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"SO SOMEHOW PISSED OFF, BECAUSE I'M ACTUALLY TURKISH". BETWEEN AFFIRMATION AND CRITIQUE OF MIGRATION SOCIETY DISCOURSES IN THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

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Abstract

This article, which is oriented towards subjectification theory, examines the experiences of pupils who are considered to be "with a migration background" in the school context, the migration-society related attributions they experience and the demands made on them by teachers in the transition phase from primary to secondary school. In this regard, the students' perspective can help to recognise institutionalised mechanisms through which the difference is created. This article analyses individual cases by elaborating the question of how pupils are made into subjects in the migration-society school and how they make themselves into subjects.

Keywords: school, migration society, subjectification (self-positioning and positioning by others), demands for assimilation, educational inequality

Introduction

This article deals with the question of how pupils from the migration-society become subjects who position themselves between affirmation and rejection of assimilation. Considering the fact that in the school not only knowledge is imparted, but also socialisation takes place (cf. Berger and Luckmann, 1999[16]: 49-55), educational research in the context of migration society must not only deal with the question of the acquisition of formal knowledge by pupils, but also must be concerned with the informal and supposedly casual interactions and experiences of the pupils. Therefore, in the present text, we deal with this context from a subjectivation-theoretical perspective and bring an individual case - the pupil Rıdvan[1] - some facets of school experience to the fore that are perceived as as a disruptive factor.

In the following, the first step is to examine the school in the context of migration society as a space of ethnicization in the context of social selection processes (II). In the second step, we explain our theoretical considerations in relation to Foucault's concept of subjectivation (1994[2]) (III). The third step touches upon the methodological approach, where we also briefly discuss our field access (IV). In the fourth step, selected passages from the interview with Rıdvan, a 10-year-old pupil in a fourth grade class, are introduced. Starting from this example, we focus on the ambivalences that the schoolchildren in the context of migration society experience in relation to the foreign positioning or demands for assimilation (V). A short summary with the conclusion of these parts can be found at the end of the text.

I. School in the Context of Migration Society

School is of enormous and lasting importance, not only in terms of qualifications and the associated social selection processes, but also as a further instance of socialisation alongside the family, extracurricular institutions and friends. School can be seen as a space in which individuals (further) develop their relationship to themselves and to the world in interaction with other actors in the context of (implicit) norms or ideas of normality (cf. Berger and Luckmann, 1999[16]: 139-145). School transitions are particularly sensitive moments within the framework of these developmental processes. These junctures for changing schools are of particular social significance in that they open up the structural possibility for decisions that affect the future socio-economic status of children and reinforce educational inequalities (cf. Baumert et al., 2010: 5; Akpınar and Değirmenci, 2011: 245). The results of school performance studies such as PISA, IGLU study and BiKS show a clear connection between educational

[1] The names are anonymised. First, the children gave themselves and their children's parents different code names in conversation; subsequently, one of these two names was chosen for standardisation.

failures at school and the so-called “migration background” (cf. Dienelt, 2019; Maurice et al., 2007). At the same time, these school performance studies make manifest that the German education system reproduces inequality (cf. Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016: 14).

“Across Germany today, about one third of children of primary school age have a ‘migration background’[2] , i.e. they or their parents have immigrated to Germany. The largest group is immigrants from Turkey” (Kratzmann, 2014: 47; emphasized by authors). In particular, the educational trajectories of children from families who immigrated from Turkey receive special public attention. It has repeatedly been noted that these children are overrepresented in school forms that are not primarily academically oriented and consequently experience more frequent school dropouts and receive poorer results in standardised tests (cf. ibid; Gresch and Becker, 2010: 181). Much of the research activity in the field of migration and education, especially qualitative-interpretative research, is concerned with tracking down mechanisms of power in the German education system, some of which are hidden (cf. Rose, 2012: 11; Fereidooni, 2011: 53-60), because, among other things, schools as “‘pedagogical’ institutions are themselves part of a society structured by relations of power and difference” (Merl et al., 2018: 7).

The PISA studies repeatedly stated that educational success depends on social origin and family migration history, and that the German education system reproduces the resulting inequality (cf. ibid.). The IGLU study also showed that, for the reasons just mentioned, children with a “migration background” have a lower chance of being recommended to a Gymnasium if they have the same reading skills and the same social background (cf. Stanat, 2007).

The study by Gomolla and Radtke (2009[3]) points out that cultural-racist argumentation structures are used in the school organisation. This is the case, for example, when a recommendation to transfer to a higher school form such as the Gymnasium is ruled out for children with a “migration background” due to the supposedly insufficient or even missing domestic support, which is primarily justified by a lack of German language skills (cf. Gomolla and Radtke, 2009[3]: 277).

While research tends to focus on the perspectives of teachers (cf. ibid.: 52-58), we want to concentrate on the perspectives of pupils. In doing so, we are interested in examining the experiences of pupils facing migration-related attributionsand the demands that are placed upon

[2] Attributions such as "with a migration background" and "with a migration history" can have a discriminatory effect due to their sweeping nature (cf. also Gorelik 2012). In order to indicate the questionability of such terms, they are placed here in quotation marks to make it clear that people who do not have a migration background, whatever this means, but rather that it is attributed to them.

them by the teachers during the transition phase from primary to secondary school. The students' perspective can help to identify institutionalised mechanisms through which the difference is produced. "The production of differences does not simply take place by positioning an individual according to categories of difference, but takes place in a process of self-attribution and attribution to others in complex powerful super- and subordinations. The complex powerful super- and subordinations and the associated construction of the Other leads to specific exclusions and inequalities, especially in schools" (Mecheril and Rose, 2014: 137).

The difference-theoretical discussion of educational science points out that "as part of a nation-state education system, the school is involved in the (re)production of natio-ethno-cultural ideas and aspirations of homogeneity. Consequently, the de facto heterogeneity of pupils is treated as a 'disturbing factor'." (Merl et al., 2018: 7).

The notion of homogeneity leads to the tendency that those who are considered natio-ethno-culturally "different" and are positioned accordingly are confronted with deficit attributions, as a result of which their adaptation is regarded as deficient and it is primarily attempted to adapt them to existing structures and norms (cf. Ibid.: see Chapter V).

Through notions and aspirations of homogeneity, the origin of students becomes relevant at school, which "contradicts the meritocratic self-image of society, according to which only individual performance against the background of equal opportunities legitimises different educational successes" (Merl et al., 2018: 7). The imagination or striving for the so-called "equalisation" of pupils with unequal starting conditions can lead to indirect discrimination (cf. ibid.). This is because the equal treatment of pupils, which may be perceived as fair, can be interpreted as a hidden mechanism of power (cf. ibid.). In this context, Rosen (2014) raises the question of the extent to which disadvantage at school is perceived by the addressed group of people (teachers) and what coping resources and strategies they develop (cf. Rosen, 2014: 339).

In summary, migration and migration-related interruptions are undeniable problems that children experience in the educational process. Although these problems are perceieved and experienced by each single child in different manners, they are deeply connected with certain institutional, social and power-related structures, which underlie subjectivation processes of the children. In this regard, the following section takes a closer look at Foucault's theory of subjectivation before analysing the case of Rıdvan.

II. Subjectivation in the Power Relations of the School

Following Foucault (1994[2]), we understand subjectification as a process of being-subjected and the creation of subjectivity, which is mediated by power relations, but also creates

possibilities for action. To analyse power relations in primary schools in the migration society, we assume that hegemonic structures (do Mar Castro Varela and Dhawan, 2007: 40), by evading critical thematisation, permeate the routines of everyday life as a matter of course. These normalised and disciplining routines, which shape teaching-learning processes (Jäckle, 2009: 90), have a specific effect on processes of subjectification (Broden and Mecheril, 2010: 7-15).

The term subjectification is, furthermore, used to describe "practices in which individuals are first and foremost constituted as 'subjects' under [the] social norms in their being subjected to the power, which at the same time guarantees their ability to act," (Rose, 2016: 331). However, it should be noted that the category of power that thus comes into focus is not identified by Foucault with respected to the specific persons or institutions, but is always conceived as a relation, that is, as a power relation or as a relational force (cf. Foucault, 1994[2]: 254). "It is not something that could be identified, not something that would be imposed from outside on the object of power, but it is realised in subjectivity itself" (Messerschmidt, 2012[3]: 289).

In the context of migration society, we recognise, among other things, power relations in the manifestation of the marking "with a migration background", which discursively goes hand in hand with the idea of otherness in terms of appearance, thinking and behaviour (cf. Mecheril, 2014: 13-20). According to Hall (2004), in the context of such othering processes, the other(s) receive concrete (negative) predicates in order to maintain these power relations and to legitimise the claim to dominance of the privileged (Hall, 2004:167-170). Velho explicates this othering process similarly as self-idefication process of the subjects:

> "Yes, I am an Other''. This recognition of the hegemonic being-othered and the assimilative confession lead as self-representation to a process that, following Foucault, brings about inner change in the minoritised in the sense of identification. An assimilated subject that confirms visibility, sees itself as Other, grows up, is created" (Velho, 2010: 120).

With regard to schools in the migration society, this process is elaborated, for example, in the study by Rose (2012). Otherness is associated with a non-German origin (cf. Mecheril, 2010: 7) or with multilingualism or limited German-speaking ability; linguistic difference is namely hierarchised (cf. e.g. Dirim and Mecheril, 2010: 102). According to Foucault, every educational system is a political method by which discourses, knowledge and power, are appropriated, maintained or influenced (cf. Foucault, 2012[12]: 30). As part of his comprehensive historical reconstructions of the institutionalisation of power[3], Foucault shows how disciplinary power

[3] Here he addresses the power to repress, the power to integrate and the disciplinary power (cf. Foucault,

creates a legitimised control over members of society. Astrid Messerschmidt points out the particular relevance of disciplinary power in the context of pedagogical power relations:

> "It is part of the calculation of disciplinary power to produce 'visibilities' and 'sayabilities' without interruption. It puts people under compulsion to confess, orders and distributes them in social space, administers their lifetime as a measurable development. It examines, defines and identifies and functions pedagogically in the classical sense [...]. Simultaneously with the human sciences, disciplinary power brings forth the individual who is the point of passage and object of its power effects, the human being of the human-scientific knowledge order, who now becomes the object of incessant questioning, definition and identification" (Messerschmidt, 2012[3]: 297).

With the production of permanent visibility through the disciplinary power of schools, practices of subjectification become effective, which, with their fixation on cultural identity, align subject positions with uniqueness. In this way, both the codification of difference and the denial of different affiliations have a powerful effect. Following Foucault's argumentation (1992[4]), the word "subject" has a double meaning here: on the one hand, a subject is subjected to the control or surveillance and dependence, and on the other hand, the subject is attached to its own identity through consciousness and self-knowledge, "which [in turn] subjugates one and makes one someone's subject" (Foucault, 1994[2]: 246). Practical meaning of this process of subjectification will become manifest in the aforementioned case study of Rıdvan (see Section V). However, before introducing it in detail, it is necessary to explain in the next section our methodological approach and field access for conducting this emprical research.

III. Methodological Approach and Field Access

Within the framework of the empirical research on which this article is based, we attempt to trace subject-constituting moments in the migration-society school. In particular, we are interested in the question of the extent to which subjectification of schoolchildren under conditions of power relations in the migration society in the context of school also leads to the acquisition of capacity to act, which is also linked to criticism and resistance.

With regard to the composition of the sample and field access, we have proceeded as follows: In most cases, cooperating with migrant associations, migrant initiatives, etc. was preceded by extensive internet research before the families were contacted first by telephone and then in person[4]

2012[12]; Messerschmidt, 2012[3]).

[4] Contact with the children was established through the families. The migration of the parents in the families involved in the research was very heterogeneous: they were families with escape stories, transnational

Next, primary school children aged nine and ten who attend the fourth grade of a primary school and have already received a report card with a transfer recommendation to secondary school and/or for whom the decision for secondary school has already been made were selected and interviewed. A total of 14 interviews were conducted with the children's parents[5] and with children in parallel periods. Five of the interviews are included in the analysis. Children were left to decide where to conduct the interviews. It was important to see that all interviewees with who were interviewed chose their own room. Andresen and Hurrelmann et al. (2013) refer to this as the child's well-being, which is closely linked to their perception of justice, equal opportunities and equal treatment (Andresen et al., 2013: 26). Thus they have chosen a familiar environment that belongs to them. Moreover, here they can show off their own realm and express who they are in yet another way (cf. Schroeder et. al., 2013: 204). Mey and Schwentesius (2019) point out that the success of the interviews with children depends on the design of the concrete situation. "Here, attention should definitely be paid to a disturbance-free environment as well as a place that is familiar to children" (2019: 11).

The survey uses the problem-centred guided interview, which combines biographical, narrative and guideline-oriented elements (cf. Witzel, 1982: 70-75.; Witzel, 2000; Badawia, 2002: 47). This makes it possible to focus on relevant topics and to be problem-centred. The guideline interview allows questions that are not relevant to the study to be excluded from the outset. At the same time, it offers a certain flexibility during the interview (cf. Gamper, 2011: 110). In problem-centred guided interviews, the interviewees - in this case the children - act as experts of their own world: Here, the interviewer is in the role of the learner, which means that she engages with the children's perspective. At the same time, however, she does not give up her researcher's perspective; this structures, for example, the framework of the interview (cf. Fuhs, 2000: 87-89). It should be also noted that for a successful application of this methodological approach an age of seven years is recommended as the lowest age threshold (cf. ibid.: 98). Using the form of the problem-centred guided interview suggests also that the instructions on the children should be subject-related and comprehensible. Qualitative-oriented guided interviews with children aims at achieving valid results - this applies in particular to the subjective areas of wishes, problems and fears as well as to the educational area, that is to the school (cf. Heinzel, 1997: 396).

The experiences described by the school children are analysed within the framework of

families and so-called guest worker families. Rıdvan's mother comes from a so-called guest worker family, while the father immigrated because of a family offspring.

5 For reasons of space, only children are referred to in this article.

the qualification work in accordance with the research approach of Grounded Theory by Strauss/Corbin (1996). For this article we have chosen our interview with 10-year-old Rıdvan because the interaction between the teacher and Rıdvan regarding the invocation of who (addresses) whom and how is particularly highlighted. In the following chapter IV, passages from the interview with Rıdvan, whose parents immigrated from Turkey, are quoted and interpreted.

IV. Processes and Practices of Subjectification in the Migration-Society School

The interview with Rıdvan was conducted in 2016. At the time of the interview, Rıdvan lived with his family in a large city in North Rhine-Westphalia. We were informed by another interview partner that Rıdvan's mother would be interested in an interview with us. So we contacted the mother by phone. During the telephone conversation, we also discussed and clarified the framework of the interview with Rıdvan. Thus, he expressed a possible interest in an interview.

At the beginning of the interview, Rıdvan told that it was the first time he would participate in an interview in this setting. Initially, he was very quiet, answered the questions very brief and monosyllabic. However, as the interview progressed, his calmness was lost and he became more euphoric, emphatic and responded much more specifically to the questions, so that he no longer answered in monosyllables. Nevertheless, he listened attentively and took time to contemplate before describing the events from school in more detail.

It was highly remarkable that the positioning of ethnicity was a common thread throughout the interview. He talked a lot about his holidays, how he feels in Turkey. When asked "what he would find so nice in Turkey", he answers that it has always been much nicer in Turkey, e.g. that they could always go to the beach to swim, that it is very warm and especially that his grandparents lives in Turkey. He feels so safe there as if he had been born in Turkey, therefore he feels like a Turk in Germany. In this regard, he describes his experience with his teacher at school as follows:

> Rıdvan: "Well, I also feel like a Turk here, yes, so the teachers always say, well, I always say I'm a Turk, but they always say I'm German, because my passport is German and I was born here, and then I say but no, I'm a Turk, and then stop, I want to say so, so I just want them to think I'm a Turk" (Rıdvan, 10 years).
>
> Interviewer: "Why do you want them to think that you are Turkish?"
>
> Rıdvan: "Yes I don't want to be German".

In this interview passage, it can be noticed at first sight that the local dimension plays a decisive

role for Rıdvan's self-recognition. As he expresses that he feels "here" as a "Turk", whereby it can be assumed that by "here" he refers to Germany and implicitly contrasts this with a "there" in Turkey. The fact that he feels like a "Turk" is emphasised several times in this section, whereby he emphasizes that the teacher does not recognise his sense of belonging to Turkey because of his nationality: Since he has a German passport and was born in Germany, his sense of belonging that differs from this formal status is not accepted by the teacher. Rıdvan also reports that the teacher tells him to put aside his need for self-definition in favour of formal belonging by nationality.

However, the teacher's positioning of Rıdvan as German could be interpreted as an expectation of loyalty from Rıdvan in the tension between formal belonging and symbolic belonging. For from a social constructivist perspective, natio-ethno-cultural difference is created here by asking Rıdvan to commit to a nationally coded belonging. At the same time, there is no possibility for Rıdvan to be positioned in a relationship to himself and to the world that allows ambiguity or softens the binary order of belonging (cf. also Mecheril, 2010: 12-15). In this tension between self- and other-positioning, it becomes clear that this is a hierarchical relationship in many respects, especially since the position of power legitimised in the school is also used by teachers as adults whose function is to teach and to judge.

The teacher's insistence that Rıdvan cannot be a "Turk" but must be "German" leaves Rıdvan feeling that his own positioning is not being respected: His wish that the teacher should think that he is "Turkish" refers not only to the demand to define himself, but also to the need to be recognised in this. When Rıdvan is asked how he feels about hearing that he is not a "Turk", he answers as follows:

> "So I was kind of angry, because I'm actually a Turk. [...] They said no and they always said that I am not a Turk" (Rıdvan, 10 years).

Rıdvan answers the question about the reason for his feeling of being "kind of angry". He points out once again that the teacher insists that he is not a "Turk", which he clearly expresses with the teacher's emphatic "no". By presenting the teacher's resolute claim to interpretative sovereignty, he makes it understandable why he gets "angry". He gets "angry" because his ethnic self-positioning, that he speaks from a certain position, from a certain experience of a certain culture is not recognised by hegemonic structures in the school, which force him on how to position himself (cf. Leiprecht, 2001: 45-47).

Rıdvan makes it clear that although he is positioned by others, he is also capable of defending himself against this kind of positioning by the others, that is foreign-positioning and is able to position himself. Rıdvan's reaction to the teacher's foreign-positioning by

emphasizing that he is a "Turk" can be understood as a demarcation. This consists not only in not allowing himself to be positioned by others, but also in not being what the teacher sees in him or wants to make of him. In Rıdvan's case it becomes clear that through the practice of assimilation in dealing with difference, the child's belonging is made invisible. The "assimilation approaches are single-value approaches that do not address phenomena of mixing and multiple belonging" (do Mar Castro Varela and Mecheril, 2010: 47). At this point, a perspective on subjectivation becomes very clear in the interplay of foreign and self-ethnicisation. Ethnicity is significant in the context of subjectification and self-positioning within a society. According to Leiprecht (2001)

> "at the centre of the construction of ethnicity are social processes of tradition and the drawing of boundaries. This is essentially about socio-historical categorisations, about real or supposed ties, about the 'collective memory' of a group, about interpretations, myths or even inventions. The members of a group or sub-society refer to (imagined) connections that they assume influence their current social, cultural, economic and political position and future fate. Such constructions can take place 'from the outside' as well as 'from the inside' and are to be analysed as processes of foreign and self-ethnicisation. Within the framework of nation states, ethnic minorities (as 'not properly belonging to the nation') and ethnic majorities (as the 'core' of the nation proper) are constructed. Ethnicity is significant here for *positioning* within a society" (Leiprecht, 2001: 46-47).

In the further course of the interview, Rıdvan says that he sometimes says something in Turkish to his Turkish classmates in class that is not allowed, so that the others cannot understand it:

> "Then she always scolds me and says: 'We are in Germany, you are not allowed to speak Turkish. Don't speak Turkish in class, you have to speak German'. And she also sometimes says what we said we should explain. [...] So then I feel like, um, somehow like that, then I think, so now she knows that or something" (Rıdvan, 10 years).

Here, too, Rıdvan portrays the teacher as ruling and authoritarian. In this situation, she is not described as the one who tells him who he has to be, but as the guardian of the school order of monolingualism. Multilingualism is apparently experienced by her less as a resource worthy of recognition and more as a threat. Similar to the non-recognition of his self-positioning as a "Turk", she forbids a linguistic exchange that is beyond her control. As far as the order of mono-German is not adhered to, the teacher is annoyed, which can certainly be understood as a performative practice of sanctioning and belittling in front of the pupils.

Furthermore, the teacher's statement: "We are in Germany, you are not allowed to speak Turkish. Don't speak Turkish in class, you have to speak German", creates a pedagogical production of illegitimate languages and affiliations. According to Dirim and Mecheril (2010),

the debate about language is fundamentally about belonging and identities:

> "In the dispute about the language(s) that are considered legitimate in the migration society, a struggle about belonging is articulated: Who belongs to 'us'? But even more: Who are 'we'? Are 'we' also those who primarily speak Russian? Are 'we' also those who speak German-Turkish? Dealing with this embeddedness in power relations is significant for dealing with languages in educational institutions, especially schools" (Dirim and Mecheril, 2010: 105).

As discussed in the Section III school as an institution represents a place where the diversity of languages are spoken by children and where young people are addressed, accepted or even ignored in different ways (cf. ibid). According to Fereidooni (2011), linguistic heterogeneity and multiculturalism appear to be a disruptive background to the institutional framework of primary schools. (Fereidooni, 2011: 56).

In the sample case, it has been shown how the actions of the teacher and the school order complement each other powerfully, so that the teacher regains authority and control and at the same time can maintain the school monolingual order, while associated exclusions are repeated. Rıdvan also describes how the teacher's request to translate what was said into German limits the possibility of protecting something from her access. In the interaction between the teacher and Rıdvan, it can be observed how ethnicity is made an issue: the actions of the teacher show that she is acting from a "normative" perspective (cf. Quehl, 2010: 183-187). Because in everyday (educational) practices, differences are continuously produced. This is also the case with Rıdvan when he finds himself between the opposite categories such as being German and not being German and/or being a child and an adult as well as a schoolchild and a teacher. "Different lines of difference structure social orders and concepts of normality. By resorting to differences, interpersonal, structural and institutional discrimination conditions and social inequality are legitimized" (Merl et al., 2018: 1). If we apply this to our example, then the subject formation of the child Rıdvan takes place within this practice of difference, in that Rıdvan positions himself or is being positioned by others along the lines of difference.

In this point it is important to note that Foucault's above dicussed theoretical argument that the word subject has a double meaning (Foucault, 1992[4]) complies with our case study.

On the one hand, this case shows how Rıdvan is subjected to the teacher and his behaviours are depended in the power relations, and on the other hand, Rıdvan seeks for his own identity and in this way gains consciousness and self-knowledge, "which [in turn] subjugates one and makes one someone's subject" (Foucault 1994[2], p. 246 f.). With his subjection, Rıdvan simultaneously guarantees his ability to act (cf. Rose 2016, p. 331).

Summary and Conclusion

Finally, we would now like to relate our previous explanations to the context of school, which we tried to exemplify with the help of short passages from an interview with a young pupil.

The tension between "being German" vs. "being Turkish" shows that both sides act in different ways: On the one hand, the teacher defines who the child is ("a German"). On the other hand, Rıdvan acts actively from his childlike perspective and, contrary to the teacher's authority, defines himself as an Other and a "Turk". The teacher as an adult person forcibly tries to preserve a certain school order (monolingual German-speaking, cultural belonging) and at the same time maintain her position of dominance. The teacher's action structures Rıdvan's action. However, within the framework of the misrecognition of belonging and multilingualism, Rıdvan also has opportunities to influence the process of his self-positioning. (cf. also Bergold-Caldwell and Georg, 2018: 79-81).

Here, the question could be pursued as to whether his attitude primarily represents an oppositional stance with which he defends himself against the homogenisation or assimilation efforts of the teacher, or whether here - possibly partially - there is also a self-confession out of conviction. In both cases, however, Rıdvan finds himself in a state of tension. For Rıdvan tries to act in a self-determined way in the struggle for his autonomy in order to defend himself against the adultist power struggles of the teacher. As discussed in the section V, he defends himself against the affiliation forced upon him.

Here, natio-ethno-cultural affiliation (Mecheril 2010) and adultism are intertwined. In both positionings, the lines of difference are effective through hegemonic expression as relations of domination and power. By establishing socially recognised norms and values, "being a child" is generationally differentiated as a socially constructed category. Thus, children are ascribed a lack of maturity and need for development and are dependent on adults due to their limited legal status. Adultistic power relations in the institution of school occur, for example, in the setting up of the curriculum or in the determination of school rules. Here, children and young people have no influence on the fact that their future is determined by these regulations (cf. Trần, 2019: 81; Richter, 2018: 28; Mecheril, 2010: 12).

In short, dealing with difference in pedagogical terms, including the complexity of categories of difference, is challenging as they can indicatesocial inequalities, stereotypical assumptions, oppositional actions, etc. In pedagogy, dealing with difference is a discomfort between recognising difference and reproducing existing inequality with renewed attributions (cf. Merl et. al, 2018: 9; Diehl and Fick, 2016: 243-248).

However, since subjects are fragile and fragmentary and their experiences are not, for instance, authentic but structured by discourses, they "acquire a specific meaning only in the act of communication, of speaking - insofar as subjects have or find a place/position from which to speak" (Maurer, 2001: 108).

In order to make subjects visible in the migration-society school, multiple affiliations should find a space. Above all, a view of critical and reflexive confrontation regarding the powerful relations of difference should be preserved instead of (re)producing the binary oppositions repeatedly. Thus, the importance of the subjectivisation theoretical perspective, which is relevant for research in the context of educational inequalities and aims at reducing discrimination and inequality, becomes evident.

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