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School and the subsequent vocational training are central social integration instruments for all young people. This is especially valid for those with a migration background since for some of them this is the only place where they come into closer contact with members of the majority society. In highly industrialized societies such as the Federal Republic of Germany the quality of the educational and professional training determines the chances and boundaries of professional incorporation and career. These are pre-conditions for social and political integration and participation. The German education system claims to offer the same opportunities for the successful development of a school career to all children regardless of race, sex, religion or social origin. But this is far from being the reality. This paper aims to show how migrant pupils are situated in the German school system and to what extent migrant pupils in general and especially female migrant students have to
face institutional and ethnic discrimination during their school career. I will do this in two steps. A short overview of recent statistics and findings of the students assessment study, Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), first gives an idea of the general framework within which the education of minority girls in Germany takes place. In the second part I will quote from the results of a nation-wide, quantitative study which we carried out at our university on the living situation and orientations of girls with a migration background.

The term minority as used in this paper does not refer to the Frisian, Danish, Sorbian, Romany and Low German-speaking indigenous minorities, who form all together a very small group with specific minority rights in terms of education. The focus rather lies on those children and grandchildren of the ethnic groups which originally came to Germany in the early 60s and 70s to work for some years and then go back to their home-country, but who later on stayed in Germany where they set up families - in other words, the population with a non-German migrant background. These are for instance the Turks, Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavians etc., of whom the fourth generation is now growing up in Germany. According to the new German citizenship law, established in 2000, most of them are born as German citizens besides being entitled to the citizenship of their parents. However, this dual nationality is only until the age of 23, when they have to take a final decision on which one of the two citizenships they want to keep. They thus form new durable ethnic minorities inside the German society. A second group which will be included in the analysis is the migrant population of ethnic Germans from Russia, who are called 'Aussiedler' (resettlers) and who mostly came to Germany after 1990.

The general situation of ethnic minority students with a migrant family background in the German educational system

PISA clearly indicated Germany's failure in its pupils' achievement in reading and natural sciences. In terms of minority issues, however, one of the major results of PISA was to officially establish the high number of minority students in schools. While, according to official statistics 9% of the pupils are 'foreigners', e.g., people with non-German citizenship, the

percentage of pupils with a migrant family background (which is indicated by one of the parents being born outside Germany) was three times that high (28%). In some of the big cities of Germany like Bremen, Frankfurt or Berlin young migrants comprised up to 40% of the population of 15 and below. The majority of these are the 'Aussiedler' (resettlers). The second largest minority group consists of the children and grandchildren of the former so-called guest-workers from the Mediterranean, mostly from Turkey (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001, p.342). The publication of this 'new' feature in 2001 had a great impact on the perception of minorities as being a serious 'problem' for the German education system, a system which still disregards the multiculturality of its pupils both in terms of didactical means and teacher training. The second finding of the study was the dramatic discrimination against minority pupils at all levels of the German school system. Not only official PISA statistics but also several empirical studies on migrant students have shown evidence of the fact that, despite improvements during the last 15 years, minority students have not been able to catch up to the level of indigenous German students and thus remain at the bottom of the scale (statistics see Karakasoglu-Aydin 2001; Herwartz-Emden 2003; empirical studies see: Alba/Handl/Müller 1994; Nauck/Diefenbach/Petzi 1998; Hungen-Thranhardt 2001; Diefenbach 2002; von Below 2003, Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2003; Bos et. al. 2003; Bos et al. 2004).

The most crucial findings of these analyses of official statistics and empirical studies include: Pupils of migrant origin have to repeat grades twice as often as Germans; they are twice as likely as their German counterparts to attend the lower academic level 9-year schools, as well as the schools for children requiring special education (i.e. children with learning difficulties). Conversely, German pupils are three times more likely to attend the higher qualifying school form of the Gymnasium (grammar school). This is the institution that usually concludes with the 'Abitur' examination, which provides the necessary qualification for university entrance. Consequently, minority students leave all forms and levels of school with lower-level certificates than Germans, and are twice as likely as their German counterparts to drop out of school before obtaining any qualification at all. In a country like Germany, where people without any qualifying certificates have nearly no chance
of entering a vocational training which will qualify them for a job, this means lifelong unemployment.

Taking into consideration that 70% of the 15-year-old migrant pupils have gone through all the stages of compulsory schooling and have even attended the non-compulsory kindergarten, these figures show that the German education system is not and has not been successful in meeting the challenge of integrating the migrant pupil population (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001, p.374). Instead of assisting the pupils to reach higher qualifications, the system tries to select all of those pupils who do not fit the system's expectations of an average middle-class child of German origin. Gömmers/Radtke (2002) call this "institutional discrimination". This kind of discrimination is also shown clearly, for example, in the teachers' recommendations for the next school level being based not so much on the child's achievement in obtaining his/her certificate, but more on the anticipated lack of parental assistance for the child in his/her future school career, since minority parents are predominantly members of the lower social classes and very often not fluent in German. Also religious prejudices against Muslims, who are regarded as very oppressive towards their daughters, can play a role in the teachers' recommendations for the school career, especially of Muslim girls.

But the attribute of "being of migrant descent" clouds the fact that there are quite big differences between the various minority groups according to their achievements in education. Italian and Turkish pupils for instance are at the bottom end of the scale, whereas Greek and Spanish pupils are nearly as successful as their German counterparts and the group of Croats is even more successful than the Germans (see Hunger/Thraánhardt 2001). In looking for an interpretation of these differences some scientists refer to the difference between the German culture and the culture of the non-successful groups (for Italians cf. for instance Ziegler 1994). But this approach is not convincing as Italians do not seem very different in cultural background from Greeks or Spaniards.

In contrast to this mainly negative picture and to the perceptions of the majority society, all statistics show that minority girls, just like German girls, are more successful in their school career than boys of the same ethnic origin (Deutsches PISA Konsortium 2002, p.212). They achieve higher education levels and drop out of school less often than the boys. And, while the number of male students of Turkish origin increased 2.5 times between 1980 and 1996 the number of female students of Turkish origin increased 9.5 times during the same period (Kamkasoglu-Aydin 2000). Qualitative studies also show empirical evidence for the high career- and performance-orientation of young female Turks in Germany in contrast to their male counterparts (Hummrich 2002; Weber 2003; Ofner 2003). This, in fact, is a development parallel to that of the German majority.

In the following section, I will focus especially on the point of to what extent school and family act as supporting or hindering factors with respect to the school educational achievements of minority girls. I will do this on the basis of a recent survey which a research team (at the University of Duisburg-Essen) led by Ursula Boos-Nünning and myself carried out among 950 Turkish, Italian, Yugoslavian, Greek and Russian-German minority girls living in Germany.

Study Methodology

The study was commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth as a multi-issue-study to obtain empirical data on girls and young women with a migrant family background. The main issues were: migration biographies and the socio-economic framework of their upbringing, the role and meaning of the family, leisure time and peers, school and vocational training, multilingualism and language milieu, understanding of partnership, gender roles, body awareness and sexuality, ethnicity and psychological stability, religiosity and the use of and demand for professional counseling in life crises. While the work of the study was carried out from 2000 to 2004, the survey itself took place between November 2001 and March 2002 in 10 different regions and cities in western and eastern Germany. All interviewees were between 15 and 21 years old and unmarried. The fully structured, bilingual questionnaire contained 138 questions, mostly in the form of sets of questions to specific topics. The face-to-face interviews were conducted by bilingual interviewers. The combination of a random sample (60% of the interviews) with the snowball method
(40% of the interviews) made it possible to include a group of girls in the sample who were of migrant origin but also possessed German citizenship. Because this sample was systematically drawn, e.g., based on certain criteria such as a specific age group, and concentrated on cities in particular, the study cannot claim to be representative, but it presents a significant and broad database for making comparisons between the previously mentioned national or ethnic groups (Boos-Nüning/Karakasoglu 2004).

Findings of a quantitative study on educational achievements of young female minority girls in Germany

Fifty five percent (55%) of our interviewees were still at school when taking part in our survey. The rest (45%) were school graduates — 69 of whom had a diploma from a school abroad, half of them being 'Aussiedlerinnen' (resettlers). The girls whose parents immigrated between 1955 and 1974 as 'guest-workers' generally spent their entire school career in Germany, though 33% of them had already attended schools elsewhere and thus started German school in the course of their school careers. Most of these were also 'Aussiedlerinnen' (resettlers). The rest, who constituted 5% of the sample, did not go to school in Germany or experience any form of migrational commuting. Contrary to the discussion in Germany, which every now and then focuses on this group as being a great challenge to the German education system, they do not represent a significant phenomenon and thus do not pose a problem whatsoever.

The majority of the girls and young women - regardless of whether they obtained their certificate in Germany or abroad - had reached a higher (43%) and intermediate (40%) educational achievement level (see table 1). Only 17% reached only a lower educational achievement level. In comparison to the other migrant groups 'Aussiedlerinnen' (resettlers) had the lowest rate of persons with a higher educational achievement level, whereas young women of Greek origin were underrepresented in the group with a low educational achievement level (10%). It must therefore be mentioned that the random sample shows a positive bias with regard to the educational achievement level in comparison to the available official statistics, which indeed do not yet include those migrants with German citizenship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minority group</th>
<th>Aussiedl.</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Yugoslavian</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17 (167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40 (378)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p = .01

After the PISA-disaster, Germany began to discuss intensively the growing role of pre-school education, especially in terms of preparing migrant children for school entry by teaching them the German language (Deutsche Presse Agentur 2002). It is often stated that migrant families do not approve of their children attending kindergartens. In our sample merely 10% of the interviewees, born and raised in Germany, had never attended pre-school education in a kindergarten (see table 2). Those with Turkish (17%) and Yugoslav (15%) migration background were less likely to attend this institution than the others.

Those who attended generally stayed all three years (50%) (from the age of three to six) in the kindergarten. One has to take into consideration that at the time the interviewees were of the corresponding age there was no legal right to a place in a kindergarten. This was not established by law until 1998. Thus the figures of our study point to the high acceptance of this upbringing and educational service on the part of the migrant families.

Not having attended a kindergarten was found to be correlated with a low educational achievement level (see table 3). Sixty two per cent (62%) of those with a low educational achievement level did not attend any kindergarten. However, 54% of those with an intermediate and 45% of those with a high educational achievement level also did not attend any kindergarten. From former studies we know that attending a kindergarten has a significantly more positive effect on the educational
achievement of migrant than of indigenous German children.

Table 2: Attendance of a kindergarten in Germany (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minority group</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Yugoslavian</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>N=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No attendance of a kindergarten</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10  (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 (78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three years</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50 (247)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended, but did not know how long</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14 (71)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[p = 0.00\]

*Only those girls who were born in Germany and have lived here without interruption. 'Aussiedlerinnen' (refugees) are not included in this analysis.

Table 3: Level of education and attendance of a kindergarten (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attendance of a kindergarten</th>
<th>No attendance</th>
<th>One to two years</th>
<th>Three years</th>
<th>N=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18 (167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40 (378)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42 (405)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[p = 0.00\]

Even if large numbers of the minority students had gone through all stages of the German education system, they suffered more than German students under the selectivity of the system. Thus, for some ethnic groups, repeating classes became quite a common part of their school career (Karacaoğlu-Aydin 2001, S.284). In our study, only 44% of the 'Aussiedler' (refugees) and 56% of the girls with Turkish migration background completed their school careers without a repetition. Repetitions took place especially in the grammar school and in the grades 7 to 10 of the secondary school. A comparison with German girls shows the great gap between them and some groups of minority girls: only 26% of the German girls completed school with such a repetition (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2002, p.230).

One of the most concise results of the PISA-study was the high selectivity of the German education system according to social criteria. More than in all other neighbouring European states, success at school is dependent on the social class one belongs to. This affects children from migrant families in particular as they are over-represented in the group of persons with low social status. Bearing this in mind it is particularly striking that a large number of our sample with a high educational achievement level has families with a very low social status (see table 4).

Table 4: Education level and socio-economic status (SES) of the family (Index) (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic status of the family (Index)</th>
<th>Very low</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Very high</th>
<th>N=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low education level</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18 (167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate education level</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40 (378)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High education level</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42 (405)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[p = .00\]

The comparison of the educational achievement level of the parents with that of the daughter shows once more that a considerable upward movement is taking place among the young females with a migrant family background. Again more than a third (36%) of girls with a high educational achievement level had fathers and mothers with a low educational achievement level.

Indeed, many young minority women can count on the emotional support of the family - contrary to the perception of the majority society that migrant Muslim families try to suppress or oppose their daughters'
interest in education. But when it comes to essential knowledge about the educational system and their school career, they are very often dependent on their own know-how because of their families’ lower social and educational status. Only 42% of the interviewees reported that the family was the main source of assistance in their school career. In this respect, the siblings take on a predominant role, rating higher than the mother, followed by the girlfriends (25%) and the aid through organizations (13%). Another recent study found that in German families the number of the siblings affects the educational success rate of the individuals negatively, whereas this was not the case in migrant families (Nauck/Diefenbach/Perti 1998, p.711). As our data shows, siblings are an important source of support, especially for those groups in which the mother has a lower educational achievement level and thus is not able to help in terms of schooling.

Numerous qualitative studies on the school biographies of educationally successful Turkish girls show evidence that they very often experience discrimination due to their ethnic background as well as their sex in school. They have had the experience that teachers regard their ethnic or religious affiliation as a serious handicap which they will not be able to overcome (for instance Weber 2003, p.123). Thus, it is reasoned, the success the girls have achieved in their school career was not because of, but despite the German school system (Hummrich 2002).

Therefore, it is interesting to analyse how far the interviewees have experienced discrimination in school in comparison to other critical life events that one can go through in school, vocational training or on the job (table 5). The answers to our questions concerning the experience of critical life events at school make it quite clear: some groups of migrants perceive more problems with ethnic discrimination than others. Young ‘Aussiedlerinnen’ (resettlers) and young Turks experienced a prohibition against speaking their mother tongue in school more often than other groups.

More than half of the Turkish interviewees (54%) and 40% of the ‘Aussiedler’ experienced this, whereas only 15% of Yugoslavian and 13% of Greek interviewees had to face this kind of discrimination. And both Turkish and ‘Aussiedler’ interviewees experienced bad treatment because of their origin more often than the other groups. The latter experience was perceived as being even more oppressive than the prohibition of the mother tongue.

Another factor that may well effect the educational achievements of girls with an ethnic minority background is the social learning-climate in the class. In our study we constructed an index for “social learning-climate in the class”. It was operationalized by “feeling of support by teachers”, “good relationship to the teacher”, “feeling of acknowledgement in the class” and “having friends in the class”.

![Table 5: Critical life events in school, vocational training and job-finding (%)](image)

Here also the two groups ‘Aussiedlerinnen’ (resettlers) and Turks proved to be an exception to the overall picture (table 6). The ‘Aussiedlerinnen’ (resettlers) evaluated the class climate as being much worse than all the other interviewees with a migration background. Fifty seven percent
(57%) of the 'Aussiedlerinnen' evaluated it as bad or very bad. We must take into consideration that this group had the highest number of those starting a new school career halfway through their original one. But also 28% of the Turks evaluated the school climate as bad or very bad.

Table 6: Class climate (Index) (%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minority group</th>
<th>'Aussiedler'</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Yugoslavian</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>N=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21 (201)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25 (231)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24 (229)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not so good</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18 (172)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not good at all</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12 (117)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PISA emphasized the correlation between the achievements of students and the number of migrant pupils in the school, suggesting that as the number of migrant students increased the achievements of all pupils decreased. We pursued this by correlating the educational achievement level with the rate of the migrant students in the student population in the 9th grade (table 7). As the following table shows, the educational achievement level did indeed decrease as the migrant population in the classroom increased. This, however, can also be interpreted as an indicator of the selectivity of the education system along ethnic categories which funnels migrant students into lower academic-level programs.

Table 7: Education level according to the rate of minority student population in the 9th grade (%)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>N=</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearly no minority student population</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27 (222)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca. 1% with minority background</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32 (263)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca. 1% with minority background</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23 (191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca. 4% with minority background</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18 (148)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of correlations

The analysis of correlations between the level of education and the variables related to socio-economic-status (SES), the school biography and the attitudes of the interviewees show that competence in the German language was the most strongly correlated to the level of education ($r = .31^2$). Being fluent in the mother tongue or being bilingual (mother-tongue/German) was not correlated to educational levels at all. In the framework of the present discussion, the correlation of the social status of the family to the educational achievements of their children is not very surprising ($r = .19$). Living in an area where one ethnic minority group is dominant hampers the achievement of a high educational level ($r = .12$). A predominantly German surrounding makes it easier, but such a surrounding is connected to the social status of the family.

As far as variables of school biography are concerned, the thesis of the correlation between kindergarten attendance and educational achievement levels can be confirmed ($r = .15$). The common theory of a negative correlation between educational achievement and a high number of pupils with a minority background in the fourth and ninth grade was also supported by our data ($r = .20$). Beyond this, our study also presents data which was not previously available: the findings support the obviously negative correlation of class repetitions ($r = -.18$) and the tendency to a positive correlation of long-term attendance of school courses in the mother tongue ($r = .15$) with a high level of educational achievement.

The correlation between the achievement of a lower or higher level of education and certain attitudes of the girls and young women interviewed was also tested. Those interviewees with a high level of education are obviously not representative of the conventional division of roles between the sexes ($r = .27$), they opt more often to be responsible for themselves ($r = .13$) and are less externally controlled ($r = .18$).

The field of recreational activities seems to play a quite important role when it comes to differences between those with a higher and those with a lower level of education. Positive correlations were found between attending parties and going to pubs ($r = .19$) as well as in using medial ways of communication ($r = .13$). A higher level of education is correlated
to recreation activities that are carried out in a primarily German context ($r = .18$). In this case, the three best friends are more often of German origin ($r = .15$).

For further analysis and discussion of the data, it has to be taken into consideration that — contrary to what one might have expected — orientations such as ethnicity ($r = .04$), orientation towards a life in Germany ($r = .00$), the assimilation to German customs ($r = .05$) and all of those items that indicate religious attitudes (for instance the index for religiosity: $r = .05$) are not significantly correlated with higher educational achievement.

Conclusion

This study shows the extent to which young female migrants differ in their school achievements and experiences by ethnic group. The fact that even girls with a high level of education very often come from families with a very low social status and, in addition, the fact that mostly no one in the family is able to help them in school matters makes it clear that particularly the second generation is forced to shape their school careers on their own at an early age. They do this on their own initiative, in addition to fighting the mechanisms of ethnic discrimination in school. Mostly it is not unwillingness which hinders the family in helping in school issues, but their lack of knowledge resources. Another important factor related to the difficulties these girls have in achieving a high educational level is connected with the aid provided by the German school system. Although this support takes various forms, such as preparatory classes for non-German pupils without a knowledge of German, or special support lessons outside school hours for non-German pupils who are already being taught in integrated classes with German children and who need to improve their German skills, it is, however, by far not extensive enough to improve the potential of young female migrants who are willing to learn and interested in their careers. Consequently, new models of on-going support, both in terms of advanced knowledge in German and their mother tongue, and in terms of empowerment, have to be developed. The above-mentioned measures do not affect the regular class and do not force the German school system to change in its general attitude towards minority students. Germany is still quite a long way away from an overall intercultural orientation that would correspond to the multicultural reality of the schools. In terms of didactical means, diagnostic competences and self-reflectiveness with regard to one's own cultural biases, even the teacher training fails to equip the teachers with the competences necessary to teach in multicultural classes.

NOTES
1 I will refer to this group in this paper with ‘Ausländerinnen’ because this is female plural for ‘Ausländer’ in German.
2 All correlations mentioned in this section are significant at a level of $p<0.01$.

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