pude hacer puedo llegar mas  
674 lejos y aprender el aleman y comenzar otra vez.

675 I: Well, let's see, for Japan, I would say, that you enjoy it, because it's a country where you are going  
676 to see lots of new things, first, and Spain, I tell you the truth, I like it a lot, it's a country, there's lots  
677 of people, they'll help you, also and especially that you make the best of the things that it gives you,  
678 for example what I didn't do, study English, and finally, arriving here, I already knew something it's

679 what allowed me to hold my own a little here, I put it aside, forced myself to do it just to please my  
680 mother, it's also something which is good for you, maybe you don't realise, to what end you will be  
681 able to use this, the language, no, the things which life offers you.

682 R: In what sense did you benefit from changing place during the period of your school, and in what  
683 since, maybe, you lost something?

684 L: Para mi futuro tengo varios sueños y lo que quisiera hacer , como me gusta mucho el deporte y en  
685 concreto el futbol que me enamore de eso en España lo vivo y lo disfruto , quisiera dedicarme a eso y  
686 nada mas llegar aqui, lo que aprendi en España respecto a eso me sirve mucho aqui ya que me dicen  
687 de que soy bueno en futbol y como eso me sube la moral y bueno llegar a un buen equipo de alemania  
688 o de España pero disfrutando del deporte y por otra parte quisiera ser fisioterapeuta porque me gusta  
689 la Biología.

690 I: Well, that is, the changes I had in school, already changing place from one place to another, it's  
691 difficult, but well, when I remember, every time my mother says once you spoke perfect Japanese, I  
692 say well, the things that I am capable of, when she tells me I learnt Spanish in a year, a little more,  
693 how I am surprised, no, if I can manage that then I can get further ahead, learn German, like that  
694 again.

695 R: The last question, what do you want to do in the future?

696 L: Por otra parte me gusta mucho la biología y la ciencia tambien pues me gusta esa parte como  
697 anatomia , la reaccion del cuerpo pues me gustaria y me encantaria hacer medicina pero es algo que  
698 es muy dificil y hay que darle mucha dedicacion y mi segunda opcion seria hacer fisioterapia.

699 I: My future, I have various dreams, the progress of which we'll see, well, first, I like sport a lot, yes,  
700 especially football and I started with this in Spain and it came to me, it came to me, and I would like  
701 maybe to dedicate myself to this, well what I learnt in Spain is worth a lot here, then, they tell me I'm  
702 good at football, I'm much more motivated, I'd like to manage to play for a team of Germany or Spain,  
703 whatever team, but to keep on enjoying football, yes, this would be for one part, for the other part I  
704 like biology a lot. The other part is that I like biology a lot, science as well, I like this part, the human  
705 body, no, what our body does, so I would like, first I would love to do medicine, but it's something  
706 which is very difficult, many years of education, my second option would be to do maybe something  
707 like physiotherapy.

Interview Transcript of Cihan, 11 years old

Leipzig, 9. April 2014

C: Cihan, F: Forscherin T: Translator

- 1 F: Ok. So as far as I understood you will need three maps, one for Syria, one for Russia and one  
2 for Leipzig.
- 3 C: Yes.
- 4 F: In which city were you born?
- 5 C: Damaskus. (The student starts to draw.)
- 6 F: Hm. Can you tell me wo these people are?
- 7 C: My mom, my dad, my sister, my uncle, my uncle, my uncle, my uncle.
- 8 F: Hmm. Did they live in the same city?
- 9 C: No. One uncle in Leipzig, and five uncle and ...ööö.
- 10 F: Tante.
- 11 F: How old were you when you left Syria?
- 12 C: Eight.
- 13 F: So to the first map we can write maybe zero to eight. Right? You were living in Damaskus  
14 with your mother with your father, sister and brother?
- 15 C: No I have no brother. I have only two sisters.
- 16 F: And one of your uncles lived in Leipzig when you lived in Syria?
- 17 C: Yes and five uncles were in America. Five uncles and one Tante doctors. Five uncles doctor  
18 in America, one uncle doctor in Leipzig and one Tante in America doctor.
- 19 F: Hast du schon diesen Onkel in Amerika besucht?
- 20 C: Nene.
- 21 F: Oder Sie kommen nach Syrien zu Besuch?
- 22 C: Nur eine kommt zu Besuch.
- 23 F: Aber z.B: als du sechs Jahre alt warst hast du mit diesen Verwandten telefoniert?
- 24 C: Nicht so viel. Aber hier Sommer kommen sie alle in Leipzig. Ja dieser Sommer.
- 25 F: Hm. Hast du da Kindergarten besucht?
- 26 C: Also Kindergarten. Wie haben nicht so Plan wie Deutschland. Wir haben alle Schule  
27 zusammen, wie haben keinen Kindergarten, Gymnasium, Mittelschule. Meine Schule war  
28 Privatschule, du zahlst und Kindergarten ist in die Schule. Wir lernten Französisch. Wenn ich  
29 war vier Jahre war ich in Kindergarten bis vierte Klasse habe ich gemacht und dann.
- 30 F: Ok. also. Von vier bis acht warst du in Kindergarten.

31 C: Aha, nein ich war bis sechs. Und sieben und acht war Grundschule.

32 F: Wo habt ihr Französisch gelernt?

33 C: Das war eine Französische Schule.

34 F: Aha.

35 C: Im Kindergarten mussten wir Lieder französisch singen alles auf Französisch.

36 F: Und welche Sprache spricht ihr zu Hause in der Familie?

37 C: Arabisch.

38 F: Nur Arabisch?

39 C: Auch Russisch.

40 F: Wieso Russisch?

41 C: Weil meine Mutter Russisch ist.

42 F: Aha. Das hast du noch nicht gesagt. du sprichst dann Arabisch, Russisch und Französisch.

43 C: Ja aber zwei Sprachen habe ich schon vergessen.

44 F: Welche?

45 C: Englisch und Französisch.

46 F: Wieso hast du vergessen? Kannst du hier nicht benutzen?

47 C: Ich kann das aber ich habe zu viel vergessen. In Syrien sprechen immer Französisch mit der  
48 Leute in der Schule aber jetzt . Englisch wenn ich war klein, ein oder zwei, ist alles auf Englisch  
49 gesprochen und ich war in Russland musste ich konzentrieren nur Russisch und jetzt  
50 Deutschland auch nur Deutsch. Alles vergessen.

51 F: Hm..Hast du welche Freunde in der Schule gehabt?

52 C: Ja.. aber dann gibt es viele Punkte (lacht) also meine beliebteste zwei Freunde eine aus, er  
53 ist aus mein Opa hat sein Oma geheiratet, nicht geheiratet, sein Oma ist die Schwester von  
54 meinem Opa. Er ist so wie Verwandte und er ist beliebtester Freund von klein. Der andere  
55 Freund er ist nicht Verwandt von mir aber ich habe ihn gewusst von meinem ersten Freund.  
56 Und dann gibt es noch die normale Freunde. In Russland ich konnte jeden Schüler, jeder  
57 Schüler konnte mich.

58 F: Das sind jetzt die Punkte für die Freunde in Russland? Könnten wir diese auf die  
59 Russlandkarte zeichnen? Die Freunde die du hier in der Französischen Schule hattest die sind  
60 mit dir nach Russland umgezogen?

61 C: Nein. Meine zwei beliebtesten Freunde sind noch in Syrien. Eine ist in Jordanien, eine ist in  
62 Syrien. Und jetzt für Russland das selbe malen. hmmm. mein Opa, und mein Oma.

63 F: Die sind auch nach Russland umgezogen?

64 C: Nein, nicht. die sind mütterlicherseits.

65 F: In welcher Stadt?

66 C: In Rostow. (10:29) Freizeit... (zeichnet)

67 F: Du hast a viele Freunde.

68 C: Ich wusste niemanden. Ich bin zur Park gegangen und gefragt eine wie heisst du? und ich  
69 habe gesagt Cihan und hat gefragt woher kommst du und habe gesagt Syrien hat gesagt wie  
70 viele Autos hast du ich habe gesagt sechs und hat gefragt welche und habe gesagt ein.. und  
71 daaaaan eine von eine und eine von eine und eine von eine...und alle waren in derselben Schule  
72 ich konnte jeder in der Schule.

73 F: Hast du da auch die Französische Schule besucht?

74 C: Also in Russland war das normale Schule. Nur Russisch und zweite Sprache ist Germ...  
75 Deutsch aber das durfte ab fünfte Klasse und Englisch bei zweite Klasse.

76 F: Also wie alt warst du?

77 C: Neun.

78 F: Und zwei Jahre lang..

79 C: Nein nur neun. Vierte Klasse.

80 F: Also du hast.

81 C: Nenene, warte... neun bis zehn. Ich bin in der Sommer gekommen nach Russland und dann  
82 habe ich meinen Geburtstag in Russland aber da gibt es kleines Problem. In Syrien wenn du  
83 zehn Jahre alt bist dann musst du in die fünfte Klasse und da in Russland musste ich in die  
84 vierte Klasse.

85 F: Warum war das ein Problem?

86 C: Weil in Arabischen Ländern das ist anders, in die fünfte Klasse es schwer war.

87 F: Wie meinst du schwer?

88 C: Also die Sprache war schwerer. in der vierten Klasse sagen sie alles langsam und in der  
89 fünften blalablalabla alles schnell. Ja...

90 F: Hast du in Russland schreiben gelernt?

91 C: Ja ich kann Russisch schreiben, aber ich erinnere mich nicht so gut an die Buchstaben.

92 F: In der Französischen Schule hast du Arabisch geschrieben oder?

93 C: Geschrieben Arabisch, Französisch, Englisch

94 F: Du kannst hier dann die Bücher einfach lesen, oder?

95 C: Nein.

96 F: Aber in Russland wenn du ein Buch in der Hand hattest, konntest du lesen?

97 C: Erstens hatte ich Fehler aber dann konnte ich. Das war schwer mit dem Lesen.

98 F: Aber deine Mutti hat geholfen, oder?

99 C: Ja Sie hat geholfen.

100 F: Hast du in Syrien am Nachmittag einen Kurs besucht?

101 C: In Russland habe ich. Taekwondo. (alle lachen)

102 C: Also ich denke drei Monate, vier Monate. Mit russischen Jungen. Aber da war keine von  
103 meiner Klasse.

104 F: Also zu dieser Zeit dein Vater war auch in Russland oder?

105 C: Nein, er war in Syrien.

106 F: Hm.

107 C: Er arbeitet immer noch in Syrien aber er ist jetzt in Deutschland. Jede zwei Monate jede  
108 Ende Monat zurück in Syrien.

109 F: Als Du in Russland warst, wie hast du mit deinem Vater gesprochen?

110 C: Mit Viber Whatsapp,

111 F: Und mit den Großeltern in Syrien?

112 C: Also mein Opa ist schon in 2002 vor einem Monat dass ich geboren bin, gestorben. Er heisste  
113 auch Cemal. 2002 28. September. Ich bin 12 Oktober .Und meine Oma sie kennt sich nicht mit  
114 neuen Handy.

115 F: Hm. Rufst du sie an?

116 C: Manchmal probiere ich aber sie arbeitet auch.

117 F: Was macht Sie?

118 C: Sie arbeitet mit dem President.

119 F: Aha. das ist gut. Wenn du zurückdenkst und vergleichst die Französische Schule in Syrien  
120 und die russische Schule in Rostow, was war ähnlich, was was unterschiedlich? Maybe Omar  
121 you could translate: How did you experience the change from one school to the other and what  
122 was the difference and the similarity?

123 C: Aaa ich habe schon verstanden (lachen). Also der Unterschied ist das in Russland die erste  
124 Klasse musst du im acht Uhr gehen, die zweite Klasse um eins. Ich hatte in Russland um eins,  
125 ich musste aufstehe und am Morgen die Hausaufgaben machen. In Syrien bis wenn man  
126 achtzehn ist und man ein Auto hat, aber alle Klassen sind fertig in der selbe Zeit weil wir gingen  
127 im Bus also die Schule hatte Büsse. und die zweite Unterschied ist dass in Russland die Stunden  
128 sind langer als in Syrien, in Syrien so 35 Minuten, in Russland 55 Minuten. Es gibt nicht so  
129 viele Unterschiede weiter.

130 F: Sachen, die du in Syrien gelernt hast, konntest du später benutzen?

131 C: Das Problem ist das Arabisch und Deutsch sind ganz ganz verschieden. Die Buchstaben, die  
132 Grammatik, alles, ich brauchte das alles nur it Freunden was ist das was ist das in den ersten  
133 Paar Tagen. Aber das Arabische was ich da gelernt habe hat mir nichts geholfen. Wie hatten  
134 nur drei Adjektive.Ne.. wie heisst das.. Tenses .

135 F: Und besuchst du jetzt in Leipzig nur die DaZ Klasse oder hast du auch Mathematik..



136 C: Nein. Ich habe keine Mathematik. Ich gehe in die Klasse, aber sie machen etwas ganz  
137 anderes. Ich fühle mich als ich nicht da bin. Ich melde mich und diese böse Lehrer guckt ..so.

138 F: Welche Fächer hast du?

139 C: Also wir haben Biologie, Deutsch und Sport. Und in der Klasse haben wir Geschichte,  
140 Biologie, Musik und Sport und Mathematik. Aber nicht immer bin ich da bei Klasse.

141 F: Warum?

142 C: Weil ich muss in die DaZ 2.

143 F: Also z.B: in Biologie die Sachen sie du hier und die du in Russland gelernt hast, kannst du  
144 hier verwenden?

145 C: In Russland ist ganz andere Biologie. Es war schwer. Wie hatten jeden Tag also ein Tag  
146 Biologie und einen Tag (unverständliches Wort), und nochmal und mussten jedes Mal ein Text  
147 vom Internet bringen, die wichtigen Satze und ich muss immer bringen und müssen die Eltern  
148 suchen z. F: wie haben sie das Holz gemacht, und dann müssen wir die wichtigste lernen und  
149 dann sagen wir

150 F: Hast du gute Noten in Russland gehabt?

151 C: In Russland.. also.. nicht so gut.

152 F: Welches Fach war die schwierigste?

153 C: Russisch?

154 F: Und welche war die einfachste?

155 C: Sport.

156 F: Und hier?

157 C: Hmm. schwer zu sagen hier in der Klasse Deutsch

158 F: How did you experience the change of the schools? Wie hast du den Schulwechsel erlebt?

159 C: Wie kann ich das sagen. Die Schule in Syria und Russia war sehr unterschiedlich. Von  
160 Russland bis Deutschland auch sehr unterschiedlich. Ich weiss nicht wie kann ich das erklären.  
161 Das Schulprogram ist sehr unterschiedlich, die Zeiten sind sehr unterschiedlich, ja.

162 F: Hmm..(abwarten) gut dann sind wir jetzt in Leipzig.

163 C: Also die Freunde. Fünf.

164 F: Wer sind sie?

165 C: Eine der heisst Grisos, der ist 13-14.

166 F: Ein Deutsche oder?

167 C: Nein Lettischer. Und einer heisst Albi und er kommt aus Tschechien und er ist 15. Und  
168 einer ist Carlos der kommt aus Spanien und eine ist Zyga und kommt aus Serbien (lacht) ich  
169 habe sehr unterschiedliche Freunde.Eine ist Dani er kommt aus Tscheschenien, einer aus  
170 Frankreich.

171 F: Wo hast du die kennengelernt?  
172 C: In der Schule in der DaZ Klasse.  
173 F: Welche Sprache sprichst du mit denen?  
174 C: Also. Mit dem Tschechenisch Russisch. mit Lettische Deutsch, mit Spanische Deutsch, mit  
175 Serbische Deutsch.  
176 F: Hm. und Französisch?  
177 C: Aha richtig in der Schule habe ich ein, zwei, drei vier.... auf Französisch und in der Schule  
178 habe ich eine aus der Türkei, der heisst Baris und eine aus Syrien, de der heisst ... eine aus  
179 Syrien der heisst.. und eine aus Syrien der heisst. Mit diesen Arabisch.  
180 F: Und mit den Türken?  
181 C: Ich kann Türkisch ein bisschen.  
182 F: Tamam o zaman Türkce konuşabiliriz. (lachen)  
183 C: Nicht so aber ein paar Wörter z.B: deli..  
184 F: Ah...(lachen) und mit wem lebst du jetzt?  
185 C: Meine Mutti, meine Schwester, mein Onkel wohnt allein.  
186 F: Und wo sind deine Großeltern jetzt?  
187 C: Meine von Mutter in Russland und meine Oma in Syrien.  
188 F: Wie oft kannst du mit denen sprechen?  
189 C: Wenn sie Zeit haben, meine Mutti und Vati von Mutti arbeiten und meine Oma auch. ich  
190 habe noch Freunde in der Arbeit.  
191 C: Wo arbeitest du?  
192 F: Bei einem Freund meinem Vater. Also in großen Ferien arbeite ich dort.  
193 F: Was ist deine Arbeit?  
194 C: Holzstücke zerschneiden.  
195 F: Hm.  
196 C: Und da habe ich zwei Leute kennengelernt. Eine aus Libanon aber er ist in Deutschland  
197 geboren und eine aus Syrien. Und ich habe noch aus dem Urlaub zwei. Englische Leute.  
198 F: Wo warst du im Urlaub?  
199 C: In Ägypten. Da im Hotel habe ich sie der letzte Tag gesprochen aber wir sind Freunde wir  
200 sprechen über Facebook.  
201 F: Wo ist er jetzt?  
202 C: In England.  
203 F: Wie oft schreibst du ihm?  
204 C: Jede Woche einmal.

205 F: Und z.B: in deinem Facebook wo sind die Freunde her?

206 C: Die beste Freunde habe ich von Türkei. Und ich habe Freunde aus Syrien und Russland habe  
207 ich nicht. doch zwei.

208 F: Hast du die Türken über Internet kennengelernt oder persönlich?

209 C: Ich war noch nie in der Türkei. Mein Freund hat die Freunde von Freunde mir.

210 F: Ahah..Und jetzt in Leipzig nach der Schule hast du noch welche Klassen, Sport oder?

211 C: Nein. Ich wollte das finden aber ich kann das nicht finden.

212 F: Du hast gesagt, dass du die Schule wechselst.

213 C: Ja, Gymnasium, Leibnizschule.

214 F: Warum?

215 C: Ich sage nicht dass die Schule schlecht ist, aber das Problem ist dass aus dieser Schule  
216 kommen Arbeiter, so mit Holz. Ich möchte groß werden wie mein Onkel, nicht in Deutschland  
217 aber in einem anderen Land. Z.F: in Dubai, aber da brauche ich einen Gymnasium um das zu  
218 schaffen.

219 F: Hmm.. Das stimmt. Du hast schon in drei Ländern gelebt, hast Freunde aus der ganzen Welt.  
220 Wenn du dich vergleichst mit den –compare- mit den deutschen Schülern- was war advantage  
221 that you have lived at so many places? Welche Vorteile und welche Nachteile hast du dadurch,  
222 dass du an mehreren Orten gelebt hast?

223 C: Hmm...also wie können so sagen dass hier die Leute wenn sie sagen sind aus Russland  
224 sprechen Russisch, dann kommen sagen die Gruppe das ist eine Russische, wenn kommt einer  
225 dann sagen das ist ein Syrische, wenn kommt eine dann sagen er ist ein Türke.

226 F: Aber was bist du denn?

227 C: Ich bin ein normaler Mensch. Aber hier finde ich nicht so schön.

228 F: Warum?

229 C: Also..Ich sage Deutschland ist moderner als Syrien Wenn du gehts in Syrien du kannst z.B:  
230 mitfahren in Syrien oder es gibt Hunderte von Leuten die wollen spielen oder springen oder  
231 etwas machen. Nicht wie X-Box hier in Deutschland ..sooo (spielt nach mit Gestik und  
232 Mimik)...hier gehe ich vor und die machen große Augen aber niemand ist da, keiner Mensch  
233 geht, man muss einen Termin machen um mit ihm zu gehen. Das ist schwer. Ich habe keine  
234 Deutsche Freunde

235 F: Hm..und in Russland du hast Russische Freunde gehabt, oder?

236 C: Ja, ich habe, ich war in Grundschule und ich habe meine Haare so gemacht (zeigt) und  
237 nannten mich Superstar und manche große Mädchen wollten mit mir gehen. Ich wollte nur ganz  
238 normaler Mensch sein.

239 F: Wenn du morgen Minister wirst was würdest du.

240 C: Was?

241 F: Wenn du morgen sagen wir mal Präsident wirst.

242 C: Ja.

243 F: Was würdest du an der Schule ändern?

244 C: Ok. Ich werde syrischer Präsident.

245 F: Ja gut was würdest du in Syrien an der Schule ändern?

246 C: An der Schule würde ich nichts ändern aber ich würde vielen ändern anderes. Ich würde die  
247 Stadt... also..modernieren alle Städte haben diese große Mallen unsere Stadt ist schon 600 Jahre  
248 alt

249 F: Und was würdest du in Russland ändern an der Schule?

250 C: Ich könnte nicht sagen weil das ist nicht mein Land.

251 F: Aber für die Schüler wie Du, die aus einem Land in das andere umziehen, was könnte die  
252 Schule vielleicht helfen? Oder was könnte anders machen?

253 C: Schwer zu sagen, Russland ist sehr teuer.

254 F: Aber du hast keine private Schule besucht oder?

255 C: Nein ganz normale und in Deutschland was soll ich denn ändern? (lange Pause)

256 F: Z. B. wissen deine Lehrer dass du Russisch und Französisch und Arabisch sprichst?

257 C: Ja natürlich. Immer wenn jemand z. F: hat Probleme dann werde ich dann muss ich helfen.  
258 Die Lehrerin aus Deutschland spricht mit einer Arabische und er sagt nur was was was? Dann  
259 muss ich helfen. Wenn jemand hilft wird er in Zukunft auch helfen.

260 F: Ok. das stimmt, vielen Dank!

Interview Transcript of Suleyman, 17 years old

Leipzig, 22. May 2016

S: Suleyman R: Researcher

1 R: Thank you for your time and interest in this interview. I heard from Rama that you lived in  
2 many places. That is why I am interested in your life. Can you tell me anything you want to  
3 share about yourself?

4 S: Actually I am 17. I am from Afghanistan, my father is a doctor, I am a student. First of all  
5 we started the journey, first from Afghanistan to Iran and than to Turkey. After from Turkey  
6 to Bulgaria. Than from Bulgaria to Hungaria, your country (laugh) and than Austria and  
7 Deutschland. First I was in Munich and than was transferred to Chemnitz and than to  
8 Schneeberg and finally to Leipzig.

9 R: How many years did you live in Afghanistan?

10 S: I was born in Afghanistan so 16. It was a city but smaller than Leipzig.

11 R: Can you describe me the place where you lived?

12 S: We cannot compare it to here. We lived in a house. In Afghanistan we have houses of  
13 course we have flats but not many.

14 R: How big is your family?

15 S: My family is not big, I have my parents and my brother and sister. My sister is smaller than  
16 me my brother is older.

17 R: How as the school?

18 S: There was schools but we do not go every time because there is problems. Sometime we go  
19 and sometime we do not go. Normal school. In a class about 35 students. As you know there  
20 are problems. Sometimes the school is locked.

21 R: How was a general school day?

22 S: To the girl or to the boy?

23 R: If you compare the school here in Germany to the school in Afghanistan?

24 S: Difference is that in Afghanistan the girls and boys cannot be together in one class and they  
25 are separate. Here we are together. We had two language in the school because in Afghanistan  
26 we have two language Dari and Pashtu we learn both of them. Sometimes we learn computers  
27 also. We had sport, computer, languages, English, Pashtu Dari, ja...

28 R: Did you learn such a good English in the school?

29 S: Well I took teachers. A friend of my father. As I tell you before my father was a doctor and  
30 a friend of him is teaching me English also. Like in a week two days. And I was also moving  
31 a lot so that's why.

32 R: When did you start with English?

33 S: Before one year maybe. No before two years when I was in Afghanistan. When I was  
34 fifteen.

35 R: What else did you study at school?

36 S: Well it depends on class. Every year we change class and take more books, more subjects.  
37 Like I was in 11<sup>th</sup>. So we had English, Pashtu, Dari, Chemie, Sport and Biology.

38 R: Here do you also have these subjects?

39 S: No, I am in language class.

40 R: How did you decide to leave Afghanistan?

41 S: It was a family decision, but I did not know that they want to move. I did not know that my  
42 father has this plan, one day he told we have to leave this place and than I said ok no problem.

43 R: Do you remember how much time you have spent at these places on the way?

44 S: Three months four months maybe.

45 R: How did you spend a day at a place?

46 S: It was boring to be always at one place. Of course I did not go to school. I did not have  
47 anything. The way was scary, not so much for boys. Because girls are more scared but boys  
48 also.

49 R: Did you learn something on this way?

50 S: I learned lots of things. All kind of people. First I was a small kid but now I understand  
51 everything how life is going on. I do not know how to explain it to you. It is difficult to  
52 explain. I do not know how to explain it. If you ask me and give me some options maybe I  
53 can answer, but I find it difficult to explain.

54 R: In Budapest for example where did you go?

55 S: I do not know the name of the place, but I know that I was in Budapest.

56 R: Did you live in these countries in refugee camps?

57 S: Yes two or three months I was in camps. First in Munich there was a camp I do not  
58 remember the name but only a week I was there and they make a transfer for us after that to  
59 Chemnitz and one week I was in Chemnitz and than an other transfer to Schneeberg and  
60 maybe twenty days I was there and after that to Leipzig to Heim. And maybe two or three  
61 months I was in Heim.

62 R: Why do they do the transfer?

63 S: I do not know exactly. Because a lot of people come and they have to make. People from  
64 Afghanistan, Syria, Kosovo and so on a lot of countries.

65 R: How do you communicate in a refugee camp?

66 S: Actually when I arrived to Leipzig, in the first months I did not have any friend. And than  
67 one day I wanted to buy something and was searching for a shop and I asked Rama. Because  
68 you are in a place and you do not know everything. And I did not know the language but my  
69 mother said maybe I can ask in English. And than I asked Rama hello I want to buy laika the  
70 phone card and she started to talk to me in German and I said ok.. and we became friends. I  
71 found other friends in Schneeberg also because one day I was playing with the ball alone and

72 than some want to take the ball from me and after that complication starts but we became  
73 friends. There was a friend who when we transferred to Leipzig he also come with us and  
74 when I go to school I see him in my class. So now we are friends.

75 R: You speak English with each other?

76 S: He does not speak more English but we manage.

77 R: In the other countries how did you have contact with other people?

78 S: I did not have that much. I was not in refugee camp but in Budapest I go to camp.

79 R: To Bicske?

80 S: Yes.

81 R: I worked in Bicske.

82 S: Really? We went to the Tesco market maybe. It was good in Bicske because I meet people  
83 from my country and we talk about problems. I do not know how long I was there. In Bicske  
84 of course I did not go to school. It was good but not so good. I wake up at I do not know what  
85 time that we have breakfast and than I sit at the window and maybe I go to the gym also and I  
86 walk back and than I sit. Sometimes I go out for walking.

87 R: Do you thing it was a problem for you not to go to school?

88 S: You have to face lots of things. Like you have to come by ship and you have to walk and it  
89 is not normal for a person. I did not have any option.

90 R: Would it be better to go to school?

91 S: Yes it would be better but not for such a short time. If I want to be there it would be better  
92 to go to school. But it is not normal that I am one week in a country and than I have to go to  
93 school.

94 R: Let's make the maps, first for Afghanistan.

95 S: I mostly spend my time with my sister, my mother and sometimes my father. At school I  
96 had friends but not that much not close friends.

97 R: These friends are back in Afghanistan?

98 S: Yes.

99 R: Do you keep in touch with them?

100 S: No.

101 R: In your free time?

102 S: In my free time I played basketball, cricket and football. Now in Leipzig I go to Gym.

103 R: Which languages did you use in the family?

104 S: Dari and Pashtu both. Because my mom's language is Dari and my father's Pashtu.

105 R: Did you have relative or friends living in an other country when you lived in Afghanistan?

106 S: No, everybody was in the same city.

107 R: What did you especially like when you were living there?

108 S: I like Afghanistan because it is mine. Naturally. I like my country.

109 R: Let's make the other map for Leipzig, because in the other places you stayed only a short  
110 time no?

111 S: Yes maybe one week, one months two months maximum. Yes, I write the same people and  
112 Rama.

113 R: And at school?

114 S: The two friends from Kosovo.

115 R: How is it with German?

116 S: If I try my best, I can learn it in a short time. It is good to be in school. I have not attended  
117 school for a year. But now we learn the language. It is good because if you do not know the  
118 language that you do not know how to manage things. I was happy when I started school and  
119 now I am more happy because I have friends in school. For two months I go to school and I  
120 did not miss any of the classes. Because I like it.

121 R: If you compare it to the school in Afghanistan.

122 S: As I told, here you have female teachers also. Girls and boys are together but in  
123 Afghanistan not together but in separate times, morning and evening.

124 R: Did you learn the language in the countries where you were?

125 S: No because I do not have contact to anybody. You are from Bulgaria, you speak your  
126 language and I come to you, I ask you something you talk with me so that I remember that but  
127 I do not go out and I do not remember anything. In Hungaria people do not speak English here  
128 in Leipzig some speak English.

129 R: How was your first month at school?

130 S: The most difficult thing is to wake up at 5 o'clock. Because first day, I woke up at 6 and  
131 when I come to school she said I am late. And the third day I did not sleep at all. Timing is  
132 more difficult. And the language was also difficult but now I can manage.

133 R: How do you learn now?

134 S: I use dictionaries and I talk with Rama and she teaches me Deutsch and I teach her my  
135 language Dari. And I speak with my friends in school. We learn together, we use dictionaries  
136 most of the time.

137 R: How long ago did you arrive to Leipzig?

138 S: I do not remember exactly, but six or so. Seven months maybe. In November.

139 R: How did you learn about the city?

140 S: I went to Rama and she showed me some things. She gave me a paper and you go here and  
141 to there so the credit goes to Rama she taught me.

142 R: If a boy calls you from Afghanistan and asks what it means to try to get to Germany what  
143 do you tell him?



144 S: I would them him do not go illegal. It is not good for you. It is bad, one day they say you  
145 go and one day they say you go.

146 R: Is your life similar to your life in Afghanistan?

147 S: It is hundred percent different. In there the boys and girls are separated.

148 R: How do you find it?

149 S: It depends on the country, because here all are working and everybody is in their roles and  
150 nobody cares if girl or boy but in Syria or Afghanistan when they walk they get disturbance  
151 and that is why it is good to be apart. The boys have freedom and the girls have no. Here both  
152 have freedom. But Rama I not free. She is not like the German girls.

153 R: What else is different?

154 S: I do not know how to explain that because I changed myself. First time someone talked to  
155 me I said shut up and get lost but now I listen. I do not know how to explain I would like to  
156 skip. I gained a lots of things and I lost lots of things. I do not know how to explain it for  
157 myself that is why I cannot tell it in any language.

158 R: I can understand that it is difficult. Thank you.

159 S: Thank you for the questions.

Interview Transcript of Aslan, 11 years old

Leipzig, 18. July 2015

A: Aslan, F: Forscherin, O: Onkel

1 F: Also wir fangen jetzt an. Ich weiss schon, dass du Aslan heisst und du lebst hier in Leipzig.  
2 Aber ich möchte mehr von Dir und deinem Leben erfahren. Kannst du ein bisschen von Dir  
3 erzählen? Ich bin interessiert für alles, also kannst alles erzählen was du möchtest.

4 A: Ich bin elf Jahre alt und komme aus Syrien. Ich habe in Syrien geboren und also ich habe  
5 die dritte Klasse in Syrien gemacht und dann habe ich in die Türkei gegehen. Weil die Krieg  
6 und sowas. Und dann ein Jahr war ich in die Türkei geblieben und die Schule besucht, die vierte  
7 Klasse und nach einem Jahr habe ich Leipzig gekommen, in Deutschland und jetzt bin ich  
8 hier seit neun Monate.

9 F: Hmm.

10 O: Kann ich mich auch dazu setzen?

11 F: Ja sicher, bitte. Also kannst du mir ein bisschen darüber erzählen wo du in diesen Ländern  
12 gelebt hast?

13 A: Ja also in Syrien habe ich in Damaskus gelebt, eine sehr schöne Stadt, zu mir eine sehr  
14 schöne Stadt, in der Türkei habe ich in Fatih gelebt, in Istanbul und in Deutschland hier in  
15 Leipzig.

16 F: Kannst du mir ein bisschen beschreiben wo du gelebt hast?

17 A: In Damaskus im Zentrum gelebt, wir haben eine Wohnung aber jede Wochenende gehe ich  
18 zu meine Oma , sie ist in die Mitte der Stadt also wir sind nicht in Mitte, also in Damaskus gibt  
19 es die Mitte und noch weitere Städte und ich war in so eine Stadt . Ja so meine ich (zeichnet)  
20 und nich so viel wie Leipzig und München können wir sagen wie Hauptbahnhof und hier. und  
21 so ungefähr.

22 F: Ja und deine Oma hat im Zentrum gelebt.

23 A: Ja.

24 F: Wie hast du die Zeit mit deiner Oma verbracht?

25 A: Also am Freitag gehen wir zum Gebet, Freitag Gebet so ist beim Islamisches. Und am  
26 Wochenende spielen und lernen.

27 F: Lernen?

28 A: Also nicht das was wir in die Schule lernen, also was anderes, zum Beispiel Arabisch und  
29 Koran.

30 F: Du kannst also den Koran lesen? Aber deine Muttersprache ist doch Arabisch also Du kannst  
31 den Koran lesen.

32 O: Ja das ist schwierig, man muss genau wissen wie man liest. Eigentlich ihre Mutter ist  
33 Lehrerin.

34 F: Ah ja welche Fächer hat deine Mutti unterrichtet?

35 A: Arabische Sprache und Literatur und Mathematik.

36 F: Aha und wenn du mir ein bisschen mehr erzählst wie du mit deiner Oma gelernt hast?

37 A. Ja also wir lesen zusammen, wenn ich habe ein Fehler dann sagt sie das richtig, lesen und  
38 verstehen.

39 O: Also Koran ist so ich lese eine Seite und so also Koran ist vom Gott und nicht von Mensch  
40 geschrieben da muss man wissen was ist gemeint manchmal liest du und verstehst du anders  
41 als gemeint du kannst eigentlich ein ganzes Buch über eine Seite schreiben viele verstehen den  
42 Koran nicht richtig weil sie nicht gelernt haben . nicht jeder kann es und mann darf nicht falsch  
43 beibringen es gibt nur eine Beduetung und die Menschen können es nicht mischen es ist vom  
44 Gott gekommen und deshalb muss man lernen richtig zu verstehen.

45 F: Hmm und lernst du immer noch von deiner Oma?

46 A. Nein, aber ich lerne immer noch. Von meiner Mutti. Sie hat die Schule gemacht und sie kann  
47 den Koran auswendig.

48 F: Gut jetzt sind wir dann noch in Damaskus. Hast du Geschwister?

49 A. Ja in Syrien habe ich ein und in Türkei habe ich andere. Ich habe jetzt zwei Schwester, ein  
50 Bruder und ich.

51 F. Und wer ist der größte?

52 A. Ich.

53 F: (lachen) sehr schön. Also während der Woche bist du zu Hause mit den Eltern. Wie sieht ein  
54 ganz normaler Mittwoch oder Donnerstag aus?

55 A: Also morgen in die Schule gehen und um 12 oder 13 Uhr wider nach Hause und dann zwei  
56 Stunde lernen und eine Stunde spielen, essen beten und dann schlafen.

57 F: Kannst du mir auch erzählen wie die Schule war die du besucht hast?

58 A: Also die Schule war dort wo ich gelebt habe, war eine ganz normale Schule, Erste zweite  
59 Stunde und dann eine Pause dann zwei Stunden und eine Pause und dann nach Hause, und ja.

60 F: Welche Fächer hast du gehabt?

61 A: Arabisch, Biologie, Mathematik, Englisch, und ja das wars. Bis fünfte Klasse geht man so  
62 und in der fünfte Klasse bekommt man Geografie, Geschihte, und Chemie und Physik in siebte  
63 Klasse. und noch Sport und Musik also sechs Fächer.

64 F: Welches war dein Lieblingsfach?

65 A: Mathematik und ist immer noch mein Lieblingsfach.

66 F: Wenn du mir jetzt die Schule, die du in der Türkei besucht hast in deine Schule in Damaskus  
67 vergleichs, gibt es da Ähnlichkeiten oder Unterschiede?

68 A. Ja, ja. also in Türkei die Schüler waren anders, die wollen keine Ausländer in die Schule es  
69 gibt sehr viele Probleme in Schule, wenn ich sage etwas dann sagen sie nein und sowas und du

70 sagst falsch und ja..also man kann sagen wo du geboren bist das ist am besten hier in  
71 Deutschland die gleiche wie Türkei, wo man gelebt hat am besten wenn man da weiterlernen  
72 kann.

73 F: Ja weil?

74 A: Ja sie wollen kein Freund haben, sie wollen kein Ausländer.

75 F: Und die Lehrer?

76 A: Nein die Lehrer sind sehr lieb aber es gibt viel Unterschied bei Lehrer und Schüler. Also die  
77 Lehrer sind lieb mit Ausländer und sie machen so mit alle Schüler also du bist Schüler wie  
78 andere Schüler aber die Schüler die sprechen mit Ausländer nicht und lassen allein.

79 F: Was denkst du warum ist es so?

80 O: Erziehung. Weil die Kinder sprechen in der ersten Klasse von Themen die für Erwachsene  
81 sind und er redet über sowas nicht. Das Kind muss leben wie ein Kind und nicht wie ein  
82 Erwachsene. Die Erwachsene passen nicht auf was sie machen vor den Kindern und so gibt es  
83 große Unterschiede z.B. schimpfen darf man nicht aber in der Schule ist es ganz schlimm und  
84 da wenn er nicht sowas sagt dann denken die Kinder da kann man eingreifen. Die denken er hat  
85 Angst und so das ist das Problem. Nach meiner Meinung die Kinder sind unerzogen hier.

86 F: Und was denkst du?

87 A: Ich denke was mein Onkel sagt ist richtig. Die Kinder haben so ein Handy (zeigt groß) und  
88 wenn sagt etwas dann machen sie etwas anderes und sagen schlechte Wörter und so.

89 F: Ja ich verstehe, dann lass uns langsam in die Türkei kommen. Hast du Zeugnisse gehabt aus  
90 Damaskus und wie hast du überhaupt die Schule in Istanbul gefunden?

91 A: Ja also Zeugnis aus erste und zweite und dritte Klasse und ich musste in die vierte. Also es  
92 hat meine Tante und meine Oma nach Türkei gegangen und sie hat so viele Freunde, also  
93 hmm... Nachbar und sie habe die Freunde gefragt und da sagt sie sie hat ein Kind und die sagen  
94 ja diese Schule ist gut, diese nicht gut. So bin ich in die Schule gegangen.

95 F: Aha ich verstehe. Kannst du mir ein bisschen beschreiben wo du in Istanbul gelebt hast?

96 A: Ja also Fatih ist so ein Moschee, ein Haus und ein Moschee und ein Haus das ist das gute und  
97 ich habe bei eine Moschee gegangen und es gibt viele Freunde, arabische Freunde also syrische.  
98 Wir waren zwanzig Freunde in eine Gruppe und ja.

99 F: Was habt ihr zusammen gemacht?

100 A: Gehen wir in die Moschee, also lernen wir am Sonntag in die Moschee und am Samstag also  
101 der große Lehrer hat gesagt wir machen ein Spiel in Moschee nicht nur Lernen und so haben  
102 wir Samstag jeden Tag ein Monat Fussball spielen. Wir haben eine Mannschaft gemacht und  
103 jeden Tag spielen wir.

104 F: Wer war in dieser Mannschaft?

105 A: Es gibt Türkische Kinder aber nur vier oder fünf und mehrere syrische Kinder aber arabische  
106 also nicht nur syrien sondern die Arabisch sprechen.

107 F: Waren diese Kinder in der Fußballmannschaft in der gleichen Schule wie du?

108 A: Nein die habe ich ich nur in Freizeit getroffen. In Schule war nur meine Cousine, mein  
109 Bruder, mein Schwester und ich.

110 O: Das war eine staatliche türkische Schule.

111 F: Kannst du mir von der Schule ein bisschen erzählen?

112 A: Die Schule war super, ich sage Syrien ist besser aber die Lehrer in Türkei noch besser. Also  
113 die können gut erklären die sagen ein Wort und dann erklären, also hier in Deutschland die  
114 Lehrer sagen ein Wort und sie sagen nicht noch einmal. In Türkei ich kann sagen ich verstehe  
115 nicht und dann erklären sie den und sagen so ist das.

116 F: Warst du die einzige in der Schule, die nicht so gut Türkisch gesprochen hat?

117 A: Ja vier ich und meine Geschwister und meine Cousine.

118 F: Wir hast du Türkisch gelernt?

119 A: Jeden Tag lesen wir zehn Seiten. So und in die Woche lesen wir so ungefähr zwei Bücher.  
120 Die Schulbücher lesen wir.

121 F: Wie soll ich dass mir vorstellen? Du kommst an die Schule und was passiert in dem ersten  
122 Monat und wie lernst du?

123 A: Also erste vier Monat sehr schwer dann mitte und dann super.

124 O: Die haben kein Sprachunterricht bekommen sie waren in der Klasse und lernen normal.

125 F: Welche Fächer hast du gehabt?

126 A: Türkische Sprache, Ethik, Mathematik und Biologie.

127 F: Was ist deiner Meinung nach besser, zuerst die Sprache zu lernen wie hier in der DaZ oder  
128 so wie es in der Türkei war?

129 A: Also mein Vater hat ein Ipad und ich schreibe eine Seite in Übersetzerprogramm und dann  
130 lerne ich diese Seite und dann kenne ich.

131 O: Er hat nicht richtig verstanden (Arabisch)

132 A: Also es war hier besser als in Türkei, in Türkei sofort in Fächer und hier Sprache und dann  
133 Fächer hier ist besser.

134 F: Aha und kannst du mir nochmal davon erzählen wie du die Seite übersetzt hast?

135 A: Ja ich habe die ganze Seite eingetippt nach Schule am Nachmittag und dann lese die  
136 Übersetzung und verstehe ich und dann lese dreimal, viermal, fünfmal bis ich kenne.

137 F: Wann hast du das gemacht?

138 A: Also Schule war am Nachmittag von 12 bis 8 und in Damaskus am Vormittag. Früh ist  
139 besser weil ich verstehe besser. Also in Türkei alle Hausaufgaben am Vormittag. Am Abend  
140 lerne ich bis zehn aber am Wochenende mache ich was ich will bin ich frei.

141 F: Hat die jemand in Türkei beim Lernen geholfen?

142 A. Ja diese Nachbarn die eine Nachbar hat drei Tochter und sie sind achtzehn, neunzehn und  
143 können uns helfen , die erste vier Monate haben sie uns geholfen und dann nichtst. Nach vier  
144 Monate nur einmal im Monat gegessen. Die erste vier Monate kann ich nicht Türkisch sprechen  
145 und die schreiben zum Beispiel die Hausaufgabe auf eine Seite und ich schreibe diese zwei oder  
146 dreimal ab.

147 F: Haben deine Eltern auch Türkisch gelernt?

148 A: Also mein Vater hat Türkisch gelernt, meine Mutti nicht. Ja es gibt zwei Moscheen in ein  
149 war ich mit mein Bruder und meine Schwester und meine Mutti aber in andere Moschee nur  
150 sie. Da hat sie Koran gelehrt in der Türkei.

151 F: Sehr interessant. Hast du also die vierte Klasse beendet?

152 A: Ja also die erste drei Monate war ich noch in Syrien und dann ab Dezember in Türkei. Und  
153 wir haben ein Jahr in Türkei gemacht und dann Sommerferien und hier. Also ich war in  
154 Dezember in Schule in Leipzig, also ich habe sechs Monate gemacht.

155 F: Ich verstehe also in der Türkei du hast vormittags die Hausaufgabe geschrieben, am  
156 Nachmittag die Schule besucht und am Wochenende warst du in der Moschee.32:00

157 A: Nein nicht das ganze Wochenende, nur Sonntag ich habe die die Schule besucht in Moschee,  
158 Koran gelernt und Arabische Sprache so ich nicht vergesse und Samstag Fußball zwei Stunden  
159 und dann Hause und essen und schlafen weil ich so früh aufstehe und dann spielen. Mit mein  
160 Bruder Fussball spielen, er ist klein er ist nicht in Mannschaft.

161 F: Welche Sprache habt ihr in der Mannschaft gesprochen?

162 A: Arabisch und soo wir kaufen den Spielplatz 20 Eur und der Lehrer überstze ich und ein  
163 andere Freund also Türkisch in Arabisch.

164 F. Gibt es etwas was du noch gerne über Istanbul erzählen möchtest?

165 A: Alles war gut nur die Schule nicht gut. Die Mitschüler also ich habe jeden Tag Probleme in  
166 der Schule also wenn ich sage ich habe die Hausaufgaben gemacht, sie schlagen mich. Ich war  
167 das beste und sie mögen nicht dass ich das beste war also in Schule habe ich keine Freunde nur  
168 im Fussball.

169 F: Also es ist Dezember und es schneit und wir kommen nach Leipzig.

170 A: Also ich war letzte Woche der Sommerferien da aber ich habe keine Schule gefunden,  
171 niemand wollte mich und dann nach drei Monate diese Schule hat mich genommen. Also Frau  
172 Juhasz hat eine Punkt dass sie mich genommen hat. Weil sie hat kein Platz zu mir aber sie hat  
173 mich genommen.

174 F: Wie hast du denn überhaupt nach Schule gesucht?

175 A: Also mit mein Onkel er ist mit uns gekommen und zwei Monate jeden Tag besuchen wir  
176 eine Schule und im Dezember haben wir gefunden. Es gibt kein Platz oder sie wollen mich  
177 nicht.

178 F: Und was hast du denn den ganzen Tag in den drei Monaten gemacht?

179 A: Also es gibt meine Tante, die Frau meine Onkel und sie ist eine Deutsche und wir haben sie  
180 gebeten dass sie und helfen kann und sie macht jeden Tag zwei Stunden Deutschunterricht.  
181 Wörter oder sowas und deshalb bin ich jetzt supergut. Ich mache immer noch Unterricht mit sie.  
182 Letzte Monat nicht weil wir haben Ramadan und fasten und so.

183 F: Wie unterrichtet sie?

184 A. Sie nimmt so ein Blatt und dann sagt sie z.B. Schule und sagt sie Hof, Buch und so weiter.  
185 Dann lernen wir das und nächste Tag machen wir Klassenarbeit und dann sagt sie auf Arabisch  
186 so z.b. kitab und dann ich Deutsch Buch.

187 F: Aha also deine Tante spricht auch Arabisch.

188 A: Ja also ich habe meine Oma und meine Tante von anderen Onkel, sie ist eine arabische Frau  
189 und meine Mutter in Moschee sie haben geholfen, dass sie Arabisch lernt. Sie spricht nicht  
190 super Arabisch aber sie kann ein bisschen Arabisch. Es gibt Wörter sie kennt nicht aber dann  
191 zeichnet sie oder erklärt auf Deutsch und so.

192 F: Ist sie auch eine Lehrerin?

193 A: Nein sie ist Apothekerin.

194 F: Aha, also du hast in diesen Monaten wo du nach der Schule gesucht hast zwei Stunden  
195 Deutsch gelernt und.

196 A. Ja zwei stunden Deutsch und dann zwei Stunden spielen und dann mit Oma und dann mit  
197 unsere Kinder und schlafen. Also ich habe Onkel und er hat vier Kinder und andere Onkel hat  
198 zwei. Eine Cousine war in erste Klasse da und ist dreizehn Jahre und andere hier geboren.

199 F: Also du hast dann sofort Freunde gehabt?

200 A: Ja warte also ein zwei drei zwanzig, neunzehn Freunde. Alle sind Familie. Mein Onkel hat  
201 zwei Frauen, eine hat zwei Kinder und eine hat drei Kinder.

202 F: Also wie hast du in der Schule angefangen?

203 A: Also ich kann ein bisschen Deutsch aber Anfang sehr schwer also zum Beispiel ich sage  
204 Frau Juhasz ich aber ich kann das Wort nicht und dann sage ich nichts. Jetzt bin ich fünfte  
205 Klasse teilintegriert und nächste Schuljahr bin ich Klinger Gymnasium fünfte Klasse.

206 F: Welchen Eindruck hast du von der DaZ Klasse gehabt?

207 A: Super nur ein Junge hat mich geärgert, der Christoph. Er ist 12 Jahre alt. und in der Klasse  
208 wir lernen immer was passiert, also wenn er mich ärgert dann lernen wir das Wort unhöflich  
209 und so.

210 F: Ja und wenn du jetzt diese Schule mit den Schulen in Istanbul und Damaskus vergleichst  
211 dann.

212 A: Also Deutschland und Türkei kein Unterschied also Damaskus und die beide Länder sofort  
213 Unterschied. Die Sprache und die Freunde. In Syrien war ich immer das erste und immer das  
214 erste und das beste. Sie sagen immer der Junge ist super.

215 F: Und zwischen Türkei und Deutschland kein Unterschied?

216 A: Kein, weil die Schüler ärgern mich nur die Daz Schüler nicht.

217 F: Hm?

218 A: Ja sie nicht weil sie Ausländer wie ich. Wir sind Ausländer immer und ich weiss nicht wir  
219 gehen nach Hause einmal und einmal hat er so geschlagen warum ich weiss ihn nicht und er  
220 weiss mich nicht er weiss nur dass ich Ausländer bin und sie mögen die Ausländer einfach  
221 nicht. Ich weiss nicht was mit mir wird in Gymnasium. Einmal habe ich gehört dass mein  
222 Cousine von vier Leute geschlagen, ich weiss nicht wenn sie mit mir auch so machen.

223 F: Aber freust du dich schon auf das Gymnasium?

224 A: Ja weil ich möchte dass ich Ingenuer bin.

225 F: Aha und wo möchtest du studieren?

226 A: Hier in Deutschland, also sie sagen jede Arabische soll nach Deutschland kommen weil  
227 Deutschland ist das beste für lernen und mein Onkel hat hier nicht studiert aber gelernt und er  
228 sagt das super in die Schule ist und mein Cousine ist kommt jetzt in die neunte Klasse und sagt  
229 so schön und ...

230 F: Als du in Damaskus gelebt hast wusstest du schon wie Deutschland ist?

231 A: Ja weil ich spreche mit Onkel in Skype und er erzählt wie schön es ist.

232 F: Wusstest du eigentlich dass ihr umziehen wird?

233 A: Ja meine Eltern haben gesagt. In 2013 ja also es gibt noch zwei Monate bis Ende der Schule  
234 und sie haben gesagt das ist die letzte Klassenarbeit aber habe gefragt warum sie sagen nicht  
235 und zwei Tage haben sie gesagt wir gehen in die Türkei. Ich weiß Türkei vom Fernsehen dass  
236 nicht gut ist aber ich war noch nie. Ich habe Angst dass ich in die Türkei komme und dann...

237 O: Ja das ist fremdes Land. Wo wir waren war sehr schön in Istanbul ein Stadtteil wie Europa,  
238 sehr sauber und wenn jemand mir sagt wo lebst du in Türkei oder hier dann sage ich Türkei  
239 außer die Sprache muss man lernen. Ich habe mich sehr frei gefühlt und das Kind ist auch allein  
240 gegangen zu Moschee und da und da . Die Sprache ist sehr wichtig wenn man in ein Land geht  
241 man muss auf Sprache konzentrieren.

242 F: Ja ja und hat dich in Istanbul etwas überrascht was du schön gefunden hast?

243 A: Ja das es so viele Moscheen gibt und ich habe auch Musik da gemacht mit arabische Kinder.  
244 Habe ich das schon erzählt?

245 F: Nee.

246 A: Also ich habe jetzt ein Trommel und kann uch gut singen. Also am Sonntag in der Moschee  
247 nach dem Lernen und so. Trommeln habe ich vom gucken gelernt also mein Lehrer trommelt  
248 schön und ich habe einen Freund er trommelt auch schön und ich habe gelernt nur vom gucken  
249 und bevor ich nach Deutschland gekommen habe ich ein Tag vorher Trommel gekauft und kann  
250 ich jetzt in Freizeit trommeln.

251 O: Wenn die Nachbarn nicht da sind (lachen)

252 F: Also am 6.6. am Rathaus und auch in der Schule habe ich trommelt.



253 Noch die letzten fragen: Du hast gesagt dass du Mathematik und Biologie sowohl in Damaskus  
254 als auch in Istanbul gehabt hast.

255 A. Und auch hier nach zwei Monate war ich teilintegriert.

256 F. Aha so schnell... Also du hast hier Biologie, Mathe.

257 A. Und Geschichte und English das ist alles.

258 F: Also in Biologie z. B. hast du erkannt was du in Syrien oder Türkei gelernt hast?

259 A. Ja also es gibt paar Sachen die ähnlich sind. Es gibt also was die Lehrer warten wenn du in  
260 fünfte Klasse bist, es gibt ein paar Sachen die ich kenne aber es gibt Sachen die ich noch lernen  
261 muss. Also es gibt ein Thema und in Istanbul weiss ich mehr über diese Sache und jetzt noch  
262 mehr.

263 F: Gibt es denn überhaupt etwas was du nicht verstehen kannst?

264 A. In Biologie und Mathe verstehe ich alles, in Geschichte und Geografie nicht. Weil ich habe  
265 das noch nicht gelernt. Ein Tag Geschichte jede Woche aber Geografie jeden Tag, nein zwei  
266 Tage in Woche. In Syrien habe ich diese nicht gehabt, ich bekomme diese in fünfte Klasse und  
267 hier auch in fünfte Klasse also was ich jetzt lerne ist etwas neues und ja in Türkei habe ich fast  
268 ein Monat in fünfte Klasse gemacht und.

269 F: und sag mal wusstest du dass du aus Istanbul nach Leipzig kommst?

270 A. Ja ich wusste weil mein Vater zu halbe Jahr hat er in Deutschland gekommen und sind wir  
271 und dann wir kommen auch zu ihm also ich wusste das. In Syrien wusste ich dass ich in  
272 Deutschland gehe aber wann das wusste ich nicht. Und vor Deutschland habe ich keine Angst  
273 weil mein Onkel ist da er sagt das ist so schön und mach keine Angst mit Flugzeug und so in  
274 die Türkei auch mit Flugzeug. Seit eine Stunde sprechen wir..

275 F: Ja und wir sind gleich am Ende. Wie würdest du einem Freund erzählen was es bedeutet  
276 zweimal umzuziehen?

277 A. Sehr schwierig. Also ich war in Syrien ich kann nur Arabisch und English und in Türkei  
278 ich kann Türkisch, Arabisch, English und ich habe Türkisch sofort gelernt und ich wusste dass  
279 ich immer in Türkei bleibe und dann in Deutschland Deutsch und einmal habe ich mit Lehrerin  
280 gesprochen und ich habe Deutsch gesprochen und dann Türkisch und Arabisch und ich mische.  
281 Und ich gehe in mehrere Länder und wenn man in andere Land gehen wollte dann sage ich nein  
282 weil du die Sprache hier kennst und wenn in andere Land die Sprache gleich dann kannst du  
283 gehen aber also wenn die Sprache gleich ist dann darst gehen aber wenn nicht gleich dann  
284 warum gehst du weil die Sprache musst du lernen ein monat und ein Jahr mein Vater Z.B.  
285 spricht nach zwei Jahren sie haben doch mit ihm gesprochen. Alles andere ist gleich in jedes  
286 Land gibt es gute Menschen und schlechte Menschen also in Damaskus hat eine mich auch  
287 geschlagen.

288 F: Wie würdest du dich mit den anderen Schülern vergleichen?

289 A: Also die Schüler in Syrien waren besser als hier oder Türkei das muss man gleich sagen.  
290 Weil sie möchten dich also also jede hat Freund und ich habe ein Freund in erste Klasse und  
291 ich spreche mit ihm noch mehr in dritte Klasse kenne ich alle Schüler und in vierte habe nich

292 nichts. Ich mag nicht zu andere Land gehen und ich kann Deutsch nicht und ich bin Ausländer  
293 ich mag das nicht. Ich möchte wenn ich in ein andere Land gehe dann auch immer da bleibe  
294 nicht so Syrien und dann Türkei und dann Deutschland. Ich gehe und bleibe. Am besten wo ich  
295 geboren bin. Wenn es kein Krieg ist dann bleibe ich in Syrien.

296 F: Das sind die Schwierigkeiten aber gibt es etwas was gut war?

297 A: Ja dass ich die Sprache kenne, viele Sprache kenne nur das und dass ich andere Land kenne,  
298 also die Geografie ich kenne andere Land wenn mich ein Lehrer fragt dann kann ich sagen in  
299 diese Land ist so und so. Wenn du in Deutschland bist lernst du das und z. B. wenn ich in Syrien  
300 bin und jemand fragt was ist Deutschland dann muss ich aus Buch lernen und jetzt ich bin hier  
301 ich weiss dass ich brauche nicht das Buch zu lesen.

302 F: Noch was gutes?

303 A: Dass ich viele Menschen kenne ich bin nicht nur in einem Kreis sondern ich gehe zu anderen  
304 Kreisen und so nicht nur z.B. in Innenstadt bleiben und dann Hause und so zurück sondern und  
305 das ich auch gut dass ich in mehreren Ländern Mathematik gelernt habe also z.b. in Deutschland  
306 ist Mathematik sehr gut, in Türkei nur eine Stunde in Woche und hier jeden Tag.

307 F: Sehr gut also sag mal wenn du jetzt Minister für Schule wärest, was würdest du für die  
308 Kinder, wir du anders machen?

309 A: Das ich eine Schule für die Ausländer machen kann also z.b. in Türkei gibt es eine Schule  
310 nur für Arabische und kein türkische Mensch reingehen kann.- Also eine Schule für Arabische  
311 aus Syrien, eine z.b. aus England also z.B. in Türkei eine will Deutsch lernen muss nicht nach  
312 Deutschland kommen sondern geht in die Deutsche Schule. Und hier in Leipzig würde ich eine  
313 große Moschee machen das ändern.

314 F: Gut, vielen Dank!

Interview Transcript of Stella, 14 years old

Leipzig, 2. March 2015

S: Stella, F: Forscherin

- 1 F: Ja, also du bist die Stella, du bist zwischen 14 und 15. Du hast an vielen vielen Orten gelebt.
- 2 S: Nich so viele aber ja.
- 3 F: Ich bin einfach interessiert an deinem Leben, alles was du für interessant hältst kannst du mir  
4 erzählen.
- 5 S: Ahh, hmm, ich komme aus Bulgarien ich habe da bis.. hmm eigentlich ist mein Vater aus  
6 Serbien und meine Mutter aus Bulgarien und ich bin in Serbien geboren und ich habe bis ein  
7 Jahr da gelebt und da haben wir nicht die ganze Familie sondern meine Eltern und ich nach  
8 Bulgarien gefahrt und da haben wir bis elf Jahre gelebt. Und dann haben wir nach Spanien  
9 geflegt, Palma de Mallorca ahh, ja und da waren wir fast vier Jahren aber danach haben die  
10 Krise gekommen ja und ein Freund von mein Papa hat, er war Deutsche und er wusste in  
11 Leipzig gibt es Arbeit und ja und (lacht) sowas und so sind wir hier gekommen ja (lacht).
- 12 F: Also du bist schon seit..ööö..
- 13 S: Fast zwei Jahren, ein Jahr und sieben Monate in Leipzig.
- 14 F: Hmm. Kannst du mir ein bisschen beschreiben wo du in Bulgarien gelebt hast?
- 15 S: Sofia. Das ist die Hauptstadt von Bulgarien.
- 16 F: Wie soll mir deine Wohnumgebung vorstellen?
- 17 S: Ja ganz gut. Eigentlich in Spanien war ganz ruhig, öö und die Leute waren sehr nett und die  
18 haben immer gelacht und ja..
- 19 F: Ja und ist Palma eine Stadt wie Sofia oder?
- 20 S: Ja das können wir, kann sein, weil Palma ist ja ein Insel und Palma ist die Hauptstadt und  
21 die andere sind Kurorten wo die Touristen gehen. Wir haben eigentlich in Palma gelebt aber da  
22 war ein Problem gekommen wo ich die sechste Klasse geschlossen habe ..weil in Spanien ist  
23 es von der 1 bis 6 Klasse und da mussten wir eine andere Schule... es ist ja..öö. wir die  
24 Realschule der aber auf die... 7. Bis 10 Klasse ist und..diese Schule sind genannt ESO. Ja..  
25 kann ich auf Spanisch sagen?
- 26 F: Ja.
- 27 S: Ja Educación Secundaria Obligatoria.
- 28 F: Aha..also sowas wie Pflichtschule für Sekundarstufe.
- 29 S: Ja und es ist obligatorisch, egal ob du die 1 bis 6 Klasse nicht gemacht hast, die Sekundarstufe  
30 ist Pflicht.
- 31 F: Ja in Bulgarien hast du dann die ersten..
- 32 S: Ja in Bulgarien ich war da in der Grundschule und davor im Kindergarten und ja, von der 1  
33 Klasse bis 5 war ich da.

34 F: Hm.

35 S: Und dann in Spanien die sechste Klasse und in ESO (lacht) und die (lacht) primero ESO.

36 F: Aha also in der Grundschule hast du die 6. Klasse gemacht und in ESO die 7 und 8.

37 S: Und da habe ich hier gekommen und na ja... (traurig).

38 F: Und welche Klasse hast du hier angefangen?

39 S: Die achte.

40 F: Aber in Spanien hast du doch die 8. Klasse schon besucht?

41 S: Nee warte: In Bulgarien war ich bis in die vierte Klasse und in Spanien. Hhmm die fünfte

42 habe ich gar nicht gemacht, in Bulgarien habe ich die vierte abgeschlossen und wo wir in

43 Spanien waren da waren wir in die Firma und die sagten welche Klasse und welche Schule

44 besuche ich. Und die haben einen Blatt gehabt und da steht welche Jahr du geburt bist und

45 danach in welche Klasse musst du und ich war in 200 (lacht) hmm 2000 (lacht) und steht ich

46 muss in die sechste Klasse. Ich musste in die sechste Klasse aber ich musste die fünfte machen.

47 Aber wenn wir so gedacht haben haben wir so gelasst weil dann wenn ich in die fünf gehen

48 dann kann ich nicht höher und ich habe Angst von Wiederholen, wenn ich wiederholen höre es

49 ist keine Ahnung wie ein Stress für mich keine Ahnung, ich weiß es nicht.

50 F: Aber dann hast du nicht wiederholt?

51 S: Nein da haben wir die fünfte so in die Luft gelassen (gestikuliert) und in die sechste Klasse

52 da haben mich gefragt ob ich weitergehen will oder wiederholen. Und ich war sicher sicher

53 sicher dass ich weitergehen will. Weil wenn ich in die sechste Klasse bleibe und wiederhole

54 dann mache ich so alle mit Zeugnis und so aber wenn ich in die erste ESO gehe da wiederhole

55 ich da kann ich wiederholen. Darum habe ich gesagt warum nicht probieren ich gehe in die

56 erste ESO gehe und vielleicht wiederhole ich nicht. Ich war eigentlich in der Klasse die die

57 besten Noten hat außer Spanisch.

58 F: Und in Bulgarien hast du auch gute Noten gehabt oder?

59 S: Ja ich habe Russisch gelernt und ich habe immer gute Noten gehabt.

60 F: In der Schule in Bulgarien habt ihr Russisch gehabt?

61 S: Ja eigentlich meine Schule war Russische Schule.

62 F: Aha.

63 S: Ja eigentlich haben wir sehr viele Schule besucht wo ich lernen kann und da haben wir in die

64 Russische Schule gegangen weil eigentlich in Bulgarien ist ein bisschen schwer in die Schule

65 zu gehen hmm..

66 F: Einen Platz zu bekommen.

67 S: Ja, einen Platz zu bekommen weil da musst du jemand haben der 15 Minuten von der Schule

68 wohnt hmm... arbeiten kann auch sein weil wir waren noch kleine die erste und zweite Klasse

69 und vielleicht passiert was und die rufen die Eltern an und diese nicht zwei Stunden in einer

70 anderen Stadt sein. Und da haben wir Glück weil mein Opa hat da ein Hotel in zwei Minuten

71 und er hat da gearbeitet ein Monat, später nicht mehr und da konnte ich die russische Schule  
72 besuchen.

73 F: Und die Schule war nicht in der Nähe deiner Wohnung dann?

74 S: Hmm. Gibt es in Ungarn Metro?

75 F: Ja, U-Bahn.

76 S: Aha mit dieser U-Bahn fast 15 Minuten aber mit der U-Bahn und mit Fuss ist mehr.

77 F: War deine Schule eine private Schule?

78 S: Es ist wie eine normale Schule aber wir mussten das machen weil wir kleine waren vielleicht  
79 falle ein runter und mache die Hand kaputt und da mussten meine Eltern anrufen da gibt es  
80 medizinische Schwester aber mit eine kaputte Hand kann man nichts machen und da rufen sie  
81 die Eltern an die sollen mehr schnell kommen.

82 F: Kannst du einen ganz normalen Montag oder Dienstag erzählen in der Zeit wo du diese  
83 russische Schule besucht hast?

84 S: Ja das war so lustig, ich aufstehe danach gehe ich in die Schule mit der U-Bahn in der U-  
85 Bahn sehe ich die Klassenpartner oder wie sagt man?

86 F: Klassenkameraden..

87 S: Ja Klassenkameraden...und wir sprechen über die Schule und danach müssen wir in der  
88 Winter in der Kalt fünf Minuten laufen und dann haben sie eine neue Station gemacht und es  
89 war zwei Minuten ja das war die letzte Jahr (lacht) Eigentlich in die erste und zweite Klasse hat  
90 meine Mutti mich. Öhmm, abge...

91 F: Hingebracht und abgeholt.

92 S: Ja aber dritte und vierte Klasse war ich allein mit der U-Bahn weil meine Mutter musste  
93 arbeiten und mein Vater auch und meine Oma hatte ein Magazin für Kleidung und musste auch  
94 und eigentlich gibt es viele Leute aber...ich musste um fünf Uhr aufstehen und das geht nicht  
95 dass meine Oma und Opa mit mir aufstehen und in die Schule kommen und zurück und so die  
96 erste zwei drei Tage hat meine Mutti mit mir gekommen und dann habe ich ganz alleine.

97 F: Was hat deine Mutti gemacht?

98 S: Es ist eine große Firma die mit Computern hmm. Blöö..(lacht) es ist wie Finanz aber nicht  
99 Finanz sowas...

100 F: Jaa.. und Opa und Oma waren die Eltern von deiner Mutti?

101 S: Also von Vater waren in Serbien.

102 F: Kannst du mir davon ein bisschen erzählen wo deine Großeltern in Serbien gewohnt haben?

103 S: Ja jeden Sommer habe ich da verbracht, aber nur bei Oma weil mein Opa hat gestorben es  
104 war sehr schwer für mich, aber na ja ich war noch klein und wusste nicht was passiert und aber  
105 wenn ich jetzt zurückdenke ja dann (Tränen in den Augen).

106 F: Ja das ist schwierig, ich weiß. Wohnen die auch in der Hauptstadt?

107 S: Ne die sind..Pirot ist nicht eine Stadt, vier Hundert Kilometer von Beograd.

108 F: Ahso.

109 S: Und die wohnen in eines großes Haus mit großes Garten und ein klein Haus für Sommer und  
110 da wurde Tee trinken oder Kaffee.

111 F: Und was hast du da den ganzen Sommer gemacht?

112 S: Ich weiß es nicht ja eigentlich ist meine Cousine da sie ist drei Jahre alter als ich aber wie  
113 sind wie Schwester und es gibt auch Mädchen mit den wir spielen und es war für mich zwei  
114 Monate liegen und sie wissen wie die Omas wie sie kochen und machen alles.

115 F: Jaja.

116 S: Und du liegst nur wenn du Kind bist und hat keine Probleme und.

117 F: In Sofia wo du die Schule besucht hast waren die Schulkameraden russische Kinder oder  
118 bulgarische Kinder?

119 S: Alle waren bulgarische, nur die schule war russische also wir russische lernen und so.

120 F: Alles auf Russisch?

121 S: Nein auf Bulgarisch aber wir haben noch Russisch.

122 F: Wir viele Stunden?

123 S: Es ist lange her, ich kann nicht genau sagen aber dreimal.

124 F: Also da hast du Russisch, Bulgarisch, Mathematik.

125 S: Ja und English habe ich nicht gehabt weil die fangen in der 5. Klasse an und alle normal  
126 Physik und Chemie die schwer sind nur die Großen. Wer hat denn in der 4. Klasse Physik und  
127 Chemie?

128 F: Ahso.

129 S: Die fangen in der 6 und in Spanien in der 8 Klasse an.

130 F: Aha.

131 S: Das war größerer Problem für mich weil wo ich hier gekommen habe habe ich noch kein  
132 Physik und Chemie gelernt weil die fangen in der achten Klasse an und in der achte Klasse war  
133 ich schon in Deutschland und und die haben schon seit die sechste Klasse gelernt haben .  
134 Morgen in der ersten zwei Stunden habe ich Physik und fragen sie mich nicht was ich mache.

135 F: Also das ist ein großes Problem jetzt für dich.

136 S: Eigentlich nicht wenn du die Formeln siehst aber in Physik.

137 F: Was machst du?

138 S: Ich fange morgen an ich weiß nicht ich bin vollintegriert und...

139 F: Du fängst erst jetzt Physik an.

140 S: Ja morgen und das alles ist Scheiß.

141 F: Und in Chemie hast du zu Hause gelernt oder hat deine Mutti geholfen?

142 S: In Chemie habe ich nicht gelernt und ja diese Jahr habe angefangen und es ist einfach wenn  
143 du die Formeln siehst nicht wie für Physik.

144 F: Jetzt waren wir in Sofia und ich möchte dich fragen ob du überhaupt wusstest dass deine  
145 Eltern umziehen wollen?

146 S: Ich war ein sehr interessante Kind. Die Idee ist von mir gekommen dass wir nach Spanien  
147 gehen (lacht).

148 F: Wirklich? Wieso?

149 S: Weil ich habe einen Film geguckt die in Barcelona gemacht habt und mir hat sehr gefallen  
150 aber eigentlich bin ich mir nicht so sicher ob er in Barcelona was anderes als der Film.

151 F: Aha warst du schon in Barcelona?

152 S: Ja. Ich gucke so wie die indische so die Hause alle bemalt und es war irgendwo in Spanien  
153 aber ich weiß nicht wo. Und ich habe die ganze Zeit zu meiner Mutti gesprochen ich will nach  
154 Spanien ich will nach Spanien und nach 4 oder 5 Monate hat sie mir gesagt dass wir gehen nach  
155 Spanien.

156 F: Warst du überrascht?

157 S: Eigentlich ja und nein.

158 F: Wie hast du dich gefühlt?

159 S: Ich weiß nicht ja weil ich habe gedacht wenn ich nach Spanien will dann gehen wir wirklich  
160 nach Spanien und nein weil Opa und die ganze Familie bleibt in Bulgarien und wir drei gehen  
161 nach Spanien.

162 F: Seid ihr alle drei zusammen umgezogen?

163 S: Ja eigentlich zuerst war mein Vater und mein Mutter nach Spanien und ich hatte in Bulgarien  
164 geblieben mit Oma die Jahr abschliessen und ich sags was ein Tag passiert war ich hatte in  
165 Problem mit mein Handy gehabt und ist untengefallen und wissen sie wenn die uhr untenfällt  
166 dann es ist eine andere Zeit danach und ich hatte nicht gesehen und ich mache mein Alarm und  
167 wir gehen mit meiner Oma ins Bett und und dann klingt der Alarm ich stehe auf und ich mache  
168 alles und bis ich meine haare und alle mache ist meine Oma mit Hund in die Stadt weil der  
169 Hund muss raus und dann kommt und sagt mir aber Steffi niemand war auf Straße was ist los  
170 hier? Und dann gehe in Gästezimmer und da haben wir eine Uhr gehabt und das war halb vier  
171 am Morgen (lachen).

172 F: Schön.

173 S: Wie müssen halb sieben aufstehen (lachen)

174 F: Wie lange warst du mit deiner Oma?

175 S: Ich bin nicht so sicher aber meine Mutter haben in Februar oder sowas nach Spanien und ich  
176 war bis Juni und dann wenn ich mein Zeugnis genommen habe dann ins Rathaus gehen und

177 übersetzen auf Spanisch und danach eine Woche hat meine Mutti gekommen und wir waren für  
178 Sommer da für Sommerferien und dann nach Spanien.

179 F: Und da hast du die Schule im September begonnen.

180 S: Hmm eigentlich waren mein Vater und Mutter da und schon sechs Monate oder keine  
181 Ahnung und die haben alle geguckt, wo was ist und da gibt es Firma und wenn du da gehst dann  
182 sagen sie welche Schule ist frei und wo gibt es Plätze und blablabla und wir haben so ein Firma  
183 gegangen und das Problem mit fünfte Klasse gekommen . Die fünfte Klasse also irgendwo in  
184 der Luft und ich habe die sechste Klasse bekommen ..ööö nich bekommen sondern hmm..

185 F: Begonnen.

186 S: Ja und am Abschluss eine Monat davor haben sie mich gefragt nochmal die sechste Klasse  
187 machen oder in die erste ESO gehen und ich ohne denken habe ich sofort ESO und blablabla  
188 so machen wir es so und die haben mir ein Zeugnis ausgestellt und ich hätte alle Bio und die  
189 andere aber ich konnte noch nicht Spanisch und naja.... Und die erste ESO habe ich offiziell  
190 gut abgeschlossen.

191 F: Wo wir ein Schritt zurückgehen und an die Zeit denken wo du in Juni angekommen bist und  
192 sagen wir mal bis Ende dieses Jahres. Wie hat sich dein Leben geändert? Oder alles war gleich  
193 wie in Sofia?

194 S: Gleiche kann man nicht sagen, Palma ist Palma Mehr, Leute die immer lachen die nett sind,  
195 die Palmas es war wie in ein Geschichte.

196 F: Wie im Märchen.

197 S: Ja ich konnte die Straßen nicht und ich war klein nicht so kleine aber kleine, sechste Klasse  
198 und mir inter.. (lacht) warte...

199 F: Mich interessierte.

200 S: Mich interessierte nicht ob ich die Sprache kann oder nicht was du kannst sprechen sprichst  
201 was nicht fragst und alles ..keine Ahnung.. eigentlich in Spanien war ein Mädchen die immer  
202 auf mich gelacht hätte... In Deutschland hier habe ich Angst die Sprache zu sprechen wenn sie  
203 mir nicht lachen wie in mein Klasse ich habe Angst die Deutsche sprechen . in meine Klasse  
204 lachen die weil ich die Grammatik nicht kann (hmmm besorgt).

205 F: Aber du sprichst sehr gut.

206 S: Ja aber nicht wie die Deutschen vielleicht verstehen sie mich aber die lachen und seit ich in  
207 Deutschland bin sage ich immer die Jungs ist viel netter als die Mädchen in Deutschland.  
208 Wirklich die Jungs sind mehr nett mit mir als die Mädchen.

209 F: Und in Spanien hast du diese Angst nicht gehabt?

210 S: (Lacht) neeein, eigentlich in Spanien sind die Leute anderes ich war in der Klasse und alle  
211 waren meine Freunde ich konnte die Sprache nicht und ich konnte die nicht und die waren alle  
212 meine Freunde sie waren immer mit mir sie haben immer gezeigt was das ist keine Ahnung.

213 F: Wie schnell hast du Spanish gelernt?

214 S: Drei Monate.



215 F: Und wie hast du gelernt?

216 S: Ab erste Tag habe ich alles besucht mit Noten, Mathe auch die haben gelernt was ich in der  
217 erste Klasse in Bulgarien gelernt habe.

218 F: Das ist doch gut oder?

219 S: Einerseits ja aber andererseits nicht. Wie kann man in sechste Klasse lernen was ich in der  
220 erste Klasse gelernt habe.

221 F: Aha..Das war in allen Fächern so?

222 S: Ja und in Castalliano das ist die Spanisch und Katalan für die Dialekt die Lehrerin war super  
223 ich hatte nicht das was die Spanische machen sondern sie machen mir die Kopien wie die  
224 Körper und und da steht Hand Auge und das war ein sehr großes Plus für mich und in Spanisch  
225 der Unterricht wie hier Deutsch eine Lehrerin hat mir drei Stunden am Tag genommen und wir  
226 gehen ins ein klein Zimmer wo die Computer sind und die sind mit Programmen und diese  
227 Programme sind wie ein Spiel und für die Sprache und wenn du etwas nicht verstehst kannst  
228 du die Sprache hören wie man ausspricht.

229 F: Also du hast drei Stunden pro Tag mit den Computern verbracht..und die Sprache gelernt.

230 S: Ja aber nicht immer in Mathe eine Lehrerin ist gekommen und hat mich eine Etage runter  
231 genommen und wir waren in ein Zimmer für kleine kleine Kinder wissen sie für die war eine  
232 Tabelle mit den Nummern und in eine halbe Stunde habe ich bis Tausend gezählt. Ist es  
233 möglich? (lacht)

234 F: Also du hast sehr viel Hilfe bekommen.

235 S: Ja eigentlich hier auch aber nicht so wie in Spanien in Spanien war wie ein Spiel und hier  
236 wir sitzen nur und schreiben von der Tafel.

237 F: Und da in Spanien, in Palma hast du...

238 S: Eigentlich Palma ist nicht in Spanien sondern ist ein Insel.

239 F: Ja.. wie hast du dein Nachmittag verbracht?

240 S: Ich sag's mal ich bin ein sehr interessante Mädchen wenn ich nach Hause gehe esse ich und  
241 dann gehe ich mit Freunden raus zwei oder drei Stunden und dann zurück nach Hause und ich  
242 bin wie ein Boss im Bett ich nehme alle Hefte und schreibe die Hausaufgaben. War sehr  
243 interessant für mich weil alle Lehrer haben mir Kopie gemacht und so Spanisch für Anfänger  
244 und die Lehrerin die bei den Computern war sie hat mir so ein Heft (zeigt ein dickes Heft)  
245 gegeben mit Aufgaben und ich konnte die machen wann ich will nicht für heute auf morgen die  
246 waren so interessant ich weiß nicht ich sag ein Beispiel es war ein Mädchen die erste Seite war  
247 wie heißt die Augen die Nase und danach wenn die die aufschreibst dann ist die gleiche aber  
248 ohne die Worten und Spiele wie Labyrinth und waren alle sehr interessant für mich, die waren  
249 wie Spiel und darum habe ich so schnell Spanisch gelernt.

250 F: Gab es andere Schülerinnen die Spanisch gelernt haben wie du?

251 S: Nein es gab keine. Es gab ein Mädchen in die vierte Klasse aber sie kann Spanisch und sie  
252 lernte nicht mit mir.

253 F: Also du sagst mir das dein Leben hat sich nicht viel geändert?

254 S: Nicht viel aber viel (lacht) Wenn ich so denke ich kann viele Sprachen wenn ich so weiter  
255 gehe das ist ein großes Plus für mich in der Zukunft.

256 F: Warum?

257 S: Weil wenn du irgendwo gehst, in England oder so jeder sucht jemanden der viel Sprachen  
258 spricht Russisch zum Beispiel, die Russen sind die mehr Touristen in der Welt.

259 F: Hmm.

260 S: Ja.

261 F: Hast du auch gelernt auf Russisch zu schreiben?

262 S: Ja ich kann alles weil Serbisch, Bulgarisch und Russisch die sind die gleiche Worte also man  
263 schreiben diese in die gleiche...öööhmmm.

264 F: Gleiche Schrift.

265 S: Ja nicht in lateinische sondern in Kyrillisch.

266 F: Und du hast mir früher erzählt dass du abends Geschichten schreibst in Wattpad und da  
267 schreibst du...

268 S: Auf Bulgarisch. Auf dem Computer schreibe ich lateinisch und kyrillisch.

269 F: Ok..Also...wie war dann der Umzug nach Spanien und die erste Zeit da?

270 S: War kein großes Problem aber wo ich nach Deutschland gekommen war es großes Problem.

271 F: Was ist der Unterschied?

272 S: Ich war mehr große und ich denke nicht wie kleine Kinder die keine Probleme hat und ich  
273 habe meine Freunde in Spanien gelassen und hier habe ich gekommen und kann nicht Deutsch  
274 lernen weil die Schüler lachen nur dass ich kein Deutsch kann und das war wie ein Chaos für  
275 mich.

276 F: Ja aber in Sofia hast du auch Freunde gehabt.

277 S: Eigentlich hatte ich viele Freunde da aber nicht so wichtige ich habe so drei aber wenn ich  
278 jetzt nach Bulgarien fahre wollen sie nicht mit mir weil sie denken sie ist schon fast fünf Jahre  
279 nicht in Bulgarien und ich habe keine Sprache mit der zu sprechen.

280 F: Zu Sommer fährst du...

281 S: Diese Sommer nein weil ich habe Praktikum.

282 F: Praktikum?

283 S: Ja...

284 F: Wo?

285 S: Ich weiß es noch nicht, meine Klassenlehrerin hilft mir jetzt weil ich will Designerin sein  
286 und sie kann eine sehr gute Fashiondesignerin die mit sehr große Laden in Leipzig ist und sie  
287 hilft mir jetzt die Praktikum zu machen.

288 F: Ja.

289 S: Eigentlich habe ich so viele Plane für die Zukunft es gibt zwei Weg, der eine Weg ist das  
290 sind Plänen in Großbritannien zu studieren, Fashiondesign studieren und die zweite Richtung  
291 ist Spanien wenn ich die ESO mache aber es geht nicht ich bin 16 Jahre alt nur wenn meine  
292 Familie mit mir kommt , ESO Abschluss und danach kommt die Bakkalaureat zwei Jahre also  
293 die erste und zwölfte Klasse und dann bekomme ich eine Diploma nicht für Gymnasium  
294 sondern ich kann lernen in einer Universität und dann nochmal in Großbritannien oder in  
295 Spanien Madrid oder Barcelona gibt es eine Universität für Fashiondesigner aber wenn ich  
296 Spanien studiere danach gehe ich in England zu arbeiten.

297 F: Hast du Bekannte in England?

298 S: Eigentlich habe ich einen Bekannten, der größer ist als ich also eine Freundin meine Oma  
299 die hat Tochter und ein Sohn und er studiert da und er sagt er will gar nicht da bleiben aber  
300 wenn man will in der Zukunft etwas machen dann muss man schaffen du kannst da gehen nur  
301 für ein Jahr und das ist nur ein Jahr für dein Traum.

302 F: Hast du darüber nachgedacht hier in Deutschland den Abschluss zu machen und danach hier  
303 tu studieren?

304 S: Nein ich muss die zehnte Klasse machen und Praktikum und dann ins Gymnasium gehen  
305 und dann zehnte wiederholen und elfte zwölfte nochmal Praktikum und danach Universität  
306 suchen. Und ich habe auch den dritten Weg gehabt aber ich mir nicht so sicher ob das so sein  
307 könnte weil Deutschland ist Deutschland und Bulgarien ist Bulgarien. ich habe gesagt nach  
308 Bulgarien zu gehen weil da gibt es ein sehr schönes spanisches Gymnasium und da in die  
309 zwölfte Klasse gehen und dann nach Großbritannien.

310 F: Aber das hängt auch davon ab wo deine Eltern leben.

311 S: Nein ich kann auch mit meiner Oma und Opa in Bulgarien bleiben. Aber es wäre blööö Idee.  
312 Blöö. Schlechte Idee (lacht) weil meine Eltern sind hier mein kleiner Bruder und ich gehe in  
313 Bulgarien auf die Schultern von Oma und Opa .hmm. Haben sie in Ungarn diesen Satz?

314 F: Ja..

315 S: Ich weiß nicht ob das auf Deutsch so stimmt. Und für sie wäre es schlecht weil meine Oma  
316 arbeitet jetzt nicht und mein Opa auch nicht weil die...

317 F: In die Rente gegangen.

318 S: Ja und da wäre ich auf die Schultern...fast vier Jahre.

319 F: Wer entscheidet in welche Richtung du gehst?

320 S: Ich kann entscheiden aber in Bulgarien wäre schlecht weil ich mit der Oma und Opa leben  
321 und meine Eltern und meinen kleinen Bruder verlassen und dann wenn ich nach Großbritannien  
322 gehe dann vielleicht sehe ich sie nicht , vielleicht kann ich zu Sommer kommen aber Sommer  
323 nur zwei Monate und für Großbritannien ein Ticket für Deutschland ist sehr teuer.

324 F: Wie oft hast du aus Palma Serbien oder Bulgarien besucht?

325 S: Also für diese fast vier Jahre war ich nur zweimal in Bulgarien und ansonsten nur skype.

326 F: Beide Großeltern können Skype benutzen?

327 S: Ja und Facebook auch (lacht) es war ein Schock für mich weil mein Opas hat ein neu  
328 Computer gekauft und er hätte ein Facebook gemacht und er hat eine Freundschaft geschickt  
329 meine Freunden (lacht) er wusste nicht dass er die Freundschaft geschickt hat (lacht) und er  
330 braucht es nur zum Spielen . Ich habe ihm gelernt wie man Foto in Skype schicken. (lacht)

331 F: Wusstest du in Palma dass deine Familie nach Leipzig umziehen möchte?

332 S: In Januar wo mein Vater sagte er geht nach Deutschland er hat Arbeit gefunden und vielleicht  
333 meine Mutti wusste schon vor aber ich bin ein Kind und so...

334 F: Wie hast du dich gefühlt?

335 S: Schlecht weil zu diese Zeit habe ich viele Freunde kennengelernt und den ganzen Tag war  
336 ich raus mit Freunde, spielen, ins Meer zu gehen und ins Park Eis zu essen und hier bin ich nur  
337 zu Hause wie in einem Box wich weiß es nicht .. da gibt es in meiner Klasse ein Mädchen die  
338 mit mir nicht raus will und sie will nur wenn sie eine Arbeit hat nur so dass sie nicht alleine  
339 geht aber wenn ich will dann sagt sie ich kann nicht, ich gehe mit mein Freund keine Ahnung  
340 was, blablabla. Die Leute sind mehr kalt.

341 F: Hm...

342 S: Eigentlich in Spanien fragen sie dich nicht ob du ein Ausländer bist die nehmen dich wie ein  
343 Spanier und.

344 F: Was meinst du mit Ausländer?

345 S: Die fragen dich nicht ob du Ausländer bist, vielleicht gehst du nach Spanien und die nehmen  
346 dich wie eine Spanier. Hier ist es ein bisschen different.

347 F: Wie?

348 S: Mehr mehr kalt mit den Ausländer die benutzen Worte für die Ausländer.

349 F: Welches Wort?

350 S: Es ist schlimm...

351 F: Ich kann hier Pause machen und dann sagst du. (Audiorecorder wird ausgeschaltet und  
352 wieder eingeschaltet.)

353 F: Also sowas habe ich von Rama auch gehört, Scheiß Ausländer oder Verpiss dich in dein  
354 Land, Schlampe usw. Aber was denkst du warum sagen sie das?

355 S: Also zu mir sagen sie nicht aber wissen sie warum? Weil ich bin wie die Farbe aber die  
356 andere Ausländer die sind andere verschiedene Farbe und die wissen dass sie Ausländer sind  
357 und sind aus Syrien oder keine Ahnung und die anfangen was zu machen. Und das ist scheiß  
358 weil..ich bin Ausländer ich kann zu die gehen uns ich sag's keine Ahnung eigentlich ist schlecht  
359 für die Deutsche weil niemand will Russisch, Bulgarisch, English und Spanisch lernen.

360 F: Wie meinst du das?

361 S: Wissen sie warum die Ausländer die Deutsche machen so? Weil sie sehen dass wir mehr als  
362 sie können und das wir mehr arbeiten aber die wollen das sie mehr als uns sind. Verstehen sie?

363 Das finde ich scheiß weil sie gehen zu einem Mädchen und sagen das sie in ihr Land gehen soll  
364 und nicht nach Deutschland und die fragen nicht wie zum Beispiel die Syrien Leute für sie ist  
365 es auch nicht einfach. Die wollen nicht in ein Land gehen. Ich weiß nicht aber ich will das ein  
366 Mädchen von dieser Gruppe in ein anderes Land geht und die gleiche für sie passieren. Sie  
367 werde so schlecht fühlen. Sie lachen über uns aber sie würden es nie schaffen verstehen sie die  
368 lachen über uns und sie können auch nicht machen sie bleiben so scheiß die Ausländer zu  
369 ignorieren und...

370 F: Was bist du?

371 S: Ich bin Serbin-Bulgarin weil mein Vater ist Serbe und meine Mutti Bulgarin und ich habe  
372 nichts mit Spanien ich habe nur fast vier Jahren da gelebt. Aber trotzdem Spanien ist mein  
373 zweite Land aber nichts in meine Blut von Spanien.

374 F: Du hast ja mir erklärt dass die beginnen in Spanien Chemie und Physik in der achten Klasse  
375 das heißt...welche Klasse hast du hier angefangen?

376 S: Die achte...

377 F: Kannst du mir erklären wie war dein erster Monat hier in dieser Schule?

378 S: Ich habe nach einer Woche anfangen weil die Dokumente mussten wir noch machen und ich  
379 war glücklich weil war in DaZ mit anderen Ausländern und ein Mädchen aus Spanien und wie  
380 haben sehr viel Spaß gemacht. Aber danach hatte gekommen die Stundenplan für die  
381 Regelklasse und hmmm.

382 F: Nach wie viel Zeit?

383 S: Das war die zweite Halbjahr oder sowas und ich habe ein bisschen Angst gehabt weil ich  
384 nicht so bin wie die Deutsche und ja aber danach habe ich ein bisschen geschwänzt aber in diese  
385 Jahr nix mehr weil ich muss lernen weil ich schon vollintegriert bin.

386 F: Welche Fächer hast du jetzt?

387 S: Alle außer Physik.

388 F: Du hast die gleichen Fächer wie in Spanien?

389 S: Kann man so sagen aber was ich in Spanien machte war was ich in Bulgarien gelernt habe  
390 aber hier mehr Material.

391 F: Also die Fächer die du hier hast sind die gleichen wie in Spanien aber du lernst etwas anderes  
392 wie meinst du das?

393 S: Ja zum Beispiel meine erste Klasse war Musik und ich habe gedacht dass ich vielleicht habe  
394 ich die Zimmer gewechselt weil dass ist ja kein Musik das ist Geschichte.

395 F: Hm..was machen die da?

396 S: Die machen über Bach ja verstehen sie in Spanien haben wir Flöte gespielt, getanzt, Lieder  
397 gesungen.

398 F: Und in Biologie?

399 S: Ja wenn jemand sagt morgen haben wir Klassenarbeit dann muss ich das ganze lesen, es geht  
400 nicht nur ins Heft gucken, muss alles lesen, weil ich ein Halbjahr nichts gemacht habe.

401 F: Wieso?

402 S: Ja weil ein Halbjahr DaZ und dann Regelklasse und da habe ich eeeeein bisschen geschwänzt  
403 (starke Betonung) ..ja.

404 F: Hmm hast du die Noten bekommen?

405 S: Nur teilgenommen.

406 F: Und wie es ist mit der Geschichte, weil du hast ja Geschichte in allen drei Schulen gehabt.

407 S: Die sind was ganz anderes weil hier in Deutschland ist nur über Deutschland über DDR und  
408 Hitler und so und in Spanien war über alle Länder.

409 F: Meinst du wirklich über alle wie China oder Indien auch?

410 S: Ne aber z.B. über Russland und so die Länder die so zählen. Hier nur über Deutschland. Ich  
411 kann die bulgarische, die spanische und die deutsche Geschichte. Es ist jetzt ein bisschen  
412 anders, mehr sprachlich, weil wir machen Stationen mit Aufgaben und es ist, ich liebe es  
413 machen. Das Buch zu gucken wo das ist.

414 F: Ist diese Arbeit einfacher?

415 S: Ja für mich ist einfacher, ich weiß es nicht ich fühle es wie ein Teil von mir so zu machen.  
416 Ich mag ich liebe zu schreiben und die Frage zu haben und danach zu gucken was so ist und  
417 schreiben ahhaa..(lacht).

418 F: Vielleicht noch die letzten zwei Fragen, welche Aspekte deines bisherigen Lebens hast du  
419 gut oder welche eher schwierig empfunden?

420 S: Ja gute und schlechte Sachen, ja ich will die ganze Länder besuchen und gucken wie die  
421 Menschen da leben, die Traditionen und nationale Essen und Gegenteil ist dass du die Freunde  
422 belastet und neue kennengelernen, die Sprache zu lernen.

423 F: Aber das war doch kein Problem in Spanien.

424 S: Nein. Dass sagt alles das ich die Sprache in 3 Monaten gelernt habe, sagt alles nur einfach.

425 F: Aber hier hat es auch nicht lange gedauert..

426 S: Für drei Monate konnte ich kein Deutsch und jetzt ist meine Grammatik auch nicht gut. Nicht  
427 gut aber nicht schlecht, aber ich spreche nicht wie ein Deutscher.

428 F: Ist es überhaupt wichtig so zu sprechen wie ein Deutscher?

429 S: Ja weil die alle lachen.

430 F: Sprechen deine Eltern auch Deutsch?

431 S: Mein Vater kann nichts super aber sehr sehr gut. Mehr als ich.

432 F: Also du sagst schwierig ist weil du deine Freunde hinterlassen musst.

433 S: Ja so. Meine wichtige Freunde sind jetzt aus der DaZ Klasse, alle Ausländer. Ich weiss es  
434 nicht ich finde sie viel nett wie die Deutschen die sind mehr kalt und blöö.

435 F: Und welche Sprache sprichst du denn mit deinen Klassenkameraden?

436 S: Mit Mimik oder Deutsch oder Russisch auch mit den Russen und Spanisch mit Carmen und  
437 Carmen ist aus Cuba? Ja und mit Christian auch Spanisch.

438 F: Also das heißt in der DaZ Klasse hast du jeden Tag Spanisch, Russisch und Deutsch  
439 gesprochen?

440 S: Ja.

441 F: Und jetzt?

442 S: Jetzt in die Pause auch aber in der Stunde Deutsch nur.

443 F: Und zu Hause?

444 S: Ich spreche Bulgarisch mit meinen Eltern und manchmal Spanisch mit meinem Vater weil  
445 meine Mutti kann nicht so gut Spanisch eigentlich sie kann aber nicht so gut die Grammatik.  
446 Und mit meinem Vater Serbisch ein bisschen. Eigentlich ich möchte Bulgarisch, Spanisch und  
447 Serbisch aber in Deutschland wird nicht geredet.

448 F: Wenn du morgen Ministerin für Bildung wärest dann...

449 S: Ich würde in Spanien die Krise wegmachen und auch dass sie nicht in Großbritannien so in  
450 der Universität wo wir bezahlen müssen für die Jahr das nicht so teuer ist.ds ist 15 tausend Euro  
451 das ist sehr teuer.

452 F: Was hast du aber in deinem Weg schwierig gefunden?

453 S: Dass wir nach Deutschland gekommen sind. Aber eigentlich hier habe ich auch gute  
454 Menschen kennengelernt z.B. die DaZ Schüler.

455 F: Hast du noch Kontakt zu deinen Freunden in Palma?

456 S: Nicht. Nur mit Manuela und Carmen, aber die Manuela ist nach Columbien zurückgefahren  
457 weil sie ist aus Columbien und mit Carmen ich weiss es nicht ich habe das Facebook nicht  
458 mehr.

459 F: Wie würdest du es bewerten, dass du schon zweimal umgezogen bist?

460 S: Also es hatte Vorteile ja und Nachteile. Also die Vorteile war dass gute war dass ich neue  
461 Freunde kennengelernt und habe gelernt wie ich in Spanien einfach Spanien das ist die gute und  
462 das schlechte war das ich meine Freundin in Bulgarien gelassen habe und dann habe wir nach  
463 Deutschland gekommen und habe die Freunde in Spanien gelassen und es ist schwer einen  
464 neuen Freund kennengelernt.

465 F: Hmm. wer ist deine Freundin jetzt?

466 S: Ich kann nicht sagen dass ich Freunde habe. Es war ein Mädchen aus Spanien, sie war wie  
467 ein Schwester für mich die habe ich in vier kennengelernt aber die letzte Jahr in Mai wo mein  
468 Bruder geboren hat, hat sie nach Spanien gegangen. Das war sehr schlecht für mich.

469 F: Kann verstehen, dass es nicht einfach ist. Und was sind die Vor und Nachteile für das Lernen?

470 S: Vorteile sind vielleicht die gute Zeugnisse in Spanien aber schlecht dass sie fangen an mit  
471 Chemie und Physik in der achten Klasse und die lernen Mathematik wie in der fünfte Klasse in  
472 Bulgarien aber hier ist es anders. Hier lernen sie Mathematik wir an der Universität, ist sehr  
473 schwer. Und Physik und Chemie in der sechsten Klasse fängt an.

474 F: Und die Sprachen?

475 S: Ja mit Sprachen habe ich kein Problem gehabt ich weiß nicht ich mag Sprachen lernen das  
476 ist nicht schwer für mich.

477 F: Welche Sprachen sprichst du jetzt?

478 S: Deutsch, Spanisch, Bulgarisch, Russisch, Serbisch, Englisch. Eigentlich ist es für mich sehr  
479 dumm, dass die anderen keine Sprachen mehr lernen wollen.

480 F: Wie meinst du das?

481 S: Die bleiben mit Muttersprache und Englisch weil sie müssen. Und das ist ein Unterschied  
482 dass ich bin ein Mädchen die viele Sprachen lernen will, das ist wie ein Hobby für mich schon.  
483 Aber für die nicht.

484 (zeichnen)



Interview Transcript of Luise, 18 years old

Leipzig, 28. June 2017

L: Luise, F: Forscherin

1 F: Ich freue mich, dass das Interview heute zustande gekommen ist. Wir haben darüber schon  
2 gesprochen, dass ich ein Buch schreibe. Stell Dir einfach vor, dass ich nicht deine Lehrerin bin,  
3 sondern ganz einfach eine Lehrerin aus Sachsen und ich interessiere mich für dein Leben. Es  
4 gibt kein richtig oder falsch, erzähl einfach deine Lebensgeschichte, wie es war.

5 L: Also, ich bin jetzt 18 Jahre alt. Meine Familie war also wenn ich 6 Monate der so aus  
6 Afghanistan nach Iran umgesiedelt und wir haben schon im Iran 14 Jahre gelebt also ich war  
7 im Iran aufgewachsen. Ich war nie in Kindergarten gewesen und habe erste Klasse ab 7. Jahre  
8 besucht und bis 9. Klasse ich bin im Iran Schule besucht und das war so interessant weil wir  
9 können im Iran nicht einfach in eine richtige Schule gehen musst du so viel bezahlen und dann  
10 kannst in eine richtige Schule gehen. Wenn du hast kein Geld, dann musst du eine andere Schule  
11 gehen und dort hast du keine richtige Lehrerin und du machst immer Sport und das war es. Im  
12 Iran bin ich in die Grundschule gegangen und dann 5. bis 9 Klasse und dann meine Familie  
13 hatte eine Problem im Iran und meine Familie ist in die Türkei gegangen aber wo wir hmmm...  
14 was ist das ...

15 F: Die Grenze.

16 L: Ja wo wir an Grenze waren, dann ist Polizei gekommen und wir müssen nochmal zurück  
17 nach Afghanistan gehen. Also wir haben nochmal nach Afghanistan gegangen und zwei  
18 Wochen in einer Stadt und dann drei Wochen in einer andere Stadt und dann nochmal zurück  
19 nach Iran gekommen wir wollten nicht zurück nach Afghanistan und die Polizei in Iran war so  
20 schlimm. Wir haben eine Onkel in Iran und wir sind einmal in Türkei gegangen und dann  
21 nochmal in Iran und dann versuchen wir nochmal nach Deutschland zu kommen und dann sind  
22 wir noch eine Monat in Iran geblieben und dann nach Türkei und die Polizei ist gekommen aber  
23 wir nicht zurückgegangen. Wir sind ein Montag oder so etwas in Türkei gelebt also wir waren  
24 sechs Leute und ich, ich habe vier Bruder und Mama und Papa. Dann wollen wir nach  
25 Deutschland kommen, dann muss man einfach nach Griechenland kommen. Aber mein Bruder  
26 war mit einem anderer Schiff und aber dieser Schiff ist untergegangen im Wasser. Mein großer  
27 Bruder kann nicht nochmal kommen einfach bleibt in der Türkei und wohnt jetzt in Türkei. Wir  
28 sind nach Griechenland gekommen ein Monat oder so in Griechenland und es war sehr schön  
29 und ich finde Griechenland und Türkei war ein schönes Land aber Türkei das Leben war so  
30 schwer für wir, für Afghane und ja, wir haben nach Mazedonia gekommen und sind zwei Tage  
31 geblieben, aber dieses Land war so fakir..

32 F: Arm, meinst du?

33 L: Ja arm . ja und Serbia auch wir sind in Serbia fünf Tage geblieben und ich habe diese Sprache  
34 ich weiß nicht welche Sprache sprechen sie, dann haben wir nach Hungarn gefahren und dann  
35 haben wir zwei Wochen da gelebt. Dann mit dem Zug nach Deutschland gefahren. Bei  
36 München als erste und dann haben wir zwei Wochen in München gelebt dann Chemnitz dann  
37 Schneeberg dann Leipzig. Und wir wohnen jetzt in Leipzig und ich gehe hier in die Schule.

38 F: Ja das hört sich alles sehr kompliziert an. Das heißt, dass du in dem Iran Grundschule besucht  
39 hast?

40 L: Ja es ist so, dass 1-5 Klasse, dann kommt 6-8 Klasse und dann 9. bis 10. ne bis 11. Klasse.  
41 Dann kommt Universität.

42 F: Hm. Und wie als ist man wenn man in die erste Klasse kommt?

43 L: Sieben.

44 F: Du hast also die 9.Klasse beendet. Hast du alle Klassen in der gleichen Schule beendet?

45 L Ne... wir haben persische Bezeichnungen für die drei Schulformen.

46 R Kannst du mir diese erklären?

47 L: Ja. In 1-5 Klasse hast du nur Biologie Keine Physik, keine Chemie. Nur Biologie und Mathe.  
48 Warte. Kunst Sport Geschichte auch dann was hast du noch, ja das war es. Und Sprache . Und  
49 in dieser (zeigt auf die persische Bezeichnung des zweiten Schulformes auf einem Blatt) kommt  
50 Chemie und Physik und wie WTH und Religion, aber das hast du 1-5 Klasse auch. Und Kunst  
51 und Sport. Die 9. Klasse musst du schaffen und dann gucken welche Beruf möchtest du lernen.  
52 Dann kannst du Sprache oder Mathe und Physik wie Doktor lernen, oder Lehrerin also drei  
53 verschiedene, einmal Lehrerin, einmal arbeiten in einem Beruf oder einmal Medizin, dann noch  
54 Ingenieur.

55 F: Welche Richtung wolltest du?

56 L: Ich möchte Doktor werden.

57 F: Also in der 9.Klasse hast du eine große Prüfung?

58 L: Genau . Ich habe gemacht und ich muss in die 10 und 11 Klasse und dann gehe ich in die 12  
59 Klasse und dann kommt eine Prüfung. Dann sagen sie in welche Stadt musst du gehen aber in  
60 Iran dürfen wir nicht einfach gehen als früher war es so aber jetzt wenn wir sehe viel bezahlen  
61 dann vielleicht so aber im Iran z.B. Computertechnik darfst du nicht lernen also Ausländer darf  
62 nicht lernen.

63 F: Du hast gesagt, dass du für die ganze Schule bezahlen musstest.

64 L: Ja meine Schule ist eine private Schule aber für Staat musst du auch bezahlen. Für beide  
65 musst du bezahlen. Aber für private Schule musst du so viele bezahlen. Ich und ein Bruder  
66 haben private Schule besucht, aber die zwei kleine Bruder war in staatliche Schule. Also 1-5  
67 Klasse muss man bezahlen aber Bücher gibt Schule aber 6-9 Klasse musst du draußen kaufen  
68 und Ende Schuljahr das bleibt bei dir. Und auch wir haben Uniforme.

69 F: Und welche Sprache war in der Schule? Weil zu Hause sprichst du ja Dari.

70 L: Im Iran habe ich Persisch gelernt in der Schule in der erste Klasse.

71 F: Also bis du 6 Jahre als warst hast du nur Dari gesprochen und nichts anderes verstanden.  
72 Musstest du auch eine andere Schrift lernen?

73 L: Also ich habe Dari nie schreiben gelernt, ich habe Persisch schreiben gelernt.

74 F: Also Dari kannst du sprechen aber nicht schreiben?

75 L: Nein, jetzt kann ich. Habe ich gelernt von meiner Mutter und von meinem Vater aber früher  
76 war nur sprechen. Und dann habe ich mit 7 Jahre als in die Schule gegangen und habe Persisch  
77 gelernt. Wenn ich war 6 Jahre habe ich sowas wie Kindergarten aber nicht Kindergarten  
78 sondern Koran gelernt und da Buchstaben auch Arabisch dort gelernt und dort habe ich ein  
79 bisschen Persisch gelernt. Dann habe ich erste Klasse besucht und ich habe Arabisch und  
80 Persisch gelernt.

81 F: Also in der Schule gab es auch Arabisch? Ja für Koran musst du Arabisch lernen. Wir haben  
82 eine Woche eine Stunde Religionstunde und Koran gelesen. Aber jetzt ist anderes im Iran,  
83 musst du in 5. Klasse Englisch lernen.

84 F: Und du 6-9 Klasse?

85 L: Englisch, Arabisch und Persisch.

86 F: Aber dann musstest du in Englisch die Buchstaben lernen.

87 L: Ja wir haben eine Woche eine Stunde, eine einfache Lehrerin, das war nicht so gut, wir  
88 machen immer Spaß in dieser Stunde und wir lernen nichts. Ich habe nicht richtig in der Schule  
89 Englisch gelernt. Ich war ein anderes Kurs gegangen für Englischkurs, wenn ich 9. Klasse war.  
90 In Sommerferien wir haben 3 Monate Ferien und ich habe in diese 3 Monate Englisch gelernt.  
91 Aber wenn ich habe Deutsch gelernt, dann alle Englisch vergessen. In Iran habe ich eine  
92 Türkische Freundin, sie war meine Nachbarin, diese Freundin war wie die beste Freundin von  
93 mir, dann habe ich Türkisch auch gelernt und die buchstabieren auch Lateinisch. Jeden Tag  
94 eine Stunde Türkisch gelernt. Türkisch kann ich lesen, schreiben, sprechen.

95 F: Ich war noch nie in dem Iran. Wie soll ich mir vorstellen wo du gelebt hast?

96 L: Das war eine schöne Stadt. Eine Touristenstadt. Also Iran ist auch ein schönes Land und hat  
97 viel zum Sehen aber die Menschen waren mit Ausländern ein bisschen komisch aber wir haben  
98 so lange dort gelebt. Wir haben drei Monate Sommerferien gehabt und da habe ich Kurse  
99 besucht. Sport, Malen, Englisch. Es gibt so viele Kurse und meine Eltern haben gefunden. Und  
100 habe ich zwei Jahre Gymnastik gemacht.

101 F: Wenn du an einen ganze normalen Dienstag oder Mittwoch denkst wie war ein Tag von dir?

102 L: Ja nach der 5. Klasse es war so schwer, weil da waren in der Schule so viele Iraner und die  
103 denken alle soo..wie sagt man das hochnäsig und immer ich versuche immer besser als ihr zu  
104 sein besser lesen der in Unterricht besser zu sein als ihr. Also ich war in der Schule die beste  
105 Schülerin. Weil ich mag nicht, dass andere sagen dies ist Ausländer und kommt in Gymnasium  
106 und kann nicht machen. Aber ich habe 7 Jahre fertig gelernt und ich habe sehr gut Persisch  
107 sprechen.

108 F: Wie alt warst du als du Dari schreiben gelernt hast?

109 L: Wenn ich war 4. Klasse , ich war 10.

110 F: Und du meinst die Tage waren schwer.

111 L: Ja die 9. Klasse war es schwer. Alles gut bis 5. Klasse (lacht) danach immer schwer.

112 F: War die Schule vormittags der nachmittags?

113 L: Beide. Wir haben verschiedene Wochen. Eine Woche am Nachmittag, beginnt um halb 1  
114 und bis halb 6. Und kommt eine Woche musst du 7 Uhr in der Schule sein und bis 12.

115 F: Und was hast du in der Zeit, wo du nicht in der Schule warst, gemacht?

116 L: Dann habe ich Zeichnenkurs oder Sport und Hausaufgaben. Wir gehen Samstag bis  
117 Donnerstag in die Schule und nur Freitag frei. Jetzt musst du Samstag bis Mittwoch gehen und  
118 hast zwei Tage frei.

119 F: Wenn ein Lebewesen von einem anderen Planet kommen würde, wie würdest du deine  
120 Schule beschreiben?

121 L: Erste Klasse war eine andere Schule als zweite Klasse. Diese Schule war 20 Minuten weit  
122 weg, danach 6-8 Klasse muss ich 30-40 Minuten laufen und 9. Klasse war auch eine andere  
123 Schule, dann musst du einfach drei Haltestelle und dann ein bisschen laufen.

124 F: Wo du gewohnt hast, du hast gesagt, dass die Nachbarn eine türkische Familie war. Wer hat  
125 noch da gelebt?

126 L: Das war ein Haus mit zwei Etagen, unten die türkische Menschen, oben wir. Dann haben wir  
127 eine afghanische Nachbarin, dann eine iranische und dann kommt die Straße und viele  
128 Geschäfte.

129 F: Wie habt ihr gesprochen?

130 L: Persisch, weil wenn wir Dari sprechen, die Iranische Menschen verstehen uns nicht.

131 F: Und deine Freundin hast du schon in der Grundschule gehabt?

132 L: Ja wir gehen immer zusammen in die Schule und dann haben wir getrennt, weil sie kann  
133 nicht einfach auf Gymnasium gehen, sie hat nicht gute Noten. Aber wir sind jeden Tag nach  
134 der Schule zusammen. Und sie wohnt jetzt in Hamburg. Wir waren nach Afghanistan geschickt,  
135 aber sie war in Deutschland. Ich habe sie einmal besucht, vielleicht dieser Sommer jetzt. Und  
136 sie ist verlobt.

137 F: Wie alt warst du als du angefangen hast von ihr Türkisch zu lernen?

138 L: Ich war 3. Klasse habe ich auch schreiben gelernt, aber erste zweite Klasse sprechen gelernt.  
139 Ihre Mutter war Lehrerin für Türkisch. Ich habe von ihr auch etwas gelernt. Wir haben nur  
140 Türkisch gesprochen und mein Bruder hat von ihr Bruder Türkisch gelernt.

141 F: Und Arabisch?

142 L: Arabisch habe ich lesen und schreiben gelernt in der Schule und wenn du liest Koran dann  
143 kannst du einfach sprechen auch. Und ich habe Koran bis Übersetzung, als zwei Bücher gelesen  
144 und so habe ich gelernt.

145 F: Hast du noch etwas so gelernt, dass du von Nachbarn oder anderen Personen gelernt hast?

146 L: Nein nur diese Sprache.

147 F: Wenn ich dich richtig verstanden habe, du hattest deine 9.Klasse Zeugnis in deiner Hand und  
148 dann musste deine Familie die Stadt verlassen. Woher kam die Idee, dass ihr nach Deutschland  
149 kommt?

150 L: Also meine Cousine wohnt in Griechenland seit 12 Jahren und wir haben mit ihr gesprochen  
151 und sie hat gesagt einfach komm nach Deutschland oder Österreich. Also erstmal aus der Türkei  
152 zurück nach Afghanistan und dann durch Pakistan wieder zurück in Iran und wir sind nach  
153 Ankara gegangen und wir haben ein Papier bekommen und wenn du dieses Papier hat dann  
154 wenn du nach Griechenland willst dann musst du nicht nach Afghanistan zurückgehen. Wenn  
155 du zeigst, dann kannst du einfach in der Türkei bleiben. Und wir haben mit meiner Cousine  
156 gesprochen und Türkei war nicht so gut und ihr könnt einfach nicht leben. Mein Vater kann  
157 nicht arbeiten. Und dann haben wir alle versucht nach Deutschland kommen oder Österreich.

158 F: In Ankara bist du wie lange geblieben?

159 L: Vier Tage und in Griechenland bei meiner Cousine ein paar Wochen. Und ohne großen  
160 Bruder nach Griechenland gekommen. Wir waren so viel im Schiff, 30 Leute.

161 F: Wenn wir die ganze Reise zusammenrechnen ist es mehr als ein halbes Jahr.

162 L: Neun Monate, fast ein Jahr.

163 F: Gab es etwas was du während dieser Reise gelernt hast?

164 L: Ein war gut, kann ich so viele Länder sehen und früher ich wusste viele Länder nicht.  
165 Griechenland weiß ich, weil meine Cousine da wohnt, aber Mazedonien, Serbien, Österreich,  
166 Deutschland ich weiß nicht. Weil wir in Geschichte wir lernen nur über Iran nicht andere  
167 Länder. Nur war früher in Iran. 5.-6.-7.-8. Klasse wir nur über Iran. Dann habe ich so viel  
168 gelernt über Menschen von Ungarn. Wenn wir haben erste Tage nach Ungarn gekommen, dann  
169 haben wir mit einer Familie getroffen das war aus Ungarn und die Frau und der Mann haben  
170 kein Kind und haben meinen kleinen Bruder gesehen und süß und wir haben keine Kinder und  
171 geweint und ich denke in Europa so viele Menschen gibt und die haben keine Kind oder kann  
172 nicht ein Kind bekommen. Ich habe gesehen wie Kleidung ist, was verschiedene Essen,  
173 verschiedene Sprache.

174 F: Wie hast du mit den Menschen in diesen Ländern gesprochen?

175 L: Immer Englisch. In Makedonien kann auch Türkisch sprechen. In Serbien habe ich Dari  
176 gesprochen.

177 F: Das heißt erstmal bist du mit dem Zug aus Ungarn nach München angekommen, oder?

178 L: Dann Chemnitz und Schneeberg und dann Leipzig.

179 F: Wie lange soll ich mir das vorstellen? Weil du hast ja gemeint bis München war es neun  
180 Monate.

181 L: Ja und dann waren wir zwei Wochen in München, und 15 Tage in Chemnitz und 15 in  
182 Schneeberg und dann haben wir nach Leipzig eine Woche im Hotel und dann haben wir eine  
183 Wohnung und dann nochmal in Heim gegangen und das war schon 6 Monate.

184 F: Wie soll ich mir deine ersten Wochen hier in Leipzig vorstellen?

185 L: Na ja wir haben keine Kleidung und wir haben am Samstag hier gekommen und Sonntag  
186 war alles zu und am Montag haben wir mit den Frauen aus dem Hotel gesprochen und sie haben  
187 eine Landkarte mir gegeben und gesagt du kannst einfach in die Stadt gehen und dann haben

188 wir zum Kaufland gekommen und wir wissen nicht wo wir sind (lacht). Und wir haben schon  
189 mit einer afghanischen Frau gesehen und meine Mutter gesprochen und sie sagte ich bin 15  
190 Jahre hier in Deutschland gelebt und sie sagte ich muss jetzt nach Hause gehen aber ich kann  
191 zurückkommen und dann zusammen in die Stadt gehen. Ja und sie ist gekommen und wir sind  
192 in die Stadt gegangen und im Zentrum wir haben Kleidung gekauft und alles was wir möchten  
193 und dann nochmal diese Frage in Haltestelle und so zu Heim zurück. Und dann haben wir so  
194 viele Menschen kennengelernt und das war so.

195 F: In Leipzig hast du niemanden gekannt?

196 L: Nein, niemanden. Und in Wohnung da haben wir eine deutsche Frau, war auch Nachbarin  
197 und sie war Doktor und wir haben kennengelernt und wie waren jeden Tag eine Wort Deutsch  
198 gelernt und 6 Monate habe ich keine Schule in Leipzig und habe ich jeden Tag eine Wort und  
199 eine Wort und eine Wort (lacht). Und dann bisschen kann ich einfach Deutsch sprechen mit ihr  
200 und dann habe ich die Schule besucht.

201 F: Was hast du denn in diesen 6 Monaten zu Hause gemacht?

202 L: Also Malen und einfach nichts achso Fußball.

203 F: Fußball? Mit wem denn?

204 L: Mit niemandem, also wir haben diese Nachbarin und sie hat zwei Jungen und ein Mädchen  
205 und einfach wir alle zusammen. Dann erste Tage Schule gegangen, da kommt eine Frau aus  
206 Sozial und da habe ich MIO (Mädchentreff in Leipzig Osten) kennengelernt und dann gehe ich  
207 jeden Tag in MIO und s viele Mädchen kennengelernt und wir haben schon in Zug gegangen  
208 und ja.

209 F: Wie hast du deine Schule gefunden?

210 L: Also wir haben eine Sozialarbeiter Frau und sie hilft mir was ich mache. Wenn ich Leipzig  
211 gekommen diese Frau einfach kommt und sagt was muss wir machen aus Sozialamt. Alle  
212 Schulen voll und kein Platz und so diese Schule.

213 F: Und dann bist du in die Schule gekommen und erstmal nur DaZ gehabt. Wir fandest du deine  
214 ersten Wochen in der Schule? Du hast ja nämlich schon 9+6 Monate keine Schule besuchen  
215 können. Und dann plötzlich musstest du in die Schule gehen? Wie hast du dich in der ersten  
216 Zeit gefühlt?

217 L: Das war so schlimm, habe ich keine Freundin und kann nicht sprechen und niemanden  
218 kennengelernt. Das war schlimm aber ich mag einfach Schule, früher auch jeden Tag ich gehe  
219 Schule aber diese Schule waren Ausländer weißt du und früher ich will nicht in diese Schule  
220 gehen weil ich kann nicht jeden Tag etwas Neues lernen aber jetzt ist ok.

221 F: Gab es etwas was du gut gefunden hast?

222 L: Ja, die Lehrerin. Alle Lehrerin versuchen etwas zu helfen und etwas Neues lernen.

223 F: Wenn Du deine Schule in dem Iran, wo du schon ein bisschen älter warst, sagen wir mal 7-  
224 8-9. Klasse mit deiner jetzigen Schule vergleichst, gibt es Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede?

225 L: Nur Unterschiede. In Iran muss ich Kopftuch haben, alle Mädchen müssen Kopftuch haben.  
226 Und ich habe jeden Tag Problem war du kannst deine Haare nicht schön machen und das  
227 Kopftuch muss hier bis hier und wenn du Kopftuch nicht richtig dann kommt Direktor und  
228 spricht und sprich und wir eine Strafe bekommt. Und du darfst nicht Nagellacke machen und  
229 darfst nicht Make-Up machen ja das war so verschieden. Und jeden Tag Uniform tragen und  
230 darfst deine Hose nicht so wie meine Hose haben (zeigt auf die Hose mit Löchern). Also in  
231 Sport wir machen nicht Sport, immer sprechen, wir machen nichts in Sport, wir haben eine  
232 Lehrerin, aber diese Lehrerin macht nichts. Und du darfst nicht mit einer anderen Junge also du  
233 kannst nicht und darfst nicht sprechen und wenn deine Direktor oder Lehrerin sehen dann fertig.

234 F: Und die Fächer?

235 L: Physik, Chemie, gleich, Mathe war gleich, Bio auch. und Englisch und in Iran wir haben  
236 zwei verschiedene Religion eine war Sunni andere war Schia und wir waren Sunni und in Iran  
237 waren so viele Schia und die lernen Religion wir Shia und wir nicht so richtig zuhören.

238 F: Und hier hast du die Klasse besucht, nicht wahr?

239 L: Ja und ich hatte Physik, WTH, Deutsch, Mathe, Sport, Kunst, Musik, GK. also noch Chemie.  
240 In Chemie hatte ich keine Probleme, weil ich habe 9. Klasse gemacht. Ich verstehe aber ich  
241 kann nicht sprechen wenn ich kann gut Deutsch reden dann kann ich das auch. Ich habe schon  
242 alles gelernt. In Bio auch so. Dieses Jahr ich verstehe alles in Bio aber ich kann nicht sagen.

243 F: Und was kannst du dann machen?

244 L: Einfach zuhören und schreiben was ich denke das Wort bedeutet. Und in Mathe habe ich  
245 auch kein Problem, das ist gleich, aber z. B. dieses Zeichen wir machen so, der Lehrer hier  
246 macht so. In Geschichte was passiert in Deutschland ich habe immer zugehört und was war in  
247 BRD und DDR und das war auch sehr gut Geschichte aber Geschichte war so schwer weil ich  
248 verstehe nur bisschen. In Geschichte alles war neu. Dieses Jahr möchte ich die Geschichte v on  
249 meine Land auch lesen aber habe ich keine Buch, aber vielleicht wenn ich nach Afghanistan  
250 gegangen dann kann ich einfach ein Buch kaufen.

251 F: Planst du eine Reise nach Afghanistan?

252 L: Ich möchte so viel weil ich möchte meine Cousinen oder meine Opa und meine Oma auch  
253 sehen. Vielleicht dürfen wir nicht gehen. Wenn ich dürfe, dann gehe.

254 F: Wie sind schon am Ende des Interviews ich hätte noch ein paar wenigen Fragen. Wie würdest  
255 du deine Geschichte aufmalen?

256 Hmm...(malt)

257 F: Warum hast du diese Bilder gemalt?

258 L: Also ich habe so viele Probleme in meinem Leben, so viele Geschichten, immer etwas  
259 passiert in meinem Leben und ich hoffe einen Tag alle gehen weg und ich kann einfach  
260 erleichtern.

261 F: Also wo die Sonne hinter den Bergen nach vorne kommt.

262 L: Ja, genau.

263 F: Und warum der Baum?

264 L: Also, wann hast du eine Blume oder eine kleine Baum, dann gibst du jeden Tag Wasser oder  
265 in Sonne bringst, dann kann diese Blume der Baum so gut wachsen. Aber wenn du machst  
266 schlimme jeden Tag, dann nicht. Aber ich sage immer, wenn jeder sagt ich will das ich versuche  
267 das kann er das machen. Mein Baum ist jetzt groß.

268 F: Das ist schön, da kannst du stolz auch dich sein. Wie hat der Umzug aus dem Iran nach  
269 Deutschland das Leben dieses Baumes beeinflusst?

270 L: Hier weiß ich kann leben und so.

271 F: Also der Wechsel hatte einen guten Einfluss auf dein Leben...

272 L: Ja ich bin zufrieden.

273 F: Was sind deine Pläne für die Zukunft?

274 L: Ich möchte Zahnärztin werden. Ich muss einfach diese werden. Das war immer mein Traum  
275 und ich möchte einfach dieser Traum nehmen und nicht einfach ein Traum bleiben.

276 F: Wenn Du dich mit deinen Klassenkameraden in deiner Regelklasse vergleichst, gibt es  
277 Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen Euch?

278 L: Ja, ich komme aus ein anderes Land, aber ich finde alle sind nett und habe viele Freunde.  
279 Ich habe viele Freunde, in Mio und im Fußballverein auch.

280 F: Seit wann machst du im Verein mit?

281 L: Seit ein Jahr und zwei Monate oder so.

282 F: Wenn du vergleichst das erste Halbjahr in der Schule und das zweite Schuljahr, wo du die 9.  
283 Klasse wiederholt hast.

284 L: Ja, erstes Jahr war ganz schlecht. Nicht nur Sprache auch Probleme in der Familie. Aber  
285 dieses Jahr war gut.

286 F: Wir kommen zu den letzten zwei Fragen. Was hast du gut und schlecht daran gefunden, dass  
287 du mehrmals Wohnort wechseln musstest. Welchen Einfluss hatte das für dein Leben?

288 L: Das schlechte war nochmal nach Afghanistan zurückgehen, so viel Polizei und Papiere und  
289 aber andere geht.

290 F: Wenn du Ministerin wärest, würdest du für die Schülerinnen wir du etwas anders machen,  
291 damit sie leichter haben?

292 L: Hier waren alle Lehrerinnen besser als früher, ihr versucht jeden Tag besser zu werden und  
293 jeden Tag etwas neues und wir müssen jede Tag neues lernen. Ein bisschen schwer, dass ich 18  
294 Jahre als bin und Ouday ist nur 11 und wir sind in der Klasse zusammen Deutsch lernen.

295 F: Gibt es noch etwas was du erzählen möchtest?

296 L: Nein, ich habe alles gesagt.

297 F: Danke.



Interview Transcript of Amir, 16 years old

Leipzig, 27. June 2017

A: Amir, F: Forscherin

1 F: Ich bedanke mich, dass Du in der ersten Ferienwoche Zeit gefunden hast an diesem Interview  
2 teilzunehmen. Wir kennen einander schon, trotzdem finde ich es sehr wichtig und interessant,  
3 dass du deine Geschichte wie es vom Anfang bis heute war, erzählst. Stell Dir vor, dass Du  
4 einem Lehrer an deinem Gymnasium erzählen würdest, wo und wie du gelebt hast, was es  
5 bedeutete für dich an mehreren Orten zu leben, was es bedeutete für dich von einem Ort zum  
6 nächsten umzusiedeln und an mehreren Orten Schule zu besuchen, Sprachen zu lernen und zu  
7 leben.

8 A: Also..wie sie gesagt haben, wir kennen einander schon. Wie sie wissen, ich war in Syrien.  
9 Ich bin acht Jahre in die Schule gegangen. Und ich musste da bis die achte Klasse machen. Da  
10 war es schön, da war es in der Schule schön, mit den anderen, mit den Lehrern, mit den  
11 Lernpartnern und mit den Schülern. Es war auch interessant ja, wie das System in der Schule  
12 war und ja wie wir lernen mussten und wie wir die Lektionen verstehen mussten oder wie der  
13 Lehrer uns die Lektionen erzählen wollte, und da musste man das ganze Buch für den Test oder  
14 wenn man eine Arbeit schreiben wollte, musste er das ganze Buch im Kopf haben. Und das  
15 finde ich in einem Land wie Deutschland zum Beispiel oder in der Türkei man musste das nicht  
16 machen, also man musste nicht das ganze Buch durchlesen oder im Kopf haben. Ja und dann  
17 musste ich nach die Türkei umziehen, weil in Syrien die Lage war ein bisschen zu schwer und  
18 zu schlecht wegen dem Krieg und ich konnte in Syrien mein Leben nicht weiterleben, ja wegen  
19 dem Krieg und ich konnte auch in die Schule nicht gehen. Meine Stadt war Alnabik, ein Dorf  
20 von Damaskus, es ist nicht so weit weg von Damaskus, das Leben war nicht so schwer wie ich  
21 es in der Türkei oder in Deutschland gefunden habe. Ich habe mein Leben in meiner Heimat  
22 gut gelebt. In der Schule musste ich viel arbeiten, ich musste viel lernen und mit den  
23 Lernpartnern arbeiten, damit ich mein Abitur schaffen konnte. Leider konnte ich ja das in Syrien  
24 nicht schaffen. Und dann bin ich nach der Türkei umgezogen und in die Schule gegangen. Und  
25 da musste ich ja Türkisch lernen, damit ich die Schule verstehen kann und das System und er  
26 Türkei oder wie die Schule. Ich war in Mersin, eine Stadt. Die Schule war nicht so weit weg.  
27 Da musste ich auch viel arbeiten, damit ich eine gute neunte Klasse und ein gutes Zeugnis haben  
28 kann, wegen dem Abitur. Damit ich an der Uni studieren kann. In der Schule musste ich nicht  
29 so viel arbeiten als ich in Syrien war. Es war auch schön, dass ich Mitschüler aus irgendwo  
30 anders, aus der Türkei kennengelernt habe. Da hat es auch Spaß gemacht mit den Lernpartnern.  
31 Und wie sagt man das ich habe gute Gefühle in Mersin und in der Türkei gehabt, weil ich mich  
32 so gefühlt habe wie in meiner normalen Stadt, dass ich in Syrien bin. Da fühlte ich mich nicht  
33 so alleine und ich fühle nicht, dass ich Verantwortung übernehmen muss. Da habe ich Gefühle  
34 gehabt, die man sich richtig im Leben fühlt, dass man lebt. Ich bin sozusagen in der Türkei  
35 aufgewachsen. Es war auch interessant, ein neues System, neue Menschen, anderes Land. Die  
36 Türken waren nett mit uns und wir man im Arabischen sagt, Allhamdulillah, dass ich ein gutes  
37 Zeugnis gehabt habe. Ich musste viel lernen, damit ich dieses Zeugnis haben kann. Ich war der  
38 zweite in der Schule, der ein gutes Zeugnis gehabt hat, also es gibt der Sieger und dann kommt  
39 der zweite und dritte Platz. Da freute ich mich sehr, dass ich so ein gutes Zeugnis gehabt habe.

40 Ich habe auch in der Türkei gearbeitet, weil ich mich als Mann gefühlt habe. Und dann musste  
41 ich nach Deutschland wegen meiner Schwester und da habe ich gehört, dass in Deutschland  
42 gibt es viele Möglichkeiten für einen Schüler und es gibt die Möglichkeit, dass man ein gutes  
43 Zeugnis und ein gutes Abitur haben kann. In der Türkei musste ich die Schule bezahlen. Und  
44 da habe ich viele Menschen gesehen, die sie nach Deutschland kommen oder gehen wollten.  
45 Und dann habe ich das mit der Familie besprochen, dass wir nach Deutschland umziehen und  
46 nach Deutschland gehen und dann bin ich an eine andere Stadt gegangen, na ja wo man abfahren  
47 muss, und da musste ich die Reise anfangen. Ich bin nach Griechenland gefahren, da war ich  
48 für einen Monat. Da habe ich keine Jugendlichen gesehen oder sie waren ganz wenig. Es war  
49 auch schön, weil da ganz ruhiges Land ist, es gibt schöne Ausblicke, es war schön, sie waren  
50 auch sehr nett mit uns und sie waren uralt sozusagen, es war schön in Griechenland. Es gab  
51 nicht so viele Schulen oder so weil es gab ganz wenige Jugendlichen und dann bin ich nach  
52 Mazedonien gegangen und da habe ich Probleme gehabt mit den Leuten die da sind, sie wollten  
53 uns schlagen und dann bin ich nach Serbien und von Serbien nach Österreich. In Österreich bin  
54 für einen Tag geblieben und es war ganz ruhig.... ne bevor ich nach Österreich komme, war ich  
55 in Ungarn, da musste ich zwölf Stunden im Wald laufen und dann nach Österreich und dann  
56 bin ich nach Deutschland gekommen. In Österreich hat uns die Polizei genommen, wir waren  
57 im Gefängnis einen Tag und dann sind wir nach Deutschland gekommen. Als ich nach  
58 Deutschland gekommen bin, dann war ich in Berlin für eine Woche. Es war schön und nicht  
59 schön, schön, dass ich mein Ziel erreicht habe, und nicht schön, dass ich wirklich schlechte  
60 Sachen gesehen habe. In dieser Reise habe ich viel gelernt, dass das Leben wirklich schwer ist  
61 und man muss wirklich viel kämpfen, damit man sein Ziel erreichen kann. In Berlin musste ich  
62 auf der Straße schlafen, eine Woche auf der Straße und als ich da war haben sie uns gesagt,  
63 dass wir nach Chemnitz gehen müssen. Ich bin nach Chemnitz gefahren und als ich in Chemnitz  
64 angekommen bin, war es zu spät, eins Uhr in der Nacht, da hatten wir Probleme mit den Leuten  
65 die am Hauptbahnhof waren, sie haben uns angeschrien und na ja Geh raus uns so. Zuerst  
66 konnte ich das nicht verstehen, zuerst dachte ich dass sie freundliche sind, weil ich die Sprache  
67 nicht konnte, in einer Woche konnte ich die Sprache nicht. Und dann sagten Sie, dass ich nach  
68 Leipzig gehen muss und dann bin ich nach Leipzig gefahren, da musste ich ins Heim für vier  
69 Monaten bleiben. Da habe ich viele Probleme gehabt. Mit den Leuten, die in Leipzig waren. Es  
70 gab Leute, die uns ausgespuckt haben. Es gibt Leute, die uns immer angeschrien haben. Aber  
71 wir haben ja leider zuerst nicht verstanden, warum das so ist oder warum haben sie das so mit  
72 uns gemacht. Aber als ich gehört habe, dass in Sachsen oder in München und die Städte neben  
73 München hassen die Ausländer. Und die in Berlin, neben Berlin, Brandenburg und Hamburg  
74 und so, egal ja, die mögen uns dann da. (räuspern) Wir haben mit dem Lager gut gelebt. Glück  
75 für uns. Und dann bin ich aus dem Heim ausgezogen. Dann bin ich in eine Wohnung gegangen.  
76 Die gehört zum Sozialamt. Da war ich traurig, dass ich vier Monate in Deutschland war und bis  
77 jetzt nicht in die Schule gegangen bin. Da war ich traurig. Und ich konnte ja kein Deutsch  
78 verstehen. Und dann habe ich einen Termin in der Schule bekommen, die Oberschule. Das war  
79 am 16.01.2015. Da bin ich in die Schule gegangen. (.) Ne, 2016. (überlegt) Ja, stimmt. Am  
80 16.01.2016 musste ich in die Schule. Da habe ich die Schule gesehen. Wie sie da lief und so.  
81 Dann habe ich angefangen, in die Schule zu gehen. Es war auch ein bisschen zu schwer. Ja,  
82 wegen der Sprache und so und mit den anderen zu reden. Sie konnten alle Deutsch und ich  
83 nicht, weil ich Ausländer war, bis jetzt sozusagen. Und dann habe ich angefangen mich zu

84 verbessern. Ich musste viel mit den anderen reden, ich musste mit den Menschen viel reden,  
85 spazierengehen, damit ich die Sprache gut kennenlerne und gut kann. Ich hab einen Mann  
86 getroffen als wir auf einer Party waren. Da habe ich seine Nummer genommen und dann hat er  
87 mich als einen Freund in seinem Leben genommen oder ausgewählt. Da habe ich mich gefreut,  
88 dass ich einen Deutschen kennengelernt habe. Da habe ich mit ihm angefangen, Deutsch zu  
89 reden, ja? Aber oft habe ich mit ihm Englisch gesprochen, weil ich nicht so gut Deutsch konnte.  
90 Wir haben am meisten Zeit zusammen verbracht und Englisch gesprochen. Er kam zu mir und  
91 dann hat er angefangen, mich zu unterrichten, neben der Schule. Also, ich gehe am Morgen in  
92 die Schule und dann komme ich am Nachmittag. Und am Nachmittag hab ich auch so zwei oder  
93 drei Stunden, wo ich Deutsch lernen musste. Ich musste mich wirklich verbessern, damit ich  
94 gut Deutsch lerne und ganz schnell. Und dann hat er mir wirklich gut geholfen und viel geholfen  
95 und ich bin dankbar, dass ich ihn kennengelernt habe und er mir geholfen hat. Und dann bin ich  
96 aufs Gymnasium gegangen. Dann habe ich ein halbes Jahr auf dem Gymnasium verbracht. Es  
97 war auch schön mit den Anderen, weil sie zu mir immer nett waren und sie haben mir immer  
98 geholfen. Sie waren immer neben mir, wenn ich hilfe brauchte. Da gab es nicht so viele  
99 Unterschiede zwischen der Schule in Syrien und in Deutschland. Also zwischen dem  
100 Gymnasium und der normalen Schule in Syrien. Man findet, dass sie sozusagen gleich sind.  
101 Aber in Syrien, da (ist es) schwerer, als hier in Deutschland. Und ich habe mich gut eingewöhnt  
102 und ich fühle mich wohl. Und jetzt fühle ich mich, dass ich angefangen habe, etwas zu machen.  
103 Oder dass ich wirklich mein Leben in Deutschland angefangen habe. Und ich habe auch von  
104 diesem Leben oder von dieser Geschichte alles gelernt, dass man, wenn man etwas erreichen  
105 will, viel kämpfen muss, dass man wirklich nicht sitzenbleiben muss und wartet, bis der Gott  
106 einem das Ziel gibt. Man muss sich bewegen und die Möglichkeiten suchen und sich mit den  
107 Anderen treffen, damit man wirklich das System lernt, dass man die Sprache gut lernt. Also,  
108 ich sage das jedem Schüler, der in Deutschland ist oder in Deutschland neu ankommt. Oder die  
109 Menschen, die das Leben ein bisschen schwer finden, wegen der Sprache oder so, ich sage  
110 denen, dass sie sich mit den Anderen erwähnen müssen. Bevor ich das beende, ich habe etwas  
111 vergessen: Ich habe auch viele Möglichkeiten gehabt in eine Bewerbung. Und dann bin ich  
112 nach Dresden gefahren, da habe ich einen Termin gehabt. Und da bin ich hingefahren und dann  
113 habe ich Interview gemacht. Das war in Dresden, dann bin ich in Dresden für eine Woche  
114 geblieben. Es war auch schön, weil Dresden eine schöne Stadt ist. Aber die Menschen waren  
115 nicht so nett mit uns. Und dann bin ich wieder nach Leipzig. Und dann sagten sie mir, als ich  
116 im Interview war, dass sie mir in zwei Wochen eine Antwort geben. Dann haben sie mir eine  
117 Antwort gegeben. Und dann sagten sie nein, dass sie mich nicht aufnehmen wollen. Aber naja,  
118 zuerst habe ich gesagt, das geht nicht, ich habe keinen Bock mehr und ich will mich nicht mehr  
119 bewerben. Und dann habe ich gesagt, nein, man muss für sein Ziel kämpfen und Möglichkeiten  
120 suchen. Und das muss man so als Witz oder Spaß nehmen und ich will mich wieder bewerben.  
121 Und das ist so, hab ich, alles mucize wie ein Wunder, denn plötzlich passiert das alles. Bis jetzt  
122 bin ich vier Jahre von Syrien weg. Und es gibt noch viele Jahre, die ich nicht zurückkommen  
123 kann. Und ich will auch, wenn ich zurück will, nur als Besuch, weil ich viel in Syrien verbracht  
124 habe und viel in der Türkei verbracht habe und viel in Deutschland verbringe, bis jetzt. Und  
125 wenn ich, naja, das Abitur habe oder hätte, will ich nach Amerika fahren. Das ist so mein Ziel  
126 und studieren. Da will ich Medizin studieren. Ich hoffe, dass ich das schaffen kann, nach  
127 Amerika zu fahren und da zu studieren. Und wie gesagt, ich sage jedem, das was er erlebt hat,

128 zu vergessen. Man muss immer nachdenklich sein und nach vorne gucken. Und das war's. Und  
129 jetzt beende ich das, was ich gesagt habe, mit meinen eigenen Wörtern auf Deutsch. Man muss  
130 immer nachdenklich sein und nach vorne gucken, nicht nach hinten gucken und an schlimme  
131 Sachen denken.

132 F: Ich wollte noch ein bisschen nachfragen. Du hast ja gesagt, du hast in Syrien die Schule mit  
133 sechs angefangen und hast dann acht Klassen besucht. Das heißt, mit 14 warst du fertig.

134 A: Na ja...Ich habe nicht die ganze achte Klasse gemacht. Ich habe nur die Hälfte gemacht. Ich  
135 habe nur das erste Schuljahr gemacht, wie sagt man die Hälfte.

136 F: War das eine Grundschule, oder?

137 A: Bei uns gibt es keine Grundschule. Von der Erste bis zur Vierte muss ich eine Schule  
138 besuchen. Von Fünfte bis Neunte muss ich eine andere Schule besuchen und von Neunte bis  
139 Zwölfte muss ich eine andere Schule besuchen. Zum Beispiel in Deutschland gibt es  
140 Grundschule, Gymnasium, Oberschule, viele Sachen. Bei uns gibt es das nicht, sondern ganz  
141 normale Schule. Also man entscheidet sich nicht, ob man ins Gymnasium gehen muss oder auf  
142 eine Oberschule gehen muss. Alle zusammen.

143 F: Das heißt, wenn du zwölf Klassen besuchst, am Ende bekommst du dein Abitur und kannst  
144 studieren?

145 A: Ab der neunten Klasse, ja, entscheidet man sich, , wie heißt das, ob Realschule oder ob  
146 Hauptschule ist. Also, sie sehen, wie sein Zeugnis ist und dann entscheiden sie. Es gibt bei uns  
147 die Noten, ja, von eins bis Hälfte, das muss Oberschule sein und ab der Hälfte bis dein Zeugnis  
148 99 %, also wenn die Noten gut sind, dann macht er Realschulabschluss.

149 F: Alle lernen also bis zur vierten Klasse gemeinsam?

150 A: Bei uns das Schulsystem ist so, in der sechsten Klasse bekommt man ein Zeugnis. Das  
151 Zeugnis sagt, dass er diese sechs Klassen gelernt hat. Fertig. Da darf man aus der Schule raus.  
152 Bei uns ist es wie in Deutschland mit dem Hauptschulabschluss. Wenn man bei uns in der  
153 sechsten Klasse ist und das Zeugnis hat, kann man aus der Schule raus. Und wenn man  
154 weitergehen will, dann man von Sechsten bis Neunten darf nicht raus, bis man das Zeugnis hat.  
155 Und wenn man weitergehen will bis zur Zwölften, darf man ab der zehnten Klasse nicht raus,  
156 bis man das Abitur hat. Also die sind am wichtigsten: sechste Klasse, neunte Klasse, zwölfte  
157 Klasse. Sozusagen. Wenn man das Zeugnis von der neunten Klasse hat, das heißt, also, dass  
158 die die Klassen von der ersten bis neunten gut gemacht hat.

159 F: Und du hast dann dein Zeugnis aus der sechsten Klasse, dann bist du weitergegangen, hast  
160 die achte Klasse gemacht. Aber die achte Klasse nur bis zur Hälfte?

161 A: Ja, bis zur Hälfte.

162 F: Also warst du zwischen 13 und 14, als du dann deine Heimatstadt verlassen musstest?

163 A: Na ja, ich war halb 14, ja sozusagen.

164 F: Wenn du jetzt an einen ganz normalen Wochentag denkst in dem letzten Schuljahr oder in  
165 der siebten, achten Klasse, wie soll ich mir das vorstellen?

166 A: Also, der erste Schuljahr wie sagt man die erste Hälfte des Schuljahr musste ich um sechs  
167 Uhr morgens aufstehen. Ich musste jeden Tag ein (überlegt)... zwei. Ja, ich musste jeden Tag  
168 zwei Kilometer laufen. Jeden Tag von der fünften Klasse bis zur achten Klasse musste ich zwei  
169 Kilometer laufen. Ich musste 6 Uhr aufstehen, 7:45 Uhr musste ich in der Schule sein. 7:15 Uhr  
170 musste ich los, dann kam ich in der Schule um 7:30 Uhr an. Ich verbrachte 15 Minuten auf dem  
171 Weg. Dann bin ich um zwölf fertig. Also bei uns die Schule, am Montag und am Donnerstag  
172 habe ich bis zwei und Dienstag und Mittwoch... Nein, Moment, das Schulsystem bei uns ist  
173 was anderes. Am Sonntag beginnt die Schule bis zu Donnerstag. Am Sonntag und am  
174 Donnerstag hab ich von sieben Uhr morgens bis 14 Uhr. Und Montag, Dienstag, Mittwoch hab  
175 ich von sieben Uhr morgen bis um zwölf. Und dann kam ich nach Hause, dann komme ich nach  
176 Hause, dann lerne ich bis 17 Uhr oder bis 15 Uhr und dann kommt das Essen. Dann esse ich,  
177 und dann rufen meine Freunde mich auf, dann gehen wir spielen. Es gibt viele Sachen, die wir  
178 zusammen gemacht haben, wie Fußballspielen, wir gingen Computerspielen, zusammen. Oder  
179 einer lädt uns zum Essen ein oder irgendwas. Und dann gehen wir mit den Fahrrädern durch  
180 die Stadt und dann aßen wir oder haben wir Eis essen. Und das war's. Das ist ein Tag, der ersten  
181 Hälfte des Schuljahres. Ab der zweiten Hälften der Schuljahr, durfte ich nicht so viel raus. Da  
182 sind die Klassenarbeiten, ich musste gute Noten bekommen, dass ich ein gutes Zeugnis haben  
183 kann. Ich durfte nicht so viel raus, denn wie gesagt, man musste ein Buch im Kopf haben. Bei  
184 uns haben wir die fünfte Monat, mussten wir zu Hause bleiben. Einen Monat geben sie uns die  
185 Chance, alle Bücher im Kopf zu haben. So wie Biologie, Arabisch, also es gibt ein  
186 Arabischbuch, Geografie und was weiß ich. Und sie geben uns einen Monat. Dieser Monat ist  
187 die Chance, die Bücher durchzulesen und gut zu lernen oder auswendig zu lernen.

188 F: Welche Fächer hast du gehabt?

189 A: Alle Fächer. So wie Biologie, Geografie, Geschichte, Arabisch, so wie Deutsch in  
190 Deutschland.

191 F: Ist das Grammatik oder Literatur, was habt ihr im Arabischunterricht gehabt?

192 A: Also wie in Deutschland. Wenn man eine Stunde Deutsch hat, das heißt Deutsch. Wir haben  
193 gelesen, geschrieben, Grammatik. So wie die Fächer in Deutschland. Normale Fächer, die man  
194 in der Schule hat.

195 F: Chemie auch?

196 A: Ja, Chemie, Physik, alles. Aber es gibt ein anderes Fach bei uns. Keine Ahnung, was heißt  
197 das auf Deutsch heißt. Aber es heißt komija bei uns. Aber da lernen wir das System, wie das  
198 System bei uns ist. Was der Präsident gesagt hat, oder wie das System bei uns ist.

199 F: Aha, sowas wie Politik?

200 A: Ja, sowas wie Politik. Aber die Geschichte und Geografie, dieses Fach, was ich erzählt habe  
201 mussten wir zusammen lernen. Und für diese drei Fächer bekommen wir eine Note. Also  
202 Geschichte bekommt man 20, Geografie bekommt man 20 und für dieses Fach bekommt man  
203 20. Alle zusammen sind 60. Wenn man 30 hat, heißt das, dass er sitzen geblieben ist.

204 F: Von allen dreien muss man also 10 Punkte?

205 A: Ja, sozusagen. Also wenn man 30 hat, bekommt man einen roten Strich. Also bis 40 bekommt  
206 man einen roten Strich. Ab 40 ist das normal. Die sind sehr wichtig. Wenn man in diesen drei  
207 Fächern nicht eine gute Note bekommt, dann bleibt man sitzen. Und in der Arabischen Sprache  
208 wenn man in Arabisch keine 60 bekommt, bleibt man sitzen. Die drei Fächer sind zusammen.

209 F: Welche sind die drei nochmal?

210 A: Geschichte, Geografie und dieses Fach, Politik. Diese drei muss man schaffen.

211 F: Wenn man das geschafft hat, bekommt man ein Zeugnis und dann stehen da auch andere  
212 Fächer drin und für die bekommst du auch eine Note?

213 A: Ja, aber die sind auch wichtig. Also wenn man keine gute Note bekommt, dann Pech.

214 F: Zum Beispiel am Ende der sechsten oder neunten Klasse, wo du das Zeugnis bekommst,  
215 welche sind die Prüfungsfächer?

216 A: Alle.

217 F: Also alle Fächer, die in der Schule unterrichtet werden, sind auch Prüfungsfächer?

218 A: Ja.

219 F: Das ist interessant. Und welches Zeugnis hast du dann eigentlich bekommen? Du hast das  
220 von der sechsten Klasse?

221 A: Ja.

222 F: Und dann am Ende des Schuljahres der siebten Klasse und das Jahreszeugnis der achten  
223 Klasse?

224 A: Ja, ich habe auch das Zeugnis von der achten Klasse, aber nicht hier bei mir, nicht in  
225 Deutschland, aber in Syrien. Aber die neunte Klasse habe ich nicht, deswegen habe ich das  
226 Zeugnis nicht. Aber als ich das in der Türkei gemacht habe, habe ich das Zeugnis bekommen.  
227 Und ich habe jetzt in Deutschland das Zeugnis einer normalen Schule, so wie das Gymnasium  
228 in Deutschland von der Türkei. Aber dann sagten sie mir, man dürfe das nicht anerkennen.

229 F: Aber ich meine jetzt, du hast die neunte Klasse in Syrien gar nicht besucht.

230 A: Nein, gar nicht.

231 F: Sondern nur achte Klasse bis zur Hälfte?

232 A: Ja.

233 F: Und dann haben sie dir trotzdem ein Zeugnis gegeben, darüber dass du die achte Klasse  
234 abgeschlossen hast?

235 A: Ja.

236 F: Du hast Glück gehabt, oder?

237 A: Ja, habe ich. Aber weil ich lange in der Schule war und sie wissen, wie ich bin, wie meine  
238 Noten sind oder wie mein Zeugnis ist. Deswegen haben sie sich vorgestellt. Die Hälfte, das  
239 erste Schuljahr, hab ich gute Noten bekommen und dann haben sie sich vorgestellt, wenn die  
240 erste Hälfte so war, dann... ja.

241 F: Und wegen des Kriegs hat sich deine Familie entschieden, dann doch aus Damaskus  
242 wegzugehen?

243 A: Ja.

244 F: Und wieso Türkei und nicht ein anderes Land?

245 A: Das ist eine schwierige Frage, wo man nicht antworten kann. Mersin oder Türkei, da hatten  
246 wir die Möglichkeit, in der Türkei zu lernen und wegen meiner Schwester, ob sie operiert wird  
247 oder nicht. Wir versuchten, nach Saudi-Arabien zu gehen, aber da war die Lage ein bisschen...  
248 Also wenn man nach Arabien fährt, hile yapmak man unseren Präsidenten. Auch wenn man  
249 nach der Türkei fährt. Also bei uns darf ich nicht sagen, dass ich in die Türkei fahre oder nach  
250 Saudi-Arabien fahre. Als ich da war, bin ich in den Libanon gefahren und als sie mich gefragt  
251 haben, wohin ich fahre, dann sage ich, in den Libanon. Ich bin mit dem Auto gefahren. Und als  
252 ich im Libanon war, bin ich zum Flughafen gefahren, dann habe ich einen Platz reserviert und  
253 bin mit dem Flugzeug in die Türkei gereist. Ohne so richtig das System zu nutzen, denn auch  
254 wenn ich im Libanon bin und das System in Syrien Bescheid weiß, dass ich in die Türkei  
255 fahren will, dann kommen sie und nehmen mich. Das ist kein Problem, denn Libanon und  
256 Syrien haben das gleiche System.

257 F: Bist du aus dem Libanon mit deiner ganzen Familie in die Türkei gereist?

258 A: Ohne den Vater.

259 F: Er ist im Libanon geblieben?

260 A: Nein, ich bin zuerst mit meiner Familie ohne meinen Vater in den Libanon gefahren. Dann  
261 ist mein Vater auch in den Libanon gefahren, auch weil die Lage in Syrien dann sehr, sehr  
262 schlimm geworden ist, wo wir 20 Tage ohne Essen im Keller bleiben mussten. Dann plötzlich,  
263 als wir weggegangen sind, ist mein Vater nach Libanon gefahren und dann sind wir in die  
264 Türkei. Aber mein Vater durfte nicht, weil er den Pass nicht hatte.

265 F: Kanntet ihr schon jemanden in der Türkei, habt ihr Verwandte oder Bekannte gehabt?

266 A: Ja, wir hatten Verwandte und Bekannte in Mersin.

267 F: Deswegen nach Mersin?

268 A: Nein, mein Onkel war in Istanbul und wir haben gefragt, wie die Lage in der Türkei ist. Alle  
269 sagten, die Türkei ist schön. Aber der schönste Platz oder die schönste Stadt in der Türkei, nicht  
270 schönste, aber geht, wo man lernen kann, ist Mersin, weil Istanbul zu groß. Wir haben es  
271 zuerst gut gefunden. Aber dann haben sie es sehr sehr gemocht. Weil man die Luft von Syrien  
272 einatmen kann. Es war schön, einfach schön in Mersin.

273 F: Ihr seid angekommen und wie habt ihr da das Leben angefangen?

274 A: Als wir in Mersin angekommen sind, haben wir die Wohnung ganz schnell gefunden. Weil  
275 unser Verwandter in der Türkei die Wohnung gemietet hat. Wir sind ganz schnell in die  
276 Wohnung gegangen. Wir mussten nirgendwo lange bleiben. Also vom Flughafen zu der  
277 Wohnung. Da haben sie uns geholfen. Und dann habe ich angefangen, von der Straße Türkisch  
278 zu lernen. Ich bin der junge Mann, der immer versucht, sich zu verbessern. Dann habe ich das  
279 von der Straße gelernt. Danach ich musste arbeiten gehen. (.) Nicht musste, ich wollte. Ich

280 wollte einfach arbeiten gehen. Also keiner hat mir gesagt, dass ich arbeiten gehen muss. Das  
281 wollte ich von mir selbst.

282 F: Du warst damals 14, oder?

283 A: (überlegt) Naja, da war ich noch 13. Dann bin ich arbeiten gegangen. Da hab ich in einem  
284 Laden gearbeitet. Da habe ich 30 Lira pro Tag bekommen. Der Verkäufer war sehr sehr nett  
285 mit mir, er hatte keine Kinder, deswegen. Wir sind miteinander gut umgegangen und es war  
286 einfach schön. Wir haben miteinander gut erlebt und gut umgegangen. Und es war schön und  
287 war schön, weil wo ich gearbeitet hab, neben mir war ein Medialaden für Handys und Computer  
288 und so. Ein junger Mann arbeitet da und er ist jetzt mein Schwager, er arbeitet da und da konnte  
289 ich mich jede Sekunde mit ihm treffen. Ich erinnere mich an Sachen, wo ich mich totgelacht  
290 habe. Es war einfach schön.

291 F: Hast du den ganzen Tag gearbeitet?

292 A: Ich musste um acht Uhr aufstehen und um acht in der Nacht kommen. Also zwölf Stunden.

293 F: Darf ich fragen, was für eine Arbeit das war?

294 A: Ich musste mit Gemüse und Obst und so arbeiten.

295 F: Es war also ein Obstladen?

296 A: Ja, ein Obstladen.

297 F: Also Auspacken, Einpacken, Verkaufen.

298 A: Ja, aber nicht nur so. Sondern auch es war gleichzeitig ein Eisladen. Ich musste viel arbeiten.  
299 Oder hart arbeiten, sozusagen. Ich musste Eis verkaufen und Gemüse verkaufen. Ich musste  
300 auch Limonade verkaufen. Ich war auch allein, ich musste alles allein schaffen, der Verkäufer  
301 saß nur vor dem Tisch. Und wenn es viele Kunden gab, dann fand ich das sehr hart, das alles  
302 gleichzeitig zu machen. Wenn ich viele Kunden hatte, musste ich zuerst das Gemüse verkaufen,  
303 dann musste ich zum Eis und dann musste ich wieder zur Limonade. Und das Eis musste ich  
304 machen. Also ich weiß, wie man Eis macht und wie das funktioniert. Ich musste das auch  
305 machen und ich musste Milch und Reis und wie heißen sie...die Zutaten musste ich auch kaufen,  
306 aber die sage ich euch nicht. (lacht) Und dann wieder zum Laden. Und wenn ich da zurückkam,  
307 gab es viele Kunden. Dann musste ich das lassen und erstmal verkaufen. Dann musste ich das  
308 Eis machen und in eine Maschine packen und die Maschine hat kühl gemacht. Am Ende des  
309 Tages, als ich nach Hause kam, waren meine Füße wie einer Elefant oder Bomben. Aber ich  
310 musste nicht, ich wollte das von mir selbst. Meine Familie hat mir immer gesagt, du musst  
311 nicht. Also mach was du willst, das ist dein Leben, leb' dein Leben.

312 F: Und wieso wolltest du das?

313 A: Ich wollte das, weil ich in Syrien gearbeitet habe. Ich wollte das von mir selbst. Mein Vater  
314 hat mir immer gesagt, du lernst ja und du verbringst deine Zeit mit den anderen. Und du musst  
315 keine Interesse für das Geld haben. Ich bin immer neben dir. Wenn du Geld brauchst, sagst du  
316 mir Bescheid. Ich habe viel Geld, sozusagen, verbraucht. Als ich dann die Verantwortung  
317 übernommen hab, wie ich meinen Vater gesehen habe. Ich habe gesagt, ich will versuchen, wie  
318 ein Mann das Geld verdienen. Mein Vater muss nicht so hart arbeiten. Er ist ein



319 Automechaniker. Er hat genug Geld verdient. Nicht nur genug, sondern mehr. Ich habe keinen  
320 Interesse für das Geld gehabt, aber dann wollte ich ja wissen, wie das läuft oder wie das  
321 funktioniert. Dann wollte ich auf die Arbeit oder eine Arbeit suchen. Ich hab auch eine Arbeit  
322 in Syrien auch gehabt. Ich bin auf die Arbeit gegangen. Und der Verkäufer hatte .. wie sagt man  
323 das, er hat mir geglaubt, er kann den Laden mit lassen, er hat Vertrauen zu mir. Er hat die  
324 Verantwortung mir übergeben, wenn er müde war und nach Hause ging, um zwei, drei  
325 Stunden zu schlafen.

326 F: Es war wahrscheinlich, dass du schon erfahren bist?

327 A: Aber ich war so klein, als ich das versuchen wollte, da war ich elf Jahre oder zwölf Jahre.  
328 Eine Antwort auf ein Kind, der zwölf Jahre alt, ein Laden, Kunden und das Geld, und so, ist ein  
329 bisschen zu groß. Ich habe das gut gemacht und gut geschafft. Und als ich nach die Türkei  
330 gefahren bin, habe ich das auch so gemacht. Der Verkäufer hat manchmal mich allein gelassen  
331 und ist nach Hause gegangen. Er hatte auch Vertrauen.

332 F: In deiner Heimatstadt hast du auch in einem Gemüseladen gearbeitet?

333 A: Nein, das war ein Lebensmittelgeschäft.

334 F: Und da hast du auch die Sachen verkauft und den Kunden geholfen?

335 A: Ja, aber es hat mir immer Spaß gemacht.

336 F: Warum, kann man da etwas lernen was man in der Schule nicht lernen kann?

337 A: Das Leben ist eine Schule. Man muss nicht alles in der Schule lernen. Man lernt alles von  
338 diesem Leben. Zum Beispiel auch auf dem Weg nach Deutschland, da gab es keine Schule und  
339 ich habe Sachen gelernt, von dem was ich erlebt habe.

340 F: Warum würdest du zum Beispiel deinem eigenen Kind empfehlen, so früh arbeiten zu gehen?

341 A: Ich will ihm nicht empfehlen. Ich will ihn lassen. Er muss nicht. Ich musste auch nicht. Ich  
342 wollte das von mir selbst. Aber die Verantwortung ist in diesem Leben ein bisschen schwer.

343 F: Wenn ich das richtig verstehe: der Umzug aus deiner Heimatstadt nach Mersin hat dein  
344 Leben nicht so viel geändert?

345 A: Nein, nicht so viel geändert.

346 F: Also lange auf Arbeit zu gehen war gleich, ihr habt gleich in einer Wohnung gewohnt...

347 A: ...Schule gehabt.

348 F: Dann hast du mit der Schule angefangen. Das erzählst du mir noch, wie du auf die Schule  
349 gekommen bist. Aber gab es irgendwas, was anders geworden ist? Oder war alles so, wie in  
350 deiner Heimatstadt?

351 A: Na ja...(überlegt) Das war das gleiche, sozusagen. Aber was der Unterschied war, ist, dass  
352 wir in Mersin ein Meer gehabt haben und in meiner Heimatstadt gab es keine Meer. In Mersin  
353 gab es eine Meer und ich bin immer im Meer geschwommen und mit meinen Freunden  
354 spazierengegangen. Aber es gab nicht so viel Unterschied. Nur die Sprache und das war's. Aber  
355 ich hab mich da immer wohlfühlt. Immer glücklich und so. Es war, wie gesagt, schön. Es hat  
356 auch Spaß gemacht.

357 F: Die Freunde waren die gleichen?

358 A: Nein, denn in Syrien gab es Freunde, die gestorben sind. Die Armee hat sie geschossen.  
359 Aber in der Türkei nicht, da hab ich andere Freunde gehabt. Sie schreiben mit mir bis heute.

360 F: Wie hast du sie kennengelernt?

361 A: In der Schule, die sind Schulfreunde.

362 F: Also du bist angekommen und hast dann die Arbeit gefunden. Da hast du deine zwölf  
363 Stunden gearbeitet?

364 A: Ja, ich hab das allein gesucht. Keine hat mir geholfen.

365 F: In welchem Monat bist du in Mersin angekommen?

366 A: In der vierten, also in April.

367 F: Okay, und dann kamen die Sommerferien oder hast du schon vor den Sommerferien die  
368 Schule besucht? Wann bist du auf die Schule gekommen?

369 A: Im normales Schuljahr.

370 F: Also im nächsten, im September. Zwischen April und September hast du nur gearbeitet, hast  
371 Türkisch gelernt?

372 A: Ja, da hab ich auch gut Türkisch gelernt, weil die Kunden waren Türken. Ich musste auch  
373 mein Türkisch verbessern. Ich konnte nicht in einen Integrationskurs gehen. Dann hab ich mir  
374 ein Wörterbuch gekauft und die Wörter vom Buch gelernt.

375 F: Die Wörter, die du gehört hast, hast du gesucht oder hast du einfach das Wörterbuch gelesen?

376 A: Die Wörter die ich brauchte. Zum Beispiel wie wir jetzt, wir diskutieren miteinander. Es  
377 gibt Wörter, die ich brauchte. Dann nahm ich mein Wörterbuch und dann suchte ich. Nicht nur  
378 für das Gemüse und Obst, sondern auch, wie man diskutieren muss.

379 F: Naja, deine ersten Gesprächspartner waren ja die Kunden im Laden. Und dann hast du  
380 langsam auch woanders Freunde gefunden oder wie ging es weiter? Ich kann mir vorstellen, du  
381 bist neu in Mersin, du kennst ja niemanden, außer deinem Schwager.

382 A: ...und meinen Onkel und die Verwandten.

383 F: Und dann, wie hast du dann andere Leute kennengelernt?

384 A: Dann habe ich meinen Nachbarn gesehen. Dann kamen unsere Nachbarn zu uns. Ich musste  
385 mit ihnen auch diskutieren, wie wir jetzt diskutieren. Und dann hab ich auch von ihnen Türkisch  
386 gelernt. Es gab auch einen Laden neben uns. Da war ein Türke und der konnte Arabisch.  
387 Manchmal, als ich zu ihm gegangen bin, da habe ich ihn gefragt, wie heißt das auf Türkisch. Er  
388 hat auch manchmal Arabisch von mir gelernt und ich von ihm Türkisch.

389 F: War das ein älterer Mann?

390 A: Er war jung, 20/21.

391 F: Ah okay, und wo hat er denn überhaupt Arabisch gelernt?

392 A: Es gibt lange Geschichte zwischen dem Syrien und der Türkei. Es gibt Menschen, die von  
393 Syrien in die Türkei gekommen sind und sie haben den Pass und den Ausweis von der Türkei  
394 bekommen. Und da mussten sie Türkisch lernen, so wie ich, wenn ich acht Jahre in Deutschland  
395 bleibe, dann bekomme ich der deutsche Pass. Die sind auch so. Er hat von seinem Vater  
396 Arabisch gelernt. Das ist vor dem zweiten Weltkrieg passiert.

397 F: Er hat dir immer geholfen und du hast ihm ein bisschen Arabisch beigebracht.

398 A: Ja, wie gesagt, er hat von seinem Vater gelernt. Ich hab ihm Wörter beigebracht und er auch.

399 F: So langsam ging es. Wie lange hat es gedauert, bis du Türkisch geworden bist, so gut  
400 gesprochen hast, wie jetzt Deutsch?

401 A: Wie jetzt Deutsch...in drei, vier Monaten.

402 F: Nur durch Sprechen und mit dem Wörterbuch?

403 A: Ja.

404 F: Hast du die Wörter auch aufgeschrieben?

405 A: Nein, musste ich nicht, weil sie im Wörterbuch waren. Die Wörter, die ich brauchte oder  
406 lernen musste, habe ich die markiert. Oder ich musste nicht markieren und suchte sie nach  
407 Buchstaben.

408 F: Also hattest du kein anderes Buch?

409 A: Nein, kein anderes.

410 F: Hast du das Wörterbuch noch?

411 A: Nein, hab ich verloren.

412 F: Schade, okay. Und dann, Sommer vorbei. Wie bist du auf die Schule gekommen, wie hast  
413 du deine Schule gefunden?

414 A: Die Schule habe ich von unseren Verwandt. Ich habe immer gehört, dass es in Mersin eine  
415 Schule gibt und so. Das System ist so wie bei uns in Syrien. Also kann man auch alles auf  
416 Arabisch lernen. Sozusagen eine syrische Schule. Sie war neben einem Lebensmittelgeschäft.  
417 Es heißt "Bim". Das habe ich immer gelesen, dass es neben dem Geschäft eine Schule gibt,  
418 denn es war auf Türkisch und Arabisch geschrieben. Das habe ich meiner Mutter gesagt und  
419 dann bin ich mit meinem Bruder und meiner Schwester dahingegangen. Wir mussten die Schule  
420 bezahlen.

421 F: Du hast die Schule gesehen, weil sie neben dem Lebensmittelgeschäft war und du bist dann  
422 dahingegangen und hast gefragt, ob sie Plätze haben?

423 A: Ja, da hab ich mich informiert. Dann hab ich das meiner Mutter gesagt, weil sie wollte, dass  
424 wir in die Schule gehen. Dann ist sie mit mir gegangen. Da waren nur Araber, mit denen wir  
425 Arabisch gesprochen haben. Da habe ich mich angemeldet, wie meine Schwester und meinen  
426 kleinen Bruder. Und dann bin ich in die Schule gegangen. Da war das System nicht wie ein  
427 türkisches Schulsystem. Das System war wie bei uns in Syrien. Man muss das ganze Buch und  
428 und und. Einen Monat durfte ich aus dem Zimmer nicht raus. Ich musste von mir selbst nicht  
429 raus. Denn in diesem Monat musste ich die ganzen Bücher durchlesen und lernen.

430 F: Neunte Klasse?

431 A: Ja, neunte Klasse. Meine Mutter sagte, ruh dich aus. Geh raus, damit du wieder gut lernen  
432 kannst. Die ganzen Bücher hab ich mit meiner Schwester gelernt. Wir waren in einem Zimmer.  
433 Sie musste die zwölfte Klasse machen. Die zwölfte Klasse ist auch schlimmer als neunte Klasse.  
434 Wir mussten zusammen in einem Zimmer sein, wo wir das zusammen lernen können. Als ich  
435 Hilfe brauchte, hab ich meine kleine Schwester geboten, mir zu helfen. Und da hab ich gute  
436 Noten bekommen. Ich war auf dem zweiten Platz. Auf dem ersten Platz war ein Mädchen. Ich  
437 hab ihr geholfen, sie hat immer von mir abgeschrieben. Deswegen war sie die erste, wegen mir.  
438 Sie hat mich immer geboten, hilf mir hilf mir. Ich hab ihr geholfen. Wenn sie Hilfe braucht,  
439 muss ich sie helfen, weil sie ein Mädchen ist. Dann habe ich ihr gelassen von mir abzuschreiben.  
440 Dann hab ich nichts gesagt, ich hab mich gefreut. Auf jeden Fall bin ich zweiter. Dann hab ich  
441 das Zeugnis bekommen. Das habe ich nicht bekommen, als ich in der Türkei war. Das Zeugnis  
442 habe ich bekommen als ich in Deutschland. Ich habe mit meiner Lehrerin gesprochen, weil sie  
443 mich gut aufgenommen, sie hat mich als Sohn genannt. Ich schreibe mit ihr bis heute immer  
444 nch. Sie sagt, dass sie mich als Arzt sehen wollen. Wir wollen uns freuen über so einen Schüler  
445 aus unserer Schule. Dann hab ich meinen Freund angerufen und ihn gefragt, ob er das Zeugnis  
446 von der Schule holen kann und dann schickte er es mir aus der Türkei nach Deutschland.

447 F: Und die Lehrer an dieser Schule waren alle aus Syrien ursprünglich?

448 A: Ja, sie mussten das alles auf Arabisch unterrichten, weil nicht alle Schüler Türkisch konnten.

449 F: Türkisch habt ihr an der Schule nicht gehabt?

450 A: Doch, wir haben türkische Stunden gehabt.

451 F: Also als Fremdsprache. Nochmal zu den Fremdsprachen. In Syrien hattest du Englisch von  
452 welcher Klasse an?

453 A: Englisch hatte ich von der fünften bis zur achten Klasse.

454 F: Und an der syrischen Schule in der Türkei?

455 A: Da hatte ich Türkisch, Englisch und Französisch.

456 F: Aha, dann hast du in der neunten Klasse auch Französisch gehabt.

457 A: Von der Siebten bis zur Neunten habe ich Französisch gehabt. Bei uns beginnt die zweite  
458 Fremdsprache in der Siebten. Bis zur zwölften Klasse. Französisch ist schwer und ich hab mit  
459 keinem Französisch gesprochen. Deswegen hab ich die Sprache ganz schnell vergessen. Wenn  
460 einer mit mir jetzt Französisch redet, fühle ich mich, als ich nie Französisch gelernt hatte.

461 F: Weil du sie ja nicht benutzt hast.

462 A: Ja, ich musste die nicht benutzen. Ich musste nur Englisch benutzen und Türkisch. Als ich  
463 in Griechenland und Mazedonien war, mussten wir ja mit den Anderen reden. Sie konnten kein  
464 Englisch. Da haben wir einen Mann aus der Türkei gesehen, da hab ich mit ihm Türkisch  
465 gesprochen. Dann sagte er, prima, dass du so Türkisch redest. Und dann sind wir gegangen.  
466 Aber das schlechteste Zeit war zwischen Griechenland und Mazedonien.

467 F: Aber auf dem Weg hast du überall Türkisch und Englisch benutzt?

468 A: Ja, also zum Beispiel in Österreich hab ich kein Türkisch und kein Englisch benutzt. Da hab  
469 ich Arabisch benutzt. Da wollte ich zu einem Hotel gehen. Da wollten wir mit dem Taxi fahren.  
470 Da gab es einen Mann, wir wussten das nicht, und dann plötzlich, als wir eingestiegen sind,  
471 fragte er, wo wollt ihr hin, aber auf Arabisch. Wir waren so überrascht. Bist du Araber? Dann  
472 sagte er ja, aber aus Marokko. Wie kann ich euch helfen. Kannst du uns bitte zu einem Hotel  
473 bringen, uns helfen und mit dem Mann reden? Da sagte er, ja, das mache ich gern. Wir sind  
474 Araber, wir müssen zusammenhalten. Und dann hat er uns geholfen. Und im nächsten Tag sind  
475 wir zum Hauptbahnhof gelaufen, da haben wir mit keinem gesprochen. Von der Maschine  
476 haben wir die Tickets gekauft.

477 F: Für den Zug?

478 A: Ja, für den Zug.

479 F: Und dann seid ihr direkt nach Berlin gekommen?

480 A: Nein, wir sind nach München gefahren, 60 Stunden im Zug. Dann in München umgestiegen  
481 und nach Berlin, denn wenn ich nach Berlin fahren wollte, dann muss ich durch ein Land, wie  
482 heißt es?

483 F: Slowakei, Tschechien, Polen?

484 A: Slowakei, ja, Slowakei. Und Slowakei nimmt keine Ausländer. Oder wenn sie uns wollen,  
485 dann müssen wir für einen Monat im Gefängnis bleiben.

486 F: Aha und woher wusstet ihr das?

487 A: Das wussten wir von den Menschen. Und wir haben auch nachgefragt. Wie gesagt, man  
488 muss immer nachfragen. Dann sind wir nach München und in München umgestiegen. Wir sind  
489 so 60 Stunden in München geblieben. Dann sind wir nach Berlin gefahren. In Berlin mussten  
490 wir eine Woche auf der Straße bleiben. Ja also es gibt keine Wohnung, man darf in Deutschland  
491 keine Wohnung mieten oder für ein Hotel bezahlen, wenn du keinen Ausweis hast. Ja, also das  
492 ist ein syrischer Ausweis, bitteschön. Und das ist unser Pass.

493 F: Haben sie nicht akzeptiert?

494 A: Nein, wir mussten auf der Straße schlafen. Ich hab auch auf der Straße geschlafen. Wie ich  
495 im Wald in Ungarn, wie ich im Wald in Serbien oder wie ich im Wald in Mazedonien oder wie  
496 ich im Wald in Griechenland oder wie oder wie oder wie.

497 F: Also das heißt ja, wie ich verstehe, der Wechsel nach Mersin hat dein Leben eigentlich nicht  
498 so sehr beeinflusst. War ziemlich ähnlich zu deinem Leben in Syrien. Aber der Wechsel von  
499 Mersin nach Deutschland war ein großer Wechsel. Ist etwas ähnlich geblieben?

500 A: (...) (überlegt) Nein, es ist nichts ähnlich geblieben. Also es gibt viel Unterschied zwischen  
501 der Türkei und Deutschland oder Deutschland und Syrien. Will man es aufschreiben, gibt es  
502 viel Unterschied.

503 F: Kannst du ein Beispiel nennen?

504 A: In Deutschland ja jeder ist allein. Zum Beispiel rede ich mit meinem Nachbarn nur Hallo  
505 und Moin. Er besucht mich nicht oder so. Aber in der Türkei besucht er einen und fragt immer

506 nach. In Syrien ist es auch so und der Nachbar fragt immer nach. In Deutschland macht man  
507 das nicht und jeder ist allein. Man fühlt sich alleine. Und die Menschen in der Türkei hat man  
508 gemerkt, dass sie hilfsbereit sind. In Deutschland na ja...manche ja, manche nicht.

509 F: Und was die Schule anbelangt?

510 A: Na ja die Schule, nur die Sprache, die Bücher muss man nicht auswendig lernen. Ich habe  
511 noch keine Prüfung gehabt, damit ich das sagen kann.

512 F: Als du deine Heimatstadt verlassen hast und ihr seid nach Mersin gekommen, war Mersin  
513 das Ziel oder Mersin war nur für eine kurze Zeit gedacht?

514 A: Die Türkei war das Ziel. Nicht nur Mersin, sondern die Türkei war das Ziel. Zuerst haben  
515 wir nicht nachgedacht. Wir haben Deutschland gar nicht im Kopf gehabt. Aber man muss auch  
516 die Möglichkeiten ausnutzen. In der Türkei hatten wir die Möglichkeit einer normalen  
517 türkischen Schule nicht. Man darf hingehen, aber ich bin nicht hingegangen. Wie gesagt, das  
518 Ziel war nur Türkei.

519 F: Aber du meinst, die türkische Schule hättest du besuchen können, aber du bist dort nicht  
520 hingegangen, sondern du hast für die private arabische Schule bezahlt. Warum?

521 A: Dann muss passieren wie hier in Deutschland. Man muss zuerst die Sprache lernen und  
522 Klassen nehmen.

523 F: Und in dieser Schule hättest du die Möglichkeit gehabt, bis zur zwölften Klasse zu lernen?

524 A: Ja. Aber ich hab das Zeugnis und in Deutschland sagen sie das Zeugnis ist nicht so wichtig.  
525 Warum, keine Ahnung. Und da ist eine richtige normale Schule.

526 F: Also, du hast ja da die Schule besucht, ihr habt eine Wohnung gehabt. Warum habt ihr euch  
527 dann dafür entschieden, weiterzugehen?

528 A: Wo?

529 F: Sagen wir mal nach Deutschland.

530 A: (..) Ach, nee. (überlegt) In der Türkei musste meine Schwester operiert werden. Wenn sie  
531 operiert werden will, muss sie von 60-120.000 € bezahlen. Und das ist ein bisschen zu viel.  
532 Dann haben wir gesagt. Naja, da helfen sie uns. Also wir könnten da bleiben und immer  
533 bezahlen aber man muss auch nicht. Es braucht eigentlich nicht so viel Geld. 60-120.000 € ist  
534 eine riesige, riesige Summe. Und dann sind wir nach Deutschland gekommen und da haben wir  
535 gesagt, wir haben die Möglichkeit.

536 F: Warum nicht Schweden oder Frankreich?

537 A: Zuerst war das Ziel Großbritannien. Aber als Deutschland mich genommen hat, wollte ich  
538 eigentlich weitergehen. Aber die Polizei hat uns genommen.

539 F: Habt ihr Verwandte in Großbritannien?

540 A: Nein.

541 F: Also ihr kennt niemanden da?

542 A: Nein, da kennen wir keinen. Aber warum Großbritannien? Weil da Englisch benutzt wird,  
543 die Weltsprache. Zweitens, die Zeugnisse sind anders, das Schulsystem ist anders, das Land ist  
544 anders, der Ausweis ist anders, alles ist anders. Man redet über Großbritannien.

545 F: In Syrien redet man gut über GB?

546 A: Nein, unser Zeugnis ist sehr gut auf der Welt. Ich bin in Syrien gelernt. Unser Zeugnis ist  
547 auch stark. Aber in diesem Krieg ist es ganz schlimm geworden, er hat alles kaputt gemacht.

548 F: Aha, dann hast du oder deine Familie gedacht, ein Zeugnis aus GB könnte sehr wertvoll sein.

549 A: Nein, also zuerst weil es viele Menschen in Deutschland gibt, über eine Million, oder in  
550 Schweden oder in Österreich. Gibt es viele, viele Menschen.

551 F: Also wir gehen nicht dahin, wo die anderen sind, wo viele sind, sondern wir gehen  
552 irgendwohin?

553 A: Oder ein Ziel war Kanada. Also entweder Kanada oder GB.

554 F: Dann hast du ja gesehen, dass du hier bleiben musst. Erstmal warst du kurz in Berlin, dann  
555 in Chemnitz und dann in Leipzig. Und in Leipzig hast du vier Monate gewartet. Was hast du in  
556 diesen vier Monaten gemacht?

557 A: Ich versuchte immer, deutsch zu lernen.

558 F: Von wem oder wie?

559 A: Im Heim gab es Deutschstunden, die man besuchen konnte.

560 F: Und das war für Kinder?

561 A: Für alle Menschen, die im Heim sind. 10% versuchten immer Deutsch zu lernen und ich war  
562 einer von denen.

563 F: Dann hast du einen Brief bekommen, oder?

564 A: Dann sagt man auf Deutsch "Transfer". Dann musste ich zu einer Wohnung, einer  
565 Flüchtlingsunterkunft. Da haben sie mir gesagt, dass ich einen Termin habe an diesem Ort. Das  
566 war in der Nonnenstraße, da haben sie mich in die 16. Oberschule versetzt.

567 F: Wenn du dich an die ersten ein paar Wochen zurückerinnerst an diese Schule, was fällt dir  
568 ein? Deine ersten Eindrücke?

569 A: In den ersten Monaten hatte ich sehr viel Stress mit den anderen Schülern. Sie dachten, dass  
570 sie immer die besten sind. Wie sagt man das... Ich schweige, sie schreien immer. Bei uns sagt  
571 man, und das ist die Wahrheit, wenn man viel schreit, heißt das, dass man Angst hat. Und das  
572 ist die Wahrheit. Zum Beispiel ich schreie vor den Mädeln oder vor den Kumpels. Ich will den  
573 nur zeigen, oh guck mal wie stark ich bin. Aber in seinem Körper oder in seinem Herz fehlt  
574 ihm ein die Stärke, deswegen schreit er. Er will irgendwie auf irgendwelcher Weise zeigen, wie  
575 stark er ist. Aber die Wahrheit ist, dass er wie ein Ballon ist. Drinne gibt es nur Luft. Von außen  
576 sieht er schön aus aber von drinnen gibt es nur Luft. Wenn man mit einer Nadel so macht, platzt  
577 der Ballon. Er ist auch nur ein Ballon. Man muss nur neben ihm sitzen oder zu ihm gehen und  
578 in seine Ohren oder vor den Anderen reden, ganz normal. Steht er vor mir, rede ich mit ihm  
579 ganz normal. Dann hat er Angst vor mir. Warum? Weil ich die Nadel bin. Ich hab mit denen

580 immer Stress gehabt. Sie haben immer gesagt, dass ich nicht cool gehe. Aber man muss den  
581 Anderen auch nicht zeigen, weil ich immer sage, Reden ist von Silber, Schweigen ist aus Gold.  
582 Ich weiß, wie mein Kopf ist, was ich bin, was ich im Kopf habe und sie wissen, was sie sind  
583 und was sie im Kopf haben. Ich versuchte immer ohne Stress das alles zu machen. Wenn ich  
584 wollte, konnte ich mit denen streiten, aber ich versuchte, nie zu reden. Nicht aus Angst, sondern  
585 Schweigen ist vom Gold.

586 F: Wenn mein Buch auch Lehrer lesen, die nicht aus Sachsen kommen, sondern Bremen oder  
587 Freiburg, und die kennen das System nicht. Kannst du kurz aus deiner Sicht erzählen, wie du  
588 die Schule hier besucht hast?

589 A: Zuerst muss ich sechs Wochen in die DaZKlasse, wo ich Deutsch lernen musste. Dann habe  
590 ich angefangen, in die Regelklasse zu gehen.

591 F: Denkst du, dass das ein gutes System ist?

592 A: Ja, weil zuerst kommt der Schüler, wenn er kein Deutsch reden kann. Er muss ein bisschen  
593 gut Deutsch reden, damit er die Anderen verstehen kann. Dann schicken sie ihn in die  
594 Regelklasse, damit er weiß wie es funktioniert und weiß was er machen muss. Und dann lernt  
595 er viel von den anderen Mitschülern. Sie helfen ihm mit der Sprache. Aber sie merken das nicht,  
596 dass sie ihm helfen. Neue Wörter, wie sie reden. Wie sie die Wörter benutzen. Und dann hat er  
597 1,5 Jahre Deutsch gelernt. Und 1,5 Jahre ist genug für einen Schüler. Aber was schlimm ist, ist  
598 wie sie die Schüler verteilen. Sie haben mich in die achte gesteckt, aber ich habe schon die  
599 neunte Klasse gemacht. Ich bin schon 17 und muss wieder in die neunte gehen. Das finde ich  
600 schlimm, die Wiederholungen.

601 F: Wie schätzt du jetzt die Chancen auf ein Abitur ein? Das neue Schuljahr beginnst du ja jetzt  
602 in Klasse neun auf dem Gymnasium.

603 A: Ich hab noch keine Ahnung.

604 F: Zeit ist genug, neunte, zehnte, elfte, zwölfte Klasse. Was sind die Pläne für die Zukunft?

605 A: Die Pläne für die Zukunft sind viele, im Abitur möchte ich ein gutes Zeugnis, überall Eins,  
606 damit ich Medizin studieren kann. Nach den sieben Jahren möchte ich wie sagt man das ein  
607 Professor werden wollen. Es kann sein, dass ich bis 37 nicht mit dem Studium fertig bin. Wenn  
608 man Professor werden will, dauert das lange.

609 Du hast ja in Mersin ganz viel gearbeitet in deiner Freizeit, aber als du mit der Schule  
610 angefangen hast, hast du neben der Schule auch gearbeitet?

611 A: Nein, ich musste nur trainieren.

612 F: Also in deiner Freizeit nach der Schule hast du nur trainiert?

613 A: Ja.

614 F: Nur mit den Freunden oder allein oder wie und wo?

615 A: Alle fragen mich, woher du diesen Körper habe. Ich bin auch stolz auf mich, dass ich so  
616 einen Körper habe. Aber ich musste auch viel trainieren im Leben. Zum Beispiel in Syrien in  
617 meiner Freizeit bin ich in ein Karatestudio gegangen und kickboxen. Als ich in der Türkei war,



618 gab es so Fitnessmaschinen und so, also musste ich mit denen trainieren und rennen. Ich musste  
619 auch fußballspielen und rennen. Ich habe auch trainiert.

620 F: Also das was ich nicht trainiert habe, hast du trainiert.

621 A: (lacht) Ja, stimmt.

622 F: Und das war dann das gleiche hier in Leipzig?

623 A: Ja, weil ich Sport mag.

624 F: Wie ist ein ganz normaler Tag hier in Leipzig?

625 A: Ein normaler Tag hier in Leipzig...Ich gehe morgens in die Schule. Dann komme ich nach  
626 Hause und lerne. Wenn ich Zeit habe, gehe ich mit meinen Freunden. Wenn es aber schon zu  
627 spät ist, trainiere ich und dann dusche ich mich und...

628 F: Also vom Tagesablauf hast du in allen drei Städten gleich gelebt?

629 A: Hmm.(..) Naja, nicht immer, nicht alle. Naja, das ist das Leben eines Junges.

630 F: Wenn man in die Schule geht, ist die Hälfte des Tages vorbei.

631 A: Stimmt (lacht).

632 F: Zum Beispiel Schwimmen?

633 A: Ja, ich geh schwimmen. Sport heißt nicht nur Fitness oder Rennen. Heute bin ich zum  
634 Beispiel schwimmen gegangen. Das heißt, dass ich heute nicht trainieren muss.

635 F: Hast du auch andere Kurse besucht, Sprachkurse, Musikkurse oder irgendwelche  
636 Freizeitangebote?

637 A: Ich habe eigentlich nur Englisch in Syrien ein Jahr lang gehabt.

638 F: Und jede Woche einmal oder..?

639 A: Ja, einmal pro Woche.

640 F: War das ein Kurs oder ein Privatlehrer?

641 A: Es war ein Kurs. Aber ich muss auch einen Kurs machen, ich muss auch mein Englisch  
642 verbessern. Auch nach sechs Jahren, die man der Schule lernt, ist auch nicht so viel. Nur einen  
643 Text gelesen, die Wörter ja, aber die Regeln sind nicht so bekannt. Das kann man nicht so als  
644 Muttersprache nehmen.

645 F: Wir kommen jetzt zu einer komischen Frage Wenn du malen könntest, wie würdest du die  
646 drei Lebensstationen malen? Was haben sie miteinander zutun?

647 A: Alles hat mit jedem zu tun. In Syrien das kann man als einen Jungen malen, der traurig ist,  
648 in der Türkei glücklich und in Deutschland allein.

649 F: Wenn wir daran denken, dass du überall die Schule besucht hast, haben die acht Jahre, das  
650 eine Jahr und jetzt die zwei Jahre fast, haben sie miteinander zutun?

651 A: Wie meinen Sie das?

652 F: Wenn du das mit einer Schullaufbahn aus Damaskus vom Anfang bis Ende vergleichst, was  
653 fällt auf?

654 A: Es ist gleich, nur dass man hier allein ist. In der Türkei fühlt man sich nicht allein. Ein  
655 Gefühl, das man nicht beschreiben kann.

656 F: Welchen Einfluss haben die zwei Lebensortwechsel auf deine schulische Karriere. Hat er  
657 Vorteile oder Nachteile?

658 A: Es hat Vorteile.

659 F: Welche?

660 A: Dass ich die Systeme der Welt gelernt habe. Ich habe immer gewonnen, nicht verloren.  
661 Außer den Krieg in meiner Heimat. Ich wusste ja, wie das in Deutschland oder in der Türkei  
662 läuft, wie die Menschen in Deutschland und der Türkei sind, die Sprachen, das Land, das finde  
663 ich Gewinn.

664 F: Stell dir vor, du wärest in der Nonnenstraße oder in der Türkei. Du könntest über die Kinder,  
665 die aus Syrien kommen, entscheiden. Was würdest du für die Kinder, die so wie du wandern  
666 mussten oder müssen, vielleicht anders anbieten? Ich meine natürlich schulisch und von der  
667 Sprache her.

668 A: Die in meinem Alter sind, ich bitte sie, immer nachzugucken. Ich bin auch ein Junge und  
669 ich hab das auch hinter einem Mädchen zu rennen. Auch wenn du älter ist, das passiert. Denk  
670 nicht, 16 und dann Punkt oder 17 und dann Punkt. Zuerst musst du nachgucken und deine  
671 Zukunft erreichen. Wegen der Sprache sage ich, du musst mit dem Anderen reden, du musst  
672 versuchen, dich zu verbessern, Wörter aufschreiben, ein Buch kaufen.

673 F: Was können die Lehrer und Schulen besser machen damit die Schüler es einfacher haben?

674 A: Dass sie jedem seine Strafen geben.

675 F: Dass sie nicht ungerecht sind?

676 A: Ja, zum Beispiel, ich bin jetzt in der neunten Klasse, aber als ich in der achten war, hab ich  
677 mir gesagt, ich muss, damit ich mein Ziel erreichen kann, ich muss nicht, weil ich das alles  
678 schon kenne, erstens. Zweitens, alle sind kleiner als ich, ich bin der älteste. Ich denke, die sind  
679 immer Kinder. Wenn wir miteinander reden, bin ich immer allein sitzen geblieben. Es passierte  
680 mal, da hat ein Lehrer die Mitschüler gefragt, redet ihr mit jemandem nicht? Warum redet ihr  
681 mit ihm nicht? Habt ihr mit ihm gestritten? Nein, haben wir nicht. Aber er redet mit uns nicht.  
682 Ja ich bin immer allein geblieben, weil ich immer Kinder gefunden habe. Sie denken, das Auto  
683 zum Beispiel. Gestern habe ich ein schönes Auto gesehen. Sie öffnen Kinderthemen. Das finde  
684 ich schlimm, dass ich mit 17 mit den Kindern lernen musste. Sie müssen jedem das Recht geben,  
685 wenn er 17 ist, die elfte Klasse zu machen. Das Problem ist nicht nur wegen mir, sondern auch  
686 wegen der Anderen. Denn wenn ich allein bin, dann ist das kein Problem aber das passiert ja  
687 nicht nur mit mir, sondern mit den Anderen auch. Ich bin jetzt 17 und rede mit den 14-jährigen  
688 oder 15-jährigen und das finde ich schlimm. Zum Beispiel gibt es Freunde, die sind 17 und  
689 reden mit denen aus den zwölf. Das ist wirklich sehr ungerecht. Ich bitte das Schulsystem in  
690 Deutschland oder Sachsen, jedem das Recht zu geben.

691 F: Du bist bestimmt schon sehr müde. Gibt es noch etwas was du hinzufügen möchtest?

692 A: Nein, danke. Ich bin sehr sehr müde.

Interview Transcript of Zairbek, 18 years old

Leipzig, 29 July 2017

Z: Zairbek F: Forscherin

1 F: Also wir fangen jetzt an, und wie ich gesagt habe, ich interessiere mich für dein Leben,  
2 alles was du mir erzählen möchtest ist interessant für mich.

3 Z: Ich bin Dezember im Winter geboren. In diesen Tagen hat es viel geregnet, dreizehn  
4 Jahre lang jeden Tag wann ich Geburtstag hatte war es so Regen. Ich bin erste Mal in die  
5 Schule gegangen 2003 oder 2004 und war gut in der Schule bis 5. Klasse. In 5. Klasse  
6 habe ich eine Schulferien gehabt in eine andere Stadt und dort haben wir ein Monate  
7 geblieben und ich habe alles aus der Schule vergessen. Ich habe mich sehr.. keine  
8 Ahnung warum habe ich so aber ... ab 5. Klasse war ich in der Schule nicht so gut und  
9 nicht so schlimm, bis 9. Klasse. Wir haben in der Schule in der neunten Klasse sowas wie  
10 eine Parade gemacht, die Armee Kleidung getragen und in die Zentrum marschieren mit  
11 andere Stadt haben wir wie eine Touriere gemacht wer gut macht bekommt ein Pokal. In  
12 meinen Gruppe waren wir und eine andere Stadt zusammen und wir haben gewonnen.  
13 Erstmal gegen andere Schule, dann gegen andere Stadt und dann gegen die Hauptstadt. In  
14 der Hauptstadt gibt es aber eine echte Armeeschule, dort lernen die Kinder ohne Vater  
15 ohne Mutter und die waren besser. Nach der Schule habe ich meine Papiere wie ein  
16 College so abgegeben und da habe ich so wie eine Exam, eine Prüfung gehabt. 50  
17 Prozent habe ich geschafft und der Examinator hat gesagt ich muss noch drei Monate die  
18 College besuchen und erstmal bezahlen und bis Ende bezahlen. College ist wie eine  
19 Berufsschule aber ein bisschen schwer. Dort kannst du Rechtsanwalt oder Economist  
20 oder so lernen. Ich wollte Programist lernen. Ich habe meine Papiere in diesen Bereich  
21 abgegeben aber in Tschetschenien gibt es so viele Programisten und Rechtsanwälte auch  
22 und so muss man für Schule bezahlen. Nachdem ich mein Papier abgegeben habe in die  
23 College wir sind nach Europa gekommen. Erste Mal war ich in Polen und dort habe ich  
24 acht oder sieben Monate gelebt und dort habe ich auch ein Gymnasium besucht, die  
25 dritte. Mit Sprache war es sehr schwer, weil gibt so viele „z“ (Beispiele für polnische  
26 Laute) und so komische Sprechen. Nur ein bisschen habe ich gelernt, aber wenn ich  
27 Russisch spreche dann die anderen verstehen, weil gibt es nicht so viele Unterschied.  
28 2016 wir sind in Deutschland gekommen. In erste halbes Jahr habe ich nur zu Hause  
29 geblieben, nur schlafen und habe keine Interesse mit andere Tschetschenische Leute oder  
30 Deutsche auch. Dann bin ich in die 16. Oberschule gegangen. Erstmal war ich mit einer  
31 Lehrerin sie hat mir nicht so gut Deutsche gelernt. Sie hat mir gar nichts erklärt und wenn  
32 ich frage sie hat gar nicht geantwortet, wenn ich erstmal in die Klasse komme sie hat  
33 mir einen Test gegeben, das war ein Bild ich muss schreiben was ich sehe und ich kann  
34 nur hallo und tschüss sagen. Ich bin nochmal in dieser Schule in eine andere Gruppe  
35 gekommen und dort habe ich sehr gut Deutsch gelernt, nicht so super aber kann ich jetzt

36 mit anderen sprechen. Ich war nur vier Monate aber ich habe gut gelernt. Diese Gruppe  
37 war gut, die anderen Mitschüler waren nett und unsere Lehrerin war auch so. Sie hat gut  
38 erklärt und wir haben mit ihr viel Spaß gehabt. Wenn du das erste Jahr mit dieser  
39 Lehrerin habe, dann kann ich wie ein Mann Deutsch lernen. Ich will noch weiter lernen  
40 aber nicht in Deutschland, in Polen, nicht in Europa, sondern in Tschetschenien. Dort  
41 muss ich die Sprache nicht lernen, ich kenne die Tradition, die Kultur und ich kann  
42 einfach lernen. Dort ist meine Heimat. Hier bin ich wie ein Gast. In Tschetschenien in  
43 den Ferien wie sind mit allen Freunden zu See gefahren und Spaß gehabt, wir waren  
44 immer zusammen. Wann ich in Tschetschenien war habe ich gelacht Europa und  
45 Deutschland dort leben die Leute reich und ich wollte gucken aber nicht hier bleiben. Ich  
46 wollte in Tschetschenien Universität oder so beenden, heiraten, Arbeit bekommen. In  
47 Tschetschenien habe ich immer gelacht und Spaß gehabt und jetzt bin ich immer zu  
48 Hause, schlafe und ich habe ein anderes Herz. Es gibt die zwei Teile, der eine ist die gute  
49 und die andere das schlechte. Gute Teil ist was ich in Europa gelernt habe, wie muss ich  
50 mit andere Leute sein, sprechen, Probleme lösen und wie ein Leben Programm habe ich  
51 gelernt, und die schlechte Teil ist, dass ich in andere Land bin. Ich habe hier viele  
52 Tschetschenische Leute gesehen, aber die heißen nur Tschetschenisch aber zum Beispiel  
53 die Mädchen tragen Hose und zu Hause tragen sie Rock und die haben ihre Tradition  
54 verkauft, weil sie in Europa sind. Alle müssen ihre Traditionen halten. Wenn eine macht  
55 schlecht dann sagen die anderen alle Tschetschenische sind so.

56 F: Ja, klar. Ich möchte ein bisschen das System verstehen. Hast du mit sechs angefangen  
57 in die Schule zu gehen?

58 Z: Nein mit fünf bin ich in die Schule gegangen. 1-9 Klasse die gleiche Schule. Und  
59 meine Klasse hat letztes Jahr die elfte Klasse beendet. Neunte Klasse Zeugnis kannst du  
60 Beruf lernen und wenn 11. Klasse Zeugnis dann kann an die Universität oder Hochschule  
61 gehen.

62 F: Welche Fächer hast du in dieser Schule gehabt?

63 Z: Geschichte, Mathe, Russische und Tschetschenische Literatur und Sprache, Biologie,  
64 Geographie, Sport, Kunst, Musik, und mit Holz eine Stunde. Und Religion oder Ethik.  
65 Ab siebte Klasse Chemie und Physik. Ab achte Klasse Informatik und Geometrie und  
66 Algebra.

67 F: Wenn du die Fächer vergleichst, gibt es Unterschiede?

68 Z: In Polen das System ist so ähnlich, keine Unterschiede. Polen System hat gleiche  
69 Fächer. In Russland nur russische Geschichte aber in Polen und Deutschland auch andere  
70 Länder. In der Schule lernen wir keine Tschetschenische Geschichte, sondern nur ein Opa  
71 erzählt den Kindern und so weiter. Es gibt kein Buch wo man über Tschetschenische

72 Geschichte lesen kann. Der Stalin hat die Geschichte gelöscht, weil er gesagt hat, dass  
73 wenn die Tschetschenische Leute ihre Geschichte kennen, sind sie gefährlich. Was in  
74 Polen im Gymnasium dritte Klasse ist, ist so wie bei uns die Universität und so war es  
75 sehr schwer und ich habe über diese Themen noch nichts gelernt. Was wir in der  
76 Universität lernen, das lernen sie hier in Deutschland in der 9,10, Klasse.

77 F: Gab es etwas was du schon gelernt hast und hier nur wegen Deutsch konntest du nicht  
78 erzählen?

79 Z: Geschichte und Geografie.

80 F: Wie soll ich mir deine Stadt vorstellen?

81 Z: Das ist eine Stadt. Dort lebt nur 50 Tausend Leute und das ist in Tschetschenien eine  
82 große Stadt weil in Tschetschenien leben nur 1.5 Millionen Menschen. Grozny ist die  
83 Hauptstadt und es gibt noch andere Städte. Das ist so wie Deutschland es gibt jede Stadt  
84 andere Regeln aber alles gehört zu Russland, aber eine Republik.

85 F: Muss man für die Schule bezahlen?

86 Z: Nein bis 9. Klasse nicht, aber für Berufsschule oder Universität ja. 2000-3000 EUR  
87 am Anfang musst du bezahlen.

88 F: Wie ist es mit den Sprachen?

89 Z: Zu Hause Tschetschenisch und Russisch nur in Russisch Unterricht und alle andere  
90 Fächer auf Tschetschenisch. Alle Kinder lernen schon als Kind mit Fernseher und andere  
91 Menschen Russisch. 75% Tschetschenische Leute können Russisch. Ich habe Russisch  
92 mit meiner Cousine gelernt. Sie war nach Russland gegangen und sie hat mit mir immer  
93 Russisch gesprochen.

94 F: Wie ist es mit dem Schreiben?

95 Z. Tschetschenisch und Russisch die Buchstaben sind gleich. Ich kann Tschetschenisch  
96 aufschreiben und Russisch auch. Schreiben habe ich 1.-2. Klasse gelernt auf  
97 Tschetschenisch.

98 F: In der siebten oder achten Klasse, wenn du an einen ganz normalen Schultag denkst,  
99 Dienstag oder Mittwoch, wie war dein Tag, was hast du so gemacht?

100 Z: Ich habe dort einen guten Freund, besten Freund. Er ist nur in siebte Klasse gekommen  
101 in die Schule. Ja, wenn ich mal das erste Mal in die Schule gekommen, sitzt er auf  
102 meinem Platz. Ich hab gesagt, wer bist du, warum sitzt du hier? Er hat gesagt, ich bin neu

103 hier und ich hab nicht gewusst, das dein Platz ist. Ich hab ihm gesagt, geh und finde einen  
104 anderen Platz. Ich habe ihn beim Fußball gesehen und kennengelernt und ab der siebten  
105 Klasse wir war beste Freunde. Wir haben so viel Spaß gemacht im Unterricht. Wir haben  
106 in meiner Stadt zehn Schulen, wo die Kinder lernen. Ich war in erste Schule. Das heißt  
107 erste Schule von meiner Stadt. Ich war dort und es war eine schlechte Schule. Ich mit  
108 meine beste Freunden. Wir sind nach dem dritten Unterricht immer dorthin gegangen und  
109 hatten immer sechs Stunden. Aber wir lassen immer die drei Stunden und dorthin (zehnte  
110 Schule) und machen Probleme mit den Schülern. Kämpfen mit denen. Das war sehr  
111 schlimm. Wir haben es so gemacht zwei, drei Wochen. Dann unsere Direktor hat gesagt,  
112 gehen Sie nochmal in die zehnte Schule, gehen Sie raus. Wir haben nochmal  
113 dorthingegangen und er hat gar nichts gesagt. Fünfmal hat sie uns schon aus der Schule  
114 rausgeschmissen. Aber nochmal, nochmal. Schon fünfmal aus der Schule, aber die  
115 Lehrerin sehr gut, sehr nette Frau.

116 F: Also ihr habt am Vormittag Schule gehabt, jeden Tag Vormittag?

117 Z: Ja. Das war meine vergangene Schule.

118 F: Was hast du dann am Nachmittag gemacht?

119 Z: Nachmittag? Wir hatten eine oder zwei, drei Unterricht verlassen. Dann gehen wir  
120 nach Hause und ein bisschen essen, schlafen. Dann haben wir immer rausgegangen bis  
121 zwei oder drei Uhr. Spazieren gegangen. Wir haben alle Freunde getroffen. Auf der  
122 Straße immer laut sprechen, Spaß machen. Immer in Nacht in die Schule gegangen. Dort  
123 war eine Security, so wie ein Nachtsecurity. Wir haben immer Spaß gemacht. Immer hat  
124 er Alkohol getrunken. (lacht) Er war ein bisschen betrunken. Wir haben Spaß gemacht  
125 und sagen, warum trinkst du? Du bist muslimisch, du darfst nicht machen. Er sagt immer,  
126 das ist nicht dein Problem, geh weiter. (lacht) So viel Spaß gemacht. In der Nacht auch  
127 immer Fenster aufmachen, in die Klasse gehen und alle Blätter rausschmeißen. Der  
128 Direktor hat gar nichts gesagt. Nur nimm die Blätter und geh mit Blätter zur Klasse. Der  
129 Direktor war sehr nett. Aber das war nur mit mir und meinem besten Freund. Mit anderen  
130 war sie immer streng.

131 F: Haben deine Eltern zu dieser Zeit in der Stadt gearbeitet?

132 Z: Ja, meine Mutter war eine Schneiderin. Sie hat die Mädchenkleider genäht. Mein  
133 Vater hat Baumeister gearbeitet. Zum Beispiel mit Wasser hat er gearbeitet, mit Licht,  
134 mit allem, was mit Baustelle. Ich hab mit meinem Bruder so wie mein Vater gearbeitet.

135 F: Ah, du hast auch gearbeitet?

136 Z: Ja.

- 137 F: Ab wann?
- 138 Z: Ab 14 Jahre.
- 139 F: Also siebte Klasse, so ungefähr?
- 140 Z: Ja.
- 141 F: Jeden Tag oder nur am Wochenende oder wie?
- 142 Z: Nach dem Schule.
- 143 F: Am Nachmittag?
- 144 Z: Ja.
- 145 F: Wie viele Stunden?
- 146 Z: Fünf, sechs, sieben, manchmal bisschen mehr.
- 147 F: Wolltest du das oder haben deine Eltern gesagt, dass das für dich gut ist oder machen  
148 das andere Jungen?
- 149 Z: Ja, das macht immer Tschetschenische Leute, denn er lernt etwas von seinem Bruder  
150 oder Vater. Dann kann er das weitermachen und benutzt das in seinem Leben.
- 151 F: Und was hast du gelernt?
- 152 Z: Licht machen, Wasser in die Haus machen, aus Gipskarton eine Wand stellen, so wie  
153 eine Wand machen. Zum Beispiel kann ich alles, was mit der Baustelle zu tun.
- 154 F: Wow, okay. Wie viele Jahre hast du das mit deinem Vater gemacht?
- 155 Z: Mit meinem Bruder habe ich vier Jahre gemacht. Und dann hab ich mit meinem  
156 Bruder noch Möbel reservieren, Entschuldigung, restaurieren. Dort haben immer die  
157 tschetschenische Leute so gemacht. Schmeißt nicht die Möbel in den Müll. Sie macht  
158 immer Restaurieren, sie kauft nicht neu. Weil das ist ein bisschen zu teuer und es gibt  
159 Probleme mit Geld. Sie hat einfach das immer neu gemacht. Wir haben so viele Möbel  
160 bekommen. Zum Beispiel wir haben in einer Woche 15 Möbel repariert. Wir haben ein  
161 paar das ausgemacht immer neu gemacht. Ich habe auch was mit meinem Bruder gelernt.
- 162 F: Habt ihr ein eigenes Geschäft gehabt?
- 163 Z: Wir haben das zu Hause gemacht. Wir haben ein Haus, das ist noch nicht gebaut.



164 F: Noch nicht fertig?

165 Z: Ja, noch nicht fertig. Dort haben wir alles gemacht. Das war so wie unsere Büro,  
166 office. Wir haben so viel Spaß gemacht in Tschetschenien. Hier kannst du nicht so viel  
167 Spaß machen. Hier gibt's nicht so viele tschetschenische junge Leute. Es gibt, aber die  
168 müssen immer Muslime sein, immer alles machen. Aber in der Nacht, alle trinken und  
169 rauchen. Das geht nicht bei uns, wegen der Religion. Gibt's keine gute Freunde. Ich hab  
170 nur zwei Freunde. Meine Cousin und noch eine.

171 F: Hast du Kontakt zu den Freunden, die du in Tschetschenien gehabt hast?

172 Z: Ja, habe ich.

173 F: Wie hältst du Kontakt?

174 Z: Über Whatsapp. Ich wollte mal nach Tschetschenien gehen. Aber der alle Freund sagt  
175 mir, wenn ich mit ihm schreibe, wann kommst du nach Hause, warum kommst du nicht,  
176 warum bleibst du dort? Du bist so lange in Deutschland, komm Bruder wieder nach  
177 Hause. Immer sagt so.

178 F: Wie ich verstehe, hat dein Vater dann entschieden, dass ihr deine Heimatstadt verlasst?

179 Z: Ja.

180 F: Dann wusste er, dass er nach Deutschland möchte oder wollte er einfach nach Europa?  
181 Wieso Polen und Deutschland und wieso nicht Schweden und Spanien?

182 Z: Das weiß ich nicht. Ich weiß nicht, warum wir unsere Heimat verlassen haben.

183 F: Das hat er nicht gesagt?

184 Z: Nein. Aber ich weiß das ein bisschen, warum, jetzt. Aber früher bin ich nur 16 Jahre  
185 und da habe ich gar nichts verstanden. In Deutschland, Europa habe ich etwas gelernt für  
186 mein Leben und jetzt verstehe ich warum macht er so, warum sind wir nach Deutschland  
187 gekommen oder nach Europa.

188 F: Was denkst du, warum?

189 Z: Die Probleme, politische Probleme. Die ganzen tschetschenische Leute kommen nur  
190 wegen politische Probleme. Niemand aus Tschetschenien wollte seine Heimat lassen und  
191 in ein andere Land gehen. Jeder Tschetschene sagt, warum sind wir hiergekommen, er  
192 will nach Hause gehen. Aber er hat keine Chance mehr auf ein Leben.

193 F: Das ist für mich jetzt schwer zu verstehen. Du sagst ja, ihr habt ein Haus gehabt, du

194 hast da gearbeitet, dein Vater hat gearbeitet, deine Mutter hat gearbeitet, du hast die  
195 Schule besucht, du hast viele Freunde gehabt. Also ich habe in meinem Kopf jetzt ein  
196 sehr schönes Leben da.

197 Z: Ah, mein Vater hat in seiner Freizeit auf der Baustelle gearbeitet. Aber er war Polizei,  
198 er hat als Polizist gearbeitet.

199 F: Aha, okay, und deswegen habt ihr dann Probleme bekommen und ihr musstet einfach  
200 raus?

201 Z: Ja.

202 F: Kanntet ihr schon jemanden in Europa, wie habt ihr euch dann entschieden, in diese  
203 Richtung zu kommen.

204 Z: Das weiß ich nicht.

205 F: Aber wusstest du zum Beispiel, dass du nach Polen gehst?

206 Z: Nein.

207 F: Das wusstest du also nicht?

208 Z: Für mich ist das kein Problem, wenn ich nach meiner Heimatstadt gehe. Für mich ist  
209 das so, aber für meine Familie, ich weiß es nicht. Wir kann ich sagen es gibt in  
210 Tschetschenien politische Probleme. Sagen wir, du kommst großes Problem. In meiner  
211 Stadt 200 junge Menschen ausgewandert. Wir wissen nicht, wo die 200 Menschen...

212 F: ...wo sie jetzt leben?

213 Z: Einfach ... ahh .. ich habe die Wörter vergessen....weggenommen.

214 F: Verschwunden?

215 Z: Ja.

216 F: Also die Polizei hat sie genommen?

217 Z: Wir wissen nicht wer.

218 F: Jemand hat sie genommen und sie sind verschwunden und ihr wisst nicht, wo sie sind?

219 Z: Ja.

220 F: Wahrscheinlich hat dein Vater dann gesehen, das ist nicht sicher für uns. Wir müssen

221 raus.

222 Z: Nein, das war 2017, ja.

223 F: Also letztes Jahr, da warst du schon hier. Also ist es immer noch sehr unsicher.

224 Z: Ich kann nicht alles sagen, was in Tschetschenien passiert.

225 F: Will ich auch nicht. Ich interessiere mich eher dafür. Wusstest du schon etwas über  
226 Europa oder europäische Länder, bevor du nach Polen gekommen bist?

227 Z: Nein, ich habe nicht gewusst, was ich in Deutschland oder in Polen kommen dort  
228 bleiben. Ich habe gedacht, ich würde immer in Tschetschenien bleiben. Aber ich wollte  
229 einfach nach Deutschland kommen, so wie ein Tourist, aber nicht so lange bleiben. Zwei,  
230 drei Wochen oder einen Monat maximum.

231 F: Wann hast du verstanden, dass deine Familie, also dein Vater länger bleiben möchte?

232 Z: Schon nach zwei Jahren habe ich das verstanden.

233 F: Okay, also du warst schon zwei Jahre hier und dann hast du gedacht, aha, der Vater  
234 bleibt, erstmal?

235 Z: Aber jetzt bin ich so wie groß und ich verstehe alles und ich kann nach Tschetschenien  
236 fahren. Jetzt denke ich, wenn ich nach Hause gehe, was wird dann? Was passiert? Was  
237 mache ich dort? Weil ich habe keinen Schulabschluss in Tschetschenien. Einfach neunte  
238 Klasse Schulabschluss. Wenn ich gehe nach Hause, dann muss ich wieder lernen. Hier  
239 muss ich auch, aber hier kann ich nicht.

240 F: Warum nicht?

241 Z: Zum Beispiel die Mitschüler, das ist alles nicht so bei mir. Zum Beispiel habe ich  
242 einmal in Tschetschenien gelebt und dort waren alle anderen Mitschüler, immer macht  
243 Spaß, macht schlecht (lacht). Aber nicht so schlecht. Nicht so große schlechte. Bisschen  
244 kämpfen und so weiter. Aber wer macht das hier, dann kommt Polizei und macht  
245 Protokoll und so (lacht). Wir haben immer so in Tschetschenien gemacht und hier darf  
246 ich nicht so machen. Wegen das und wegen der Sprache. Ja, ich verstehe alles, was die  
247 andere deutsche Leute sagen, aber ein bisschen Probleme dass ich die Wörter  
248 zusammenmachen. Bisschen kann ich sprechen aber nicht so viel. Nicht so viel wie mein  
249 mein Cousin.

250 F: Naja, also ich hab jetzt den Eindruck, dass du genauso gut sprechen kannst. Ganz  
251 ehrlich, also, du sprichst schon seit 20 Minuten, ohne dass ich etwas sage. Also ich

252 glaube, jetzt sprichst du genauso gut, wie er.

253 Z: Ja, aber er spricht ein bisschen, er denkt erstmal, was er so muss, dann spricht er. Aber  
254 ich spreche immer...

255 F: ...sofort?

256 Z: (lacht) Ja. Ich denke nicht viel. Ja, wenn ich denke, dann würde ich so denken, denken,  
257 denken.

258 F: Das heißt, du warst, fünf plus neun, 14 Jahre alt, als du die neunte Klasse beendet  
259 hast?

260 Z: Ja.

261 F: Dann bist du mit dem Auto nach Polen gekommen oder mit dem Zug?

262 Z: Ja.

263 F: Also ganz schnell warst du da. Wie lange hast du in Polen gelebt?

264 Z: Sieben oder acht Monate.

265 F: Also als du 15 warst, warst du in Polen?

266 Z: Ja mit 15.

267 F: Kannst du mir ein bisschen erzählen, wie dein Leben in Polen war? Du bist  
268 angekommen, hast erstmal geguckt, meine Güte, ja? Wie hast du da dein Leben  
269 aufgebaut?

270 Z: Wenn ich erste mal in Camp, in Heim gekommen bin, das war in Biala Podlaska, also  
271 die Stadt habe ich viele Tschetschenische gesehen und ich habe gefragt, wie, was hier  
272 geht, wie die Stadt, gibt es tschetschenische Leute und so. Ein tschetschenischer Junge  
273 hat mir gesagt, wir sind hier schon ein Jahr. Das war ein sehr kleine Heim. Hatte nur eine  
274 Zimmer bekommen. Ich habe gedacht, wir müssen hier eine Jahr bleiben oder so. (lacht)  
275 Dann habe ich verstanden, wir haben einen Transfer in andere Stadt. Dann habe ein  
276 bisschen entspannen und so. Dann haben wir sieben Stunden in die andere Stadt  
277 gefahren.

278 F: Was war das für eine Stadt?

279 Z: Gdańsk. Also neben Gdańsk. Dort war so wie eine kleine Stadt. Die Stadt heißt (?).  
280 Dort sind wir in ein Heim gegangen. Das war eine große, große Wohnungen. Wir haben

281 zwei Zimmer bekommen. Das war ein bisschen besser, als das eine Zimmer. Dort habe  
282 ich meine Schule anfangen. Ich bin erstmal dritte Gymnasium gegangen. Dort ist von  
283 bis 9 Klasse, nein bis 8. Klasse ist normal Schule und dann Gymnasium 9,10,11,12. Ich  
284 bin in die elfte. Ab Februar oder März in die Schule gegangen.

285 F: In welchem Monat hast du deine Schule in Tschetschenien verlassen?

286 Z: August.

287 F: Das heißt du hast zwischen September und Februar keine Schule besucht.

288 Z: Ja, ein halbes Jahr nicht besucht. Und dann in Polen nur drei Monate besucht. Ich habe  
289 mit einem tschetschenische Junge gefunden die Schule. Ich habe Heim gefragt wann  
290 beginnt Schule, wann muss ich in die Schule gehen. Die haben gesagt, ich sage dir wann  
291 beginnt das. Sie hat in Februar gesagt du musst in die Schule gehe, dort musst du lernen.  
292 Dort habe ich alles verstanden, weil Polnisch ist so wie Russisch. Aber die anderen  
293 Schüler haben mich gar nicht verstanden. Ich habe immer Russisch gesprochen. Die  
294 polnische Schule war so wie in Tschetschenien, die Mitschüler, da hat man Spaß  
295 gemacht, einmal im Monat kämpfen. (lacht) Aber wir haben in Tschetschenien jeden Tag  
296 gekämpft. (lacht) Dort habe ich Freunde kennengelernt und ein bisschen Spaß gemacht.  
297 Ein Monat Spaß und dann immer zu Hause geblieben. Zu Hause viel gelernt, so wie  
298 Programmistik...

299 F: Programieren.

300 Z: Ja wie das geht, wie das funktioniert. Ich habe so viel Zeit und einfach gelernt aus dem  
301 Internet. Ich habe auch ein bisschen Spanisch gelernt, aber Spanische Wörter habe ich  
302 vergessen.

303 F: Aus Youtube?

304 Z: Manchmal aus Youtube, manchmal aus Büchern. Dort habe ich ganz wenig Arabische  
305 gesehen, ich habe gedacht Arabische sind sehr stark mit Religion, bin nach Deutschland  
306 gekommen und sehe was machen die. In Poland waren so viele tschetschenische Leute.

307 F: Also du hast ganz viel deine Muttersprache benutzt. Hast du auch Polisch gelernt?

308 Z: Ja, mit Schülern, ich habe gefragt wie kann ich sagen so und so und ich habe gedacht  
309 ich bleibe immer in Poland, darum habe ich muss die Sprache lernen. Ich habe mit  
310 Schüler gesprochen aber wenn ich nicht verstehe, dann habe ich Russisch gesprochen. Da  
311 war auch Russischunterricht, die haben alles verstanden. Die Lehrerin, die russische  
312 Lehrerin, sie hat nicht so gut Russisch gesprochen, wie ich Deutsch.

313 F: Konnten die anderen Lehrer auch Russisch?

314 Z: Ja die alten, aber die jungen Lehrer haben verstanden aber nicht gesprochen.

315 F: Was hat die an dieser Schule gefallen? Oder gab es was nicht gefallen hat oder schwer  
316 war?

317 Z: Sprache war schwer. Immer dort gibt viele (Lautbeispiele aus der polnischen Sprache).  
318 Das ist ein bisschen schwer. Die Grammatik war auch ein bisschen schwer. Ich habe  
319 nicht verstanden wie wird aus (Konjugationsbeispiele aus der polnischen Sprache). Ich  
320 habe kein Polnischunterricht einfach nur mit Mitschüler gelernt.

321 F: Und wie war es mit dem Schreiben, weil die schreiben ja mit dem lateinischen  
322 Alphabet.

323 Z: Ja, ich habe in Tschetschenien Englisch gelernt. Ab fünfte Klasse drei Stunden jede  
324 Woche. Aber Englisch habe ich in Deutschland vergessen. So spreche ich Englisch jetzt  
325 wie Polnisch.

326 F: Benutzt du noch hier in Leipzig diese Sprachen?

327 Z: Nein ich habe alles vergessen, ich spreche gar nicht Polnisch oder Englisch. Und in  
328 Tschetschenien gibt es Tschetschenisch und Ingusch. Ingusch auch so wie  
329 Tschetschenisch aber Akzent anderer. Und die Sprache auch vergessen. Das ist komische  
330 Sprache. Ich sage etwas und Ingusch hört das andere. Ein Wort bedeutet von Ingusch  
331 andere.

332 F: Von wem hast du Ingusch gelernt?

333 Z: Von meinem Freund. Zwei-drei Monate. Er spricht nur Russisch und Ingusch. Und im  
334 heim habe ich auch Ingusch gesprochen in Poland. Ingusch ist komisch. So war früher  
335 Tschetschenisch aber jetzt andere Sprache. Z.B. auf Tschetschenisch wie geht es dir heißt  
336 (Beispiel) und auf Ingusch (Beispiel). Komisch. Andere Kultur aber kann sagen wie  
337 Bruder. Wir verstehen alles.

338 F: Sehr interessant. Und sag mal in Polnisch gibt es bestimmte Buchstaben, die im  
339 Englischen nicht gibt. Hat Dir jemand geholfen diese zu lernen?

340 Z. Da war ein Mädchen, sie hat mir mit Sprache in bisschen gehelft. Mit Zahlen oder mit  
341 Buchstabieren. Einfach nach der Schule treffen, sie war ein bisschen länger als wir und  
342 die ukrainische und tschetschenische Leute waren auf der Straße spazieren gegangen und  
343 so Polnisch gelernt. Da habe ich nicht so viel gelernt. Hier in Deutschland habe ich viel  
344 für mein Leben gelernt.

345 F. Woran kann es liegen, dass du in Polen nicht so viel für dein Leben gelernt hast, aber  
346 hier in Deutschland schon?

347 Z: In Poland habe ich keine Lust auf die Straße spazieren gehen, weil ich habe Stress  
348 wegen dem Umzug, ich habe immer gedacht wann fahren wir in die Heimat, wann ist der  
349 Umzug. Das ist schwer. Dann habe ich nicht verstanden warum so ist. Ja darum habe ich  
350 da nichts gelernt. Und jetzt lerne ich alles was ich kann.

351 F. Ja also du hast dich mit der Zeit geöffnet.

352 Z: Nein, dort war ich bisschen geöffnet und jetzt bin ich zu. Ja ich gehe mehr auf die  
353 Straße aber ich spreche nur mit den beste Freunde. Ich spreche nicht so viel. Ich spreche  
354 mit den tschetschenischen Leuten nur guten Tag, wie geht`s, aber nicht mehr. Es kann ein  
355 Problem sein, wenn du alles erzählst.

356 F. Aha, also du hast kein Vertrauen zu den anderen.

357 Z: Nein, nur mit meinem Freund. Er ist ein guter Freund, hat viel geholfen. Er ist mit mir  
358 schon ein Jahr, wenn er war nicht hier, ich war immer zu Hause, die ganze zwei Jahre.  
359 Jetzt ein bisschen mit ihm spazieren gehen, er sagt immer `warum bleibst du zu Hause,  
360 gehe raus `.

361 F: Hm...Wo hast du ihn kennengelernt?

362 Z. Im Heim.

363 F: Ich verstehe. Lass uns mal einen Schritt zurückgehen. Hier (Veweis auf Poland) nach  
364 den acht Monaten, wie kam es dazu, dass ihr weitergereist seid?

365 Z: Ja, in Poland ein bisschen schwer mit Geld und Wohnung und so, das war ein bisschen  
366 Problem. Hat mein Vater gesagt, wenn Leben schwer, fahren wir nach Deutschland. Ich  
367 weiß nicht warum habe ich ja gesagt und gesagt ich will hier kommen. Wir sind hier  
368 gekommen.

369 F: Direkt nach Leipzig?

370 Z: Nein, nach Chemnitz, dort ist ein Heim, ein Monat oder so...und dann Leipzig in ein  
371 heim, sechs Monate und dann eine Wohnung in Makleeberg bekommen. Dann habe ich  
372 eine negative Antwort bekommen, dann in ein andere Heim gegangen und jetzt haben  
373 wir diese Wohnung bekommen.

374 F: Habt ihr schon den Status bekommen?

375 Z: Ne, noch nicht. Wir warten auf die Antwort, das ist das Problem, wir wissen nicht was

376 wir bekommen, positiv oder negativ, das mag ich nicht. Jedes halbe Jahr müssen wir  
377 Ausweis umtauschen. Jetzt muss ich vierte Juni gehen. Das ist das Problem, wir wissen  
378 nicht bleiben wir hier oder machen eine Abschiebung. Das ist Problem. Seit zwei Jahren  
379 so.

380 F: Diese zwei Jahre sind, wo du 16,17,18 Jahre alt warst bzw. bist.

381 Z: Ja. Das ist schwer.

382 F: Wenn du selbst entscheiden könntest, was wünschst du dir?

383 Z: Mein Wunsch ist auf nie Wiedersehen, ich komme nie wieder nach Deutschland. In  
384 Tschetschenien mache ich dann 10. 11. Klasse, ich möchte noch in die Schule, weil die  
385 Schulzeit ist immer sehr schön. Jetzt sage ich immer warum hast du die Schule nicht  
386 besucht, warum hast du nur 9 Klasse beendet. Letzte Woche hat meine alte Klasse  
387 Schluss. Ich war so sehr böse, weil ich dort nicht bin. Die Mitschüler waren auch  
388 bisschen traurig, weil ich war hier. Jetzt will ich 10.11.Klasse machen und Schule  
389 beenden.

390 F: Wie würde es dann mit diesem Schulabschluss weitergehen?

391 Z: Universität.

392 F: Was möchtest du studieren?

393 Z: Programmieren für Game-Designer, also Videospiele machen. Ich kann das jetzt aber  
394 ich habe keinen Computer.

395 F: Aha. Und sag mal, wenn du hier den Status doch bekommst, wie geht es dann weiter?

396 Z: Halbes Jahr möchte ich in Tschetschenien Urlaub machen. Wenn ich eine Arbeit finde  
397 in Deutschland, dann komme ich wieder hier, ein Jahr arbeiten und dann wieder nach  
398 Tschetschenien, und so möchte ich leben, wenn eine positivische Antwort bekomme.  
399 Hier arbeiten, zu Hause besuchen, arbeiten, besuchen aber Deutschland ist nie meine  
400 Heimat.

401 F: Wie hat sich dein Leben geändert, wo du nach Polen umgesiedelt bist?

402 Z: Wo ich nach Polen gekommen, habe ich ganz anderen Charakter bekommen. In  
403 Tschetschenien habe ich immer Spaß gemacht wie ein Kind, in Poland war ich ruhig und  
404 stark und in Deutschland noch ruhig. In Tschetschenien ich habe gut gelebt, jetzt lebe ich  
405 nicht. Ich kann nicht Spaß machen, ich will, aber ich weiß nicht warum ich kann nicht.  
406 Vielleicht ist es Erwachsen oder so, kann sein. Ich will so wie fünfzehn Jahre werden



407 aber der seriö.. seriöse Charakter ist jetzt sehr stark. Ich kann nicht einfach ändern. Aber  
408 für mich ist ein bisschen gut, dass ich habe diese Charakter bekommt. Ich kann Probleme  
409 lösen, ich bekomme immer eine Idee, aber ich habe keine Lust die Idee zu machen. Aber  
410 ich bin hier in Deutschland. Mein bester Freund sagt immer das ist kein Problem du bist  
411 in Deutschland, mach einfach deine Idee. Wenn du eine gute Idee, dann ich will mit dir  
412 machen. Ich will mit dir einen Laden, einen tschetschenischen Laden öffnen. Ich will  
413 auch so ein machen. Jetzt finden wir was müssen wir haben, wie können wir das machen,  
414 wie können wir das business machen. Wann er bekommt 18 Jahre, dann fangen wir an. Er  
415 denkt so wie ich, er ist bester Freund. Ich habe eine beste Freund in Tschetschenien und  
416 er denkt so wie er. Jetzt finden wir die Papiere wo steht was müssen wir haben, dann  
417 kann sein wir öffnen einen tschetschenischen Laden. Wenn willst du allein machen, ist  
418 ein bisschen schwer, keine Hilfe.

419 F: Das klingt gut. Du hast gesagt, dass der Wechsel nach Polen dich seriös und  
420 erwachsen gemacht hat. Gab es etwas was du genauso gemacht hast wie früher in deiner  
421 Heimat?

422 Z: Schule besuchen. Nicht jeden Tag. Wenn Lehrerin krank, dann ein bisschen warten  
423 und dann nach Hause. Nicht wie in Deutschland. Hier brauchst du Entschuldigung.

424 F: Aber bei mir hast du die Schule immer besucht..

425 Z: Ja, nur drei vier Tage im Monat nicht. Aber bei Frau Z. habe ich nichts gelernt. Sie  
426 war immer böse, immer laut und hat gar nichts erklärt. Ich habe keine Schule besucht. Ich  
427 habe bisschen Training gemacht. Sechs Monate Ringen oder so. Aber die Lehrerin war  
428 ukrainische, kann nicht auf Turnier lernen, sie kann nicht weiterbringen. Ich habe  
429 gelasst. Jetzt mache ich kein Sport mehr, ich habe keine Zeit.

430 F: Was machst du jetzt, wo du gar keine Schule mehr besuchst?

431 Z: Ich arbeite. In Juli jetzt mache ich Urlaub. Ich will alle deutsche Städte sehen,  
432 Stuttgart, Berlin, München. Aber in April, Mai und Juni habe ich viel gearbeitet. Ein  
433 bisschen Fußball, aber 90% Nachtschicht. Aber Nachtschicht ist besser als Tagesschicht.  
434 Immer 12 Stunden. Manchmal in Messegelände, Dresden , Zeitz usw. Wir fahren mit  
435 dem Bus zu einem Stadttag oder Fußball oder Fest oder Konzert. Es macht Spaß mit den  
436 tschetschenischen Leuten.

437 F: Wenn ich mich richtig erinnere, du bist in August 2015 in die Schule gekommen, bist  
438 in Februar in meine Gruppe gekommen und dann bis Februar 2017 hast Schule besucht.

439 Z: Ja das stimmt. Die 9. Klasse zweimal gemacht. Viermal 9. Klasse, das ist nicht so gut.  
440 Das mag ich nicht, wieder lernen wegen der Sprache. Wenn ich die Sprache schnell lerne,

441 kann ich Hauptschulabschluss machen, aber wegen der Sprache habe ich nichts gelernt.  
442 Ich habe 9. Klasse in Tschetschenien beendet und in Poland beendet und dann habe ich  
443 gedacht, wenn ich nach Deutschland komme, dann gehe ich an die Universität oder lerne  
444 einen Beruf und nicht so. Ich dachte ich gehe weiter. Aber ich habe mein Zeugnis gezeigt  
445 und haben nicht akzeptiert. Die haben gesagt du musst in 9.Klasse gehen. Und dann hat  
446 die Schule gesagt, dass ich nochmal machen muss. Erstmal lernst du Deutsch und dann  
447 kannst du Abschluss machen.

448 F: Du bist mit diesem Problem nicht allein. Was denkst du, was wäre die Lösung?

449 Z: Wenn sie hat eine Richtung, macht eine Prüfung, wenn sie kann 50% machen, dann  
450 kann in den Beruf oder Universität gehen. Also erstmal nur Deutsch lernen, dann die  
451 Prüfung auf Deutsch. Ich dachte es wird so in Deutschland. Aber jetzt habe ich so viele  
452 Probleme, ich kann nicht einfach in die Schule gehen und dort lernen. Wenn ich positiv  
453 habe, dann kann ich hier arbeiten jeden Tag und leben, aber jetzt habe ich so viele  
454 Probleme. Wenn ich in der Schule, dann denke ich immer die Probleme.

455 F: Es klingt schwer. Wir kommen langsam zu den letzten Fragen. Wenn du dein Leben,  
456 die drei Lebensabschnitte als ein Bild aufmalen würdest, wie würde es aussehen?

457 Z: Die erste Phase mit ganz grün, in Poland ein bisschen schwarz, weil dort verstehe ich  
458 nicht alles und in Deutschland alles schwarz, ganz schwarz. Ich kann machen aber dann  
459 mein Herz sagt das ist nicht deine Stadt, das ist nicht dein Land, wegen das kann ich  
460 nicht. Ich war immer allein, und jetzt habe ich meinen beste Freund. Er lässt mich nicht  
461 allein, er versteht mich.

462 F: Haben diese Stationen miteinander zu tun?

463 Z: Nein, ganz andere. Tschetschenien, Poland und Deutschland die sind drei ganz andere  
464 Leben. Der Weg geht weiter aber du bleibst und machst so. Das Leben geht nicht weiter.  
465 So ist für mich. Das letzte Jahr in Tschetschenien war mein Lieblingsjahr, ich war ganz  
466 andere.