Matthias Böhmer
Georges Steffgen *Editors*

Racism in Schools

History, Explanations, Impact, and Intervention Approaches

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The Anti-Racist School—A Preface

"Racism in schools" is the title of this book. It originates from the students of the seminar "School Psychology" in the master's program *MSc in Psychology: Psychological Intervention* at the University of Luxembourg, who explicitly wanted to deal with this topic as part of their studies. Racism, i.e. discrimination of people based on their alleged ethnic origin, is omnipresent at schools. Besides students, trainee teachers and teachers, all actors in the school context are thus affected by this issue (e.g. Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2019).

Why is that so? How can racial discrimination be explained? What effects does this behavior have on those affected? And how can school outeract it? These are all questions that arise and which are to be answered here with the intention of enabling all those acting in the school context to critically examine their own knowledge bases relevant to racism. This book wants to contribute to the development to school into racism-sensitive spaces in which all actors behave in a racism-sensitive way (Fereidooni, 2015).

Therefore, *Kim Behrning, Lisa Gilbertz, Brenda Gilson and Ryane Groevius* in **Chapter 1** first give an overview of the history of racism from its roots in antiquity to current developments in the present, explain different forms of racism and classify them legally.

In **Chapter 2** Luise Nathusius, Lisa Frast and Tabea Schmidt-Alkadri provide approaches to explaining racist behavior that they find in prominent social psychological theories and models.

Chapter 3 by *Nora Welter, Jos Wagner, Katharina Dincher* and *Hicham Quintarelli* provides insight into the effects of racial discrimination, not only on an individual level, but also on an institutional-societal level. Here, psychological and physical effects and consequences on the individual level as well as on a school level are presented, with a focus on institutional and personal racism.

Finally, in **Chapter 4**, *Selin* Göksoy and *Sissy Gales* present prevention and intervention approaches for a racism-sensitive practice in schools. Exercises and handouts for implementation with both teachers and students are explained. Their inherent potentials, but also their limitations, are taken into account and discussed.

"Racism in schools" is, after *Amok in schools: prevention, intervention and aftercare in school shootings* (Böhmer, 2018), *Bullying in schools: measures for prevention,*

intervention and aftercare (Böhmer & Steffgen, 2019) and *Grief in schools. Basic knowledge and advice on dealing with dying and deat* (Böhmer & Steffgen, 2021), already the fourth book publication by master's students of the *MSc in Psychology: Psychological Intervention* at the University of Luxembourg by Springer.

We would like to express our heartfelt thanks to the publisher and, in particular, to our editor, Dr. Lisa Bender, for her long-standing support. And we would like to thank "our" authors for their great enthusiasm for this book project.

Matthias Böhmer
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Racism—An Introduction

1

Kim Behrning, Lisa Gilbertz, Brenda Gilson and Ryane Groevius

1.1 Introduction to the Topic

1.1.1 Gibran Tells of Experiences with Racism During his School Years

In 2015, Gibran fled Syria with his parents to Germany. The family found a new home in a village in North Rhine-Westphalia, and from 2016 the then 17-year-old went to the local school. For a year he learned English, German and mathematics and attended an integration course. From the ninth grade he was able to follow the regular lessons. Exams were reduced for him to the minimum. From the eleventh grade this is no longer possible and necessary for Gibran. In 2020 Gibran takes his A-levels and afterwards begins an apprenticeship as a bank clerk. In an interview he talks about his experiences with racism in the class and in the interaction with teachers and explains which reasons he suspects behind racism.

The excerpts from this interview presented here are summarized in content and reproduced in the following:

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Was it easy for you to integrate into the class?

At the beginning it was of course not quite so easy to integrate into the class community, among other things also because I simply did not speak the language so well yet. However, my classmates were very friendly and nice. They were open and curious, even if we could mainly talk to each other in English at first. But I also find it generally not so difficult to approach new people. I think that's why the integration worked so well. At my school there were also students who had to struggle more with racism and discrimination than I did. But I also did not want to reproduce the already existing image of refugees in Germany as unfriendly and closed and therefore tried hard.

What experiences with racism have you had during your school years? Would you like to report any examples?

I only remember a few events in which I personally experienced racism. It definitely makes a difference whether you live in the countryside or in the city. In a big city it is much easier to make new friends. People there are more open and there are fewer prejudices, such as that refugees would live at the expense of taxpayers. I also often heard such "jokes" at school without realizing that this is also (indirect) racism. I did not experience any racism in my interactions with teachers. With some it was a bit difficult. But that's normal between students and teachers. However, I also remember a really strong and (in retrospect) obvious case of racism: The jealous boyfriend of a friend wrote to me in without her knowledge via chat that instead of the planned concert, I should rather visit a "gas chamber". At first I didn't really understand what he meant, because I thought my friend was writing to me. A little later she then noticed the confusion and clarified it. I was of course really angry and annoyed. I don't think the chat writer would have said something like that to a German. As an apology, the friend explained to me that her boyfriend had been drunk. But that doesn't give him the right to say such things.

Was there any support in the school environment?

No, not really from the school. But I didn't experience any really bad cases of racism. I could have gone to the school principal, a teacher or my classmates, but that's just not my style. If I have a problem, I prefer to solve it myself.

What reasons do you suspect behind racist remarks made to you?

It's hard to say, but I think it has a lot to do with jealousy and envy. For example, at school some people just couldn't accept that I, as a refugee, still graduated from high school, even though they might not be able to do that.

1.1.2 Classification of Interviews

In 2019, the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BIM) recorded just under 7900 racist crimes, i.e. offences with racist or xenophobic motivation (Mediendienst, 2021). However, the true figure is likely to be much higher, as often racist crimes are not recognised as such, or victims do not report all incidents (Lang, 2018). BIM speaks of around 1750 offences against refugees, even though refugees are probably not a group typically affected by racism in the minds of many (Mediendienst, 2021). But there is also racism against refugees. There are many people and organisations that campaign for more equality and integration of refugees, that approach the "foreign" with an open and curious mind and are willing to meet the initially unknown. But there are also people whose fear of the foreign or the different leads them to want to keep the "threatening" as far away as possible or to defend themselves against it with words or deeds. The introductory interview with Gibran provides some illustrative examples of this and describes his experience of racism during his school days. The interview impressively shows that not everything has to be meant as racism, but that it can still hurt those affected.

When racism in schools is mentioned, however, this racism is not only to be viewed from the perspective of the students. It can also be just as interesting to look at the perspective of teachers on racism and its experience in everyday school life. For this purpose, quotations from another interview conducted in preparation for this book with a teacher of German as a second and foreign language (DaZ) at a North Rhine-Westphalian school will be given in the following first part of the chapter. The 42-year-old Thora Meißner has been working as a lateral entrant in temporary positions at a secondary school for 5 years. There she teaches children and adolescents from a variety of countries of origin, such as Syria, Pakistan or Italy. Together with her colleagues, she has already accompanied more than 70 DaZ students to their school-leaving qualifications. In the following considerations and specific delimitations with regard to the definition of racism and all relevant constructs, the practical examples from the interview with Thora Meißner should help to better understand relevant mechanisms and theories of racism. The entire interview can also be found in Appendix A.

1.2 In Search of a (Suitable) Definition of Racism

Once immersed in the world of racism definitions and related constructs, a feeling of being overwhelmed can arise. Especially as a non-directly affected person, it seems particularly difficult not to lose sight of the "tree in the forest". What helps is either comprehensive research using many different sources or reading an appropriate summary of the topic. In this chapter, therefore, an attempt will be made to generate such an overview for the concept of racism specifically in the school context. Racism as a construct, as behavior and as an idea has been around for a long time in one form or another in human his-

tory. What changed over the years were only the interpretations, the understanding and the handling—the problem itself remained. In order to adequately define and characterize racism, two central questions must be answered:

On the one hand: *What is racism?*—this includes questions such as: What are the different forms of racism? What is the connection between racism and discrimination? How has the understanding of racism changed over time?

And on the other hand: *What is racism not?* This includes the following questions: Is right-wing extremism racism? Or is racism the same as discrimination?

1.2.1 What is Racism? A Definition by Stuart Hall

The existing definitions of racism are manifold and complex. On the one hand, this is because the term is difficult to distinguish from other related constructs (such as the concept of discrimination or xenophobia). On the other hand, debates on the subject are often highly politically charged and therefore dependent on individual opinions and intentions (cf. Rommelspacher, 2009). Often, even the assumptions that underlie a possible definition differ from each other. For example, not all explanatory approaches can agree on the basic assumption of racism as a power relationship. However, often all the different aspects can be summarized under the term "racism as a social relationship". Racism itself has manifold definitions, each of which sets different priorities. Here, racism should be understood based on a definition by Stuart Hall (2004) as follows:

> *"(…) [Racism is a marking of differences], which allows a group to distinguish and set itself apart from other people. This mark serves as a justification for social, political or economic actions that, as a result, deny certain groups access to material or symbolic resources and thus create privileges for the excluding group." (Hall,* 2004*)*

Important in this definition is that the division pursues a certain goal, such as the aggravation of access to certain resources (for example, correct language, housing or even jurisprudence). In addition, the groups formed from the outside are constructed on the basis of completely arbitrary criteria (for example, skin color or religious affiliation). This ideological background supports the actual behavior motivated and shown by racism. However, acts of racist motivated people not only relate to physical violence, but also to domination exercised through language, such as exclusion, contempt and aggression (Hinnenkamp, 1995, p. 2).

Furthermore, four terms are central to the definition of racism: homogenization, neutralization, polarization and hierarchization. The so-called *homogenization* serves as the basis here, a summary and unification of groups on the basis of the same genes, culture or religion (for this, Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017 coined the term essentialization). *Neutralization* refers to the diversity of human so-called "races" based on purely biological characteristics. "Social and cultural differences are neutralized and [only] social relationships between people are seen as unchangeable and [biologically] inherited," (Rommelspacher,

2009). The homogeneous groups can then, in the so-called *polarization,* be presented as fundamentally different and incompatible. A *hierarchy* is formed to differentiate the relationship of the incompatible groups to each other on the basis of a ranking. So it is not only about personal prejudices with racism, but about the "legitimation of social hierarchies, which is based on the discrimination of constructed groups." (Rommelspacher, 2009, p. 29). Accordingly, racism must always be understood as a social relationship, according to Birgitt Rommelspacher, a German psychologist and pedagogue, who was particularly concerned with women's research and right-wing extremism until her death in 2015.

1.2.2 A Brief Look at the History of Racism

In order to better understand racism, a brief excursion into the history of racism is worth while (a more detailed description of the origin of racism can be found in a later part of this chapter under 1.5 Historical background of racism). An exemplary case of the construction of a "race" is known from colonial times: Many European countries subjugated, expelled, enslaved and murdered the countries and populations overseas. By constructing and postulating a so-called "inferior" biological feature (such as black skin color), a certain "essence" was ascribed to the foreign group, which made it possible to interpret social differences as an expression of the non-matching biological properties (Rommelspacher, 2009) and thus to justify one's own crimes. The (cultural) deficits of the suppressed group were ascribed, which were visualized by their appearance. This so-called *racialization process,* which still exists today, ensured that social, religious or cultural differences were made visible to the outside world by ascribing a visible feature/defect to the others (Hund, 2006, p. 120). So the classical racism made a hierarchical distinction, which preferred the "white race" to all other "races" (Fereidooni, 2016). This process should be evaluated as purely constructive and illustrates that "race" was only invented by the existence of racism (cf. Geiger, 2017, p. 17). The same was true, for example, for the artificial division into "Aryans" and "Jews" as another prominent example of classical racism from the time of German National Socialism. In both examples, based on an arbitrarily chosen marker, there was a shift in power as well as the assumption that it would be possible to divide people into higher and lower classes.

1.2.3 And Today? Neo- or Cultural Racism

Over time, the external appearance of racism has changed, but the underlying influencing mechanisms have remained the same. For example, racism currently also affects people who, due to environmental disasters, intolerable living conditions or a life at the subsistence level, have to leave their homeland to find a new home elsewhere in the world (as "strangers"). However, this is only one of many examples of *neo-racism* or *cultural racism*—the new form of the old, classical racism. Neo-racism is characterized

by a distinction based on belonging to a "higher or lower" culture and a general set of "incompatibility of cultures" (Balibar, 2002). Further separation characteristics of cultural racism can, for example, also be confession, language and nationality. These ethnic, cultural and religious differences are understood as biological differences, as immutable and therefore inheritable and passed on from one generation to the next (Rommelspacher, 2009: 29). A current example of cultural racism is the currently "practiced dichotomy [that is, division] of Muslims and non-Muslims" by Muslims in the context of the increased number of terrorist attacks in Europe in recent years and "as potentially threatening" (Messerschmidt, 2011, p. 51). The basis is now the *culturalization/ethnicization,* in which cultural belonging is to be solely responsible for the emergence of manifold problems. Under the veil of cultural affiliation, the structures of social dominance behavior, which also favor the emergence of such problems, simply remain hidden (Geiger, 2017: 14). In today's age, the terms ethnicity, culture or religion replace the term "race", racism is often replaced by "xenophobia" and understood as "hostility" towards those who are perceived or made "strangers" in society (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017). Just as "race" only becomes a term through racism, people only become strangers through racialization/xenophobia. (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017).

1.2.4 But How Does Racism Differ from Discrimination?

In her publication "What is racism actually?", Rommelspacher starts by discribing racism as a social relationship and postulates at the same time that it always goes hand in hand with social discrimination. Does racism therefore merely represent a sub-form of discrimination, or are both constructs to be considered independently of each other, as it appears at first glance? In general,

> *"Discrimination [always] exists when people who belong to a minority have fewer life chances, that is, less access to resources, and fewer opportunities to participate in society than members of the majority" (Rommelspacher,* 2009*).*

This refers to "expressions or actions that are directed in a derogatory or disadvantageous manner towards members of certain social groups" (Hormel & Scherr, 2010, p. 7). This sounds similar to the understanding of racism at first. However, racism and discrimination should still be considered separately, as racism is only a special form of discrimination (Bundschuh, 2010), and both terms should therefore not be used interchangeably. So racism is an exclusion based on origin or culture and not, as is usual in discrimination, an unequal treatment based on personal characteristics, such as sexual orientation, gender or profession (Bundschuh, 2010). However, the mechanism of exclusion based on the otherness of a person or group of persons, which lies at the heart of both racism and discrimination, is the same. And so the different forms in which both racism and discrimination occur can be described and explained together. In the following, the theory

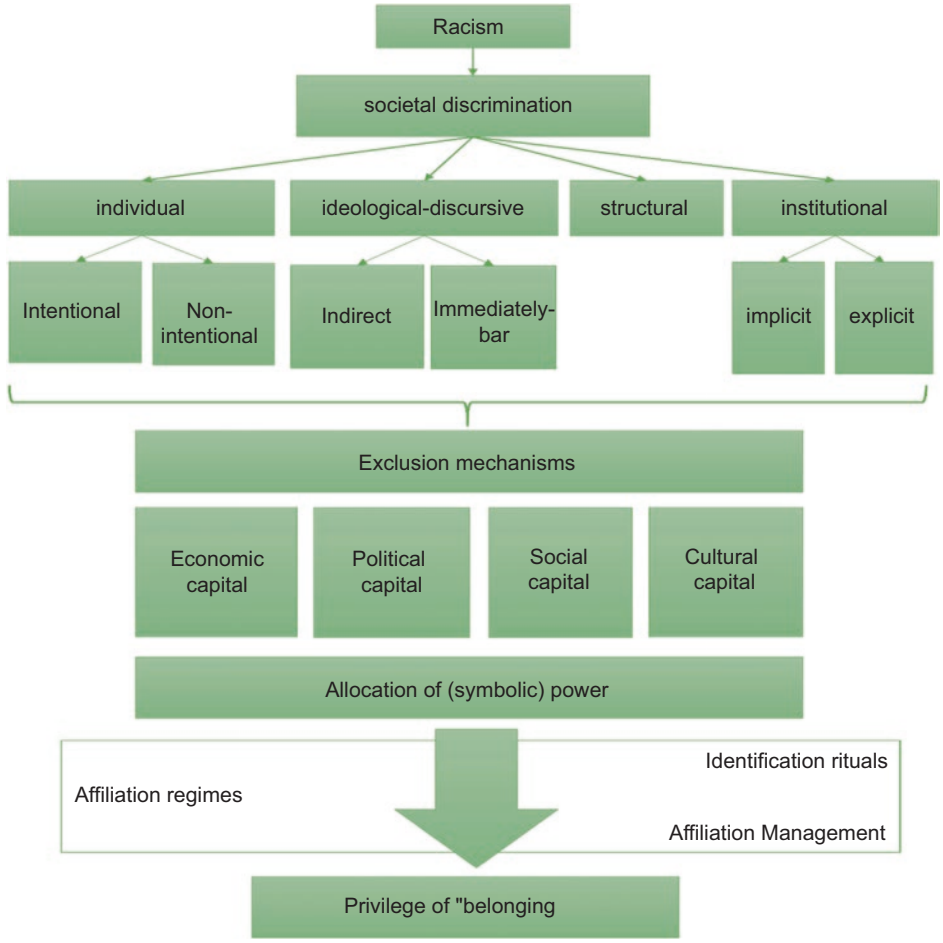

Fig. 1.1 Racism and discrimination according to Rommelspacher (cf. Rommelspacher, 2009)

formulated by Rommelspacher (2009) will be particularly illuminated. A summary of her statements is also shown in Fig. 1.1.

1.2.5 Forms of Discrimination and Racism

1.2.5.1 Individual Racism

Rommelspacher (2009) distinguishes three major types of discrimination/racism: individual, structural and institutional discrimination. The first form, *individual racism*, is based on personal patterns of behavior and attitudes and is reflected in the direct personal interaction between those affected. Individual discrimination can also be *intentional*

or *non-intentional*. The former refers to the obvious, direct racism that is specifically directed against a person (-group). Examples include arson attacks on refugee shelters. With non-intentional racism, one speaks of discrimination that creeps in unintentionally. Often this is not recognized as discrimination by those not affected. However, for the experience of racism, the intention is not decisive, because even a well-intentioned behavior can be experienced as discrimination. For example, if a person is only offered a seat on the bus because of the black skin color, this can be evaluated as a nice gesture at first if the affected person is older or ill. However, if this is not the case, we are dealing with a case of possibly non-intentional, but therefore not less present racism. In addition, the resistance of an affected person often meets with incomprehension on the part of the discriminatory person, as well as additional assurances that it was only meant well, resulting in additional power and meaning being symbolically and directly denied to the affected person. Thus, he/she is not allowed to feel discriminated against and is denied the right to have his/her own opinion and perspective.

What types of racism do refugee children and adolescents experience in your experience?
[Among other things, individual racism]—a teacher "failed two DaZ students" directly because they were unable to engage with the content of the subject matter due to various problems (life in the asylum, separation of parents, asylum decisions). The words of the colleague: I don't feel like taking care of the two. They're not going to do anything anyway. At the end of the class, they're going to vocational school anyway! (Meißner, 2020).

Çiçek et al. (2014, p. 311) divide such cases into racist experiences *primary* and *secondary* nature. Primary racist experiences include both explicitly racist statements, which can also be conveyed indirectly, while secondary racist experiences can be described as "experiences of anger, shame, fear [can arise], which then arise when one's own racist experiences become the subject and is at the same time de-thematized [from the outside titled as not relevant]". Secondary, because these experiences arise in the context of primary racist experiences or when they are not addressed (Çiçek et al., 2014).

1.2.5.2 Structural Racism

As another form of racism, Rommelspacher (2009) names *structural racism:* she describes the exclusion of a group by the social system and the associated legal concepts, which have a negative effect on the political and economic situation of the excluded group. The authors Wa Baile et al. (2019) illustrate structural racism as follows: Random controls by the police or border authorities on, for example, streets, in train stations and trains, in shopping centers or at border crossings are often carried out

based on so-called "racial profiling"—that is, disproportionately many, for example, black people or people of color are stopped and controlled. These controls, which take place in public, are recognized by a large part of society as normal or even necessary and thus made invisible in society. Thus, "unseen and unchallenged (…) the discriminatory power of a state institution [here the police], which has the monopoly on violence, to ensure alleged security for all" remain and thus replicate structural racism in society (cf. Wa Baile et al., 2019).

1.2.5.3 Institutional Racism

As another form of racism according to Rommelspacher (2009), *institutional racism* includes the structure and handling of central organizations and social institutions, such as schools, the police or the health sector, which rely on known habits, established values and proven maxims of action (that is, proven prejudices) instead of implementing new ways of dealing with and thus promoting individuality specifically.

> Another example [of explicit institutional racism in schools] would be the "recommendation of secondary schools" in elementary school. It is still the case that an Arabic-speaking child is quickly "stamped" and "only" gets a recommendation for a secondary school, while an equally strong German-speaking child should go to the secondary school (Meißner, 2020).
>
> [Experienced institutional racism is, for example,] often simply due to the fact that part of the staff does not make the effort (…) to take care of the German learners adequately. Personal interests play as much of a role here as the professional circumstances of the learning system (…): With 30 [students] in a class, a teacher cannot take care of one or more DaZ students in detail (Meißner, 2020).

For example, through organizational decision-making practices, "certain social groups systematically receive less reward or performance than clearly identifiable comparison groups" (see Alvarez, 1979). Institutional racism can be both *implicit* and *explicit*: In the case of implicit racism, the measures taken as a result of implicit racism are not, as is the case with explicit racism, directly related to racism. In German schools, for example, the learning content and teaching methods are geared entirely towards the children of the majority society. This can make it significantly more difficult for children from refugee families to access German society (see Hormel & Scherr, 2004). In such an example, institutional discrimination is then indirectly, that is, implicitly, part of the majority everyday culture of a school and represents a correspondingly deeply rooted part of the school day. The psychologist Mechtild Gomolla (2013), currently professor of educational sciences at the University of the Bundeswehr in Hamburg, also understands implicit discrimination *as institutional provisions,* which (initially unintentionally) disproportionately often affect certain groups, for example ethnic minorities. Indirect institutional racism does not

have to be intended or openly expressed in order to function as such (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017). If the institution is aware of this disadvantage, however, implicit racism turns into explicit racism, because now the exclusion of others is accepted—possibly even promoted (see Hormel & Scherr, 2004, pp. 26 ff.). This is often the case with legal-administrative regulations, under which the same rules are applied, which, however, have fundamentally different chances as a consequence for different groups. Gomolla (2013) speaks in this context also of *direct or indirect institutional discrimination* and thereby additionally focuses on the regularity with which racist behavior occurs in the institutional context.

1.2.5.4 Ideological-Discursive Discrimination

Fereidooni (2016) adds a fourth form to the three types of discrimination/racism according to Rommelspacher (2009), namely *ideological-discursive discrimination*. Thus, Fereidooni (2016) describes the influence of norms and values that exist in a society (cf. also Pates et al., 2010, p. 34 ff.). On this level, "in discourse (…) traditional roles and discriminatory norms are produced and reproduced" (Pates et al., 2010). Furthermore, Fereidooni (2016) differentiates between *direct* and *indirect* forms of discrimination. He speaks of direct racism when discrimination takes place directly at the discrimination criterion (for example, an advertisement with an -forbidden- age limit), while indirect racism "shows behavior, laws, policies or practices that apply to everyone" (Fereidooni, 2016). However, some groups are then affected more than others by these laws: For example, full-time work is better paid than part-time work and usually affects all people equally—but women and older people are particularly affected by this rule, according to statistics (ADS, 2013).

1.2.5.5 The Result? A Divided Society

Rommelspacher (2009) understands all these types of racism and discrimination as exclusion mechanisms that lead to a *segregation line* (or also separation line) in society—a separation between "us" and "the others". This separation becomes visible as soon as it comes to *economic, political, social and cultural capital/resources* which appear self-evident to one side, while access is made more difficult for the other side.

This is expressed as *economic segregation*, for example, by a high unemployment rate or a high risk of poverty among immigrants, which is due to educational disadvantage (cf. Münz et al., 1997).

Political segregation includes unequal treatment by the legislature. For certain groups of people, for example, often difficult conditions arise in obtaining citizenship or even the refusal of dual citizenship.

Social segregation is reflected in the contact relationship within the population. An indicator here would be the willingness of children to make friends with children of another ethnic origin. This may seem surprising at first, but already primary school children learn to distinguish between "us" and "the others".

This is done based on the mechanism of *cultural segregation.* Accordingly, children are early on taught certain ideas and images according to which others can be classified as "strangers" and from which they should keep their distance (cf. Rommelspacher, 2009).

With the help of these resources, according to Rommelspacher (2009), there is a allocation of *symbolic power* within society. However, this power also determines the individual meaning of certain groups within society. Social esteem is denied to those who are classified as unimportant in the course of discrimination—that is, they are considered power*less*. Excluded groups lose prestige and recognition. In this way, the majority, with the help of the mechanism "racism", secures the privilege of being able to declaire their normality as binding for all.

1.2.5.6 The Thing with Normality

But: What is actually "normal" in a society that itself is a large collective of individuals? The process of subdivision between "us" and "the others", which was already mentioned above (see Sect. 1.2.5.5), is referred to as *Othering* in technical terms. Not only are two groups powerfully divided by means of a constructed difference line, but like that a "norm" is established, so that "in this polarizing fixation (…) [it also becomes clear that] the determination of the other always also includes a determination of the self as an opposite image" (Kalpaka & Räthzel, 1990, p. 16). In addition, the privilege of "belonging", of "being normal" is increasingly consolidated in everyday life by *identification rituals, regimes of belonging* and *belonging management*, according to Rommelspacher (2009).

However, what is considered "normal" in a society is also determined by (in)adequate representation, for example in advertising: Attia and Keskinkilic (2017) describe in a newspaper article that on television, on billboards and in brochures it is taken for granted that "being white is normal and being black is at least explicable, often also problematic". This over-representation of being white in everyday life then leads to the fact that "all 'others' are initially regarded with suspicion (…) [their] existence is perceived as temporary or illegal (…) [they are] addressed as foreigners (…)".

1.2.6 Everyday Racism

At first (after the events at the Cologne train station in 2016), there were situations in which, for example, two Syrian boys were accused of "making a move" on a girl. However, after many conversations, the two boys stuck to their story that they had done nothing. After doing some research, I found out that the girl's parents liked to share "anti-foreigner slogans" on social media, so it didn't take us long to figure out where (…) the problem was (Meißner, 2020).

Another form that racism can take is that of *everyday racism.* This was studied and defined in particular by the Dutch researcher Philomena Essed (1994). Philomena Essed, among other things also a professor of critical race, gender and leadership studies, defined everyday racism similarly to the general definition of racism used in this book by Stuart Hall (2004). However, she adds that racism can be seen as a daily practiced, routinely reproduced and reinforced phenomenon that often occurs deeply internalized and hardly questioned (cf. Geiger, 2017, p. 18). For example, white people often address black people and people of color (PoC) in English, thereby routinely denying them their German-ness based on their external appearance (Geiger, 2017, p. 12). This behavior can also be understood as *positive racism.* According to Essed (2008, p. 447), everyday racism is characterized by many individual, everyday experiences of discrimination that can only be classified as an infringement of human dignity when taken together. So "only in combination with social power relations (…) discrimination arises from impolite behavior and everyday unequal treatment" (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017). However, the evaluation of what is perceived as racist or discriminatory should be left up to the affected people, otherwise this assumption alone reproduces discrimination (cf. Geiger, 2017). What follows is the denial of the affected people's own perspective by the "racists" and thus a confirmation of the imbalance of power, as already described above (Rommelspacher, 2009).

1.2.7 Racism in Language Usage

> One day, an Angolan student came to me and asked what "N*****" actually means. He was called that "for fun" on the school playground (Meißner, 2020).

(Everyday) racism can also be reproduced through the intentional or unintentional use of a certain chosen *language*. So many mechanisms of racism can be found in language, which is chosen in dealing with the topic or with those affected. In addition, it is only language that makes it possible for certain speakers to consciously articulate racist ideologies to the outside world. However, there are also many examples of racist language that are probably established under a large majority of speakers, but whose racist characteristics are often not aware of the speakers. Examples in the German language would be compound nouns such as *Arab districts* or *Turkish classes,* whose real meaning only becomes clear when similar compositions like *American districts* or *Finnish classes* are considered in comparison (an alternative would be German class or Arabic district). Furthermore, there are ethnic markings in the language on the basis of a common feature (e.g.: *Spaghetti eaters*), biographical questions ("Where do you really come from?"—"From Cologne."), the choice of a condescending manner of speaking or categorical reduction (cf. Hinnenkamp, 1995). More detailed information on language usage in the context of racism can also be found in Sect. 1.7 Racism in Language.

1.2.8 … and at School?

But what does it actually have to do with racism in the context of schools? Right in the beginning, the school has a significant influence on the development of children. In school they learn to interact with other children and to find their way in groups. They learn about learning theoretical, structural, group dynamic as well as content-related and interpersonal processes and mechanisms (cf. Sachler, 2018). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that schools are also affected by racism and its effects. Thora Meißner also emphasizes in her interview: "Racism divides!" Especially in school. Groups quickly form and then sometimes students quickly only hang out with their "countrymen".

Institutional racism is particularly visible in schools. However, this is currently mostly to be found in its positive form, Mechtild Gomolla and Frank-Olaf Radtke explain in their publication "The Investigation of Discrimination in Schools" from 2009. After all, measures (such as the establishment of a parallel school system for children of migrants or from refugee families in favor of schools with integration concepts) have not been able to assert themselves. Gomolla and Radtke (2009) understand visible structural racism in schools as positive structural racism, which always arises when special compensation for disadvantages or deficits is available in order to restore equal opportunities at schools. For example, there are special regulations in all federal states that cover the need for support of children of migrants (for example, additional positions at schools for DaZ teachers) in order to protect them from inadequate schooling. However, the authors also point out that even positive discrimination is a form of segregation along national-cultural differences, which can also evoke negative associations or emotions in those affected. The basis is still a mechanism of discrimination, which is often interpreted as "politically correct" by those responsible, but which is actually well-intentioned and skillful (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009).

In the context of schools, the term institutional racism is often used, how does this institutional racism manifest itself?

[For example,] if someone does not keep up linguistically, (…) they are "left behind". The German school system assumes that every child masters the language of education. If our DaZ students have been learning German for 2 years, they often do not know the language of education or the numerous technical terms in the respective subjects. Normally, teachers take this into account, but the focus is immediately on the "Hauptschulabschluss" (secondary school leaving certificate). The idea, that such a child can "get the curve" and suddenly become really good is often not considered (Meißner, 2020).

Of course, racism does not only occur between students in school, but can also be motivated by parents towards teachers, or occur within the teaching staff. For example, Thora

Meißner reported in an interview about parents who were "not very satisfied with a teacher constellation" because the teacher concerned "cannot speak German so well". In fact, in order to be able to work in their profession, teachers must of course bring a certain level of German language skills. In another scenario, Thora Meißner discribed a teacher with a migrant background who had entered the profession rather late and had not felt accepted by his teacher colleagues: His colleagues did not treat him as an equal and he had received disproportionately much support.

And for the future? What would have to change?
There would have to be more awareness! More awareness for the reasons for leaving the home country. History lessons in 7th grade would have to introduce the topic of "Hitler" (…). There are also many 6th graders who suddenly talk about Hitler, give the sign or just scribble the symbol somewhere without really knowing what it means. So the awareness needs to happen much earlier. (…).

Teachers would also have to be trained—in terms of the reasons for fleeing, in terms of the machinations of any dictators, in terms of dealing with [e.g.] traumas [or individual flight].

There would have to be regular seminars for teachers AND students on "Intercultural Competence" (Meißner, 2020).

The possible ways in which racism can occur between people (-groups) at schools will also be discussed in more detail below.

1.3 After All This: What is Racism *Not*?

It often seems easier to find the right definitions if the boundaries between closely related constructs are clarified. Racism often ends up, for example, in a drawer with *right-wing extremism.* However, according to Rommelspacher (2009), the latter is a political attitude pattern, that is, a political form of racism, which can either take on a more nationalist or more racist form. Right-wing extremism is also based on the assumption of a need for hierarchy in society, but goes beyond racism in that the ideas represented in the ideology also aim for political implementation. According to Rommelspacher (2009) racism can be understood more as a cultural shaping of values, norms and practices in society. It follows that *racism can exist without right-wing extremism, but right-wing extremism can never exist without racism* (Rommelspacher, 2009).

There is also a strong connection between racism and *discrimination:* But as already mentioned above (see Sect. 2.4), racism can be understood as a special form of discrimination, the basic mechanisms of which can be seen as equal.

In this context, the so-called *Multiple Discrimination* or Intersectionality should not be left unmentioned. This always occurs when there is discrimination on the basis of more than one characteristic. Often this is then a combination of racism and discrimination, for example when a woman who wears a headscarf is discriminated against because of her gender *and* her religion. Other forms of intersectionality of racism include, for example, gender, sexuality, class, disability or age, or other Othering processes and social power relations (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017).

In Germany, the term "xenophobia" (as already discussed above) is not only used as a synonym for racism, but the expression *"xenophobia"* also often occurs on its own. However, "xenophobia" suggests that all "foreigners" are discriminated against to the same extent, and that only "foreigners" are affected by racist discrimination. The following example shows that this is a mistake: Anna was born in Germany, has African roots and a German passport, but is still discriminated against as a "foreigner". Murat has a German passport, but is still regularly controlled at the border. Who of the two is now "foreigner"? As also shown above (see Sect. 2.5.3), racism can also take place indirectly and hidden, and does not only refer to consciously hostile actions. In the chosen example, for example, Anna can be assumed to be musical, after all, as a black person, she "has rhythm in her blood" (IDA e. V., 2013).

1.4 Take-Home-Messages

Overview

- (Colonial) -racism referrs to the distinction of people into certain "races" based on significant, externally visible characteristics—cultural racism, on the other hand, is directed against the ethnic, cultural or religious affiliation of a person.
- The distinction makes it possible to divide hierarchically into "us" and "the others". The excluded group is denied access to economic, political, social or cultural resources and the excluding group is guaranteed privileges.
- Racism exists in everyday life as well as in its individual (intentional vs. non-intentional), structural, ideological-discursive (indirect vs. non-indirect) and institutional (implicit vs. explicit) form, with the latter occurring particularly frequently in the school context.
- Discrimination and racism differ in that racism is clearly directed against the (ethnic, cultural or religious origin) of a person, while discrimination attacks individual person-related characteristics such as sexual orientation, gender or profession. Racism can be understood as a specific form of discrimination.
- Right-wing extremism, discrimination, xenophobia or the anti-foreigner stance should not be confused or equated with racism.

1.5 Historical Background of Racism

1.5.1 Antique

The question of the historical beginning of racism is difficult to answer. Defining a beginning requires, a time and place, but there are few written sources that document the necessary information about the extent of racist thought and action, as the information in prehistory and early history was mainly transmitted orally. On the other hand, racism is often seen as a form of human thought and action, meaning that racism is changeable and even has changed many times over the course of history (Geulen, 2014).

Slavery as a form of racism is already reported in many ancient cultures. Especially in our age, slavery is often equated with racism. However, can we apply our concept of slavery to antiquity or were the events then considered legitimate and introduced with the general consent of those affected, so that racism is out of the question? (Geulen, 2014).

Many well-known slave revolts make it clear: Not everyone agreed to be a slave! However, it is interesting that the slaves in these rare reports fought against the subjugation but not for their equality or against a deep-seated ideology. The slaves of antiquity often had many different cultural backgrounds, which is why hardly any connection can be derived between their origin and their enslavement. The reason for slavery was mostly lost wars but not the cultural affiliation of a person (Geulen, 2014).

However, it looked quite different for the *Hellenes* and *Barbarians* at that time. Hellene was the designation for belonging to the Greek culture and barbarian was the label for those who belonged to a non-Greek culture. The term barbarian originally meant incomprehensible, but certain characteristics of these peoples have extended the meaning: for instance, barabrian people were often described as animalistic and cruel, which is where our use of the term “barbarian/barbaric” or “barbarism” derives from. Aristotle articulated the distinctiveness of the Greek identity and derived the inferiority of the barbarians from it: In his opinion, the barbarians were born for slavery by nature and had the same status as animals. Even if Aristotle’s view, logic and formulations are unfair and misguided, it is difficult to see this as the beginning of racism (Geulen, 2014). But why?

Geulen (2014) refers to the following argumentation: Aristotle tried to classify the different elements of nature. Just as he described and classified plants and animals in a systematic way, he also classified people and cultures. And even though the barbarians were classified by him as subordinate, they had their fixed place in the world and neither a Greek nor Aristotle would have come up with the idea that a world without their existence would be a better world. If we simply project the *current* or *modern* concept of racism onto the ancient world, we can clearly speak of racism. However, it is interesting to understand the ancient world view and move away from the question of whether there was *already* racism in ancient times, but rather focus on which contexts or which elements contributed to the development of racism at that time. In addition, it should be mentioned that the ancient cultures or states did not segregate people on the basis of

physical or ethical characteristics, although there were of course exceptions. As a rule, *racial characteristics* did not play a major role in politics. Even the existence of foreign cultures within the Greek empire, and even later in the Roman empire, did not represent a *danger*, but this changed with the Christianization in late antiquity (Geulen, 2014).

The perception of exclusivity and peculiarity was not only visible in the context of culture, but also played a role with regard to religion. Judaism is an excellent example of this. After the Roman empire expanded, the Jews continued to adhere to the traditions and customs of their monotheistic faith and refused to adopt the customs of foreign cultures (Geulen, 2014). They had, like the Greeks and Romans of their time, an asymmetrical perception in which they considered themselves to be special and chosen. This way of thinking was in conflict with the asymmetrical model of Roman self- and other-perception. In addition, Judaism is also a good example that an asymmetrical world view does not necessarily lead to racism in the form of colonization or submission. On the contrary, this way of thinking contributed to the development and preservation of Judaism. Later, Christianity developed from part of Judaism, which became the state religion of the Roman empire in the fourth century. The chosen status of Judaism was then replaced by the new concept of *universalism* (Geulen, 2014).

▶ Universalism is a way of thinking or way of thinking in which the group or the general has priority over the particular or individual. Principles and norms are considered very important in universalist societies and must be respected by all people, a transgression is often not tolerated. Positive points for such societies are their order and predictability, their stiffness and inflexibility are often criticized ("Universalism—Definition and Concept", o. D.).

The religion resulting from universalism was no longer affiliated with a particular community or group, but rather saw itself as the *true* religion *of all* people. The concept of universalism also had an influence on the development of racism (Geulen, 2014).

1.5.2 Middle Ages

With the development of Christianity, the Middle Ages were characterized by *dualism*, which meant that in addition to the king or emperor, the church appeared as a second power ("The World of the Middle Ages" o. D.). The development of Christian reasoning had an impact on the forms of racism. The aforementioned universalism had abolished the boundaries between cultures and peoples and introduced a new one; religion. Now all those who belonged to the Christian community were completely superior (Geulen, 2014).

However, in the late Middle Ages, the Christian church gradually lost its power and control because other religious movements founded "counter-churches". In order to counteract this process, the church pursued the goal of conversion and reclaiming those

who had drifted away from the faith, which is also known as the *Inquisition* (Basting, 2020). Especially in the case of heretics or Jews who knew the true faith, those who had apostatized from the faith were severely condemned, after all, they should know better than the unbelieving barbarians or pagans (Geulen, 2014).

▶ The Inquisition, which comes from the Latin inquisisto = investigation, research, was a legal procedure or court used by the Catholic Church from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, and dealt with apostates and heretics using cruel methods (Dudenredaktion, 2021; DWDS, o. D.)

In addition, "institutional church counseling" was introduced in the Middle Ages. According to the biblical metaphor, this refers to a shepherd taking care of each individual sheep in his flock. This expression of faith was intended to strengthening the Christian community. In modern times, the development of the Christian community had its greatest benefit, because even if the liberal ideas of this time supported individual rights and freedom, the collective order could be maintained. In fact, such ideas can also be found in *modern* forms of racism. Here it becomes clear that behavior and especially *racist consciousness,* preserve the existence and purity of the community. From this we can conclude that the Christian institution in the Middle Ages has some elements that can be found again in racism years later. Especially through the Inquisition, the persecution of the Jews and other violent activities, it is often assumed that there is a history of racism in the Middle Ages (Geulen, 2014).

1.5.3 The Early Modern Period and the Rule of the Moors

Christianity also had a strong influence on the emergence of racism during European expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Geulen, 2014). In the eighth century, Muslim Arabs, called *Moors*, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain. The Moors then conquered the Iberian Peninsula in a few years. However, in 732, Charles Martell pushed the Moors back so that they could not expand further into Europe ("Reconquista in Spain", o. D.). Therefore, there were smaller areas in northwestern Spain that were not conquered by the Moors and served as bases for the reconquest of the country. The Reconquista or reconquest of Muslim Spain by the Christians began in 718 and ended officially in 1492 with the conquest of Granada, the last Muslim-controlled area (Geulen, 2014). During this expulsion policy, Jews living in Spain were also targeted. This led to violent pogroms in the fourteenth century and eventually an edict was formalized mandating forced conversion. For self-protection, many Jews converted to Christianity (Geulen, 2014). This created a new problem for the Catholic Church: Many Jews outwardly professed Christianity, but secretly continued to practice their own faith, so Jewish culture and traditions continued to exist. The converted Jews were therefore distinguished by terminology: As *Convertos,* from the Latin convert, referred to adult Jews who were

baptized, but were suspected of secretly belonging to Judaism. As *Marranen* one called the descendants of these baptized Jews (Geulen, 2014).

The forced conversion, introduced with the Edict of 1492, had therefore failed to preserve the purity of Christianity, as a result of which a policy of suspicion developed in order to track down Judaism in its *most hidden* and *most distorted* forms. As an instrument of social differentiation, another concept was now introduced, whereby the classical question of the *purity of faith* was abandoned and the doctrine of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) was used to distinguish between Old Christians and newly converted Christians who had Muslim or Jewish ancestors. The term blood was a metaphor for origin. This differentiation allowed the Old Christians, who had a pure origin, to enjoy various privileges (Free University of Berlin, o. D.; Geulen, 2014). However, religious affiliation was an insufficient distinguishing feature, so the term *purity of blood* was used. In this context, the term *race* was also used for the first time, a term that had previously only been used in the context of horse breeding. The new racial concept seemed to define a *natural* affiliation and, instead of the confession of faith, origin played a central role. For historians and researchers, the term race did not refer to external features, but to the hidden nature of origin and descent (Geulen, 2014).

The final expulsion of the Muslims and the introduction of Judaism as a race in 1492 marked the European beginning of the racial discourse. Also in 1492 Columbus discovered the Bahamas. The age of colonization began and thus racist forms of violence were justified worldwide with the theory of race. However, the extent and intensity of these acts of violence were, compared to racism in antiquity and the Middle Ages, new (Geulen, 2014).

1.5.4 Colonization, Expansion and Slavery

The idea of colonization did not arise in the fifteenth century. Already in antiquity, great powers such as ancient Greece, Rome or Egypt expanded their borders and founded colonies in order to make use of the physical and demographic resources of the conquered people and to increase their own power (Blakemore, 2019). The motives for colonial expansion in the fifteenth century can be summarized using the 3 "G's"; *God, Gold and Glory* (from English for God, Gold and Fame): God, because the missionaries felt it to be their moral duty to spread Christianity (Osman, 2017). The church embraced a broad missionary mindset that reemphasized Christian universalism and conversion (Geulen, 2014); Gold, because the colonizers exploited the resources of other countries to strengthen their own economy; and glory, because the European nations often competed with each other to possess the largest number of colonies (Osman, 2017).

However, the affected inhabitants were not distinguished by the colonizers according to their religious affiliation, as the European missionaries wanted, but at best according to their willingness to work. Columbus already reported on the unwillingness of the

Indians in South America in contrast to the residents of West Africa, who, according to the Portuguese, represented a smaller challenge. This led to the so-called triangular slave trade between Europe, Africa and America (Geulen, 2014).

When talking about the slave trade, the following questions are often asked in view of racism: Is today's racism the result of the slavery back then? Did slavery trigger racism? (Eschner, 2017).

In order to answer these questions, two perspectives will be presented below: Some supporters believe that racism was defined in customs and laws with the slave trade. Because if slavery is seen as the clearest example of racism, there were indications at that time that even people without racist backgrounds were enslaved; an example of this were the *indentured servants* (contract workers) in the seventeenth century (Eschner, 2017).

Indentured Servants differed from slaves in that it was a form of debt bondage: the workers worked unpaid during a defined period of time, usually financing the cost of their immigration to America. For this reason, this form of bondage was widespread and carried out by people from the most diverse backgrounds. In addition, only the rights to the individual's labor were bought and sold, but the servants themselves were not considered property and were free at the end of their employment relationship, which normally lasted 5 to 7 years. As already mentioned, *Indentured Servants* were not paid, but they were usually accommodated, clothed and fed. During their period of service, the *indentured servants* also learned a trade, which was of great importance to many poor and uneducated people who were looking for a better life (Eschner, 2017; "Slavery and Servitude", 2017).

Nevertheless, the *indentured servants,* like the normal slaves, were often subjected to physical abuse. They needed their master's permission to marry and were even called to court if they tried to escape their obligations completely or partially (Eschner, 2017; "Slavery and Servitude", 2017).

In 1654, slavery took a turn as it was legalized in Viginia. Anthony Johnson arrived in Virginia in 1620. He didn't come over voluntarily, like many others who agreed to work as contract workers in exchange for passage to America. Rather, Johnson was captured by neighboring tribesmen in Angola and eventually sold to a trader who took him to Virginia, where he was then sold to a tobacco farmer. Even under these circumstances, Johnson was not technically considered a slave, but an *indentured servant.* In 1635, after working on the tobacco farm for about 14 years, Johnson received his freedom and acquired land and the necessary resources to start his own farm. In the meantime, Johnson married and soon came to prosperity. In 1654, John Casor, another *indentured servant* from Africa, claimed that he had fulfilled his contract with Johnson and asked him to give him his freedom. Under pressure from his family, Johnson finally agreed and Casor, soon worked for another man named Robert Parker. The sources do not go into Johnson's motives, but he filed a lawsuit in the same year. In it, Johnson states that Casor was *stolen* from him and that he actually belonged to him for life. Johnson won this case and

got his servant back. This made Johnson the first legal slave owner in the British colonies, which were to become the United States (Kyl, 2013).

This, however, was not the first time that people from Africa were made into slaves. The transatlantic slave trade from Africa to America had already existed for over a century and began around 1500. Around 11 million people were abducted from 1500 to 1850, mostly to Brazil and the Caribbean islands. When they arrived in America, they were used as *indentured servants*; when they arrived elsewhere, they were made into slaves (Eschner, 2017).

Casor's story is, in retrospect, particularly dark. After his example, many other people of African descent were to fall into slavery in a similar way, which were later declared to be the property of the United States. It was a turning point in the history of institutional slavery (Eschner, 2017). At first, slavery was economically justified because the slaves served as important labor. However, the colonialists had to later explain why the *imported* people were treated as economic commodities. The devaluation of Africans as pure labor was an essential point that led to them being at the bottom of the racial hierarchy (Geulen, 2014).

When we turn back to the question of whether slavery caused racism, we will look at the view of those who do not agree. For them, slavery is rather the result of racism and reinforced the already existing prejudices against the racial inferiority of people with darker skin. Racism existed before slavery and survived it. Different and subtle influences had already conditioned Europeans to a negative view of people with darker skin long before they thought of enslaving them (O'Neill, 2013).

The fact that people from Africa were considered inferior can already be seen from the German African terminology. The European colonialists refused to use terms that were also valid for European society. As an alternative, new terms were established; one example would be the term *Häuptling* (*chief*) for the designation of rulers in African societies. As explained by Dr. Susan Arndt (2004, Para. 3), this term is made up of the word stem "Haupt" (main) and the suffix "ling", which has a diminutive ("Examinee", "apprentice") but mostly has a derogatory connotation (coward, scoundrel, etc.)." This term also suggests primitiveness and is only associated with men, which does not include the exercise of power by women. Other derogatory terms such as *bushmen* and *Hottentots* are also used to subsume societies from Africa. Since people were wrongly divided into races in this age, terms such as *negro, black African, mulatto* and *mixed-race* were established. These terms were used exclusively for people from African countries. A child who is from the union of an African and a European parent was referred to as *mixed-race*, unlike a child from, for example, an English-German relationship. Derogatory terms such as *mulatto* or *bastard* were also used in this context, these terms denote an illegitimate child. These terms originally come from the animal and plant world and were additionally associated with infertility (Arndt, 2004).

1.5.5 The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In the eighteenth century, the concept of race was then used to rationalize human nature. Philosophers in particular wanted to distance themselves from Christian doctrines and make human beings more describable by means of elaborated natural models and nomenclatures. Which is why the simple division into black, white, yellow and red races or arbitrary hierarchies such as superiority or inferiority lost its appeal. The term race became more complex and was used in different situations, so that it could also be used for climatic-geographical, historical-political and physical aspects (Geulen, 2014). The aim of the era was not to confront the minority of non-European peoples, but to create an encyclopaedically complete knowledge of the world. The expansion in the eighteenth century therefore no longer served the conquest and the gain in economic strength, but rather served as a discovery journey for science. An example of this were research trips, like the one by James Cook, which had the mission not only to discover the wide world oceans, but also to report on customs, properties and appearances of those whom the crew met during their journey. Therefore, one can assume that the concept of race had a function of character description for the explorers and explained in what way the newly discovered peoples were dangerous or hostile. As a second and later function, the term served for the distribution of race and racial characteristics, with the superiority of Europeans being assumed. In the eighteenth century, the term race had a scientific content and served only as a placeholder, which could be filled with cultural, geographical or even physical aspects at will. But this view did not satisfy the scholars of the nineteenth century (Geulen, 2014).

1.5.5.1 Race Struggle, Racial Mixture and Racial Generation

As already mentioned, in the eighteenth century the term race was used very diversely and this trend continued until the publication of Darwinian theory in 1859. The term race was not only used for people of different skin colors, but could also be used as a designation for different nationalities, regional cultures, social classes or occupational groups (Geulen, 2014).

Later in the nineteenth century, a further term became popular, namely the racial mixture. This term not only reflected the interest of racial theorists, but also reflected a new reality. European colonization had assumed a globalizing dimension; the number of people with migrant backgrounds in North America and Europe had reached record levels (Geulen, 2014).

Arthur Gobineau published a series of works between 1852 and 1854, which later qualified him as the most important founder of modern racism. Through his considerations, he created a theory about the relationship between races and their development. According to Gobineau, racial mixing is both a driving force for development and the trigger for the decline of all cultures. His theory of race can be summarized as follows: The *white* race is superior to the others and a racial mix would damage the progress of civilization (Böhnke, 2020; Geulen, 2014). This thought triggered a desire for exclusiv-

ity, because if *exclusive* races were to mix again with strangers, this would lead to their certain demise/downfall. Gobineau's theory of race draws the same conclusion as Charles Darwin's a few years later; both state that the essence of life is to ensure the survival and reproduction of one's own kind (Geulen, 2014). However, the social Darwinists went one step further: Based on Darwin's principle of *natural selection* or from the English *survival of the fittest,* social Darwinists believed that only the *strongest* people could win the fight for survival, while the weaker, that is, the sick, the weak or the poor, could not survive by nature (Böhnke, 2020). Social Darwinism laid the groundwork for an even more radical theory, which is sometimes referred to as racial generation or racial hygiene: Advocates of this way of thinking assumed that sick and poor people endanger the *quality of humanity* and thus support the natural selection process. The reproduction of strong and pure races should be promoted and that of weak, unworthy ones prevented (Böhnke, 2020). So the concept of race changed into an abstract, politically formative principle, which could answer the question of belonging based on alleged natural laws (Geulen, 2014).

1.5.6 Development of Racism During the Twentieth Century

The vision that developed from the nineteenth century topics of *race struggle, racial mixing, and racial generation* became not only a plan but also a reality in totalitarian systems in the twentieth century. In comparison to previous epochs, modern science in the twentieth century most closely aligned itself with the ideology of racism by partially re-establishing it and participating in its practical implementation. Although this mix of politics and science in the twentieth century was an important factor in the escalation of racism at the time, it was the previous visions that were the driving force behind this development (Geulen, 2014). These visions were of "a race without foreign bodies, a population without the sick, a national community without deviation, a colonial empire without the colonized, or a society without classes" (Geulen, 2014, p. 91). Using knowledge of various theories such as racial theory, population science, evolutionism, and social biology, attempts were made to realize these visions in the twentieth century (Geulen, 2014).

The *eugenics*, which was established at the end of the nineteenth century and at that time emerged as an interdisciplinary field of research and practice, was counted as a pronounced branch of modern science up to World War II and was dedicated to the biological improvement of populations. However, the implementation of eugenics in practice took place in some countries even before the development of totalitarian systems: As early as the 1890s, both Germany and England carried out precise projects for the multiplication and breeding of high-quality human beings by exclusively predetermining the choice of partner in large-scale experiments (Geulen, 2014). In the same period, there were also first bans on reproduction and forced sterilizations of chronically ill people, repeat offenders and physically or mentally disabled people in the USA and Scandinavia.

At that time, non-European colonies were also "popular experimental fields" for such practices (Geulen, 2014, p. 93).

However, during the 1920s and 1930s, the eugenicists became more pessimistic about their ability to effectively implement their demands: "The fantasies of a soon-improving collective genetic pool and a racial generation through efficient social policy, which had been optimistically outlined before 1914, lost conviction rapidly after 1918." (Geulen, 2014, p. 96). The possibility that one's own apparently superior race might now possibly disappear and that allegedly inferior races of African or Asian descent apparently had higher survival rates and even experienced some growth in power, led to a change in thinking (Geulen, 2014).

Now the idea dominated that the perfect and complete race is only the one that prevails over all others and thus the upcoming war is the "only and true race creator" (Geulen, 2014, p. 97). Through nationalism, racial biological thinking experienced both its peak and its entire cruelty. Eugenics now became a central element of political ideology and practice and was no longer just part of the racist propaganda or research of the Third Reich (Geulen, 2014).

The basic idea of National Socialism, as well as Hitler's world view, were based on an "eugenic Darwinian racism"; they combined the fantasy of eugenics for race creation and the Darwinian insight that only struggle and war could lead to its creation (Geulen, 2014, p. 98). But similar combinations between Darwinian racial struggle and eugenics also occurred outside of Germany; Stalinism during the 1930s is a good example (Geulen, 2014).

During the Second World War, it became clear that it was more about an existential racial struggle; that is, more about a war against "threatening" populations than against political enemies. This became especially clear in the last year of the war, when the allies arrived in Normandy, up to the nuclear destruction of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, because far more people died in all camps and fronts, as well as civilians, in this year than in the years before (Geulen, 2014).

This high willingness to use and mobilize violence had its basis in racism, but racism could neither be seen as the cause nor as the trigger or motive of this violence practice (Geulen, 2014). Racism, however, made it possible to make every form or degree of violence appear necessary and acceptable, within the framework of a struggle for existence that ran according to natural law. Racism had turned into an "abstract world explanation principle" (Geulen, 2014, p. 100). Other ideologies provided the necessary causes, triggers and/or motives, such as nationalism, anti-Semitism or fascism (Geulen, 2014).

After the nuclear deterrence of the Second World War, the racial struggle seemed to have come to a standstill at first. However, in the second half of the twentieth century, racism still persisted in a more direct form, in countries and/or parts of the world such as India, Southeast Asia, Africa and especially South Africa. In these areas, it took a long time for the racist practices and myths of high imperialism to lose their effectiveness; the South African apartheid regime in particular is an extreme example that only broke down in 1990 (Geulen, 2014).

Apartheid not only meant the division of the population into an often rightless and a privileged race here, but for the white South Africans it also served as a system to continue their own way of life as colonists in a fundamentally hostile environment. The research that was funded by the South African state in the 1980s showed this view of the natives quite clearly; even then, attempts were made to change, reduce or eliminate the black population through medicinal or other means. Only international pressure prevented another genocide in the form of a civil war (Geulen, 2014). But in the USA, too, it took until the 1960s and the third wave of emancipation before the two-race society could be dissolved in the south of the country. And even if hope for improvement flourished after the end of the last racist system in South Africa in 1990 and the end of the Cold War, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia showed the return of racist action with genocide and ethnic elimination not long afterwards (Geulen, 2014).

At the end of the twentieth century, there was a change from *eugenics* to *genetics.* Now people were concerned with how the typical human characteristics are passed on to their offspring. The deciphering of the genetic code was thus the great challenge at the end of the twentieth century, in the hope of finally being able to intervene in human biological reproduction (Geulen, 2014).

In addition, both the thematization and problematization of racism by social movements and by the social and cultural sciences in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as globalization, each influenced the expression of racism in the following years. When the UN was founded in 1945, the world community declared the age of racist systems to be over, which may also be true with a few exceptions, but theoretical and popular scientific theory of race continued after 1945 as before; only a few researchers from eugenics changed their field of research (Geulen, 2014). This is because, as Attia and Keskinkilic (2017) explained, the end of political systems does not immediately mean the extinction of cultural customs and social debates. In addition, until the 1960s, many school and non-fiction books still contained racist thought patterns and attitudes of the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries (Geulen, 2014). And while the Soviet Union continued research into the biopolitical production of socialist equality until the 1970s, the discovery of the DNA structure and thus the shift to genetic theories and thought patterns by James Watson and Francis Crick occurred in the West in 1953 (Geulen, 2014).

In 2001, after decades of research, the "complete map of human genes" and how they are distributed on the 46 human chromosomes was finally known; nevertheless, the entire understanding of the genetic code was still missing (Geulen, 2014, p. 107). For this reason, the concrete determination of races by means of the genetic code quickly proved to be impossible, but this does not mean that possible deadly consequences, as seen in eugenics, could not happen again, because even then no clear model was needed but only an idea to radically change direction (Geulen, 2014). Because even today's human genetics is based on the promise to "control life as a whole as a natural process" and, for example, to influence phenomena such as homosexuality (Geulen, 2014, p. 108). Although the justification for the research in genetics is to create new possibilities for the cure of diseases, the further possibilities of human genetics are still in the dark and

are not explained in more detail. It is noticeable that some visions of genetic research today resemble the racial theoretical visions of past centuries and continue them (Geulen, 2014). Geulen (2014) concluded on this aspect:

> "A society that, in its dream of the genetic abolition of cancer, for example, dreams the same abolition of undesirable forms of body, sexuality or behavior, appears no less racist than the society of the late nineteenth century that sought to realize the same dream through sterilization and selection." (p. 109).

1.5.7 Development to Today's Anti-Racism and Racism

Anti-racism, which generally represented the accepted normative consensus, mostly referred to the racism of the eighteenth century in the context of the slave trade or expansion, and less to the racism that arose afterwards. However, this is related to the fact that anti-racism took its current form only after the transnational reform and protest movements of the 1960s. At that time, racism was considered an outdated phenomenon and an irrational, anti-modern and static ideology of inequality (Geulen, 2014). In the late 1980s, it became apparent that modern racism had long since ceased to correspond to this definition and that the concept of race was also increasingly avoided in European countries (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017; Geulen, 2014). Racism was now more characterized by practice than by dogmas of inequality (Geulen, 2014). Protection against foreignness, rejection, selection, defense, combat, exclusion are only a few examples of many, and when it comes to the question of what needs to be protected, the answer is no longer race, but culture, nation, one's own way of life or society (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017; Geulen, 2014; Spirinelli, 2012). Also, when it comes to the question of who to defend against, the answer is now generally against strangers, against foreigners or against others; this includes both social and cultural groups, from the homeless to Muslims or homosexuals, but the concept of race is always avoided and discredited (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017; Geulen, 2014).

In parallel, globalization has experienced an extreme boost in the last 30 to 35 years, both politically and in terms of transport and information technology. However, with this increasing interconnectedness and densification, countervailing effects are also taking place: for example, the return of nationalism, ethnic ghettos in capital cities or the desire for cultural homogenization (Geulen, 2014).

However, politics usually reacts to these phenomena with outdated and former models of order, which in turn lead to contradictions. For example, while Europe promotes globalization and the opening of markets worldwide, it rejects those who follow this call but then come from the "wrong" and undesired regions. As a result, the number of "illegal" or "semi-illegal" people in Europe has increased; however, integration is a two-way process that cannot be left to migrants alone (Geulen, 2014). Instead of dealing sensibly with the issue of racism, however, the discussion is shifted to the level of culture. This is problem-

atic in that the concept of culture is beginning to approach what used to define the concept of race (Attia & Keskinkilic, 2017; Geulen, 2014). This in turn leads to another example of current racism: the culture conflict (Geulen, 2014).

This became particularly clear during the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, when suddenly a large part of the world agreed that this was now a fight and war of cultures that had to be fought, because there was no other way. In this narrative of the racial struggle, the idea of the clash of cultures can be found again. And globalization, too, represents a natural process without alternatives and, like all unification processes, generates counter-reactions that must be demonstrated by other kinds of factors. A typical example of this is multiculturalism as a description of the state of a population, which enables a wide variety of people with different cultural backgrounds to live together and in which cultural styles mix and new ones are created (Geulen, 2014). Nevertheless, this term is still clearly associated with the idea that a multicultural society means that only people who donot belong there at all would be found there (Geulen, 2014; Spirinelli, 2012). And from this perspective, current integration problems such as ghettoization, which immigrant populations have always had to deal with, are then interpreted as clear evidence of the discrepancy and incompatibility of cultures (Geulen, 2014; Spirinelli, 2012).

In conclusion, it can be said that the term racism must always be updated and where current phenomena show a connection to the history of racism, it is also very likely to be racism and should be interpreted as such. Because with racism it is never just a matter of devaluation, discrimination or persecution of certain groups, but always also a form of world explanation and world view; it is never just about the degradation of other people, but always also about the improvement of the whole (Geulen, 2014). "In this sense, racism begins where people believe that fighting against certain groups of other people makes the world better." (Geulen, 2014, p. 119).

1.5.8 Insights into the History of Racism in Luxembourg and Current International Trends

Even a country like Luxembourg, which has been dealing with immigrants from various countries since the end of the Second World War and even before, does not show any deviations in the history of racism. Between 1970 and 1981, the population of Luxembourg rose from 339,841 to 364,602, and this increase could only be explained by the growth of the foreign population. Although immigration was a much discussed topic in the 1970s, there were no or only very few documents on racist phenomena, and if there were any, they seemed to affect "black" and Asian workers in Luxembourg. At the same time, the question of national identity became more and more important. In the period between 1980 and 1996, the first right-wing extremist groups appeared in Luxembourg, which, although they did not call themselves racist, showed clear connections with racist ideologies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Spirinelli, 2012). Rommelspacher (2009) explained that "there is racism without right-wing extremism, but no

right-wing extremism without racism" (p. 29). These right-wing extremist groups feared the loss of national identity, on the one hand through an internal danger, the "weakening of the survival instinct" which is manifested by a low birth rate, and an external danger, namely when the influence of foreigners becomes dominat (Spirinelli, 2012, p. 18). Thus, the national identity must be protected from foreigners (Spirinelli, 2012); there are thus clear parallels to Geulen's (2014) statements on the history of racism in the nineteenth century and also to the later explained statements.

In the 1980s, documentation on racist phenomena against dark-skinned people increased, both in the context of the workplace and in the housing market. At the end of the 1980s, however, the number of associations and organizations that advocated for the rights of immigrants also increased (Spirinelli, 2012). In 1980, for the first time, it was anchored in the legal text that racially motivated acts were prohibited[1]. However, this was a reaction to the "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" and therefore not an initiative of its own, although such loopholes had already been pointed out in the 1970s (Spirinelli, 2012, p. 34).

In 1997, a Europe-wide campaign took place to raise awareness among the population about racism; several events, conferences, seminars and exhibitions (Spirinelli, 2012). As a result, two institutions were also created at the state level, which, among other things, spoke out against racist discrimination or racism: the "Commission consultative des Droits de l'Homme" (CCDH) and the "Centre pour l'égalité de traitement" (CET) (Spirinelli, 2012, p. 43). Since 1997, the Luxembourg government has taken more initiatives to combat racism. Open anti-Semitism has not been recorded since then, while Islamophobia has increased, also due to the international political situation at the time (Spirinelli, 2012). Also in Austria, after the attacks in September 2001, there was an increase in Islamophobia: "11 September 2001 was the day that being Muslim in the Western world, including in Austria, would change my life forever." (Erkurt, 2020, p. 65). In representative surveys, up to 48% of the Luxembourg population showed stereotypes and prejudices against Muslims, and an increased police violence against Muslims was also recorded in 2003 (Spirinelli, 2012).

In 2003, as part of the "Images et paroles d'avenir" campaign, a survey was conducted in which several high schools took part. This survey showed that the increase in the number of foreign residents among Luxembourgish students generally caused insecurity, while foreign students were more positive about a multicultural society. Nevertheless, individual foreign students did not feel accepted by the Luxembourgish students. In some cases, students made very nationalist statements, such as that a multicultural

[1] "Art. 454, inter alia, prohibits the refusal to sell and discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, skin color or origin." and "Art. 455, inter alia, makes public discourse, writings, pictures or symbols that are sold, published or distributed, and which call for actions as defined in Art. 454, to hate or violence, punishable." (Spirinelli 2012, p. 33).

society would not bring any benefits, that unemployment and crime among Luxembourgers would increase because of foreigners, and that the latter would not need to take on Luxembourgish nationality because they would still remain foreigners (Spirinelli, 2012).

Despite the increased efforts against racism and the growing awareness and sensitivity to racial discrimination, it still did not decrease. The number of reports of racial discrimination in Luxembourg rose from 2004 to 2009 by 21 cases, although a survey on discrimination in 2011 found that out of the 1025 people surveyed, 279 said they had been victims of discrimination, but only 6% of them had filed a complaint (Spirinelli, 2012). In Austria, racist attacks increased, especially against Muslims within the population. The counselling centres for Islamophobia in Austria registered an increase in the number of reported cases of approximately 42% in 2018 (Erkurt, 2020). Germany also shows high numbers of Islamophobia: The latest figures from the German government for 2019 showed that there was an Islamophobic incident every other day, in which either a religious representative, a mosque or a Muslim institution was attacked (Erkurt, 2020).

1.5.9 Racism in Schools Today

As mentioned earlier in Sect. 1.5.6, Geulen (2014) demonstrates that many school and non-fiction books still contained racist thought patterns and attitudes of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century until the 1960s. Schoolbook analyses also revealed that stereotypical illustrations and provocative juxtapositionsin the style of "us" and "the others" repeatedly appear in schoolbooks (Friebel, 2016). For example, the schoolbook study Migration und Integration (Migration and Integration) by the Federal Government's Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration (2015, quoted in Friebel, 2016, p. 7) showed that migration is mostly portrayed in a negative light in schoolbooks, rather than being presented as diversity (Friebel, 2016). People with a migrant background are repeatedly referred to as foreigners or migrants in school and non-fiction books, which contributes to labelling them as "the others" (Friebel, 2016). These people, who are labelled as "the others" and "foreigners", experience "everyday racist looks in public, exclusion and discrimination at school, in the housing and job markets and in administrative offices, derogatory portrayals in the media, and hurtful language in children's books and films" (Marmer & Sow, 2015, p. 14). Marmer and Sow (2015) also explain that the poverty, underdevelopment and violence of the African continent are always exaggerated in schoolbooks, without any connection being drawn to the historical and global power relations, while contemporary or pre-colonial incidents, cultures or philosophies are rarely mentioned.

Even the language in schoolbooks is not always adapted. For example, the schoolbook Geschichtlich-soziale Weltkunde (Historical and Social World Knowledge) still contained the formulation "Negersklaven bei der Baumwollernte" (Negro slaves during cotton picking) until 2006 (Friebel, 2016, p. 8). When talking to young people of African origin about racist experiences in everyday life or at school, they often told of difficult

situations in the classroom, of discrimination by teachers, and of derogatory, eroticising, and hurtful descriptions and illustrations in schoolbooks (Marmer & Sow, 2015).

In addition, this is an implicit form of institutional racism when German textbooks and teaching methods are tailored to the offspring of the majority society and thus disadvantage children with a migration background in Germany. This makes it more difficult for the latter to gain access to this society in the first place (Rommelspacher, 2009). One in three students has a migration background, but depending on the federal state, only one to four percent of the teachers do. The latter would, however, recommend a grammar school for children from socio-economically well-off families three times more likely than for children with a migration background, who mostly come from lower-class families (Friebel, 2016). In Austria, a large number of students with a migration background experience discrimination by their teachers, and here too it is not a matter of individual cases, but of a system. When countless experiences of discrimination were reported in the German-speaking world under the hashtag #MeTwo in summer 2018, it became clear that almost everyone had already experienced racism at school, with the majority of this racism coming from the teachers. The stories ranged from insults to the rejection and refusal of recommendations to attend high school because the teachers did not believe that the persons with an immigrant background could advance. In addition, many also shared their experiences of German teachers not wanting to give them a good grade in German because it was not their first language, although they deserved it (Erkurt, 2020).

In summary, racism is only discussed in history lessons in schools, but not in other contexts or current events (Erkurt, 2020). The lack of academic success among school children with a migration background is related to discriminatory policies and, accordingly, to discriminatory school policies (Erkurt, 2020). Children with a migration background also have worse prospects for a fully qualified training in Germany when they leave school for vocational training (Friebel, 2016). In addition, children with a migration background in Austria have poorer chances of educational success than children without a migration background (Erkurt, 2020).

1.5.10 Take-Home-Messages

Overview

- Determining the historical beginning of racism is difficult, among other things, because of a lack of written sources in pre- and early history.
- When the *today's* or *modern* conception of racism is projected on the antiquity, one can clearly speak of racism. However, it is more interesting to find out which relationships or which elements contributed to the development of racism at that time.

- Because of the Inquisition, the persecution of the Jews and other violent activities, it is often said that there is a prehistory of racism in the Middle Ages.
- In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during European expansion, Christianity also had its influence on the development of racism. However, at some point, religious affiliation was no longer sufficient as a distinguishing feature, which is why the term "purity of blood" was used and in this context the word *race* for the first time.
- The final expulsion of the Muslims and the introduction of Judaism as a race in 1492 marked the European beginning of the racial discourse.
- With the age of colonization, racist forms of violence were justified worldwide with the theory of race.
- After the concept of race, the term *racial mixture* became popular in the nineteenth century. Arthur Gobineau was one of the most important founders of modern racism: the *white* race is superior to the others and a racial mixture would hinder the progress of civilization.
- In the twentieth century, modern science had merged into the ideology of racism. From *eugenics,* which was devoted to the improvement of populations, the "eugenic Darwinian racism" quickly developed: the fantasy of eugenics for racial generation and the Darwinian insight that only struggle and war could lead to its generation.
- However, racism cannot be explained as the trigger for the Second World War; the necessary causes, triggers and/or motives were provided by other ideologies, such as nationalism, anti-Semitism or fascism.
- At the end of the twentieth century, there was a shift from eugenics to *genetics*. With the understanding of human genes, the idea of determining races by means of the genetic code quickly proved to be impossible.
- The *globalization* brought the return of nationalism, ethnic ghettos in capital cities and the desire for cultural homogenization with it. In this regard, the *culture conflict* represents an example of contemporary racism.
- The term racism must always be updated and where current phenomena show a connection to the history of racism, it is also very likely racism and should be interpreted as such. "In this sense, racism begins where people believe that fighting against certain groups of other people makes the world better." (Geulen, 2014, p. 119).
- School and textbooks still contained racist thought patterns and attitudes of the late nineteenth century until the 1960s, as well as exaggerated descriptions and representations of people with a migration background and of the poverty, underdevelopment, and violence of the African continent.

- At school, there is a risk of discrimination against students with a migration background; this discrimination ranges from insults to refusals and denials of high school recommendations.

1.6 Legal Classification of Racism

1.6.1 Introduction to the Legal Classification of Racism

Racism is a particularly severe form of discrimination and a violation of human rights that can particularly endanger social and, last but not least, school integration (Addy, 2005). Protection against racial discrimination is one of the basic principles of all human rights. These claim that every human being should have the right to equality. Even today, there is a broad social and political consensus on the need to combat racial discrimination effectively at all levels of society (Addy, 2005). Human dignity is anchored in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany as the supreme legal value and is inviolablee (ICERD, 2017, p. 2). State power is therefore obliged to "respect and protect" it (ICERD, 2017, p. 2).

International human rights protection is guaranteed by the United Nations human rights treaties. These are legally binding international treaties that have been ratified by the majority of countries (United Nations: Human Rights Conventions, 2020). Germany has ratified all UN human rights treaties with one exception and is therefore committed to respecting, protecting and implementing the rights postulated in these agreements. In order to demonstrate the state of implementation, Germany, like all other contracting States, must regularly report to the United Nations expert committees (United Nations: Human Rights Conventions, 2020).

The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which came into force in 1953 and which was signed by all 47 member States of the Council of Europe, is a convention that serves to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms of people (European Convention on Human Rights, 2014b). With this convention, legally binding protection of fundamental rights was created for the first time in Europe and is considered as the most important human rights treaty (European Convention on Human Rights, 2014b). In the context of racism in schools, the second article of the Additional Protocol to the Human Rights Convention is of particular importance, as it creates a legal claim to education and reads as follows:

> *"No one should be denied the right to education. In carrying out the tasks it has assumed in the field of education and teaching, the State must respect the right of parents and ensure education and teaching in accordance with their own religious and ideological convictions."* (Source: European Convention on Human Rights, 2014b)

But perhaps the most relevant convention in the context of racial discrimination is the "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" (short: UN Convention on Racial Discrimination; international abbreviation: ICERD). It was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 21 December 1965 and came into force on 4 January 1969 as the first UN human rights treaty. This Convention is directed against any form of racial discrimination based on race, skin color, descent, national or ethnic origin. By 8 June 2017, the Convention has been ratified by 178 States (ICERD, 2017).

1.6.2 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)—Content

The following does not explain all the articles of the Convention, but only those which, according to the authors, are of particular importance for the school context. First of all, it should be emphasized that racism in the sense of civil, human and criminal law is not limited to biological racism: Whenever the term "race" is used in this Convention, it is to be understood that it refers to the social construction of human groups that categorize people on the basis of physical characteristics. "Race" as a social construct developed historically with the development of racism (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

First, the Convention assumes, that:

- Every human being, without any distinction of "race", skin color or national origin, is entitled to all rights and freedoms listed below,
- All human beings are equal before the law and have the right to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and any incitement to discrimination,
- Any doctrine of superiority based on "racial differences" is scientifically false, morally reprehensible and socially unjust and dangerous, and that "racial discrimination" is never justified,
- "Racial discrimination" stands in the way of friendly and peaceful relations between people and disturbs peace and security,
- All necessary measures must be taken to eliminate all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination as quickly as possible in order to promote mutual understanding between "races" and to create an international community free of any form of racial segregation and racial discrimination (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

ICERD—Article 1

The first paragraph of the first article contains a definition of the term "racial discrimination", which is referred to as:

> *"(…) any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, national or ethnic origin, which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the equal recognition, enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."* (Source: UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013)

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), a human rights body of the Council of Europe, defines racial discrimination similarly in its description of tasks (2018). The starting point of this fundamental and human rights-based definition of racism is the consideration of racism as a social discrimination relationship, which is characterized by the following elements:

- Classification: People are assigned to a homogeneous and statically constructed group,
- Subordination: These groups form a hierarchical system, with one group being subordinate to the other (2018).

The definition also contains four requirements that must be met in order to prove "racial discrimination":

- First, there must be unequal treatment of people in the form of "differentiation", "exclusion", "restriction" or "preference" of others,
- Second, this unequal treatment must be based on one of the distinguishing features covered by the definition, such as skin color,
- Third, the unequal treatment must have as its object the impediments mentioned in the definition,
- Fourth, the unequal treatment must not serve a legitimate purpose in line with the purpose and intent of the Convention (ICERD, 2017, p. 12). The unequal treatment must also not be objectively justified (ICERD, 2017).

It should also be noted that racism is more than what obviously violates anti-discrimination laws (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). Accordingly, even cases in which racial discrimination is brought about without the acting person being aware of it are included in this definition (2017). It is therefore completely irrelevant whether racial discrimination is conscious or unconscious. In order to be "racist" in terms of the law, it is enough that an objective third party assesses the act as racist in the sense of the fundamental and human rights definition of racism. The verdict of the third party is also taken into account even if the persons concerned would reject the allegation of "racism" (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). Nevertheless, here too, the question may arise as to which criteria should be used for an objective evaluation. The definition of "racial discrimination" from the ICERD Convention applies directly in German law and is to be applied by the administration and the courts (2017).

The fourth paragraph of this article states that special measures taken to ensure the appropriate development of certain minority groups and thus to enable these people to enjoy and exercise human rights and fundamental freedoms on an equal basis are not considered racial discrimination. However, these measures must not result in the maintenance of separate rights for different racial groups and they must not be continued after the objectives for which they were taken have been achieved (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

ICERD—Article 2

This article makes it clear that racial discrimination is unequivocally condemned by the contracting States and that they commit themselves to the State by all appropriate means to eliminate racial discrimination and to promote mutual understanding between "races" (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

On the one hand, the contracting States are obliged not to engage in any form of racial discrimination themselves (negative obligation), on the other hand, the ICERD requires the contracting States to penalize any dissemination of ideas based on the superiority of a "race" (positive obligation) (2017).

The positive and negative obligations can be implemented in a variety of ways, for example government members can make obvious statements against racist attitudes, anti-racism curricula can be designed in schools, or, as the strictest measure, prosecutions can be initiated (ICERD, 2017). The States have a certain room for manoeuvre in deciding how these obligations are to be implemented. It is therefore also obvious that with some obligations, such as awareness-raising measures in schools against racist prejudices, the scope of action can be very wide and thus also differ in effectiveness depending on the contracting State (ICERD, 2017). When implementing positive and negative obligations, the various forms of direct and indirect racial discrimination must also be considered (ICERD, 2017).

According to the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG), direct discrimination is when a person receives, has or would receive less favourable treatment than a comparable person (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2014). The reason for the less favorable treatment must be the "actual or presumed affiliation to a discrimination category based on racism" (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2014). An example of this would be if a Muslim woman were to apply for a job as a medical assistant in Germany, but her application would be rejected because of her ethnic background. Indirect discriminations, on the other hand, appear to be neutral regulations that, however, have a particularly disadvantageous effect on persons who belong to a discriminated social minority (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2014). Such discrimination is then inadmissible if it cannot be objectivley justified (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2014). This would be the case, for example, if proficiency in the German language is stated as a requirement, although this is not actually required for the intended job It also provides for each contracting State to review the procedures of its national and local authorities and to amend

or repeal all laws and other regulations that create racial discrimination (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

ICERD—Article 4
This article states that any propaganda and all organisations based on ideas or theories regarding the supremacy of a "race" or group of people of particular skin colour or ethnicity is to be condemned. Accordingly, any dissemination of ideas based on "racial" supremacy or on racial hatred is already a criminal offence under the law (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

ICERD—Article 5
Rights that may be particularly affected by racial discrimination are listed in Article 5. These include freedom and civil rights, but also economic, social and cultural rights. Only those that may be more or less relevant in the school context are listed below:

- the right to equality before the courts and other legal institutions,
- the security of the person,
- the Government protection against violence or bodily harm,
- the freedom of movement and the free choice of residence in a State,
- the freedom of thought, conscience and religion,
- the freedom of speech, the right to freedom of expression,
- the right to assembly and the formation of associations,
- the right to education and training,
- the equal participation in cultural activities
- the access to all public places or services, such as public transport, hotels, restaurants, cafes, theaters and parks (UN Convention on Racial Discrimination, 2013).

ICERD—Article 6
This article reminds us that victims who have suffered harm through racial discrimination have the right to claim appropriate compensation from the State (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

ICERD—Article 7
Article 7 of the Convention is particularly important in the context of racism in schools. The Contracting States commit themselves to taking immediate and effective measures, in particular in the field of education, training, culture and information, with the aim of combating prejudices that lead to racial discrimination. In addition, understanding, tolerance and friendship are to be promoted in the aforementioned contexts; declarations on human rights, as well as on the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, should be disseminated (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013).

A Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is provided for the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which consists of 18 independent experts who meet twice a year for 3 weeks in Geneva (UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 2013). The members of the Committee are elected for 4 years by secret ballot. The Committee has, inter alia, the task of receiving and reviewing the reports of the contracting States. Every contracting State is obliged to submit a report every 2 years in which the activities within the State with regard to the realization of the objectives of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination are set out. After reviewing these reports, the Committee make general recommendations and suggestions to the respective State. These recommendations are sector-specific and, for example, concern the education system. Even though the recommendations of the Committee are not legally binding on the contracting States, they are nevertheless committed to at least take note of them and to deal with them in terms of content (ICERD, 2017).

The measures recommended by the Committee which concern the education system may, for example, encourage the contracting States

- to review linguistic formulations in textbooks that contain stereotypes or degrading images, references, terms or opinions with regard to people of different origin, and to replace them with those that convey "the message of human dignity and equality of all human beings";
- to ensure that public and private education systems do not discriminate or exclude children on the basis of "race", or descent;
- to welcome measures designed to promote the education of all pupils and to guarantee people of all origins equal access to higher education (ICERD, 2017, p. 37).

In addition, specific consideration is also given to certain social minorities. For example, under general recommendations for the protection of Roma against discrimination, it is proposed

- to support the integration of all children with a Roma background into the regular school system and to reduce the school drop-out rates, particularly among Roma girls, and to work actively with Roma parents or Roma associations;
- to avoid the exclusion of Roma pupils as much as possible and to keep the option of teaching in two languages or in their mother language open. Efforts should also be made to improve the quality of education for all students and the performance of the minority community in schools, as well as to hire school teachers from the Roma community and to promote intercultural education in general;

- to ensure primary education for Roma children through the measures available, including their temporary admission to regular local schools, temporary education in their communities or the technical provision of remote learning;
- to improve communication between school teachers, Roma children and their parents, through the frequent deployment of Roma support staff;
- to include chapters on the history and culture of the Roma in textbooks at all appropriate levels of education (ICERD, 2017).

Furthermore, these recommendations should apply to all and not just to the mentioned ethnic minority.

1.6.3 Limits of ICERD Regulations

Despite general guidelines and recommendations for combating racism, the question remains to what extent people with racism experience are perceived, adequately protected and treated with respect by society and the judiciary in reality (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). This question is particularly justified because "racism" is not yet an official concept of law (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018; Schlüter & Schoenes, 2016).

At this point, there is neither legal nor judicial and scholarly agreement on what exactly is meant by racism and thus by racist acts. Many judges and prosecutors are also of the opinion that racism cannot be objectively established at all (Schlüter & Schoenes, 2016). As a consequence, the confrontation with racism in Germany still meets with considerable rejection: instead of actively combating racism in society, racism is often only historicized ("there was racism in National Socialism"), externalized ("there is racism in the USA or South Africa") or shifted to the "margins of society" ("racist are neo-Nazis or supporters of Pegida") (Schlüter & Schoenes, 2016, p. 200). In general, racism is neither sufficiently associated with the everyday functioning of society and its institutions nor in the judiciary (Schlüter & Schoenes, 2016).

A clear definition of racism and exclusion of which acts and motives can be evaluated as racist is essential in German criminal law in order to combat racism: Only if there is a uniform line in terms related to racism, they can be used in concrete legal application (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). The reference to social science findings could be of great importance for this step, assuming that racism is not a uniform, static phenomenon, but can have various forms of expression and is changeable (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

1.6.4 The Role of the Justice System in Combating Racism

In the fight against racism, or in the creation of justice and the recognition of racially motivated crimes, court proceedings play an important role and often take on a role model function in society, even if unconsciously. Thus, the American lawyer Justin Murray (2012) points out that the basic assumption that the court is a neutral institution can further reinforce racism in society. According to him, most US citizens assume that everyone is equal before the law, even though they are aware of the obviously excessive accusations, arrests and convictions of African Americans compared to white Americans. The illusion of legal neutrality therefore does not contribute to the active fight against racism in society, but rather confirms the conviction of many people that African Americans are responsible for the majority of crimes in America (2012). The widespread statement of equality must therefore by no means be used to infer an actual and true state of affairs, because in reality *People of Color* are still treated differently in our society than white people because of their skin color, their ascribed ethnic origin, culture, religion or "race" (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). There is probably hardly any judge or prosecutor who deals with a certain procedure in a completely value-neutral way and this is also unavoidable, because human behavior is inevitably influenced by our values, preconceptions, own experiences and not least by sympathies and antipathies towards our fellow human beings (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). As a result, it is often unclear how the investigations against the perpetrator are running, how and why, for example, the public prosecutors come to the respective decisions and what the final verdict actually means (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). Since both the police, the investigative authorities, the public prosecutors and the court are firmly anchored in a society shaped by racism, they would have to consciously fight institutional and structural racism in their own authority in order to be able to comply with the principle of human right sequality at all (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

However, racism cannot be successfully combated by no longer addressing ethnic characteristics and treating all people as if such characteristics did not exist. In this case, one would deny racism. The ignorance of skin colors and realities of people affected by racism, who are decisively characterized by suppression, would in fact create a "color-blind" racism (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 65). Even if there is probably no police officer, prosecutor or judge today who would allow an openly racist remark, this does not mean that racism does not exist. Consequently, the Bulgarian human rights activist Dimitrina Petrova (2001) wrote that over the past years, the denial of racism has developed into the most typical and perhaps most common form of true racism. In Germany, too, the majority of people state that they do not perceive themselves as racist, yet the results of the 2016 Leipziger "Mitte" longitudinal study showed that one third of Germans consider the country to be "dangerously over-populated" (Decker et al., 2016, p. 33 ff.). In this context, it should be noted that any propaganda that demands that immigrants and their descendants, regardless of their citizenship,

nationality, length of stay and family background, leave the country, constitutes a racist discrimination that is theoretically prohibited by the Convention on Human Rights (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

This "color-blind" racism is particularly opposed by *Critical Whiteness,* i.e. the critical whiteness research, a scientific and political approach that encourages the "whiteness" to be made visible in society and in scientific discourse (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 66). It is assumed that even white people are not exempt from social determinations by ethnic characteristics (Green et al., 2007). However, in the case of white people, these determinations give them a special role in the sense of an advantage (Green et al., 2007). In addition, the majority of people working in the legal context do not belong to an ethnic minority and are therefore not personally affected by racist discrimination (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). Victims of racism can therefore inevitably also become distrustful in the judiciary, as they often perceive the courtroom as a "white space" in which they feel alone and not understood as non-white persons (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 68). In this sense, it is above all necessary to reflect in the legal system to what extent "whiteness" is used as an invisible yardstick and to what extent any deviation from this is considered an inferior gradation (Green et al., 2007).

Consciously taking this reality of discrimination into account is still a major challenge in the juridical system, because "no person is an island", as a proverb says: all actors within this system are simultaneously citizens and part of society, therefore generally widespread "racist" attitudes are also to be expected in these occupational groups. For the development of a racism-sensitive justice and society, it is important to recognize how our thinking and acting can be influenced subconsciously and often unconsciously by racist prejudices (see also *2.6 Stereotypes*). In addition, there is a need to promote intercultural competence within the justice system, because so far this is not taught in legal education (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

▶ Intercultural competence requires people to be willing to "think into" foreign worlds and consists of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Auernheimer, 2005).

Accordingly discriminatory forms of communication can be avoided and these competencies also allow people with different cultural backgrounds to be more open and respectful. The denial of different cultural and communication patterns often leads to unconscious racist discrimination in return (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

1.6.5 Freedom of Opinion Versus Racism

In some cases, the question may arise as to whether government actions against racism are contrary to other human rights. This applies in particular to freedom of expression when taking measures against racist statements. Freedom of expression is guaranteed,

inter alia, in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) (European Convention on Human Rights, 2014a). The protected freedom of expression described therein is

> "(…) the freedom to express one's thoughts aloud and publicly, understood as the subjective right to freedom of speech, freedom of expression and (public) dissemination of an opinion in speech, writing and images as well as all other available means of transmission." (Source: European Convention on Human Rights, 2014a).

The free exchange of opinion is an important foundation in a democracy and the statements of others must generally be tolerated even if they do not correspond to one's own opinion and if they can be shocking or offensive (ICERD, 2017).

The European Convention on Human Rights does not guarantee freedom of expression unlimited, but State protection measures can be taken against such statements, in particular if they fall under the term of hate speech under the 4. Article of the ICERD (ICERD, 2017). State-convened restrictions on freedom of expression are therefore legally allowed:

- for reasons of national security,
- to protect public safety and order (including morality),
- to prevent crime,
- for the protection of the rights of third parties,
- to prevent the dissemination of confidential information and
- to preserve the authority and impartiality of the judiciary (European Convention on Human Rights, 2014a).

Where exactly freedom of expression borders on racism and how these regulations are ultimately implemented must be examined individually for each case (Bleich, 2013). Democracy often faces a dilemma in this task, because some people use this freedom deliberately to create racism and there is a "collision" of these two essential rights that a democracy tries to protect as best as possible (Bleich, 2013). In addition, a transition from maintaining freedom of opinion to combating racism can hardly be precisely measured and there are intercultural differences in the importance of freedom of opinion and the fight against racism: While the European Court of Human Rights classifies any form of racial discrimination as a danger, the Supreme Court of the United States tolerates racist statements as long as they do not lead to immediate violence (Bleich, 2013). These different evaluations of racism are based, among other things, on the almost opposite content of the constitutional texts: While the first amendment to the constitution of the United States prohibits any restrictions on freedom of opinion, the 10th article of the European Convention on Human Rights, with the supreme goal of protecting human dignity, lists several reasons that support a restricted freedom of opinion (Bleich, 2013).

1.6.6 Conclusion on the Legal Classification of Racism

In conclusion, it can be stated that, despite the ICERD regulations and practical recommendations on legal language, combating racism cannot be enforced as would be desirable. There is currently no "racism template" in the judiciary that would be used to check whether racism is present or not in certain cases (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 37). As long as there is no discriminatory sensitive jurisprudence, the legal system will continue to be a risky area for people affected by racism. It is also clear that the ICERD regulations are still not as well known as they should be among lawyers, as the importance of the issue for an open society would actually require (ICERD, 2017).

1.6.7 Take-Home-Messages

Overview

- The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which came into force in 1953, created for the first time in Europe binding protection of human rights
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), which came into force in 1969, provides the member States of the Council of Europe with uniform guidelines for dealing with racial discrimination on the grounds of race, skin color, descent, national or ethnic origin.
- The ICERD rejects any ideas of "races", as well as differences in skin color or national descent. Therefore, every person is equally entitled to all the rights and freedoms set out in the Convention.
- From a legal point of view, the active fight against racism remains a challenge, as "racism" is not yet an official term of law.
- A uniform definition of racism should in particular take into account the different forms of expression of racism, because this is the only way to decide which acts and motives should be classified as racist.
- The fight against racism at State level may possibly contradict the protection of other human rights; but where exactly the line between freedom of opinion and racism lies must be examined individually in each case.

1.7 Racism in Language

Language is a powerful construct that is shaped both historically and socially (Albrecht, 2017). In addition, language can be used deliberately to create racial differences or to exclude people; in this case we speak of linguistic racism (Weber, 2015). Our language cannot be seen as an accurate reflection of reality, because it is able to shape reality freely, not only by conveying factual content through language, but above all by conveying socially approved knowledge or assumptions (for example, assumptions about our own position, about the position of our counterpart, or about the position of social minorities) (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). Linguistic actions thus make our normalized knowledge comprehensible and allow us to understand people as beings that are comprehensible and social. How we name another person therefore has a direct influence on their identity and self-perception (Nduka-Agwu & Hornscheidt, 2014). Spoken language can therefore limit the way people perceive the world and life (Weber, 2015).

The fact that racial categories are not natural but socially constructed, is shown by the linguistic terms of "black" and "white", which are not to be considered analogously in our society, but rather represent different positions in terms of social power relations. If "black" and "white" were natural categories, they would be located on a continuum with a border point right in the middle. However, during the era of colonialism, the so-called *One-Drop-Rule* was applied. According to this rule, all people with "one drop of black blood" were considered "black" if a "black African" ancestor could be proven (Weber, 2015, p. 95). The border point was therefore not in the middle, but almost entirely at the "white" end of the continuum (Weber, 2015, p. 95).

Language also has the potential to racially discriminate against people by presenting the named persons linguistically differently than they would wish, or in such a way that they feel excluded and devalued by society through the choice of words (Nduka-Agwu & Hornscheidt, 2014). A form of racism in everyday language use that is often underestimated are metaphors. At first one would expect racist metaphors to occur more often in right-wing and fascist political language use, but such metaphors can also be found in more liberal political discourse (Weber, 2015). For example, immigrants are represented in a dehumanizing way as "weeds" that need to be "sorted out" or as a "flood of illegal immigrants" that "floods" the country (Weber, 2015, p. 98).

Language also puts people in relation to each other and thus assigns them a place in society (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). This often happens by labeling and objectifying other people. Labeling is a way of simply summarizing the identity of a person or group of people by reducing them to a single core element. If someone is categorized as an immigrant, then this labeling necessarily also includes a political action (Weber, 2015).

1.7.1 Origins and Maintenance of Racism in the German Language

An explanation of how racism is maintained in language can be found, among other things, in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), a Swiss linguist who had a strong influence on structuralism. Structuralism is a perspective that does not recognize the individual as a free, autonomous being, but as one that is influenced by higher-level historical, but also linguistic structures (Brügger & Vigsø, 2008). In this approach, language is analyzed under the premises of a structuralist perspective. Accordingly, a certain term can only come into effect if it is related to a social context that is changeable over time. The individual language elements have no meaning in our language system as long as they are not related to our ideas and concepts, so language is also defined as a social product (Brügger & Vigsø, 2008, p. 19). How exactly the meaning attribution of linguistic elements happens is a simple process: If words are used repeatedly in certain association chains, they will be adopted as true by society over time and solidified in our language usage (Albrecht, 2017). This phenomenon also plays a big role in the maintenance of "racism": At the time of German colonialism, at the beginning of the twentieth century, language was one of the main instruments for legitimizing the brutal actions of the Western powers in the colonies. Through the use of language, African societies could be opposed to the white standard as "disorderly", "chaotic" and "ruleless" (Albrecht, 2017). Through targeted word choice, the foreigners were perceived as a threat to the white way of life (Albrecht, 2017). To this day, these basic assumptions have been maintained by our language. Language is therefore a historical and social construct and an individual alone cannot determine or redefine a word, because the entire society is always involved in such processes (Albrecht, 2017).

In addition, we are confronted with verbal and written as well as visual language content from various sources on a daily basis, such as social media, friends or acquaintances (Weber, 2015). This language content reaches several people in a society, it is therefore passed on several times and thus also neutralized (Weber, 2015). The more language content is neutralized in a society, the more often it is passed on to the next person, so that over time it becomes a fixed part of social thinking (Weber, 2015). In order to expel racism from the German language, the associative chains between events, assumptions and concepts developed over generations must be broken (Albrecht, 2017).

1.7.2 Racist Terms in the German Language

Language terms are changeable and are always redefined by social change processes, so that they can also develop into an apparent normality in our everyday language (Albrecht, 2017). For example, the term "asylum seeker" experienced a shift in meaning in German society over the past few decades: From a factual term for a person who claims the right to political asylum, it became a derogatory term because it was associated with negative social events (Albrecht, 2017). Social discrimination processes are therefore

transferred to linguistic terms and thus symbolic and factual conclusions are drawn (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018).

The term pair "Arabic family" can also be used to illustrate how neutral terms become racist labes through their contextualization (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 45). Once neutral linguistic terms take on a social function, they can no longer be neutral: The term "Arabic family" is only used in the context of drug, gang and violent crime by its social function (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018). Through this term, the general crime in our society is externalized: The "family", that is, the responsible persons for crime, are referred to as "Arabic" and not as "German" and Arabic people form a supposedly dangerous minority within the "upright white society" (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 45). The family also refers to an outdated family image in our society, which is clearly opposed to the apparently modern, Western model of the small family (German Institute for Human Rights, 2018, p. 45).

In general, the term "crime by foreigners" was able to prevail in everyday language. These words suggest that crime is directly related to nationality. As a result, society has the impression that people with migration experience or refugees are more criminal than, for example, Germans. The word "refugee" is also not a racism-free term, as the focus is on the flight process and the associated need for help of these people. Independent action is therefore denied to these people. To avoid this, "arriving person" is suggested (Albrecht, 2017). The focus here is no longer on fleeing from something, but on arriving at a safe place (Albrecht, 2017). This variety of possible terms for a person seeking protection shows how difficult it is to find a politically correct term. There is no guarantee that the majority society will turn away from the critically evaluated terms (Albrecht, 2017).

1.7.3 When is a Language Usage Racist?

In order to determine when a language usage is racist, situational and contextual factors must always be taken into account (Nduka-Agwu & Hornscheidt, 2014). Accordingly, power positions and speech positions must be reflected, as well as social conventions, situations and contexts. There is no simple clear definition of when which statement is racist. First and foremost, therefore, one's own language usage should be reflected. However, it is not enough to limit oneself to the fact that a statement was not meant to be racist (Nduka-Agwu & Hornscheidt, 2014). The mere intention is not enough evidence of whether something is racist or not. This is made clear by an example: Most of the people who use the "N-word" in our society, that is, a term that was invented during European expansion to categorize people living south of the Sahara (Kilomba, 2009), do not primarily aim to racially discriminate or hurt *People of Color* (Nduka-Agwu & Hornscheidt, 2014, p. 34). Nevertheless, they speak as part of anti-racism conventions (cf. ICERD), which are of great importance in society, and which ban this expression in the context of a "race concept". Regardless of personal intention, racist terms reproduce a "race" based hierarchy in our society and we must be aware that many of these terms

can no longer be used in German-speaking countries without a racist dimension (Nduka-Agwu & Hornscheidt, 2014).

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How Can Racist Behavior be Explained?

2

Luise Nathusius, Lisa Frast and Tabea Schmidt-Alkadri

2.1 Introduction

Have you ever watched one of those typical American teen movies featuring cheerleaders, football players, math nerds, musicians, etc.? You probably already have a picture in your mind of what members of these groups look like, how they behave, what ideals they pursue, and who they associate with.

As the movie continues you get to know one of the cheerleaders better. Suddenly you sympathize with the person who you initially judged to be arrogant, self-centered, superficial, and even perhaps stupid. You learn that this girl has her own deep problems, such as a sick grandfather she has to take care of at home. In addition, her family is facing financial difficulties, so she works in a restaurant after school in order for the family to afford the grandfather's medication. She also speaks up for kids that are bullied at school. Slowly but surely you realize that the girl is constantly thinking about other people and has a very gentle personality. If you had not gotten to know this person better, you would probably have had continued to perceive her according to the image described above. "She's a cheerleader, so she's superficial."

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We operate in a similar way in our everyday lives. But what is it that makes us use categories and the associated stereotypes and prejudices to judge people? And how are prejudices and stereotypes related to racism?

This chapter introduces you to basic social psychological concepts and theories that can provide a basis for explaining and understanding racism. At the beginning of the chapter in *2.2 Basic Terms* the relevant concepts, *e.g.* social group, social categorization, attitude, prejudice and stereotype are defined. In the further course of the chapter in *2.3 The Human as a Cognitive Miser* the functioning of human thinking is examined as a possible basis for the emergence of prejudices, stereotypes and ultimately racism. In *2.4 The ingroup and outgroup bias* why people tend to perceive their own group as more positive than foreign groups is discussed. In the following *2.5 Prejudices as the root of racism* theories of the emergence of prejudices in childhood are considered. Subsequently, in *2.6 Stereotypes* the meaning and emergence of stereotypes are discussed. *The subsection 2.7 Growing up in a diverse world* shows which risk and protective factors for the emergence of racism exist. Subsequently, in *2.8 What makes dealing with racism difficult* why dealing with racism can be difficult is discussed. Furthermore, in *2.9 Hidden racism* obstacles to the recognition of racism are discussed. The subchapter *2.10 But that's the truth!* shows how something can appear well-founded to us, but it is not. The last subchapter *2.11 Why it can still succeed for us* finally describes which psychological mechanisms make it easier not to act racist.

2.2 Basic Terms

The following basic concepts which originate primarily from the field of social psychology will be introduced. In order to notice differences and similarities, one first needs to perceive different groups. The term *social group* describes at least two or more individuals who influence each other through social interaction and are often connected to each other by structures such as their social roles, the social norms, their degree of cohesion and their common goals (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d.). For example, the students of a class are a social group whose social role is to be students and who are connected to each other by the norm of general education. The aspiration to master their school careers is the common goal and the community within the class can be described by the class cohesion. Each of these students belongs to other different social groups and have other social roles (e.g. child of parents, sibling, friend). Possible social groups could be: the friend group within the class, the friend group outside the class, one's own family, but also a membership of broader groups such as student of a certain school, district or state. Additionally being part of a national group, maybe also of their parents' or the environment in which one grows up, or a specific ethnic or religious group is possible. Each student and each teacher is part of an array of different social groups.

▶ **Social Group** Social psychological term for two or more individuals who influence each other through social interaction and often contain structures such as roles, norms, a degree of cohesion and common goals (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d.)

One basis for social interaction in groups is the way the human brain works. The brain works as energy-efficient as possible. So that not all impressions have to be processed individually, it tries to summarize them and makes generalizations. In social psychology this is called creating categories. You can learn more about this in *2.3 The human being as a cognitive miser.* The process of considering people in the form of groups with similar properties is called *social categorization* (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d). According to Jonas and Beelmann (2009) the assignment to the different social groups can be done from the outside by others *(social category),* but primarily also by the person themselves *(self-category)*. The aforementioned social group of students, for example, refers to itself as class 10a (self-category) and is also classified by the school principal from the outside as students of class 10a (sociological category). In these assignment processes it also plays a role whether the assignment is made to a so-called in-group or out-group. The students of class 10a (in-group), for example, see the students of class 10b as an out-group. Such assignments influence the behavior of the students and have a great influence on the formation of prejudices. These processes will be explained in more detail in *2.4 The Ingroup and Outgroup Bias.*

▶ **Social categorization** Cognitive performance of grouping people with similar properties (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to the APA (n. d) attitudes describe the way in which one thinks about an object. Objects can be people, groups, but also problems or concepts. An attitude towards a certain object remains relatively stable over time, for example, if a student has the attitude that math is stupid, it is likely that they will more or less maintain this attitude throughout their school career. The evaluative component is also clear from this example: mathematics is evaluated as negative. Attitudes can result, for example, from emotions (e.g. shame of having solved a task incorrectly in front of the class) or from previous experiences (e.g. maths homework not being completed), which are related to the object.

▶ **Attitude** Relatively permanent and general, positive or negative evaluation of a target object, often derived from beliefs, emotions, previous experience related to the object (e.g. person, group, problem, concept) (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

Settings, prejudice, stereotype and discrimination are closely related to each other. According to APA (n. d), *prejudices* are, in contrast to attitudes, directed against persons or groups. They often do not result from personal experiences with these persons or groups, but represent assumptions about them. They are also negative evaluations of these persons or groups. For example, the students of 10a have the prejudice that a new

student of the 10b class is an extreme nerd and a snitch, even though the students had no contact with this student yet. The topic of prejudice is described in detail in Sect. 2.6 *Prejudices as the root of racism*.

▶ **Prejudice** Negative attitude towards a person/group without having experiences with the person/group (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to APA (n. d), *stereotypes* represent, among other things, the cognitive component of prejudice. They describe the properties of a group in a generalizing way, often the generalizations are negative, but in contrast to prejudices they can also be positive (e.g. when the generalization concerns the properties of the in-group). The new student of the 10b class is an exchange student from Korea. If the students of the 10a now think "All Asians are good at school" and thus conclude that the new student is good at school, they have applied a stereotype to describe her. For this you will find detailed information in *2.6 Stereotypes.*

▶ **Stereotype** Cognitive component of prejudice, generalization about properties of a group, often negative generalization, but also positive ones are possible (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to APA (n. d), *discrimination* represents the behavioral component of prejudice, i.e. the components that are shown on the behavioral level. They are associated with a particularly negative but not always obvious, hostile and harmful treatment of a group. Students of the 10a class call the new student "nerd" and "sissy".

▶ **Discrimination** Behavioral component of prejudice associated with particularly negative, hostile and harmful treatment of a group (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to APA (n. d), *racism* can be defined as a prejudice based on ethnic membership, whereby the group is evaluated as inferior. Racist prejudices often include negative emotional reactions towards group members, acceptance of negative stereotypes and discrimination against group members. The above-mentioned behaviours of the students in class 10a can be classified as racism (see also the differentiated representation and definition of racism in Chap. 1 of this volume).

▶ **Racism** prejudice based on ethnic group, based on these prejudices the group is evaluated as inferior, often includes negative emotional reactions towards group members, acceptance of negative stereotypes, discrimination against members of the group (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

2.3 The Human as a Cognitive Miser

Getting to know a person better requires time and effort. The human being, however, is a cognitive miser (Taylor, 1981). What does that mean?

Since the information processing capacity of humans is generally limited (Miller, 1956), it is not unusual for different strategies to be used to simplify information processing. One of these strategies is that of social categorisation. Thinking in social categories and corresponding stereotyping simplifies cognitive processes, reduces effort and is therefore economical. The cognitive miser is more concerned with processing information quickly and without effort than with interpreting it correctly (Fiske & Taylor, 1984).

2.3.1 Strategies for Cognitive Relief: Heuristics

In addition to social categorization, there are other strategies to facilitate information processing. Tversky and Kahneman (1973) speak here of *heuristics.*

▶ **Heuristic** A strategy based on experience for making decisions that is efficient but cannot guarantee the correct outcome (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to Tversky and Kahneman's (1973) assumptions, most of the decisions we make are influenced by how likely we perceive a certain event to occur. Heuristics are intended to simplify such complex probability calculations and to help executing them as quickly and as effectively as possible. However, the fact that this effectiveness is not always given is irrelevant to the cognitive miser. The main focus is that the decision is made quickly and the cognitive effort remains as low as possible.

2.3.2 Representativeness Heuristic

One of these heuristics that people often use is the *representativeness heuristic* (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973, 1974).

▶ **Representativeness heuristic** Strategy that allows one to make categorical evaluations of a person or a target object by comparing how much the target object resembles the average object in the category (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to Tversky and Kahneman (1974), people judge the probability of an event based on how well the available information matches a certain stereotype; that is, how representative this information is of the corresponding stereotype. In other words, if we want to find out whether a young man is a "firefighter", we estimate the probability by comparing all the information we have about the man with the stereotype of a firefighter.

For this purpose, Kahneman and Tversky (1973) conducted a study in which participants were given a short description of various people and were later asked to judge whether these people were more likely to be lawyers or engineers. There were two groups of participants. The first group was told that the total population from which the examples were drawn consists of 70% lawyers and 30% engineers. The second group was told the opposite; that the total population consists of 70% engineers and 30% lawyers. Based on this information, the estimated probability that someone is a lawyer should be greater, and that someone is an engineer should be smaller in the first group than in the second group. But that was not the case. In both groups, probability estimates were very similar. This suggests that people rely more on information about the stereotypical characteristics of the target population when estimating a probability than on actual probability measures, even if these are known.

2.3.3 Availability Heuristic

A second heuristic that is often used is the *availability heuristic* (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973, 1974).

▶ **Availability heuristic** A strategy for evaluating the likelihood of an event occurring, based on information that is currently available and perceived as relevant (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* undated)

This refers to the fact that people use the information that is most readily available to them when making decisions (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). Imagine that you read a newspaper article in the morning about a woman who was attacked by 3 dark-skinned men. Then you go for a walk with the dog, and you come across a black man. If you now act according to the availability heuristic, you will think of the newspaper article when you see the man and make a wide detour so that he does not attack you. This decision is rationally completely inappropriate, because the probability that this man will attack you is very low. The reaction is due to the fact that the newspaper article is the first information that pops into your mind at that moment. Since you want to make a decision quickly, you do not waste your time with any further thoughts, rely on this information and thus assess the probability as much higher than it actually is.

A related phenomenon of the availability heuristic is the anchoring effect. Tversky and Kahneman (1974) report on an experiment in which test persons had to estimate different quantities in percent, such as the number of African countries that belong to the UN. Before they had to make this assessment, a lucky wheel was turned, which stopped at a certain number. Then they should estimate whether the percentage is greater or smaller than what is shown on the wheel. Finally, they should estimate the actual percentage. The results of this experiment showed that the assessment was significantly influenced by the number previously displayed by the wheel. The number displayed by

the wheel was therefore used as an anchor to which the test persons oriented themselves unconsciously. For example, people for whom the number 10 was displayed estimated the percentage of African member states on average at 25%, while the anchor 65 led to an average estimate of 45%. Even the motivation by a reward for correct answers could not reduce the anchoring effect. Although the test persons are aware that the number displayed by the wheel is an arbitrary number that has nothing to do with their assessment, they seem to be unable to resist the fact that this number *unconsciously* still has an influence on their decision.

2.3.4 Examples of the Usefulness of Categorized Thinking and Heuristics

From an evolutionary psychological perspective, using categories does indeed make sense because, as already explained, it can significantly simplify information processing. Imagine that in the previously described film, not only one cheerleader was introduced in more detail, but every single member of each individual group. This would take so long and the processing and storage of this information would require so much effort that it would be almost impossible to focus on the actual story and the main character. To understand the story, you only need to get to know this one person in more detail. All other individual stories of the various actors are irrelevant and distract from the focus. This illustrates how categorization can also be useful in real life. Thinking in categories helps to avoid overwhelm and to save one's own cognitive capacities for "more important" information processing.

An example that highlights the evolutionary psychological advantages of heuristics even more is the following: You are a soldier and you come across a member of the enemy troop. Now you conclude based on a quick categorization and your previous experience that the person in front of you, wearing enemy uniform, will try to shoot you. You can then either decide to shoot him before he shoots you ("fight" reaction) or run away ("flight" reaction). If you did not intuitively make a categorization at this moment, but had to analyze the motives of the person individually, you would probably be dead before you could come to a decision about an appropriate reaction. Even if there is a possibility that the other person would not have shot you, this is statistically unlikely. The categorization therefore contributes directly to one's own survival from an evolutionary psychological perspective.

Thinking in categories is therefore not fundamentally bad, but in some situations it makes sense and is even necessary. In other situations, however, it can sometimes make sense to question this categorization and the associated stereotypes in order to prevent discriminatory and racist behavior from resulting. How this works is explained in more detail in Sect. 2.7 *Stereotypes*.

2.4 The Ingroup and Outgroup Bias

Several studies indicate that people have a general tendency to favor their own group over other groups (Aberson et al., 2000; Brewer, 1979, 1999). This self-group favoritism is referred to as "ingroup bias". If it is a favoritism at the regional, cultural or national level, one can also speak of *ethnocentrism* (American Psychological Association, n. d.)

▶ **Ethnocentrism** The tendency to see one's own ethnic group as superior to other groups (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

Intuitively, one can conclude from this definition that a favoring of one's own group goes hand in hand with a devaluation of the foreign group and possibly hostility towards the foreign group (Sumner, 1906). This would then be called the "Outgroup bias".

2.4.1 Neural Basis of In- and Outgroup Biases

How we perceive and evaluate ingroups and outgroups can actually differ on a neural basis. For example, different regions of the brain are activated when we perceive people from ingroups or outgroups (Cheon et al., 2011; Lin et al., 2018; Molenberghs, 2013). This perception can sometimes have very serious consequences, for example on how we perceive the pain of others. Accordingly, we also tend to take the pain of people we see as members of our group (the ingroup) more seriously than the pain of people we see as part of the outgroup (Cheon et al., 2011; Han, 2018; Xu et al., 2009). This, in turn, refers to the empathy and understanding with which we approach other people. What we can see here is that racism and discrimination can influence us at a fundamental level, which is why it is all the more important to be aware of this.

2.4.2 Theory of Realistic Group Conflict

A justification for ingroup- and outgroup biases is provided by the theory of realistic group conflict (Sherif, 1966). This theory is based on the assumption that group conflicts arise from competition for scarce resources (Campbell, 1965). According to Sherif (1966), the origin of prejudice and discrimination lies in such group conflicts. Imagine that you are a member of a poor farmer's family and need food to survive the winter. The neighboring family is in the same situation. If the resources are scarce and there is only enough for one of the two families, you will do everything to make sure that your own family has enough food. The neighboring family will do the same. You are now in competition with the neighboring family and are in a situation of negative interdependence.

That is, you are negatively dependent on the other family (that is, on the other group) because it represents an obstacle to achieving your goals. This negative interdependence will cause you to dislike the members of the competing family, to reject them and to see them as an enemy. From an evolutionary psychological point of view, it makes sense that ingroup favoritism could have become anchored in humans in order to ensure their own survival. This can then be expressed in discriminatory behaviors such as racism. On the other hand, there are also situations of positive interdependence. For example, if the only way to get enough food is to work with the neighbors, then you and the neighboring family have a common goal. In such a situation, cooperation is required and you are positively dependent on the other family. Consequently, you will feel greater acceptance for this family and approach it in a friendly way. Sherif (1966) therefore assumes that outgroup devaluation depends on the relationship between the two social groups and whether they are in a competitive situation or rather cooperation is required. These basic assumptions of the theory of realistic group conflict have been checked by Sherif and colleagues in several field studies (Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Sherif et al., 1955, 1961).

The most famous of these studies is the Robbers Cave Experiment (Sherif et al., 1961). Here, boys were divided into two groups at a summer camp without knowing about the existence of another group. The members of one group got to know each other for a while and did common group activities. In a second phase, both groups were then to compete against each other in some competitions *(intergroup competition).* These were all activities that required competitive behavior, such as tug of war. There was a reward for the group that won each competition. What the experimenters noticed in this phase is that the cohesion within the individual groups increased, but also the hostility between the groups. Not only in the competitive situations themselves did the boys show aggressive behavior towards the members of the outgroup, but also in everyday life. This behavior was expressed in insults, threats and planned attacks on the other group. After a few days, this competition phase had to be broken off by the experimenters to prevent escalation. In a third phase, the *intergroup cooperation,* common goals were set that both groups should achieve as a team. This was supposed to create a positive interdependence. After some tasks that could only be done through cooperation, the hostility between the groups gradually subsided, the groups began to accept each other and to evaluate the members of the outgroup more positively.

The results of the Robbers Cave Experiment (1961) thus support the assumption that outgroup devaluation arises from a negative interdependence and can be reduced or eliminated by positive interdependence. However, it should also be mentioned that the experimenters were already able to detect indications of negative attitudes towards the members of the other group before the competitions. While Sherif and colleagues (1961) rated this observation as unimportant, it is nevertheless in line with the social psychological explanation approach of social identity theory.

2.4.3 Social Identity Theory

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), any division into two groups is sufficient to create a competitive situation. Studies on the *minimal group paradigm* have shown that the mere division into different groups can already lead to ingroup favoritism, even if this division is carried out by trivial and nonsensical criteria (e.g. Tajfel et al., 1971).

▶ **Minimal group** A nominal group without psychological or interpersonal significance (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

In an experiment, Tajfel and colleagues (1971) divided the participants into two groups on the basis of a meaningless criterion. The criterion was whether one rated the pictures of Klee or Kandinsky as more beautiful. Participants did not know the members of their group, so there was complete anonymity. They were then given the task of distributing a certain amount of money to members of the ingroup and the outgroup. They could not allocate any money to themselves. All the results of this study indicate that people favor the ingroup over the outgroup, even when the allocation into groups is arbitrary. Participants favored the ingroup even though they had the opportunity to act in the public interest (which would have had little costs for the ingroup), and even though this decision would have brought neither advantages nor disadvantages to the participant. But the most interesting result was this: When participants had the choice of whether both groups should achieve the highest gain or whether the ingroup should gain more than the outgroup (but neither group would get the maximum amount), they chose the *winning* of the ingroup more often than the highest gain. The *favoring* of the ingroup was thus perceived as more important than the size of the gain itself. Tajfel and Turner (1979) attribute these results to the fact that the mere categorization of people already leads to a *social identity*, by which these people define themselves.

▶ **Social identity** From a social psychological point of view, part of the self-concept that is defined by a group membership or category (e.g., family, nationality, etc.) (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* undated)

Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory starts from the assumption that people generally strive for a positive self-concept and thus also for a positive social identity. A person's social identity is defined by a group membership. In order for one's own social identity to be perceived as positive, one's own group must therefore be perceived as positively distinct in comparison to other relevant groups. If this is not, or only unsatisfactorily the case, the person will try everything to improve their own social identity, for example by leaving the group and joining a more positive group *(social mobility).* If leaving the group is not possible, they will apply other strategies to improve their own

social identity. In the case where group differences are experienced in favor of the outgroup as *stable and justified*, the person will use their *social creativity* to carry out a re-evaluation. The social identity can be perceived more positively in this moment, for example, if one uses another foreign group as a comparison standard or changes the comparison context. If, however, group differences are experienced in favor of the outgroup as *unstable and unjustified*, the person will, if possible, enter into *social competition* and thus try to prove the superiority of their own group. This is illustrated in Fig. 2.1.

Mummedey and colleagues (1999) illustrate these strategies for coping with negative social identity using the example of German reunification. After reunification, West Germans were better off in various aspects than the "East Germans" in terms of living standards or economy (Mummedey et al., 1999). In a social comparison, East Germans

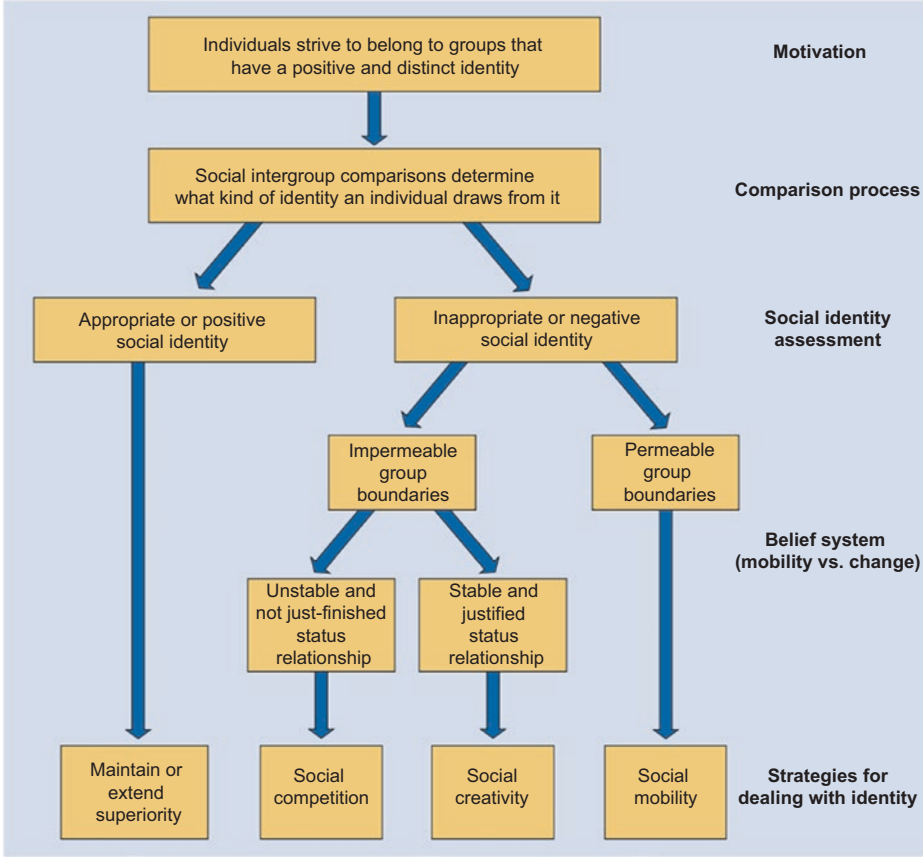

Fig. 2.1 Theory of social identity: Motivation, comparison and evaluation processes as well as types of intergroup behavior. (Taken from Jonas et al., 2007)

would therefore perceive the status of their group as inferior. According to social identity theory, East Germans would now strive to improve their social identity by applying the above-mentioned strategies. On the one hand, they could try to leave their group to become West Germans (social mobility). On the other hand, they could re-evaluate their group by deemphasizing the material component and making the comparison based on a new criterion on which they perform better than West Germans (social creativity). A third possibility would be that of social (or real) competition, in which East Germans would try to prove their superiority by, for example, striving to possess more resources than West Germans.

Schmitt and Maes (2002) conducted a study in which they interviewed West and East Germans after reunification about various aspects. The questionnaire contained questions about the quality of life in East and West Germany. In addition, participants should describe the typical East and West German citizen using an adjective list. With regard to quality of life, the results of the study showed that East Germans felt disadvantaged. With regard to the adjective list, however, East Germans attributed significantly higher values to the dimension of integrity than the comparison group. Schmitt and Maes (2002) explain these results using the ingroup bias. East Germans feel disadvantaged by material factors, which makes them feel threatened in their social identity. This perceived negative social identity leads them to represent themselves as superior on another dimension in order to enhance their self-concept. The alternative explanation, namely that East Germans might actually pursue higher integrity values for cultural reasons is considered unlikely by Schmitt and Maes. As an explanation, they state that such a claim could not be substantiated in any objective study. In addition, the difference in integrity between West and East Germans was rated higher, the more a person identified as an East German. This not only supports the previously delivered explanation, but also leads to the assumption that the degree of identification with a group influences the ingroup bias. The more a person identifies with their own group, the more important the status of this group is for their own social identity and the more motivated the person is to enhance the image of this group in comparison to the other group.

2.5 Summary

The study by Schmitt and Maes (2002) and the previously explained social psychological concepts provide some clues as to how racism and discrimination arise. According to the concept of the cognitive miser (Taylor, 1981), people tend to think in simplifying *cognitive schemata* to facilitate information processing and relieve memory.

▶ **Cognitive Schemata** A collection of knowledge about a particular concept or object that can be used in perception, interpretation, or problem solving (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* undated)

This means that other individuals are not considered individually, but are categorized and then evaluated on the basis of group characteristics. The categorization by ethnic background is an example of such a strategy of cognitive relief. The theory of realistic group conflict (Sherif, 1966) assumes that intergroup conflicts are triggered by a competition for scarce resources, which leads to ingroup favoritism and outgroup devaluation. This would mean that the origin of racism lies in the fact that people of different ethnicities are negatively dependent on each other (negative interdependence). The superiority of one ethnic group implies the inferiority of the other and vice versa, which triggers outgroup devaluation. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), the origin of various intergroup behaviors (including prejudices, discrimination, and racism) lies in the striving for positive social distinctiveness. A positive social identity is then present when one's own group performs better than the outgroup. Outgroup devaluation and thus also racism are means to this end; if the outgroup is defined by negative aspects, then the ingroup has a higher status in comparison to the outgroup.

2.6 Prejudices as the Root of Racism—How do Prejudices Develop?

According to Raabe and Beelmann (2009), theories of the development of prejudices in children can be divided into three approaches: the learning theoretical, cognitive and social-cognitive, and motivational approach. The following will describe these.

2.6.1 Learning Theoretical Approach

Basically, this approach is based on the learning theoretical findings of model learning. The best-known representative is probably Bandura (1971). In his experiments he was able to prove that the social environment of children, today for example the parents, friends, teachers or also (social) media, influence their behavior. Often this is referred to as model learning. The children take the behavior of the world around them as an example for their own behavior.

Raabe and Beelmann (2009) assume that these processes also have an influence on the formation of prejudices in children. Above all, the authors emphasize that this approach sees children as prejudice-free at first and that the formation of prejudices is a takeover or a reflection of the attitudes of the social environment. They add that it could be empirically established that it is not a "unfiltered takeover of attitude patterns" (p. 117), but rather a process should be spoken of, which lays the basic concepts with regard to the formation of prejudices. With this, the authors mean that the children learn the terms used in the respective sources for certain social groups as well as the evaluation of these groups. However, they state that this happens before the children can even define these groups themselves or identify group members. They describe that for children

"initially only on a linguistic level mental connections between group designation and negative evaluations" (p. 118) and which are learned primarily for strongly negative pronounced designations. The authors remind that already Allport (1954) as one of the first researchers in this field had highlighted this phenomenon as a "linguistic preference in learning prejudices" (p. 118).

They summarize that this approach is not a sufficient explanation for the development of prejudices in children and the ability to change learned associations themselves, as well as neglecting other cognitive processes of social learning.

2.6.2 Cognitive and Social-Cognitive Approach

As a result, the authors deal with further approaches to describing the development of prejudices in children. The cognitive and social-cognitive approach includes the mental processes and their interaction with the social environment in the consideration. Raabe and Beelmann (2009) thematize the development theory of Aboud (1988) and the social-cognitive approach of Bigler and Liben (2007).

Aboud's (1988) theory of development assumes that the level of cognitive development of children has a great influence on the formation of prejudices. A first phase is characterized by the fact that the basis of the attitude of children is based on emotional experiences, i.e. they their attitude e.g. a rejection on their own feelings e.g. fear is based. In a second phase of development, children focus more on perceived mainly external similarities between different groups. This phase describes the developmental stage during which the child learns to distinguish between self- and out-group. In a third phase, also called cognitive level, the child learns to understand that it has differences in comparison to persons of its own group as well as the out-group. This ability is based on the cognitive and socio-cognitive development of children at this age.

Bigler and Liben (2007) explain the development of prejudice in children through cognitive schemata, with categorization being the basis of prejudice formation.

They point to the different types of categorization: categorization by external characteristics (e.g. skin color or gender), categorization based on group size (small groups stand out) and based on explicit group designation (e.g. students and teachers) and implicit dimension for distinction (observation of group differences e.g. between girls and boys). However, the authors describe that different conditions must be met in order to move from categorization to prejudice formation. There must be essential convictions. These describe the assumption that one can infer from external to internal characteristics. They occur mainly when children are not told why a certain categorization is relevant. The second condition is a strong favoritism of the in-group, which can be reinforced, for example, by the parental devaluation of another group. A third is the experience of explicit group attributions, also through negative statements about a certain group. A last condition is the group-property covariation. This is meant to be the frequent observation of certain characteristics in certain groups of people. Raabe and Beelmann (2009) sum-

marize that the conditions show that a prejudice is "a consequence of active categorization performance of the social environment" (p. 121). Bigler and Liben (2007) explain that prejudices are more likely to be formed when children are not told the reasons for a social categorization.

2.6.3 Motivational Approach

As a third approach, Raabe and Beelmann (2009) present the motivational approach. This describes the "inner motives" (p. 122) in the formation of prejudice in childhood. They first emphasize the need to feel part of a social group.

According to the Social Identity Developemdal Theory (SIDT, Nesdale, 2000), three-year-olds can notice differences between ethnicities and the more pronounced the foreign group is highlighted by the own group. Four- and five-year-olds then prefer their own group (ethnic preference) and rate the foreign group more negatively than the own group, but not generally negative. The authors refer to the conditions developed by Nesdale (2000). He describes that for a devaluation of a foreign group by means of an attribution of negative characteristics, that is, by means of prejudice attribution, the following conditions must be met:

1. The children must strongly identify with a social group.
2. The prejudices against the foreign group must be normative.
3. The in-group must perceive a threat from the out-group.

Raabe and Beelmann (2009) conclude that there are also conditions under which there should be no prejudice formation or a neutral or positive attitude of children towards a foreign group.

1. The children identify weakly with their own group.
2. The prejudices against the foreign group are sanctioned.
3. The in-group does not perceive any threat or there is a common goal.

The Social Identity Developemdal Theory describes the social environment as an influence that determines how strongly or weakly children identify with the in-group, to what extent prejudices against the out-group are desired or undesired, and how the assessment of threat is communicated.

In summary, these approaches provide a basis for understanding and explaining the formation of prejudices in children and, thus, the basis for the formation of racism. However, it cannot be assumed that the entire current state of research has been represented. The following will focus on the cognitive mechanisms, stereotype formation and general impression formation.

2.7 Stereotypes

In order to more clearly illustrate the mechanisms involved in the formation of discrimination and racism, the following will focus on the cognitive processes associated with stereotypes. Furthermore, it will be discussed how such processes can affect general impression formation and lead to discriminatory and racist behavior. Finally, it will be explained how stereotypes can cause self-fulfilling prophecies.

2.7.1 Automatic Information Processing

According to Devine (1989), stereotypes are automatically activated in people when they encounter a member of the group to which the stereotype refers. He therefore speaks of automatic processing, which means that we have no control over these processes and are not even aware that such a process is taking place. So we meet a person—we categorize them—and then we have already partly defined them through different attributes that are typical for this category without realizing it. This automatic processing serves the cognitive relief, which was already described in Sect. 2.3 *The human being as a cognitive miser*.

Stereotypes are learned through parents and culture in childhood and are already established before one is able to evaluate or question something critically (Allport, 1954; Katz, 1976; Porter, 1971; Proshansky, 1966). Personal convictions, such as the assessment of the appropriateness of stereotyped attributions, only establish themselves in a later part of development (Higgins & King, 1981). However, this means that stereotypes are much more present and therefore easier to activate and require less cognitive effort than personal convictions.

Therefore, Devine assumes in his study (1989) that all people have the same knowledge about the cultural stereotype of blacks, regardless of whether these people are prejudiced or not. He attributes this common knowledge to shared socialization experiences (Brigham, 1972; Ehrlich, 1973; Katz, 1976; Proshansky, 1966). The automatic activation of stereotypes should therefore take place in the same way in people who have no or little prejudices as in people who tend to be prejudiced. He substantiates the assumption of the common *knowledge* by having the participants list the cultural stereotypes of blacks in a first study. He substantiates the assumption of the automatic activation in both groups of people with another study. In this study he divided the participants into two groups. In order to test his assumption, he used the paradigm of *subliminal priming:* The one group was presented with subliminal words that are associated with the stereotype of blacks, but have nothing to do with hostility (e.g. poor, jazz, Afro, athletic).

▶ **Subliminal priming** Stimulation below the threshold of consciousness, which can influence the later behavior of the subject. (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

The other group was presented with neutral words. In a later task, the test subjects were asked to assess the behavior of a person whose ethnic origin was unknown. The behavior of this person was judged to be significantly more hostile by the test subjects if a subliminal priming of the stereotype of black people had taken place before. Since hostility also belongs to the stereotypical description of blacks, this result shows that stereotypes were automatically activated by the priming and subsequently influenced the social perception of test persons. This was the case both when the participant had a high tendency for prejudice as well as when he/she had a low tendency for prejudice. These results thus not only confirm that the activation of stereotypes is automatic, but also that this automatic activation is independent of ones tendency for prejudice.

However, according to Fazio and colleagues (1995), this automatic activation is not quite as independent of the person herself as assumed by Devine. Fazio and colleagues (1995) conducted a study in which test subjects were alternately presented with faces and words. Afterwards they were instructed to evaluate the words. As participants' reaction time was measured, we are speaking of a measurement of *implicit prejudice.*

▶ **Implicit prejudice** An unconscious negative attitude towards a particular social group. (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* n. d)

According to the results, negative words were attributed faster to the negative category, and positive words were attributed slower to the positive category, if they were preceded by a black face. This shows that stereotypes are automatically activated and is thus in line with Devine's findings. What differs from Devine's assumptions, however, is that this automatic activation did not take place to the same extent in all test subjects. While the effect was very pronounced in some test subjects, there were no or only minor influences of skin color on the reaction time in others. Therefore, it is assumed that there are individual differences in the extent of automatic activation of stereotypes.

2.7.2 Influence of Automatic Activation of Stereotypes on Behavior

That stereotypical thinking can be promoted by priming (i.e., automatic activation of stereotypes) and can influence one's own perception has already been shown by Devine's study (1989). But there is also evidence that automatic activation of stereotypes can have a significant impact on one's own behavior. For this purpose, Correll and colleagues (2002) dared to conduct an interesting experiment. In their study, white test persons were shown photos of men who were holding an object in their hand. Some of the men in the photos were of African American origin and others were white. Some held a weapon in their hand, others held a harmless object. The task was to press "shoot" when the person was holding a dangerous object. The results of this study were very clear. Similar to the experiment by Fazio and colleagues (1995), the decision to shoot was made signifi-

cantly faster when the armed person was black. Analogously, the decision not to shoot was made faster when the person was white. Under high time pressure, that is, when test persons did not have much time to make a decision, significantly more black unarmed men were mistakenly shot than whites. Also, significantly more armed whites were mistakenly *not* shot than blacks.

This experiment is comparable to real situations that police officers experience every day and thus shows how dangerous the automatic activation of stereotypes—which we cannot defend ourselves against according to Devine—can really be.

A school-related example of ethnic discrimination would be the study conducted in Sweden by Hinnerich and colleagues (2011). Here, both Swedish students and students with a migrant background were tested for their competence in the Swedish language. These tests were graded by the students' own teachers, who knew the students and their background, and by "blind" teachers. Blind in this context means that the person grading the student did not know him/her, did not know anything about his/her background and had not received any information about the purpose of the study beforehand. The later comparison of the grades showed that students of Swedish origin were significantly better graded by "non-blind" teachers than students with a migrant background. This result could of course be due to the fact that the competence in the Swedish language is generally better among students of Swedish origin than among students with a migrant background. However, since no difference in grades was visible when the grading teacher was "blind", an objective competence difference is unlikely. Much more can be assumed that stereotypes and their influence on the behavior of "non-blind" teachers played a role. (unconscious) stereotypes can lead to discriminatory behavior, even in school context.

2.7.3 Controlled Information Processing

So far, all of this sounds fairly depressing: stereotypes are automatically and unconsciously activated, we have no control over this activation and our perception as well as our behavior are unconsciously influenced by it. Does the so-called free will exist at all, or is this just an illusion?

Although Devine (1989) postulates that the activation of stereotypes takes place automatically, he also points out that this automatic activation is always followed by controlled processes. He argues that the assumption that the automatic activation of stereotypes would automatically lead to prejudice and discriminatory behavior would equate the mere *knowledge* of stereotypes with prejudice. But this would not be quite right. He provides the example of people of African or Jewish origin. Although members of these groups know the stereotypes that concern their group, they are rarely accepted by them (Bettleheim & Janowitz, 1964). Rather, they are motivated to reject these stereotypes and fight against them. If therefore enough time is available to suppress the activated stereotype or to counteract it, the influence on one's own perception and behavior can be

reduced or eliminated according to Devine. However, this counteraction is strenuous and requires cognitive resources, which is why motivation is an important influencing factor.

Devine has checked the assumption of controlled processes (Devine, 1989) by asking test persons to write down their opinion about black people anonymously. Since the question explicitly referred to ethnic origin, one can assume that this automatically activated the stereotype of black people in the test participants. The results of the study showed that the participants, who showed a higher tendency for prejudice against black people, were also more likely to write down stereotypical thoughts about these groups of people. Participants with a low tendency for prejudice were more likely to use non-stereotypical properties for description. This shows that non-prejudiced people make an effort to suppress the previously automatically activated stereotype and to replace these thoughts *consciously* and *controlled* with non-stereotypical properties. Controlled processing is therefore possible despite automatic activation.

2.7.4 Models of Impression Formation

Stereotypes and their automatic and controlled processing also play a major role in general impression formation. It has happened to everyone at some point: you meet a person who you can't stand at first. But then you get to know the person better, they grow on you and then you wonder why you didn't like them in the first place. In the following, two social psychological models will be presented that address the processes that are relevant in impression formation.

2.7.4.1 The Continuum Model of Impression Formation

According to the *continuum model* of Fiske and Neuberg (1990), our impression formation is based on a continuum between stereotypical and categorical processing on the one hand, and individualizing assessment on the other. They assume that when encountering a person, categories are always used first to assess them. Consequently, a first impression is formed based on obvious external characteristics such as gender or skin color. Stereotypes are activated automatically. Fiske and Neuberg (1990) postulate that it only goes beyond this initial automatic stereotyping if there is (at least minimal) motivation to get to know the person better. This motivation would be present, for example, if the person is perceived as interesting or at least relevant. Then one's attention will be focused on this person and one will try to form a more differentiated impression. While further information is collected by the person forming the impression, it will then be checked whether this information agrees with the initially activated category. If this is the case, the person forming the impression will show the feelings, thoughts and behaviors towards the other person that they have towards the corresponding category/group of people. If this is not the case, another category will be sought that better fits the relevant person's properties. This is called re-categorization. If re-categorization fails, only piecemeal integration remains, in which received information is considered, processed and connected individually to form

an impression. This is the most individual form of processing of this model, as it is based on categories to the least extent. The person is therefore no longer defined by their group membership, but the group membership only represents *one* of the numerous available information regarding the person. Consequently, the behavior of the person forming the impression is influenced as little as possible by category-based generalizations. If the process was interrupted before piecemeal integration, it is possible that the behavior towards the other person is based on stereotypes, reflects prejudice and turns out to be discriminatory and racist. Figure 2.2 shows the mentioned processes of impression formation using a schema.

2.7.4.2 The Two-Process Model of Impression Formation

The *two-process model* by Brewer (1988; Brewer & Feinstein, 1999) starts out just like the continuum model with initially automatic information processing. The person forming the impression encounters another person and categorization takes place. The person is first perceived according to different stereotypes. According to Brewer (1988), however, everything that happens afterwards is already clearly part of controlled processing. The person forming the impression then decides *consciously* whether he or she wants to use a "top-down" or a "bottom-up" processing strategy in the following steps. With "top-down" processing, the categorical assessment of the other person remains and all additional information about the person is interpreted and classified according to the stereotype. So how the person is perceived is determined by the activated stereotype and can hardly be changed by additional information. With "bottom-up" processing, the focus lies on personalized, individualized processing in which categories and stereotypes are assigned less importance because an integration of individual characteristics of the person takes place.

The difference to the continuum model is therefore primarily that Brewer (1988) assumes that not only the personalized information processing takes place consciously and controlled, but also the decision for categorized processing. The activation of stereotypes takes place automatically, but if it is decided afterwards to continue the categorized processing in order to reduce one's own cognitive effort, then this is, according to Brewer, a *conscious* and *controlled* process.

2.7.5 Stereotype-Threat-Theory and Self-fulfilling Prophecy

In addition to the effects that stereotypes can have on the behavior of outsiders, members of the stereotyped group themselves are often not spared from influences. This can be illustrated using the *stereotype threat theory* (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Steele and Aronson (1995) explain that the mere existence of a stereotype means that everything one does that is in line with this stereotype leads others (or even oneself) to see this stereotype as a plausible characteristic of one's own personality. They assume that people therefore feel threatened by the existing stereotypes that affect their group if they are negative. In other words: If people feel belonging to a certain group that is socially ste-

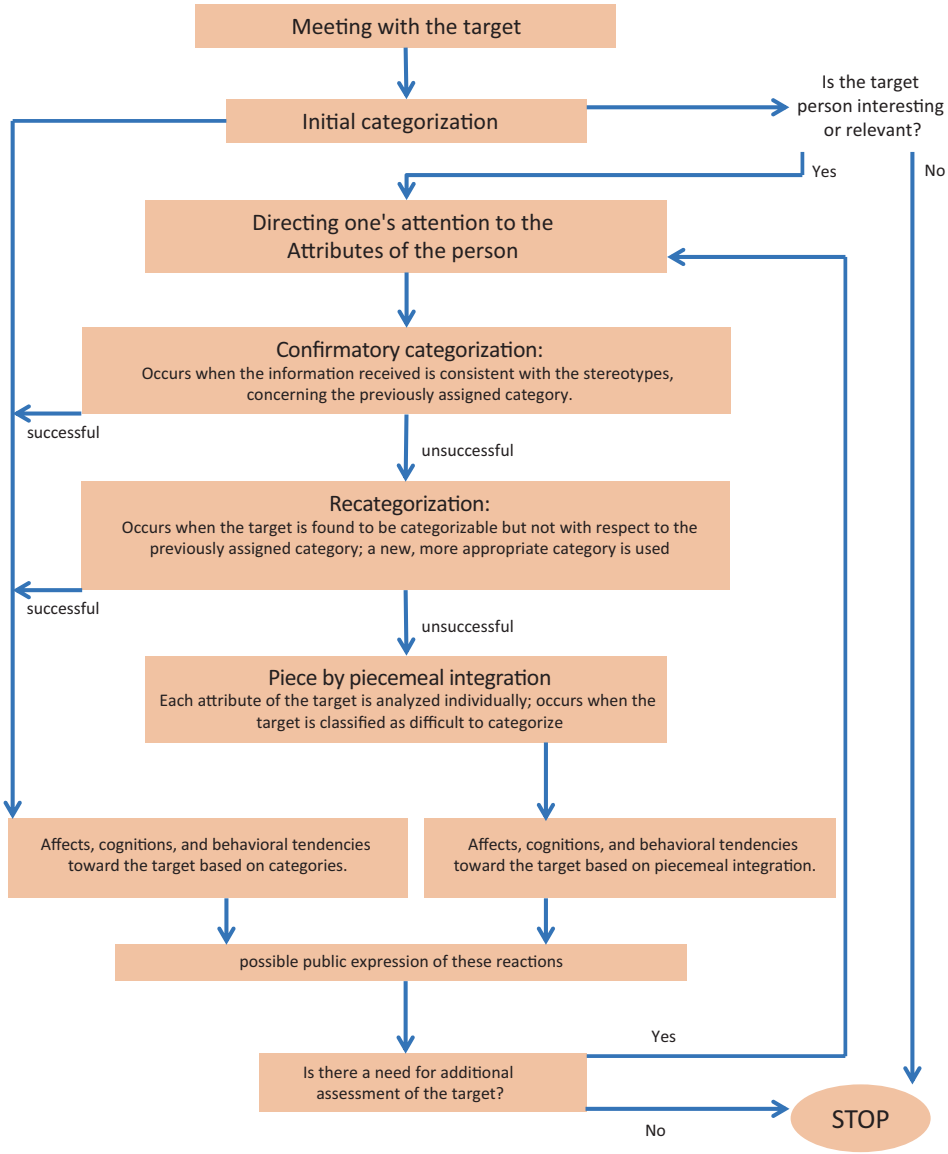

Fig. 2.2 The continuum model of impression formation. (Taken and translated from Fiske & Neuberg, 1990)

reotyped negatively, they worry that they might confirm the corresponding stereotype. Steele and Aronson (1995) call this phenomenon "stereotype threat". However, they assume that this perceived threat could influence one's own behavior towards a *self-fulfilling prophecy*.

▶ **Self-fulfilling prophecy** If a belief or expectation contributes to an event actually taking place (*APA Dictionary of Psychology,* undated)

They tested these assumptions in several studies (Steele & Aronson, 1995) and found that black students performed significantly worse on a verbal test than white students when the stereotype of blacks was activated beforehand. In their experiment, no performance differences were apparent without this activation. In other words, both groups are equally competent in terms of ability. However, subjects with black skin color performed significantly worse when the ethnic stereotype was activated and they were motivated not to fulfill this stereotype.

The assumption that "stereotype threat" can lead to performance losses in terms of external group membership has been confirmed in several other studies. For example, Latin Americans perform worse on tests than white people when stereotypes are activated (Gonzales et al., 2002) and white people perform worse on math tests than Asians (Aronson et al., 1999).

However, "stereotype threat" does not only refer to performance-related behavior. For example, Goff and colleagues (2008) found that white people tend to reduce contact with black people when they are afraid of meeting the stereotype of the "racist white man". Here, ironically, a racist behavior develops from the actual desire *not* to appear racist. However, based on another study, Goff and colleagues (2008) showed that people can become aware of the process of "stereotype threat". By becoming aware of this, the connection between the fear of appearing racist and the reduction of contact with black people could be influenced and reduced.

2.8 Risk and Protective Factors of Racism

After many new terms have been introduced and many theoretical processes have been explained in the previous chapters, risk and protective factors for the development of racism will now be explained. First, the importance of globalization will be questioned, microaggressions and their effects will be described, and examples of possible protective factors will be explained.

2.8.1 Globalization and Microaggressions

The world is constantly changing, and so are the opportunities and requirements for young people. With the internet, cheaper flights and a growing interest in diversity, the world feels a little smaller. You can stay in touch with friends who live further away via social media: whether in the city next door or on a completely different continent. You can also travel more easily and move from one country to another. This side of globalization offers many opportunities to get to know a variety of cultures. Suddenly a child who

has lived in a country for generations is sitting next to another who moved to the country a few months ago. They talk to each other, exchange ideas, play together, and learn from each other.

The fact that this sometimes leads to misunderstandings or even rejection is challenging and should be prevented. But it is also an opportunity to develop tolerance and cohesion. It is important that children feel safe and are not deterred by the increasing diversity. Diversity means variety, diversity means opportunities, but not everyone has the same opportunities.

Times are changing with increasing diversity and a focus on social justice, but this does not mean that problems no longer exist. Microaggressions are a problem that affect many people, and can occur especially in a tolerant environment without being easily recognized.

▶ **Microaggression** Subtle insults or demeaning communications directed toward a marginalized group that can occur consciously or unconsciously (*APA Dictionary of Psychology*, n. d; Sue, 2010)

Microaggressions can be executed consciously or unconsciously. Often they are carried out without bad will or even awareness. The following is an example of a microaggression. A child with dark skin comes new to the class, and is asked by another child where they come from (DeAngelis, 2009). At first glance, one can see the child's question as an expression of curiosity and interest. But what is also hidden underneath is the assumption that the new class member is already being seen as a stranger on the basis of his darker skin color. The child's question does not have to have negative intentions to still count as a microaggression.

Microaggressions are important because they occur very subtly and are often not consciously perceived by the sender and receiver until they process them (2009; 2010), if this happens at all. The confrontation can be difficult for the person who performs the microaggressions. Especially when there are no racist intentions and the understanding of one's own involvement in microaggressions endangers the self-image of the person as a good person who does not see himself as racist (2010).

Microaggressions are burdensome for the people who are exposed to them (Kluge et al., 2020). They accompany their everyday life and can also make it more difficult. The experience of microaggressions can jeopardize the mental health, well-being, and academic performance of children (Kluge et al., 2020; Nadal et al., 2014; Nguyen, 2013). They are particularly dangerous because they do not immediately catch the eye of those affected and those acting.

2.8.2 Counteracting the Negative Effects of Racism

One of the most influential experiences that students can experience during their school years is dropping out of school. Dropping out of school closes many doors for young

people and negatively affects their self-esteem. Racism can also be a risk factor for dropping out of school (Makarova, 2015)

According to Makarova (2015), children and adolescents need to feel part of the class in order to feel comfortable at school. This feeling of belonging further leads to increased engagement in school activities (Makarova, 2015). If children experience discrimination based on parts of their ethnic or cultural background, this can contribute to them feeling less welcome at school (Martinez et al., 2004). This can lead to a bad class climate and promote social exclusion. In addition, it can also increase the risk of the affected children no longer actively participating in school or even dropping out of school (McBrien, 2005).

You learn much more during your school years than just the curriculum: you grow up, learn how social interaction works, and start to get the first impressions of how the world works. If children are exposed to racist microaggressions, this can have negative consequences for their later school career (Forest-Bank & Jenkins, 2015). The optimal growth and learning that can be achieved in school and further education is made more difficult, which can have an impact on a child's entire development.

Children who experience racism are also at risk of a decrease in self-esteem (Weiß, 2020). Children need recognition and appreciation. This helps them to become more confident, to believe in their abilities and ultimately to dare to use their full potential. If children believe they are capable, they often have more success in their school performance and in their social life at school (Forest-Bank & Jenkins, 2015). In addition, self-esteem is decisive for further positive development and can serve as a protective factor in dealing with other difficult situations. Self-esteem is impaired by discrimination, as negative expectations and evaluations by others influence the self-image of children.

Some children can deal better with the stones that are put in their way than others. This is also the case with racism. The difficulties that racism brings with it were identified in the previous paragraphs. In the following, we will look at what factors can contribute to children suffering less from the negative consequences of racism.

One way to mitigate the impact of these consequences is not to avoid the issue. On the contrary, it can be useful for teachers as well as students to deal with the topic. In addition, the whole class and school climate benefits from this, as unconscious normative ideas and their consequences can be addressed on the part of those who discriminate and those who experience this discrimination, and can then be changed (Wagner, 2003; Neblett et al., 2012).

Everyone has more or less prejudices against others. If prejudices and racism are addressed at school level, this gives the opportunity for a discourse, education and a change in views through experience and empathy. Even small children define themselves to some extent according to their origin and the groups to which they feel themselves belonging, or which are assigned to them by others (Wagner, 2003). You could already find out more about the origins of prejudices in *2.5 prejudices as the root of racism*.

For children belonging to a minority, it has been found that dealing with their own ethnic identity can serve as a protective factor against the negative effects of discrimina-

tion (Neblett et al., 2012; Seider et al., 2019). The aim is that the children understand for themselves what the meaning of their own identity is for them. This can be different for each child. A positive attitude towards one's own identity can also strengthen self-esteem and counteract the negative effects of racism (Neblett et al., 2012; Forest-Bank & Jenkins, 2015).

Dealing with racism and discrimination can also have a protective effect, as it can promote awareness and empathy (Wagner, 2003). For example, when children report to each other about their experiences, the issue is brought to awareness, better understood and the children have the opportunity to experience for themselves what it feels like when others approach them with a negative attitude from the outset. A discussion about the fairness of such situations can already be started in elementary school (Wagner, 2003). This not only gives children who experience injustice the opportunity to report on it and deal with it, but also those who have not yet been confronted with it. This gives them the opportunity to become aware of it and to put themselves in the position of the other children.

Another protective factor against the negative effects of racism is perceived belongingness (Wagner, 2003). We all know it: When you are part of the group, you feel safe, important, and just have more fun. Children benefit from this when they feel part of the group. This can be particularly true if they are exposed to various forms of discrimination. Being part of a group conveys the idea that no one is excluded and that skin color or other physical characteristics do not change the fact that we are all human beings. Children learn belongingness and acceptance of differences through this.

2.9 What Makes it Difficult to Deal with Racism?

On the one hand, there is the open violent racism that is done on purpose and is based on a racist world view, such as in the case when teenagers in Sebnitz, Germany, kick an eleven-year-old girl, put their hand over her mouth, pull off her headscarf, and shout that she has no business being here (Schipkowski, 2019). One might think: This is the face of racism, brutal, clear, and full of hate. On the other hand, however, racism is much broader and can take different forms.

While the extreme manifestations shake the world, hidden, often unconscious forms of racism operate on another level—with fatal consequences. For example, when a child is not properly assessed and sent to a secondary school instead of a grammar school or when his mother does not get a job because of her skin color despite good qualifications. Finally, in addition to the external consequences of racism, the internal, psychological consequences must not be forgotten, which is why the perception of those affected is of particular importance. Since police officers killed George Floyd in Minnesota (Denkler, 2020), the Black Lives Matter movement has gained worldwide attention and racism is also being discussed more broadly in the German-speaking world. However, many find it difficult to look into this subject and the debate is very heated. Why?

In this section, racism is understood in the sense of *cultural racism*, in which groups are separated according to ethnic, cultural or religious differences, which are seen as biological, unchangeable differences in this world view (Rommelspacher, 2009; see also Chap. 1 of this volume). It is particularly about the *individual racism* (Rommelspacher, 2009) and the current context and existing ideologies are included in their influence on the individual.

It is difficult for us to deal with unpleasant topics, regardless of origin, religion or ethnicity, especially when they concern us ourselves. Because when negative emotions are triggered in us, we use various strategies to deal with them, such as distraction or dealing with the trigger (Webb et al., 2012). In the course of the current racism discussion, some white people and a few non-white people may have asked themselves: "Why is it so often about whites as perpetrators if racism can come from anyone?"

2.9.1 Power Relations and Content of Stereotypes

One first answer to this is that in countries like Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland and Germany the majority of the population is white. The majority also has more power in these cases and therefore bears responsibility for the minority, which is also secured by national and European law (Council of Europe, 1998). Since the white population is larger in number and in terms of power in these countries, it also bears more responsibility because the racism emanating from it has a more widespread and stronger impact than the racism emanating from minorities. Structural racism, for example, is mainly shaped by white people here. Therefore, the debate on racism emanating from white people is central here.

Secondly, racism is also about historical development. After all, it is not the existence of stereotypes that is damaging, but the lack of reflection on them and, above all, their content. Where does the content of the stereotypes come from? And what does that mean for the stereotyped?

History plays an important role here, for example colonial history. This is not only associated with a racist doctrine, genocide and cruelty, it also still surprisingly little in the curriculum. In some federal states of Germany, colonial history is not even part of the curriculum; it is then the responsibility and commitment of the teacher to somehow still include the topic (Hille, 2020). It is no wonder that, on the one hand, events such as the genocide of the Nama and Herero peoples in Namibia by German colonial masters (BBC, 2017), as well as, for example, the cruelty of Belgian King Leopold II in the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo (Rannard & Webster, 2020), are not common knowledge, and on the other hand, African achievements also remain in the dark (Blatch, 2013). Both sides are important because our culturally (educationally) common knowledge forms the basis of our stereotypes, regardless of our personal attitude (Devine, 1989). Therefore, it should be of importance for a better handling of stereotypes to strengthen the awareness of their development on the one hand, and to receive opposite information on the other

hand. The lack of the latter could also play a role in the growing anti-Semitism. Perhaps enough information was provided about the Holocaust, but not enough points of contact with the contemporary Jewish community, which could provide a breeding ground for still being quick to regard Jewish fellow citizens as "the others" and believing in conspiracy theories ("Why meet a Jew," 2021).

Black people experience racism hardest worldwide (Olayinka Sule, 2019) and this can be explained by the different development of the content of stereotypes. For example, if I only know black people from picture books where they are depicted as cannibals and from flyers from relief organizations where emaciated children look at me with sad eyes, if I have not heard anything about the first writing, arithmetic, art, architecture practices and culture on the African continent, the diversity of its population, etc. (Blatch, 2013), then my stereotype will be correspondingly and it requires active counter-steering on my part to counteract it and not to behave accordingly. Unfortunately, history is therefore not an isolated structure: the present develops out of history. That is why black people experience a different form of discrimination worldwide than white people.

An example of different stereotype formation comes from China: It can be observed here how white people are approached on the street to give English lessons at a school for a salary that far exceeds that of trained Chinese English teachers—and sometimes it is not even checked whether this white person can speak English correctly. Why? The white face at the school is like an advertisement because many Chinese parents do not know English well and white people are in line with their stereotype of a native speaker and competent teacher. (Quinn, 2019; Wibawa & Xiao, 2018). For black people, however, the stereotype looks quite different: A black American English teacher applies for a job as an English teacher and is rejected. The explanation: The parents would not believe that he is a native speaker (Griffiths, n. d.; Quinn, 2019). To the discomfort of the Chinese government and all non-white English teachers, the white stereotype of the perfect English teacher leads to all others being disadvantaged in recruitment—and at the very end of this hierarchy is the stereotype of black people. The psychological mechanism of racism may be the same, but the result is very different. Since racism hits black people hardest worldwide (Olayinka Sule, 2019), racism against black people is also more often discussed. Of course, racist discrimination against white people does not always have to be as advantageous as in this example, but can also take on negative aspects, as hinted at in the interview with T. M. (see Chap. 1).

This brings us to an important point: If someone experiences suffering, this should be addressed—and of course regardless of origin, religion or ethnicity. However, the suffering of one must not be misused as a distraction from the suffering of the other. If the discussion about discrimination against white people is used to support the discussion about discrimination against black people, then this has little to do with compassion for white victims of discrimination, but rather with the attempt to stop the current discussion. A analogy by Arthur Chu, comedian, puts this very well into perspective: At a fundraising event for an organization that advocates for cancer patients, hardly anyone would walk through and shout "THERE ARE OTHER DISEASES TOO!" (Lopez, 2016).

The fight against racism is not a fight between white and non-white people, it is not a fight between ethnicities at all. This is also what Meral Sahin from the Keupstraße Interest Group (target location of NSU attack in Cologne, 2014) said: *"Every person is racist on some level, and we have to work on it, also I have to work on it, we all have to work on it"* (ZDF, 2020). Dealing with racism starts, like so many other topics, with oneself. But that is not always so easy…

2.9.2 Self-Image—I'm a Good Person After All

"That was pretty racist of you."

Many people react defensively when they are told that one of their statements or actions is racist, according to Hadija Haruna-Oelker, political scientist (ZDF, 2020). Why actually? It could be that some feel treated unfairly because they are convinced that the statement or action was not racist. However, the question arises here why they are so convinced of this and, instead of taking the time to listen to the other person and think about it, start a "counter-attack" directly or sweep it under the rug. For this there are some psychological explanations: On the one hand, it could be related to our sensitive way of keeping watch over our self-image, and on the other hand to our understanding of racism.

A positive self-image is health-promoting. People who are mentally healthy often rate themselves as better than they actually are, as can be seen in the fact that most people consider themselves to be more intelligent and attractive than average (Epley & Whitchurch, 2008; Williams & Gilovich, 2008). This is called the "above-average effect" (English: above-average effect) and also applies to other positive qualities. People who suffer from depression often have a more accurate self-image (Moore & Fresco, 2012). However, this quite healthy mechanism could also play a role in our vehement rejection of justified criticism in order to protect our sensitive self-image. Higgins' self-discrepancy theory (1989) further explains this phenomenon. This model consists of three self-images: First, the self that we are, called the *actual self*, second, the self as it should be, called the *ought self* and third the self as we would like to be, called the *ideal self* (Higgins, 1989). A discrepancy between the actual self and the ought self or ideal self causes discomfort in us, while agreement of these self-perceptions fills us with pride and satisfaction (Higgins, 1989). But why is criticism of an action or statement so often perceived as a personal attack on the self-image?

2.9.3 Uncertainties in Definition and Horns Effect

Who is exactly to be defined as a "racist" is debatable. Since racism is of a dimensional nature, i.e. one can be less or more racist, the question arises where to draw the line that separates the racist from the non-racist. However, for the current discussion, this cat-

egorization is not so important, it is enough to know that to declare someone a racist in our society—and that is already an achievement—has a deterrent effect. A racist is considered a bad, immoral person (DiAngelo, 2018). We do not want to be associated with these people. With the criticism "but that's pretty racist of you", some people might fear being thrown into the same pot with Nazis and hand-chopping colonial masters. In short: the *punishment by association* is feared (Kenrick et al., 2010). Ironically, this fear gives us the opportunity to feel a little of the discomfort that people of other ethnic backgrounds have to endure through widespread and frequent generalizations. For example, Muslims often have to fear being lumped together with religious extremists or terrorists and being punished for it (Massarrat, 2002; Pickel & Pickel, 2019; Pickel & Yendell, 2016).

We also see wild associations when we look at names. These can be associated with various cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, among other things. Studies show a tendency of teachers to unconsciously rate children with foreign-sounding names worse than children with native-sounding names (Nick, 2017). Now let's assume you're a teacher and one of these cases: you've given Anna a better grade for the work she copied from Aliyah than Aliyah herself. The whole thing came to light, the two girls were reprimanded for cheating and the colleague said: "If you look at it closely, that was pretty racist of you." Goodness, you think, now I'm being declared a racist, even though I only corrected the work to the best of my knowledge and conscience; pure coincidence, total nonsense! What has probably happened to you here is that you have fallen victim to the devil's horn effect**.** The logic is:

> A racist is not a good person.
> I am a good person, therefore my action/way of thinking XY is not racist.

A typical human thinking error: We generalize a certain action or way of thinking to the entire human being (Delamater et al., 2015). Whoever acts racist once is a racist. Period. A person shows a negative aspect and this influences the assessment of the person as a whole, which by the way can also happen the other way around with positive aspects, which is then called the halo effect (Delamater et al., 2015; Kroeber-Riel & Gröppel-Klein, 2019). However, of course, a person who slips on the sidewalk once is not necessarily an uncoordinated, clumsy person, but can just as well be world champion in rhythmic gymnastics, who generally has a great body awareness. Therefore: Even if you are not a convinced racist, your action/way of thinking can be racist. It would therefore be useful not to fall for the devil's horn effect, to decouple one's positive self-image from individual actions that are criticized, to take criticism seriously and to consider what can be done. From the side of the person criticizing it would of course be desirable that criticism is expressed constructively, which means specific and changeable (Schweda Nicholson, 1993). Consequently, the vague exclamation "You racist" is not constructive, more specific questions about which action is meant are more helpful.

2.9.4 Intention Not a Prerequisite

Unfortunately, distorted racist evaluations still occur far too often (Gerritzen & Tischewski, 2019). It could be that one thinks: "I didn't mean to grade Aliyah unfairly. Therefore, it wasn't racist at all, because I didn't do it on purpose." The logic is therefore: My action was not meant to be racist, therefore it is not racist. According to this logic, one can feel unfairly criticized. For this, Prof. Aladin El-Mafaalani, sociologist at the University of Osnabrück (ZDF, 2020) said:

> "Most actions that racially exclude are without bad intentions—and now it gets exciting, they are still racist"

Because it doesn't matter how the action is meant, but much more what effect it has. You probably know it from the children: "I didn't mean to throw the stone through the window!"—Yes, not on purpose, but nevertheless the window is broken.

2.10 Covert Racism

2.10.1 Interpretive Sovereignty

You probably also know the situation when you are supervising a few children playing and a dispute breaks out, but you don't immediately know whether it is a serious dispute or a game dispute. Let's say Karl grabs Elias by the jacket and calls him "you Sübbele". The situation increasingly strikes you as funny and you ask: "Hello, what's going on here?" Karl explains that they are just having fun. Elias, in turn, says that it is not a joke and that he does not want to be called "Sübbele". Although "Sübbele" is some made-up word of the children and you have no idea what it means, you are unlikely to believe Karl that it is just a joke and explain to Elias that he is too sensitive (Gerritzen & Tischewski, 2019). This not only leads to victims of racism not reporting it, but also to a worsening of the consequences of racism (Gerritzen & Tischewski, 2019). It is also pointed out here that there is a struggle for interpretive sovereignty (Sharifi, 2015). Some people may not realize that you only witnessed one incident, but such incidents occur much more often in the lives of the victims.

2.10.2 Change in Expression

In the case of grading and the broken window, the effects of the actions are good and directly visible: Aliyah's school performance was not properly assessed and the window… well, it is now broken. With other actions it is more difficult to see the effects. As Hadija Haruna-Oelker, political scientist (ZDF, 2020) noted, you often then hear the statement: *"I can't see any racism in it."* Why racism is sometimes difficult for non-affected people to see is addressed below.

First and foremost, we are social beings who have a need for recognition and belonging. Therefore, the type of our prejudices also depends on the perceived norms within our group (Kenrick et al., 2010). That is, it depends on what we think about what others in our environment think about something. It also depends on whether and how we express our racist thoughts (Kenrick et al., 2010). The term group pressure is known in the school context. In fact, even as adults, we tend to exaggerate our views when we are afraid of our belonging to a group, especially when we are in the company of the old members of the group (Noel et al., 1995). For example, a study of new members of fraternities shows that they express much more of their aversion to people outside the group when they are in the company of the old members of the group. They even express more aversion than the old members themselves. Privately, however, the new members express less aversion to other groups than the old members (Noel et al., 1995). What is also becoming visible here is the devaluation of other groups (outgroup bias). The group to which one feels belonging to (even when this group belonging is based on the result of tossed coin) is attributed more positive properties than the other group, which is perceived less positively (Delamater et al., 2015). However, we do not only orient ourselves as new members to the perceived norms of the group, but we generally orient ourselves to these in order to evaluate the correctness of our attitudes and the appropriateness of our statements (Kenrick et al., 2010). Here a distinction is made between official and actual norms.

Official norms (also: injunctive norms), for example, are expressed by laws (Kenrick et al., 2010). In Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland and Germany there are similar laws for the prevention and combating of racism and other forms of discrimination. Here we are talking about the anti-discrimination law, the Equal Treatment Act or the prohibition of discrimination. The legal systems have in common that the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin is enshrined in the fundamental rights. But that was not always the case, a few years ago there were no explicit simple laws that condemned racist discrimination despite the constitutional anchoring. In Luxembourg and Germany, the Equal Treatment Act only came into force in 2006 ("Antidiskriminierungsgesetz", 2019; Antidiskriminierungsstelle, n. d.). Actual norms on the other hand (also: descriptive norms) are the norms that society (or parts of society) currently represents. Actual norms and official norms influence each other; they may coincide, but not necessarily (Kenrick et al., 2010). As in the example of the fraternities, it can be seen that expressed opinions don't always correspond to actual opinions. Since the *standards* change over time, the expression of racism also changes (Kenrick et al., 2010). This means that racist statements and actions may not be immediately apparent to us if we are not personally affected by them, because they are adapted to our current standards in their expression. Look at the following statements and decide whether they are racist or not.

1. "Black students are less intelligent than white students."
2. "Racism is not a problem here"
3. "White people should not have romantic relationships with black people"
4. "Non-white people are too much promoted today—that's basically discrimination against whites."

In these examples, different expressions of racism are shown. With the first and third statement, racism is expressed in an old-fashioned way and is nowadays easier for most people to identify as racism than the second and fourth statement (Kenrick et al., 2010), which more closely follow current expressions, but still have a racist effect. "Yes, racism may be a problem in the USA, but here? No!" If you have never been a victim of racism yourself and have not consciously perceived any other racist situation, it may well be that you draw the logical, but fatal conclusion for yourself that racism is not a problem here and express it accordingly. The doubt that racism exists because one has not experienced it yet is, of course, an insufficient argument. After all, you have not yet seen with your own eyes that the earth is round or that viruses cause diseases. So it should be clear that something can exist even if one has not seen it yet. Especially with racism and its devastating consequences, a superficial treatment or denial of its existence is alarming. In another context, this quickly becomes apparent: Let's assume that a person is strolling around lost in thought. An ambulance comes rushing along at top speed and stops with screeching tires. The driver asks: "We received a call about an accident. Was there an accident here? Where are the injured?" Without looking around, the person answers: "Well, no, I'm not injured, and otherwise I haven't seen anything either. There is neither an accident nor any injured person here. You can drive back again." Just as the taillights of the ambulance are fading into the distance, the person looks to the side and sees a person lying in the ditch. The moral of the story is, of course, clear: Like an accident, racism can have serious consequences, which is why a premature statement of "there is no racism in our country/at our school" can end fatally. The ignorance of a problem that one does not see leads to the fact that the victims of this problem are not helped and the perpetrators go unpunished, not even reprimanded. Therefore, the statement "there is no racism here" supports racist action—one becomes an accomplice without realizing it. Unfortunately, a glance to the side, as in the accident story, is rarely enough to recognize racism. Racism is much more perfidious and can take on different forms. If you have not experienced it yourself, you have to rely on the statements of others. With an accident, this would be obvious again: Hardly anyone would question the statement of the doctor and the accident victim that this had suffered internal injuries. With racism, it is different. Here, the perceptions and experiences of the victims are questioned much more often.

2.10.3 Ethnic Identity

Let's say you have to introduce yourself at an online conference that runs without cameras. You would probably say your names and, depending on the conference topic, perhaps something you like to do, something about your life situation or your skills. Would you say something about your ethnicity? Many probably not, because one would probably not think that one's own ethnicity would describe one well, or provide useful information about one. On the one hand, we only have to deal with our ascribed ethnicity when we encounter other ethnicities. To deal with one's own ascribed ethnicity, with

what it is associated with and how it is historically and globally classified, is new territory for many (Adichie, 2018). Being black among blacks or white among whites is not a criterion of distinction and the ascribed ethnicity is therefore unlikely to be the subject of a discussion (Adichie, 2018). On the other hand, one can suffer from the distortion of thinking that the ethnicity of another person could provide important information, but that this would be less the case with one's own ethnicity, because one falsely assumes that the members of the other group are more similar to each other than the members of one's own group (Delamater et al., 2015).

The conflict with the self-image in the context of racism and the discomfort of dealing with one's own ascribed ethnicity is also shown in the result of a US-American study: White people rather described racism as discrimination against black people than as privileges of white people (Lowery et al., 2007).

2.10.4 Conscious and Unconscious Processes

It is difficult to recognize one's own bias against others because one is only aware of one's *explicit* stereotypes. So you sometimes hear: *"For me there is no skin color, because all people are equal."* This statement can be perceived as friendly and open or as naive downplaying of the problem, but it shows in particular that the person is not aware of implicit stereotypes. However, even *implicit* stereotypes influence our behavior (Kenrick et al., 2010). So good will is not enough to act non-racist, it needs self-reflection and awareness. It's not about guilt, it's about responsibility. There are a variety of tests on the internet to learn more about one's own implicit bias. One of the best known tests is the implicit association test from Harvard University, which is available at the following link https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/germany/takeatest.html.

This experience can be disturbing because it shows cognitive-emotional patterns that one is not aware of oneself.

2.11 Errors in Reasoning

Our social environment, cognitive and emotional mechanisms, as well as basic perception influence our behavior with regard to racist or anti-racist behavior. The following will deal with how something can seem well-founded to us, but is actually not.

2.11.1 Don't the Others See That at All?!

In general, we like to talk—and that with those who agree with us (Kennedy & Pronin, 2008). It is likely that our circle of friends consists of people with similar attitudes and that we avoid people who reject our attitudes more and more, which leads to the fact that

we are increasingly provided with arguments that our opinions are right and those of the others are wrong (Kennedy & Pronin, 2008). We thus easily commit the so-called *confirmation bias*: In order to find out whether our assumption is correct, we look for confirming arguments and overlook counterarguments. However, this effect is further increased in our modern time: Algorithms analyze our preferences and provide us with tailored search results (Cho et al., 2020). This leads to a polarization of society and a reduction of differentiated opinions: Both camps no longer understand the attitudes of the other, as the information available to them only supports one side. Don't the others see that at all? The answer is yes, they don't see it if they type the topic into a search engine—and are hard to convince of something else, because they have hundreds of information pieces in their heads that support their believes. This effect could also be critical in connection with racism.

2.11.2 The Belief in Biological Differences

The sociologist Colette Guillaumin once said: *"Race does not exist, but it kills"* (Chémery et al., 2015). A fascinating statement with which Guillaumin alludes to the genetic non-existence of race on the one hand and, on the other hand, to the fact that the mere belief that there is such a thing as race has massive consequences—up to murder. In fact, it is the case that a division of people into races makes no sense. Why? Quite simply, because they are not genetically separable from each other: There are genetic clusters in different geographical regions, but these are blurred and the individual genetic differences within a cluster are too big to clearly separate these clusters (Chou, 2017). In other words: It is possible that you have more genetic similarity to a person on the other side of the globe than to this one person next to you who has the same eye and hair color as you (Chou, 2017). Race is therefore not biological, but a social construct: Categories that are completely arbitrary. If you have an appearance that cannot be clearly classified, you probably know this situation: For example, you are referred to as brown in one place, and if you go a few kilometers further, you are suddenly considered white.

2.11.3 Racist Group Assignment—A Chaos

The German Federal Agency for Civic Education speaks of "Asian-read" when it comes to anti-Asian racism. We see why they do this from the following example: After the outbreak of the Covid pandemic, anti-Chinese motivated attacks increased, but not only actual Chinese citizens suffered from this, but also all other Asian-read, who were defined as "Chinese" by the perpetrators. This means, for example, that you can also be a second-generation German with ancestors from the Philippines and still suffer from stereotypes against Chinese, simply because the perpetrators assign you to this group (Suda et al., 2020).

An current topic is also Islamophobia. Here, this simplification of group assignment can lead to the fact that religious discrimination is mixed with racism, because all people who are perceived as Muslim by their appearance by the perpetrators—regardless of their actual religion—can fall victim to the racist actions. In the USA and Europe, one can observe an increase in Islamophobic tendencies in recent years (Ogan et al., 2014).

The availability heuristic described in Sect. 2.7 of this chapter could also play a role in the case of islamophobic reactions. With this cognitive shortcut, we use the first information that comes to mind. The information that comes to mind first is probably one that we have just heard, have heard very often, or was very shocking (Haselton et al., 2015; Kenrick et al., 2010; Newhagen & Reeves, 1992). The availability heuristic is very useful in everyday life, because it is quick, uses little energy and is more often right than a random estimate (Kenrick et al., 2010), but this does not mean that it is often or always right.

However, our modern environment can play a trick on us, as in the case of news: It is evolutionarily more important for us to receive and remember negative information (Haselton et al., 2015), which is reflected in our current news media, as they tend to inform us about potential sources of danger and less on positive developments. In the past, the news only came from the village where one lived and where something frightening happened from time to time; today we receive news from all over the world, and therefore frightening news every day, which are no longer related to our immediate environment. This leads to the fact that insurance companies also like to offer protection against terrorist attacks—but the probability of becoming a victim of a terrorist attack is lower than dying from a lightning strike. Terrorism seems much more likely to some, because it often comes up in the news (Südkurier, 2016), at least more often than someone being struck by lightning.

In fact, the risk of dying in a household accident is 2054 times more likely than in a terrorist attack (Südkurier, 2016). The availability heuristic can therefore lead to unjustified fears and resulting defensive behaviors towards people associated with the events.

2.12 Why it Can Still Succeed

> "Hate destroys every togetherness […], the thinner the layer of argumentation, the greater the violence" Marius Jung (Jung, 2020)

Now it was about the fact that we can behave racist unintentionally, have a tendency to perceive other groups as more negative, dangerous and homogeneous and have unconscious prejudices. Are we therefore born racists and can't do anything about it?

No, of course not. On the one hand, there is, as can be seen in the development of stereotypes, a strong learned component in racism (Raabe & Beelmann, 2009). On the other hand, humans also have many innate properties that prevent racist behavior, such as curiosity, the need for social interaction, innate aversion to injustice and tendency to coop-

erate (Loewenstein, 1994). The worldwide anti-racist movements, such as Black Lives Matter or national organizations such as Mnemty in Tunisia, show that anti-racism is also a universal phenomenon. The realization that we all have the same fears and needs can unite us and the increased diversity of our societies can open up new perspectives. Only in this way can we protect and strengthen every individual. The fact that you are reading this book is already a good start.

2.13 Take Home Message

Overview

When we judge others, we try to use as little energy as possible, which often leads to inaccurate conclusions. This also happens when people behave in a racist way. Historical prejudices, opinions that we adopt from our environment, or lack of experience in the context of interacting with other people, can be causes.

Often the behavior is not thought out or intended. However, this is no excuse for the emergence of racist behavior and does not prevent the suffering that is associated with racist behavior. Being aware of one's own racist behavior is unpleasant, because most people do not want to be associated with such behavior. This makes it difficult to deal with the issue. In addition, lack of awareness and socially accepted stereotypes lead people to be reluctant to deal with them.

However, in a society in which more and more people are willing to deal with the issue of racism, there is hope. Hope that the coexistence will be better, more reality-based and thoughtful in the future.

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Effects of Racist Discrimination

3

Nora Welter, Jos Wagner, Katharina Dincher and Hicham Quintarelli

3.1 Introduction

The false belief in "race" as an existing biological reality and the resulting structures of social inequality have destructive consequences at the individual and societal-institutional level. Even though the term "race" does not have any biological determinants that would justify any hierarchical class society, "racism" is a psychosocially relevant construct that can have impactful psychological and psychosomatic health consequences for those affected (American Association of Physical Anthropologists, 2019). A substantial proportion of research findings confirm health-related consequences of racism at different levels such as mental well-being, physical health or overal quality of psychosocial experience. While interpersonal experiences with racism are associated with perceived social undermining, exclusion and stigmatization, structural racism is characterized, among other things, by material deprivation and restricted or disadvantaged access to educational and health facilities. This chapter therefore provides a detailed insight into the different effects of racist discrimination. First, in Sects. 3.2 and 3.3 an examination of the psychological health consequences takes place, followed by the physiological effects in Sect. 3.4 and finally the effects of racism on the educational structure of school in Sect. 3.5.

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3.2 Racist Discrimination and Mental Health

3.2.1 Research Approach

▶ Within the research setting, racially motivated experiences of discrimination are characterized as unequal, disadvantageous and/or exclusionary behaviour against individuals or groups based on their ethnic origin or religious affiliation (Buchna, 2019)

The aforementioned definition can be seen as a solid theoretically-driven description and racist experiences of discrimination are assessed in qualitative or quantitative research designs addressing self-reports (self-report recalls, see Okazaki, 2009) with participants of various cultural minorities. However, among researchers there is an ongoing debate on the subject of perceived experiences of discrimination as a disputed construct. There is disagreement around which measurement tools can meet the scientific standards in empirical research (i.e., psychometric properties). Due to the lack of a well-defined objectivity, it is discussed to what extent racist experiences can be comprehensively assessed or operationalized by a certain number of survey questions, such as "Have you ever experienced racist violence?" or "Have you ever felt bad for a long time because of racist experiences?", and reduced to a number in scientific research papers. Experiences with racism or discrimination in general are usually reported in published studies using a questionnaire with a well-defined set of questions or statements. Affected participants estimate on a multi-faced scale how much they agree or disagree with these statements. Subsequently, an analysis is carried out to determine the accuracy or reliability of the questionnaire by means of a characteristic value of 0 to 1, which is referred to in academic circles as *internal consistency* or also *reliability*. The closer the characteristic value is to 1, the better the questionnaire is and it measures what it is supposed to measure: *experiences with racist discrimination.* A value below 0.5 means that there is a lack of accuracy and that the statements used do not allow a clear focus on racist discrimination experiences and, as a result, the investigation of psychological effects can be impeded or distorted. However, this approach is not questioned enough by scientists. For example, Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) argue that, as with all stressful life events, several survey statements cannot be easily reduced to a single label, i.e. *racist discrimination*. Therefore, a calculation of an "objective" and absolute reliability remains questionable and instead a single statement or question can be used (e.g. "Have you ever experienced racist discrimination?") to assess racist experiences of discrimination. However, other research findings suggest that the utilization of several statements can more precisely uncover different facets of racist discrimination and accordingly various psychological effects across multiple studies. (Carter et al., 2017; Pieterse et al., 2012). Therefore, in relevant peer-reviewed articles it is weighed up which approach is more appropriate depending on the scope and complexity of the analyses. Qualitative and exploratory survey studies usually use simple survey statements.

3.2.2 Racism and Mental Health

In the scientific research, quantitative designs have increasingly been addressed to analyse the relationship between racist discrimination and specific indicators of mental health. In an American review article, Harrell et al. (2003) identified four categories of research designs that are repeatedly found in the context of investigation for the effects of racist discrimination: correlational self-report studies, studies with mediators or moderators, and laboratory or experimental studies.

Correlation studies are the groundwork for research science and investigate whether there is a significant relationship between racist discrimination and specific effects on mental health. Studies with so-called *mediation* and/or *moderation effects* go one step further and try to identify how exactly the relationship is maintained and how it differs across groups of interest. In mediation studies, the research focus, in addition to racist discrimination, is to understand the direction and long-terms effects on mental health indicators (Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Reid & Foels, 2010). An illustrative example would be that racist discrimination harms the self-esteem of those affected and the low self-esteem in turn leads to the experienced psychological distress (Verkuyten, 1998; Williams et al., 2003). Moderation studies deal with the variety of the strength of the relationship, i.e. that the effects can be expressed in different degrees or in research terminology *magnitudes.* A well-researched influencing factor is the so-called *socioeconomic status,* which is composed of several indicators such as the educational degree, property and income background of the parents of those affected. It has been observed in many cases that children and adolescents with a *high socioeconomic status* suffer comparatively less from the consequences of racist discrimination experiences than children and adolescents with a *low socioeconomic status* (Bell & Owens-Young, 2020). It should be noted that the classification described above is more accurate for studies that mainly investigate effects at the physiological level. This is particularly true for *laboratory or experimental studies,* which investigates negative memories, personal experiences or cultural attitudes and their effects on blood pressure, heartbeat and overal cardiovascular system under controlled conditions. The exclusive consideration of psychological, i.e. cognitive or motivational effects, is subject to simple questionnaire, correlation or group comparison studies.

In German literature, the psychological effects are rarely discussed and researched under the umbrella term “racism”. Rather, the term “risk groups” is more often used instead (e.g. migrants, people of multicultural identity) to define victims of various discriminatory experiences, sometimes of a racist nature (Igel et al., 2010; Kluge et al., 2020; Yeboah, 2017). There is a wide consensus by research findings that show that people with a migrant background in particular belong to the greater health risk groups (Mesch et al., 2007; Salentin, 2007; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). This also includes the more vulnerable sub-risk group of people with a refugee background, as this minority group requires more time and more extensive social and institutional support regarding the integration process (Schouler-Ocak, 2019). Compared to the non-migrant population,

people with a migrant or refugee background have an increased vulnerability to infectious and chronic diseases as well as to mental short-term or long-term illnesses (Robert-Koch-Institut, 2008; Schenk, 2007; Schouler-Ocak, 2019; Zeeb & Razum, 2006).

In the Federal Republic of Germany, around 21.2 million people with a migrant background live, of whom 11.1 million, almost 48%, are of foreign origin (Statistical Federal Office, 2020). The investigation of the relationship between migration and health burden is still insufficiently covered in the German-speaking area. Considering the increasing number of immigrants in recent years and the steadily growing awareness of the concerns of migrants, the number of studies and research programs is also increasing.

Theory-driven considerations dealing with migration status and mental health often rely on findings from clinical observation studies, i.e. studies in which the participants come from clinical facilities. These studies show that migrants have high suicide rates and tend to develop psychiatric disorders (Göbber et al., 2010; Koch et al., 2007; Schouler-Ocak et al., 2015). A general criticism of clinical population studies is the high baseline rate of clinically relevant disease symptoms. In other words, in the clinical setting there is a risk or bias in discovering a supposed connection between mental symptoms and a randomly selected sociodemographic characteristic (also called coincidence, see Pospeschill & Siegel, 2018). If groups of people with mental disorders are asked about their experiences of racist discrimination in partial or inpatient facilities, one must be cautious when drawing finale conclusions. Without an appropriate reference group (i.e. people *without* mental illness and *with* experiences of racist discrimination or people *with* mental illness but *without* experiences of racist discrimination), it is difficult to say whether the mental illness has exclusively been caused by experiences of racist discrimination. A plausible consideration would be the fact that groups of people with mental illness are more susceptible to external stress situations and therefore particularly suffer from the consequences of discriminatory experiences of different kinds.

Another objection to clinical population studies is that migration status is often pathologized, i.e. evaluated as pathological or leading to illness, so that other influencing factors such as the psychosocial experience world or discriminatory experience are neglected in the evaluations (Yeboah, 2017).

In comparison to German research, international research work, in particular studies from the American area, offer a wider range of replicated findings regarding the evidence of negative effects of racist discrimination on mental health. It has been often shown that subjectively perceived disadvantages have significant negative consequences on general mental and physical well-being (Williams et al., 1997, 2003). The effects can take the form of mental symptoms such as anxiety, depression (Cassidy et al., 2004; Merbach et al., 2008), psychotic episodes (Veling, 2013; Veling et al., 2008) or low self-esteem (Verkuyten, 1998; Williams et al., 2003) central consequences to be. The influence of experiences of discrimination as an intermediary social stressor with regard to the devel-

opment and manifestation of the long-termity of mental illness has also been strongly discussed (Davis et al., 2005; Din-Dzietham et al., 2004; Pieterse & Carter, 2007).

3.2.3 Empirical Research Status

3.2.3.1 Representative Studies from Germany

The large cross-sectional study by Igel et al. (2010) including 1844 migrants living in Germany from the Socio-Economic Panel[1] examined the relationship between experiences of discrimination, feelings of xenophobia and perceived mental and physical health. Experiences of discrimination and xenophobia were measured using the following questions: "How often have you personally experienced discrimination in Germany in the last two years due to your background?" and "Are you worried about xenophobia and hatred of foreigners in Germany?". Subjective health was measured as follows: "How satisfied are you with your health?". Based on this study, it was possible to show for the first time in Germany that people who feel disadvantaged due to their ethnic background rate their mental and physical health significantly lower than people without perceived experiences of discrimination. Furthermore, it could be shown that, when controlling for socio-economic and demographic factors (age, gender, duration of education, relationship status, etc.), experiences of discrimination and xenophobia separately predict the effects of perceived health to a high degree. These findings are in line with previous American findings (Williams et al., 2003).

In a representative and victim survey by the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research from 2017, the general effects of experiences of discrimination were examined throughout Germany. From a survey sample of 16,438 victims, of whom 3984 (24.2%) experienced racist discrimination[2], around 47% of cases said that they felt emotionally burdened by the inevitable memories of perceived experiences of discrimination. 41.5% of the described experiences of discrimination said that they were more aware of experiences of discrimination and, as a result, felt burdened in the long term by the sharpened perception of potential disadvantages (statements of discrimination: "It bothered me that I had to think about the situation again and again"). or "I have become more aware of experiences of discrimination." Furthermore, 40.2% of all respondents said that the stressful experiences of discrimination have made them more mistrustful in the long term and around 17.6% additionally said that they have given up social contacts permanently as a result of emotional instability (cf. Beigang et al., 2017, p. 281). This

[1] The Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) is a representative survey of around 22,000 people from 12,000 households that has been carried out by the German Institute for Economic Ordering on an annual basis since 1984 (Igel et al., 2010).

[2] This includes a proportion of 13.0% of all respondents from the education sector (see Beigang et al., 2017; pp. 127–133).

illustrates the fact that racist experiences of discrimination not only have negative effects directly on those affected, but also pose a risk to the development and maintenance of the social network, or the associated support options of informational, instrumental and, in particular, emotional support (Scherr, 2011; Scherr & Breit, 2020). Furthermore, the effects indicated were examined in relation to the form of discrimination[3], i.e. material deprivation, social degradation or physical violence. It was shown that experiences of discrimination in the form of physical violence followed by a combination of material deprivation and social degradation have the highest impact on the previously described effects: burden through chronic rumination (recurring, cognitive engagement) on the negative experience in 64.0% vs. 58.3%, increased mistrust in 61.8% vs. 51.3% and restriction of social contacts in 29.3% vs. 26.2% across all cases. While a total of 6.9% of all those affected said that they had become physically ill, a higher proportion of 12.9% said that they had become ill due to psychological problems (cf. Beigang et al., 2017, p. 283). In terms of differentiation according to form of discrimination, physical violence and material deprivation in combination with social degradation also dominated the psychological (over 20%) compared to the physical illnesses (over 11%). This quantitative study served primarily as an investigation of the subjective consequences of racist experiences of discrimination and provides a rough overview of the perceived experiences of discrimination of different forms. It shows that general experiences of discrimination are not limited to individual situations, but are enduring and can have far-reaching consequences for the quality of life and health of those affected.

The study of the Berlin Charité from the year 2015 contributed another clarification in light of the significant influence of ethnic discrimination on mental disorders. The study included 205 randomly recruited women with Turkish migrant background and living in Berlin. More than half (55.1%) reported to have experienced ethnic discrimination to some degree in their lifetime. Ethnic discrimination was considered in this study as the interaction of the following four facets: *perceived discrimination, intercultural stress perception, homesickness/nostalgia* and *general psychological stress.* To determine perceived mental disorders, the overall expression of the following symptoms was used: *somatic suffering, anxiety* and *insomnia* as well as *social dysfunction* and *severe depression.* In order to be able to adequately assess the strength of the effect of ethnic discrimination on the manifestation of mental disorders, other influencing factors such as age, neuroticism, relationship status, acculturation strategy or housing situation were included in the evaluations as control variables. It was found that the assessed ethnic discrimina-

[3] Examples of indicated forms of discrimination (cf. Beigang et al., 2017, p. 131): 1) material deprivation: “I was not allowed to attend a educational institution.”/“My performance was rated or reduced comparatively poorly.”. 2) social degradation: “I was excluded or ignored.”/“I was insulted or called names.”. 3) physical assaults: “I was physically threatened.”/“I was physically attacked.”

tion exerts a considerable positive effect regardless of the influence of other, migration-relevant stressors, i.e. an increase in mental disorders (Aichberger et al., 2015).

3.2.3.2 International Findings

Williams et al. (2003) documented in their systematic review that research of the effects of ethnic or racist discrimination, the investigation of mental health shows the highest rate. Of 53 included studies, 32 included at least one measured indicator of mental well-being. The indicators included, in the majority, effects that were relevant to emotions such as negative mood and life satisfaction (see Werkuyten & Nekuee, 1999; Williams, 2000; Williams et al., 1997), low self-esteem (see Fisher et al., 2000; Rumbaut, 1994; Verkuyten, 1998) or also effects at the level of cognition such as general success perception and internalized control beliefs (see Becker & Krzystofiak, 1982; Werkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Of the 25 studies examined, 20 studies showed a statistically positive relationship between perceived discrimination and mental complaints. In terms of interpretation, a positive relationship indicates that high levels of discrimination experience are associated with a high, lasting psychological distress. Individual studies were also able to show a positive relationship between discrimination experiences and severe depression symptoms (see Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Kessler et al., 1999), general anxiety disorder (see Kessler et al., 1999), psychosis (see Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002) or further substance abuse and anger (see Whitbeck et al., 2001).

Meta-analytical findings, i.e. generalized evaluations of results from many individual studies, have confirmed the influence of discrimination of various forms (including racism) on health (Paradies et al., 2015; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014). Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) were able to determine based of a study sample of 105 affected people that generally perceived discrimination is associated with mental health on average with a significantly negative correlation (of $r = -.16$). This means that affected people reported on average slightly lower level of health with increasing reports of discrimination. Paradies et al. (2015) were also able to show in their large meta-analysis of 293 published US studies (from 1983 to 2013) that, in direct comparison to physical health, the relationship between racism and mental effects is significantly stronger. An average relationship of $r = -.13$ between racism and positive health indicators (self-esteem, life satisfaction, control beliefs, well-being, positive affect) and $r = -.09$ between racism and physical health (blood pressure and hypertension, obesity, cholesterol levels) could be demonstrated. Negative health indicators (depression, anxiety, post-traumatic disorder, suicidal thoughts; planning; actions) correlated most strongly with racism: $r = -.23$. This measured connection supports the result of an earlier meta-analysis from 2012 (66 included studies with over 18,000 African Americans), in which racist discrimination is associated with poor mental health with $r = .20$. The authors also made the distinction between discrimination frequency (recurrence of racist incidents) and discrimination intensity (degree of perceived stress level for each racist discrimination experience). Discrimination frequency ($r = .20$) could in comparison to discrimination intensity ($r = .14$) significantly increase the association between

mental complaints and racist experiences. In other words, this means that longer experiences with discrimination have more harmful effects on mental health than intensity (Pieterse et al., 2012). These findings confirm the often discussed assumption that enduring, repeated, and/or emotionally demanding discrimination experiences can be traumatic and furthermore carry the danger of triggering severe mental impairments such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or other stress- and adaptation-related disorders (Carlson, 1997; Slavin et al., 1991). In addition to mental and physiological health consequences, the authors Carter et al. (2017) also examined the influence on substance abuse and cultural identity. Mental consequences were clearly more strongly pronounced than physiological effects in association with discrimination ($r = .20$ vs. $r = .09$; see Carter et al., 2017, p. 241). Racism nevertheless proved to be a significant, social stressor with regard to the development of biopsychological stress reactions, which in turn influence the emotional state and general health of those affected. These findings are in line with the prevailing assumption that once ethnic minorities are exposed to racist discrimination experiences in combination of insufficient coping management (ability to process negative emotions and intrusive thoughts), they tend to react to emerging stress reactions compensatorily through health-endangering behavior (e.g. alcohol and tobacco consumption, illegal substances) (Borrell et al., 2007; Hunte & Barry, 2012). In terms of meta-analytical results, a negative influence on cultural determinants (socialization, ethnic belonging, collectivistic self-worth) was also reported as a result of experienced racist discrimination. Carter (1995) and Hughes et al. (2006) emphasize the importance of cultural identity (enculturation and acculturation see Berry,1997) for the development and long-term unfoldment of the mental health of ethnic minorities. On the one hand, experiences of discrimination can considerably impair the general acquisition of cultural knowledge, action competence as well as the engagement with role models of the culture one lives and grows up in (the process of enculturation). On the other hand, experiences of discrimination can sustainably damage the process of cultural appropriation, i.e. the acquisition of new norms, values and role models of a culture that has been foreign or recently moved to until then (acculturation). In both cases, there is a risk that those affected will not develop a cultural identity within the host culture and consequently will not feel like they belong here and eventually suffer from it.

The investigation of the effects of racism also has a socially-political relevance for the European context. An estimated percentage of 22.3of cultural minorities from different European countries have already reported to suffer from mental health problems due to their migration background (Missinne & Bracke, 2010). The large meta-analysis by de Freitas et al. (2018) had the research goal of identifying the effects of experiences of discrimination of cultural minorities under the influence of socio-demographic and integration policy characteristics. The following effects could be found: low subjective well-being, depression, anxiety, stress, psychotic episodes and low self-esteem. The considerable proportion of psychoses as a serious comorbidity of racist and trauma-associated experiences is continuously picked up by the literature and seems to be empirically confirmed more and more in different studies (cf. Cooper et al., 2008; Karlsen & Nazroo,

2002; Veling, 2013; Veling et al., 2008). In addition, in isolated cases socio-demographic and political-infrastructural influences could be uncovered. It was found that women, adolescents and structurally disadvantaged migrants suffer particularly from the mental health consequences of racist violence (de Freitas et al., 2018).

It can therefore be concluded that the previous research results comprehensively illustrate and confirm the multifaceted appearance of mental health risks of racist discrimination.

3.2.4 Socio-Demographic Differences

Research findings of developmental psychology and psychopathology support the predominated assumption that women are more vulnerable to developing internalized symptoms such as anxiety, depression and low self-worth. In the male population, however, there is a higher vulnerability in externalizing problematic social or deviant behavior (Rutter et al., 2003). In the context of ethnic discrimination, one can argue that there is a gender-specific influence in terms of the effects on mental health. Based on theory-driven implications, the type of discriminatory experiences seems to vary among women compared to men. A survey of 42,000 women from 28 European countries showed that immigrant women aged from 15 and older were more often exposed to physical and/or sexual violence during their lifetime compared to women who were resident in their home countries (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015). Furthermore, it is assumed that gender roles have an influence on ethnic discrimination (Cole, 2009). In terms of the reaction and effects of perceived discrimination, empirical research findings do not yet provide a consistent picture of whether women and men differ fundamentally. Some study results, could not establish a connection between experiences of discrimination and depressive symptoms or self-worth in women, but anyhow in men (Cassidy et al., 2004). Other study results rather assume that fundamental differences are only explicable when considering the combination of gender, migration status (1st or 2nd generation) and infrastructural access possibilities (Borrell et al., 2015).

Research continues to discover a similar relationship between experiences of discrimination, subjective well-being and self-worth across different age groups, i.e. children, adolescents and adults (Benner et al., 2018; Cave et al., 2020; Schmitt et al., 2014). Paradies et al. (2015) were not able to identify a significant influence in the strength of the relationship between racist discrimination and the health consequences across age classes. However, theoretically-driven considerations still assume not to be underestimate age differences. With increasing age, especially during the period of emerging adulthood (age between 18 years and late twenties, see Arnett, 2000), there is a higher perception of discrimination in terms of various forms of life events or challenging incidents: from interpersonal relationship conflicts, medical care and access possibilities to education, career prospects, rental and housing situation and credit prospects at banks. These multi-layered experiences or confrontations with systematic discrimination can

become sustainable stressors and restrict the overal quality of life of those affected, which leads to all-pervasive psychological problems (Link & Phelan, 2001). The resulting perception of potential experiences of discrimination can inevitably trigger various health effects that are more prevalent in adulthood than in childhood or adolescence (Schmitt et al., 2014). At the same time, it is argued that the processing of negative emotions (i.e., maladaptive coping strategies) becomes more effective (i.e., adaptive) with increasing age and therefore suppress the negative effects of discrimination. The influence of ethnic identity formation deepends on age and seems to be a central protective shield for mental health. There is evidence that a high identification with one's own ethnic reference group protects the self-worth of those affected by experiences of discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Mewes et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the following distinction is assumed: While in childhood and adolescense the extent of psychological effects is mainly due to social undermining and/or interindividual exclusion, the psychological burden in early and later adulthood is the consequence of structural discrimination. To what extent these qualitative differences are impactful is still to be clarified by future research.

There is still considerable disagreement as to whether first-generation migrants and second-generation migrants (children of parents with a migrant background born in the respective "host country") are exposed to similar experiences of discrimination and suffer from health consequences (André & Dronkers, 2016; Borrell et al., 2015; de Freitas et al., 2018). However, there are evidence-based studies that show that second-generation migrants have a lower baseline risk of developing depression symptoms than first-generation migrants (Levecque & Van Rossem, 2014; Missinne & Bracke, 2010). For example, in the study by Borell et al. (2015), with data from 18 European countries, discrimination in relation to depression, low health status and chronic stress was only be found among first-generation migrants. A recent European survey has been able to provide information that negative attitudes towards migrants are less due to racism per se (in the sense of an aversion directed at appearance), but rather to xenophobia (aversion directed at cultural "foreignness" and behavior) (Heath & Richards, 2016). In terms of internal processes, it can therefore be argued that the reason why first-generation migrants tend to experience discrimination is because they reflect a higher cultural diversity. Second-generation migrants, on the other hand, are more culturally integrated and, according to the theory, trigger less fear of unknown or different values, attitudes or behavior. For example, a Finnish comparative study found that migrants who are particularly perceived as culturally different from natives are more likely to experience discrimination. Surprisingly, findings revealed that the relationship between discrimination and mental health problems was at the lowest among the most culturally diverse groups (i.e., Arabs and Somalis) (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). However, this could be due to the influence of ethnic affiliation, which ensures that those affected find support within their own cultural circle and "like-minded people". (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Schmitt et al., 2014; Wong et al., 2003). Further research projects, especially long-term studies, are important for final clarification to support these considerations and assumptions.

3.3 Psychological Effects of Racism

As mentioned in the previous research approach, racism or racist discrimination leads to an emotionally burdensome biographical experience and thus to a special experience of stress (Trevisan, 2019). A large number of studies suggest that the resulting traumatic stress can lead to negative health consequences that far exceed the social and social consequences (Carter, 2007; Schouler-Ocak et al., 2015). The literature also shows that recurrent experiences of racism and discrimination are associated with a feeling of powerlessness and have a negative effect on subjective well-being (Trevisan, 2019). For example, Priest et al. (2013) point to the effects of racist discrimination on the health of children and adolescents and refer to a strong relationship between racism and psychological problems such as anxiety, depression and psychological stress as well as behavioral problems and substance abuse. They also refer to physiological findings that suggest an additional impairment of somatics. This means that the consequences of racist discrimination can not only be limited to psychological aspects, but can also manifest themselves in physical well-being. If one considers the fact that students are particularly vulnerable during childhood and adolescence, the effects of racism during this sensitive period of life appear to be particularly severe (Sanders-Phillips, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2008). In addition, they are in developmental phases in which their cognitive, emotional and social maturity is not yet fully developed (Pforr, 2009). Racist discrimination within the school setting not only has the potential to negatively affect the development of children and adolescents with regard to their social and educational environment, but also leads to negative consequences within their mental health. These effects are often not only limited to the school years, but can extend throughout the entire life course (Priest et al., 2013). The effects of racism, a conspicuous and harmful psychosocial stressor, can vary depending on the biopsychosocial processes involved in initiating and maintaining the disorder.

BELLA STUDY (Ravens-Sieberer et al., 2007)
The BELLA study includes a comprehensive longitudinal study to assess the mental health of children and adolescents in Germany. For this purpose, the psychological well-being and behaviour of 2863 families with children aged 7–17 was surveyed. A total of 21.9% of all children and adolescents showed signs of mental illness. The most common mental disorders in childhood and adolescence were anxiety (10%), social behaviour disorders (7.6%) and depression (5.4%). These will be explained in more detail in the following chapters.

3.3.1 Anxiety Disorders

Anxiety disorders in childhood include widespread phenomena such as separation anxiety in infants or fear in the dark in preschool and primary school children (Steinhausen, 2000). These are primarily an exaggeration of normal developmental stages, so they are usually mild and temporary disorders that can be successfully addressed with short-term counselling (Auhuber, 2020; Steinhausen, 2000).

Anxiety is a natural development phenomenon and is widespread in both childhood and adolescence. The time of its onset is determined by typical age conditions. Accordingly, age-specific fears are part of a normal development, just as shyness is a temperament trait that does not have a disorder character (Adornetto & Schneider, 2009; Walitza & Melfsen, 2016). Many parents are familiar with their child's fear in a separation situation or the fears that a schoolchild expresses when he or she has to give a presentation in front of his or her class. When mild and temporary fears occur that are age-specific, they are referred to as "developmental fears". These are expressions of the ongoing cognitive and emotional development and lead to the successful acquisition of important coping strategies and mechanisms as well as increased self-confidence in the child through their successful coping (Walitza & Melfsen, 2016). It can therefore be concluded that fears are vital aspects of human development and cannot be spared from children (Hopf, 2018). However, if these fears manifest themselves, they no longer correspond to the child's developmental phase or lead to a impairment of everyday life, they become clinically significant and require special attention (Table 3.1).

Anxiety disorders are characterized by a strong and persistent impairment that leads to a disability in the normal development of the child or adolescent (Walitza & Melfsen, 2016). Clinically significant anxiety syndromes are characterized by an abnormal degree of diffuse or situational and object-related anxiety. Here, the expression of anxiety is not only shown by the emotion itself, but can also be shown by physical reactions (e.g. accelerated heart rate, sweating, blushing or pale, hot or cold flashes, etc.) and changes in behavior (e.g. avoidance of the anxiety situation) (Steinhausen, 2000). Childhood-specific emotional disorders include, among others, the following disorders: Emotional disorder with separation anxiety, phobic disorder of childhood and disorders with social anxiety (Federal Institute for Drugs and Medical Devices [BfArM], 2020).

Table 3.1 Agerelatedness of the anxiety disorder (Steinhausen, 2000)

Age	Anxiety disorder
Infancy and early childhood	Separation anxiety
Preschool, middle childhood	Animal phobias, fear of the dark
Middle childhood, early adolescence	School phobia (separation anxiety) and school anxiety
Adolescence	Generalized anxiety disorder, panic disorder

3.3.1.1 Separation Anxiety

Separation anxiety is characterized by a panic reaction to a separation situation (usually from carers). In older children, this symptom is often supplemented by unrealistic fears about potential dangers threatening the family, or by depressive feelings after separation (Steinhausen, 2000). While separation anxiety in the age between 7 and 18 months is considered as "normal" developmentally typical anxiety, clinical separation anxiety is considered a form of childhood anxiety disorder (Schneider & In-Albon, 2004). Clinically significant separation anxiety differs by an unusual expression, the abnormal duration over a typical age group and the development of clear problems in social functions from the normal separation anxiety (BfArM, 2020).

German Society for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Psychosomatics, & Psychotherapy, 2007

Unrealistic and persistent worry that something bad may happen to the attachment figure or that the individual may be separated from the attachment figure through unfortunate events

Persistent unwillingness or refusal to go to school/kindergarten or to stay at home with the attachment figure or at home

Persistent dislike or refusal to sleep without the presence of a close attachment figure or away from home

Persistent, inappropriate fear of being alone or without a primary attachment figure at home

Repeated nightmares involving separation

Repeated occurrence of somatic symptoms (nausea, abdominal pain, vomiting, or headaches) before or during separation

Extreme and repeated distress in anticipation of, during, or immediately after separation from a primary attachment figure (e.g., unhappiness, crying, tantrums, clinging)

3.3.1.2 Phobic Disorder of Childhood

Specific phobias in childhood are characterized by an inappropriate, persistent and highly pronounced anxiety reaction to a certain object, situation or animal from which no real danger arises (Schneider & Döpfner, 2004). The child's anxiety reaction usually occurs immediately after the confrontation with the fear-inducing stimulus and manifests itself in the form of crying, screaming, feeling of paralysis, running away or clinging to a caregiver. In addition, it is accompanied by physiological symptoms such as palpitations or trembling. The affected children usually begin to avoid the situation associated with fear over time, with strong manifestations of phobia leading to significant impairments in school, leisure and family life. The increased fear is age-typical and corre-

sponds to the respective developmental phase of the child or adolescent (Weiler & Blanz, 2002). According to Muris et al. (2000), the most common contents of phobic disorder in childhood are fear of strangers, darkness and animals in preschool children, with fear of storms, thunderstorms and personal safety additionally coming in elementary school. The most common fears of children and adolescents aged 12 to 17 are fear of animals, blood, natural disasters and situations involving tight spaces or heights.

3.3.1.3 Childhood Social Anxiety Disorder

Social phobia, like phobic disorder of childhood, is characterized by a persistent and highly pronounced anxiety reaction that is age-inappropriate. However, the triggers of the fears relate to social situations in which the child meets unfamiliar or less familiar adults or peers (Weiler & Blanz, 2002). Here, the child shows great embarrassment, embarrassment or extreme concern about the unknown person. These concerns relate only to strangers, while usually there is a close relationship with members of one's own family or already known peers. Furthermore, there can be physical effects during or in anticipation of the anxiety-inducing social situation. This can be expressed in trembling, blushing, sweating, palpitations or nausea. Also on a cognitive level, which concerns the child's thought processes, the child may make excessive worries, for example by fearing being laughed at by other peers. In terms of behavior, social anxiety disorder in childhood leads to changes in behavior in social situations, for example crying, silence or running away. Due to these far-reaching effects of social phobia, the child's social contactability is usually severely impaired, which leads to considerable suffering of the affected persons (Schneider & Döpfner, 2004).

3.3.1.4 School Phobia

Contrary to the actual terminology, school phobia (not to be confused with school anxiety) does not refer to the specific fear of school, but rather to the fear of the associated separation situation and is therefore also a separation anxiety at its core. Here, the child refuses to go to school out of fear of separation from the usually primary attachment person. Furthermore, the child often fears that something might happen to the person in his absence. In addition to the refusal to attend school and extreme anxiety or depression, physical symptoms (e.g. nausea, headaches or stomach aches) often occur as psychosomatic accompaniments (Steinhausen, 2000).

3.3.1.5 School Anxiety

In contrast to school phobia, school anxiety is directed at a real fear of school, or of threatening situations within the school context (and thus meets the criterion of a phobia in the definitional sense). The triggers for the anxiety can lie in different areas, with the question arising as to why the institution of school is so often associated with fears by children and adolescents. Hopf (2018) answers this question by calling school an "anxiety maker par excellence", which demands performance and exerts pressure. He sees it as a place where students are rewarded or punished and where there are fixed rules,

but also as a place of encounter and social relationships. The variety of fears that can result from the school day thus goes far beyond performance pressure in the face of an upcoming class test and also includes the social circle of classmates or teachers and the fear of being punished, embarrassed or hurt by them. If the symptoms of older children become increasingly diffuse, fears and concerns manifest and intensify, and a tendency to somatize arises, they correspond to the symptoms of a generalized anxiety disorder (Steinhausen, 2000). This includes excessively strong, unjustified or uncontrollable worries about different situations and areas of life. This concern can relate to minor things, such as worries about punctuality, or, for example, the worry of not being able to meet performance expectations or of not finding enough social contact. Many of the affected children have an increased need for recognition of their performance and behavior. Furthermore, the occurrence of somatic accompaniments (e.g. nervousness, tension, sleep problems, concentration difficulties, irritability, nail biting) is characteristic of the aforementioned disorder. In order to meet the criterion of a generalized anxiety disorder, the fears and concerns must relate to several areas (e.g. school and family) (Schneider & Döpfner, 2004).

3.3.2 Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder

Obsessive-compulsive disorder is a complex disorder and refers to recurring and persistent thoughts and actions (Steinhausen, 2000). Obsessions, that is, intrusive and experienced as nonsensical ideas and thoughts that cause severe discomfort, are experienced as unwanted and frightening and are often associated with feelings of shame or disgust. The person affected tries to ignore the involuntary intrusive thoughts, to suppress them or to ward them off with other thoughts or actions or to make them undone (Goletz & Döpfner, 2020). Accordingly, they often relate to the fears associated with contamination or impending danger, for example the fear of dirt, bacteria, infection or deadly diseases. But they can also relate to symmetry and accuracy (Walitza et al., 2017). Compulsions refer to repeated and meaningless activities that are the result of willful impulses (Steinhausen, 2000). They follow a certain regularity and pursue the goal of reducing or avoiding a subjectively experienced fear, impending danger or undone. The most common forms of compulsions in childhood and adolescence are excessive washing or cleaning, excessive checking (e.g. whether doors or windows are closed) and repetition rituals (touching of objects and surfaces, counting; Walitza et al., 2017). However, the content of the obsessions is strongly dependent on the age and the developmental phase of the child or adolescent. For example, younger children show compulsions more often when dressing or going to the toilet, while obsessions in adolescents can also relate to development-specific interests such as sexuality or religion. For example, adolescents could have the automatic and recurring thought of becoming pregnant when going to the toilet, which not only represents a great emotional burden for the person affected, but is also associated with feelings of shame (Walitza et al., 2017).

Table 3.2 Comorbidity of obsessive-compulsive disorders across the entire childhood and adolescence (Wewetzer, 2004)

Comorbidity	Frequency
Anxiety disorders	38%
Depression	33%
ADHD and expansive disorders	29%
Tic disorders	20%

Many affected people are aware of the nonsensicality of their behavior, but children often lack the insight and resistance to the symptomatology altogether. Therefore, the sometimes lacking ability of minors to recognize the compulsions as their own thoughts, to which resistance can be offered, should be taken into account. Nevertheless, the recurring obsessions and the repetition of the compulsions are experienced as burdensome and lead to a high level of suffering (Walitza et al., 2017). Due to the high comorbidity of obsessive-compulsive disorder, that is, the high probability that there are other clinically relevant mental disorders, a good and differentiated diagnostics of the sometimes quite extensive symptomatology is required (Table 3.2).

3.3.3 Depressive Disorders

Like fear, depression is part of human experience and can occur as a symptom as a result of losses and disappointments, but without clinical relevance. This clinical relevance was disputed for many years. For a long time it was believed that children and adolescents cannot develop depression because of their incomplete cognitive maturity. This view only changed in the 1980s and 1990s when it was recognized that the essential features of depression in adulthood also correspond to the symptomatology of this age group (Groen & Petermann, 2011). The current research approach suggests that depressive symptoms and disorders in childhood and, in particular, adolescence are widespread phenomena that can lead to serious impairments in various areas of life and functioning (Greiner et al., 2018). According to Nevermann and Reicher (2020), more than 5% of all children and adolescents are now affected by severe depression and about 10% have depressive symptoms. This symptomatology, which begins in childhood or adolescence, and its effects can last into adulthood and contribute to mental illness and psychosocial complications (Groen & Petermann, 2011). The classification of affective disorders according to ICD-10 (Dilling et al., 1993) applies to all age groups and does not include a specific category for children and adolescents (BfArM, 2020). Although some diagnostic features of depression are age-independent, the developmental context of depression plays a special role in children and adolescents (Steinhausen, 2000). The younger the affected people are, the more the symptoms of depression in minors differ from the clas-

sical symptomatology in adulthood (Mehler-Wex & Kölch, 2008). In infants, in particular, psychosocial deprivation and the lack of attention initially lead to protesting crying and weeping and finally to withdrawal and apathy. This form of depression in infancy or early childhood, which is due to a lack of attention, is called anaclitic depression and can also be accompanied by sleep disorders and jactation (forward and backward bending, or rocking or swaying of the upper body). In the following early childhood, the appearance of inhibition, loss of motivation or separation anxiety, especially as a result of parental rejection, can raise the question of depressive symptoms (Steinhausen, 2000). In addition, symptoms such as reduced or age-inappropriate physical and mental development, eating or sleeping disorders or increased occurrence of abdominal pain should be given more attention, as these can also be indicators of depression and are more often observed in young children than affective changes (Mehler-Wex & Kölch,2008). In middle childhood (6–11 years), the expression of these symptoms is already more differentiated. Sadness, crying, as well as the decline in playfulness and imagination can serve as signs of the presence of depressive symptoms. Furthermore, social withdrawal, sleep or appetite disorders, weight loss, fatigue and passivity, but also mood swings and irritability as well as a deterioration in school performance can serve as indicators (Mehler-Wex & Kölch, 2008; Steinhausen, 2000).

Nevertheless, it is important to mention at this point that, for example, the depressive facial expression of the child is perceptible to adults, but the small or school-age child still lacks the cognitive ability to perceive his or her own depression. With increasing age, this ability develops, so that in later childhood depressions are accompanied by low self-esteem. Increasingly, death wishes and suicidal thoughts can manifest themselves. From adolescence onwards, those affected increasingly feel feelings of guilt, failure and meaninglessness, which derive from exaggerated and irrational thoughts. Those thoughts that are accompanied by increased rumination, together with suicidality and feelings of inferiority, form the most important symptoms of depression in adulthood (Steinhausen, 2000). Pure depressive disorders are rare in childhood and adolescence. Much more often they occur in connection with other disorders, for example an anxiety or obsessive-compulsive disorder. Another, diagnostically distinguishable disease picture, which is additionally present to the underlying disease, is referred to as comorbidity (Nevermann & Reicher, 2020).

Symptoms of depression according to ICD-3.10 (Mehler-Wex & Kölch, 2008)
Main symptoms of depression

- Downheartedness, most of the time, almost daily, for at least 2 weeks
- Loss of interest, cheerlessness, activity restriction
- Lack of drive, quick fatigue, tiredness

Other possible symptoms

- cognitive impairments (concentration, attention), indecisiveness or vagueness
- reduced self-esteem, low self-confidence, feelings of worthlessness
- inappropriate feelings of guilt, self-reproach
- psychomotor agitation or retardation
- Suicidal thoughts, suicidal behavior
- Sleep disturbance
- Loss of appetite or increased appetite with weight change

3.3.4 Disorders of Social Behavior

Disorders of social behavior with onset in childhood and adolescence are characterized by a recurring and persistent pattern of dissocial, aggressive and rebellious behavior that violates age-appropriate social expectations (BfArM, 2020). While oppositional defiant behavior as well as dissocial or aggressive behavior occur during the course of development of many children and adolescents, without speaking of a clinically relevant disorder of behavior, the behavior pattern of this disorder goes far beyond deviant behavior, childish mischief or teenage rebelliousness (Schmeck & Stadler, 2012). For example, according to Tremblay et al. (1999), about 90% of all children show aggressive behavior towards peers at the end of their 2nd year of life (biting, kicking, hitting, taking away toys). However, most children manage to control their antisocial impulses during their development, with competent education being crucial for this development. Only a small part of the children fail or only insufficiently succeed in the socialization process during their development, which results in the failure to control oppositional, aggressive and dissocial impulses. If these behaviors turn into a constantly recurring and persistent pattern that differs significantly from peers in terms of severity, one speaks of a disorder of social behavior (Schmeck & Stadler, 2012). Disorders of social behavior are considered to be particularly stable and, directly after emotional disorders, are the second most common diagnosis within child and adolescent psychiatry (Petermann & Petermann, 2013; Steinhausen, 2000). Disorders of social behavior are expressed by the following symptoms: extreme degree of fighting or tyrannizing, cruelty towards other people or animals, destruction of property, arson, theft, frequent lying, running away from home, truancy, frequent and severe outbursts of anger, and disobedience (BfArM, 2020). As with most other specific disorders of childhood and adolescence, the symptoms are usually age- and development-related, but the individual variation can be very different.

3.3.5 Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

The term "trauma" comes from the Greek and means "injury" or "wound". Psychotraumatology therefore deals with the development, course and treatment of mental injuries that occur as a result of a stressful or threatening event (Landolt & Hensel, 2012). This injury and lasting damage to a structure can have both physical and mental effects on an individual. A psychological trauma is characterized by an event that usually occurs suddenly and is threatening or overwhelming for the affected person. Human protection mechanisms, such as flight and resistance, cannot be used or only used to a limited extent during a traumatic experience, as one is helplessly exposed to it (Hausmann, 2006). Consequently, traumatic experiences are pervaded by a loss of control, fear and deep shock that often remain in people even after the situation and can be triggered and experienced again and again (Schulze et al., 2016). In general, one distinguishes between an *acute stress reaction,* which describes a temporary reaction to extraordinary physical or psychological stress, which usually subsides within a few hours or days after the experience of the stressful experience, and the *post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).* According to the ICD-10 (Dilling et al., 1993), post-traumatic stress disorder is defined as a "reaction to a stressful event or situation of shorter or longer duration with extraordinary threat or catastrophic magnitude that would cause deep despair in almost everyone" (BfArM, 2020). In a 2010 study of children of people with refugee experience, 19% of these children were diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder. This is due in particular to the traumatic experiences in the country of origin and during the flight (Ruf et al., 2010). Thus, in particular, refugee children are at increased risk of trauma-related diseases, which in their course also affect social and school development. The severe stress that children and adolescents with a migrant background are confronted with can lead to the development of a persistent stress reaction, which includes the following core symptoms:

Core symptoms of PTSD (Brunner et al., 2012)

- Re-experiencing the traumatic event in the form of recurring, intrusive thoughts, memories and dreams
- Emotional and social withdrawal with pronounced avoidance behavior
- State of vegetative overexcitement

The symptoms occur as a result of a stressful experience that is associated with feelings of intense fear and despair (Dilling et al., 1993). Although after traumatic stress experienced by children in general, similar biopsychological processes as well as in adults can be seen, their symptomatic reaction is very complex and can differ from the behavior of adults. This can often mean that the mental suffering of a child is not immediately or not adequately perceived and responded to appropriately. The effects of trauma-related

disorders are mostly overexcitement symptoms, which are characterized, for example, by little patience and an overheated temper, or avoidance symptoms, in which the child withdraws excessively (Krüger, 2008). Which symptoms occur depend mainly on the child's age and the associated development stage. Within the first year of life, crying, increased startledness and disturbed attachment development are typical symptoms after traumatic stress experiences. Up to the third year of life, hyperactivity or hyperreactivity or apathy are mainly seen as trauma indicators, as a result of which crying, whimpering, freezing, uncoordinated restlessness or extreme clinging can occur. Between the third and sixth year of life, the child is able to stage his or her traumatic experiences within sequences of play (Levine & Kline, 2013; Krüger, 2008). The experiences reproduced in the context of play often take place in a dissociative state or with increased arousal. As a result, social withdrawal, the loss of already acquired social skills or a decline in language development can occur, so that after traumatic stress experiences, children often resort to reactions that are typical of earlier periods of life. This can also lead to motor impairments and compulsions in elementary school age (Krüger, 2008). The older the child gets, the more the symptoms can be classified into disorders. Children in early adolescence increasingly show classic symptoms in the sense of post-traumatic stress disorder. These include above all withdrawal and isolation, suicidal tendencies and self-injury, depression, intrusion (re-experiencing of traumatic experiences), emotional numbness, indifference, substance abuse, dissociation (splitting of conscious perception), anti-social behavior and somatic symptoms, such as stomach or headaches (BfArM, 2020).

3.3.6 Resilience

After possible psychological effects of racist discrimination in the school context have been presented, the question arises as to how some children nevertheless grow up to be self-confident and competent individuals despite the enormous stress and the experience of traumatic stress, without showing psychological abnormalities (Güfel, 2010). In principle, all people have resources that can help them cope with problems or prevent and alleviate stress. Resources are to be understood "as positive potentials and possibilities that are available to a person not only as means of coping with stressful life events, but also for the satisfaction of his or her basic needs" (Lenz, 2008, quoted in Lenz, 2010, p. 82). Here, it is essentially possible to distinguish between intrapsychic resources and resources that arise in interaction with the social environment. It should be mentioned that socialization processes influence intrapsychic factors by either promoting or blocking individual abilities (Wolf, 2012). These resources are decisive for the fact that there are always children within risk groups who survive stressful experiences without harmful effects and develop into "healthy" adults despite the most difficult living conditions in childhood (Laucht, 2003). Protective factors that moderate the effect of risk factors and can reduce the likelihood of disorders are generally referred to as "resilience" or "resistance" (Henninger, 2016; Lenz, 2014). Resilience describes human resistance

to stressful life circumstances and is thus a positive counter-concept to vulnerability. It can be understood as a kind of mental robustness and is decisive for the fact that successful biographies are possible despite unfavorable development conditions (Gabriel, 2005). There is a multitude of protective factors that help children and adolescents cope with problematic and crisis-like events or life circumstances. These have a restorative or protective function and are anchored either in the individual disposition of the affected person or in their environment (Hausmann, 2006). Individual stress coping or problem solving skills, as well as a positive self-concept or a high self-efficacy expectation, can be counted among the personal resources of the child, for example (Lenz, 2014). Furthermore, social, and in particular family, support acts as a buffer that can mitigate the stress and thus also the effect of traumatic stress (Hausmann, 2006). In particular, children are dependent on the family resources and the support of their primary reference group, since parental care is decisive for their protection and well-being. For example, it could be shown that emotionally secure and stable attachment experiences, as well as an accepting and challenging parenting style in an appropriate context, can serve as protective factors (Lenz, 2014; Masten, 2001). Thus, personal, family and social resources can be referred to as general protective factors that reduce the risk of developing mental abnormalities. As Gabriel (2005) describes, moves the question of resilience the focus of research on both the positive influences of individual development and the associated coping with experienced stress. Consequently, the identification of protective factors that contribute to a stable development despite adverse circumstances comes into focus of child- and youth-related prevention and intervention strategies. Thus, the resources of the students can be specifically strengthened by targeted measures and counteract the effects of stressful experiences within the school day. There is therefore a high individual potential for the development and promotion of resilience and the fight against vulnerability (Gabriel, 2005). Based on resilience, it can be shown that the experience of racist discrimination within the school can lead to negative psychological impairments of the individual, but does not necessarily have to do so. Whether and to what extent psychological abnormalities develop depends on a variety of different factors that affect both the personal resources, skills and dispositions of children and adolescents and their social environment.

3.3.7 Treatment of Mental Disorders in Children and Adolescents

Since mental disorders in childhood and adolescence often differ from the psychopathological features of classical mental disorders in adulthood, particular attention should be paid to the occurrence of symptoms. In many cases, somatoform symptoms such as increased abdominal pain indicate the mental suffering. Therefore, it is important to seek professional advice and help to identify a possible mental disorder and its causes. Most disorders in childhood can be treated well and successfully, with the prognosis being better the earlier the treatment is (Steinhausen, 2000). Regardless of the disorder shown by

the child or adolescent, a comprehensive diagnostics of the present symptoms should be carried out first. The diagnostics has the task within child and adolescent psychiatry and psychotherapy to detect, describe and clarify the causes of mental disorders and to derive therapeutic measures from this (Fegert et al., 2012). For example, questionnaire methods can be helpful to get an overview of the disorder, to distinguish between different disorders and to include the perspectives of different assessors (parents, teachers, educators, children/adolescents). Adolescents often find it easier to give problems in a questionnaire first (Schneider & Döpfner, 2004). Depending on the severity of the disorder, there are different treatment approaches that can be carried out both outpatient and inpatient and should always be individually tailored to the patient. In addition, the involvement of parents and family members in therapy, especially with younger children, is of great importance. Although their well-intentioned, but nevertheless unfavorable behavior often leads to the maintenance or even the emergence of the problem. Therefore, their psychoeducation, that is, the systematic and structured provision of health and disorder-relevant information and skills, is particularly effective (Mühlig & Jacobi, 2011). Overall, the therapy of children and adolescents is carried out in a holistic approach and taking into account their development-specific features. It takes into account the interactions between child, family and environment as well as the life and experience situation of growing up (Fegert et al., 2012).

3.3.8 Outlook

For children and adolescents, schools are the main institutions in terms of experiencing racism as an expression of discrimination, bullying, and victimization of a racist nature (Mansouri & Jenkins, 2010). Nevertheless, the school institution can also be seen as a place where children and adolescents can learn about cultural diversity and explore their own cultural identity within a multicultural society (Walton et al., 2014). It also plays an important role in shaping opinions and attitudes towards cultural diversity and can raise awareness of racism (Paluck & Green, 2009). Experiences of racism that are experienced within the school institution must not be minimized or trivialized, as they can lead to profound psychological consequences, especially in the sensitive developmental phases of childhood and adolescence. The sensitization and psychoeducation of students and teaching staff is therefore of great importance in order to be able to recognize the various forms of racism and racist discrimination at an early stage and to take appropriate countermeasures. We are all called upon to look and listen more carefully in order to recognize racism, no matter in what form it is expressed, and to take active action against it. The demonstration of the negative impact of racism in any form on the mental health of students highlights the need for more effective school prevention and intervention programs to prevent and counteract racist discrimination and to better promote the individual resources of children and adolescents.

3.4 Physical/Physiological Effects of Racism

The previous section already explained the psychological effects of racism and discrimination; the following section will address the somewhat less studied physical effects. Figure 3.1 shows how racism is perceived by a person affected by it. According to this, after an environmental stimulus has occurred, constitutional factors (e.g. skin color), socio-demographic factors (e.g. socio-economic status), psychological and behavioral factors (e.g. cynical hostility) play a major role in the process of perceiving racism (Clark et al., 1999). In addition, it can be observed that the physical and physiological effects and the associated health conditions described in the following are the effects caused by perceived racism.

When racism or a form of discrimination is perceived, it acts as a mental stressor on the affected person (Anderson, 2012). It is therefore the stress generated from the experiences that leads to the somatic complaints of a person (see Fig. 3.2). One the one hand, this article deals with the physical consequences that can arise from the stress caused by discrimination. On the other hand, racism and discrimination often lead to acts of violence, which in turn lead to injuries. These will also be counted among the physical consequences caused by discrimination in this article. Finally, a brief excursus will be made on the possible effects of racism and discrimination on the perpetrators.

3.4.1 High Blood Pressure and Coronary Artery Calcification

It is known that cardiovascular diseases are one of the leading causes of death, with hypertension (high blood pressure) being one of the main risk factors for most of these diseases (Ehlert, 2016). High blood pressure can be a long-term consequence of stress,

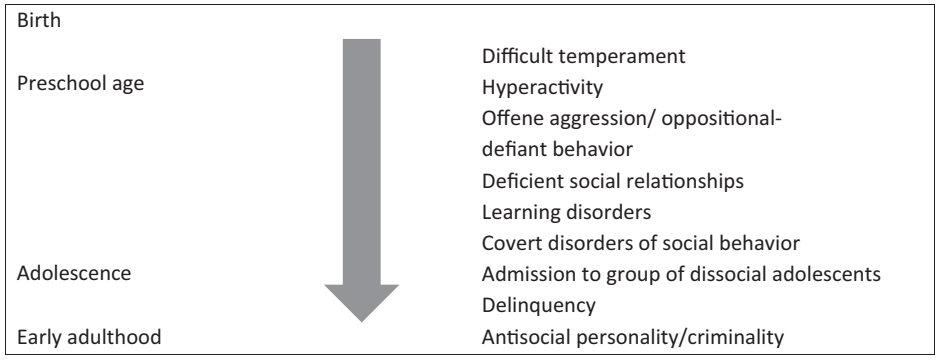

Fig. 3.1 Development model for disorders of social behavior (Steinhausen, 2000 based on Loeber, 1990)

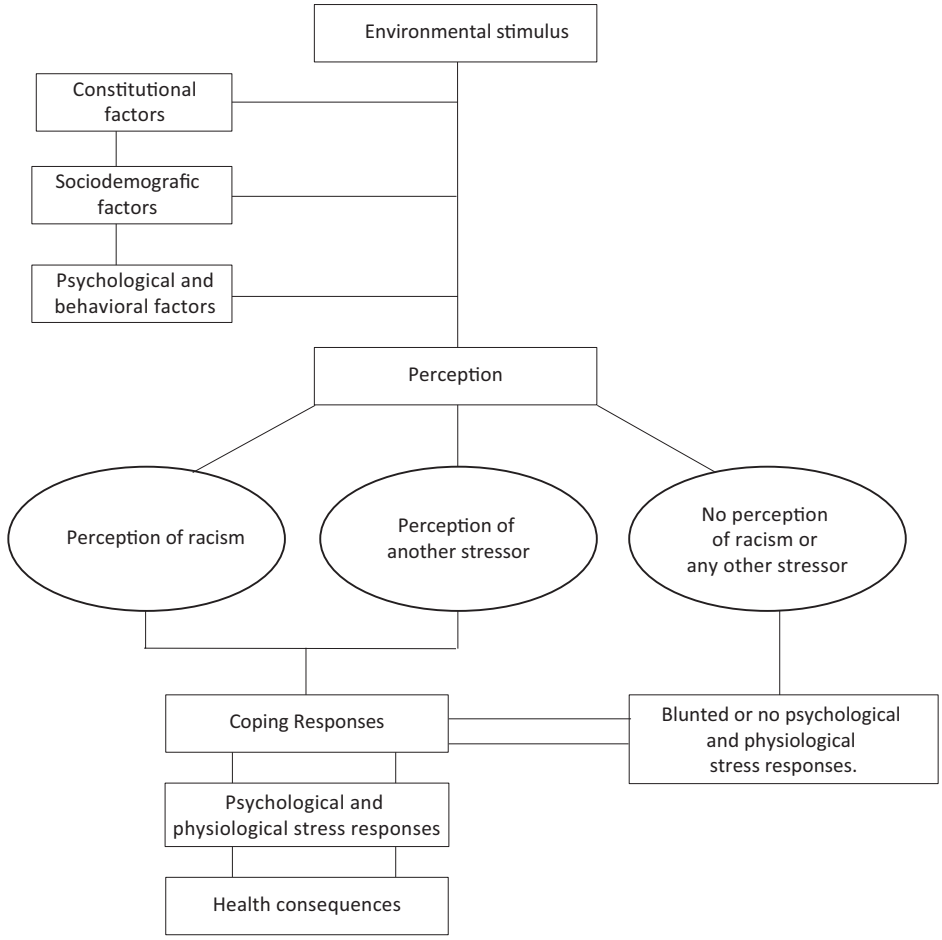

Fig. 3.2 A contextual model for examining the biopsychosocial effects of perceived racism according to Clark et al. (1999)

but can also occur acutely in everyday life, for example through the experience of racist remarks (Beelmann & Jonas, 2009). In a study by Armstead et al. (1989), 27 African American students were shown videos with anger-inducing, then neutral, and finally non-racist situations. After each of the three clips, the blood pressure, mood and anger of the subjects were measured. It turned out that exposure to racist stimuli was associated with an increase in blood pressure in African American men (Armstead et al., 1989).

It was similar with African American women, to whom video clips with racist situations were shown. Here there were changes in mood and increases in cardiovascular activity and electromyographic, that is, the electrical activity of the muscles (Jones et al., 1996). Krieger and Sydney (1996) were able to establish a U-shaped relationship

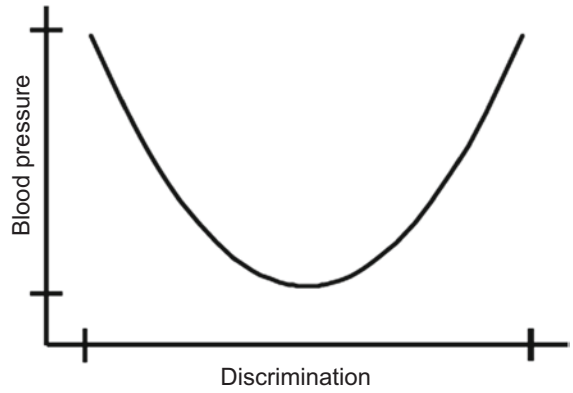

Fig. 3.3 U-shaped relationship between blood pressure and discrimination taken from Beelmann and Jonas (2009) based on findings from Krieger and Sidney (1996)

between blood pressure and experiences of discrimination in their longitudinal study (see Fig. 3.3). This would mean that people who are not discriminated against would have high blood pressure, at moderate experienced discrimination the blood pressure would be low, and from moderate to high discrimination the blood pressure of a person would be high again. Since this seemed unlikely, the results were interpreted to mean that people who are subjected to discrimination have a lower risk of high blood pressure if they are able to not take their experiences of discrimination so closely to themselves (Krieger & Sidney, 1996). Other results show, as in the studies described above, a positive relationship between blood pressure and discrimination, according to which increased discrimination is associated with increased blood pressure (see Fig. 3.4) (Guyll et al., 2001).

One of the most common cardiovascular diseases is atherosclerosis of the coronary arteries (calcification of the coronary arteries). Hypertension is also a major risk factor in this case. Accordingly, there is also a positive correlation between discrimination and coronary artery calcification, which means that the probability of suffering from coronary artery calcification increases with increased discrimination (Lewis et al., 2006). In

Fig. 3.4 Positive relationship between blood pressure and discrimination according to Beelmann and Jonas (2009) based on findings from Guyll et al. (2001)

the study by Lewis et al. (2006), it could be shown, for example, that African-American women who were chronically exposed to discrimination had a higher risk of coronary calcification. In the aforementioned study, the presence of coronary artery calcification was determined once a year in 181 middle-aged African-American women who were chronically exposed to several types of discrimination (over 5 years or longer), from which the aforementioned result was obtained.

3.4.2 Sleep and Sexual Problems

Human sleep consists of two states, REM (rapid eye movement) sleep and non-REM sleep (Carskadon & Dement, 2011). Non-REM sleep is divided into 4 sleep phases, in which sleep becomes deeper with the height of the sleep phase, which means that, for example, sleep in sleep phase 4 is deeper than in phase 2. Thus, sleep phase 4 represents the deep sleep phase, which is both psychologically and physically the most restful and therefore the most important sleep phase. The REM phase, during which one's eyes move quickly and one dreams, is a separate phase in itself, outside the 4 phases of non-REM sleep (Carskadon & Dement, 2011). Studies have shown that African Americans felt more fatigue during the day than white Americans (Steele et al., 1998) and also had fewer deep sleep phases (Stepnowsky et al., 2003). In a study by Thomas et al. (2006), it was investigated whether ethnic discrimination plays a role in these effects. It turned out that people who experienced more discrimination reported less sleep of stage 4 (deep sleep) and more physical fatigue (Thomas et al., 2006).

Sexuality is also influenced by racist and discriminatory experiences. Stress and trauma can lead to sexual problems (Letourneau et al., 1996) and sexual minorities, such as homosexual people, experience more stress than non-minorities through various forms of discrimination (Brooks et al., 2018). Because of their double minority status, gay African Americans have it even harder and encounter daily difficulties more often due to discrimination (Crawford et al., 2002). It was precisely this minority group (gay and bisexual African Americans) that was the subject of a study by Zamboni and Crawford (2006). It turned out that sexual problems are associated with abuse, psychiatric symptoms, low life satisfaction and low social support. The perceived stress plays a role again, because it leads to psychiatric symptoms, which can then lead to sexual problems (Zamboni & Crawford, 2006).

3.4.3 Abdominal Body Fat and Weight Changes

The perception of racism and discrimination can also have an effect on a person's appearance. This in the form of a change in the abdominal fat percentage (Vines et al., 2007) and weight (Cozier et al., 2009). In a study by Tull et al. (1999), among other things, the relationship between internalized racism and abdominal obesity was exam-

ined in a population of black Caribbean women. Internalized racism describes the extent to which, for example, African Americans agree with racist stereotypes about their own ethnic group. A positive relationship was found between the level of stress-related variables (e.g. internalized racism) and waist circumference. More specifically, regardless of age, education, and overall obesity, the probability of abdominal obesity was 2.3 times higher for women with high internalized racism than for women with low internalized racism (Tull et al., 1999). Women therefore had less motivation to exercise or ate more the more they agreed with racist stereotypes about their own ethnic group. In contrast, Vines et al. (2007) found that a higher perception of racism is more likely to be associated with a lower than a higher waist-to-hip ratio. However, the internalized racism of the subjects was not measured here. It can be concluded that the perception of racism can have an effect on the abdominal fat percentage. This finding is supported by a study by Cozier et al. (2009), in which the change in waist circumference of African American women and, moreover, the weight gain were in a positive relationship with the perceived racism.

3.4.4 Health

There is evidence from around the world that discrimination can lead to poorer health outcomes overall. In Asia (Harris et al., 2012), among African American men and women (Borrell et al., 2006), among Asian American immigrants (Yoo et al., 2009), among Australian Aboriginal people (Larson et al., 2007) and among job seekers (Gee & Walsemann, 2009), links have been found between reported or self-reported discrimination and poorer physical or mental health. For African Americans, poorer health outcomes can also be due to institutional racism, which leads to inequalities in living conditions and access to healthcare (Kwate et al., 2003). As already explained, everyday discrimination is associated with more stress, which in turn leads to more depressive symptoms and, as a result, poorer health outcomes (Earnshaw et al., 2016). In addition to poorer health due to perceived discrimination, however, perceived racist privileges can also lead to poorer physical and mental health (Fujishiro, 2009). Finally, reduced health can also be due to health-related behaviours (e.g. alcohol consumption, drug use, smoking), which in turn are positively associated with reported discrimination (Priest et al., 2013).

3.4.5 Violence

It is well known that, in addition to verbal aggression, racism and discrimination can also lead to violence. For example, gay and bisexual young men report increased physical violence against them (Huebner et al., 2004). Transgender people also often have to deal

with violent attacks (Lombardi et al., 2002). If they also belong to an ethnic minority, the risk of social discrimination and violence is even higher (Wong et al., 2010).

To illustrate such violent attacks and their consequences for the victims, two case studies are presented below. The aim is to express the feelings of the excluded and abused people and the serious consequences of the everyday attacks they experience.

Case study 1: Violence due to discrimination (Bochenek & Brown, 2001, pp. 1–2)

Dylan N. told his family he was gay when he was twelve years old, but this fact didn't come as a surprise to them. "I was labeled as different from a young age," he explained in a December 1999 interview in Atlanta, Georgia. During the first semester of his second year of college, Dylan appeared on a local public-access television program as a participant in a discussion about the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students in high school. When it was rumored among his classmates that he was gay, they began subjecting him to constant harassment because of his sexual orientation. Some of his classmates started making fun of him routinely by calling him "faggot," "homo," and other derogatory terms. "That was just part of the normal routine," Dylan said.

The verbal harassment quickly escalated into physical violence. Other students began spitting on him and throwing food at him. One day, six students cornered him in the parking lot of his school, threw a rope around his neck, and said, "Let's tie the faggot to the back of the truck."

He managed to escape his tormentors and ran into the school. When he found one of the assistant principals, he tried to tell her what had just happened to him. "I was still hysterical," he said. "I tried to explain, but I stumbled over my words. She laughed."

The school took no action to discipline Dylan's harassers. Instead, the school officials told him not to discuss his sexual orientation with other students.

"In retrospect, I was so unpopular," he said. "I tried to start gay-straight alliances. I tried to do so much."

After the rope incident, the harassment and violence intensified. "I lived in the principal's office because there were other harassments going on," he said. "Everyone knew about it. That just gave permission for a whole new level of physical things."

In order to escape the relentless harassment, Dylan requested a transfer to another school in the district. At the end of the semester, the district placed him in an alternative school for students with poor academic performance or behavioral problems.

"The principal had a real problem with me," Dylan said. "He told me he would not tolerate me acting like a faggot in school. After one semester there, I realized it wasn't a place where I could get an education."

Dylan was able to transfer to a traditional school the following year, when he was fifteen years old, but the school administration again instructed him not to discuss his sexual orientation with other students.

The gag rule that was imposed on him by the school did not protect him from his classmates, who learned from his former classmates at his first school that he was gay. "It was always the same," he said. "They would push me against the lockers and call me a faggot. They would chase me around campus in their cars and scream 'faggot' out the window." Once his teacher left the room while some of his classmates were throwing things at him. On another occasion, a group of students surrounded him outside of school, beat him, shouted that he was a slut, and while this was happening, security guards were nearby. When the fight ended, he said: "I was completely bloody. I was bleeding from both lips, my nose, and behind my ear."

Dylan tried to return to his second school, the alternative school, but the school officials rejected his request to be transferred back there. "What they did was they put me in the adult education program. The reason was that I would be around people who are much more acceptable. What they didn't tell me was that I wouldn't have a chance to get a high school diploma," he said.

This case example is an example of discrimination based on sexual orientation. Here, the various consequences of everyday discrimination in school can be seen as well as institutional discrimination. ◄

Case example 2: Violence through racism (Wendel, 2003, pp. 73–74)

"The attack took place on New Year's Eve of the year 1999/2000, during the so-called Millennium New Year's Eve. The scene of the crime was Rathenow, which at that time was the location of two asylum seeker accommodation with approximately 150 asylum seekers. A group of six Pakistani asylum seekers visited a nightclub. They then went on to the city center. They had not been living in Rathenow for long and expected to be able to celebrate New Year's Eve together with Germans. What they did not know is that the central intersection in Rathenow was the meeting point of the right-wing scene every New Year's Eve. So they ended up in the middle of a confusing gathering of about 50 people, many of them drunk, including various right-wing cliques. A five- or six-person clique noticed the Pakistanis, a call was enough, and the clique stormed the Pakistanis and beat two of them. The Pakistanis fled, pursued by the right-wing attackers, who shot at them with flares and threw bottles. One of the Pakistanis was hit and caught up. He was badly beaten until a German family came by on their way home and called for them to stop. The family provided first aid and called the police. While they were waiting for the police, they and the injured were pelted with fireworks by another right-wing clique. The injured was taken to hospital where two broken incisors and severe bruising were found. He had to stay in hospital for 5 days."

This case example could once again show how quickly and unexpectedly violence can occur. There was no reason for violence and there were no indications that such would occur soon. The innocent people were simply "in the wrong place at the wrong time", i.e. that this incident only occurred because of the bad attitudes of the people present at this location. ◄

3.4.6 Excursus: Effects on the Perpetrator

The psychological and physical effects that can occur in victims of racism and discrimination have been largely explained so far. It is mostly the perspective of the victims that is the focus of most of the studies conducted to date. The effects of racism and discrimination on the perpetrators, on the other hand, have been researched to a much lesser extent. However, it can be assumed that the perpetrators themselves experience physical and psychological consequences as a result of the racist behavior. A similar phenomenon can be found in research on the consequences of bullying on the perpetrators themselves. Because bullying incidents have lasting negative effects on perpetrators, victims and observers of bullying behavior (Polanin et al., 2012). However, it is the case that, among other things, perpetrators of discrimination often deny and react negatively to confrontations (Dickter et al., 2012). It is assumed that this reaction occurs because the accusation of discrimination can cause fear and negative emotions (Colella & King, 2017). This fear can, for example, be explained by the fact that it is socially undesirable to discriminate against other people (Dovidio et al., 2005). After an accusation, it is even possible, in the ideal case, that the perpetrators try to change their future behavior in order to not be accused again (Colella & King, 2017). These consequences do not seem to have any greater psychological consequences for the perpetrators, in contrast to the violent crimes investigated by Evans et al. (2007). Their study was about the relationship between emotional and cognitive factors and intrusive memories in perpetrators of violent crimes. It turned out that almost half (about 48 people) of the violent criminals had distressing intrusive memories and a few of the respondents even had symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. Since the crimes were intended violent crimes, the number of perpetrators suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder was low. Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that perpetrators can also develop post-traumatic stress disorder. The intrusions were, among other things, associated with fear, a negative view of the self, and self-accusations (Evans et al., 2007).

Conclusion

In general, it can be said that racism and discrimination can lead to physical effects such as weight changes, sleep and sexual problems, in addition to the extensively researched mental effects. In addition, there can be changes in blood pressure, which in the worst case can lead to cardiovascular disease. It should be noted that the physical effects usually occur after the psychological effects and are mostly caused by mental stress. Violent acts against ethnic minorities or people whose sexual orientation deviates from the norm are also difficult to avoid. The above-mentioned case examples show that already adolescents in school perform discriminatory actions and exclude minorities. These abuses often remain in the memory of the victims for a long time and can influence their entire school career and private life. This applies to both the victims and the perpetrators, who

both make negative experiences, just from a different perspective. Therefore, it is of great importance to introduce programs as early as possible that prevent these negative behaviors and enable people to have a more open view and a higher acceptance.

3.5 Effects of Racism on School Life

3.5.1 Introduction: Cultural Diversity

Since the 1970s, the topic of "cultural and linguistic diversity" has also received greater attention in Europe, not least because data from educational research highlighted that children with an immigrant background were, and still are, at a distinct disadvantage in the school system. (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019). Migration is a continuous social phenomenon that, depending on the time, receives varying levels of attention. There were times when migrants were welcome, but often they were not. "We are currently in a phase of high attention" (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019, p. 2). This phase began with the global refugee movement, which has been going on since around 2014. It seems that in the Western world migration is mainly linked with negative associations. One possible explanation for this is that sedentism is still seen as a civilized norm and nomadism as a way of life of the uncivilized barbarians, as it was the case in antiquity. It is observable that migration is undertaken rather early than late in life and thus more young people migrate to Europe. Therefore, the institutions of education and childcare are particularly affected (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019). Since the characteristic of a migrant background has become an integral part of educational research, a broad field of research has emerged that focuses on the comparison between children with and without a migration background (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019).

In recent years, more and more people have emigrated or sought political asylum. Although cultural diversity in schools continues to grow, young people with a migration background share the experience of belonging to a cultural minority and the schools and their educational systems are often poorly prepared and overwhelmed with this great diversity of their student population (Schachner et al., 2016). The students are confronted with prejudices and exclusion in their everyday school life, which puts them at higher risk for lower well-being and poorer mental health, also affecting their school life (Schachner et al., 2018). Prejudices are expressions of antipathy that are based on false and rigid generalizations. Prejudices are group-based and rely on the categorization of individuals (Zick et al., 2011). In terms of academic achievement, students with a migration background not only tend to lag behind their peers in educational qualification, but there are also clear inequalities, especially with regard to participation characteristics and acquired competences (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019; Schachner et al., 2016). For this reason, scientists set out to explore the causes and develop offers for improvement (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019).

3.5.2 Racism and Discrimination in Schools

Racial discrimination is defined as the perception of negative attitudes and unfair treatment of diffrent members of a group (Dunbar et al., 2017). Racism occurs at different levels of the education system. These describe the different ways in which students from ethnic minorities experience discrimination in their daily school lives (Masko, 2014). These different levels interact with each other, making racism a constantly changing oppressive force in schools (Brooks et al., 2018).

Looking at the consequences of racism in European schools, two levels play a greater role, institutional as well as personal racism.

Institutional level The institutional level refers to the school, embedded in a system with regulations that, based on their origin, give different people advantages (Masko, 2014). A distinction is made between direct and indirect institutional discrimination. Direct discrimination refers to regular actions in organizations, which can be highly formalized regulations or informal practices that are routine-based. An example of direct discrimination is the deferral of children with an immigrant background from elementary schools to kindergarten due to language deficits. This is discriminatory because kindergarten is not legally intended for language acquisition. Indirect discrimination includes a whole range of institutional arrangements that disproportionately negatively affect members of certain ethnic groups. The underlying mechanisms usually result from the application of the same rules, which result in unequal opportunities for different groups (Auernheimer, 2006). Indirect discrimination becomes apparent i when, for example, diagnostic procedures are used for school enrollmentto diagnose a lack of school readiness or school ability from a lack of German language. In an assessment, Gomolla and Radtke (2009) found the following quote: “Presumably N. could meet the requirements of the secondary school level in his home country under optimal conditions. However, since he is exposed to more difficult environmental conditions, his capacity is not sufficient to compensate for the language deficits.” (Auernheimer, 2006, p. 93).

Personnel level Personal racism describes the racism practiced by individual people who have racist beliefs and actions. This can be seen, for example, in schools in the low expectations teachers have of students with other ethnic backgrounds. Racist actions can also be characterized by the fact that children report a racist incident to the teachers, who do not address it or deal with it. This makes children feel unsafe and misunderstood (Masko, 2014). These discriminations are harmful experiences for children and adolescents from ethnic minority groups (Dunbar et al., 2017).

Racial discrimination embedded in everyday life is also called everyday racism. This can be classified into the personal level of racism. A helpful concept in this context are the widely researched “microaggressions”. In summary, microaggressions are hurtful

and offensive verbal and non-verbal messages that minorities experience in everyday life (Nguyen, 2013). These are often automatic and unconscious actions, but they can have serious effects on the concerned person. Research on racism focuses primarily on these microaggressions (Masko, 2014). An example of this is being asked about origin as a person *of Color*[4] (Nguyen, 2013).

There is a close connection between institutional and everyday racism, with the difference that in institutional racism the disadvantaging behavior is linked to organizational structures and not to the person. Everyday racism is hidden in seemingly harmless comments, jokes and factual terms. Everyday racism targets the unequal treatment of members of society based on their origin, while institutional racism unfolds its negative effects even when all individuals, despite unequal privileges, are treated equally (Fereidooni & El, 2016). This quote clearly shows that both forms can have far-reaching consequences for students from ethnic minorities.

Note

Empirical verification of discrimination and racism is challenging explanations are often given for the inequalities that, at first glance, do not represent an obvious discrimination (see Sect. 3.2.1). In order to prove that the inequalities arise from discrimination and racism, these inequalities would still have to exist when all other factors are controlled for. For example, one other factor that is often listed as a cause of inequalities is the socioeconomic status. In the discussion about people with a migration background it is often argued that they have a low socioeconomic status and therefore enter lower levels of the job market or education system because they do not have the necessary resources to be successful in education (e.g. tutoring). Therefore, various articles argue that it is rarely certain whether the inequalities actually arise from discrimination or from other factors (e.g. socioeconomic status, low education) and characteristics of people with a migration background (Alba et al., 2017). On the other hand, there are many researchers who affirm the possibility of discriminatory actions or regulations in their reports. They nevertheless argue that it is too difficult to investigate the discrimination hypothesis (Flam & Kleres, 2008). The uncovering of the underlying mechanisms of racist discrimination is a challenge, as they are often embedded in the normal everyday culture of an organization. This refers, for example, to everyday decisions within the school that can have negative consequences for the children. These can be observed through a lack of transparency in the educational work towards the parents, because the expectations of the teachers towards the child are not very high,

[4] "The term People of Color is a political self-designation of people who experience different forms of racism." (Nguyen, 2013, p. 24).

or because they are not willing enough to address the language skills of the family (Auernheimer, 2006)

3.5.3 Europe's Schools and Racist Discrimination

Prejudices against people with a migration background still prevail in Europe today, which increases the risk of experiencing discrimination and negatively affects the school adjustment of those affected (Schachner et al., 2018). As mentioned earlier, many children with a migration background experience institutionalized inequality in the school system. This population has poor oportunities in the education system. In recent years, the average level of school qualifications for children with a migration background has continuously increased, but the gap between them and their German classmates, whose school success has also improved, has remained the same. Furthermore, large differences in educational participation can be observed between national groups (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009). The prejudices differ depending on the origin of the people. For example, German teachers report more prejudices regarding the competence, social behaviour and culture of children and adolescents of Turkish origin compared to students with Italian origin or without migration background (Schachner et al., 2018).

PISA study The attention that the topic of migration receives in educational sciences is mainly due to the PISA study (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019). The PISA 2000 study and subsequent school performance surveys revived criticism of inequality of educational opportunities. Attention was again paid in particular to educational success in relation to migration background, socio-economic status, and gender. This study revealed structural deficiencies in the German education system, which led to a deep-seated shock among the population. However, these alarming findings had not been remedied by 2003. In fact, the disparity in educational opportunities for students with a migration background worsened (Auernheimer, 2006). Even in 2006, the PISA study showed that the educational inequalities related to students with a migration background are particularly pronounced in Germany (Seibert et al., 2009). Overall, the PISA studies in recent years have shown that a migration background has a negative impact on educational careers. However, the underlying causes were not further analysed and too little research was directed toward institutional factors. Instead, attempts have been made to construct explanatory approaches that highlight the characteristics of children and parents with a migration background (Flam & Kleres, 2008).

3.5.4 Explanations of the Inequalities

There are different explanations for the unequal distribution of educational opportunities and outcomes, which in turn are usually related to racial discrimination. The explanations are either related to the characteristics of the children or to the decision-making procedures within the school as an organization. Both sets of causes can also be combined. These different explanations lead to different practical consequences, depending on which one is chosen (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009).

If we look at the qualitative research that deals with the positioning of children with a migration background and their problems in German schools, we recognize that it focuses primarily on the characteristics of such children. An attempt is made to answer the question which of these characteristics—whether socio-economic status, culture or the perspective of residence—is responsible for the poorer performance compared to children without migration background (Flam & Kleres, 2008).

Socio-economic status One of the common explanations involves the *socio-economic status (SES).* As noted in various research reports, socio-economic factors play a major role in explaining the divergence in the educational trajectories and outcomes between students with and without a migration background. Thus, an attempt is made to explain the differences in achievement between school children by the SES. It is assumed that children with a high SES perform better because their parents have the necessary resources, such as money for tutoring. Various studies have shown that there is a correlation between the SES, and the migration background. Often, schoolchildren with a migration background come from households with a low SES, which can also partly explain the performance differences.

Cultural factors Another explanation for the inequalities refers to *cultural factors,* such as the language spoken at home and its effects on academic achievement, as well as the degree of acculturation of the family (the extent to which the culture of the place of residence is adopted, i.e. acquisition of new norms, values and role models of a previously unfamiliar or immigrant culture).

In the literature, it is argued that school-relevant skills such as sufficient German language skills, play a key role in successful participation in school lessons (Tuppat & Becker, 2014). The lack of language skills of not only the students but also their parents is considered and associated with their resulting inability to teach their children the language (Flam & Kleres, 2008). The assumption that missing German language skills are related to a of school readiness or ability, as well as the association with parental inability, is a form of indirect discrimination (Auernheimer, 2006).

When considering argument of the degree of acculturation of the family, it is often argued that a high degree of acculturation is associated with better opportunities for family support, which could facilitate the child's participation in school lessons (Tuppat &

Becker, 2014). Overall, it is recognized that explanations for inequalities are often attributed to the support provided by parents. However, it can be argued that these cultural characteristics stand out as signs of difference and are therefore targets of underlying discrimination, which then results in educational disadvantages (Alba et al., 2017).

Residence perspective The *residence perspective* of people with a migration background also often comes into focus in order to explain the disadvantages. It is argued that people with a migration background only see themselves as temporary immigrants and they avoid developing long-term plans because they want to return to their homeland as soon as possible. Therefore, they take their children out of the school system as early as possible and send them to the job market to increase the family income and thus get closer to their goal. However, tit can be argued that the desire to return home can also be attributed to a lack of security in the country of residence. These insecurities could, in turn, arise from the unfamiliarity, social stigmatization, and discrimination that people with a migration background face (Alba et al., 2017).

Conclusion

However, these explanations do often not sufficiently explain the inequalities. If one looks at the explanations for the inequalities, one can also see that they partly extend into everyday racism. You can find this type of racism, for example, in the belief that speaking German equates to being German, that foreigners are unable of learning German, and in the assertion that children with a migration background cannot learn German if their parents do not speak this language. Overall, it can be argued that this perspective makes parents appear as "indifferent and inadequate parents" who "do not (can't) care about their children's education." (Flam & Kleres, 2008, p. 71). As a result, according to Flam and Kleres (2008), the parents of children with a migration background are held responsible for their academic failure, justified by their own characteristics.

Criticism of the explanatory approach

The inequalities between students with and without migration background can on the one hand be attributed to various personal factors, such as gender, school-leaving qualifications, education-relevant resources and skills, parental support behaviour and socio-economic status. On the other hand, one must also take into account mechanisms of discrimination. The individual explanations should not be seen as exclusive, but rather create an overall picture in order to consider the inequalities caused by various factors coming together. Although the discrimination hypothesis is difficult to investigate, it has been shown in several papers that a migration background has negative effects, which persist even when controlling for cognitive and

other personal characteristics, as well as social background, for some ethnic origin groups. Even after controlling for skills, such as German language skills, it appears that barriers to educational access are higher for youth with migration background than for young people without migration background. The most disadvantaged ethnic group in Germany primarily includes young people of Turkish and Arab origin (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019). In addition to the aforementioned explanations, indirect influences of characteristics that should not be relevant for school readiness can also be found. Mechanisms such as racial discrimination could be responsible for these indirect influences (Tuppat & Becker, 2014). Therefore, this influence should not be ignored as an explanation. Accordingly, a last explanation therefore focuses on the disadvantage of minorities as a result of exclusion and discrimination by the majority. According to this approach, the minority is excluded by individual acts of discrimination or through institutionalised discriminatory mechanisms to defend the advantageous position of the majority (Alba et al., 2017)

3.5.5 Consequences of Racism for the Psychosocial School Outcomes

When considering the consequences of racism on the psychosocial outcomes of students of other ethnic backgrounds, the literature mostly focuses on adolescents. This can be explained by adolescence being a critical phase.

Adolescence as a critical phase Adolescence is the time when young people spend more time away from home, making relationships with people at school increasingly important (Gale & Dorsey, 2020). In early adolescence, school plays a large role in the development of ethnic identity, which begins in kindergarten. However, development in kindergarten is still superficial. That's where the kids start thinking about classifications of people by skin color or origin (Masko, 2014). Adolescents show increased vulnerability to discrimination compared to children because they have the cognitive ability to reflect on how their own ethnic group is valued in society. They also develop their own social and ethnic identity, which makes them more aware of how they are treated by others (Thompson & Gregory, 2011). In this phase, many physiological as well as emotional changes come upon the adolescents, and these can affect their psyche and well-being. The risk of adjustment difficulties seems to be further increased for adolescents with an immigrant background because they have to coper with many other demands. They have to overcome cultural, socio-economic and linguistic barriers and adapt to a context characterized by cultural norms and practices of the respective society. In addition to these requirements, adolescents with an immigrant background are often confronted with racial discrimination at school and have greater difficulties adapting to the

new class and peer group, as well as establishing successful relationships with teachers (Schachner et al., 2016). According to Harvey (1984), no other social institution has such a direct and significant impact on the mental health of ethnic minorities as the educational system. Schools can therefore be seen as an important acculturative context for adolescents with an immigrant background. Their successful adaptation at school is the result of a successful acculturation process, which facilitates long-term integration into society (Schachner et al., 2016).

Consequences for school outcomes Unfortunately, the context of school is often the first in which children experience racial discrimination (Gale & Dorsey, 2020). Within the classroom context, interactions with teachers and peers contribute to the development of the child. In this regard, these positive and negative experiences contribute to development and its acculturative outcomes, but so do teachers' beliefs, pedagogical interventions, and the nature and strength of interactions. Acculturative outcomes often differ from those of peers without an immigrant background. If students experience everyday racism at school, this is a strong stressor and can lead to psychological consequences such as depression, anxiety and other mental health conditions (Masko, 2014; Schachner et al., 2018).

The experience of racism also has serious negative consequences for psychosocial and educational outcomes, affecting perceptions of school climate, relationships with people at school, the quality of the academic program, and feelings of safety and justice (Gale & Dorsey, 2020). The chronicity of racial discrimination seems to indicate that it should be considered as a chronic stressor. Moreover, experiencing discrimination increases individual vulnerability to other negative experiences by amplifying the stress response (Dunbar et al., 2017).

The negative school consequences of a racist climate and discrimination are already well researched (Banerjee et al., 2018). Correlations were found between racial discrimination and lower academic achievement, lower academic self-concept, and academic relevance. Likewise, negative consequences for children's and adolescents' school motivation and self-confidence have been identified. Racial discrimination may cause youth to think less positively about their academic abilities or even to drop out of school (Banerjee et al., 2018). Some studies differentiate the consequences of racial discrimination depending on who performs the discriminatory behaviors. In the school context, a distinction can be made between teachers and peers (Banerjee et al., 2018).

3.5.5.1 Role of Teachers

"Assessing individuals is one of the core tasks of teaching" (Baumert et al., 2019, p. 596). The assessment refers to students' performance, development, their work behavior, motivation to learn, self-regulatory skills, and social behavior. These personal judgments develop in the teaching process and everyday school life, and are mainly validated through performance-related situations (exams, term papers) and class discussions (Baumert et al., 2019). It should be noted that assessments can never be completely objective. Stereotypes are mainly relied upon when little or no personal information

is available (Baumert et al., 2019). These stereotypes and the everyday choices teachers make can result to inequalities for different groups (Broden & Mecheril, 2007). For example, in 2004, Flam and Kleres conducted 24 interviews with teachers, which showed that they used the arguments produced by science to explain the inequalities of students with an immigrant background. As a result, teachers unconsciously internalize the scientific arguments mentioned, which maintain and reinforces antipathy and indifference towards children with an immigrant background. This makes the situation particularly significant because teachers act as "gate-keepers" in the school system, deciding on the further school career of all children, using scientific arguments to justify explicit discrimination (Flam & Kleres, 2008).

Perceived racial discrimination by teachers rather leads to poorer academic performance, less academic engagement, and dropping out of school (Banerjee et al., 2018). Poorer school performance may be partially explained by the impact of perceived racism on neurocognition and its influence on the necessary skills to perform tasks. Namely, perceived racism increases anxiety and anger, feelings that lead to perception of threat, and at the same time to impaired neurocognitive capacity (Nagendra et al., 2018). The reduced school engagement can be explained by decreased feelings of academic competence, academic uselessness, and diminished sense of belonging due to experiences of racial discrimination. Here, academic competence and sense of belonging play a role in terms of academic commitment. This in turn is an important predictor of academic success for young people with an immigrant background (Schachner et al., 2018). This could be seen as a type of cascade in which discrimination leads to different consequences, ultimately resulting in lower school success for the students.

Teacher Expectations Another explanation for the lower academic achievement can be found in teachers' expectations, which also have a major impact on their students' achievement and well-being. Several studies show that teachers have lower (performance) expectations for students of ethnic minorities and also provide them with less positive encouragement (Schachner et al., 2018). An older study by Holliday (1985) already showed that teachers' attitudes are a critical moderator of Black childrens' achievement. There is speculation as to whether the negative expectations may lead to learned helplessness. This means that the children learn that no matter how hard they try, good grades cannot be achieved and therefore there is a lack of effort (Holliday, 1985). Recent research reports that these low expectations can lead to self-fulfilling effects, that are harmful to already stigmatized groups. Unfounded low expectations can have direct consequences for school pathways, especially within school systems that are allegedly ranked by ability (Schachner et al., 2018). For example, it has been shown that teachers wrote less favorable letters of recommendation to students with an immigrant background, for the same performance as to their peers without an immigrant background. Furthermore, correlations have been found between implicit bias and lower grades as well as larger achievement gaps among students with an immigrant background. These

correlations are of great importance when considering the effects of underlying biases, that continue to have a disadvantageous impact on students' outcomes (Schachner et al., 2018). These serious consequences suggest that examining one's own attitudes critically of racism remains an important foundation of educational professionalism (Broden & Mecheril, 2007).

Racialized attributions Racialized attributions can also have a negative effect on students' academic outcomes. Black youth often experience attributions that have little to do with themselves, for example when their excellent German skills are considered unusual (Nguyen, 2013). This subtle attribution can already be classified as racist and discriminatory. Another attribution that young people with an immigrant background experience is the assumption that they will not have educational success, which implicitly conveys to them what place they should take in society. As mentioned above (explanation of inequalities by the characteristics of the children), young people are confronted in educational debates with attributions concerning their supposed intelligence, abilities, willingness to perform and educational ambitions, as well as those of their parents. These attributions create a number of problems. On the one hand, they are significant because they infuriate and humiliate those involved. Furthermore, they are associated with increasing demands in order to do especially well and lastly they have an influence on the self-confidence and the educational trajectories (Scharathow, 2017). Such attributions are facets of deficit-oriented and racialized attributions toward people of different ethnic background (Nguyen, 2013). The racist experiences in school are not all direct or public, but are accompanied by feelings of disadvantage and of not being welcome. Above all, the less obvious situations are everyday forms of racism, and discrimination, and failure to recognize these situations can result in the problems mentioned (Nguyen, 2013).

Protective factors The role of teachers can also act as a protective factor and have positive consequences. If they, for example, create a positive school climate and build supportive relationships with young people, this can facilitate and promote the adaptation processes of students with an immigrant background. These supportive relationships and the positive climate have a special importance for young people with an immigrant background, as they can even buffer the negative effects of experienced discrimination (Schachner et al., 2016, 2018). Among other things, these protective factors can predict academic engagement and socio-emotional well-being. The support and high expectations of the teachers are important factors in children and adolescents' academic achievement (Bottiani et al., 2016). Numerous research reports exist on school climate and how it can contribute to safety and support so that students can develop academically and emotionally (Masko, 2014).

3.5.5.2 Role of Peers

However, the source of discrimination and possible support are not only teachers, but also peers (Schachner et al., 2018). Belonging to peers and class communities is very relevant in the school context, but adolescents are often confronted with foreign positioning and exclusion (Scharathow, 2017). In this context, they primarily experience aggression and bullying based on their ethnic origin or race. This type of bullying is described as *particularly emotionally damaging* because it involves a person's self and leads primarily to low self-esteem and low school engagement (Schachner et al., 2018). This also explains why the racism of peers tends to have greater negative consequences on psychological well-being and academic persistence. In this regard, the "feeling of belonging" plays an important role and is a good predictor of motivational variables (Banerjee et al., 2018). However, these experiences of exclusionary practices are often invisible to those who are not confronted with them (Scharathow, 2017). The exclusions are often not explicitly justified, for example when everyone is invited to a meeting, but the youth with an immigrant background is not, and when asked, it is claimed that too many people have already been invited. Without the racist justification, there is no proof that this exclusion has something to do with the migrantion status, but the suspicion about a connection remains (Scharathow, 2017).

Protective factors Just like teachers, peers can also act as protective factors. The supportive relationships with classmates can also facilitate and promote the adaptation processes of students with an immigrant background (Schachner et al., 2016). Perceived school equity that embraces inclusion can positively influence feelings of connectedness and school motivation, as well as perceptions of one's own competence (Bottiani et al., 2016).

3.5.5.3 Role of Gender

How adolescents experience racial discrimination and the impact it has on their school life is also related to their gender. For example, boys use coping strategies to deal with negative life events, but these negatively affect their academic adjustment. For example, they show, reactive responses to negative events. At school, they adjust to racist and derogatory experiences, disengaging from the school context while minimizing the individual relevance of this domain. On the one hand, this coping protects them, among other things, from the loss of self-concept and self-esteem; on the other hand, it is less beneficial for the achievement attitudes and behaviours that might lead to academic success (Chavous et al., 2008).

Girls, on the other hand, are more concerned with the relationships, connectedness and validation by their peers and teachers. This makes their academic self-concept more vulnerable when they are treated negatively because of their background. There are even studies that confirm that girls use negative academic strategies to avoid negative interactions with peers and teachers. They show, for example, below-average performance or choose easier courses to meet low expectations (Chavous et al., 2008).

3.5.6 Consequences for Long-Term School and Work Career

Racial discrimination in schools, along with its negative consequences for students' well-being and academic outcomes, also has consequences for their school careers and subsequent employment opportunities. The inequalities in school careers are not only due to personal racism, but also institutional racism.

If you consider the school as an organization, then it has the goal with its teachers of "providing each child with the best possible educational offer that meets his or her abilities and needs." (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009, p. 23). This goal serves as a basis for assessing performance and making promotion decisions. The task of the elementary school is, for example, to find the right place for each child in the school system after four (or six) years of schooling. Teachers are confronted with important decisions from kindergarten all the way into the world of work. These include early decisions such as deferral to kindergarten, repeating a grade, and referring to special education. For the transition to secondary school, teachers also have to make essential selection decisions, and all in the context of promoting children's abilities to the best possible extent and giving them the greatest opportunities. These certification or placement decisions are particularly common in the structured education systems of the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg) and the German-speaking countries (Baumert et al., 2019). However, it must not be underestimated that these decisions involve far-reaching interventions in the lives of the students (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009). "Transitions in the education system are considered sites of emergence and reinforcement of sociocultural and gender inequalities" (Baumert et al., 2019, p. 594). This can be attributed to, among other things, institutional discrimination and category-based judgments. Social preferences, stereotypes and/or statistical discrimination may be reflected in these far-reaching decisions. Teachers are often unconsciously confronted with the application of ethnicizing attributions or the recourse to racist prejudices and interpretive schemes in their daily work. Furthermore, the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity in the school system does not do justice to children and adolescents with an immigrant background, whereby they are structurally disadvantaged (Broden & Mecheril, 2007). These structural disadvantages will be discussed in the following sections.

Enrollment & Entry into Elementary School According to Tuppat and Becker (2014), enrollment is "a situation where statistical discrimination can be expected" (p. 226). Often, the decision-makers of the school have limited information about children, especially with regard to their ability to participate successfully in the classroom. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the decision-makers include their prejudiced experiences in their decision, or that they rely on stereotypes in doing so (Tuppat & Becker, 2014).

Children with an immigrant background already have an increased risk of being deferred to kindergarten when they enter primary school. This deferral is usually justi-

fied by additional support needs and linguistic deficits (Auernheimer, 2006). Racial discrimination may also play a role here, as seen especially in Turkish children, who are disproportionately deferred. Decision-makers often recommend deferral when children come from less integrated families. The low integration is related to low education and few support opportunities (Tuppat & Becker, 2014). This deferral to kindergarten can be understood as direct discrimination. Even if the deferral is well-intentioned, in order to protect the child from anticipated failures, the decision is nevertheless discriminatory (Auernheimer, 2006; Tuppat & Becker, 2014).

Referral to special school Institutional racism can also be identified when looking at the disproportionately large number of children and adolescents with an immigrant background in special schools for children with learning disabilities (Auernheimer, 2006). The recommendations of a special school are explicitly justified with German language deficits. Negative achievement predictions are also explained with serious learning impairments that result from language-related "motivational deficits" (Auernheimer, 2006, p. 93). The school failure of children with an immigrant background is argued in a similar way to their deferral to kindergarten, namely by the lack of parental support and psychological stress (Auernheimer, 2006). According to Auernheimer (2006), these factors are seen as learning and integration barriers that would negate the school's support efforts.

Transition to secondary level—selection processes In multi-level school systems, such as those in Germany and Austria, a selection instrument is necessary to regulate the assignment of students to different school types. The selection instrument used is the secondary school recommendation, which is proposed by primary school teachers at the end of elementary school. This recommendation is usually only an orientation for the students and their parents, but the majority of the students follow this recommendation. "The recommendation should be based on the students' academic performance in the sixth grade of elementary school, the results in standardized performance tests in mathematics, German and French, and the assessment of work and learning behavior by the elementary school teacher. In addition, the wishes of the parents should be taken into account." (Klapproth et al., 2013, pp. 356–357). However, the secondary school recommendations do not only reflect the aforementioned abilities and achievements, but also depend on social selection processes that result in educational inequalities.

Primary educational inequalities refer to the inequalities that arise from social background and can thus result in attendance or non-attendance. "Even if children have the same ability, different educational decision are made" (Klapproth et al., 2013, p. 350). For example, students without Luxembourgish nationality were less likely to receive a recommendation for the highest level of education than Luxembourgish students. "Despite the relatively close relationship between a student's nationality and his or her socio-economic status, both variables were still able to contribute significantly to the prediction of recommendation even both controlled for each other, […]." (Klapproth et al.,

2013, p. 373). This means that students with an immigrant background, despite the equal performance, were less likely receive a recommendation for the highest level of education compared to students with Luxembourgish nationality. This was especially true for students of Portuguese origin, who are proportionally the largest group of students with an immigrant background in Luxembourg (Klapproth et al., 2013).

In Germany, too, almost the same patterns can be found in the transition to secondary education. To underline the discrimination, one can cite numbers, such as, in the school year 2002/2003, 70% of all German students achieved a middle or higher school degree, but only 40% of all students with an immigrant background (Flam & Kleres, 2008). Language deficits are used as direct discrimination and thus create inequality. Alba et al. (2017) used, for example, the data from the PISA study on German language skills to emphasize that children with an immigrant background would not face disadvantages if they acquired German language skills. However, achieving this educational goal could also be seen as a burden imposed on the children. Here, the question would be important, which facilitating conditions could be created to help children with an immigrant background to overcome language barriers (Flam & Kleres, 2008).

Even with good grades, students are increasingly being recommended to attend the Realschule or Hauptschule, and this is justified by the fact that success at the Gymnasium is not possible with poor German skills (Auernheimer, 2006). This claim could be confirmed by the longitudinal study Aufwachsen in Deutschland: Alltagswelten (AID:A), that can be translates as "Growing up in Germany: Everyday Worlds". They conducted surveys on development processes over the life course, asking the question whether children with and without an immigrant background have different chances of attending a Gymnasium after elementary school. They controlled for the student achievement and found that children with an immigrant background, regardless of their grades, had lower chances of attending a Gymnasium than resident students (Gogolin & Maaz, 2019). Another often used predictive criterion for school success are the home learning conditions and support opportunities, which are met with a variety of cultural deficit assumptions. This refers, as with the deferral to kindergarten or the transfer to special education, to the lack of school education and the parents' native language. Also missing or wrong educational ambitions and ignorence a of the German school system are mentioned. However, this strategy of downgrading does not take into account that the probability of switching from Haupt- or Realschule to a higher level of education is very low and thus also better-performing children have no chance to move up later (Auernheimer, 2006).

The analyses of Alba et al. (2017) also showed that some of the largest minorities in Germany are disadvantaged in the school system. Children with an immigrant background are more likely to attend the Hauptschule and usually do not complete an apprenticeship afterwards. Even when these factors and others (language skills, …) are controlled, disadvantages remain for at least two of the groups. Among them children with Italian, Turkish and Yugoslavian backgrounds. Although the disadvantages of children of the second-generation of immigrant children are already much lower, they still have an impact at least into the second generation, especially if the children arrived after school enrollment age (Alba et al., 2017).

On the job market Opinions are divided on the chances on the job market, which can also be explained by inequalities. Here too, it is noticeable that in most reports the disadvantages are explained by a lack of skills in German language. Baker and Lenhardt (1988), for example, argue that the school system would be designed for integration and that children with an immigrant background would therefore be subject to the same standards and opportunity structures (Alba et al., 2017). What they do not take into account is that the underlying mechanisms of institutional racism usually result from the application of the same rules that result in unequal opportunities for different groups (Auernheimer, 2006). Looking at other studies, such as those by Seibert and Solga (2005, 2006), who examined the employment opportunities of foreign (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Yugoslav, Greek and Turkish) and German young people, one recognizes approximately the same approach. They divide the indicators of employment success into three points, on the one hand they have found that the second generation of people with an immigrant background, compared to the reference group, still has clear disadvantages on the German job market (Kalter, 2006). On the other hand, they state that after controlling for educational and professional training, no significant disadvantages can be found for most ethnic groups. The third point concerns Turkish young people, who are an obvious exception and still have great disadvantages. In the conclusion of Seibert and Solga (2005, 2006) one finds the explanation again through the characteristics of young people and thus the institutional indirect discrimination, as they claim that the disadvantages of Turkish young people are less due to discriminatory behavior, but more due to a lack of skills in the German language. They emphasize that German language skills directly reflect productivity and are relevant for a job search (Kalter, 2006).

In contrast to previous studies, Imdorf (2008) could show that young people with an immigrant background mostly struggle with workplace exclusion mechanisms that are independent of school performance. Through application experiments, which controlled for unequal social network resources, evidence for racial discrimination in the job marked has been provided (Seibert et al., 2009). Imdorf (2008), for example, found that some companies attribute a particular "disturbance potential" to young people with an immigrant background regardless of their performance and believe that native-born young people provide a more satisfactory work and social fit. Another explanation that companies often present is that foreign employees attract unwanted customers. Therefore, ethnic categories are used already early in the selection of their employees. From this early exclusion of young people with an immigrant background, a vicious circle arises, which further reduces the chances of an apprenticeship through further exclusion mechanisms (Seibert et al., 2009).

"If, nevertheless, it can be noted that for decades a state of unequal distribution of educational opportunities along national differences has been observed, starting with educational participation preschool and extending to transitions into professional practice, it is reasonable to also look for mechanisms of structural or institutional discrimination in schools as well." (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009, p. 24).

Facts worth knowing

Racism can be represented as a hidden experience because affected young people speak very carefully about their experiences of exclusion. Most of the time, young people do not talk about racism experiences explicitly, but indirectly or hidden, for example by presenting their own experiences as experiences of others in discussions or by reporting exclusion without mentioning the racism aspect. The lack of speaking about racism experiences can be explained by the fact that those affected feel obliged to prove that it is targeted racism in order to be allowed to speak about it. The majority of these experiences take place in interaction with classmates and teachers, whereby the affected often perceive actions as discrimination and racism, which the others seem to consider "normal" or justified, but which can be referred to microaggressions and everyday racism. The thematization of the experiences is often accompanied by the fear of defensive reactions and they fear to classify themselves in the position of the "others" (Scharathow, 2017, p. 122)

3.5.7 Excursus: USA and Racism

Cultural diversity in education is not only an important issue in European countries such as Germany and Luxembourg, but has also been and still is a big issue in immigration countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia or former colonial countries such as France and the Netherlands (Schachner et al., 2016). In America, the institutional and personnel levels of racism are compoundes by the structural level. Structural racism is embedded in the structure of the school, with a focus on the obstacles and barriers for ethnic minorities. For example, in the USA most school districts are segregated, which means that black students are all assigned to the same school or school district. The focus of research reports is mainly on the high segregation of residential areas between people with black skin and people with white skin (Alba et al., 2017).

The study by Thompson and Gregory (2011) showed that African American adolescents are exposed to various forms of discrimination. The most common are racist harassment, such as insults because of their race. These harassments differ in how directly they are carried out, which in turn shows that racism can take place hidden and overt. While open racism is declining, hidden racism is still a big problem for African American adolescents today (Thompson & Gregory, 2011). The discriminatory actions, policies and their effects do not directly mention the "race" but they contain racist intentions and/or consequences (Crutchfield et al., 2020). The adolescents experience unfair treatment at school and report feelings of anger and reduced ability to show performance in class. This shows that the negative consequences of discrimination not only relate to psychological results, but also influence school-related factors (Thompson & Gregory, 2011).

Disadvantages of African American children and adolescents Approximately 90% of adolescents with black skin report experiencing racial discrimination in their lives (Gale & Dorsey, 2020). The history of the education of black children is marked by limited opportunities, segregation and institutional racism (Holliday, 1985).

Due to school-institutional experiences of racism, black students have structural disadvantages in the educational system. These experiences differ depending on the perception, experience and consequences of racism and discrimination. An important concept is everyday racism, which refers to "experiences that initially do not appear to be large and serious, but which recur with considerable persistence, sometimes daily, sometimes at longer intervals, and which, precisely because of their everyday character, very clearly mark a difference and permanently establish a boundary between 'us' and 'them'" (Nguyen, 2013, p. 22). These school-institutional experiences of racism have a great negative impact on the well-being of those affected in school. Through the intensity and continuity, mental and physical wounds are caused (Nguyen, 2013). One of the biggest problems in US schools is the inequality between white and black students in terms of academic and disciplinary results (Bottiani et al., 2016). There is evidence that black and Latino children are two years behind their white schoolmates and this difference becomes 3 to 4 years bigger by the eighth or twelfth grade. Another manifestation of institutional racism is that black and Latino students are three times more likely to be oriented to special schools than their white peers (Crutchfield et al., 2020). Black boys also often experience less favorable treatment in school, which includes rougher disciplinary actions, more negative criticism and more social exclusion by teachers and classmates than other peers (Chavous et al., 2008).

In America, black children also receive material of poor quality, limited resources and often the pedagogical methods and curriculum are incongruent with their culture and learning style. Kozol (2006) found that 35 of the 48 states spent less money per student in school districts with a higher number of black children (Amanishakete, 2013). Although the school should be a safe place for young people to develop and learn, many African-American youth experience the school as a place where they are treated badly by their teachers and classmates (Banerjee et al., 2018). Given the extreme inequalities in school, one can only wonder how black children are supposed to value a place if that place does not value them (Amanishakete, 2013).

The performance of black children is influenced by various factors, including their self-esteem and motivation, but also by the expectations and perceptions of their teachers and their interaction with the students (Holliday, 1985). Often, these factors are not given and mostly a positive and productive basis for learning experiences and learning atmosphere is lacking in school life (Nguyen, 2013). As a result, African-American students are disproportionately often among those who perform below average in school, receive school discipline measures and drop out of school (Thompson & Gregory, 2011). There are risks for school career due to unequal treatment of African-American youth. For example, racial discrimination can undermine school success. Youth who experience more discrimination have lower grades and less academic curiosity and endurance than

youth who experience little or no discrimination (Thompson & Gregory, 2011). For people with black skin, schools are often social arenas where racism and discrimination can appear to be determined and they can therefore not prove their abilities (Nguyen, 2013).

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4 Recognize—Prevent—Intervene: (Self-) Reflective Prevention and Intervention Approaches for a Racism-Critical Practice in School

Selin Göksoy and Sissy Gales

4.1 Introduction

> "White people […] have the privilege of being able to choose whether or not to deal with racism. They are not the ones who are portrayed in the media as a homogeneous group. They do not experience any disadvantages in their search for housing and jobs because of their supposed origin. They also do not have to explain in the first seminar/on the first day of school where they really come from when they have a name that supposedly sounds foreign. Becoming aware of this and developing a sensitivity for the racist normality that people of color experience in Germany on a daily basis, especially in institutions such as kindergartens, universities and schools, is the responsibility of white people." (Initiative Intersectional Pedagogy, 2015, p. 32).

A perspective of racism as an ongoing, societal (re-)production of difference lines, a non-essentialist, non-self-carrying distinction between the privileged and the racialized, and the understanding that these, as a structural and thereby *structuring* element, run through any experience spaces of racially marginalized people, serves as a starting point for this chapter (Karabulut, 2020). From this guiding idea, the all-powerful hand of racism hovers like a Damocles sword over every life area of marginalized people, with spaces of institutional education occupying a prominent place among the most frequent contexts shaped by racist experiences (Uslucan, 2017). The resulting discourse on racism in the school system, which is primarily based on a deficit-oriented view of students with

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(*alleged*) migrant backgrounds[1] and, meanwhile, *in need of support* are led, in a fundamental inequality of education between those who are marked as foreign and those who belong from the beginning (Karabulut, 2020; Karakaşoğlu & Wojciechowicz, 2017).

▶ **Educational Inequality** Educational inequality is a general term for all interindividual differences in the educational process, which describes in particular the achieved qualifications as well as the distribution of the opportunities offered. The differences described are attributed to political-social conditions and family contexts that are closely intertwined with experiences of racism (Müller & Haun, 1997). In addition, a distinction is made between primary and secondary class-related disparities. Primary disparities are said to exist when a child achieves lower school success due to lower performance. Secondary disparities include all disadvantages and invisibilities that arise because the true performance potential of a child is, for example, not recognized by teachers and therefore not adequately promoted (Maaz, 2006). In addition to this theoretical subdivision, it should be added that the disparity categories may often go hand in hand in a complex school and educational reality and condition each other.

The microcosm 'school' is a simile for the socio-political macrocosm and draws parallel attributions of deficit and danger as core characteristics of migrantized or migrant students (Bukow & Cudak, 2017). This narrative of migrantized or migrant students as "adversaries of national success" (Karabulut, 2020, p. 47) became particularly apparent in 2005 through the debates about the results of the PISA study in Germany, when it was speculated in the media "how Germany would fare if the children with a migrant background were deducted" (Hamburger, 2005, p. 7). Consequently, the resulting imbalance of opportunities and participation in education comes into conflict with the substantial claim of the education system to offer children and young adults in decisive development stages an *equal* and *equitable* space without prejudices (Karabulut, 2020; Quel, 2010; Weber, 2003). In this way, a fundamental right is denied to a specific group of children; the right to a safe and positive school atmosphere, which plays a crucial role in the academic success and the quality of a pedagogical-educational institution and its teaching (Ahlring, 2010). Such inequalities often remain hidden under the guise of meritocracy and, despite a wealth of empirical findings on unequal opportunities, fall by the wayside of public attention (cf. Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Gomolla & Radtke, 2009). A double paradox then arises when school success, for example as measured by the deferral

[1] From a critical perspective on racism, and with the attempt to avoid differentiating, often falsely used and problematized terms such as *with migrant background* (e.g. for people without actual or own migrant background), the terms *BIPoC* (Black, Indigenous and People of Color), *PoC* (People of Color), *marginalized* as well as the terms *black* and *white* are used in the sense of political categories with differently constructed privileges and experiences of oppression (cf. Rommelspacher, 1998). Moreover, the term *migrantized* is used; this term focuses on the experience of people who are made into migrants by outsiders (cf. Hess, 2014; Lavorano, 2019).

of enrollment or the recommendation to attend a 'Hauptschule' in elementary school, is individualized to the extent that migrant 'problem children' are given sole responsibility for their performance and results and thus a form of need is ascribed that excludes structural disadvantages and their effective consequences (Fereidooni & Zeoli, 2006; Kollender, 2016; Kristen, 2002; Rohling, 2002). Consequently, this chapter is intended to contribute from a critical racism perspective, on the one hand, to sharpen the view for (covert) racism on different levels of the school system, but on the other hand to provide (self-)reflective prevention and intervention options for a critical racism practice and attitude in the classroom, in the classroom and elsewhere.

> "Racism is like everything else that man has invented, it is perishable. But it will not disappear of its own accord." (Arndt, 2015, p. 156).

▶ What can be done now to not only recognize but also counteract racism?

The diversity of different student-teacher constellations as well as other instances makes it impossible to meet this question with a single, ideal intervention. In principle, however, it can be decided that a *conscious,* intersectional perspective must stand at the beginning of every prevention and intervention attempt. Expressions of disadvantage, discrimination and racism are multidimensional, complex and can even be superimposed. They can therefore be shown by teachers towards students or colleagues, or by students towards fellow students or teachers.

▶ **Intersectionality** Intersectionality is the term used to describe the interaction of different political and social categories of inequality (e.g. gender, class, nationality, sexuality, age, etc.) which, when combined, lead to specific experiences of oppression. In this way, *intersectional theory* emphasises that forms of oppression cannot simply be added up, but play into each other to create specific images and disadvantages (Baer et al., 2010).

In this chapter, from an analytical perspective, we will divide into the Sects. 4.2 and 4.3, which will deal with prevention and intervention measures at the level of the institution and its teachers, and at the level of the students separately. However, this separation does not reflect the real reciprocal teaching-learning situation: The exercises may be aimed at students, but always start from the perspective of teachers.

The teaching and educational mandate, which includes anti-racism awareness-raising, must always be seen as a learning and uncertainty process for teachers, which they must approach with self-criticism and reflexivity (Broden, 2015). In this way, teachers must pay special attention to processes of self-reflection and error-friendliness when using the methods presented, which form the basis for an honest and successful development and communication of the content. Self-reflection means critically questioning the involvement of one's own positioning as a person and worker, as well as that of the colleagues

and the institution as subjects *and* as structures: gaps, lacunae and prejudices must be traced in order to become aware of one's own and others' limits and to act within the limits of what is possible, without using the institutional limits as an excuse for inaction (ibid.).

It is the responsibility of teachers not only to give students methods and to demand racism sensitivity, but also to create spaces for them in which they are confronted with their own prejudices in a self-reflective way, where they have a say and their experiences are validated. This is particularly crucial when it comes to teacher-student constellations that are not only characterized by the inherent (and unavoidable) asymmetry of power, but also by unequal affectedness by racism. In addition to the distribution of power between teachers and students, the belonging of teaching staff to the dominant society and thus a privileged position of speakers, which is reflected in a higher (symbolic) power, plays a role in the context of racism. Teachers without experiences of racism are thus differently positioned in the "natio-ethno-cultural matrix" (Karabulut, 2020, p. 30) and have different options for dealing with the given privileges and power claims from these positions.

4.2 Prevention and Intervention Options at the Level of the Institution and its Teachers

As a permanent part of the school system with a large scope for action, teachers are actors who largely define the school experience of students. So there are often situations in everyday school life in which their internalized prejudices can be expressed in (unconscious) discrimination mechanisms. Bonefeld and Dickhäuser (2018) show such a situation of school-based everyday racism, in which students can be read and treated differently by teachers, in their prominent study. As part of this study, teachers were asked to grade a dictation exercise of a student named Max or that of a student named Murat. The results showed that the evaluation of the exercise, despite the same number of errors, was worse for the student named Murat than for the student named Max. Based on these and a variety of other empirical findings, it can be concluded that prejudices lead to racist ways of thinking and acting and also accompany teachers despite their intended equal treatment in the execution of their teaching and examination tasks. For this reason, it is essential to repeatedly reflect and question one's own assumptions and one's own position in order to counter racism. Accordingly, the necessary process is to accept the individuality of each child beyond his (alleged) history and to expand one's own knowledge and self-reflective competence in the field of racism. Both (self-)reflective teacher training and the use of racism-sensitive/-critical programs or textbooks can be helpful in this process, from which a selection is presented below. Essential for the success is that the school institution supports the implementation of these training and programs in the form of mandatory further education or seminars in teacher activity, in order to not (only) locate the responsibility for dealing with racism with those affected.

4.2.1 Orientation and Posture Work as a Teacher

As a starting point and a prerequisite for successful pedagogical prevention and intervention work against racism, teachers should develop a sensitive "sense of space": This can be imagined similarly to the feeling of being able to orient oneself directionally in a space or room. On the one hand, teachers must do so-called intraindividual posture work, i.e. dealing with and specifying one's own pedagogical, political and social perceptions as well as goals and claims in one's role as a teacher (May, 2019). On the other hand, teachers should interindividually identify where they can locate themselves in the field of work, but also in the larger social context and how they can define their affectedness by racism (Karabulut, 2020). From this clarification of their own position, questions about the framework conditions of pedagogical work as well as the identification of potential imbalances and problems can subsequently be identified. It is essential for a meaningful and goal-oriented implementation of the posture work to recognize and accept it as a fixed, corrective component of educational and social work (ibid.).

▶ **Exemplary questions for critical self-reflection for teachers**

"Which life realities do I (not) have in mind?"

"Who am I in the learning processes of others and who do I want to be?"

"Which forms of disadvantage and (multiple) discrimination do I know from my own experience, which are not experienceable for me?"

"Where do I get this information from? Do I know the perspective of those affected?"

"Which options do I have in my own field of work, which in the private context? And (how) do I want or can I use them?"

"Am I able to perceive discriminatory behavior in my own actions/in my course/in my group/… and am I willing and able to respond to it professionally and appropriately?"

"What are the consequences of these disadvantages for me and what for others?"

"Which experiences are comprehensible for me and how can I take them into account in relation to my actions?"

"What migration-specific knowledge do I have? For example, what do I know about flight causes, global inequality or economic relations? What cultural-specific knowledge do I have? Where do I get this knowledge from? What dol not know?"

"What do I know about the living conditions of refugees in Germany? Where do I get this information from?"

"In which areas of life do refugees in Germany experience discrimination and how do I position myself on this?"

(Nadolny, 2016; cited according to May, 2019, p. 15).

Another tool for identifying one's own position in the school context is the categorization of different types of teachers (Edelmann, 2006). These outlined types of teachers are characterized by specific patterns of behavior in social (conflict) situations and their willingness to or their dealing with intervention options. They can therefore be helpful in that teachers can reflect in advance and be aware of which strategies they might feel comfortable with to optimize their teaching and intervention competencies in relation to racism (ibid.; Kluge, 1999).

The six teacher types (Edelmann, 2006)

First, the *distanced* type can be defined, which from a perspective of racism criticism is not influenced by the heterogeneity of the class in its pedagogical action and disregards the backgrounds of the students both in class and outside the class context, for example in parent and specialist teacher conversations. The values and norms of the majority society form the basis for the pedagogical action of the type; the topic of diversity is observed with distance. Any innovations in terms of intervention strategies are viewed skeptically by this type.

In contrast, the *silent-acknowledging* type is characterized by tolerance and acceptance of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and understands the equality of students with different backgrounds as the basis for its action. However, heterogeneity is not understood as a learning potential, but in the sense of a silent acknowledgement, with the aim of creating a harmonious class association. Since difference-producing discourses are left out on the premise of equality and any differences and similarities remain unspoken, team-building measures are given little importance in the context of racism interventions.

The *individual-language-oriented* type, on the other hand, deliberately initiates opportunities for exchange at the linguistic level. In addition to promoting and valuing the linguistic heterogeneity of the class as a resource for all students, this type also focuses on a general language promotion of the teaching language for the entire class, which is intended to improve the school's chances *for everyone*. Pedagogical action is characterized by self-initiative and is often a challenge for teachers with little professional experience in schools without team-oriented measures.

In contrast, there is the *cooperative-language-oriented* type, which in professional exchange diversity in the class association. Through his professional competence, scientifically sound measures of second language acquisition are used to help students with other mother tongues (e.g. refugee children) learn the teaching language more easily through structured and targeted teaching. The heterogeneity in the class association is understood as a potential for all students.

Furthermore, the *individual-synergy-oriented* type can be defined, which integrates diversity as a relevant topic into the lessons of all subjects (not only language-focused). The knowledge and background knowledge of all students of various cultural areas are recognized and the resulting multi-perspectivity is val-

ued as a valuable resource. However, this type is not in a professionally competent team exchange, but bases its pedagogical action on personal commitment and initiative. It is recommended to intensify cooperation among colleagues in terms of racist perspectives and educational approaches.

As a last one, the *cooperative-synergy-oriented* type can be defined, which assigns a special value to diversity regardless of its manifestation in the class association or the school. The pedagogical work is based on a cooperative exchange with parents, professionals and colleagues on diversity-related topics and is strengthened by team work, while further developments and improvements in terms of the quality of teaching are sought for the students.

4.2.2 Cooperation with Parents

Finally, the voices of the parents should be involved and taken into account in anti-racism efforts in school. For example, in the German-speaking context, there are often conflicts regarding school rights and duties based on anti-Muslim racism: Basic debates include swimming lessons, meals offered in the school canteen, and Muslim holidays, all revolving around the right of parents to educate their children (Article 6, paragraph 2) and the educational mandate of the state (Article 7, paragraph 1) (Başpınar et al., 2015). Structurally homogeneous to racism against students, parents are also migrantized in this context and sometimes feel restricted and patronized in their decisions about the upbringing of their own child (ibid.). In this way, such debates repeat racist patterns and schemas that the parents are already familiar with from other areas of life, such as the labor market.

> "Teachers do not take our objection seriously. They use their authority and linguistic superiority. Religiously justified educational goals are seen as incompatible with democratic principles. But the teachers know nothing about Islam. With my headscarf I feel like an enemy of democracy." (ibid., P. 22).[2]

With reference to the previous recommendations, the responsibility for dealing with racism and questioning discriminatory behavior lies with the privileged (Tißberger, 2017). An example of this could be the ban on wearing a *burkini* (full-body swimsuit) in some public swimming pools for allegedly hygienic or safety reasons, which could represent an area in which (privileged) teachers can work together with parents and allies to develop solutions to such discriminatory bans and enable swimming lessons for *all* students. Therefore, in addition to a critical self-reflection on racism, it is

[2]This is an illustrative case report from the handbook *Islam and School* of the Initiative School without Racism—School with Courage (Başpınar et al., 2015).

essential for effective and constructive communication between parents and teachers to develop and maintain mutual trust and the ability to empathically approach each other's decisions and ways of thinking from different perspectives (Başpınar et al., 2015). In addition, cooperation obstacles, concerns and prejudices should be jointly identified and reflected transparently by both parties. With the aim of implementing common educational and educational goals and avoiding conflicts at an early stage, a safe and respectful space should be created in the form of parent evenings or seminars, which among other things can also include exercises from Sect. 4.2.3 in an adapted form. This should enable both parents and teachers to participate in the development of educational agreements and compromises and at the same time offer an appropriate opportunity for education and sensitization, by identifying racism and finding alternative anti-racist behaviors.

4.2.3 Exercises and Instructions for Teachers

After acquiring the competence for continuous self-reflection in the sense of attitude work as well as theoretical considerations on the topic of racism and one's own affectedness in the social context, practical exercises and methods of application, which are specifically designed for the sensitization of teaching staff, will be presented in the following chapter. The aim of these exercises is to question one's own ways of thinking and behaving as well as those of the students and colleagues and thus to discover (hidden) racism. At the same time, however, the development of the competence to meet racism with alternative methods of action and to counteract it should also be supported. For the structured group exercises described below, an open circle of chairs is recommended for optimized communication and flipcharts or similar means for pictorial illustration of the developed thoughts. In addition, it should be noted that the exercises listed below address you as a reader directly in order to optimize the clarity of the instructions.

4.2.3.1 The Anti-Bias Approach (Anti-Bias Network, 2021; Bovha & Kontzi, 2011; Gramelt, 2010)

> "The anti-bias approach assumes that everyone has prejudices that they have learned since early childhood. This happens primarily through images and attitudes that are conveyed by the environment (such as family, friends, kindergarten and school, textbooks and media, etc.). Anti-bias aims to make these biases conscious and thus create the possibility of 'unlearning' them again." (Bovha & Kontzi, 2009, p. 296).

As a teacher, values and views are automatically and thus sometimes unconsciously conveyed with every encounter with students. The anti-bias approach serves as a support for self-reflection in the context of teachers and aims to point out deviations from equal treatment and thus to avoid discrimination of individual students. In this respect, the anti-

bias approach pursues a learning and reflection strategy that builds on one's own experiences and is intended to increase racism awareness. The previousrationale also applies here: In order to continuously reduce one's own discrimination tendencies, a lifelong engagement with this topic is required (Bovha & Kontzi, 2009).

Instructions: The four steps of the anti-bias approach (Anti-Bias Network, 2021)

1. In the first step, the 'I-identity' and the 'group identity' are strengthened in order to name the diversity of one's own person as well as that of society. First look at yourself and ask yourself the question, *who you are* and which group affiliations (i.e. group identities) you have. These affiliations are valued differently by society. Some of these affiliations you have chosen for yourself, even if not entirely without external influences (e.g. professional orientation). Others may be ascribed to you from the outside (e.g. "the person with a migrant background"). It is also useful to ask yourself in this step in which power relations you stand to others.
   I-identity The 'I-identity' develops over the lifespan and describes the feeling of inner uniqueness, i.e. what distinguishes one's own identity at its core. It takes shape like a raw diamond based on interactions with people and objects, whereby the individual forms both identifications and demarcations to attitudes, properties, ideas and norms (Diepold, 1990).
2. In the second step, a respectful and appreciative attitude towards the diversity of humanity is promoted. You have gathered diverse experiences throughout your life and belong to different groups. These may have an influence on your behavior towards pupils. Also take notice of the diverse membership of your peers and encourage them in their identity development. Your goal should be not to put the children and adolescents into a 'pupils box', but to see them as individuals with different properties and experiences. Accordingly, it is possible that pupils perceive the same (conflict) situation very differently, evaluate it differently and react to it differently.
3. The third step draws attention to the awareness of prejudices and discrimination and is intended to promote critical thinking. The goal is therefore to question oneself and to look at everyday situations in the classroom with a critical eye. Ask yourself where and how discrimination can arise in your teaching and how you can counter it. In doing so, you may find that you also think in pigeonholes and evaluate them differently. Reflect on when prejudices become discrimination and where discrimination occurs in your everyday life.
4. In a final step, the motivation and ability should develop to become active against racism oneself. Support students in taking a critical view of racism, perceiving things as unfair and finding a language for it. Take a clear position on exclusion and discrimination yourself and encourage others to do the same.

These steps can then be implemented and tested by group exercises, such as role-playing or case studies, for further discussion. An actual or imaginary case of racism can be dis-

cussed and practiced in a role-play with other teachers, how this situation can be critically questioned, where one's own weaknesses lie and how students can be supported to take action against racism. It should be emphasized here that, in addition to experiences of discrimination by fellow students, exclusion by teachers must be addressed and an adequate space must be created for this (e.g. by class teachers or selected contacts). Finally, this exercise can be concluded by a discussion in the plenum of the teaching staff.

4.2.3.2 The Ideal Teacher (Research Institute for Vocational Education, 2018)

Materials: Paper, red and green pens
Group: 3 to 4 people
Instructions: In your small group, think about the following question: *What qualities should a teacher definitely have and what qualities should they definitely not have?* Mark desired qualities green and undesired qualities red on a piece of paper. If you disagree with the assignment of a quality in your group, discuss this aspect and come to an agreement. These reflections should make it clear what ideal you have in mind personally, how the different ideals differ, and find a consensus in the group about an ideal to which everyone aspires in the future. After that, the groups present their results in the plenum and there is the opportunity to discuss.

4.2.3.3 Discrimination: Me and My Work (Research Institute for Vocational Education, 2018)

Materials: Flipchart or poster
Group: first individual, then group work
Instructions:

1. *Think:* Make yourself think about the following questions within about 7 min:
   - What does racism mean for my work?
   - What racist experiences do I have in my daily work with young people and teachers?
   - What approaches are already established to act against racism?
2. *Pair:* Now sit down in pairs and exchange your ideas about the individual questions. Take about 10 min for this.
3. *Share:* Collect your results within the plenum and visualize them (e.g. using a flipchart). Also discuss to what extent discrimination and racism represent a potential burden for your work.

4.2.3.4 Affected by Racism (Research Institute for Vocational Education, 2018)

Materials: Film by Amnesty International Germany (2017): "Everyday Racism Logged"
Group: Plenum

Instructions: Watch the film "Everyday Racism Logged" together, in which people affected by racism report their experiences. Then discuss the following questions in the plenum:

- How do you feel about what you have seen?
- What do you think?
- Do you know what *racial profiling* is?
- What do you think about the term "foreigner"?

4.2.3.5 On the Way to a Human-Friendly Community (Kaletsch & Rech, 2015)

Materials: Index cards
Group: first individual, then group work
Instructions: Think about the following question: *What do I need to feel comfortable and to live well (with others)? What chances, possibilities, securities and values are important to me?*

1. First, name a maximum of nine aspects of the human-friendly community in individual work and write them down on cards.
2. Form pairs and agree on nine common aspects. There is also the possibility to formulate new aspects together.
3. Reflect on the decision-making process using the following guiding questions:
   - How did you cope with the task?
   - Was it easy/difficult to agree?
   - How did you proceed?
   - Did anything surprise you?
   - Is anything new?
   - What happened to your points?
   - Did you have to give up anything?
   - Can you accept the joint decision-making?
4. Reach an agreement in the plenum with the help of the *Fishbowl method* (one person from each group reports as a representative in the discussion) on nine common points. Afterwards, a vote can be taken on whether the participants can imagine moving into the humane community.

4.2.3.6 Dilemma—Dialog (Kaletsch & Rech, 2015)

Materials: Circle of chairs, crepe tape, yes and no signs
Instructions:

1. To prepare, use masking tape to divide the room into two equal halves and label one half with a "yes" sign and the other with a "no" sign.
2. Create a circle of chairs and choose one person to be the moderator who will read a dilemma story. All other participants put themselves in the shoes of the main character in the story.

3. At the end of the story, there is an either/or decision that each participant makes. Depending on your choice, go to the "yes" or "no" space. You can also use your location to show the degree of your decision, but don't stand in the middle. Afterward, you can share your thoughts and decision with the group and explain your reasoning. You can also change your location during the discussion.
4. Afterward, return to the circle of chairs and signal with the "yes" and "no" signs whether you are ready to leave this dilemma and move on to the next case. Do this for two to three dilemma stories and then have a general debriefing of the exercise.

Note: The goal of this exercise is to change perspectives, that is, to put yourself in the shoes of others as much as possible, even if you have never experienced the situation yourself.

Example of a dilemma story

"'Why does it have to happen to me?', thinks Mrs. Reuter, who is an art and English teacher since 2 years at a Frankfurt comprehensive school, where she has just worked out a recognized position among the students and in the staff. She had made a lot of effort to deal with the eighth grade's art course with the curriculum's focus '*portrait drawing*', visits to exhibitions and image discussions were supposed to form a bridge to practical work. When it was finally time, she could not believe her ears. Mustafa, a usually quiet and disciplined student came to her and said: "I can't do that. My religion does not allow me to paint portraits.' While Mrs. Reuter is thinking about how she could react, two more students, Boualem and Cengiz, join Mustafa's religiously motivated refusal. To gain time, Mrs. Reuter first gives the three students another task. But at the same time she makes it clear that the topic is not closed yet. With Mustafa, whose reaction she is somewhat surprised about, she wants to have a serious conversation. She is affected by this harsh rejection, since she had put a lot of energy into the lesson. Couldn't Mustafa express his discomfort earlier? Now she also has to deal with the 'imitation effect' of the two other students. She thinks that will work out, when she has talked to Mustafa. She will not let him "destroy" her concept anyway. Mrs. Reuter also finds the task formulation right and important for the development of the students' personalities. But what if Mustafa has a serious conflict with his inner conviction? Should she simply look past it or take it into account?" (Kaletsch & Rech, 2015, p. 143). ◀

The book *Heterogeneity in the Classroom—Methods, Examples and Exercises for Human Rights Education* by Kaletsch and Rech (2015) contains, in addition to this example, further recommended and multifaceted dilemma stories.

4.3 Prevention and Intervention Options at the Level of the Students

The following different approaches and guidelines for prevention and intervention options at the level of students will be explained, as well as suggestions for teachers in terms of goal setting and critical self-reflection during the implementation of the interventions. As already described, the subdivision of the subchapters is merely analytical, since the prevention and intervention experience for teachers does not end with the beginning of this chapter. On the contrary, the engagement with and implementation of sensitization methods and concrete exercises with students, who are themselves sometimes affected by racism, can be seen as a kind of challenge for teachers, on which they can test their previously developed principles and their attitude, question and name deficiencies and actively engage in anti-racist work.

From a temporal perspective, it is indispensable in the context of racism prevention to actively counter what is known as *racism amnesia*; this describes supposedly anti-racist efforts that only take place *after* racist incidents, i.e. when "something" happens. This "something" can be a student who is treated in a racist way by fellow students, an act of open violence or right-wing extremist statements in the media, etc. These racist incidents lead to the *sensationalization of racism,* i.e. that racist behaviour is categorized as an exception (El-Tayeb, 2016; Kleff & Terkessidis, 2017). Thus, this idea of "racism as an exception" can lead to a reversal of power and the expectation of teachers, that students discover and report racism on their own before any intervention takes place. It is more effective to nip racist dispositions and behaviours of students in the bud by promoting and strengthening social and problem-solving skills in order to de-normalize racist attitudes, expressions and actions early on (Kleff, 2016).

What is decisive for a multifaceted and discourse-oriented sensitization is therefore the way the teachers deal with *all* students, instead of locating the responsibility for dealing with and naming racism with affected students. The teachers have a weighted role model function[3] because they significantly construct the microsystem 'classroom' for the students and their own ways of dealing with it serve as a yardstick and pillar for the formation of the self-concept and for the communication of the students with each other (Bönsch, 2018). In this respect, it is difficult for children not to be racist and to act differently in an institutionally unequal environment if, on the first day of school, teachers ask children with allegedly 'foreign' surnames, "Where do you actually come from?" and thus maneuver them into the 'Othering-Out' in the first minute. This also applies if the question is formulated with 'good intention', for example: "That's a nice name, I've never heard it before, where does it come from?". An adequate way would be, in addition

[3]The "role model function" described here does not diminish the conceptualization of anti-racist sensitization work as a reciprocal teaching-learning situation. This affects, in particular, negotiations on the interpretation of racism, validations of experiences, etc.

to a self-educational preparation of the names, an introduction with the names of *all* students (Kalpaka et al., 2019; Initiative Intersektionale Pädagogik, 2015).

Just as relevant to the success of interventions is the concretization of the target, which teachers should deal with in advance and sharpen the contents of. A goal often mentioned in this context is *equality:* students should learn that the same basic laws apply to all people and all people are of equal value (Başpınar et al., 2015). Although this goal is undoubtedly valuable and desirable in educational work, it must be more precisely defined here: "What does equality mean to me as a teacher, to my environment, to my students?" Answering the question can turn out to be a tightrope walk: On the one hand, it is indispensable to define, discuss and strive for *equality* as an ideal, on the other hand the teacher must avoid repeatedly denying the current and past experiences of racism to affected students and actually ignoring unequal structures. According to the criticism of discursive rhetorics of "color blindness"[4], the main focus should be the awareness that the ideal of *equality* is difficult to accept for many students if their actual experiences with everyday racism repeatedly prove something else to them (Mohseni, 2020). The *myth of equality,* that is, the assumption that racism-relevant categories are irrelevant and therefore "all people are equal," is an exemplary form of the de-thematization of white privileges. According to Hooks (1992), this is only possible for those who are privileged and at the same time a picture of white privileges *par excellence.* Consequently, by denying racism-relevant categories, which may appear to be well-intentioned or even anti-racist at first glance, the existence of racism is silenced and the relevance and validity of the experiences of those affected is denied.

For this reason, teachers must (be able to) respond sensitively to experiences of racism and validate them, especially if they have never experienced them themselves and may never do so. It follows that, in addition to ideals such as *equality,* dynamic goals should also be worked out and reflected together with the students. As an example, central goals could include the change and elimination of "deeper lying ideological, structural and personnel mechanisms and power relations" (Kleff & Terkessidis, 2017, p. 50).

4.3.1 Education and Awareness

The basis for racism interventions and thus the first step that must be planned and thought out is education and awareness-raising for the topic as an omnipresent entanglement on an all-encompassing power structure level. The term basis is used here to illustrate the relevance and prerequisite, but it should be understood as a dynamic, constantly changing learning process for teachers and students. While white people are not

[4]The statement "I don't see colors—for me all people are equal!" is to be considered as the basic tenor of the debates and at the same time the discursive breeding ground for counter-movements such as *All Lives Matter* to *Black Lives Matter*. See De Coster et al. (2016).

obliged or required on a daily basis to deal with racism through external attributions, those affected do not have a choice—they experience *microaggressions* in a variety of situations and therefore know exactly what racism is and what racism does (Initiative Intersectional Education, 2015). Going forward, the responsibility lies with the dominant society to actively inform itself about racism, to question itself and to listen to BIPoC.

Sensitization as a training unit should take multiple perspectives into account and try to convey them. The contents of the "Sensitization" work block should ideally be carried out in interactive exercise sessions instead of frontal lessons and thus discussed together. An exemplary session for working out prejudices could look like this:

Prejudices—What are they? (RAA Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e. V., 2018)

Goal: The students think about prejudices and discover them as part of everyday communication.

Duration: approx. 20–30 min.

Instruction:

1. *Definition of terms:* The students are asked to explain their own understanding of prejudices. Afterwards, the teacher can share a definition of terms with the class.
2. *Discovery (in small groups or individually):* The students search and mark passages in different media (newspapers, magazines, books, etc.) that they believe are prejudiced.
3. *Presentation and discussion:* The selected passages are presented in plenary and the choice is justified. Together it is discussed whether this is prejudice or not. ◀

First and foremost, students should develop an understanding of concepts such as *Othering*[5] as well as the ability to distinguish racism from other discrimination terms (Forschungsinstitut Betriebliche Bildung, 2018). An exemplary case of this is the distinction between racism and xenophobia, the latter being a misleading name that does not do justice to the true characteristics of racism. Racism is not directed at 'foreigners', but at all people to whom difference from the dominant society is attributed, regardless of reality (Stiftung für die Internationalen Wochen gegen Rassismus, 2015). However, these conceptual distinctions should not stand in the way of understanding intersectionality, but rather reinforce it: students should be able to develop an empathetic knowledge of how different actual or attributed aspects of identity can lead to specific forms of discrimination and thus disadvantage and discriminate certain groups of people (Initiative Intersektionalität Pädagogik, 2015). Furthermore, through education, students should be able to grasp the multilayered nature of racism: at the individual level, they should learn to identify and describe their own racist experiences as (non-)affected peo-

[5] See Sect. 4.4.2.

ple and their effects; at the structural level, it is necessary to understand that racism is not only anchored, for example, between classmates, but also in the "bigger picture" of the institutional systems they are familiar with, such as school and state (Forschungsinstitut Betriebliche Bildung, 2018). To explain institutional racism as opposed to, for example, everyday racism, teachers could discuss structural disadvantages of migrant-marked hijab-wearers in the workplace (Weichselbaumer, 2020).

> "Racism does not only manifest itself in the violent acts of right-wing radicals, neo-Nazis or other fascist-minded people. Much more extensive than this extreme racism is the one that leaves no corpses behind. Racism manifests itself, for example, in the fact that in most (western) societies (…) white people* are structurally privileged. They occupy the key positions in society, make the important decisions and are in possession of the capital. (…) Racism is the guarantee for the prosperity of the white people* and their access to the resources of racially marked people as poorly paid workers; Racism is thus the foundation of white* dominant societies (cf. Rommelspacher, 1998)." (Tißberger, 2017, p. 11).

In connection with this and as the last step in the "basic training" for elementary understanding of racism, the *(non-)intentionality* is to be mentioned. Students (and teachers) must increase their awareness that racist actions do not always have to be 'intentional' or even 'from bad intentions', i.e. that the intention behind a question or statement may be 'good', but it can still have a racist effect (Initiative Intersectional Pedagogy, 2015). On the one hand, the repeated experience with similar questions and the "otherness" conveyed by it are decisive for the potential for harmfulness. Often this discussion can meet resistance from teachers and students, trigger the defense of their own intentions, or even bring about the subtle feeling of 'minimizing' and undermining the feelings of those affected. In principle, however, the consensus at the end of the intervention should be that, for the sake of a respectful approach, the following or similar statements/questions should be avoided, regardless of the 'intention':

- "Where do you really come from?"
- "Ahhh, you're from Turkey? Then you must eat a lot of Döner!"
- "I also know one person who comes from Iran. Her name is Shirin, do you know her?"
- "And when are you going back?"
- "It's definitely better here in Germany, right? As a woman?" (ibid.)

After establishing a basic understanding of racism and acquiring the ability to identify racism in the right places, deeper or more differentiated forms and expressions of racism should be addressed in order to develop an understanding of the diversity of racism. The following are some recommendations for concepts that, according to the teachers' assessment and depending on the age group, can be discussed in more detail.

4.3.1.1 Racial Profiling

Racial profiling is defined as the implementation of measures (e.g. during controls or arrests) based on actual or ascribed physical, ethnic or religious characteristics of a person, without any factual justification (Forschungsinstitut Betriebliche Bildung, 2018). In 2012, the German federal government responded to a request from the *Die Linke* parliamentary group as follows: "Such 'racial profiling' is incompatible with the current German law and is not used within the federal police" (Forschungsinstitut Betriebliche Bildung, 2018, p. 9). Nevertheless, various experience reports from those affected speak of "racial profiling", which are inseparably linked to everyday racism against BIPoC. An exemplary case of this is the police check of the personal details of a black architecture student on the train from Frankfurt to Kassel. The police officer testified in court that he had been instructed to look out for illegal immigrants. In his opinion, the probability of illegality was higher in a person who was read as non-German, a BIPoC. The Higher Administrative Court of Rhineland-Palatinate decided in this case that such controls were unlawful because they violated the prohibition of discrimination in the Basic Law (ibid.). Nevertheless, the experience of the person concerned must be discussed here: feelings of powerlessness, anger, rage and the 'labeling as a second-class citizen' are conceivable emotionally stressful effects and reactions, which can lead to long-term damage to the self-concept if repeated (Forschungsinstitut Betriebliche Bildung, 2018). Depending on factors such as the age of the students, the topic of attributions due to phenotypic characteristics can be discussed from different perspectives.

4.3.1.2 Dealing with Those Affected—Preventing Secondary Victimization

According to Böttger et al. (2014) and Geschke et al. (2014), victimization refers to the social processes behind becoming a victim, which can be divided into different stages. Primary victimization refers to the immediate psychological and physical consequences of, for example, experiencing a racist act. Secondary victimization, on the other hand, refers to the maladaptive or dysfunctional follow-up care, that is, all the ways of dealing with the environment and events that follow an act. Those affected in this phase are dependent on appropriate support from the social network (family, friends, classmates, etc.) as well as institutions of social power (police, prosecutor's office, etc.) in order to be able to process the act without long-term damage (Rheims, 2015). Dysfunctional reactions would be the trivialization of the act, lack of empathy, mockery or accusations of complicity (perpetrator-victim-reversal). Teachers can try to formulate respectful and empathetic guidelines and access options for such situations in a separate sensitization session in order to help those affected symbolically and practically to adaptively process racist experiences and relieve them (ibid.).

4.3.1.3 Problem of the Utility Argument

After students have learned how aspects of racism are interwoven in all structures they know, they should understand in the sense of *Intentionality* that also legitimation arguments of immigration, which they may hear from their environment, can have a racist effect. A widespread argumentative strategy in defense of migration and reception of, for example, refugees is the *utility argument;* this states that migration is beneficial for the country's economy because workers are needed (Broden, 2015). Such rhetoric should be met with criticism, as it shifts the focus from humanitarian attitudes towards people seeking protection to their functionality and denies those who do not meet the utility criteria (e.g. people who are unable to work or elderly people) the right to a dignified life in the country of asylum (ibid.). In addition, such statements reinforce existing power asymmetries. Instead, students should be encouraged in human rights-oriented thinking and, together, create acceptance through a change of perspective that the existence of refugees or migrants, for example within the school, should not be read and judged on the basis of a legitimation (ibid.).

Finally, the efforts and ambitions of teachers should always take the complexity of the situation into account: simple question-answer, problem-solution patterns are unrealistic in this context and cause oversimplification of the multifaceted realities of life (ibid.). Only the willingness to carry out appropriately differentiated approaches, despite occasional impressions of Sisyphean work, with determination and self-reflection, can effectively counter racism (in school).

4.3.2 Exercises and Manuals for Use with Students

In the following, a selection of tested methods and practical exercises for anti-racism awareness-raising in the classroom, divided according to school levels in the German education system, are presented. As described at the beginning of the chapter, the success of the exercises depends on the self-reflective approach of the teachers. The suitability of the exercises is to be assessed by the teacher, in the role as a reference person for the students, after assessing the class climate and the structures. The frequency of the implementation should also be assessed by the teaching staff on the basis of the learning curve and the willingness of the students to participate; however, a regular repetition and integration of the topics and exercises into everyday school life is recommended (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2019).

4.3.2.1 Kindergarten and Daycare: *A Special Day* (Bühs, 2008)

Goal: The children learn to recognize discrimination based on ascribed properties by external characteristics (names that begin with A, E, I, O, U) and work out associated feelings and alternative options for action in the plenum.
Material: approx. 8 puppets, possibly props
Instructions:

1. *Puppetry:* The essence of the puppet play is to deny certain puppets access to a party.
2. *Discussion:* The teaching staff asks the class for an assessment of the division of the children (= puppets) and compares the different positions expressed. Recommended questions:
   – How does Anna (or Ulf, etc.) feel?/How does Bertram feel?
   – Have you ever experienced something like this? *(It is important here to give the children the space to describe their experiences and validate them.)*
   – Who can help Anna?/What can be done?
3. *Alternative scenarios:* The children are asked to perform alternative situations as a puppet play.

▶ **Requirements for the puppet show:**
Scene 1: Doll 1: "Today is a beautiful day. We're celebrating a beautiful festival today. There are great things to eat and drink (etc.)—Listen to the beautiful music…"
(*Roll the scene out a little, but avoid references to your immediate environment. Alternatives are conceivable: for example, a visit to the circus, etc.*).
Scene 2: Doll 1: "Come on in, come on in! (*etc.*)"
Doll 2: (*The first visitor*) "Can I come in?"
Doll 1: "What's your name?"
Doll 2: "Bertram Köning."
Doll 1: "Of course you can come in."
"Come on in, come on in …"
(*Doll 2 goes inside*).
Doll 3: "What's this festival about? Can I come in?"
Doll 1: "What's your name?"
Doll 3: "Anna Kern."
Doll 1: "You're not allowed in. Your name starts with an A."
(*One after the other, several dolls come. All those whose name begins with A, E, I, O, U, were not allowed in, distribute them about half and half.*)

4.3.2.2 Elementary School: *Strong Children ABC* (Fortbildungsinstitut für die pädagogische Praxis, 2010)

This exercise is based on the anti-bias approach presented in Sect. 4.2.3.1.
Goal: The children define strength outside of physical strength (a 'strong child') according to their own understanding and in doing so learn to appreciate the diversity of strengths and abilities and their uniqueness. They also reflect together on experience-oriented meanings and responsibility for 'I-strength'.
Duration: 30–45 min.
Requirements: Standard class size or smaller, possible from 1st grade; the students should already be able to write if the exercise is to be carried out in small groups.

Enough space for small group work at tables and space for carrying out as a whole group.
Material: Copies of the worksheet "Strong Children ABC" (see Appendix B), flipchart/poster, pens.
Instructions:

1. *Explanation of the exercise and its goals.* Afterwards collecting strengths in the whole group. (e.g. "What does it mean to be strong for you? What can strong children do?")
2. *Small group division:* always in threes or fours.
3. *Distribution of the worksheets.* The task is to find and note, under the question "Strong children are … / can …", a property, skill, etc. for each letter together.
4. *Presentation and discussion:* After a certain time, a common *Strong Children ABC* is designed in the plenum on a flipchart or poster, which can be visibly affixed in the classroom.

Evaluation: The children are asked how they felt during the exercise. Example questions could be: "Did you like the exercise? Was it easy/hard to find strengths from A–Z? How did cooperation in your small group go? Were you able to contribute well? Which strengths fit you? Which strengths do you know from your class?"

4.3.2.3 Secondary Level I: *Lemon Exercise* (AFS Intercultural Encounters e. V., 2020)

Goal: The students critically reflect on the meaning of prejudices and categorizations.
Duration: 15–20 min.
Requirements: Maximum 30 participants.
Material: One lemon per student, one lemon per two students is possible too, basket.
Instructions: The teacher shows the class a lemon; together, the lemon's properties are listed on the blackboard (e.g. oval, yellow, sour, Vitamin C, etc.)

1. Each student gets their 'own' lemon, which they should name and look at closely for 5 min. It should be noted here that no writing materials should be on the tables in order to avoid a color marking of the lemons.
2. All the lemons are put back in a basket.
3. The lemons in the basket are mixed and spread out on a table.
4. The students should be able to find their 'own' lemon again. *(This almost always works, but if there is any uncertainty, the affected lemons are set aside and inspected again at the end.)*
5. *Discussion in the plenum:* In a final step, it should be explained whether the students are sure that they have found the right lemon and, if so, how they recognized it. Further example questions: "What did you notice? What surprised you?"

6. *Transfer in the plenum:* Although the lemons were initially attributed common properties and looked the same, the students were able to identify their lemon.
   This new, experience-based knowledge can also be transferred to everyday categorizations of people and situations based on appearance, clothes, language, etc. Here it can be determined that the students themselves have already been or have themselves categorized several times based on external attributions and assumptions (e.g. with regard to a supposed migration history), without actually knowing the behavior of a subject from a group.
7. At this point, the teacher can steer the discussion in different directions. Options would be the thematization of belonging and identity or a value-oriented exchange of experiences.
8. *Conclusion:* "For a proper assessment, we must look closely!"
   Note: The authors emphasize that this exercise must avoid comparisons between lemons and people, and the transfer of specific characteristics to groups of people.

4.3.2.4 Secondary Level II: *Deniz* (Initiative Intersectional Pedagogy, 2015)

Goal: The students will become aware of self- and other-perception, experience sensitization for different identity characteristics and their interaction to specific modes of oppression and discrimination (intersectionality) which are part of their everyday reality. Furthermore, the space for the exploration and reflection of social norms and their deviations, power relations and categorizations due to individual characteristics such as clothing, habitus, subculture, etc. will be opened.
Duration: 75 min.
Requirements: 12–20 participants (from 12 years on), spatial possibility for a circle of chairs.
Material: Flipchart, pens, mannequin "Deniz"
Instructions:

1. *Preparation:* The mannequin "Deniz" should wear a consciously chosen outfit: a tight top and worn out underwear/boxershorts, stuffed in the crotch, suspenders in rainbow colors with a political button (parties/organizations), crucifix necklace, name tag (like all other participants). Deniz is placed in the circle of chairs from the beginning.
2. *Presentation:* The teacher introduces Deniz and asks the participants to look at Deniz and choose an object that they would like to give him/her/them for the day or put on. This should be something that they think could be useful for Deniz. Options include handkerchiefs, phones, water, books, toys, condoms, or clothing items.
3. *Thoughts, Feature Naming, and Normativity Discussion:* The participants should explain why they chose this particular object for Deniz. They will then be asked to explain what they think when they look at Deniz. The different features mentioned

will be transferred to the higher-level context of different categories (e.g. ability, religion, class, etc.) and it will be discussed what the norm or deviation is in each country. Based on this, Deniz will be positioned based on her/his/their features.

4. *Category Formation:* The mentioned features will be collected on a flipchart/blackboard and assigned to different categories. Suggestions and examples of categories can be found in Table 4.1.
5. *Evaluation and Reflection:* Through moderated guidance, the teacher leads a discussion that can also lead to controversial discourse. Depending on the target group, the focus can be set on individual topics. More in-depth discussions can be continued in small groups.
6. *Conclusion:* The authors emphasize that Deniz can now be seen as part of the group because he/she/they has/have become part of the stories of the participants. For this reason, he/she/they should be farewelled according to mood, e.g. an object can be chosen for Deniz again and he/she/they can be thanked in Deniz's name with justification. Alternatively, Deniz can remain part of the class and be picked up again in future situations.

4.3.2.5 Exercise on the Topics of Flight, Asylum and Integration of Refugee Children

The following chapter focuses on the inclusion of refugee children in school, which should be preceded by special preparation and sensitization. For this purpose, educational work on the topics of war, flight and asylum should be carried out with the "new students" and the "old students" before they start school, but the interactive involvement and an unconditional attempt to understand the life realities and stories of these children by the teachers and the classmates should also be brought about (Geissler et al., 2017). Negative, racist voices and attitudes are not to be overlooked in public discourse, i.e. also in the media landscape by parties and political groups, and can sometimes echo into the classroom (ibid.). Traumatic events and experiences of discrimination often begin even before refugees flee their countries of origin, which are shaped by the expansion and effects of colonial, postcolonial and global power relations. These include, for example, war, poverty, environmental disasters and exploitation (Sequiera, 2019). An attempt to understand the tragedy of flight itself, the unimaginable circumstances of life-threatening, physical and psychological violence, sexualised violence, imprisonment, torture, family separation and experiences of death, possibly over the course of years, is not only unrealistic, but does represent the goal. In the arrival context, trauma-insensitive to trauma-promoting measures, structural oppression through the constantly threatening, unannounced deportation and the lack of support services and perspectives often occur during asylum procedures (ibid.). Due to the restricted legal and social access to social life, e.g. in the sense of an insurmountable language barrier, feelings of inferiority can occur, which can lead to various reaction tendencies (Jäger & Kauffmann, 2002; Yeboah, 2017). For refugee children, the role of the school, the teachers and the classmates contributes significantly to the processing of the flight, the development of perspectives and the formation of hope and offers the framework within which they can develop.

Table 4.1 Association chains to help collect the categories and characteristics of Deniz (according to Initiative Intersectional Pedagogy, 2015)

Deniz's Features	Interpretations	Category	Standard	'Deviation'	Form of Discrimination
Rainbow suspenders	LGBTQIA* symbol	Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Homosexual, Bisexual, Multisexual	Homophobia
Worn-out underwear	Possible signs of poverty/lack of money	Social status/class	Middle class	Working class, poverty class	Classism
Visible breasts and male genitals	Human between genders, personal pronouns	Gender identity	Cisgender	Transgender or Intergender	Cissexism, Transphobia
Gender characteristics	Gender roles, personal pronouns	Gender	Man	Woman	Sexism
Missing limbs	Disability	Physical ability	Non-disabled person	Disabled person	Ableism, 'disabled' hostility
	Disability	Mental and physical ability	'Healthy'	'Sick'	Ableism
Slender, athletic body	Young, athletic, dynamic	Body	Slender and 'beautiful'	'Fat', 'unkempt' and 'ugly'	Lookism, Bodyism, Fatphobia
Slender, athletic body	Young, without wrinkles, healthy	Age	Young adults, between 25–45 years old	Old people, children and adolescents	Ageism, Adultism
Black doll	Black person	Whiteness, Blackness, being a PoC[6]	White people	Black people, being a PoC	Racism
Crucifix, Cross	Religious, Catholic	Religion, world view	Secular Christian	Deviating from Christianity, e.g. Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, etc.	Anti-Muslim racism, Anti-Semitism

[6]The authors would like to avoid the difficult and ambiguous terms "ethnicity", [race] or 'ethnic origin' and instead use these terms as a category.

For this reason, the responsibility lies with the institution and the teachers to teach the "old classmates" a respectful and empathetic approach and a basic understanding, not only to teach, but to set an example. The school should be the place for refugee children where their experience is validated and they can express themselves; it should consciously and (inter-)actively distance itself from racism in other systems (e.g. the health care system, the legal system, etc.) and empower students (Sequiera, 2019).

In addition to sensitization, open discourse and self-reflection, playful exercises are also recommended here. These offer the students an opportunity for exchange and to get to know each other (Geissler et al., 2017).

Fruit salad (Geissler et al., 2017).

Goal: To warm up and get to know each other, to reduce language barriers, and to provide basic word mediation.

Duration: approx. 10 min.

Requirements: Spatial possibilities for a circle of chairs, multilingualism: language variants can be carried out depending on the composition of the participants; if there is no second language, this should be prepared in relation to the terms used.

Material: Bulletin board or flipchart, pens.

Instructions:

1. The names of the fruit varieties (e.g. apple, banana, pineapple, etc.) are written legibly in German on the flipchart or bulletin board in advance for each person.
2. The circle of chairs is set up. For this purpose, one chair is used less than the number of participants. The circle of chairs becomes a figurative fruit basket during the course of the game. At the beginning of the exercise, the participants still have to stand.
3. *Translation:* The fruit varieties are now translated by a participant by writing and pronouncing them in the second language next to the terms on the flipchart or bulletin board. All participants repeat the terms aloud until they are familiar with the pronunciation.
4. *Assignment:* 3–5 participants are assigned to each fruit.
5. *First mention:* Now one of the participants alternately stands in the middle, as there is not enough space in the fruit basket. This person now has to name a fruit out loud and clearly (in one of the two languages). The participants who were assigned to this fruit then "fall" out of the fruit basket.
6. *Exchange:* Now all in this fruit group quickly exchange their places. The person in the middle also tries to grab a place in the fruit basket in the meantime.
7. *Next mention:* The new person in the middle has to call out a next fruit, etc.
8. If the person in the middle calls out "fruit salad!", everyone has to stand up and exchange their places.

4.3.3 Book Recommendations for Anti-Racist Education

> "So what does it mean, for example, if only white characters lead through a textbook for German as a foreign language, driving convertibles and drinking Prosecco? Or if Mrs. Müller does the housework while Mr. Müller watches TV and doesn't want to talk? We need to ask ourselves in the sense of critical education what the unmarked, invisible norm is (e.g. white German heterosexual middle class), and which divergent identities remain invisible and thus not represented as a legitimate part of social reality in Germany." (May, 2019, p. 33).

Bias-laden language and images in educational materials construct and stabilize students' perceptions and attitudes towards belonging and otherness, and should therefore be incorporated into the classroom with reflective caution and care, or even prevented (ibid.). An example of this is the representation of flight in science textbooks—the one-dimensional and dominant portrayal of overcrowded inflatable boats as the only illustration of flight can have problematic consequences, as it indirectly draws a scenario of threat (Eder, 2018).

The "Checklist for Visual Language of the Fulda University of Applied Sciences" (2018) offers, for example, a guide to avoid such distorted categorizations and exaggerations. A short version of this checklist is presented below. It is based on the following question:

- "Does the text in question for example also show …"
- … women* in masculine-associated fields of work and in active roles?
- … people who experience racist attributions in high-status and socially respected positions?
- … people, and especially women*, with religious headgear in high-status and socially respected positions?
- … same-sex couples (also with children)?
- … people with disabilities in all social contexts in which you also show people who do not experience disabilities?
- … older and younger people in social exchange?
- … the diversity of people beyond the conventional ideal of beauty?

Other conceivable control questions according to May (2019) are:

- To what extent does the image reproduce *culturally related*[7] prejudices?
- Are refugees represented in different life situations, work contexts, social positions—in other words, is a heterogeneous image created?
- Can course participants identify positively with the figures under different aspects of diversity?

Below are recommendations for books that largely correspond to the aforementioned criteria in specific subject areas and constitute a basis for anti-racist and intersectional educational work.

Excerpt from "Intersectional Children's Book List" (Initiative Intersectional Education, 2015)

From 4 years old:

Kein Küsschen auf Kommando & Kein Anfassen auf Kommando (Mebes & Sandrock, 2013).

Du gehörst dazu: Das große Buch der Familien (Hoffman & Asquith, 2010).

From 5 years old:

Wir haben Rechte! Die Kinderrechte kennenlernen und verstehen (Olten, 2014).

Bené, schneller als das schnellste Huhn (Toledo, 2013).

Ein Pferd zu Channukka (Halberstam & Cote, 2010).

From 6 years old:

Rosi sucht Geld (Staud, 2013).

Das Wort, das Bauchschmerzen macht (Della & Rosentreter, 2014).

From 7 years old:

Kaugummi und andere Verfixungen (Karimé & Behl, 2010).

Alle gegen Esra (Çelik, 2010).

From 8/9 years old:

Tee mit Onkel Mustafa (Karimé & von Bodecker-Büttner, 2011).

Leo und Lucy – Ein klarer Fall? (Ludwig & Krause, 2010).

[7] The problem of culturalization is taken up in Sect. 4.4.3.

4.4 Critical Perspectives on Racism Interventions

After a range of ideas and concrete suggestions for classroom practice were discussed in the previous chapters, this chapter will take a critical look at the possibilities and limitations of racism interventions. Following the already discussed *intentionality,* awareness-raising exercises (paradoxically) can (re-)produce racist everyday patterns and thus be experienced as hurtful, humiliating or even (re-)traumatizing for those affected. Accordingly, a corresponding and continuous (self-)reflection of the teachers (especially belonging to the white majority) is fundamentally required to avoid these effects (Foundation for the International Weeks against Racism, 2015). This chapter contains further instructions which are intended to serve as (self-)reflection and give teachers an insight into which circumstances need to be considered and avoided when interventions are carried out in the classroom. The claim of the contribution is that teachers develop their own sensitive awareness of which exercises or statements are reprehensible or paradoxical from an anti-racist perspective and therefore need to be replaced through their own thought processes.

4.4.1 Anti-Racist Language

Although a language without racist elements should be the prerequisite for anti-racist educational work, it does not find its counterpart in reality: Racism is deeply anchored in linguistic structures and (un-)consciously cemented by everyday terms (Broden, 2015). Again, the postulate to take into account the perspectives of critics and those affected is applied to teachers (and students). If BIPoC express the criticism that a certain term or phrase is hurtful, teachers are obliged from an anti-racist perspective to correct themselves and their classmates, ban this term from their own vocabulary and prevent its use in the classroom in the future, regardless of the *intentionality* (Initiative Intersectional Pedagogy, 2015). Teachers have the responsibility to inform themselves independently about which terms are outdated and exclusionary (e.g. "guest worker"), imply false/irrelevant attributions (e.g. "migration background" for children of immigrants of the 2nd or 3rd generation) or essentialize false/irrelevant characteristics (e.g. "black Germans", "German-Turks") (Broden, 2015).

In addition, there are exercises in various manuals to sensitize to racism, which deliberately call for the reproduction of racist terms. The "Ähh-Nee" exercise is an example, which can be carried out in different variations. One variant to avoid is the writing on a flipchart/blackboard of terms that are racist and should not be used (anymore) (e.g. to be found in the "Demokratie leben!" method box of the Forschungsinstitut Betriebliche Bildung, 2018). This results in students carrying out an explicitly racist and therefore extremely hurtful and sometimes re-traumatizing *brainstorming* of racist terms (e.g. racist terms for black people, racist terms for Roma and Sinti, etc.) (Initiative Intersektion-

ale Pädagogik, 2015). Although the intention behind the exercise is clear, such conscious linguistic reproduction is to be criticized and should be avoided. A better variant of the exercise can be found in the brochure "i-Päd" (ibid.) taking into account classist and racist intersections in the context of language and recognition of these. The authors of the Initiative Intersektionale Pädagogik (2015) deal with the omnipresent representation of the language of privileged classes as more highly regarded or superior and thus as a form of oppression. In this "Äh-Nee" list, terms are collected that make a discussion in the classroom too high-level and therefore exclude certain groups of people. Example terms are: *Subtext, Dichotomy, Evaluate, Discourse, Individual,* etc. Another conceivable variant of the exercise would be an "Ähh-Ja" version, in which, together with the students, anti-racist, desired or self-assigned terms, e.g. *Roma and Sinti, People of Color, Black People, Coming from Turkey,* etc., are collected.

In general, when questioning and choosing language, the distinction should always be made between self-chosen and assigned terms. Although contradictions and different views can also arise within the self-naming of groups, the feelings of those affected should still be used as a guide. Ultimately, an awareness should be created that a racism-sensitive and -critical language is dynamic and therefore unfinished. Especially because of this nature, its establishment requires interpersonal openness and criticism (Broden, 2015).

4.4.2 Construction of the 'Others'

Racism-critical practice is also based on the efforts to abolish the effective binary of social order systems, i.e. the division into *belonging* and *non-belonging,* in 'us' and the 'others' (Beck-Gernsheim, 2004). Nevertheless, the attempt to blur the lines of difference and power structures can paradoxically lead to emphasizing or even creating them. Difference lines refer to for example, social, sexual, and gender-specific characteristics are me, the mention of which is necessary to create specific fair educational and participation opportunities or to criticize the lack of equal opportunities and access to education (Broden, 2015).

Othering is the process by which individuals make groups of people 'others' based on (ascribed or actual) cultural, social, physical, etc., characteristics over an individualized assignment to a supposedly homogeneous group. *Othering* sometimes goes hand in hand with a humiliating experience of exclusion, since the affected people are denied the privilege of *belonging* (May, 2019). In particular, social psychological research has shown that positive behavior by people who are categorized as 'others' is tendentially interpreted as a result of a situation, while negative behavior is attributed to the entire group (Bender-Szymanski et al., 2000).

One of the most common techniques of *Othering* is the question 'Where are you from?' already mentioned in the context of names, which, by attributing 'otherness' implies the impression of the person asking the question, for example, that the asked

person could not belong to the German majority society (Tupoka, 2017). In the everyday school context, *Othering* also becomes apparent when teachers' decisions regarding grading or promotion lead to sympathizing and favoring students who are read as *belonging* and, conversely, to the disadvantage of the 'others'.

In this way it becomes clear that *Othering* does not always arise from conscious practices and can therefore also take place as such within racism interventions. From a political-migration perspective an example of *Othering* is the 'integration imperative', which puts pressure on migrants and those who are read as such to 'integrate' themselves into the (e.g.) German society and thereby obviously marks them as 'others' (Mecheril & Thomas-Olalde, 2011).

There are also exercises in this context in which it must be carefully weighed up to what extent they highlight differences between students in a value-oriented way or rather lead to exclusion and marking of, for example, BIPoC. The exercise "All the Same, All Different" can be mentioned as an example (Pates et al., 2010). In this exercise, attributions and prejudices are to be uncovered by the students formulating assumptions about the life plan and the identity (e.g. name, origin, everyday life, etc.) of an unknown, real person on a picture. At the final identity disclosure, there should be a surprise effect, since the students usually have reflected along internalized prejudices. The potential of this exercise to run in the opposite direction should not be underestimated. Attributions can be made visible, however, it can also lead to a reinforcement of projective enemy images, for example, when students defend their selected identity attribution and argue, for example, that the real identities of these individuals are only the exception.

Finally, the potential of the construction of 'Others' through the thematization of difference lines depends fundamentally on the context and the recipients. Teachers must weigh up and empathize to decide to what extent addressing such differences contributes to critical discussion and in which cases they lead to division.

4.4.3 Exotization and Culturalization

Comparisons, focus on, and centralization of the importance of cultural diversity are core components of many interventions against racism and intercultural training (Haas, 2009). The efforts to be inclusive and "open to new cultures" often lead to the *exoticization* of the 'Others' and to *culturalism* or *culturalization.* Typical ways of culturalization and exoticization are the emphasis on peculiarity, novelty, and fascination through prejudiced images, such as the image of the Oriental belly dance from 1001 Nights[8], passionately prepared Italian food, Samba dancing Brazilians, etc. (Broden, 2015). This includes the already discussed *Othering* mechanisms: the people made into 'Others' are turned into a homogeneous group, and endowed with few characteristics or abilities. Furthermore,

[8] See: *Orientalism* (Said, 1978).

the unequal distribution of power is also evident in this context; the exoticized characteristics and actions are often of a physical nature and known to white spectators as those who are served and entertained by BIPoC (or 'Others'). Hall speaks of this binary division of roles as "the fundamental characteristic of racism" (Hall, 2000, p. 14).

The problem of *culturalism* looks similar, but in comparison to *exoticism* rather refers to a higher form of racism than to specific sensationalized properties. Culture concepts are constructed in an essentialist way: They imply closure and stability and in turn serve as a template for the evaluative assignment of people to differently rated 'cultural circles'. At first glance, the starting point may be a value-based interest in 'other cultures', but here too the end result is a *foreign group homogenization* (Quattrone & Jones, 1980). Thus, according to Balibar (1989), new dimensions of difference arise through strict cultural assignments, which mainly through the emphasis on the "harmfulness of any blurring of borders and the incompatibility of lifestyles and traditions" (ibid., p. 28) exclude the global south along evaluations of progressiveness from the 'superordinate West'. Statements like "the Chinese eat …", "the Afghans are …", etc. can be heard during intervention exercises and should be picked up and critically evaluated by the teachers (Kleff & Terkessidis, 2017). The comparison and discourse of cultures also directs the gaze away from social imbalances and power structures and reduces attention and sensitivity to them (ibid.). According to Adorno (1992) and Balibar (1989), it can also be said that the concept of culture has replaced the disreputable biological expression of *race*, but still represents a separation that reinforces power structures and power claims (quoted from Hess, 2014; Kleff & Terkessidis, 2017). In this context, one can speak of *culturalist* or *differentialist racism* (Hess, 2014).

The exercise "Perspective Change" can be categorized as potentially problematic here (Bräuhofer & Krutzler, 2017). In this exercise, identity cards are distributed, based on which the participants should imagine how their life would be with this new identity relating to different questions (regarding everyday life, professional and private life). The identities are: "Turkish, married woman with 3 children", "Afghan man, 57 years old", "strictly religious Muslim, male, 36 years old, single" and "Serbian, single mother of 2 small children". The risk of expressing *culturalist racism* and attributing cultural categories to 'nationality' in this exercise is considerable. In this respect, such exercises should be avoided as far as possible in school and extracurricular anti-racism work. Recommendations for teachers to create a better approach include, on the one hand, the use of the term *systems* instead of *cultures;* for example, if different countries are mentioned in class, the teachers should speak of different political systems, legal systems, educational systems, etc. (Haß, 2020). On the other hand, contrasting cultural comparisons, which can quickly lead to hierarchical discourses or thoughts, should be avoided in principle, as they ultimately only pave the way for culturalization (ibid.).

4.4.4 Power Relations, Positioning and Representation

Another basic dimension and effect of unequal power relations is the question of representation and knowledge production in anti-racist education.

First of all, researchers, teachers and learners have to deal with different positioning and representation questions. It must be noted and acknowledged that the knowledge, methods, target formulations and paradigms on which intervention work is based are to a large extent derived from White-Western scientists and oriented towards the political interests of the white majority society (Kaufmann, 2020; Kilomba, 2013). Research on racism therefore never represents a "vacuum devoid of power structures" (Karabulut, 2020, p. 13), but (re-)produces structures of inequality and relations of domination (Mecheril, 1999). Additionally, the voices *of Color* are hardly taken into account in the production and reproduction of knowledge. The resulting awareness is that knowledge is not objective, but derived from a certain, mainly white perspective and thus directly proportional to existing power relations in reality (Mohseni, 2020). For this reason, teachers should always ask themselves the following questions when carrying out interventions:

> "With which gaze and from which perspective do I perceive and what knowledge and content do I give to whom, in what context?" (Kaufmann, 2020, p. 331).

The self-reflection described by Kaufmann (2020) should therefore take into account access to power, knowledge and privileges in order to put humanistic assistance in the focus, instead of paternalistic tutelage as a white person. In the context of school, from the perspective of teachers, Kaufmann's (2020) self-reflection could be transferred as follows:

- To what extent do racism interventions help my students who are affected by racism?
- Am I doing the interventions for my conscience, or are the exercises helpful from the perspective of the students?
- Do the exercises represent a form of *Othering*?
- Do I actively help students who have been and are still being marked as 'Others' to resist autonomously, or am I only tutoring them?

The reflection of these (and other) fundamental questions as well as the design of intervention programs should be carried out from a multi-perspective, i.e. also taking into account the perspectives of BiPoC/-experts (e.g. from the staff), but without practicing *tokenism* (Kanter, 1977).

▶ **Tokenism** *Tokenism* refers to pro-forma efforts to include marginalized groups that remain exclusively in the performative-symbolic area. An exemplary case for this could be the occupation of a single role by a PoC in a film, whose conceptualization is additionally based on prejudice-laden images of 'strangers' (Kanter, 1977).

Exercises that can highlight or reinforce power structures and relationships within the classroom are, for example, the "space run" or the "privilege walk" (RAA Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e. V., 2018; Kley, 2017). Both exercises focus on power and privilege—the "space run" makes use of imaginary, randomly allocated power, the "privilege walk" asks about the conditions of real life based on instructions such as "If you can go anywhere in your country and get hair and skin care products that are suitable for your hair and skin color, take a step forward!" (Kley, 2017). This type of exercise is strongly criticized because it highlights existing inequalities and does not work towards strengthening those affected or changing inequalities. While white or privileged, non-racialized people only become aware of their privileges through such exercises, this happens at the expense of those affected by racism and other forms of oppression, who are inevitably aware of their life realities (Doğan, 2020).

The following two approaches will be discussed as overarching perspectives, the adoption of which is indispensable for anti-racist interventions.

Critical Whiteness requires, as a perspective, that white people[9] become aware of their *whiteness* and the associated privileges, and question them (Yaghoobifarah, 2017). This approach deliberately turns away from the 'others' and shifts the focus to the white dominant society, the 'self', which remains "strangely unmentioned" in racist discourse (Tißberger, 2017, p. 89). This is intended to call into question the assumed neutrality of *whiteness* and make white individuals feel obliged to define their position and positioning in (racist) power structures. After all, "white people* benefit permanently from the structural racism of society and are thus—albeit involuntarily—part of racism." (ibid., p. 91). The claim of the *Critical Whiteness* approach becomes more understandable when viewed from the perspective of 'invisible privilege'. Accordingly, those who are not privileged are aware of privileges, while those who are privileged take them for granted or see them as universal human rights. McIntosh (1989) uses the metaphor of the "invisible and privilege-filled weightless backpack" (Karabulut, 2020, p. 32): white people have a different selection of tools to go through life and access to them, without being aware of their existence or questioning them. White teachers should therefore find a responsible way to deal with their *whiteness* that is free of defence mechanisms or feelings of guilt. The aim of this process is to become an ally against racism from a white, conscious position (Boger & Simon, 2016; Smith et al., 2017).

[9] *Whiteness* is seen as a social construct and is therefore to be interpreted in a context-specific manner (May, 2019).

In contrast, the invisibility of voices and perspectives *of Color* is to be met by *Empowerment* (Mohseni, 2020). *Empowerment* stands for self-empowerment and strengthening one's own forces and competencies through specific strategies for resistance to racism (Benbrahim, 2015; Khan, 2015; Mohseni, 2020). This form of encouragement is meaningful in that many victims of racism suffer from a form of *learned helplessness* according to Seligman (2016). Through repeated experiences of racism, they may be given the impression that there is no improvement or change in the imbalances at the structural level and that failure is a leitmotif of their lives at the individual level (2020). The claim of *Empowerment* stands in contrast to this and promotes the resource-oriented involvement of BIPoC perspectives in educational work, which is often determined by the "monoperspective of the dominant society" and its ideas of normativity (2020; Yiğit & Can, 2006, p. 162). Thereby, BIPoC want to act autonomously and exchange experiences with each other, which ultimately represents a form of liberation (2020). *Empowerment* can be offered in the form of workshops for students with experiences of racism (e.g. analogous to the HAKRA project initiative) or as part of the behavior, e.g. of teachers, towards BIPoC (2020; Smith et al., 2017; Yiğit & Can, 2006).

4.5 Outlook

Putting the undertaken attempt to appropriately and sensitively address and counter racism in schools into focus, several insights were provided. In the background of these efforts, teachers should take a critical, self-reflective stance towards their own position in different experience spaces, on the representation of voices *of Color* within the institution, and on the knowledge on which the material used for the interventions is based. The focus of the intervention should be on the sensitization and sharpening of the view for diverse and multi-layered forms of racism as well as intersectionality. Binary logic in the sense of 'us' and the 'others' should be deconstructed for themselves and for the students, while those affected are given the validating and self-empowering space to share and discuss their experiences. In particular, special attention should be paid to avoiding (re-)traumatizing or paradoxical mechanisms during intervention exercises. Furthermore, anti-racist work should be resource- and solution-oriented by empowering students to act sensitively themselves and to resist for themselves and affected fellow students in the classroom and everywhere they encounter racism. In this respect, intervention attempts can only be successful if they take place continuously along a dichotomous interaction of 'action' and 'reflection' (Freire, 1973, quoted in Mohseni, 2020, p. 546).

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Appendix A: Written Interview with Thora Meißner (Conducted by Email)

Could you please introduce yourself? And also summarize your connection to the interview topic briefly?

My name is Thora Meißner. I am 42 years old and have been working as a cross-entrant in a substitute position in the field of German as a second language in a secondary school for 5 years. In the meantime, I have completed the self-study at the Goethe-Institut "DaF Didactics and Methodology" with grade 1, as well as a certificate course "Integration Management" at the FHM (University of Applied Sciences for the Mittelstand) Bielefeld, currently with an average grade of 1.18. I think that shows my interest in being available to you as an interviewee. I teach children and adolescents from various countries, starting with Syria, through Pakistan to Italy. Together [myself and my colleagues], we have already taught and accompanied more than 70 DaZ students to their graduation.

Is racism and discrimination present in your everyday life? Does the topic concern you? If yes, to what extent?

I experience racism and discrimination, yes. Not every day, but from time to time. The topic concerns me a lot! I am myself a native German and have lived all my life in Germany. "Earlier" I did not even know questions like: "Where does he come from?" at all. For me, all people, no matter where they came from, were just people. Over time, I had to realize that I am not alone with this way of thinking, but that the topic of "foreigners" is a fixed part of German life. I was shocked to hear about all the attacks on mosques, to read about murders and to keep hearing this discussion about headscarves. I always thought that none of this was an issue because people live together. Unfortunately, I was taught better. And even if I am not a "foreigner" in the sense of the law, I also experience from time to time that I have to justify myself (Why do you help the parasites?)

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Does racism influence/interfere with the school day from your point of view? If yes, how exactly?

Yes—racism divides! Especially in school. Groups quickly form, and one or the other student then only hangs out with his or her "countrymen".

Fortunately, our DaZ students are generally very well integrated—also in the class association, but even there you can see that they often stand alone on the school yard or "with their people".

In my opinion, this quickly leads to saying: "THEY and WE!"

How frequent is racism and discrimination against refugee children and adolescents or also by teaching staff in the school context?

I have to say that I rarely perceive racism and discrimination against refugee children and adolescents at our school. However, we have also "fought" for this.

My colleague and I have tried to sensitize from the beginning—which mostly succeeded. The teaching staff is usually free of prejudices, but there I also know roughly a handful of colleagues who are shaped by prejudices and then also show a more discriminatory treatment of our DaZ students—whether consciously or unconsciously, I would like to leave that open.

What types of racism/discrimination do refugee children and adolescents experience in your experience?

Institutional racism and individual racism. Everyday racism.

The former often simply due to the fact that a part of the staff does not want/can not take care of the German learners adequately. Here, personal interests play as much a role as the professional circumstances of the learning system etc. pp. With 30 students within a class, a teacher can not take care of one or more DaZ students in detail. We handle it at our school so that my colleague and I are also contact persons for the class teachers—to avoid problems. (We could write a book about it!)

Would you like to report one or two cases by way of example?

At the beginning (after the events at the Cologne train station in 2016) there were situations in which, for example, two Syrian boys were accused of "approaching" a girl. However, after many conversations, the two boys remained that they had done nothing. After a research of mine it turned out that the parents of the girl liked to share "anti-foreigner slogans" in the social web, so that we quickly realized where the rabbit runs. In the end, the girl admitted that she liked one of the boys, but he did not [know] anything about her ...

An Angolan student came to me one day and asked what "nigger" actually means. He was called that way on the school yard for fun ...

Two Afghan students were often insulted, they should go back where they came from. They had nothing to do here ...

A teacher "copied two DaZ students" directly because they could not engage with the content of the subjects due to various problems (life in the asylum, separation of parents, asylum decisions). The words of the colleague: "Oh, I don't feel like taking care of the two. They don't do anything anyway. At the end of the class they go to vocational school anyway!"...

During a German subject conference, a colleague was upset that "the refugees" did not learn German before they came to Germany—how were they supposed to understand the topic of "ballads"...

I could continue, but I don't want to overdo it...

Are teachers also affected by racism and discrimination?

Basically, I would say that teachers at our school are not affected by racism and discrimination. But of course you don't always notice it. The students (students) also don't live their racism "openly", but look very closely when "nobody is watching". Sometimes, however, there are parents who are "not happy with a teaching situation" because "he can't speak German so well".

(Although a teacher/teacher of course has to bring a certain level of language in order to even make the side entry.)

If yes, can you give an example here as well?

I have a colleague who has only been in Germany for a few years and was a teacher in his home country—he is now also a teacher in Germany. The students (students) love him—I think because he describes the content of the lesson very simply and clearly (after all, he has to present it in a foreign language).

However, he himself also told me that he feels rejected by some of his colleagues. He is accepted in my opinion. But I also notice that he is sometimes "treated like a child"—according to the motto: He is a foreigner, one has to support him.

At first there were a few parents in his class who reacted reservedly and even a little rejection. But he fought his way through. Meanwhile, the parents are behind him.

In the context of schools, institutional racism is often mentioned, can you confirm the existence of this? How does institutional racism manifest itself?

I have already taken a position on this above.

Another example would be the "Recommendation of the secondary schools" in elementary school. It is still the case that an Arabic-speaking child is quickly "stamped" and "only" gets a recommendation for a secondary school, while an equally strong German-speaking child should go to the secondary school.

We as a secondary school have a relatively high proportion of migrants at the school, which does not bother us in everyday life, but obviously damages the image. "Only the foreign children go there!" Etc.

If you do not keep up linguistically, you are also "left behind". The German school system assumes that every child masters the educational language. If our DaZ students have learned German for 2 years, they rarely know the educational language as well as the numerous technical terms in the respective subjects. Normally, teachers take this into account, but it is directly thought of in terms of "secondary school leaving certificate". That such a child "gets the curve" and can suddenly become really good, one does not believe him.

On the other hand, the school system simply assumes that a child who went to a German elementary school can rock a secondary school. However, what is forgotten is that the child has no one at home who can help him with the linguistic problems. In school it is only said: "Yes, you just have to learn!"

What do you suspect to be the reasons behind racist/discriminatory statements against refugees?

Fear!

Fear of the unknown!

Jealousy because so many people are committed to them.

Maybe also bad experiences.

Mainly education! If I constantly hear from my parents that the "Congolese lips" are bursting our social system, then I believe my parents and speak in the same way.

And also the ego. Again and again I find out how many people are upset about the headscarf because it "does not fit in with European values". See it as oppression in principle.

A big point is the ignorance: If people who "do not like foreigners" were to talk to a Syrian (or other origin) once or several times and hear the stories, they would get to know the people and not just see the "refugee numbers".

You know it: "These Kanaks always. But the Dönermann around the corner is cool—he works for his money too!" Here you have known the Dönermann for maybe years—so he is a "buddy". "Refugees" however, you might not necessarily know personally.

Are there any forms of support for children and adolescents with racist experiences or also for teaching staff with racist experiences in the school context? If so, what are they and how do they try to help? (E.g.: a specific contact person, anti-racism training with the students etc.)

At our school itself there are no offers. We are SoR-SmC (award: "School without Racism—School with Courage") and can of course always approach the Municipal Integration Centre. However, I cannot confirm any specific support at the school.

What do you think would be important for the future in terms of dealing with racism and discrimination against refugee children and adolescents in schools? What would have to change and how?

There needs to be more awareness! More sensitisation for the reasons for flight. History lessons should introduce the topic of "Hitler" in Year 7 and not only in Year 9. Because by then it is already too late, certain patterns of thought are then already internalised. In addition, there are also many Year 6 students who suddenly talk about Hitler, give the Nazi salute or just scribble the symbol somewhere, without really knowing what it means. So the awareness-raising would have to happen much earlier.

I would also conduct interviews with contemporary witnesses. I once did this in a video project with a group of bloggers at the school. The video is available to watch online.

Teachers would also need to be trained—in terms of the reasons for flight, in terms of the machinations of any dictators, in terms of dealing with trauma, etc.

Regular seminars on "intercultural competence" should be offered for both teachers and students.

Is there anything else important that you would like to say on this topic, that you would like to get off your chest in this context?

YES! It is very important that the topic "racism and discrimination" is not considered one-sided. This means that there are also discriminations "the other way around". For example, in a class with only a few German students, these are insulted: "Alman. Fucking Germans." The formation of groups on the school yard also excludes "Almans". So if you want to address the issue of racism, you have to work on the intercultural competence **of every** student. Maybe we could develop a kind of "Knigge in Humanity".

The word "refugee" should disappear from the law books and the general vocabulary. On the one hand, this diminution is not appropriate, because these are adult human beings, on the other hand it generalizes a group of people (headlines in the media).

Appendix B

Worksheed *Strong Children ABC* (Fortbildungsinstitut für die pädagogische Praxis 2010).

What strong children are, can or may: Find as many things as possible with the respective initial letters! (e.g. mindful, tender, ...).

A _____
B _____

C _____
D _____

E _____
F _____

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