



Doing Equity by addressing Intersectionality in Education and Employment Participation and Taking on Intersectionality as an Issue of Political Education¹

Norah Barongo-Muweke

Abstract

Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit den Hindernissen bei der Erreichung von Bildungsabschüssen, die sich aus der Perspektive von Intersektionalität und inklusiver Bürgerschaft ergeben. Bisher sind die Verschränkungen von Intersektionalität, Bürgerbewusstsein und Migration wenig untersucht. Intersektionale Diskriminierungen treten jedoch auf und werden durch ein geschwächtes Bürgerbewusstsein verstärkt. In der Folge sind geschützte Bereiche nur fragmentarisch vorhanden, so dass die Interdiskursivität von Intersektionalität und Bürgerschaftsbewusstsein unverzichtbar ist, um Chancengleichheit und Prävention von Schulabbrüchen (Early School Leaving, ESL) zu erreichen. Durch die Vereinigung der Intersektionalität und der inklusiven Bürgerschaft bietet der Artikel ein breites Verständnis und Grundlagen für die Entwicklung einer zukunftsorientierten diversitätsreflexiven Bildungsforschung aus multidisziplinären Perspektiven.

1 Introduction

This article addresses the educational achievement gaps from the perspective of intersectionality and inclusive citizenship. So far, the entanglements of intersectionality, citizenship awareness and migration are under studied. However, intersectional discriminations impinge in and are intensified by a weakened citizenship awareness. Subsequently, the scopes of protection are fragmented making the interdiscursivity

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of intersectionality and citizenship awareness indispensable to the achievement of equity and prevention of Early School Leaving (ESL). In unifying intersectionality and inclusive citizenship, the article offers a broader approach towards developing equity in educational practice from multidisciplinary and diversity reflexive perspectives.

2 Background

Education and employment are key indicators of inclusive citizenship and are key to advancing human dignity, democratization, social equality and sustainability². Conversely, gaps in educational achievement and employment participation amongst groups articulate the levels of exclusion in the interdependent domains. Migrants and Roma youngsters are disproportionately and alarmingly structured by high levels of early disengagement from school and VET³. Approaches for amelioration are primarily modelled upon a deficit approach. Structural causes have been individualized and explained in terms of personal cognitive deficits, thereby promoting a reductionist view of complex phenomena. As a result, interventions are contradictory which aggravates challenges⁴: This opens the current pedagogical frameworks to critique and raises the question whether it is able to address the complex context of the excluded. In leaning on Mecheril, it becomes clear that a critical reflexive scientific praxis has to be developed which examines the limits of professional action, its lack of influence and its paradoxical and problematic consequences (see Mecheril 2008a:25). Currently there is a wide absence of a structural framework for the theoretical reflection of educational achievement gaps and systematizing analysis of discrimination. In order to ameliorate current challenges, approaches to integration in general and educational practice in particular require, a conceptual framework, which can illuminate the structural parameters. Such a framework can be developed by linking Crenshaw's intersectionality with Lange's political consciousness and inclusive citizenship education. Their interdiscursivity is relevant since both approaches address a complex problem area of participation and integration. Their combined analytical and transformative potential lies in the ability to jointly address the invisibility of social structures and citizenship awareness.

2 Compare framework of inclusive citizenship Malte & Lange (2017: 96-99).

3 The EU Strategic Framework 2020 in EU (2015).

4 The deficit approach is extensively analysed as background to the PREDIS project (PREDIS 2016).

Intersectionality has ignored the citizenship awareness of migrants as ethnic minority groups while Lange's political consciousness can broaden perspectives on the intersectionality of structures of discrimination and inequality.

This article's argument is that citizenship awareness should be considered as a ground of inequality that interacts with categories, without which equity cannot be achieved. The article aims to advance the social theoretical debate as well as the practical implementation of diversity reflexive and inclusive approaches in education.

The structure of the article is as follows: A scientific reflection and social theoretical critique of deficit approaches will first be presented to set the context. A brief presentation of the structural approach will be followed by brief reflection of the interdiscursivity of the intersectionality framework and Lange's political inclusive citizenship. The intersectional framework will then be discussed in more detail. It will be followed by analysis of intersectional issues in real life educational achievement contexts of disadvantaged migrant and Roma youngsters. A brief summary of possible practice interventions will be elaborated. Last, the lived dimensions of citizenship awareness will be demonstrated on the basis of empirical observations. This intriguing part illuminates *the invisible interaction of representational intersectionality and citizenship awareness of migrant youngsters*. Finally, the concept of equity will be presented.

This paper is partly based on observations of PREDIS, a project funded by the European UNION to reduce early school leaving (ESL) through inclusive strategies of migrants and Roma youngsters. PREDIS observations are expanded through my empirical observations of the work, educational and social biographies of migrant women in England and Germany that was undertaken as part of my doctoral dissertation⁵.

3 Social Theoretical Critique of the Deficit Approach

Steinhilber and Gümen argue that within cultural deficit paradigms, the structural parameters of migrants become redefined in terms of cultural conflicts and cultural problems. Cultural deficit paradigms can be critiqued for masking hierarchy and the relations of power that construct inequality amongst dominant categories and migrants as subordinate groups⁶. In effect, power hierarchies that are decisive for the life conditions of migrants and minorities are perpetuated (Leiprecht 2008).

5 Barongo-Muweke (2010).

6 Steinhilber (1994); Gümen (1996).

Morokvasic critiques deficit approaches in terms of the traditional-modernity paradigm in which migrants and minorities are frequently located in by dominant culture and in which they first have to be promoted (*culturally upgraded*) in order to be integrated (Morokvasic 1983). Hebenstreit underlines the words ‘backwardness, *isolated and needy – of help* to concretize deficit paradigms commonly expressed in German scientific literature on migrants (Hebenstreit 1984). Scholars have lamented the fact that cultural deficit theories and cultural conflict paradigms have produced a uni-dimensional debate, which emphasizes the adaptation of migrants and ignores the cultural adjustment needs of the dominant society. These paradigms are often drawn on to explain integration barriers and to legitimate enactment of restrictive migration policy (Ausländerpolitik)⁷. Rätzl and Kalpaka have argued that these paradigms have led to the establishment of paternalistic relations with migrants rather than foster emancipation of the individual or intercultural reflection and mutual learning.⁸ However, according to Lange, the goal of political education is the individual autonomy (Lange 2008). Lange rejects the deficit approach and understands the subjective conceptions of learners as categories of didactic structuring, whose structures should be reconstructed and the contents seriously acknowledged and reflected not in terms of mental deficits but as existing citizenship awareness that serves learners in dealing with everyday challenges. Accordingly learners conceptions and scientific perspectives should be brought in relationship to each other for the broadening (*as opposed to pathology*) of learners conceptions (Lange 2008). For Leiprecht, the lineal attributions and perspectives on migrants must be questioned (Leiprecht 2010). Implicit in deficit approaches are prejudiced views which reproduce fixed stereotypes and look for causes not in own perception patterns but in the thinking structures of the othered individuals (Leiprecht 2008: 5, 8 & 12). Therefore, in alignment with Leiprecht, Mecheril argues that reflecting culture moves the lens away from the external other to the inside perspective of own self-reflection to produce better understanding of own interpretation and action patterns. The interest is not the question of whether there are cultural differences, rather, under what circumstances do we use cultures and with which effects? (Mecheril 2008a, 26). For Mecheril, it is important to examine normalization practices. For differences to hold, they require normalization but they also produce normalization (Mecheril 2007:4). According to Foucault, normalization occurs through the unexamined interplay between discourses and subjects. Foucault looks at discourses in terms of power and argues that power is fluid and

7 See Ochse with further references Ochse (1999: 73); Encarnación Gutiérrez-Rodríguez (1999: 136).

8 Rätzl & Kalpka (1993).

power exerts effects on individual actions. As such, subjects must first understand the effects of power on their perceptions and actions. Discourses of power as part of scientific disciplines construct our identities, and the dominant worldview as well as normalize relations of domination, and subordination which subjects unknowingly or mechanically reproduce. Subsequently, subjects unknowingly support social hierarchies against own knowledge, values and norms. Subjects must understand themselves as political categories and know their own subjectification in discourses of power. The subject's relationship with society and its contexts of diversity and inequality is mediated through discourses. Foucault discusses the duality of power which implies that power produces not only oppressive effects but power also has a productive dimension. Using productive power, subjects can counter frame oppressive discourses and dominant worldviews and replace them through discourses that affirm their own values and norms (Foucault 1998). In this light, Mecheril argues that the deconstruction of culture will precede the transformation of difference and inequality (2004:16). Culture is a praxis of social differentiation whereby cultural difference should not refer to natural differences but a praxis of difference by actors, which must be analysed (Mecheril in: Mecheril u.: 2010:17). In other words, it is necessary to understand the social conditions in which the other is constructed (Riegel 2013). To explore this in more depth, Mecheril looks at culture as a social practice which produces social effects and a theoretical tool which constructs contextual relationships (Mecheril 2008a:26).

On the structural level, the deficit model has sought deficits in individual learners rather than in the institutional culture, which creates deficits. This has created blindness to the need for systemic changes (see Seukwa 2013). Bourdieu argues that poor performance of disadvantaged learners is a result of the symbolic violence exercised by the dominant cultural capital. Economic, social and political resources are controlled by the dominant groups whose culture is embodied in schools. Schools and educational institutions are designed to advantage learners possessing specific forms of cultural capital defined by the dominant hegemony. Poor achievement is not a result of cultural differences but the ways in which the artefact of schools operate (Bourdieu & Passeron: 1990/1970). Educational inequalities mirror the underlying culture and how it deals with identity and diversity in ways that mould the specific structural dimension. Culture is a social construct and a central difference dimension that determines educational opportunities (Mecheril 2004: 16). While privilege is associated with possessing norms and values of the dominant group (Bourdieu & Passeron: 1990/1970), major inequalities in cultural capital are encountered due to exclusionary effects of institutional power for conferring institutional recognition such as academic qualifications. These certificates of cultural competence with legally guaranteed value institute an official difference between

officially guaranteed competence and non-official cultural competences (Bourdieu 1986). The miss-recognition of non-institutionally acquired competences, implies that competences cannot be converted into economic capital on the labour market (Bourdieu 1984; 1986). Migrant youngsters are affected in double ways because not only non-formally and informally acquired competences are misrecognized but also formally acquired competences. When it comes to cultural capital, migrants and Roma typically have weak industrial relations and lack political representation and the associated political power⁹: Educationists should be aware of the broader political and social problem contexts of youngster's achievement and engage in public disputation and political actions for change. For Peter Jackson, understanding the interactions between the political and economic plays a central role whereby culture is the domain in which economic and political contradictions are contested and resolved as well as where meanings are negotiated and social relations of dominance and subordination are negotiated and resisted. Culture in its own terms is an implicit challenge to dominant values but not an exclusive domain of the elite groups or an elite construction. Culture involves relations of power, reflected in patterns of dominance and subordination made concrete through patterns of social organization. Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood, and interpreted (Hall et al & Clark qtd. In: Peter Jackson 2003). Looking at how societal relations manifest themselves, Bourdieu reminds that the social order is embodied, and external social structures are read in the body. Subsequently, the body constitutes a site of difference and discrimination. The reflection of the habitus is necessary because it constitutes the fundamental structures which structure the thinking and actions of a human being.¹⁰ The habitus is a structured system of meanings generated in line with subjects positioning in social space. The habitus is acquired through repetition and experiences made by human beings in particular social structures. Distinctions are not innate but socially constructed, not fixed but subject to change and deconstruction¹¹. Of principle importance, the bodily dispositions of the habitus manifest the subject's positioning in the societal hierarchies and constitute social filters for categorizing subjects¹². In short, the habitus exists both in the mind and is dispositioned in the body as a marker of distinctions and differences (Bourdieu

9 Powerful charter groups and professional groups can construct strong industrial relations, with rules determining labour market participation in exclusionary ways which form systems of social closure (for further references, see Barongo-Muweke 2010:110).

10 Bourdieu (1979).

11 Bourdieu (1998)

12 See critically, Bourdieu (1986).

1986, 1984). Bidet simplifies Bourdieu's concept of the habitus which he refers to as the culture of an epoch, or class or any group as internalized by the individual in the form of durable dispositions that are at the basis of his/her behaviour.¹³ Whilst, disadvantaged youth inherent and mirror their social environments *constructed by the dominant habitus* (Bourdieu 1995), they are read in terms of cognitive and cultural deficits (section 1 & 2). To overcome deficit approaches, educationists need to be aware of the different habitus and the inherent conflict between the habitus.

Taken together, the causes of educational achievement gaps cannot be explained in terms of personal deficits but must be examined in relation to underlying structural inequalities and uncritically reflected cultural and daily social practices, which systematically condition individual life opportunities of disadvantaged migrants and minority groups, their access to societal resources and individual social and economic participation (Compare Auernheimer 2008). Early exit from general schooling and VET is not a result of a single causal factor. Rather, early disengagement results from the combined effects of a broad range of factors from multiple societal dimensions and levels whereby the coincidence of multiple impacting factors is chronically higher amongst youngsters of a migration background¹⁴.

4 The Structural Approach

Structural blindness as mirrored in deficit approaches articulates the scientific need for integrating a structural approach within diversity reflexive education: The structural approach is a social justice based approach that examines the structural context of social problems, individuals, groups and educational practice. It aims to address structural inequalities by changing the oppressive interaction of structures and individuals. The structural approach recognizes that inequalities result from social injustices whereby social economic, cultural and political inequalities arise due to unjust structures of society. Conditions of poverty, racialization, ethnic, gender, and ableism as discriminations are structured in the society and are by their nature destructive to human development. Eliminating social injustices improves both the excluded's quality of life and the societal quality of life. The structural approach seeks to strengthen critical perspectives and analytical competences

13 Bidet in, Harker (1984).

14 ESL is not the result of a single factor (compare, Willis 1985).

for examining structural mechanisms and ameliorating their effects.¹⁵ It rejects a difference-propelled view of the other. Instead, it turns the lens towards the structures and social preconditions in which the other is constructed. Emphasis of the perspective is on societal dominance relations, reflection of own privileges¹⁶. The structural approach rejects the individualization of structural causes of social problems and recognizes the societal and the political basis of problems – the personal is political (Compare Moreau 1990).

4.1 Interdiscursivity of Intersectionality and Citizenship Awareness

Crenshaw's intersectionality can effectively respond to weaknesses in the deficit approach by providing tools for unmasking the invisibility of structural mechanisms which has been so far perpetuated within the deficit approach. Riegel makes the point that the intersectional lens is not only advanced in a differentiated and systematized analysis of difference but is also useful for making mechanisms that construct boundaries and their normalization in educational praxis as (*well as their societal, institutional and situative contexts*) visible and tangible for reflection, critique and change (compare Riegel 2013). Despite its analytical potential, the intersectionality lens has largely ignored the competence dimension of minority groups as disadvantaged categories, through its dominant focus on the reflection of structural mechanisms, and the reflexive and action competences of the dominant categories (Barongo-Muweke 2016)¹⁷. Yet within the gender scientific debate, Wetterer and Becker-Schmidt have already emphasized the importance of paying attention to the individual level of reflexivity as it relates to the ability of the affected to change structures of oppression (Wetterer 1998). The exclusion of migrants within the intersectional lens creates an epistemic inequality amongst minority and dominant categories¹⁸. As such, a diversity reflexive approach should be conceived as a broadly observing approach that criticizes the empowerment of

15 With further reading and references see, Bill Lee (1993:7); Mullaly (2007); See also: <https://carleton.ca/socialwork/prospective-students/graduate-2/msw-program/>

16 For further reading, see Riegel (2013).

17 Compare the critique on the German intercultural pedagogy debate which excludes migrants while including women of the majority as targets groups of intercultural training (Castro Varela in Mecheril (2008a). Mecheril argues that migrants cannot overcome their complex biographies on their own (ibid).

18 Barongo_Muweke (2016).

people through differential discourses, and seeks to advance itself on the basis of persistent understanding (Mecheril 2008b)¹⁹. Political education is challenged to explore and build politically relevant conceptions in migration society whereby the subjective sense-making world requires strengthening in light of social reality and controversies (Lange 2008). Lange has developed a framework of inclusive citizenship education and political didactic structuring, which focusses on how individual learners politically think and which can therefore help to address the tension field of exclusion and inclusion in the epistemic alterities of idealization and invisibility²⁰. Of principle importance, the aim of Lange's inclusive citizenship education, is to systematically produce mature citizenship awareness through transferring individual competences that foster a critically and morally reflected participation in the social, economic and political life. Lange's model aims to strengthen individual political judgement. To do this, it strengthens political action competences of subjects and transfers political meaning which together serve individual orientation in politics, economy, society and their interdependent controversies. Inclusive civic education aspires to enable learners to recognize, evaluate, act upon and influence their political-societal reality.²¹ Lange's framework has been described in English in more detail. Due to place constraints it will not be addressed here. To read more see Lange in Barongo-Muweke 2016.

4.2 Intersectionality: Towards Structural Frameworks for Systematized Analysis of Difference and Inequality

4.2.1 Description

Crenshaw's intersectionality can be summarized as follows: intersectionality explores the interrelationship between gender, ethnicity, race, age and (dis)ability as interlocking systems of oppression and aims to capture both the structural and dynamic consequence of the interaction between two or more forms of discrimination or systems of subordination. The analysis is based on examining the ways in which racism, patriarchy, economic disadvantage and other discriminatory systems create layers of inequality that structure the relative positions of men, women, racialized and other groups, thereby creating multiple barriers and disproportionate burdens.

19 Mecheril Paul (2008b). Diversity. Differenzordnungen und Modi ihrer Verknüpfungen. Berlin: Heinrich Boell Stiftung: <https://heimatkunde.boell.de/2008/07/01/diversity-differenzordnungen-und-modi-ihrer-verknuepfung>

20 Barongo-Muweke (2016).

21 Lange (2008).

The complex situation cannot be addressed by the affected alone. Intersectionality emphasizes that vulnerability is relational and different groups experience different forms of discrimination. Generalized approaches that ignore differences between groups effectively marginalize them. Implied is that the acknowledgement of difference and disproportionate vulnerability is the starting point of inclusive change. Addressing intersectionality should take into consideration what is happening in the lived experiences of marginalized groups and incorporate equity measures into them. Knowledge of discrimination is necessary. Within this framework, intersectionality also examines the ways in which policies and regulation create obstacles along intersecting axes and construct disempowering dynamics. Inequality and oppressive mechanisms are not reducible to one single axis (see Crenshaw 2000 & 1989). Below we define the axes gender, ethnicity and disability:

Gender is not a natural category or only a biological construct but also a social construct of the weak societal position of women socially constructed due to different societal roles ascribed to men and women based on reproductive roles. Gender is not homogenous but gender asymmetries and gender hierarchies are differentially articulated in different societies due to the differential construction of gender roles and differential integration of women into capitalistic modes of production in these societies (Makonnen 2002).²² Women experience a conflict between their reproductive and productive roles and encounter challenges and barriers stemming from their double societal orientation: Women contribute to social reproduction in two ways: Women perform the lion's share of the roles of care for the ageing, nurturing the young and regenerating labour in the unpaid household sector. At the same time, women work in female dominated sectors on the labour market, albeit, these are undervalued and underpaid. The higher and better paying ranks tend to be male dominated. Women's double roles constrain them from further training that is essential for labour market mobility into higher and better paid occupations. While women perform more socially necessary work than men, they thereby experience a variety of discriminations which men don't. By contrast, men tend to occupy higher positions in social ranking, have more privilege and exert more social influence. Men are represented more in sectors that constitute societal centres of power such as political, economy, science and technology. The private sphere as a social field of practice in which women dominate is less valid than the public sphere dominated by men. In Conceptual terms, women encounter double dominance structures due to their weak societal position relative to men women: the unequal relationship between women and men in gender arrangements (*soci-*

22 To review gender asymmetries, see Becker Schmidt (1993).

etal roles) and the different weights of the social sectors in which men and women dominate whereby the one dominated by men upholds the social order. Socialization corresponds with genderization. Gender is the first layer of discrimination experienced by all women and it is structured in society (Regina Becker-Schmidt 2003)²³.

Ethnicity: Migrants and Roma minorities experience triple jeopardy. In addition to gender-based discrimination, they experience discrimination from access to labour markets due to policy and legislative processes of countries of destination and their class position. The class position refers to the weak status on labour market as migrant and minority worker compounded by lack of political power and voice like unionization. In other words, additional inequalities and more burdens intensify experiences of gender based discrimination for these groups. Lenz looks at triple jeopardy, as oppression encountered based on differential interaction of structural categories within three main institutions. The family, which socializes gender, the labour market (*class and gender interaction*) and nationality (*ethnicity and gender interaction*). Lenz deploys a differentiated understanding of ethnicity in terms of how migrants encounter additional barriers than their native-born counter parts and how migrant women may encounter more barriers than migrant men (Lenz 1995). From an intersectional perspective, gender discrimination can take place in a context that is already made vulnerable by discrimination due to ethnicity or racism and class. This weak social economic status creates the structural background feature in which discrimination takes place. Non-migrant women experiencing gender discrimination have a different structural background, which may act as a buffer (Crenshaw 2000; 1991; 1989). For example, the social-economic status of migrant women (*and Roma*) tends to be precarious; they are more likely to work in the lowest occupational strata, with low remuneration and in dangerous and unregulated areas (e. g. domestic workers with no corresponding labour policy protection). They may also not be allowed to work.

Disability: A woman with disability experiences a fourth level of structural disadvantage not encountered by other women without disabilities and is therefore at greater risk of exclusion. (Dis)ability has special relevance in the context of education where cognitive and physical dimensions intersect. In the case of the deficit approaches and early tracking policies, youngsters experience ableism as a line of difference and are placed in the margins of society due to societal perception of their cognitive disability. Just as other categories, *disability* is a social construct.

23 See www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/soz_eth/Geschlecht_als_Kategorie/Die_doppelte_Vergesellschaftung_von_Frauen/index.html

Makonnen stresses that disability is not a natural category but a socially constructed category manifested in the contradictions between the capabilities of an individual and expectations of his or her environment. Disability cannot be interpreted in terms of a deficit within the individual and disability is not a barrier. The dimensions of disability are determined by the physical and social environments, the interpretations and possibilities or barriers put in place which hinder full access, participation or the unfolding of the capabilities and instead intensify experiences of disability (Makonnen 2002). Ableism has constituted the explanatory scheme for explaining educational achievements gaps in terms of cognitive deficits. This has reinforced but not ameliorated the creation of inhibiting structural environments amongst disadvantaged Roma and migrant learners, albeit unintentionally (critically section 4.2.3).

4.2.2 Analytical Model of Intersectionality: Three Levels of Interaction

The subtle and invisible nature of interactions is central to understanding intersectionality. In analytical terms, Crenshaw identifies three limbs of intersectionality which constitute three analytical levels.

- Identity level of intersectionality
- Structural intersectionality
- Representational intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991).

The major problem identified is that these analytical levels are frequently conflated but not separated in the analysis (Yuval-Davis 2006). This gap is significant because migrants and minorities experience together two distinct forms of discrimination: (i) additive discrimination *which arises from many grounds* and (ii) intersectional discrimination *which arises from the interaction of grounds* (Crenshaw 1991).

INTERSECTIONALITY (IDENTITY LEVEL): One limb is intersectionality resulting from the interaction of grounds like gender, race, ethnicity, age, etc. (individual *identities as social constructs*) with each other that marginalises affected persons. This interaction is intensified by the interaction with other forms of background features and inequalities like class, patriarchy, poverty, health, unemployment, or other discriminatory practices. Multiple forms of discrimination (*identity level*) occur in a social-economic context that is already weak. The entanglements of gender, ethnicity, race, age and (dis)ability, imply that identity is the core bases of inequality through which discrimination is societally organized and experienced in lived conditions, albeit, multi-dimensionally and simultaneously since our

identities are multidimensional and never singular. Grounds of discrimination and our multiple identities are interrelated. Discriminations based on one ground can be intensified or facilitated by discriminations based on other grounds or parameters of identity. Gender never exists alone but in interconnection and interaction with other identities as inequality generating categories²⁴. Nevertheless, the axes of discrimination have often been considered as separate and mutually exclusive. Subsequently, groups facing multiple discriminations have also been excluded from effective measures. Addressing exclusion and ameliorating effects in social context necessarily requires a perspective on both identity and its constitution as a structural category (Crenshaw 1991 & 2000). Of principle importance identities are social constructs. Two separate but closely linked powers are manifested. Power exercised through categorization of categories and the power to cause categorizations to have social and material consequences. Meanings and values attributed to categories foster and create social hierarchies. Descriptive contents of categories and narratives on which they are based have privileged some experiences and excluded others. Groups occupy specific social positions and experience exclusion and discrimination according to the meanings attached to their identities. Systems of subordination and myriad experiences of oppression emerge on the basis of categories (Crenshaw 1991). In other words, the elaboration and elimination of discrimination and inequality has to acknowledge and address identity categories. Categories provide core conceptual and analytical dimensions through which inequality has to be scientifically conceptualized and addressed (Winker & Degele 2009). Within a Foucauldian framework, the interminglements of power, discourse and identity must be examined. Categories constitute both power dimensions and discursive assumptions of identity²⁵: The boundaries of identity (race, ethnicity, disability) are fluid and their membership is subject to contestation. From a social constructionist view, race and ethnic groups and nations are discursive formations and imagined communities which are constructed, contested and changed through specific ideological contexts. They express the underlying language (*often unquestioned assumptions and stereotypes*) through which differences are explained. There are no genetically or biologically distinct races in the human species²⁶. For Mecheril, power asymmetries must be identified and their functions must be reflected. Power constructs societal asymmetries in which the privileged profit from the disadvantaged. Privilege is constructed as normal while discrimination defines the other. It

24 Crenshaw (1991); Compare Makonnen (2002).

25 Patricia Hill Collins qtd.In: <https://cdn.as.uky.edu/departments/gws/elearning/Intersectionality/1xxx/index.html>

26 See critically Bulmer and Solomos qtd.In: Makonnen (2002).

is essential to explore whose interests the relations of dominance serve. Individuals must become aware of how they profit economically, politically and socially from the oppression of others. Own privilege articulates the others' discrimination. Awareness involves action linked with taking individual accountability for transforming inequalities and social injustices. Difference constructs (*such as gender, racialization, ethnicity, (dis)ability*) must be understood as structural relationships of privileges and subordinations which concretize differential distribution of power in society as well as how different social groups experience advantages and social advantages. The identification and transformative reflection of own and societal privileges is part and parcel of becoming aware of and changing power asymmetries (see Mecheril 2008a). Otherwise, naturalized group constructions, legitimize economic, political and cultural dominance (Rommelspacher 2009:27). Not only the identities (*hegemonic group categories*) but also the systems of subordination must be challenged (Crenshaw 1991). Identities emerge in relation to a matrix of systems of power like patriarchy, capitalism, and imperialism as mutually constitutive and self-reinforcing in determining privilege and creating oppression (see critically Patricia Hill Collins 2000). These systems of power define gender, race and class as categories, which in turn, constitute lenses through which we derive meanings that not only inform hierarchies but also concepts of self. Identities constitute the bases through which power flows, social meanings are created and inequality is experienced. Language plays a central role (critically Crenshaw 1991). The substantive focus of approaches examining the power matrix has been on effects of capitalism as a fundamental inequality structuring mechanism and how its class divisions interlock with the inequalities of gender, racialization and body thereby constructing differential access to the labour market and responsibility for the reproduction of labour on the basis of categories (Winker & Degele 2009: 42). In other words, gender, ethnicity/race, class, and body not only constitute the core axes of difference but also constitute the bases on which segmented labour is distributed and differential access to societal resources is organized²⁷. This makes the structural-level of analysis inevitable – the structural analysis must explore the social context of societal groups in relation to access to labour market and responsibility for the reproduction of labour (Winker & Degele 2007: 4 & 7). This is partly demonstrated above in the description of categories.

STRUCTURAL INTERSECTIONALITY: Structural intersectionality occurs where policies intersect with underlying structures of inequality creating compound burdens along difference axes which make the position of the individual

27 See works of Winker & Degele (2007:6).

disproportionately vulnerable. Policies tend to address only one aspect of identity and assume that all grounds of inequality are covered, while they are not. Intersectionality looks at the invisible interaction that puts persons at the intersections of the different grounds at a special disadvantage experienced only by them. It is more subtle and the interaction is simultaneous. Discrimination may occur in a policy context that makes different groups vulnerable due to their ethnicity, racial, class backgrounds. As already mentioned above, due to its complexity, intersectionality cannot be resolved by the affected alone. Failure to capture this social reality reproduces inequality by marginalizing the most vulnerable. Addressing structural intersectionality becomes necessary. Even law is not capable of fully addressing it, as it focuses on the identity level. As already mentioned above, the disproportionate disadvantage should inform the starting point of interventions (Crenshaw 1991). Sometimes covert discrimination occurs when policies with neutral criteria produce discriminatory outcomes through the subtle combination of rules and regulation (Boyd 1995).

POLITICAL INTERSECTIONALITY: According to Crenshaw, *political intersectionality* is mostly experienced when intersecting goals and interests are in conflict with each other. Typical scenario: ethnic minority women constrained from work outside the home or experiencing domestic violence might be reluctant to expose their husbands, as this would create a negative image of the group to outsiders. Relevance: those affected are forced to endure their situation; policy and other strategies remain silent on the matter too due to the information gaps (Crenshaw 1991). Roma girls may keep quiet about arranged early weddings. Migrants and minority groups may refrain from addressing disability or structural poverty out of fear of being perceived as weak and reinforcing negative stereotypes.

REPRESENTATIONAL INTERSECTIONALITY: Crenshaw's concept of *representational intersectionality* relates to how Black women are depicted in cultural imagery, for instance as being over-sexed (Crenshaw 1991) but the concept is applicable to other contexts of migrants, for example, the veil (*Kopftuch*) and what society thinks of the wearer as being subservient or deviant (Compare Anthias 2013). Representationality can reproduce a symbolic hierarchical order and reinforce discrimination based on ideologies and norms, which perpetuate inequality (Winker & Degele 2009). This article will demonstrate that representational practices have led to the demise of citizenship awareness amongst migrant and minority youngsters which has intensified the constraints of intersectionality (Barongo-Muweke 2016).

4.2.3 The Intersectional Dimension in Life Situations of Migrants & Roma

The analysis of this section is based on findings from the PREDIS Needs Analysis and the forthcoming Toolkit. It brings risk factors that are usually not thought together in relationship with each other and shows how causal factors have reinforced each other due to the deficit approaches. The invisibility of social structures is particularly well exemplified through the general lack of a prevention approach in educational policy.

The Intergenerational Condition of Inequality

Migrant and minority youngsters inherit the conditions of discrimination and inequality experienced by their parents while simultaneously encountering own discriminations and exclusion, all on the basis of ethnicity/migration status: Their parents are frequently legally not allowed to work for many years. This intersects with youngsters discrimination at the transition to internships and labour markets (PREDIS 2016). Youngsters inherit a socialization context in which they are not exposed to an environment for acquiring work orientation and learning the responsibilities of work by contrast to native-born counterparts²⁸. This vulnerable context often builds the framework of difference for those youngsters who struggle with burdens of non-recognition of international qualifications, work experience and access to language training. Other factors impinge:

Dual Segregation in Poor Schools and Poor Neighbourhoods

Due to space constraints, this analysis will briefly illustrate intersectionality in learners' life worlds through an attempt to conceptualize the term ableism in the context of education. The concept is based on a synthesis of the various interconnecting and unseen forms of exclusion. Youngsters are socially segregated in poor neighbourhoods lacking supportive infrastructure. Instead of addressing poverty and social segregation which underlie educational achievement gaps, learners experience early tracking where they congregate with learners struggling with language challenges, poor notes and weak social networks. Hence migrants and Roma experience double segregation.

The deficit approach translates ableism as a discriminatory praxis. Ableism thus regards the construction of educational biographies in the ability/disable asymmetry and the subsequent hierarchical and marginalizing effects. In educational contexts, ableism as a discrimination practice implies that learners who are perceived as

28 Compare critically, Willis (1986).

able receive more attention, are favoured within early tracking systems where they congregate in classrooms with other learners perceived as intellectually able. These learners experience social environments of self-reinforcing privileges usually supported by high social status of schools, quality networks linked to own social backgrounds and family status. Learners perceived as unable (deficit), experience double segregation as self-reinforcing inequalities. On one hand, they are tracked into schools with learners perceived as intellectually unable, these schools not only tend to have a low social economic status but also, the low perceptions of ability from teachers meet with low self-perception of learners²⁹. At the same time, these learners are segregated in low economic status families and negative influences of urban neighbourhoods. Hence they have inequalities in social networks. Due to ableism, complex structural mechanisms are reduced to individual levels, albeit ableism constitutes a dimension of human selectivity which unintentionally occurs and in which a society begins to structure itself around only those perceived as able. The unequal starting conditions as causes of unequal learning outcomes are masked and not addressed. Tackling ableism involves acknowledging human selectivity and preventing social apartheid. Ableism strengthens lineal thinking, weakens diversity, human intelligence and action competences (See critically, PREDIS 2017). A perspective on the social construction of disparities in the acquisition of merit is essential. Differences are socially constructed disparities, creating inequality in capability and resources as well as conditions for acquisition of merit (Mackinnon in UN Women 2014:14). Providing equal opportunities on a strictly merit based approach will continue to disadvantage certain groups or individuals as no distinctions will be made on the effect of disadvantage on the acquisition of merit (Fredman in UN Women: 2014: 15). Considering social heterogeneity in educational contexts should pay attention to students in all their individuality and variability and to differences associated with social inequality in their life chances, their individual social positioning, possibilities and limitations. Treating everybody equally neglects conditions of difference, because students' life situations which are always connected with unequal preconditions for learning and scope of possibilities are ignored³⁰. Equalizing starting points is imperative and must go hand in hand with recognizing differences amongst groups (Fredman 2002³¹). The educational system often leads to reproduction of inequality because due to social

29 The term ableism is working term of PREDIS project coined through synthesizing different issues and concepts addressed in the thematic area. For further reading on early tracking compare critically Eurydice and Cedefop (2014).

30 Riegel (2012); see also critically, Mecheril & Plößer (2009).

31 Fredman, S. (2002). *Discrimination law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

background, the privileged learners profit from same conditions of unprivileged (Mecheril & Plöser 2009).

Racialization therefore occurs through concentration of inferior conditions of living due to ethnicity. Gender and age are also embedded in the complex interaction. Roma minority women experience societal prejudice and discrimination against Roma as well as gender based discrimination³². Ageism implies that whilst migrant youngsters spend many years in overcoming migration barriers, this barrier is frequently ignored within age-selective VET training and employment sectors like nursing and dental support in countries like Germany. While training admission criteria and practise tend to select young women directly from general school (age bracket 18-21), young and older women above this age bracket experience exclusion (Barongo-Muweke 2010). Similarly, state regulation of retirement age, does not take into account the migration dimension. However, the age ceiling translates lower lifetime earnings, which in turn, implies lower contributions to welfare and old age security, thus translating precarious retirement for migrants due to shortened time for labour market participation. In our analysis, the intersection of age, gender and ethnicity in segregated labour markets, can reproduce inequalities which are inherited by youngsters (PREDIS, 2016).

Single young parents encounter greater barriers which compound risks of exclusion from VET and labour market participation. Female youth are likely to experience labour market exclusion due to household duties or dependence on their spouses (critically Färber a.o 2008).

Lack of a Prevention Approach

For re-analysis, systems of social closure are encountered by disadvantaged youngsters which decisively condition achievement gaps³³. Prevention of early disengagement from VET and ESL requires reconstruction of these complex systems and uncovering the various associated marginalizing structural mechanisms. Just as intersectional discriminations, the risk factors are interlinked and reinforce each other. However, they have been handled as separate and mutually exclusive within

32 European Commission (2009): Ethnic Minority and Roma women in Europe. A case for gender equality? Report prepared by the EGGSI Network, European Commission, Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities DG ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=4833

33 For further reading on social closure in migration societies, compare critically Porter in Barongo-Muweke 2010:110; Compare also Seukwa (2013).

the deficit approaches³⁴. Causal factors in the broader societal domains invisibly interact with structural mechanisms of differentiation in the school domain. Due to the deficit approach, they also invisibly interact with the educational policy making domain in ways that produce contradictory outcomes and reinforce risk factors: Structural blindness has fuelled fragmented understanding, interpretations, contradictory rationales and opposing interventions, which have culminated into hampering a prevention approach and intensifying ESL challenges (PREDIS 2016).

ESL is progressive, starting with observable disengagement from education due to underachievement whose causes are anchored in early school years where they can be effectively addressed (European Commission 2015). However, the different educational phases do not act in tandem. In the German case, Manfred Kremer has critiqued the fact that different educational phases have been considered as discrete from each other but not interlocking while in reality they are interdependent and influence each other. They have also been considered discrete from the employment agencies (Kremer 2009). In particular, due to this structural separation, curricular and labour market requirements have not been aligned. This has, in turn, created mismatches between qualification profiles and labour market demands (Cedefop 2016; Manfred Kremer 2009). Another result is that educationists and trainers widely lack career guidance skills (critically, Cedefop 2016; Kremer 2009). At the same time, some youngsters experience the stigmatization of the VET sector, which leads them to decide on university courses, some of which, offer prestige with a dead end to the labour market (Bourdieu and Passeron's 1990/1970). This is grave because individual occupational choice competences and competences for constructing career biographies are key to successful integration into vocational training and the labour market (see Büchter & Christe 2014). In our analysis, these systemic gaps mirror the lack of a prevention approach and the invisibility of social structures in educational policy making which multiplies grounds of exclusion and intensify effects on youngsters vocational orientation. Despite the fact that ESL factors can be effectively tackled in general school, a continuum in support measures lacks. By contrast, the continuum exists in how risk factors influence each other. Deficit approaches are not sustainable. In leaning on Hilbert Meyer and Fichten, it becomes explicit that perspectival change is necessary and must be understood not just as an attitude but as also including reframing competences and an activity³⁵ and the activity must be organized³⁶. In sum, a change in situation perception, meaning

34 This clearly demonstrates how intersectional structural lines are frequently invisible and handled separately as already explained drawing on Crenshaw in section (4.2).

35 See Prengel in Fichten & Hilbert Meyer (2005: 6).

36 Fichten & Hilbert Meyer (2005).

and perspective³⁷ has to be combined with an increase in practical professional knowledge (Hilbert Meyer & Fichten 2005). Implementing diversity reflective approaches implies re-organizing teaching and learning processes. Accordingly, Peter Thiele, argues for the systemic interlinking of schools, transition systems and training (Thiele 2011), which implies the vertical and horizontal permeation of different phases of learning and employment (Kremer 2009) on one hand. On the other hand, this must involve multi-sectoral social, educational and employment partnerships on various levels local community, municipal, federal and looping in of business and industrial actors. Strengthening vocational education, requires the entrenchment of labour market oriented curricular in schools (Thiele 2011; Manfred Kremer 2009). It also requires addressing the complex and multidimensional societal causes. Without looking at the structural conditions which create social disparities and differential merit amongst youngsters, it is not possible to fully address achievement gaps. Accordingly, Bourdieu has argued that migrants inherit and mirror their environment and that changing the social environments of disadvantaged learners must constitute a central focus of intervention measures (Bourdieu, 1995).

For the amelioration of intersecting disadvantages, Nancy Edwards a. o. have argued for multiple and multi-level intervention programs, which have to be implemented at the same time. They combine multiple components with interconnected intervention strategies, which are used to target multiple levels (*e. g. the individual, community, political*) and multiple sectors (*health, education, transportation, housing, business*). They are delivered through various channels like non-governmental organizations, representational bodies such as professional associations and grassroots infrastructure such as advocacy groups, faith groups, coalitions, business sector, media and in different settings such as the home, school, work place³⁸. A streamlined, diversified and simplified architecture facilitating efficient and integrated services is required (Erasmus+ 2014). Within this holistic framework, overcoming the deficit approaches in everyday teaching and learning will necessitate educationists to overcome the fictitious perception of an average learner which is currently dominant, Educationists should become sensitive about the various levels of competence upon which students operate and paying particular attention to lower levels of competences (Hilbert Meyer 2006:7). As already mentioned, further necessary here is critical reflection of own professional praxis in perspective of examining its controversies and limitation (Mecheril section 2). Moreover, policy interventions are required to ameliorate barriers that prevent access

37 See critically Prengel in Wolfgang Fichten & Hilbert Meyer (2005)

38 With further references, see Nancy Edwards, Judy Mill & Anita Kothari (2004).

to training and labour market due to ethnicity. Similarly, teachers, VET trainers and other educational professionals will need to work with multi-professional teams of educational, social, employment and health partnerships.

4.3 Representationality and Inclusive Citizenship Education

According to Lange, work orientation is a core dimension of citizenship awareness and political judgment (Lange 2008). Subsequently, the lack of work orientation mirrors the demise of citizenship awareness amongst migrants which should no longer be ignored, but should constitute an important analytical dimension and become incorporated into concepts, innovative methods and strategies of inclusive citizenship education and sustainable learning especially within countries shaped by a high level of migration and globalization³⁹. Citizenship awareness should be conceived as a ground of difference and dimension of inequality, which interacts with categories. Intersectionality should not only imply investigating the interaction of grounds and the social practices and action possibilities of the dominant society but it should also reflect how citizenship awareness of migrants and Roma youngsters unfolds in this interaction. It is necessary to identify the entanglements of structural and representational intersectional discriminations with individual citizenship awareness (see Barongo-Muweke 2016). Winker and Degele's emphasize the need for the exploration of social practices in the intersection of identity construction, discourses, social structures and symbolic representation (Degele and Winker 2009: 15 & 2011: 60). Which social difference constructions, dominance and inequality relations are relevant, how do they effect together and how are social difference constructions and dominance relations reproduced (*situative, habitually, discursively*) through praxis, in which context do difference constructions occur?⁴⁰ Below, some of the processes in which migrants citizenship awareness disintegrates in symbolic interaction with dominate society's representationality discourses will further be concretized through a reconstruction of the work, education and social biographies of African migrant women in England and Germany, which was undertaken during my doctoral research⁴¹:

Understanding Different Vessels of Citizenship Awareness: The cultures of migrants are often complex, undocumented and interwoven with citizenship awareness

39 Compare also my work on decolonizing education, Barongo-Muweke (2016).

40 Riegel (2013).

41 Barongo-Muweke (2010).

whereby informal learning contexts play a central role in developing the individual abilities and competences for inclusion, social responsibility, work orientation and societal participation. At the same time, these cultures are often symbolized through forms that on the surface appear opposed to European values, whereas a deeper analysis and systematic observation would show that, in fact European values and the cultural values of migrants would potentially correspond with and complement one another on many levels⁴². Nevertheless, due to representational discourses, the cultures of migrants and their vessels of citizenship awareness are frequently misconceived, inferiorized and excluded. Different and unequal starting points of citizenship awareness are involuntarily created between migrant and native-born youth. The background concepts of citizenship awareness and cultural meaning is increasingly lost amongst young migrants, who may at the same time not fully grasp the cultures and vessels of citizenship awareness in their new countries of destination due to their differential connection and experience of contexts. In conceptual terms, therefore, it would be correct to argue that migrant youth are located in a double ontological context, which involuntarily produces opposed and contradictory meanings⁴³. Below, I demonstrate that complex ambivalence defines the unequal contexts of learning and achievement, which emerge on the basis of unseen contradictions and inequalities in the formation of citizenship awareness⁴⁴. This ambivalence of difference and inequality cannot be negotiated by migrant youngsters alone but must be comprehended and effectively addressed through new concepts of diversity reflexive approaches and inclusive citizenship education:

Migrants move from collective to individualized societies and migrant youth experience the conflict between the two, which is sociologically invisible and intensified in the tension field of inclusion and exclusion in European destination societies. On one hand, they are located in the mainstream of the European society which is extensively institutionalized and individualized and where they face systemic closure. On the other hand, they partly experience parental initiatives to overcome this tension field through their less institutionalized and collectivizing background cultural and social contexts where, the human interdependency is very direct and hence provides the starting points of societal interpretation and societal participation. This interdependency is critical in identity and citizenship awareness formation whereby the self is always framed and understood in relation to

42 Some advocate for cultural similarity perspectives rather than cultural difference perspective to identify commonalities and unifiers amongst social groups (critically, Akkent and Franger 1987).

43 On Double ontology, see for instance the works of Fanon (1969).

44 Compare Barongo-Muweke (2016).

and interdependence on the other. The elder generation and young generations are connected by different but complementary roles defined through respect of elders who function as pillars of transfer of evidence-based education. Youngsters learn work and life's skills through their parents, elders, community through observation and experiencing daily home and community activities and interactions. Young generations successfully experience their world through the experiential knowledge of their elders. The aging of the elder generation is directly in the hands of the young generation and the young generations take care of the elderly within their homes and not institutions, thereby acquiring exposure to work, social awareness and social responsibility. This is strengthened through performance of household tasks, supporting parents and their siblings. As a subsequent, the individual is socialized into a habitus of learning, discipline and hard work for their own personal development, societal social security and the solid basis upon which they will also develop their communities politically, culturally and economically. Respect is central through the intergenerational bonds.

In background communities, collectivizing socialization roles create social control mechanisms which create quality socialization environments. Not only the biological parents and relatives but also every adult in place is responsible for the socialization and raising of the young generation. People with whom children come into contact are perceived as relatives, extended family, which reinforces sense of belonging and caring relationships.⁴⁵ This constructs in part, quality social networks and stands in contrast to the breakdown experienced in segregated urban European poor neighborhoods. Schools and teachers in their social responsibility commonly replace parents in the transmission of cultural values, citizenship awareness and social controls such as discipline. Parents trust teachers to execute their social responsibility in the positive humanistic context in which they have been socialized and students respect teachers as elders. In the European destination communities, however, loss of parental authority is experienced by many parents, which further undermines transfer of citizenship awareness⁴⁶:

While the following observation was not entirely included in evidence from my dissertation, migrant parents frequently point out that when they try to transfer study strategies and discipline, youngsters have frequently pointed out that teachers instructed them to restrict outside of school learning activities to homework. The context is not helped by the long summer holidays with a pronounced lack of quality programs and social infrastructure for migrant youngsters. Similarly,

45 Compare comprehensively accounts of Aboriginal learning by the Manitoba Education and Youth: 2003: 7-9.

46 Ibid.

when migrant parents try to teach youngsters work orientation through work roles, youngsters frequently resist with the explanation that they are not supposed to work, it is considered child labour in Europe. Certainly underlying, this is an intercultural miscommunication, which ought to be reflected.

For the sustainable handling of the problem area, the dimension of discipline requires serious reflection and handling in the pedagogical debate and intercultural discourses. The African example demonstrates that contexts for evolution of discipline in the European North and the African South can vary and will have to be reflected. Whereas in Europe, discipline is widely associated with relations of dominance and coercion in oppressive military histories (Händel 2002), in many sub-Saharan African countries (*with an exception of South Africa*), discipline historically tended to evolve under cultural dimensions of collective societies mediated by Ubuntu humanizing paradigms (compare Barongo-Muweke 2016). Subsequently, Foucault identifies the duality of discipline. On one hand, discipline can be coercive but it can also be liberative (Foucault 1977): Hence, diversity reflexive approaches and inclusive citizenship education are challenged to identify and strengthen the liberative effects.

By contrast, to the respect of elders as a protective factor, migrant youth while receiving conflicting messages from the school and the home confront a new situation in which they have to question or even distrust the knowledge and experience frames of their parents particularly in light of the parents' weak societal and economic position as migrants. In the absence of mechanisms of social control that are present in background communities or communities of the majority in Europe, disadvantaged migrant youth are exposed to a risk situation of ghettoization and lack of quality social networks in which they can easily fall prey to urban influences and cultures of modern poverty which characterize their neighborhoods and where they become consumers of leisure.

To overcome the tension field of citizenship awareness, migrant parents have increasingly adapted transnational schooling. The social deficits in urban European socialization environments are reciprocated by a new market potential for transnational schooling through elite international schools in the South targeting migrants socialization needs which have sprang up in the North. Migrant children are sent to quality boarding schools in the background communities with the expectation that they will learn the competences, skills and responsibilities for work, societal participation, motivation to learn, values of studying, hard work, respect, discipline, social responsibility, achievement, etc⁴⁷. This is made possible through the fact that within the background communities themselves, boarding schools have typically

47 On transnational schooling, see (Barongo-Muweke 2010: 247 & 399).

constituted the normative contexts of quality schooling primarily due to their proven function in sheltering learners from uncontrolled urbanization and media and for successfully promoting a culture of learning, work, positive environments for youth, high school retention and the above named individual and societal values and competences⁴⁸. Of significant importance, the concept, experience and implementation of boarding schools as positive learning environments in the South contradicts, the negative evolution in Europe and North America. How could comparative studies and observations, improve diversity reflexive teaching and retention of migrants and Roma in the global North? Unfortunately, boarding schools have now sometimes become targets of attack in the increasingly violent terrorist attacks. How can the societal relevance of whole day schooling and concepts of welcoming communities be acknowledged and designed to provide the positive learning environments and multiple components of citizenship awareness and social protection experienced in the South's boarding schools which enable youngsters to thrive?

The intercultural cultural miscommunication and power imbalance in socialization processes ought to be acknowledged and better addressed. The undervalued background informal learning structures and cultural values are tested cornerstones for societal integration in background communities and are valuable for school and institutional integration in the European societies of destination. Effects of representationality on epistemological exclusion mean that migrants' primary socialization function in laying the foundations for institutional, social and economic integration and contributions of future generations is lost and not replaced. Since women are the primary bearers of socialization, the inequalities in school achievement whilst expressing the intersection of racialization, ethnicity and gender and class as multiple discriminations also mirror the impingement on migrant women's rights to citizenship participation in the private sphere and are therefore undermined. Nevertheless, the workability of the background socialization can be demonstrated: Many migrants who have studied outside of Europe also tend to integrate in the employment and educational systems of Europe. In England, for instance, African migrant women have sometimes exhibited higher vocational and sectoral performance rates than women of the majority on the labour market⁴⁹. Through remittances combined with higher rates of labour market participation, migrants demonstrate social responsibility by frequently foregoing own needs to

48 Globalization and safety issue are recently challenging the context of boarding school. But our focus on boarding schools as an example is on demonstrating the importance of quality networks and socialization environments for effective learning, development of work, study skills and social responsibility.

49 See England's Census data in Barongo-Muweke (2016).

simultaneously support the societal and economic development in the South⁵⁰. So far, schools and migrant parents do not complement but work against each other to the detriment of children's futures and at high social and economic cost, albeit unintentional. Structural mechanisms of exclusion intensify effects.

4.4 Re-Analysis

Of principle importance, the lack of work orientation and employable skills amongst migrant youngsters directly undermines the normative goal of political education, which is the production of politically mature and self-determined citizens⁵¹. The profound culture of learning and work orientation that are inter-generationally constructed in migrants' background societies profoundly breaks down in countries of destination due to the interaction of complex factors. Effective efforts for making intersectionality visible must involve the dimension of citizenship awareness which calls for overcoming the idealization of migrants' agency within human agency paradigms.⁵² As Mecheril has also argued, diversity reflexive approaches should abstain from celebrating difference and instead register precisely under which conditions the occurrence of differences is less powerful. Accordingly, diversity is a political and social practice which can only be effective where it is self-reflective and looks at its exclusive effects. Orientation for a reflexive diversity practice, which is conscious of its power potential can be guided by the following questions: What cliché ideas are promoted and revitalized by diversity approaches? Which differences are neglected by diversity approaches? Who benefits from diversity approaches? Who does not win or lose through diversity approaches? Who do diversity approaches harm? What is not easily understood, in the multiple, in the unordered, in that which is withdrawn from the orders? Political strategies which succeed in joining such phenomena, gain a perspective that weakens the dividing the unifying, the classifying and the fixed thinking and action. Albeit, this power is not an end in itself; it is not a question of the ambiguity of the unambiguous, but rather of connecting with concrete and empirically given phenomena of ambiguity, to ensure more justice (Mecheril 2008b).

50 The monetary Value of remittances now exceeds that of Aid (UN 2012).

51 On the normative goal of political education, see Dirk Lange (2008).

52 Critically Barongo-Muweke (2016 & 2017).

5 The Concept of Equity

The concept of equity refers to equality of opportunity and outcomes. Equity in education implies that individual social contexts like gender, ethnicity, family background and social economic status, etc., should not present obstacles to educational achievement and unfolding of individual potential. Rather, all learners should at least acquire a basic minimum level of skills that will enable them to continue with education and employment. The achievement of equity necessitates quality education and equality of opportunity that starts right from early childhood, primary, secondary and VET (OECD 2012). The realization of equity is not possible without equalizing starting points in citizenship awareness. The demise of citizenship awareness erodes youngsters' buffers and thereby creates a multilayered and mutually reinforcing circle of vulnerability which is invisible and unabated. Intersectional theories necessarily require a perspective on citizenship awareness just as inclusive citizenship education requires a perspective on intersectional discriminations and structural axes of inequality in order to be inclusive and effective in the transformatory analysis of difference and inequality. Risk factors of ESL are societal and society should take accountability and address this imbalance and social injustice. What structural measures of change are needed to ameliorate structural mechanisms of intersectional discriminations and to what extent can individual mature citizenship counteract some of the risk factors of early disengagement from school and VET? What are the implications of intersectionality for inclusive citizenship education and what are the implications of inclusive citizenship education for improving the intersectional discourse?

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