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POLITICAL EDUCATION IN PLURAL SOCIETIES: USING THE ANTI-BIAS APPROACH TO CHALLENGE OPPRESSION IN BOMBAY AND BERLIN

vorgelegt von

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Abstract

This study addresses the effectivity of the Anti-Bias approach and training methodology as a pedagogical political strategy to challenge oppression among student groups in the cities of Bombay and Berlin. The Anti-Bias trainings conducted within the framework of this study also become the medium through which the perpetuation of oppressive structures by students within and outside the school is investigated.

Empirical data from predominantly qualitative investigations in four secondary schools, two each in Bombay and Berlin, is studied and analysed on the basis of theoretical understandings of prejudice, discrimination and identity. This study builds on insights offered by previous research on prejudices and evaluations of anti-bias and diversity interventions, where the lack of sufficient research and thorough evaluations testing impact has been identified (Levy Paluck, 2006). The theoretical framework suggests that prejudices and discriminatory practices are learnt and performed by individuals over the years by way of pre-existing discourses, and that behaviour and practices can be unlearnt through a multi-step process. It proposes that the discursive practices of students contribute to the constitution of their viable selves and in the constitution of ‘others’. Drawing on this framework, the study demonstrates how student-subjects in Bombay and Berlin perpetuate oppressive discourses by performing their identities and performing identities onto ‘others’. Such performative constitution opens up the agency of the individual, disclosing the shifting and dynamic nature of identities.

The Anti-Bias approach is posited as an alternative to oppressive discourses and a vehicle that encourages and assists the agency of individuals. The theoretical framework, which brings together a psychological approach to prejudice, a structural approach to discrimination and a poststructural approach to identity, facilitates the analysis of the perpetuation of dominant discourses by the students, as well as how they negotiate their way through familiar norms and discourses. Group discussions and interviews a year after the respective trainings serve to evaluate the agency of the students and the extent to which the training impacted on their perceptions, attitudes and behavioural practices.

The study reveals the recurrence of the themes race, religion, gender and sexuality in the representational practices of the students groups in Berlin and Bombay. It demonstrates how students in this study not only perform, but also negotiate and resist oppressive structures. Of particular importance is the role of the school: When schools offer no spaces for discussion, debate and action on contemporary social issues, learning can neither be put into practice nor take on a positive, transformative form. In such cases, agency and resistance is limited and interventionist actions yield little. This study reports the potential of the Anti-Bias approach and training as a tool of political education and action in education. It demonstrates that a single training can initiate change but sustaining change requires long-term strategies and on-going actions. Taking a poststructural perspective, it makes concrete suggestions to adapt and alter the Anti-Bias approach and the implementation of Anti-Bias trainings.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Effektivität des Anti-Bias Ansatzes und darauf aufbauenden Trainingsmethoden als pädagogische politische Strategie, um Unterdrückungsverhältnisse abzubauen. Beforscht wurden dafür SchülerInnengruppen in den Städten Bombay und Berlin. Die Anti-Bias-Trainings, die im Rahmen dieser Forschung zum Einsatz kamen, dienten als Mittel, um untersuchen zu können, inwiefern SchülerInnen innerhalb und außerhalb der Schule Unterdrückungsstrukturen aufrechterhalten oder auch fähig sind, diese zu verändern.

Die empirischen Daten wurden mit vorwiegend qualitativen Untersuchungsmethoden an jeweils zwei weiterführenden Schulen in Bombay und Berlin erhoben. Die Analyse dieser Daten geschah auf der Grundlage theoretischer Erkenntnisse zu Vorurteilen, Diskriminierung und Identität. Forschungen zu Anti-Bias- und Diversity-Trainings haben darauf hingewiesen, dass bisher kaum ausreichende Evaluierungs-Strategien vorliegen, um den Impact dieser Trainingsmethoden auswerten zu können (Levy Paluck, 2006). Die hier zugrundgelegten theoretischen Ansätze legen nahe, dass Vorurteile und Praktiken der Diskriminierung von den Individuen auf der Grundlage bereits existierender Diskurse gelernt und performativ reinszeniert werden und dass solche Verhaltensweisen und Praktiken auch wieder in vielen Etappen eines langfristigen Prozesses „entlernt“ werden können. Die These ist, dass diese diskursiven Praktiken der Schülerinnen dazu beitragen, ein lebensfähiges Selbst in Abgrenzung zu den „Anderen“ konstituieren. Dies vorausgesetzt, zeigt die Forschungsarbeit, wie SchülerInnen-Subjekte in Bombay und Berlin unterdrückerische Diskurse aufrechterhalten, indem sie ihre Identitäten inszenieren und dabei gleichzeitig den „Anderen“ Identitäten zuschreiben. Dieser performative Prozess der Subjektkonstitution macht deutlich, dass die Individuen auf der Grundlage des dynamischen und sich stetig verschiebenden Charakters von Identitäten Handlungsspielräume haben.

Der Anti-Bias-Ansatz gilt als Möglichkeit, in der Bildung Alternativen zu unterdrückerischen Diskursen aufzuzeigen und als Instrument, um die Handlungsfähigkeit der Individuen anzuregen und zu unterstützen. Mehrere theoretische Ansätze – nämlich der psychologische Ansatz zu Vorurteilen, der strukturalistische Ansatz zu Diskriminierung und der poststrukturalistische Ansatz zu Identität – ermöglichen es in ihrem Zusammenspiel, sowohl zu untersuchen, wie SchülerInnen dominante Diskurse aufrechterhalten, als auch, wie sie eigene Strategien im Umgang mit bekannten Normen und Diskursen entwickeln. Gruppendiskussionen und Interviews ein Jahr nach den Trainings dienen dazu, die Handlungsspielräume der Schülerinnen auszuwerten und auszuloten, in welchem Ausmaß die Trainings ihre Wahrnehmungen, Vorstellungen und Verhaltensmuster beeinflussten.

Die Forschung deckt auf, wie Rassismus, Religion, Geschlechterverhältnisse und Sexualität in den Repräsentationspraktiken der SchülerInnen auftauchen und zeigt, wie die Schülerinnen unterdrückerische Strukturen nicht nur aufrechterhalten, sondern auch aktiv bearbeiten und sich ihnen auch widersetzen. Schule hat dabei eine ganz besonders wichtige Rolle: Wenn die Schule keinen Raum zur Diskussion darüber bietet, wie aktuelle gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse verändert werden können, bietet Lernen keine Möglichkeiten für Praktiken der Transformation an. In diesem Fall werden Handlungsspielräume und Widerstandsmöglichkeiten begrenzt - und es entstehen kaum Interventionsstrategien. Diese Forschung zeigt das Potenzial des Anti-Bias-Ansatzes und -Trainings als ein Werkzeug politischer Bildung und politischer Aktion in der Bildung auf. Es zeigt, dass schon ein einzelnes Training bestimmte Veränderungen initiieren kann, dass aber dauerhafte Veränderungen langfristige Strategien und permanente Aktion erfordern. Auf der Grundlage

eines poststrukturalistischen Ansatzes macht die Forschung zudem konkrete Vorschläge, wie der Ansatz angepasst werden kann und wie die Umsetzung in den Anti-Bias-Trainings verändert werden kann.

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Chapter one:
Introduction

1.1. Charting my path

This thesis has been long in the making. The research I conducted since 2003 for my M.A. in Intercultural Education, my professional experiences as trainer/facilitator for intercultural learning and anti-bias work and my personal experiences in Berlin and Bombay have given it thought, structure and material. Bombay and India have been repeatedly affected by communal[1] tension, conflicts and even violence in the last two decades. Previous to two major events in 1992 and 1993, India was seen as an example of "unity in diversity". The first blatant contradiction to our seemingly peaceful co-existence was the demolition of the Babri Mosque[2] in 1992, followed by the Bombay riots in 1993, and almost a decade later the pogrom in Gujarat in 2002. However, minor and major clashes between Hindus and Muslims have pre-dated these events, pre-dated even independence. Post Gujarat riots, I suddenly became acutely aware of my Muslim background and started questioning my identity as a Muslim in India. What do I have to do to prove that I belong here? When would I be able to stop defending myself and my identity as a Muslim? It wasn't an overt attack on my identity but disquiet that seeped into my consciousness, a result of the resentments fuelled by the media and politicians, as well as a section of the informed, so-called elite of the country. The pogrom in Gujarat was the impetus that gave direction to my work in this field and to my dissertation. In Berlin, on the other hand, I initially experienced discrimination on the job market whilst looking for part-time student jobs. On meeting new people, I was often asked how long I would be staying in the country, despite them knowing through our preceding conversation that I had just begun my doctoral studies. I was always quick to reject the label of 'migrant' by responding that I wasn't really a migrant, just a student who would return home after completing her PhD. In retrospect, I was attempting to skirt the 'second class' status a migrant is automatically conferred. Thus gradually, my reflection on discrimination, oppression and the question of identity far widened beyond the scope of communal issues within the country.

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[1] The term *communal* is used to describe a system and politics of voluntary and deliberate separation of one religious community from others. A more detailed description of the term can be found in the section *Terms* of this chapter.

[2] A mosque in the city of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh was destroyed in 1992 when a political rally turned into a violent mob. The mosque had been a disputed site for decades, a focus of Hindu-Muslim hostility.

Since 2003, I have been working as trainer for intercultural learning using the Anti-Bias approach and largely also its methodology. Through the trainings I have conducted in Germany, India and around the world, I felt that the Anti-Bias training methodology was a valuable instrument in facilitating reflection and discussion on and analysis of prejudices and discriminatory practices in society. This led me to question the specific impact of the training's methodology on participants' attitudes, perceptions and behaviours. I took up this study in autumn 2006 to evaluate the effectiveness of the Anti-Bias approach and methodology, its application and adaptability, and to test whether the sustainable deconstruction of subliminally motivated attitudes and prejudices, an indispensable goal of democratic political education, would be the outcome of the trainings and this study.

1.2. A brief outline of the empirical research

This thesis centres on the research I conducted through Anti-Bias trainings, testing the effectivity, application and adaptability of its approach and methodology in four different settings. The fieldwork is therefore based on Anti-Bias trainings in four schools, two in Bombay and two in Berlin, which were recorded on video. A year later, students of the four training groups came together for a group discussion and individual interviews which were video and audio recorded respectively. They were also given background questionnaires before the trainings and subsequently questionnaires at the start of the training which aimed at testing empathy on socio-cultural and political issues relevant to their city, i.e. Berlin or Bombay. The empirical data therefore comprises students' narrations of their prejudices, practices and experiences of discrimination from the material recorded and their descriptions in the questionnaires. The material collected provides some insight into the vast framework of dominant discourses and practices in place in these two cities, which as I will show are simultaneously learnt, performed and negotiated by students in their representation of difference. By way of the material collected one year after the respective trainings, I examine whether the Anti-Bias methodology can be applied and adapted to different contexts and settings and the extent of its effectivity. A detailed presentation of my empirical research is provided in chapter five.

1.3. Rationale for the study

Reports on prejudice-motivated delinquency, exclusion and social conflicts proliferate in Berlin and Bombay and many other metropoles of the world. Globalisation may have brought with it growing standardisation in dress codes, lifestyles and leisure time activities. People are travelling and communicating far more than they ever have before. Nonetheless, prejudices are hard to dislodge as they are a result of long years of conditioning through stereotypical and prejudiced information. They produce and lead to subtle, covert, structural and institutional inequalities and oppressive practices which require an urgent need for didactic methods in education. A prerequisite for the successful prevention of discrimination is one's own sensitisation for differences and differing circumstances. Diversity competence is therefore the cornerstone of political, human rights education in a multicultural society and thus also the basis for social and intercultural competence.

Anti-Bias trainings, intensive experience-orientated examinations of dominance and discrimination, aim at assisting young people to un-learn oppressive and discriminating forms of interaction. The Anti-Bias approach assumes that everyone has prejudices. This is based on the consideration that prejudices and discriminations are not individual misjudgements, but institutionalised in society as ideologies,[3] which are learnt by individuals.[4] Correspondingly, behaviour based on those prejudices can be un-learned, and institutionalised oppressive ideologies discovered, questioned, and analysed.[5] Thus, for political education, strategies such as Anti-Bias are of extreme importance as they attempt to deconstruct social hierarchies through the perception of one's own prejudices, the awareness of diversity and its positive attributes, and the development of alternative behaviour patterns which also act against a silent acceptance of discrimination and social exclusion.

Effective regulation of prejudices is a multi-step process (Devine, 1989; Devine & Plant, 2002), which makes it imperative to effectively evaluate strategies that aim at prejudice reduction otherwise we remain clueless about their impact and outcomes. As Levy Paluck

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[3] I follow Hall (1996a) who defines ideology as "the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works" (p. 26).

[4] See Anti-Bias Werkstatt (2006-2008) *The Anti-Bias-Werkstatt and the Anti-Bias-Approach.* Translated into English by Katharina Dietrich and April Lanman. Available from: http://www.languages.anti-bias-werkstatt.de/resources/ABW+und+AB+englisch.pdf. Accessed on June 15, 2010.

[5] Ibid.

(2006) claims, one or the other form of diversity training is frequently used in companies and schools but most such interventions are neither theoretically founded nor is there sufficient indication of its impact. She emphasizes the significant lack of rigorous evaluation and follow-up to test the impact of programmes (ibid: 579). It is this gap in knowledge that my study sets out to fill. In the following section, I elaborate in greater detail on the problems involved in relation to research, evaluation and impact of training interventions.

As researcher and trainer of the Anti-Bias trainings of this study, I perform a dual function which aligns with the concept of practitioner research, which I discuss in greater detail in chapter five. Training programmes such as Anti-Bias are in need of action or practitioner research,[6] for research that leads to social action (Lewin, 1946: 203). With this thesis, I therefore attempt to bridge the gap between theory and practice, seeking a way to build on what already exists with respect to the Anti-Bias approach and training as well as the broader theoretical and practical work of prejudice reduction. I therefore investigate whether the Anti-Bias training can adequately deconstruct prejudices, stereotypes and take effect against discriminatory practices within and outside the schools of my study in the two cities of Bombay and Berlin. A greater understanding of the training's process and extent of impact in real world settings by combining the streams of theory, research and practice is what this thesis has set out to achieve.

1.4. Anti-bias and diversity trainings: Research status

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 was the first articulation of the importance to promote through education a global culture of human rights, dignity and justice for all (Compass, 2007). In this context, education serves as the principle instrument for the "full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Compass, 2007: 404). From around the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s there developed an 'international movement' for the promotion and strengthening of a human rights education (Lohrenscheit, 2004: 1). Since then, a large number of pedagogic programmes with the most diverse theoretical and methodological approaches have been developed and implemented. However, even before this time, there existed, for example, the “Blue Eyed”-Training developed by Jane Elliott in the USA around the end of the 1960s (Dettendorfer, 2003:67). The Betzavta Training was developed in 1986 by the Adam-Institute for Democracy and Peace in Jerusalem (Betzavta, 1997:13), and the Anti-Bias Training developed in the early 1980s by Louise Derman-Sparks and Carol Brunson-Philips in the USA (ELRU, 1997). These are just three examples of prevailing approaches that are also currently in use in Berlin and/or Germany. The latter (Anti-Bias) forms part of my study and is discussed in greater detail in chapter three. Although the processes and functioning of the various existing pedagogical actions may differ, their main aim is to relay democratic core values and sensitise people toward diversity and difference.

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[6] In her paper in the Journal of Social Issues, "Diversity Training and Intergroup Contact: A call to Action Research," Levy Paluck (2006) spells out the clear need for action research on interventions and strategies addressing prejudices, exclusion and oppression.

In comparison to Germany where the active presence of strategies and approaches such as Anti-Bias reflects to an extent the need and significance of tackling prejudicial and oppressive practices, in India, and respectively Bombay, there are few if any organisations working toward these goals. Notwithstanding, there are, for example, organisations such as *Majlis* and *Awaz i Niswan* that work with women and challenge patriarchy (Banerjee, 1996). Varshney (2002: 9-10) also points to the presence and effectiveness of peace committees, which in times of tension help to kill rumours, provide information to local administration and facilitate communication between communities. However, whilst writing this thesis, I have been unable to locate any targeted efforts at dealing with prejudice and its expression in Indian society. In a study on group prejudices, Nanavati und Vakil (1970) came to the conclusion that reflection on and reduction of prejudices had thus far been more a side-effect of other quests rather than concrete actions based on planned studies. This still appears by and large to be the case in India.

Evaluation of anti-bias and diversity trainings

A number of problem factors arise when discussing research, evaluation or impact of training programmes. Levy Paluck & Green (2009) conducted an in-depth study on prejudice reduction interventions and “produced a vast database of 985 published and unpublished reports written by academics and non-academics involved in research, practice, or both” (p. 341). Their study revealed that

> A lack of field experimental training among practitioners who evaluate prejudice-reduction programs, doubts about the feasibility of randomized field methodology, and insufficient incentives for academics to conduct ‘applied’ research all contribute to the

> scarcity of randomized field experiments in prejudice reduction. (Levy-Paluck & Green, 2009: 359)

A study conducted by McCauley et al. (2000: 100) in the USA reveals that diversity trainings have long been introduced at many colleges and universities and that 70 percent of all schools were using diversity workshops in 1996-1997. They report that such workshops were generally positively received by students, but no evaluation of their impact on the perceptions, attitudes or behaviours of participants was undertaken. Thus, evaluations were not ‘summative’, i.e. they did not attempt to test change by comparing pre- and post-workshop actions of participants nor did they undertake comparisons with students who were not part of the workshops (McCauley et al., 2000: 113). Levy Paluck (2006) also argues that there are few studies that meet social scientific standards for measuring the effects of training interventions.

As one example of evaluations undertaken, a mixed method evaluation was conducted with facilitators, teachers and students following an anti-bias and diversity training programme organised by *Eine Welt der Vielfalt* in Germany (Wenzel, 2004: 16). The evaluation revealed that two thirds of those questioned claimed to have a better cognition of their prejudices and their genesis after participation in the training. A majority of the students interviewed claimed to have more courage to openly address conflicts and depicted an increased readiness to reflect upon the subjects of diversity and intercultural perception such as changes in attitudes. The evaluation led to the concrete recommendation to develop such measures and actions within the school and indicated the need for systematic long-term approaches. This further emphasizes that although evaluations provide valuable information on the effective development of intervention strategies, they are by and large conducted as the last step of the training. Lacking is the follow-up evaluation in the weeks or months following the training which could test the effectivity and impact of the approach and methodology in use. The evaluation of the training conducted by *Eine Welt der Vielfalt* also reveals the importance of examining the impact of isolated one-shot trainings. To what extent does a single training assist in implementing in daily life that which has been learned? This aspect and the effectivity of the approach over time have so far remained more or less unexplored. The review of existing prejudice reduction and diversity interventions displays a gap in knowledge which my study aims to address.

1.5. Anti-Bias: A political educational tool

In the past decades, the nurturing of mature citizens has been named as one of the goals of democratic political education (Reinhardt, 2005: 18). What exactly this means is explained by Reinhardt:

> [A]lso ein Bürger, der, verantwortlich für sich und andere, sich informiert und selbstständig seine Stimme in die Auseinandersetzungen um die politische Regelung gemeinsamer Angelegenheiten einbringt. Dieser politisch interessierte, informierte und engagierte Aktivbürger ist das Ideal politischer Bildung… (Reinhardt, 2005: 18)

Thus, a politically interested, informed, responsible and actively engaged citizen is the goal of political education. A democratic society, explains Reinhardt (2005: 17), encompasses the basic principle of equality and respect for all citizens. Thus democracy, she elaborates, implies that all citizens have equal participation rights irrespective of where they come from or where their feelings of belonging lie. However, as she points out, there exists tension between this principle of equality and societal inequalities and difference (e.g. according to gender, social or regional origin, age, profession, social class). It is the classification of one's condition as inexpedient or inappropriate in a societal context that leads to the political need for changes in the basic conditions for co-existence in society, explains Reinhardt. Since equal rights of participation connect citizens with one another, they also make them dependent on each other. A responsible, actively engaged citizen is one who is able to critique prevailing inequalities and injustices and assist in bringing about change in the living conditions of the marginalised, the oppressed. Reinhardt (2005) therefore argues that 'learning democracy' is necessarily a part of general education.

Hilligen (1991) explains that in general political education aims at

> die Herstellung der politischen und individuellen Voraussetzungen für die freie Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit aller und für die Überwindung struktureller sozialer Ungleichheiten … (p. 16).

The above definition reflects the contents of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – "the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights". This makes educational work challenging discrimination and oppression a core component of political education, as it works towards a just and equal society in which people and communities can live their different identities and life plans, and structural inequalities can be eliminated. The Association for Political Didactics and Youth and Adult Political Education, GJPE,[7] in Germany outlined the following competences that political education should promote to:

> die Beurteilung konkreter Gegenstände aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Recht im Zusammenhang mit grundlegenden Menschen- und Politikbildern, mit Theorien und Modellen des menschlichen Zusammenlebens sehen und die eigenen Vorstellungen hierzu in Auseinandersetzung mit unterschiedlichen Positionen aus Geschichte und Gegenwart des politischen Denkens entwickeln (cited in Sanders, 2005: 13)

Thus, political education works towards the development of skills to judge and evaluate aspects from a political, economic, social and legal perspective based on fundamental images of humanity and politics. Sanders (2005: 8) argues that political education, whether within or outside the school, can no longer be conceptually envisioned without accounting for a multiplicity of perspectives. Political education in the history of the school in Germany, he explains, served preset perspectives, and it was the enforcement of a democratic system of governance in 1945 that slowly led to the general acceptance of a diversity of perspectives as a key quality of political education. He (2005:9) clarifies that although the term 'multi-perspective' is not widely used in discourse, contributions to the discussion on the quality standards of political education reveal keywords such as controversiality, perspective-taking and change of perspectives, and dealing with differences. The examination and discussion about multiple perspectives serves in the end to prepare and enable founded individual political decisions in view of the widest range of possible alternatives (ibid: 12). The school is a space where young people in all their diversity come together and where they could contribute to and become multipliers of intercultural dialogue, justice and equality. Nevertheless, inculcating multi-perspectives in classroom teaching is not without its challenges: Studies have shown that teachers are most often unable to adequately handle multi-perspectives and could therefore influence students' interpretation or misconstruction of certain perspectives (ibid: 9). A society characterised by migration, by globalisation and thereby an increasing standardisation of economic, educational and political processes implies that there is no way out for the school but to include multiple perspectives in its approach and teaching. Similarly, Thompson (1997: 16) argues that generic educational programmes cannot undermine the impact of racism on students' learning, which requires focus on prejudices and their subliminal intentions. This reveals the importance of anti-discrimination and anti-oppression strategies that disclose the influence of power and dominance and develop tools to challenge these, showing the path to building an inclusive society along the principles of democratic co-existence.

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[7] Gesellschaft für Politdidaktik und Politische Jugend und Erwachsenenbildung

For Sanders (2005) political education in a democracy is an incitement for freedom as it encourages people to live their political freedom by empowering them towards it. The Anti-Bias approach used in this study aligns with Sander's view for it is based on Paulo Freire's (1970) notion of "education as a practice of freedom – as opposed to education as a practice of dominance" (p. 81), involving "the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (p. 34). The Anti-Bias approach works to counter oppression by addressing difference, disclosing structures of dominance and power, enabling perspective-taking and a change of perspectives. It thus adheres to the ideals and goals of democratic political education. As Thompson (1997) argues "anti-racism education is an indispensable mode of democratic education…" (p. 35), serving "as one of the tools for thinking and rethinking what it means to be democratic" (p. 36). In the end, anti-bias work – like other approaches in the field of anti-discrimination – strives towards responsible, mature citizens who can critique existing inequalities and injustice and alter their own behaviour, perception and practices to bring about social change and transformation.

1.6. Transnational study

In the coming years it will become progressively more important to ensure the sustenance and multiplication of collective research and action in the field of education. Schools, such as the ones in my study in Berlin and Bombay, are striving to provide an international education. Thus, for example, the International Baccalaureate (IB) programme developed in France is now in use in (most) private and a few public schools in Germany. For example, in Berlin the private Berlin International Secondary School and the James Benning Public School both offer the IB programme; both schools are part of my research. Similarly, there are more and more schools in Bombay, for example the Mumbai English World School – also part of my research –, which offer the IB course. With increasing standardisation in education, German universities have in recent years also initiated the Bachelors and Masters in an attempt to be on a par with the educational system in the UK and USA. Furthermore, the processes of prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination in their psychological grounding, power and politics of representation are similar worldwide with different contexts of emergence and escalation. This reveals the importance of working across the board, conducting comparative studies in countries that have no apparent connection or similarities so that new ground can be covered, new conclusions can be drawn and new solutions sought for political, anti-bias, anti-discrimination education and practice within formal and non-formal settings. Using the Anti-Bias Approach in my research, I provide an analytical comparison of the functioning and effectivity of these trainings in Berlin and Bombay and reveal some of the discourses that the students of my study learn and reproduce in these two different cultural and socio-political settings.

1.7. Aims of the Research

The aims of my study therefore comprise the following:

- To evaluate the effectiveness of the Anti-Bias training and methodology: To what extent the training impacts on participants' attitudes, perceptions and behaviour.
- To test the application and adaptability of the Anti-Bias training methodology or the limits of its adaptability in two different cities and with a young target audience.
- To investigate some ways in which young people perpetuate structures of oppression within and outside school.
- To make suggestions for practical and conceptual changes to the Anti-Bias approach and training which could be useful to relevant persons in the field of anti-discrimination and anti-bias work.

1.8. Terms

The right choice of words and terms are particularly relevant to a dissertation addressing prejudices and discriminatory practices. Terms label and fix, and as a form of representation, they are limiting and essentialising. However, they are a necessary evil and I therefore briefly describe and discuss the terms used and their purposes in this thesis. I also clarify some of the main terms used repeatedly in this thesis even though they may be described further on in this study.

My references to *race* are to a social construct. Biologically, the notion of race has been established as fiction (Gates, 1985). The authors of "Shifting Paradigms" (ELRU, 1997) emphasize that the category race "is a concept constructed to categorise people as a means of social and political control" (p. 5) and suggest that "modern racism can be considered as 'internalised dominance' – attitudes that are so deeply entrenched that they exist at a subconscious level" (p. 18). I also use terms such as 'black', 'white', 'non-white', 'people of colour' in my dissertation and as such I am classifying people based on race and/or skin colour. Indeed, this is problematic because the naming of social and biographical categories in fact constitutes the subject. In the words of Youdell (2006: 36), "it is the very act of designation that constitutes the subject," and as argued by Broden & Mecheril (2007: 12), representation creates the represented. However, I use these terms not with a view to perpetuating racist terminology but to make a distinction between the different experiences of people and to acknowledge the differences and similarities of their experiences. Since I classify some aspects of the identities of the students of my study, in the subsequent section, I also situate myself within social structures.

By *Gender* I refer to a social construction that holds guidelines for what men and women do, what is expected of them, and that includes being and feeling 'masculine' or 'feminine'. Judith Butler (1993) argues that gender is based on the repeated enactment of social norms in order to maintain normative heterosexuality. I take up the concepts of gender and sexuality together not to conflate them but because I consider homosexuality an extension of gender (like intersex, transgender, transsexual are all extensions of gender falling outside the domain of binary gender norms). Sexuality is socially regulated through gender norms that reproduce the normative heterosexual family (Butler, 1997b: 272). By theorising gender and sexuality together, I endeavour to emphasize that forms of sexuality that are not part normative gender should also be considered as parts or extensions of gender.

Although chapter two presents in detail an understanding of what is meant by *identity*, I clarify that I understand identity following Hall (1996: 6) as fleeting attachments that individuals have to certain subject-positions constructed by discourse. As such, no identity is fixed, but rather free-floating, shifting, performed (Butler, 1990, 1993, 1997a, 2004).

Furthermore, identity emerges as vital and relevant in the politics of representation (Grossberg, 1996), which my study undertakes as it reads into and interprets students' narratives and thus also represents them and their identities. This is also why I thematise, in chapter five, my own subjectivity as trainer and researcher representing the protagonists of my study.

The term *communal* is predominantly used in Indian society to describe a system and politics of voluntary and deliberate separation of one religious community from others and carries a clearly negative connotation. Varshney (2002) explains that "for politics and conflicts based on religious groupings, such as Hindus and Muslims, […] Indian scholars as well as bureaucrats and politicians since the British days have used the term 'communal', not 'ethnic', reserving the latter primarily for linguistically or racially distinct groups" (p. 4). Thus, terms such as communal politics, communal conflicts, communal riots used in this dissertation refer to politics and conflicts resulting between and through a wilful separation of one community from another or others.

In this dissertation I use *discrimination* which refers to differential treatment as a result of the combination of prejudice and the power to act (prejudice + power to act → discrimination) (Schmidt, 2009: 178). *Oppression* is described by the Merriam Webster online dictionary as "a sense of being weighed down in body or mind".[8] Yet oppression is not just a 'sense' but also material disadvantage and concrete marginalisation. It is therefore enduring, extensive, structural and institutional discrimination that leads to oppression. Oppression is often used interchangeably with discrimination. However, Schmidt (2009: 178) explains that oppression is based on an ideology of superiority along specific, socially prevailing differentiations and requires sufficient political, economic, legal and social power in order to (re)produce the institutionalisation of these differentiations (prejudice + economic, social, political, legal power → oppression). She thus concludes that discrimination should be taken as singular, concrete action that is subjectively functional, and oppression as a system of disadvantage or vilification.

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[8] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/oppression

1.9. Positioning myself

In one way or another, my thesis positions the students of my study within certain social structures. I therefore consider it important that I position myself in terms of class, nationality, gender, age, religion – factors that will inevitably affect my interpretation of the data collected. I do not believe that by locating myself, I am rendering myself transparent, as insights from poststructuralism have demonstrated that it is not possible to understand one's subjectivity totally (see chapter five, pp. 161-162). However, I consider it a central component of anti-bias and intercultural pedagogy to constantly critically reflect on one's sphere of influence and constituting conditions. Broden & Mecheril (2007: 22) emphasize that only a self-referencing, self-critical professionalism is capable of reacting to dominant relations in society, where the focus is also on the problematic aspects of one's semantic-intellectual, monetary and general economic entanglement in dominance relationships.

I am a non-white female in her late 30s whilst conducting this study. I am of Indian origin and nationality currently living in Berlin, Germany. I have lived for over thirty years in Bombay, India, and thus my background and cultural influences are predominantly Indian. At the same time, I have lived for longer periods of time in the past thirteen years in Berlin, Germany, arriving here for the first time in 1999 on a one-year voluntary service programme.

I am a Muslim and belong to what is considered a progressive Muslim community, the 'Bohras', comprising largely traders in western India. I do not identify with my religion and do not practice it nor do I wear any religious symbols. In fact, the increasing number of religion-based conflicts in India and abroad has served to sever my ties to religion in general. Nevertheless, I consider myself a Muslim as it has played a significant role in my upbringing. Simultaneously, the repeated positioning and representation of Muslims as 'others' and their resultant oppression has given impetus to my dissertation and the vast project of tackling discrimination and oppression in society.

As a teen-aged girl in India, I experienced differential treatment at home and outside, which I consistently rebelled against, not realising that it would take me down the path to fighting social oppression. I do not judge my family as they adhered to what are according to them 'appropriate' social norms and gender-based behaviour for girls and boys. Nevertheless, I consider myself privileged as my family has supported my choice to live independently and pursue studies and an occupation abroad. In Germany, discrimination initially came on the job market (during the year I pursued my M.A. in Berlin) where an ‘Indian-English’ was not favourable or not good enough to assist children at a British-German kindergarten. The discrimination was not apparent at first sight as it came with ready but brief explanations and a door being shut in my face. Despite consecutive advertisements for the urgent need for multiple staff members, the minute my Indian descent came up I was informed that the vacant placements had since been filled. My experiences have not only made me more aware of oppressive structures within society but also more determined to pursue the path to combating oppression which I undertake largely through my work as trainer in the field of intercultural learning, diversity and anti-bias trainings. It has also made me aware of my own conflicting identity as Muslim, as an independent woman adhering to different standards when I visit my family in Bombay, making me aware of my shifting identifications and negotiations with for example class, religion, gender, nationality. It is this awareness that underpins my study.

In the end, I consider myself as belonging to a privileged section of society. I have been able to pursue higher education and even change streams of education and profession when the need and desire arose. In particular, I consider myself extremely privileged to be able to undertake a doctoral thesis stretching over five years, a privilege of time and finances that few people can afford.

1.10. Contribution of this study to knowledge

My study builds on previous research on prejudice which suggests that prejudices can be reduced if strategies use a multi-step process (Devine, 1989; Devine & Plant, 2002). A review of literature and research on prejudice reduction interventions reveals that there is a lack of research and evaluation of diversity and anti-bias trainings, and that most evaluations or follow-ups do not test impact of the training on participants’ attitudes, perceptions and behaviours. Thus, the lack of thorough evaluations makes it difficult to test the impact of such strategies, which my study undertakes. Moreover, as the theoretical framework (chapter two) explains, prejudice reduction requires awareness and critical reflection on the influences of one’s culture and thereby the constructedness of one’s identity. The framework also argues that people produce and reproduce pre-existing discourses by performing norms and practices in the constitution of their viable, liveable selves and in the constitution of ‘others’, and that such reiterative performative constitution opens up the agency of the individual. I draw on this framework to describe how the young people of my study in Bombay and Berlin perform identities onto the bodies of ‘others’ within the school and outside, and how often identities of ‘otherness’ are performed (Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004) onto some of their bodies. The study therefore gives insight into some discourses of ‘otherness’ within the cities of Bombay and Berlin, and shows some ways in which the young people of my study perpetuate structures of oppression.

Since the trainings were conducted in four different schools in two different cities on two different continents, this study provides valuable insight into the effective functioning, application and adaptability of the Anti-Bias training in different cultural and socio-political contexts. It displays across the board what measures and methods are applicable and work effectively with youth. Thereby, the findings provide specific suggestions for improving and developing methodology of anti-bias trainings targeted at young people.

This study does not attempt to fix change within each individual nor does it attempt to fix identities of the participants of my study. Based on their narrative descriptions, it attempts to test effectivity and impact of the Anti-Bias training on participants’ attitudes, perceptions and behaviours. This dissertation adds to existing research on Anti-Bias, prejudice, discrimination and identity as follows:

- It examines the effectivity of the anti-bias approach and training through an analysis of students’ narrations during the respective trainings and a year later. To my knowledge, whilst writing this thesis, there are no studies that have addressed the extent to which anti-bias is effective and if and how change initiated is implemented in daily life.

- The theoretical framework brings together a psychological analysis of prejudices with a structural approach to discrimination and a poststructural approach to identity analysis. Combining these three approaches makes it possible to analyse the findings of this study more comprehensively because used together each theory extends the other. It provides insights into how young people not only perform and perpetuate dominant discourses and discriminatory structures but also their negotiation of these discourses and the process of individual change. We take into account the shifting and dynamic nature of their identities, which are discursively performed.

- The study also provides insight into the functioning of oppressive discourses and structures through students' narrations in the two cities of Bombay and Berlin. It demonstrates that the two metropoles may be rather different in form and structures, yet some of the prevailing oppressive discourses overlap albeit with different forms of expression. To my knowledge there are few studies that address prejudices and discrimination at a transnational level and none that take up the particular case of Bombay and Berlin.

1.11. Outline of the thesis

Chapter two, *Theoretical Framework* presents the theoretical structure that underpins my study. It examines the processes that facilitate prejudices, thus looking into previous research on prejudices and prejudice reduction interventions. It takes up race and racism to highlight that they form the crux of discrimination in society, describing also other forms of discrimination and their overlapping nature which enables the understanding of and discussion on discrimination in its complexity. It combines approaches of intersectionality and structural discrimination with a poststructural theory of identity to depict not only the discursive production of identities but also the opening up of possibilities for socio-political change. Such a theory allows us to see how bodies and identities are discursively constituted and performed onto bodies of individuals and groups to create viable and unviable bodies and identities which shape perception of the self and of others.

Chapter three, *Countering Oppression: The Anti-Bias Approach* focuses on the Anti-Bias approach and training which I used in this study as an interventionist strategy to challenge oppression with student groups in Berlin and Bombay. This chapter therefore locates the origins and historical background of the approach, discusses its aims and goals and the experience-orientated nature of its methodology, as well as the limitations and criticisms levelled at the approach and its methodology. Moreover, it lays out the process conceptualised for the trainings undertaken for this study.

Chapter four, *Metropoles and their challenges: The Case of Bombay/Mumbai and Berlin* describes the migration background of the two cities in question and present-day discourses in order to provide a spatial setting that enables the reader to understand how discursive practices of and within the respective cities influence and shape the identities and subjectivities of the students of my study and how they in some ways negotiate these diverse, shifting discourses. It focuses predominantly on three master narratives: race, religion/the Muslims, gender and sexuality, as they inform my own study, recurring repeatedly in the narratives of the students. Class is addressed as and when it appears in the socio-cultural relations related to the three master narratives and is therefore not taken up separately.

Chapter five, *Methodology* reveals how I went about my study and its aims: The methods used to collect and analyse data. It also presents a description of the schools and students of my study and locates my work within the framework of practitioner research. It discusses how poststructuralist perspectives, namely Judith Butler's theory of performativity, aid my study in understanding the shifting, dynamic nature of identities, my own subjectivity which influences this study, and importantly also assist in analysing and locating shifts and gaps in the students' narrations which reveal sites of agency and resistance. It also discusses the challenges and tensions encountered in collecting and analysing data.

Chapter six, *Identifying narrative patterns and strategies* lays out the data I collected during the trainings in the four schools in 2008. As such, it presents narrative patterns and strategies of the young people of my study in their representation of difference in relation to dominant discourses of race, of Muslims and, gender and sexuality, with class foregrounding relations linked to the aforementioned discourses. In other words, class is not thematised separately but taken up as and when it surfaces in the interaction with cultural signifiers race, religion/the Muslims, and gender and sexuality to illustrate that it is a recurring and intersecting category that serves social dominance in economic and non-economic social relations. Ultimately, this chapter also locates similarities and differences not just among the two schools in Bombay and the two schools in Berlin but also among schools across the two cities.

Chapter seven, *Evaluation: Agency, Resistance* presents the second part of my empirical data collected in 2008 and 2009. The first section of this chapter – Evaluation – lays out the feedback of the students at the end of each of the four trainings. Taking into account the data presented in chapter six and the evaluation by students in this chapter, the second section, Agency and Resistance, presents the impact of the trainings, i.e. the extent to which it is possible to observe change in perceptions, attitudes and behavioural practices of the students of this study.

Chapter eight, *Process of Change: Analysis of Findings* discusses and analyses the findings of this study based on the data presented in chapters six and seven, showing the extent to which the Anti-Bias approach and training methodology helps to support the agency of students and initiate change in their lives. It also offers suggestions for the further development of the approach and methodology.

Chapter nine, *Final Conclusions* considers the implications of my study for practice and policy and explores sites where there is potential for reform and change. It examines the relevance of conducting transnational research which includes a cooperative, mutual learning process between the north and the south. Finally, it addresses those issues and questions that are as yet open, unresolved, locating grey areas which future research must address in countering oppression in Berlin and Bombay and beyond.

Chapter two:
Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the theoretical foundations of my study. Since my research addresses prejudices of student groups in Bombay and Berlin, I begin by examining the causes and processes involved in the functioning of prejudice, and investigate research conducted on prejudice reduction strategies and interventions to locate gaps which could inform my own work and show the way forward in challenging prejudices, discrimination and oppression. In the subsequent section, I examine the mechanics of discrimination, theorising briefly race and racism to highlight how racist discourses based on the notion of culture are deracialised, therefore not immediately obvious, and the resultant normalisation of racist discourses. I explain the concept of intersectionality without which, I posit, it is difficult to understand and discuss discrimination in its entire complexity. I discuss the workings of structural discrimination in maintaining power equations and status quo in society through the process of 'othering'. In the third section, I look at identity through a poststructural lens, focusing on Butler's theory of performativity and the discursive production of identities. The theoretical framework therefore brings together a psychological analysis of prejudice with a structural approach to discrimination and a poststructural approach to identity. I propose that combining these approaches makes it possible to bring out not just the complex nature of prejudices, the structural nature of discrimination, but also to account for the performative and dynamic nature of identities, which opens up possibilities for agency and social change. Such a theoretical framework, I argue, makes it possible to value the perspectives of the students of the study and simultaneously avoids fixing identities. I acknowledge that there are tensions in performing an analysis of the findings using these three different paradigms. Yet, despite tensions, these approaches, when used together, can extend each other and provide, as I demonstrate in chapters six, seven and eight, a more comprehensive analysis of prejudices and discrimination in society, as well as the process of individual change.

2.2. Prejudice

> *[T]he basic fact is firmly established—prejudice is more than an incident in many lives; it is often lockstitched into the very fabric of personality. [. . .] To change it, the whole pattern of life would have to be altered.*
>
> (Allport, 1954: 408)

2.2.1. Introduction

Prejudice is a rather new concept, emerging in the 1920s (Duckitt, 1992, 2010), and has since kept academics intricately involved in understanding why people express prejudices against those of a different ethnicity, religion, gender or sexual orientation. At that time, explains Duckitt (1992: 1183), the most crucial intergroup differences perceived were racial differences and hence the concept of prejudice was studied largely in the context of understanding alleged racial differences and antipathies. He clarifies that until then, “the idea of the superiority of White over Black races was well-established, and the concept of White prejudice or White racial attitudes was not a scientific issue of any significance” (p. 1183). On the contrary, citing Haller (1971), he explains that ‘race theories’ looked at racial differences in order to explain “Black inferiority in terms of factors such as evolutionary backwardness, limited intellectual capacity, and even excess sexual drive” (p. 1183). Today, such attitudes have been challenged and are regarded as racial prejudice although they appear to remain a ‘fact’ for some (e.g. see Herrnstein & Murray, 1994).

Despite significant changes in social norms, norms that discourage the expression of prejudice, it continues to be a major factor in contemporary society. In an increasingly globalised world, food habits, dress codes and even the choice of leisure activities of people around the world are becoming increasingly uniform. Facebook, email and skype have eased communication to such an extent that we have never communicated so much with so many people around the world. Yet, prejudices remain somewhat hard to dislodge. One reason for their persistence, explain Devine & Plant (2002: 835), may be that responding without prejudice implies surmounting years of exposure to prejudiced and stereotypical information which influences one’s response to members of the outgroup(s). Numerous theories have over time described the causes and dynamics of prejudices and accordingly a multiplicity of approaches have been developed to address the complexity of prejudices. However, no theory or framework has as yet been able to provide a complete explanation of prejudice (Duckitt, 1992).

Foremost among these psychological theories are those of Allport and Tajfel, whose “modern approach to the study of prejudice and stereotyping radically altered our understanding of the psychological roots of prejudice, ethnocentrism, and intergroup conflict” (Cunningham, Nezlek & Banaji, 2004: 1332). This modern view adheres to the notion that constructs such as stereotypes and prejudices are commonplace, “that they are firmly grounded in the ways in which humans commonly perceive, categorise, learn, and remember” (ibid). This viewpoint has been crucial to academics studying how others are judged and evaluated as belonging to specific social categories; this also led to research on the implicit expression of prejudice (ibid). There is no doubt about the usefulness of such an approach, yet, as Cunningham et al. point out, it fails to consider, for example, how ideology works in representing a person’s political and social view of the world and the role of groups within it.

Allport (1954: 6) defined prejudice as, “An aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to that group”. Quillian (2006: 300) draws our attention to two critical points underpinning Allport’s definition: a) a negative or affective attitude towards a group and b) a flawed belief about the group. He explains that the dual nature of prejudices as affective and cognitive continues to be an important distinction in the studies of prejudices, with numerous studies giving preference to one of these elements as the root cause of prejudices. Additionally, the role of groups, which Allport refers to in his definition, group affiliations and their related identifications are also said to induce prejudices. These group belongings or affiliations comprise patterns of socio-economic factors which influence receptivity and resistance to prejudicial thinking and action. Membership in social groups - occupational, fraternal, religious, voluntary membership versus ‘no-choice’ membership – all promulgate different patterns of ideas. That group memberships represent valid self-definitions has been postulated by the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and the self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987). Thus, if the self is defined by group membership, ascriptions to group memberships might be internalised. The need to belong and believe makes group memberships important. Individuals take on pre-existing, ready-made opinions, attitudes and values that are characteristic of the group in which they have membership, resulting in conditioning and imitation. Groups thus provide socio-cultural cues to which individuals respond with prejudices, which form the external factors that can be attributed to the proliferation of prejudices. Öhman & Mineka (2001) explain that humans have developed the skill to effortlessly learn categories of cues that appear to refer to some kind of threat. Schaller & Neuberg (2005) posit that cues generate emotional reactions such as fear and revulsion and make cognitive links to aggressive intention and pollution. However, since cues are generally meant to avoid threats, they often seem to imply that actually harmless objects are dangerous. Schaller & Neuberg explain that such psychological processes are incorrectly tuned to the existence of dangers so that we could react negatively to some people despite knowing that they don't really pose a threat. Devine's (1989: 6) work has illustrated that stimulus cues in the environment appear to trigger stereotypes, which could influence interpersonal relations once activated. The study of prejudice and stereotypes has been greatly influenced by the ease with which automatic associations surface and their force and dominance, which simultaneously predict and influence behaviour. The belief that these automatic processes are inflexible and cannot be controlled regardless of intent is what gives stereotypes and prejudices power. In this regard, Devine (1989) states: "A crucial component of automatic processes is their inescapability; they occur despite deliberate attempts to bypass or ignore them" (p. 6).

However, it is not just automatic processes which activate prejudices. The expression of prejudice is sensitive to social norms, goals and motivations of a person's actions, and they serve a variety of functions from individual, group to social (Dovidio, 2001: 830). As a result, explains Dovidio, the nature and expression of prejudices are shaped by history, politics, economics, as well as by individual-level factors. Allport (1954) identified six different angles through which prejudices should be analysed: The historical, the socio-cultural, situational, personality dynamics, phenomenological and stimulus object angles. This reveals, as also posited by Dovidio (2001: 830), that prejudices and racism are rooted not only in group identities but also in culture and in societal institutions.

2.2.2. Research on prejudice

Just as social and historical processes inform prejudices, likewise they have influenced the different theories on prejudice proposed over time (Dovidio, 2001). Each theory of prejudice took elements from a specific manner of explaining prejudice, which led to the forming of distinct paradigms of prejudice that dominated different historical periods (Duckitt, 1992). I draw on Duckitt (1992) and Dovidio (2001) to provide a brief presentation of the historical trends and broad theories of prejudice developed over the past century. The first ‘wave’ of prejudice research (as termed by Dovidio, 2001), from the 1920s to the 1950s, represents prejudice as psychopathology – as a dangerous aberration from normal thinking (Dovidio, 2001: 830). As a result, explains Dovidio, it became of crucial importance at the time to locate and describe the personality structures and characteristics that made individuals prone to adopt authoritarian ideologies, prejudice and ethnocentrism. Predominantly influential was the theory of the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950), which described a personality dimension that evaluated the extent to which individuals would be prone to take on prejudices and authoritarian ideologies. Personality and attitude tests such as the authoritarian personality scales identified those who had prejudices. Adorno et al. posited that efforts should be made to pinpoint who precisely is prejudiced, so that strategies could be developed to address only this particular section of the population (Dovidio, 2001: 831). However, their theory did not take up prejudice at the group or societal level, which was addressed by the socio-cultural approach, which succeeded it in the 1960s and 1970s (Duckitt, 1992: 1182).

Thus, the second wave of research and theory started with a contrary assumption, that prejudice is rooted in normal processes related to socialisation and social norms, which support prejudice and lead to its expression (Dovidio, 2001: 831; Duckitt, 1992: 1187). The dominant image of prejudice was therefore that of a norm that is set in the social environment (Duckitt, 1992: 1187). Two causal mechanisms were seen to be responsible for transmitting these social or normative influences to individuals: Socialisation and conformity. Prejudice was therefore seen as a matter of social conformity to traditional norms and institutionalised patterns of interracial behaviour and segregation (ibid). Changing social norms, it was said, was crucial to challenging prejudices, and this was relevant to all members of society and not just a certain section of the population (Dovidio, 2001: 831).

An influential set of findings emerged in the 1970s from Tajfel’s research, which illustrated the pertinent role of social identity and individual identity in the emergence of prejudice (Dovidio, 2001). Tajfel found evidence of prejudice even in a minimal intergroup paradigm, meaning that simply dividing people randomly into groups was enough for prejudices to arise in favour of one’s group and on occasion against members of another group (Dovidio, 2001: 831). These findings indicated, as pointed out by Tajfel & Turner (1979), that:

> The mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups – that is, social categorization per se, is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favouring the ingroup. In other words, the mere awareness of the presence of an outgroup is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the ingroup. (p. 38)

This simultaneously strengthened the emerging notion of prejudice as a normal mechanism for raising self-esteem (Dovidio, 2001). New theories supporting research in social cognition stressed that prejudices and stereotypes were outcomes of normal cognitive processes that work toward simplifying and storing a bulk of information and processing the complexity that people encounter on a daily basis (ibid: 831). These approaches of how cognitive processes influence prejudice and discrimination could be distinguished into two broad approaches: A pure cognitive approach and a cognitive-motivational approach (Duckitt, 1992, 2010). According to the former, the stereotype is taken as a cognitive structure directly determined by categorization that organises and represents information about social categories (Duckitt, 2010: 36). The cognitive-motivational approach proposes that social categorizations lead to a motivational process to evaluate one’s ingroup more positively than the outgroup (ibid). This then means that “virtually everyone has automatic access to cultural racism” (Fiske, 2000: 302). Additionally, as social categorization was considered a crucial factor in such cognitive processes, it complemented Tajfel’s motivational group level approach in reaffirming the normality of prejudice (Dovidio, 2001: 832).

The vital function of categorizations and the distinction they produce between ingroups and outgroups were crucial to the development of Hamilton’s (1981) social-cognitive theory and Tajfel’s (1970) social identity theory (Dovidio, 2001: 832). Although both theories have significantly furthered our understanding of the group and intergroup relations connected to prejudices, there are some unresolved questions and unaddressed areas. For example, Duckitt (1992) points out that, “conflict of interest between groups is addressed only peripherally, as a factor influencing the salience of social categorization and not as a determinant of intergroup attitudes and perceptions in its own right” (p. 1189). Nevertheless, these two approaches form the leading psychological approaches that have explained prejudice and intergroup relations during the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The third wave of prejudice research began in the mid-1990s and emphasized the multidimensional aspect of prejudice (Dovidio, 2001; Duckitt, 2010). As a result of events such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks, a new paradigm for understanding prejudice emerged in psychological literature and has led to new and different questions about prejudices. During the third wave, prejudice began to be seen more comprehensively:

> In particular, they tend to see prejudice as complex and multifaceted, as primarily affective, as motivationally driven and rooted in ideological beliefs, and as powerfully influenced by both individual differences and by intergroup social and power relations, particularly involving threat, competition, and inequality. (Duckitt, 2010: 39)

The dynamics of prejudice are identified at implicit and explicit levels and the responses of the targets of prejudice and discrimination are more fully considered (Dovidio, 2001). The new studies of prejudice no longer take targets as passive victims but include their responses and adaptation in the interaction between perceivers and targets, an aspect that was previously more or less ignored (ibid: 833). Thus, a more comprehensive view of how prejudices shape interpersonal and intergroup processes as well as the outcomes began to emerge.

2.2.3. Dual attitudes: Implicit and explicit prejudices

Dovidio et al. (1997) explain that in the present day the expression of bias is often unintended, even though its consequences – e.g. restriction of job opportunities and access to housing – are just as significant for many people as traditional forms of overt discrimination are injurious. They indicate that

> negative feelings and beliefs that underlie contemporary forms of bias may be rooted in normal, often adaptive psychological processes which involve both individual factors (e.g. cognitive and motivational biases and socialisation) and intergroup functions (e.g. realistic group conflict or biases associated with mere categorization of people into ingroups and outgroups). (p. 834)

Prejudice research has demonstrated that people are not always completely aware of their prejudices which occur instinctively and automatically. Thus, Dovidio et al. distinguish between traditional and contemporary forms of prejudice: “Whereas traditional forms of prejudice are direct and overt, contemporary forms are indirect and subtle” (ibid: 512). At the core of these subtle prejudices, posits Dovidio (2001: 838), is the conflict between the denial of personal prejudice (i.e. explicit attitude) and the underlying unconscious negative feelings and beliefs (i.e. implicit attitudes and stereotypes). In comparison to implicit memory processes which occur at the subconscious level and are unintentionally activated, he explains that explicit processes are conscious, intentional and controllable. Dovidio cites a similar distinction proposed by Greenwald & Banaji (1995) with reference to attitudes and stereotypes: Explicit attitudes and stereotyping function at a conscious level and are depicted through traditional, self-report measures; implicit attitudes and stereotypes are judgements and views that require only the presence of the attitude stimulus for activation. Quillian (2006) emphasizes that from a psychological perspective, “implicit racial stereotypes and prejudices are held by everyone because they are part of how the human mind works in the context of a culture including stereotypical representations” (p. 320). Dovidio (2001: 839) explains that implicit and explicit attitudes have been considered as reflecting ‘dual attitudes’ which arise developmentally: A change in attitude is a result of people’s personal experiences and socialisation. The original attitude does not disappear completely but gets stored in memory and becomes ‘implicit’. The newer attitude is then conscious and explicit. Thus, explicit attitudes, in general, can change and evolve rather easily whereas implicit attitudes persist and are harder to dislodge as they are rooted in overlearning and habitual reactions (ibid).

Since explicit attitudes may be a result of common experiences and the learning of history, Shiffrin & Schneider (1977) argue that they may be the cause of the development of implicit attitudes, suggesting that they both sometimes correspond with each other (in Dovidio, 2001: 839). Here, the normative context is a crucial element: For example, people may initially pick up negative attitudes toward groups as a result of their socialisation or in a particular historical context. Over time, exposure to a change in norms may lead to people adopting positive or equitable attitudes, yet negative implicit attitudes tend to linger (ibid). This suggests, posits Dovidio (2001: 839), that there may be greater connection between implicit and explicit attitudes in respect of issues that are not socially sensitive than for those that are related to norms inconsistent with historical norms or traditional socialisation. Furthermore, he argues that implicit and explicit attitudes can influence behaviour in different ways and under different conditions. The problem with assessing attitudes for matters that are socially sensitive, he explains, is that people may consciously adapt responses to existing norms. Behavioural responses differ considerably depending on whether they are calculated acts based on a cost-benefit analysis, or impulsive reactions to a topic, object or person. Explicit attitudes shape calculated thought-through responses as people have the chance to evaluate the costs and benefits of their action; implicit attitudes characterise responses that are difficult to examine and control (e.g. body language and reactions) and often such responses give the persons in question no indication of their attitude (ibid). So the extent to which implicit and explicit attitudes have an impact depends on the "context in which the attitudinal object appears, the motivation and opportunity to engage in deliberate processes, and the nature of the behavioural response" (Dovidio, 2001: 840).

It should also be noted that individuals can make a conceptual distinction between stereotypes and beliefs. Devine's (1989: 5) research demonstrated that high and low prejudiced people are equally knowledgeable of cultural stereotypes, and that these stereotypes are activated in the presence of a member of the stereotyped group. She explains that it is one's beliefs and motivation to control the effects of activated stereotypes that distinguish low from high prejudiced people, i.e. low prejudiced people are more motivated to be in command of and restrain automatic reactions. Similarly, Fiske (2000) argues that, "Differences between low- and high-prejudice individuals lie in personal, controlled beliefs" (p. 302). Devine's (1989: 5) study also illustrated that low prejudiced people reproduced themes of equality and the negation of stereotypes. Dovidio et al. (1997) therefore argue that, "unconscious associations, which are culturally shared and automatically activated, may be disassociated from expressions of personal beliefs that are expressed on self-report measures of prejudice and systematically vary" (p. 512). Thus, even low-prejudiced people who may project equitable standards are likely to have implicit prejudices.

2.2.4. Expression of prejudices

Allport (1954: 14-15) identified five potential ways in which prejudice is often expressed: Antilocution (verbal remarks against a person, group or community, which are not addressed directly to the target), avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, extermination. Seemingly minor forms of prejudice, he argued, can develop into more dangerous forms of discrimination and violence. Such a transition becomes apparent if Allport's levels of prejudice are examined in light of the escalating levels of prejudice, discrimination and violence that occurred during the Holocaust years or even more recently to events leading up to the 2002 pogrom in Gujarat, India, to mention just one example in recent times.

Furthermore, although overt expressions of prejudice can be said to have steadily declined – this may partly be a result of anti-discrimination laws in place in some countries – subtle, often unconscious and unintentional forms persist. These subtle, rationalisable forms of prejudice pose unique challenges as they are more difficult to identify than are explicit attitudes. This is the challenge to a just and equitable treatment of members of disadvantaged groups. For example, Krieger (1995) observed in the Stanford Law Review:

> Herein lies the practical problem…. Validating subjective decision-making systems is neither empirically nor economically feasible, especially for jobs where intangible qualities such as interpersonal skills, creativity and ability to make sound judgement under conditions of uncertainty are critical. (Cited in Dovidio, 2001: 845-846)

Contemporary prejudices thus influence the subjectivities of people such that they interfere with communication and building trust which is crucial to the development of positive intergroup relations. Despite the obvious shift in social norms relating to the overt expression of prejudice, stereotypical images persist in the media (Devine & Elliot, 1995: 1149), and are consequently perpetuated in society in subtle, yet highly effectual ways. Simultaneously, explicit behaviour in certain situations forms the core of social discrimination and thus the pressing need for information on how people in contemporary society engage in discrimination under given conditions and the equally urgent need for strategies and interventions that address the complexity of prejudice at an individual and societal level.

2.2.5. Studies on prejudice reduction interventions

The fact that negative attitudes and prejudices exist and are expressed automatically does not imply that they are not susceptible to change – to objective and egalitarian attitudes, implicit and explicit. The work of Devine (1989: 15; see also Dovidio et al., 1997), suggests that implicit prejudice is like an overlearned response, a bad habit that needs to be broken. She states that, like the elimination of a bad habit, people can adopt more egalitarian patterns of response and behaviour once they have integrated egalitarian ideals into their value system. This will lead to a conflict between their ideals and the automatically activated negative responses, which in turn initiates controlled processes that inhibit stereotypes. She emphasizes though that the new responses must be learned and practiced before they can effectively compete with automatically activated stereotypes and prejudices. In this connection, Dovidio et al. (1997) draw attention to Devine & Monteith's (1993) research which illustrates that, "the awareness of inconsistency between one's interracial behaviour and one's egalitarian standards produces a negative emotional reaction and a genuine motivation to behave in a more egalitarian fashion in the future" (p. 536). It was found that people who said they were not prejudiced displayed feelings of guilt when they realised that there was a disparity between their behaviour and their personal standards. Such emotional reactions can motivate people to control stereotypical responses and behave more equitably. Along the same lines, studies have demonstrated that conscious efforts to suppress prejudiced reactions can reduce even the immediate activation of normally automatic associations (ibid).

Prejudice reduction is therefore a multi-step process (Devine, 1989; Devine & Plant, 2002), which requires the individual to first consciously decide that responding in biased ways is inappropriate and then adopt objective, egalitarian beliefs and personal standards (Devine & Plant, 2002: 835). The subsequent step is an internationalisation and integration of these equitable standards into one's self-concept. However, developing personal motivation to overcome prejudice is no guarantee that people will respond without prejudice in all response areas. It is, profess Devine & Plant, the controllability of the response domain that is crucial. The final step "is to bring these less easily controllable responses in line with the nonprejudiced personal standards" (p. 835-836). Their research indicates that low-prejudiced people, who sometimes respond with more bias toward members of marginalised groups than they believe they should, feel compunction or guilt. Feelings of guilt serve, they argue, as cues to alter one's responses, whereby guilt initiates processes that control one's responses and actions, thus reducing the inconsistency between biased responses and equitable standards.

Schaller & Neuberg (2005) suggest that interventions may be effective in reducing prejudice by weakening the link between perceptual cues and assumed threats. They posit that:

> Presenting relevant factual information, through mass media, special educational programs, or interpersonal contact, may effectively weaken these links in cases in which they have no factual basis—in cases where there exists no substantial "kernel of truth. (p. 8)

Where of course some 'kernel of truth' exists, prejudicial beliefs are more difficult to displace. Interventions therefore require a multi-pronged, flexible approach which is sensitive to variability – across individuals and contexts – in the specific vulnerabilities that characterise 'perpetrators' of prejudice, (ibid: 10), as well as their targets.

Numerous strategies and interventions are in place to counter prejudice; some are more effective than others, some often limited in their realistic range of application. Paluck & Green (2009: 360) explain that due to weaknesses in the internal and external validity of existing research, it is not possible to tell whether, when, and why interventions reduce prejudice in the world. In the 2009 Annual Review of Psychology, they present a review of both academic and non-academic research on prejudices, analysing the extent to which studies have established that interventions reduce prejudice. Over a five year period, they looked for and studied all kinds of interventions and researches, be they in the laboratory or in the field, anti-bias, diversity-oriented or based on cooperative learning. Their study reveals that there are few precise field studies until date that have dealt with, "interpersonal and intrapersonal prejudice change: contact, social identity and categorization, identity and value-motivated techniques, and social cognitive (stereotype and implicit prejudice) interventions." (p. 357)

> Entire genres of prejudice-reduction interventions, including diversity training, educational programs, and sensitivity training in health and law enforcement professions, have never been evaluated with experimental methods. (Paluck & Green, 2009: 360)

They emphasize the need for research and theory in several areas of prejudice reduction:

> Although antibias, multicultural, and moral education are popular approaches, they have not been examined with a great deal of rigor, and many applications are theoretically ungrounded. Spending on corporate diversity training in the United States alone costs an estimated $8 billion annually (cited in Hansen 2003), and yet the impact of diversity training remains largely unknown (Paluck 2006a). (Paluck & Green, 2009: 359)

We could thus say that prejudices can be reduced through awareness raising methods and strategies. However, only effective long-term research and evaluation of interventions and strategies will enable us to examine and understand how, why and the extent to which they are effective. The problem lies not only in the shortcomings of such research but also in their apparent lack. It is this gap that I seek to fill with my research on prejudices in Bombay and Berlin, examining the functioning of the Anti-Bias approach in four schools in the two cities.

Allport proffered words of wisdom in 1954, which hold true even today: "To unlock the complexities of prejudice we will need all the keys we can lay our hands on." This is what I have attempted to do: The examination of the development of psychological theory and research on prejudice shows the complexities of the processes of prejudices. The discussion on dual prejudices clarifies that although explicit prejudices may be more easily dislodged, they tend to become ‘implicit’ through a change in norms or the prohibition of a particular norm and linger on as a result of repetition and overlearning. This depicts the connectedness of implicit and explicit prejudices and also makes evident the role of social norms in inducing negative and positive responses. We also understand how prejudices become rooted in identities through the influence of group identities and the culture and institutions of society. Important for my study is also the fact that people may adapt responses to prevailing norms or say what they believe is required of them as protagonists of a study. This makes assessing attitudes to socially sensitive issues rather difficult. Crucial is also the difference between low and high prejudiced people in that it is their personal system of beliefs and motivation to control and suppress automatic prejudiced reactions and behaviour that distinguishes them. Such motivation or lack thereof plays out in the expression of prejudices which makes it an important consideration when analysing prejudices of the students groups of this study, as they can interfere with communication and the fruitful development of relationships in society. The last section displays the insufficient research conducted on prevailing interventions and strategies that challenge prejudices, whilst showing that awareness raising methods can lead to change and assist people in unlearning negative automatic reactions and adopting more egalitarian ones. Seen in this light, prejudice reduction strategies such as the Anti-Bias could assist in generating awareness of the processes of prejudices and initiating change. The lack of research on interventions is a gap that my study sets out to fill by examining the extent to which the Anti-Bias assists the young people of my study to become conscious of their prejudices and whether the trainings provide pertinent cues which aid them in setting new, objective and equitable personal standards for application in daily life.

2.3. Discrimination

2.3.1. Introduction

Unlike prejudice, which is an attitude in people’s heads, discrimination is present in behaviour (Quillian, 2006: 300). Correspondingly, Allport has argued that discrimination can be understood as a form of overt expression of prejudices (see previous section, p. 31).

Auernheimer (2003: 91) posits that prejudices[9] as negative attitudes prevail as general phenomenon in intergroup relations and lead to discrimination when there is the assumption of social superiority and power. For instance, he explains that migrants may well have prejudices against Germans but they cannot be accused of discrimination since their prejudices are ineffective in contrast to those of members of the dominating culture. Although differing definitions of discrimination have been proposed, prejudice as an influential force is present in all of them. Quillian (2006: 300) explains that the broadest definitions of discrimination encompass inequality of all types among racial groups, assuming that all inequality that exists among groups must be the result of current or past discriminatory practices. He elaborates that conservative scholars with the narrowest definitions have proposed restricting discrimination only to acts that are intended to harm the target group. In the 2004 report on Measuring Racial Discrimination, the National Research Council of The National Academies proposed a definition of racial discrimination comprising two components: "(1) *differential treatment on the basis of race* that disadvantages a racial group and (2) *treatment on the basis of inadequately justified factors other than race* that disadvantages a racial group" (Blank et al., 2004, original emphasis; see also Quillian, 2006: 300). Although both components are based on treatment that disadvantages one racial group over another, the difference between the two is based on whether such treatment is due to an individual's race or some factor other than race that also negatively affects members of a particular racial group.

The discrimination of an individual or group, whether on ethnic, race, religious, class, skin colour or other grounds, is thus a result of stereotypes and prejudices, conscious or not, which are linked to feelings of hostility and anxiety. One often hears statements such as blacks or Turks would not be comfortable here or do not work hard enough. Or questions to those perceived as foreigners, like how long one plans on staying in the country. These statements and questions carry an implicit bias. As also discussed above, research has shown that implicit racial attitudes are seen even for those who score low on explicit racial prejudice and such implicit attitudes influence judgments and perceptions (Quillian, 2006: 323). Likewise, studies conducted on implicit prejudices indicate that even those who sincerely believe in race blindness[10] are influenced in their thinking by the images and depictions of members of racial groups learned in early childhood (ibid). Thus, implicit prejudices offer a new subtext for understanding the nature and processes of prejudice, discrimination and oppression. As evident in many cases, people are not aware of how their implicit attitudes and beliefs influence their judgements and actions. Thus, focusing purely on conscious beliefs in prejudice research overlooks an important source of discriminatory behaviour. As Quillian (2006) posits: “For a complete understanding of modern discrimination, we need to look beyond methods that focus on explicit beliefs, such as survey responses, interviews, and discourse analysis” (p. 323), and this is precisely what my study sets out to do.

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[9] Auernheimer refers specifically to racial prejudice as assuming social superiority and power.

[10] Race blindness is a politically loaded term as it can be seen as both good and bad. In other words, either race rather shouldn't matter - but unfortunately it does – or race doesn't matter, which then suggests ignorance of racial issues. See Patricia Williams on colour blindness: Williams, P. (1998) *Seeing A Color-Blind Future: The Paradox of Race*. New York: Noonday Press.

I now proceed to analyse the forms of discrimination, beginning with race and racism. Indeed, racism is not the sole form of discrimination in existence and so I also direct attention to the concept of intersectionality which enables us to understand discrimination in all its complexity.

2.3.2. Race

The notion of race has been debated and defined differently by social theorists since time immemorial (Chadderton, 2009: 20). Biological theories of race prescribe essential and fixed characteristic to individuals. The body and its differences provide irrefutable evidence for the naturalization of racial difference, becoming the symbol of otherness (Hall, 1997c: 244). However, biological notions of race have long since been established as fiction (Gates, 1985), and race is now seen as socially constructed without any genetic or biological fundament although biological notions of race still appear to carry credence for some (e.g. Herrnstein & Murray, 1994). Gillborn (2008) defines race as “a system of socially constructed and enforced categories that are constantly recreated and modified through human interaction and is not a fixed and natural system of genetic difference” (p. 3). Auernheimer (2003: 95) similarly argues that race can be understood as an ideological and discursive construct. This shift in understanding the term race has led to it being seen as complex and dynamic rather than fixed and natural (Chadderton, 2009). In Germany, there has been a plea to completely do away with the term race and to replace it in Article 3 of the German Constitution with a ban on ‘racial’ discrimination or preference. Despite the complete lack of scientific evidence supporting the construction of race, it is consistently used to discriminate people (Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin, 2005: 5), and therein lies the paradox of racism.

2.3.3. Racism

The term racism, which formerly denoted race-based prejudice, violence, discrimination and oppression, also has varying and contested definitions. Traditionally, racism has been viewed as involving a belief in the existence of discrete human races and the belief that those races are hierarchically ordered (Gillborn, 2008: 3). In terms of its expression, racism can take on the form of specific biased acts or “the obvious and extreme fascistic posturing of small neo-Nazi groups” (Gillborn, 2005: 485). However, racism is not only the extreme, violent acts or the openly racist rhetoric of groups; it can be both intentional and unintentional. It is in its unintentional, unconscious form that it functions to disadvantage ethnic minorities by safeguarding the privileges of a small section of society by influencing attitudes, interaction and policy.

Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1996: 155) argue that racism varies depending on the specific historical context, the perpetrators as well as the targets of the specific racism – involving political, economic and ideological relations. They explain that these relations can be based on exploitation or exclusion and are historically specific. Moreover, racism can be directed against any ethnic group that becomes the object of racialization. Fanon ([1952]2008) depicts how colonisers and the colonised are inevitably bound to each other through the process of racialization. In other words, the category ‘white’ is dependent on its negation, ‘black’, for stability and existence (Phoenix, 2005: 103). Colonial domination thus ensured that the relationship of the coloniser-colonised was at once cemented and normalised. This emphasizes that “race is socially constructed, involves power relations and becomes socially significant through social, economic, cultural, and psychological processes” (ibid: 103).

As Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1996: 20) point out, the term racism cannot be applied to skin colour alone; it is just as relevant to relationships with migrants, the Roma and Sinti, Jews, as well as the Muslims, most significantly since September 11, 2001. Neither can racism, they argue, be seen “as derivative of ethnic phenomena but should be understood with reference to the discourses and practices by which ethnic or minority groups are inferiorized, excluded and subordinated” (p. viii), and which “present specific and different characters in different social and historical contexts” (p. 2). They explain that the heterogeneous nature of racism must therefore be considered in terms of, for example, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, and as structures of domination and oppression based on social and political constructs which are constantly changing and dynamic. Miles (1984) suggests that if we focus purely on race, we ignore all those practices that (re)produce ideological structures within specific socio-economic and political settings. Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1996) argue that it is

> only by contextualizing race within ethnic processes, by considering how the racialization of ethnic boundaries takes places and by examining gender and class differences and exclusions, can the more concrete issues of fighting the attributions and practices of exclusion and subordination be more effectively undertaken. Only in this way will we avoid the futility and marginality of being locked into tunnel vision resistance to racism. (p. 198)

Titley & Lentin (2008: 16) explain that demands for the term racism to be replaced by ethnocentrism (e.g. by Lévi-Strauss, 1975), which then annuls the existence of race, have been disputed as this would mean that the experiences of racism are also denied. Likewise, Fanon ([1952]2008) is relentless in reminding us that it is the experience of racism that outlives assertions of the end of race.

The analysis of the term race illustrates that as a social construct it emerges from dominant discursive and ideological practices. Nevertheless, despite the lack of scientific basis for race, racism exists and continues to negatively impact the lives of many people. This also emphasizes that racism should be seen as social behaviour which is not static but constantly changing and adapting to prevailing times, i.e. it does not apply to skin colour or the experiences of ‘black’ people alone. Rather it affects many in society who are discriminated against on the basis of oppressive dominant discursive practices. This brings us to the concept of intersectionality which allows us not only to understand how the racialization of ethnicity functions but also how racism interacts with other axes of discrimination and oppression. Although the categories gender, sexuality, religion and class play a substantial role in my study (particular class since all my participants come from quite privileged backgrounds; see chapters six and seven), I do not theorise them separately as they are addressed through the concept of intersectionality, which provides a more comprehensive framework for understanding the interlocking relations between categories and contemporary struggles of different kinds. The efforts to separate race from gender or religion and class reveals, as Butler argues (1997b), the need for autonomous articulations, but simultaneously produces “a set of important, painful, and promising confrontations that expose the ultimate limits to any such autonomy” (p. 269). Since, for example, race may be just one category through which class oppression is experienced, the analysis of one cannot be done without analysing the other (ibid: 270). I therefore take up these and other categories through the intersectionality approach.

2.3.4. Intersectionality

> Today the nation closes its eyes neither innocently nor without warning. It has renewed a commitment to blindness: to be blind to the words race, class, and gender and all the worldliness these words carry in their wakes; to be blind to not only the most shrunken, formal, and value-laden official empirical actualities. This is a commitment struck, as has historically been the case, when fear of loss gets the better of what could be gained. (Gordan, 1997: 207)

What Avery Gordan refers to as a national ‘commitment to blindness’ is the deracialization of racist discourses based on the notion of culture. Not immediately evident, racist discourses become normalised and are expressed through a perceived ‘natural’ fear and suspicion of outsiders. This occurs as ‘culture’ continues to be constructed as uniform, static and constant in dominant discourses. Thus, as Batts (2005) posits, racism is not the only form of discrimination in need of reconciliation. If discrimination is treating people differently based on factors or categories not necessarily connected to race, then we first need to understand the types of discrimination and areas of ‘blindness’ due to which discrimination can occur. I present below a table drawing on the framework of discrimination proposed by H. Robb (ELRU, 1997: 12), and another created by Batts (2005: 5) and her colleagues from VISIONS Inc., through which we can understand the numerous ways in which power imbalances can occur in society. I have combined these two frameworks and added components and categories that make it more relevant for my own study, to the contexts of Germany and India:

Although forms of discrimination and oppression may vary over time and socio-political context, such a framework is useful in locating and addressing power imbalances and affords greater insight into the functioning of discrimination.

Types of discrimination	**Variable(s)**	**Discriminated**	**Not Discriminated**
Racism	‘Race’ / Skin colour Global positioning	People of colour (African, Asian, Native, Latin Americans) People from southern and eastern countries	White People from northern, western countries
Sexism	Gender	Women	Men
Heterosexism	Sexual Orientation	Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender	Heterosexuals
Classism/ Class oppression	Socio-Economic class	Poor, underprivileged, working class	Middle class, upper class
Elitism	Education level Place in hierarchy	Informally educated Clerical, non-exempt, students	Formally educated Managers, exempt, faculty
Religious Oppression Anti-Semitism	Religion	Muslims, Buddhists, Jehovah’s Witnesses Jews	Christians, Protestants, Hindus (in Germany Hindus would be in the category of the discriminated) Christians/Muslims
Ageism Adultism	Age	Elders Children	Young Adults Adults
Able-ism	Physical or mental ability	Differently abled, physically or mentally challenged	Temporarily able-bodied
Health	Chronically ill	People with chronic health problems	People without/little health complaints
Linguistic Oppression	Language	English, German as second language Non-English, non-German	English German
Lookism	Physical Attributes	People whose looks do not match the ideal of beauty in a society (e.g. ‘ugly’, ‘fat’)	People whose looks match the ideal of beauty in a society

In June 2010, the internationally renowned philosopher and gender-theorist Judith Butler refused the Civil Courage Prize at the Christopher Street Day (CSD) in Berlin, criticising the organisers for losing sight of double discrimination, and not distancing themselves from racist statements. She said

> [T]he CSD is linked with several groups and individuals who engage in a very strong anti-immigrant discourse, referring to people from north Africa, Turkey, and various Arab countries as less modern or more primitive. Although we can find homophobia in many places, including those of religious and racial minorities, we would be making a very serious error if we tried to fight homophobia by propagating stereotypical and debasing constructions of other minorities. My view is that the struggle against homophobia must be linked with the struggle against racism, and that subjugated minorities have to find ways of working in coalition. (Zimmer, U., Heidingsfelder, M. & Adler, S. (2010), AVIVA email interview with Butler on 09.07.2010)[11]

By rejecting the Civil Courage Prize, Butler brings to our attention that we cannot fight one type of discrimination whilst disregarding other kinds of discrimination. She argues that:

> [I]f we fight for the rights of gay people to walk the street freely, we have to realize first that some significant number of those people are also in jeopardy because of anti-immigrant violence - this is what we call ‘double jeopardy’ in English. Secondly, we have to consider that if we object to the illegitimate and subjugating use of violence against one community, we cannot condone it in relation to another! In this way, the queer movement has to be committed to social equality, and to pursuing freedom under conditions of social equality. (ibid)

What Butler refers to as ‘double jeopardy’ is also termed as the concept of intersectionality. The intersectionality approach enables us to understand that everyone is simultaneously positioned within social categories such as gender, social class, sexuality and race (Crenshaw, 1989: 139-167). This means that an Asian Muslim lesbian from a working class background, for example, is exposed to discrimination on grounds of her religion, race, class, gender and ethnicity. These social categories are intersecting spheres in which domination occurs, and therefore any one category cannot be seen or addressed alone as the cause for her discrimination. Butler (1990) thus argues that being a woman does not mean that that is all one is because “[…] gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities.” It therefore, “becomes impossible to separate gender from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (p. 3).

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[11] For the entire interview, see http://www.aviva-berlin.de/aviva/content_Interviews.php?id=1427323. Accessed on August 18, 2010.

Intersectionality allows us to examine the production of power and processes between social categories. Hence we can interrogate 'unmarked' positions such as 'whiteness' and 'masculinity' as well as 'marked' positions such as 'blackness' and 'femininity' (Phoenix, 2008: 19), through which we can, "trace how some people or groups of people get positioned as not only different but also troublesome and, in some instances, marginalised" (Staunæs, 2003: 101). As Lawrence Grossberg (1996) emphasizes, quoting Michele Wallace, "the thing that needed to be said – women are not to be trusted just because they're women, anymore than blacks are to be trusted because they're black or gays because they're gay and so on" (p. 90).

For a comprehensive understanding of any social category, it is necessary to analyse differences as well as commonalities within groups. Feminist researchers have depicted how the opportunities available to women and their experiences differ on the basis of their race, ethnicity, sexuality and social class – i.e. gender and sexuality are class-based and racialized social relations (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983; Brah, 1996). Race, gender and class are neither separate nor isolated realms of experience; they come into existence in and through contradictory and conflicting relations with each other (Brah & Phoenix, 2004: 80). The intersection of race, gender and class is therefore subjectively lived and a part of social structure, entailing differential treatment, at times even discrimination (ibid: 81).

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of men and women ascribed to them on the basis of their perceived sex, roles that are dependent on the particular socio-economic, political and cultural context (Charlesworth & Chinkin, 2000: 3-4). The practices and representations around gender are therefore not the product of difference by themselves; they arise in social relations that comprise class and race/ethnicity (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1996: 18). Thus 'black' women realise already as children that they are different from boys and that they are treated differently, "for example, when we are told in the same breath to be quiet for the sake of being 'ladylike' and to make us less objectionable in the eyes of white people" (Hall et al., 1982: 15). Thus, black feminists initially came together to challenge racism and sexism and over time incorporated heterosexuality and economic oppression to their struggle. As Hall et al. (1982: 16) argue, black women have to struggle together with black men against racism and struggle against black men on sexism. They explain that for them challenging oppression means the elimination of the political-economic system of capitalism and imperialism, as well as patriarchy. Through the intersectionality approach, it becomes evident that all categories are linked to power relations and therefore cannot be neutral (Brah and Phoenix, 2004).

Class relations describe exclusions and domination with a view to economic gain. Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1996: 18) explain that class relations are legitimised as people or groups of people are regarded as incapable of grasping opportunities due to a variety of reasons such as lower intelligence, apathy, ineptitude, inadequacy and deprivation. They argue that these characteristics are assigned indiscriminately and simultaneously to people belonging not only to a particular social class but also a certain race/ethnicity and gender. Differential treatment whether with reference to jobs, housing or educational possibilities is thus replicated by way of their race and gender identity. The experiences of disprivilege, deprivation and poverty of those belonging to a lower economic class are constantly influenced by race and gender structures.

Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1996: 18) argue that in the case of racialized or ethnic groups, there is an assumption about the natural boundaries of collectivities or the naturalness of culture. The same ‘natural’ relation, they posit, applies to gender, whereby for gender, necessary social effects are posited to sexual difference and biological reproduction. They explain that this alleged ‘natural’ difference in abilities and needs, based on gender or ethnicity, serves to legitimise inequality in class processes which are seen in economic relations. In this way, class serves to racialize particular social or ethnic groups and emerges in the oppressive discourses of sexual difference. The ease and rapidity of the processes of racialization is visible, for example, in the experiences of guest workers in Europe and other forms of migration from east Europe (ibid).

Whilst the intersection of race, gender, and class comprise the predominant elements of the experiences of discrimination of many, other structural elements where power intersects cannot be overlooked. Immigrants, for example, are just as vulnerable as a result of their fragile status, but one cannot attribute their oppression to economic class alone. The same can be applied to religion, where the discriminatory experiences of Muslims in the present day cannot be solely attributed to their belonging to the Islamic faith. Intersectionality does not simply mean a further division of the master categories race, class and gender, meaning it is not about locating “several identities under one” (Yuval-Davis 2006: 201/205), rather it is about theorising more than one difference at once (Grossberg, 1996: 90), and questioning the ostensible homogeneity of any group and any kind of categorization which depicts reality only in a reduced form.

As previously discussed, a large number of intergroup experiments carried out since the early 1970s show the ease with which discrimination against the outgroup results by the simple act of categorising people into groups (Tajfel, 1970). Tajfel and Turner (1979: 40) asserted that not only do social categorizations systematise the social world, they also provide a system of orientation for self-reference, they create and define the individual’s place in society. They define categories as, “cognitive tools that segment, classify and order the social environment” (p. 40), and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action. And “although important formation regarding individual differences within a category may be lost, the complex social world has to be reduced to manageable units” (Hewstone & Jaspars, 1982: 112). These categories can be taken, according to Hall (1997b), as ‘cultural meanings’ that “organise and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and consequently have real, practical effects” (p. 3). Since culture can be understood as ‘shared meanings’ (Hall, 1997b: 1), thus also, gender, as a socio-cultural category, comprises ‘cultural meanings’ that govern our behaviour and actions. Hall (1997b) explains that culture is not so much about tangible things like books, paintings, folk dances, but rather a process or a set of practices.

> Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings – the ‘giving and taking of meaning’ – between the members of a society or group. […] Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world, in roughly similar ways. (p. 2, 4)

Meanings therefore “define what is ‘normal’, who belongs – and therefore, who is excluded” (ibid: 10). Meanings are deeply inscribed in relations of power and often organised into sharply opposed binaries such as man/woman, gay/straight, rich/poor, black/white. However, if culture is shared meaning which requires an exchange among its members and is constantly interacting, there can be no final or fixed culture; every culture is continually evolving. Notions of relationship and marriage, child rearing and career not only change over time, but differing notions of these exist within any culture at any given point in time, influenced by factors such as age, social class, gender and religion. Similarly, each relevant culture has a different way of interpreting gender and thus a different set of regulations and guidelines that govern gender. However, in order to maintain power relations in society, it is often the dominating interpretation of gender that gets enforced on all in a particular culture. It is the maintenance of unequal power relations between the majority and minorities that a patriarchal culture ensures through the imposition of dominant gender norms.

The recognition that race, class and sexuality lead to vastly differing experiences for women, in fact, dislodged for some the notion of a unified category ‘woman’. However, such universality is postulated in order to maintain unequal relations by way of race, class and sexuality (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). The loss of individual difference and the unavoidability of demarcations and the exclusions these results in are the main criticisms against categorizations. This underlies the assumption that inequality is based on such exclusions.

Crenshaw (1997) warns that for effective anti-discrimination work it is just as important to articulate those experiences of discrimination which are not the most prominent in the focus of master categories (e.g. immigrant status, age, religion). Simultaneously, they should not serve merely to reinforce contradictions, but should also point out the conflicting effects of inequality. Thus the ‘structural characteristics’ of patriarchal culture, national constitution and capitalist economic situation should not be conceived as singular, rather in their ‘structural context’ (Knapp 2005: 77). It is, as Dietze et al. (2007: 10) state, about ‘disadvantaged categories’ that describe ascribed ‘real’ or imagined characteristics and associated prejudices. This illustrates the need to probe these prejudices in the field of anti-discrimination. Prejudicial knowledge, as Williams (1985, cited in Bhabha, 1996: 55) describes it, is “a belief guarded against reflection,” which as previously elaborated upon, can also be described as implicit attitudes or biases.

Studying the complexities that arise through the interlocking of different categories of differentiation allows a more complex and dynamic understanding of the functioning of discrimination. It demonstrates the importance of examining the structures and systems of society which produce, reproduce and reify ascribed characteristics of certain people or groups of people. Intersectionality attempts to draw both the structural and active consequences resulting from the interaction of different forms of discrimination or systems of oppression. It directly deals with discriminatory systems such as patriarchy, racism, sexism, classism, which assist in producing layers of inequality that affect the lives of those marginalised. Particularly relevant to my study is then the analysis of students' narrations of prejudice and discrimination as the intersection of (often conflicting) categories like race, gender, class, religion, nationality, which are ascribed innate characteristics in the service of hegemony.

2.3.5. Structural discrimination

I have argued thus far that discrimination can be understood as structural, that it is rooted in the systems and structures of a society, in which all members are often inadvertently involved:

> To say that patriarchal relations are structural is to suggest that they exist in the institutions and social practices of our society and cannot be explained by the intentions, good or bad, of individual men or women. (Weedon, 1997: 3)

This means that unequal relations in society cannot be explained through an individual's intention although it is the individual who is often the instrument of oppression. Structural discrimination refers to power relations in which the interests of privileged groups take precedence over the interests of disadvantaged groups (Weedon, 1997). Structural discrimination is maintained through the process of 'othering', through which the world is divided into entities that are seen to be separated along the lines of assumed racial difference (Said, 2003: 45). Such assumed differences become the grounds on which people who do not belong to the dominant group are oppressed (Chadderton, 2009: 24). This process involves the marking of 'difference' which is then interpreted in several ways in representations of people who are significantly different from the majority – 'them' rather than 'us' (Hall, 1997c: 229). 'Othering' implies that dominated groups are exposed to binary extremes – good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, repelling-because-different/compelling-because-strange-and-exotic (ibid). In a system of heterosexuality, it is gender and its attributes, 'masculine' and 'feminine', which are positioned oppositionally. Accordingly, a man or a woman is one's own gender identity to the extent that he/she is not the other (Villa, 2003: 68). Being 'man' is identical to 'not-being-woman' (and vice-versa). Thus we know what 'woman' or 'black' means not because there is some essence to 'blackness' or to 'being a woman', but because we contrast it with its opposite (Hall, 1997c: 234). Hence, who is a man or woman gets determined through a negative definition, by determining who or what a gender is not. Men and women are thus presented as binary opposites. As Simone de Beauvoir (1973) argues, the woman becomes ‘the Other’ of man in society’s hegemonic structures. Hall (1997c) explains that we read images in terms of their difference, their otherness. In this sense, “difference has been marked” (p. 230) by us. There is always a power relation between these poles of binary opposition, whereby one pole is invariably the dominant one (ibid: 235). Images gain meaning when they are read in context, against or in connection with one another (ibid: 232). By this, Hall means that images do not carry meaning or ‘signify’ on their own, rather they accumulate meanings.

The process of ‘othering’ takes place through stereotyping, which requires no qualification, no explanation because the reference extracts entire systems of knowledge (Said, 2003), implying that just a hint is sufficient to set off an ‘othering’ discourse (Chadderton, 2009: 24). Stereotyping reduces a person’s characteristics to that which is “simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognised,” it *exaggerates* and *simplifies* them, and *fixes* them without change or development to eternity (Hall, 1997c: 258). In this manner, it “*reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes ‘difference’*” (ibid). Stereotyping also deploys a strategy of ‘splitting’ (Hall, 1997c); thus ‘we’ are individuals, but ‘they’ are homogeneous (Horwitz & Rabbie, 1982: 267). It divides what is normal and acceptable from what is not, and it excludes all that is different. In this manner, it “*symbolically fixes boundaries, and excludes everything which does not belong*” (Hall, 1997c: 258). It is the element of power that enables the homogenising of entities and their oppression. Stereotyping tends to occur where there are significant inequalities of power (ibid). Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group, and power coupled with a justifying ideology serves to maintain discrimination in society (Sik Hung NG, 1982:180), which is evident in the structural discrimination of minorities.

Stereotyping, as Foucault calls it, is a “power/knowledge” sort of game, classifying people according to a norm and constructing the excluded as ‘other’ (Hall, 1997c: 258). Within social practice, a norm operates as an unspoken standard of normalisation, that is, a standard for what is considered ‘normal’ (Butler, 2004). Norms define the limits of what is and is not acceptable, and in this sense, they normalise a particular field for us. In this sense,

> the group which is adult, white, male, of middle class, healthy in ideas and customs, is thus the category which... imposes... upon others... their own definition as a norm. The group which, in this way, refers to itself as *I*, [...] is therefore, first of all, a symbolic

> group which does not conceive of itself as a concrete group brought together by compulsory links. As a reflection of the distribution of power it is, [...] the social subject. It constitutes the point of reference of the relationship. (Guillaumin, 1972, cited in Deschamps, 1982: 89).

Deschamps (1982: 89) distinguishes between two types of individuals: those who believe they are unique or not belonging to any particular category, and those who are part of a unit and are not regarded in terms of their personal characteristics. Once fixed as a woman, a gay, a Muslim or a black, he explains, they are defined by these terms. Thus, they are defined in relation to the 'social subject' or a norm which has become embedded in a concrete group. A member of this dominant group will see himself as homogeneous with the social subject and is thus part of the context that provides the general point of reference, irrespective of the fact that he may in reality be personally distanced from the norm (ibid). Individuals are seen as representative of the group they belong to or are perceived as belonging to. This world view becomes inevitable, and so deeply embedded it appears to be natural (Hall, 1997c: 259). "The dominated have no such homogeneity with the social subject," (p.89) explains Deschamps (1982), who argues that they are designated *de facto* identities by those who dominate them, and as such there is also no similarity with the symbolic and central reality which constitutes the social subject or the norm, the point of reference. In Butler's (2004) words:

> To be not quite masculine or not quite feminine is still to be understood exclusively in terms of one's relationship to the "quite masculine" and the "quite feminine. (p. 42)

Similarly, Deschamps (1982: 89) posits that both the dominant and the dominated define themselves in relation to the same norm which is shared and unique. He explains that whereas the dominant cannot be positioned in contradiction with the norm or this point of reference, the dominated is trapped between what he has been assigned by the dominant and the point of reference imposed by the dominant, to which he is then denied access, also by the dominant. Said (2003) therefore argues that dominant groups in society have the power to define the 'other' and create knowledge about the 'other' and that this knowledge is then taken as impartial, objective and value-free. The dominated cannot be part of the norm nor become the social subject as he belongs to a subordinate group in society; he lacks the cultural and political power to influence how he is represented (Archer, 2003).

In this manner, explains Butler (2004), the maintenance of power structures produces unliveable and unviable lives: We grant humanness to some people and not to others, which becomes the basis for their continued experience of discrimination and oppression. Balibar (1990 cited in Bhabha, 1996, original emphasis) posits that discrimination works such that "the racial/cultural identity of the 'true nationals' remains visible but is inferred from... the quasi hallucinatory visibility of the 'false nationals' – Jews, 'wops', immigrants, *indios, natives,* blacks" (p. 55). Thus prejudicial knowledge is always vague and in jeopardy, for, as Balibar concludes, "that the 'false' are *too* visible will never guarantee that the 'true' are visible enough" (pp. 55-56). This is why minorities have difficulties in affirming the place they occupy or in returning to an 'unmarked' authentic origin (ibid: 56).

Discrimination results not only from socio-cultural but also economic patterns and structures of society within which individuals live and work. 'Othering' and stereotyping processes get embedded in the structures and practices of organisations and play out in the oppressive policies of the state. Such policies serve to restrict the advancement of minorities by limiting their access to education and job opportunities. For example, the educational qualifications of immigrants from certain countries are invalid in Germany, which severely influences their opportunities on the labour market, their occupational status and income levels. Moreover, when they do find work, the often discriminatory working conditions adversely affect their mental and physical state of mind. Moreover, as Prakash (2010) points out, one should not forget the effects of globalisation which "produces different kinds of legal regimes and citizens, new hierarchies of cities and urban dwellers" (p.20), albeit using prevailing processes of stereotyping and 'othering'. Sik Hung NG (1982: 179) therefore suggests that we gain a deeper understanding of discrimination if we see it in relation to the notion of fairness and equality. What is not equality, he claims, is discrimination in fact. Structural discrimination is so deeply embedded in society that the process of 'othering' is unrecognisable, yet ever-present.

By understanding the complexity, dynamics and intersectional functioning of discrimination, we come to understand that categories (such as class, race, gender, ethnicity) are all sites of inequality; they are as such 'disadvantaged categories'. Structural discrimination demonstrates the processes of stereotyping and 'othering', of how people and groups are rendered homogenous. It is power that allows us to create knowledge about the 'other', serving to classify people according to dominant social norms. Relations between the majority and its minorities become clearer in this light, which leads to a deeper understanding of the experience of discrimination at the interpersonal, socio-cultural and institutional level. Since my study attempts, in part, to identify prejudices and practices of its young protagonists, structural discrimination and the process of ‘othering’ and stereotyping provide valuable pointers as to how they are rendered and how they render ‘others’ homogenous, taking on oppressive social norms that disadvantage minorities in important areas of their lives.

2.4. Identity

2.4.1. Introduction

In the above section, I have discussed how prejudice and discrimination in society are based on hegemonic structures that come into play through race, ethnicity, class, gender relations. These social categories, which serve to form an individual’s self-concept, interplay when discrimination takes place and therefore should not be taken as distinct entities, rather as intersecting and overlapping units. This brings me to the subject of identity, not only of how identity has become a focus of discussion with reference to discrimination and oppression, but also of how societal structures shape identities which can be understood through Butler’s notion of performativity and Foucault’s theory of discourse and power. Butler uses performativity in relation to gender; I apply it here to the production of racial, class and other identity categories. I theorise how identities are produced performatively and discursively, which also opens up possibilities for agency. Agency, as posited by Hall (1996), requires a decentring of the subject, although this is not an “abolition of ‘the subject’ but a reconceptualisation – thinking it in its new, displaced or decentred position within the paradigm” (p.2). This will enable us to see how young people’s identities are constituted through discourse and how discourses influence their own experiences of discrimination as well as their discriminatory practices. Furthermore, understanding how discourses are connected with identity allows us a more in-depth understanding of the functioning of discrimination. It also effectively displays how nationalist, religious, racist and other dominant discourses impact on the subjectivities of the young protagonists’ of my study but do not define them completely, as identities are never fixed and final. To structure this section on identity, I have drawn on the identity-related theoretical deliberations of Charlotte Chadderton’s (2009) doctoral thesis.

2.4.2. Politics of representation

The recent past has seen just as much debate on identity as it has the large number of discourses on identity. The concept of identity has been mainly contested as it is linked to the "notion of an integral, originary and unified identity" (Hall, 1996: 1). Such unity, argues Hall (1996), is actually a result of power processes that exploit a notion of identity within dominant discourse in order to impose stability upon the forever uncertain arena of discourse:

> The 'unities', which identities proclaim are, in fact, constructed within the play of power and exclusion, and are the result, not of a natural and inevitable or primordial totality but of the naturalized, overdetermined process of 'closure' (Hall, 1996: 5).

This closure is closely connected to political questions of identity. Correspondingly, Spivak argues that the essentialisation of identities is a strategy for political mobilisation, and that there is no core substance to identities, which are plural and shifting.

> I believe the time is here for 'black' identity to be… unmasked as only a useful strategy but no more. As a form of strategic essentialism that has the power to mobilise people, it is nevertheless a strategy not to be confused with substantive essentialism that stifles expressions of plurality. (Spivak, 1993 cited in Chadderton, 2009: 72)

Thus, Spivak is in favour of a "strategic essentialism" for it is not possible, she says, not to be essentialist. Castro Varela & Dhawan (2007: 32) point out that this strategic essentialisation, in fact, makes it possible to talk *about* and *for* minority groups, to represent them even though the traps of such representations are obvious. This is a dilemma one cannot evade because it is important to represent those voices that would otherwise remain unheard. As Grossberg (1996) argues, the challenge lies in being "able to theorise more than one difference at once" (p. 90) because struggles over identity are essentially about "the politics of representation", thus politics which "involves questioning how identities are produced and taken up through practices of representation" (p. 90).

It is with reference to the question of agency and politics that the "irreducibility of the concept, identity, emerges" (Hall, 1996: 2). I favour a theory that elaborates the significance of essentialised identities for political education, reconceptualising identity by theorising the concept of performativity and the discursive production of identities, which challenge notions of truth and authenticity. Such an identity would not be an “essentialist, but a strategic and positional one” (Hall, 1996: 3). Such a positioning, explains Hall (1996)

> accepts that identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (p. 4).

Thus, struggles over identity arise as a result of practices of representation. Identities are essentialised for political reasons and should be understood as plural and complex. The focus therefore should be on the connections or articulations between these multiple, shifting identities. These plural identities are embedded in social practices, discourses and the particular power equations of the different groups to which individuals simultaneously belong. It is therefore the discursive production of identities that I take up after theorising poststructuralist identities.

2.4.3. Poststructuralist identities

In this section, I draw on poststructural theorisations of the subject, in particular the work of Judith Butler in order to understand how students’ identities are produced through discourse, subjectivation and performativity. I offer an account of the links between the production of subject identities and their reproduction of existing inequalities and exclusions in society to demonstrate not just constraint but also agency.

It may seem unusual to be using poststructural notions for a study on anti-discrimination education. “Indeed, poststructural ideas have been charged with relativism, self-indulgence, an evacuation of politics, and a failure to take account of, speak to, and be useful in the real world” (Youdell, 2006: 35). I use poststructural ideas as they emerge from the recognition that existing structural models do not offer all the tools that we need (cf. Youdell, 2006).

The term ‘poststructuralism’ is, like all language, plural (Weedon, 2006: 354). It has various meanings and is applied to a range of theoretical positions. Thus also, numerous theories have shaped current poststructuralist perspectives (Weedon, 1997). Since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to state the differing positions theorists have taken on poststructuralism, I restrict myself to that which informs my study.

Poststructural theories address language, subjectivity and social power (Weedon, 1991: 51). By understanding the multitude of ways in which power is articulated, it seeks to reveal sites at which resistance is possible. Poststructuralism can help us understand the relationship between subjective meaning and power – thus those social and cultural practices which constitute, reproduce, and also contest power relations. My endeavour here is quite specific: I use the poststructuralist theory of performativity and the discursive production of identity as it offers useful ways of understanding the subjectivities of the students of my study by relating identity to social power, without resorting to fixed notions of identity.

In humanist discourse, "subjectivity is governed by an essence, fixed and coherent, that makes the individual what she is" (Weedon, 1991: 53). Poststructuralist approaches to subjectivity displace this essence, and "[s]ubjectivity becomes an effect of language which is the site of conflicting and contradictory discourses within social and institutional practices" (ibid). Poststructuralists regard knowledge as socially produced and intrinsically unpredictable. Meanings do not exist prior to their expression in language, and language is located within social and historical discourses (Weedon, 2006). In taking on forms of subjectivity, we become agents of certain discourses, that is we articulate their meaning and values and often carry out the practices they legitimise (Weedon, 1991: 53). As meanings vary according to context and language, they are open to redefinition, which also opens up the possibility for social change (Weedon, 1997: 25). Poststructuralism rejects the idea that knowledge is an accurate representation and emphasizes rather that language operates as a differential system (Weedon, 1991). Therefore, crucial to poststructuralism is the notion of difference (Weedon, 2006), which facilitates our understanding of the functioning of discrimination.

> Discourses represent political interests and in consequence are constantly vying for status and power. The site of this battle for power is the subjectivity of the individual and it is a battle in which the individual is an active but not sovereign protagonist (Weedon, 1997: 40).

Discourses of German-ness, Indian-ness, gender, race, ethnicity, class repeatedly compete for power and privileges, and the individual is implicit in the production of these discourses but does not govern them. Poststructuralism thus builds on the structural notion that power relations structure society. It emphasizes however that individual identities are not fixed, rather should be viewed as political, shifting, dynamic, and incomplete, negotiated and performed (Archer, 2003). The emphasis is on discourse and a decentring of the subject. The decentring or reconceptualisation of the subject opens up subjectivity to the possibility of change and re-constitution, due to the wide range of discourses which constitute it (Weedon, 1997). Poststructuralism offers the possibility of a “more culturally complex and hybrid world,” by extending “the norms that sustain viable life to previously disenfranchised communities” (Butler, 2004: 231, 225). It is the rearticulation of the relationship between subjects and discursive practices through which the question of identity recurs (Hall, 1996: 2).

Poststructural theories of identity have implication for my study as they further our understanding of the constitution of students’ subjectivities and identities through discourses competing for power and privileges. It also reveals the importance of regarding students’ identities not as uniform and static, but rather as dynamic, shifting, negotiated and performed.

I now elaborate on the discursive production of identities and the theory of performativity which offer a productive framework for understanding the mechanisms of power in society.

2.4.4. How identities are discursively produced

Discourses can be understood as bodies of ideas that produce and regulate the world in their own terms, rendering some things commonsense and other things nonsensical (Youdell, 2006: 35-36). Importantly, discourses are not seen to be describing subjects rather they are seen to form, shape and produce them (Youdell, 2003: 6). Discursive practices thus involve the construction of identity and subjectivity, and it is discourse that enables us to observe how social subjects are produced, thus how people talk about themselves and how they present themselves in language and text. The approach draws on Althusser’s (1971) notion of interpellation that demonstrates how the subject is hailed into existence:

> [T]he subordination of the subject takes place through language, as the effect of the authoritative voice that hails the individual... a policeman hails a passerby on the street, and the passerby turns and recognises himself as the one who is hailed. In the exchange by which that recognition is proffered and accepted, interpellation – the discursive production of the social subject – takes place. (Butler, 1997a: 5)

Thus the person is recognised as a social subject upon his/her interaction with the law and is thus subject to or dominated by the law. For Althusser, the subordination of the subject occurs by way of language, as the voice of authority that hails the person (Butler, 1997a: 5). However, he does not explain why the individual turns around and believes that he was the one addressed. Butler (1997a) therefore questions whether this notion of interpellation is in need of a theory of conscience, since his turning around might imply guilt. Althusser's view remains in the end restrained by the "notion of a centralised state apparatus" (Butler, 1997a: 6) (e.g. religion, the family, prisons, judiciary, education) because it centres on the voice of authority that hails the subject and calls it into existence. For Foucault (1982), the subject is not "hailed" into existence and "the matrices of power and discourse that constitute the subject are neither singular nor sovereign in their productive action" (Butler, 1997a: 5). Foucault, in contrast to Althusser, does not recognise one single authority or discourse in the formation of the subject. However, his theory of subjectivation broaches on the theory of subjection

> in part to counter the sovereign model of interpellative speech in theories such as Althusser's, but also to take into account the efficacy of discourse apart from its instantiation as the spoken word. (Butler, 1997a: 6)

Foucault argues that power forms the subject, that

> the subject is produced 'as an effect' through and within discourse, within specific discursive formations, and has no existence, and certainly no transcendental continuity or identity from one subject position to another. (Hall, 1996: 10)

Thus, Foucault regards identities as the product of dominant discourses that are tied to social practices (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. However, as all social practices encompass *meaning*, which shapes our behaviour and actions, all practices have a discursive aspect (Hall, 1997a: 44). By focusing on the actual discourses that constitute subjectivity, Foucault attempts to decentre or even erase the individual subject (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 30). He argues that

> if discourse produces identity by supplying and enforcing a regulatory principle which thoroughly invades, totalizes, and renders coherent the individual, then it seems that every "identity," insofar as it is totalizing, acts as precisely such a "soul that imprisons the body". (Butler, 1997a: 85)

As a practice of power, hegemony predominantly functions through discourses: Subjects give their consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural group generating the discourse persuades them of their essential ‘truth’, ‘desirability’ and ‘naturalness’ (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 30). Therefore, if our identities are embedded in dominant discourses, then it may necessarily result in the reproduction of inequalities in society, what has been termed the ‘ideological constitution of the self’ (ibid: 31). This suggests that the individual acquires a particular ideological vision which is capable of serving hegemonic goals and maintaining inequalities. In this sense, then, Benwell & Stokoe argue that identity can be seen as a colonising force, shaping and directing the individual, which implies an anti-essentialist view of identity as meaning is seen to be situated in representation and not within the self. In fact, they suggest that the self is not an essence, but a description. This challenges the notion of identity as essential and unified, and has also led to it being reconfigured as constructed and fragmentary. The subject is thus a mere effect of discourse and ideology rather than an initiator of action (ibid).

Butler (1997a: 2) posits that Foucault’s view of the ‘subjected’ self is said to be paradoxical: Power not only forms the subject but also provides the very condition of its existence, and it is not simply what we oppose but also depend on for our existence.

> Subjectification consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never choose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency. (Butler, 1997a: 2)

For Butler (1997a) both Foucauldian and psychoanalytic orthodoxies have neglected the task of linking the theory of power with that of the psyche, and she argues that, “we cannot presume a subject performs an internalization if the formation of the subject is in need of explanation” (pp. 3-4). The interpellation of the subject implies that the inculcation of conscience occurs before the subject is hailed and that conscience comprises a specifically psychic and social working of power, without which there would be no response to the hailing (Butler, 1997a: 5). Thus, power which initially seems external, subordinating the subject, assumes a psychic form that constitutes the subject’s self-identity (Butler, 1997a: 3). Hall (1996) therefore posits that it is necessary to reconcile the external discursive realm as described by Foucault and the psychic acts of identification as elucidated by psychoanalysis. He regards identity as a meeting point, or the point of ‘suture’, between

> on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us (1996: 5-6).

This meeting point entails simultaneous production and constraint:

> "subjectivation" […] denotes both the becoming of the subject and the process of subjection – one inhabits the figure of autonomy only by becoming subjected to a power, a subjection which implies a radical dependency (p.83).
> Subjection is, literally, the *making* of a subject, the principle of regulation according to which a subject is formulated or produced. Such subjection is a kind of power that not only unilaterally *acts on* a given individual as a form of domination, but also *activates* or forms the subject. Hence, subjection is neither simply the domination of a subject nor its production, but designates a certain kind of restriction *in* production (p. 84). (Butler, 1997a, original emphasis)

Butler (1997a) posits that, "agency exceeds the power by which it is enabled', that it is "the assumption of a purpose *unintended* by power" (p. 15). "Power," is thus both, "external to the subject and the very venue of the subject" (p.15), thereby the subject is never fully determined by power and neither is power fully determining (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 32).

Identities can also be seen as the desire to survive, to be, and therefore also as dynamic and constantly shifting. The desire to persist in one's own being depends on the complex and ever changing social and historical norms that precede the self. Identities are thus the negotiated responses to these very norms.

> My reflexivity is not only socially mediated, but socially constituted. I cannot be who I am without drawing upon the sociality of norms that precede and exceed me. In this sense I am outside myself from the outset, and must be, in order to survive, and in order to enter the realm of the possible. (Butler, 2004: 32)

Indeed, if the subject is seen as taking up his or her subordination, one could say that the subject is ultimately responsible for his/her subordination. However, Butler argues that:

> Over and against this view, I would maintain that the attachment to subjection is produced through the workings of power, and that part of the operation is made clear in the psychic effect, one of the most insidious of its production. If […] the subject is formed by a will that turns back upon itself, assuming a reflexive form, then the subject is the modality of power that turns on itself; the subject is the effect of power in recoil. (Butler, 1997a: 6)

This subordination “insidious of its production” is, as Butler describes, reflexive, and thus not a conscious state of being. All individuals in becoming subjects are subjectivated; they are formed through and also partake in societal power structures. It is not just

> that a form of recognition is conferred through subordination, but rather that one is dependent on power for one’s very formation, that that formation is impossible without dependency, and that the posture of the adult subject consists precisely in the denial and reenactment of this dependency. (Butler, 1997a: 9)

Inherent to this dependency is a performative function which shapes the individual’s identity. At the same time, the denial and reenactment of this dependency opens up the possibility for agency.

> A power *exerted on* a subject, subjection is nevertheless a power *assumed by* the subject, an assumption that constitutes the instrument of the subject’s becoming. (Butler, 1997a: 11, original emphasis)

This dual function of subjection suggests that the agency of the subject emerges as a result of his/her subordination. Thus also, the dependence on power does not imply a status quo. Individuals’ personal experiences, changing conditions and contexts influence and shape their own behaviour and further their understanding of the world. Every new act leads to a renewed construction not only of the subject but also of prevailing conditions.

> If in acting the subject retains the conditions of its emergence, this does not imply that all of its agency remains tethered to those conditions and that those conditions remain the same in every operation (Butler, 1997a: 12-13).

Such a poststructuralist approach has particular relevance for my study as it allows us to view the identity of the students of my study as a construction of social power and its articulations. Locating the construction of identities within hegemonic structures which generate discourses moves the focus away from essentialised, fixed identities and allows us to understand identities as situated in historical and social sites, dynamic and shifting, and as negotiated responses to social norms.

Having described the discursive production of identities, I now examine how they are performed.

2.4.5. Performing identity

Butler (1990, 1993, 1997a, 2004) posits that identity should be viewed as free-floating, not connected to an ‘essence’, and that “identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (Butler, 1990: 25). In other words, race, gender, class, religion and other social categories are what ‘you do’ at specific times and places and not an innate ‘who you are’. Her starting point is the work of Simone de Beauvoir, who posed her most famous question in The Second Sex (1973), “What is a woman?” In doing so, she put the categories of woman and man on the stand, and responded: “One is not born, but rather becomes a woman” (p. 301). So, to be is to become to being. For De Beauvoir, gender is constructed because her statement depicts a compulsion to ‘become’ a woman. Butler therefore argues that

> The view that the desire to become a man […] is motivated by a repudiation of femininity presumes that every person born with a female anatomy is therefore in the possession of a proper femininity (whether innate, symbolically assumed, or socially assigned) one that can either be owned or disowned, appropriated or expropriated. (Butler, 2004: 9)

She (1993) posits that linguistic constructions create our reality in general through the speech acts we participate in on a daily basis. Thus, through recurrent citations, we enact the norms and discourses of the social world in the performative act of speaking. We integrate that reality by enacting it with our bodies. Yet, that reality is a social construction.

> Performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate “act,” but, rather, as the reiterative and citation practice by which discourse produces the effect that it names. (Butler, 1993: 2)

An understanding of identities as performed shows that we anticipate, produce and reproduce our identities through both physical and discursive acts. Butler (1993) argues that what we consider our autonomous subjectivity is really a construction that already existed, which emerges through the performance of social practices:

> The understanding of performativity not as the act by which a subject brings into being what she/he names, but, rather, as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains. (p. 2)

By performing norms through a repetitive citation, we make those norms, which are a product of discourse, appear to be natural and necessary. We make those discursive norms ‘real’ to a certain extent, which, undeniably, has ‘real’ repercussions for people. Butler (1990) therefore describes gender as “*a corporeal style*, an ‘act,’ as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where ‘performative’ suggests a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning” (p. 139). This ‘act’ is not a fundamental ‘truth’ about the body but purely discursive, predating the subject who enacts these practices. To maintain status quo in society, it is crucial to repeat and re-enact such acts in our daily activities, i.e. how we talk, eat, sit and walk.

Not only do we perform our own identities, we perform identities onto others by ascribing characteristics and features to individuals and groups. An individual’s identity is performed onto him/her by way of language and attitudes. Identities are subjected to norms and the embodying of those norms serve the purpose of subjectivation. Hence the normalisation of the body depends largely on reiteration but also on exclusion, meaning that characteristics are assigned to bodies or to particular groups, which become the rationale of their exclusion.

> The normative force of performativity – its power to establish what qualifies as “being” – works not only through reiteration, but through exclusion as well. (Butler, 1993: 188)

Fanon ([1952]2008) describes how his body is ascribed characteristics and how bodies, in turn, perform these very identities performed upon them:

> I was responsible not only for my body but also for my race and my ancestors. I cast an objective gaze over myself, discovered my blackness, my ethnic features; deafened by cannibalism, backwardness, fetishism, racial stigmas, slave traders, and above all, yes, above all, the grinning Y a bon Banania. (p. 92)

Importantly, the notion of performativity and its repeatability in different contexts encompasses the theory of agency. Since identity is forever dependent on reiteration and exclusion, it can never be fully established, thus opening up possibilities for agency.

> What is constituted in discourse is not fixed in or by discourse, but becomes the condition and occasion for a further action. (Butler, 1993: 187)

Fanon ([1952]2008) performs his desire of being identified as a man, in that he depicts the need to be a man.

> I wanted quite simply to be a man among men. I would have liked to enter our world young and sleek, a world we could build together. (p. 92)

Fanon's enactment of his need to be a man is not only reiterative, but also challenges his own recitation.

Since discourse cannot fully and finally establish a coherent and certain identity to which it refers, as discourse too can be read in different and contradictory ways, individuals are able to negotiate the identities that are performed onto them by others, shaped by dominant discourses. For Bhabha (2004) "the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a self-fulfilling prophecy – it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image" (p. 64). The transformation of the subject is inevitable if identities are constantly negotiating history, culture and power, and not eternally fixed in an essentialised past.

Moving away from the innate, fixed, pure and essential quality of identity, and viewing it as shifting and constantly in the process of 'becoming', the notion of performativity has far-reaching implications for understanding the process of naturalisation in society under which systems of oppression and discrimination function. It has the potential "to open the signifiers to new meanings and new possibilities for political resignification" (Butler, 1993: 191). This is particularly relevant to my study which locates not just how the students perform their identities based on social convention but also points to gaps where new meaning is possible, where students step beyond the boundaries of convention and become initiators of change.

2.4.6. The production of abject beings

Norms are vital to our existence as they provide stability. If we desire a stable identity, then, as Butler (2004: 8) argues, a liveable life requires some stability. Norms that we perform and that are performed onto us, give us direction in our complex social world. Butler (2004) explains that norms bind us, and we, in turn, rely on them for our social existence. However, we are also constrained by norms. Discourses, from which norms emerge, serve a regulating function: They decide who can be on the inside or on the outside or on the fringes of society, they decide what is right or wrong, what is normal or not, what is beautiful or not.

> In this sense, then, “sex” not only functions as a norm, but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, whose regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce – demarcate, circulate, differentiate – the bodies it controls. (Butler, 1993: 1)

Thus norms bind us and create unity, but this unity is achieved only through exclusion. The exclusionary process through which subjects are shaped and formed requires the “simultaneous production of a domain of abject beings, those who are not yet ‘subjects’, but who form the constitutive outside to the domain of subjects” (Butler, 1993: 3). These abject beings comprise, explains Butler, the domain of a large number of people who do not receive the status ‘subject’, for example the unprivileged, people of colour, transsexuals and homosexuals, asylum seekers. It is through the strategy of exclusion that norms serve to maintain dominant structures in society, which privilege certain people and groups and disprivilege others. For example, the social regulation of sexuality serves normative heterosexuality. Thus, it is not just a case of ‘cultural’ recognition when nonnormative sexualities are marginalized and debased (Butler, 1997b: 273). Reproduction guarantees the place of ‘gender’ and is circumscribed by sexual regulation, for example, when lesbians and gays are excluded from state-sanctioned notions of the family (ibid.), demonstrating the relationship between discriminatory discourses and the reality of discrimination.

> Political discourses that tend to mobilise identity categories to cultivate disidentification is in the service of a political goal. (Butler, 1993: 4)

The maintenance of power structures produces unliveable and unviable lives (Butler, 2004). Viable lives are those that conform to norms and receive a certain acceptance in society; unviable lives do not or cannot comply with social norms and are therefore not fully accepted in society, not considered fully human. One of the reasons why society does not fully accept homosexuals is that we don’t believe their actions or feelings are normal. Homosexuality goes against gender norms in society, and this becomes the basis for their continued experience of discrimination and oppression.

> The terms by which we are recognised as human are socially articulated and changeable. And sometimes the very terms that confer “humanness” on some individuals are those that deprive other individuals of the possibility of achieving that

> status, producing a differential between the human and the less-than-human. […] Certain humans are recognised as less than human, and that form of qualified recognition does not lead to a viable life. Certain humans are not recognised as human at all, and that leads to yet another order of unlivable life. (Butler, 2004: 2)

Thus the performativity of identity is also connected to the different ways in which subjects become eligible for recognition. If someone in society breaks or moves beyond one or more of these norms, we exclude them or treat them differently, as if they had broken the law. In 2009, the world champion in the women's 800 metres, South African Caster Semenya, was required to undergo gender-verification tests to prove she was 'really' a woman. The spokesman for the International Association of Athletics Federations, Nick Davis, claimed that they if they found proof that there had been fraud, then it would be easier to strip results (Younge, 2007: 7). "However," he said, "if it's a natural thing and the athlete has always thought she's a woman or been a woman, it's not exactly cheating" (cited in Younge, ibid). This suggests that the lines between who is what and why are thin and constantly shifting. It also demonstrates the ways in which identities are policed, the efforts that are made to pin down an 'essential' femininity, for example, when it is felt that boundaries have been transgressed. The act of persecuting people or treating them differently gives these norms power, as we are, in effect, validating and legitimating these dominant norms.

> If the schemes of recognition that are available to us are those that "undo" the person by conferring recognition, or "undo" the person by withholding recognition, then recognition becomes a site of power by which the human is differently produced. (Butler, 2004: 2)

Butler explains that the desire for recognition is also implicit in social norms and is linked to power, as well as to the question of who qualifies as the recognisably human and who does not.

> A life for which no stable categories of recognition exist is not a liveable life, so a life for which those categories constitute unliveable constraint is not an acceptable option. (Butler, 2004: 8)

Nevertheless, people are subjected to unliveable and unviable conditions, blatantly visible in the case of, for example, asylum seekers or people without legal documents. Not only are their identities often regulated through physical and mental force, but every attempt is also made to ensure that they do not achieve a position of power in society, that their very existence, their lives are put in question.

> [T]o be called unreal and to have that call, as it were, institutionalised as a form of differential treatment, is to become the other against whom (or against which) the human is made. It is the inhuman, the beyond the human, the less than human, the border that secures the human in its ostensible reality. To be called a copy, to be called unreal, is one way in which one can be oppressed. (Butler, 2004: 30)

Differential treatment is seen through institutional discrimination such as opportunities on the job market, access to housing, education or study grants. It also takes place at an interpersonal level, where such acts and behaviour are often unconscious, as they have been naturalised by dominant discourses and norms. As the site of hegemonic power, ‘human’ is understood differently depending on the person’s race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion and the characteristics ascribed to them, which are used to justify dominant norms and the status quo. Butler explains how the state regulates its subjects and itself renders some people less than human:

> We might think that the question of how one does one’s gender is a merely cultural question, or an indulgence on the part of those who insist on exercising bourgeois freedom in excessive dimensions. To say, however, that gender is performative is not simply to insist on a right to produce a pleasurable and subversive spectacle but to allegorize the spectacular and consequential ways in which reality is both reproduced and contested. This has consequences for how gender presentations are criminalized and pathologized, how subjects who cross gender risk internment and imprisonment, why violence against transgendered subjects is not recognized as violence, and why this violence is sometimes inflicted by the very states that should be offering such subjects protection from violence. (Butler, 2004: 30)

When regulations[12] function through norms, the *ideality* of the norm is constituted afresh and its historicity and vulnerability are temporarily ignored (Butler, 2004: 55). Since regulations are dependent on categories that render individuals socially interchangeable, they are connected to the process of normalisation. For example, regulations that decide who should receive asylum are actively engaged in producing the norm of the asylum seeker, or, cites Butler (2004: 56), regulations on lesbian and gay adoption which not only limit adoption but also propose what ideal parents should be and who counts as legitimate partners. This again depicts how discriminatory discourses are linked to the lived experiences of discrimination.

> Regulations that serve to curtail specific activities (sexual harassment, welfare fraud, sexual speech) produce the parameters of personhood, that is, making persons

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[12] Regulation is that which makes *regular*, but it is also, according to Foucault (1977), a means of discipline and surveillance within late modern mechanism of power.

> according to abstract norms that at once condition and exceed the lives they make – and break. (Butler, 2004: 56)

The very fact that there are gendered – intersex, transgender, transsexuals and Hijras[13] – and other identity categories that fall on the constitutive outside of subject formation implies that the reiterative, citational chain has broken for many and also that many never comply or comply only partially with certain norms. This, in fact, opens up the domain of identity to rethinking and reconceptualisation.

> That this reiteration is necessary is a sign that materialisation is never quite complete, that bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialisation is impelled. Indeed it is the instabilities, the possibilities for rematerialisation, opened up by this process that marks one domain in which the force of the regulatory law can be turned against itself to spawn rearticulartions that call into question the hegemonic force of that very regulatory law. (Butler, 1993: 2)

These instabilities, open spaces, interstices do not mean that an individual should deny the condition of his/her constitution, but rather that his/her agency is opened up because s/he is constituted by a social world s/he never chose (Butler, 2004: 3). It is thus at the intersection of the need for recognition in order to live and the unliveability of the terms of recognition that critique emerges (Butler, 2004: 4). This critique involves questioning the terms of recognition, of the institutions and laws in one's country, to resisting one-sided integration or assimilation policies.

> Individuals rely on institutions of social support to exercise self-determination with respect to what body and what gender to have and maintain, so that self-determination becomes a plausible concept only in the context of a social world that supports and enables that exercise of agency. Conversely (and as a consequence), it turns out that changing the institutions by which humanly viable choice is established and maintained is a prerequisite for the exercise of self-determination. In this sense, individual agency is bound up with social critique and social transformation. (Butler, 2004: 7)

The potential for socio-political transformation, for valuing diversity and difference emerges through this theory.

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[13] Intersex people are born with a combination of male and female characteristics. Transsexual people are born with the body of one sex, but feel they belong to the 'opposite' sex. Transgender are those who feel they are neither male nor female, but somewhere in between. Hijras are an Indian transgender population, where they are regarded as an institutionalised third sex which always existed.

> What is most important is to cease legislating for all lives what is liveable only for some, and similarly, to refrain from proscribing for all lives what is unliveable for some. The difference in position and desire set the limits to universalisability as an ethical reflex. (Butler, 2004: 8)

This has significant implications for my study as it displays the need to view students in the context of their own lives, as they are lived, by tracing their paths along norms that have been neatly laid out for them in advance.

As the body is the site on which identity is performed, I examine the oppressive marking of the body.

2.4.7. The oppressive marking of the body

Hall (1997a: 31) postulates that the ‘body’ is not just a natural body which every person has at all times, but rather a body produced within discourse and through different discursive formations.

> The body is constructed by, shaped and reshaped by the intersection of a series of disciplinary discursive practices. (Hall, 1996: 11)

Although individuals tend to be constituted in bodily terms, discourses work on the body at varying points of time to form and alter the body. Certain bodies are positioned as having essential or natural features, and, as Fanon ([1952]2008) describes, the coloniser’s gaze is fixed on an essentialised ‘black’ body.

> Look! A Negro! […] *Maman*, look, a Negro; I’m scared! (p. 91, original emphasis)
> My body was returned to me spread-eagled, disjointed, redone, draped in mourning on this white winter’s day. (p. 93)

This scene demonstrates that looking/hearing/reading are sites of subjectification (Bhabha, 2004: 109). Fanon’s despairing statement, “My body was returned to me spread-eagled, disjointed, redone...,” depicts that the gaze defines the body. Bhabha (2004) argues that a gaze, a word or even silence is enough for a person to realise that his/her body has been ascribed particular characteristics, identities, and abilities, which are construed as ‘natural’ in reference to those bodies. Thus, just like identities, bodies are also produced by discourses.

Moreover, the gaze is rarely neutral or innocent; it is a positional gaze (Danielzik & Bendix, 2010: 5). There exists always a power relation between the observer and the observed (ibid). In this sense, the body is produced by the gaze that categorises it, marks it as acceptable and normal or as 'other' or 'different'. Difference is thus inscribed on this body. We then understand Hall (1992, cited in Grossberg, 1996: 97) when he explains the function of racism as being "directed to secure us 'over here' and them 'over there', to fix each in its appointed species place".

Dominant groups in any society have the power and privilege to construct knowledge about 'others', be it men about women, whites about people of colour, privileged about the underprivileged, citizens about migrants, asylum seekers and people without legal documents, Christians (in Europe) or Hindus (in India) about Muslims. This knowledge is organised in sharply opposed binaries or opposites (Hall, 1997c: 235), which simplifies and facilitates the construction of knowledge about the 'other'. It is this 'knowing' of the 'other' that allows domination to take place (Said, 2003). The fixing of knowledge about certain groups of people, of the 'other' is always delayed but denotes, "rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition" (Bhabha, 2004: 94). Bodies are at once essentialised and present a threat, physical aggression and violence, as is evident in Fanon citation of fear of the 'Negro'. A sexualised, daemonic representation is made through stereotypical representation, which posits a corrupted, soiled, non-normal body.

> Merely naming the pejorative stereotypes attributed to Black women (e.g., mammy, matriarch, Säpphire, whore, bulldagger), let alone cataloguing the cruel, often murderous, treatment we receive, indicates how little value has been placed upon our lives during four centuries of bondage in the Western hemisphere (Hall et al., 1982: 15-16).

Similarly, the late nineteenth century memory of the Muslims of India can be traced through the journalistic and Hindi prose of authors such as Bharatendu Harishchandra, Radhacharan Goswami and Pratap Narayan Mishra, who persistently depicted the Muslims as oppressive, tyrannical and bigoted (Amin, 2005: 11-12).

> You were baptized with blood, and we with milk. Discord is the seed of your religion, and ours is rooted in peace. We, therefore, never offer the first provocation. When you nettle us needlessly, our policy, too, is 'Do evil unto evil'… Be that as it may, in the end we implore Musalmans once again to give up their Nadirshahi[14] temperament.

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[14] Meaning severe or cruel in Hindi and Urdu.

> Such tyranny and obduracy will not last long. The government has understood your character through and through. The rest is up to you. (Goswami, 1885, in Amin, 2005: 11)

Addressing Hindu readers, Goswami wrote:

> That the Muslim community is aggressive and strife-loving all over the world is not hidden from anyone. Mischief-making courses through their every vein. Quarrelling, rioting, causing harm unto others are, for them, normal acts, and oppressing the oppressed and persecuting the poor constitute their daily routine… (ibid)

The body of the Musalman and the 'black' are thus inscribed with negative features, a daemonic representation. Or, the body is posited in a pseudo positive light - as exotic and sexual, made into a strange, foreign 'object'.

> 'Exotisch' bedeutet ‚ausländisch' oder ‚fremdländisch, ‚überseeisch' … ‚überseeisch' verweist dabei auf das Objekt der ‚Exotik'. Es sind nicht Weisse Europäer/innen, sondern die Menschen der ehemaligen europäischen Kolonien. (Danielzik & Bendix, 2010: 5)

As Danielzik and Bendix (2010: 5) argue, 'exotic' is never used to describe 'white' Europeans but rather people from former European colonies. To present a case in point: Some time ago, the ice cream company Häagen Dasz launched an advertising campaign where potential clients were invited to "let their tongue travel into the mystery of West Africa"; the poster depicted a life-size picture of a woman of African origin. A critical reading of this poster demonstrates the way in which a woman of colour in an analogy to ice cream becomes an exotic product promising adventure, thus also becoming the object of racist ascription (Danielzik & Bendix, 2010: 4). Such advertisements and the media in general reinforce stereotypical images and serve to maintain hegemonic structures in society. The stereotype is then also a form of knowledge which is simultaneously in place, already known, but must be repeated

> as if the essential duplicity of the Asiatic or the bestial sexual licence of the African that needs no proof, can never really, in discourse, be proved. (Bhabha, 2004: 94)

It is the power of ambivalence, "the 'atmosphere of certain uncertainty' that surrounds the body certifies its existence and threatens its dismemberment" (ibid: 64), and thereby also, "ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalisation" (ibid: 94). Bhabha (2004) suggests that the point of intervention is the understanding of how subjectification is made possible and justifiable. The theory of performativity challenges this stereotyping and essentialising of bodies, revealing how identities are linked to essential bodies in order to privilege dominant groups in society. The bodies of minorities are marked either as offensive or exotic and alluring and are also constituted in relation to fear and threat. The marking of the body means that people learn their 'otherness' in any given society – people belonging to the lower caste, people of colour or the underprivileged, minority communities, migrants the world over. They begin to see themselves in essentialised terms through the reiteration of dominant discourses performed onto their bodies in everyday life.

Butler (2004) explains that the body becomes the site of 'doing' and 'being done to' and the line between the two is forever undecided, unclear. She argues that the body has a public facet, which does not completely belong to the self. The body is shaped by the social world and it is only through negotiation and struggle with dominant social and public conditions that one develops one's autonomy.

> The body has its invariably public dimension; constituted as a social phenomenon in the public sphere, my body is and is not mine. Given over from the start to the world of others, bearing their imprint, formed within the crucible of social life, the body is only later, and with some uncertainty, that to which I lay claim as my own. (Butler, 2004: 21)

For survival, for a sense of belonging, we perform social norms and reproduce dominant discourses. However, since there are overlapping, conflicting discursive formulations from which we draw to create meaning or to express what we think (Hall, 1997b: 9), we also have differing and conflicting identifications with our bodies and the discourses inscribed on them (Chadderton, 2009: 92).

> Our material interests and our bodies can be called to account, and differently implicated, depending on how meaning is given and taken, constructed and interpreted in different situations. (Hall, 1997b: 10)

Since meanings cannot be fixed, there is a constant exchange, a give and take, which opens up room, albeit often limited, for resistance. Dominant discourses about nationality, race, religion, gender, class shape and produce identities and thereby sustain structures of oppression. My study explores the discursive formations, repertoires or regimes of representation that the young people in my study draw on to represent ‘difference’, and how these impact on their own perceptions and subjectivities and on those of ‘others’. In other words, I wish to examine some ways in which discourses are performed by young people, how they embody them, reproduce them, and negotiate and contest them within the school and outside. I also examine the impact of discrimination on young people’s bodies and the discrimination they perform onto the bodies of ‘others’ in society.

2.5. Conclusion

I have laid out in this chapter the theoretical underpinnings of my study, bringing together three different theoretical approaches to provide a framework for analysing prejudices and discriminatory practices of the students of the study. In combining a psychological analysis of prejudice with a structural approach to discrimination and a poststructural approach to identity, I argue that each theory extends the other, broadening the base of the analysis of student narrations. Research and theoretical deliberations on prejudice coupled with a structural understanding of discrimination demonstrate how prejudices and discriminatory practices are lockstitched into the very fabric not only of the individual but also of social structures. Theories on prejudice and interventionist strategies demonstrate the process of individual change. The poststructural theory of identity, i.e. Butler’s theory of performativity and the discursive production of identity, provides insight into how discourses impact on and shape the subjectivities and identities of students. Simultaneously, it allows us to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how oppression and discrimination function, as it theorises how discourses produce identity categories as against simply revealing them. Performativity explains how identities are regulated in the process of enacting and imitating, and that they are never final, never complete, which opens up the potential for agency and resistance to oppressive norms and discourses. The students of this study form part of ‘privileged’ groups in society, both in Berlin and Bombay. Yet, all are not equally privileged. Poststructuralist theory has thus great significance for the study as it assists in observing and identifying ways in which the students perform, internalise, and also negotiate and resist dominant discourses. Through the Anti-Bias trainings I conducted, students of the four schools had the opportunity to become aware of their prejudices and to reflect on their experiences of discrimination – their discrimination of others as well as their own experiences of discrimination. They therefore availed of an alternative to prevailing dominant discourses in society. Thus, one of the aims of my study is to investigate if and what elements students learn from a single two-day training, how it impacts on their perception of ‘others’ and how they negotiate their way through familiar norms and discourses.

Chapter three:

Countering Oppression: The Anti-Bias Approach

3.1. Introduction

The role of non-formal[15] educational approaches and methodologies in countering oppression is becoming imperative in the coming years in order to ensure the sustenance and multiplication of collective action to change attitudes and perceptions. The inevitable diversity of globalised societies is rife with ambiguities and tensions. Conflicts, misunderstandings in communication or varying interests which often collide find support in stereotypes circulating in the public sphere, essentialising and firmly positioning certain identities. As Gary Younge (2004) argues, “some identities will be subject to relentless examination, while others coast by with eternal presumption” (cited in Titley &, Lentin 2008: 10). Violent clashes due to caricatures, extensive debates on the oppressive veiling of women, terrorist attacks, clashes between ethnic and religious groups and the persecution of homosexuals are just some issues that are leaving their scars the world over. It is equally important that regional movements within a country are not overlooked as they result in economic disparities and disadvantages for local migrants.

> When we talk of the ever-expanding boundaries and territories of the global world, we must not fail to see how our own intimate, indigenous landscapes should be remapped to include those who are its new citizens, or those whose citizenry presence has been annihilated or marginalised. (Du Bois, 1945, cited in Bhabha, 2004: xxii).

Citing the example of Bombay, the post-colonial theorist, Homi K. Bhabha explains:

> In my home state of Maharashtra the Shiv Sena party turned against the Muslim minority as ‘foreigners’ in the riots of the late 1980s, only after they had targeted ‘economic refugees’ from Southern India who came to seek jobs in Bombay a decade earlier. (Bhabha, 2004: xxii)

Differences and different needs are not accepted, and often remain unaddressed. Privilege and power that accompany dominant attitudes and subject-positions go unchallenged. In order to maintain one’s self-concept and enhance one’s value, people remain imprisoned within their own perceptions. Achieving the goals of a democratic society based on equality, justice and the principles of human rights involves the unlearning of predetermined attitudes and behaviour patterns and re-conceptualising the world we live in. Change is not easy as it involves giving up our old and familiar ways of conscious and unconscious behaviour.

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[15] Non-formal education is instruction that is not obligatory and structured and is learned outside the context of a formal school. The term is often used in reference to adult education.

How are the challenges of the plurality of identities dealt with? How are they seen to interact with each other? Strategies such as Anti-Bias attempt to deconstruct social hierarchies through the perception of one’s prejudices and the development of alternative behaviour patterns, which also act against the silent acceptance of discrimination, social exclusion and similar phenomena. A wide range of non-formal educational strategies challenging different forms of oppression have over the past decades been developed and implemented in the fight against, for example, racism, sexism and colonialism. Whether the primary focus is gender, racism or any other form of oppression, these initiatives appear predominantly to focus on three areas (Samuels et al., 1997: 34): Developing awareness of the power relations and oppression within the classroom, in organisations, youth or adult groups so that inequality, exclusion and oppression can be challenged within one’s own context; developing tools that directly challenge oppression within groups of adults, e.g. anti-racism, human rights educational programmes, gender trainings; and developing tools to challenge internalised oppression in order to enhance self-confidence in the process of empowerment. What these various interventions have in common is the commitment to dealing successfully with stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination.

The Anti-Bias (AB) trainings I conceptualised for my study were titled “Making Diversity a Reality”. They should not be mistaken with Diversity trainings, although AB shares many methods, for example, with the ‘Diversity and Anti-Bias Training Programme’ of Eine Welt der Viefalt e.V. in Germany. Nevertheless, the scope of both approaches is different. My focus on ‘diversity’ is not a celebration of difference or an attempt to equalise all differences, nor attribute all inequality to difference, which has been one of the criticisms of diversity politics (Titley & Lentin, 2008: 13). The trainings “Making Diversity a Reality” served to direct attention to contemporary thinking on (the plurality of) identity, stereotypes and prejudices, power and social justice, and correspondingly to challenge hegemonic structures that serve to maintain the status quo. Diversity extends the limited understanding of ‘culture’ and opens up possibilities for the freer articulation of identities and needs of various kinds (ibid: 19). In this sense, I would describe diversity and anti-bias as a discourse of identity and anti-discrimination (cf. Rosenstreich, 2007). I understand discourses as “ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or *formation*) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society” (Hall, 1997b: 6). As such, I understand both diversity and anti-bias as frameworks for shaping perception and interpreting society, constructing social reality and justifying action. Accordingly, my study attempts to investigate the impact of the AB approach and training as a pedagogical political intervention in processes of dominance, discrimination and oppression.

This chapter examines the AB approach and its methodology and describes its development over time and continents. As a learning approach and methodology that arrived in Germany from the global south, I, a trainer/facilitator from the south, use it in the global north, in Berlin, and also implement it in the south, in India. The implications and impact of these trainings in the north and south, in Berlin and Bombay, I discuss in chapters six, seven and eight. This chapter is divided into two broad sections: ‘Locating the Anti-Bias approach’ and ‘Anti-Bias trainings in Bombay and Berlin’. The first section seeks to take a closer look at and understand a) the origins and background of the approach; b) its introduction in Germany as learning from the south; c) what Anti-Bias is and how it functions; d) its focus on the decolonising of the conscious by reflecting on internalised dominance and oppression; e) how it falls within the scope of experiential learning and what ‘learning by experience’ means and entails; and f) the limitations and criticisms levelled at AB. Narrowing the focus, the second section presents a) an understanding of the relevance of these trainings for the students of my study in the two cities; b) the role of the trainer in these particular trainings; and c) the process and form of the trainings “Making Diversity a Reality” undertaken for this study.

3.2. Locating the Anti-Bias Approach

3.2.1. Origins and background

The two pioneers of anti-racist and anti-bias education, Louise Derman-Sparks and Carol Brunson-Philips, developed the AB approach in the USA in the early 1980s. In their keynote address in Cape Town, South Africa in 1996, they described the conditions under which the AB approach was developed in the USA:

> So, why did we develop an anti-bias approach? We developed it in the period after the critical civil rights struggles in the 1950 and 60s. While legal racial segregation had ended, racism and other forms of oppression such as sexism, heterosexism, classism and so on, continued, though in more subtle forms than it was more difficult to identify. It was as if one layer had been removed but underneath was a very intricate system that continued to maintain power relationships based on race, gender, class and so on. In that context, we felt that some of the educational approaches to diversity which already existed in the 1980s were simply not sufficient. (…) We had to develop an interventionist approach to stereotypes and misinformation… (…) We wanted to introduce new ways of responding to each other based on equality rather than power differences. We wanted to develop a concept of equality that did not deny who people were. (Derman-Sparks & Brunson-Philipps, 1997: 6 - 8)

Against this backdrop, the definition and aims of the AB approach emerged:

> Anti-bias is an active/activist approach to challenging prejudice, stereotyping, bias and the ’isms’. In a society in which institutional structures create and maintain sexism, racism and handicappism [able-ism], it is not sufficient to be non-biased (and also highly unlikely), nor is it sufficient to be an observer. It is necessary for each individual to actively intervene, to challenge and counter the personal and institutional behaviours that perpetuate oppression (Derman-Sparks, 1989: 3).

Derman-Sparks and Brunson-Phillips (1997: 9) elaborated on four interlinked objectives of AB, comprising a reflection on the construction of identity, understanding how stereotypes and prejudices work to construct ‘the other’ in society and marginalise people, developing skills for critical thinking and analysis, and developing a sense of responsibility which leads to critical action in order for social transformation to take place. They argue that

> If we want children to have a strong self and group identity, they need tools for identifying and critiquing unfair images and messages and behaviours towards themselves, and they need tools to resist. If we want children to develop a strong sense of empathy for others, they also need critical thinking tools to identify when images or messages about other people are wrong and unfair. And we also want children to feel a sense of responsibility towards each other – not just for themselves, but for their community; to create change that will make a viable community and a nation for everyone (Derman-Sparks & Brunson, 1997: 9).

In this sense, AB education is based on Paulo Freire's 'practice of freedom' notion, which is, "the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world." (Freire, 1970: 34)

3.2.2. Learning from the South

Upon the end of the Apartheid system in South Africa, the AB approach underwent intensive development and was adapted for youth and adult education, aiming at reconciling antagonistic groups in the country. In 1989, the approach reached Germany through an exchange of South African and German experts in the project "Vom Süden lernen" (Learning from the South) organised by INKOTA e.V., Berlin (Reddy, 2002: 9). The project strived for a paradigm shift: It invited experts from the global south to support and assist multipliers of development politics in the global north in their endeavour to solve global problems, and in doing so to start with self-reflection of their own (Reddy, 2002). Southern experts being called in to present, discuss or find solutions for northern or global problems was then and even today rarely if ever the case. And that is exactly what the project "Vom Süden Lernen" put into practice to illuminate the North-South relevance of this underprivilege: They called on experts from the south to conceptualise and lead seminars together with experts from the north. The accent was not just on a cooperative, equal association, but also on invalidating the understanding of people as 'helping' in the north and 'needy' in the south (ibid: 12). The project also placed emphasis on the positioning of people with a migration background. Social 'positioning' thus became the focus of the project.

During the pilot project with the Heinrich-Böll Foundation, the situation of the Dalits, the so-called 'untouchables' of India and South Asia was introduced. At a seminar organised by INKOTA in cooperation with the Heinirch-Böll Foundation and the Documentation Centre Chile-Latin America (FDCL), members of the Indian Dalit movement[16] presented examples of their work in the field of anti-discrimination, which they also carried out with the participants. A gender approach developed by Jonah Gokova, the anti-racism work by ART and ELRU[17] and the Dalit work by WISTHAR and JEEVIKA are part of the political work aimed at transforming society.

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[16] Members of the NGO WISTHAR and JEEVIKA, Bounded Labourers Liberation Front from Bangalore, India were invited. As described in Reddy, A. (2002) "Das Projekt ‚Vom Süden lernen'. Die Arbeit an einem Dreh- und Angelpunkt" in *Vom Süden lernen. Erfahrungen mit einem Antidiskriminierungsprojekt und Anti-Bias Arbeit*, INKOTA-netzwerk, Berlin, Kasiske, J., Krabel, J. & Reddy A. (Eds.), pp.9-18. The Dalits have been fighting against discrimination based on caste and thus also work classification.

Anti-Bias, through which these programmes have been channelled, is used today in Germany in elementary education, in schools and in the field of adult education (Anti-Bias Werkstatt, 2006-2008). In 2002, the Anti-Bias-Werkstatt was set up as a student initiative by the so-called "Oldenburger Gruppe", which had received training in AB by two South African experts, Beryl Hermanus and Welakazi Dlowa, at the University of Oldenburg in 2002. The Anti-Bias Werkstatt, based in Berlin and comprising a pool of professionals, works with the approach practically and theoretically: They understand AB not as a self-contained approach with only AB methods but encourage and are open to the use of methods from other concepts and approaches.[18] Introducing new elements to the AB concept and adapting the old to new contexts, it is being constantly developed and is seen by its proponents as an open concept, a fundamental attitude and a life-long non-formal learning process that requires a constant struggle against bias and oppression.

3.2.3. What is anti-bias?

Derman-Sparks (1989: 3) describes 'bias' or prejudice as "Any attitude, belief, or feeling that results in, and helps justify, unfair treatment of an individual because of his or her identity." As discussed in chapter two, prejudices are expressed through exclusion, discrimination, verbal and physical attacks, as well as through persecution. The term 'anti-bias' refers to an approach that "challenges all personal attitudes and social and institutional practices which are oppressive to people." (ELRU, 1997: 4)

The approach assumes that everyone has prejudices, and that prejudices and discrimination are not individual misjudgements, but institutionalised in society as discourses, which are learnt by individuals (Anti-Bias Werkstatt, 2006-2008). One may then suggest that if structures by and large produce prejudices, why not address structures in society rather than sensitising individuals towards discrimination. I would argue, following Foucault, that the subject is produced ‘as an effect’ through and within discourse (Hall, 1996: 10). As such, gender is performative because it is constituted by repeated acts that have been going on before one arrived on the scene, acts that both predate and constitute the subject (Butler, 1990). Thus, discourses are reproduced by the subject that they produce (see chapter two for a more in-depth discussion on the discursive production of subjects). However, gender has a way of moving beyond norms or discourses. Similarly, “behaviour based on prejudices can be un-learned, and institutionalised oppressive ideologies can be discovered, questioned, and analysed” (Anti-Bias Werkstatt, 2006-2008). This can ultimately lead to changes in oppressive social norms and discourses, and will open up possibilities for the marginalised, whether women, ethnic minorities, the stateless, transgendered or underprivileged.

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[17] ART is the short form of Anti-Racism Training Network, the Anti-Bias Network of INKOTA's South African partners in Gauteng, Johannesburg, South Africa. ELRU means Early Learning Resource Unit. It is an NGO in Cape Town, South Africa, which organises trainings for prejudice-awareness and also compiles material for prejudice-awareness and inclusive learning.

[18] See Anti-bias Werkstatt. www.anti-bias-werkstatt.de

Using the example of racism, sexism, north-south hierarchy, and other expressions of oppression, the approach aims at sensitising and developing strategies towards an inclusive society aware of its prejudices (Reddy, 2002: 9). It acknowledges the intricate web of power relationships that society is entangled in, which are ideologically legitimised by different ways and means. People are judged and oppressed on the basis of ascribed characteristics, prejudices, stereotypes and patterns of perception. Thus, as a holistic approach, Anti-Bias is founded on the belief that as forms of oppression are interconnected, one cannot challenge just one form of oppression. Implicit in the approach is the concept of intersectionality. Anti-Bias serves as an all-encompassing theme which actually makes it possible to address the various kinds of prejudices and oppression that exist in society. At the core of AB education is the examination and challenge of dominance, power and oppression, or rather the recognition and perception of one’s patterns of thought and action which would then serve to actively defeat forms of power and oppression (cf. Lohrenscheit, 2004).

Now that we have examined the basic underpinnings of the approach, I illustrate how and why the reflection on internalised dominance and oppression becomes a crucial part of the approach and its training methodology.

3.2.4. Decolonising the consciousness[19]

In *Becoming Indian* (2010), Pavan K. Varma argues that the end of colonialism does not signal the end of its consequences. This is because colonialism was not just about the physical oppression of people, its real strength lay in the colonisation of minds (Varma, 2010: ix).

The AB approach emphasizes the importance of constant reflection on the interdependence between dominance and oppression in any training, and to the various ways in which experiences of dominance and oppression are reflected to date. Allow me to explain the relevance of the focus on internalised dominance and internalised oppression through the following example:

In my capacity as trainer, I was attending a preparatory meeting in Paris in June 2010. We were a group of four travelling one evening on the local metro. I state only briefly who my travelling companions were and only those details that are relevant to the episode: My co-trainer (European), the (European) project manager of the foundation partnering the project (based in Asia), and the (Asian) representative of the organisation where the training was to take place, and I, an Asian residing in Europe. The discussion started when my co-trainer remarked that, “there are more and more ‘black’ people in Paris than ‘white’”. Astonished at the comment which depicted his view that French equals ‘white’, I retorted that, “it’s the result of colonisation. What do you expect?” Upon hearing this, the representative of the funding organisation stated: “Everything has two sides to it, you know. Colonisation too. It was very negative, of course, there is no denying that, but it also had a positive impact on the countries that were colonised. For example, a number of my Asian friends say that they prefer the French system of education.” Other such examples (which I too have heard in the past) were mentioned. My protests were countered with, “you have such an Asian view,” despite and in the same breath, “but this is what the Asians say”. A futile discussion, it ended soon after and rather abruptly with her accusing me of not listening and not trying to understand what she was saying.

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[19] I adopt this term, which I came across in Claudia Lohrenscheit’s doctoral thesis, to describe the work of AB with reference to the internalisation of oppression and dominance. See Lohrenscheit, 2004: 258-263.

My purpose in narrating this incident is to highlight the way and extent to which a culture of dominance and oppression permeates society, conditioned over long centuries of colonial rule.

> The legacies of the past have an incredibly powerful momentum; they persist in a hundred myriad ways, affecting our language, beliefs, behaviour, self-esteem, creative expression, politics and everyday interactions. (Varma, 2010: x)

That those who were formerly colonised continue to feel and act inferior to their former colonisers and former colonisers continue to feel superior to the former colonised depicts the effectiveness of the strategies deployed during colonial times, which continue to hold rein even today, albeit in a different, more subtle manner.

> Those who have never been colonized can never really know what it does to the psyche of the people. Those who have been are often not fully aware of – or are unwilling to accept – the degree to which they have been compromised. (Varma, 2010: x)

The incident in Paris brought a number of issues to my attention: Racism, the internalisation of dominance, an essentialised view of Asians (“you have such an Asian perspective”, despite the fact that I was contradicting what some Asians -supposedly- said). Would her reaction have been the same if France had been colonised or if it had been a ‘white’ French person she had been talking to? It also struck me that my two colleagues remained silent bystanders. But what shocked me most particularly was the internalisation of colonial oppression and racist discrimination, the inferiority complex of the Asian and the superiority of the European, which has been embodied over centuries and is still active today. Hoppers clarifies referring to Galtung’s concept of cultural violence:

> To be colonised almost literally meant to be removed from history (...). [People] were taught that they were empty, devoid of intelligence, and that scientific evidence was available to prove it. (...). [This] is part and parcel of, and the precise objective of the product that Galtung refers to as ‘cultural violence’, and cultural violence entails getting subordinated groups not just to internalise, but also to proactively endorse the illegitimacy of their own cultures. (...)
> Knowing that the minds of African people are still crowded with the image of Europeans as superior beings, a condition which locks their will and freezes the spirit force, it is essential that we engage in questioning the scientific epistemology that underlies this hegemony as well as the material, and ideological implications of the ideology. (Hoppers, 2001 cited in Lohrenscheit, 2004: 258-259)

Indeed, apparent here is the need to ‘decolonise the consciousness’, to recognise this conditioning and to overcome it. Freedom from internalised oppression, according to Freire, is not easy:

> The oppressed, having internalised the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. (Freire, 1970: 47)

Butler’s notion of performativity (1990, 1993, 2004) has been hailed as an explanation of the process of internalisation of one’s oppression. However, she has thus far not directly related it to colonialisation, revealing a gap that needs attending to in her work on performativity. Internalised oppression and freedom from it applies not just to the overcoming of colonial and racist forms of oppression, but also to other types of discrimination and oppression prevalent in society. Varma (2010) warns however that, “people who have not yet dismantled the legacies of their colonial past are also prone to becoming the victims of the inequities of the present” (p. x). These inequities, according to him, are the result of globalisation, which has its benefits, but is not a neutral process; it is designed and directed by past rulers who propagate their message as a result of the technology and wealth they hold.

Recognising the internalisation of oppression and dominance and overcoming it is a central aspect of the trainings I conducted within the scope of this study. I believe that as the only trainer, and a southern one at that, leading the workshops for predominantly white participants in Berlin worked (consciously and/or unconsciously) to counter stereotypical ways of taking people from the south as ‘needy’ and underprivileged. A general reflection on internalised dominance and oppression is an integral part of the training. Both in Bombay and Berlin, the focus lay on the recognition of dominance and the overcoming of different types of discrimination and oppression in society, for example, in Bombay against the Dalits and the underprivileged, encompassing the categories caste and class, both inevitably intertwined. The relevance of dealing with the leftovers of colonisation is clear when we consider how they affect the feelings, beliefs and attitudes of people, both oppressed and oppressors.

3.2.5. Experiential learning

AB trainings are intense experience-orientated examinations of dominance and discrimination and aim at un-learning oppressive and discriminatory forms of communication and interaction. Its modules form the cornerstone of a learning process that affords participants the time and space to reflect on their personal experiences and those of others so that that which has been learned during the training can be implemented in their work and personal lives.

> Anti-Bias-Trainings sind erfahrungs- und prozessorientierte Seminare. Sie machen in einem Gruppenprozess emotional begreifbar, wie Diskriminierung auf der persönlichen, zwischen-menschlichen und gesellschaftlichen Ebene funktioniert. Darauf aufbauend werden nicht nicht-diskriminierende Handlungsweisen für die eigene Arbeits- und Lebenssituation entwickelt (Kübler & Reddy, 2002: 89).

The trainings are based on the concept of ‘learn by experience’, which means emotional, intuitive and imaginative learning through practical, interactive exercises. In this sense, it uses the notion of experiential learning that is based on what John Dewey’s (1938) called a “theory of experience”. Honey and Mumford (1992) developed an experiential learning cycle where learning is seen to take place in four stages which are constantly repeated: The cycle starts with doing and experiencing as part of everyday life, it proceeds by observing and reflecting (critical analysis) on what has happened to you and how it made you feel, drawing conclusions and developing strategies based on these experiences, and applying the newly acquired competence to new experiences. Likewise, AB trainings follow an experiential learning cycle which facilitates the reflection of experiences of the past or those at the training, assists in developing strategies to counter challenges that arise, which are meant to be put into practice post-training in the everyday life and work situations of participants. This cycle is inherent in the entire training process; even the debriefing of each exercise and the evaluation of the trainings follow this cycle of learning.

The reflection on experiences includes both the emotional individual and societal level, which distinguishes the AB approach from many other approaches: As previously discussed the premise underlying the AB approach is that prejudices and discrimination are not based on individual misjudgement but are embedded in societal structures by way of dominant discourses. This complex interrelation is in many cases deeply entangled with institutional, legal and organisational matters of everyday life (Anti-Bias Werkstatt, 2006-2008). AB attempts to make participants aware of all the various levels – institutional, socio-political, personal and interpersonal – and their relevance in order to promote and develop alternative behaviour patterns and strategies.

3.2.6. Limitations and Criticisms

There have been a number of criticisms levelled at AB. Foremost, with reference to the usefulness of the term ‘anti-bias’: That it appears to refer to a reflection or dealing merely with bias. It has also been suggested that ‘anti-bias’ should be replaced by ‘anti-oppression’ in order to effectively bring out the focus on oppression of all kinds (ELRU, 1997: 4). However, as elaborated in the previous section, ‘anti’ denotes a struggle against prejudices, discrimination and oppression, and ‘bias’ takes into consideration the myriad and often conflicting thoughts, images and attitudes we hold which take various forms in their expression: racism, sexism, classism. As Derman- Sparks & Brunson-Philipps (1997) explain:

> One is that we had to undo something that existed in society; we had to fight against something. [Secondly,] we chose the term “bias” because we were trying to incorporate several of the “-ism” issues. We wanted to focus on gender issues, disability issues and so on. […] In essence, we were really operating under a concept of empowerment. (p. 8)

‘Anti-Bias’ incorporates an intersectional approach and should therefore be considered as a term that addresses all kinds of discrimination and oppressive systems in society, which are dealt with through a reflection on prejudices. Nevertheless, “anti-bias” denotes the active challenge of bias at just the individual, personal level. “Anti-oppression” as a term would have included the social dimension as well.

Another limitation is seen with respect to the extent of its employability (INKOTA, 2002: 42), as a result of its interactive nature. As AB is dependent on the narration of experiences and interaction of participants, an equal sharing depends on the willingness and openness of participants. This is of course true as not all participants are always and equally forthcoming about their opinions. However, many of the methods used in AB trainings require participants to work with partners or in small groups, in particular when it comes to sensitive issues such as discussing experiences of discrimination. Working in groups is conducive to interaction and active exchange between participants. This has been my experience as trainer: There are participants who are silent in plenary or in large groups but a healthy discussion is, for the most part, observed when they break up in partners or working groups.

Another critique of interventions such as AB is the uncritical use of given frameworks: Programme concepts and frameworks are blindly taken on (Samuels et al., 1997: 36). This may sometimes be the case and should be critically analysed and addressed on a training-to-training basis by means of evaluations and follow-up meetings. However, since trainings are by and large conceptualised in accordance with the aims and objectivities of the organisation commissioning the training, the duration of the training and the target group, it is difficult to use standard programme frameworks. Moreover, fundamental to the training is a learning process for the trainer through his/her own observation, facilitation of sessions and critical feedback from the participants. These work to improve and develop future trainings and are applied or should be applied to the further developments and alteration of specific methods and methodologies, as well as to the development of theoretical input and analysis of theoretical frameworks used in the past.

The failure to deconstruct articulations and the lack of critical engagement with social theory (Samuels et al., 1997:34-37) are other criticisms that have been voiced. This is a trainer-specific issue that also influences the preceding critique. In other words, if the trainer is up-to-date with current theoretical debates, this will, in turn, positively influence programme concepts and frameworks. However, what these points display is the urgent need to develop trainer skills and conduct more, focused practitioner trainings, not least in light of the need and growth of such interventions as the AB. Likewise, access to different approaches for the self-development and autonomy of practitioners is important. This is in fact how the AB approach positions itself: As a concept that is open to adopting methods from other concepts and approaches. To conclude: Theory must relate to practice, which will make it possible to present an integrated account of oppression and inequality. This is one of the reasons for my research and dissertation.

I have detailed above some general criticisms levelled at the AB approach. In the following section, I elaborate the process conceptualised for the trainings undertaken for this study and discuss precise points of tension which arose in trying to achieve the aims of the AB approach.

3.3. Anti-Bias trainings in Bombay and Berlin

3.3.1. Trainings for schools in Bombay and Berlin

My dissertation and the AB trainings in Berlin and Bombay took on the fight against oppression by addressing young people within the structure of a school. To my knowledge such training methodologies are absent in the educational scene in India, whether formal or non-formal. Based on my experience in the field, these methods may be gaining in popularity in Europe, and particularly Germany, but they are few and far between, and still not used often enough within the formal educational setting. Schools have specific diversity goals in their mission statements, but little is done to make these goals a reality. Discussion on socially relevant themes, thus, for the most part, takes place in a scattered way or not at all. Realising diversity in society is one of the tasks of a national educational system in its mission towards building political consciousness and fostering human rights education. Students from different religious groups, castes, gender are a reality in schools and in society. Diversity and the resulting irritations and problems that it brings needs to be integrated by way of sustainable communication through the development of new perspectives, skills and patterns of behaviour and action. With this in mind I presented ‘intercultural competence’ as a focus of the trainings. Thus, I did not concentrate on special, supplementary competences but on a personal ‘qualification’, a humanist ‘mind-set/attitude’ which makes it possible for people with different backgrounds to communicate and learn to compromise.

> Interkulturelle Kompetenz (…) ist die Fähigkeit, sich auf fremde Sichtweisen einzustellen, sie vorübergehend einzunehmen und als Realität anzuerkennen. Interkulturelle Kompetenz beschreibt die Fähigkeit zur Wahrnehmung des Zwischenfeldes in der Verständigungssituation. Der Fokus richtet sich auf kulturelle Muster, Werte und Einstellungen auf die ‚silent language’, auf das, was nicht ausgesprochen wird und trotzdem von großer Bedeutung für das gegenseitige Verständnis ist. (Schapfel-Kaiser, 2000: 8)

The acquisition of intercultural competences stands for the understanding and awareness of diversity, a conscious way of dealing with differences, examination of the diverse categories that comprise identity, biases and the dominant images of ‘others’, as well as enabling participants to integrate in, understand and respect heterogeneous cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds and lifestyles, and ‘shifting truths’. This is how the school can facilitate students’ effective participation in an equitable society. Equipped with these goals, I set out to conceptualise trainings that assist the students' successful social, occupational, and economic integration. Working with youth implies working with multipliers of diversity, active interaction and change; those who not only learn to deal constructively with difference and conflict themselves, but also disseminate these discourses in society.

I undertook four 'Making Diversity a Reality' trainings; two in Berlin, in the Berlin International Secondary School and the James Benning Public School, and two in Bombay, in the Mumbai English World School and the Global Paradigm School. These trainings form an integral part of my research and serve to analyse (see chapter eight) the effectivity of the AB approach and training methodology and its adaptability in different cultural contexts. Moreover, my study investigates the varied composition of prejudices in the two cities.

The training concept which will be laid out subsequently has its foundations in the AB approach. Although AB positions itself as a concept open to methods from other approaches, I have decided to use only those tools and methods that are provided by AB, so that it is possible to test the effectivity of this approach and methodology. Apart from some theoretical inputs from other sources (which I refer to further below), I have stayed by and large with the material provided by the Anti-bias-Werkstatt and "Shifting Paradigms" (1997), the manual for AB developed by ELRU in South Africa.

3.3.2. The Trainer element

It is crucial that trainings are led by at least two trainers, preferably of different backgrounds. This was not possible in this study due to the lack of funds to cover a second trainer's fees, travel and other costs, particularly for Bombay. Although this is not the preferred option, it has, I argue, worked to my advantage: With two different trainers, the focus of the analysis *could* have rested on the subjectivity of the trainer, i.e. individual sessions could have been analysed depending on who conducted them and who presented which input. This does not mean that I am unaware or have not considered my own subjectivity as trainer in the analysis. Contrarily, it made me more conscious of my subjectivity and also opened up the possibility for me, having conducted all four trainings, to look for factors beyond the trainer and his/her style of delivery, preparedness, facilitation skills, as well as other factors such as class, caste, race, sex, which inevitably influence trainings to a smaller or larger extent. In other words, I look beyond the impact of the trainer to see how and why the trainings functioned differently in their different settings (e.g. lack of active participation or motivation) and contexts and positively or negatively affected their efficacy and outcomes.

3.3.3. The training process

In this section, I outline the process conceptualised for the trainings undertaken for this study. I state only briefly the methods used (a description of each method and its procedures can be found in annex 2), emphasising largely what the modules try to achieve and the theoretical underpinning of the training process. As and where applicable, I refer to points of tension in the theoretical conceptualisation and/or limitations of the process or methods used. I do not go into details about the target group as this has been described in chapter five on methodology.

I conceptualised the trainings “Making Diversity a Reality” on the basis of four goals of the AB approach that I describe through the trainings’ process:

1. Examination of the constructedness of identity
2. Critical self-reflection on stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination
3. Generating empathy
4. Ability to take action and change inequitable practices

The process described below names the methods or exercises used to address each step of the training. All these methods are in annex 2 for further reference.

3.3.3.1. Identity

Drawing on poststructuralism, I regard identity in the Anti-Bias process, as categories through which subjects are positioned in society, and as such identity is both social and personal. Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 1997a, 2004) theorises the formation of the subject through norms and discourses, which predate the subject and are taken on, performed and reproduced by the subject. In other words, identity is not just personal but constituted through social interaction and the performing of social norms. How an individual develops his/her sense of self, and the role others play in his/her identification is of particular importance. The method I used to discuss identity, “Identity Molecules”,[20] depicts individuals as being members of numerous social groups simultaneously, or as several social categories contributing to the construction of their identities. Contrary to other approaches, AB moves away from so-called vertical approaches that address just a single social category, often either race or gender (cf. Rosenstreich, 2007: 136). By focusing on one category, such approaches inevitably represent identity as singular and essential, considering the social group to be natural, stable and homogenous. In contrast, in AB trainings, the reflection on the diversity of participants’ identities is a key part of the training process. The focus is also on the importance of group memberships and group behaviour, and how these impact on the shaping of the individuals’ concept of self. Simultaneously and equally vital is the reflection on the process of exclusion inherent in group processes. Moreover, identity, created from several interacting forces and social factors, is represented through this exercise as fluid and shifting. What people identify with can change over time, space and circumstances; there is thus a deconstruction of essentialist notions of identity. Similarly, the subject of ‘culture’ is discussed in the context of the concept of identity. Self equals culture. The fluidity and shifting nature of identities is used to explain the notion of culture – a constantly changing culture, never fixed in time. Moreover, the concept of identity is broadened by demonstrating the distinction between visible and invisible parts or categories of identity - using the “Iceberg Model of Diversity”.[21] It explicates how the multitude of social groups every individual identifies with and their interrelation gives each person a unique strategic perspective from which they understand the world they live in.

Although the reality of binary gender identities is taken up in the above-mentioned exercise and an attempt is made to deconstruct the homogenising of respective gender identity, a limitation here is that it fails to address those not conforming to such binary gender identity, for example, lesbians and gays, the transgendered and intersexed people.

3.3.3.2. Generalisations, stereotypes and prejudices

The discussion on the plurality and shifting nature of identities is carried forward by the exercise “Lemons”, which is particularly favoured by young participants, and extends the discussion to include generalisations and stereotypes. This session focuses on the problematic of attributing characteristics to specific groups of people in daily life and sensitises for heterogeneity within supposedly homogeneous groups. Once again, the notion of culture is examined. This exercise is symbolically meant to show that not all people who are associated with a particular ‘culture’ (understood as national culture) are the same (Methodenbox, Anti-Bias Werkstatt, 2007). A reference to “Identity Molecules” illustrates the diverse and sometimes conflicting memberships/affiliations/belongings that influence behaviours and relationships. Power politics inherent in stereotyping is also addressed here, as well as highlighting aspects and mechanism such as selective perception, selective processing of information and black and white thinking. The emphasis is on how easily one constructs individual characteristics of a homogenous group, and also makes clear, through difference and institutionalising of characteristics, the different consequences this can have for exclusion and discrimination.

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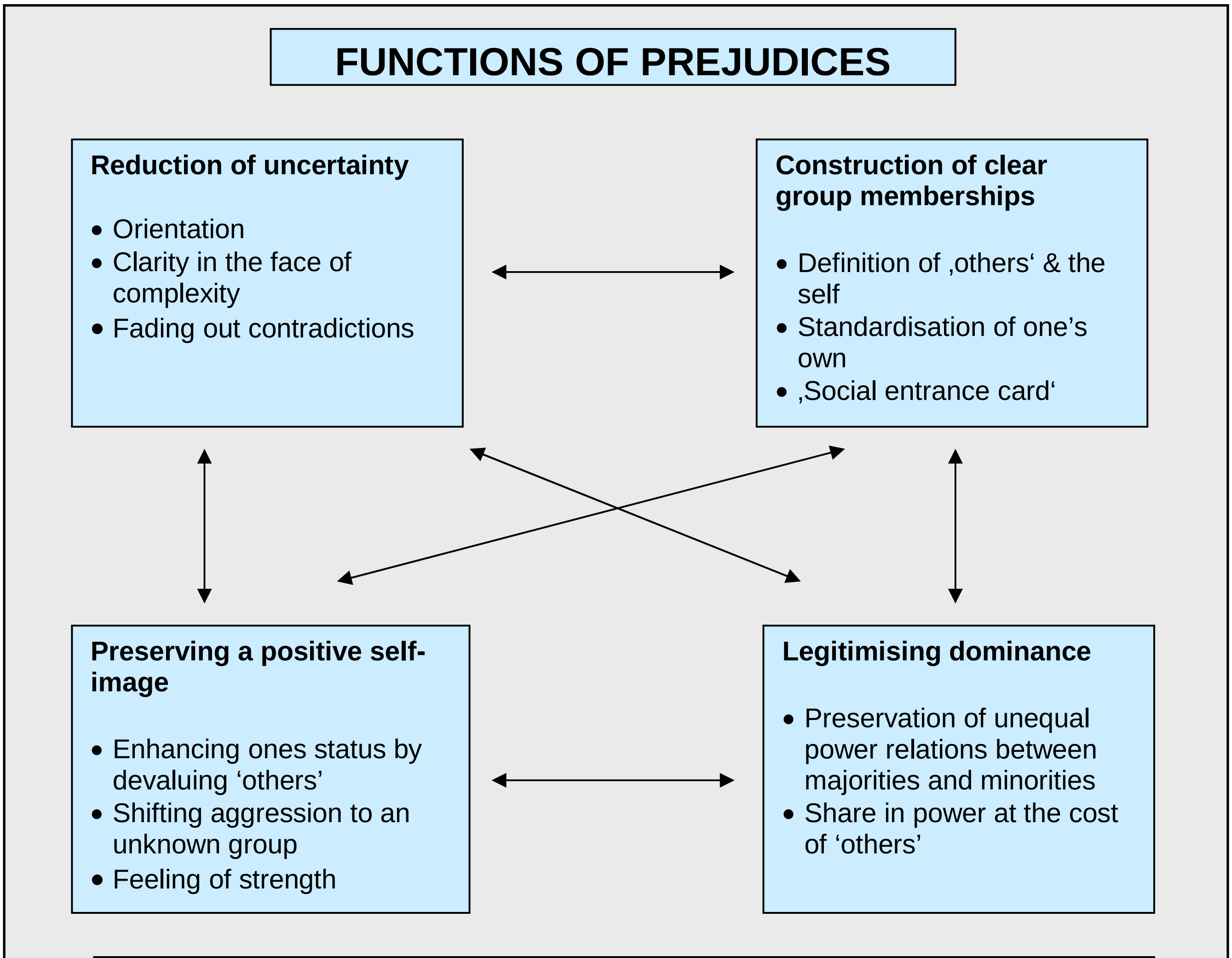
[20] This exercise was developed by the World of Difference Institute (Anti-Defamation League 1994) and has been included by the Anti-Bias Werkstatt in its Methodenbox in 2007.

[21] This model is not part of the Anti-Bias Method box and is part of the toolkit developed by Eine Welt der Vielfalt e.V. which conducts Anti-Bias and Diversity Training Programmes in Germany.

It is important that individuals experience how difference, stereotypes and prejudices are active in their own lives, mirrored and reproduced in their decision-making. It is the awareness of constructing ‘others’ that is important to deconstruct them. The activity used here is “Starting Over”. It depicts the normalisation and reproduction of discourses, the very mechanism that also leads to social exclusion. It clarifies the extent to which our stance/attitude/approach and prejudices influence our decisions, generate awareness of the criteria we use to judge people – social and economic uses, performance, generative/reproductive/gender, cultural status – and highlights how we reproduce dominant social categorizations and valuations of ‘others’. The theoretical input “Functions of Prejudice” clarifies not just the purposes and mechanisms but also the ways in which individual and social dimensions are linked in terms of prejudices.

Presenting the functions of prejudices requires emphasis on the fact that everyone has prejudices and that these are subjectively functional, i.e. they fulfil a specific purpose and use people in different ways. Often in research and educational work, the basic focus is on the inner psychological mechanisms of prejudices, and this carries the danger of an individualisation of an extremely complex phenomena: Individuals are made responsible for their images and behaviour.



FUNCTIONS OF PREJUDICES

Reduction of uncertainty

- Orientation
- Clarity in the face of complexity
- Fading out contradictions

Construction of clear group memberships

- Definition of ‚others‘ & the self
- Standardisation of one’s own
- ‚Social entrance card‘

Preserving a positive self-image

- Enhancing ones status by devaluing ‘others’
- Shifting aggression to an unknown group
- Feeling of strength

Legitimising dominance

- Preservation of unequal power relations between majorities and minorities
- Share in power at the cost of ‘others’

Source: Methodenbox: Demokratie-Lernen und Anti-Bias-Arbeit, Anti-Bias Werkstatt 2007.
The original German text was translated into English by the author of this dissertation

However, images and behaviour are shaped by dominant social norms and ideologies. It is therefore important to establish the connection between individual prejudices and dominant structures and practices of discrimination within society. When we talk about prejudices, it is important to question who in society has access to power to be able to enforce his/her world view. The idea is to illuminate a cycle: On the one hand, specific images serve to benchmark or judge certain groups on the basis of dominant discourses embedded as ideologies in social institutions. On the other hand, discriminatory acts and attitudes at an individual level serve to stabilise them and reproduce them in our everyday lives at the institutional and socio-cultural level. This is also made clear through the discrimination model (presented further below).

3.3.3.3. Power[22] and privileges

A stark difference in ‘equality of opportunity’ between people and different groups exists within any given society. These differences in opportunities are a result of a variety of variables such as gender, sexuality, race, religion, education and income. Many powerful and influential positions in society are commanded by persons with certain privileges, backgrounds or those from specific sectors within the community. It is therefore important, when working with young people, that awareness is raised about individual privileges and the effect they have on opportunities, and that individual circumstances are considered and understood within the necessary context. The exercise “Taking a Step Forward” involves participants taking steps forward or remaining in their place in accordance with varying experiences of power and privilege, or oppression and exclusion with the aim of highlighting the cumulative impact of structural discrimination, but also illustrating the movement back and forth in line with respective privileges (Rosenstreich, 2007: 150). Here, the individual is positioned at the intricate intersection of multiple sites of dominance corresponding to different social categories, which are also potential sites of resistance. Although this exercise does not address the subject of resistance (this is done later in the training), it clarifies the dynamic and relational nature of social positioning (ibid). The awareness of one’s privileges promotes empathy for the marginalised ‘others’ and individual responsibility and potential to act. This is particularly relevant as the participants of my trainings comprised predominantly dominant groups in terms of (socio-economic) privileges in society. The trainings in Berlin comprised participants of different nationalities and/or descent, yet, they were mostly from upper-middle class or rich families. The session consists of a reflection on oppression by highlighting the social positioning of people and how their privileges or lack thereof are a result of money, influence and power.

3.3.3.4. Discrimination[23]

The connection between identity and discrimination is a key concept of the AB approach. Social categories that shape identities are factors that lead to discrimination and resistance (Rosenstreich, 2007: 143). The principle aim is to counter attitudes and prejudices that result in discriminatory behaviour. Thereby, the conceptual basis for AB work is the connection between discrimination and power relations. All individuals are believed to interact with one another from differing positions of power related to their membership in and affiliation to dominant and minority groups. The main aspect conveyed is that everyone is different and everyone can be discriminated, and thus personal experiences of discrimination and feelings of powerlessness can generate empathy for marginalised ‘others’ (Rosenstreich, 2007: 145). This is based on the assumption of the commonality of the ‘outsider experience’ (ibid). As everyone has experienced exclusion and discrimination at some point in their lives, reflecting on such experiences assists in developing empathy for other victims of discrimination. Such an understanding offers an integrated approach to relational power and dynamic processes of identity (ibid).

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[22] Following Foucault’s account of power, I understand “power as forming the subject as well as providing the very conditions of its existence […]” As such, “power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend on for our existence […]”. In Butler, J. (1997) *The Psychic Life of Power. Theories of Subjection*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 2.

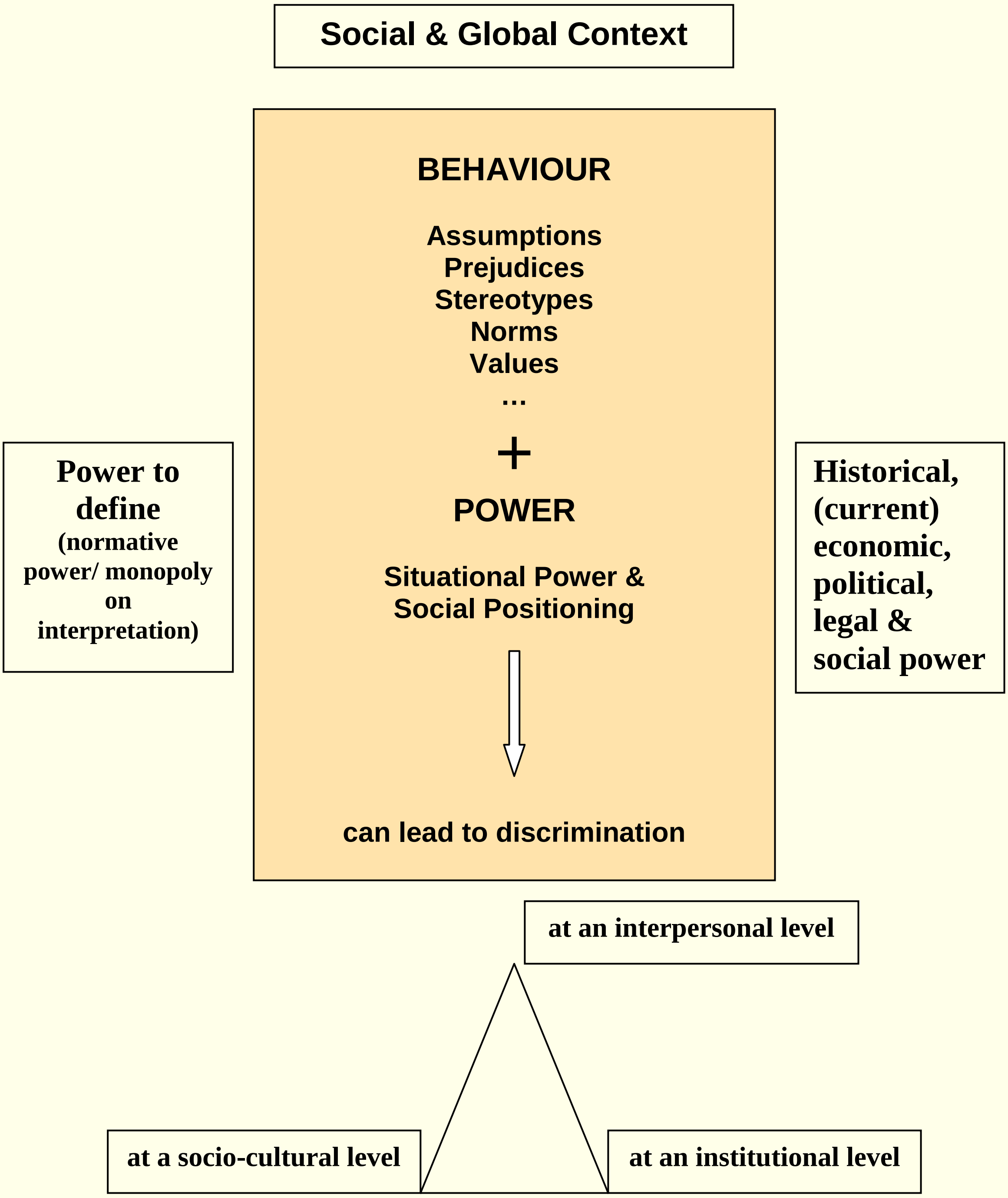
[23] I understand discrimination as the unfair treatment, distinction or exclusion of a person or a group on the basis of prejudice. See also chapter one, p. 17.

The activity “Experiencing Discrimination” deals with the emotional and rational intensity and behavioural responses to being discriminated against and also to discriminating others. This involves not just the narration of personal experiences of discrimination and of having discriminated against, but also reflection on the feelings that discrimination gives rise to, as oppressed and oppressor. It also deals with the effects discrimination can have on individuals and offers ways to deal with these experiences, again as oppressor and oppressed: The shifting of blame, the suppressing mechanism at work, the attempts to justify, how the oppressed cope with discrimination and how these experiences shape their identities. A critical reflection on the processes of discrimination is meant to bring about a certain accountability that can contribute to destabilising discriminatory mechanisms. The model of discrimination clarifies graphically and theoretically the above points and the intersections of categories in discrimination.

Model of Discrimination

Of extreme importance to the Anti-Bias process, in order to clarify the workings of power mechanisms and the multidimensionality of discrimination in society, is the discrimination model (see below), which posits behaviour as prescribed by norms which shape our assumptions, construct our stereotypes, prejudices and values. Accordingly, behaviour influenced by power structures prevalent in society, i.e. normative power and situational power, can lead to discrimination at an interpersonal, institutional and/or a socio-cultural level (see also chapter two, section on structural discrimination). To this model, I have included “historical” and “(current)” to the social, legal, economic and political power described.

An Experience-based Model of Discrimination


Social & Global Context
BEHAVIOUR
Assumptions
Prejudices
Stereotypes
Norms
Values
…
+
POWER
Situational Power &
Social Positioning
can lead to discrimination
Power to define
(normative power/ monopoly on interpretation)
Historical, (current) economic, political, legal & social power
at an interpersonal level
at a socio-cultural level
at an institutional level

Adapted from „Methodenbox: Demokratie-Lernen und Anti-Bias-Arbeit“, Anti-Bias Werkstatt, 2007, by the author of this dissertation.

I believe it is crucial to indicate an historical element of power as it draws attention to former modes of oppression and exploitation - slavery, colonialism, sexism, Christian missionaries. These modes are longer in existence today, yet the images they propagated of the superior and inferior people (‘Über- und Unter-Menschen’) remain imprinted in the psyche and continue to influence one’s image of the self and the ‘other’. Based on the need for a decolonising of the consciousness, discussed earlier in this chapter, I consider the historical factor a vital addition to the model.

The various levels of discrimination – personal, interpersonal, institutional and social-cultural are illustrated here: The interpersonal level relates to the ways in which we behave and interact with ‘others’ which is shaped by personal attitudes, thoughts and feelings. The institutional level refers to established rights, traditions, habits and procedures which lead to systematic discrimination of certain people and groups of people. The socio-cultural level refers to that which is seen by the dominant culture/community/world view as right, good and beautiful, as a benchmark for all things. These three levels of discriminations are constantly interacting with and influencing each other. The cycle of discrimination reveals that each level of discrimination is constantly interacting and influencing the other levels, shaped by power in all its forms - historical, social, economic, legal or political power. In a poststructural sense, an individual is shaped by dominant norms and discourses (in which power is inherent) that are performed onto his/her self and that s/he themselves perform. The individual thus reproduces these norms, discourses and hegemonic structures in society. A vicious circle of power and oppression ensues.

Being a victim of one of these modes does not rule out the possibility of being enmeshed in another structure of domination as perpetrator and/or profiteer. Experiences of discrimination also shape the individual’s concept of self: perception of the self, self-confidence, self-esteem. These are some points that can be elaborated through the model.

From a structural and poststructural point of view, this model and the preceding exercise fail to make it possible to go deeper into the concept and workings of intersectionality.[24] In other words, only a brief explanation is possible of how identity categories result in a complex overlapping of discriminatory experiences, i.e. how racism, gender, classism, religion intersect to create inequality that leads to the marginalisation of many people and groups of people.

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[24] The concept of intersectionality asserts that social categories (gender, social class, sexuality, ethnicity) are intersecting spheres in which domination occurs, and therefore any one category cannot alone be seen or addressed as the reason for discrimination. See also chapter two, section on intersectionality.

3.3.3.5. Intervention

The Anti-Bias approach has in the past been criticised for not addressing agency. For a long time the Anti-Bias toolkit had little or no tools to address agency and to this end, in 2007, the Anti-Bias Werkstatt developed methods that assist agency and act as a point of resistance to discrimination. This is a good starting point for empowerment and power sharing, states Rosenstreich (2007: 156). The method, “First Steps of Action”, allows participants to reflect on their potential to influence situations and behaviour, addresses the need to change things in everyday life within the school and outside, and to develop initial steps and strategies that can be used in situations of discrimination.

> When the situation calls for action, that action will constitute an authentic praxis only if its consequences become the object of critical reflection. […] Otherwise, action is pure activism. (Freire, 1970:66)

The exercise encompasses a critical phase of reflection: On the precise problem, the level at which the problem is located and one’s sphere of influence. What options are open to me? And thereby what steps can I take, when exactly should they be taken and what do these steps concretely address? The development of such action steps is based on “walk your talk” (Reddy, 2002: 10), a premise of the project Von Süden Lernen, and the first step in a process that should last a lifetime.

3.3.3.6. Evaluation

The evaluation comprised three stages and began with the participants writing a “Letter to Yourself”, a letter which they received around three months after the training (in an envelope they had themselves sealed at the training). This exercise facilitates a personal reflection on the training, on what participants gained, and it required them to commit themselves to an action plan that they would initiate in the immediate future. The exercise serves, on the one hand, as a reminder of that which they learnt at the training, and on the other hand, to test the extent to which they implement their plans, ideas and thoughts, that which they had undertaken at the training. This exercise of evaluation comprises the four-step cycle of experiential learning (described previously in this chapter): It allows participants to reflect on the training process and contents, to evaluate their own learning and plan actions for the future. As a kind of self-evaluation, participants can judge, on receiving these letters, the extent to which they implemented the actions/behaviour they had committed themselves to. A verbal feedback round in plenary followed by a written evaluation questionnaire on the training modules, facilitation and learning points completed the training. The evaluation of the trainings by participants can be found in chapter seven.

Through the entire AB process outlined above, there has been an attempt to develop critical, contextual thinking when discussing the subject of identity, culture, stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination. This, I believe is crucial when working with young people, as they lack the space and forum for reflecting on and discussing socially constructed reality. I have attempted at crucial points to supplement practice with theory in order to provide a holistic process. Furthermore, not only does the AB attempt to generate empathy, it works to empower young people by supplying them with tools in the face of discrimination, and working also to deter discriminatory behaviour and acts.

At different points during the four trainings, the discussion in differing ways focused on the subject of internalised oppression and internalised dominance. However, the short duration (2 days) made it difficult to include a separate module explicitly on this subject. I would strongly recommend the usage of methods that address this topic as an individual unit, thereby supplementing the reflection that takes place throughout the training.

I have tried here to outline the process undertaken. In chapter eight, which analyses the effectivity of these trainings, I examine the extent to which the AB approach and methodology served, as a discourse, to challenge attitudes, behaviours and acts of the young people in my study.

3.4. Conclusion

I have described the need for and the role played by non-formal educational approaches in dealing with discrimination and oppression in society. The origins and development of the AB approach depict its development over time and continents - its voyage from the south to the north - and emphasize the need for north-south learning approaches that assist in wiping out the colonisation of the consciousness, of the oppressed and the oppressor. I have also outlined the main principles and objectives of the approach and examined its limitations. In the last section, I described the process I used for my trainings, identifying and analysing the strengths and weaknesses of the approach and its implementation. The approach has no set framework theory although it can be grounded in such, which is why I have attempted to describe the theoretical underpinnings of the process designed for the trainings of my study.

In the chapters six, seven and eight, I undertake an in-depth analysis of the trainings' process and examine conflicting areas and tensions based largely on the responses and narrations of the participants of the AB trainings and of this study.

Chapter four:
Metropoles and their challenges:
The case of Bombay/Mumbai and Berlin

4.1. Introduction

The metropolitan cities of Bombay/Mumbai and Berlin are not just two urban cities; they embody an aspiring imagination of modern urban life. Dynamic and complex, they are places where individual identities merge and collide. Just like Bombay, Berlin has tremendous appeal, drawing a steadily increasing number of people from within its borders and beyond, people bringing with them their dreams, skills, capacities and ambitions. These two cities are the sites of my Anti-Bias trainings and overall study. I therefore provide an understanding of the socio-cultural and historical processes that serve to make-up these cities as they play a decisive role in shaping and reshaping the subjectivities and identities of the young protagonists of my study.

One may wonder at my vanity in dealing with two cities that could hardly be more different: Two cities so dissimilar in form, socio-political organisation and historical background; two cities that belong to two different continents. Berlin, one could argue, is a metropolis of the 'developed world', whereas Bombay, a megacity of the developing world, is teeming with rural immigration and multiplying with slums – it has the dubious merit of being home to Dharavi, Asia's largest slum. There is, one would argue, no comparison. What Berlin and Bombay/Mumbai have in common, as they do with many other metropoles of the world, is that both are cities characterised by migration. Migration affects social reality to a decisive degree. Broden & Mecheril (2007) explain that the expression migration is a general perspective that records phenomena that characterise a migration society:

> Übertragung beispielsweise von Lebensweisen, Biographien und Sprachen in die neue Gesellschaft, ihre Modifikation als Folge von Wanderungen, Entstehung von Zwischenwelten und hybriden Identitäten, Phänomene der Wahrnehmung und Zuschreibung von Fremdheit, Strukturen und Prozesse des Rassismus, Konstruktionen des und der Fremden oder auch die Erschaffung neuer Formen von Ethnizität.(p. 7)

Migration is therefore linked with processes of change. Migration, Broden & Mecheril argue, should be understood as an object of discourse and of political and everyday encounters and is about the question of individual, social and societal belonging, not only in relation to migrants. For it is through migration that national, ethnic, cultural relations of belonging are taken up in the first place. This leads, they explain, not only to the question of how we want to live but also of who ‘we’ are, alluding therefore to a basic level of societal coexistence. The discourse on migration is a field in which the difference between normality (the national, ethnic, cultural belonging) and deviations are repeated and at once invalidated (ibid: 8). That migrants present a social reality, that they exist in a society characterised by migration is ‘normal’. On the other hand, Broden & Mecheril explain, “gilt der Migrant als der Andere, der Nicht-Normale, der Fremde, derjenige, der von einer ‚mythischen Norm’ (Lorde, 1984) abweicht” (p.8). They therefore argue that the social existence of migrants conforms to a paradox and a tense position which is characterised by a form of un-normal normality. Who is a migrant is not determined upfront but should on the one hand be understood as a discursive product and on the other hand as a consequence of context-specific and local practices of representation. The common element of migration societies of our times is the variety of images, descriptions, symbols, presentations and drawings that are in circulation, through which information is given not just about (national, ethnic, cultural) identity and difference but identity and difference are also constantly produced and reproduced (Broden & Mecheril, 2007: 9). These practices of representation produce and reproduce identity and differences in the cities of Berlin and Bombay/Mumbai, which the students of my study draw on and perform in their narrative representations. This chapter thus serves as a backdrop to understanding how the students learn, adopt and perform discursive and representative practices that are presented in chapter six.

In choosing these cities, I turned also to my own background and knowledge. These are the two cities I know best: I was born and raised in Bombay/Mumbai, where I have lived most of my life; the city is one I call home. But in the recent past, I have begun to think of Berlin as home as well; it is a city with which I have enjoyed a thirteen-year relationship, and where I presently reside.

I begin with Bombay/Mumbai, drawing attention to the city’s colonial past which served to form it, discussing how the independent city of Bombay was joined to the state of Maharashtra and the problematic of migration and minorities. I describe the conflicts permeating relations between Hindus and Muslims before I take up racial and gender oppression in the city. For Berlin, I describe the emergence of the city of Berlin and its rise to power before presenting the different phases of migration to the city before and more particularly post-1960. I analyse the challenges of migration and integration politics and discuss challenges faced by minorities, particularly the Muslims, followed by a depiction of racial and gender oppression. I conclude by drawing links between the cities and show that prejudices and oppressive discourses within these two metro cities are not dissimilar, although they may arise from differing socio-political and historical circumstances and have their own distinct form(s) of expression, some more visible than others.

Although my main focus remains on Bombay/Mumbai and Berlin, I will, as and where necessary, expand on the political, legal or social structure of the country as a whole, as it is impossible to speak about a part without considering the whole. Moreover, since it is not within the scope of my study to address all the various kinds of discrimination in these cities, I focus on that which informs my own research, namely the categories race, gender and sexuality, and religion, the latter relating to the oppression of Muslims.

4.2. Bombay/Mumbai

"Kahin building kahin traame, kahin motor kahin mill
Milta hai yahan sab kuchh ik milta nahin dil)
Insaan ka nahin kahin naam-o-nishaan
Aye dil hai mushkil jeena yahan
Zara hat ke zara bach ke, yeh hai Bombay meri jaan

Kahin satta, kahin patta kahin chori kahin res
Kahin daaka, kahin phaaka kahin thokar kahin thes
Bekaaro ke hain kai kaam yahan"
(Lyrics of the song, "It is hard to live here" in the 1956 film *CID*)[25]

Bombay, like most cities, is a city of our imagination. This imagination has been created to a large extent by Hindi cinema. Cinematic portrayals of Bombay have since long embodied the promise of excitement, cosmopolitanism, a city of boundless possibilities. However, it is not merely Bombay's glamour and free-spiritedness that films have portrayed but also its dark sides, the underbelly of the city. In fact, the crime motif in Hindi cinema is said to emerge from the flourishing gold smuggling business, a result of the Gold Control Act of 1962, and of course strongly linked to Indians love and aspiration for the metal. The above lyrics may depict a hard, soulless city but in the subsequent verse the girlfriend responds to the protagonist's disillusionment with hope, vouching for Bombay's integrity and ease of life in the city. This dual image of promise and capriciousness is part of its very fabric.

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[25] The English translation of the lyrics: "You will find buildings and trams, cars and mills, you will find everything except a heart and humanity. It is difficult to live here. Be carefully, be smart, this is Bombay, my love. You find gambling, thievery, starvation and insults, grieving. There is no work for the unemployed here."

Bombay/Mumbai has since colonial times attracted people from all over the country as a centre of activity for finance, trade, manufacturing, advertising and media. In recent decades, it has become the centre of the Hindi film industry, of so-called Bollywood. The people of Bombay/Mumbai speak different languages – Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam, English – and most speak at least three different languages. They practice different religions – Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Judaism – each having its own shrine, mosque, temple or church as a visible structure spread through the length and breadth of the city. Oftentimes they stand beside each other, just as the people – except in certain pockets – reside side by side.

The image of the metropolis as the hub of cultural diversity, the financial capital of the country and as a modern capitalist city took a huge blow when the communal[26] riots of 1992-93 occurred. Its image was affected by the subsequent bomb blasts in 1993, the commuter train bomb blast in 2006 and the terrorist attacks of 2008. The chaotic but vigorous coexistence of different communities and cultures appears to be on tenterhooks. In its cover story of the February 2, 2002 issue, the news magazine *Outlook* published an article on the city which stated that, "The liberal, secular moral fibre Bombay prided itself on has been torn asunder. Mumbai exists but the vibrant, multicultural, rich, happy Bombay is dead."[27] The quote describes Bombay as the former liberal, secular city, and the present-day Mumbai as lacking multicultural vibrancy. The transformation of the city from Bombay to Mumbai which comprises its renaming to Mumbai by the Hindu-Nationalist BJP political party, the nostalgic memory of a Bombay dead and gone, are some of the reasons for my predominant usage of Bombay, which I elaborate on further in this chapter. I use Bombay to refer to the city until its renaming occurred, then reverting to Mumbai.

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[26] The common is used term with a negative connotation, 'communalism' (from English community) describes an ideology and politics of wilful separation of ones own community from others.

[27] D'Monte, D. & Kakodhar, P. (2002) "Bye-Bye, B'bay?" Cover Story. *Outlook*, February 2, 2002. Available from: http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?214438. Accessed on April 15, 2011.

Suketu Mehta’s narrative, non-fiction book Maximum City (2004) portrays Mumbai as a place charged not just with urban impulses but also urban problems. Urban change is not only irrefutable but indispensable to understanding the transformation of the city from colonialism to postcolonialism, from cosmopolitanism to communalism, which I proceed to do by tracing Mumbai’s past. For it is Mumbai’s history that reveals its experiences and composition in a patchwork society, and allows us to grasp the fractures and ruptures in present-day society, which shape and influence the identities of the residents of the city, likewise the protagonists of this study.

4.2.1. A glimpse at colonial history

The Portuguese arrived in India in the late fifteenth century and reached Bombay in the early sixteenth century. The new rulers set up headquarters at Bassein fort, from where they ruled Bombay, which was then seven separate islets (Prakash, 2010: 30-31), made one city through the reclamation of land from the sea. Prakash (2010) disparagingly refers to this as land stolen from the sea. The indigenous Kohli fisher folk on the seven islets lived off fishing, rice, coconut farming and trading, and worshiped a number of different goddesses; one of them was Mumba, the goddess from whom the names Bombay and Mumbai are derived (ibid). However, it is popularly believed that one of the seven islands was called Mumbai.

The Portuguese, who came to the city and country for trade and in search of Christians, named the island ‘a ilha da boa vida’ or the island of good life. Prakash (2010) explains that their primary mission was to recruit natives for conversion to Christianity, which they did not only through forced conversions and coerced labour, but also by destroying temples and mosques, and building churches, which can still be found in the city. In 1583, British traders set foot on the western shores of India, and in 1626, together with the Dutch, attacked Bombay. The ‘island of good life’ was given to the English in a dowry when Catherine of Braganza married Charles II in 1661. Seven years later, Bombay was leased to the East India Company, which started a new chapter in the life of the city. Bombay is thus a relatively young city, particularly compared to other Indian cities, its birth tied to the rise of the colonial empire in India.

I will not go into the details of British occupation of Bombay and their rule in India except to highlight certain relevant points. It was under the British that Bombay became a city of commerce serviced by merchants of different communities. Upon shifting headquarters to Bombay in 1686, the British wooed traders from Gujarat to the city. The most prominent among them were the Parsis, but also people from other communities – Hindu and Jain merchants of the Bania caste and Muslims of the Bohra, Khoja and Memon communities – flocked from Gujarat to Bombay to avail of the opportunities offered by the colonial settlement (Prakash, 2010). By the early twentieth century, the city's population was nearly a million, of whom only a quarter had been born in the city (Kosambi, 1986 in Prakash, 2010: 43). The largest community comprised the Hindus who made up 65 percent of the population in 1901, Muslims made up 20 percent and a smaller percentage consisted of Christians, Zoroastrians, Jains and Jews (ibid). It is already at this time that the vibrant mixture of communities and languages conveyed an image of openness and promise to Bombay (Prakash, 2010).

As a colonial city, space in Bombay was divided to maintain racial dominance. While the European population lived in the south, Indians lived in the overcrowded quarters north of the old fortified town (ibid). Slums, chawls[28] and tenements where the locals lived were part of Bombay even then, while the colonial rulers lived in relative splendour, depicting as Prakash (2010) cites, "the grotesque other side of colonial and capitalist spatialization" (p. 66). The squalor and cramped conditions of living were not unknown to the British but they preferred for as long as they could not to invest even the little money required to improve housing and local transportation facilities. Over time, Prakash informs us, class to some extent usurped racial divisions and wealthy Indian traders and industrialists began to move to and live in European areas. Yet, practically no European is known to have lived in the overcrowded quarters and neighbourhoods of the locals (Prakash, 2010: 60).

It has been suggested that it was the British colonial rulers who created Hindu-Muslim divisions in their attempt to preserve power, and that these have persisted since (Varshney, 2002: 33). However, the origins and rise of such conflicts cannot be scientifically traced. Such constructed information was nevertheless “promoted by the British, partly because it suited them to split India into two largest religious groups, and partly, because the ‘native’ could not constitute a modern nation” (ibid: 34). So if the beginnings and the development of Bombay as a city, as a business centre, a multicultural and cosmopolitan city, are a result of colonial occupation, colonial powers are just as responsible for its form – the forceful reclamation of land from the sea, the segregation of south Bombay from north Bombay – and its structural disparities related to race and class. The construction of new roads, the railways, western schools and colleges and public spaces with fountains and squares branded colonial rule, indicating the power of a seemingly superior culture (Prakash, 2010: 50). These factors coupled with, for example, the division of residential space established clear racial and class boundaries between the local colonised population and the colonising British force. That Indian traders aspired for and later moved to live in south Bombay is indicative not just of an internalisation of oppression but also of the perpetuation of class-based oppression. Even though the origins of Hindu-Muslim conflicts may not lie in colonial times, they certainly served the functioning of colonial power in the country, becoming a master narrative which persists even today.

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[28] Chawls are economic housing options for the working class, where the single room is used for living, sleeping and dining.

4.2.2. To more recent times

On May 1, 1960, the state of Maharashtra, of which Bombay is capital city, came into existence as a result of the national framework of reconstructing states on a linguistic basis. It was initially proposed that Maharashtra and Gujarat become one bi-lingual state, with Bombay as a union territory governed by Delhi. This went strongly against public opinion and led in 1956 to the formation of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, which mobilised the working class, student communities, socialist units, peasants and Dalits organisations in a mass protest movement that led to the death of over a hundred demonstrators in altercations with the police.[29] Ultimately, in 1960, a parliament resolution created the separate (from Gujarat) state of Maharashtra to which Bombay has since been anchored. The Samyukta Maharashtra Movement’s goal to establish a Marathi state with Mumbai as its capital was the first expression of Marathi identity and pride.[30] However, the multicultural fabric of the city of Bombay has allowed scant possibilities for the expression of such an identity and pride that has since led to the pervading general feeling of marginalisation and injustice within the Marathi community. It is within this setting that the Shiv Sena (meaning army of Shiv, referring to Shivaji[31]), a right-wing political party, was founded in 1966 by Bal Thackeray, who steadily mobilised the Marathi working class through its ideology that Maharashtra – and Bombay – belong to the Marathi community. In effect, it used the accrual of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and its movement for its xenophobic purposes.

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[29] Ahmad, O. (2008) “1960: Samyukta Maharashtra movement to create a Marathi language state with Mumbai as its capital was at its height. Omair Ahmad interview with Kumar Ketkar.” *Outlook Magazin,* October, 20, 2008. Available from: http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?238694. Accessed on June 30, 2011.

[30] Ibid.

The old image of Bombay as the embodiment of cosmopolitanism began to fray at the edges as a result of accelerated population growth and the closure of textile mills and the deindustrialisation of the late 1970s. As cotton mills came to a standstill, the workforce comprising 2,50,000 was downsized by 80 percent,[32] leaving those affected defenceless to the onset of unemployment. Mill workers sold off their chawls and moved to the northern suburbs to find work as labourers, revealing how spatial hierarchies (north - south divide) persisted beyond colonial times. However, these suburbs, which once thrived on engineering industries and chemical and petrochemical plants, were also in the process of getting de-industrialised.[33] State policies did nothing to alleviate the situation of the working classes. Hordes of migrants and petty entrepreneurs were forced to live on the pavements of the city, under bridges, in passage-ways and open spaces. With industries closing down, jobs hard to find, crime was on the upswing and turned through the 1980s from clandestine smuggling and gambling to more open and illegal real estate deals. Real estate speculation and Bollywood's imagination rose alongside issues of gentrification, development, heath hazards and illegal practices. Religion became a refuge from congested living conditions and an impersonal social structure (Varma, 2007: 146). In this climate, organisations such as the Shiv Sena effectively mobilised communal support partly through their ability to provide social, cultural and welfare services (ibid). When the Shiv Sena led government renamed Bombay Mumbai in 1995, it seemed to correspond to the transformation of the city which had already begun. Thus, colonial rule is finally annulled and relegated to history text books. The change of name to Mumbai slowly and purposefully led to changes in the names of a number of institutions, streets and public places that bore colonial names: The Victoria Terminus, the late-nineteenth century railway station now called Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus after the seventeenth century Maratha warrior, is just one example. The substitution of colonial names whether to Shivaji or other local icons – past or present – has been an effort at effacing Mumbai's colonial past. However, one tends thereby to forget that the colonial past of the city is inscribed not just in its street names and architecture – South Mumbai bears a clear stamp of its colonial birth and development – but also in its very form and oppressive structures.

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[31] Shivaji was a seventeenth century Maratha warrior.

[32] Ibid, D'Monte & Kakodhar (2002).

[33] Ibid.

In the new millennium, Mumbai is bursting at the seams. The 2011 census recorded the population of Mumbai City as 3,145,966.[34] In this city of skyscrapers and slums, civic infrastructure has been extended to capacity. Basic housing remains out of reach of a large portion of its population, with at least half residing in slums.[35] The residents of Mumbai are not disheartened: They will tell you how open and cosmopolitan Mumbai is. Such optimism and the promise of Bombay have not yet dissipated but spread thin with passing time.

4.2.3. Religious oppression: The Muslims

Against popular perceptions of the city as an island of peace, Varshney (2002) posits that, "Bombay's modernity and cosmopolitanism have not precluded communal violence. Bombay was amongst the most communally violent cities even before 1993" (p. 106). His *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life. Hindus and Muslims in India* (2002) is based on a study focusing on communal conflicts in the country and pinpoints eight cities, one of them Bombay, which account for a hugely disproportionate share of communal violence in the country (p. 6-7). One event that perhaps hit the city the hardest was the Hindu backlash in January 1993 resulting from the demolition of the Babri Masjid[36] in December 1992. Bal Thackeray, then head of the Shiv Sena, spouted inflammatory literature inciting rioters (Prakash, 2010: 299). With voter lists that served to identify flats where Muslims lived, the Sena gangs went on a killing rampage throughout the city. Although South Bombay where I lived was relatively calm, I recall our Hindu and Parsi neighbours removing our name plate at the entrance of our apartment building to protect us in case of raids by Sena gangs. A victim of such rioting referred to the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany, linking it to the treatment of Muslims in Bombay. Bal Thackeray saw this as only fitting. He stated in an interview with *Time* that if

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[34] Census of India (2011) "Mumbai City Census 2011." *Census-2011.co.in*. Available from: http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/357-mumbai-city.html. Accessed on December 8, 2011.

[35] Ibid. D'Monte & Kakodhar (2002).

[36] A mosque in the city of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh was destroyed in 1992 when a political rally turned into a violent mob. The mosque had been a disputed site for decades, a focus of Hindu-Muslim hostility.

Muslims behaved like Jews, “there is nothing wrong if they are treated as Jews were in Germany” (cited in Prakash, 2010: 299). Unmistakable during this time was the bias of the state in that it took the riots as a law and order problem and did not sufficiently protect or respond to urgent calls for help by the Muslim population, which demonstrates the extent of structural discrimination of Muslims. As Varshney (2002) points out, “if, by intent or consequence, public policy or the functioning of the state is ethnically biased, such conflict is highly likely” (p. 283). Thus, even once the rioting abated, tension continued. Suspicion among the communities escalated, which has since also led to the increasing difficulty for Muslims to rent or purchase apartments in predominantly Hindu locales and vice versa. Such segregation is often justified through discourses of otherness and incompatibility, for example, relating to vegetarianism (by the Hindu population) and non-vegetarianism (vis-à-vis Muslims and Catholics), which again reflects the structural discrimination of minorities, in particular the Muslims. The latter is a subject that arises as a conflict within one student group in Bombay.

The project of Hindu nationalism, propagated by political parties such as the BJP (Bharatiya Janta Party) and organisations like the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) call for the enforcement of

> the majoritarian idea of a singular national history whereby the enactment of historical vendetta against the Muslim conquest of pre-colonial India becomes simultaneously the condition for the ‘realization’ of Indian history as well as for demarcating the ‘natural’ citizens of India. (Amin, 2007:1)

As such, Hindu identity can only be redefined in opposition to a seemingly threatening ‘other’, the consistent demonising of Muslims, and to a lesser extent, Christians (partly because of their smaller numbers) becomes “indispensable to the project of a Hindu nation” (Mishra, 2006: 143). The ideology of the Hindu nationalists has consistently questioned the loyalty of Muslims to India and presented India as a Hindu nation (Varshney, 2002: 13). To such an end, myths have been useful in reinforcing the narrative of Muslim cruelty and contempt (Mishra, 2006: 125), for example, the myth of Barbar, the first Mogul emperor in India, having erected the Babri mosque at Ayodhya over an existing Rama temple. It was the subsequent demolition of this mosque by Hindu nationalists, led by prominent right-wing politicians, which led to the Bombay Hindu-Muslim riots of 1992-93.

The Hindu nationalist claim is not for the exclusion of Muslims rather for assimilation, and thereby the “acceptance of the political and cultural centrality of Hinduism” (Varshney, 2002: 68). This claim stems from the notion that India is originally the land of the Hindus and it is the only land that the Hindus can call their own (ibid: 61), whereas Muslims had been conferred Pakistan, their own Muslim nation, through the partition of India. The constant appeasement of Muslims has been stated as one of the reason for the Hindu-Muslim conflicts in the country. In an effort to influence electoral outcomes (and as Muslims form a large percentage of the electorate), centrist political parties are inclined, it is said, to give in to their demands (Varshney, 2002: 8). Yet, despite affirmative action and special provisions, Muslims are among the poorest and least educated community in the country, often also the object of police brutality (ibid: 83), not just during riots. This reveals the efficacy of the process of ‘othering’, which results in the structural discrimination and oppression of Muslims. The Hindu-Muslim conflict, as psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar (2007b) states,

> is decisively coloured by the facts of dominance and subordination, by aggression and resistance, […] the Hindu nationalist pays homage to the influential paradigm in contemporary historical, anthropological, and political science writing which considers power as the main axis around which all relations between groups are structured. (p.213)

On March 12, 1993, ten bombs targeted at the commercial areas and other prominent parts of the city were set off. Police investigations revealed a conspiracy planned in Dubai, Bombay and Pakistan that used the underworld to plan and execute the blasts. Anurag Kashyap’s film *Black Friday,* based on the novel by S. Hussain Zaidi (2002) is a telling account of the bomb blasts and a reminder of the state of law in the city, where the underworld stepped in to act in the ‘interest’ of the Muslim community (Prakash, 2010). When the Shiv Sena-BJP coalition won the Maharashtra state elections in 1995, they changed Bombay to Mumbai. The renaming of the city was thus not simply a matter of wiping out its colonial past but can also be considered as “an act of populist insurgency, a forcible takeover of state power …” (Prakash, 2010:302). It is this forceful takeover linked to a Hindu nationalist ideology with which I do not identify and the ensuing transformation of the city that provokes me to use Bombay instead of Mumbai.

The train bomb blast and particularly, the terrorist attacks two years later, on November 26, 2008, rekindled fear in the residents of Mumbai. Media coverage fuelled anti-Pakistan sentiment and criticised Indian politicians for their ineptitude in providing effective national border and internal security. They drew linkages to the US terrorist attacks of 9/11 by referring similarly to the Mumbai attacks as 26/11. Even young, liberal residents of Mumbai questioned what other option was left apart from war with Pakistan, illustrating the operation of ‘othering’ discourses. It was four months after the terrorist attacks in Mumbai that I met, for a follow-up to my trainings, the respondents of my study, predominantly south Mumbai residents. The intense discussions about India and Pakistan, terrorism and Muslims led to a renewed reflection and questioning of their own prejudices that resurfaced through these attacks.

4.2.4. Migration and politics

The Shiv Sena, which turned against the Muslim minority as ‘foreigners’, did so only after they had targeted south Indians who sought jobs in Bombay a decade earlier, in the 1970s.[37] They were seen to be taking away jobs that rightly belonged to local Maharashtrians, claimed the Shiv Sena. However, as Prakash (2010: 234) explains, there had been no sudden increase in the number of immigrants from south India or anywhere else. South Indians were targeted, he states, on account of their larger representation relative to Marathis in higher paid jobs. Similarly, since the late 2000s, the MNS party (Maharashtra Navnirman Sena), a break-away of the Shiv Sena led by Bal Thackeray’s nephew, has focused its venom on the migrant from north east India, in particular from the state of Bihar. In 2010, both MNS and the Shiv Sena restarted their campaign against Bangladeshi immigrants in the city. In light of the 2008 terrorist attacks, Bangladeshi nationals without documents are being taken as easy prey to terrorist organisations,[38] and the government is being pressurised to search out and evict them from the city and country. Such discourses demonstrate the production of abject bodies, those who are not given the status of ‘subject’, whose lives are made unviable and unliveable in order to maintain privileges in society (cf. Butler, 1993). The power of propaganda in reinforcing stereotypes is apparent in the following letter submitted to a local daily newspaper in response to an article about the Sena - MNS conflict:

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[37] Ibid. D’Monte & Kakodhar (2002).

[38] Kapre, S. (2010) “Sena, MNS restart anti-Bangaladeshi migrant campaign.” *DNA online*, February 20, 2010. Available from: http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report_sena-mns-restart-anti-bangladeshi-migrant-campaign_1350167. Accessed on February 20, 2010.

> "I think illegal Bangladeshi migrants are a greater threat to the city […] the need to get rid of these Bangladeshis who have usurped the city's roads, throwing out the Marathi vendors […] These people encroach on land, tap water and electricity illegally and dirty the place. They also avail the free services offered by the civic body"
>
> Desmond D'Souza via email to the Hindustan Times, September 11, 2008.[39]

D'Souza's email reveals the operation of 'othering' for, as Hall (1996) argues, "it is only through the relation to the Other, […] its constitutive outside that the 'positive' meaning of any term – and thus its 'identity' can be constructed" (p. 4). Structural discrimination is a visible aspect in the question of whose city Mumbai is and why people use public services they cannot 'legally' avail of. This is the story of oppressive Mumbai, which is also revealed in the narratives of students of the two groups in Bombay when the subject of slums and people of lower castes arise. The Shiv Sena gained popularity in the state of Maharashtra and its capital city Mumbai as it sympathised with unemployed Marathi youth in poor areas and developed a close relationship with slum dwellers, where "its ideology of masculinity, virility, and action found resonance in the struggles for survival" (Prakash, 2010: 239). Thus, discourses of masculinity are used to 'other' and oppress the Muslims and minorities of Mumbai. The ever-changing focus of their campaigns can be consistently linked to aspirations in forthcoming elections.

The objects of oppressive discourses of the city are its Muslim and other minorities, who are 'othered' by the dominant community in order to maintain power and privileges. Simultaneously, other hierarchical relations exists within the city and country, which generally receive only a cursory glance and thereby remain in place creating layers of oppression. I first take up racial oppression in relation to the Dalits in India and subsequently focus on gender and sexuality and related discriminations.

4.2.5. Racial oppression

Relationships of dominance and subordination do not apply solely to Muslims and minorities. The 'untouchables' of India have similarly been subjected to the Brahmanic caste hierarchy and suffered oppression since centuries. By rejecting the name ‘untouchable’ and demanding justice and equality, the leaders of this discriminated caste called their group Dalit – the Oppressed, and the new name became a sign of ‘an insurgent consciousness’ (Prakash; 2010: 10). Inspired by the Black Panthers, a revolutionary movement of African-Americans from the mid-1960s to the 1970s in the United States, Dalit Panthers is a social organisation formed in 1972 by poet Namdeo Dhasal. Its leaders comprised a group of radical Dalit youth who initiated literary groups and wrote free verses, short stories and published small magazines challenging the centuries of discrimination and exploitation they suffered (ibid). As the Dalit movement gained prominence and political clout, it lobbied for affirmative action. The central government conceded by providing reservation of seats in government jobs and educational institutions. Such reservation, meant to facilitate the Dalits’ access to opportunities and thereby elevate their socio-economic status in society, remains nevertheless insufficient to counter their continued discrimination in society.

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[39] D'Souza, D. (2008) "Bangladeshi migrants a big threat to city." *Hindustan Times*, September 11, 2008. Available from: http://epaper.hindustantimes.com/Web/HTMumbai/Article/2008/09/11/006/11_09_2008_006_016.jpg. Accessed on April 10, 2011.

The subject of reservation of seats for Dalits and minority tribes is laden with controversies: The central government’s inclusion of OBCs (Other Backward Castes) for reservation of 27 percent of all central government jobs caused a huge uproar in 1990 (Varma, 2004: 198). The Dalits felt that the OBCs – who are higher up in the traditional caste hierarchy to Dalits and minority tribes – were undeservedly eating into their quota, which was being hijacked by the ‘creamy layer’ within their own group (ibid). Caste ties and affiliations are used and discarded by the OBCs depending on the context and their personal and political gain. To say that caste politics is not without its issues would be an understatement. Reservation of seats in colleges and universities is also a contentious issue amongst the student groups in Bombay as they perceive it as affecting their future access to educational institutions.

The discrimination of Dalits was taken up by the Hindustan Times in an article which compared the treatment of Dalits to the system of apartheid. The article, *Apartheid funded by the Indian tax payer,*[40] refers to a survey conducted in 24 villages across four districts in Madhya Pradesh, which indicates that more than 63 per cent of Dalit children are subjected to caste discrimination while being served mid-day meals in government schools. Forced to sit in separate rows, Dalit children bring their own utensils or are given food in plates marked to distinguish them from the rest. Most of the schools surveyed are dominated by the upper castes, resulting in local influence over school authorities. In this way, even today the bodies of Dalits are marked as different, they are 'othered', and their lives are made unviable and unliveable (cf. Butler, 2004), as upper castes and classes wish to preserve their power and privileges. In Mumbai, such structural and institutional discrimination is often not as overt and visible, but hierarchies exist in the minds of the people and are implicit in their attitudes and behaviour.

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[40] Mekaad, S. (2009) “Apartheid funded by the Indian tax-payer.” *Hindustan Times*, May 5, 2009. Available from: http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/StoryPage.aspx?sectionName=HomePage&id=6dd3120c-53c4-4217-93be-386e2702327b&Headline=Apartheid+funded+by+the+Indian+tax-payer. Accessed on May, 5, 2009.

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Kakar & Kakar (2007: 27) state that the caste system which began thousands of years ago as a practical system of classification has over the years degenerated into an established system of social tyranny. They explain the ranking of caste in the social order in accordance with the criteria of purity versus pollution: A caste is ranked high if its way of life is judged to be pure, low if it is considered polluted. Within such a hierarchical system, the Brahmin is the purest (there are of course graduations of purity among the Brahmin castes) and the Dalit is the most polluted (ibid). As such, the ranking of castes is comparable to the ranking of races and should accordingly be considered as a form of racial discrimination and oppression.[41] There is sufficient evidence for the preference for fair skin and the belittlement of the dark-skinned in Indian society.

> Fair skin, then, is eminently touchable, desireable, whereas dark skin is an outer manifestation of inner dirtiness and remains 'untouchable' (Kakar & Kakar, 2007: 37).

'Fair and Lovely,' a cream for women and 'Fair and Handsome' for men,[42] which promise fairer skin within a short few weeks have not ceased to make huge profits for the company since it began production. Similarly, a brief glance at the matrimonial columns of daily newspapers illustrates the large number of people who specify 'fair' bride/groom in their advertisements, which is accepted as the natural order of things (Kakar & Kakar, 2007: 36). This hierarchical caste system appears to have seeped through all sections and layers of society more or less throughout the country and irrespective of one's religious or ethnic belonging. Its presence is easily traceable in the desire for fair skin or looking down upon the dark-skinned, be one a Hindu, Muslim, Jain or Buddhist. It has resulted in a pattern of overt and subtle acts of racial discrimination and oppression that affects the lives of Dalits and many others who live on the margins of society. This section provides a good example for the concept of intersectionality (see chapter two, section on intersectionality), where race, class and even gender are intersecting categories in the oppression of Dalits. The caste system has been learnt by the students of my study in Bombay (see chapter six), who perform such oppression by way of discriminating games and ascribing characteristics to people of the lower castes, which serve to maintain and legitimise their continued oppression.

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[41] Racial discrimination describes discriminatory or differential treatment based on the notion of race and where there is an assumption of social superiority and power (Auernheimer, 2003). See chapter two, pp. 35-39 for a more in-depth discussion on discrimination, race and racism. See also chapter one, p. 17 for a definition of oppression and the distinction between oppression and discrimination.

[42] See e.g. Enami Fair and Handsome. Available from: http://www.fairandhandsome.net/. Accessed on April 10, 2011.

4.2.6. Gender and Sexuality

Any resident of Mumbai will tell you that women in the city have it better than anywhere else in the country. In fact, they have never had it better, stated an article of the Hindustan Times[43] in September 2008. They have the option – within limits – to lead an independent life. This is to some extent true, but relevant only to the city's elite. In a move to make the city more woman-friendly, as the title of the above-mentioned article indicates, the municipal corporation of Mumbai planned to set up eight centres that offer facilities such as community resources, legal aid, family counselling, physiotherapy, libraries and reading rooms. These centres aim at empowering women and assisting them in times of distress. Whether these centres have since been set up is unclear. And although one could argue that such actions by the state are valuable efforts in empowering women, their discrimination cannot be effectively challenged unless strategies consistently address root causes. For example, Mumbai has one of the lowest child sex ratios in the state. According to the latest census (2011), there are 857 girls in Mumbai City and 910 in the suburbs for every 1,000 boys in the 0-6 age group.[44] The girl child is seen as a liability, partly due to the system of dowry, which exists even today albeit without legal sanction, partly due to the preference for sons which is "as old as Indian society itself," state Kakar & Kakar (2007: 44). Vedic verses pray for sons to be followed by more male offsprings, never by female (ibid). As Simone de Beauvoir's (1973) posits, the woman becomes "the Other" of man in society's hegemonic structures. Actions promoting the girl child are being undertaken by the state but the city's declining child sex ratio shows that sex determination tests continue to be used in the city. These figures together with dowry deaths and domestic violence illustrate the perceived role of the girl and are a persistent reminder of gender inequalities in Indian society. The battle of the sexes, argues Kakar (2007a), is not just about dominance and submission, it is "a trial of strength over the distribution of power between the sexes" (p. 16).

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[43] Mankikar, S. U. (2008) "City to get more woman-friendly." *Hindustan Times exclusive,* September 16, 2008. Available from: http://epaper.hindustantimes.com/ArticleImage.aspx?article=16_09_2008_005_006&mode=1. Accessed on April 10, 2011.

[44] Lulla D. (2011) "The birth of a girl should be celebrated like a festival." *Hindustan Times,* April 10, 2011. Available from: http://epaper.hindustantimes.com/PUBLICATIONS/HT/HM/2011/04/10/index.shtml. Accessed on April 10, 2011.

Under a patriarchal system, women continue to be oppressed despite a gradually more liberal outlook towards working women and their lifestyles. Predominantly, this liberality extends to their being 'allowed' to study, to work, but only as long as it does not disturb the efficient functioning of the family and household. I do not wish to generalise as I know sufficient examples of people who have moved beyond the limiting norms of binary gender. However, "India," Kakar & Kakar (2007) argue, "was and continues to be a patriarchal society, with the general subordination of women and their disempowerment that patriarchy normally entails" (p.41). To improve the lot for women, there is still a lot to be done. This induced the central government in 1993 to give them a grand 33.3 percent reservation in panchayats[45] across the country (Varma, 2004: 199). Women, who were initially elected on the basis of such a reservation, proved their mettle, winning subsequent elections and seats, even becoming sarpanchs,[46] on their own merit (ibid). As Varma argues, this of course does not imply that the condition of Indian women is better than in other countries but is a good example of how a law can set off change and transformation. More and more women are getting an education and gradually more are asserting their identity and opposition to male-centric hierarchies. A number of organisations are doing pioneering work in providing useful legal and social services. Majlis[47]in Mumbai, which emerged out of the women's movement of the 1980s, is one such example.

The theme of sexuality is a taboo in Indian society. The single momentary nude scene in Shekhar Kapur's Bandit Queen (1994) was violently opposed in India. The film, based on a real life account, portrays a woman who suffers terrible atrocities, yet rebels against the male-dominated system. Reactions to the nude scene say a lot about the place of women in Indian society and also about sexuality, and the perception of the body as a sexual object. Kakar & Kakar (2007) lament that, "between the land of the *Kamasutra* and contemporary India lie many centuries during which Indian society managed to enter the dark ages of sexuality" (p.84).

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[45] Panchayats can be understood as village councils in India. 'Panch' means five in Hindi as the council originally comprised five members.

[46] Democratically elected head of a village panchayat.

[47] See http://www.majlisbombay.org/. Majlis' legal right centre is engaged in securing the rights of women and the marginalised and its cultural arm, the centre for interdisciplinary art initiatives, functions as a production, distribution and mobilisation unit to counter the onslaught of the globalised market and oppose the dominance of privileged cultures.

Barring the few elites in metropolitan Mumbai, neither men nor women with same-sex partners consider themselves homosexuals. Indeed, explain Kakar & Kakar (2007: 100), there are a large number of men – even married – who have sex with other men but most of them do not recognise themselves as 'homosexual'. In doing so, they are performing the 'good' heterosexuals as a matter of survival and in order to access the privileges of heterosexual identity. They elucidate that the present-day attitude towards homosexuality can be traced to ancient India where it was "the homosexual but not the homosexual activity that evoked society's scorn" (p. 102). Back then, homosexual activity was more or less ignored or marked as inferior, rather than actively persecuted (ibid: 103). It was the British colonial authorities who passed the law which finds its place today in Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code:

> Whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animal shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall be liable to a fine. (Cited in Kakar & Kakar, 2007: 104)

The law was recently challenged in the Delhi High Court by a gay organisation, which won the case, thus overturning a 150-year-old piece of legislation and legalising consensual homosexual activity.[48] Change is afoot and a consequential shift in norms. But it is not time to rejoice yet. India as a federal country, the overturning of the legislation applies presently only to Delhi, not to other metro cities like Bombay. Furthermore, certain politicians continue to actively oppose the 'decriminalisation of homosexuality' and urged the Central government to move Supreme Court against the Delhi High Court verdict. In fact, Lalu Prasad Yadav, currently a Member of Parliament, who has often been criticised for his caste-based politics, argued, easily forgetting or unknowing of the origins of the law and of ancient Indian practices, that, "We must not follow western culture. Sex between people of the same gender is not at all acceptable".[49] Even though this law is hardly used to bring offenders to court, it is

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[48] BBC Correspondent (2009) "Gay sex decriminalised in India". *BBC News*, July 2, 2009. Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8129836.stm. Accessed on April 10, 2011.

[49] Singh, S. (2009) "Homosexuality unacceptable, govt should move SC: Lalu." *Indian Express*, July 4, 2009. Available from: http://epaper.indianexpress.com/IE/IEH/2009/07/05/index.shtml. Accessed on April 10, 2011.

used by corrupt policemen to harass and blackmail homosexuals in public places (Kakar and Kakar, 2007: 104). The brutality and blackmail of homosexuals by Mumbai policemen has been evocatively portrayed in the 2011 short film *OMAR*, one of the four segments based on real life events that make up the film *I AM* by filmmaker Onir. The film also depicts that despite outwardly displaying their homophobia such policemen have no qualms about having sex with men, depicting how discourses of heterosexuality are connected to the reality of discrimination and oppression in society.

In comparison to the invisibility of gays, Kakar & Kakar (2007) state that, “lesbians simply do not exist in Indian society – or so it seems” (p. 104). They posit that lesbian activity is seen as a result of the lack of sexual satisfaction, relevant across board to all women, be they married or unmarried women or widows. This is the wide perception in Indian society, also depicted in Deepa Mehta’s *Fire* (1996), a film, which should be credited as being the first of its kind – depicting two women in a sexual affair – caused an uproar in India, where Hindu activists set fire to cinema halls screening the movie. However, by showing the two women as leading sexually dissatisfying lives with their respective husbands, it could be argued that the film only served to reinforce popular stereotypes.

The media, on the other hand, while reporting on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) issues “isn’t sure whether to frame queer people as victims, oversexed deviants or defiant activists,”[50] and very often it does all three. It is our perception of gender that is the root cause of the inequality of sexes and unacceptability of a non-conforming sexual orientation. The performing of heterosexual norms secures a place in ‘gender’ and results in fixed notions, perceptions and attitudes about gender, which can be identified within the student groups in Bombay. To counter essentialised notions of gender, Butlers (2004) argues that it is important not just to understand how the terms of gender are naturalised and fixed but also to identify the points at which binary gender is contested and “where the very social life of gender turns out to be malleable and transformable” (p. 216). This is what filmmaker Onir does in I AM, in which he portrays ‘real’ stories of people’s struggles. If people were to understand gender as a broader concept, accepting expressions of gender that move beyond the binary, then gender stereotypes, roles and norms would break down (Butler, 2004). This

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[50] Rajaram, P. (2011) “I was once a gay party enthusiast.” *Tehelka Online,* April 20, 2011. Available from: http://www.tehelka.com/story_main49.asp?filename=hub230411WAS.asp. Accessed on April 20, 2011.

[50] Rajaram, P. (2011) “I was once a gay party enthusiast.” *Tehelka Online,* April 20, 2011. Available from: http://www.tehelka.com/story_main49.asp?filename=hub230411WAS.asp. Accessed on April 20, 2011.

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would ultimately result in the breaking down of a patriarchal system that would serve women, gays, lesbians and other marginalised groups in society.

4.2.7. Interim conclusion

India, as a secular state, separates religion from politics. Its multicultural fabric is reflected through a secular nationalism which permits every religious minority to pursue its own religion and religious practices, rituals and regulations. All the same, the state has been unable to decisively weaken caste and communal solidarity. One of the problems with imposing secularism is that “religion has long shaped political and cultural identities” (Mishra, 2006: 123). However, the awareness of secularism in Indian society is rather perfunctory. Doordarshan National, the state-run television channel, aimed at the ‘promotion of national integration and the inculcation of a sense of unity and fraternity’, is possibly the least viewed channel in the country (Varma, 2004: 154). Another problem, Varshney’s (2002: 11) study indicates, is the nexus of politicians and criminals in conflict-ridden cities, where organised gangs disrupt peace and cause people to move from mixed localities to communally homogenous areas. Politicians purposefully fuel religions resentments and create polarisations – whether between Hindus and Muslims or different castes – for political gain. Resultantly also, Hindus and Muslims, who have been living together for centuries, continue to see each other in the image of the ‘other’, defined through stereotypes and contortions.

Bombay/Mumbai, as we have presently seen, has been convulsed time and again by communal politics and riots. The recent terror attacks of November 26, 2008 have only served to bring stereotypes and prejudices to the surface, where discussions construct (as in the case of the student groups of this study in Bombay, cited in chapter seven) the ‘good’ Muslim and the ‘bad’ Muslim. One consistent cause of conflict can be identified as the challenge to ascriptive hierarchies, most visibly dealing with Muslims, but also Dalits, minority tribes, women, gays and lesbians. The state itself sends signals to the community about attitudes and behaviour, which, for example, is evident in the overturning of the homosexuality legislation by the Delhi High Court, paving the way for a shift in oppressive norms. But such actions of the state do not happen often enough, and sometimes it is necessary to force the hand of the state by taking a stand against oppressive policies and regulations. This was very recently the case when a mass protest movement against corruption erupted across the country.[51] Such examples may be few and far between, but they do exist, and need further active engagement by civil society even once an exhilarating mass protest has subsided. Moreover, to be inclusive of the disempowered such movements must battle for justice whilst battling corruption because the latter is the product of a conspicuously unequal society. Otherwise, like the recent corruption movement in India, they will be movements of the entitled, the privileged, the empowered.

The colonial powers may have left a long time ago and it is close to two decades since Bombay became Mumbai. Nonetheless, the structural and institutional inequalities and injustices of the past have left their mark on the city. In fact, they are being added upon in present times. Discursive practices presented above in relation to migrants, Muslims, Dalits and other lower castes, women and homosexuals have shaped the identities and subjectivities of the young protagonists of my study in Bombay. This section thus provides a discursive backdrop through which one can understand the narrations of the students in Bombay (presented in chapter six), narrations that illustrate how the students perpetuate and legitimise social structures of inequality and oppression within and outside the school.

4.3. Berlin

Berlin, a first-rate cultural metropolis and the centre of politics in Germany, is and has always been a city of migration. One might even say that it is a city of international renown on account of the immigration of people of different ethnic origins, nationalities and religions. Immigration is as such inscribed in Berlin’s history: the Huguenots, Bohemians, Polish and Jewish immigrants made valuable contributions to the development of the city until 1933 (Kleff & Seidel, 2008: 9). Yet, at no point in its history have the residents of Berlin been more diverse than they are today. The city, with a population of 3.3 million (Häussermann et al., 2005: 53), is home to the largest number of immigrants in Germany. The diversity of its population grants Berlin a cosmopolitan flair and charm that mirrors the alternating old and new architectural landscape of the city. People come here in search of employment or for higher education; with three prestigious universities, the city is host to a sizeable population of international students. Nonetheless, the capital city of Germany is not without its share of financial problems: Not only has the city accumulated a public debt of up to $80 billion, but twenty-one percent of its population also lives on welfare.[52] Nonetheless, Berlin pulsates with the energy that a flourishing art and cultural scene and its local and international population bring with it. Which is why Mayor Klaus Wowereit dubbed the city 'poor but sexy',[53] and which is why it continues to attract a steady flow of people, students, visitors and immigrants alike.

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[51] Social activist Anna Hazare and many civil rights activists began a campaign for a strong law against corruption at high places, e.g. among politicians in the country.

An immigration society is not just a society of creativity and diversity; it is also a society of conflicts. The city is burdened with contradictory and shifting discourses, which impact the identities of its citizens, migrant and local. Debates in the city often centre, for example, on the poor integration of its immigrant population, high rate of criminality among youth with migrant backgrounds and the construction of mosques. Such debates reflect deficiencies in the politics of integration and existing conflicts between the majority population and its minorities.

Whereas for Mumbai/Bombay it was necessary to go back to colonial times to understand the conception of the city, for Berlin, I start with a brief description of the middle ages - around the 13th Century - and onwards, then examining the phrases of immigration to Berlin that serves to place past processes in the present day context.

4.3.1. Berlin's emergence and rise to power

The formation of Berlin can be traced back to the 13th century when it comprised two villages, Berlin and Cölln (Fritze, 1987: 11). This information however is purely based on a reference to the city in a document of the time; the age and former history of Berlin remains unanswered even today. Importantly, it is then that Berlin began to emerge as an important city of the north-east German Hansa with commercial dealings as far as Russia (Kiaulehn, 1981: 39).

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[52] Theil, S. (2009) "Poor but Sexy." *Newsweek*, May 15, 2009. Available from: http://www.newsweek.com/2009/05/14/poor-but-sexy.html. Accessed on June May 25, 2011.

[53] Ibid.

The first member of the Hohenzollern family to come to Berlin was Friedrich VI., the burgrave of Nuremberg in the 15th Century. Kiaulehn (1981: 42) explains that from 1448 until 1918, the Hohenzollern family governed Berlin as their residence, and traders had little choice or voice in the matter. Against the will of the Berliners, he states that the city also became the capital of Prussia and later the imperial capital. The Thirty-Years War between 1618 and 1648 had a devastating effect on Berlin; a large number of Berliners left the city, houses were destroyed and poverty hampered reconstruction (ibid: 44). This is when Berlin slowly and steadily rose to prominence becoming the epicentre of the Prussian monarchy. Friedrich Wilhelm, known as the 'Große Kurfürst' ("Great Elector"), took over the business of governance from his father and initiated the recruitment of skilled immigrants: The Jewish community settled in Berlin in 1671, and in 1685 the French Huguenots took refuge in the city fleeing persecution in France (Kleff & Seidel, 2008: 13-15). In 1701, in an unprecedented and historical move, the son of the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg crowned himself as Friedrich I 'King of Prussia' and made Berlin the capital city of Prussia (Kiaulehn, 1981: 46). The city saw the construction of around four hundred illustrious buildings and monuments, as well as industries that added to its importance as an industrial and commercial centre (ibid: 48-49). Although vastly different, the rise to prominence of both Bombay and Berlin can be linked to their expansion and development as trade metropoles and forced conquest, which is similarly reflected in the histories of migration of both cities.

4.3.2. Migration to Berlin

So the Berlin area which was on a trade route was characterised by clans and tribes who came and lived, but never permanently. In the second half of the 17th century, the 'Great Elector' Friedrich Wilhelm started actively recruiting immigrants to Berlin (Kleff & Seidel, 2008: 13). However, this was not an easy prospect as Berlin was anything but a prosperous city at the time, a consequence of the Thirty-Year War. Predominantly, the Huguenots came to Berlin as refugees fleeing religious persecution from France and other parts of Europe. In 1671, fifty Jewish families who were expelled from Austria by Leopold I arrived (ibid). Friedrich Wilhelm offered them residence in the service of trade and commerce which had been ruined during the Thirty-Year War. Nevertheless, even then the Jewish settlements were tolerated rather than welcomed. They lived outside the socio-juristic feudal system, trade was restricted and they were made to pay an annual protection fee (ibid: 14). Similarly, explain Kleff &

Seidel (2008: 13), the construction of synagogues was prohibited, and it was only 43 years later in 1714 that the first synagogue in Berlin-Mitte could be inaugurated. They state that the synagogue was embedded in the ground so that it did not tower over neighbouring buildings. This structural and institutional discrimination on grounds of religion mirrors present-day discussions about the construction of mosques in the city – where and how high can these be built, with or without minarets.

The situation of the Huguenots, persecuted in France for being Protestants, was far better. They had privileges, free land for construction, building material and even free civil rights (ibid: 15). More than 6000 of them came between 1685 and 1700 and comprised thereby 20 percent of the city's population. With the Huguenots, Berlin developed a French flair; a number of streets and monuments still remind one of these times. In the 18th century, a further number of Protestants, this time the people of Bohemia, made Berlin their home (ibid). Thus, whereas the Jewish population was 'othered' and suffered oppression, this was not the case for the Huguenots, revealing that religion became grounds for the discrimination of the former.

The 19th century saw Jewish people fleeing from Russia, the Ukraine, present-day Poland and the Baltic states as a result of anti-Semitism, pogroms and poverty.[54] Many of them settled in Berlin and established themselves as a new ethnic religious minority. Before the takeover of power by the National Socialists, the Jewish community in Berlin had about 170,000 members. As a result of the Nazi times and WW II only 80,000 Jewish people were left in Berlin, most others did not survive these catastrophic times.[55]

4.3.2.1. Labour Migration

In the second half of the 19th century, Berlin experienced significant economic development – textile industries led to a boom of the engineering and metal industries, and from 1871 electronic and metal industries flourished. Hundred thousands of workers were needed and arrived from neighbouring Brandenburg, Pomerania, east and west Prussia, Poland and Silesia to Berlin (Kleff & Seidel, 2008: 19). Together with the emergence of tenement housing, they also served from then on to shape the city of Berlin. The turn of the century saw a large number of immigrants fleeing the city and country from the National Socialists or being killed by them, and in post war times, predominantly soldiers of the allied forces were stationed in Berlin (Kapphan, 2000).

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[54] "Chronik ‚Migrationsgeschichte und Integrationspolitik in Deutschland'." *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*. Available from: http://www.bpb.de/methodik/PGLVIR,0,0,Chronik_Migrationsgeschichte_und_Integrationspolitik_in_Deutschland.html. Accessed on May 20, 2011.

[55] Ibid. The statistic provided in this paragraph have been retrieved from the website of the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

4.3.2.2. From the 1960s on

Post-war transnational migration to Berlin began in the 1960s. This happened with the recruitment of the so-called ‘guest workers’ from Mediterranean countries, chiefly Turkey and Yugoslavia (Häussermann et al., 2005: 53), as a result of intergovernmental agreements. Subsequently, immigrants from Italy and Greece also arrived on German shores, although in smaller numbers as labour agreements with these countries were signed much later. During this period, the proportion of foreigners in West Berlin rose from 1 to 9 percent (ibid). Once the recruitment drive came to a halt in 1973, the number of incoming immigrants declined. However, since a large percentage of those who had stayed on were joined by their families, the number of migrants in the city increased exponentially, thereby predominantly Turkish migrants (ibid). In the 1980s, refugees from Iran, Vietnam, Poland, and from Lebanon and Palestine also came to West Berlin.

For east Berlin, the story was until then slightly different. At the time of German unification, the number of immigrants in GDR governed east Berlin was quite low. In 1989, there were 1,6 percent immigrants, amongst them, for the most part, contract workers from Vietnam, Poland, Angola, Mozambique, Cuba and other Socialist ‘brother states’ (Häussermann et al., 2005: 54). Their work contracts and accordingly their resident permits were issued for a specific, limited period of time. Kapphan (2000) explains that most of them lived isolated in dormitories, without an option to choose their preferred work, location of or type apartment to live in. On unification, most of them lost their jobs and, in turn, their resident permits. In addition, contract workers in the east were not allowed to have children. In fact, pregnancy meant the instant loss of resident permit, which illustrates a form of structural and institutional discrimination on grounds of race and gender. Thus, integration was never considered an option in the GDR; segregation meant that the ‘foreign’ worker population would leave at some point. The dominant tendency at the time was that of east Germans fleeing to the west, which, once the wall came up in 1961, was an offence in the GDR (Bade & Oltmer, 2005: 72).

German unification in the 1990s affected migration to both east and west Berlin. In 1989, the disintegration of the communist regimes in eastern Europe led to a large number of immigrants in particular from Poland and the former Soviet Union (Häussermann et al., 2005: 54). They comprised labour migrants, refugees and resettlers (Aussiedler). The 1990s saw the migration of EU citizens to Berlin: new labour migrants, students and official representatives in the new capital of the reunited Germany (ibid). One thus observes that the recruitment drive of the 1960s once again slowly but surely paved the way for Berlin's transformation into a multicultural, cosmopolitan city. Today, every eighth person is not a German national and every fifth person has a migrant background (Raiser, 2006). In 2002, the total number of people with migrant backgrounds residing in Berlin was estimated at over 800,000 with migrants from Turkey forming the largest group, 123,000 (Häussermann et al., 2005: 57). An additional 100,000 people without documents were said to live in Berlin.[56]

4.3.2.3. Problematic related to migration

When Turkish and other migrants first came to Germany in the 1960s, it was not expected that they would stay. The import of cheap labour without social or political costs was based on the notion of their return to their home countries (Joppke, 1999: 65). Yet, even after the recruitment programme officially ended, they stayed on and made Germany their home. A constant question that plagued them until well into the 1970s and '80s, "When are you going back?" was, for the most part, answered with "We plan on going back." (Sezgin, 2006: 18, original translation). They had not planned to stay on, and even today some still plan on returning. Migrants can thus been seen to have learnt their 'otherness' and perform dominant discourses through their desire to return "home".

Migration politics of the 1960s and 1970s during the economic boom reflect an internal colonisation. Kein Nghi Ha (2004: 1) argues that western powers initiated a reversal in the direction of migration in order not to lose their position of power in the increasingly worldwide competition of western colonial economies. He explains that earlier western colonial powers sought new horizons beyond the borders of their own countries, but now needed workers from former colonies and/or less industrialised countries. This reversal of migration, he argues, simultaneously led to an expansion of discriminatory practices within

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[56] This figure is a joint estimate made by the police and welfare organisations at the end of the 1990s, as cited in Häussermann et al., 2005: 57.

Germany and other such nation states: Migrant ‘human resources’ who aided the national economy also became the target of racist discourses of hostility.

Spatial segregation also illustrates inequalities in the treatment of Berlin’s migrant population. In the 1960s, migrants were permitted to reside only in certain districts of Berlin like Kreuzberg, Tiergarten and Wedding, which were among the cheapest and most dilapidated working-class areas in the western part of the city (Häussermann et al., 2005: 60). As migrants moved into these districts, the local population moved elsewhere, resulting in rapid changes to the city’s urban landscape and the building of cultural enclaves. This demonstrates not just the structural discrimination of migrants in Berlin but also emphasizes how the intersecting categories race, religion, nationality and class became grounds for their oppression. In Kreuzberg, the share of migrant housing rose to 25 percent in six years (ibid). New migrants, who arrived in the 1980s, settled down in neighbouring areas such as in the northern part of Neukölln district. It was not until the 1970s that such residential segregation was viewed as problematic, which resulted in the introduction of a quota system in 1975. In other words, only a specific number of ‘foreign’ residents were allowed to live in the three Berlin districts mentioned above (ibid: 63). Since this statute showed no significant results, it was subsequently abolished in the late 1980s. Around the same time, urban renewal plans that included improving migrant housing conditions were taken up.

The 1980s also saw the abandonment of the system of separate classes (Ausländerregelklassen) for migrant children (ibid: 64). However, the large number of children with migrant backgrounds in schools in certain districts of Berlin is still considered a problem for German pupils because of the weak German language skills of the former. Increased unemployment gave rise to crime and delinquency among migrant youth. In the early 1980s, far-right organisations gained strength and instigated racist attacks (Güngör, 2006/07: 16). This affected the mind-set of young migrants, who gathered in certain working class areas and formed street gangs. In 1987, May Day celebrations degenerated into a violent clash with the police. This was the first time that young migrants participated in unrest in Germany. Worries about future rioting and consequences of the discrimination of migrant youth led to integration projects, youth centres and social workers (Häussermann et al., 2005: 64). The racist attacks of the early 1990s in Mölln, Sollingen, Rostock-Lichtenhagen and Hoyerswerda created a rupture for migrants in their self-perception and their relationship to Germany: “For us, Rostock-Lichtenhagen was a wake-up call – the dream of a multicultural

Germany was over", states Ade Odukoya (Güngör, 2006/07: 17, original translation), founder of the anti-racism initiative "Brothers Keepers".[57] In the 1990s there were numerous racist attacks on migrant shelters and homes in the peripheral districts of east Berlin as well as in suburban and rural areas (Häussermann et al., 2005: 64). This led Berlin authorities to take steps to counter racism and discrimination, co-funded by the Federal government, which has helped to somewhat curb racist attacks although not completely erase them.

Industrial restructuring which commenced in the early 1990s meant that many migrant workers lost their jobs (Häussermann et al., 2005: 65). Consequently, today, the unemployment rate of migrants is almost double that of Germans in Berlin (Raiser, 2006). A large percentage of them reside in areas where unemployment and poverty is high and in high-rise social housing. But these are also areas where migrants are slowly participating in social life and integrating into the larger city. Take the example of Hüseyin Ekici, a resident of Neukölln who was expelled from Berlin's Rütli School in the seventh grade, became a member of a youth gang and was subsequently convicted in a court. Today, the 19-year old is a well-known actor in Germany.[58] The increase in multicultural forums and ethnic clubs and associations of all kinds also contribute to the incorporation of migrants in mainstream society. The blending of multiethnic, multicultural people with their diverse origins, different circumstances and the differing periods in which they arrived has made life in the city attractive, particularly districts such as Kreuzberg. However, in recent times such areas are experiencing increased gentrification that has inflated prices of housing and commodities. In this way, discrimination based on class negatively impacts on the lives of the many not so affluent residents of these areas.

4.3.2.4. Integration

It was only in the 1990s that the integration of Berlin's migrants became the focus of debate in local politics (Baraulina & Friedrich, 2009). The meaning of integration was (and remains to some extent even today) unclear not only to German politicians and ordinary citizens, but also to those who are required to integrate (ibid). Integration politics for a long time blamed migrants for their unwillingness to integrate, to learn German and for drawing back into their own communities. The need for integration was based on the idea of a deficiency on the part of the migrant population and corresponding measures were taken to improve their education, language skills and chances on the job market. The perceived 'deficiency' on the part of migrants can be seen as structural discrimination, functioning through the process of 'othering'. In the new millennium, Germany has stepped up efforts to integrate its migrant population. The deficit oriented approach, point out Baraulina & Friedrich (2009), was criticised because it did not consider institutional barriers and social prejudice, has been replaced by a resource oriented approach. Today, with its leitmotif "helping people to help themselves", they explain that integration is seen as an interactive process between the migrants who need to work on improving their skills and qualifications and the host community which is required to be more open to diverse influences. The Canadian psychologist J. W. Berry (1997) explains that for successful integration the interests of both groups, the cultural characteristics of all – also in daily contact – should be maintained. Integration presupposes voluntariness on the part of the minorities and openness to cultural differences on the part of the majority. As a social worker of Turkish origin explained, "If the host society is not open to the others, who are then also almost without power or possibilities, it can't expect them to make the approach either. And people weren't open. They often still aren't today" (Sezgin, 2006: 19, original translation). The old directly racist attitudes have been replaced by more subtle, passive forms, explains Sezgin. Today, it is the younger school-going German population predominantly in areas such as Kreuzberg who are beginning to make friendships with Turkish and other youth with migrant backgrounds. A large part of the population's interaction however, often even in multicultural districts, is restricted to conversations with the migrant greengrocers or those running the corner late-night stores. This reveals the enduring impact of dominant discourses of integration, which may no longer be deficit-oriented, yet they continue to be (re)produced by the majority population in order to maintain power and privileges.

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[57] Only in 2011, it came to light that a far-right group calling itself "National Socialist Underground" (NSU - founded in 1998) has been responsible for killing at least nine immigrant business owners from 2000 to 2006. The trio who make up NSU went underground in 1998, when police officials raided their apartment and garage to find pipe bombs, explosive and propaganda material. This demonstrates not just the atmosphere of the 1990s (when such groups emerged) but also the continued challenge that right extremism poses and how even today it shapes the lives and subjectivities of immigrants in Germany. See Miklis, K. (2011) „Die Mörder aus dem Untergrund" *Stern.de*, November 14, 2011. Available from: http://www.stern.de/panorama/rechte-terrorgruppe-nsu-die-moerder-aus-dem-untergrund-1751032.html. Accessed on March 10, 2012.

[58] Litschko, K. (2010) "Mein Traum: Türkei – und am Ende Hollywood. Montagsinterview mit Hüseyin Ekici." *Die Tageszeitung*, October 3, 2010. Available from: http://www.taz.de/1/berlin/berliner-koepfe/artikel/1/mein-traum-waere-tuerkei-und-am-ende-hollywood/. Accessed on October 3, 2010.

The PISA study of 2001 brought to light the weaknesses of the German education system, and in particular, the difficulties experienced by pupils of an immigrant background (Häussermann et al., 2005: 65). One of the reasons given for conflicts at the Rütli Secondary School in Berlin's Neukölln district was that teachers from east Berlin, who had no experience working with children of migrant background, were employed in areas with predominantly non-German backgrounds (Gujer, 2006/07: 29). A student of migrant background (of another school) narrates that a teacher told his classmate to go home to his father cutting kebab on the spit, “Geh lieber nach Hause zu deinem Vater Dönerspieß schneiden!” (Koppelstätter, 2011: 22). To this, all of them left the classroom, including the German students. Similarly, the students narrate that the bouncers of the popular nightclub Adagio restrict entry to a school party even when they present their student identity cards. It is then not surprising that some of them see themselves as foreigners in the country even though they are born here.

> Ja, ich sage immer noch Ausländer, auch wenn ich hier geboren bin. Wie soll ich sonst sagen? Deutscher? Das sind doch die anderen (Koppelstätter, 2011:16).

This can be seen as the internalisation of oppression and, in Butlerian terms, as the performing of dominant discourses. In other words, these young people, having learnt their ‘otherness’, perform the identity of ‘foreigners’.

The many facets of young migrant lives, their struggles at home, the discrimination they face in society and their negotiation through it all was more or less overlooked and ignored by the state and its social scientists for far too long. These myriad elements, cultural theoreticians such as Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall argue, reflect the notion of hybridity.[59] Negotiation is a societal process whereby the self-image and images imposed by others are shaped and fractures exposed (Güngör, 2006/07: 13). Accordingly, young Berlin migrants have begun to actively participate in civil society through cultural and political expression. ‘Kanak Attak’[60] is one such example of the self-confident expression of the struggles of migrants (ibid: 17). Moreover, organisations such as ‘Lebenswelt’ work with juvenile delinquents and support parents of non-German origin in their communication with their children’s schools (Gujer, 2006/07). Yet, high unemployment, the dismal educational situation and the criminalisation of migrant youth hugely contrasts with their political and cultural status and influence in the city. Indeed, empowering disadvantaged groups through initiatives that promote their education and employment is the first step on the path to integration, as state policies send signals to the majority community about corresponding attitudes and behaviour. Yet, very often the media, politicians and certain state institutions fuel implicit prejudices and resentments, which serve to counter the efforts undertaken by integration policies and influence members of dominant groups, such as the Berlin-based student groups of this study, to perpetuate oppressive discourses.

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[59] With hybridity, Bhabha denotes a form of subversive opposition, which challenges the assumption of the ‘pure’ and the ‘authentic’, concepts upon which the resistance to imperialism often stands (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2003: 9).

[60] Kanak Attak, a predominantly migrant movement in Germany, comprises an activist group that positions itself as anti-nationalist, anti-racist and rejects any form of identity politics. Their common position, as stated on their website, consists of an attack against the 'Kanakisation' of specific groups of people through racist ascriptions which denies people their social, legal and political rights.
See http://www.kanak-attak.de/ka/about/manif_eng.html. Accessed on June 29, 2011.

4.3.3. Religious Oppression: The Muslims

> *Allahu Akhbar Allahu Akhbar.*
> *Allahu Akhbar AllahuAkhbar.*
> *Ash-hadu an la ilaha ill-Allah. Ash-hadu an la ilaha ill-Allah.*
> *Ash-hadu anna Muhammad-ar-Rasoolullah. Ash-hadu anna Muhammad-ar-Rasoolullah.*
> *Hayya 'alas-Salah. Hayya 'alas-Salah.*
> *Hayya 'alal-falah. Hayya 'alal-falah.*
> *Allahu Akbar Allahu Akbar.*
> *La ilaha ill-Allah.*[61]
> (Sound recording no. PK626, Wünsdorf, December 11, 1916)[62]

This Azan (Muslim call for prayer) was sung in Arabic into the funnel of a gramophone on December 11, 1916 by Nur Muhammed Hisameddin, a Tatar interned in the prisoner of war (POW) camp, the so-called Halfmoon Camp in Wünsdorf close to Berlin. Located on the site of the Halfmoon Camp was also the very first mosque to be constructed on German soil in 1915 intended to satisfy the religious needs of the interned Muslim POWs (Höpp, 1997; Günther & Rehmer, 1999). The construction of the mosque was part of German WWI strategy against the nations of the Triple Entente: France, England and the Russian Empire. In the armies of Great Britain and France, so-called ‘colonial’ soldiers from India and North Africa were often sent to the front of the battlefield as ‘cannon fodder’ (Kahleyss, 1998: 13). Many succumbed to their destiny; others were captured and ended up in German POW camps. Interned at these special camps in Wünsdorf and Zossen were predominantly Muslim POWs from the armies of the western powers. With the Ottoman Empire as Germany’s ally in WWI, Islam came to be used as a strategic weapon in instigating imprisoned Muslim soldiers of the

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[61] English translation of the Azan: God Is Great (said four times). I bear witness that there is no god except the One God (said twice). I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God (said twice). Come to prayer (said twice). Come to success (said twice). God is Great (said twice). There is no god except the One God.

[62] The sound recordings made at the Halfmoon Camp are presently to be found in the sound archive of the Humboldt University in Berlin.

Triple Entente to change sides and to enter the war against ‘the enemies of Islam’ (Höpp, 1997: 20). Religious faith was seen to be the binding element of all Muslims, which was used to make them feel a sense of belonging to the Ottoman Empire. Freedom from the colonial powers, it was suggested, was a religious duty, and as such the only course of action was to join the ‘holy war’ (Jihad) beside Germany and the Ottoman Empire (Kahleyss, 1998: 7). On 7.1.1915, in a letter to the German Foreign Office, the acting General Staff of the Army wrote:

> in erster Linie darum handeln, die Gefangenen durch energische Propaganda, insbesondere durch Predigung des heiligen Krieges, sowie durch entsprechende Behandlung zu Änhängern unsere Sache zu machen (Kahleyss, 1998: 15).

The camp was thus a point of crystallisation of this war strategy. For the construction of the mosque in Wünsdorf, the Charlottenburg company Stiebitz and Kopchen were asked to bear in mind its “temporary character” (Höpp, 1997: 115). Built within the short span of five weeks in 1915, yet a remarkable structure, the mosque became the most preferred motif of the German WWI propaganda, and was used principally for the “religious influencing” of the interned prisoners (ibid: 120). However, since this war strategy had limited success as most prisoners wished only to return home, the ‘Jihad’ propaganda was officially discontinued in 1916 (ibid: 82-86).

Once the war came to an end, the mosque was mostly used by members of the ‘Islamische Gemeinde von Berlin e.V.’, an association for all Muslims founded in 1922, who would drive out to Wünsdorf once a week for their Friday prayers (Günther & Rehmer, 1999: 95). Falling to decay, it was demolished in 1930 (Höpp, 1997: 130). Two years prior to its demolition, a group of Indian Muslim students inaugurated on March 23, 1928 a mosque in the Brienner Street 7-8 in Berlin-Wilmersdorf (Günther & Rehmer, 1999: 97), which is the oldest mosque in the city of Berlin.

Since the construction of the Wilmersdorf mosque, no other mosques were seen in the city for decades. Plans for building mosques were constantly held up by discussions about their location and structure (Häussermann et al., 2005: 67), and whether they should be allowed to have minarets or not. It seems that only a mosque that could serve German war or related strategies has legitimate grounds for existence, since post war, the far greater percentage of Muslims in the city and country did not warrant the construction of mosques. This demonstrates the structural and institutional discrimination of Muslims at the time on grounds of race, religion and nationality. During this time, Muslims in Berlin congregated at various places to worship: In factory buildings, backyards or on the ground floors of ordinary houses (ibid). This ensured that there was no visible sign of Islam in the topography of the city. More recently, a number of mosques have been erected, but plans for the construction of each bring with it organised protests from the local population. For instance, in 2006, the approval for building a mosque in Heinersdorf, an eastern neighbourhood of Berlin, led to protests by its residents, who held a candlelight vigil. One of them is quoted to have said: "They want to have a minaret with a muezzin who gives the call to prayer five times a day. Can you imagine? Five times a day over our rooftops."[63] The fact of 'our' rooftops suggests the 'othering' of Muslims and that their integration has still not been successful. Moreover, the media's usage of sensational headlines as in the case of the above-mentioned article, '*The Muslims are Coming*!', only serves to provoke fear and hostility in the majority population. Similarly, politicians often single out Muslims in discussions centring on integration or reveal, like Germany's new Interior Minister Hans-Peter Friedrich, their lack of interest in the integration of Muslims in the country. In his very first press conference in March 2011, Friedrich said that Islam does not play a major role in German culture and that, "Islam in Germany is not something substantiated by history at any point".[64] Today, Turks, comprising Germany's biggest migrant group, form a significant proportion of Germany's three million Muslims (Beck, 2002: 391). Prior to 2000, problems pertaining to Muslims were referred to in association with the category 'foreigner' or 'Turk', today however, "it is the fact of their being Muslim that is the focus of consideration" (Spielhaus, 2006: 24). It is not surprising then that Muslims fall back on their religion, which gives them a We-feeling due to the segregation from the so-called 'West' and a sense of pride and superiority over Germans. As discussed in the theoretical framework (see chapter two, politics of representation), this oppositional positioning of identities is a form of strategic essentialisation for the purpose of political mobilisation (Spivak, 1993 cited in Chadderton, 2009: 72). On the part of the majority population, Islam is posited as the factor that hinders integration. Eberhard Seidel argues that the discourse about Muslims in Germany is a "self-image discussion conducted by the majority society" (Spielhaus, 2006: 27, original translation). Islam is thus postulated as the antithesis of the West. In response to the 'Muslim test'[65] in Baden Württemberg, he stated that the more that things are bad, incorrect or deviant from the norm are projected onto all that is Muslim, the brighter, purer and more developed the 'self' appears. Thus, the 'othering' of Muslims and the performing of oppressive discourses serve to maintain the positive self-image of the Germans. Simultaneously, Muslims can also be seen to perform such essentialisation of their bodies and identities as a survival strategy that maintains their positive self-image (i.e. through the belief that their culture and values are superior to those of the Germans). Indeed, if Muslims do not feel accepted and respected, they will not attempt to integrate; it may also lead some to adopt radical views. Yet, only a very minor percentage of Muslims turn radical, others exclude themselves and many others integrate or assimilate into mainstream society.

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[63] Moore, M.S. & Gutsch, J.M. (2006) "The Muslims are Coming!" *Spiegel International Online,* December 28, 2006. Available from: http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,456751,00.html. Accessed on April 18, 2011.

[64] Dempsey, J. (2011) "Islam not way of life here: German Interior Minister." *The Indian Express*, March 8, 2011, p. 14. The New Interior Minister's statement was a backlash to German President Christian Wulff's statement "Islam also belongs in Germany" in his speech to mark the 20th anniversary of German reunification. See Dowling, S. (2010) "Should Muslims be treated on an equal footing?" *Spiegel Online International*, October 8, 2010. Available from: http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,722065,00.html. Accessed on June 29, 2011.

By and large, the image of the Muslim is based on "the idea of their 'otherness' and on the assumption that the religious and cultural concepts of these groups are immutable" (Spielhaus, 2006: 27). Accordingly, debates about Muslims in Germany frequently emphasize their religious identity (ibid: 22). Correspondingly, stereotypical images of Muslim women are also reflected in the discussions with the Berlin protagonists of my study. This often serves the contrary, provoking young women to wear a headscarf, explains a Muslim teenager who simply desires to enjoy his youth and says that there will be time enough for religion:

> Immer mehr junge Mädchen tragen Kopftuch, das ist in Mode gekommen […] Religion ist überhaupt wieder in Mode gekommen. Damit wird angegeben, ein bisschen ist es wohl auch Provokation. Ich glaube an Gott, aber ich nehme das Thema jetzt nicht so ernst, ich will erst meine Jugend genießen, später habe ich ja noch Zeit dafür (Koppelstätter, 2011: 20).

Castro Varela & Dhawan (2007) argue that in particular people from countries with a Muslim majority are suspected of violating human rights, and that it appears to be the burden of the white man to rescue the other woman from the other man. In their words:

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[65] Since January 2006, all Muslims applying for German citizenship in the Federal state of Baden-Württemberg are required to take a 'Muslim test', which comprises a catalogue of around 30 questions checking the disposition of Muslims. See Reimann, A. (2006) "Liberale Doppelpass im Bundestag." *Spiegel Online*, January 19, 2006. Available from: http://www.spiegel.de/politik/debatte/0,1518,396185,00.html. Accessed on May 10, 2011.

> Insbesondere Menschen aus Ländern mit muslimischen Mehrheiten stehen unter dem beständigen Verdacht, die Menschenrechte zu missachten. […] Und wieder scheint es dabei die „Bürde des weißen Mannes“ zu sein, die „Andere Frau vor den Anderen Mann“ zu retten. (p. 33)

Here, politics of representation play a decisive role as it constitutes a process through which representatives represent, embody and depict the represented, explain Castro Varela & Dhawan. In this connection, integration politics is also entangled with the politics of representation because it deals with the questions: What can be done to integrate migrants? What instruments can provide a diagnosis for successful integration? Such questions dominate integration debates and serve to stabilise popular images and engage in discourses of power, which determine who belongs and who does not, and who could perhaps belong if s/he makes an effort (ibid: 31).

One of the main challenges facing Berlin is thus the integration of its migrant and in particular Muslim population. Integration is as yet not a reciprocal process and as such, it will only remain an appeal for assimilation: Forget where you come from and who you are, simply adapt yourself to prescribed behaviour patterns. This will, as we have seen, serve only to compound problems instead of resolving them. In effect, the representation of Muslims as ‘others’ prevails and results in their structural discriminations, which, as we observe in chapter six, is learned and performed by students of my study in Berlin.

4.3.4. Racial oppression

I tell my mother and she says, “I don't understand.” I say, "They think I'm black here." She says, "I don't understand."
When Derek Walcott (West-Indian Nobel Prize winner) was here, when I was standing next to him, someone approached him and said: "She must be from the same place as you -- you have the same hair and the same skin colour." And he looks at me and he says: "She’s not black." I'm like: "I'm black here." He says: "I don’t understand,” like my mother. [66]
(Katherine Duvigneau, a Puerto Rican-American woman living in Berlin since 2005)

Racial oppression takes many forms, some openly racist, some subtler. The latter form often makes it harder for the victims and their families to recognise it as discrimination and oppression, as the above example illustrates. Another example which I describe was narrated to me by a friend in Berlin: During the FIFA World Cup in Germany in 2006, Berlin welcomed a large international football fan community from across the world and with it came the festive mood and spirit of the competitive sport. Yet, it was in the streets of Berlin that young ‘black’ female fans were subjected to demeaning propositions: They were asked how much they charged for sex. Such humiliating encounters show the ‘othering’ of ‘blacks’ and how negative stereotypes are ascribed to ‘black’ women, for as Bhabha (2004) postulates, that the “bestial sexual licence of the African needs no proof” (p. 94),

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[66] Facebook Post (author anonymous) (2010) Based on an interview with Duvigneau, K. conducted by DW-World on the subject of racism in 2010. Available from: http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=2309869772&topic=3377. Accessed on April 18, 2011.

Brutal attacks on people of colour have been reported in Berlin, with certain districts such as Marzahn and Hellersdorf considered ‘no-go’ areas, the article of the Global News Digest indicated.[67] The UN body CERD, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in its report of 2008, emphasized the need for Germany to be proactive against racism in the country,[68] and pointed out that more ethnic minorities are required in its political system, police force and courts.[69] One of the problems associated with addressing racism in Germany is the inclination to directly link it to neo-Nazism and right-wing violence, which leads to a de-emphasis on racism in general, in particular on subtle acts of racism. Githu Muigai, UN special rapporteur for racism, stated that there is a "tendency to equate racism with extremist politics”.[70]

In August 2007, eight Indian were attacked in the East German town of Mügeln by a mob shouting ‘Foreigners Out!’[71] In the tussle of shifting responsibility from politicians and the police to the citizens of Germany, who were required to show ‘civil courage’ instead of being silent bystanders, the Tageszeitung, the German left-leaning daily wrote:

> Of course there is xenophobia in Western Germany. But only in the East is it a pervasive part of youth culture. […] The chances of becoming a victim of racist

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[67] Akwani, O. (2006) “Racism Against Blacks is a growing trend in Europe.” *Global News Digest*, June 10, 2006. Available from: http://www.imdiversity.com/villages/global/civil_human_equal_rights/RacismagainstBlacksinEurope.asp. Accessed on April 16, 2011.

[68] DW Staff (2008) “Germany needs to do more against racism, says UN body.” *DW-World.de. Deutsche Welle*, August 16, 2008. Available from: http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,3568646,00.html. Accessed on April 16, 2011.

[69] AFP (2009) “UN says Germany needs to tackle racism.” *The Local. Germany’s News in English*, July 2, 2009. Available from: http://www.thelocal.de/national/20090702-20329.html. Accessed on April 16, 2011.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Hawley, C. (2007) “Stamp Out Racism. It’s Your Job!” *Spiegel Online International*, August 24, 2007. Available from: http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,501892,00.html. Accessed on April 16, 2011.

> violence is much, much greater there than in the West. No-go areas are only to be found in the East. Mügeln is run-of-the-mill Eastern Germany.[72]

This may well be true, but the journalist only refers to cases of physical attacks. The two examples provided at the start of this section may not be life threatening but they negatively impact on self-perception and self-confidence, influencing all areas of life from personal relationships to those in the job market. The fear of racist behaviour and rejection can result in a person drawing back from mainstream society. As Katherine Duvigneau says,

> I just don't make an effort anymore to meet people. But I stay [at home] because I can get my work done, and yet I really can't get my work done, because I think about how much hostility I get. I've never been so angry in my life.[73]

This depicts how racist discourses have 'real' implications on the lives of people and how their lives are rendered unviable and unliveable (Butler, 2004, 1997b). Correspondingly, at both schools of my study in Berlin, students make racist jokes which they legitimise as being jokes, and not racism. In this way, subtle, implicit racism goes undetected affecting the daily lives of many people of colour within and outside the school.

A number of organisations and networks in Berlin are actively combating racism and providing assistance to victims. In 2006, the Federal government implemented, in line with EU directives, the General Equal Treatment Act, which aims at ensuring equal treatment for all in the workplace. Nevertheless, the government's political views often send signals that seem to legitimise racist actions: For example, the 'racial profiling' methods that will be used to restrict immigrants from North Africa. As a reaction to Italy granting Schengen visas to asylum seekers in 2011, screening practices for people coming to Germany are to be intensified.[74] It is feared that such screenings will be carried out on the basis of skin colour and origin. A spokesperson of the initiative 'Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland' (Black People in Germany) responded,

> Als schwarze Deutsche können wir uns darauf einstellen, dass wir natürlich von diesem ‚Racial Profiling' erfasst werden, denn um nichts anderes handelt es sich bei diesen Kontrollen.[75]

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid. Facebook post (2010).

[74] Wirminghaus, N. (2011) "Schleierfahndung gegen Nordafrikaner." Die Tageszeitung, April 12, 2011. Available from: http://www.taz.de/1/politik/deutschland/artikel/1/schleierfahndung-gegen-nordafrikaner/. Accessed on April 12, 2011.

[75] Ibid.

In an increasingly Islamophobic climate post-September 11, there would be without doubt a general suspicion of all those who look even vaguely Arab or South East Asian, she argued. This contributes to rendering even those people ‘foreigners’ who have been living in Germany since decades or were born here. Sending signals that contradict their anti-racist stand, the government only augments the problems of people who are perceived as ‘different’. Such signals are picked up by the students of my study who can be seen to perform racist discourses in their jokes and bullying.

4.3.5. Gender and sexuality

With Angela Merkel as Chancellor of Germany, it may be hard to say that women are subordinated in German society. Nevertheless, although the hierarchy of the sexes is not necessarily visible on the surface, it certainly exists and influences the lives of women in small but significant ways. A study of the European Union shows that women in Germany earn on average 22 percent less than men.[76] The study reveals that Germany’s male-female wage differential is amongst the largest in the EU, with only Estonia, Cyprus and Slovakia having larger pay disparities. Maternity leave, it has been suggested, could be a reason for the lack of women’s ascent into higher wage brackets, i.e. if they spend a few years away and return to the same job as previously held[77]. Sule Eisele-Gaffaroglu, a woman from south-west Germany, for example, sued her employer for demoting her when she became pregnant,[78] demonstrating the structural discrimination of women in German society. Wondering how such discrimination could be the outcome of forty years of the (German) feminist movement, the Berliner Zeitung wrote “How could this happen in a country with a feminist movement that holds itself in such high regard?” Indeed, demographic changes are slowly forcing companies to view women not simply as a reserve labour force but as equal-to-men employees, but the glaring gaps of today cannot be overlooked. Similarly, the German Senate recently took into consideration the low percentage of women in leading positions and proposed quotas for women in top jobs since only 10 percent women can be found on supervisory boards of private companies and only around 23 percent in public corporations.[79] Taken together with the lower wages (than men) earned by most women, these statistics build up a scenario of inequality within Germany. At the same time, it must be noted that there are other ways in which women are discriminated against.

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[76] Crossland, D. (2008) “Wage Discrimination Hurting German Women and Economy.” *Spiegel Online International*, June 10, 2008. Available from: http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,558785,00.html. Accessed on April 16, 2011.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Hawley, C. (2008) “Feared Cost of Anti-Discrimination Law May Not Exist.” *Spiegel Online International,* August 15, 2008. Available from: http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/0,1518,572290,00.html. Accessed on April 19, 2011.

Sexuality is no taboo in German society and sexual identity in its many forms is seen to be lived and celebrated in Berlin. The capital city of Germany is seen as a gay and lesbian Mecca. Which city can be credited with a gay mayor?[80] Berlin's governing mayor Klaus Wowereit is quite open about his homosexuality and works to get broader rights for gays and lesbians in Germany. Since years the country has been an oasis for all those who wanted to express their homosexuality freely without feeling out of place. Even in the 1920s, homosexuals openly protested against their discrimination; they had their own magazines, societies and cabarets.[81] Needless to say the dark period came with the rise of Hitler when homosexuals suffered persecution at the hands of the Nazis. The story of this torturous time can be found in the Gay Museum in Berlin, one of the few museums in the world dedicated to gay culture.[82] Post reunification of Germany and the growing global acceptance of gay and lesbians in public life, Berlin's status as a haven for gays and lesbians has been firmly established.

Holger Wicht, editor of the gay magazine *Siegessäule* states, "whoever or whatever you are: in Berlin you fit in. Even so it is not a paradise."[83] He suggests that although gays and lesbians are accepted in Berlin, their day-to-day experiences tell another story: They continue to be confronted with discrimination in the form of abuse and violence. Wicht finds that many young people find it hard to acknowledge their homosexuality, and that 'gay' is still considered an insult. This demonstrates the structural discrimination of gays in German society, where gay is positioned as the oppositional category to 'men' within the concept of heterosexuality. He refers also to the difficulties faced by Turkish homosexuals who "cannot reconcile their feelings with the attitudes of their families."[84] Recent studies have shown that the production of 'masculinity' is linked to socio-structural hierarchy (Weber, 2009), and within the framework of heterosexual normativity, being gay detracts from masculinity because you are either masculine or feminine, you cannot be both. This is because being not quite masculine or not quite feminine is still understood only through one's relationship with 'quite masculine' and 'quite feminine' (Butler, 2004: 42). These (excluding) gender norms lead young homosexuals to struggle with their gender identity and become grounds for their continued experience of discrimination and oppression. Whereas many young men prefer to keep their sexual preferences hidden as it disturbs their self-image, others are hindered by homophobic attitudes at home and within their peer groups. Correspondingly, the narrations of a number of the students of my study in Berlin illustrate homophobic attitudes or their inability to conceive of homosexuality.

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[79] Jakob, C. (2011) "Gefürt von Frauen." *Die Tageszeitung,* April 12, 2011. Available from: http://taz.de/1/nord/bremen/artikel/1/gefuehrt-von-frauen/. Accessed on April 14, 2011.

[80] Cravotta, S. (2007) "'La dolce vita' of gays in Berlin." *Cafe Babel.com. The European Magazine,* August 29, 2007. Available from: http://www.cafebabel.co.uk/article/21953/la-dolce-vita-of-gays-in-berlin.html. Accessed on April 16, 2011.

[81] Ibid.

[82] It must be said, however, that the Gay Museum in Berlin addresses lesbians only marginally, focusing predominantly on the struggles of homosexual men in Berlin and Germany. This suggests the prevalence of gender norms even in a museum that addresses sexual identity beyond the gender binary.

[83] Ibid. Cravotta, S. (2007)

The coming into force of the Civil Partnership Law on August 1, 2001 has since made it possible for same-sex couples to take the 'sacred vows'. The number of 'gay marriages' has been growing steadily ever since, particularly in Berlin (Rebling, 2007). However, this law does not guarantee homosexual couples the same rights and equal status enjoyed by heterosexuals: In terms of income tax and death duties, same-sex couples do not have the same advantages a heterosexual couple does; they are also barred from adopting non-biological children, unless it is the adoption of a step-child, i.e. adopting a partner's biological child (Rebling, 2007). Such regulations, as those for lesbian and gay adoption, serve to create the norm of ideal parents, which simultaneously serve to draw the limits of who counts as legitimate parents and what ideal parents should be (Butler, 2004: 56). Thus, the Civil Partnership Law took a historical step forward with its legalisation of same-sex marriages. Nevertheless, the specific content of the legislation, as we have seen, reveals homophobic attitudes behind it.

The situation in Berlin may not be as drastic as compared to other cities of the world, certainly in comparison to Mumbai it can indeed be considered a haven for gays and lesbians, but problems of perception revolving around masculinity and femininity persist (as we will observe in chapter six) and can only be effectively dealt with through a broader understanding of the concept of gender.

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[84] Ibid. Cravotta, S. (2007)

4.3.6. Interim conclusion

Even before Berlin was recognised as a city in the modern sense, it had experienced the constant flow of migrating populations. At different periods, there has been either internal or transnational migration to the city of Berlin in order to support local commerce, trade and industry. Yet, we can say that at no other time in its history have the residents of Berlin been more diverse than they are today. Despite a steady trend of migration, immigrants who came from the 1960s onwards were considered to be in the country only temporarily and no efforts were made to assist their integration into mainstream society. In fact, the differential treatment they initially experienced in terms of housing, educational facilities and the building of mosques can be compared to the structural and institutional discrimination of the Jewish community in the 18th century (Kleff & Seidel, 2008: 13). Consequently, problems rose in line with circumstances: Ethnic enclaves formed in certain districts of the city, problems at school resulted in weak German language skills, absenteeism and a higher school dropout rate, unemployment led to crime and delinquency – all of which resulted in their lower socio-economic status in the city. By the time the question of integration of migrants came up – which only occurred once it was agreed that migrants should be given the right to remain in Germany for the long-term and be able to participate fully in German society (Spielhaus, 2006: 23) – problems has multiplied. Moreover, the deficit-oriented integration approach reveals how, through the ascription of characteristics (such as deficient), the marginalised are blamed for the very structural inequalities that oppress them (i.e. victim blaming). Until the German Immigration act was ratified on 1st January 2005, Germany used anti-migration rhetoric whilst posting the highest immigration rates (Düvell, 2006: 17).

Today, the situation of people with migrant backgrounds may have changed from the period between 1960 and 2000, but being a migrant or Muslim is still a devaluation. And post September 11, it is the Muslim who is primarily positioned as the ‘other’ of society (Spielhaus, 2006: 24). In comparison to previous working class recruitment, for example, today’s politics endeavours to get highly qualified migrants from so-called Third World countries to Germany, albeit, consistent with former times, for a limited period of five years. It can thus be said that through the myriad, contradictory discourses prevailing in present-day Germany, a discourse of disassociation emerges (Spielhaus, 2006), not one of integration. However, successful integration requires efforts on the part of the state, civil society and the migrants. It means participation of and equal opportunities for all sections of the population.

Although opportunities are being opened up for migrants and disadvantaged communities, prejudices exist and the media and politicians continue to fuel them, leading to discriminatory practices at all levels in society. In terms of gender, the discrimination of women may not be visible on the surface but is revealed, for example, in the disproportionate wages they receive on the job market. Moreover, Berlin may be considered a haven for gays and lesbians but structural discrimination and the 'othering' of homosexuals continue to negatively influence their lives. These 'othering' discourses of class, race, Muslims, gender and migrants are learnt by the young Berlin respondents of my study, and they impact on their identities and subjectivities. In chapter six, we will examine students' narrative strategies which help us to identify some ways in which these discourses are taken up and represented by students in their everyday life, within and outside the school and during the Anti-Bias trainings I conducted in Berlin.

4.3. Conclusion

So we can say that both Bombay and Berlin are characterised by internal and transnational migration, and as such both are influenced and challenged by migration. The nation inevitably needs its 'others' to place itself at the centre, and the centre becomes the location from where it observes those on the periphery, the minorities of the nation. Education, culture, economy are institutions which are central domains of all citizens, and it is within such societal domains that "the same contradictory process of marking symbolic boundaries and constructing symbolic frontiers between inside and outside, interior and exterior, belonging and otherness" (Hall, 2005: 182) play out. Balibar (2005) argues that

> it is only when we prove able to make a productive use of this diversity instead of reducing it to national or civilizational stereotypes ("Christian Europe", "the West", etc.) or subjecting it to "common policies" which only cover dreams of hegemony (Europe as a new "World power", or "World actor") that we may prove able to work through our internal and external relationship to "others" from neighbours to strangers. (p. 208).

Balibar writes with reference to Europe, but the same is easily transferable to India. Fixed and essentialised notions of a people, community or culture only add to the disparities and oppressions of the past and continue to threaten the existence of all minorities in society. The two main discursive markers in Europe (and Germany) remain refugees and religious fundamentalism (Hall, 2005: 183). In India, the three master narratives centre on secular nationalism, religious nationalism and caste (Varshney, 2002: 55).

Islam is the principle offender in the discourse of fundamentalism in both cities. Religion plays a significant role in the lives of the average resident of Bombay/Mumbai, a city that has experienced a great deal of communal conflict and violence, in particular between the majority Hindu community and its largest minority, the Muslim community. These conflicts are sustained by communal politics linked to Hindu nationalism in its mission to create a Hindu state and strengthen Hindu identity. In Berlin, Muslims, in particular Turks, form the largest minority community and the subject of their integration is laden with discussions about the building of mosques, headscarf debates and honour killings. Integration, as posits Berry (1997), must be a reciprocal, interactive process requiring the voluntariness of migrants and the openness and acceptance of the majority. This openness is not fully forthcoming in either city, which is also linked to the lower social positioning of Muslims in both cities.

Racial oppression also persists in both cities: In Bombay the caste system, based on the ranking of low and high castes, purity and pollution, which has long since been legally prohibited, has developed into a system of tyranny which begins with a preference for fair skin and ends with the oppression of Dalits and others of the lower castes. In Germany, right-wing extremism has received tremendous attention which has served to some extent to sideline covert, subtle forms of racism, witting or unwitting. Politicians and the state apparatus often send conflicting signals to the population, for example, promoting positive integration policies, yet using racial profiling measures to screen those coming to the country.

Gender discrimination can also be located in the two cities. A patriarchal system continues to prevail in India, where a large number of women experience oppression and disempowerment. Measures empowering women have been implemented but unless and until perceptions of people change patriarchy will remain in place. Perception of gender is the root cause of the inequality between men and women and also the reason for people’s continued performance of heterosexual norms. In Berlin, the hierarchy of the sexes is not visible on the surface but is revealed on the labour market: In the disproportionate wages earned by men and women and the limited number of women in leading positions. Also, in contrast to Bombay, sexuality is not a taboo in Berlin and different sexual identities appear to be accepted in mainstream society. Nevertheless, oppressive discourses of gender influence perceptions about men and women, masculinity and femininity.

Racial and gender discrimination together with religious and ethnic belonging and socio-economic class can be seen as intersecting layers of discrimination, where two or more factors are often simultaneously the cause of discrimination. I have not addressed social class as a separate category in this chapter simply because it surfaces time and again, as we have seen, in gender, racial and inter-religious relations. It is those moments when class intersects with the categories race, gender and religion that illustrate how a scenario of inequality and oppression in the cities of Bombay and Berlin is built on this intersection. In the end, it is one’s perceptions and beliefs that influence attitudes, prejudices, discriminatory and oppressive practices, which are embedded in and (re)produce dominance discourses in society. As Devine & Plant (2002) state, prejudice reduction is a difficult task as it means overcoming years of exposure to and imitation of prejudiced and stereotypical information that directly influence one’s subjectivity and practices. From a Butlerian (1997a, 2004) perspective, this can be regarded as a case of subjectivation and performativity. Thus, in writing this chapter, I have attempted to reveal the need for strategies and interventions such as the Anti-Bias which assist in changing perceptions and behavioural patterns by reflecting on one’s prejudices, one’s conditioned responses and the structures of power and dominance they serve.

It is the study of the different periods through which the cities of Mumbai and Berlin have passed that enables us to recognise present-day prejudices, hierarchies and oppression in these cities – thereby an understanding of their present constitution and the processes that continue to define them. The themes predominant to these cities, whether subtle or overt, past or present, influence and shape the identities and subjectivities of the young protagonists of my study which play out in their day-to-day interactions within and outside the school. In providing an overview of the conflicts and master discourses in these cities my aim has been to provide the reader with a setting of this study, within which s/he can understand how the young people of my study not only perpetuate but also negotiate the myriad conflicting and shifting discourses within and of the city (presented in chapters six and seven).

Chapter five:
Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to provide an account of what methods were used to address the aims of this study, how precisely data was collected, looked at and analysed and how quantitative research was used to complement the predominantly qualitative research. It also takes a look at how practitioner research provides added value to this study, discussing the complexity of a single individual dealing with both the practical and theoretical ends of the study. As I elaborate in my final conclusions (chapter nine), as practitioner research and an interpretive study, its dissemination to practitioners working with youth (whether in schools, youth groups or youth organisations) has the potential to contribute to social change (Humphries, Mertens, Truman, 2000). This chapter also discusses how poststructuralism provides a vital analytical tool in educational practice, in particular how it assists in understanding and analysing the narrations and practices of the students of this study. It should be noted, however, that three different approaches – a psychological approach to prejudice, a structural approach to discrimination and a poststructural approach to identity – form the theoretical framework used to analyse the findings of the study. Thus, it is through respondent narrations that this study looks at prejudicial and oppressive discourses prevalent at present times in society and investigates the effectivity of the Anti-Bias training and approach on influencing their attitudes, belief systems and behaviour. The study also examines the adaptability of the training to different cultural and socio-political contexts, i.e. Bombay and Berlin.

To answer the question, what methods have I adopted for this research?

> A delicate question. For isn’t it the method, the path to knowledge, that has always led us away, led us astray, by fraud and artifice. (Irigaray, 1985 in Gordan, 1997: 39)

It is therefore also the limitations of the methods used and the assumptions that underpin this study, as well as my own subjectivity that I describe, all of which inevitably influence the findings and outcomes of this study. Simultaneously, I discuss whether and how I managed to circumvent these shortcomings.

5.2. The schools

As my research aims primarily at testing the effectivity of the Anti-Bias approach, I conducted trainings at four different schools, two each in the metropoles of Berlin and Bombay.

One of the reasons for conducting a study and correspondingly trainings within the framework of a school was to investigate the extent to which the school, through its curriculum and extra-curricular activities, promotes a bias-conscious and discrimination free environment on its premises and a critical reflection on the influences of dominant discourses on individual perception. Ninth graders became the respondents of my study as I wished to conduct a follow-up meeting with them and felt certain to be able to reach them at their respective schools the next year.

With respect to Bombay, I had to rely on colleagues and friends in the city to be able to reach and convince schools to participate in the study. I managed to contact the Global Paradigm School via email and was lucky to generate interest through my initial correspondence. In Berlin, where I am currently based, I had a difficult time generating interest in a 2-day workshop with a maximum of 12 participants. After an extended period of time and much frustration, my trainings were confirmed and subsequently conducted at the following four schools in order of presentation.

The names of the four schools have been changed to maintain their anonymity. The name of the teacher, head teacher or principal as relevant has been replaced by his/her initials.

Bombay: Mumbai English World School and Global Paradigm School
Berlin: Berlin International Secondary School and James Benning Public School

School 1: Mumbai English World School is a private school founded in Bombay, India, in 2004 along the guidelines of the International Baccalaureate (IB) and has presently a student population of 633 of which 459 students are of Indian origin. Students comprise 30 different nationalities, and each class has not more than 25 to 26 students. School teachers comprise 88 of Indian origin and 73 expatriates. The principal, in an email correspondence explains,

> As an international school subscribing to the IBO philosophy, we focus on internationalism and global issues. The part each individual plays in society, at local, national, international levels is a focus. (FO, principal, Mumbai English World School)

School fees include a deposit of Rupees ten lakhs (approximately 15500 Euro) and Rupees five lakhs (approximately 7,700 Euro) academically per year. The school can thus be said to serve students from economically strong (‘wealthy’) families, including children of expatriates.

School 2: Global Paradigm School was founded in Bombay, India, in 1962 by a group of parents who were dissatisfied with the prevailing educational system. They wanted a school with alternate teaching methods where teaching is not necessarily imparted in structured way. It is run by the Global Paradigm School Association made up of the parents of children admitted to the school; the committees of the Board are also managed by parents. In 2008, the school (particularly grades eight and nine) experienced an unexpectedly large number of dropouts for want of an international system of education. The school offers an international system of education - the IGCSE system (The International General Certificate of Secondary Education) up to grade seven. Thereafter, students follow the ICSE curriculum (The Indian Certificate of Secondary Education),[85] hence the high number of dropouts in grade eight and nine. In all, the school has 350 students with 30 to 34 students per class. The students and teachers are predominantly of Indian origin. The school comprises children from upper middle class families. The principal describes the families as ‘”having slowly moved up economically and aspire for a better education for their kids”. As an association, school fees are Rupees 80,000 (approximately 1263 Euro) per year; they also have a (confidential) scholarship fund for applicants from economically weak backgrounds.

School 3: Berlin International Secondary School is a private school founded in Berlin, Germany, in 1994 as a primary school (initially a British military primary school when the British army was stationed in Berlin); the senior school started in 2000. The head teacher explains that

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[85] The Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE) examination is conducted for tenth graders by the Council of Indian School Certificate Examinations, a private, non-governmental board of school education in India. It has been designed to provide an examination in the English language for a course of general education according to the recommendations of the New Education Policy 1986 (India).

> the unique selling point of the school is that it offers the British national curriculum which leads to a first set of exams at the age of 16 called IGCSE [International General Certificate of Secondary Education], which is what British kids would get at 16. For the last 2 years in school, […] we offer International Baccalaureate because we feel that it is much more appropriate to the international clientele of the school and it does give them access to universities worldwide, including now Germany. (SS, head teacher, Berlin International Secondary School)

The school has about 425 students with 12 to 14 students per class. It is therefore, as described by the head teacher, a British school with a British curriculum, modified for an international school. Interestingly then, 50 percent of the students are of German origin, 20 – 25 percent British and American nationals and 30 percent other nationals. The school caters to students of ‘rich’ families whose parents are employed at the upper echelons of embassies and consulates, as well as German businessmen/women who seek fluency in the English language for their children. School fees are accordingly between 11000 to 13000 Euro (approximate fees for senior school).

School 4: James Benning Public School was founded in 2000 by the state government of Berlin and is a member of the European Council of International Schools and a cooperating member of UNESCO’s Associated Schools Project Network (ASP). A secondary school teacher explains the background of its inception:

> It was founded because of Berlin’s relatively new status as the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany and because many people from abroad come here, the so-called highly mobile families, who stay here for a couple of years only and move on to some countries where their children don’t necessarily need to know German but be fluent in English. (HU, secondary school teacher, James Benning Public School)

Students attending the upper secondary section can graduate either with a bilingual German *Abitur*[86] or the International Baccalaureate Diploma (IB). There are about 800 students in the school with 50 to 60 students per grade (i.e. 25 to 30 per class). Students of various different nationalities study at the school; teachers of German origin form the largest teaching staff but a “huge group of international people with all sorts of backgrounds” are present, states HU, history and Spanish teacher at JBPS’ secondary school. She informs that students who are new to Germany receive additional help in the German language. “Some of them already lived in Berlin and found out about the school and others, quite a number of the international or so-called international staff, were recruited when they were still in their home countries,” she explains. As state schools in Germany do not charge tuition fees, admission is based on fluency in English or German for primary school, and fluency in English for secondary school. As explained above, the school caters to students of German origin but also to highly mobile families, for example children of diplomats.

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[86] Final examinations that students take at the end of their secondary education.

Across the two cities, the Mumbai English World School in Bombay and the Berlin International Secondary School are private schools, both offering the IB Diploma. James Benning Public School is the only public school. Yet, except for the Global Paradigm School, which is privately run and still adheres to an India-wide regulated curriculum and examination not prescribed by the state but adhering to the New Education Policy 1986 (see footnote 85), the other three schools offer the option to obtain an IB Diploma.

5.3. The participants

The main collection of data took place during the Anti-Bias trainings conducted at schools 1 to 4, which were recorded on a camcorder. In addition, participants of all four trainings answered background questionnaires and empathy testing questionnaires on socially relevant issues before and at the start of their training respectively. They also filled in largely quantitative evaluation questionnaires at the end of their training. The data was collected using mixed research methods, combining questionnaires, discussion groups and individual interviews. The participants of the trainings at all four schools studied in grade nine at the time and were aged between thirteen and fifteen years; one aged sixteen. In Bombay, participants of both schools were of Indian origin and nationality, whereas those in Berlin were of diverse nationalities and/or descent.

In brief, there were
8 participants at Mumbai English World School: 6 boys and 2 girls – ages 14 to 15
12 participants at Global Paradigm School: 3 boys and 9 girls – ages 13 to 14
9 participants at Berlin International Secondary School: 3 boys and 6 girls – ages 13 to 14
11 participants at James Benning Public School: 7 boys and 4 girls – ages 14 to 16

School 1: Mumbai English World School (Bombay)

Name/Initials	Age	Sex	Nationality	Religious affinity
DS	14	male	Indian	Jainism
PP	15	male	Indian	Hinduism
EN	14	male	Indian	Hinduism
YS	14	male	Indian	Hinduism
AD	15	male	Indian	Hinduism/Jainism
YR	14	male	Indian	-
SS	14	female	Indian	Hinduism
AS	14	female	Indian	Hinduism

School 2: Global Paradigm School (Bombay)

Name/Initials	Age	Sex	Nationality	Religious affinity
NM	13	female	Indian	Hinduism
JV	13	female	Indian	Islam
BP	13	female	Indian	Hinduism
BS	13	female	Indian	Hinduism
SM:	13	female	Indian	Hinduism
MI	13	female	Indian	Zoroastrian
JP	13	female	Indian	Hinduism
RP	14	female	Indian	Zoroastrian/Hinduism
MA	14	female	Indian	Jainism
JL	14	female	Indian	Zoroastrian
KJ	14	male	Indian	Hinduism/Jainism
VK	14	male	Indian	Hinduism

School 3: Berlin International Secondary School (Berlin)

Name	Age	Sex	Nationality	Religious affinity
AA	13	female	UAE	Islam
LS	14	male	German	-
SM	13	female	German	Protestantism

Name	Age	Sex	Nationality	Religious affinity
UC	13	female	South African	-
CD	13	male	British (born in Germany)	Catholicism
LM	13	female	German	Judaism
SB	13	female	New Zealand/Maori	Anglican
BP	14	male	German	Evangelist
AJ	13	female	French	Catholicism

School 4: James Benning Public School (Berlin)

Name	Age	Sex	Nationality	Religious affinity
CB	15	male	US-American	Christianity
SD	15	male	Danish	Atheist
MH	15	male	German-Hungarian-Italian	Christianity
AC	14	female	Belgian	Roman Catholicism
JF	15	female	British	None
DM	15	male	Sri Lankan (born in Germany)	Buddhism
FL	15	male	German	Catholicism
AK	14	female	German (born in Oman)	None
MR	16	male	German (born in Canada)	Christianity
ST	14	female	German	None
GG	15	male	Cameroon (born in Germany)	Catholicism

5.4. Research design and process

5.4.1. Introduction

I conducted an empirical study to investigate the aims laid down in the introductory chapter of this thesis. I have used mixed research methods in order to address these aims which I have elaborated on further below. I also discuss the problems these methods give rise to and how I deal with them and move ahead despite the challenges they pose. As such, the limitations of these methods and of the study have also been addressed.

5.4.2. Research methods and material

In this section, I explain in detail the various methods used and how they address the aims of my research.

I conducted four trainings and four follow-up meetings between 2008 and 2009 respectively. The research design comprises mixed methods in order to collect data that allowed me to address the aims of my research from different angles and perspectives. My research design is predominantly qualitative with a quantitative method that complements the intricacy and descriptive nature of the study. Essentially, I have included the discussion groups of the Anti-Bias trainings as data in the study. This bulk of data has been supplemented by the follow-up discussion groups and interviews, and the structured open-ended questionnaires.

Before I met the respondents of this study for the trainings, I sent in a background questionnaire (anonymous) by way of the principal or school teacher to be filled out and returned by the students on the first day of the training. This was a structured open-ended background questionnaire which provided me with some personal information about the participants, their interests, leisure activities, relationship with the family, relationship with the school and religious affinity. From a poststructural point of view, these questionnaires constitute essentialising questions that attempt to fix identities. Yet, throughout this thesis I endeavour not to fix identities, and as such take students responses as temporary attachments to certain identity positions (Hall, 1996: 6) when filling in these questionnaires, and not as essential truths. At no time do I claim to know the student-subjects, and I present only a situated, partial truth.

I also requested participants, just before the start of the given trainings, to fill out open-ended (anonymous) questionnaires which would test level of empathy on socially relevant issues (SI questionnaires) and afford insight into how they represent themselves and others. The questions therein were city-specific, i.e. specific to Berlin and Bombay, with certain questions overlapping in the questionnaires used in both cities. For example, in Bombay, participants were required to answer questions pertaining to slum demolition, migrants and language proficiency, reservation of seats for the physically and mentally challenged, liking and disliking of religious, cultural and ethnic groups, also questions pertaining to racism, gender and homosexuality. Similarly, with regard to Berlin, questions addressed themes such as migrants and language proficiency, liking and disliking of religious, cultural, ethnic groups, opinion on affirmative actions for migrants, also others linked to racism, homosexuality and prejudices (see annex 6 and 7). These issues were presented as questions or statement requiring descriptive responses or were presented as situations where they were required to take a stance and provide reasons for their choices and answers. The idea behind this questionnaire was to ascertain the extent of students' awareness, empathy and stance with respect to socially relevant issues prior to the training.

To investigate the types of prejudices and discriminatory practices that students themselves face, witness in society or have learnt, discussions groups in plenary during the four two-day trainings were recorded on a camcorder. Video recordings served the purpose of recording not just verbal responses but also participants' reactions and behaviours (body language) when the researcher is present and/or when her back is turned away. Moreover, it would have proved difficult to match individuals and their voices when listening to audio recordings of large groups. However, video recordings present their own challenges for the researcher which I have dealt with further on in this chapter.

Anonymous, structured, semi-closed quantitative questionnaires evaluating immediate responses to the trainings were also filled in by the students. These questionnaires served a dual purpose: Firstly to provide students with an outlet to voice their feelings, negative and positive, about the training. Although this was also done in plenary, these anonymous written responses were meant to provide the young participants with the opportunity to voice that which they may have preferred not to mention before the entire group. Secondly, they often tend to forget the precise content and process of the training at a later date. This enabled immediate feedback for the trainer and researcher, and also the possibility of comparing immediate responses to those received a year later.

At the follow-up meeting in 2009, semi-structured group discussions were organised for reflection on the previous year's training. The discussion groups required students to reflect on and evaluate whether and what changed for them over the course of the year following the Anti-Bias training, and what they remembered and felt about the training at the present time. These discussion groups were aimed at testing the extent to which the particular training had functioned effectively and its relevance to their daily lives. Furthermore, since each training comprised a number of discussion groups, it was important to bring participants, even for a short while, into the familiar working format of the training. Moreover, as Archer (2003) indicates, discussion groups

> provide a means for eliciting jointly constructed discourses and for examining interactions between respondents and interviewers in the construction of these discourses. (p. 40)

This also made it possible to me to observe their interaction. Certain individuals are induced to speak up and feel relaxed and comfortable in their peer group. It provided them with the opportunity to develop their arguments and take the discussion to a level which is often not attained in individual interviews. Yet, the contrary is also sometimes visible - a few dominant members of the group express their opinions strongly and quite often, whereas others either do not speak up or go along with those persons. For the most part, depending on the size of the group, most participants did however engage in the group discussions.

Subsequent to the group discussions, one-on-one interviews were conducted with each student, which were audio recorded. This enabled students to delve deeper and reflect at a more personal level on external and internal changes without interference and comments from others in the group. Interviews afforded the more reserved or shy participants a level of comfort and security to speak up and talk about themselves. However, interviews also introduce a hierarchy between interviewer and interviewee because the interviewer defines the interview situation, determines the topic, poses the questions and has the power to interpret the interviewee’s statements (Kvale, 2005: 7). I argue that the trainings in 2008 and group discussions preceding the interviews in 2009 had already largely established a balance of power between the researcher and the students interviewed. This is because of the highly interactive nature of the trainings and group discussions, where group dynamics play a vital role. In group discussions, the balance of power and control “is shifted towards the participants, it allows them to voice their own agendas and explore their own interpretations” (Wilkinson, 2004 cited in Liamputtong, 2011: 63). Moreover, these interviews were meant to supplement the data collected during the group discussions and opened up possibilities for conflicting narrations and information to surface, which I take up and address in chapter six.

Semi-structured interviews, video recorded, were conducted with the principal of the school or the teacher (who organised the trainings) in order to get initial information on the school, its structure and functioning, information on the students of grade nine, relevant problematic issues in school (e.g. racism, bullying), whether and how interculturality is addressed in the school, the programmes and projects, i.e. extra-curricular activities organised by the school in this regard. These interviews also provide some insight into what the school as an educational institution does to promote anti-discriminatory and anti-racist attitudes and behaviour amongst its students and on its premises, and how they deal with these issues when they arise.

To sum up, the following kinds of research methods have been used in the study:
1) Open-end background and empathy testing questionnaires before and at the start of the trainings respectively
2) Quantitative evaluation questionnaires at the end of the trainings
3) Video recordings of the trainings and of the follow-up discussion groups
4) Audio recordings of the teacher/principal interviews (with the exception of the Mumbai English World School, where the principal filled in a questionnaire)
5) Audio recordings of the follow-up student interviews

In addition, I took notes on the informal discussions and conversations, of the mood and at times attitude and behaviour of the students during the four trainings. I have naturally had to narrow my focus for the purpose of this dissertation. The vast data that I collected could result in multiple PhDs and address a multitude of issues. When going through the data, I began to select certain issues which I have dealt with in detail in this dissertation. This of course means that other equally relevant and important issues much in need of research and analysis in the socio-political and educational field have been ignored in this study.

Prior to the trainings, I sent a workshop flier (see annex 1) upon which I obtained final consent of the school and parents of the participating students. I also clarified in a letter to the school that I would be recording the trainings on a camcorder but would maintain the anonymity of the students in my research. I have therefore provided (as seen above) only the initials of the participants of my study.

5.4.3. Mixed Methods Design

As described above, I have used mixed research methods to conduct this study – in this case predominantly qualitative methods with one quantitative method. This is unusual as those who generally collect oral narratives rarely use quantitative tools and vice versa (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Methodological purists argue that one should restrict oneself within either a qualitative or a quantitative paradigm, and that the two approaches are not complementary (ibid). The main opposition to mixed methods research is that it is contrary to the assumption that specific methods are closely related to specific epistemological ideas, and accordingly data collected from each method should be construed and understood differently (ibid). In effect, it is posited that they are incompatible. Another argument is that some of the details of mixed research have not yet been completely worked out by research methodologists (e.g. problems of paradigm mixing, how to qualitatively analyse quantitative data and how to interpret conflicting results) (ibid: 21).

Proponents of mixed methods such as Johnson and Turner (2003) explain that methods should be mixed such that they ultimately have complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses. They emphasize therefore the importance of recognising that all methods have their limitations as well as their strengths. So although paradigmatic differences between quantitative and qualitative research exist and each comes with certain benefits and costs, Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that, "In many situations, researchers can put together insights and procedures from both approaches to produce a superior product (i.e. often mixed methods research provides a more workable solution and produces a superior product)" (p. 17). They define mixed methods research as, "the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study," meaning that it is, "inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research" (ibid).

Some of the main reasons for using mixed methods are provided by Bryman (2006, cited in Creswell & Plano Clark, 2010: 62): They are able provide validity to corroborate quantitative and qualitative data; they offset weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative methods and draw on their strengths; they provide a more comprehensive account that neither qualitative nor quantitative methods can achieve alone. Quantitative data provides outcomes and qualitative data the processes, and whereas quantitative data provides general information, qualitative provides the context.

Mixing methods can thus depict a dynamic multifaceted reality. Most likely, the findings of the different methods will illustrate differences. These differences should not be considered problematic because they have the potential to reveal new insights, where one set of information can help clarify the other. Conflicting information and inconsistencies make it imperative, according to Jennifer Mason (2006), that we study data more carefully and dealt with these contradictions. She argues in favour of a multi-dimensional logic that can help us understand multi-dimensionality and social complexity:

> The opportunities for harnessing creative tensions and building on rather than ironing out the distinctive strengths of different approaches are substantial. Such an approach, like no other, can facilitate the researcher in asking new kinds of questions, 'thinking outside the box', developing multi-dimensional ways of understanding and deploying a creative range of methods in the process. (p. 10).

My research design uses mixed methods precisely in order to close the gap created by the limitations of qualitative research. Importantly, my design also has a transformative-emancipatory perspective to it. In recent years, there have been a large number of researchers from a variety of areas such as disability, race, gender, post-colonialism and critical theory who have contributed to what is called the transformative-emancipatory paradigm (Mertens, 2003: 135). The main aim of such research and work is to address asymmetrical power relations and to locate ways of connecting research to social action, importantly to the question of social equality and justice (ibid: 140). Mertens argues that since the transformative-emancipatory perspective places importance on the lives and experiences of marginalised groups, it forms an appropriate paradigm for this field of research.

> Transformative scholars assume that knowledge is not neutral but is influenced by human interest, that all knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and that an important purpose of knowledge is to help people improve society. (Mertens, 2003: 139)

The transformative-emancipatory ontological view is that there is no one reality or truth, rather a diversity of viewpoints and numerous social realities that are located within historical, political, cultural and economic value systems (Mertens, 2003). This view corresponds to my reading of Butlerian poststructural theory, which I use to analyse students' narrations and take up further below. At an epistemological level, Mertens explains that the emphasis is on developing trust and equity between the researcher and the participants of her study.

Methodically, she considers mixed methods suitable for tackling research questions and problems related to the diversity of groups.

Primarily qualitative, my study includes quantitative elements in order to get concrete feedback on the training (evaluation questionnaire), and to ask questions differently and ask separate questions (from discussion groups) to test attitudes and empathy. Jennifer Mason (2006) outlines six strategies for mixing methods, which I have, to a greater or lesser extent, used in my study:

a) mixing methods for a close-up illustration of a bigger picture, or for background,
b) to ask and answer differently conceived or separate questions,
c) mixed methods to ask questions about connecting parts, segments or layers of a social whole
d) mixing methods to achieve accurate measurement through triangulation,
e) mixing methods to ask distinctive but intersecting questions, and
f) mixing methods opportunitistically.

I have thus attempted to close the gaps in my predominantly qualitative research by using a quantitative questionnaire in order to get a more comprehensive picture and analysis of data. This, as I show in chapter seven, has revealed contradictions and new explanations that could be useful to Anti-Bias and diversity training practitioners and theoreticians in the field.

5.4.4. Practitioner Research

Conducting the aforementioned Anti-Bias trainings and analysing the data collected within a theoretical framework, I donned a dual mantle, that of the researcher and the practitioner, thus placing my study under what is called Practitioner Research, a general term for research based activities in the social and educational fields. In this section, I proceed first by showing how practitioner research is suited to my research and practice before examining the challenges that this field of research presents.

Practitioner Research is closely related to and draws on the methodologies of the “family of Action Research”. In the 1940s, Kurt Lewin conceptualised a theory of action research which he described as “proceeding in a spiral of steps, each of which is composed of planning, action and the evaluation of the result of action” (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1990: 8). The definition proposed by Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury (2001) presents action research as

> a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally to the flourishing of individual persons and their communities (p. 1).

Groundwater-Smith & Mockler (2006: 107) posit that “those involved in practitioner inquiry are bound to engage with both ‘theoretical’ and ‘practical’ knowledge moving seamlessly between the two”. Lewin (1946) argues that action research should be “research leading to social action” (p. 203), the possibilities of which open up because questioning and reflecting on one’s work will inevitably lead to changes in perception and consequently also in one’s actions (McNiff and Whitehead, 2002). Action research can be distinguished from other types of research through “its transformative intentions” (John Elliot, 1997: 25). My extensive work as trainer for Anti-Bias and diversity trainings led to questions about its effective functioning and adaptability in different contexts. In 2004, I completed a Masters in Intercultural Education at the Freie Universität Berlin within the framework of which I, together with a classmate, conducted a training for teachers of the Liborious Gymnasium in Dessau, Sachen-Anhalt, Germany. The theoretical inputs of my M.A. complemented the practical project (the training for teachers), both of which provided impetus and background to this study. What I attempt to clarify is that in my work as trainer, my practical considerations have been supported by theory. As Reddy (2005: 6) posits, praxis-orientated study areas are important in the coming years in light of growing multiculturality and resultant challenges to teaching instruments. As described in the introduction, I consider practitioner research imperative to the field of diversity and anti-bias trainings because we must constantly develop the approaches and trainings that we use both at a theoretical and practical level. Ultimately, theoretical deliberations on the approach should and will have practical implications on the training, its methodology and implementation. This is what I have attempted to do through this study. As Anti-Bias pioneers Brunson Phillips and Derman-Sparks (1997) state:

> We need to begin to document anti-bias work and share effective strategies. It is those teachable moments that are very critical because they help to create change. Perhaps universities and practitioners can begin to collaborate to document what is working, so that we begin to get a sense of what the solutions are. (p. 177)

However, practitioner research is not without its challenges. Prominent theorists of action and practitioner research have placed emphasis on the ethics of conducting such research. This implies that we must reflect on our values systems, perceptions and beliefs without which seeking answers to our work will yield no fruitful results. David Bridges (2003) also reminds us of the need to critically analyse the assumptions we make, irrespective of the methodology adopted by the research since the lack of such self-reflection could put into question the validity of the entire study. Self-reflection and a constant questioning of one’s cultural and socio-political influences is the cornerstone of the Anti-Bias approach. To ignore or overlook this facet would mean not ‘practicing what one preaches’, neither as trainer nor as researcher. I therefore problematise, further in this chapter, the limitations and assumptions that underpin the methodology, so that bringing them out into the open can provide another way of looking at and examining data, adding rather than subtracting value from this study.

A researcher must address ethics and trust in any kind of practitioner research which will reflect on the quality of the research. Although this is not necessarily particular to practitioner research, it does pose ethical considerations for my own study having as one individual conducted the aforementioned trainings and also collected and analysed the data. In keeping with the broad, over-riding ‘ethical’ guidelines for practitioner researchers outlined by Groundwater-Smith & Mockler (2005: 7) in their conference paper, I now describe how my research maintained these guidelines. Practitioner Research:

should observe ethical protocols and processes: This is a basic guideline for all research activities. As indicated further above in this chapter, due consent was sought and received well in advance from participants/students, parents, relevant teachers and the school authorities. As per assurances made, I have refrained from using the names of participants in this study and use instead their initials.

should be transparent in its processes: This thesis once published will be made available and facilitate the sharing of knowledge and ideas.

should be collaborative in its nature: I have shared information and discussed with colleagues, i.e. Anti-Bias trainers, the concept and methodology of the trainings in order to improve and develop them even before implementation. Data collection has been supplemented by data from within the field of my practice.

should be transformative in its intent and action: Practitioner researchers engage in an enterprise which is basically about contributing to both transformation of practice and transformation of society. As Marion Dadds (1998) writes:

> At the heart of every practitioner research project there is a significant job of work to be done that will make a small contribution to the improvement of the human condition in that context. Good practitioner research, I believe, helps to develop life for others in caring, equitable, humanising ways. (Groundwater-Smith & Mockler, 2005: 7)

Through this study, it has been my attempt to improve and further develop my own practice and provide insights useful to that of my colleagues. I hope that the participating students gained from the two-day in-depth exchange and discussion and will become multipliers of social change. Finally, my study will offer participating and other schools the possibility to learn from each other's policies and programmes in furthering intercultural education and an anti-discrimination environment on campuses across the two cities and two continents.

As Stenhouse (1975) has posited, "We are concerned with the development of a sensitive and self-critical subjective perspective and not with the aspiration to unattainable objectivity" (p. 157). I have attempted through this study to gain greater insight and knowledge that will enable me to develop a more informed approach to my work in the anti-discrimination field and to share these experiences and the knowledge gained with other practitioners and academics, so that they could relate it to their own work and use it, if appropriate. With this study I have thus attempted, as posit Groundwater-Smith & Mockler (2005), to operate as a responsible and ethical practitioner in my endeavour "to create actionable and actioned outcomes" (p. 7).

5.4.5. Poststructuralism

Poststructuralist theories and investigative methodologies are for the most part ignored in educational research, they are said to belong to the field of "humanities", to be "too complicated" and "not relevant to education" (Lee, 1992: 1). Poststructuralism does not simply refer to a single method, nor a body of theory or methodology (ibid: 2), rather it is a mixture of different discourses, knowledge, traditions and methodologies which come under the umbrella term ‘postmodernism’ (ibid: 6). Feminist poststructuralism is

> a mode of knowledge production which uses poststructuralist theories of language, subjectivity and social processes and institutions to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies of change. (Weedon, 2006: 364)

It is a theory that

> decentres the rational, self-present subject of humanism, seeing subjectivity and consciousness as socially produced in language, as a site for struggle and potential change (ibid).

Although poststructuralist methods offer a theorisation of power, they “seek to avoid the impression of a too-neat analysis of power” (Lee, 1992: 2), to avoid the impression that, “the story is too pretty to be true” (Foucault, 1980 in Lee, 1992: 2). It attempts to work with the blank spaces, interstices and uncertainties within research. Furthermore, posits Lee (1992: 2), one consequence of poststructuralist theories is that the role of the researcher can be understood as a “producer”, rather than a finder of knowledge about the world. We can thus refer to the “productivity of research”. Ulrike Gebhardt draws our attention to *selectivity*, which is inherent to conceptualising and formulating a research project.

> [W]hat we want to collect data for decides what data we collect, if we collect them under the hypothesis that a different reality is possible, we will focus on the changeable, marginal, deviant aspects – anything not integrated which might suggest fermentation, resistance, protest, alternatives – all the ‘facts’ unfit to fit. (Gebhardt cited in Lee, 1992: 2-3)

Lee explains that social practice education is intrinsically linked with understanding how meaning is produced and how relations of power are negotiated. Accordingly, she (ibid: 7) concludes by listing three specific reasons why poststructuralism is vital for educational research:

A) because it deals with practices and therefore accounts for social complexity rather than reducing and marginalising it;
B) it rejects the opposition between the individual and the social and examines their relation;
C) it addresses power and facilitates a research practice that is politically informed.

My own research draws on poststructuralist feminist work, in particular that of Judith Butler, whose theory of performativity is vital to the analysis of the perpetuation of discursive practices by students of my study, as well as the agency they take on in their performance of social norms, conventions and practices. I argue that identity should be understood, borrowing from Lee (1992),

> as a process, continually in renewal, continually at risk. It is a process of reproduction of global structures of social differentiation and relations of power but is governed in locally specific and piecemeal ways (p.3).

Additionally, identity must be understood not as unitary and static, rather as a dynamic relationship between the individual and the social, both of which are constantly evolving. Butler's theory of performativity makes it possible to examine how this relationship plays out in daily practice, becoming a vital analytical tool in my study.

My study constructed a view of grade nine students through the lens of feminist poststructural theories of subjectivity. As the "producer" of the research, I set up what I was looking for – the complex ways in which identity signifies across a wide range of practices. What emerges is a strong sense that power and privileges were reproduced and that they worked against a range of contradictions. Studying power and knowledge which are negotiated around personal experiences and discriminatory practices shows that hegemony is not a rigid, fixed and uniform category. There are always gaps and slippages in local sites (Lee, 1992: 5). The political implication of this is the opening up of spaces for intervention whether through Anti-Bias trainings, by teachers within the classroom or educational policy makers. This is possible if the processes of social categorization and differentiation and the operating of power in and through social action and social life within specific sites can be extensively described. This is what my study attempts to achieve by locating sites of agency and resistance to dominance and hierarchical social structures.

5.4.6. Critique of methods

5.4.6.1. Challenges and tension

Using a poststructural approach, I proceed to show the challenges and tensions that were faced in the collection of data and whether and how it was possible for me to move beyond these challenges, in fact opening up new ways of looking at material. These challenges prove to be very productive and afford new insights, focusing on areas yet under-investigated in social academia.

5.4.6.2. The hunt for schools

As I briefly indicated in the section on the schools, it took a considerable amount of time and convincing to receive a sign of interest and to access the schools for my trainings. Most of the reasons cited had to do with the duration of the training – a two-day training would not fit into the timetable of the students – and the fact that I wanted a group of not less than eight and not more than twelve participants for the trainings. Generally, there are around 25 students per class and it is understandable that principals/teachers wished the entire class to participate. If this were not possible, they explained that it might be perceived as discrimination by the students and/or their parents. Moreover, it would make it difficult to hold lessons as usual with half the class was absent on those two days. Even once the four schools confirmed their interest it took a considerable amount of time – stretching over six to eight months – to fix the final training dates. In Bombay, where the trainings were held before Berlin, one school confirmed only on my arrival in the city and subsequent to my meeting with the principal. In Berlin, it was easier in so far as I could go across to the school and meet with the principal or teacher at any given time.

I consider these points quite relevant as they go into building a trusting relationship with the school and principal/teacher in question. In addition, once I got through the door, I received the necessary support and assistance at various stages of this study. All teachers/principals that I communicated with and interviewed through the course of my study have been a great source of help. Their insights into the educational system and descriptions of the structure of their own school and student information have been invaluable to this study. Only the principal of the Mumbai English World School in Bombay remained elusive, and I was unable to meet him before or after the training in Bombay. Moreover, he was the only one authorised to answers questions on the school. As a result and unable to meet him personally, I sent in a questionnaire by email and received sketchy, statistical information which lacks the thought and reflection that a personal interview may have enabled.

The difficulty in drawing the interest of schools for such programmes makes one aware of the need to inform, promote and sensitise school authorities for such training programmes, projects and activities, without which a one-world pedagogy is hindered.

5.4.6.3. Voluntary versus compulsory participation

With reference to diversity trainings in companies, Rynes & Rosen (1995) argue that mandatory attendance signals a higher level of managerial commitment to making trainings succeed. Moreover, contact research has demonstrated that contact is most effective when those who have no choice come together (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006 in Levy Paluck, 2006: 591), but also that unmotivated participants (e.g. those forced to attend a training) may not benefit from contact (van Dick et al., 2004 in Levy Paluck, ibid). The case of the schools where I conducted the trainings fits well with van Dick et al.'s analysis. Three schools offered students the option to decide whether they wanted to participate in the training as well as providing prior information on the aims and objectives of the training. Only the Berlin International Secondary School made the trainings mandatory and provided no or scarce information as to the purpose and content of the training. Although all participants were dutifully present, both trainings (the one I ran for my study and the parallel one conducted by my colleague since the school wanted the entire grade nine to participate in the training) had problems of low motivation and disruption. A few students kept repeating, "*We should be in class. We are forced to be here.*" and "*We aren't racist, why do we need this training.*" This attitude proved difficult to surmount. Furthermore, as I show in chapter six and seven, unmotivated participants did not benefit or benefited less from the training. Despite permitting students who weren't interested to leave, all participants of my group remained in attendance and many continued to cause disruptions. Their remaining in class can be linked to the fear of punishment if the head teacher learnt about their truancy. The juxtaposition of high institutional support plus low motivation (mandatory training) or low institutional support plus high motivation (voluntary training) suggests an interesting and important experimental paradigm to test in anti-bias training settings, which I take up again in chapter eight where I present the findings of my study.

5.4.6.4. Fewer students at the follow-up meeting

The numbers of students present at the follow-up meetings a year later were noticeably less than at the trainings at all four schools. Reasons include ill health and absenteeism from school on that day, also some students, particularly in Berlin, had moved with their parents to another country or returned to their home countries. This was partly foreseen (the moving away of some participants) and unavoidable. Nevertheless, the students in attendance participated actively for the most part, making it possible to collect relevant data.

5.4.6.5. Male - female ratio

An equal girl to boy ratio was not possible at any school. One reason for this was that students volunteered their participation. As seen above, it was preferable that they were not selected by the researcher or teacher. In the case of the Berlin International Secondary School, where all students of grade nine were made to participate, absenteeism and ill health accounted for an unbalanced girl/boy ratio. Furthermore, not every class or grade has a balanced sex ratio. It would therefore have been very difficult to achieve such a ratio at any school.

5.4.6.6. Drawbacks of recording on a video camera

The group discussions that took place in plenary during the 2-day training were recorded on a video camera with a mike placed alongside the chairs in the circle. Although the camera was initially a bit intimidating for some participants, some started posing for the camera after a while. The students were aware and observed the camera watching and recording them, which could have influenced their responses and reactions. However, my feeling after the first half-day was that they simply forgot about the camera and talked all at once. I was forced to remind them about it time and again in order to avoid recording an overlapping of voices that would make transcription tedious and erroneous. Reminders only restored order for a short time.

Students are often inclined to talk all at once. Despite repeated requests, they continued to do so at lesser or greater extents in all four schools. Also, some students spoke far too quickly or way too softly for smooth transcriptions. There was thus some loss of data due to overlapping of voices and background sounds. Yet, students tend to repeat what they say in different sentences which made it possible to minimise this loss, in particular, since most often single words were incomprehensible and not entire sentences. As such, it was possible to ascertain whether they had repeated information given in their former or subsequent sentences.

5.4.6.7. Overload of questionnaires

It may have been far too much for young people to fill in three questionnaires for the training. The background questionnaire that they filled in at home before the training commenced, and the (SI) questionnaires on socially issues relevant that were filled in on the first day of the training, before it commenced. The evaluation questionnaire, a largely quantitative questionnaire, was handed out at the end of the 2-day training. I believe that the questionnaires were spaced out with sufficient time in-between for participants not to be overloaded. In all, one or two participants of the different trainings did comment on the number of questionnaires. Nevertheless, since each questionnaire is parallel, yet separate in what it attempts to achieve, I believe that it has made a significant contribution to the data collected.

5.4.6.8. Collecting and analysing data from the Anti-Bias trainings

The Anti-Bias trainings provided an excellent opportunity for collecting data on the narrative patterns and strategies related to prejudicial and discriminatory experiences of participants, accounts of their discriminatory practices as well as the discrimination they witnessed in society. This was possible through the interactive self-reflective nature of the training methodology. Nevertheless, participants do not always express their feelings and experiences, especially younger people; rather they describe the experiences of ‘others’ or talk about ‘others’ behaving in a particular (negative) way. In effect, they adopt narrative strategies, which I explore in chapter six. This is a likely escape from possible penalisation by the trainer and peer group and a positive self-presentation strategy, as well as a way of adapting to the normative context of the training (van Dijk, 1989; Dovidio, 2001). However, these narrative strategies provide pointers that reveal thoughts, beliefs and attitudes. This means that one needs to read into their words and extract meaning from it, which is what I do in chapter six where I identify the narrative patterns and strategies students use in their representation of difference. It is important to point out that I do not necessarily believe in the ‘truth’ or ‘authenticity’ of their narrations on discriminations and prejudices or believe that these imply direct discriminatory behaviour and practices. Their narrations are important as they are indicative of manners of speaking or narrative styles which reflect implicit prejudices and the use of stereotypes. I focus on the three categories race, religion and gender as they emerged as the three main themes recurring during the trainings within all four groups. Importantly, I take social class as a foregrounding element that I address as and when it surfaces in the discussions related to the three categories.

The questionnaires on social issues relevant (SI questionnaires) to the respective city and country were a means of cross-checking or receiving further information on particular subjects, and a number of them emerged in the trainings. For example, certain students snickered when the subject of homosexuality surfaced. This suggests their implicit attitudes and prejudices. Considered through Butler's notion of performativity, the students can be said to be performing dominant heterosexual norms and discourses. A number of questions dealing with homosexuality in the SI questionnaires received direct responses such as "I don't like gays". This cross-checking of data was thus possible in many instances, which depicts the relevance of administering questionnaires in addition to the material recorded during the respective trainings.

5.4.6.9. Self-Evaluation

As qualitative research goes, it depends to a large extent on the narratives and stories of its respondents. Thus it requires respondents to reflect on and evaluate their own attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. This was for the most part, the process undertaken in this study. In her paper, Levy Paluck (2006) claims that such evaluations do not rule out sources of bias like self-presentation and social desirability issues that plague self-report studies. It is not possible to ascertain whether the participants are trying to satisfy the trainer and researcher (a self-presentation bias) or whether their responses are based on their need to conform to political correctness (a social desirability bias) (ibid: 577-595). This is well true to some extent but we could then say that the young people are able to distinguish between what is politically correct, what can be said and what should not be said. Some responses and narrations during the training can be said to correspond to this argument, likewise, some of the statements in the *anonymous* SI questionnaires. Yet, in many cases, the anonymous SI questionnaire depicts the opposite, i.e. open prejudiced opinions. Additionally, during the trainings one notices, for example, giggling, snickering, mocking comments of the some of the students, which not only implies that they are not (always) trying to satisfy or please the trainer but also their lack of reflection and political correctness. From a poststructuralist perspective, however, the question of bias in self-evaluation becomes negligible since these young people can be said to be negotiating discourses at that given time. Therefore their actions/reactions cannot be taken as a single truth or representative of their 'true' identities, but as a discursive or performative constitution of self at that moment. Through the theory of performativity, it is possible to understand students narrations as representations of the way in which identities are performed and negotiated at a given moment.

Nisbett & Bellows (1977, cited in Levy Paluck, 2006: 583) argue that it is not easy for people to evaluate the outside influences on their behaviour. Although this has truth to it, before a researcher represents and classifies students and evaluates their behaviour or outside influences on their behaviour, students themselves should be given the opportunity to do so. It may not be easy for students but they can be guided in the process by asking the right questions. This is the course taken for my research, and I observed that individual interviews worked effectively; students opened up and talked more freely about themselves. This was not the case for all students but a large number of them. Simultaneously, one can argue that these are then leading questions, eliciting responses that the researcher wished to hear, responses that affirm the aims of the research project. However, if one goes through the questions (see annex 8 & 9), it will become evident that very few questions were prepared so as to leave the onus of the discussion on the students and to use these question purely as 'guiding' questions. In addition, students were asked indirectly about the outside influences on their behaviour by way of questions focusing on perceived changes in their life at home, in their peer group and/or in school. These external factors have a substantial influence on behaviour and should be analysed in combination with the training to identify change more comprehensively. This is what I have attempted to do in this study.

5.4.6.10. Who speaks and for whom?

Most ethnographic research seeks to represent 'difference' and thereby assumes that the notion of 'the other' can be known. This needs to thematised as the representation of 'difference' is inevitably linked to the question of power. As researchers,

> we give things meaning by how we *represent* them – the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them. (Hall, 1997b: 3)

Thus, to represent also means to symbolise, classify, stand for, be a specimen of or substitute something. Broden & Mecheril (2007: 12) argue that representation forms an identity: Re-presentation creates the represented. As posited by Hall (1997a),

> Individuals may differ as to their social class, gendered, 'racial' and ethnic characteristics (among other factors), but they will not be able to take meaning until they have identified with those positions which the discourse constructs, *subjected* themselves to its rules, and hence become the *subjects of its power/knowledge*. (p. 56, original emphasis)

In this way, representation serves to construct hierarchies, and privilege characteristics and norms reflected in the representation. Although, whilst conducting this study, I was not (particularly not in Berlin) a member of the dominant group, rather I study students from privileged groups, my position as researcher and trainer places me in a position of power within the setting and context of the training in contrast to the respondents of the study. My role as trainer (I was perceived similar to being a teacher) unwittingly creates this hierarchy. This is a crucial aspect since my trainings and study attempt to challenge oppression and discrimination. Broden & Mecheril (2007) argue that despite the need to consider the limitations of the practices of representation, understood explicitly as critical practice, it is nevertheless important to name the existing dominant relationships in the discourse on migration (or any other relevant discourse). The question “Who speaks?”, where the researcher questions and analyses his or her own assumptions and subjectivity, could in this case be understood as the introduction of an intercultural professionalism which then also becomes the subject of the study.

> Nur eine selbstbezügliche und selbstkritische Professionalität und Intellektualität ist in der Lage, auf migrationsgesellschaftliche Dominanzverhältnisse angemessen zu reagieren - nicht nur, indem nach weniger dominanten Verhältnissen gefragt wird, sondern auch, indem die Thematisierung und Problematisierung der eigenen semantisch-intellektuellen, monetären und allgemein: ökonomischen Verstrickung in Dominanzverhältnisse zum Thema eines Projektes wird, das von der Idee einer Kritik motiviert wird, die durch ihre grundlegende Ausrichtung radikal ist (Broden & Mecheril, 2007: 22).

Broden & Mecheril argue in the context of societies characterised by migration, which Bombay and Berlin, the sites of my study both are. This self-reflective and self-critical professionalism can and must be applied to research with minorities and the majority, the dominant and dominated groups alike, so as to remain true to the principles of scientific inquiry. I conclude by responding to the question posed in this section - Who speaks and for whom? It is I who speak, and only for myself. This study is presented as one possible interpretation of the data from my perspective, and I acknowledge that other researchers will interpret and analyse this data in a different manner.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have described how I addressed the aims of this study and how I collected and analysed data, and considered what kinds of knowledge the methods I used produce. Despite challenges and tensions in collecting data, I have shown how research for social justice can use the combined approaches of qualitative and quantitative research, and how practitioner research is vital to further improving the Anti-Bias approach and trainings. I also explain how poststructuralism not only brings into focus my own subjectivity but also that of the respondents of this study, and how a poststructural examination of identity can open up space for intervention and resistance, and thus also for social change.

In the next two chapters, I present the data collected for my study, identifying in chapter six the narratives, strategies and patterns students deploy in their representation of difference, and examining in chapter seven their narratives of change in perceptions, beliefs and attitudes.

Chapter six:
Identifying narrative patterns and strategies

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I investigate the extent to which students of my study draw on discursive formations in their representation of difference. In other words, I present some of their narratives in order to depict their views, opinions and experiences and explore the strategies, narrative patterns and conventions they use, which can be linked to the discourses of race, religion, and gender and sexuality in their performance of their own identities and their performance of identities onto the bodies of others.

The theoretical underpinning of this study and the chapter on Bombay/Mumbai and Berlin have shown how prejudices and oppressive discourses in society serve to essentialise certain identities by marking them as embodying ‘otherness’. Thus we examined how prejudices and discourses are learnt, disbursed and legitimised through communication among groups, the media, socio-cultural and institutional practices in one’s society. This then underscores the significance of analysing discursive strategies and patterns, which can produce insights useful in challenging discriminatory and oppressive practices in society: It can reveal the current form and content of prejudicial representation, and will tell us more about how dominant student groups in Bombay and Berlin convincingly communicate such prejudices and oppressive discourses to other members of their group, and thus how prejudices are disbursed and shared among dominant groups. It also allows us to identify similarities and differences in the narrative patterns and strategies used by students in these two very different cities, furthering, in effect, research on prejudice. This chapter thus takes up one of the main aims of this study as it investigates ways in which student-subjects perpetuate structures of oppression within and outside the school.

In order to understand how students perpetuate prejudices and oppressive structures, it is necessary to interpret their narratives semantically. In other words, it is through the use of certain phrases, expressions, words and omissions in verbal and written communication that I interpret students’ narratives to identify the discursive patterns and strategies they use. The interpretation of discourse means assigning meaning(s) and reference to the expression of discourse (van Dijk, 1985: 104-105). I therefore proceed by describing semantic and other aspects that give meaning and a referential basis which facilitates the interpretation of students' narratives.

Teun A. van Dijk (1989: 122) identifies two memory structures into which prejudice appears: semantic or social memory which appears as general group attitude schemata and episodic memory as specific situation models. Wodak & Reisigl (1999: 184) clarify that semantic or social memory is collectively shared beliefs of a society which function on the basis of social relevance or the principle of functionality, whereas episodic memory entails personal or narrated experiences and events and patterns abstracted from these experiences. The actual production of prejudices, explains van Dijk (1989), involves a process of formulating and producing sequences of words, sentences or text forms.

> These forms embody the *strategic* expression of underlying semantic representations, signal intended speech acts, and manifest underlying opinions or emotions of the speaker (van Dijk, 1989:121, my emphasis).

Van Dijk terms these processes involving the retention, perception, use of information on ethnic groups (he does not make a clear distinction between ethnic and racial, religious and other groups) and their speech acts or actions 'strategies'. These processes are said to be monitored by a 'Control System' (van Dijk, 1989), which links the aims and interests during communication (e.g. persuasion) with the situational and individual social conditions (e.g. the level of education, gender, and relationship to the person one is addressing) (Wodak & Reisigl, 1999: 185). One of the main strategies of the control system, postulates van Dijk (1989), is positive self-representation which is carried out by means of cognitive strategies such as *apparent denial* ("I have nothing against the Turks, but"), *apparent admissions or affirmation of exceptions* ("Although he is a Jew, he is a nice guy"), *transfer* ("I don't mind but my neighbours do"), and *contrast* ("We work hard but they…") (pp. 126-132). Such disclaimers are articulated with A BUT B, where A is mostly followed by BUT and B shows that there is an exception to the rule. Van Dijk also refers to the *production of fiction* but explains that very few speakers are able to coherently and consistently sustain a fictitious narrative in a long interview, and they will at some point revert to the truth, i.e. their version of the truth (ibid: 125-126). Moreover, he explains that it is important to note prominence in discourse: length or amount of details in stories as well as the speed of response or lack of search pauses, which may determine cognitive and conversation strategies relating to the introduction of the topic, level of description and topic shifts (ibid: 131)**.** Other discourse structures include, he explains, semantic structures, which should be examined relative to the overall narrative (and not in isolated statements) on the basis of the following categories, which may also be summarised in terms of the notion of (perceived) threat: Difference (of appearance, culture and behaviour), deviance (of norms, values, e.g. in crime), and competition (for space, housing, jobs, education and welfare) (ibid: 134). Semantic structures of propositions and their syntactic expressions signal a point of view on events, whereas lexical style will invariably manifest both communicative constraints and opinions, he explains. Rhetorical and conversational structures serve to reinforce creditability and support persuasion, but reveal also subtle underlying structures (e.g. the opposition between 'us' and 'them') (ibid: 138). Prejudices are also expressed in more direct formulations by using generalisations, posits van Dijk. Wodak & Reisigl (1999: 189) explain that people often take refuge in ambiguity which helps to avoid the exclusive referential subject under discussion. Wagner & Wodak (2006: 405) argue that ambivalence explains the appearance of contradictory claims in the same narrative, which illustrates the spontaneity of many narratives in an interview: Answers that are not planned and where the narrator becomes emotionally involved and performs his/her stories for the researcher. I thus examine which strategies and patterns students of my trainings deploy in their verbal narrations and written responses in their representation of difference. Thereby, I focus chiefly on racial oppression, religion and the oppression of Muslims, and gender and sexuality because these are categories that recur in the discussions in all four groups. Social class foregrounds relations linked to the aforementioned categories and has thus not been dealt with separately. In other words, when class interacts with the cultural signifiers race, religion and gender, it directly impacts on power relations in society as it provides the means for non-economic dominance and oppression, which is revealed in the students' narratives and strategies.

Having examined concepts that facilitate the interpretation of student narratives, I now outline the structure of this chapter and how and where data presented here was collected. I present the empirical data I collected for each school, beginning with the schools in Bombay, proceeding then to Berlin. For each school, I begin by examining their awareness of prejudices, focusing thereafter on the themes religious oppression directed at Muslims, race, and gender and sexuality, and conclude with a general discussion on conflicts in the school, where relevant. Subsequently, I draw parallels and locate differences not just between the two groups in each city but across board between all four groups in both cities. I have tried as far as possible to preserve the narrative flow and interweave it with contextual information and the examination of the strategies the narratives disclose.

I present part of the empirical data I collected before, during and after the Anti-Bias trainings in 2008. They comprise a background questionnaire, a questionnaire on social issues relevant to the particular city and country, talks with the respective teacher or principal, notes on my observations during the trainings, and the video recordings of the 2-day trainings. It should be noted that the video recordings were made only when students met in plenary for group discussions; no partner or smaller working group discussions have been recorded. These recordings enabled me to observe and analyse body language of the students in question which I describe where necessary. The questionnaire on social issues, which I henceforth refer to as ‘SI questionnaire’, was anonymous, i.e. they were asked to decide whether they wished to write their names on the questionnaire or not. Whereas the groups in Bombay reveal their names, those in Berlin do not. Correspondingly, I use the initials of those who did and number those who did not. The different exercises and methods I refer to in this chapter are briefly described in chapter three on the Anti-Bias approach and also presented (procedure, aims and goals of each method) in annex 2. The make-up of the four student groups, their ages, gender, and religious affinity, as well as background information on the four schools of this study have been presented in the previous chapter on methodology.

My purpose here is not to fix the narrations of these students as ‘truths’ but to regard them as patterns and strategies that they develop to represent the world around them. In other words, their narrations do not necessarily reflect their actions and do not imply a direct transfer to behaviour patterns and acts of discrimination, but provide pointers as to how they represent themselves and others. Moreover, a considerable part of the recorded material, even though it may deal with various forms of discrimination, does not appear here as I concentrate chiefly on issues that point to the intersection of religion/the Muslims, race, and gender and sexuality.

6.2. Bombay

6.2.1. Mumbai English World School (MEWS)

6.2.1.1. Introduction

As a result of changing system of education in Bombay and India, none of the respondents of my study have been studying at MEWS for more than 4 years. Most of them previously studied at schools that offered the ICSE (Indian Certificate of Secondary Education) programme and later changed to MEWS as it offers the IB or 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma', an international programme not based on the curriculum of any single country. Since the principal did not have the time for a personal interview, I sent in a questionnaire via email for his views and the stand of the school on various issues. To my question on the role of interculturality in relation to methods and activities within and outside the classroom, the principal responded:

> *As an international school subscribing to the IBO philosophy, we focus on internationalism and global issues. The part each individual plays in society, at local, national, international levels is a focus.*

Interculturality and diversity are core concepts of the IB philosophy, but through his brief response and my questioning of students I could not trace any methods used within the classroom or extra-curricular activities supporting such a philosophy. His response to the existence of conflicts at school among students or between students and teachers was simply '*none*'. In contrast to his comments, I noticed throughout the training recurring issues of bullying in class 9 but also, as narrated by the students, as a problem across most classes in school. Although some of them state in their background questionnaires that they are proud of their school, in a subsequent discussion (when I was asked to turn off the camera), many say they regret their decision to change schools and opt for MEWS. I return to the discussion on the school and conflicts in the school at the end of this section, and begin by examining students' awareness of their prejudices and identify their strategies and narrative pattern in their representation of difference vis-à-vis race, gender and sexuality, and religion.

6.2.1.2. Awareness of prejudices

Since my study addresses prejudices, and the Anti-Bias through its very name denotes an approach oriented at creating awareness of one's prejudices, I start out by investigating participants' awareness of their prejudices. It is during 'Talking Wheel', an exercise which allows participants to discuss with different partners their views on various topics, that they are asked to talk about their prejudices.

RJ: How was it to talk about your prejudices?
EN: You don't want to tell bad things about other people otherwise they... You're talking about those people. You dislike them. You dislike them. You're talking about your dislikes about those people so we couldn't share as much as we want to.
YR: I found it a bit difficult because I personally don't have grudges or prejudices against anyone even though thoughts always remain, but those thoughts don't reflect onto actions. I wouldn't really show attitude to anyone on purpose. I mean it may just happen but it's not what I feel.
PP: Same with me.
DS: Same with me. I agree with him.

EN is the only one who expresses awareness of his prejudices; the others state they don't have prejudices or grudges against others. YR (and PP and DS agree with him) denies personal prejudice, using as elucidated in the introduction, one of the strategies of the control system for positive self-representation possibly because he is aware of the normative context of the training (cf. van Dijk, 1989). Psychological theories of prejudice clarify that at the core of subtle, implicit prejudices is the conflict between the denial of prejudice and underlying unconscious negative feelings and beliefs (Dovidio, 2001: 838). This conflict is visible in that YR contradicts himself when he says, "*even though thoughts always remain,*" and that he "*wouldn't really show attitude to anyone on 'purpose',*" which emerges possibly due to the spontaneity of his response. We could therefore read YR's statement as saying that he holds implicit prejudices which are unintentionally activated. As impulsive reactions they give him no indication of his attitude toward the prejudicial topic or person (cf. Dovidio, 2001), and he remains unaware of his prejudices. Yet, slippages of the subliminal mind disclose implicit attitudes. At the same time, through the theory of performativity, we can understand YR as not only performing but also negotiating perceived norms of the training.

6.2.1.3. Religious oppression: The Muslims

I now take up religion which can be identified as playing a central role in the lives of these young people. For the most part, their narrations display their belief in the superiority and all-encompassing nature of their own religion. It should be noted that all participants of the training at MEWS are Hindus and one indicated religion as Hinduism and Jainism in his background questionnaire. In their narrations about religion we get a glimpse of ethnocentrism but also of their opinions about people belonging to other religious communities, particularly the Muslims. Through the exercise ‘Identity Molecules’, one observes the importance religion plays in their lives. They were asked to select ‘molecules’ or categories of crucial importance for their individual identities. Religion surfaces as one of them; its advantages and disadvantages discussed in pairs. In plenary:

DS: I have a molecule which I am part of automatically, but I don’t want to change it. It is there and I’m fine with it. That is my religion. I don’t want to change it. I’m happy with it but it is automatically there because as a family we are quite involved in our religious activities, so I am automatically involved in it. I don’t even want to change it.
AS: It’s not that I don’t like being religious, I’m automatically there. Everywhere you go, you always learn something.
[…]
EN: I put up “Hindu”. Hindu, because I feel it is a very unique group in itself because it is touching almost all the cultures in the world right now. It’s kind of similar to all of them. It is difficult because of the number of poojas[87] *that are there because in our generation, people don’t like sitting in a 2-hour long, 4-hour long pooja, so that would be a disadvantage.*

In the subsequent part of this exercise, they sit in a circle and each stands up if they identify with a particular ‘molecule’ being called out. All except DS stand up for religion. EN stands for the longest time depicting the intensity of his feelings for his religion. As EN stands, some of the other students giggle and smile. This continues throughout the time he stands. The giggling, open laughter and mocking expressions are repeated throughout the training with EN bearing the brunt of it. The recurrence of such behaviour and body language during the course of the training suggests peer pressure and power relations within the group, which EN ignores or challenges in that he continues, for example, to stand for the longest time for the ‘molecule’ Hindu despite being mocked by other members of the group.

RJ: Do you think the importance of these molecules would change in the future?
DS: No it does change.
[…]
DS: There are some things that cannot change.
[…]
EN: Identity changes with time, depending on the molecules.
[…]
AS: Identity changes with time, yes but depending on the molecules. Because there are some molecules that you are part of and you cannot really change the equivalent. Like supposing religion, I can’t really change my religion, and I want to go and like choose another one.
[…]
YS: The unchangeable molecule for me would be religion.

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[87] i.e. religious prayers.

We notice the ever-present theme of religion in their daily lives, and although not all of them might feel an identical intensity for their religion, the practice of religion is part of family life more or less across the group. Religion appears to be so much a part of most of their identities that they claim to see this identity category as non-changing, and correspondingly express a desire for its stability (which the last two statements above depict). Thus, with the exception of religion, most of them perceive identity as changing with time and priorities.

The importance of the category religion becomes all the more evident when one examines their responses to the question (SI questionnaire): Is there an ethnic, cultural or religious group, other than your own, that you like, admire and respect? I cite below four responses from the questionnaires:

PP: No, because I would not like to follow any other.
EN: No, because Hindus are the most religious and the best.
AB: No. Since childhood I have been taught about my religion, and I'm very convinced on what I heard since then about my religion.
YR: Yes, all, since they respect my religion, I respect theirs.

The question was not whether they would like to follow another religion. The first three responses can therefore be construed as a strategy of contrast because their statements suggest discursive patterns of how minorities are constituted: Other religious groups are seen to embody difference (from their own culture and religion) and deviance (from their norms and values), and become 'threat' factors (van Dijk, 1989). From a psychological perspective, these responses suggest not just ethnocentrism, but also latent fear, whereby even the slightest suggestion of respect or admiration for another religion would imply unfaithfulness to their own. The last statement holds conditionality because implied is *only if* as well as *first* they (the other groups) should show respect for my religion. This conditionality discloses ambivalence, i.e. his contradictory attitudes and feelings towards other religious groups. Religious faith, as argued by Pavan K. Varma (2007: 152), is a dynamic conditioning factor for the vast majority of Indians, who are increasingly susceptible to being lured by communal forces. The notion of performativity allows us to understand the conditionality and contradiction in his statement as a performance of dominant discourses of religion and also his negotiation of these discourses. The susceptibility to communal discourses emerges in relation to the Muslim and can be observed in the following narrations. In the exercise "Lemons" which clarifies how we categorise, generalise and stereotype, students explain that:

AS: [We generalise] Yes we do. Even if there is a whole group of people and one person is different but then that person hangs out with that group, so we generally assume that person is like them. What I notice is when I see people on motorcycles, with chains and rastians, they look like gangs. You just assume that they are into fighting.

RJ: How and where do we get these images of people in our heads?
SS: What we see in the news. When you look at a person you can make out, you know, some people look scary.
AS: If one group of bikers has done something, so you feel that everyone who dresses like that, who behaves like that, are like them. They might be good but they dress up in such a way, and another group of bikers even if they haven't done anything... but they're bad, and you've seen something bad before. Yes, you do assume that even these bikers would be like that.
DS: Even the way you are personally. Like if you are very simple and don't want anything and haven't seen anything bad but you see one of these bikers, then you get a sense that I should stay away from them.
PP: If you overtake them or something, they go around like a…
SS: Basically you know you have, most Hindus, they think that Muslims are really bad and they should not talk to Muslims. Because before…, there is always a Hindu-Muslim fight going on and because of that people get the wrong impression. They think that just because there are a couple of people who actually do the riots, and that's why they think that all Muslims are bad.
YS: They almost have a grudge against them.
SS: My driver says these things when we drive through a Muslim area. Don't ever open the window when you pass through this area.
DS: Her driver must also be scared of those people. My driver says, Aapko jo karna hai karo (do what you want).
PP: My driver is a Muslim so he's not scared, they won't kill him.
DS: But you aren't a Muslim!

This discussion on generalisations and stereotypes initially starts by linking bikers to gangs and fighting, and turns without prompting to the subjects of Muslims. As Said (2003) posits, stereotyping requires no explanation, because the subject of Muslims when it comes up draws on entire systems of knowledge about Muslims, and we notice that a mere hint is enough to set off an 'othering' discourse. PP, SS, YS use a strategy of transfer with reference to Muslims, attributing generalisations, stereotypes and prejudices to others in society – other Hindus or drivers. This enables them to present themselves in a positive light (cf. van Dijk, 1989), provide information without incurring judgement, information that can be taken as value-free, neutral and objective (cf. Said, 2003). Nevertheless, in the statement, "*My driver is a Muslim so he's not scared, they won't kill him,*" emerges the narrator's perceived fear and essentialising of Muslims as inherently aggressive. Similarly, the last sentence, which remains unanswered, "*But you aren't a Muslim,*" further implies that he (PP) should indeed fear the Muslims. These statements reveal that Muslims are embodied with difference and deviance (in terms of physical aggression and violence). As Bhabha (2004) posits, such a 'daemonic representation' is enmeshed in the process of fixing knowledge about the 'other'. It is through implicit prejudices and 'othering' processes that structural discrimination is maintained in society. The fact that Muslim dominated areas in Bombay are inhabited by the working class denotes the intersection of religion and social class in this image of the violent, aggressive Muslim. We observe (cf. Bhabha, 2004) that it takes only the few words, "*My driver is a Muslim so he's not scared, they won't kill him,*" for one to realise that the Muslim has been ascribed essential characteristics.

RJ: From where do you get these images?
AS: From the papers, news channels
DS: Friends
PP: Parents, teachers. One of our teachers writes the daily headlines on the board everyday.
DS: Generalised statements become an established thing in society and then people don't want to change that opinion. These are then stereotypes.

These young people are aware of how stereotypes are produced and reproduced in society, and there is thus a basic awareness of the process of 'othering'. As Hall (1997c: 258) explains, stereotyping *reduces* everything about the person to particular traits, *simplifies* them and *fixes* them, which is reflected in DS's statement, "*Generalised statements become an established thing in society, and people don't want to change that opinion*". In this way, boundaries between people and communities are clearly demarcated which excludes all that does not belong. Social hierarchies inscribed in the minds of students through the media, teachers and peer groups get unconsciously activated when the subject of Muslims arises. In a subsequent exercise 'Starting Over', participants were required to first individually and then in two groups select eight people from a list of twenty who could move to an island where they would begin life afresh. Neither of the two groups chooses the 'Quran teacher', who is on the list. Their reasoning is as follows:

Group 1

DS: Quran teacher, we aren't going to build a mosque out there. And then if there are religions, there'll be fights.
AS: They won't be able to really build a mosque as such.
DS: No but one more point, see, see because a Quran teacher, then, he'll teach people and many times if someone doesn't want to learn something and the things will contradict each other, which will lead to civil unrest again in 8 people, and then all the 4 people will get against the other 4 people, then there'll be a clash, and then there'll be no one again on the island. So we don't want that.
AS: And their culture differs from other cultures so some of them will have their different perspectives, which would clash with other people.

[…]
AS: Many, many things, if we do, it's a sin. So they could be like this is a sin, a sin, a sin. Some people would start believing him because religious teachers are given a lot of respect.

RJ: What if it were a priest?
DS: I would say the same thing.
AS: Ya, it really depends. We wouldn't take any religious teacher in the first place because all these people might have different opinions because different opinions cause war.

Group 2
AB: We don't really need a Quran teacher but on the island there are people from all different religions and we don't really need such a person.

Both groups are clear about not wanting a religious teacher on the island as they foresee a clash if different religions congregate. Their decision appears to be informed by the social environment, the recurring conflicts and riots in Bombay and India. As such, they can be said to be performing dominant communal discourses. When DS starts out with, "*we aren't going to build a mosque out there,*" he reveals his opinion about the construction of a mosque which is then elaborately justified by the example of conflicts between religious communities. He thus uses strategic means (strategy of contrast) to legitimise and justify his opinions. Another distinct point that emerges is the positioning of Islam as different and contradictory to all other religions, "*and their culture differs from other cultures*", which again depicts the strategy of contrast. These are discursive strategies that draw on the categories of difference and deviance, symbolising perceived threat (of a clash of religious communities). Such a positioning of Muslims is embodying them with 'otherness', therefore people who are significantly different from the majority – 'them' rather than 'us' (Hall, 1997c: 229). This suggests implicit prejudices on the part of these students and reveals how structural discrimination is maintained in society. As the dominant group in Indian society, the Hindus have the power to define and create knowledge about the 'other', such information as we see above is presented as neutral, objective and apolitical, which also facilitates positive self-representation. As elaborated in chapter two, norms form the point of reference for the relationship between the dominant and the dominated. The dominated group (the Muslims) cannot be part of the dominant norm nor become social subjects because they lack cultural and political power to influence their representation (Archer, 2003). It is, as viewed in AS' statement, such assumed *differences* between Muslims and other cultural groups that becomes the grounds on which they are oppressed, and in doing so, the students perpetuate oppressive discourses of the Muslims. The line of argument about communal clashes is repeated in the SI questionnaire where two students do not select a Hindu-Muslim couple as potential candidates to rent their apartment.

DS: When there is a mix of religions many times conflicts rise up in a much easier manner.
YR: I feel that the retired teacher's family would not cause any problem. The husband Muslim and Hindu wife would not cause problems if they are living next to Catholics whereas there would be conflicts of living next to either Muslim or Hindu family.

The relationship between Hindus and Muslims is defined through a negative definition; they are presented as binary opposites where, as argues Hall (1997c: 235), power is invariably on the side of the dominant group. Such an oppositional positioning indicates once again the strategy of contrast, which leads to regarding Muslims as incompatible and conflicting with other religious groups. Such a positioning itself is then one of the root causes of conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in India and the structural discrimination of Muslims in Bombay and India. Implicit attitudes presented through a strategy of denial are seen in the subsequent statement.

YS: It isn't that I dislike Muslims but if there would be some other choice rather than Muslims, I would give it a first preference rather than the Muslim.

YS begins by denying his negative attitudes towards Muslims because he is aware that within the normative context of the training he must transform his statement into a socially acceptable form (cf. van Dijk, 1989; Dovidio, 2001). However, it is the ambivalence in his statement, "*but…I would give it a first preference rather than the Muslim,*" that reflects his prejudices against people of this community. Here the Muslim "becomes the 'other' against whom the human is made" (Butler, 2004: 30), in order to maintain power structures and status quo. In this way, the Muslim is denied housing in a fictitious scenario because he is a Muslim. One can draw parallels to differential treatment vis-à-vis opportunities on the housing or job market, a result of 'othering' discourses, which forms the basis of structural and institutional discrimination in society. From the entire group, there is only one person, who believes that the merging of different cultures is something positive, enriching:

AB: I would not encourage the same culture of people living throughout. A mixture of cultures widens your thoughts and ideas towards all cultures and their lifestyles. One should mix with all types of people.

Moreover, to the question: Is there a particular ethnic, cultural or religious group that you dislike (SI questionnaire), the only two girls in the group have the following to say:

AS: I don't dislike any in particular but I just think that some of the rules in Muslims are a bit harsh and do not make sense to me.
SS: I don't particularly like Muslims because of the festival they celebrate - "Bakri Eid[88]".

AS uses denial as a strategy; the "but…" in her sentence reveals its ambivalence. The religion Islam and its practices are used to legitimise the dislike of Muslims, which demonstrates how young people perform and reproduce dominant discourses of Muslims. Whereas in the group discussion stereotyping and prejudices are repeatedly transferred to others in society, the SI questionnaires through statements such as, "*I don't dislike… but…,*" or direct formulations such as, "*I don't particularly like,*" demonstrate implicit negative attitudes and prejudices. Students thus use the strategies of contrast, transfer and denial in their representation of Muslims, as well as direct formulations (as in the preceding example). Their narrations depict how 'othering' discourses of Muslims are deployed through stereotyping and how differential treatment, through which power structures are maintained in society, serve to oppress them. Such oppression is legitimised by these very 'othering' discourses that pick out particular (mis)information about Muslims (e.g. harsh rules of the Muslim community, Bakri Eid) and essentialising strategies (e.g. Muslims pose a threat of violence and aggression).

6.2.1.4. Racial oppression

I present below two incidents of discrimination experienced by the students themselves.

DS: In a flight from NY to Florida, that time we called the person up first and asked whether it was on time or not. The person was like, it's not on time, it is delayed by 3 hours. So we went to the airport and all, we checked in and all, but the lady had told us wrong because like the flight was on time. So she checked in our luggage and all but they didn't let us go inside the flight because the gate wasn't open. They told us it yet has to open whereas it was closed from when. So like my dad got really angry and said you're going to make me miss my flight. There was a white lady at the counter and then, the flight went away. And there were many other Indians also with us and they got all angry and all. My dad got really pissed and he went to the counter and said, "Where's your manager and all?" So the manager was luckily a black woman. She said that it was wrong on the white lady's part and she gave us a letter stating and she upgraded us to first class from business throughout the journey to India. And plus, she gave us a letter saying that the 'S' family was discriminated and was mentally harassed like on the counter. So then, the letter was fine. And then the next morning, when we

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[88] Bakri Eid is a religious festival where Muslims slaughter a sacrificial goat on the day of Bakri Eid (Bakri – meaning goat, Eid – festival or celebration).

went to take the flight, it was the same white lady. So she took the letter and she scrapped it. So my dad got really angry that time also, he got really pissed.

YR: I was discriminated when I was in Manchester for a football camp. That was the only time I have been discriminated. There were many people who were involved in this. Most of them were from England and so white. Teams were being made and just because I was not the same colour, I was not selected in any of the teams. It wasn't just me. All the people who had a different skin colour except for one and none of us were selected. Then we were put into the teams. Then while the match was going on we wouldn't get the ball. They wouldn't pass the ball, they wouldn't let us play our game and when they made mistakes we wouldn't say anything, but when we made mistakes, we would be pulled down and discriminated. They would say, "Why do you play so badly?" or "Why do we get him? "We don't need him." "We're just too good for him." I didn't want to say anything because I didn't feel I was one of them. So I felt really bad.

These two narrations demonstrate the experiences of discrimination based on skin colour, race, ethnicity and/or nationality and related perceptions of difference. The discrimination can be said to have resulted on the basis of their physical appearance or skin colour (both examples refer to 'white' and 'black'), where an "assumption is made about the […] naturalness of culture" (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1996: 18). Moreover, people experience power differently depending on the context, environment and given time. Within a different context these students, in turn, perform such discrimination based on skin colour, cultural hierarchy and dominance onto others. The exercise "Experiencing Discrimination" required students to recall and narrate their own experiences of discrimination (as narrated above), but also their discriminatory acts against others. One of the worksheets I collected on the evening of the training at MEWS stated:

I would like to take no names. There was this guy in a class who looked like an African and there was a girl who also looked really bad. We used to tease both of them, bully them and ignore them always. It was not a pleasure for any person to get ignored so he started back answering.

Within a hierarchical society where 'whiteness' or 'fairness' is preferred, dark-skinned bodies are subject to discrimination by way of incessant teasing and jokes, and even exclusion. When the student writes, "*looked like an African,*" this is in the first place racism but coupled with, "*there was a girl who also looked really bad,*" it also depicts Lookism, a form of discrimination based on physical appearance (e.g. fat, ugly). In doing so, students perform and perpetuate racist and oppressive discourses by looking down upon and differentiating among co-students, which serve also to legitimise their actions - teasing and bullying. Psychological theories on prejudice allow us to understand that reflecting on discrimination against others generates feelings of guilt, which, as elaborated upon in chapter two, functions as a cue which initiates a process that controls one's responses and actions (Devine & Plant, 2002).

Similarly, one of the questions in the SI questionnaire asked: "Your sister brings home her Nigerian boyfriend and is ignored and treated superficially by your parents. Do you feel the same way as your parents?" Most of the responses indicate their anti-racist stand; they argue that the parents are racists, and they, on the other hand, would be friendly. Two responses in particular display different opinions:

AS: I would not act fake and superficial in front of him because he has to like my family for what we are and nothing else and if he really is deserving of my sister he would not have a problem with the way we are.

At first glance, this statement seems to fall into the category of those who take an active anti-racist stand. However, in comparison to the other responses which are clearly disparaging of the parents' behaviour, it is the latter part of AS' statement, "*if he is really deserving of my sister…*," that illustrates the strategy of contrast because then, "*he would not have a problem with the way we are,*" denotes difference of way of life and deviance of norms and values. Her statement is ambiguous in so far as it avoids expressing clearly identifiable opinions (cf. Wodak & Reisigl, 1999: 189), yet the onus appears to lie solely on 'him' and how 'he' would behave with no reference to the behaviour of the parents. The second more direct response:

YS: As he is only my sister's boyfriend, and it would be a totally different case if they were marrying.

This response shows that marriage would in fact be unacceptable. Inter-caste, intercultural and inter-religious marriages have been and continue to be a contentious issue in Indian society. Nevertheless, by considering marriage an unviable option, YS uses a strategy of contrast because he suggests incompatibility (which is the justifying argument often heard against inter-religious marriages in India), thus relying on the semantic categories of difference and deviance to automatically provide (unvoiced) justification. The structural approach to discrimination allows us to understand this assumed incompatibility as a result of the oppositional positioning in the process of 'othering', which facilitates the construction of knowledge about the 'other'. It is against this 'other' that also the human is constructed (Butler, 2004: 30). As Butler explains, the desire for recognition is linked to power and is implicit in social norms, as well as to the question of who qualifies as recognisably human. If one were to interpret the above statement in terms of incompatibility, or unworthiness, then YS is the one who decides (and obviously has the power to do so on the basis of assumed cultural superiority) that the Nigerian does not qualify for his sister. By disqualifying him, he withholds and even denies him recognition, rendering the Nigerian's life unviable in Butlerian terms.

During the exercise 'Starting Over' which makes people aware of the scarce and stereotypical information on the basis of which they make daily decisions in life, I asked the question:

RJ: Does inadequate information affect your day-to-day contact with people?
DS: [Grinning] my mom's told me not to talk to strangers.
RJ: Would you walk on the other side of the street if 3 Nigerians were there?
DS: No. It's my country. They can't do anything to me.
PS: Unless they want to knock you or something.

Whereas many in their SI questionnaires do not display explicit racist attitudes, implicit attitudes and prejudices are seen through direct formulations (DS and PS) drawing on discursive patterns of difference and deviance which take the form of fear of the 'black' person. The process of 'othering' helps us understand how the body of the 'black' person is embodied with aggression and ascribed a 'black behaviour'. Very little is really said, however, the 'black' body is marked through the body language of the students, their jokes and bravado, and their emotional response of fear. Similarly, in the exercise 'Lemons', the discussion centred on stereotypes:

DS: Yes…. Like there's a stereotype in the US that you stay away from black people.
EN: They don't do anything.
PP: Of course they do.
DS: They robbed my uncle, man, they robbed my uncle.
SS: There are very few black people who are actually like that, not all of them.
DS: Ya, so that's what. That's what I'm saying. That's what a stereotype is. They aren't beneficial all the time. That's what a stereotype is. It serves you sometimes and it doesn't serve you sometimes.

DS is clearly able to distinguish between stereotypes and beliefs, yet as also evidenced in Devine's research (1989), these stereotypes get activated in the presence of a member of that group or when the subject emerges. Fear is the emotional reference through which the stereotype of aggression ascribed to the 'black' body is instantaneously activated when the subject comes up, and simultaneously, the function of the stereotype (here one could say to prepare and protect a person) is justified by the example of his uncle being robbed by ‘them’. The experience of the uncle falls within episodic memory, as posited by van Dijk (1989), and describes a personal or in this case an abstracted narrated experience. The contrast in his first statement, *“there’s a stereotype…,”* and, *“they robbed my uncle,*” reveals that the perceived threat is so great that he must narrate an event that at once affirms the stereotype. This discloses the power of ambivalence in creating an ‘atmosphere of certain uncertainty’ (Bhabha, 2004), which at once guarantees and threatens the existence of the ‘black’ person. The same fear can be read in his earlier statement, “*It’s my country; they can’t do anything to me,*” which depicts an expectancy of aggression and violence. The ‘black’ body is thus essentialised and characteristics and behaviours ascribed on it, and this makes oppression not only possible but also justifiable. Within a system of hierarchy of ‘whiteness’ and ‘blackness’, the students fail to link their own experiences of racism to their implicit prejudices against ‘black’ people. The same can be evidenced in their views on the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (SI questionnaire), the lower castes in India. Most argue against reservation or for a reduction of reservation of seats in colleges and universities, which according to them should be based on merit, revealing a lack of awareness of the myth of meritocracy in an unequal society. As class 9 students, this subject is of vital importance to them as they graduate in a year’s time and will be required to compete for admission to colleges and universities:

DS: They should reduce reservation of seats as many genuine students suffer and have to compromise having excellent credits.
PP: Scheduled castes are not using the opportunities given to them.
YS: I think that these people create a lot of nuisance in society, and they actually don’t want to study so it is better that the reservation is given to someone who really has an interest in studying.
AB: Scheduled castes and tribes stop the people receiving outstanding results from getting a seat just because that one extra seat was reserved. Seats should be given at the own merit.
*SS: I think it [*government’s plan to reduce reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes*] is a good decision because it would give the people who actually worked hard a fair chance […].*

That the majority of the students noticeably consider only their advantage in the reduction of reservation demonstrates that the expression of prejudice is influenced by their goals and motivations (cf. Dovidio, 2001: 830). Two of them portray the lower castes as wasting opportunities given to them and as people who aren’t interested in studying. Here again, features are ascribed to the identities and bodies of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, as those who are disinterested, annoying, unpleasant and harmful. This alleged ‘natural’ difference in their interest, abilities and needs linked to the lower castes serves to legitimise inequality in class processes (cf. Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1996), for foregrounding caste is clearly social class, as reservations are meant to empower the marginalised. This reveals that semantic structures of difference, deviance and competition are in operation. As van Dijk (1989: 131) posits, failure (or in this case perceived failure to obtain a seat in university) of the self or ingroup is attributed to circumstances beyond their control, i.e. here it is the Scheduled Castes and Tribes who are blamed (e.g. they are disinterested, lack motivation) for the structural inequalities of which they are victims. Only one of the participants expressly states the opposite:

AS: I do not agree with this decision because by reducing these seats they would start caste system all over again. I think they are equally deserving as any other student.

The caste system is comparable to the classification of races and can thus be regarded as racial discrimination. The reservation of seats for lower castes is a highly debated topic in India, where, as we have seen in chapter four, lower caste unity is one of the master narratives of mass mobilization. Such depictions serve not only to essentialise their bodies and represent them as society's 'others', but also to maintain their lower position in society.

6.2.1.5. Gender and sexuality

Traditional gender roles and behaviours continue to shape the lives of many in Indian society. This can be identified in the narrative of a student's experience:

SS: This happened this year itself in the parent teacher conference. My coach asked my parent, he was starting a team and asked my parent if I could be on the team. So my dad was like no, girls can't play soccer. So you know that's why he didn't let me join. That's when I felt really bad because you know my brother can do all of that.

During and after her narration, the boys (who form the majority in the group) grin, and one makes mocking sounds whilst grinning. Although overtly expressing their desire for equality between girls and boys, the boys are performing masculinity, which is revealed in their laughter at the differential treatment experienced by SS. In the exercise "Take a Step Forward", role cards were given to participants, who were required to step forward or remain in their place depending on whether they could answer the questions asked with a 'yes' or 'no' respectively.

SS: I'm a 29-year-old housewife and mother of two children and I'm married to the vice-president of Citibank. Well I couldn't answer to the tennis club thing because I'm a housewife so…
AS: So?
PP: So?
PP: You're saying housewives don't play tennis.
SS: [Embarrassed, she covers her face with her hand.] *No because of the two children, I thought…*

SS is unsure of how to respond to the question: Can you become a member of the tennis club in your locality? It is the same student whose father does not allow her to join the football team who believes that a housewife cannot possibly join a tennis club and play tennis. Gender stereotypical roles and behaviour are inscribed in her mind and body and continue to shape her identity and subjectivity, for in fact in her lived environment she does not have the freedom of choice. As Butler (1990, 1993) argues, one becomes one gender by conforming to dominant gender norms and rules because it is difficult to become much else in the absence of choice. Interestingly, in her own life, she seems to actually resist gender stereotypes, but acts out femininity completely differently when playing a role, in which she feels that an adult would have internalised her own oppression. SS produces a gendered reality by enacting it with her body. Significantly, it is not just her identity but also that of the boys which is constantly being shaped by oppressive gender norms: Their laughter is at once indicative of power and the desire for the maintenance of inequalities between men and women. Binary gender clearly depicts the boundaries of masculinity and femininity in dress, behaviour, likes and dislikes. The majority replied in the negative to the question (SI questionnaire) whether they would be pleased if their brother received a frilly doll for his birthday:

SS: It would annoy him which I would obviously love.
YR: If it were my sister I would not mind, but I would not want my brother growing up while playing with a doll.
YS: … Boys don't like playing with dolls.
EN: No, because he is a boy not a girl, and it is a waste of money.
PP: A boy would not like a doll; he would like a car or…

In this case, no strategy is required as gender norms and behaviour are taken as a matter of fact. Whereas the first response depicts an assurance that the brother would be annoyed about receiving a doll, the other responses are strongly against brothers growing up playing with a doll because then their brothers would not fit neatly within the gender attributes 'masculinity' and 'femininity', and their (brothers') gender identity would be put into question. Another indication of how femininity detracts from masculinity can be viewed in the usage of words such as ‘pansy’.

AS: Say in a group of five, two are pansy but they’re like really important people so that makes you think that even the others are… [‘pansy’].
YR: That’s assuming. You can’t really tell until you know them.
AS: All of us assume all the time.
PP: Karan Johar. In every movie of his, he has two men with him.
DS: But you know in whichever Karan Johar film there is, Shah Rukh Khan will be there and in whichever Shah Rukh Khan film, Karan Johar will always be there somewhere. Like he’ll be the fashion designer and all the measurements he’ll take. You can’t say they are gay because Shah Rukh Khan can be bi-sexual also. He has children also, except Gauri Khan…
YR: Karan Johar, if you haven’t really met him, you can’t really judge.

Karan Johar is an Indian filmmaker and Shah Rukh Khan (and Gauri Khan, the latter’s wife) a Hindi film superstar. As they point out, they make decisions on the basis of physical appearances. Their discussion illustrates that they perceive those who do not appear to be completely masculine as ‘pansy’ or effeminate, and correspondingly weak, which is also instantly linked to being gay. The discussion whenever it approaches the subject of homosexuality instantaneously activates peals of laughter and jokes.

DS: Why not, mam, why not. Why not! [All smile, laugh]. [The homosexual]... *He can also… no.* [Smiling, laughter].

Through laughter they avoid reflecting on and discussing their opinions, views and perceptions of homosexuality. They can thus be seen to be performing dominant heterosexual norms. Likewise, as AB reads out his role card in the exercise ‘Take a Step Forward’ - *AB: 32 year old homosexual man, living in Bandra*[89] *with boyfriend* - there are giggles from the girls, outright laughter from the boys, AB included. In the debriefing, while discussing their roles I asked:

RJ: What did the roles in front have that the others didn’t?
AB: Normalness
DS: There were two factors to it. First is money, and the second is…how normal you are.
[…]
DS: How appropriate are you to the society. Normal meaning, you do things normal, like you like normal people…
AS: Whether you’re straight or not, basically whether you’re straight or not.

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[89] Bandra is a suburb of Bombay/Mumbai.

RJ: But sexuality and even homosexuality was depicted differently in the Khajurao temples.
AS: Yes, but if today they don't approve of.
YS: The time has changed and the people have started thinking very differently. They don't understand the person's feelings. In the times back, they used to think in a different way, which isn't there now. Now please think more advanced.

RJ: So you'll follow society without questioning it?
YS: Yes, because if you're the only one you can't go against the society. No one takes a step forward.
AS: So you're in the same place right. They also think that you're not doing anything.
YS: Everyone wants to take a step forward but no one is ready to do it.
[…]
YS: For example, the situation that he's given (AD) he won't get respect in the society.
AS: Who said?
YS: Ya, he won't.
AB: Why not? There are so many people like that.
YS: Ya, but they don't get respect in society.
AS: Karan Johar has respect.
YS: But he's not gay.
AS: He's pansy…
SS: There's also the fashion designer. What's his name?
[…]

RJ: So how are they accepted in society?
YS: That's a rare case.
AS: We just said that people take a basic assumption of all male fashion designers are homosexual or bisexual, whatever. But they still have respect, people still buy their clothes right?
YS: See clothes is…
AS: It doesn't make a difference, they have respect. If they didn't have that respect why would people buy their clothes?
YS: […] But the thing is like you said, do you want the same thing to go on. So it will be like the rich people will become richer but the people who are poor, they would never become rich because the work they are doing, they won't get enough money for that, they won't get paid for that.
AS: It's got to be a thinking also. A person who doesn't have money stays in the slums, he has these boundaries he's given; he cannot go beyond his limit in his head that he won't be able to make it.
YS: That's right so they won't progress. They won't progress.

Thus again, difference and deviance from dominant norms become the element of threat. Students recognise that being 'normal' necessarily means social acceptance and respect, and non-compliance can lead to social sanction and even exclusion. Similarly, they are aware of the central role played by social class in gaining societal acceptance and respect, depicting the intersection of sexual orientation and class. Their narrations reveal that they are aware of performing social conventions onto the bodies of others, but their fear of being constructed as less-than-human themselves, of their own gender being put into question, of being denied acceptance and respect if they challenge oppressive gender norms continues to shape not only their own gendered identities and bodies but also their performing of identities onto the bodies of those who have moved beyond the binary concept of gender.

6.2.1.6. Issues at school

As previously described in brief, there are many incidents of bullying in school, which is regarded as getting a person fame, attention and popularity. This came up during the debriefing of the exercise ‘Experiencing Discrimination’:

RJ: What are you seeking from the others at this point (when you discriminate)?
YS, AB: Attention
DS: Laughter
YR: Encouragement
AB: Fame
DS: Attention, fame, popularity. And you earn respect by discriminating.

Students seek fame and popularity which they receive through acts of bullying, indicating a play of power in school. The students also implicated themselves in this vicious circle of bullying in school, which I myself observed during the training, in particular against one member of the group. Such bullying appears to be a real problem in the school:

DS: In this school, things are really different. It’s not like normal schools. People are different. That I can’t explain only you’ve to come and see.
EN: Because they do everything the opposite from other schools.
DS: People out here are not used to people being kind to them. They want to get in, somehow. Out here, people want to be popular and once they are teased and someone stands up, inside they’ll be like, is that guy crazy. Simple. That’s the simple rule out here. If you don’t want to do it, don’t do it but don’t help anyone out at the same time.
[…]
DS: Politics on everything. People can’t see other people’s friendship. People can’t see other people, they are just jealous of them.
YR: See basically, this school needs something to talk about. […] There’s never been a time, when there hasn’t been a rumour spread. Ever. Ever in this school, for sure. But in this school they don’t leave it. You know after rumours spread through a certain time, people stop. It doesn’t stop. It goes on. It’ll go on till maybe four years, it can still go on…
DS: Till the person doesn’t really get frustrated or doesn’t last and says do what you want, I don’t care. And that’s the way everyone in this room is. If they are their good friends, they’ll stand up, if they are not, leave them alone, the way they are. I don’t want to do anything. And they’ll join in also. They can deny the fact also but that’s what’s going to happen. That’s how it’s going be.
YR: Can’t really do much about it.
[…]

YR: We witness it every day, there's nothing more to add. If at all any of us needs to be educated in this topic, it should be one of the teachers because the teachers don't realise.

The recording was stopped after which they proceeded to explain that the teachers do not acknowledge these conflicts and bullying, rather they ignore them. Here they adopt the strategy of transfer, whereby bullying is a result of the general environment within the school, which they also use to legitimise their inaction. Additionally, it is the fear of retribution if they intervene which they use as a justification. Yet, some of them express complicity in such acts of bullying. As the last statement and the ensuing discussion (which was not recorded on the students' request) illustrates, they hold teachers responsible for not intervening or preventing bullying incidents, and discuss various conflicts with teachers, some of who they state discriminate students in class.

6.2.1.7. Interim conclusion

The general discussion on prejudices illustrates that students use the strategy of denial of personal prejudices, but there is also a conflict between their denial of prejudice and their underlying negative feelings. With respect to religion and the Muslims, we observe the strategies of contrast, transfer and denial. We observe the centrality of religion in their lives, which can be linked to their lack of openness towards other religions and religious communities. Deployment of 'othering' discourses suggests possible implicit and explicit stereotypes and prejudices against Muslims in the group discussions. For the category race, students predominantly adopt the strategy of contrast as well as direct formulations that draw on difference and deviance and are expressed through an internal emotional response of fear. As such, 'black' people and the lower castes in India are conferred the status of 'others'. In terms of gender, based on psychological theories of prejudice, their laughter and jokes suggest possible implicit prejudices depicting discursive patterns of difference and deviance relating to sexual orientation. From a Butlerian perspective, their laughter and jokes can also be seen as a negotiation of dominant discourses, i.e. they hide behind laughter because they are processing how they should act and react. Traditional gender norms, we observe, shape their bodies and influence their perception and attitudes towards those who have moved beyond proscribed norms. The general environment in the school and the perceived repercussions of intervening in bullying incidents are used to legitimise the constant bullying in the school and students' inaction, illustrating the strategy of transfer. Moreover, this group can be said to belong to a rather privileged section of Indian society. Social class and status thus plays a significant role in their lives, which is suggested in their narrations of conflicts in school. Acts of bullying, in which some of them are enmeshed, either as perpetrators and/or targets, and the general atmosphere in school serves to shape their sense of self and perception of ‘others’.

6.2.2. Global Paradigm School (GPS)

6.2.2.1. Introduction

The relatively newer IGCSE (International General Certificate for Secondary Education) and IB (International Baccalaureate) educational system are not offered at GPS, which follows the ICSE (Indian Certificate of Secondary Education) examination and corresponding system of education. Although the principal acknowledges IB as “the only way to go”, she claims that the school lacks “human resource because IB is not about structure. We don’t have great facilities but I don’t think Bombay has the human resource. […] There is a very limited pool of teachers […] who think they can teach the IB”. As a result, a number of students of class 9 left at the close of the term to join schools that offer either the IGCSE or the IB system. A class of twenty-eight students shrunk to eighteen. MS, the principal observed that this negatively influenced the eighteen students who stayed on:

> *In fact they were called the losers who are not going, by the other kids. There were several factors. For one there were parents who aren’t convinced about the IG system. So they didn’t move them. There were parents who didn’t have the herd mentality, there are parents who have loyalty to GPS, and there’s another category of parents who told me quite openly, “I don’t have 7 lakhs* [around 11000€)] *to pay right now. I mean, I simply don’t so the question doesn’t arise.” The kids faced a lot of flak. There was a lot of pressure that they put on their parents saying that all our friends are leaving and how can we continue to stay. It’s been a very tough year.* (MS, principal, GPS)

This is not the only aspect that has shaped the subjectivities of the GPS group. They had been previously subjected to the system of parallel teaching which served to label them as deficient in capability and intelligence.

> *This ninth standard has a very interesting history. When I came in 2004, they had been split into two because there are some kids who are, you know the age difference is a little… almost a year, so there are some of them who are very much younger and they were not able to cope and they were split into two groups and they were… for English and Maths and it was what the teachers call the parallel teaching. But I found that quite dreadful because they were known as parallel kids. Parallel teaching in the sense that they were split according to ability because I told you there is this age difference and there was this ability differential. They were taught the same subjects and the same things but in two different classes, in smaller groups and they called it parallel teaching but it became a very negative thing because they*

were known as the parallel kids. And then there were those who were in the parallel class and when the teacher felt they were ready to mainstream they were sent back to the regular class. It was what was already existing in 2004, so in 2005, I agreed to have a split class but I insisted it be a random split. Okay, so you can teach in a smaller group, take 30 and divide them into 15 but either do first 15, last 15, odd numbers, even numbers or whatever but definitely not according to ability. (MS, principal, GPS)

Such a label, that of being ‘parallel kids’ stayed on despite the subsequent spilt of their class randomly. Such a label gets cemented when former classmates with whom they spent between eight to twelve years together in school call them ‘losers’. On the other hand, these experiences have brought the group closer together and a number of them write in their background questionnaires that they “are a very united class”. Similarly, all of them express pride in their school, saying it is small but “a big family”, “where everyone knows everyone”, “the school makes learning fun” and has a “liberal way of schooling”. I also learnt that the school offers yoga as an optional subject which, as I will also take up in chapter seven, has helped students adjust their perception and judgements of other people. Moreover, two students of class nine were selected to participate in a three and a half week camp in the USA called Seeds of Peace where they had the opportunity to interact with people from over the world including Pakistan, Palestine, and Israel. Additionally, some of these students have participated in programmes such as the Model United Nations offered by the school, which positively impact on their subjectivities and which I also take up in the next chapter.

6.2.2.2. Awareness of prejudices

The training more or less began with the exercise ‘Talking Wheel’ during which the students also discussed their prejudices.

SM: I was really shocked by some of the answers, especially for the prejudice question. I was shocked by that answer. No, because my partner is normally a very quiet person and I would never have thought that my partner would be prejudiced against anything.
RJ: Do you think you are prejudiced?
SM: Very. A lot of things.
RJ: Do you think everyone has prejudices.
BS: Ya, but they’re not conscious of their prejudices.
RJ: Have you every discussed or talked about your prejudices before?
Most of them: No
JP: Actually only once, my friends had come over and we were sitting up until three in the morning and discussing prejudices and beliefs and after that we never really talked about it.
MI: Basically we, right now we don’t really understand what exactly the prejudice is but what we hear we tend to really believe in that. But now we’ve realised what people say is not always true. Somebody might say that that person is not very nice but if we actually know that

person, the person's quite nice. So according to what others say, we shouldn't go by what others say, we should see for ourselves what the actual truth is.

SM introduces the subject of prejudices, but in doing so she uses a strategy of transfer in that she does not talk about her own feelings and attitudes but refers to the response of another student. She admits to prejudices only when directly asked the question. On the whole, it appears that the group is aware that people have prejudices and that these are subconscious. Although they are unclear about what prejudices really are, they do realise that they are negative judgements about people which are learnt through different channels in society (e.g. other people).

BS: We learnt a lot about ourselves also actually through the process. I never thought that like you come to know that people actually… you think they don't have prejudices, they do have it and like it's a small prejudice but actually it exists so like you come to know more about yourself.

This process of awareness is one of the main goals of Anti-Bias, which offers the time and space to discuss socially sensitive issues in a protected environment. The act of voicing prejudices aloud makes them 'real' or actively present in participants' minds. Psychological theories of prejudice allow us to understand that such a recognition and awareness is the first step towards constructive self-critical interaction with people construed as 'other' because people can be motivated to behave in an objective and equitable manner if they are made aware of the discrepancy between their behaviour and their egalitarian standards (Dovidio et al., 1997: 536).

6.2.2.3. Religious oppression: The Muslims

The group is very mixed in terms of religious affiliation and comprises six Hindus, one Jain, one Hindu-Jain, one Parsi[90]-Hindu, two Parsi and one Muslim. We observe in the following narration that there is a corresponding openness to different religions.

RJ: For which topics did you find that one minute was not sufficient? [In 'Talking Wheel' each person has a minute to talk on the given topic.]
BS: I don't know… the religious topic and like…
SM: All our names, like you can always say so much about yourself.
BS: About your good qualities and the religion you admire.
MA: And the religion you admire, you can talk so much.

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[90] The term Parsi refers to the Persian Zoroastrian community living on the Indian subcontinent.

That they are able to talk a great deal about other religions they admire indicates the absence of ethnocentrism or the linking of feelings of liking and admiration to being unfaithful to one's own religion, as was observed within the MEWS group. Nevertheless, in 'Identity Molecules', the importance of religion for some emerges:

NM: See, even if you belong to a group, it's like you're there in that group but you don't have to be, so it's not a major… it's like you don't want to be there so it's not like you love it because you don't want to be there. It's not a major part of your life because you don't like it at all. It wouldn't be one of your major identity parts.
JP: You're just there. But then there are some groups which you're forced to be part of which you love being part of anyways.
BP: Like your religion.
JP: Like I'm an Indian. I like being an Indian. I could want to be an American. Like I am an Indian but I wouldn't want to be an Indian. I am Indian and I like being an Indian, that's what makes it one of my major identities.

Although we see religion arise here, it appears as if 'being Indian' is seen as just as important if not more important than religion, particularly since religion does not recur during the rest of this debriefing, whereas 'being Indian' does time and again. Another issue surfaces that can be linked to religious practices and traditions is the issue of vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism.

BP: Like all of us who are vegetarians. We don't eat "ghas pus" [grass and stuff]. *Like all the non-vegetarians think that we eat "ghas pus".*
KJ: Not all, just one.
BP: So I mean like… so like everyday in school they're also eating vegetarian as the school is only vegetarian. It doesn't make sense because I don't think that everyone is eating so much of non-veg and then it's like "ghas pus", it's like we're eating grass and they're eating proper food. Like they think what we're eating is like basic primary food and what there is eating is like… their food is the superior food and what we're eating is just…
KJ: It's not true, haan[91]*.*

This issue does not necessarily or directly imply that it is linked to religion or that students perceive it as linked to religion. Yet, the contrast depicted between vegetarians and non-vegetarians can be construed as an indirect way referring to religion because the practice of not eating meat or not eating certain kinds of meat has been proscribed by religion and as such it plays a role at a subliminal level where such conflicts and labels of "ghas pus" eaters arises. Such conflict can be linked to the structural discrimination of non-vegetarians (Muslims and Catholics in particular) in the city of Bombay, where housing societies with predominant vegetarian residents oppose non-vegetarians buying or renting flats in their housing complex (see also chapter four, section on Bombay/Mumbai). At GPS we observe the opposite; it is the vegetarians who are mocked despite the school's vegetarian policy.

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[91] Haan is a Hindi word meaning „yes" and is used here to emphasize that it is not true.

With BP repeatedly bringing religion and related issues into the discussion we observe the importance of religion in her life and also (below) her perception of and attitudes toward other religions. She responds to the question (SI questionnaire) "Is there a particular ethnic, cultural or religious group, other than your own, that you like, admire and respect" with:

BP: No. I don't know because I've never really known much about other religions to like or dislike it, as most of the time I'm caught up with my own religion.

KJ also writes similarly:
KJ: I don't really know much about other cultures to like them or not.

Indeed, one can say that the number of religions that coexist in India makes it impossible to acquire in-depth knowledge about all religious. Yet, BP and KJ's statements display that despite living together for centuries what people know about other religious communities is very limited. Often, this information is based on stereotypical images, most particularly with regard to Muslims. This is visible in the following narrations:

MI: Ya, we have a stereotype like all Muslims are terrorists, but I mean I have many friends who are Muslims, like her. I don't think she's a terrorist or anything. I think she's a really sweet person. […] The minute you say a Muslim, the first thing that comes to a person's mind is "Oh my God, a terrorist," but if you actually go and see I don't think all are terrorists. And they're very sweet people, Bohris actually.
JZ: We know a guy Abu. He's really good. Abdul Tyeb. He's the Bohri Committee's grandfather.
KJ: His grandfather is the head of the Bohri Committee. His grand-uncle. It's the same thing.

These narrations clearly depict their affirmation of exceptions among Muslims, a strategy of positive self-representation. The Bohri community, a particular community of Muslims residing predominantly in India, is a relatively small and prosperous community of Shia Muslims. The Bohris have by and large stayed out of communal politics, and correspondingly, conflicts and clashes in the country. Analysed within this context, the students easily find examples of the 'good' Muslims in this community, and as van Dijk (1989) explains, they not only make positive statements about such 'exceptions' but also spontaneously back them up with examples of good relationships with other students and people from this community. Their limited numbers, their social class and thereby also greater intergroup contact between Bohris and this group of students (these students are from upper-middle class backgrounds like many Bohris), means that they are exempt from essentialising strategies and 'othering' processes. MI's linking of terrorists to Muslims symbolises fear, which can be said to result from her perceptions, stereotypes and prejudices of Muslims in general, which are instantly activated when the subject of Muslims arises, and from whom the Bohris are when required readily distinguished in order to project themselves in a positive light. As MI states, "*the minute you say a Muslim, the first thing that comes to your mind is… a terrorist…*," shows that implicit attitudes and stereotypes are judgements and views that require only the presence of the attitude stimulus for activation (cf. Dovidio, 2001: 838).

Importantly, they recognise that stereotypes serve no useful purpose when interacting.

RJ: What does this exercise have to do with your day-to-day life?
NM: They have their own speciality and stuff (people) and they're all different.
JV: Ya, we look at them as one but each one of them is different in their own ways and we must realise that and understand it.
BS: And you know what, respect the differences.

They do not talk about tolerance and tolerating differences and people, which is a term frequently used in public life in India. On the contrary, their narrations denote their recognition that the process first needs to be an internal one: One needs to *become* aware of and understand these differences, and more importantly then, *respect* differences among people. Such recognition corresponds with the foundational principle of the Anti-Bias approach which first entails recognition of one's biases and the factors that shape one's perception of difference, and then respecting differences in others.

RJ: Why do we have generalisations and stereotypes?
BS: It's people who make them. Stereotypes aren't they bad?
JZ: It's a label.
MA: It's just trying to say that you're superior than the other person. It's like saying that person is bad.
MI: Because there are some people, like now for example, if I had a really bad fight with a Muslim, then I want to just take revenge and I tell other 10 people that look all Muslims are like that. That's way these stereotypes are spread just because of few people the whole world is getting affected.
RJ: What if a Muslim reinforces your stereotype about Muslims in general?
BS: You get really angry and you just tell the Muslim, ya so I think it's right that all Muslims are blah blah.

MI: But I don't think that can ever happen. I think that you will be faced with you know, there are many rude people outside, there can be one Muslim who will be very nice to you and another you'll be rude to you.
KJ: It's not only the Muslims who might be rude or bad. People from various religions could be rude or bad.
JP: Even you could be rude or bad.
BS: It's your perception towards people like good or bad.
BP: And if anything bad happens, if a Muslim is rude to you, you should not look at their religion; you should look at that person first. You should not say just keep on saying that because he's a Muslim, he was rude. You should just think he was that kind of a person who was rude, not because of his religion.

They recognise that power relations are inherent in stereotyping processes, as they do not ascribe qualities such as rudeness solely to Muslims. Nevertheless, we see (below) that stereotypes of Muslims are inscribed in their minds and recur without prompting.

RJ: Are these stereotypes useful in specific situations?
BS: Not of any positive use but…
MI: Ya, but maybe they say that you shouldn't be working till like late hours in a Muslim area because they might do something. That's what people say. Muslims are just like…
BS: What good would be stereotypes?
NM: They are just the roots to the problems.
BS: To conflicts.

"That's what people say," clearly denotes the strategy of transfer; stereotypes are attributed to others and are regarded, particularly in the case of Muslims, as the root cause of clashes and conflicts. The essentialising of the body of the Muslim, the ascription of physical violence and aggression, can be traced back to the nineteenth century in India (see chapter two, p. 70-71) when journalistic texts and literature persistently depicted Muslims as aggressive, tyrannical and bigoted (Amin, 2005). It is then no wonder, particularly post 09/11 and an increased spate of riots and conflicts between Hindus and Muslims in India, that people hold explicit negative attitudes. We see through the subsequent exercise 'Take a Step Forward' how such stereotypes about Muslims are instantly activated and do, in fact, shape and influence their own perceptions. KJ receives the role card of a Muslim woman in the exercise 'Take a Step Forward'.

KJ: I was really surprised because first when I saw that a Muslim woman I thought that I would get nowhere but based on the questions…

Initially without knowing the questions that would be asked, KJ assumes that he would not be able to move ahead in the role of a Muslim woman, depicting his perception of Muslim women as deficient, restricted and lacking. Therefore, despite awareness of stereotypes of

Muslims, they are automatically activated at a subliminal level. However, his surprise when he recognises his initial erroneous reaction depicts, as the psychological approach of the theoretical framework presented in chapter two elucidates, the difference between low and high prejudiced people in that low prejudiced are more motivated to be in command of their initial prejudiced reactions (cf. Dovidio et al. 1997). This (psychological) analysis stands in conflict with poststructuralist theory, as it can be taken as a way of essentialising people by naming them (as low and high prejudiced). Based on the questions, KJ moves ahead in 'Taking a Step Forward' and this leads him to realise his 'othering' of Muslim women. As Dovidio et al. argue, it is the awareness of an inconsistency between one's egalitarian standards and one's automatic negative responses that helps unlearn negative patterns of response and behaviour. In Butlerian terms, KJ can be said to be negotiating dominant discourses and representations of Muslims. We thus observe how the Anti-Bias training initiates a process of self-reflection that can lead to an adjustment in one's attitudes, perceptions and behaviour. The SI questionnaire also depicts a student's attitudes towards Muslims:

RP: There are many small things in almost each religion that I would not agree is right; what comes to mind is the fact that Muslims kill goats on Bakri Eid and on Muharram[92] *they torture themselves to a brutal and savage extent. I know the reason why they are punishing themselves, but I do not find it much of a reason or excuse.*

The example of the Muslim as the brute and savage remains top of the mind when one reflects on dislikes about other religions. RP deploys the discursive strategy of contrast drawing on categories of difference and deviance (in the customs and practices of Muslims), which then serves to legitimise her representation of Muslims. Such stereotypical images of Muslims as the brute and savage intersect with social class to form the image of the 'bad Muslims,' with the more affluent community of the Bohris becoming the exemplar of the 'good' Muslims. Corresponding to psychological research (e.g. Devine, 1989), we observe that although many in their narrations may project equitable standards, they hold implicit prejudices, in this case, visible against the Muslims.

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[92] Muharram is the first month of the Islamic (lunar) calendar and considered the most sacred month of the year. It was on the tenth day of this month that the grandson of Prophet Muhammad was martyred in Karbala in 680 CE, which is why all kinds of celebratory events are avoided particularly during the first ten days of the month.

6.2.2.4. Racial oppression

The hierarchy of ‘black’ and ‘white’ and resultant racial discrimination is recognised by the GPS group:

BP: […] I don’t think it applies to me but I feel that many people have too much racism and many people are just pushed into like… It’s okay… It doesn’t make a difference what colour you are. You’re just pushed into that group that means you’re a black and you’re a white. So even though you don’t like it, you accept the other people but they think that you’re black so it’s…
[…]
JP: You’re being branded as a black. That’s not very nice.
MA: Even like people who have life threatening diseases. They’re also like rejected. No one likes talking to them.
BS: Even caste and religion and races. Lots of segregation.

Exclusion and discrimination is attributed to others who mark some people as ‘black’, thereby oppositionally positioning bodies in the process of ‘othering’ (Hall, 1997). In this regard, we see the recurrence of the narrative strategy of transfer. Yet, the students recognise that being “*branded as ‘black’*” denotes ‘marked’ positions such as ‘blackness’ (cf. Phoenix, 2008), race, certain religious groups and the lower castes. This denotes the existence and workings of power processes between ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ social categories, and also that students have implicit awareness of the concept of intersectionality, i.e. the interconnectedness of the different forms of discrimination. Similarly, during the debriefing of ‘Take a Step Forward’, on the question about who has it easiest in life, they say:

KJ: Rich, not segregated, it’s not a religion which is segregated, white, and has a good status in, has a good social status.

The permeating nature of class relations surfaces as they connect social class to the categories religion and race, whereby experiences of disprivilege and deprivation of those of a lower economic class and status are constantly influenced by race and religious structures in society. Likewise, to the question, “Who has it the most difficult in life,” they say:

KJ: Black.
JL: What rubbish ya, KJ!
BP: No
JP: Look at Barack Obama.
KJ: Barack Obama is a different case.
BP: It’s not a different case.
KJ: He’s a rich guy. It’s in the elections; he’s part of a big party and all.
JP: He’s made it big.

BP: Those who have it difficult in life, they don't have, it's actually not really their fault but their parents don't have the proper social status, they're not well-educated and it's the language also. The way they speak…. It's like nowadays in our cities also, if you speak English, you're judged on that also. Like if you don't speak English you're segregated by that.
BS: The people who are poor and live in remote areas.
KJ: Education and caste because some people are of the lower caste, and they are treated very badly.
BS: People who are young and live in remote areas.
BP: Even in villages where there's no infrastructure.
BS: People from slums.

Indeed, KJ explains that race is the key definer of life chances, despite Obama's success. The others argue that both race and class influence life experiences. Similarly, discrimination against the lower castes is also a result of lower socio-economic status. Although they are clearly aware of such exclusion, the subsequent discussion highlights stereotypical and prejudiced views about people of the lower castes, which are simultaneously contested by some members of the group.

JP: They prefer to be lazy.
KJ: Exactly.
JV: Nobody prefers to be lazy it's just that we don't give a chance, that's why…
KJ: It's not like we don't give them a chance. They don't want to try.
MA: But I know there aren't enough jobs and how many small jobs can there be for all these people. So how many people, so how many small jobs can there be.
KJ: But at least some amount can be employed.
VK: Now we're saying they're lazy but now the government is asking for a quota in all colleges and private colleges but no one is ready to go and study. Everyone…
JP: Who said no one, it's full, all the quotas. Reservations are full in colleges.
VK: Reservations, but why do you think people are fighting.
JP: Why do you think we're not getting seats! Because of reservations, we, as in kids in schools.
VK: Out of 25%, 5% is going to the rich because they're bribing the college officials and taking the seats. 5%. It's not always that they get filled. They should be forced to study.
KJ: You can't force anyone to study.
VK: But out of the 20% only 10% is used.
JP: Who says only 10% is used. Why do you think people fight for the seats?

Their direct formulations of prejudices are justified through generalisations and stereotyping: The slum dweller and lower castes alike are posited as lazy and not wanting or not utilising the opportunities given to them. As with MEWS, we see that their personal goals, motivations, thus their vested interest is crucial to the expression of prejudice (cf. Dovidio, 2001: 830). Simultaneously, social class is also a relevant factor, as they can be seen to be protecting their class privilege in this exchange. These narratives disclose discursive structures of difference, deviance and competition (for access to higher educational institutions) as well as the underlying function of 'threat' because students perceive reservation as threatening their own educational opportunities. Similarly, responses to the SI questionnaire about the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes illustrate related attitudes:

BP: …If more seats are kept for tribes, less people like us get education, which would lead to a lot of unemployment of educated people and human wastage.
BS: I think it [government's decision to reduce reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes] *is a good decision. Even if you work hard and do better than them yet don't get in.*
MI: I think it is good since everyone then gets an equal chance. People then get through due to their merit and not because of their status.
RP: …Some of the students that get into college because of these reserved seats may not be as focused or serious toward their studies as a normal person who would then miss out on a place in the college or university.
MA: … People who are smarter do not get a chance in good colleges and universities if there are lot of reservations.
VK: …They shouldn't get an advantage because they should get into colleges with their own marks and capabilities.

As one student remarks, reservation is an issue that is close at heart since it involves their own fears about forthcoming admission to colleges. Yet, they also depict the lower castes as gaining an unfair advantage; the centuries of oppression of Dalits and other lower castes shelved and forgotten (see chapter four, Bombay/Mumbai for a more detailed discussion on the oppression of Dalits), or not understood as they buy into the discourse of meritocracy. That a significant number of people of the lower castes are presently unemployed in India is not considered a "*waste of human resources*". Their ascriptions of laziness, not as smart, lack of focus or seriousness can be taken as ways of legitimising class relations (cf. Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1996: 18), which also provides insight into their own perspectives and how hierarchical and categorical prejudice schemata is organised and deployed. They use a strategy of contrast because classes are positioned as different from them. In this way, the lower castes are held responsible for the very structural inequalities that oppress them. "Recognition," argues Butler (2004), "becomes a site of power by which the human is differently produced" (p.2). When lower castes are not conferred the recognition and status of 'normal' people (above RP clearly states that some of the lower castes may not be as focused or serious *as a normal person*) and are not seen to serve even as "human wastage" (BP's response above), they can be said to be living unviable and unliveable lives because the students, who are far more privileged, have the power to decide who qualifies as recognisably human and who does not. Thus, some students can be said to be validating, legitimising and perpetuating dominant discourses, which continue to oppress the Dalits and lower castes in India. The above discussion also reveals how the psychological, structural and poststructural approaches, when used together, enable a more comprehensive analysis of student narrations.

Similarly, one sees possible implicit attitudes to the question (SI questionnaire), “Your sister brings home her Nigerian boyfriend for the first time. Your father ignores him and your mother is over polite. Do you feel the same way as your parents?”

BP: I have no problems, as firstly it is my sister’s life and if she wanted a boyfriend it’s her choice, only if she asks me my opinion would I say anything, otherwise I would behave perfectly normal.

The response is ambiguous and ambivalent because BP avoids a direct response to the question, not saying much and keeping that what is said open to multiple interpretations. Nevertheless, her statement illustrates the strategy of denial for the, “*only if she asks me,”* signals a discrepancy with the first half of her statement, which could be also be read as: Then I would *not* behave normal. As Bhabha (2004) argues, the power of ambivalence is such that it creates an environment within which, the existence of the Nigerian is at once guaranteed and threatened (which is implied in the “*if she asks me…otherwise*”). The debriefing session of the exercise ‘Experiencing Discrimination’ brings a more distinct realisation that there are various different forms of discrimination not restricted merely to the oppositional positioning of ‘white’ and ‘black’.

VK: We saw people how they used to get discriminated and how they used to discriminate people and how we feel bad for ourselves and how we insult people and we learn how it feels.
JL: We learnt different types of discrimination. You know like before most of us thought that discrimination was only like black/white, black/white but actually discrimination, for me, I felt was not segregating […].
[…]
MI: It was very hard because we didn’t exactly know what discrimination exactly was. We were a bit confused by what we thought was discrimination but it doesn’t take place so much with us. And even if it does, we don’t take it seriously.
JL: That’s the main thing in our class you know.
BS: We play games on discrimination.
[…]
JL: I read something that Indians are the most racially abusing people in the world.
RJ: Do you agree?
JL: Ya I think so.
KJ: Partly.

BP: Even in temples and stuff, they don't like allow people, the beggars and all that, even though in a temple you don't have to pay anything. They feel like the people, the people who are paying, I don't know, not beggars, will see the beggars and run away.

The term discrimination is abstract for them and they come to recognise more clearly that discrimination is more than just oppressive relations of 'black' and 'white'. Such relations become oppressive when skin colour plays out, as described above, in interactions with a particular class, for example, beggars who are not allowed to enter temples. The same is true for the Dalits in India and implies a system of exclusion on the basis of social status (linked to hierarchies of purity), where the dominant norm that binds people (of the upper castes) can only achieve unity by excluding the lower castes and classes (cf. Butler, 1993). In the above narration, they adopt a strategy of transfer, attributing discriminatory acts and behaviour to others. It is therefore likely that they exclude themselves from the general reference to 'Indians' as the most racially abusing people in the world (also since "they' reappears in BP's response, and KJ agrees only partly). In the following narrative, they describe how they repeatedly perform and reproduce such racial discrimination in the games they play:

MI: When I discriminated someone was last year. I was asked to play this game called Shudras (Dalits) versus Brahmins. There was this one boy who's like black and all and he doesn't mind if we call him black and he also was very… he insults other people, also a lot. So we used to play this game and he was the Shudra and all of us were the Brahmins and he would like encourage the game, he would say, "come on, let's play the Shudra game, Shudra game," all the time. So basically the rules were that he has to catch the Brahmins and then the Brahmins become Shudras. So basically until everyone becomes Shudras, the game goes on. And I mean he liked playing that game. He was the one who would always tell us that to stop doing whatever we were doing and start playing the game so…
JL: There is a very insulting game regarding about 3 to 4 people one of them was me, this guy and this other guy and this other guy. Okay basically, we were supposedly the Brahmins and the other was the Shudra on the end. Basically we had a small place, it was a security area, and he had a big place. Now we had to run across the other place. If we didn't get there in time, he would catch us and beat us up, you know for stepping on his territory.
SM: But Shudras don't have territory.
JL: It's just a game, okay. He used to have more fun than us because he used to beat us up.
MI: Ya, he always used to like get into this and he used to have lots of fun even though he was the Shudra.
JL: Basically he takes it in good faith.

Hierarchical relations in society are performed and reproduced by the students in the form of a game, and even in this *game*, one student questions how the 'Shudra' can possess land and territory. This illustrates awareness of the extent of disprivilege of the lower castes. They repeatedly select the same kid to enact the 'Shudra', a kid who is appropriately dark-skinned and becomes the embodiment of the 'black' body who is ascribed aggressive characteristics, "*he would catch us up and beat us up, you know for stepping on his territory,*" and, "*He used to have more fun than us because he used to beat us up*". Their justification is that it is merely a game, which the student who plays the lower caste figure enjoys as well. On further probing, they realise that although playing along, his feelings have possibly been hurt:

KJ: What happens is, initially probably the person doesn't mind because it's a little but if he just keeps on ignoring it, the people will think he doesn't mind, he doesn't mind, he doesn't mind and it continues. Eventually, it maybe, it may not happen but there is a chance that it gets extended so much that he does feel bad.
RJ: Would any of you like to be in his place?
KJ: I have been in his place. Actually it's not that bad also. Initially it used to be bad but once it got common, it didn't really make a difference.

Recalling his own experience as the 'Shudra' during the game, KJ recognises that such a game is inevitably hurtful until he actively puts it out of his mind. This is the core aim of the exercise, which seeks to generate empathy for others through a process of recalling one's feelings when experiencing discrimination. Their narratives illustrate the power-laden hierarchies of 'white' and 'black' within this group, the stereotyping and 'othering' discourses that are set-off in their depiction of the lower castes and in relation to persons of African descent.

6.2.2.5. Gender and sexuality

On reading the response to the question (SI questionnaire): "Would you be pleased if your brother received a frilly doll for his birthday?," it becomes evident that binary gender continues to impose guidelines for what is considered 'masculine' and 'feminine', which shapes the identities and bodies of these young people.

JV: No, because he is a boy and he would not like it so even I would not like it.
BP: I wouldn't be pleased because to give a 5-year old boy a frilly dress is not appropriate and it is also mean to do it on his birthday, which spoils his fun.
BS: A boy would not like a doll and frills. A girl would like such stuff.
MI: I wouldn't be quite pleased since the gift won't be appreciated since he is a boy.
RP: I think that it is rude to give a female doll to a boy because it is pretty obvious that he would not like or appreciate it. In fact, he would be embarrassed, and I would be angry and embarrassed for him.
JL: No, because it would just be wasting money and time. Someone else would have appreciated the doll more.
KJ: I really wouldn't mind. It would be a good laugh but a bit weird. But it can be solved later on.

The responses range from amusement, embarrassment to anger, and no narrative strategy is required. That a boy would be presented with a doll is considered outrageous and even seen as an affront. These responses illustrate the dominance of the notions of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ and their clearly defined limits, revealing their perception that, “a man or a woman is one’s own gender identity to the extent that he/she is not the other” (Villa, 2003: 68). The performing of heterosexual norms can be observed in the following narration:

JP: You can change your gender.
JP: Bobby darling (*did it – changed gender – all giggle at her example)*
KJ: She didn’t (giggles, slaps his head). It didn’t change its gender. It just changed to a constant gender.

Bobby is an actor (as gathered from their discussion) who had a sex change to become a woman. The fumbling and giggling as they try to fix her gender, first ‘she’ then ‘it’, displays their attempts and struggles to categorise her as one particular gender. What does not fit neatly into binary gender must therefore be not ‘normal’, not real, and is therefore open to ridicule. In this way, dominant gender norms regulate sexuality and work to exclude and render unreal certain identities in society (cf. Butler, 2004). These students can be seen to be negotiating discourses, struggling because dominant discourses essentialise gender, and there is no language for them to express the gender of Bobby. A similar reaction is seen when NM reads out her role card “I’m a 32 year old homosexual man, living in Bandra with my boyfriend” during ‘Take a Step Forward’. Hysterical laughter ensues. Their struggles in understanding gender beyond the binary also lead to difficulties in discussing homosexuality or talking about gays and lesbians without resorting to laughter. Indeed, such a discussion is difficult as it necessarily means a discussion on sexuality which is a taboo subject in India. Through laughter, the discussion on sexuality and homosexuality is avoided and takes on a flippant tone, remaining brief and superficial.

MI: A true gender is never you know going to change. A pure male or a pure female can never change. I don’t think you can reproduce if you change your gender.
JP: You can. If a man becomes a woman, he can reproduce. If a man changes to a woman totally, so then he can reproduce.

MI’s belief in ‘true’ gender, the essential, pure, fixed nature of the bodies of a man and a woman illustrates the extent to which dominant discourses of heterosexuality have shaped her identity. Moreover, such fixed notions influence behaviour patterns which may on occasion lead to acts of discrimination. In the subsequent discussion, they claim to have discriminated on grounds of homosexuality although they do not explicitly explain how:

NM: Everyone used to discriminate a homosexual.
KJ: In our class also.
NM: Ya. … [The first part was not comprehensible as everyone was talking at the same time] *about them and what they get to do and stuff and also Bobby darling is very popular and… he's an actor.*
BS: He's a socialite.
KJ: He's not a homosexual. You know what a homosexual is?
NM: How your sex changes to a woman? Actually he's a man.
KJ: He's not a homosexual but...
NM: He's not a homosexual.
VK: You have Bobby darling's number?
NM: Nods.
All are giggling.

The above discussion, albeit brief, suggests that they cannot differentiate between someone who has had a sex change and one who is a homosexual; it appears as if one necessarily implies the other. Parallel to MI's aforementioned belief, the person Bobby is automatically assigned a true and pure gender, that of being a man as 'he' was born a man, illustrating their belief in the notion of 'biology is destiny'. Correspondingly, 'he' is considered a homosexual as 'he' possibly desires a person of the same sex. In a country, where sexuality is a taboo subject, where notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' play a substantial role, we observe that the perceptions and attitudes of these young people are influenced and shaped accordingly. Thus, in this section, we observe the students performing the 'good' heterosexual, which serves to protect the privileges of heterosexual identity.

6.2.2.6. Issues at school

As described by principal, MS, in the introduction to this section, the method of parallel teaching as well as the departure of a large number of students affected this group and left its mark on their identities and subjectivities. During 'Take a Step Forward' they bring up the subject briefly:

JP: …Everyone just brands us that our class is basically like the worst class in school.
JL: It was!
KJ: Was, it was!
VK: It was, now all the bad people have left the school.
JP: Like the teachers cannot bear to sit in our class.

MI: Earlier we were all 28 and we were really active at that time. All the people in class were making stupid jokes, everyone laughing…
SM: You know we've never been so quiet before.
MI: By now we would still be near lunch break. Like if it was 28 of us, I don't think we would have reached here.
JL: They've just left so officially we haven't had a class, the 18 of us.
KJ: Why are we underestimating ourselves so much? The teachers didn't hate us that much also.

One observes that previous events have deeply affected their self-esteem and self-confidence. During another exercise, 'Experiencing Discrimination', NM states:

NM: … I read it on the internet that there are some of us who don't you do science in school and many people keep discriminating us, saying we're dumb and that we're dumb and we're dropouts and why are we dropping it and stuff. It feels really bad. We used to always… really in the beginning, they used to call us dumb.

The system of dividing the class resulted in these students being labelled 'parallel kids'. Such a marking of the body continues even once parallel teaching comes to an end. I have brought up the these issues again in order to emphasize how it has affected the self-perception and self-confidence of these young people, and that recalling and discussing their personal experiences of discrimination and the associated feelings does lead to empathetic feelings for 'others'. This has also been viewed in the discussion on the game 'Shudras versus Brahmins', where taking on a role or reflecting on the feelings and experience of another brings with it feelings of guilt, which, in turn, serves to discourage future acts of discrimination (Devine & Plant, 2002).

6.2.2.7. Interim Conclusion

The students of GPS are more aware of their prejudices than those at MEWS, and attribute far less stereotypes and prejudices onto others in society. Nevertheless, with respect to religion, they adopt the strategy of contrast, likewise when it comes to Muslims. For the latter, they also affirm exceptions (the Bohris) to the general perception of Muslims as terrorists. The 'othered' Muslims embody difference and denote fear which is deployed through a strategy of transfer. These strategies disclose stereotypical images and possible implicit prejudices against Muslims, which on reflection and further questioning leads them to recognise that such images result in clashes and conflicts in order to preserve unequal power relations in society. In terms of race, they use the strategy of transfer when discussing racism, the strategy of contrast in their narratives of the lower castes and denial when it comes to negative perceptions of ‘black’ people. They also make direct formulations which are justified by generalisations and stereotypes. They depict a clear awareness of the power relations between ‘white’ and ‘black’, and yet their depiction of the lower castes and their corresponding ‘game’ suggests implicit attitudes and prejudices within the group and, in Butlerian terms, that they are performing and perpetuating racial discourses. For gender, we identify the performance of normative heterosexuality. Gender attributes of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ have strongly influenced their notion of gender as ‘pure’ and essentialised, which is seen through their attempts to neatly fit gays and lesbians into a gendered category and their struggles in doing so are reflected through their constant embarrassment and laughter. Nevertheless, a certain openness and acceptance of difference can be viewed within this group, which points not only to their common past history, but also to the curricular and extra-curricular activities at school that support such an outlook.

6.3. Berlin

6.3.1. Berlin International Secondary School (BISS)

6.3.1.1. Introduction

BISS follows the British system of education, which, together with instruction in the English language, becomes their mark of distinction from other schools in Berlin. The British curriculum and to a large extent learning the English language draws children of different backgrounds and nationalities to the school. In 2008-09, BISS comprises students of thirty different nationalities, explains SS, head teacher, secondary school. Some are children whose parents work at consulates in Berlin and wish to send their kids to a private and/or an international school, or parents of Germans and other nationalities who wish their children to be fluent in the English language. Since BISS wanted the entire class nine comprising 25 students to participate in the school, whereas I preferred not to have more than twelve students in the training, one of my trainer-colleagues conducted a training that ran parallel to my own, using a similar process and methods.

Whereas, some students of this group indicate in their background questionnaires that they are proud of the school as it is “a private school”, has a “good education” and “good results”, others state that they do not really like the school as it “isn’t so good” and there are “lots of things I hate". A student who moved to Berlin in the previous year and is not very fluent in the English language states, "I don't think I fit in as my classmates think faster than I do". During the training, the subject of the school came up on and off, which I describe subsequently, and most of them describe their dissatisfaction with the school and the various conflicts among students and between students and teachers. It must be said at the outset that this group was not open to the training. They claimed they had no choice and were 'forced' to participate. Likewise, they stated that they were given no information about the aim and purpose of the training. Their lack of motivation was evident. Although they were present throughout the training, a few of them walked in and out or constantly disrupted discussions with jokes and snide comments. My colleague, who ran his training next door to mine, experienced similar problems with even more disruptions as a large number of students left the room, seated themselves in the corridors and talked amongst themselves. Those who stayed back were interested and participated fully in the discussions, he mentioned. On a number of occasions, many in the group repeatedly stated that they do not need the training as they are not racist, and that they could not be racist if they were studying at an international school. Yet there are, as I proceed to show, numerous examples of racist comments and jokes at the BISS secondary school.

I have presented above the school setting within which students spend the better part of their day and which influences and shapes their identities. I now describe narrative patterns and strategies of students which depict their attitudes to the three main themes of my study race, gender and sexuality, religion and the Muslims.

6.3.1.2. Awareness of prejudices

The SI questionnaire for the two groups in Berlin explicitly asks whether they believe they have prejudices. The majority answered in the negative (6 out of 11 responses), three believe they have prejudices but give no examples and two leave the question unanswered. Although they do not directly refer to prejudices in the debriefing of the exercise 'Talking Wheel', in the following narration we observe how they feel about discussing their negative attitudes:

AJ: I thought it was difficult to talk about what you don't like about people because in a way you don't like it, but other people might not like what you have so it's kind of hard to [say – with a hand movement].
LM: I think it was also hard to say what you like about yourself because… without coming up with you know… like oh my God, I'm so great.
LS: I felt very confident… because I'm good.

SB: I thought people would have more things against other people but then they said that everyone was the same and stuff […].
AJ: I think that some stuff that I said, I would've never said and also I noticed that some people said some things I didn't want to tell, and same for other people as they wanted to say some things but can't really say.

It is evident that they are not comfortable discussing their prejudices and dislikes of other people. They clearly distinguish between what can be said and what should not be voiced. This is clear in SB's narration in which she believes that people have attitudes or prejudices but only said, "*everyone was the same and stuff*". Teun A. van Dijk (1989) argues that the normatively controlled context (of the training) might obstruct them from "negative talk, mitigate it, or otherwise transform it into a socially acceptable form" (p. 118). From a Butlerian perspective, they can be said to be performing implied norms of the training. Some talk about their prejudices and others phrase their opinions in line with prevailing norms. It is the very fact that everyone is not the "same and stuff" that lies at the root of bullying and conflicts in school. LS' comment, "*I felt very confident… because I'm good.*" shows his resistance to discussing the topic. The narrations also illustrate the lack of feelings of closeness within the group, in which they would feel free to express feelings and opinions without censure and judgement.

6.3.1.3. Religious oppression: The Muslims

In terms of religion, this group comprises people belonging predominantly to Christianity - Protestant, Catholic, Anglican or Evangelist, one to Judaism and one to Islam. Two others do not indicate their religion. For most, religion does not seem to be a strong group affiliation, as only one student submits 'Jewish' as an important identity part to the trainer. Moreover, when asked whether they found themselves belonging to groups to which they had no choice of membership, two refer to religion:

4 to 5 answers from around the room: yes
LM: Like my religion and also my gender
SB: Also my religion

From the submitted molecules, when 'Jewish' is called out, some of them stand up along with LM, who stands for the longest time showing her intense feelings for the religion. The exercise requires one to stand for as long as one wishes, the more intensely one feels, the longer one stands. Others stand only briefly. LM is the last to be seated. Just before she takes her seat, LS suddenly stands up and sits down again with a grin on his face. The dynamic here indicates support for the person belonging to another group. LS' mocking grin however surfaces very often throughout the 2-day training, and he projects something of the 'lad culture' that head teacher, SS, refers to in relation to class 10 (discussed in the section on gender and sexuality).

When the submitted molecule "from Dubai" is called out, AA, who is from Dubai, stands for the longest time; others stand up briefly. LS with a distinctly mocking expression stands up and gestures two participants who are seated to stand up, and both do so. LS reacts as if he is forced to stand up but to be fair he must and such dual feelings are visible in his body language. Although his body language is not necessarily an indication of his exclusion of AA, coupled with the fact that I observed no personal interaction between AA and LS during the two-day training, it is possible to interpret his overall behaviour arising from a feeling of cultural dominance which likely results in her exclusion. The intersection of her nationality (Dubai), religion (Islam), race and language skills cannot be ruled out when accounting for his attitudes and behaviour particularly because AA, who is rather quiet partly due to her weak English language skills, is the only Muslim in the group and wears a headscarf. She is also the one who writes, "*I do not fit in as my classmates think faster than I do*," in her background questionnaire. LS' behaviour is also telling of group dynamics, where a matter of choice (standing or sitting) dissolves through peer pressure. During the debriefing of the exercise, LS comments on how the exercise felt to him:

LS: I don't know. It was boring but for me everything is boring.

His body language, jokes and mocking comments throughout the training suggest a resistance and avoidance not only of his own active participation but also that of the other students. This becomes apparent when he overtly displays his boredom and negative attitudes. The existence of group pressure is also visible when they are asked about how it felt to be the only one standing in the group.

AJ: Yes, a bit [uncomfortable] *sometimes, when you stand alone or when you're standing quite long and someone was telling you to sit down.*
LM: Yes, basically the same thing AJ was saying. It was sometimes quite uncomfortable when you would stand there even though it doesn't mean that other people don't like it. You just feel sort of alone.

Often they sat down quickly because of the facial expressions of some, and at other times simply because they were the only ones standing. As the following narration reveals, they recognise that belonging to certain groups can be hurtful and problematic:

AJ: I think there is always some people who have a problem with what other people can have: nationality, skin colour and religion, there is always conflict with that because there is always people being a bit negative.
RJ: What about in school?
SM: No. I don't think there is any big group here like. Everyone gets along with everyone.
AJ: Yeah. It can be a problem. I've been with people who've been mocking, who've been thinking that some parts of religions don't make any sense and its like stupid to have that in a religion and also people have been making fun of the nationality or like the accent you have because, when you come from somewhere you always have a different accent from the other people and people make a lot of fun about that.

Such wrongful or problematic behaviour is transferred to others – others in school who mock students on the basis of differences – religious, national or linguistic, through which they are able to present themselves in a positive light. In the above example, it is never clear whether the jokes or discriminatory acts are based on a person's race, gender, religion or nationality which, "are subjectively lived as a part of social structure" (Brah & Phoenix, 2004: 81) and are as such 'marked' positions (Phoenix, 2008). This suggests the intersection of one or more of these categories or marked positions and enables us to trace how some people get positioned as different (Staunæs, 2003:101), and how acts of discrimination in the play for power occur in school, invariably disguised as jokes or bullying.

Religion is mentioned by some who feel that it may not be as relevant in the future as it is for them today.

LM: The most important ones, I might pick, the same ones, but those I don't really have a choice, like religion, but the not too important ones, I might not put something, like 20 years from now, I would not put student.
AA: Some of them will change
UC: Mine will never change.
CD: Some might change when I get older; some I might get rid of the old ones.
AJ: … for example, religion, as you grow old you won't practice anymore and as you discover new things that you have or know of before.
LM: I think that maybe like with religion or anything you don't have a choice with and then you change, when you grow older, it still has an impact on that part of your life, or gender.

Some recognise that their identity will change over time, as their priorities and choices change, suggesting that they view identity as shifting and dynamic. The exercise 'Identity molecules' serves to illustrate and clarify the shifting and fluid nature of identities as against its perceived nature as fixed, essential and unitary. One student states that her identity will not change. She is the only student of African origin in her class, and I argue that there is an essentialising of her body which she, in turn, performs, viewing herself as unchanging. I take up this subject further in the section on race.

Although no explicit attitudes towards Muslims are visible in their narrations, we receive some pointers during the exercises 'Starting Over' and 'Take a Step Forward'. For the former, the 'Quran teacher' is not selected to start his life afresh on a remote island. Here it is not their justification for not selecting the person but the way the Muslims are referred to that is revealing.

CD: Then Quran teacher from rural area. We thought that we already had those two teachers and that the teacher with the pregnant baby was better and that she already was a teacher there. And there might not be so many Islamese on the island ... Muslims sorry.

Calling Muslims Islamese might indeed be a slip of the tongue, but it also depicts the frequent usage of words like Islamic terrorists, Islamism in the German media, which is subliminally learnt by young people and emerges almost by accident. This demonstrates the influence of dominant discourses in German society. I present the above narration in order to draw attention to the problematic linking of Islam as a religion to terrorism and aggression which is undertaken through terms such as 'Islamic' and 'Islamism'. This becomes more evident in 'Take a Step Forward', when MH received the role card of a Turkish Muslim girl:

MH: I was a 22-year old Turkish girl who was living with her parents who are very religious.
RJ: Did you take any steps forward?
MH: Absolutely none.
RJ: Why
SB: MH, she can basically do everything.
MH: Because she is very religious - a 22-year old Turkish Muslim girl whose parents are devoutly religious. Don't know. [Slowly takes steps forward to the head of the group].
LM: If you're a Muslim, you're allowed to go to the cinema.
MH: I know that.
RJ: Can you not go to the dentist, plan a holiday?
SM: You can but it's hard.

The questions called out by the trainer, to which participants respond in their roles with a 'yes' by taking a step forward or 'no' by remaining in place, have to do with privileges, social status and income. MH's stereotypical images about Muslims are instantly activated when he reads, “*Turkish Muslim girl whose parents are devoutly religious*,” which influence his decisions about what she can and cannot do, for example, going to the cinema or the dentist. The headscarf debate, the positioning of Muslim women as victims of a patriarchal society and the lower social status of the Turkish community in Germany, constantly produced and reproduced in the media and by politicians, is performed by MH in his enactment of the role of a Turkish-Muslim girl. MH’s positioning reveals that discourses of cultural *differences* and *deviance* of norms and values inform the steps he does not take in the role play, for which he draws on stereotypes of Muslim women. Thus, gender, race, immigration status, religion, class and nationality are intersecting categories in MH’s performance of the Turkish-Muslim girl. Whereas others in the group appear to believe otherwise, one of them argues that being Muslim means that women have to struggle for the basics and have restricted freedom. This is because the dominated are assigned de facto identities by those who dominate them (Deschamps, 1982). Possibly a quiet Muslim girl in a headscarf within their group serves only to reinforce the popular image of Muslims in the country. Such stereotyping, as we have seen above, operates to classify people according to a norm and construct the excluded as ‘other’ (Hall, 1997c: 258), which is possible because dominant groups in society have the power to define and create knowledge about the ‘other’ (Said, 2003). Once fixed as a Muslim, they are defined by these terms, defined in relation to the norms of the dominant group(s). Thus, donning the headscarf, freedom and related issues are defined in relation to norms within the dominant group, and illustrate the process of ‘othering’ in the students’ (re)production of the Turkish-Muslim girl. These insights show how the three different theoretical approaches, which comprise the conceptual and analytical framework of this study, overlap and intersect, and when brought together each supplements and extends the other.

Similarly, one response in the SI questionnaire suggests stereotypical views about Muslims. In selecting a suitable candidate to rent out one’s apartment, one person states that his/her last choice would be an Iranian family (2 children, father and mother). The person reasons that, “*it might become loud and you don’t know if the man can pay for this family to live there*”. The assumption is that an Iranian family might be ‘loud’ and is of a lower social class. Social class is immediately linked to his religion, race, nationality or likewise immigrant status in the country even though such information is not provided. It is evident that the student’s privileges inform his decision, but in doing so, he positions the Iranian family as troublesome, loud and not to be trusted, in effect as ‘others’. Race, religion, social class, nationality and immigrant status are thus intersecting ‘marked’ positions which result in restricted access (in this case) to housing opportunities, and in effect, his marginalisation. In 'Experiencing Discrimination', LS narrates his encounter with Turks in Berlin.

BP: [About LS:] *He gets hit from Turkish men.*
LS: I got my friends, skinheads, not when I was boxing the Turkies. Then they cry and they run away. They box me, I box them, and that's it.
BP: It's normal in a German school.
LS: No, I wasn't in the school. I was with my friend and I came from a …
SM: Like Neukölln.
LS: Then they were pushing me around and stuff and then I called my friends and then they came and then they pushed them and they broke the nose and other stuff and then they run away.
RJ: You're really creative.
LS: No, but... it didn't happen really like that but it did happen. The last bit was real.

His reference to Turks as Turkies is clearly meant to be demeaning, and he presents himself as the tough guy who has skinhead friends. In Butlerian terms, he can be said to be performing masculinity and whiteness. He fictionalises and exaggerates the incident. However, the production of fiction cannot generally be sustained for a long time (van Dijk, 1989: 126-126), particularly in the case of young people and, as seen above, when their narration is even faintly challenged. As 'real' or not as this incident may have been, the manner of his narration suggests that he is performing dominant discourses of Turkish people in Berlin and Germany, depicting also the intersection of race, religion, gender and class. Whereas student narrations suggest possible explicit prejudices for at least one student, the responses to the SI questionnaire by other students in the group suggest implicit attitudes towards Muslims.

6.3.1.4. Racial oppression

As previously discussed racist jokes are frequently used in the school although this is not considered racism by the students. In the very first round of introductions, UC explains her expectations of the training:

UC: Hi. I'm UC. I'm 13 years old. I'm from South Africa and I hope to learn more about other people's feelings when things are actually thrown at them like bullying and being judged by your skin colour.

The only 'black' girl in her class, she has obviously experienced bullying and (de)valuations based on skin-colour, be it within the classroom or outside. Further on in the training, she describes her encounter with Fred, a student of class 10:

UC: Well he comes to school and nearly jumps everyone every single day.
LM: And he like disses everyone.
AJ: He tried to diss UC and UC dissed him so bad.
UC: Oh that was, I almost hit him because he called me… I am always called the baddest stuff ever. He called me a slut because you know what he said. I said like, "Hi Fred," and then he said, "I don't talk to black sluts," and then I was like, "What did you just say to me?" Then I said, "You'd better tell that to your mum if you know what's good for you." And then we were in the middle of a fight and then I forgot all about it because it's all in the past, let's move on. […] But in order for you to scare them so that they shouldn't really annoy you, you get the feeling that people only like you because your family is rich. […] You get really sick of it and then you start pissing people off so that they start hating you. Ya, that's how I do it.
RJ: Are there others in the school who make racist comments.
Yes from a lot of them.
UC: Yes, Nicki.
AJ and LM: Nicki and Fred.
SB: There's others as well. There's like older people.
[…]
UC: You know he (Fred) said to Rita that she doesn't deserve to live because everybody hates her. He also said that you know Rita should die the next day because she's like Kenyan and all Kenyan's are stupid.

Bullying in the Berlin International Secondary School appears to involve the use of racist epitaphs, through which characteristics such as 'stupid', 'slut' are ascribed to the identities of 'black' students. Such a sexualised, daemonic representation serves to mark UC and Rita's identities as 'other' and different, a sign of degradation but also of power and domination, because as Said (2003) suggests, it is the 'knowing' of the 'other' that makes domination possible. UC's comment, "*then you start pissing people off so that they start hating you*," is an excellent example of how characteristics are performed onto the bodies of 'others' and also how they are learnt and performed by the 'othered' in society as a means of survival, "*to scare them so that they shouldn't really annoy you*". Such bullying and racists comments are not an uncommon experience at school. SS, head teacher at BISS, mentions the rise of hate messaging in the recent past and certain bullying incidents with class 10:

I've had several incidents of bullying, again year 10 class, I did not realise that there was one kid who was being bullied, not physical bullying but verbal bullying. Same group of kids who I've got a problem with this week who were calling him 'Hurensohn' and nice epitaphs. He, of course, didn't tell anybody for a long time and when it came out, I say to the perpetrators, "Why are you doing this? Oh. We're only joking". No it's not. It's not a joke. It's not funny to him. It's got to stop. So I think I'm a little more realistic than I was six months ago.

Apart from asking, ‘Why?’ the school seems unable to deal with these issues effectively. The school and its teachers undertake little to combat these issues, which may be because such comments and jokes are taken as name calling in general. SS explains:

There is too much of Hurensohn, black slut, that sort of thing. I honestly believe that it’s not targeted racism but I do believe that we have this culture, that kids… it just comes out of their mouths like people use adjectives. Even with year six, a little Jewish girl was very upset when a German kid said to her, “My grandfather used to burn you lot,” or something like that. The Jewish kid’s parents were not happy about it at all. Year six, it just came out of her mouth. When we sat down with her and said, “Do you realise what you just said? Do you realise how upsetting that was to Elly?” Oh no, the kids just speak without engaging brain in any way. That’s what Elly’s parents were worried about that where this is coming from. (SS, head teacher, secondary school, Berlin International Secondary School)

All these comments are expressions of racism, explicit or implicit; a performance of whiteness in Butlerian terms. Yet, the school has no anti-racism policy. As SS explains, an anti-racist stance is incorporated in the school’s bullying policy: “Bullying regards race, religion, gender, creed, colour. It is not a separate policy but it is definitely part of the bullying policy.” Moreover, they have a ‘sanctions and rewards programme’ but no conflict resolution measures in place. The bullying policy and ‘sanctions and rewards programme’ do not appear to be effectual in resolving the mounting problems of racist name-calling and bullying in school. SM’s comment below highlights her feelings vis-à-vis the ‘sanctions and rewards programme’:

SM: Ya, you know they make up new sanctions, and then they never make rewarding. They’re always like, we’ve changed the sanctions’ system, we think that they have to be stricter, and then rewarding, there is nothing.

In the absence of rewards, the programme becomes an all sanctions programme. The fact that the school finds it necessary to introduce new sanctions, to be stricter, implies that the programme does not seem to be functioning well enough. The general argument of students and teachers alike is that there is no targeted racism in school, which seems to be feeding the lack of explicit anti-racist policies, which in turn is feeding racism. SM describes an incident during the exercise ‘First Steps of Action’ where they brainstorm on strategies of intervention when they or others experience discrimination.

SM: Okay well. I have a friend. She has dark skin but it’s not UC. And then I went to my friends and they said she has to go away because she has dark skin.
SM: My other friends [said that]. *So here’s what I think we should do.*

BP: Is this true.
SM: Ja. Ist echt wahr.
LS: Go to the police. Say they're being racist.
BP: No. Ignore them.
SM: No. Not ignore.
UC: I wouldn't know how to handle that situation.
SM: I said okay fine, if you want to be like that… Ya I said something. I said well if you want to be that way, then I don't want to be that way.
UC: Well I would say, "Why do you discriminate? What's the use of getting rid of somebody who has got dark skin?" It's not like the darkness will just get off people….
[…]
UC: I mean it would be really weird if I would get to school and you would be, "Oh my God, don't accept her because like she's got dark skin". You know, it would be like…
LM: That's so racist.
UC: I know but it's not like the darkness will just transfer and just walk to you, you know. There's nothing wrong. Its skin colour people. It doesn't cost anything. It's just skin colour. The way you were born! You're pissing me off. Can I go to the toilet?
(Everyone laughs.)
IG: Sie rastet ja aus.

UC's comments depict her frustration and anger at the discrimination based on skin colour, which she herself has experienced. Clearly, racism in school does not stop at jokes and comments, but leads also to exclusion. This illustrates the seriousness of racist bullying as against other kinds of bullying practices in school, because if we consider students' subjectivities to be discursively constituted, the calling up of long-standing racial stereotypes will shape the individual's sense of self. As UC's narrations reveals, she has learnt and in turn performs the essentialisation of her body and identity. Although UC may not be the target of racist bullying in her class, being the only black student in class, she says, makes her uncomfortable.

UC: I'm the only black student in my class and I feel really uncomfortable. I don't feel like I fit in. Leave me alone [screams really loud at BP who is teasing her].
LS: But you're like the coolest in the class.
UC: Ya, but its uncomfortable. Most of them speak German in the class, and you can speak it and it is your language and some of us don't understand it, and you could have been talking and staring at me at the same time, and it's uncomfortable because you think they're saying, "Oh My God, she's black". It's really uncomfortable.
LM: No. No one would ever say that. Nobody would ever think that.
RJ: Do you think it's a kind of discrimination when people speak in a language you don't understand?
UC: Ya. I feel really uncomfortable. It's okay. They can talk but maybe it would be great if they can talk outside class. In German you wouldn't understand and you feel that he's judging you in a way that is …

The protests of others in the group show that they are not aware of her feelings. UC finds it difficult to deal with being the only ‘black’ person in class and this feeling is intensified as the majority speak German in class, a language she does not understand. Such exclusion may also be faced by AA from the UAE who in her background questionnaire writes that, “*I do not fit in…*” She was quiet for most of the training and spoke up only a few times. UC’s experiences of racist bullying and their ever-present and instantaneous activation in school leads her to experience at a subliminal level an essentialisation of her body. That she views her identity as static and non-changing, “*My identity will not change,*” denotes that she has learnt her ‘otherness’ and regards her body in essentialised terms, for as Butler posits (2004), the line between ‘doing’ and ‘being done to’ is forever indistinct and undecided. This is because the body is shaped by the social world; it has a public facet, which does not completely belong to the self. This public facet comprises oppressive and essentialising discourses that pre-date UC, and they produce what they regulate and constrain (Butler, 1993: 2). As Benwell & Stokoe (2006: 30) argue, people give their consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural group generating the discourse persuades them of their essential ‘truth’, ‘desirability’ and ‘naturalness’. UC thus perceives and performs an essentialisation of her body and identity in order to survive, fit in and gain a sense of belonging within and outside the school.

6.3.1.5. Gender and sexuality

Gender relations play a significant role in school. As illustrated above, a number of the bullying incidents described are carried out by boys. Head teacher, SS, calls this a ‘lad culture’ among some male students of class ten:

> *It is very much boy dominated and I have to say that in that ‘he’ group, it has always been latent but it has developed rather more in the six months since we’ve spoken. And there’s very much a lad culture there. So six or seven of them go around together and just this week I’ve had a couple of incidents of bullying and full fisticuffs and that without any doubt is gender driven, testosterone driven if you like. Four boys sort of who like to feel that they are ruling the roost and I’ve got three lots of parents coming in just next week to talk about this lad culture. And they say, “Oh we’re only having a bit of a laugh”. If four people came up to me and said you’re fat, you’re ugly and laughed. I would probably laugh too but I wouldn’t think it’s funny. I would laugh because I didn’t want them to hate me. I don’t think they realise, obviously.*

Although the reference is to class ten and not nine, and it was with the latter that I conducted the training, the behaviour of senior students is imitated and enacted by some of the boys in class nine, which I proceed to describe below.

Through the exercise 'Identity Molecules', we observe that the female gender plays a significant role in the lives of most of the girls in the groups. 'Female' is selected as an important identity molecule submitted to the trainer (they were asked to fill in four molecules and submit two that are most important to them at the time). When the molecule 'female' is called out during the standing/sitting part of the exercise, all the girls stand up; LS laughs mockingly and makes an action as if to stand up. In the subsequent debriefing, the following discussion ensues:

RJ: What molecules did you stand of up for which you had no choice?
LM: Religion and being a female or a male.
[…]
LM: Why didn't anyone put male?
SB: Mitchell put down male on his thing [molecule sheet] *but…*
LS: But not there [indicating the slips collected by the trainer and put up on the soft board.]
Sophie: Maybe because females were always put down or something like that. Males were always in charge and females were always pushed down and so females, now they're just proud because now they managed to be at the same rate as males.
LS: Ya, right
SM: Ja, wer ist Kanzler.
LM: Ya I totally agree with Sophie because I don't know, I think females, they always have to in some way stand up for themselves and prove that they're not less than a male and the male, they, I don't know, they might not…
SM: They're just used to being… they think they're in charge so they don't really take it seriously.
AJ: I also thought that what Sophie is saying is true that men in the past have also had ….. That's why I think females have to stand up more than men.

For the girls 'female' is an important part of their identities. LS' laughter appears to correspond to the lad culture in school; his mocking comment "*ya, right,*" suggests that he is performing masculinity and does not consider women to be on par with men and/or that they are discriminated against. However, the girls recognise that power is inherent in the relationship between men and women.

LM: Men are always scared that women will have a lot of power. They always want to like underestimate.
RJ: It stems from what, a feeling of what?
LM: Power. They wanna always have the power because maybe they're sacred of them.

The male students are all silent when LM narrates her recognition of power relations and men's fear of losing power. The girls also describe the role of media in influencing their perception of the behaviour of men and women.

LM: [Media] *it doesn't really tell you, it influences you.*
UC: I don't think the media is all that. What it tries to do is it creates conflict. Then it's like you got a thin girl and a fat girl and then it says that the thin girl is better because then she can dress as anyone she wants to.
AJ: Also ya, that's what I think. I think that women now are judged by their looks. Women have to be perfect but men don't have to. Like a lot of girls now are like anorexic because they think that anorexic is better than being fat. But if you look at it, it makes more sense for someone to be fat than to be anorexic because anorexic isn't really healthy. And women just have to be […] perfect. They have to do like everything. Guys just have to be like they are.
SM: Girls have to get up every morning and think about what they're going to wear and then just put on anything.
AJ: Also they have to put the makeup on and….
BP: That's not true what they say. That's not true.

Gender stereotypical roles, dress codes and behaviour are seen to be in place and even performed by the girls despite their recognition that they are (re)productions of the media. Breaking away from dominant gender norms is not easy as the desire for recognition is implicit in social norms and is linked to power (Butler, 2004). Submitting to dominant gender norms is easier as one fits in, is accepted and belongs, and this provides stability and direction that a liveable life requires (Butler, 2004: 8). The system of heteronormativity and the social constructs 'male' and 'female' and their gender attributes 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are thus inscribed in the minds and on the bodies of most of the students. Moreover, responses in the SI questionnaire suggest in a number of instances their performance of heterosexuality (and their feelings that this is necessary). They responded to the statements, "I don't mind being friends with someone who is gay, lesbian or bisexual" and "I don't mind if my child were gay, lesbian or bisexual":

1: Because I don't like gay people
2: Because I don't like gay, bi and lesbian people.
3: Because I don't like gay people
4: I have no dislike, but I wouldn't feel very comfortable with a friend like that.
5: I don't know. I don't wanna think in the way they think.
6: As long as they are happy, but I want grandchildren.

The first three statements suggest that they are performing repressive heterosexual norms. From the paradigm of psychological research, they can be said to hold prejudices and negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians. The other responses can be read as discursive strategies of denial, in which difference and deviance symbolise perceived threat: feelings of insecurity and unease at the thought of having a "*friend like that*". The last statement also illustrates the strategy of denial: I don't mind, "*but I want grandchildren*", whereby the student makes reproduction the justification for his/her ambivalent response. The sphere of reproduction guarantees the place of ‘gender’ and thereby also of normative heterosexuality through sexual regulation (Butler, 1997b: 273). Accordingly, students can be said to be taking a decidedly heterosexual stance as a matter of survival in a homophobic society. At the same time, there are a number of them who portray a contrary attitude, stating that they have friends who are gay or lesbians and/or have no problems with sexual differences. Yet, at least three appear to hold prejudices against gay people, and can be said to be performing masculinity or the ‘lad culture’ described by head teacher SS. The narrations of the others cited above suggest implicit prejudices and they can be seen to be performing the ‘good’ heterosexuals in order to maintain the privileges of heterosexual identity.

6.3.1.6. Issues at school

As elaborated more or less throughout this section, students have various problems at school and voice conflicts among students and with teachers. The first inclination of their negative feelings arises during ‘Identity Molecules.

AJ: I was surprised that some people didn’t stand up for some certain things when some people should have stood up but I think some people should have stood up.
BP: For example?
AJ: School.
LM: Ya, I think so, ya, because that’s like most of the time, we are in still so how can that not be.
BP: Our school is today so important.
SM: It is important but you shouldn’t make it the biggest thing.
LM: It’s not only the work, it’s also the people.
SM: Ya but then again you stand up for friends but school is like some people enjoy school and some people have problems in school, so they don’t stand up for it because it’s a place where they don’t want to be actually.
BP: I’ve been to three German schools before I went here and there’s bullying a lot, and ja, racist a lot. You can be proud of this school.
LM: Well, also the school, I think it is quite important because it’s not only the learning, it is also the people you meet there, you stand up for them as well and not just for work and stuff and that’s important. If you don’t like school, it is still important to you and if you didn’t go there, your life would be different, whether it is good or bad.

For differing reasons students either like or dislike BISS. Based on previous negative experiences at other Berlin schools, BP feels that he can be proud of BISS, implying that the situation is even worse at other schools. The feelings of those who do not like BISS are coloured by their problems and conflicts at school. Constant bullying and the lack of resolution of conflicts by teachers build an atmosphere of frustration.

RJ: Have you ever gone to anyone to discuss your problems?
LS, BP: Yes
UC: That's the whole problem, Mrs. S wouldn't listen, she would just say, "What am I supposed to do about it". Daa, you're the head!
LS: She would ignore you.
[…]
LM: I don't know a month ago or something, Hanna, she got like really bullied. So we told the teacher but she didn't tell anyone. The only thing that Mrs. S did was like tell the pupil that Hanna had told me that and that they should maybe stop. Nothing happened, that's the only thing they said. Then, like everybody was cross at Hanna.

They claim to experience verbal and physical abuse at the hands of some teachers:

RJ: Do the teachers do anything?
SB: Oh Mr. A discriminates us.
LS: It's also against German people.
UC: He doesn't know how to handle students.
LM: He hit MH.
AJ: He kicked IG.
UC: Corporeal punishment is not allowed.
SM: If you want to help the school, then go and shoot Mr. A, honestly.
RJ: Do you speak to anybody about it?
SM: No. Mr. A's going to say that he didn't do that.
BP: He called me loser.
AJ: He called me stupid and immature, and stupid again and again and again, like a hundred times.
LM: He hit Mitchell with like books.
UC: I told him once that I'm not allowed to walk a lot. And then when we came back to school, I couldn't walk and my legs were like frozen. I couldn't walk. Then I had to walk with crutches. My mum was really pissed, so was my dad. I mean my dad was ready to come here and cut his head off. He still wants me to do sports, I mean, that's telling me you know what I do not care if you've got problems with your legs.
SM: You know if you keep fighting against him, he's going to tell you, you know, I don't care. He says that all the time.

Some teachers appear obviously to be unable to handle students or address conflicts. Students consider these issues as irresolvable despite the presence of a student council, which they consider inactive, ineffective and powerless.

SM: You know the student council, its like, how do you say, in some countries you know you pretend there is people and Sie hatten einen Beruf wo sie dachten, dass sie hatten Macht aber sie hatten keinen Macht. Und da waren Leute, die so getan haben, als ob sie Macht hatten, und das ist genau so mit dem Student Council. Die sagen, „Ah der Student Council, der hilft euch, mit dem kriegt ihr alles was ihr wollt oder so", aber der Student Council hat nur diese Imaginäre Macht. Der hat eigentlich gar keine Macht. It's like an imaginary power that we have that we don't.

All in all, bullying and racist jokes are attributed to the environment within the school; thereby they use a strategy of transfer, also to justify their inaction. Consequently, negative feelings abound, as seen during the training, negatively impacting on the atmosphere of the training and the school.

IG: I hate this school.
LS: Me too.
CD: I've been in this school also for eleven years. I've been here almost as long as you. It's annoying.
LS: Me too.
UC: I think this school is a wannabe.

Such an atmosphere influences the subjectivities of all students of the secondary school, be they in class nine or ten. Negative feelings or even hatred cannot be surmounted without attempts at constructive communication and conflict resolution.

6.3.1.7. Interim Conclusion

For BISS, we identify strategies of transfer with respect to students' representation of Muslims, as well as one student who fictionalises his narrative. We observe, with respect to the example of the Turkish-Muslim girl, that the student's responses are based on discursive stereotypical and generalised representations. The majority does not display strong affiliation to religion, and some display stereotypical views about and implicit prejudices against Muslims. Discursive patterns of difference and deviance represented through (perceived) threat are used to justify their narratives. For race, students narrate a number of examples of racist bullying, jokes and exclusion by others in school. It is however unclear whether this is simply a strategy of transfer or whether they are not implicated in such acts. Their original claim that they do not have prejudices corresponds to their claims about there being no racism in school, merely racist jokes. Racism, or thereby racist comments and jokes, are experiences that have served to mark the body of the only 'black' girl in the group. She depicts discomfort in her 'blackness' and regards her body and identity as unchanging, a result, I argue, of the fixing and essentialisation of her body through ascriptions such as 'black slut'. Moreover, she performs to some extent ascribed characteristics like being loud, nasty and aggressive (this was visible during the training when she screamed at many students) towards co-students because she feels that this is the only way they will leave her alone. This learning and performing of ascribed 'black' behaviour is therefore clearly a matter of survival in face of racist teasing and bullying, which is perhaps also why she prefers to see her identity as fixed and essentialised. With reference to gender, the SI questionnaires disclose strategies of denial. Conventional gender norms are seen to be a fact of the past, taken up, thematised and theorised by the former women's movement. Nevertheless, in their narrations the girls depict an adherence to gender roles, dress codes and behaviour. The boys through laughter and body language are performing masculinity in order to maintain hierarchies and inequalities between men and women. The narrations of some students suggest explicit attitudes and prejudices towards gays and lesbians, and those of others suggest implicit attitudes, which can be seen in their performance of the 'good' heterosexuals, serving to protect the privileges of their heterosexual identity. Issues at school reveal the strategy of transfer of conflicts onto the general environment of the school through which they also justify their inaction. It appears as if the atmosphere at BISS does not support a learning environment based on openness and trust. Conflicts and incidents of bullying reveal the play for power in school; the narrations and behaviour (body language) of the students depict similar patterns as at large in school (which the students discuss during the training). In addition, the school's 'sanctions and rewards programme' which, according to student narrations, has introduced new sanctions and stricter rules depicts that it is not working effectively enough. I argue that its effectivity is hindered by the fact that the programme does not tackle the root cause of conflicts and bullying.

6.3.2. James Benning Public School (JBPS)

6.3.2.1. Introduction

JBPS is a state school that offers teaching in the German and English languages and requires fluency in both languages for those applying to the secondary school. Similarly, JBPS offers both the Abitur[93] and the IB (The International Baccalaureate Diploma). As such, IB can be considered as the international equivalent of the German *Abitur* programme. Much like BISS, students of different nationalities study at JBPS; some study there because their parents (of non-German nationality) work in the city. HU, secondary school teacher, acknowledges that there are minor conflicts not only between students but also between some students and teachers.

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[93] Diploma from German secondary school qualifying for university admission.

> *There is sometimes some bullying going on which we, if we are told of course, we always try to solve the problem and sit down with everyone and mediate. Sometimes there are conflicts that have to do with, that are not really, don't really originate in school but have to do with the family background, someone, some people are going through a divorce or something like that and we notice that here. And I think we do have relatively close contact with our pupils still, maybe because we're so small but also because the groups are not so, as big as in other schools.* (HU, secondary school teacher, JBPS)

Similarly, on occasion conflicts between students and teachers arise as well.

> *[T]here are not so many but I would say but there are sometimes groups that simply cannot sort of come together with or don't really, or where a teacher's teaching style does not fit their needs or their way of learning or so. So that is where conflicts come from, not so much I think… And we used to have the case of a colleague who even insulted people but she's left us now and that was pretty hard on us, the colleagues, because we have to show some loyalty to that colleague but on the other hand, we see that the way she treated people was just not on.* (HU, secondary school teacher, JBPS)

The school has a selected group of mediators as well as two Vertrauenslehrer (guidance counsellors who facilitate teacher-student relationships) who are elected by the students annually. As prescribed by the Berlin School Law, the school also has a student council, which, according to HU, is not very active. She attributes this to the fact that they are "relatively happy with the situation here at school". As an international school, not only does JBPS emphasize interculturality in its mission statement, some of its lessons and extra-curricular activities are designed to promote interculturality in the classroom and in school.

> *One of my subjects or both have to do with it of course because I teach one foreign language, Spanish, and then I teach history and in the social science we try to… of course we have to teach the thing according to the Berlin curriculum but we try to teach more international topics. And if possible for example then someone can give a presentation on something either on their own country or what we also try to promote is that people actually sort of swap roles and present something on countries or regions that they are not from. Something like that. That would be the things that you can do in class. Then we have some other groups, some extra-curricular activity groups like Amnesty International or the UNESCO group or for example Model United Nations, we have that. And there's this Schule ohne Rassismus and so on. Well there are a number of project groups if you so like and that are fairly active at this school. If I compare that to other schools in Berlin that I've worked at, I would say that that is something that is both part of the curriculum and part of the lessons and teaching but also part of the extra-curricular activities and things that are offered.* (HU, secondary school teacher, JBPS)

On my very first visit to the school, I noticed a wall filled with responses to the question 'What is home?' Reading the vast and diverse views of the students gave me an idea of the extent to which the school addresses themes such as ‘home’ and identity and interculturality. By and large, the background questionnaires demonstrate that students are quite happy with the school and their teachers. The reasons for choosing JBPS range from learning the English language, studying at an international school, having the option of taking the IB exam or as they had heard “great stuff about it”. On the whole, during the training the students do not bring up or discuss significant conflicts and clashes with reference to the school.

6.3.2.2. Awareness of prejudices

There was no need to ask how they felt about talking about their prejudices. It came up with my very first question in the debriefing to ‘Talking Wheel’.

RJ: How was the exercise?
AC: It was different, different from normal… different from normal conversations.
ST: It’s a different point of view of people and what they think. I thought it was pretty interesting because I actually never, well I talk to these people but I don’t talk about those kind of things, like about our prejudices and things like that.
EP: I thought it was interesting because we just let them talk instead of waiting to burst something in and just listening them out.
[…]
MH: I also think that since you don’t really talk about the topic with your friends, it’s good to know what other people think about.
RJ: Were there certain topics on which you couldn’t talk for long. If yes, why?
ST: I don’t know. Like the last question. I don’t really have prejudices and all, you know, so I didn’t really know what I should say.
FL: It was actually not that easy because normally you don’t speak about this kind of stuff to other people because normally you like comment about it but if you just talk and… it’s interesting.

The participation of a large part of the group whilst discussing the very first exercise shows a feeling of trust and ease within the group. As with the other three groups, I noticed that these young people had never exchanged views on socially relevant subjects or even reflected on the prejudices they have. Nevertheless, most of them believe they do not have prejudices and hence find it difficult to talk about them, suggesting the strategy of denial of personal prejudices. As Dovidio et al. (1997) argue, people are generally not completely aware of their biases which occur instinctively and automatically. In Butlerian terms, students can be seen to be performing the non-racist/non-sexist discourse, matching with the implied norms of the training. In the above narration, FL, for example, leaves his sentence incomplete and ends it with, “*it’s interesting*”. In doing so, he remains ambiguous and avoids talking about his feelings and the possible outcome of the ‘talking’. Accordingly also, to the direct question about whether they believe they have prejudices (SI questionnaire) most replied in the negative (8 out of 11), two believed they have prejudices but do not give examples, and one left the question unanswered. We can conclude, as also posited by Dovidio (2001: 838), that contemporary forms of prejudice are indirect and subtle and at their core is the conflict between the denial of personal prejudice and the underlying negative feelings and beliefs. I seek now to identify whether and how such subliminal negative feelings emerge in the discussion.

6.3.2.3. Religious oppression: The Muslims

In terms of religion, students predominantly indicated their affiliation to Christianity (6 out of 11). Three stated ‘none’ in their respective background questionnaires, one ‘atheist’ and one Buddhist. Additionally, not one person submits religion as an important identity category, rather the different nationalities present in the group become relevant – Scottish, English-speaking, Canadian, living in America, Sri Lankan, friends in Denmark, and even a regional identity – Bavaria – is mentioned. A telling fact is that the participant who submits ‘Sri Lanka’ as a vital part of his identity is in fact a German citizen and was born in Germany. Yet, there is no mention of being ‘German’ or part German in his identity molecules, which to say the least denotes a stronger affiliation to Sri Lanka than to Germany.

During ‘Identity Molecules’, I observed that in contrast to the other three trainings, the students of this group sat down more quickly during the standing/sitting part of the exercise. Although they were asked to stand longer depending on the intensity of their feelings for each identity category, there was hardly a time when someone stood alone for a longer period. Even as a group, they didn’t stand for long. In comparison to the other groups in which I sensed group pressure and competition (in terms of who stood up longer), the exercise seemed more relaxed but also very casual and unimportant within this group. The debriefing illustrates that there is a certain feeling of unity but also of group pressure.

RJ: How did that make you feel?
JF: Solidarity.
MH: Like sometimes if you didn’t want to get up that much, you were forced because everyone got up.
RJ: Did you feel like group pressure?
MH: Kind of like with the family thing because I’m not really a family person. Ya, I just got up a bit.
SD: It made me feel really boring because even though maybe it did not mean so much I still stood up because everyone did. There wasn’t anyone who when everyone else stood up was

still sitting down. Everyone just stood up. Like he said (MH) it's not individual, more like a flock of sheep.

So there is a bit of both depending on the 'molecule' - it is either a feeling of unity or a subtle pressure to stand up with the rest – the herd mentality as SD points out. When the discussion proceeds to whether some group belongings could be hurtful and problematic, SD says

SD: For example, I didn't write down but being Danish is a problem if you want to go to the Middle East because we had a big thing in which some people, they painted Mohammed, they made pictures of him, and then I don't know how or why anyone else would think it was, but it was a big thing that the Danish press used it a lot, and people were very against this, and the government told people that if you're going to the Middle East then don't have the badges or don't have flags because people can maybe murder you and also just be mean to you. It's understandable because it was one of the dumbest things you can do, and we didn't ever say sorry.

We learn that SD strongly opposes the publishing of the cartoons of Mohammed and the sensational reportages in Denmark thereafter. However, his "*being Danish is a problem if you want to go to the Middle East,*" suggests that he is performing and negotiating the fear propagated by the Danish government and the media. In the subsequent exercise on stereotypes and generalisations 'Lemons', SD once again introduced the subject of Muslims and the Middle East.

RJ: So you mean that you look at appearance and judge it accordingly?
SD: Yes.
AK: You also judge by nationality because say someone comes from Islam or an Arabic country and like terrorists and everything just because they're from there.
RJ: Do stereotypes serve any purpose?
MR: Not really. It can actually have a very big purpose.
SD: But they also kind of help. For example like if you had no clue about somewhere in the Middle East. You had no clue about it. Then you wonder about the stereotype of the Middle East and that they're Muslim and you take their religion very seriously. Then you go down there […] and then you actually respect their religion because you might meet people that are not religious but still you would start to accept that stereotype, except that stereotypes are not normally very informative.

The "*you also judge by nationality,*" might be a reference to themselves or the attribution of stereotypes to others. However, since they do not explicitly mention other people, I take it that they are aware of making judgements based on nationality and linking nationality to religion and terrorism. SD appears unable to distinguish between stereotypes and information – he confuses the fact that the majority in the Middle East are Muslims with stereotypes.

Moreover, his repeated introduction of the subjects of Muslims and descriptive narrative reveals the prominence of Muslims, particularly in the Middle East, in his mind and that he may well be struggling with his assumptions and judgements about them.

On one of the worksheets for the exercise ‘Experiencing Discrimination’, which I picked up when tidying the room after the training, was written,

“I have discriminated Bandan because he is a Muslim but then my friends stopped because we felt sorry”.

Although no one mentions specific prejudices during the plenary discussions where they adopt strategies that seem to display their objective neutrality, the above statement denotes negative behaviour towards a Muslim. HU, secondary school teacher, JBPS, explains that prejudices against Muslims or conflicts based on religion are not really seen in school but she does notice them in the form of misunderstandings during history lessons:

I don’t really see it in the school yard as it were but it does sometimes come up in lessons, especially misunderstandings about what Islam is about. I notice that when I teach the history of Islam and for example teach the 5 pillars of Islam and so on and so forth and teach them that it is actually a very tolerant religion that especially at the time when it started, when it was introduced by Mohammed actually, for example, gave women more security and a more stable position in society and so on and was in some cases more progressive if you like in the women’s question than the Christian religion at the time. And today as you know the pope has actually said that homosexuality is completely wrong and evil and ya, so, I notice that many people don’t seem to know a lot about that and I sometimes sense a bit of… I’m not quite sure there because they don’t, the students don’t say it openly, the students who are Muslims, but I have the feeling sometimes, some of their comments, that they are quite happy that it is explained that way to the others, and I do have the feeling that sometimes they, first of all they listen to how I say some point and then they feel encouraged to share their experience and their knowledge with us which is very nice because then for many topics or points, they know more than I do, and I found that even normally very quiet people seem to then feel encouraged to participate in class, since they say something and seem to feel more confident about it and that’s quite good, but there are still some big misunderstandings because of the way Islam is presented mostly in the media at the moment.

Her narration depicts the importance of discussing the historical background and precepts of Islam and other religions in school. Unless this is done, neither will the Muslim students nor others be open about their feelings and speak up so that misunderstandings and misinformation can be discussed and cleared. Similarly, the SI questionnaire reveals that at least one student is misinformed. To the question – “Is there are particular ethnic, cultural or religious group that you do not like?” – is the response:

"I can't tick yes or no because I don't really know properly about their religions, but I've read that the Muslim holy book is really violent and full of death, which I don't like."

Such (mis)information holds the power of ambivalence for the student lacks knowledge about other religions and relies on hearsay, information which he cannot trace. In doing so, there pervades an 'atmosphere of certain uncertainty' (Bhabha, 2004), which encircles not only the holy book Quran but also the Muslim who is widely perceived to be devoutly religious and thereby indoctrinated by the Quran. The linking of Islam and terrorism by the media and politicians can be considered in light of such (mis)information, which, in the absence of proof, serves to embody the Muslim, like the Quran, with aggression and violence. This reveals the influence dominant discourses have on subjectivities.

Another student responds to the question about an Iranian family renting out his/her apartment with, *"I think he would destroy or ruin the flat since they are four living in a two-room flat"*. That a family of four duly requires a corresponding amount of space might be based on one's own living conditions and privileged background where space and privacy are important and achievable. The student's social class and privileges influence his perception and inform his decisions. However, it is possible that his reasoning has just as much to do with the intersection of nationality, religion, race, immigration and class, all of which become 'marked' positions (Phoenix, 2008) and likely serve to reinforce his stereotypes and perception of people who are not only different but also troublesome ("*I think he would destroy or ruin my flat*"), can't be trusted, and are resultantly marginalised (cf. Staunæs, 2003:101).

Not all opinions are alike. Some write that the Iranian family would be his/her first choice as "*they might not be able to get any other because they're from Iran*" or "*I would give anyone my apartment no matter where he comes from or what he believes in. Anyone except racists and Nazis,*" and yet another would let out his flat to the Iranian family because, "*The family is big and they would not ask for the small apartment if they could get a bigger one instead*". Thus, a number of them believe in fairness and equality and are ready to step in and contribute positively to disempowerment and discrimination. This implies, particularly the first statement, that they are very aware of the wide perception and treatment of Muslims and/or immigrants in Berlin and Germany. However, some of their comments suggest possible implicit prejudices against Muslims linked to their immigration status and social class.

6.3.2.4. Racial oppression

Similar to the beliefs of the BISS students, this group mentions racist jokes in school and that these are never meant in a racist manner. One of the worksheets I collected said:

Moon discriminates a young African boy called Nana as a "Schokomon". Nana reacted and called Moon yellow and barked like a dog. Moon and Nana had this conflict almost everyday.

We are unaware of how and why the conflict began, but they obviously use racist comments in their conflicts to hurt each other. Similarly, another worksheets says

All of my friends make racist jokes and the reason they're funny is because we never mean it, and one time I called my Asian classmate Yellow. Afterwards we all laughed, but I felt bad after a while because I didn't know if she was taking it seriously.

It is during the exercise 'Experiencing discrimination' (that the worksheet was filled in) that the person comes to the realisation that such jokes might be hurtful to the person at the receiving end. When they are asked (SI questionnaire) "Whether they would mind working or being part of a group in which you are the only person of your skin colour," some illustrate their unease at being in such a situation.

1. [I wouldn't mind] *as long as I get treated the same.*
2. *I wouldn't mind as long as they are nice and don't offend me.*
3. *I would feel kind of left out, I wouldn't feel comfortable.*
4. *I am used to it.*

The "as long as" reflects the strategy of denial, whereby difference in physical appearance / skin colour is perceived as a potential threat. Since the majority students are 'white', these answers suggest that some are uncomfortable with the idea of being in a 'non-white' group, even though they are part of an international school and have regular contact with people of different backgrounds. One observes a prerequisite to their participation in a group of 'others': They should be treated equally, nicely and the people should not be offensive. Such prerequisites might be a projection of their perception of the treatment of minorities not only in Germany but the world at large. The one who states, "*I am used to it,*" is the only person of African descent in the group. Implied in his statement is a process of getting used to such a feeling, a process not without hardship. This is obvious in the following worksheet description, where we see that he had previously experienced racist comments.

> *Me and another person whose name I have forgotten. The boy called me a nigger. Therefore he got kicked out of school. I felt not too bad because the teachers on that school took quick action.*

Despite the strong stand of his previous school on racism and the expulsion of the perpetrator, such experiences are not forgotten, the word ‘nigger’ serves to mark his body as different and ‘other’ and thus essentialise his ‘black’ body. This essentialisation influences his sense of self, his subjectivity, as well as his future experiences. HU explains that as an international school, racism is certainly a topic discussed at school but there are not many racist incidents she hears about:

> *I don’t hear very much of that but of course something like racism and all is a topic at an international school. I know however that some people sometimes, I know one student who uses that but I think he’s more playing with that sort of anything that he doesn’t like, for example you give him homework or something like that but you give the whole group homework and then he says that’s racist. That’s one of his favourite words now. He’s in year 9/2 and this year this is one of his favourite words if he thinks something is unfair. This would say it’s unfair. […] He felt that he wasn’t treated in a fair way by a colleague. I wouldn’t agree to that judgement but that’s how he perceived it. But he also thought it was because of his skin colour, which I think is a little ridiculous because that colleague is married to someone with the same skin colour as the pupil. But I don’t think the pupil knows about that. But I think there are some people who… but I’m not quite sure really if they experience that so much here at school or if they experience that so much here in Berlin.*

The student she talks about is the one in my group. The marking of his body means that he has learnt his ‘otherness’ and begins to see himself in essentialised terms (Butler, 2004). Similarly, his perception of racism is also shaped by his previous (and possibly recurring) experiences of racism whether within the school or outside, which he possibly enacts with teachers at school. However, in contrast to HU’s comments, at no point during the training does he refer to or talk about racist comments in school or feelings of injustice at the hands of the teachers. Moreover, this was the only group where students did not wish to elaborate on their experiences of discrimination in plenary, which they had previously narrated in smaller working groups. This could be because I, as an outsider, need not hear about these incidents and/or that feelings of guilt and hurt made them not want to discuss them with the entire group, which is why such discussions are generally held in small groups.

The students of German nationality (of the JBPS group) who have lived abroad for a period of time have also experienced derogatory remarks and jokes. I present two descriptions provided by students in their worksheets:

1. Back when I lived in Scotland, people found out that I had German family and was planning to move there, they called me Hitler and all of my family Nazis. It was mostly during school and even the teachers didn't say anything. I felt so angry and helpless because I knew I wouldn't be able to stop them saying that. At first I was trying to ignore it, but it kept happening until I moved.

2. It was in Australia, my "friend" started to walk like a Nazi and say that I was a Nazi. I didn't think it was funny. No one really did except him. I told him to stop but he didn't. I felt really stupid and kind of hurt since he was my friend. He thought it was all fun. It was at first but then it wasn't.

Such name calling has impacted on their identities as the subject arose on the first day itself, during 'Identity Molecules'.

MR: It is also problematic to be German. I was called a Neo Nazi [a few laugh]. *Ya, when I was in the States, I was called a Nazi a few times because I said I was German.*
MR: Ya, for me it was the same in Australia.
MR: Ya, nowadays people just connect things to say anything. Yeah, like the Danish people, they, the press insulted Mohammed and the people kind of say all Danish people are like that, which I think happens quite a lot nowadays in a few parts. People don't really talk about things. Well where I got called Nazi a few times, it was usually in the Bronx, which is like the Ghetto part of New York where people don't really get everything.
[…]

SD: I think them being called Nazi is because now after the war, like most people, all they know about Germany is that they were in the war. A lot of people don't know anything about German culture. It's like because people, history teachers spend so much time and also movies and games. There is so many of them that, of this war, so it's kind of not obvious but I see how people can connect Germany with Nazis. Also in the newer generation, we don't have any understanding of how it was under the war so we just use it like a term, like redneck and stuff. It's like another sign for German or a lot of people might use it.
AK: I think that also usually it starts as a little thing that people just say anything and then it gets bigger and bigger, it gets more and more and then it becomes a problem and then.
MR: Also like normal people on the street, if you see like Calvin Klein he also said that he won't step in Germany anymore. He's Jewish, and he also said he won't sell his stuff in Germany anymore because his ancestors were killed by Nazis, which I can't really understand because we're a whole different generation.

Generations down the line, young Germans living abroad continue to be linked to Hitler and the Nazi. As SD explains, whether in the classroom in history lessons or through films or games, images of the Nazis in Germany persist. Apart from the war and the holocaust, people often have very little information about Germans, and as I have observed in India, there is sometimes a certain fascination with Hitler. Young people then use labels such as ‘Nazi’ and ‘Hitler’ in their games, jokes and bullying acts. Therefore, just as important as it is to address racism in society, these incidents reveal the importance of educational interventions that sensitise people and tackle even such generalisations.

Three aspects emerge in this section: Firstly, racist jokes are used in conflicts and bullying occurrences in school but are not linked to racism as they as legitimised as being jokes. Secondly, although JBPS is an international school with a large number of students from the most diverse backgrounds, there are still some (‘white’) students who state they would be uncomfortable being part of a group in which they were the only ones of their skin colour. Moreover, the students make no link to the possible experiences of people of colour in Germany and Europe. Such information was not explicitly asked but neither was it offered by the students. Finally, young people of German nationality living abroad bear the brunt of Nazi and Hitler jokes and bullying on the grounds of their race and nationality.

6.3.2.5. Gender and sexuality

Gender is a topic that does not arise through most of the training and ‘being male’ or ‘being female’ is noticeably absent from their presentation of ‘Identity Molecules’ and no one speaks of gender discrimination or brings up homosexuality during the training. This does not necessarily imply that gender stereotypical roles and behaviour are not performed by this group. It is possible to get indications of their points of view during the exercise ‘Starting Over’ and their responses in the SI questionnaires. During ‘Starting Over’ one group decides not to choose the ‘homosexual healer’ as one of the eight people who would start life over on a remote island. They explain why:

SD: And that’s also why we didn’t take the homosexual because first of all, healer, it didn’t say doctor. Healer, I associate with someone sitting in a tent at a fair, maybe not.
GG: He’s like an Indianer, man.
SD: He’s a homosexual, so he wouldn’t be so good for the continuation of the island. He wouldn’t help the population to grow.

Firstly, a healer is devalued in comparison to a doctor, which depicts discursive patterns of difference, as in being largely primitive in contrast to western medicinal standards. Secondly, the participants take refuge in the subject of reproduction to justify their decision not to select the homosexual. It can also be taken as a strategy of denial, where “We don’t like or want a homosexual” is replaced by a seemingly more acceptable justification, i.e. reproduction. Here it is an unknown person, in fact, a group of unknown people who will travel to a remote island in a fictitious exercise, yet, the person's perceived inability to reproduce becomes grounds for his exclusion. Their line of argument and justification adopts discursive patterns of difference and deviance for their selection. As previously discussed and in Butlerian terms, reproduction guarantees the place of 'gender' and also of normative heterosexuality through sexual regulation, i.e. exclusion (Butler, 1997b: 273). As such, students can be said to be performing oppressive heterosexual norms in order to preserve their privileged heterosexual identity position. This performance can also be seen in a few responses (SI questionnaire) to the statement, "I wouldn't mind being friends with someone who is gay, lesbian or bi-sexual":

1. *I wouldn't mind except if the gay was trying to hook up with me.*
2. *As long as they don't get on my nerves.*
3. *I wouldn't mind as long as they tolerate my sexual orientation*
4. *It would be weird at first but then it would be okay.*

We observe the fear of sexual harassment by a person of the same sex. Conditionality forms the basis of another response, "*as long as they tolerate my sexual orientation,*" which similarly suggests fear of sexual advances. The "except" and "as long as" in the first three statements illustrate a strategy of denial and denote: "I don't mind BUT". Their statements also depict the power of ambivalence because the students despite their uncertainty seem quite certain about sexual harassment. The last response suggests the lack of contact with a person of a different sexual orientation. In Butlerian terms, their narrations suggest that they are performing dominant gender norms so as to maintain the privilege that comes with a heterosexual identity. As Butler (1993) explicates, the norms that bind us do so through a strategy of exclusion that serves to maintain dominant structures in society. Yet, the fact that their statements are contradictory and ambivalent suggests that they may also be negotiating these norms. Responses of the other students indicate their acceptance of sexual differences and some even mention that they have gay and/or lesbian friends. The narrative strategies and patterns within this group do not disclose explicit prejudices or the vehement performances of masculinity. However, they do suggest, in some cases, the performance of normative heterosexuality.

6.3.2.6. Interim Conclusion

We thus identify the strategy of denial relating to personal prejudices, and with respect to Muslims, it is a worksheet on discrimination (used during the training) and the SI questionnaires that suggest the direct formulation of prejudices through stereotypical representations. The notion of perceived threat emerging from semantic structures of difference and deviance are also observed, for example, in the case of Muslims and homosexuals. With respect to both race and the subject of homosexuality, we identify the strategy of denial. Whether it is race, gender, sexuality or religion, their narratives do suggest the performance of dominant discourses. At the same time, from a psychological theoretical perspective, it can be said that no explicit attitudes and prejudices are visible in this group. Moreover, since issues and conflicts revolving around the school with co-students or teachers did not surface during the training, I end this section on JBPS and with it also the presentation of narratives and narrative patterns and strategies used by students in all schools in Bombay and Berlin.

6.4. Drawing parallels, locating differences

Having examined the narrative strategies that the respondents of my study use in their representation of difference relating to race, gender and sexuality, and religion (i.e. the Muslims), I proceed to draw parallels and locate differences between the narratives and narratives patterns of the two groups in each city and between the four groups across the two cities. I also comment on whether and how the school, its underlying principles and programmes provides - or fails to provide - an atmosphere that facilitates diversity, interculturality and related themes.

6.4.1. Bombay

One of the major differences between the two schools – MEWS and GPS – is reflected in the changing system of education in Bombay and India. A rather new school, MEWS started in 2004 and adopted the much aspired and rather expensive IB programme – as such an ‘elite’ education – which leads to a significant number of new entrants to (particularly) secondary school every year. GPS, on the other hand, which stays with an older system of education – ICSE – faces the opposite problem; many leave school opting for the IB or IGCSE programme. Differences in social class therefore become a major distinguishing factor between the two schools and groups. The changing of schools can be regarded as one cause for the apparent lack of trust and bonding among students of MEWS compared to the GPS group. The bonding of the GPS group may also be a result of their common (problematic) history (i.e. parallel classes) and their current small size. Similarly, whereas the entire group at GPS expresses its pride in the school (and this could also be a defence mechanism as they stayed back in contrast to their friends who changed schools), most of the students of the MEWS group expressed their dissatisfaction and even regretted their decision to change schools. I argue that despite the GPS group's traumatic past experiences – parallel teaching, a large number leaving the school – they are nevertheless far happier at GPS than the other group is at MEWS. A common, shared history (most have been at GPS for at least eleven years) appears to have brought the group unity and a sense of belonging.

Although the concepts of interculturality and diversity fall within the scope of MEWS' IB philosophy, I was unable to identify classroom or extracurricular activities that support such concepts and themes. In comparison, GPS not only offers yoga as an optional subject, but also a number of extra curricular programmes such as the Seeds of Peace and Model United Nations, amongst others.

Another difference is that the majority of GPS students are aware of their prejudices in comparison to students of MEWS. In terms of religion, GPS comprises a more mixed group with differing religion affiliations and correspondingly depicts more open attitudes to other religious communities in comparison to MEWS, which comprises a predominantly Hindu group. Thus, even though religion forms a central part of the identities of students of both GPS and MEWS, we could conclude that greater contact between different (religious) groups does lead to more open and positive attitudes. Whereas the MEWS group openly uses a strategy of denial of their own attitudes and prejudices against Muslims which are attributed to others in society, most students of GPS are aware of their stereotypes of Muslims which they attribute to conflicts and clashes in Indian society. Yet, narrations of students of both schools suggest implicit attitudes and prejudices towards Muslims. In terms of race, the more widely travelled students of MEWS have experienced racial discrimination abroad and perform the stereotypes and hierarchies inherent to racism onto the bodies of others in society – predominantly the lower castes and in general the more 'dark-skinned' people. A number of students of both groups attribute racist attitudes and prejudices to others in society, and neither recognises that they perform and perpetuate racist structures through their games in school. Likewise, predominant attitudes towards the Dalits and lower castes are negative for both schools, where the subject of reservation of seats combines their own fear of limited admission to colleges and universities and their ascriptions of the lower castes as undeserving and unworthy. This informs us about how the process of ‘othering’ functions to maintain structural discrimination in society. For gender too, we can draw parallels: Traditional gender stereotypical norms are in place and operate within these groups. Equally, participants’ attitudes and body language in relation to homosexuality draws attention to the fact that they are performing oppressive heterosexual norms. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, narrations presented do not imply one-to-one discriminatory acts but inform us about structures of privilege and oppression in Bombay, India.

6.4.2. Berlin

A noteworthy distinction between the two Berlin schools is that JBPS is a state school and BISS a private one. As such, it is also a distinction based on class, as an education at BISS is a far more expensive proposition than it would be at a Berlin state school. Although both schools offer the IB programme, BISS follows a British educational curriculum until IB and JBPS a German state school curriculum taught in German and English.

Students of BISS were not motivated to participate in the training and claimed they were offered no choice in the matter. Furthermore, they state that they were provided no information on the background, aims and goals of the training. For JBPS, as was similar to the two groups in Bombay, student participation was not made compulsory. They were equipped with information on the training and decided accordingly. It is therefore possible to conclude that their consent and willingness to participate influenced to a large extent their openness, receptivity and active participation in the training.

Both BISS and JBPS are international schools with a large number of students from different backgrounds, whether religious, national or linguistic. Although interculturality and diversity are relevant to the underlying philosophies of both schools, there is an obvious lack of intercultural methods at BISS, whether used in the classroom or in extra-curricular activities. In comparison, JBPS offers a large number of activities such as Schule Ohne Rassismus and Model United Nations, amongst others, that promote multiculturalism and combat racism. Similarly, JBPS has a group of mediators and guidance counsellors who address conflicts and intervene to resolve them. BISS’ bullying policy remains at best a policy, and the ‘sanctions and rewards programme’ is a detrimental methods of addressing conflicts in school as it neither addresses the root cause of the conflict nor provides sufficient rewards to compensate for the sanctions and motivate positive behaviour.

With reference to the training and awareness of prejudices, both groups are, for the most part, unaware of their prejudices. The feeling of trust and security within the group is felt far more for JBPS than BISS. Religion does not emerge as a strong element of the identities of either group. However, whereas students of JBPS are aware of having stereotypes about Muslims, and some exhibit implicit prejudices, the BISS students do not depict such awareness. On the contrary, one student of BISS appears to be performing masculinity, whiteness and dominant discourses of Muslims. His performance of aggression against the Turks suggests the intersection of race, class, gender, nationality and religion. Narrations of some of the others reveal the use of stereotypes and suggest possible implicit attitudes towards Muslims. Racist jokes and bullying also exist at both schools. Whereas they are addressed by mediators at JBPS, which appears to have curbed them (this supposition is based on talks with the secondary school teacher, HU), BISS students are frustrated with the bullying incidents and teachers who do not intervene to resolve conflicts. Furthermore, at least one student of BISS voices her feelings of unease and exclusion in class. Her struggle and resistance of racist comments appears to be part of her schooling experience. For gender, one observes the performance of oppressive heterosexual discourses and corresponding explicit attitudes toward gays and lesbians by some students of BISS. It can be argued that they perform these discourses as they fear losing the privileges of their heterosexual identity. Narrations of other BISS students suggest implicit attitudes on the subject of homosexuality. By and large, gender is the least discussed subject at JBPS, yet student narrations suggest possible implicit attitudes for some students, who, from a Butlerian perspective, can be seen to be performing normative heterosexuality.

6.4.3. Bombay - Berlin

My focus on racial oppression, oppression of the Muslims, and gender and sexuality emerges as a result of their recurrence in all four schools. Together, they form the primary similarities between the four groups in the two cities. Secondly, social class is a distinguishing factor between the schools MEWS - BISS and GPS - JBPS. The former two are private schools that offer the rather expensive IB programme. I consider this kind of exclusivity an ‘elite’ education not only because it is an international education which does not adopt the curriculum of any single country, but also because it can only be availed of by the elite, a few privileged in society. Another parallel between MEWS and BISS emerges through the narrations of both groups of students who indicate their dissatisfaction with their respective schools, continual conflicts and bullying through which they gain popularity in school. Similarly, at both schools, students reveal their dissatisfaction with teachers either due to conflicts with them or because teachers do not intervene to stop bulling in class and school. Such bullying acts depict the play for power in school, which was also observed during the trainings with both groups. I therefore suggest that the problems of both schools lie in the concept of an ‘elite’ education which they can be seen to provide. Such an education appears to be oriented towards a high academic record but does not seem to promote values of diversity or support multiculturalism even though it has a diverse body of students, and even though the philosophies of the schools aspire towards the holistic development of their students. This, I argue, is because the ‘elite’ school would be putting into question its own existence and elite status if it promoted interculturality. This suggests that these schools are performing oppressive discourses in order to maintain their class, race / caste privileges. This is certainly an area that requires far more theoretical and practical examination than currently exists. It is beyond the scope of my study to examine in-depth what such an ‘elite’ education provides and what it fails to address. Importantly, both MEWS and BISS claim to stand for diversity and interculturality but offer students no activities within the classroom and curriculum or extra-curricula activities which support such an ideology. In comparison, both GPS and JBPS offer students a range of activities that dwell on socially relevant themes such as racism, perception and identity which enables students to develop skills and abilities of critical self-reflection, which we have observed during the trainings and in the narratives provided above. Both GPS and JBPS students depict a far greater ease, trust and security within their groups and respectively demonstrate a more respectful interaction with one another. Similarly, they feel a greater sense of pride and belonging to their respective schools which is more or less lacking in the students of BISS and MEWS.

‘Othering’ discursive patterns and legitimisations

I now narrow my focus to the analysis of whether ‘othering’ discourses of race, of Muslims, and of gender and sexuality, performed and (re)produced by the students, function according to similar or differing patterns in the two cities, and how and what attitudes and behavioural practices are legitimised.

Racial oppression

By far the most prevalent pattern observed across all four schools is the performing of racism in the games played (the Shudra game, GPS), bullying (MEWS), jokes and bullying (BISS), and jokes and conflicts (JBPS). For the most part, these are legitimised as being ‘just jokes’, fun, never meant to hurt, funny. At MEWS where bullying is not necessarily racist bullying, this is seen as a means of gaining fame and popularity in school. They attribute their inaction to the general environment in the school, which also serves to legitimise such practices. At BISS, where racist bullying is a particular problem, the head teacher (and students) appears to justify the school’s inaction by stating, “*I honestly believe it’s not targeted racism,*” thereby underplaying not just the lived experiences of racism of a number of students, but also simultaneously feeding racist practices.

The differences in ‘othering’ patterns among students in the two cities can be understood in two ways. Firstly, racist discourses amongst the students in Bombay are deployed using stereotypes; one of the reasons could be that they have no or scarce contact with ‘black’ people. This correlates to the contact hypothesis or intergroup contact theory which posits that interpersonal contact may serve to reduce stereotypes and prejudices between majority and minority group member (Allport, 1954). Student narratives, neither during the respective trainings nor their responses to the SI questionnaires, illustrate any personal interaction or experiences which could have positively (or negatively) influenced their perception. Their subjectivity is shaped by oppressive racist discourses. Secondly, the oppression suffered by the Dalits and lower castes over centuries, their exclusion and lower class and status in society combined with students’ vested interest in gaining access to higher educational institutions makes it possible for them not only to perpetuate ‘othering’ discourses but also justify corresponding attitudes and practices through victim blaming (using ascribed characteristics). Since both schools in Berlin are international schools, ‘white’ students have greater interaction with ‘black’ people or people of colour and have likely greater exposure to and awareness of anti-racism initiatives than students in Bombay, thus also making them aware that direct formulations of racist stereotypes and prejudices go against social norms. Hence also, and depicting the main similarity between the four schools, jokes, bullying, games and conflicts make the expression and justification of racism possible (e.g. it is just a game, funny), ensuring simultaneously that covert, coercive racism remains in place.

Religious oppression: The Muslims

It is possible to identify two main discursive patterns of religious oppression directed at the Muslims. Predominantly, for the Bombay groups, discursive patterns represent contrast: Difference in culture and behaviour and deviance in norms and values, which embody perceived threat (see van Dijk, 1989: 134). The main argument and justification is the conflict that is presumed to ensue when religious communities congregate; often cited are the clashes predominantly between Hindus and Muslims. Thus assumed cultural differences become the legitimisation for their marginalisation and oppression.

The second main discursive pattern relevant to both cities (although more in Berlin than Bombay) is the direct formulation of attitudes, prejudices and/or behaviour deploying stereotypes and ascriptions. This is visible in ‘Take a Step Forward’ and responses to the role card: A 22-year old Turkish girl who was living with her parents who are very religious. At BISS in Berlin, a student draws on stereotypes of Muslim women and thus discourses of cultural, racial, national and religious differences and deviance in norms and values to position himself during the exercise. At GPS in Bombay, a student reacts to the same role card with surprise at his own automatically activated negative perception. Thus although stereotypes are instantly activated in both examples, the student in Bombay realises on hearing the questions that his stereotypes of Muslim women led to a negative reaction. It is this realisation that makes him step ahead in a more egalitarian fashion.

In both cities, albeit to a far smaller extent, students attribute negative attitudes and prejudices of Muslims to others, and deny prejudices by taking refuge in ambivalent statements, which enables positive self-representation (van Dijk, 1989: 126-132). In Bombay, at GPS, one discussion also reveals the apparent admission of the usage of stereotypes and the affirmation of exceptions. Such apparent admissions ensure positive self-representation and the continued production and deployment of ‘othering’ discourses.

We can thus say that ‘othering’ discourses of Muslims in Bombay and Berlin are perpetuated far more through open and directly formulated patterns (than for race), drawing on stereotypes and ascriptions, which is not surprising in an increasingly anti-Muslim climate prevalent around the globe post September 11. Moreover, that discursive structures of contrast – 'them against us', symbolising difference and deviance, are chiefly visible for Bombay is, I would argue, the result of past and recurring conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, the numerous acts of terrorism in the city and country, and resentments repeatedly fuelled by the media and politicians alike.

Gender and sexuality

For gender and sexuality, patterns are rather different in Bombay and Berlin. In Bombay, students can be seen to be performing dominant gender roles and norms. 'Othering' discourses of homosexuals operate predominantly through laughter, which serves to avoid discussing the subject of homosexuality and thus, for the most part, no legitimisation is required. When one is provided, it reflects dominant discourses of heterosexuality through expressions such as "true gender" and "pure male or pure female can never change," and that homosexuality is not normal, as well as expressing fear of the loss of respect, of acceptance in society (if oppressive norms are challenged) and exclusion.

In Berlin, the girls at BISS are aware and proud of the achievements of the feminist movement, yet they knowingly subscribe to dominant gender norms, influenced by stereotypical media images. The female students appear to be performing femininity and male students performing masculinity. Students in Berlin deploy prejudices against gays and lesbians through direct formulations (e.g. "I don't like gays" at BISS), and through their denial of prejudices (at BISS & JBPS). However, their 'I don't mind BUT,' suggests possible negative attitudes and prejudices, and implies, from a Butlerian perspective, that they are negotiating dominant gender discourses. It is difficult to pinpoint why exactly in Berlin, which is considered a haven for homosexuals, one sees the performance of oppressive heterosexual norms, chiefly on the part of the male students (at least at BISS). However, this does illustrates the dominance of gender attributes 'masculine' and 'feminine' in society, which compels young men to make a production of their masculinity in order to constantly (re)affirm their gender. Moreover, as elaborated in chapter four, gays and lesbians may be far more accepted in Berlin but nonetheless continue to struggle against discrimination, abuse and violence.

In conclusion, I draw attention to some of the dominant patterns of 'othering' amongst students in both cities in relation to race, the Muslims, and gender and sexuality: Whereas racist jokes, bullying and games are a predominantly visible pattern in both cities, stereotypes and ascriptions are largely used to ‘other’ the Muslims. For gender, the similarity in both cities lies in the students’ conformity to and performing of normative heterosexuality.

Thus, the students of all four groups can be seen to perform and perpetuate at least in part and in different ways ‘othering’ discourses of Muslims, of race, and of gender and sexuality, serving to maintain existing structures of privilege and oppression in these societies.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented part of my empirical data and research which locates strategies and patterns of narration that suggest implicit and explicit attitudes and prejudices amongst students comprising the four groups of my study.

Indeed, it is difficult to examine prejudices in individuals and groups, in particular implicit attitudes and prejudices, as people may be saying the ‘right’ thing and consciously adapting their responses to social norms or the normative context (Dovidio, 2001; van Dijk, 1989) of the training. From a poststructural perspective, however, discursively constituted reality is plural and can have conflicting meanings and changes in meaning (Weedon, 1997: 25). Poststructuralism challenges notions of absolute truth and final interpretation (Peters & Burbules, 2004). This is one of the tensions that results from bringing together, in this case, a psychological approach and a poststructural approach. Taking a poststructuralist stance, my approach is to understand the narrations and narrative strategies of the students as representations of the ways in which identities are performed and negotiated *at a given moment*. This is why examining the narrative strategies students use has made it possible to offer one possible interpretation of their narrations.

Predominantly, we identify discursive strategies of denial, transfer and contrast in the narrations of students of all four schools. In a few cases, students also use the affirmation of exceptions and contrast for positive self-representation. One student of the Berlin International Secondary School uses fiction and exaggeration in his representation of Turkish people in Berlin, and some others use ambiguity and ambivalence to serve the strategy of denial. Often it is the direct questions on socially relevant issues in the SI questionnaires that suggest explicit or implicit prejudices. The analysis of these questionnaires does not suggest that all members of the four groups have similar or just as intense possible explicit or implicit attitudes and prejudices for the same themes, rather they point to discrepancies and contradictions in their verbal narrations during the training. Whereas some responses suggest possible explicit attitudes and prejudices, many others suggest implicit attitudes and prejudices, which when put together with the narrations from the trainings provide a more substantial account of the narrative strategies students use, how they perform dominant discourses and their possible implicit or explicit attitudes and prejudices.

We see to a large extent the lack of awareness of prejudices, yet the narratives of a number of students of these groups on the themes race, religion/the Muslims, and gender and sexuality suggest implicit attitudes and prejudices. Social class is read as a subtext, arising not just as a key factor in students' representational practices with respect to the three aforementioned categories, but also playing a vital role in the distinction between the schools in Bombay and Berlin, thereby between GPS – JBPS and MEWS – BISS. My observations during the trainings and examination of the empirical data collected points to a greater correlation between the attitudes of students at GPS and JBPS and those at MEWS and BISS. Chiefly, two factors emerge - the significant role of class and the role of the particular schools in promoting a trusting, secure, intercultural atmosphere, both of which influence the subjectivities of the students at these schools.

In the subsequent chapter, I present the second and final part of my empirical research, where I examine students' feedback and evaluation of the respective Anti-Bias trainings and attempt to identify agency in the students of these four groups.

Chapter seven:

Evaluation: Agency, Resistance

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined narrative patterns and strategies of the four groups of students in their representation of difference and identified implicit and explicit attitudes and prejudices relating to race, gender and sexuality, and religion/the Muslims. In this chapter, which is divided into two parts, I address students' feedback and suggestions at the end of the training in 2008 and attempt to identify shifts in attitudes and behaviour a year later in 2009. Thus the first section on Evaluation, examines the feedback received from students during the final evaluation round at the training and their responses to the evaluation questionnaires. This information also enables us to identify differences in receptivity to the trainings in the four schools. The second section on Agency and Resistance comprises data collected in 2009, a year after the trainings were conducted, and attempts to identify shifts in attitudes and behaviour through students' narrations during the respective group discussions and individual interviews. In this section, I show how the Anti-Bias training assists students in taking on a certain, if dependent, agency (Butler, 2004). The notion of performativity and its repeatability in different contexts encompasses the theory of agency. Since identity is dependent on reiteration and exclusion, it can never be fully established, which opens up possibilities for agency, becoming "the condition and occasion for a further action" (Butler, 1993: 187).

Anti-Bias becomes a tool which supports agency in those disempowered on the basis of identity categories such as race, nationality, religion and gender. Simultaneously, I also demonstrate how it assists the more privileged young people in these groups to adopt attitudes and behaviour that are more just and equitable, a result of their agency, which I argue is supported by the Anti-Bias training.

I started out with group discussions because a large part of the trainings took place by way of group discussions, and I wished to begin a year later in this familiar setting and related group dynamic. Thus, I was once again the trainer, the role I played at the trainings, during the group discussions. The individual interviews can be said to have introduced a different social dynamic as I took on the mantle of researcher and interviewer. So whereas the relationship was somewhat equal in the case of the former, one-on-one interviews establish a certain hierarchy, in which I became a figure of authority. Interestingly, the interviews have at times elicited conflicting and contradictory responses to those in the group discussions.

Whereas the group discussions provided far more substantial and heavy data in Bombay, the opposite is true for Berlin. The Bombay terrorist attacks of November 2008 had taken place approximately three months before my interviews. Since the students of the two groups in Bombay are predominantly South Bombay residents, where the attacks were concentrated, this impacted heavily on their identities, fears, attitudes and perceptions. Consequently, the discussions in Bombay gain predominance over those in Berlin.

The students were not explicitly asked to evaluate change in attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis race, gender or religion, rather they were asked general questions about perceived change, possible actions undertaken by them and whether on occasion they were reminded or discussed elements of the training in the course of the previous year. The interviews and group discussions were thus only partly prepared in order to allow students to bring up issues they considered important. In doing so, I tried to avoid asking leading questions so that their responses were not (overtly) influenced by the interviewer’s expectations. For example, I began all group discussions by asking how they were doing and how the year had been for them. In Bombay, both groups immediately brought up the terrorist attacks of November 2008 and as a result, I largely abandoned the questions I had prepared. However, all questions can also be considered leading questions, particularly in the interviews, where it is often difficult to judge whether responses are based on perceived expectations of the interviewer and the latter’s authority. I have discussed this as and where it appears to be the case. (See annex 8 and 9 for the questions prepared for the group discussions and interviews in 2009).

Finally, it should also be noted that not all students of the former (training) groups were present for the group discussions, and for example at JBPS only half the original number of students attended.

7.2. Evaluation

I commence by presenting the verbal feedback received at the end of each of the four trainings. Using graphs, I present a comparison of the responses of the four groups for the quantitative part of the questionnaire, elaborating where relevant students' suggestions for improving the training. Examining feedback from a qualitative method (verbal feedback) and comparing it with data generated from a quantitative method (evaluation questionnaires) reflects the significance of certain issues related to the students' perception of the training and what they gained from it, and reveals at times contradictory and conflicting responses.

7.2.1. Verbal feedback

For the feedback round in plenary, each group was asked to express their feelings and criticisms about the two-day training. There was no compulsion that each participant should speak nor particular questions asked or themes offered.

7.2.1.1. Mumbai English World School

The feedback round as the final activity of the training was positive. I present below excerpts of the students' narrations on the training.

DN: See basically this workshop; it gave me more than what I expected. I didn't expect to talk about such topics as discrimination. I didn't know that I was actually discriminating people by making fun of them. So ya, it really opened by eyes, it was an eye-opener.
YR: I feel I can make a choice between two things and find out which is right or wrong, which I think would be the right thing. I think that now if I have a problem, finding out a solution would not be so hard as it would have been before.
EN: It is an eye-opener and there are different attitudes to hear so we could express more and we could give our own opinions for what we think when somebody's in a particular situation and I really like that part as you get to interact with your friends and get to know them better.
PP: It was really good. I never expected it to be so good. I thought it would be very "khopru" [rubbish]. *But I liked it a lot, enjoyed myself these two days. Thumbs up!*
SS: I think now I'm aware of what I could do in a situation like discrimination and normally a topic like discrimination is quite harsh like you know to bring it up but I think I learnt a lot.
AS: It is an eye-opener because I didn't know many things and it was like very informative and it was also a lot of fun doing the energizers, and the methods to cover the topics were good. It was really nice.
YS: Talking about a topic like discrimination is really tough and no one actually thinks about it and this was the first time we were talking on such a topic, so it was really good.
AB: The topics we worked on, generally we don't think of them.

For most of them the workshop was an eye-opener. The topic ‘discrimination’ appears to have been the most crucial learning aspect, which reveals their awareness of how discriminating bullying and jokes can be. Moreover, as two students mention, they feel that they are fairly equipped with ideas for intervention when discrimination takes place.

7.2.1.2. Global Paradigm School

Here again the feedback session shows overwhelmingly positive responses.

MI: This was something different where we learn something which they don’t teach the students like about prejudices and stereotypes. I don’t think they really help you come over it and stuff. This really brought us that in a really simple way.
BS: And the exercises were really innovative.
SM: Even like you know the way the lemons thing, they just put things into place. Instead of telling us something, instead of talking to us about it, you told us to look at the lemon and compare with the person and something like that.
JP: Basically it was more interesting than other workshops. Normally there’s one person talking and you’re just listening. In this we actually did stuff.
NM: I like it that each thing had like a different aim […] even like the thing we did when we were walking ahead, even like that we learnt so much about different people and the different tasks so I think we will use it. Specially like choosing the eight people.
BP: It was very interactive. We could give our own thoughts and ideas, we and everyone else, also like some things people said were surprising and we were surprised by ourselves. It was like we discovered many new things. We used to think that discrimination is a thing between caste and creed and realised that there are many more ways.
MI: We said what we wanted to say. We didn’t have to hold ourselves back and felt comfortable and everything. It was a lot of fun the way it was done, all those activities. We also realised the different types of discrimination, it’s not only racial or anything.
RP: Basically the concepts were approached in a fun way.
JL: It was a very unique, very different way of approaching those things
KJ: The topics were completely different compared to the topics that we usually do. It’s like a topic that people ignore but it is kind of important.
VK: Workshop was very important. We learnt that we’re segregating people even without knowing. We learnt that others also have feelings and if we segregate them they feel very bad.
BS: We understood our own prejudices, which we had never even thought about during the process. And we understood how to get over them and what causes them in a big way.

Indeed, we observe that an interactive methodology is ideal for these young people. Also, as with MEWS, most of them talk about their awareness of the different forms of discrimination, and as VK states, the training worked to develop empathy for ‘othered’ people, one of the goals of the Anti-Bias approach.

7.2.1.3. Berlin International Secondary School

The feedback round at BISS was only partially positive in comparison to the above two groups.

SM: Too heavy, you should do stuff for young people like theatre. In school, we have different classes although we sit the entire day. This was somehow one topic and therefore too heavy.
UC: I found it very good and useful. Like Take a Step Forward. The discussion about the school was good.
LS: We were forced to attend. It would have been different if we'd had a choice.
AJ: We weren't told anything about the topic and had no idea why we were here.
CD: In the end, it was good and we learnt something.
LM: It was very good because we never discuss such issues. We got to know our friends better and we realise how much we discriminate.
SB: I like the standing and sitting – molecule exercise.

Their discontent and even anger at their compulsion to attend the training and the lack of prior information provided was a recurring theme at the training. Despite responses being rather brief, some do indicate that certain exercises were useful. Some provide constructive criticism: The second day of the training centres largely on discrimination and as SM points out, it was quite heavy for the group. My colleague, who conducted a parallel-run training, used Forum Theatre to discuss strategies of intervention, a more creative and thus enjoyable method for young people. I stayed with the planned programme for two reasons. Firstly, since I'd already used it in the schools in Bombay and did not wish to alter methods for one school in particular and secondly because Forum Theatre is an approach in itself. As I state in chapter five on methodology, Anti-Bias is an open concept and as such open to using methods of different approaches in its training methodology. Nevertheless, an investigation of the effectiveness of the Anti-Bias methodology becomes difficult if methods from different approaches are used. Had the training not taken place within the context of this study, I would have opted for more interactive methods and even Forum Theatre. Students' feedback emphasizes, however, the importance of using creative methods and switching even spontaneously if required to methods that may be more conducive to the particular target group.

7.2.1.4. James Benning Public School

The feedback gained by the JBPS group, similar to the two groups in Bombay, is very positive.

AK: We did this training and have changed but the others should do it too. They need it too. We never discussed these issues in school or with friends. It was also fun.
CB: Today was more interesting because it rounded up the topics […] from yesterday.
GG: It was cool and interesting. I don't think it will make a change right away but I will try not to discriminate.
DM: It was very interesting, I enjoyed it.
JF: Iceberg was good, so was lemons. I'm not sure it will be of use immediately but it was good.
MH: It was very interesting. It has changed me and the way I look at things.
ST: Lemons was nice and the way something becomes clear and the mistakes we make.
SD: It was good. It made some things clear. The camera didn't bother me as much as I thought it would.
FL: It was interesting. I liked both days; it was different from normal school.
AC: It was very good and different from everyday school. I liked lemons and the Iceberg.

They depict the importance of getting others to participate in similar trainings. Additionally, a few of them already sense a change in their outlook and perceptions, which I investigate more closely in the second section of this chapter.

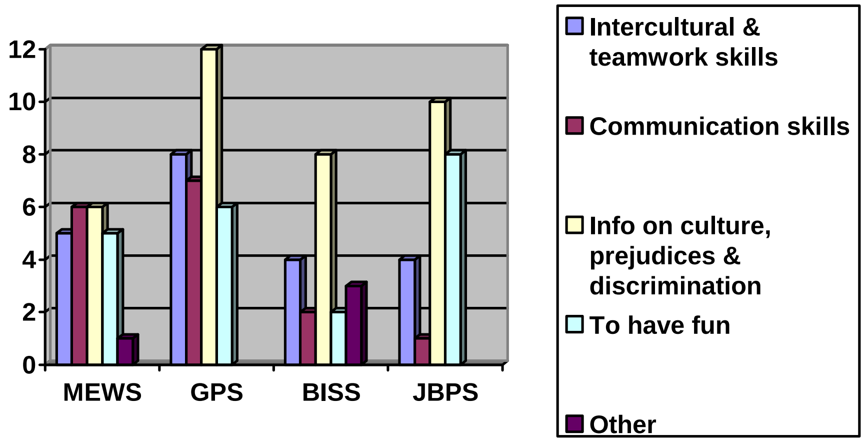
On the whole, the responses can be seen as largely positive with the exception of the BISS group, in which some participants voice their discontent at their compulsion to attend and the lack of information provided prior to the training. Nevertheless, it is at BISS that the suggestion for more youth-friendly and creative methods is made. That the second day comprised mostly discussions on the theme discrimination with very few creative methods was tiring for all groups, although the other three do not refer to it. Some students (one at GPS and two at JBPS) indicate that the training might not result in a change in behaviour or may not change things for them immediately. This is precisely what I seek to find out in the second section of this chapter: How far does the awareness of prejudices and empathy generated for 'others' through a portrayal of power relations in society and the recollection of one's experiences of discrimination assist change in attitudes, perceptions and behaviour?

7.2.2. Evaluation of questionnaires

I present below some of the responses given in the anonymous evaluation questionnaires. The quantitative questions are illustrated in graphs, so that a comparison between the four school groups is possible. Subsequently, I present relevant excerpts of their suggestions for improving the trainings.

The number of students of each group (and those who answered the questionnaires):
MEWS – 8 students
GPS – 12 students
BISS – 9 students (but only 8 answered the questionnaire)
JBPS – 11 students

1. Motivation for participating in the workshop:

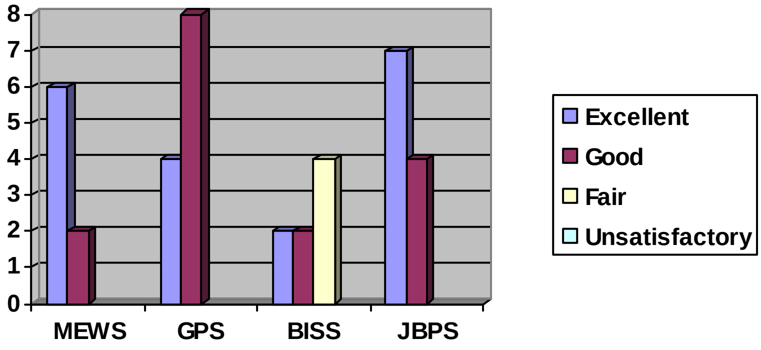


The three BISS students who mark the section ‘Other’ state:

1. I had no choice.
2. I was forced to do it.
3. I didn’t want to get into trouble.

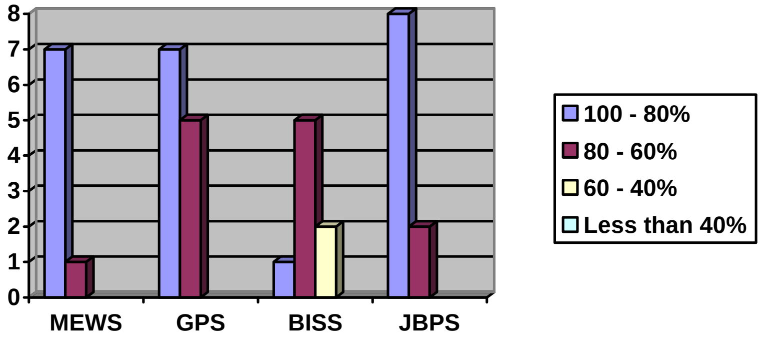
BISS students’ comments highlight the importance of providing sufficient information prior to the training. Most students claim to have participated in the training (all four groups) as they wished to learn more about the concept of culture and the phenomenon of prejudice and discrimination.

2. Overall impression of the workshop



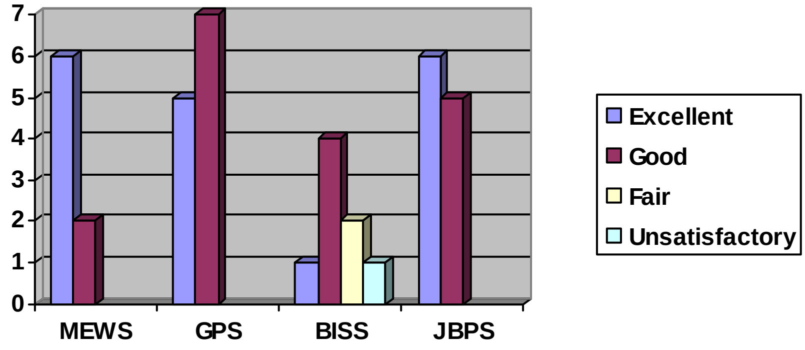
Except for BISS, we see that the overall impression of the training was excellent for the majority at JBPS and MEWS, and good for most at GPS.

3. Degree to which expectations were fulfilled



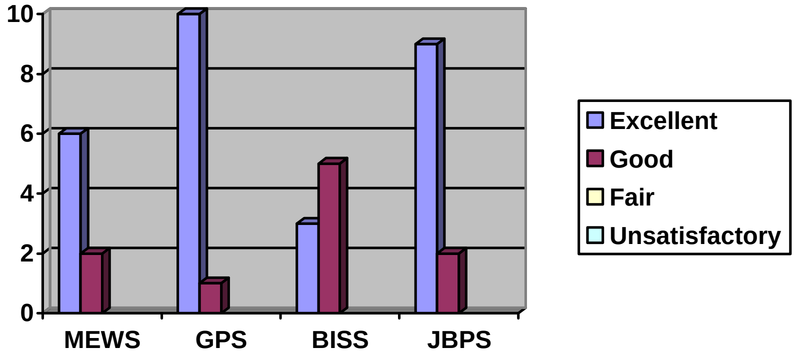
Compared to graph 2, the majority at MEWS, GPS and JBPS state that their expectations of the training were by and large fulfilled. Yet even at BISS, a significant number (5 out of 8) show that their expectations were met to over 50%.

4. Information received on the workshop prior to the workshop.



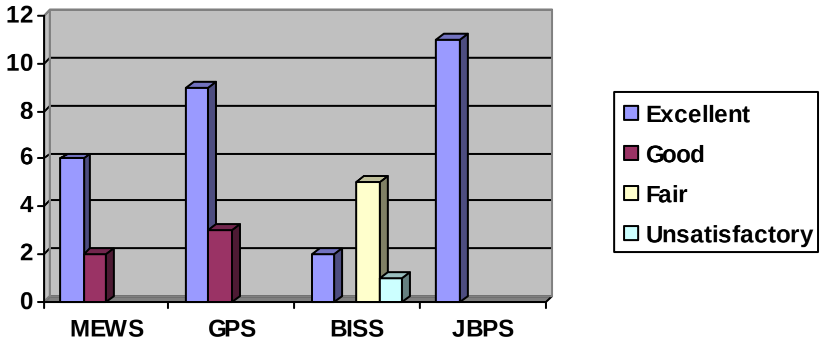
During the training a number of BISS students indicated that they had not received advance information on the training. This graph shows that the majority rates the information received as being good, one even as excellent. We could thereby conclude that they did indeed receive some information, which was not equally satisfactory to all.

5. The themes covered (identity, culture, prejudice, discrimination)



The graph demonstrates that 3 groups, with BISS again showing a difference, find the various themes covered during the training and the ensuing discussions important and productive.

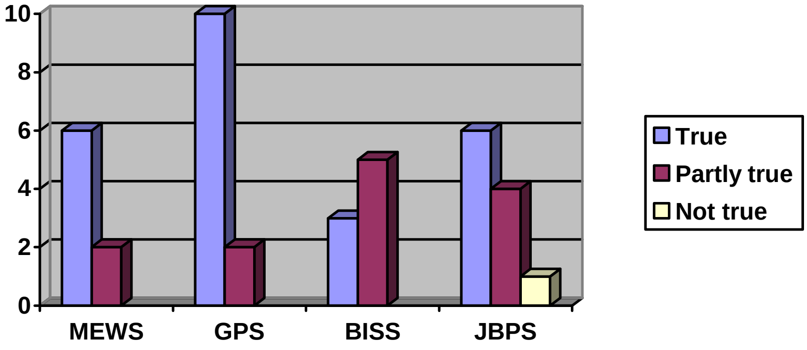
6. The methods used (games, role plays, energizers, discussion groups)



Here we can draw a link to the verbal feedback from the BISS group, who state their desire for more creative, youth-friendly methods.

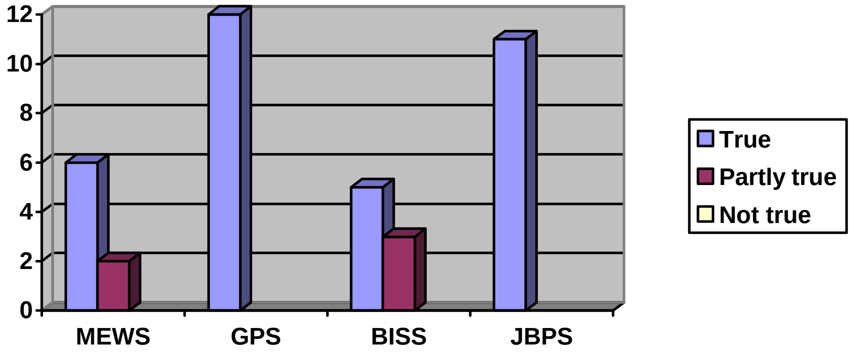
A single glance at the six graphs presented above shows that although there are differences among the groups, BISS stands out. Whereas the majority in the other three groups finds various aspects of the training either excellent or good, the BISS group displays a certain dissatisfaction with the training and related aspects. Nevertheless, the five graphs presented below depict that most participants of all four groups had a learning experience and see the relevance of the training to their personal lives.

1. The themes covered were relevant to your daily life.



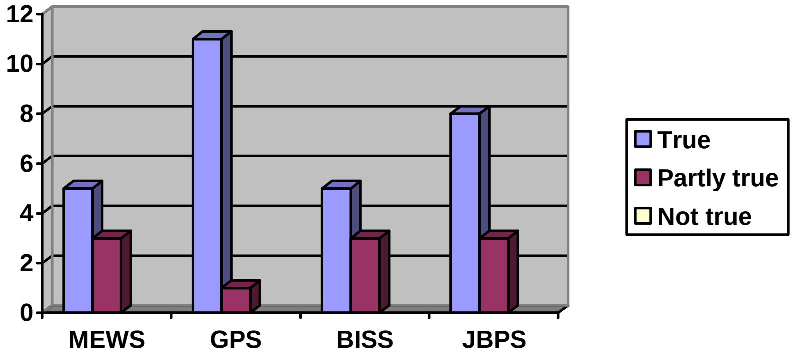
The graph illustrates that most students of all four groups make a connection between the themes addressed at the training and their personal lives.

2. You feel that you have a better understanding of how prejudices and discrimination function.



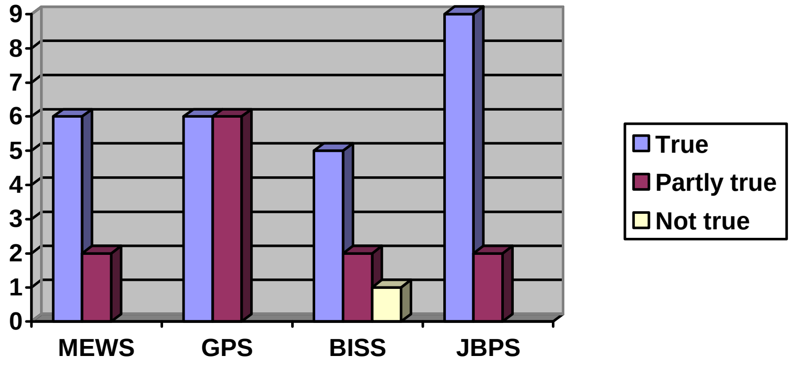
All students of GPS and JBPS groups and the majority at MEWS and BISS depict that they have a clearer understanding of the functioning of prejudices and discrimination.

3. You are now more aware of your prejudices.



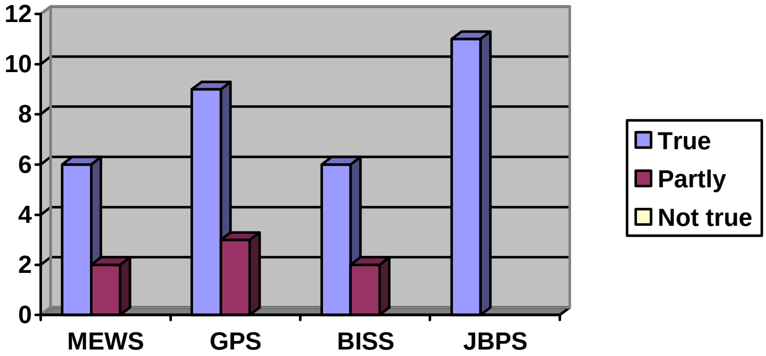
When compared to their responses at start of the trainings, all groups now appear to have a far greater awareness of their prejudices. Since no one writes 'not true', there is a certain though differing level of awareness among them.

4. You would like to discuss some of these or similar themes even further.



Except for one student of BISS, we can say most of them are (at least partly) open to further discussing themes related to prejudices and discrimination.

5. You now feel that you have a different opinion on these subjects compared to before the workshop.



Whereas some of the BISS group were initially opposed to the training and many remarked that they do not need such training as they are not racist, we can say that all of them feel they gained something from it. Their rating indicates a clear change in opinions and views based on the subjects discussed at the training.

I do not elaborate on the feedback to the exercises they particularly liked during the trainings as these have already been mentioned above (in section 7.2.1. on verbal feedback). I present only those suggestions that have not previously been discussed (in 7.2.1.):

One student of MEWS states that the training should be for a "*longer time*". On the other hand, a number of GPS students state that

1: People would be slightly more interested if the timings were less. The time is too long and at the end we are all very tired.
2: No suggestions except a bit shorter
3: It should be slightly shorter
4: I think there could have been more energizers.

A few more responses (which I have left out) indicate the same, that they would have preferred the training to be shorter or at least for a shorter duration per day. Similarly, the need for more energizers can be linked to their feelings of tiredness, as energizers provide short bursts of energy and give them more vigour.

The BISS group on the other hand states:

1. *Make it more fun.*
2. *Do plays and creative work*
3. *If there were more games and fun it would be better. I partly did not like the subject.*

One student of the JBPS group makes a similar comment:

I think that in the end, after the activities, we were discussing the topic we could've given more examples in a way as in acting it or something.

Making the 'heavy' themes of prejudice and discrimination more interesting and fun is a recurring aspect. The methodological approach 'Forum Theatre' allows students to try out alternate behaviour on stage and test other people's responses to them. Such methods ensure that learning takes place and are creative and fun. As a final comment a JBPS student states:

I really liked it as it taught me how to deal with the discrimination I go through or my friends go through. Instead of just ignoring the situation, I can actually do something about it now.

This is one of the main goals of the Anti-Bias approach and training. The process of awareness and sensitisation makes people receptive to change, and exercises like 'First Steps of Action' attempt to equip them with ideas and strategies for intervention and change in their personal lives and lived environments.

We can therefore conclude that with the exception of BISS, the trainings were seen positively and as a unique learning experience on subjects that are never really addressed within or outside the school. The evaluation reveals that specific aspects of the methodology – length of training and creative activities – need to be further adapted to this particular target group. This positive feeling, "AHA effect", immediately after the training and perceived by most participants was the impetus for this study and led me to conduct the follow-up meetings in 2009 in order to investigate whether and to what extent such a seemingly positive effect is sustainable and actually leads to a change in opinions, attitudes and behaviour. This is what I now take up in the section on Agency, Resistance.

7.3. Agency, Resistance

My meeting at MEWS and subsequently GPS in Bombay took place in 2009, about three months after the terrorist attacks at the luxury hotels, the Jewish centre, in and around the central railway station and the popular Leopold Café in South Bombay. Predominantly residents of South Bombay, the students of the two groups were very affected in part because they felt directly addressed and even targeted by these attacks. This is why both the group discussion at MEWS and GPS hold substantial material: The discussion on prejudices against Muslims and Pakistan and the questioning of links made between Muslims and Pakistanis to terrorism. As a result, the group discussions with the two groups in Bombay are far more in-depth than with those in Berlin.

7.3.1. Mumbai English World School

MEWS was the first school where I conducted the follow-up in 2009. My very first question brought us to the subject of the attacks.

RJ: How has the past year been? What's been happening?
AS: So much fun. [SS giggles] *I cried so much on Friday. It was the last day of school.*
SS: Didn't we all?
[…]
YR: If you're talking about public things like terrorist attacks, it would probably not be such a positive thing to think about. Whereas school obviously, we're still in the 10th grade. We are more inside our home probably and we don't realise what's happening beyond it. When we see, hear about the gun shootings, the bombs …. I don't live in town. These people, all…

one... two (pointing at the others)… three… four… all of them have heard the gunshots themselves, personally.
AS: I heard the bomb. I thought it was firecrackers. And then suddenly my tuition teacher's son calls us up and says … [voice too soft to be heard] *and then on TV it was on. Like live coverage. It was quite sickening. We had exams but some of us didn't even have the books to study. My books were in school. I thought I would bring them on Friday.*
[…]
AA: End of semester final exams, so I didn't do anything and the environment was so tense and we don't even feel like studying.
[…]
YR: Why should it happen? The whole act of Jihad! Why is it yet such a prominent thing in people's lives abroad, at least in Pakistan, Afghanistan? I wouldn't say that they are the only terrorists but mostly 95% have proven to be from there and the fact that this Jihad does exist really hurts not just us but the religion itself, the Muslim religion really. I wouldn't have a mind that someone's Muslim, he's still human. […] He's nice but what they do and what they think of us is what I don't like and we can't really change that yet, and that's what hurts.

The circumstances and tense atmosphere affected their daily lives and brought to the surface fears and questions. YR attributes terrorist acts to Pakistan and Afghanistan which he sees as hurting the religion of Islam. He appears to say that 'Jihad' or the 'holy war' is undertaken by Muslims who do not think of them, the Hindus, positively. It is the oppositional positioning of 'us' against 'them' that illustrates the prevalence and effectivity of the process of 'othering'. YR attributes 'Jihad' to Pakistan, which has been perceived as India's foremost enemy since the partition of the country and the subsequent wars over Kashmir. These historical events which led to an oppositional relationship with Pakistan have been inscribed in the minds of Indians over the past 60 years and are used to deploy othering discourses, particularly and instantaneously when events such as the terrorist attacks occur.

YR: Jihad is just… it's been here since a long time now. You can say since the time Pakistan was officially made. Since then we've had this one competition or race or rivalry that I wouldn't say is healthy. […] I'm not saying that we're all saints, that Hindus are saints, but there should be something they are putting up against […]. A. P.J. Abdul Kalam[94] *is Muslim, he's ruled our country and […] according to me, he did way more than any other president could have done, and I really support that but the rest who've committed these terrorists acts aren't really positive. I wouldn't call them positive, that I would consider very close to being human. I don't have a grudge against the Muslims, I have a grudge against what some of them think of us to be, some of them prove themselves to make us feel. […] I read in the Times magazine a while back the way they encourage people to do Jihad is through previous incidents like the fire burning of Muslims a long time ago in India in Mumbai at least in Maharashtra. They used to burn… they burnt a whole train with Muslims inside, they actually carried torches to houses where Muslims lived. That is against us but then where does it end. […] I can't blame anyone, I can't point at anyone. […] It's obviously a mutual thing but Jihad goes a bit overboard with it.*

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[94] A. P. J. Abdul Kalam served as the 11th President of India from 2002 to 2007.

YR has read up on the conflict between Hindus and Muslims and recognises that conflicts with Pakistan have arisen through Partition.[95] In comparison to his earlier account, his own reasoning leads him to the realisation that such acts are circular in nature, linked to previous conflicts carried out by terrorists. Such discourses of Muslims and 'others' are never fixed, as Butler (1993) argues, "what is constituted in discourses is not fixed in or by discourse" (p. 187), which opens up possibilities of resistance. In other words, YR's initial narration depicts discursive practices prevalent in India with regard to Muslims and Pakistan, for example, in his statement, "*what they do and what they think of us*". That 'othering' discourses are never fixed is evident as YR negotiates discursive information when talking about Muslims and past events, for example, the Partition and the setting on fire of a passenger train in Gujarat in 2002. The lines between who is right and wrong and who is responsible gradually wear thin. It is the theory of performativity and agency that enables us to understand that YR begins by deploying dominant discourses and representations of Muslims, and that this reproduction leads to a shift in his understanding of the conflict between Hindus and Muslim, India and Pakistan. That he says, "*It's obviously a mutual thing...,*" discloses that he is in fact resisting oppressive discourses.

DS: It's all about terrorism.
YR: In Pakistan, you don't know whether it's a legal thing that you're doing or illegal.
[…]
YR: In POK, in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, […] there was a huge terrorist school, I would say, which was raided by our military, the Indian military and that's why it was stopped. In so many places in Pakistan there are mountain ranges which are unchecked. What do you think? Nothing's happening out there! I wouldn't think so. I would say so. […]
[…]
AS: […] I've heard that people who were part of the terrorist attacks, they were brainwashed by showing them the '93 riots. How basically India has treated Muslims badly.
DS: Out here there is only one perspective looking at it. We're just ignoring the fact that even Pakistan went through a few terrorist attacks and their team also went through the terrorist attacks. You aren't sure of it so you all are just diverting into Muslims again. It's not only Muslims. It can be some other race altogether itself also because if they were Muslims, they count their land to be their motherland also. Then why would they bomb their own country and why would they hurt their own players or their so-called fellow Muslim friends, like the Pakistan (cricket) team. See on the whole, we as students have a very limited perspective, we need to think big. We need to get out of that box. You cannot always say that if India has had a terrorism attack, it doesn't always mean that they are Muslims and if they are Muslims also, it does not really mean that it is because of some religious thing. It doesn't mean that it's some religious war. That's where we provoke a fight amongst ourselves, that 'oh it's religious, oh they're bombing us because we're Hindus'. Maybe there's some other cause. Have we ever tried to find out other causes? […]

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[95] Partition refers to the Partition of British India into Pakistan and India on 15th August 1947, which also led to the dissolution of the British Indian Empire.

Other members of the group also negotiate past historical and present-day events, for example DS, who argues that terrorism is purely about terrorism and has nothing to do with religion.

YR: […] There is no difference between me and Muslims. We're both human. There's nothing wrong with us. I don't hate him and he's doesn't hate me or her, whatever the story is. The thing is, we have to point fingers. I don't know its human ingenuity or what.
DS: That's what I'm saying. People have been misguided through other people…
YR: That's exactly what I was saying in the beginning.
DS: Exactly, so that's why we have this one track thinking and it is wrong because we have been misguided through our leaders itself you know. Say for example politicians. I'm not blaming them but yet they have misguided us you know. […] That's what I'm against. The way they project it, the way press manipulates stuff to our head, it's wrong.
AS: That's what the media is for. They exaggerate every single detail.
YR: It's propaganda.
[…]
DS: At the end of the day, we're all coming under this solution that we're being manipulated.

DS' statement, "*we have this one track thinking,*" illustrates that he is aware of the 'othering' and stereotyping of Muslims. YR, however, feels the need to hold someone responsible for the terrorist attacks as emotional reactions such as fear and resentments are being fuelled by the media and politicians of the country. AS argues that the Hindu-Muslim conflicts have a historical background, the result of years of discord and unresolved issues:

AS: […] You cannot only blame Muslims because you cannot clap with one hand. For a reaction there has to be an action. I trust somewhere deep down, somewhere down in history, Hindus might have also triggered this, probably called something for themselves. I don't think Muslims are like that bored to just pick a place and target that place every time. I've sure Hindus must have done so much to get the Muslims to do whatever they're doing.

The lines between the perpetrators and victims are constantly shifting, as the students renegotiate their understanding of Hindu-Muslim conflicts and take on new meanings, which as Butler posits (1993) "opens up possibilities for political resignification" (p. 191). If we see these young people as multipliers of change, then such new meaning could lead to small alterations in dominant discourses within the city and country. Even minimal change is significant in a climate and setting in which, as EN argues, it is easy to learn and deploy prejudices against Muslims, particularly when the vast majority is readily disbursing them:

EN: If the majority of us, if everyone who is here, becomes prejudiced to Muslims and I am Muslim. I am the only one who is not prejudiced to Muslims. They will influence you of being prejudiced to Muslims. That is actually happened.

RJ: So are you prejudiced against Muslims?
EN: No, again I would say it is a manipulating game.
RJ: Who is manipulating whom?
EN: The majority.
DS: Actually after the workshop, I've stopped to blame Muslims. Like I had a prejudice against them but after I suddenly didn't have the time to think about it. Probably it just faded off and after this incident. You know there were many people in my family who said that this Muslims are spoiling are nation and everything. Sometimes even your own servants or your drivers say that sometimes these people should be hanged, all of them and all. That time, I got my approach and I told them no, this is not right. It's not only them who's doing it. Maybe it's something else that's provoking them. So basically I found a change in my approach. Probably I could have just said that ya we should hang them. But this time, probably I didn't go with them and stood apart.

During the training, when the question of prejudices arose, DS was part of the majority who denied having prejudices, and attributed prejudices against Muslims to others in society. He now reveals his prejudices, and explains that his awareness of them as negative judgements led to a change in his attitude and opinions, which he attributes to the Anti-Bias training. DS' narration can be understood more clearly in light of psychological research on prejudices (see Devine 1989; Dovidio et al, 1997; Devine & Plant, 2002), which indicates that awareness of the discrepancy between one's conscious beliefs, attitudes, behaviour and one's egalitarian standards can genuinely motivate the person to suppress automatically activated prejudiced responses and adopt more equitable behaviours. Devine & Plant (2002: 835) emphasize that a person must first consciously decide to respond in an objective and egalitarian manner and then adopt equitable beliefs and standards, which are subsequently internationalised and integrated into the self-concept. Accordingly, DS has consciously decided to behave in an equitable manner because, as he says, "*probably I could have just said that ya we should hang them*," which would have been far easier in the charged anti-Muslim environment. That he made his views known, "*this is not right…*," particularly to members of his family, where as the youngest member, he yields no authority or power, shows that he has grasped an agency to voice his views and thus also consciously adopted equitable beliefs and standards if not yet internalised them.

Another two students reveal the instantaneous activation of negative feelings as they needed someone to blame:

AS: I did blame the Muslims. For a minute or so I did blame them but then I guess mainly I blamed the people who were there inside because it was all their doings. Whoever they are connected to, that's beside the point.

YR: Until I read the Times magazine. I read it about 3 months ago and until then I really thought you know Muslims this, Muslims that. I was someone who last time when we had this class, we had this discussion, again, I was somewhat influenced but you know after hearing about the terrorist attacks you get that fire inside you that makes you feel, it comes from the gut […] But now I feel that you know what, if they're bringing it forward, why are we continuing with it?

It is not surprising that implicit prejudices are activated or that young people take on attitudes proscribed by oppressive discourses since their identities are embedded in societal discourses. The theory of performativity allows us to understand students as performing the norms and discourses of the social world, and it is through the enactment and citational practice that "discourse produces the effect that it names" (Butler, 1993: 2). Accordingly, in the above narrations, we observe that dominant discourses have produced in students the effect that they set out to produce: fear of Muslims, blaming the Muslims, 'othering' of Muslims. Yet, as Butler (1997a: 6-9) argues, the attachment to discourses is a result of the workings of power, and the adult subject is produced through the denial and reenactment of the dependency on power, wherein lies the possibility for agency. It is thus possible for us to understand their critical reflection and reasoning as a negotiation of dominant discourses, and that they are creating new understandings and new meanings which shape and alter their perceptions and attitudes.

Towards the end, the discussion centres on conflicts in the school.

RJ: Issues in the school: Are they still present?
AS: Oh that happens so much.
EN: Politics
DS: Ragging ya, what politics! Oh you should have been there in our grade 10 trip.
All: oooohhhh. That was the best.
AS: We rebelled against our teachers. We didn't eat dinner. This was even worse than when you saw us last year.
[…]
EN: Ya, we had a rough time with the teachers this year.
AS: There was a rebellion camp, rebellion against teachers.
YS: Students versus teachers
SS: We didn't eat dinner, we didn't go to the room, we would just sit in the garden and wait for them to finish dinner and come out and talk. Because they treated us.... like one teacher, he made us like go to a really shady area for dinner for a few of us. He would tell you who eats here, who eats there, and then this table… he would say "you can eat food now". If you want to get a second helping, you have to ask his permission to get a second helping, which was like really dumb and didn't make sense at all because we couldn't eat as much as we wanted.
YS: It was like jail.

Conformity is the site of dispute in the battle against teachers who represent figures of authority in school. Their repeated normative performance of obedient students reinforces the hierarchies of a school and the educational system. Students have been integrating the reality of conformity by performing it, which is nonetheless a social construction. It is the notion of performativity and agency that allows us to observe that as a social norm, conformity is not final, never fully established. This, as Butler (1993) argues, “become the condition and occasion for further action” (p.187). In other words, in their repeated enactment of conformity, students grasp agency to resist differential treatment in the school, which will inevitably alter their future interactions with the teachers, thus not just their own behaviour but also that of the teachers.

It is through the concept of performativity that we can understand student narrations during the group discussion: How they anticipate, produce and reproduce dominant discourses about Muslims through the process of ‘othering’ and stereotyping. There is an initial automatic activation of stereotypes, which are linked to feeling of rage and the need to hold someone responsible because stereotypes and misinformation are anchored in social processes which conditions them to take-for-granted certain meanings and assumptions based on oppressive norms and discourses. Agency, which is demonstrated in the theory of performativity, allows us to observe how they negotiate this oppressive discursive (mis)information. The awareness of subconscious socially influenced processes opens up space for a broader outlook and change in attitudes. This can be postulated for the students of this group because they depict not only an awareness of their prejudices but also the ability to critically reflect upon and arrive at equitable conclusions.

I now present excerpts of some of the interviews to display changes in attitudes, perception and behaviour among these students. The first was an interesting project undertaken by EN which he sees as his active and positive contribution to those affected during the terrorist acts:

EN: I would say that my personal project was making recycling stuff […] and I set up an art shop making few rag dolls and I actually sold these rag dolls for Rs. 200 to the parents of the MEWS and bought a few wheelchairs, 3 wheelchairs to donate to Sir. J.J. Hospital because the terrorist victims were admitted there because of the Taj and Oberoi[96] *attacks. So that also made me… my actual plan was to make rag dolls out of recycled material but because of your workshop, it made me think again what can I do more for what is happening right now.*

---

[96] Two of the eight terrorist attacks of November 16, 2008 in Mumbai occurred at the luxury hotels The Taj Mahal and The Oberoi Trident.

Although EN's project may not directly indicate a change in his attitudes, his efforts aimed at bringing about a small change in the lives of some of the victims of the attacks depicts a sensitising that he attributes to the Anti-Bias training.

AS says she has begun to stand up for her opinions within her family, which she also claims to be a result of the Anti-Bias training.

AS: I told you my grandfather blamed Mahatma Gandhi for the bomb blasts because he feels that if Mahatma Gandhi wouldn't have let Pakistan have their independence then this wouldn't have happened, these events wouldn't have been taking place because then we would be a big happy country, but I disagreed with him because I thought that Mahatma Gandhi has done a lot for our country. So ya, first I would probably agree with them or whatever opinion they had but now I have my own opinions about things, and I make sure that they know about my opinions and I'm not agreeing to whatever they're saying.

She bypasses patriarchal family norms which would generally restrain contrary views based on her age and gender. We could thus say that as an alternative to dominant norms and discourses in society, the Anti-Bias training has to an extent supported an agency through which she resists dominant gender and age-based behavioural norms within her family. Examining her seemingly minor actions through Butler's theory of performativity reveals that her identity is dynamic and shifting and that she has initiated change within her life.

SS desires to play football and is not allowed to do so by her father who believes that girls do not play football. Her repeated enactment of traditional gender norms combined with her desire to play football opens up resistance to such norms; an agency which she grasps as she discusses, reasons and persuades her father:

SS: My dad always thought that girls, he thinks that girls… you know I play football, he doesn't like it. I try explaining it to him that you know girls play football and I try making him understand but he's like he has the whole excuse that I'm in grade 10, so he kind of stopped me. So it's like girls are still inferior. I kind of go up to him every time and ask him then why are you educating me. He says so that you grow up and become something in life but I want to become a football player. And he's like it's not possible because girls don't play football as a profession. So I was like, you never know what happens. It's that way. And I don't even want to become a professional football player. I just want to play for the fun.

SS narrates the above when she is asked whether there were any incidents, events, discussions with family, friends or teachers in the past year that made her think back to the Anti-Bias training. Her actions may appear small and insignificant but in the conventional family set-up she inhabits, it is indeed a significant step for a young woman her age. As Bhabha (2004) proclaims, identity is “always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image” (p. 64). SS’ repeated performance and production of an image of her gendered identity has led to a transformation because she challenges oppressive gender norms. She had raised this point of conflict with her father during the training not only during the exercise “Experiencing Discrimination”, but also importantly during “First Steps of Actions” (presented in chapter six), when the group brainstormed on strategies of intervention when discrimination occurs. Thus, discussing various possible means of intervention within one’s sphere of influence (rather than backing off) appears to have motivated and assisted her in pursuing the subject with her father in an attempt to initiate a degree of change in her life. Similarly, she narrates another intervention on the home front, implying that she has begun fighting discrimination not only against her own gendered person but also on behalf of others, people of the lower classes:

SS: Well I spoke to my grandmother. She used to have this whole thing you know about servants. Like you know servants, they cannot touch this, they cannot touch that. So I say: “You know, how would you feel if people did that to you?” She did get a bit hurt when I said it. I was a bit harsh and she was old. She’s old so she’s got hurt, and she didn’t talk to me for a couple of days, stuff like that. But then, later she started kind of understanding, at least when I’m around.

DS recognises that the workshop is just the start of a life-long process. Whereas he claimed during the training to have no prejudices (see chapter six), he admits to the training helping him change his perceptions.

DS: You know the workshop was just like a shock, it wasn’t that major to me, because I was like oh it’s an on-going process, it will come to me when I have to get serious.
I did have a few prejudices against certain castes or certain people, which… and this type of workshop helped me overcome, but not with all, but maybe certain general perceptions.
I used to speak to my people, like when that whole Maharashtrian and Bihari thing[97] *happened. That time I spoke to my drivers and my employees. Spoke to them about how they should resolve stuff between them and it wasn’t correct. Those were some of the actions I took because of this workshop.*

Although the interviewer does not ask about prejudices, DS refers to them. Although such awareness is one of the main objectives of the Anti-Bias approach and training, it could be that DS is supplying opinions that he thinks the interviewer wishes to hear and which match with the normative context (van Dijk, 1989; Dovidio, 2001) of this interview and the training in 2008. From the perspective of psychological research, this is a problem with examining prejudices in individuals and groups (Dovidio, 2001). However, seen from a poststructuralist perspective, and as discussed in the previous chapter, I take DS' narration as representative of the way in which he performs and negotiates his identity during the interview. The second point of interest in DS' narration is his description of intervention in conflicts on the home front. In comparison to SS, he is in a position of power in relation to his 'drivers and employees'. It is a conflict between people who have equal power; there are no hierarchies between them. DS' intervention to curb the conflict is then an act of superiority and a play of power that he uses to resolve the conflict. Moreover, it is he who gains in the end as there is an end to conflicts within his home. That he provides this example shows that he does not recognise that his action within the given context and environment is an act of dominance and hierarchy. Nevertheless, in the group discussion (see above) he narrated having contradicted the stereotypical and prejudiced views of his family against Muslims. This depicts how power is experienced differently in different contexts and at different points in time: Whereas he uses such a power, on the one hand, to resolve conflicts with his 'employees', he exceeds the limits of his power with his contrary views within his family. For the latter, his "agency exceeds the power by which it is enabled" and assumes "a purpose *unintended* by power" (Butler, 1997a: 15). As such, and within the hierarchies of his family, he does not possess the power or authority to enforce his opinions, in comparison to the power he has over his 'employees'. In voicing opinions contrary to those of his family members, his agency exceeds his power and serves a goal not intended to gain, enforce or display power. Thus, we can conclude that whereas he grasps agency in the discussion with family members, there is no agency (only power) in the incident with his 'employees".

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[97] DS refers to the Maharashtrian – Bihari conflict in the city of Mumbai. Since the late 2000s, people from the north east Indian state of Bihar have relocated to Mumbai in search of jobs. Local right-wing political parties targeted the Bihari, who, according to them, presented the threat of increased employment for local Maharashtrian (residents of Maharashtra) population.

YS describes a personal change within himself, his temperament and his choice of friends:

YS: My friends in the last camp when we were there. I had totally different friends, and I came to know their true colours and all. So it changed my life in that way, that's it. I started talking to like new people because I realised that the people I was talking to weren't worth it.

I've started, before I used to go all against my friends and all. Now my behaviour is like really cool and all, like I was very short-tempered, like really short-tempered. Now, like it's a good change. You know we discussed about ragging and all. We even discussed on how short-tempered people get and all, so that helped me in reducing my anger and all.

The discussion on bullying in school during the exercise ‘Experiencing Discrimination’ seemed to have influenced him greatly and, as he narrates above, has led to significant changes in his life and a different set of friends. He also admits to prejudices against Muslims which contrasts with his claim in the previous year (see chapter six):

YS: *I would get all my friends to a workshop like this because it really changes your view towards things. You know because I was, last year, I was really biased. I would think that all the bad stuff was done, like all the terrorist bombing were done by Muslims. So it really changed my view towards things.*

Awareness of prejudices evidently induces a critical self-reflection and corresponding change in attitudes, which forms the fundament of the Anti-Bias approach. From a psychological point of view, it is important to consider that he may well be adjusting his response to that which he believes the interviewer wishes to hear, to the normative context (van Dijk, 1989; Dovidio, 2001) of the training and the above-described group discussion, we will never know for sure. As previously discussed, using a poststructuralist approach, I understand his narration of change as representative of how he performs and negotiates his identity at the time of the interview. Additionally, his depiction of deeply personal changes with respect to friends and attitudinal changes such as controlling his temper shows that his identity is changing; he is developing different understandings and new meanings even with respect to dominant discourses, meaning also, I would argue, that he is indeed aware of his prejudices and is consciously altering his opinions and behaviour patterns.

Just as in the group discussion, we identify that for YR locating different sources of information and critically analysing it has become crucial.

YR: The whole idea of reading the newspaper became important to me. Ya I guess, and obviously when we did the diversity of life, at least in our school, when we talked about ragging other children and all, discriminating or racism for that matter. Yes, a lot changed. I got a new perspective towards it.

The glacier. We discussed about a glacier a while back. About life as the glacier, we see it in the top 15%. The rest is still submerged under the bottom. You keep on thinking about it, it comes to you, what else is still there. It’s so deep, so mysterious that you really want to find out. I actually sat down on about 3 evenings thinking exactly what it is underneath the glacier. […] It still stuck with me, I still remember the glacier. I can’t forget it. […] So I’ll always remember that incident, when we discussed it in class.

Ya, I’m sure, I’m 95% sure that after the workshop a lot of my thoughts changed, probably they’re coming out right now but I can’t say really say that I did just that.

The glacier, which he refers to, is the Iceberg Model of Diversity, which posits that only 15 percent of an individual, just like the iceberg, is visible; the rest beneath the surface needs to be discovered. As in the case of YS, we could also say that YR might have adapted his response to the perceived expectations of the interviewer. However, the fact that he is able to remember and continues to reflect on specific aspects of the training such as the iceberg model and the discussion on ragging illustrates that he is not only responding as he may believe is expected of him.

The group discussion thus reflects the importance of having in-depth discussions on subjects like the terror attacks so that stereotypes and prejudices can be addressed and challenged. The voicing of one’s feelings and discussing (mis)information facilitates critical thinking and opens up room for change and transformation. The interviews suggest that, in one way or another, students of this group have had small or big changes in outlook, perceptions and attitudes, which they link to the Anti-Bias training. In the personal interviews and group discussion, some admit to prejudices which they previously claimed not to have. It is the terrorist attacks that made implicit prejudices surface, which they suggest they were able to deal with to some extent as a result of the training. From a psychological paradigm, it may be difficult to claim that students are expressing their own opinions and not adapting responses based on perceived expectations of the interviewer (i.e. they admit to prejudices because it is expected of them). However, as previously discussed, using a poststructuralist paradigm, I regard their narrations of change as representations of how they perform and negotiate their identities at given times. Simultaneously, the concrete examples of intervention they are able to provide and the personal change they describe indicate that some of them are resisting dominant norms, discourses and differential treatment in society. Similarly, the rebellion of these students against the authoritative figure of the teacher illustrates how the continual submission to authority, the performance of conformity, as Butler argues, leads to agency which they grasp, altering their own patterns of behaviour as well as those of the teachers. These young people experience power differently, based on the specific time, context and environment in which the intervention is made. DS is a good example, who is in a position of power with his ‘employees’ and uses it. However, he also explains that he stood up to family members in a discussion on Muslims. In such a familial case, power is not necessarily on his side and his contrary views depict a transformation in his life and his lived environment. Most of the students recount personal changes in the interviews which depict critical self-reflection or interventions – in particular the two girls AS and SS – where power and hierarchy is not in their favour. It is Butler's theory of performativity and agency that enables us to identify where and how power plays a role and instances where the students use their agency, which exceeds the purpose of gaining, professing or enforcing power, to bring about change in their own lives and those of others.

7.3.2. Global Paradigm School

Similar to MEWS, my very first question to the GPS group brought up the Bombay terrorist acts of November 2008. The proximity of the students to the attacks and the death of a classmate (who was run over by a car) gave rise to fears and questions about life and death.

RJ: How has the past year been for you? What's been happening?
NM: Very good.
KJ: This year, end of last year and start of this year was kind of…bad.
BS: Horrible
KJ: The Taj terrorist attack, and one of our friends, he passed away. He wasn't in the workshop.
MI: Last year we never really valued life and the stuff that we had, so now this year there have been so many things that have been eye-openers for us, death and such. […]
JL: But more than that, even after the Bombay incident, before that we'd never been directly affected by anything because most of the time it's in the suburbs.
KJ: You read about it in the papers.
JL: Or it is somewhere not in Mumbai. You know or when it is in Mumbai, it is in the suburbs or it's a minor thing over here, like a riot or something like that, which we are at home sitting and drinking coffee and stuff like that. But over here, when the thing happened in the Taj, Oberoi and like that, we were all particularly directly affected, you know.
RJ: How did you feel after the Bombay attacks?
MI: Like earlier in Bombay we really had something like a feeling of security. Even now we do but at times when you suddenly think of all this, you feel a bit insecure.
JL: […] The positive thing is that it happened in a place where upper class of society were, you know and that's what caught the attention of everyone. Probably, if it had only happened in CST, only in Leopold Café, nobody would have really….

Clearly, JL recognises the central role social class plays in getting and holding the attention of the public at large to such acts and their victims. That social class is embedded in societal power relations in the service of dominance and hierarchy is apparent when he says that nobody would really have cared if it had only happened at the central railway station (CST) and Leopold Café.

JL: And the thing is, at that particular time, you know compared to the recent past, India and Pakistan's relationship, it wasn't too bad, it wasn't too good. Things were a little stable. After this, India and Pakistan both fell. Okay, Pakistan is even falling harder because of the turbulence in their country, okay. We are still recovering from all this because there is a lot more happening because of all this voting and all.
[…]
BS: […] I'm saying it's the main guy's fault, not the terrorists'.
BP: Ya but we're never going to get to the main guy because he's going to go on using these guys.
KJ: The thing is that the people who are actually behind this, the master minds who are actually behind this never really come up and are ready to do something, they always use other means to carry out their actions and they always want to be on the safer side.

Indeed, they not only analyse how this act will detrimentally affect the relationship between India and Pakistan, but also appear to sympathise with suicidal terrorists who are projected as puppets in the hands of those master-minding the attacks.

RJ: What about your own stereotypes and prejudices?
MI: I never had a stereotype or anything against Pakistanis but after this attack I've started getting it.
[…]
JP: It was really stereotypes, I was really angry, and I was like, ya, I never hated them and I never loved them. It's like 26/11, I felt like blaming them. I never felt like that before but then I started to feel that they are wrong; they can't keep doing this to our country.
NM: I don't think they're so wrong because they have a very different perception. They think by doing this they will get to go to heaven. There's a lot to it. If you actually sit down and if someone tells you about it, then maybe you'll change your mind and you'll want to go and actually talk to them or even if you flash it on the news what it's about. They are the types who actually watch the news because they want to know what's happening everywhere. So we should try and change that instead of abandoning all of them and trying to change them in another way.
KJ: I doubt that they would just change because they've been brainwashed for the past 15 to 20 years.
NM: But if you tell them the law and if the Muslim community pushes them out of their community because they're forming something which is wrong. Islam doesn't permit you to do that.
BP: Why would they do that?
NM: Because they are violating the Quran, that's not written in the Quran. What they are doing is not written in the Quran. Islam does not permit what they're doing.
JP: But how will they push them out?
NM: But then everyone should help the Muslims, right?
JP: But we'll die.
NM: That's the whole point; you don't want to die so you don't want to change the whole […].
SM: She's been trying to teach me Muslim prayers [referring to NM, laughing].
NM: But everyone should help, you can't say that no, if we help you all, we'll die. If you say we're going to help, we'll die; we can always say we know, we'll tell them we're Muslims.

BP: What are you saying? There is no way it will actually help at this stage. Who's going to go right to the heart of Pakistan and try and…
NM: There are a lot of people who live there.
BP: But if they want to save them, they can try.
NM: Ya, but everyone should help together.

Like at MEWS, some admit to the surfacing of prejudices against Pakistanis linked to feelings of rage and the need to blame someone. Simultaneously, we have NM who presents a counter argument, and as naïve as her idea about talking to the terrorists may sound, she has clearly moved beyond stereotypical notions of Muslims, and more importantly, she has reflected on ways of initiating change both within the majority and its Muslim minority. Her comments elicit varying (and contradictory) responses from others in the group but she holds fast to her opinions. This may, as described in chapter six, be a result of the strong bonds within this group, which enables them to voice their opinions without fear of incurring censure. Yet, she can be seen to be taking on the perspective of the 'othered' Muslims, imagining the world from their perspective and trying to change representation practices with respect to Muslims. Once again, insights from Butler's work allow us to identify her agency, "What is constituted in discourse is not fixed in or by discourse, but becomes the condition and occasion for a further action" (Butler, 1993: 187). In other words, the fear, rage and need to blame voiced by students are products of discourse, which prove, as in the above discussion, to be unstable once an in-depth analysis of the topic is undertaken. This instability becomes an occasion for NM to attempt to change opinions and open up new ways not only of understanding the situation of Muslims and Pakistanis, but also of seeking new and different solutions by being proactive and working together with Muslims.

RJ: Coming back to whether it reinforced your prejudices or not?
SM: It was both, we got a feeling of unity and we had many prejudices against them… against all these terrorists.
BS: It didn't like build up my stereotypes or anything because it was only a few people who did it and not everyone who does that so I really don't think like that and say that Pakistan has done this and Pakistan has done that, which is really stupid and useless.
JP: For me, I have the prejudices but I know they're wrong. They're there in the subconscious but you also know that what you're thinking is completely stupid. So it's like both.
NM: There are people over there in Pakistan as well who also feel the same way as us, so I don't think I had any stereotypes.

SM's statement reveals how viable and unviable lives are constructed through norms. Her "*we got a feeling of unity,*" illustrates that the norm of non-violence is the unifying aspect among people. However, as Butler (1993) argues, this unity is only achieved through exclusion, which can be understood in the immediately following, "*and we had many prejudices against them…*" Although she subsequently adds, "*against these terrorists*", the students in their narratives constantly shift between the labels terrorists, Pakistanis and Muslims, and the line distinguishing the three appears to be fragile. As seen in chapter six, the students admit to the stereotypical linking of Muslims and terrorism. SM's clarification, "*against all those terrorists,*" seen through the psychological paradigm, may be regarded as a strategy through which she conceals her 'true' beliefs and opinions, that is she adapts her response to the normative context (van Dijk, 189; Dovidio, 2001) of the discussion. However, poststructuralism challenges notions of truth and final interpretation (Peters & Burbules, 2004). Thus, in Butlerian terms, her statement can also be taken as a way of negotiating dominant discourses. In other words, that she and the other students amend, add or emphasis, "*against all those terrorists,*" implies that they are resisting oppressive discursive practices because they are aware that these are wrong. This becomes clearer when JP states that she is aware her prejudices are wrong, her thinking stupid. The Anti-Bias approach is based on the notion that it is the reflection on and recognition of one's prejudices as negative and baseless that leads to the deconstruction of 'others', exposes social hierarchies and thus predisposes people toward greater equality and justice. This notion also corresponds with prejudice research, which has revealed that people first need to become aware of the discrepancy between their conscious standards and their automatic negative response, which can motivate them to unlearn oppressive behaviour patterns, adopting more equitable ones (Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al, 1997; Devine & Plant, 2002). Indeed, student narrations depict their negotiation of essentialising discourses of Muslims and Pakistanis in society which they appear to be resisting.

RJ: Do you think that the training that you did a year ago was useful in any way?
KJ: Honestly, like maybe for the first two months, ya you know that it was just recent so you know and you're conscious that there is something. But later on, especially when the attacks happened, that was like the first thing that came to my mind.
[…]
BS: At that time we really hadn't experienced stuff…
MI: This was actually practically, where we actually put it into use.
MI: We're still really confused you know to think that really all Pakistanis are terrorists or most Pakistanis are terrorists or they're nice people. We're really confused right now so we really need help to see whether they are really nice people or what.
NM: Aree[98]*, but I know so many Pakistani people, they're very nice.*
[…]

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[98] Aree is an exclamation in the Hindi language, emphasising in this case agreement.

KJ: See, before there was always the stereotype that all terrorists are Pakistanis, all Muslims are terrorists. That impression was always there with us. That stereotype was there initially and then something like this happens and it's a terrorist attack, our first reaction will be – it's Pakistan again! They might not be solely responsible for it but it's because of the past, you look at the history, that's why you're forced to look at them, and you don't really go around blaming others.
KJ: Basically, what you think is based on the facts that were given in the newspaper…
BS: And you know how much the media exaggerate and how much they make up.
KJ: You can't believe each and every word that's being given. The media actually thrives on the fact of what they say…

The terror attack which greatly impacted on them served also to make the Anti-Bias training far more 'real' and relevant; placed it into context for them. Whereas there are some who are aware of their stereotypes and prejudices and show through their reactions that they are capable of dealing with these constructively, there are a few who are confused and do not find it easy to navigate through the abundance of conflicting and contradictory information they receive through social mediums. Nevertheless, we notice that they question the source of the information they receive and reflect upon it critically. As in the case of MEWS, we observe the importance of bringing up and discussing events such as the attacks and related feelings. It is such discussions that reveal to them their prejudices which they simultaneously question, thus also putting into question the social machinery that produces and disburses stereotypes and prejudices.

Locating a change in opinions, attitudes and behaviours at a more individual level, I present excerpts from some of the interviews with the GPS students. BS describes the changes in her life in the past year, which she also attributes to yoga.

BS: I've learnt to accept everyone because now I do yoga in school. It's a 10th standard optional subject so that's really changed the way I look at things and stuff, like completely. […] In yoga we talk a lot about ourselves and about others and basically the mindsets of people and stuff, and what causes that kind of stuff. So that actually made me think about what we had learnt [in the training].

In light of the terrorist acts and previous riots in Bombay and India, she attributes conflicts in the country to religion. However, instead of negative feelings towards any particular religious community, it has led her to give up religion in the past year, which can be understood as a form of resistance to oppressive discourses. Her statement also emphasizes Hall's (1996: 6) postulation that identities are *temporary* attachments to subject positions constructed by discursive practices. She also explains that the training and yoga have helped change her outlook considerably.

BS: It's actually inside the person what he really is. You know I actually thought that religion... Now I don't really follow any particular religion kind of a thing, because according to me actually that's the thing that has created all these fights and stuff. The religion thing [stopped following] *is this year. The rest is all last year. Because it just causes more fights and religion is the main cause of all these things since the past many years because in the end we all are one.*

It started with the workshop little and it built up because of yoga. You know the way you, how I used to think, and how I think is like completely evolved and you could say changed in a positive way. Like you know, in the workshop we learn about discrimination and stuff, about religion and stuff. After that actually, you know like the religion thing, I thought that it is actually religion that causes all of this.

Her last narration depicts her belief that the Anti-Bias training did in fact initiate change in her life and also discloses the importance of non-curricular activities in sustaining change in perceptions, beliefs and behaviour activated by the training.

The attacks and the death of a close classmate have deeply affected MI who appears to have become more fearful, and although she is aware of her negative feelings and prejudices, she cannot seem to decide what to believe.

MI: All this death stuff happening and all. It really hit me really badly. From that time, I've changed as a person.

Stereotypes and Pakistanis, somewhere within, it tells me that what I'm thinking is wrong you know, that you know most of them are like that because here in India there are many people who've migrated and you know the heads of these Muslim crematories and stuff like that, they were like, "we don't want to take the terrorists' dead bodies because we're ashamed of what they've done". So somewhere deep within I know you know that all Pakistanis, most Pakistanis are not like that but at the same side you know, looking at all these interviews of Kasab[99] *and stuff, you feel that most of them are like that. It's really confusing for me right now, and I don't know what decision to make on it you know.*

Even though the above narration illustrates MI's indecisiveness and confusion, she recognises that her negative feelings are wrong and struggles in the act of making sense of the myriad and conflicting social discourses circulating the Muslims. Her reflexivity is thus socially mediated and socially constituted (Butler, 2004), meaning that she draws on discourses and the knowledge and meaning it produces to represent herself and ‘others’. Thus, if MI’s reflexivity and subjectivity is an effect of discourse, then her identity, as explained by Hall (1996), is the “point of *temporary* attachments to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us” (p. 6, my emphasis). As Butler (1997a: 6-9) argues, these attachments are produced through the workings of power, and that the formation of the adult subject occurs through the denial and reenactment of the dependency on power. MI’s struggles to make sense of the conflicting discourses about Muslims depict her denial and reenactment of this dependency, which also opens up the possibility for agency. Her personal experiences and the alternative norms and behavioural practices proposed, for example, by the Anti-Bias training influence and shape her behaviour. Thus, every new act of reflection (and action) will lead to a new understanding of Muslims, of Pakistanis, and a new construction of her self. We will never know to what extent she is able to deal constructively with her prejudices. Yet, her struggles disclose her awareness of her subjection to dominant discourses; that she questions their ‘truth’ implies that she is negotiating these discourses and that change is indeed a possibility.

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[99] Mohammed Ajmal Amir Kasab, involved in the 2008 Mumbai attacks, was the only attacker captured alive by the police. He is in Indian custody and has been sentenced to death by the Bombay High court.

BP, on the other hands, says that the training motivated her to stand up to her beliefs and speak out. Hygiene was a subject that came up in discussions during the training related to the Bombay slums. Contrasting with the previous sentiments of the group about the lack of hygiene among the underprivileged, she now looks beyond these stereotypical images of the ‘poor’ and calls to account people of the upper classes:

BP: Truthfully speaking, I used to always feel strongly about discrimination and more like about stereotypes. Like on the road, you like see people spitting everyday, so it comes in the newspaper everyday that the poor people are a menace because they spit on the road. But truthfully, if you walk on the road everyday, in the car you see people who have cars, big cars, also roll down their windows and often spit out of the window. That’s really sad because after the workshop, I really got motivated to actually say something. So like once or twice when I saw these people spitting on the road, I told them that it’s not right because you’ll have been complaining about the beauty of the city, you’ll have been calling the poor people a menace, but you’ll are doing the same thing.

JP attributes the main changes in her life to the death of her classmate Dhanesh and her participation in the camp ‘Seeds of Peace’:

JP: Dhanesh, of course, that was this year, and I went to this camp to America for a month and a half called Seeds of Peace. So we went there and we got to meet people, actual Pakistanis like. We got to be with them for a month and we met Israelis and Palestinians and *we realised what their life is like because they are scared of dying everyday, literally bad for them, like one of my friends stays in a refugee camp. Those people, they're like my best friends ever, I can tell them everything. And ya, it's like an eye-opener.*

Her narrative demonstrates that such non-formal, extra-curricular school activities create not only an environment of intercultural learning and respect but also motivate young people to adopt egalitarian attitudes and behaviour within and outside the school. With reference to the workshop, she gives an example that shows that not only have her perceptions about the lower classes changed, but that she has also taken constructive steps to bring about change in her own life and that of others:

JP: Before the workshop, even really small stuff, you see a beggar on the road and you're like ewoo. I guess after the workshop, you don't think like that because you don't… I understood that they're all human beings in the end.

The whole… you remember we did that strata thing with the different society[100]*… so one of my maids, her son, like she was planning to take him out of school and she was discussing that with my grand mom. That ya, I mean […] for us it's taken for granted. I go to school; I do that everyday. But like this guy, […] everyday he would, I suppose he would be scared of "oh tomorrow I'm not going to go again". But in the end we convinced her to go, and like my maid's daughter, she didn't know how to read so I sat with her over summer […] and taught her to read and write and now she's doing night school and she's also working.*

In terms of her previous reaction to beggars on the streets we observe, consistent with psychological studies of prejudice (Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al, 1997; Devine & Plant, 2002), that the training has seeped into her consciousness in so far as she is not only aware of the inconsistency between her behaviour and egalitarian standards, but she also appears to be able to control automatic emotional reactions and has adopted more just and equitable behaviour patterns.

With KJ, we observe the profound effect the discussion on discrimination during the training has had. He explains that he has become more sensitive to other people in terms of whom he jokes with, and he intervenes when he observes discrimination:

KJ: I've become more sensitive to some extent to other people. Initially I used to think that, I used to joke around, even though I didn't mean it in a bad way. I realised that someone might not take it always in the right spirit and all. They might be a bit more sensitive and all; […]

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[100] The strata thing she refers to is the exercise "Take a Step Forward".

Now when I see someone who is discriminating or like doing anything wrong to like someone else, I tend to tell that person usually, "just stop, just forget it". Earlier I wouldn't do it to anyone, to any stranger on the road. Once it happened that they were just fighting and eventually there was this guy who was refusing to give something to eat to one of these beggars on the road and I was like just give it to him and I gave him the money for the beggar.

We thus identify that he has consciously changed his own behaviour and also intervenes on behalf of others. This emphasizes the effectivity of the exercises "Experiencing Discrimination" and "First Steps of Action", which demonstrate, as also described with reference to JP's examples and consistent with prejudice research, that feelings of guilt through the awareness of a disparity between one's behaviour and one's personal standards can motivate people to behave more equitably.

JL explains that there have been a number of events that changed him in the past year: The yoga camp in Pondicherry, the Seeds of Peace camp in the USA and the passing away of his friend. Moreover, he explains that after the events of November 26, 2008, the training took on a new meaning for him:

JL: I went to Pondicherry, I went to America. I made a lot of friends. At that point of a time, it didn't make that much of a difference. But as MI said [in the group discussion], *after 26/11, now after February, it's really come into action* [the training].

Basically I went to a programme called Seeds of Peace which is in America where, […] it's where children around my age from conflicting regions from around the world for example from India-Pakistan, Israel-Pakistan, Egypt-Jordan and America, we meet in America. […] And I think that it's a very rich experience over there because you meet so many different cultures over there. […] I never ever imagined that I would be eating with a Pakistani; I would be eating with an Israeli. […] So that changed my life. Then I went to Pondicherry on a yoga trip from school because I take yoga as an ICSE subject. You know that taught me a lot, you know about patience. Then 26/11, that's what threw me out of the sort of covering I had, out into the external world. Then my best friend Dhanesh, he passed away. He was coming to my house. And that changed me a lot because that I mean a car knocked him down. I mean these few things, they all just built up for me, the SOP, Pondicherry you know, 26/11, Dhanesh, it just combined together to show me what life really was.

And you know, I talk about the relation between India and Pakistan with my Marathi teacher a little and stuff like that. Like many, many things I learnt from yoga over here, I could reflect it over there. So it's all just brilliant sort of a merge of everything.

So I've been trying to make a difference to just normal people, people who can't find their way. Foreigners you know when they are next to something and can't find their way and I cross by them and they try to communicate with a person who doesn't know English that well.

The more quiet and reserved of the group, RP feels that she now has a little more courage to stand up in the face of discrimination:

I guess when someone is discriminating usually I don't really have the courage to stand up or anything but maybe little more nowadays.

SM observes a change in her perception of others.

It's just that before I used to have prejudices and now my perception towards them completely changed but then nothing that you can do about it. It's just that I've changed in what I feel about it.

For me, it changed my views and it [the training] *made me actually see what's right and what's wrong, and so it would be nice if someone else could also do it.*

In the absence of concrete examples and from a psychological paradigm, it could be argued that SM claims the training changed her views, as this is what she believes the interviewer would like to hear. However, if analysed from a poststructural perspective, her evaluation of a change in views can be understood as a representation of how she performs and negotiates her identity at that particular time.

Both the group discussions and individual interviews depict a positive shift in students' beliefs, perceptions, attitudes and behaviour. Reading students' narrative descriptions in keeping with Butler's theory of performativity has enabled us to understand how they negotiate oppressive discourses relating to Muslims and the lower classes, and how a number of them take on the agency that opens up through their constant denial and reenactment of social norms and discourses. Through a number of concrete examples, which correlate to the findings of prejudice research, it is possible to note that the process of self-reflection facilitated by the Anti-Bias training has created a greater awareness of prejudices and initiated a resistance to and challenge of conflicting and contradictory societal discourses, helping students to develop new understandings and meanings. The changes that they perceive within themselves may be a result of life-and-death situations such as the terrorist attacks, the death of a classmate, but it can also be attributed to the Anti-Bias training, which presented an alternate source of information and disclosed power hierarchies and social inequalities. This is evident in their awareness of their perceptions, prejudices and (prior) representational practices vis-à-vis, for example, the lower classes. Moreover, as a number of them explicitly state, curricular or extra-curricular activities within the school such as yoga or the Seeds of

Peace programme, which support a philosophy of cultural diversity, have enabled a continued critical self reflection on the environment in which they live. Additionally, I would argue that such activities have served to sustain the change initiated by the Anti-Bias training.

7.3.3. Berlin International Secondary School

At BISS we identify a different dynamic. The group discussion is particularly brief and a number of the students explain that the training was not useful to them.

RJ: In the past months, have you at all thought about what we discussed?
BP: Ah, sometimes.
AJ: No. Actually yes, when I got my letter back from last year.[101] *I thought, "Oh my God. Did I write that". And then I thought, "I'll never do this workshop again". And I did, and I am. Oh God. I can never describe what I went through then.*

RJ to BP: You said you thought of the workshop a couple of times. When?
BP: Ya, just when we got the letter back.
SM: I remember this game we played when we were walking. There were different levels. I don't remember exactly but there was something like that.

RJ: Do you think that the workshop helped in any way?
AJ: No, because I was never a racist before, so what did it change. It was not like I was a racist and then I became non-racist. I was not racist and I'm still not racist.
BP: Can I be racist when I'm in an international school where Jewish people, Arabian people are around? If I be a racist, then I would have big problems.

RJ: So for none of you the workshop achieved anything at all. It was a waste of time.
Yes from a few.
BP: No. It was good.
SM: I thought about it sometimes. It didn't really change my mind because I wasn't really racist before so.

I look at UC because she seemed to want to say something.
RJ: What about you?
UC: No. I didn't change at all.

Compared to their feedback and evaluation questionnaires in the previous year, some of the students feel that they gained nothing from the training. Two comments reflect their original attitude that they are not racist and that studying at an international school implies being non-racist. They do not appear to have grasped the concept of structural or implicit racism and seem to link racism only to individually motivated, aberrant physical acts of aggression against a particular race or nationality. As we have seen in chapter six and discover further below, racist comments and jokes continue to be used in school. In contrast to the rest of the group, of whom some were silent, only one person feels that the training was good. At this point, getting no further, I ended the group discussion and started with the individual interviews.

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[101] She refers to the exercise "Letter to Myself" during which students each wrote a letter to themselves and handed these over to the trainer in sealed envelopes. The letters were sent to them via post a few months later.

In a one-to-one session, where an interviewee-interviewer hierarchy is more evidently in place, AJ, who, in the former group discussion says she was reminded of the training only when she received the letter she wrote to herself, makes a contradictory comment:

AJ: Often with our friends, we were talking about the lemon exercise. Well, there were like racist comments in school, there always are! I wasn't really involved in it. Sometimes when you like pass in front of a group of people and they're talking, you hear like racist comments, but they usually mean it like a joke. I don't think anybody here is like racist.

Indeed, this contradiction may, on the one hand, be a result of the interviewer's authority and the latter's expectations or, on the other hand, because of the absence of group pressure and expectations of the group. It could be a combination of both. Importantly, she uses the same justification – they are just jokes, nobody is racist here – as she and others in the group did in the group discussion and previously during the training in 2008.

AJ: Like some times when people in our class joke about racist, then like I say, "Hey that's really racist". They say "ya, it's a joke".

Her comment to co-students, "*that's really racist*", conflicts with her previous statement, in which she states that there is no racism in school. The fact that she intervenes – as unsuccessful as her attempts may be – suggests that although she does not wish to acknowledge it, at a subliminal level, she is aware of the existence of implicit racism in school.

RJ: Was it the topic that was not interesting or the way it was done? Why did you not like the workshop?
AJ: The topic was fine. I don't know I found it like really boring. The way it was... the way teachers presented it to us, the way things happened. There were some things that we did during the workshop that were fun but there were some... They just told us, "There's this workshop and just fill in the permission slip". That was it, nothing else. Not that I can recall.

In a way, she once again contradicts her previous comment (in the group discussion), "*I was never a racist before, so what did it change*," when she now says "*The topic was fine*". Her subsequent comments depict however that the compulsion to attend and the scarce information provided prior to the training negatively impacted on her interest and motivation to actively participate in the training.

CD who was silent during the group discussion explains that he was reminded of the training on a number of occasions, and it made him more aware of his prejudices.

CD: There were lots of things like the Arab-Israel conflict that reminded me that we talked about it, racism and stuff. And we also learnt about that in school and stuff. It just reminded me that we did the workshop.

I think after that I became more aware and stopped being prejudiced against some things but other than that.

RJ: So it helped become aware of your prejudices?
CD: Ya, especially against driving learners. They always block the streets.

He also makes a suggestion for improving such a workshop which points again to the usage of creative methods:

CD: I think it could have been more interactive. It was a bit higher than our level, aimed more at adults perhaps.

SM also thought back to the workshop on occasion, particularly when she encountered bullying in school. In contrast to the group discussion, where the focus was more on being racist or not, in this one-to-one conversation, we see that she recognises the broader scope of the training and tries to intervene, albeit unsuccessfully.

SM: Whenever I see lemons, I think of my lemon. That's it. Sometimes when there is bullying, I think like some people did this workshop and the school does so… they try to make you think about what you say and all, but there is still bullying and they don't have it under control. That's it. I just thought about the workshop, how the school says it's bad and everything but everything still happens and they don't control it, and I think people should know it is a bad thing. I usually tell them to stop but you don't really know if they're listening or not.

RJ: What was the purpose of the workshop, do you think?
SM: To think about how we deal with people. I don't know to like things you don't want people to do to you, you don't do to others, to be discriminated because of anything to do with you and you shouldn't do it to other people. I try. I try my best.

I think it was interesting sometimes. Sometimes it was a bit boring. Also some points were interesting and I think […] maybe some one else should do it who needs it more.

Despite the various problems and conflicts at school, SM posits that they do not need such a workshop, which, as we also observed in chapter six, leads to the lack of motivation, openness and willingness to address attitudes and prejudices, implicit or explicit. This corresponds with van Dick et al.'s postulation, as discussed in chapter five, that participants who are not motivated to participate will not benefit from the training (in Levy Paluck, 2006).

UC says that she has changed in the past year and learnt to control her temper. She also explains that the racist comments in school continue, just as her classmates continue to speak in German:

UC: I have learnt to control my anger, I guess, but not really but I'm getting there. […] I'm a very straightforward person. I don't like it, I'll just say it. Like nothing has really changed. BISS is just the same. People make racist comments all the time and since I'm the only black girl in my class and everyone else is German, they think they can talk in their language because it is their country and they can speak their language, but school rules say that we have to speak in English and it's really uncomfortable.

Although most in the group were surprised when she mentioned during the training (see chapter six) that she feels uncomfortable as the only black girl in class and because they often speak in German, the behaviour of the students does not appear to have changed. In fact, she describes a particular incident that upset her terribly:

UC: It was in school. I was in the lunch hall where I was with my friend AA. I had my hair, my real hair so... and I had some guys, BP and FL, and they were like behind me and because they are really tall, I don't know what they called me in German, they started messing up my hair, so I asked them to leave me alone, and they wouldn't, and they kept calling me a 'Knecht' or something like their slave. I was really mad because I asked them to leave me alone. I went to Ms. Schutz because to me it is more like, "Wah, I'm being discriminated because I'm short and I'm black". And they go on calling me a slave, and I told Mrs. Schutz, if she doesn't do anything about it, then I, me and the embassy would do something about it because it's not good for kids to be doing that to another kid. It made me think of the workshop because that's how we were talking about how, what kind of racism and discrimination is there. You know somebody only physically hurts you, emotionally also they might have really taken it as a joke but they put in a history of black people and where else all the other black kids have forgotten about that because now like black people are with white, coloured persons everywhere. So I was like, we don't have to be called the 'N' word or a slave. The world has changed. So that really made me think about the workshop, whether I should just tell them what I think of them because if I took all that anger inside me, I would've *probably gone like, "You whites, you think you're all better and you think you're all rich," but basically there was no use of that. That's why I went to talk to Ms. S because I would have created like this huge whole thing of black and white in this school. If we're all in the same school, our parents pay the same price, they aren't kids here you are so... I think it was really inappropriate of them and it did make me think about what we were talking about in the workshop.*

It is irrelevant that 'Knecht' means menial and not slave. Implicit to the term menial is a sense of inferiority and devaluation, particularly considering UC's historical background. As a South African, even though she may be born post-Apartheid, history is inscribed on her body and in her mind. Such comments wipe out the struggles of 'black' people, making their discrimination and unequal positioning in society ever-present. Despite the fact that her father holds a position of seniority at the South African Embassy in Berlin and can afford the fees of a private school, she recognises that the superiority of 'white' over 'black is also implied at the level of social class. Nationality, race, ethnicity, which all likely intersect here, are elements that play a significant role in power relations and provide, as we observe in UC's narration, the means for a non-economic form of dominance and hierarchy. She recognises the ascription of a lower social status and that this is a means of maintaining power and status quo based on notions of cultural superiority. She challenges these repeated racist comments by demanding that Mrs. Schutz find a solution.

UC: Mrs. S, well they are not really allowed to talk to me, unless it is about school or anything but as long as they mind what they're saying... that's why I just keep my distance away from them.

The only way to resolve such a conflict, it appears, is to instruct the students involved not to communicate with one another. This illustrates an avoidance of the issue and is an excellent example of why UC and other young people like her cannot get away from oppressive racist structures. UC's struggles against domination and oppression are not just directed at herself, she also steps in on behalf of other students. In particular, she mentions that she intervened for AA on account of her religion:

UC: There was a point where I stepped in for AA because it was also about her religion. And sometimes we don't know about other religions and we don't know everything about Jews or Muslims or Christians and so what they were saying about Muslims and that they all should have to believe in one thing because Christians, we're not great, we just read the bible, we pray and we have our beliefs and other people have got their beliefs and what the Christians could have done was at least respect the Muslims. If they pray to that, they can pray to anything, like they pray to this person or that person because of this or that. So I was like *okay, so you don't have to step in and make them feel bad as if it were wrong to like praise another god or something.*

In contrast to her comment during the group discussion, she says that the workshop was useful and did help her.

UC: I think that the workshop was kind of useful. […] After getting the letter and reading it, I was like okay, I can't believe that it was me or something and I think that it did kind of help some people. They were a lot like issues going around through the school, racism, the discrimination, the hate and I think it has changed mostly some... I know it had like played like a small role in me. Control myself and keep a distance away from people ….

I think that they [the other participants] *think that the workshop was not worth it. They think they're racist or they know they're not racist but then if they didn't want to be there then why did they need to do the workshop again. It was not a must, you were not forced to. They were asked if they would like to do the workshop again. Ms. Schutz talked to us in the assembly on the workshop, that is if we would like to do the workshop again, we can, and if we don't want to, we don't have to. Basically we were told that we would miss a few lessons and everyone was fine with it at that point. But the fact that we come in here, and they start questioning things as if it's the end of the world, really it was negative. But why would you choose to do the thing and decide not to do it.*

What she refers to as "the workshop" is actually the group discussion and interviews that were presently taking place. The attitude and body language of some of the students during the group discussion displayed their discontent at being there although, as UC mentions, there was no compulsion to attend. Importantly, the interview with UC also shows the contrast to her comment, "*I didn't change at all,*" during the group discussion where the dominant attitude and power plays within the group appear to have held her back. Her identity, like all identities, is embedded in dominant discourses that serve as a colonising force shaping and directing her (see Benwell & Stokoe, 2005). Thus, UC cannot be who she is without drawing on social norms and discourses and so she also embodies the essentialisation of her identity (e.g. "*I didn't change at all*"). Butler (1997a) explains that the subject is performatively constituted so that she makes sense *as* a subject. The concept of performativity allows us to understand that UC is dependent on the power that constitutes her, the power of dominant norms and discourses which gives her a sense of stability and coherence, and that to become an adult-subject she is repeatedly denying and re-enacting this dependency on the power of dominant norms and discourses. This denial and reenactment is evident in her description of herself as non-changing in public, and her admittance to change in a private conversation with the interviewer. The performing of denials and reenactments also opens up avenues for agency, which we see in her resolute acts (with the head teacher) that challenge, in contrast to her comment on the fixed nature of her identity, the essentialisation of her body. This also illustrates that the dependency on power is not necessarily a persistent state of being. As Bhabha (2004: 64) argues, there is an inevitable transformation of the subject in assuming an image of identity, which is not fixed in an essentialised past. Through incidents such as the one she describes above, UC's identity is constantly dealing with her own history and culture (that of her country, South Africa), and corresponding power constellations within and outside the school based on race, nationality, gender and age. Her identity is dynamic and shifting in the constant process of 'becoming' because her experiences, the changing circumstances and shifting contexts to which she is exposed combined with every new performative act of resistance lead to a renewed construction not only of herself but of prevailing conditions within and outside the school.

BP, the one who calls UC 'Knecht', brings up the subject of the conflict as well, albeit offering a slightly different and rather brief version:

BP: She [UC] *said I'm her slave and I said… I don't think so. And then she said I was racist but it was just a misunderstanding. And we solved this problem and we're like...*

A sense of guilt possibly brings the topic to an abrupt close, just as abruptly as it had commenced. As described above, UC obviously thought 'Knecht' meant slave and this may not have been what BP meant. Yet, it is the lack of reflection on a person's cultural, religious, linguistic and/or historical background that makes such teasing or bullying comments and jokes hurtful. It is then not surprising that even at an international school such as BISS, where no explicit measures are taken to thematise culture, interculturality, racism and gender, that subtle, coercive racism does, in fact, exist.

BP recalls situations in which he unexpectedly intervened and which he attributes to the training.

BP: Just that I think about... if I see someone... like one time I was in a situation at the S-bahn. There was this guy, he was black, ya. And there were those guys who were the whole time talking to him, but not nice. Discriminating him, I think. I just said, leave him alone and stuff and then left. I was a bit taller than them and ya...

Not only his narration but also his body language denotes that the incident with UC has affected him. Prejudice research has revealed that emotional reactions such as guilt, when people realises that their behaviour is not in line with their personal standards, can motivate them to behave more equitably (see Dovidio et al, 1997). A critical self-reflection and resultant feelings of guilt have possibly led to small interventions where he makes more constructive use of such power. Interestingly, he himself brings up the “misunderstanding” with UC without any prompting from the interviewer and subsequently also gives the example of helping a ‘black’ guy in the S-bahn, both of which are possibly linked to his need to clarify his anti-racist position.

LM explains that the focus of the training should have been on gender and addressing homophobia which would have been far more useful at BISS.

LM: Well, I think it’s like, it is a good idea to have a discrimination workshop […], but I don’t really think it touched on the subjects that needed to be changed like... it was more about prejudices and being racist but I think that a lot of people in this school, a lot of the boys… stuff that would be useful would be homophobia. That would have been maybe more useful. People here aren’t really racist but people here say a lot of bad things about gay people. I think someone should do something about it.

She stands by her claim that there is no racism in school, but UC’s experiences tell a different story, which she does not see or wish to acknowledge. The SI questionnaires given to the students prior to the training in 2008 depict explicit prejudices on the part of some of the boys towards gays and lesbians corresponding also to the ‘lad culture’ described by head teacher.

We can conclude that their feedback and evaluations of 2008 do not, for the most part, match with their opinions in 2009. The group discussion reveals a significant group pressure, where many express complicity to the dominant negative opinions through their silence or agreement, which contradicts with some of the subsequent narrative interviews. Whereas only one person expresses positive feelings related to the training during the group discussion, there are at least another three who do so during the interviews. These contradictions could be a result of the interviewer’s authority and perceived expectations of the interviewer (in the one-on-one interviews) or due to the expectations of the group and corresponding group pressure (in the group discussion), or a combination of both. Most of the students continue to believe that they are not racist and that racism cannot exist at an international school. One could argue that these students have grasped agency to resist a positioning of themselves as racist. However, neither did the flier for the training (see Annex 1) given to students and parents mention anti-racism nor was it addressed as a separate theme during the training. The focus was rather on diversity and intercultural learning. Having said this, I am not aware whether the training was presented differently to them by the head teacher, i.e. whether she in any way broached the topic of racism. Nevertheless, an explicit anti-racist positioning suggests that students' subjectivities are greatly influenced by racist bullying in the school. UC's experiences show that implicit racism cloaked in jokes and bullying continues to shape her identity and her time at school. She takes on agency and resists racist comments, not only for herself but also for her friends. Importantly, the notion of performativity allows us to understand her agency and her conflicting statements about her changing identity as the interplay of her denial and reenactment of her dependency on the power inherent in dominant discourses. That she challenges ascriptions reveals that she is resisting the essentialisation of her body and identity. Some of the others reveal instances where they intervene on behalf of friends in school or in the streets of Berlin. However, their interventions do not appear to extend to a reflection of their own behaviour vis-à-vis others, for UC's narrations clearly depict feeling of exclusions and discomfort in class. Despite knowing this, there has been no change within the group, and contrarily, the 'misunderstanding' with BP has only served to worsen matters, whereby UC now withdraws from the group at large. A similar phenomenon has been observed for the Turks in Berlin and Germany, who, as a result of decades of exclusion, have withdrawn into the sanctuary of their own community. This emphasizes the urgent need for schools to use tools of self-reflection and critical thinking, even international schools, in order to thematise racism, culture and interculturality and aiming at respectful interaction. Ultimately, we identify the urgency of addressing not only racism at BISS, but also gender and homosexuality.

7.3.4. James Benning Public School

The group discussion, like at BISS, is brief (partly because of the presence of only half the group), but the dynamic and content rather different.

RJ: Do you think of the workshop at times or are there times when you are reminded of the workshop?
GG: I remember that we had this character, we had to be where we were all standing in line. There were questions and everybody who felt that they had to move forward or just stay if you couldn't say anything. I remember that.
MH: We really had to think quite a bit. Like there wasn't just a simple answer, it was more your own goal.

RJ: Was there anything at school which reminded you of it?
GG: It was more actually like straight-up racism. Somehow it was a day that we just talked about different cultures and just ended up the whole topic about black people, and why we call ourselves...
CB: The 'n' word.
GG: The 'n' word. Then we had a big discussion about that... some people said they don't mind that some people call them themselves the 'n' word and some people did say, they think it's unnecessary and asked why do they care. It's like you call out the 'n' word just like brother. Like a sign of love. It's true [says to CB, who is sniggering]. *It ended like that. It was like a waste of topic.*

The discussion, as a student subsequently explained in the one-to-one interview, centred on the reinscription of the word 'nigga' in hip hop, which can be understood as performative politics in action (Youdell, 2006: 39). Performative politics involves "decontextualizing and recontextualizing […] through radical acts of misappropriation such that the conventional relation between [interpellation and meaning] might become tenuous and even broken over time" (Butler 1997a cited in Youdell, 2006: 39), so that the meanings of existing discourses might be unsettled and reinscribed (ibid). The latter discussion shows the teacher's lack of familiarity with performative politics and his/her inability to moderate such discussions, which, as in the above example, can take an unconstructive turn and make, in particular a 'black' person, uncomfortable and frustrated.

The students describe the Anti-Bias training as a learning experience at a subconscious level – knowledge gained that they are not explicitly aware of.

RJ: Do you think that what you did last year was useful to you in any way? Did you learn something? Did you get something out of it?
MR: I think the stepping thing was good.
AK: I think we kind of all learned a lot but we didn't really realise it. It's just that we know about it more.
MR: Subconsciously
AK: But we don't notice that we care about it more, I think.

RJ: If you were asked whether you would do a similar workshop in the future, would you do it?
MH: I'll do it.
AK: I was really interesting. I would do it again as well.
AC: I would do it again as well.
MR: Yes, sure.

The JBPS group appears very open to attending a similar training in the future and although it may be that they are simply being polite or responding in accordance with the interviewer's expectations, I take the spontaneity and enthusiasm of most of their responses as a sign of their sincerity and genuine interest.

The group discussion illustrates that the training gave them the space for reflection which they compared to the discussion in school on racism and ‘black’ people. They explain that they did not then realise what they had learned and are open to participating in a similar activity in the future. We now look at whether and how responses differ or correspond to those in the group discussion and whether any particular change in their attitudes and behaviour can be identified.

GG, the only ‘black’ boy in the group describes an incident in the Berlin suburban trains.

GG: After the soccer game, Hertha against I don’t know, I don’t know who, we were in the S-bahn and there were like three Nazis, not that big, they were surrounded by ... they called these black people the ‘n’ word. They stood up for themselves and there was a fight going on. We burst in just like, not to beat them up but to separate them. Still we were more aggressive towards the Nazis because they said the ‘n’ word. We just somehow don’t like those people call the ‘n’ word. We know they don’t mean it in a good way or in a fun way. We know they do it just to discriminate you. That was the biggest thing that I can remember.

His usage of the expression, “*We burst in,*” suggests that he feels the need to clarify the reasons for his action or justify taking sides against the Nazis. This might be because he is aware of the power of racialised discourses and that an act of aggression by a ‘black’ boy even in the face of a racist attack will reinforce ascriptions to his body, as a threat that needs to be constrained, even though a ‘white’ person would have behaved in a similar manner. Thus, in the wider social context (compared to conditions within the school), GG has far limited possibilities of agency and resistance as he is faced with overpowering oppressive hierarchies of ‘white’ and ‘black’.

AK explains the importance of being aware of prejudices and the use of stereotypes, and therefore emphasizes the need for other students to participate in such trainings.

AK: I thought back to the workshop and it kind of went through my head again what we talked about. I thought that it was good that we did it, and I think that every student should once do a kind of workshop like this because I think prejudices like are everywhere and one should know about them even though you don’t notice that you have stereotypes and things like that.

I think a lot more of racism because I think it is a big thing nowadays. Racism because everyone thinks it's no more there but it is and people don't notice it. Like the session we once had in class and I think it's important to know everyone's opinion about something and that is what I noticed in the class discussion we had because I knew a lot of my friends but didn't know their opinion to it. So I think we should learn more about racism, about people's opinion to it.

Indeed, she argues that racism is not just extreme violent acts but also implicit, unwitting and often rationalisable actions and behaviours of individuals, which makes it difficult to identify and needs therefore also to be urgently addressed.

AK: I think I have changed. Maybe I don't really notice it but I think I got more aware of like everything. I used to say a lot more about different people and I don't know if it's because of the workshop, just because of that, because I'm getting older, but I think the workshop did a lot to make me think more about what I say about people or think about people.

AK states that she senses a change within herself which she believes could partly be a matter of growing older but also partly a result of the Anti-Bias training. Her comment reveals the difficulty of testing change within individuals which could be a result of her natural, personal development, her social environment and possibly also the training.

Similarly, AC describes a change in outlook and openness towards other cultures.

AC: I think I kind of made myself change in my outlook but maybe I got a bit more open-minded. Actually, I was never like close to any other culture and I wouldn't like eat any other food that I have never tried before or something. So I'd say I might have got even more open-minded to other cultures and stuff.

Implied in AC's statement, "*I kind of made myself change*" is a compulsion to change her outlook. However, we do not know whether this compulsion came from within her or outside. Thus we cannot say for sure whether it was a result of the training or her personal growth and development. Yet importantly, we could correlate her 'compulsion' with previous research on prejudices (Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al. 1997; Devine & Plant, 2002), which demonstrates that the awareness of the disparity between one's behaviour and one's personal standards can genuinely motivate people to control stereotypical responses and behave more equitably in the future. That she describes a resultant open-mindedness vis-à-vis other cultures suggests that the Anti-Bias training may have played a role in the change she perceives within herself.

MR recounts an incident where he intervened to stop a friend being discriminated against, and attributes this intervention to the training.

MR: I was with a few friends and this other group of people started discriminating one of my friends. So I remember taking action there. I told them not to discriminate him because of where he's from. It was not serious but you could still notice they were discriminating him only because where he was from.

His example reveals that the constructive brainstorming on intervention strategies in case of discrimination can motivate and impel young people to action. As such, he can also be seen to grasp agency to challenge the discrimination of his friend. He also suggests that Islam should be taken up as a subject of discussion as it has been largely misinterpreted. Such misinterpretation and misinformation in respect of Islam was identified within the JBPS group in one of the responses to the SI questionnaire (presented in chapter six).

MR: I think Islam should be discussed more because I think it is a topic that is very broad and I think not a lot of people know about Islam, and I think a lot of people interpret it very wrongly. So I would actually like to learn more about Islam.

During his social internship in the previous week, MR worked at the Berliner Stadtmission for the homeless, which he describes very enthusiastically.

MR: My teacher found a spot for me. I was working with four other friends there. It was at the Berliner Stadtmission, it was called. It was an Einrichtung. An organisation or institution for people... Obdachlosen… for homeless people. It was good. A lot of things that I didn't see before, I saw for the first time. And the organisation was actually Christian; it was a Christian-based organisation. So it had actually a lot to do with the church. I worked in a lot of different places there. We worked in a Kita one day, and we worked in a bike shop also. It all had to do with integration and homeless people. It had a very wide field. Ya, it was good.

Such projects bring young people in direct contact with a reality very different from their own, serving to counter stereotypical images of the underprivileged and aid the sensitisation process. His enthusiastic and positive description illustrates the relevance of programmes such as the social internship week and how enriching such experiences can be for young people who learn to respect others despite socio-cultural and economic differences.

MH emphasizes for the second time (see above group discussion) how much he liked the exercise 'Taking a Step Forward', which clarifies societal power relations and corresponding privileges and disprivileges:

MH: I thought the exercise with the steps was really something!

CB, on the other hand, says he was reminded of the training during a discussion with SD (also a participant who no longer lives in Berlin and thus was not present for the meeting in 2009).

CB: Well, once I was hanging out with SD, who was also there last year, and probably we were just talking and I had a bit of a flashback and I thought about it because we were talking about racism in America because of what's happening around and I remember that.

The above two examples may be very small points but reveal that particular sessions or aspects of the training are still present in their minds and are reflected upon when particular events within or outside their cities and countries occur.

I conclude by pointing out that although the group discussion and interviews were brief (it was by far the smallest group in 2009), their responses to the training are largely positive. Their spontaneous willingness to participate in a similar training in the future depicts an interest in the thematic and its goals of social equality and justice. Racism also emerges as a subject that needs to be addressed because in its implicit form, it works unwittingly and subtly, remaining in effect concealed and disregarded. We can also identify the relevance of addressing religion in school, where gaining (more) knowledge about Islam is imperative to challenging prevailing stereotypes and prejudices against Muslims. Finally, as for GPS, we note that extra-curricular activities such as the social internship week are vital to the holistic development of the students and complement sensitising trainings such as the Anti-Bias as they assist in challenging stereotypical images and prejudices.

7.4. Conclusion

The overall impression we receive on examining the feedback from the four groups is rather positive: The Anti-Bias training is perceived as a learning experience which is unique in its methodology and addresses themes that are rarely taken up, neither within nor outside the school. By and large, the BISS group stands out in so far as a number of students express their dissatisfaction with the training. This can be understood as the result of three interacting factors: The general mood of discontent at BISS, the compulsion to participate in the training and simultaneously the lack of prior information on the aims and goals of the training. All three aspects lead to the lack of motivation, and resultantly many did not benefit from the training, which correlates to van Dick et al.'s (2004, in Levy Paluck, 2006) postulation that unmotivated participants may not gain from the training. Yet, I am sceptical about an increased level of motivation even if consent were sought and prior information given, as this was indeed the case for the follow-up in 2009, where attitudes similar to those at the training can be identified. Nevertheless, their remarks emphasize the importance of getting young people interested in participating in such trainings and providing them prior information on it. Moreover, two significant suggestions emerged through students' feedback, which are of particular relevance to this target group: a) using more creative methods and b) shortening the duration of the training hours per day.

In the subsequent year, 2009, the group discussions and interviews demonstrate a similar yet different picture among these groups. For the most part, it is again BISS that stands out and student narrations do not, in fact, correspond to their evaluation at the end of the training in 2008. Three students in particular explain that the training was useful in making them aware of their prejudices or in initiating change. The latter refers particularly to the only 'black' student in the group who continues to struggle against racist comments in school. It is clear that implicit racism is a problem at BISS, but it is not perceived as such neither by the students nor the teaching staff; the head teacher of the secondary school states that there is no targeted racism in the school. Yet, the experiences of UC and her feelings of exclusion and unease are very real and serve to essentialise her 'black' body. This highlights the importance of addressing racism and, as one BISS student explains, gender and homosexuality. Significantly, as a student of JBPS argues, racism continues to exist, though subtle, coercive and unwitting, and should therefore be thematised in all schools.

The follow-up at JBPS is equally brief but far more positive than at BISS. The students explain that the training was a learning experience which stayed with them at a subconscious level. There have been discussions at school or with classmates and friends, as well as incidents which not only reminded them of the themes discussed during the training but also led them to intervene when discrimination took place. Moreover, as pointed out by one student, misconceptions about Islam make it imperative to discuss Islam in particular and religion in general in school to counter faulty information and clarify misunderstandings. Moreover, we find that performative political actions such as the reinscription of 'nigga' in hip hop are not understood as such by teachers or not grasped as examples that elaborate and promote deconstructive thinking. Indeed, the work of deconstruction is possibly beyond the skills and capacities of most teachers, who, as we observed with reference to JBPS, cannot effectively moderate such discussions without them taking on an unconstructive turn. On the other hand, programmes such as the social internship week offered at JBPS assist in bringing young people closer to a reality vastly different from their own, serving not only to complement training strategies like the Anti-Bias, but also to instil a more sensitive, respectful interaction and environment among students and staff members in school.

The trainings in Bombay take on a different meaning, become more real and relevant for the students of MEWS and GPS in light of the terrorist attacks of November 26, 2008. In fact, these attacks served to test how and the extent to which the Anti-Bias approach functions and counters prejudices. The attacks led students of both MEWS and GPS to experience feelings of rage and correspondingly to find someone to blame. In both groups, the discussions focused on terrorism and Pakistan. For MEWS, we see implicit prejudices against Muslims which are recognised as they negotiate their way through conflicting discourses in the city and country. A number of students of MEWS admit to having prejudices against Muslims (which they had denied during the training). Although students of GPS explain that they have stereotypes about Muslims, there is one student who is well-informed about the precepts of Islam and sees only united action as the way to counter terrorism, i.e. working together with Muslims. Another admits to her prejudices against the people of Pakistan and yet she is well aware that they are wrong. This corresponds to the Anti-Bias approach, which acknowledges that awareness of one’s prejudices leads to a more constructive and respectful interaction with those constituted as ‘others’. The reflection that the discussion itself enabled, illustrates the importance of addressing events that shape the mind-sets of the vast majority in a country. As one student of MEWS argues, post-attacks there are so many people disbursing prejudices against Muslims that it is difficult not to learn them. Such an environment demands the opportunity for young people to reflect on and discuss such issues in-depth in order to address their fears and simultaneously counter dominant discourses. The individual interviews with members of both groups show that many of these young people perceive a change in their perceptions and attitudes and have taken small steps to combat social injustice. At MEWS, we also observe an escalation of conflicts with teachers, where the rebellion of students against authority figures demonstrates the agency they take on and the process of change they initiate in school.

The curricular and extra-curricular activities offered at GPS complement not only the Anti-Bias training but also enable a critical self-reflection and fruitful interaction. As such, it is at GPS and JBPS that the schools' philosophies promoting anti-racism and diversity are mirrored in their programmes and activities. Such programmes as the social internship week (at JBPS) and Seeds of Peace (at GPS) bring young people in contact with different realities and serve to sensitise them to differences. The lack of such activities at MEWS and BISS is reflected in the existing problems of (racist) bullying and conflicts with teachers. It is predominantly the lack of respect for difference that is perceived most strongly at BISS, but also at MEWS.

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the semi-structured style of interviewing adopted meant that students were asked few leading questions relating to the categories race, religion, and gender and sexuality. Thus, they were allowed to talk about that which they considered important and top-of-mind. One of the outcomes of such an approach was that the students in Bombay focused predominantly on religion, thus Muslims and the terrorist acts, and on the lower classes; and in Berlin, predominantly on race and oppression of Muslims. Only one student at BISS emphasizes the need for sensitising trainings on gender and homosexuality. Apart from this single exception, none of the participants (of all four groups) bring up or discuss the subject of gender and sexuality. This might imply that gender is not a significant category for the students and also that perceptions relating to gender have remained unchanged, particularly seen in light of their narrations and SI questionnaire responses during the training in 2008 (presented in chapter six). This reaffirms the urgent need and importance of conducting gender-focused Anti-Bias trainings in schools.

The Anti-Bias approach provides alternative learning to oppressive dominant discourses, which, as we have observed in numerous cases, serves to make them aware of their prejudices and the disparity between their personal standards and behaviours. This awareness, correlating with former prejudice research, appears to have motivated many of them to consciously control the automatic activation of stereotypical responses and bring about positive change in behaviour patterns. That they make connections between the change they perceive within themselves, the concrete actions and interventions they have undertaken in their daily lives and the Anti-Bias training illustrates that the latter has been effective in penetrating their consciousness and in initiating change in the perceptions and behaviours of many of them.

There are instances where it can be argued that students' express certain opinions (e.g. awareness of prejudices) based on the perceived expectations of the interviewer and the latter's authority. Drawing on a poststructural approach, I do not seek absolute truths and make no final interpretation, rather I understand students' opinions on change or prejudices as representations of how they perform and negotiate their identities at a particular time. Similarly, although it can be argued that testing change is difficult (as change can be a result of growing up, of maturity and/or a natural individual development), it is both the theory of performativity and the psychological framework that allow us in different ways to examine and understand change within students. Thus, the theoretical framework, presented in chapter two, which combines insights from psychological, structural and poststructural theories, has made possible a more comprehensive analysis of student narrations: Psychological theories allow us to understand the functioning of prejudices and stereotypes, and the process of individual change initiated through the Anti-Bias approach and training; structural theories allow us to examine how the process of 'othering, intersectionality and structural discrimination operate; and the theory of performativity allows us to explore oppressive discourses and the way they shape identities, subjectivities and interaction. We are able to observe how these young people perform their identities in the denials and reenactments of their dependency on power. We also understand power as productive, since students' reiterative performance of norms and discourses opens up their agency, which we see many of them grasp, bringing about change and transformation in small ways in their lives and lived environments, as well as the agency to resist the message of the Anti-Bias training. Bringing together these three different theoretical paradigms has, as addressed in this chapter, brought forth tensions. However, adopting a poststructural approach which challenges essentialism, notions of truth, authenticity and final interpretations and supports plurality and difference (Peters & Burbules, 2004), makes it possible to avoid fixing identities as in psychological theories and to understand power in its productive form and not just as oppressive as in structural theories. I would therefore conclude that combining these theories has been a successful and productive way of analysing students' representational practices in this study.

Chapter eight:

Process of change: Analysis of Findings

8.1. Introduction

The previous two chapters lay out the narrations and narrative strategies of students in their representation of difference and the process of change they describe in their resistance to oppressive discursive practices. In this chapter, I discuss the findings of my study based on what has been laid out in the above-mentioned chapters and examine them in light of the goals of the Anti-Bias training described in chapter three. I analyse the findings of my study, which I will show legitimise the need for and the effectivity of the Anti-Bias approach and training. The basis of my argument is that all Anti-Bias trainings are situations of learning – learning about the processes of prejudices and discrimination and learning to curb the expression of prejudice and reduce discrimination and oppression. My study like former studies has shown that prejudices, particularly implicit prejudices, are hard to dislodge and that negative implicit attitudes linger on even when social norms change and direct one to adopt objective, egalitarian attitudes (Dovidio, 2001: 839), because objective responses imply overcoming years of exposure to stereotypical and prejudiced information (Devine & Plant, 2002: 835). This can be understood as the performing of discourses that predate subjects (Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004). If implicit prejudice or discursive performativity is so persistent, I ask, can it be undermined by a single two-day training? This leads first and foremost to the question of identifying whether an awareness of and learning about prejudices and discrimination firstly takes place, and if not, what hinders it, how it is possibly differently weighed down in the different groups. Secondly, crucial is the examination of the extent to which the knowledge or skills gained during the training are implemented in daily life practices. This is analysed by examining how the young people of this study negotiate dominant discourses, thus the shifting and dynamic nature of their identities and subjectivities. The discussion on identities and suggestions for effective Anti-Bias work can assist practitioners in the field and teachers and pedagogues to adapt their perceptions of students, which I argue will positively influence their interaction with students and the policies and programmes conceptualised, organised and conducted for them.

In discussing the findings of my study, I cite excerpts of student narrations presented previously (in greater detail) in chapters six and seven. I locate my findings within the scope of the Anti-Bias approach and methodology which I illustrate encourages and facilitates an agency in their reiterative performance of identity, initiating a process of change. I consider the adaptability of the Anti-Bias methodology to the two cities of Bombay and Berlin and offer suggestions for improving the effectivity of approach and training with particular reference to this target group.

8.2. Anti-Bias: Initiating a process of change

As has been illustrated, many of the narrations of the students during the trainings within all four groups indicate the automatic activation of stereotypes, implicit and explicit prejudices and at times even discriminatory practices. The evaluation of the trainings by the students reveals that most of them shared a common goal in their motivation to participate: Learning about culture, prejudices and discrimination and enhancing intercultural and teamwork skills. They thus display their desire to incorporate an appreciation of cultural diversity in their own lives both at an interpersonal and structural level. This means that participants seek knowledge in an effort to bring about change and transformation. ‘Making Diversity a Reality’, as the trainings of this study were called, addressed the need to alter perceptions, to counter the various forms of oppression in society and promote inclusion. Accordingly, the approach comprised all forms of bias and discrimination which makes it possible to discuss socio-economic, cultural and historical hierarchies and power relations, in effect, imbalances in power in order to tackle discrimination and oppression effectively. Addressing societal power relations draws attention to the marking of certain positions or identities and illustrates the interplay of these positions. For example, ‘black’ women are targets not only of racism, but also sexism and classism. Similarly, homosexuality and racism must be addressed simultaneously as access to opportunities differs for gay and lesbian people of colour. This brings to our notice that it is not possible to address one form of oppression or discrimination and exclude another, as they are all interlinked in people’s experiences of domination and oppression (see chapter two for an elaboration on the concept of intersectionality). With this objective in mind, the trainings of my study ‘Making Diversity a Reality’ were conceptualised on the basis of the four goals of the Anti-Bias Approach (see also chapter three on the Anti-Bias approach):

1. Examining the constructedness of identity
2. Critical self-reflection on stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination
3. Generating empathy
4. Ability to take action and change inequitable practices

In chapter three, I presented the process and flow of the trainings based on these four goals. Below, I discuss these goals in light of students' narrations to examine the extent to which the respective trainings enabled learning and its impact on the daily lives of the students. For this, I discuss through the first goal how students in some ways negotiate their identities, and show through all four goals how the Anti-Bias approach and methodology helps to initiate a process of individual change and transformation. It should be noted that the analysis of the section 'examining the constructedness of identity" is based on a poststructuralist Butlerian approach, and the analysis of the other three sections is largely based on psychological theories of prejudice and prejudice reduction. I have chosen certain narratives previously presented and elaborately described in chapters six and seven. I am aware that the selective presentation of narratives is problematic as it could be construed as an attempt to pick out only that which affirms the aims of my study. However, it is difficult to present all the narratives again without considerably extending the length of my dissertation. Importantly, I pick out not just positive examples proclaiming the success of my project but also describe that which has been problematic and not functioned as anticipated.

8.2.1. Constructedness of identity

In the previous two chapters we have seen the impact essentialising discourses have on young people's identities. My purpose was not to fix identities or even the narrative patterns of students in any way, rather to view both as evolving and shifting over time and within given contexts. The conflicting narratives that the young people often use to position themselves as they negotiate through available discourses points to the fluid and shifting nature of their identities. Such negotiation suggests a performance of the self – performance not just of their own identities but also of identities onto bodies of others in school and in society. We therefore observe them not as possessing but constantly developing, continuously in the process of becoming but never completely being (Butler, 2004).

The exercise ‘Identity Molecules’ illustrates that students begin to recognise that each individual’s identity is made up of affiliations and belongings to various different groups or social categories, some of which might conflict with others. This approach destabilises conceptions of natural, stable and fixed identities and contributes to the deconstruction of difference and dominance. Students of all four groups see their identities as changing and fluid, as one MEWS student says, “*Identity changes with time, depending on the molecules*”. Here the category religion which plays a powerful role in their day-to-day lives is seen as a static and non-changing factor by the students of the Bombay groups, for example, one MEWS student claims, “*The unchangeable molecule for me would be religion*”. Yet, not all students in Bombay – more particularly those at GPS – have the same intense feelings for their religion, where one in fact renounces religion as she believes it to be a major cause of conflicts between communities, “*[N]ow I don’t really follow any particular religion […] because according to me actually that’s the thing that has created all these fights and stuff.*” Her statement reflects Hall’s (1996: 5-6) postulation that, “identities are points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us”. Accordingly, religious identity is also a temporary attachment to a certain discursive position, which, in the process of performing and negotiating ‘othering’ discourses, alters not only the students’ identification with religion but also their understanding of religion.

Between the demands for conformity to figures of authority (in school) or dominant oppressive norms and discourses, the personal, internal ways the students think of, define and represent themselves emerges their agency. Identity is thus the intersection of constraint and agency or as Butler (2004) proposes, “a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint” (p. 1). This means that these young people have no free will, no autonomous subjectivity – they are governed and thus also constrained by discursive practices that predate them (Butler, 1993). Yet, if we understand identities as points of temporary attachments to subject positions constructed by discourses (Hall, 1996: 5-6), and that these attachments are produced through the working of power, then power is not just what the students depends on for their existence but also what they oppose in becoming adult subjects (Butler, 1997a: 2). It is therefore the performative nature of identity that opens up their agency. The charged and tense environment in Bombay post terrorist acts of November 2008 serves to illustrate the agency of the Bombay student groups as they negotiate history, culture and power and create new understandings and meanings of the enduring Hindu-Muslim conflict: “*You can say since the time Pakistan was officially made […] we’ve had this one competition or race or rivalry* *that I wouldn't say is healthy."* And then, "*They […] burnt a whole train with Muslims inside; they actually carried torches to houses where Muslims lived. That is against us but then where does it end."* And finally, "*You cannot always say that if India has had a terrorism attack, it doesn't always mean that they are Muslims and if they are Muslims also, it does not really mean that it is because of some religious thing*" (MEWS). The discussion which commences with rivalry between the two countries ends with the suggestion that religion is not necessarily the cause of the conflict between Hindus and Muslims. This clearly denotes not just their negotiation of discourses but also a transformation among the students which, as Butler (1993) posits, has the potential for political resignification. Similarly, the students of MEWS resist the differential treatment by teachers, "*We rebelled against our teachers".* As students, as younger people, they are subject to conformity and compliance in school, which they have been performing over a long period of time, (re)producing and reinforcing the norms and hierarchies of the school and educational system, which as social constructions are not fixed and final. The fact that they cannot be fully established or proven opens up possibilities of agency and resistance, which these students grasp in their rebellion against authority, inevitably shaping future interactions between students and teachers.

The glaringly obvious exception (in comparison to the other schools) is the Berlin International Secondary School. Whilst one could argue that it is not clear to what extent the young people of the Berlin International Secondary School take on agency and resist dominant discourses – some express that the training was not useful –, their conflicting narrations in which they claim there is no racism in school, yet describe small attempts to intervene in situations of (racist) bullying and jokes, demonstrates that the training has somewhat penetrated their consciousness. Their attempts at intervention appear to be largely unsuccessful, for example one student says, "[…] *I say 'hey that's really racist'. They say 'ya, it's a joke,'*" another at BISS explains, "*I usually tell them to stop but you don't really know if they're listening or not."* Yet, these examples suggest that some of them do try to challenge racist practices, whether this is a result of the training we cannot conclude. Indeed, their shifting and at times contradictory narratives suggest that they are negotiating dominant norms and oppressive discourses. That they cannot or do not want to acknowledge the existence of implicit racism in school and their anti-racist positioning and interventions remain ineffective can be linked to the tendency in Germany to equate racism with neo-Nazism and right-wing violence, which serves to conceal the existence, cause and effect of everyday racism, witting or unwitting. Secondly, the school offers no space for resistance to be seen or to take on a positive, transformative form. The statement of a student at BISS, "*I just thought about the workshop, how the school says it's bad and everything but everything still happens and they don't control it and I think people should know it is a bad thing,"* indicates that the school, like most schools, has an anti-racist, anti-bullying policy but no corresponding actions or measures in place to effectively combat them. Interventions by students lack conviction as they are not supported by the school and thus also remain ineffective. The mood of discontent that appears to pervade BISS, the lack of a strong positioning against racism identified in the lack of or inadequate actions that challenge racist bullying, the unheard or disregarded voices of the students, the inability of teachers to resolve conflicts and sometimes, in fact, the latter's unwitting(?) perpetuation of racist discourses create an atmosphere within which students may recognise the functioning of racism but do not wish to acknowledge its existence. Such an atmosphere is not conducive to respectful interaction and serves, as we have observed, to maintain oppressive relations in school with the result that some students exclude themselves from the majority. As one of them (BISS) explains, "*I know it had played a small role in me. Control myself and keep a distance away from people…"* The targets of bullying and racist jokes automatically become the 'others' in school, and they in turn learn their 'otherness' ("*then you start pissing people off so that they start hating you,* [….] *to scare them so that they shouldn't really annoy you*") and begin to see themselves in essentialised terms ("*My identity will not change*"). We observe in particular two students – one from BISS and the other from JBPS – whose bodies and identities are marked as 'other' and different – the former at school and the latter in the wider social context. This does not mean that the former experiences no marking of her body outside the school or that the latter has no such experiences in school. It is very likely that their experiences overlap within the school and outside. However, whereas it may be possible to take on a certain agency within school, their agency is limited in the broader social arena where structures of hierarchy and dominance can be overpowering, particularly for a young person. We see this in the example provided by the student of the James Benning Public School whose body is marked time and again with the word 'nigger'. Whereas the perpetuation of racist discourses leads to the expulsion of the perpetrator from the student's former school, he can only react in the face of discrimination in public life. In fact, he justifies his action against racist comments in the Berlin underground, "*We burst in just like, not to beat them up but to separate them,"* because he is possibly aware that overtly aggressive acts might only serve to further reinforce ascribed 'black behaviour'. The student of BISS grasps an agency to challenge racists teasing and comments in school. She has learnt her 'otherness' and essentialised identity which she describes during the training as non-changing, “*Mine will never change,*” and even in the group discussion a year later, *“I didn’t change at all.”* Yet, in the one-on-one interview she indirectly admits to change within herself, *“I have learnt to control my anger, I guess, but not really but I’m getting there.” … “I know it had like played like a small role in me. Control myself and keep a distance away from people…”* The powerful processes that produce and stabilise cultural superiority and dominance mean that her agency too is limited. On the one hand, she actively challenges racist teasing: *“I told Mrs. S if she doesn’t do anything about it, then I, me and the embassy, would do something about it because it’s not good for kids to be doing that to another kid.”* On the other hand, it has negative implications for her, the school and society at large because she restrains her interaction with many students in school.

A number of the young people of my study grasp an agency to initiate a process of change in their lives and those of others. Their resistance to oppressive norms and hierarchies aligns with the notion of performativity which Butler theorises for gender and for the disempowered in their citational performance. However, power is experienced differently within different contexts, situations and given times, and some of these young people are not equally disempowered at all times and in all situations. They wield power in other contexts and situations. Similarly, even some of the seemingly more privileged young people of the four groups have to contend with disprivilege relating to their age or gender. The notion of performativity has thus allowed us to identify how it is through day-to-day practices, jokes, interactions, games and mundane activities that students come to be performatively constituted. It is also through these routine performative actions that discourses are produced and reproduced. This has enabled the possibility of exploring in this study the productive power of discourse in relation to the production of subjects, which supports the agency of the student-subject. Performativity directs attention to the resistance and shifting of discursive meaning to constitute the self and ‘others’ anew and differently. In the end, the researcher identifies no ‘true’ or fixed identities of students, but rather constantly shifting, negotiated positions and representations.

In the following sections, I illustrate that the Anti-Bias places an alternative discourse at the disposal of these young people to assist them in resisting oppressive discourses and adopting attitudes and behaviours that are more objective, just and equitable.

8.2.2. Critical self-reflection on stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination

Anti-Bias involves the recognition of biases because it is based on the view that everyone has stereotypes and prejudices as, "they are part of how the human mind works in the context of a culture including stereotypical representations" (Quillian, 2006: 320). However, most people are not completely aware of their prejudices which arise instinctively and automatically (Dovidio et al., 1997). As one student of MEWS explains, "*I personally don't have grudges or prejudices against anyone even though thoughts always remain but those thoughts don't reflect onto actions. I wouldn't really show attitude to anyone on purpose. I mean it may just happen but it's not what I feel.*" The contradiction in the above narrative reveals, as posited by Dovidio (2001: 838), the conflict between the student's denial of prejudice and his underlying unconscious negative feelings, which as he explains are unintentionally activated. Accordingly, one of the first steps is to make the students aware of their prejudices.

For the most part, we identify implicit prejudices in the students' narrations with reference to the themes race, gender and sexuality, and the Muslims. Whereas most of them were initially unaware of their prejudices, the evaluation at the end of each of the four trainings and more importantly the group discussions and interviews a year later show that they have a greater awareness of their prejudices. Their narrations disclose also the usage of stereotypes, which are often automatically activated in the presence of the particular attitude object or subject. For example, one of them at MEWS states, "*When I see people on motorcycles, with chains and rastians, they look like gangs. You just assume that they are into fighting.*" One from JBPS: "*You also judge by nationality because say someone comes from Islam or an Arabic country and* [they are] *like terrorists and everything just because they're from there.*" And yet another from GPS: "*We have a stereotype like all Muslims are terrorists*". Others attribute stereotypes and prejudices to others in society. Yet their narrations, for example, "*My driver is a Muslim so he's not scared, they won't kill him,*" and the other student's response, "*But you aren't a Muslim!*" (MEWS) depicts both their implicit prejudices. They are, as Dovidio et al. posit (1997) "overlearned automatic responses that *can be unlearned*" (p. 535, my emphasis). The awareness of the processes of stereotyping and prejudices implies a critical reflection and analysis of institutionalised oppressive ideologies, which is an important step in helping them unlearn patterns of responses and behaviour and adopt more egalitarian ones. Such self-reflection, critical analysis of discursive practices are identified in the discussions the following year, for example, in the Bombay groups, in which some students acknowledge that their prejudices towards Muslims are erroneous, *“For me, I have the prejudices but I know they’re wrong. They’re there in the subconscious but you also know that what you’re thinking is completely stupid”* (GPS). As previously discussed, the acts of terrorism in Bombay provided fertile ground for the proliferation and reaffirmation of prejudices. That the young people of my study are able to admit to underpinning prejudices (and that they are wrong) within such a climate denotes their negotiation of and resistance to oppressive discourses. A student of MEWS explains, “*I would say it is again a manipulating game,*” manipulation he suggests by “*the majority*” (MEWS) of which he is part. This demonstrates that the awareness of prejudices and inherent plays for power leads to a critical reflection on oppressive discursive practices and the adoption of more egalitarian attitudes.

The evaluation by all four groups reveals that the module on discrimination was a major learning element of the training and helped them reflect on their differential treatment and practices vis-à-vis other students in their jokes, comments, bullying and/or games. Participants explain*: “I didn’t know that I was actually discriminating people by making fun of them”* (MEWS). “*We also realised the different types of discrimination, it’s not only racial…”* (GPS), and “*It was very good because we never discuss such issues. We got to know our friends better and we realise how much we discriminate”* (BISS). Nevertheless, some of students of the BISS group stated in the 2009 group discussion that they did not need the training and that it was not useful as they are not racist. A few contradict such statements in the subsequent interviews. The extent of sensitisation with reference to this group is therefore questionable. Apart from the BISS group, we can conclude that training has been a crucial step in countering discrimination, i.e. not just in making students understand the complexities of discrimination but also generating empathy for its targets, which I elaborate further in the subsequent section.

8.2.3. Generating empathy

The exercise ‘Experiencing discrimination’ was not only a reflection on students’ experiences of discrimination and their discrimination of others, it also enabled them to reflect on feelings when discrimination occurs. Many of them, we have observed, feel guilt and regret on realising that their equitable standards are not aligned with their behaviour (cf. Dovidio et al., 1997). What is stake here is precisely the question of how to possibly make these young people link their personal guilt, regret, grief to their practices in relation to ‘others’ not only in school but importantly also in the wider social context. This, I argue, is to some extent the path taken by a number of the students of this study, for example, one of them explained, “*There is a very insulting game regarding about three to four people one of them was me, this guy and this other guy and this other guy. Okay basically, we were supposedly the Brahmins and the other was the Shudra on the end […]. I have been in his place* [the boy who plays the Shudra]. *[…] Initially it used to be bad but once it got common, it didn’t really make a difference” (*GPS). The student realises that such games are hurtful. It is this realisation that produces empathy for others, which we identify in the same student in the interview a year later, *“I’ve become more sensitive to some extent to other people. Initially […] I used to joke around, even though I didn’t mean it in a bad way. I realised that someone might not take it always in the right spirit and all”* (GPS). We identify in the subsequent example conscious efforts to suppress and reduce the immediate activation of prejudicial responses in relation to the marginalised, “*Before the workshop, even really small stuff, you see a beggar on the road and you’re like ewoo. I guess after the workshop, you don’t think like that…*” (GPS). Thus, we see that feelings of guilt and generating empathy for others can induce people to control stereotypical responses and behave in a more favourable and equitable manner (cf. Dovidio et al., 1997).

8.2.4. Ability to take action and change inequitable practices

One of the final exercises supporting the discussion on discrimination is ‘First Steps of Action’, during which students brainstorm and develop strategies of intervention using as examples either their own experiences of discrimination or those they had observed. Very often people do nothing and are silent bystanders to discrimination and oppression because they feel timid or powerless. This exercise is meant to empower them with ideas, options and tools that they could use when confronted with discrimination. A student of JBPS explains in the evaluation questionnaire, “*I really liked it as it taught me how to deal with the discrimination I go through or my friends go through. Instead of just ignoring the situation, I can actually do something about it now.”* Moreover, the effectivity of the Anti-Bias process and of this particular method is revealed in the students’ descriptions (in 2009) of how they intervened to a larger or smaller extent in oppressive situations. These interventions include standing up to teachers, parents or grandparents (MEWS) or as one student (GPS) describes, "*I sat with her* [maid's daughter] *over summer, […] and taught her to read and write and now she's doing night school and she's also working,"* or another (BISS),*"There was a point where I stepped in for AA because it was also about her religion,"* and yet another (JBPS), *"I told them not to discriminate him because of where he's from. It was not serious but you could still notice they were discriminating him only because where he was from."*

All these examples and others provided in chapter seven reveal that the students have grasped agency within their individual spheres of influence to resist and challenge oppression. Even a few students of the Berlin International Secondary School, who claim to see nothing useful in the training, narrate incidents where they attempt to intervene, albeit unsuccessfully. The student who experienced (racist) teasing at BISS explains that she thought back to the workshop in order to reflect on how she should deal with the situation. Her descriptive narrative (BISS) is a poignant reminder of her continued experiences of racism and discrimination: *"So that really made me think about the workshop whether I should just tell them what I think of them because if I took all that anger inside me I would've probably gone like, 'you whites, you think you're all better and you think you're all rich' but basically there was no use of that. That's why I went to talk to Ms. S…"* Others express recognition of their former negative perceptions of people of the lower classes or Muslims, and attribute, in part, their openness and change in perceptions and attitudes to the training.

Anti-Bias, like any attempt at prejudice reduction – as elaborated in chapter two, is a multi-step process which involves an awareness of prejudices, followed by a conscious decision to respond without prejudice and entails an internalisation of egalitarian standards into one's self concept. The final step is to align automatically activated responses with one's egalitarian standards (Devine & Plant, 2002: 835-836). The internationalisation of egalitarian standards and alignment of responses to egalitarian standards is strengthened by the brainstorming on options for action that the students undertake during the trainings. The development of concrete steps one can take when observing or experiencing discrimination serves, as I have illustrated, not only to reduce and restrain students' inequitable practices but also to empower them to be proactive, to intervene and bring about change in their lives and lived environments.

Change, as I have explained in the preceding chapter, is no doubt partly the result of an agency students grasp in their performance of norms and discursive practices and the process of growing up and maturing. In their narrations and examples (as we have seen above and in chapter seven), they make direct links to the Anti-Bias training and/or mention exercises or inputs that stood out for them and/or which they discussed and reflected upon since the training, for example, as one student of JBPS expresses, *“I thought the exercise with the steps was really something”* (JBPS). Furthermore, their depiction of perceived change in their perceptions and attitudes and descriptions of concrete actions reveal that a process of change has in fact been initiated through the Anti-Bias training.

8.3. Suggestions for a more effective Anti-Bias training

The previous section depicts that the Anti-Bias approach and training enables learning which is implemented by many of the students of this study in their daily life practices within and outside school. Anti-Bias becomes thus a powerful political educational strategy in bringing about social change and transformation. The group at the Berlin International Secondary School however stands apart from the other three groups, providing pointers about what hinders the successful implementation of the Anti-Bias training and its application in daily life. I commence my suggestions by critically reflecting on the Anti-Bias approach, and drawing insight from the four trainings I conducted, I discuss the gaps, weaknesses and limitations of the approach. Based on my observations during the trainings and the student groups’ feedback and recommendations, I then explain how the approach and implementation of the training and its methodology can be improved, as well as related practical issues and concerns:

Firstly, although intersectionality is inherent to the Anti-Bias approach that addresses all kinds of discrimination, the approach does not allow a comprehensive elaboration of the interconnected of identity categories when discrimination occurs. The interplay of categories can be emphasized and introduced through examples by way of the ‘Model of Discrimination’ (see chapter three). However, a detailed conceptualisation of how different identity components conjoin to produce identity and importantly, as Rosenstreich (2007: 152) explains, the interrelations between different categories of difference and various forms of discrimination is extremely difficult. In order to exemplify the complexity of the interlocking axes of power, a presentation and explanation will remain insufficient if they are not supported by practical, pedagogical exercises that are capable of illustrating the same.

Secondly, although the Anti-Bias approach clearly works towards the de-homogenising of binary gender and its attributes ‘male’ and ‘female’, it offers little scope (beyond addressing this in a discussion) to question gender concepts, i.e. identities that move beyond normative heterosexuality. Thus, inequalities between men and women can be addressed but if gender concepts are not challenged, the approach and training simultaneously reinforce and reproduce dominant (heterosexual) gender norms, which will continue to lead to and legitimise social exclusion.

Thirdly, drawing on poststructuralist deliberations, I would also like to problematise the fact that addressing and naming identity categories means labelling them, which in other words, means that a social reality with its differential power relations is being produced. The labelling of minority groups constructs minority groups who are then devalued. As Razack (1998 in Rosenstreich, 2007: 140) argues, ‘othering’ is closely associated with inferiorising. Thus, even though the Anti-Bias training is based on the practical experiences of participants, the training material provided inadvertently determines social reality and thereby reinforces categories as natural and stable in the training. This is taken up and questioned during the individual exercises; nevertheless it serves to an extent to reproduce marked identities. This is naturally a problem faced not just by the approach and its methodology but by this study which names and labels (and which I have thematised in chapter one). So that such naming does not serve to limit and essentialise, it needs to be thematised time and again during trainings. Moreover, as a necessary evil, it is often not possible to avoid naming groups but this could perhaps be circumvented at a practical level, for example, by using visual media such as film clips that require participants to describe what they have viewed, what stood out for them, rather than presenting them with ready-made labels and categories. As such, the labelling and fixing will be inevitably done by the participants, not the trainers or training material. Therefore, as difficult as it is at a conceptual level to deal with such naming, we need to be creative and develop alternative practical ways to avoid the reproduction of marked identities by the trainers and training material.

Fourth, students’ concentration decreases as the training day proceeds which affects their active participation. As some students state in their evaluation, the number of hours per day should be shortened, i.e. instead of two days, the training could be lengthened to three days so that relevant themes are covered but the timings per day are reduced. This is easier said than done. Most schools have a rather tight and oftentimes rigid schedule due to the pressure of covering the assigned curriculum, which may make it difficult for them to integrate a three-day-training in their schedules. As explained in chapter five on methodology, receiving access to students even for a two-day-training was itself a long process, not without difficulties. Yet, taking into account the need for active participation, three days should be planned, discussed and negotiated with the school in question.

Fifth, energizers, i.e. brief games and exercises that restore energy levels, should be used consecutively following each exercise and/or after every break in the training. Likewise, although many students evaluate the methods used positively, in particular because they are interactive, it is necessary – as also mentioned by some students – to use as many creative methods as possible when working with a young target group. This is because the Anti-Bias approach requires cognitive mental processes involving thinking, reasoning, remembering, which is strenuous over a period of time particularly for young participants. As previously discussed, Anti-Bias is an open approach which encourages the use of methods not directly part of its methodology. My decision to use only Anti-Bias methods was based on the main aim of my study, i.e. testing the effectiveness of the approach, which would have proven difficult had I used methods from other approaches. Thus, the second day, comprising small group and plenary discussions, could have incorporated creative methods such as theatre performances and role plays. For discussing strategies of intervention, Forum Theatre[102] is an approach and method I would recommend because it is effective and makes learning creative and fun.

Sixth, participation of students should not be made compulsory or at least their consent should be sought. In the case of the Berlin International Secondary School, parents' consent was sought, but not that of the attending students. This affected their motivation and hindered active participation, becoming the justification for disrupting the training and its atmosphere. One could argue however, that seeking consent may mean that one is then only 'preaching to the converted', to those students who already have equitable standards and values and are open to incorporating cultural diversity in their lives. This may be true, but my study reveals, corresponding to former research (see Dovidio, 2001), that implicit prejudices get unintentionally activated due to overlearning and habitual reactions *even in those who may*

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[102] Forum Theatre or Theatre of the Oppressed was developed by Brazilian theatre directed Augusto Boal who was greatly influenced by the work of theorist and educator Paulo Freire..

project equitable standards and give their consent to participate or those who may be aware of their prejudices. The training creates awareness about power relations and inequalities in society and reveals how the students themselves are implicated in these processes. As we have seen, such awareness can motivate them to consciously suppress and reduce the expression prejudices. I therefore argue that consent does not necessarily imply that they do not use stereotypes and prejudices to inform their daily life practices. Furthermore, it is difficult to say whether in the particular case of the Berlin International Secondary School group consent would have increased motivation and active participation. The general mood of discontent and implicit racism at the school indicates the urgent need for focused and long-term actions and strategies, thereby also a stronger stand on racism and bullying in school than currently exists. The school must integrate activities that promote the holistic development of the students, i.e. turn their policies into practices. This means curricular and/or extra-curricular methods that involve critical self-reflection and promote respectful interaction and inclusion. It is the lack of such initiatives that distinguishes the Berlin International Secondary School and the Mumbai English World School from the James Benning Public School and the Global Paradigm School. Such programmes facilitate not only students' interest and motivation in addressing prejudices, cultural difference, discrimination and oppression, but also help to create an environment that supports the sustenance of alternate behaviour patterns and egalitarian practices after the training. Indeed, students will then have the potential to become multipliers of change within and outside the school.

Seventh, we identify the importance of providing students with information prior to the training, which is linked to seeking their consent. If we want them to deal constructively and respectfully with difference, we must grant them respect by providing relevant information, sparking interest and even convincing them to participate. Except for the group at the Berlin International Secondary School, the other three groups received prior information either in person from the trainer or from the teacher who sought their consent to participate. Although the task of providing information could be undertaken by either of the aforementioned, I would recommend that as far as possible it is the trainer who provides this information as this first contact enables not only the provision of information and necessary clarifications but also simultaneously tells the trainer something about the participants, the make-up of the group, their level of enthusiasm or lack thereof, which could prove useful when conceptualising and adapting the process and methods of the training.

Eight, we also observe the need to conduct focused actions or programmes on the themes of gender and racism in all the schools. A general Anti-bias training sensitises, creates awareness and addresses all the different forms of oppressive practices in society. However, this makes it difficult due to the lack of time to address in-depth any one particular form of oppression. A gender approach can be integrated into an Anti-Bias training, which, as discussed above, should also question heterosexual gender concepts. Importantly, when themes in need of reflection and discussion are identified, they should be communicated to the school and followed-up with focused trainings or actions that sensitise youth in these specific areas.

Ninth, I would like to emphasize the importance of adapting both the process and methods of the training to the cultural and socio-political context of the group in question. This was undertaken for my trainings and enabled the possibility of discussing socially relevant issues specific to the groups. If role plays and other aspects are carefully adapted, the Anti-Bias approach and methodology, as we see in this study, can be effectively implemented in different cities, continents, contexts and among different target groups. The using of 'roles' in various exercises once again brings us to the problematic stereotypes these roles reinforce. I offer one suggestion for consideration relating to stereotypical roles provided in the training material: Instead of offering role cards to participants, for example, for exercises such as 'Take A Step Forward' and 'Starting Over', which are stereotypical representations and serve to reinforce stereotypes, one could have participants randomly select various different parts of an identity and put together a role. Written on index cards, these identity parts can be placed in piles according to the different categories they belong to, for example, age, gender, migration background, appearance and ability/disability. A built-up identity is then randomly picked out by participants, and the privileges and opportunities or lack thereof will signify a hand of cards dealt by faith. This will ensure that stereotypes are not offered or reinforced by the trainer(s) or the process of the training. Simultaneously, it would emphasize not only the diversity of identity but also how various identity parts can be hurtful and problematic for people. Inevitably, even these composite roles will be ascribed 'natural' characteristic by participants, which can then be taken up, exposed and addressed.

Tenth and last, even though I did not have two trainers for the trainings of my study (see chapter three on the Anti-Bias approach for a more detailed discussion), I strongly recommend that two trainers – preferably of different backgrounds – conduct a training together as it enables greater support during the training not only because training programmes can be taxing for a single individual but also and quite simply because two heads mean two different perspectives and two different approaches which can positively influence the dynamics and functioning of the training. Importantly, two trainers may also be able to manage a group of young people more effectively, with fewer diversions and disruptions.

These suggestions emerge from the issues I was confronted with in this study and which I believe need to be considered, adopted and/or adapted as and where relevant when conceptualising and planning Anti-Bias or similar training programmes.

8.4. Conclusion

This chapter, like the previous two, demonstrates the effectivity of combining different theoretical paradigms in analysing student narrations. Psychological theories of prejudice have allowed us to observe the *unlearning* of prejudiced responses and the adoption of more positive, egalitarian attitudes and behaviour patterns. They have thus enabled an examination of the process of individual change. Poststructuralism and the notion of performativity have facilitated the understanding not only of the performative constitution of student-subject identities, but also of the agentive avenues of change taken by the students. By understanding the constitution of student-subjects as the effects of intersecting discourses, we have been able to understand, as Youdell (2006: 40) explains, “how markers such as race, gender, ability, sexuality, disability, social class come to be entangled with the sorts of learners that it is discursively possible, intelligible, for students to be− and how some students come to be impossible learners” (p. 40). For example, the group at the Global Paradigm School were formerly part of a parallel class and thus came to be labelled as parallel kids. Despite the fact that the parallel classes have long since been done away with, their learning ability is still questioned by former classmates, and by themselves. These students become impossible learners in their own eyes and in the eyes of others in that they perform this ascribed label, which is reflected in their expressed lack of confidence. We recognise this because a performative is “that discursive practice that enacts and produces that what it names” (Butler, 1993: 13). We are therefore able to understand each student as that which s/he is designated, and it is this designation that constitutes the subject as if s/he were already that ‘parallel student’. In the absence of the theory of performativity, the identities of these students would possibly have been construed as essential, stable, uniform and natural, and we might not have been able to see how students come to be performatively constituted through discursive practices and everyday routines. Importantly also, we might not have noticed or might have disregarded the small agentive courses of change the students initiate in their daily practices. This is because poststructural theory and performativity has helped us to identify agency, which as Hall (2006) denotes, requires us to think of the subject in a “new, displaced or decentred position within the paradigm” (p.2). It is this displaced or decentred understanding of the student-subject which offers us a new lens through which we are able to observe their agency.

The Anti-Bias approach is based on the principle that prejudices and discrimination are embedded in social structures, in which all individuals are (unwittingly) implicated. Although the approach and trainings cannot change social structures, focused trainings, as we have seen, can help individuals to *unlearn* patterns of behaviour emerging from oppressive structures. I argue that in the long-term individual change can and will also lead to changes in oppressive social systems and structures. The findings of my study emphasize that the Anti-Bias approach can be(come) a powerful political educational tool in bringing about social change and transformation. The approach provides non-formal alternative learning that assists students in grasping agency in their performance of social norms and discursive practices. Since their identities are not fixed, rather constantly evolving, it is at the interplay of structure and agency that there occurs a shift over time and context. Such a shift is supported by the awareness of their subliminal acceptance of social power and hierarchies, their appointed place in society vis-à-vis ‘others’ and inherent exclusions. As we have observed, the awareness of prejudices, feelings of empathy and guilt induce many of them to adopt more equitable attitudes and behaviours. When dominant norms are critically reflected upon and socially-produced knowledge constantly analysed, the functioning of hierarchies of power and social subordination and oppression is revealed. The numerous examples provided by the students of all four groups illustrate that the Anti-Bias has been effective in initiating a process of learning and change. Nonetheless, we observe each student at a different stage of prejudice reduction. One of the most challenging aspects of the approach is to understand oneself. The constant questioning of that which heavily influences us, which we are intimately familiar with is necessarily a life-long process. With a young target group, this means that a single focused training can, as we have observed, initiate change but sustaining this change requires long-term actions plans (e.g. supplementary trainings or related activities within and outside the classroom). For example, the group discussions in Bombay in 2009 make evident the need to provide students the opportunities to reflect on, discuss, debate and voice their opinions, concerns and feelings on important events such as the terrorist attacks. Such a discussion itself facilitates a questioning of the information (and its sources) widely disseminated to the public. Whether the change within students is temporary or ever-enduring depends on a combination of factors such as the internalisation of equitable standards, self-determination and motivation, the personal and social development of each individual over time and the environment within which s/he resides and works. This is why it is crucial at this important stage of development of young people's identities and subjectivities that the school fosters through ongoing curricular or extra-curricular activities an environment of respect for differences, of trust and inclusion, allowing the change within the students to take on a positive, transformative and sustainable form, for them and for society.

Chapter nine:
Final Conclusions

"To live is to live a life politically, in relation to power, in relation to others, in the act of assuming responsibility for a collective future." Judith Butler (2004: 226)

9.1. Introduction

This study offers insight into the functioning of an effective Anti-Bias training with young people. Using a poststructuralist theory to interpret the shifting nature of identities, I have argued that Anti-Bias initiates a process of change and transformation. The notion of performativity allows us to understand how 'othering' discourses impact on the identity of young people and their agency to negotiate and resist 'othered' identities performed onto them and their performance of essentialised identities onto others.

Ultimately, the question is how we can enable young people to expand the limits of the possible, the imaginable, the human in school and in the wider social context. The Anti-Bias approach and training is one manner of doing so, which as I have argued, should be considered as a position and space for alternative learning and for debate. My study therefore should be taken as an invitation to explore alternative ways to stretch the limits of the possible in our endeavour to make young people envision a world beyond oppressive discursive practices.

In this concluding chapter I ask: What can we learn as we proceed? I consider the practical implications of this study and explore spaces where the potential for reform and change lies in building socio-political consciousness among young people. Whilst addressing these issues, I take up time and again the role of the school in creating and fostering conditions for political education, for challenging oppression and dominance within and outside the school. What the school can, does or should do has been an important consideration in this study as it has been for intellectual debates related to diversity and anti-discrimination politics. I also consider whether the findings of this study are applicable beyond Bombay and Berlin, to other cities across the world. In the end, I explore the limits of my research, the questions that remain open and unresolved and point to the need for further research.

9.2. Implications for practice and policy

9.2.1. Identity

This study and many before have revealed the dangers and limitations of the notion of fixed and essentialised identities. If young people view and are viewed as having identities that are singular and unitary it is through subscription to oppressive discourses which are simultaneously constituted and reconstituted within and outside the school. An approach that "makes us see how realities to which we thought we were confined are not written in stone" (Butler, 2004: 29) serves to expands the limits of social constructions. It will enable that which is as yet considered impossible. The political challenge, as Youdell (2006: 38) argues, is to intercept ongoing performative constitutions in order to constitute students differently. By this, she means not only unsettling, displacing and reinscribing prevailing dominant discourses but also that those discourses which have been silenced and rejected are positioned and made meaningful in contexts from which they have been excluded. We have seen the usage of labels such as 'parallel kids', 'pansy', 'nerds', 'black slut' and 'lazy' by students of the four schools of my study. Youdell argues that such labels or positions should be made to mean differently which will also position students afresh with reference to institutions like the school, with learning and teachers. For this, Butler (2004) claims that

> it is important not only to understand how the terms of gender are instituted, naturalized, and established as presuppositional but to trace the moments where the binary system of gender is disputed and challenged, where the coherence of the categories are put into question, and where the very social life of gender turns out to be malleable and transformable (p. 216).

The agency that discursive performativity enables, the shifting of discourses and their meanings implies, explains Youdell, not only that discourses can be resisted but also that silenced discourses can be reinstituted and subjects can be constituted differently. If we take on such a theoretical position, then, argues Youdell, possibilities for transformation open up as the links between race, gender, religion and social class through ascribed 'natural' characteristics will be dislodged, which will influence inclusion and exclusion politics within and outside educational institutions and access to jobs and housing, as well as the experiences, capacities, ambitions and growth of individuals.

It is the notion of performativity that made it possible to address two aims of this study: a) identifying ways in which students of the four schools perpetuate structures of oppression, and b) evaluating the impact of the training on students' attitudes, perceptions and behaviour in the small agentive courses of action and change they initiate in their daily practices. The theory of performativity, I therefore argue, has great significance for schools and teachers in their daily practice as it has the potential to unsettle relationships of power and knowledge. Performativity unhinges the seemingly established relationship between students, the school as an institution, power and meaning, as it challenges existing constitutions of and by the student-subjects. This discloses its immense relevance for political education and action in education, as such changes within the school are likely to influence legislation and policy development processes. Equally crucial is that pedagogues and researchers take into account discursive performativity and agency when developing progressive actions in education.

9.2.2. The field of anti-bias and anti-discrimination trainings

The predominant aim of my study was to test the effectivity and adaptability of the Anti-Bias approach to different contexts and settings. As discussed in the preceding chapter, a single training can be seen to initiate change in the daily life and practices of its participants; many of the young people of my study have strongly recommended that 'bias-consciousness' trainings should be used to sensitise other students in school. Anti-discrimination measures that integrate the different forms of discrimination and oppression – racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, religious oppression, elitism, lookism – make it possible to illustrate the links of power between these forms of discrimination and can synergise the prevailing often isolated efforts at addressing discrimination (Reddy, 2005: 282). Although a single training can initiate change, anti-discriminatory efforts need to be part of an ongoing process which includes as participants both potential targets and oppressors. By this I mean, whether in Bombay, Berlin or elsewhere, the groups should not solely comprise the disempowered, as Reddy (2005: 282) suggests, "in the dubious guise of empowering them," nor merely the members of the majority, but members of both the majority and minorities. Moreover, the meetings in 2009 reveal the importance of holding follow-up trainings on issues of concern that arise during the training, for example, on gender and racism as my study illustrates, or meetings that allow students to reflect on and evaluate change in attitudes and behaviour. This will enable practitioners to evaluate the extent to which the approach and training has initiated change in perceptions and practices, providing insights useful to the further development of such training programmes for this particular and other target groups. In effect, I argue for practitioner's research, which I elaborate upon in the section below, for the development of the Anti-Bias approach, methodology and trainings. Anti-discrimination and 'bias-conscious' efforts should also be aimed at teachers in school whose subjectivities are also discursively constructed and who sometimes wittingly or unwittingly perpetuate racist and oppressive discourses in school. Such initiatives which address the school as a whole serve to create an environment of learning for all, where teachers and students learn from each other and critically reflect upon and challenge each other's biases, structures of dominance and oppressive discourses, together seeking alternative spaces and positions in the fight against oppression.

9.2.3. The school

Students from different religious groups, castes, ethnicities and gender are a reality in our schools and in society. It is therefore the task of the school to ensure that mutual learning is possible within school and also that students can (in the future) participate effectively in a multicultural society. Socio-political and cultural diversity must be reflected in learning, whether curricular or non-curricular, in keeping with the school's mission towards building political consciousness and a human rights education. This will ensure that young people learn not only to deal constructively with conflicts and differences but also become multipliers of diversity through active and positive interaction. Moreover, by strengthening social and intercultural competence and teamwork skills, the opportunities for young people in an increasingly globalised job market can be enhanced. It is therefore surprising that schools such as the Berlin International Secondary School and Mumbai English World School which follow an international study programme (the IB), which emphasizes the holistic development of the student – critical thinking in learning, imbibing values of global citizenship – appear to do little to put into practice such philosophies. We have seen in this study that where such mission statements and philosophies remain empty and meaningless, bullying problems and conflicts abound. 'Learning about' is insufficient; learning should involve critique. Schools should create, develop and sustain spaces for discussion, debate and action. Spaces that ensure that learning can be put into practice and take on a positive, transformative form. Unless this happens, learning will promote hegemonic structures in society and serve to maintain the status quo. It can be argued that this is the case of the two more elite, private schools in this study, i.e. BISS and MEWS: That these schools do not adequately tackle discrimination within the school appears largely to be rooted in class prejudice often overlapping with race or caste. That elite schools publicise their international, intercultural profile but take no measures to care for the well-being of their diverse student populations suggests that they are performing oppressive discourses to preserve their elite status and their class and race or caste privileges. An important consideration then is whether the concept of the 'elite school' itself impedes an open, constructive and sustainable deconstruction of prejudices, privileges and discrimination. In chapter two, I have argued that discrimination should be understood as structural and thus embedded in social structures and institutions, in which individuals are inevitable implicated. This means that students of elite schools are implicated in the discriminatory structures of their schools. This is an important aspect that practitioners in anti-discrimination work should take into account when conceptualizing training programmes for elite schools because it suggests that the structural context of the elite school and elite education is intrinsically opposed to social justice education.

Teacher training emerges as another crucial aspect. Teachers often cannot handle diversity in the school and sometimes themselves perpetuate oppressive discourses. We have seen this for the Global Paradigm School, the Mumbai English World Schools and the Berlin International Secondary School. At the James Benning Public School we observed through the discussion on hip hop's reinscription of the word 'nigga' that often teachers are not equipped to adequately moderate discussions that address racism and such performative politics, which, as Butler (1997a in Youdell, 2006: 39) argues, offers "an unanticipated political future for deconstructive thinking". Hip hop's reinscription of 'nigga' is a political statement that challenges and dislodges the word 'nigger' inscribed by hegemonic groups. Performative politics bring to our notice that the potential for political change lies in the deconstruction of meaning, i.e. the new meanings that words embedded in power discourses can take on. The practice of deconstruction must necessarily be taken up by teachers who first need to take on multiple perspectives themselves to be able to encourage these in classroom teaching. In terms of educational policy, Kiwan (2008: 191) citing Johnson (2003) argues that it is important that teaching staff in school is ethnically and religiously diverse in order to guarantee that students have contact with diverse beliefs and ideas as part of their personal development.

My research divulges the need to address religion in school. Correspondingly, Kiwan (2008: 191) refers to the growing awareness of the need to address religion in the public sphere. Misunderstandings and misinformation on particular religions can be countered by lessons in school which provide historical background on religions of the world. We can question whether ‘objective’ knowledge can be presented in the school or elsewhere, or even if and to what extent, ‘knowledge’ is and can be objective. These questions emphasize the importance of teachers undergoing a process of critical self-reflection (through Anti-Bias or similar training). In the end, a process that discloses the discursive constitution of the self and inherent power processes has the potential to make teachers question their own objectivity and knowledge in general when teaching history, religion or any other subject.

9.2.4. Restraints of political education

Political education for youth is an important task of the ‘nation state’ in inculcating active citizenship, as it is an investment in the democratic co-existence of a multitude of people and heterogeneous communities. However, the school alone cannot accomplish its goals and mission towards maximising socio-political consciousness and democratic co-existence. As a central task of ensuring the well-being of *all* its citizens, the state needs to chart out those spaces where discriminatory and oppressive practices should be challenged because it is the state that sends important signals to the population at large on attitudes and behavioural practices through its legislations and policies. Such spaces must include educational institutions of all kinds, municipalities, the police force and immigration offices so that structural discrimination and oppression can be exposed. Making diversity a reality, i.e. dealing constructively with difference within existing institutions and among individuals is a long-term process that requires not just socio-pedagogical foundations and the commitment of individuals but also an openly articulated political will. The need is to create a political environment, a culture of human rights, in which people with different backgrounds are recognised as equally valuable and equal members of society. Interventions such as the Anti-Bias contribute to the process of developing a political consciousness but are not enough by themselves. Ultimately, the combined efforts and commitment of all citizens, the local, regional and national politicians and the media are necessary to bring about social change and transformation.

9.2.5. Practitioner research: The' educator activist'

In this study I have attempted to bring together practice and theory, action and reflection with "a self-critical subjective perspective" (Stenhouse, 1975: 157). My work emphasizes that practitioners in the field of anti-discrimination and anti-bias work are well placed not only to plan and implement actions but also to evaluate and analyse them, thus to create actionable outcomes. If we seek to open up innovative new paths, we need to evaluate and analyse our work, otherwise we will have no insight into where exactly such actions lead. The Anti-Bias training process provides the researcher and practitioner information on the diverse prevailing discourses in society and on representational and discriminatory practices as well as corresponding legitimisations of participants. Such information has the potential to further current research on prejudices, anti-discrimination and anti-oppression. Moreover, it allows one to evaluate whether tools developed during the training are implemented in daily life practices. Careful evaluations via follow-up meetings or trainings will reveal, as I have shown, their application in daily life. This has implications for the practitioner, the trainer, who I term 'educator-activist' in accordance with the concept described by Reddy (2005). An educator-activist is one who combines action and theoretical reflection to ensure a sustainable movement of social change. For me, this not only means that actions and interventions are backed by socio-political theory but also that practitioners conduct on a larger or smaller scale ongoing (long-term) evaluations which will constantly yield fresh insight into the impact of prevailing oppressive discourses on the identities and subjectivities of people and the effectivity of the approach and trainings. These evaluations and studies will contribute to theory as well. Action-based research, as I have shown in my study, has the potential to inform our work as practitioners in the anti-discrimination field. I hope other practitioners see this study as an invitation to research, to act and learn for social change.

9.3. Bombay-Berlin and beyond

This study tackles contemporary and current issues in the two cities, which, as discussed above, reflects the need for policies aimed at addressing social conflicts, discrimination and oppression in the public sphere. Conducting parallel research in these two very different cities and analyzing similarities and differences also displays the need for dialogue between cities, countries and across continents. We can ask whether the findings of my study are Bombay and Berlin-specific or have relevance beyond these two cities. In a globalized world, oppressive practices are becoming increasingly standardised although they may have different forms of expression and are grounded in different socio-cultural, political and historical contexts, as we have seen for Bombay and Berlin. A glance through any daily newspaper will disclose that ethnic, racist, religious or gender-based violence and hate crimes are part of contemporary society. Personal experiences or narrations within one's reference group also reveal how implicit prejudices and subtle racism prevail and affect the lives of many. One of the reasons for this is that modern society is increasingly characterised by migration. That my study was able to identify similar patterns in oppressive practices across Bombay and Berlin points to the urgent need to conduct more transnational research. Until date, most studies have been localised, regionalised and nationalised attempts to find a solution to contemporary social ails. The time has long since come to learn from each other and seek innovative solutions beyond the borders of one's country. Research should be a cooperative effort, leading to joint efforts in countering oppressive structures at the local, national and international level. It is also necessary to promote and develop anti-bias trainings and train practitioners in cities and countries like Bombay, India, where they are at present largely unknown. This could be one way of bringing together experts and academics in the anti-discrimination field, whether from Bombay and Berlin or other parts of the world. A look at the history of the approach (see chapter three) reveals that it was developed in the USA and first arrived in Germany through an exchange with Anti-Bias practitioners from South Africa. This led to the further development and adaptation of the approach to the German context. Similarly, I argue for research and learning with and from one another to enable criticism and dissemination and to develop practices suited to the particular context of the research. The prerequisite thereof, as Reddy (2005: 283) argues, is that practitioners in northern countries are open and ready to learn from their counterparts in southern countries. Such cooperative ventures have the potential to open up avenues as yet undiscovered and contribute to learning and academia. There is much to be learnt and done in the fight against discrimination and oppression.

9.4. Further research

With the findings and conclusions of my study emerge the questions: What questions remain open, unresolved and unanswered? These questions point to the need and potential for further research in challenging oppressive structure in society:

- I believe that it is important to examine the functioning of Anti-Bias trainings from a long-term perspective for we see students of my study at different stages of prejudice reduction. What would we find if we studied these students over two or three years? Would such long-term evaluations itself influence behaviour patterns and induce people to take on more equitable attitudes and behaviour as they are a constant reminder of an anti-bias and anti-discriminatory stance? What do other (comparison) groups that do not undergo regular evaluation demonstrate?

- It is also crucial to examine more in-depth how and why some people adopt more egalitarian behaviour patterns and others not. Thus, how and what external and internal factors and motivations support or hinder learning and change. This will not only contribute to theoretical deliberations on prejudices and discrimination but also provide pointers for the development of teacher training, educational policy and Anti-Bias and similar actions and initiatives.

- This study illustrates what ‘othering’ discourses are used to legitimise prejudices and behaviour patterns related to racism, sexism, homophobia and religious oppression. However, there are other forms of discrimination and oppression which are often overlooked by trainers and researchers (e.g. Lookism). Research needs to analyse these seemingly minor forms of discrimination, their impact on identity and importantly their intersections with gender, race and class.

- The private, elite school emerges as a question of concern: How does the elite school fulfil its agenda beyond excellence in academia? The concept of elite education is increasingly the trend in German universities, which aspire to meet international qualifications and standards. How much is focused on academia and to what extent is the socio-political consciousness of the student developed? If, as I have argued above, the elite school is reproducing racist structures, how can these structures be undermined? How can Anti-Bias or other trainings in the field be conceptualised such that they expose the structural discrimination in such schools, in which students are themselves implicated? In what ways do students grasp agency and what implications does this have?

- Research should also focus on teaching in the classroom: How exactly do teachers represent difference in teaching the assigned curriculum? How do they deal with themes such as culture, prejudice, racism, sexism and ethnocentrism when they arise in classroom discussions? How do they negotiate their own identities and subjectivities? Are they able to take on and encourage multiple perspectives in the classroom? Do they take on agency in their repeated performance of dominant norms and discourses (e.g. of authority) in school?

- What other spaces can serve alternate learning within but also outside the school? Films, theatre, school exchanges, volunteering programmes – do these spaces allow reflection, discussion and debate and to what extent are they effective in bringing forth agency in people? To what extent could they be used effectively in schools and/or form part of Anti-Bias trainings? What kind of impact do they have on students' perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour?

- As described in the preceding section, more transnational studies addressing social concerns, which are becoming increasingly global, need to be undertaken. Such studies can reveal how processes in combating inequalities and injustice differ or are similar in different local contexts and provide alternative ways of addressing these social issues on home ground and abroad, stretching the apparent limits of the possible.

My study is merely a starting point which illustrate that there is still a great deal to be done to further our understanding of contemporary prejudices and discrimination and assist us in planning and developing initiatives that counter power imbalances and structural discrimination and oppression in and beyond the borders of our own nation states.

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ANNEX 1

Making Diversity a Reality

A 2-day workshop for young audiences

Realising diversity in society is one of the tasks of a national educational system in its mission towards building political consciousness and a human rights education. Students from different religious groups, castes, gender etc. are a reality in our schools and in our society. It therefore becomes the task of the school to enable students to participate effectively in a multicultural society. The workshop offers students the opportunity towards occupational, economic and social integration. The most important aim, in this connection, is that youth, as multipliers of diversity and active interaction, learn to deal constructively with conflict and differences among people. Moreover, by strengthening social and intercultural competencies and teamwork skills, the opportunities for young people in the job market can be improved.

The workshop **Making Diversity a Reality** aims at recognising the various forms of discrimination existing in society and seeks to actively break them down. To achieve this, it is imperative to perceive the often unconscious and conditional prejudices within us, in society and in our surroundings. An awareness of the challenges inherent in working towards transformation, an increased knowledge about all forms of discrimination, assessing oppressive policy and practice in the educational system and their own practice environments, sharing differences, affirming differences and similarities, and exploring the practical implications of the same is the path towards intercultural competencies, a prerequisite for successful social and professional interaction. The workshop, based on the personal experiences of the participants, sets into motion a learning process that provides time and space for reflection and for applying the learned to one’s work and everyday life.

Themes:

Internalised forms of oppression
Increasing knowledge about the forms, layers and processes of discrimination
Family, Gender, Social Origin, Identity
Expand learning base on stereotypes and discrimination to recognise covert applications
Intensification of prejudices through the media
Affirming differences and similarities
Exploring the practical implications of the above
Alternative behavioural patterns

Trainer: Rubaica Jaliwala, born in 1972 in Mumbai/India, completed her Masters in “Intercultural Education” at the Freie Universität Berlin. She was Programme Officer for the Cultural Department of the Goethe-Institut in Mumbai for five years. Since 2003, she has been working as freelance trainer for Anti-Bias and intercultural trainings, amongst others, for the ICYE International Office (International Cultural Youth Exchange), in Berlin, Germany and CCIVS (Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service) in Paris, France.

ANNEX 2

Making Diversity a Reality

A 2-day Training for Students of Grade 9
Training Programme & Description of Methods

Day 1

08:00	Arrival, filling out prejudice testing questionnaire
08:30	Introductions (also to Anti-Bias), programme overview, rules
09.00	Talking wheel
09:45	Break
10:00	Identity Molecules
11:00	Lemons
12:00	Starting Over
13:00	Lunch Break
14:00	Energizer
14:15	Take A Step Forward
15:30	break
15:45	Flashlight round of evaluation
16:00	End of Day 1

Day 2

08:00	Energizer
08:15	Experiencing discrimination
09:30	Break
09:45	contd… Experiencing discrimination
11:15	Input on discrimination in the societal and global context
11:30	Break
11:45	Energizer
12:00	First Steps of Action
13:00	Lunch Break
14:00	Letter to myself
14:45	Final Evaluation
15:30	End of workshop

Day 1

Introduction of the trainer
Introduction to the Anti-Bias Approach
Introduction of participants
Introduction to the programme
Rules

Talking wheel (30 mins)

Aims:

- Exchange opinions with other participants
- Accept and respect the opinion of yours. Perception of communication, to whet ones appetite beyond what is said
- Introduction to the theme
- Getting to know one another
- Learning to listen and accept/respect other people's opinion without interrupting them. Confronted with opinions that are different from your own
- Taking time to position yourself. A chance to reflect on your own position and opinion
- Experience how it is to take a stand (with unknown people standing opposite you, spontaneously and for one minute)
- To see the influence that creates a personal culture at a very individual level, i.e. 2 people from very different cultures or countries can have so much in common as against two people from the same country due to differences in social class, interests, political beliefs, profession, etc.
- Getting acquainted with different social and cultural identities and beliefs

Questions:

1. What is your name? First and last. What does it mean? Do you like it? Why? Why not?
2. Talk about your positive characteristics. What do you like about yourself?
3. What qualities do you dislike in other people?
4. Describe a situation in which a person's words hurt you deeply.
5. Tell your partner about your first contact with a person from a different culture.
6. Should children learn in their mother tongue? How many languages should children learn?
7. What does "power" mean to you?
8. Tell your partner what you understand by the word "diversity".
9. Mention a prejudice you have? How do you think you how this prejudice? Where does it come from?
10. Most of us in this room are "temporarily able-bodied". How does this statement make you feel? What do you feel about the use of labels like 'spastic', 'handicapped' and 'retarded'?

Debriefing questions:

1. How did it feel to exchange such personal information each time with a new partner?
2. What did your partners do to give you the feeling that they were listening to you? What others forms of communication exist apart from talking?
3. Was anything said that was new or surprised you?
4. Were some questions more difficult than others? Which ones? Why? What questions were you happy to answer?
5. Did you feel the need, with certain questions, to have more time to talk? Which questions and why?
6. At which points did you hear opinions that differed to your own?
7. Was it easier to talk or to listen?
8. How was it to listen for an entire minute without interrupting? Did you wish to interrupt?
9. How was it to speak without interruption from your partner?
10. Did you notice the similarities or things you have in common (in this group) although you do not come from the same country? – refer to group identity – identity molecules.

11. How often do we think about our prejudices? Do we even know that we have them?
12. What was the purpose of this exercise?

Identity Molecules (45 mins)

Material: molecule sheets, A4 Coloured paper, cut into 3

Step 1: (5 – 10 mins)
-Distribute molecule sheet
-Do one yourself on the flipchart
-Each person names 4 groups to which he/she belongs and feels strongly about.
Spontaneous answers: what you feel here and now.
-Mark and write 2 or 3 most relevant molecules on coloured sheets, one molecule per sheet.

Step 2: (20 mins)
-Divide into pairs
-Discuss your two molecules with your partner on the basis of two questions:

1) How is it to my advantage to be a member of these two groups?
2) What makes it easier or difficult to be part of these groups?

Meanwhile, trainer collects the coloured sheet with pax molecules and sticks them on the wall.

All come together and sit in a circle. Debriefing on Step 1 and 2:

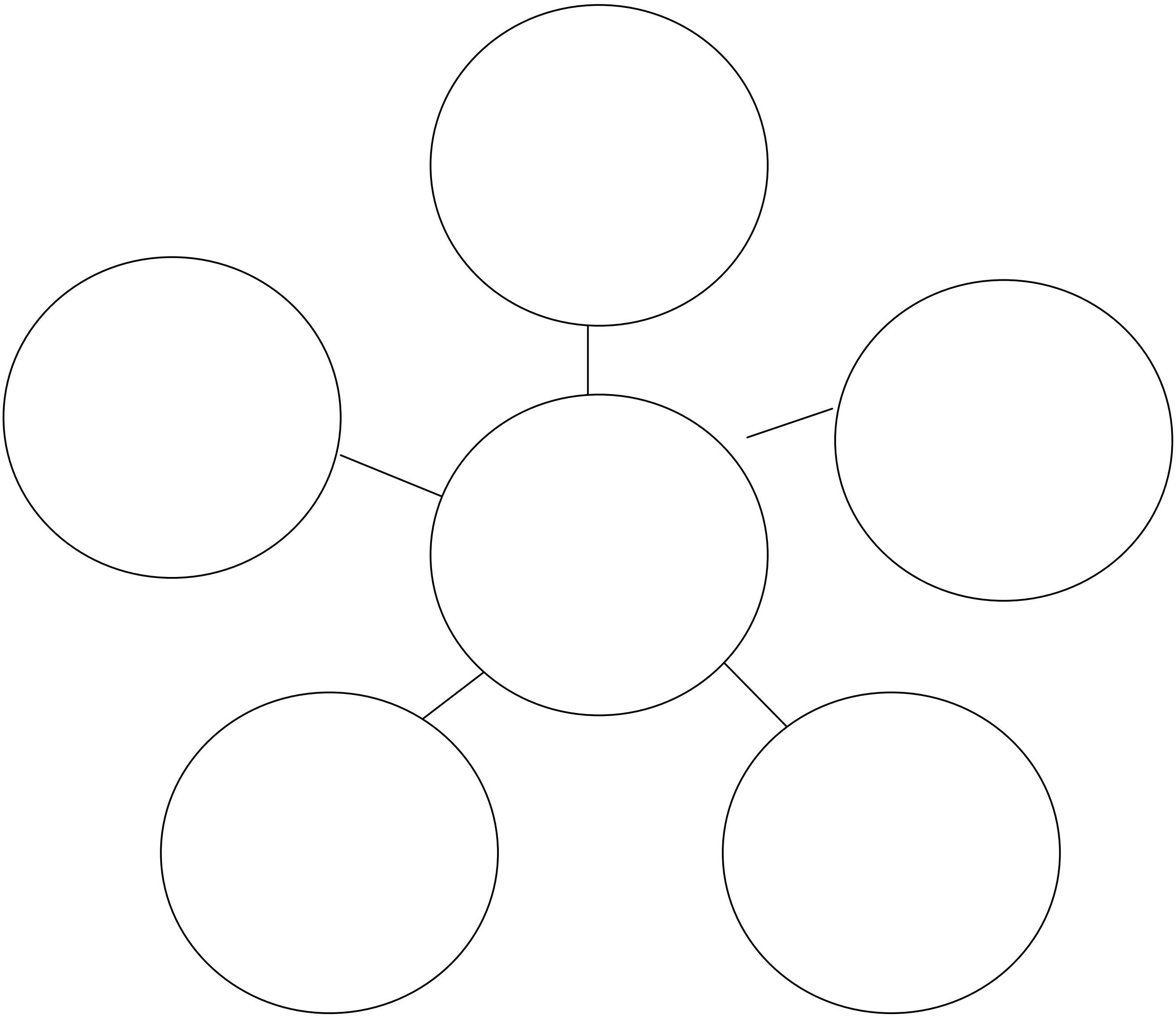
1. Was it easy or difficult to come up with various parts of your identity and thus also to the groups you belong to?
2. Was it easy or difficult to select just 4 molecules for your molecule sheet?
3. How was it to talk about with your partner?

Step 3:
Sit in a closed circle. No talking but you can look at each other.
As the trainer calls out one category after another, you stand up if you feel you belong them. You can stand even if they are the molecules you wrote on your sheet but someone else's but if you feel you belong to the group. If you feel strongly about belonging to a certain group, you may stand longer. The longer you stand, the more intense are your feelings of belonging. You may even stand if you feel you belong only symbolically to the group. Only when all are seated again will the next category be read out.
Go through all or at least 60% of the categories (pasted on the wall/flipchart).

Debriefing questions:

1. How did you feel when you stood alone or almost alone?
2. How did it feel to be part of a bigger group?
3. Were there similarities that you hadn't expected?
4. What feeling did it let loose within you?
5. Did you realise/learn something new or surprising about yourself?
6. Did anyone notice interesting group behaviour. (For example when a gender category is called out, only women stand.) Why is that? What does that mean?
7. Did you feel differently when you stood up for a group to which you belong out of your own choice as against a group you can't change?
8. How do you think it is to be ascribed to a group to which you may not really belong but others suppose you do and accept you as if you belonged to them?
9. Can belonging to certain groups be problematic or painful? Which ones? Why?
10. Do you think you would choose the same molecules in a few months or a year or in 5 years?

Identity Molecules



Please write your name on the central molecule.
On the outer molecules write groups to which you belong and which make up your identity

Lemons (60 mins)

Aims:
- Introduction to the theme diversity, stereotyping, prejudices
- Sensitising for heterogeneity within (supposed homogeneous) groups
- To achieve critical positioning as regards culturalisation of groups
- To value individual special features
- To learn more about the power politics that is inherent to stereotyping

Material:
One lemon for every two participants in the group. A carrier bag.

Description: This exercise introduces the idea of individual differences. It can be used at the start of a session around stereotyping, differences and equality of opportunities.

Procedure:
In Plenary (10 mins.)
- Show the group one lemon.
- Ask them to describe lemons. On a flipchart, write down all the different characteristics of lemons that they mention. "Lemons are…" (sour, round, yellow, etc.)
- Then get a bag with the other lemons.
- Ask participants to come forward in pairs and to select one lemon per pair. They to look for a space in the room.

Group work (5 – 10 mins.)
- Request the pairs to observe and get familiar with their own lemon and to write down its characteristics and special features on a flipchart. They could even give their lemon a name.
- Explain that the participants are not meant to invent new features (no drawing, cutting etc. on the surface of the lemon).
- Allow five minutes to do this and then ask them to place the lemons in the carrier bag.
- Ask if they felt they were able to get to know their lemons. Shake the bag to mix the fruits. Spread all the lemons out on the floor in front of the group. In turn, ask each pair one after the other to come forward and collect their lemon.

Debriefing:
Plenary (30 – 40 mins)

Presentation: Everyone presents 'their' lemon, taking into account the following questions:
1. How sure are they that they claimed the right fruit? How can they tell?
2. Was it easy or difficult to find your lemon?
3. How was it possible for you to find your own lemon?
4. What specific characteristics did you notice?

At this point, the flipcharts prepared by the participants could be hung up, and then beside them, the flipchart with "Lemons are…" Based thereon, the first flipchart could be changed to "Not all" lemons are…"

Debriefing questions: Facilitate a discussion. Encourage them to look at the parallels between this exercise and differentiating between people.
1. If you compare these characteristics (discussed in pairs) to that of the one lemon what do you notice?
2. Why are the descriptions of your paired flipcharts so different than when you gave a collection of descriptions/characteristics of lemons?
3. What else did you notice? What surprised you? Did something surprise you?
4. What theme/subjects becomes apparent here?
5. What does this/"lemons" have to do with daily life?
6. Did you ever have a first impression of a person or group of people, and after getting to know the person/group better, felt the person is a fake or less than you had expected.
7. Or have you ever had the impression that you misjudged someone?

(**Info for trainer**: Often this is enough for the participants to understand by themselves that this is a process from generalisations and categorisations, from getting to know someone to the recognition of each individual being unique.
The discussion should focus on the fact that we often use "presumed" generalisations about specific groups of people in daily life and that this is hardly useful when dealing with characteristics, stance/attitudes or behaviour of individuals in specific situations. One can refer also very well to the subject of culture. *Emphasise here that this exercise is symbolically meant to show that not all people who are associated to a particular "culture" (understood as national culture) are the same. Each person has diverse memberships/affiliations/belongings and identities that influence their behaviour and relations.)*

At this point, *ask about possible contradictions between the descriptions of the personalised lemons and the list on the flipchart.* Ask for **examples from participants on their own experiences, which would assist their awareness/realisation in this direction.**

Another aspect of the debriefing is the theme of awareness:

- How do possibly we have such a clear image of lemons in our heads when the lemons we come across in our everyday life prove to have clearly different and contradictory characteristics?
- What process of awareness or perception can be identified here?
- Do we need categories or generalisations? When do they help us?
- What dangers/problems are hidden behind generalisations?
- Do you have similar examples at school or in your day-to-day life? (black-white, migrants, Turks etc.)

The discussion could highlight aspects and mechanisms such as selective perception, selective processing/working with information and black-white thinking, and could be deepened based on the needs of the group.

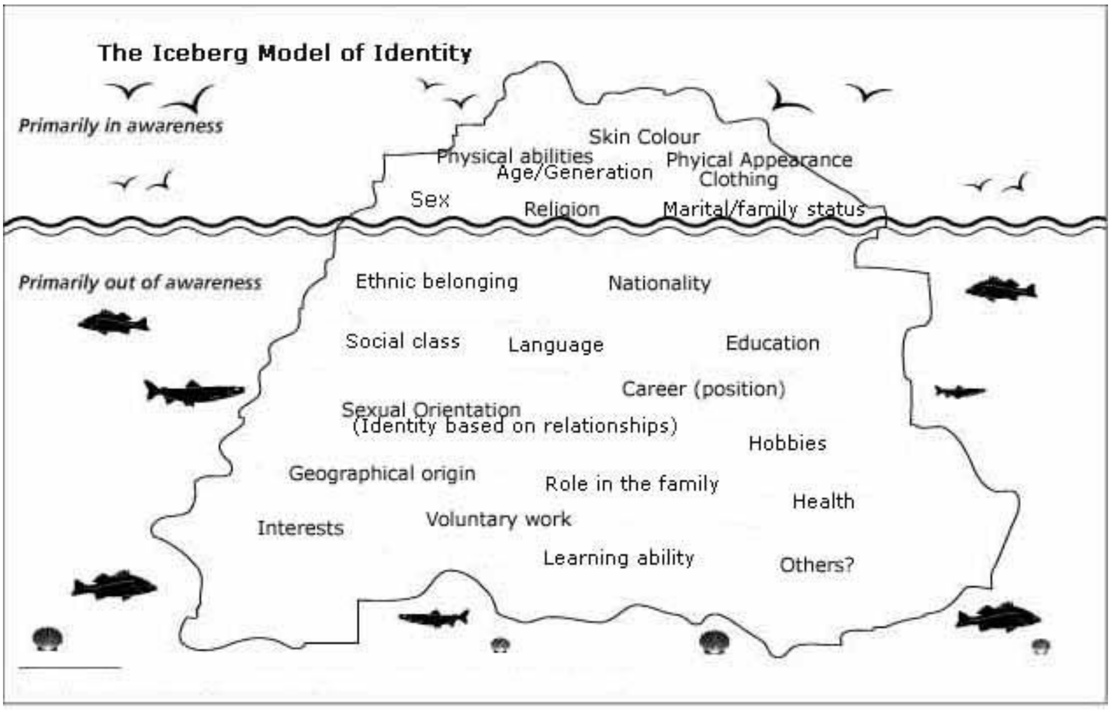
Equally, it is possible to address the subject of diversity within the group. Ask participants to name aspects that according to them, seen by an outsider, could be described:

- Which aspects would be brought out/highlighted, which ones would remain in the background?
- Which aspects are visible? Which assumptions could be made on the basis of these visible aspects?
- Thus, what roles do ones own background and the perspectives/point of view from which one is looking at the group play?
- What then is the purpose of "homogenising" (having identical functions and values) a group?

Emphasise how quickly it is possible to construct individual characteristics of a homogenous group. But also make it clear what different consequences this, on the basis of meanings of the line of difference and institutionalizing of characteristics, can have for exclusion and discrimination.

Presentation of Iceberg Model of Identity

1. Show the tip of the iceberg. Explain: the features that form the tip of the iceberg and are above the water level are those that are visible – we can see them when we become acquainted with someone.
2. The construction of the iceberg is such that only 15% of its entire size is above water level. With people, the same concept applies. We have just as limited or narrow a perception about others when we do not go beyond the visible features such as gender, ethnic belonging, age, etc.
3. Go to the 2nd area at the water level: family status and religion. Explain: these characteristics are sometimes visible due to visible symbols people carry: cross, headscaft, a pregnant woman, etc.)
4. Point to the next field- below the water level: these descriptions or features often serve the purpose of communication, understanding the "real" person. It is not easy to show or talk about these feature at the workplace or even on a first meeting as these things depend on trust between co-workers, general conditions such as private space, security, etc.)
5. If one wants real, authentic knowledge about a person, one will have to go below the water level to discover characteristics and qualities that make up the cultural identity of a person. We allow people to look deeper within ourselves when we want to build trust.


The Iceberg Model of Identity
Primarily in awareness
Skin Colour
Physical abilities
Age/Generation
Phyical Appearance
Clothing
Sex
Religion
Marital/family status
Primarily out of awareness
Ethnic belonging
Nationality
Social class
Language
Education
Career (position)
Sexual Orientation
(Identity based on relationships)
Hobbies
Geographical origin
Role in the family
Health
Interests
Voluntary work
Learning ability
Others?

Link the Iceberg Model of identity to culture. As identity changes and is shaped through interactions, similarly, culture also changes. Do you wear the same clothes, hear the same music as your parents or grandparents? So why do we talk of culture as static and non-evolving?

Starting Over (60 to 90 mins)

Aims:

- Increase awareness for personal images and prejudices
- Clarify to what extent our stance/attitude/approach and prejudices influence our decisions
- To become aware of the criteria we use to assess/judge others
- To highlight how dominant societal categorisations and rating/valuation of other people get entangled/enter in our own images

Material:
Pens, worksheets 'Starting Over' for each participant and material for making groups

Preparation:

- Prepare the worksheet, 'Starting Over'.
- Make sure that the descriptions are clearly understandable and that a large variety of people are on it.
- Prepare a flipchart with this list of persons. There should be enough space to mark which persons from which groups are selected.

Method:
Explain the exercise. A group of people get a one-time chance to begin a new life and lifestyle, living together on a secluded island. The basic amenities and infrastructure (streets, houses, etc) already exists. Any contact with other people beyond the island will not be possible in the next 50 years. The size of the group is limited to 8 people.
It is your job to select 8 persons from the 20 given below who will then travel to this island.

- Firstly, you will decide alone.
- Subsequently, in small groups each person will present and argue for his/her choice of candidates. In the end, the entire group should agree on a list of 8 people.

Individual work (5 to 10 mins):

- Each person sits alone, they go through the list and decide alone which 8 persons they would take along and mark these 8 persons on the list.
- Explain that they have 5 mins for the same and ask if they don't understand anything.

Group work (20 – 30 mins):

- Divide participants into **2 groups**
- In their groups, they should present their own choices and should discuss them.
- The group must come to a common decision and together agree on the 8 people who will travel to the island.
- The group has 20 mins to come to a decision.
- Check within about 20 mins if they have made their decision or require more time.
-

Debriefing questions:
In plenary (30 – 40 mins)

- How did the exercise go?
- Was it easy or difficult to choose individuals?
- How did the discussion in the small group go?
- How did you approach the issue and proceed? On what did you base your decision?
- How did you reach a common decision in your group?
- Did you reach a common decision? Which one?

Each group presents its selection on a flipchart and a list of people cancelled out. At one glance this will clearly show that certain people were left out by both groups and others selected by both groups.

- Why was X selected in both cases and not Y?
- On which people did you agree easily? For which people did you need a long discussion in your group?

- How did you manage to come to a decision based on the very little information you had on each person? The description I gave doesn't really tell you much about the person.
- What images do you have of these people in your head?
- Where do these images come from? Are these individual or societal images preset in the exercise?
- What purposes do prejudices serve? Can they be useful? When? When could they be problematic?

Do you see a connection to your daily life? Are there situations in your everyday life where you or others take decisions with very little information? (Ask participants to talk about their own day-to-day situations in which images about other groups and persons finally do not come true.)

- What was the purpose of this exercise?

(Info for Trainer: The exercise should show that we have images of people in our heads which we use daily to classify/arrange people (as if arranging your socks in one drawer. These are based on our own experiences, more so on supposed societal "knowledge" about "others" liberally distributed through various means (media – newspaper, television, radio – school books, family, science… etc. It is important to sum up the criteria used by each group and present it to them so as to display a parallel between socially dominant selection criteria and their own selection criteria. Participants often select people based on societal and/or economic uses, according to performance, generative/reproduction/gender, interculturality etc.)

It should be specified that prejudices alone do not present any form of discrimination but in most cases, it orients/directs our behaviour, which could lead to discrimination.

The purpose of the exercise is to become aware of how we use prejudices to make decisions and how these prejudices could lead to institutional and structural discrimination or rely/depend on them and maintain them.
It is impossible to deconstruct/remove all images and prejudices. But being aware of ones own images, prejudices, and presumptions and to understand how they operate in our day-to-day quick decision-making. To allow others to develop, non-discriminatory behaviour is important to be aware of the prejudices you hold.

Try to focus the discussion on specific points which display that people have numerous characteristics and experiences which cannot be described in a short period of time.

Ask concrete questions as to whether that or this could not be different in order to make possible a new awareness and ways of observing. Thus, it will be clear that the images in ones head are based on attributes, prejudices and other personal experiences which are generalised.

Worksheet:

Starting Over

A group of people get a one-time chance to begin a new life and lifestyle, living together on a secluded island. The basic amenities and infrastructure (streets, houses, etc) already exists. Any contact with other people beyond the island will not be possible in the next 50 years. The size of the group is limited to 8 people. It is your job to select 8 persons from the 20 given below who will then travel to this island. First make a selection by yourself. Thereafter, discuss your decide in your group. Present your arguments and try to come to a common selection of 8 people.

List of persons for Bombay:

1. A cricket star
2. A lawyer specialising in women's rights
3. A Tata manager with a physical impairment
4. A pregnant teacher
5. An unemployed engineer
6. A veteran Indian soldier who fought in two wars against Pakistan
7. A female Minister of Parliament
8. A taxi driver, who studied sociology
9. A Quran teacher from the countryside
10. A Maharashtrian cleaning lady
11. An atomic scientist, member of the BJP
12. A young woman studying to become a tailor
13. A Bangladeshi immigrant running a small stall in Juhu
14. An old woman
15. A student, HIV positive
16. Ex-Femina Miss India
17. Retired carpenter
18. Homeless 14 year old newspaper seller
19. A farmer from Saurashtra
20. A fisherwoman

List of persons for Berlin:

21. A retired professor, male
22. A female Afghan lawyer
23. A Siemens manager with a physical impairment, male
24. A pregnant teacher
25. An unemployed engineer, female
26. An Irak war Veteran, male
27. A homosexual healer, male
28. A female taxi driver who studied sociology
29. A Bavarian Bio-farmer, female
30. A former porn star, male
31. A Quran teacher from a rural area, male
32. A cleaning lady from Russia
33. An atom scientist, member of a conservative party, male
34. A young man training to become a tailor
35. A Chinese man, owner of a takeaway snack stand
36. A divorced psychotherapist, female
37. A female punk, artist
38. A blind female refugee
39. A female student, HIV positive
40. An Afro-German musician, male

Followed by a presentation of the Functions of prejudices:

1. **Reduction of uncertainty**
    - serve to orient people in a complex world
    - serve to reduce uncertainty and lend certainty/security of behaviour (accepted behaviour)
    - serve to fade out contradictions

2. **Construction of clear group belonging/membership**
    - prejudices give us a clear, generalised image of "the others"
    - they define the "self" in exclusion of "the others"
    - through a clear opposite positioning, ones group becomes unified and standardised
    - opposition and contradictions within ones own group are thus blocked
    - prejudices serve as a social "entrance card" for particular groups

3. **Preservation of a positive self-image**
    - By reducing the value of "others", prejudices serve to increase value of ones own group
    - The subjective membership to a group achieves a positive self-image (not all can be part of this group)
    - Prejudices shift aggressive feelings onto unknown groups.
    - They increase solidarity within ones own group and transmit thus a feeling of strength.

4. **Legitimising dominance**
    - prejudices serve to legitimise dominance
    - they strengthen and maintain the unequal distribution of power between the majority and minorities.
    - a share in power becomes possible but at the cost of others.

Take a Step Forward (60 mins)

Aims and objectives:
There is a stark difference of 'Equality of Opportunity' between many different persons and groups within any given society. These differences can be due to many variables whether they are gender, sexuality, race, religion, education, income etc. Many powerful and influential positions in society are commanded by persons with certain privileges, backgrounds or who are from specific sectors within the community. Therefore it is important, when working in a multicultural surrounding and situation, that awareness is raised about certain individual privileges and the effect they have on opportunities, and that specific circumstances are considered and understood within the necessary context.

Additional aims of this exercise are:
-Being aware of your own privilege in society – only then can you see the reality of social inequality clearly
-Empathising with the situation of others by taking on roles
-Awareness of the extent of institutional discrimination in your own society
-To raise awareness about the inequality of opportunities in society
-To foster an understanding of possible personal consequences of belonging to certain social minorities or cultural groups

Material required: Role cards, list of questions, an open space (a corridor, large room or outdoors), tape or CD player and soft/relaxing music

Description of the Exercise:

Instructions:

1. Create a calm atmosphere with some soft background music. Alternatively, ask the participants for silence.
2. Hand out the role cards at random, one to each participant. Tell them to keep it to themselves and not to show it to anyone else.
3. Tell participants that if the role they hold resemble their real life situation in any way even in the slightest, they should inform the trainer and randomly pick another role card.
4. Invite them to sit down (preferably on the floor) and to read their role card.
5. Now ask them to begin to get into role. To help, read out some of the following questions, pausing after each one, to give people time to reflect and build up a picture of themselves and their lives:

> What was your childhood like? What sort of house did you live in? What kind of games did you play? What sort of work did your parents do?
> -What is your everyday life like now? Where do you socialise? What do you do in the morning, in the afternoon, in the evening?
> -What sort of lifestyle do you have? Where do you live? How much money do you earn each month? What do you do in your leisure time?
> -What you do in your holidays?
> -What excites you and what are you afraid of?

6. Now ask people to remain absolutely silent as they line up beside each other (like on a starting line)
7. Tell the participants that you are going to read out a list of situations or events. Every time that they can answer "yes" to the statement, they should take a step forward. Otherwise, they should stay where they are and not move.
8. Read out the situations one at a time. Pause for a while between each statement to allow people time to step forward and to look around to take note of their positions relative to each other.
9. At the end invite everyone to take note of their final positions. Then give them a couple of minutes to come out of role before debriefing in plenary.

Questions to be read out during the exercise:

Read the following situations out aloud. Allow time after reading out each situation for participants to step forward and also to look to see how far they have moved relative to each other.

1. Can you take a vacation?
2. Would you receive fair treatment from the police during their investigation of a robbery?
3. Would you receive a personal loan?
4. Can you plan a family?
5. Can you visit a dentist for treatment, whenever necessary?
6. Can you feel safe in the streets after dark?
7. Would you receive sympathy and support from your family?
8. Can you plan the next 5 years in advance?
9. Would you get a life insurance?
10. Can you get minimal education, i.e. schooling
11. Can you become a member of the tennis club in your locality?
12. Can you vote in the local elections?
13. Can you move freely through the streets without someone making passes at you or without being harassed?
14. Can you register your children in a school?
15. Would you find an apartment to rent quite easily?
16. Can you practice your religion openly and without problems?
17. Can you go to the cinema or the theatre at least once a week?
18. Can you be pretty sure that travelling by train from Berlin to Amsterdam, you will not be checked by the border police (spot check)?
19. Can you expect to have the same career chances as your other colleagues with similar qualifications?
20. Would you be able to enter every discotheque you wanted to?
21. Can you become a member of the tennis club in your locality?
22. Can you say that you have never felt discriminated against because of your origin?
23. Do you feel that you can study and follow the profession of your choice?
24. Do you feel that your language, religion and culture are respected in the society where you live?
25. Can you say that you have an interesting life and are positive about your future?

Role Cards for Bombay:

1. A 28 year old male IT-Specialist from Bangalore, single, living alone
2. A 87 year old train driver, retired, living with his wife
3. A 8 year old boy living in the Dharavi slums, tanning leather
4. A 24 year old deaf and mute woman living with her elder sister, parents dead
5. A 30 year old illegal male immigrant, from Bangladesh
6. A 31 year old woman, advertising executive, divorced living with daughter aged 5
7. A 27 year old Engineering graduate, unemployed. Father reaching retirement age soon in 2 years, living with parents and 2 sisters
8. A 29 year old housewife and mother of 2 children, married to the Vice President of Citibank
9. A 23 year old Muslim woman from a traditional Muslim background, a B.A. graduate, unmarried
10. An 18-year-old woman from Chattisghar working as a maid in Bombay.
11. A 17 year old boy, studying at Xaviers College, rich parents
12. A 32 year old homosexual man, living in Bandra with boyfriend
13. A 16 year old girl, unmarried, living in a remote village in Rajasthan
14. A 43 year old widowed man, displaced from his native village in Gujarat in 2002

Role Cards for Berlin:

1. You are a 25-year old daughter of a bank director. You study economics at university.
2. You are a 27-year old illegal immigrant from Ruanda, male.
3. You are a 21-year old unemployed single mother. Your parents cannot support you or your child.
4. You are a 28-year old prostitute, HIV positive
5. You are a 14-year old boy in secondary school with shortcomings in grammar

6. You are a 51-year old severely disabled doorman in a wheelchair.
7. You are a 48-year old professor for physics, married, two children.
8. You are a 52-year old female lawyer in the European parliament.
9. You are a 32-year old competitive athlete from Munich, male.
10. You are a 49-year old unemployed engineer, male.
11. You are a 22-year old Turkish Muslim girl living with your parents who are devoutly religious people.
12. You are a 53-year old homeless woman.
13. You are an 26-year old lesbian doing a training course for IT specialists.
14. You are an 18-year old man from Chemnitz doing his military service

Questions for the Evaluation:

- Please remain standing in your place and look around you.
- How did you feel in your roles? Could you imagine yourselves in the role given to you?
- Was it easy to image the life situation of the person you were during the exercise?
- Was it easy or difficult to estimate and decide whether to take a step forward or not?
- With which questions were you unable to take a step forward? At what points were you unsure?
- Which questions remained in your mind?

On images and stereotypes to the roles:

- Where did you get the information on the life situation of the people portrayed in the role? How did you know some of the answers?
- Why do we know a lot about some people/roles and nothing about others?

On social reality:

- What are the things that stopped you from moving ahead? What did you lack? (Meaning of lines of difference along categories such as nationality, skin colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, religion, social and financial status, etc.)
- Did it make you feel good – always being able to take a step forward/ not being able to take steps forward?
- Question the others: What role did he/she play?
- Who has it the easiest in life? What characteristics does he/she have?
- Who has it the most difficult in life? Why? What characteristics does he/she have?
- Do you think that the exercise is realistic? In how far do you think this exercise is a reflection of society?
- What possibilities do individuals and different groups have to changes their situation? On what factors do they have no influence?
- What should be changed? What can we change?

On your own situation:

- Where do you think you would be standing as yourself if this exercise were done without role cards?
- How can you deal with your own privileges constructively and with responsibility?

DAY 2

Experience of discrimination (180 mins)

Aims:

- Reflect on your own experiences with discrimination and the feelings connected with it.
- Generate more awareness that we ourselves have discriminated and discriminate as well as being discriminated against and probably will continue to discriminate.
- Listen to the discrimination others have experienced and understand its consequences.
- Grasp the emotional and rational intensity and effectivity of discrimination.
- Understand the different ways of dealing with experiences of discrimination: shifting and suppressing mechanism and attempts at coping and justification.

Material:
Flip chart, pens, copies of worksheets 1 and 2 for pax

Method:
Individual and group work (80 mins)

Phase 1

- Distribute the worksheet 1 on "I was discriminated" telling pax that each one is invited to think about the answers to the questions individually. You have 7 mins to do this. Give more time if required.
- Note and respect your own limits. You can write or draw. This sheet will remain with you and will help you formulate your thoughts/jog your memory.
- When done the participants, should stand up and find another place to sit.
- Distribute the worksheet 2 on "I discriminated". Think of one situation where you discriminated someone. The questions on the sheet should help you think of a situation. 7 mins time. More time if required.
- Form **3 groups** where each participant describes his/her situation. The others listen quietly without question or comments. Ask participants to be aware of that what they say and also of what they do not say. They should pay attention to their own limits and remain concretely on their situation. 45- 60 mins time for the small groups.

In plenary (15 mins)
Debriefing 1
Request participants to come back to the plenary for evaluation of the individual and group work. The respective situation should not be narrated in plenary, rather reported if required. Attention should be paid that each one talks for him/herself and not for others.

- How was the exercise for you?
- How was it to remember? Was it easy/hard?
- Did you find situations?
- What situations could you remember easily (in which you discriminated or were discriminated? Why?
- Which situation was easier to talk about? Why?
- How did the exchange in groups go?
- How did it feel to listen to others?
- How was it to talk about your own experience(s)?

(A small break)

Phase 2
Silent Discussion (40 mins)

Prepare 4 flipcharts as follows:

1) Feelings when “I was discriminated”
2) Feelings when “I discriminated someone”
3) Coping with feelings in situations in which “I was discriminated”. How did I deal with the situation?
4) Coping with feelings in situations in which “I discriminated someone”. What did I do thereafter?

The participants can write, draw or use symbols. Participants can comment on each other’s drawings or words by writing/drawing under/above it and creating a link. The main criteria is that it is a silent discussion.

When they are done, the flipcharts should be laid out in the centre of the circle like an exhibition for all to see and read.

Plenary (30 mins)
Debriefing 2
This is about the feelings that are let loose through the experiences of discrimination and the methods of coping. Also consequences of the methods of dealing with a situation.

- Was it difficult to name the feelings?
- What do you notice on the flipcharts?
- Are there differences between the feelings as discriminator and as discriminated?
- Why are the feelings so in both cases similar?
- Were the feelings directed at yourself or at others?
- After a situation of discrimination, what feelings are you left behind with? Why are they difficult to deal/cope with?
- What can happen if we do not bring these feeling to the surface?
- How can these remaining feelings be overcome?
- How do we deal with people who suffer the after-effects of discrimination?

Evaluation of dealing with the situation…

- Did you figure out the various ways of dealing with the situation right away?
- What kind of coping techniques are we talking about? How can they be summed up and described?
- Are there differences in how we deal with situations in which we discriminated and in those we were discriminated? What methods of dealing with such situations are constructive, what are not?
- How do we justify discriminatory behaviour?
- What are the functions of prejudices and discriminatory behaviour?
- How could you have dealt with the situations?

Worksheet 1

For discussion on the experiences of discrimination:

"I was discriminated"

Think back to one situation in which you were discriminated.

What happened? Who was involved? What was said and done by those involved? What did you do and say? How did you feel during this episode?

Worksheet 2

For discussion on the experiences of discrimination:

"I discriminated"

Think back to one situation in which you discriminated someone.

What happened? Who was involved? What was said and done by those involved? What did you do and say? How did you feel during this episode?

Followed by the
Presentation of the Model of Discrimination
Explain using examples the levels of discrimination and how the three influence and shape each other.
Explain intersectionality with examples.

First Steps of Action (60 – 90 mins)

Aims:

- To mention the need to change things in everyday life and at work or in the school
- Reflection on ones own potential for influencing
- Developing the first steps of action for your daily life and/or at work/in the school

Material: A copy of the worksheet "Possibilities of action in your everyday life", pens

Method:
Individual work (15-20 mins)

- Explain that this exercise gives the opportunity to reflect about your own day-to-day life and to develop/plan initial steps of action
- Distribute the worksheet and ask pax to answer the questions on it. Ask pax to decide on 1 or max 2 situations, as due to time limit, concrete steps for action are only possible a max of 2 problem situations. Note 1 or 2 situation where either you discriminated or saw discrimination happen.

Group work (30 – 40 mins)

- Ask pax to form pairs of their own choice. Tell them that each one has 15-20 mins to interview the other about his/her situation and respective action plan. The second person in the pair will then present his/her situation and respective action plan.
- Consider yourselves as experts and advice and support the other person with respect to his/her action plan-

In plenary (10 – 30 mins)

- Ask them all back to the plenary
- The action plans could be briefly presented and on need further advised by the other pax.

Debriefing questions:

- Could you use the time well?
- Was the plan/procedure helpful?
- Did you at any point feel that you'd reached your limits? At what point was this?

Worksheet

Possibilities of Action in your own Everyday Life

Description of a situation:
What is difficult/problematic? What is the trouble?

Your own sphere of influence:
Where is my own sphere of influence? Which options are open to me?

Action planning:
What steps do I take? When should they take place and what should they actually look like?

Letter to myself (30 mins)

Aims:

- Personal reflection on the seminar and the protected space
- First step in planning for the (near) future
- Test your own plans, ideas and thoughts on their long-term implementation

Material:
10 envelopes, A4 paper, stamps, pens

Preparation:
Decide on a suitable time span after which the letters should be sent out to the participants
A time span of between 4 to 8 weeks is recommended.

Method:

- Explain to the pax that they now have the opportunity to write a letter to themselves in order to put down and record important content/parts of the seminar and their own thoughts
- Please address the letter to yourself and inform yourself that the letter will be sent to you within 6 weeks so as to certify that the contents of the seminar are not forgotten in everyday life but to support a personal memory. You can also draw or paint and write if you so wish.
- Think about those themes, thought and feeling which were personally relevant to you.
- The letter can only contain the first step of action which tie in with personal themes and can lead to a change. It is important to formulate concrete aims/goals for the next 6 weeks.
- Give them 20 mins for the same, lengthen if necessary. Each one works alone, concentrated and undisturbed.
- Collect the letters and send them within 6 weeks to the participants

Final Words before evaluation, going through the entire 2-day programme

Evaluation questionnaire (30 mins)

The end…

ANNEX 3

Making Diversity a Reality
Background Questionnaire

1. Name, Last name (voluntary) ____

2.Age ____________

3.What class are you studying in? ______________________

4.What subjects are you studying this year? _____________________________________

____

____

5.What are your favourite subjects? Why? ______________________________________

____

____

6. Who are your favourite teachers? Why? ______________________________________

____

7. Do you do well at school? ____

____

8.Is it important to you to do well? Why? ______________________________________

____

9. Do boys or girls do better? Why? ____

____

10. Are there points of conflict between the girls and the boys in class? If yes, on what? _______

____

____

11. Why did you or your parents choose this school? ______________________________

12. Are you proud of your school? Why? _______________________________________

____

13. Who are your closest friends and why? ____________________

14. What kind music do you listen to? Why? ____________________

15. Favourite group/singer? ____________________

16. Favourite films? TV serials /channel? ____________________

17. Favourite books? Why? ____________________

18. Are you interested in sports? Do you practice any sports? Which one(s)?__________

19. Who is your favourite sports personality? Why? ____________________

20. What is your favourite free time activity? Where and with whom do you hang out most of the time? ____________________

21. Describe your life story in a few lines. ____________________

22. Describe your religion in a few lines. ____________________

____

____

____

23. When you start working and earning where would you ideally like to live? Why? __________

____

____

____

24. Do you go out often with your family? Describe a typical outing with your family. ________

____

____

____

25. Name a person who you admire? Please gives reasons.______________________________

____

____

26. Have you / can you / would you like to vote in the municipal election? Is it important to you? Why? Why not?____

____

____

____

27. What do you want to do when you finish school? ___________________________

____

____

28. Who makes up your family?____

____

____

29. What is your life like compared to that of your parents? ______________________

____

30. Do you have a good relationship with your parents? Are there any points of conflict? ______

____

____

32. Why are you participating in this workshop? ________________________________

____

____

____

____

31. What do you expect to gain/learn from this workshop? _________________________

____

____

____

ANNEX 4

Making Diversity a Reality
A 2-day Workshop
Final Evaluation Questionnaire

I. Overall impression of the workshop

What was your motivation for participating in the workshop you just attended (tick several boxes, if appropriate):

To gain intercultural and teamwork skills	☐
To gain communication skills	☐
To find out more on the themes – culture, prejudice and discrimination.	☐
To have fun	☐

Other (please specify) ____________________

____

What is your overall impression of the workshop?

Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Unsatisfactory ☐

To what degree have your expectations been fulfilled?

100-81% ☐ 80-61% ☐ 60-40% ☐ Less than 40% ☐

Please rate the following:

Information on the workshop	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
The Themes covered (identity, culture, prejudice, discrimination, etc.)	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
The methods used (games, role plays, energizers)	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
The trainer	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Exchange and discussions with other participants	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐

In your opinion, what were the best experiences at the workshop? (please specify)

a) ____________________

b) ____________________

c) ____________________

How would you describe the atmosphere of the programme?

____

____

____

Please rate the following:

The Introduction Session	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Talking wheel	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Lemons	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Identity Molecules + Culture	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
A New Beginning	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Photographs	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Take A Step Forward	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Experiencing discrimination	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Input on discrimination in the societal and global context	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
First Steps of Action	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Letter to myself	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐
Evaluation	Excellent ☐	Good ☐	Fair ☐	Unsatisfactory ☐

III. Achievement of our objectives

Please judge the following statements from your point of view!

The Trainer was easy to understand.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
The instructions for each exercise were clear and easy to understand.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
You were motivated to participate fully in the workshop.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
The methods used (games, role plays, energizers) suited the themes covered during the workshop.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
The themes covered were relevant to your daily life.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
You feel that you have a better understanding of how prejudices and discrimination functions.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
You are now more aware of your own prejudices.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
You would like to discuss some of these themes and other similar ones even further.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
You would take part in a similar workshop in the future.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐
You now feel that you have a different opinion on these subjects than before the workshop.	true ☐	partly true ☐	not true ☐

Do you feel that some of the themes we discussed were not important? Which ones and why? Please specify below.

Do you feel that some of the methods used were not good? Which ones and why? Please specify below.

IV. Suggestions for improvement

Do you have any suggestions for improving the workshop?

Do you have any final personal comments about the workshop?

Nationality: ______________________________

Country of Residence: ______________________________

Age: __________

Gender: __________

Thank you very much for your feedback on the workshop. I hope that you enjoyed the two days! We wish you all the best in your personal life and your schooling and hope to see you again in eight months!

Warmest regards,

Rubaica Jaliwala

ANNEX 5

Making Diversity a Reality
Questionnaire on social issues, Bombay

Name, Last name (voluntary info.): ____

1. You read in this morning's newspaper that the government is planning to reduce reservation of seats for Schedule Castes and Tribes and OBCs in colleges and universities. Do you agree with the decision?
Yes__________________________ No________________________________
What do you think about it?

2. Do you think the reservation of jobs for the disabled in the private and public sector is useful, usefulness for the disabled and for society at large?
Yes__________________________ No__________________________________
Please give reasons for your answer.

3. Slum demolition has been taking place at great rapidity in the last couple of years. Are you pleased about it?
Yes_________________________ No______________________________________
Please give reasons for your answer.

4. Do you believe that migrants should receives a resident permit depending on how well they speak the language of the country they are living in?
Yes______________________ No______________________________________
Please give reasons for your answer.

5. Is there an ethnic, cultural or religious group, other than your own, that you like, admire and respect?
Yes _____________________ No____________________________________
If yes, which one____
Please explain why or why not.

6. Is there an ethnic, cultural or religious group that you dislike?

Yes________________________ No____

Please explain what in particular you don't like about this group.

7. It's your brother's 5th birthday. I come to the party and give him a female doll dressed up in a frilly dress as a present. Would you be pleased about it?

Yes________________________ No____

Please give reasons for your answer.

8. Your sister brings home her new boyfriend, a Nigerian, for the first time. Your father ignores him and talks as if he were not present. Your mother is over-polite, appears superficial and unconvincing. Do you feel the same way as your parents?

Yes________________________ No____

Please give reasons for your answer?

9.You are a member of the board of your housing society. Two empty flats are being let/sold and the housing society is meeting to decide which 2 persons/families should be allowed to rent/purchase flats in the building. The people interested in the flat are as follows:

A Muslim family – husband, wife and 2 kids
an 8 member Hindu joint family
a retired teacher and his wife, both Catholics
a Gujarati couple with their 5 year old son
a couple – husband Muslim and Hindu wife.

Which two would you choose to have in your building and which one family are you completely against?

I would choose:
1)____
2)____
I would not choose:1) ____

Please explain the reasons for your answers.

10. Nikhil, your best friend, is a 16-year old champion swimmer competing at the national level. One day through a routine blood test he discovers that he has HIV AIDS. The news spreads like wild fire through the city in which you live. The next day, you accompany Nikhil at the club for his usual swimming practice. His coach and club authorities do not allow him to swim and inform him that he should never return. Most newspapers report the event and almost everyone is talking about it. Nikhil's parents are appalled; a well-known industrialist, he feels insulted and does not want to have anything more to do with him. His mother is torn between her son and husband, and through her silence, she chooses her husband over her son. His sister Sheila is the only person who stands by him as society rejects him at every turn.

Would you stay friends with him even though everyone rejects him, and you parents are now also against the friendship?

Yes____________________________ No____

Please give reasons for your decision?

ANNEX 6

Making Diversity a Reality
Questionnaire on social issues, Berlin

1. I have a very diverse circle of friends in terms of ethnic and cultural background.
Yes ____________________________ No _______________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____
____
____
____
____
____
____

2. Affirmative Action (special actions or funds) is helpful in assisting the integration of disadvantaged people such as women and the younger generation of migrant families.
Yes ____________________________ No __________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____
____
____
____
____
____
____

3. Migration from Islamic countries endangers the future development of Germany.
Yes ____________________________ No __________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

4. I believe that migrants should receive resident permits depending on their fluency in the language of the country they are living in?
Yes ____________________________ No __________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____
____
____
____
____
____
____

5. Is there a particular ethnic, cultural or religious group, other than your own, that you like, admire and respect?
Yes ____________________________ No __________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____
____
____

6. Is there a particular ethnic, cultural or religious group that you do not like?
Yes ____________________ No ____________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____________________

7. I wouldn’t mind being friends with someone who is a gay, lesbian or bisexual.
Yes ____________________ No ____________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____________________

8. I wouldn’t mind working or being part of a group in which I am the only person of my skin colour. Yes ____________________ No ____________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____________________

9. Every person is entitled to the right to freedom of speech – even racist or similar groups.
Yes ____________________ No ____________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____________________

10. I don’t mind if people around me speak other languages, even if I don’t understand what they are saying.
Yes ____________________ No ____________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____________________

11. Men have privileges in our society, which women do not have.
Yes ____________________________ No ________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____

12. I wouldn't mind if my child were gay, lesbian or bisexual.
Yes ____________________________ No ________________________

Give reasons for your answer. ____

13. You have been offered a 3-year job in Hamburg and would like to sublet your 2-bedroom apartment. The following 4 persons/families are keenly interested in your apartment:

1. A Polish family, 3-members: man (self-employed), his girlfriend and her daughter
2. A German male running his own graphic design company
3. A German-African male journalist (single parent) with his son.
4. An Iranian family, 4 members: father, mother, 2 kids
5. A 30-year-old unmarried German woman, recipient of social welfare.

Please rank your preferences:
First choice____
Second choice____
Third choice____
Fourth choice____
Last choice____

Please give reasons for your first preference: ________________________________

Please give reasons for your last preference: ________________________________

14. I have prejudices.
Yes ____________________________ No ________________________
Give reasons for your answer. ____

ANNEX 7

Questions for group discussions and interviews with students, Bombay, 2009

1. **Group discussion with pupils**
   a) So what's has happened in the past year, how has it been, that's since we met? Has anything changed in your attitudes or perception or simply in life?
   b) Have you in the past months thought at all about what we discussed? Why in particular?
   c) Do you think anything was different for you after the workshop or did life just go on as always? If yes, how?

   Ask the following questions if they do not bring up the terrorist acts of November 2008:

   d) How did you feel when the Bombay attacks happened last year?
   e) Do you think you felt and reacted differently from those you hadn't done the training – for example friends, family or teachers?

   Extra questions:

   f) How was the training when you think about it now, one year later?
   g) What do you remember of the workshop? Which topics come to your mind?
   h) Would you be interested in participating in a similar workshop in the future? Why?

2. **Interviews with pupils**
   a) How was it filling out the questionnaire that I gave you?
   b) Did anything surprise you while you were filling it out?
   c) Do you remember what you wrote last year or did you try to remember what you had previously written?
   d) How do you think you answered, the same as earlier or differently? If different how differently?
   e) None of you / most of you didn't respond to my email questions. Did you receive the "Letter to myself"? How did you feel reading it?
   f) Where you surprised by anything? Did it help refresh your memory?
   g) Have there been any major changes in your life since we last met?
   h) Did you notice anything different about yourself through the last year?
   i) Did you at any point have questions on which you wanted more information?
   j) Did any incident, event, discussion with teachers, family or friends make you think about the subjects we discussed? What incidents?
   k) Did you in the past months take any steps (small or big), any decisions or behave in any way different from your normal behaviour which you would say are as a result of our workshop?

ANNEX 8

Questions for group discussions and interviews with students, Berlin, 2009

1. **Group discussion with pupils**
    a) So what's has happened in the past year, how has it been, that's since we met? Has anything changed in your attitudes or perception or simply in life?
    b) Have you in the past months thought at all about what we discussed? Why in particular?
    c) Do you think anything was different for you after the workshop or did life just go on as always? If yes, how?

    Extra questions:

    d) How was the training when you think about it now, one year later?
    e) What do you remember of the workshop? Which topics come to your mind?
    f) Would you be interested in participating in a similar workshop in the future? Why?

2. **Interviews with pupils**
    a) How was it filling out the questionnaire that I gave you?
    b) Did anything surprise you while you were filling it out?
    c) Do you remember what you wrote last year or did you try to remember what you had previously written?
    d) How do you think you answered, the same as earlier or differently? If different how differently?
    e) None of you / most of you didn't respond to my email questions. Did you receive the "Letter to myself"? How did you feel reading it?
    f) Where you surprised by anything? Did it help refresh your memory?
    g) Have there been any major changes in your life since we last met?
    h) Did you notice anything different about yourself through the last year?
    i) Did you at any point have questions on which you wanted more information?
    j) Did any incident, event, discussion with teachers, family or friends make you think about the subjects we discussed? What incidents?
    k) Did you in the past months take any steps (small or big), any decisions or behave in any way different from your normal behaviour which you would say are as a result of our workshop?

ANNEX 9

Interview questions for the principals - Bombay

Ecole Mondiale World School

1.How many students study in the school? How many per class? How many in Class 9?
2. How many Indian students are currently studying in the school?
3. What is the girl to boy ratio?
4. How many teachers in the school? How many of them are Indian?
5. How many religions are represented in the school through its students?
6. When was the school founded? Was it founded on a basic principle? If yes, which one?
7. How does the school rank at the state level / national level?
8. How many dropouts do you have every year? What are the chief reasons for this?
9. Are student motivated/interested in their lessons? Approximately how many students (number of percentage) fail every year? What are the main reasons for this?
10. Which students do better in class? Please state the trends that you may have noticed. Boys or girls? Students of a particular religious group or nationality?
11.Are there conflicts in the school? What kind of conflicts?
12. Are there conflicts between boys and girls? If yes, on what issues?
13. Are there conflicts between students and teachers? If yes, on what issues?
14. Does the school have a conflict management programme run either by a student group or by the school management?
15. Is there a student council? Please describe its activities and role in the school.
16. How often do you have parent-teacher meetings/evenings? Do most parents come to parent-teacher evenings? What does the school do to make parents come to these meetings? What happens if they don't speak English?
17. Does the school have conflicts with certain parents?
18. What role do parents play in the running the school? How are their wishes and complaints incorporated into the school programme?
19.Does the school have a written policy on all or various issues?
20. What role does interculturality play in your school? What intercultural methods/materials do you use in your classroom?
21. Is the pupil's first language (mother tongue) taken into consideration? Is it taught in school? Is their first language seen as an obstacle or as an advantage?
22. If pupils are weak in English, what kind of help do they receive, if any?
23. Do you have partner schools in other countries? (Exchange programmes, pen friends, etc.)
24. What according to you are the main problems faced by your students within the school and outside (in society)?
25. What according to you will be their main problem once they leave school?
26. Do you have a head teacher? What is his/her function?
27. Is there a teacher hierarchy in the school?
28. Is there transparency in decision-making? How does decision-making work?
29. Is religion (or religions of the world) taught as a subject in the school? If yes, at what level (which grade)?
30. The school's mission statement reads, "One of our prime purposes is to develop international mindedness, along with valuing local traditions and culture. We aim to offer a dynamic environment …. Dedicated learner for life, with respect and understanding for other cultures and acknowledging that others can be different and also right, and a contributing member of local and global community."

How do you achieve the above? What strategies and methods do you use to ensure that the following aim of the school, “To respect individual and cultural differences and ensure a concern for fellow human beings”, is met?

Bombay International School

31.How many students study in the school? How many per class? How many in Class 9?
32. What is the girl to boy ratio?
33. How many teachers in the school?
34. How many religions are represented in the school through its students?
35. When was the school founded? Was it founded on a basic principle? If yes, which one?
36. How does the school rank at the state level / national level?
37. How many dropouts do you have every year? What are the chief reasons for this?
38. Are student motivated/interested in their lessons? Approximately how many students (number of percentage) fail every year? What are the main reasons for this?
39. Which students do better in class? Please state the trends that you may have noticed. Boys or girls? Students of a particular religious group?
40.Are there conflicts in the school? What kind of conflicts?
41. Are there conflicts between boys and girls? If yes, on what issues?
42. Are there conflicts between students and teachers? If yes, on what issues?
43. Does the school have a conflict management programme run either by a student group or by the school management?
44. Is there a student council? Please describe its activities and role in the school.
45. How often do you have parent-teacher meetings/evenings? Do most parents come to parent-teacher evenings? What does the school do to make parents come to these meetings? What happens if they don't speak English?
46. Does the school have conflicts with certain parents?
47. What role do parents play in the running the school? How are their wishes and complaints incorporated into the school programme?
48.Does the school have a written policy on all or various issues?
49. What role does interculturality play in your school? What intercultural methods/materials do you use in your classroom?
50. Is the pupil's first language (mother tongue) taken into consideration? Is it taught in school? Is their first language seen as an obstacle or as an advantage?
51. If pupils are weak in English, what kind of help do they receive, if any?
52. Do you have partner schools in other countries? (Exchange programmes, pen friends, etc.)
53. What according to you are the main problems faced by your students within the school and outside (in society)?
54. What according to you will be their main problem once they leave school?
55. Do you have a head teacher? What is his/her function?
56. Is there a teacher hierarchy in the school?
57. Is there transparency in decision-making? How does decision-making work?
58. Is religion (or religions of the world) taught as a subject in the school? If yes, at what level (which grade)?

ANNEX 10

Interview questions for the teacher/head teacher – Berlin
(Berlin British School & Nelson Mandela School)

1.How many students study in the school? How many per class? How many in Class 9?
2. What is the girl to boy ratio?
3. How many teachers in the school?
4. How many religions are represented in the school through its students?
5. When was the school founded? Was it founded on a basic principle? If yes, which one?
6. How does the school rank at the state level / national level?
7. How many dropouts do you have every year? What are the chief reasons for this?
8. Are student motivated/interested in their lessons? Approximately how many students (number of percentage) fail every year? What are the main reasons for this?
9. Which students do better in class? Please state the trends that you may have noticed. Boys or girls? Students of a particular religious group?
10.Are there conflicts in the school? What kind of conflicts?
11. Are there conflicts between boys and girls? If yes, on what issues?
12. Are there conflicts between students and teachers? If yes, on what issues?
13. Does the school have a conflict resolution programme run either by a student group or by the school management?
14. Is there a student council? Please describe its activities and role in the school.
15. How often do you have parent-teacher meetings/evenings? Do most parents come to parent-teacher evenings? What does the school do to make parents come to these meetings? What happens if they don't speak English?
16. Does the school have conflicts with certain parents?
17. What role do parents play in the running the school? How are their wishes and complaints incorporated into the school programme?
18.Does the school have a written policy on all or various issues?
19. What role does interculturality play in your school? What intercultural methods/materials do you use in your classroom?
20. Is the pupil's first language (mother tongue) taken into consideration? Is it taught in school? Is their first language seen as an obstacle or as an advantage?
21. If pupils are weak in English, what kind of help do they receive, if any?
22. Do you have partner schools in other countries? (Exchange programmes, pen friends, etc.)
23. What according to you are the main problems faced by your students within the school and outside (in society)?
24. What according to you will be their main problem once they leave school?
25. Do you have a head teacher? What is his/her function?
26. Is there a teacher hierarchy in the school?
27. Is there transparency in decision-making? How does decision-making work?
28. Is religion (or religions of the world) taught as a subject in the school? If yes, at what level (which grade).
29. What is the ratio of German to non-German pupils in your school? Why is it so?
30. Is the wearing a headscarf for pupils and/or teachers an issue in the school? Have you discussed the headscarf issue/debate with your students or has the subject been brought up at all in school with students?
31.Does your school have a policy on this subject?
32.Does the school have a policy against racism? Is it carried out?
33. According to you, is there racism in the school?
34. Does Islamophobia, according to you, exist in German society? Is it on an increase?