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**The Beauty in the Pain: Understanding Second-Generation Migrants
Identity Formation in Germany**

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Summary

Europe is currently witnessing a surge in immigration. The symbolic divide between majorities and minorities has progressively diminished over time. Yet, immigrants now confront a substantial wave of anti-immigrant sentiment and discrimination. By raising the question, “What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?” the objective of this research is to comprehend the process of identity formation among second-generation migrants and to gain insights that can facilitate more effective integration into society. Society must acquire knowledge and adapt to the presence of migrants and their descendants, as it ultimately benefits society as a whole. This research uses qualitative data analysis. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are conducted and analyzed through deductive-inductive techniques. The data suggest that second-generation migrants in Germany experience a form of identity shift, and navigate their lives with fluid identities resulting from experiences made because of their backgrounds. Second-generation migrants in Germany do not know where they belong and how to identify themselves regarding their ethnicity and nationality. Further research should be conducted to fully understand how this is relevant for society's current problems on the integration of second-generation migrants.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

“Where are you from? No, where are you really from?”

A question I was asked my entire life. Sometimes even before people asked me for my name. Growing up, I did not realize that I was different. It was normal to have parents looking different from each other and eating different kinds of food depending on which side of the family I was visiting. Or even hearing this language I still cannot speak to this day, which yet sounds so familiar and comforting to me. My father is German and my mother is Afghan. I am a second-generation migrant, and my name is Phillip Sharif.

It was not until later in life that I felt torn apart. Who am I? Who do I want to be? I found a struggle in identifying myself as I grew older. When I was seven my family moved from a very ethnic neighborhood to a predominantly white one and this is where my peers told me I looked different. Gymnasium was the first time I experienced discrimination in education and as I got taller and looked more and more “threatening”, discrimination took place more frequently in everyday life. In schools, traffic stops, supermarkets, and even on the street. People, as well as institutions, let me know I am “other”. I feel completely integrated and have never struggled with socializing and finding friends or any of that sort, but I always knew I am different. That, I feel pride in while it saddens me to know I will always have to work a little harder than my friend, neighbor, and the person walking on the other side of the road. Nevertheless, the questions of who I am, where I belong to, and where my place in society is still remain.

Europe is going through a change. She has experienced more immigration than ever before, and the migrants are coming from different regions than in the past. The symbolic border between majorities and minorities has weakened over the past. Yet, this is not found true for migrants from the Turkish-Arabic region (Gerhards et al., 2018). According to Foroutan (2019), the rise in the number of immigrants coming from Muslim countries has led to Islamization fears in Germany. Or as Virupaksha et al. put it: “immigrants of all ages face significant and rising anti-immigrant sentiment and discrimination” (2014).

1.2 Research Problem

This is true for generations of migrants, and not only the first one. Our society is facing a problem when it comes to the integration of migrants, as well as their off-springs, which needs to be sorted out. While there has been a lot of research regarding discrimination against migrants and the dealing with it, this research is asking the question “What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?”.

This central question is accompanied by the following sub-questions:

1. “What are the experiences of second-generation migrants in Germany concerning discrimination and prejudice in different social contexts such as school, work, or public spaces?”

2. “What kind of family and community relations do second-generation migrants in Germany experience?”
3. “How do these experiences affect second-generation migrant's well-being and self-esteem?”

The next section “Theoretical Framework” will integrate the aim and research questions into the academic literature used for this paper. By asking these questions, this research aims to understand the workings of second-generation migrants' identity formation to gain a perspective on how to more successfully integrate them into society. Society has to learn and adapt to a generation of migrants and their offspring for its own sake.

The topic of second-generation migrants identity formation with all of its sad and striking, as well as its beautiful aspects being more integrated within academics could help establishing an understanding in society.

1.3 Structure of the Paper

The theoretical framework provides a concise summary of crucial findings from existing literature, serving as a foundation to address the central, and sub-questions of this research. It establishes the backdrop for the article and lays the groundwork for the conceptual model used to explore the topic of identity formation among second-generation migrants in Germany.

The hypotheses in this study outline the anticipated outcomes for addressing the research questions. They include proposed answers for the three sub-questions as well as the main research question. Overall, this section will integrate the aim and research questions into the academic literature used for this paper.

The methodology section of this paper begins by elucidating the data collection and analysis methods employed. It also covers the research's sampling strategies, research ethics, and reflection on the reliability, validity, and trustworthiness of the data.

The subsequent results section delves into the findings obtained through data collection and analysis. This section is divided into three parts based on the conceptual model utilized in this research.

Finally, the conclusion section synthesizes the main findings of the research, reflects on its strengths and weaknesses, and offers recommendations for future research endeavors.

2 Theoretical framework

Many theories and concepts are relevant to the aforementioned research question. One, that is of utmost importance here is the concept of identity. As psychologist Erik Erikson (1968) states, our identities are not something that we ascribe or think of ourselves. Our identities are shaped by the social roles and group memberships we experience. It is the procedure, in which we are classified by our peers regarding culturally prescribed categories. According to Appiah (2018), identity is always accompanied by the following:

1. Labels and ideas about why and to whom they should apply.
2. It shapes your thoughts about how you should behave.
3. It affects the way other people treat you.

In his study “What is identity (as we now use the word?)”, Fearon elucidates that identity as we understand it today mostly includes an ascribed social classification that is determined by membership rules, its accompanying characteristic attributes or behaviors, or “a socially distinguishing feature that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable but socially consequential.” (1999). These three definitions of the concept of identity supplement each other and convey the same meaning. For the sake of this research regarding the central research question “What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?”, this article will adopt all of the aforementioned aspects concerning its definition of the term “identity”.

In the case of second-generation migrants in Germany, being exposed to inclusion, exclusion and oftentimes blunt racism has an impact on their identity formation. Many experience to not “fit in”, while they do not necessarily experience hard boundaries in their educational or professional lives (Chimienti et al., 2019).

Another important aspect in someone’s identity, and subsequently their identity formation, is the concept of sense of belonging. The concept of sense of belonging refers to the feeling of active participation within a particular system or environment, where individuals perceive themselves as an essential component of that system or environment (Bouwsema et al., 1992).

The second overarching concept to this research is the concept of migration. Migration as defined by Virupaksha et al. (2014), is a person shifting residence across political or administrative boundaries. According to them, it is a process of people adapting to a new environment, which involves decision-making, preparation, going through the procedure of migration, adjusting to local cultural needs, and becoming part of a new system.

The latter, especially adjusting to cultural needs and becoming part of a [new] system does not only occur for first-generation, but also second-generation migrants, as they have to learn how to adapt and integrate aspects of both their heritage culture and their home country. This oftentimes comes with discrimination and social exclusion for second-generation migrants, which can lead to negative comparisons with the majority group (Veling, 2013). This, on the other hand, can have an impact on the second-generation migrant's self-esteem, which is “a general attitude towards the worth or value of oneself” (Virupaksha et al., 2014), and hence

influence their identity formation. Positive psychological well-being can generally be ascribed to those that are involved in both their heritage culture and are well integrated into the national society (Berry et al., 2009). Soeh and Waldinger (2012) have also found that family and community relations and support affect second-generation migrants' “transnationalism”. The better their parents are integrated into the host society, the less the second generation feels connected to their culture of heritage, with the most important factor found to be the parents' ability to speak the home country's main language.

The strength of meaningful ties for the second-generation migrant to their country of home can affect their identity formation. This research aims to gain an understanding of how these aforementioned aspects influence a second-generation migrants' identity formation.

2.1 Conceptual Model

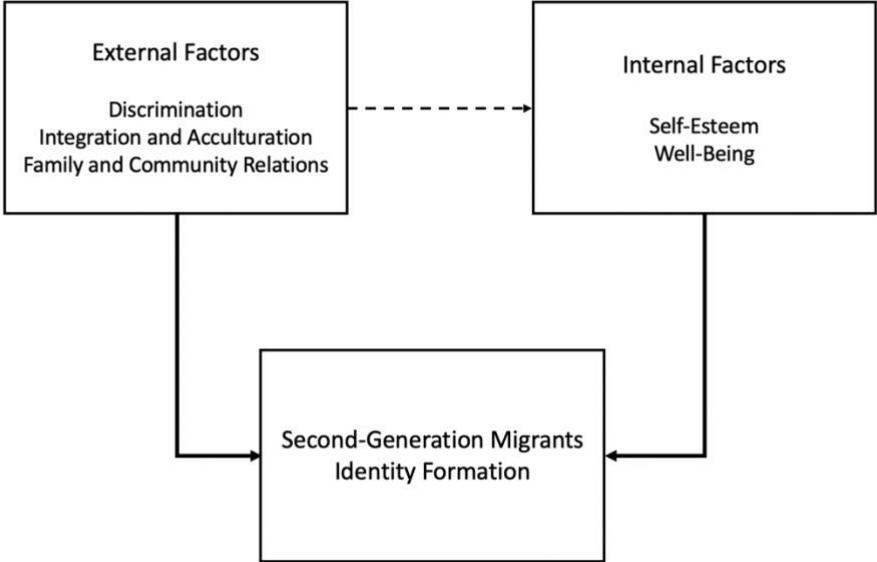


Figure 1: Conceptual Model

As shown in the conceptual model (Figure 1) , the external factors (Discrimination, Integration and Acculturation, Family and Community Relations) affect the middle eastern second-generation migrant's internal factors (Self-Esteem, Well-being). The internal factors, on the other hand, cannot influence the external ones. This is for the reason that the internal factors are workings within the subject in question, while the external factors are the ones that create the environment the subject finds itself in. And the entirety of them then influences their identity formation.

The conceptual model (Figure 1) is a direct result of the scientific literature discussed and used in this article, and thus, stands in line with their findings. The same goes for this research’s central research question, as well as its accompanying sub-questions.

For the sake of this paper, Fearon's definition of the term "identity" will be adopted. Nevertheless, it is to mention that this article will put a strong emphasis on the sense of belonging that the second-generation migrant in question self-perceives their nationality or ethnicity and belonging.

2.2 Expectations

It is hypothesized that the first sub-question "What are the experiences of second-generation migrants in Germany concerning discrimination and prejudice in different social contexts such as school, work, or public spaces?", will conclude, that second-generation migrants in Germany do become subject of discrimination based on racial or ethnic reasons. The reasons, as well as the extent of discrimination against the person, could depend on the individual's ethnic background (Foroutan, 2019).

The expectation for the second sub-question "What kind of family and community relations do second-generation migrants in Germany experience?", is that the research will find some sort of sub-communities experienced for second-generation migrants in Germany. These could consist of friend groups with similar backgrounds or else. The subject's family, as well as its cultural heritage, could play a large role in the subject's life. The latter, however, could be dependent on the degree to which their family is integrated into the home country's society (Soeh and Waldinger, 2012).

As for the last sub-question "How do these experiences affect second-generation migrant's well-being and self-esteem?", it is hypothesized that these experiences in question can negatively impact the second-generation migrant's well-being and self-esteem. This expectation stands in line with Virupaksha's "Migration and mental health: An interface", where the authors describe just that occurrence.

Based on the theoretical framework and its preliminary findings, this research expects to find that the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany lead to their identity being experienced as "fluid", as Chimienti et al. put it. Second Generation Migrants may experience confusion about their identity. Not feeling belonging to either their heritage culture nor feeling complete belonging to their national society as Chimienti et al. (2019) describe how second-generation migrant's identity is often influenced by experiences of inclusion, exclusion, and racism and can potentially explain why some second-generation migrants do not feel to 'fit in' whilst succeeding at school and in their professional career. The aforementioned states the expectation for the overarching main research question "What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?".

3 Methodology

3.1 Operationalization of the Conceptual Model – Development of the Interview Guide

This research utilizes semi-structured in-depth interviews as its means of gathering data. Interviews assist in articulating and gaining a deeper comprehension of and delving into the participant's opinions, behavior, and experiences (Gill et al., 2008).

As the outline of the interview guide shows (see appendix), it will be structured in different parts. Each of these parts focuses on the different aspects of the sub-questions, as well as on the conceptual model (Figure 1) of the research. Answering these will help ultimately answer the main research question. The opening questions are there to build rapport with the participants, and to inform about the demographics of the participants, and to get an idea about their standpoint. There are different key questions including probing questions concerning the topics of “Family and Community”, “Experiences of Discrimination”, “Well-Being and Self-Esteem”, and “Identity Formation”. The first three topics will be discussed to cover the sub-questions, as well as the concepts included in the conceptual model (Figure 1), and the last content of the key questions focus directly on the main research question. The first three parts will help lead to the final set of key questions of the interview. The closing questions, on the other hand, are to give the participant the chance to add anything they feel necessary to include in their interview and will help the interviewer to improve their skills in interviewing.

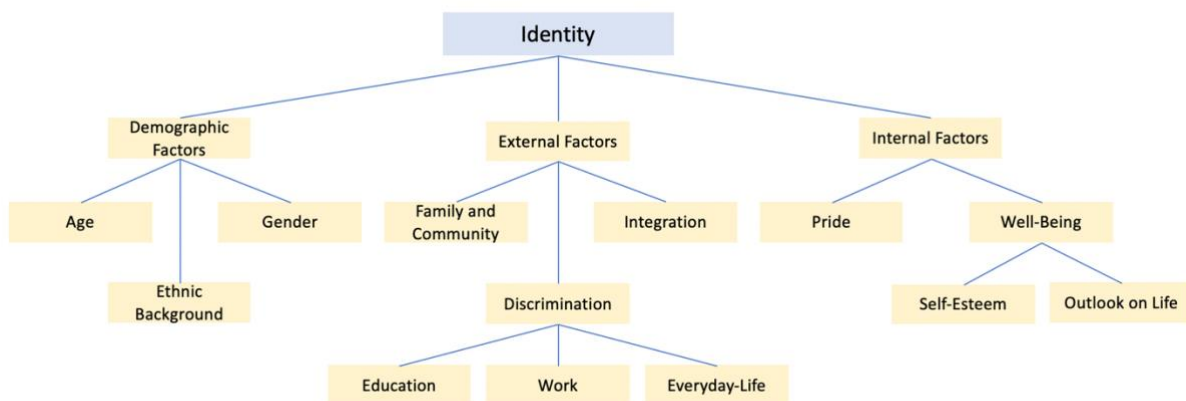


Figure 2: Deductive Code Tree

The deductive code tree (Figure 2) was constructed based on the interview questions and past literature. However, with each interview, the coding may be subject to certain changes due to the fact that everyone has their own unique experiences.

As can be derived from the deductive code tree (Figure 2), three branches are leading from the overarching concept of identity. Two of these are the concept groups that are presented in this researches conceptual model (Figure 1), namely, “Internal Factors”, as well as “External Factors”. The third branch leads to “Demographic Factors”, and helps categorize the participants into demographics. The latter branch focuses on the interviewee's age, gender, and

ethnic background. The “External Factors” are subdivided into “Family and Community”, “Integration”, and “Discrimination”, and focus on the first two sub-questions of this research, which are “What are the experiences of second-generation migrants in Germany concerning discrimination and prejudice in different social contexts such as school, work, or public spaces?”, as well as “What kind of family and community support do second-generation migrants in Germany experience?”.

The last branch, “Internal Factors”, is split into “Well-Being” and “Pride”, whereas “Well-Being” is further split into the categories “Self-Esteem” and “Outlook on Life”. The category “Pride” is derived from existing literature. Fearon explains that the concept of identity, as we currently comprehend it, primarily involves a socially assigned classification based on membership rules, associated attributes or behaviors, or a distinctive feature that a person takes pride in or regards as unchangeable but has social significance (1999). This will help answer the third sub-question of this research “How do these experiences affect second-generation migrant's well-being and self-esteem?”.

The coding analysis scheme, and therefore the analysis of the interviews, is conducted in line with the structure of the research itself, and hence, will help investigate the central research question “What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?”.

3.2 Participant Recruitment

For this research, it was deemed interesting to gather participants from various demographics to examine how their identity was shaped by their different experiences. To achieve this, a decision was made to recruit interviewees purposely from communities known for the researcher. These include families, colleagues, or friends of people they know, that cater to second-generation migrants in Germany. Additionally, as the researcher is a second-generation migrant residing in Germany, they were able to conduct interviews with family members and other individuals from their community in person. The interviews were also conducted online, depending on the recruitment method used. These interviews were conducted and recorded before April 17th. The interview guide was prepared and finalized in advance to ensure well-prepared interviews. The data analysis was conducted promptly after gathering the data. It is crucial to have all the information readily available to obtain a comprehensive overview of the data.

3.3 Data Reflection

Once the qualitative data for a research project is gathered, it is crucial to reflect on the data as well as the data collection process. By doing this, the collected data's reliability, validity, and trustworthiness can be evaluated to assess the final results' strength.

Reliability determines the quality of measurement by measuring the consistency of measurement. Consistent and reliable measurement implies that similar results are obtained whenever the same phenomenon is being investigated (Fitzner, 2007). This research utilized both, a mix of open and inviting questions for the participants to be able to freely express themselves, as well as some more directive questions to measure the research's findings.

Secondly, validity ensures that the research accurately measures what it intends to measure (Fitzner, 2007). Previous literature and theories indicate that three external factors (Discrimination, Integration and Acculturation, Family and Community Relations) and two internal factors (Self-Esteem, Well-Being) have an impact on the second-generation migrant's identity formation. The qualitative research interviews incorporated and touched upon all of these factors, indicating high validity in the results.

The trustworthiness of the collected data is related to the participant recruitment and ethical aspects of the study. The participant recruitment worked well as only people from the target population were selected. However, the snowball sampling strategy was used for in-depth interviews, where the interviewer relied on known individuals to make contact with and recruit participants who were unknown to the interviewer (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). This participant recruitment strategy has the potential for bias because it is probable that the interviewer will recruit participants who share similar characteristics.

3.4 Research Ethics

This study adheres to the Netherlands Code of Conduct for research integrity (2018), which is based on five principles: honesty, scrupulousness, transparency, independence, and responsibility. The guidelines were closely followed to ensure the safety and well-being of the interviewees and to avoid any ethical violations. The qualitative interviews were conducted in person or online and recorded with the interviewees' consent. Participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time.

To maintain privacy and confidentiality, the transcripts were anonymized before analysis, and personal details were not shared with anyone. The voice recordings were kept private and have been deleted after transcription. All personally identifiable data were anonymized to protect the participants.

Before taking part in the study, the participants were fully informed of the research's aim and the use of their data, and they gave their informed consent to participate. The researchers also minimized the psychological risks by avoiding deeply personal or triggering questions.

Once the study is completed, the researcher is willing to share the results with the participants via email to ensure transparency. The researcher affirms that the final work is free of plagiarism and is consistent with ethical standards in the academic community.

3.5 Positionality of the Researcher

Additionally, the researcher himself is a second-generation migrant from Germany. His experiences and values might have guided and affected the research. Nevertheless, he tries to pursue this research with the utmost objectivity possible. This issue falls within the interpretive paradigm, according to Fossey (2002), the development of a description of the findings is embedded in the writer's interpretation of these.

4 Results

4.1 Overview of the Interview Data

Table 1: Overview of the characteristics of the interview participants

<i>Indication</i>	<i>Ethnic Background</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Residence</i>
<i>I1</i>	German/Afghan	Female	25 Years	Hamburg
<i>I2</i>	German/South Korean	Female	22 Years	Münster
<i>I3</i>	German/Mexican	Male	22 Years	Münster
<i>I4</i>	German/Tanzanian	Male	22 Years	Cologne

Table 1 includes the participant's descriptives categorized by their ethnic background, gender, age, as well as their current residency. To protect the anonymity of the interviewees, their names were replaced by an identifier.

4.1 Results from the interviews

4.1.1 External Factors

The external factors set the environment in which second-generation migrant in Germany find themselves. These are the experiences that they have made throughout their whole life. These regard their experiences concerning their ethnic backgrounds, as well as any other influence that impacts their internal factors, as well as their perception of their reality and the world they live in. This section will emphasize their experiences concerning their ethnic backgrounds, as the research is about the identity formation of second-generation migrants in Germany. The concepts that will be discussed are Discrimination, Integration, and Acculturation, as well as Family and Community, as presented in the deductive code tree in figure 2.

Discrimination

After analyzing the data that was conducted through the in-depth interviews, it became clear that all four of the participants have had experiences with discrimination. It is a usual occurrence and is part of their everyday lives. The participant from a German-Korean background explains “[...] comments and such things always happened and they still happen.” (I2) while discussing this topic. It is to mention, that the degree and type of discrimination experienced seem highly dependent on the individual's looks. The farther from “German” their features appear, the stronger the degree of discrimination. German-Tanzanian I4 states “Yes, 100%... so the topic is too big to drive up.” when being asked about discrimination. He explains that he has been subject to institutionalized discrimination by the police and within the educational system his whole life. Veling elucidates that discrimination occurs due to the integration of aspects of a second-generation migrant's heritage culture and their home country (2013). This research

came to a different conclusion, as the data suggests that in the case of the participants, it happens based on their physical factors, as well as the knowledge of their backgrounds, which is an inductive finding. This data answers the first sub-question “What are the experiences of second-generation migrants in Germany concerning discrimination and prejudice in different social contexts such as school, work, or public spaces?”, and supports its accompanying expectation.

Integration and Acculturation

All of the participants describe feeling well-integrated within their home country’s society. None of them report any issues creating connections with peers or experiencing trouble feeling comfortable in their environment. During the interview, I4 says “*Yes, you feel well integrated, you feel comfortable. No question about it.*“. The reason for this, on the other hand, could lie in what Soeh and Waldinger (2012) found out during their research “*Inheriting the Homeland? Intergenerational Transmission of Cross-Border Ties in Migrant Families*“. The data collected throughout the interviews suggest that either the participant's migrant parents are well integrated themselves, or that they grew up only with their German parent, as opposed to with their migrant parent. German-Afghan I1 states “*My mother, on the other hand, for example, not so. She actually led a completely normal Western life, except that she cooked Afghan food from time to time.*“. This statement suggests that they grew up with a well-integrated migrant mother. It also indicates their heritage culture not being a significant part of their life. This, or similar experiences, have been reported by all of this research’s participants.

Family and Community

The interviewees mentioned that they did not have a strong connection or relationship to their heritage culture through their families. Both I3 and I4 did not have their migrant parent play a role in their upbringing. I1 and I2 experienced the cultural aspect of their heritage through its food while growing up but did not feel like they lived the Afghan or South-Korean cultures.

During the interview, I3 mentioned that having a similar background or speaking the same language creates a sense of community and belonging, stating “*That connects you, when you realize that you have the same background or speak the same language, you directly have this sense of community.*“. This is supported by Berry et al.'s 2009 research on second-generation immigrant youth in Montreal and Paris “*Acculturation, discrimination, and adaptation among second-generation immigrant youth in Montreal and Paris*”.

The data collected in this research answers the second sub-question question of what kind of family and community relations second-generation migrants in Germany experience, and it supports the expectation that sub-communities are experienced by second-generation migrants in Germany. However, the data does not indicate a strong relationship between the participants to their cultural heritage, which does not support the expectation that the subject's family and cultural heritage play a large role in their life.

4.1.2 Internal Factors

In contrast to external factors, it is the internal factors that determine the experiences and thought patterns of second-generation migrants. These factors are shaped by the individual's beliefs and are directly influenced by external factors that they encounter. Essentially, the internal factors serve as a lens through which they interpret and understand their experiences. Both external and internal factors contribute to shaping the second-generation migrant's self-image and ultimately influence their identity formation. The interplay between these two factors guides the process of identity formation for second-generation migrants.

This section will discuss the findings concerning the concepts of Self-Esteem, Well-Being, Outlook on Life, as well as Pride.

Self-Esteem

In general, the participants mentioned that their aforementioned experiences with discrimination, as well as others that are related to their ethnic background, did not have any impact on their self-esteem. Rather, they suggested it is a possibility for people that have not found their ways of dealing with such experiences.

One participant, on the other hand, described something unexpected. I1's experiences had, and still affect their self-esteem. They explained that they experienced a different type of discrimination. Being of Afghan descent made her feel partly Afghan even though her physical attributes and features lean more towards their German side. This has led to people denying their identity as an Afghan, by telling them they cannot be Afghan since they do not look this way. During the interview, they said, *"It was always basically denied part of my identity. And also still is partly. That already scratches at my self-esteem."* Their explanation for this *"It always basically denied part of my identity. And also still is partly."* is a hurtful truth that they have to deal with every day. According to them, those statements were mainly made by German people within her social circles, whereas fellow second-generation migrants supposedly never questioned her ethnic background, as well as her sense of belonging. This finding stems out of inductive nature, as prior research, as well as the author themselves did not expect discrimination to also go this way around.

Virupaksha et al. (2014) explain that discrimination can negatively impact a person's self-esteem, which they define as "a general attitude towards the worth or value of oneself".

Psychological Well-Being

Although the previous section on self-esteem implies that the experiences of the participants could negatively affect their psychological well-being, none of the participants reported any negative impacts on their psychological well-being. Even though Participant I1 mentioned that discrimination negatively affected their self-esteem, they did not believe that it had long-term effects on their mental well-being. According to Berry et al. (2009), being involved in both their heritage culture and being well-integrated into the national society can positively impact someone's psychological well-being. However, this finding cannot be supported by the results of this research.

The findings discussed in this section answer sub-question three, which asks how experiences affect the well-being and self-esteem of second-generation migrants. The evidence from this research supports the accompanying sub-questions of the expectation, indicating that second-

generation migrant experiences may have a negative impact on their self-esteem and psychological well-being.

Outlook on Life

During the interviews, the concept of outlook on life was discussed with the participants. The majority of interviewees reported having a positive outlook on their lives and the future in general. One key factor influencing their outlook was the development of society, as it can greatly impact the overall well-being of second-generation migrants. For instance, Participant I3 expressed that they believe society is improving, and life is becoming easier for people from diverse backgrounds explaining “*Oh, I think society as a whole is improving so that life is becoming easier for people from other backgrounds.... I would already have the feeling that it is easier.*”. Other participants shared similar views.

When asked about their future outlook, most of the participants mentioned considering it may be more challenging than for Germans, but not entirely believing so.

However, Participant I4, who had experienced institutionalized discrimination in the past, expressed fear about searching for housing or work in the future, stating, “[...]but what I definitely don't want to do is looking for an apartment.” They explained that they were concerned about encountering discrimination during these processes.

Pride

The concept of pride played a crucial role when discussing the topic of identity formation of second-generation migrants in Germany for all four of the participants. It struck out that every participant experienced immense pride in their background. This was also proven by their emphasizing how much they liked discussing this topic regarding their identity formation as second-generation migrants. They felt pride in their background despite some of the negative experiences they have made as a result of it. Some expressed an increase in it as a result of it even. Participant I3 stated, “*One is actually still... even prouder. Even if maybe there is a comment that is slightly... maybe negative, or... maybe not appropriate.*”. The concept of pride plays an important role in identity (formation), as Fearon elucidates. According to his research, membership rules, associated attributes or behaviors, or a distinctive feature that a person takes pride in or regards as unchangeable but has social significance are important factors in someone's identity.

4.1.3 Identity – And Identity Shift

One thing that stood out when analyzing the collected data for this research was that every individual that took part in the data collection process expressed an identity shift of some sort. The data indicates that the awareness of being a second-generation migrant grows over time. Some express that they came to the realization at the ages of around 13 or 14 years old. Mostly when peers simply called their attention to the fact that they either look different, or that their parent(s) emigrated from a different country. According to the participants, this has caused an identity shift within themselves. One inductive finding of this research is that participants that grew up in the absence of their migrant-parent experienced this shift in identity later than the

ones who did. This could be due to a farther distance to the cultural aspects of being a second-generation migrant.

The participants encounter an identity fluidity. This identity fluidity is best defined as the individual not being entirely sure about how to identify themselves concerning their own perceived ethnicity or nationality.

I2's comment "*Earlier it was then just mainly... or still the question, where do you come from?*" underpins this finding.

Participant I3 explains "*And I can't... I don't want to choose one side or yes... so really.*". This statement proves an inner conflict experienced by the participants regarding their identity and stands in line with Chimienti's findings reporting second-generation migrants oftentimes not feeling complete belonging to either their heritage culture nor to their national society (2019).

According to the participants, their identity is also dependent on the situation and the physical location they find themselves in. When they are in Germany they tend to identify more as individuals of second-generation, whereas this shifts as they find themselves abroad.

Erik Erikson describes how identities can be ascribed by society (1968), which is also supported by the findings of this research. Participant I4, for example, explains how he experienced being put in boxes and being categorized by other people based on his looks and his ethnic background.

The findings of this research answer its main research question "What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?", and support the expectation that the experiences and difficulties encountered by second-generation migrants in Germany result in a sense of fluidity in their identity. Second-generation migrants may struggle with a sense of confusion regarding their identity, as they may not feel a sense of belonging to either their heritage culture or their national society. They may feel like they don't fully fit in with either group.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

To answer this researches central research question “What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?” it was necessary to respond to its accompanying sub-questions. The foundation of this research was laid by answering the question “What are the experiences of second-generation migrants in Germany concerning discrimination and prejudice in different social contexts such as school, work, or public spaces?”. Discrimination is a common occurrence and an integral part of their daily existence. The extent and nature of the discrimination they encounter appear to be strongly influenced by their physical appearance. The encountered discrimination can vary from casual jokes among their circle of friends to systemic discrimination imposed by law enforcement or other authoritative entities.

Secondly, the following sub-question “What kind of family and community relations do second-generation migrants in Germany experience?” could be answered after evaluating the research’s findings. The presence of shared backgrounds or language proficiency fosters a sense of community and belonging. Second-generation migrants in Germany often find solace in sub-communities. However, the data collected does not demonstrate a significant correlation between the participants' cultural heritage and their personal lives, which contradicts the expectation suggesting that family and cultural heritage have a major influence on their lives. Furthermore, the data support Virupaksha et al.’s claim, stating that discrimination can negatively impact a person’s self-esteem, as well as their psychological well-being (2014). It is worth mentioning that all of the interviewees reported experiencing pride concerning their backgrounds. Moreover, the participants communicate a positive outlook on their future and society's future.

This information leads to ultimately answering this research’s central research question “What are the experiences and challenges faced by second-generation migrants in Germany, and how do these experiences impact their identity formation, and their subsequent lack of belonging?”. During the analysis of the gathered data for this study, a notable observation emerged: every participant involved in the data collection process experienced some form of an identity shift. The data suggests that the awareness of being a second-generation migrant intensifies with time. The participants navigate through a state of identity fluidity, characterized by uncertainty in defining their ethnicity or nationality. According to their accounts, their sense of identity and belonging is also influenced by the specific circumstances and physical environment they encounter.

Compared to existing literature concerning the topic of second-generation migrants, this research has allowed for a more positive view on the subject matter and accentuates the uniqueness that comes with being a second generation-migrant in Germany. It is important to not only identify the negative aspects and shortcomings of a problematic issue such as this one to fully understand what can and should be done to improve a situation. This research also gives a focus on positive aspects such as pride and the sense of community within second-generation migrant friend groups. Categorizing the second-generation migrants’ feelings and experiences as positive and negative could be an addition that could be made in the conceptual model.

This research highlights the importance of early and comprehensive integration of demographic groups, including second-generation migrants. It emphasizes the need to avoid differential treatment based on appearance or background. Schools, kindergartens, and other institutions should prioritize the inclusion of affected children to address their sense of belonging. By doing so, individuals' feelings of exclusion can be mitigated, contributing to a cohesive and well-functioning society.

One drawback of this research pertains to its sampling strategy used for participant recruitment during the data collection phase. The snowball sampling strategy, while employed, carries the risk of introducing bias since the interviewer may tend to select participants with similar characteristics.

On the other hand, the researcher's positionality serves as both the research's greatest strength and weakness. The researcher's personal experiences on the subject matter enable them to ask pertinent questions and seek answers that can only be comprehended from that particular perspective. However, the researcher's positionality might potentially hinder the research from approaching the matter with complete objectivity.

To gain more knowledge on the identity formation of second-generation migrants, not only in Germany but anywhere in this world. This research could be repeated using more open questions in the interview to gain a larger sample of answers and insights. Having young participants allows for understanding the most current developments regarding the topic. Nevertheless, conducting research including an older cohort of second-generation migrants could lead to other important findings.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Appendix A – Interview Guide (Translation into English)

Introduction:

“Hello, my name is... I am.. years old, from.. and I study Human Geography and Planning at the University of Groningen. This year I will graduate from my bachelors, and this research is part of my final steps.

With this research, I am trying to gain knowledge on what influences second-generation migrants identity formation in Germany. By doing this, it could help to understand what can be done in certain areas to improve the sense of belonging for second generation migrants. I think this is an important topic to understand, as identity formation has a great impact on the person's self-development.

Before I start asking you the questions, I would like to inform you that the participation in this interview is voluntary, and you are free to stop or take a break whenever needed. The interview is based on anonymity, which means that your name or other names that you mention will not be published in the research paper. Also the information that you share in this interview will only be used for academic and research purposes.

If you feel comfortable with it, I will voice record this interview so that I am later able to analyze it as precisely as possible.

Do you have questions before we start or was anything I just mentioned unclear?
Do you give permission to us to use the data obtained by this interview?”

Opening Questions:

Can you tell me a little bit about yourself and your family background?

Key Questions:

Family and Community

Can you describe your experiences growing up as a second-generation migrant in Germany?

How present was your families cultural and ethnical background in your upbringing, and how did you experience that?

Experiences of discrimination

What were some of the challenges you faced in your upbringing and now, particularly related to your cultural and ethnic background?

Do you sometimes feel treated differently from your friends and/or social environment (jokes about your ethnic background or else), and if so, how does that make you feel?

Well-being

Do you feel well integrated (despite our experiences)?

Do these experiences have any effect on your self-esteem or psychological well-being? Positive or negative?

How is your outlook on your future?

Identity Formation

How do you identify in terms of your nationality or ethnicity?

Do you take pride in your ethnic or cultural background?

Does this change depending on the context or situation you find yourself in?

Has your identity evolved over time?

Can you tell me about any significant events or experiences that have shaped your identity as a second-generation Middle Eastern migrant in Germany?

Closing Questions:

Is there anything else you would like to add to this interview, that you feel hasn't been touched upon?

What did you think of the interview? What did you like, or dislike?

7.2 Appendix B – Transcribed Interviews (Translated into English)

7.2.1 Interview I1

I: Hello, my name is Phillip. I am 23 years old, from Hamburg, Germany, and I study Human Geography and Planning at the University of Groningen. This year I will finish my bachelor and this research is part of my final steps.

With this research I am trying to gain knowledge about what influences the identity formation of second generation migrants in Germany. In this way, it could help to understand what can be

done in certain areas to improve second-generation migrants' sense of belonging. I think this is an important topic because it is important to understand that identity formation has a great impact on a person's self-development.

Before I start with the questions, I would like to inform you that participation in this interview is voluntary and you are free to interrupt the conversation or take a break whenever necessary. The interview is based on anonymity, which means that your name or any other names you give will not be published in the research paper. Also, the information you share in this interview will only be used for academic and research purposes.

If you agree, I will record the interview so that I can evaluate it as accurately as possible later.

R: Yes, I agree with that.

I: Do you have any questions before we begin, or was anything I just said unclear?

R: No.

I: Are you okay with me using the data obtained through this interview... for my research?

R: Yes, you may.

I: Perfect. Then we can start directly with the interview. And now for the very first question, can you tell me a little bit about yourself? And, also about your family background? So, how old are you? What is your name? What do you do?

R: Yes, so I am (...). I am 25 years old. Um... I come from a family.... my father is German... quite normal, born and raised in Germany, and my mother grew up in Afghanistan.... yes, half grown up... she came to Germany when she was 6 or 7 years old. So that means I'm sort of a half-breed, and, yeah. Myself, professionally... I'm a real estate agent, I have my own company and I do everything on a self-employed basis.

I: Mhm. And how would you say you grew up? So, what kind of environment?

R: Than, I didn't grow up with Afghan culture for example.... so, I was brought up and raised very Western, um, and I don't speak the language either, for example. Um... I do have it in my ear.... so when I hear someone speaking Farsi, I can relate to it, but I'm not really familiar with the language. Um... I grew up in a very good environment in the west of Hamburg, rather um... how do I say this now.... with German classmates to a large extent. I spent my first years of school in St. Pauli. So, there it was... it was very mixed. But then later, the formative youth time then rather with German environment.

I: So would you say that the later years were your formative years?

R: As far as that is concerned, yes.

I: Okay. Then we can go right to the.... Thank you for introducing yourself a little bit, by the way. Then we can go directly to the key questions. And that is, the first topic that questions will be answered... or will be worked on by me.... is about community. And that is, first of all, could you describe some of your experiences... uh... how you grew up as a second generation migrant in Germany, in terms of family and community. So you had... you already said that you grew up more in a German society in your formative years... but was there anything from the family that you took with you from the... from your Afghan side?

R: Um, well, in terms of... as far as, for example, the food culture is concerned... that definitely. Afghans are also said to be very hospitable, very warm... I think that I have definitely adopted that. So, that was also very much lived in our family. Um, and, yes, but... otherwise, to be honest, not so much. So, with religion or mindset, if you can say that, I have rather little.

I: So, did you have very little contact with the Afghan side of your family?

R: Um, it goes.

I: Were there any persons.... Key people or something?

R: Well, my grandma was... was a very big person with me in the.... in my life that took a big role. Uh... she was still supporting the... yes, the Afghan side still lived most strongly, so, for example, she spoke with a great accent.... on the phone with her family members she always spoke Farsi, and, uh, of course she cooked a lot of Afghan food. So, actually, I got the biggest influence through my grandma uh.... through my grandmother. Exactly, my mother, on the other hand, for example, not so. She actually led a completely normal Western life, except that she cooked Afghan food from time to time.

I: Okay. Then you've actually already answered the next question. Namely, how present was the cultural and ethnic background of your family in your growing up? And how did you experience it? You've actually already answered that. Or is there anything else you want to say about it?

R: Nah, not really.

I: Okay. Then let's move on to the next topic. Namely, about experiences with discrimination. Have you... up front... have you ever had any experiences with discrimination or anything?

R: Does fun discrimination among friends count?

I: Yes, that counts as well.

R: Yes, then it does.

I: Okay, in what... in what way... did this discrimination take place?

R: Well, I can still remember, in... my grammar school time, so in the eighth, ninth grade. Um... I don't know exactly how that came about, but there was always some insider saying that I had Afghan feet. In retrospect, I ask myself a little bit, what are Afghan feet? That's why I don't know exactly what the joke was based on, but it somehow took me two or three years, I think... as an insider... somehow over and over again... I had to listen to it.

I: And you still don't know exactly what was meant by that?

R: Nah, well I... I'm afraid it was something unsanitary. At the same time I... I don't know exactly why it referred to me, because I actually have very... yes, very well-groomed feet, and also always had. But yes that actually I think rather a synonym for funny feet. That's why Afghan feet.

I: Okay.

R: And of course that's a not so nice background.

I: So would you say rather that was looking down or was her negative... that comment?

R: Yeah. Definitely.

I: And did that have any effect on you? So, did you find them to be negative at the time as well? Or... just as funny?

R: At first it was funny, but when it became a common thread, I found it rather annoying at some point. So I didn't necessarily find it offensive, but at some point I found it annoying.

I: Did you ever say anything against it or something?

R: Nope.

I: Never?

R: No, I haven't. So, no rather not, I adapted myself there. Because they were also my friends, so somehow you laughed along with them. I think that was also a bit of social pressure. That's why, if I had been upset about it now, that maybe it wouldn't have been so appropriate. I don't know exactly.

I: Yes, okay. So you would already say that in your social environment.... now maybe not super present, but you already had the role as Afghan then with you in the group?

R: Yes, actually that was rather a bit of a problem, that actually for me the discrimination almost went in the other direction. Because, for example, when people in my environment found out... yes, that I am half Afghan, then everyone was always like "Huh, really? Oha, it doesn't show at all. You're totally white, and how can that be?". And that always hurt me a little bit. So, that I

was always so... Yes, I was labeled as the German, although the Afghan side is still a part of my... of my identity, actually.

I: And did that come more from your Germans... or ethnically white fellow men, or also from your... from people from other cultures?

R: Nah actually from my white friends.

I: Okay. You took that as very negative then or what?

R: Yes, yes... with people from a different ethnic culture I even on the contrary always felt very accepted as far as that was concerned. And they have always... out... really... what do you call it? Pointed out like that. So, so underlined "Yes, oh yes the half-Afghan.". So they were much more enthusiastic about it than the Germans. The Germans waved it off, and that actually... yes already hurt in part.

I: Okay. Interesting. Very interesting to know, definitely. Thank you for the insight. On that... I would come back to that later as well otherwise. Then we'll move on to the questions I have here for now. Mhm... yes, although you have already answered all of them here. "Do you sometimes feel treated differently by your friends, or by your social environment?" You already meant... with the Afghan feet, and also that you have the feeling that your white friends have always discriminated against you for... for not looking Afghan and so on. And you also felt rather bad about that ne?

R: Yes, very bad.

I: Yes. So would you say that there is a certain pride in your origin?

R: Yes, definitely. But I also have to say... I discovered this myself very, very late. So for me... it was always clear. My grandmother also speaks a different language, she has a strong accent and she looks... I'll say she looks different. Dark hair, dark skin and so on and so forth. She cooks differently than my German classmates. But at some point I think a friend of mine... I was in fifth or sixth grade. So also relatively late. She said to me "Yes, I see (...), your mother is also Afghan.". So casually within a conversation. I think... and that was such a casual comment just within the conversation.... within a conversation and... for example, that's when I first... it became really real to me. And then I thought to myself "oh yeah right.". And actually, it was only at this point that my identity formation in this direction of "half-and-half" really began. Because before that, it was something I took for granted, but I never really thought about it.

I: Interesting. Okay. And then... which is also a bit related to the topic.... And that is, I'd like to talk about your well-being, if that's okay with you.... Okay. And that is, first of all... do you feel like you're well integrated, despite these experiences that you've had, and despite your... yes your background?

R: Yes definitely.

I: Okay. Equally well from both sides?

R: Yes.

I: And do you think that those experiences that you talked about had any impact on your self-esteem, or on your psychological well-being?

R: Yes.

I: In what way? Positively, or negatively?

R: It had a negative influence because... yes as I said... because I actually always felt rather... because I was always basically denied part of my identity. And also still is partly. That already scratches at my self-esteem.

I: Okay. I can understand that. And your psychological well-being? Has that been affected in any way? Well, it's a little bit connected somewhere. Self-esteem and well-being.... but...

R: Well, I can't create a... no direct link, of course, but as I see it, if then in the short term.

I: Okay. And then another question about the topic.... what... what do you think is your outlook on your future, with regard to your... is there any... so do you kind of base that on your ethnic background or something?

R: No, but that's because visually I'm going more in a German direction, or more in a European direction. I wouldn't necessarily say Germany, but definitely in a European direction. Southern Europe... But I also have a very German name. (...). Only my middle name (...) is... has the origin in Afghanistan and... uh... that's why I'm not really so... by strangers who only see my name or a picture of me... I say... foreigner. But if I now had a completely Afghan name, for example, then I think that would look different.

I: Well, that has never really happened to you... apart from the people who knew that you had an Afghan background... so you have never been asked about your background except by the people who already knew?

R: Yes, I have. So... so some people see it in my face. Well, I don't look completely German. I have dark hair and also facial features that definitely go in an oriental direction. But as an Afghan I was... or half Afghan, I was very rarely classified. As I said, I think I go more in the direction of Latin America or Southern Europe visually. And I've been asked about that many times. But just in the wrong ethnic group.

I: Yes. Okay. Then again about your own identity formation. What would you say how you identify yourself in relation to your origin. Would you say that you are German? Or would you say that you feel Afghan. Or a mix of both if you don't really identify with any of them?

R: Yes, so as far as my homeland is concerned, definitely Germany. As I said, I have no relation to the Afghan language or to the country. But as far as my personal identity... yes view somehow, I am both. Yes. I think it's a pity, for example, that I never learned the language and I would actually like to learn it again, if I can overcome myself at some point in time... I would also like to catch up on learning the language.

I: Yes. So you mean you feel you belong to both?

R: Yes.

I: Do you feel... Or you mean you identify as both. But would you say you totally belong to both? Or to neither?

R: Well, I feel I belong more to Germany. So to German ethnic group, if you can say so. But I think it's more because the Afghan group wouldn't accept me. Because I don't speak the language or somehow fulfill the visual requirements. Yes... and I don't live the culture.

I: Yes. But when we talk about the Afghan society or something... do you think more about the Afghans who... that is, the country of Afghanistan? Or the Afghans who also live in Germany?

R: Nah, then I already think of the country.

I: Okay. And what about those who live in Germany. For example?

R: I actually feel like I belong there. Well, I also have Afghan friends who give me a great sense of belonging.

I: Okay. And would you say that what you just told changes depending on the context or situation you're in? I can also give an example again if you don't know exactly what I mean by that. For example, if I'm... I am also... half of my family is also from Afghanistan. And for me it's like this, when I'm with my friends, or generally in a social environment within Germany, then I usually feel more like an Afghan in the group. But when I'm in Groningen and I'm asked, I always say Germany. So then I'm more of a German... so then I also feel more like the German in the group. I don't know, have you ever had such experiences? In such a direction?

R: Yes, that's true. So it depends with me also very much on with whom I... um... with whom I surround myself. If I now... yes, for example, I only surround myself with Afghans... for example, I recently had a meeting with friends. There was a German, an Afghan and me, the half-and-half. And then I was... I felt that I belonged more to the Afghan direction. When I'm out and about with just my German friends, then I'm also more Afghan because then I kind of

stand out. But um yes... but when I am abroad now then I would also always say "Yes, I come from Germany.", without mentioning that now again ".but roots in Afghanistan."

I: Without mentioning that?

R: Without mentioning that.

I: Yes, exactly. Yes. Thank you for this informative answer at this point. And the next question, you already answered it a little bit I think at the beginning of the interview. And that is whether your identity has evolved over time.

R: Yes. In any case

I: Yes, you said that only in the fifth or sixth grade... that only then did you realize that you were half Afghan.

R: Exactly. So yes there was... so I... basically so conscious that this really also influenced my identity formation somehow very much. I think it was only then that... that was the impetus for the formation of the identity "half and half". Exactly. And that then developed over the years. So, for example, I had a phase where I insisted that I was "half and half". And at some point it normalized again a bit. So "Yes, that's just me". And that I actually don't make such big differences.

I: Okay. So... yes. And the next question: Did you actually already answer it a little bit? Do you have any events or experiences in mind that have shaped your identity as a second-generation migrant in Germany? You meant about the Afghan feet, or about the fact that especially your white fellow men don't see you as an Afghan and so on. Or then the last experience you meant with the fifth or sixth grade. Are there any other things that were formative for you?

R: I would have to think about that. Well, I'm pretty sure that there were already formative experiences. But I don't think I can recall them in a hurry. No. Well, actually... not really. Those were the most formative ones.

I: Okay. And then there are a few final questions. That's it with the main questions of the interview. And that is, I don't know... is there anything else you would like to add that you think hasn't been addressed or anything like that? Anything that's on your mind?

R: Yeah. So, what I think is also not unimportant for your topic... so for your topic for the bachelor thesis, is that for example this whole thing that I have told is also to be related to the family itself. So for example... my brother... he fulfills much more the optical characteristics of an Afghan. And then there is also joking about it within the family. So that my mother, the Afghan, for example... she has such an insider.... the "beet fields", the (...). So my father and I. So the German ones in quotes. And the (...)... that's the last name of the Afghan family.... and these are the Afghans in quotation marks. And um yeah... and I'm also from my own mother....

I'm more of the other... the other ethnicity kind of... pushed into this category, and I find that a bit hurtful.

I: And is it the same from the other direction? Would you say that your father sees you more as German than Afghan or the other way around?

R: No, no, I think my father is... he always holds back very much. Relationship-wise he... he also doesn't see the necessity of... he just doesn't make any differences whether now... so which skin color a person has... so there... those are so characteristics that he doesn't pay attention to. At least not within our family. That's why he tends to overlook them.

I: So you would say that from your mother also comes a certain aversion to German society.

R: Yes, a dislike for sure. So when she says comments like "the beet fields"... that is also something very derogatory. And when my own mother, so to speak, also puts me in this "beet field category," then that also has something derogatory towards me, where I then, of course, oh, somehow.... that has in any case also very much shaped my self-esteem. I would say that already.

I: In a negative sense?

R: Yes. And these comments... also once again from your mother.... did they also lead to you having a more negative image?

I: Towards Germans?

I: Mhm (affirmative).

R: I think so. So at least it made me feel even more proud of my mixed heritage. So...

I: So of course you are in conflict with the comments of your mother or of some people from your environment?

R: Yes, exactly. That's why... I feel that this is an identity... um... robbery if you can call it that. When someone insists like that... "uh no I would never think that", or so for example my best friend does until today... I don't know why she does it... I think... I don't know. I think that maybe she has a grudging background. But she often tells me to this day when we are together in a group where there are new people who say "you look kind of... where do you come from?", then she always says "Yes... I don't understand that at all. I think she looks totally German. Just look at her with her white skin and all.". And that is very insulting for me.

I: Yes, I understand that. And would you say that in the role that is assigned to you...so also...? by the others... that is also part of a person's identity. Would you say that sometimes you feel uncomfortable or...?

I: In such moments I feel uncomfortable. But I can't really assign it to one... one of these two identities... German or Afghan... not really. I think it's just the mixture.

I: Yes, yes. I would just say that's your identity. There is not necessarily the German identity or the Afghan identity, but yours.

R: Exactly. So I definitely feel uncomfortable there. And that, I have to say, actually... that is also something that has had a lasting effect on my self-esteem, and still does. Negatively.

I: So you would also say that the identity that you perceive for yourself has also been strongly shaped from the outside? So from other people? Or would you say that you have developed your own identity for yourself. And, that there... there were no influences from... From people in your environment.

R: I would say that the Afghan side of my identity I developed myself without any influence from outside. But so to say this struggle... this inner struggle between the two sides of my identity... that was very much fed from the outside.

I: So both from family and friends?

R: Exactly.

I: Is there anything else you want to say about that?

R: No. Other than that, there's nothing worth mentioning.

I: Okay. Then there is one last question. And that is did you like the interview? Did you feel comfortable during the interview and is there anything else you would like to say that I could do better or something?

R: No, I felt very comfortable. I also found the question... yes um... very, very exciting questions and I wish you continued success.

7.2.2 Interview I2

I: Hello, my name is Phillip. I am 23 years old, from Hamburg, Germany, and I study Human Geography and Planning at the University of Groningen. This year I will finish my bachelor and this research is part of my final steps. With this research I am trying to gain knowledge about what influences the identity formation of second generation migrants in Germany. In this way, it could help to understand what can be done in certain areas to improve second-generation migrants' sense of belonging. I think this is an important topic because it is important to understand that identity formation has a great impact on a person's self-development. Before I start with the questions, I would like to inform you that participation in this interview is voluntary and you are free to interrupt the conversation or take a break whenever necessary.

The interview is based on anonymity, which means that your name or any other names you give will not be published in the research paper. Also, the information you share in this interview will only be used for academic and research purposes. If you agree, I will record the interview so that I can evaluate it as accurately as possible later.

R: Jo.

I: And before we start... do you have any questions? Or is any of what I said still unclear to you?

R: No.

I: And are you okay with me using the data obtained through this interview, for my thesis?

R: Of course I am.

I: Thank you very much. Then we might as well get right into it. I don't know, can you introduce yourself a little bit first?

R: I can do that. I am [...], I am 22 years old and I was born in Trier. Grew up in Lübeck, so on the Baltic Sea in Germany. And my dad is from Germany... Full German. And my mom is Korean. And my grandparents came to Germany in the late 60s. And then my mom and my uncle also grew up in Germany and.... yeah.

I: Okay. Your parents, and your uncle were also born in Germany then? Or were they born in Korea?

R: They were both born in Germany. And they also grew up. They were both in Korea a couple of times but... yes.

I: Okay. Would you say that they both have a connection to Korea?

R: My uncle more than my mother. So my mother, the way I perceive it, she doesn't have that much of a connection more to Korea. I don't know why, I haven't really talked to her about it. She always leaves it between the lines... so she hints at it. I think my uncle does. He also has a Korean passport, and no German at all. He is not allowed to vote in Germany or something like that. And mom... yes, I think she has more or less finished with it. I was there for a year after graduating from high school, but I've never been back since. And my uncle was recently even in Korea. A few months ago.

I: What did he do there? Vacation, or...?

R: Yes. He traveled around a bit there.

I: Nice! Then... thank you... first of all, thank you for introducing yourself. And I would go straight to the main part of this interview. And that is, it's structured into different categories, all of which... will help me evaluate this at the end of my thesis.... so, the information. And the first...the first broad topic area that I want to touch on is family and community, with you. And that is, as the very first time, can you describe to me your experience of what it was like for you as a second migrant.... uh, as a second-generation migrant growing up in Germany... was?

R: How was that?

I: Yes, exactly. So what it was like... for you.

R: Actually, I don't think it was any different than for other children, I would say. Well, I had a completely normal childhood, and I actually didn't perceive that I had a migration background so blatantly at that time. And my mother is from Korea. And my grandparents came to Germany from Korea. So I think that as a small child you don't perceive it that way.

I: Well, it's not just about how you felt as a small child, or how you perceived it, but... so altogether until today. So, you are 22 years old. I mean growing up probably goes on a little bit longer than just about childhood.

R: Yeah, okay. So, then... of course that came then... the consciousness for it then sometime.... Yes. The older you got, the more you noticed that people somehow hinted at you, asked you where you came from... things like that. But, um, I never had such a big problem with it, I have to say honestly. So, I always put it aside a bit and took it lightly and so on. And I think that was also... well, my parents just didn't talk about it at all from the beginning, that somehow something is so... different with me and my siblings. So, it was just so... we were born in Germany, grew up... my mother, too. That's why it was never such a big... it never played such a big role, actually.

I: Okay. And, what would you say, how present the cultural... or your cultural and ethnic background growing up? Was there somehow, I don't know... I can speak from my experience. For example, I had eaten a lot of Afghan food in my childhood, or even in my youth. What others didn't do, or I got to experience certain family celebrations or festivities that I didn't know from my fellow Germans.

R: Yeah, um, so, the first 10 years it wasn't so present.... so, that I somehow... that being Korean was so integrated into my everyday life, because my grandparents, for example, lived far away, and mom didn't integrate it so much at home. So, she never spoke Korean with us, due never cooked Korean food. We didn't really surround ourselves with any other Korean people or anything like that. But when my grandma moved to Lübeck in 2012... it began so slowly that she spoke more Korean, especially with my little brother, who is 8 years younger than me. For example, at some point he was able to speak Korean words, and Korean in general, better than I could. She did a lot of housework, a lot of cooking... or, still does.... actually only Korean food. And then, of course, it was always a special occasion when friends came to visit. Then there was Korean food... then you had to explain to them what it all is and so. And they found

it totally exciting. So it didn't really start until 2012, and before that I didn't really have much of a Korean life. Integrated into my life. But I remember, for example, that I have children's videos... that we have children's videos of me and my sister, from back then, where I somehow say Korean words from time to time, or partly also sentences like that. Now, looking back, I'm a bit surprised, because I don't understand what I'm saying anymore. And I think that was simply because my grandparents then, maybe in the first 2 years, where my sister and I were still small, came to visit more often to help my parents somehow, or to support them. But then that became less and less when we went to kindergarten and school and so on.

I: Okay, and how was that for you then? When you... 2012, when your grandmother was more present in your life? Were you still alienated at the beginning, or did you feel comfortable right away?

R: I actually felt comfortable right away because I've always been very close with my grandma anyway. And... yes, she then just, more or less, started to be with us every day, and was then just like a second mother somehow. That's why it wasn't funny at all. Of course it is somehow funny when you tell your people "Yes, my grandma lives more or less with us. Well, it doesn't happen that often. It doesn't matter if the grandma comes from Korea or somewhere else. That is then somehow always so "Okay? She lives with you? And she cooks for you? And she cleans for you? But that wasn't funny for me. It was rather cool.

I: Okay.

R: Well, I had an advantage because my parents still went to work and my grandma was always there for me.

I: Yes, and did you find it cool that this Korean was brought closer to you? Because your grandma was there more.

R: Yes. So I think she expected more so that we also give more back to her. in the sense that we also start to kind of then learn Korean and speak Korean to her, but unfortunately that didn't happen, but I still thought it was cool to get Korean food like that every day and.... I like Korean food, so that's why I actually just had an advantage of.

I: OK, thanks for the detailed explanation then. And then I would go straight to the next part of the interview. And this is about the topic of discrimination and the first question would be what kind of challenges did you face in your childhood or adolescence? What challenges did you face? And now? Especially on the cultural or ethnic reference.

R: Um, yes, as I said, I didn't perceive it so blatantly back then. And I didn't think it was so bad when comments were made or something. But now looking back I think OK. It didn't have to be like that, but probably the awareness for it was just not that big back then that people thought about it, that it could be somehow hurtful or come across funny, if you make certain comments or something. So of course I've had a few experiences. Earlier it was then just mainly... or still the question, where do you come from? And of course it's like that when you have to explain it

again every time. It's kind of annoying. In the past, it was a stop in elementary school... then just some other kids made some jokes like that. I don't know, there are already some swear words, ne. So some used to say Jap bride or something like that, or... So at that time I found that somehow not so bad, but now looking back is somehow not so without yes. Most people always thought I came from China, because you don't know anything else except China in Asia or at least the little elementary school girls back then. Um. The last situation that really stuck in my head was when Corona started and the beginnings of Corona were in China. And then, I think, some ten-year-old children ran away from me on the street and somehow called Corona Corona, because they were somehow afraid of me. So moderately that I could give them Corona, that I could infect them with it. I thought that was a bit funny, but I mean, they were ten-year-old kids and somehow I just overlook it a bit. I'm annoyed then briefly about it, but it's not now so that I think about it for a long time or so. But yes, comments and such things always happened and they still happen.

I: And these comments mostly already from the children at Corona times. From your circle of friends also comments came had you mentioned?

R: Yes, so this with, with Jap bride or something with. I don't know, it just always comes comments, yes, even my friends have done that everyone.

I: Even people to whom you have no relation at all, who also make. Made or said.

R: I can't remember specific situations now. But certainly times? Certainly once that one has heard somewhere in the train, or on the street times so Rausgehört. So in any case. Or what we also had the other day when we were in Lübeck. You know? So with the bike somehow that... or we kissed? I don't know if I can say that here in the interview, but... and then they somehow thought that we were siblings, that you are lumped together a bit, just because you somehow have a migration background or something?

I: Whereby you actually look that somehow being a sibling should not work now. Okay, and then to the next question. Still the same topic and that is that you sometimes feel treated differently by your friends, or your social environment treated differently, for example by jokes about your origin. Yes or nicknames or something?

R: Well, it's always the case that people somehow ask about Korea or about my grandma or somehow say yes, can't you cook Korean for us or say something in Korean or something like that? I can't because... I don't know Korean and I can't cook Korean either, but they expect that right away somehow. And. Well, I have a second Korean name and in my old flat-sharing community, for example, I was only addressed by that name, so at some point it became established. At the beginning I was still [...] but... At some point, they have then just learned what my second name is and then found the somehow cool and somehow of course also funny or cute or what I know and then I was just called with the name, which I now but not negatively perceive so.

I: All of what you said, not negative the questions about Korea or?

R: Yes, sometimes it's a bit annoying, just because I look like this or my mother comes from Korea actually always "Guys, nevertheless, I'm not fully Korean here now and for me now also not necessarily Korean and therefore, that doesn't mean now that I can somehow cook Korean for you or teach you or whatever". Sometimes I think it would be nice to be able to do all that, but I don't think it's bad that I can't do it.

I: OK. So there are things, but they don't really bother.

R: Yes, as I said, I somehow don't think about it so blatantly and then I don't perceive it so mega negatively that I...

I: It doesn't have to be negative, it can also be positive, for example.

R: Actually neither.

I: So neutral.

R: Yes, I think I got that a bit from my mother, because my mother is also like that. She also looks past a lot of things, as far as that is concerned. Even if she always gets comments like "Oh, you speak good German" or something like that, she doesn't take it negatively, but not positively either, as a compliment, but also not as a racist remark or something like that. Yes, I think that's just the way my parents taught us.

I: Then I would go directly to the next topic. And this is now about the topic of well-being. And I think you have already answered the first question indirectly, whether you feel well integrated into the society here?

R: Yes. Actually, yes. Yes, I do. I think my environment and my friends inside, they don't really perceive... At some point, when you are friends for such a long time and spend so much time together, then other people don't perceive you as a person who somehow has a migration background?

I: Yes, whereas what you mentioned with your roommates, that already speaks for the fact that they... So if you address with the Korean name, so clearly is for the probability topic, but it can be yes nevertheless that that remained somehow nevertheless in the back of the head or so. or?

R: Yes so. That was just so in the evening that came at the beginning in the early days where we met and I think if you are just friends for a long time and know each other for a long time, then at some point it is no longer an issue. But yes of course, when you meet new people and just. Getting to know each other is always the first topic, so yes, at some point it normalizes again.

I: And there... you have actually already answered the next question. Namely, whether you... whether these experiences... in general the experience has had any effect on your self-esteem

or on your psychological well-being? Positive or negative? So whether you find pride in it or something or whether it's super indifferent here. Whether it bothers you?

R: Well I wouldn't say that it bothers me that I'm... that, that I'm half Korean.

I: I don't mean that, but the experience you've had because of that.

R: Wait, what was the question now?

I: Whether your experience of being half Korean has any impact on self-esteem or psychological well-being?

R: I see. Well, sometimes you are reminded that you are half Korean and then you realize that something is different and then I find it quite cool when I am reminded of it at home, for example. But I wouldn't say that this remark is somehow... as I said, I think it's easier for me to put it behind me than for other people, and that's why I wouldn't say that such remarks or such... that it has had a negative effect on my psyche or on my self-esteem, I wouldn't really say that. If I were to answer that now so spontaneously.

I: OK, no, it doesn't have to be that way.... I can well imagine. And then the last question about the topic. Namely. How do you see the future for yourself, do you have the feeling that there are any stones in your way or that you have a free path? Like everyone else.

R: Well, I haven't had any experiences yet where I somehow didn't get a job or an internship because I have a Korean background. I hope, of course, that this doesn't put any stones in my way. And that maybe I can strengthen for it with my another one.... If it should be a problem for people, somehow at work or whatever somewhere.... That I can convince other strengths with it. But of course you don't know. Of course, it also depends on where I'm now so... In which circle I move? Which jobs I apply for, which countries I travel to, whatever. Yes, but for now I would hope and think that it won't put any obstacles in my way, but of course you don't know.

I: And what you just meant about that again.... Do you ever worry about people interfering or thinking about it? In terms of your future now? In terms of getting a job and stuff.

R: Actually, kind of not at all. Well, no, somehow not, I have to say honestly, so if I get a rejection or something like that from something, for example an internship or something like that, then you consider that you might not have gotten it because of that, but nothing so blatant has ever happened to me. As far as that is concerned... Actually. No.

I: Okay. Then we already have it with the topic of well-being. Thank you, the answers to that... very insightful. And now, namely, it's about identity formation itself. First question on that would be how you would identify yourself in terms of your origin to say you are German or Korean or both?

R: I would say it's also a little bit situation dependent. So on the whole I would say that I feel more German and also integrated in Germany, so I know the language, I can't speak Korean. But my uncle, for example, I had already said that he still has a relatively strong connection to Korea and when I surround myself with him, he often reminds me that I am Korean and that we have Korean blood and that we absolutely have to go to Korea. And then it's brought home to me again that I do have a Korean background and that maybe I should feel a little more Korean sometimes.... Maybe I should also show this more to the outside world. But I would identify now already in the large and we have namely rather so as German, so I think I carry for me much more German characteristics in me, if that can say so, yes.

I: Okay. And? Despite the fact that I would be German.... identified as German, would you still say that you are proud of your ethnic or cultural background?

R: Yes, I think proud, so I don't know funny word, but I think already cool somehow so.

I: So you wear it with pride yeah that's what I mean.

R: Yes, yes, I do, so. But I think it is. Actually. It's cool that you can always. So points of contact yes, somehow still has again with Korea, and that my grandma lives at home. And, with the food and the language and so one gets that just simply also much with so by my grandmother above all and then I find that already again and again beautiful. So, I have the feeling that without it, everything would be a bit boring again. So it is quite varied the food is varied and so ... Yes, also the attitudes that you get at home, so from dad mom to grandma is, are also different on different topics and... yes, somehow that makes everything a bit more interesting.

I: [...] Then another question, about which we have just talked a bit, so whether you have the feeling that your identity is partially attributed by your peers or your environment. So, that it is said, that people don't put you in a corner, as Korean or as German or something.

R: Yes. Yes it is, so through comments like that and that I'm kind of called by my middle name or something... it's always brought to your attention that somehow it's something else? And? Yes, somehow it does something to you. In any case. So I think that my identity was definitely influenced from the outside and that I was somehow... that I would have a different character and act differently and say different things, I don't know, have different girlfriends... Who knows, if I would be fully German now, or fully Korean. So, I think that through comments like that, I'm always reminded of this. "You are somehow a bit different and...", Not in a negative sense, of course, but both and sometimes so sometimes so. But, yes, that of course you also have to learn somehow, with humor, to deal with it or so. Yes.

I: And again, how do you feel in this round, which is assigned to you, what you meant in part, that it is demonstrated here that you are Korean and so. So you mean you take it with humor and I guess you also become like that in the role.

R: Yes, it's just the question whether I then somehow try to put something away and take something with humor, because I don't want to make myself somehow vulnerable or so or

because I just don't want to in the situation. Somehow I don't want to start a big discussion about something but yes, I just kind of learned after a while... learned to deal with it with humor and I think it's also somehow okay, so I've resigned myself to the fact that this will just happen again and again, there will be no end to it in any case. In my life, I think.

I: Most people, I assume they don't necessarily want to hurt you with it.

R: Nah, probably not, but like that. So the question was, do I hurt myself with it?

I: Whether you feel comfortable in the ascribed role.

R: Yes, I would say it depends on the situation, sometimes I am. Sometimes I take it with a lot of humor and sometimes I'm more vulnerable and don't want to do something like that, so it depends on how I'm feeling at the moment and so... but in general I would say that it's all quite okay, everything as it is.

I: And then, whether your identity has evolved over time? I don't know for example you meant that a grandma was not really in the picture for a long time or not as present as now? Since 2012... I don't know so you can answer no to the question if it's not like that.... But whether you have evolved since then or at other times? Evolved in your identity?

I: Let's think about it.

R: Or other example you mentioned... what you also mentioned was that for a long time you weren't that aware that you were even half Korean or something.... I don't know if those were moments that changed something for you in yourself?

I: Well, I just think that back then, as a child or as a girl in her early teens....

Yes, I simply... As I said, I wasn't so aware of all that, and then when you started to deal with it more, like that. Would I say that everything has changed a bit, also because of society? In society, this is also becoming more and more a topic with everyday racism, I'd say, and I would say that my identity has definitely changed somehow. In any case. In any case, I didn't always perceive it the same way with my Korean background, so... Now I'm much more aware of it than before and... I probably trade differently or deal with different people or something.

I: So. Would you say then the identity has? Developed more towards Korean or just in a different direction?

R: Nah, more to the Korean, I wouldn't say, I would just say more.... so more conscious you can say that, you can say that about the identity that I'm aware of.... of my... I'm, I'm definitely more aware of my identity that way? But whether it's more Korean now? [...] I am more aware of my background and I know more about what that means. And I've formed it myself and of course I've also had it done by and. Yes. don't know.

I: OK, then it was actually already to the big questions in the interview I would still have 2 final questions and namely first, whether there is anything you would like to add, where you have the feeling somehow omitted or so.

R: Don't think so.

I: Okay, and then how did you like the interview? Or, if there was anything that you didn't like, that you didn't like, that I could improve.

R: Well, I liked it, because as I said, I'm just not the kind of person who thinks so much about everything, because I put it away or take it lightly, and I'm just not that aware of it. Or was. But, such questions, so they stimulate one then of course again more to think about. And, therefore, I find that actually times quite good, times in between times again to think more about something like that.

7.2.3 Interview I3

I: Hello, my name is Phillip. I am 23 years old, from Hamburg, Germany, and I study Human Geography and Planning at the University of Groningen. This year I will finish my bachelor and this research is part of my last steps. With this research, I am trying to gain insights into what influences the identity formation of second-generation migrants in Germany. In this way, it could help to understand what can be done in certain areas to improve second-generation migrants' sense of belonging. I think this is an important topic because it is important to understand that identity formation has a great impact on a person's self-development. Before I begin with the questions, I would like to remind you that participation in this interview is voluntary and you are free to interrupt or take a break whenever necessary. The interview is based on anonymity, which means that your name or any other names you give will not be published in the research paper. Also, the information you share in this interview will only be used for academic and research purposes. If you agree, I will record the interview so that I can evaluate it as accurately as possible later. Are you okay with that?

R: I agree with that.

I: Okay. And do you have any questions before we start or was anything I said still unclear to you?

R: No questions, nope all good.

I: Okay, and are you okay with me using the data obtained through this interview?

R: Yes yes.

I: Perfect, thank you, let's get started then.... first of all... can you introduce yourself a little bit?

So... what are you doing right now? Where are you from? And also a little bit about your family background?

R: Yes Hello, I am [...]. Currently studying in Münster and doing my bachelor in business informatics. Will probably graduate in 2 semesters. Originally I am from Mexico. Because I'm also born in Mexico City, am, half Mexican, half German, so, my father is Mexican, my mother is German German.... And was born in Mexico... Mexico City born. I spent my first 3 years there, I'm not sure... maybe 2,5 years, yes circa spent my first 3 years, after that they already moved to Germany or to Hamburg. And in Hamburg I spent my childhood, grew up and went to school and then went to Münster to study.

I: Thank you. Then I would go right on to the key questions. The first topic of that is about family and society... the first 2, 3 questions. And you already mean that you spent the first 3 years in Mexico? And now could you explain a little bit more how it was for you to grow up in Germany? With reference to your cultural background?

R: For me it was relatively normal, for the reason, of course, because I also relatively early... that we moved to Germany relatively early. I was just 3 years old and before that I was a baby, so I don't have so many memories, of course, and that's why everything really started in Germany with kindergarten, elementary school, school, and that's why Germany was always so normal for me and I've always felt German and comfortable there, but of course, [...] somewhere you've always lived through my... just Mexican side by my father and also the family, then Mexico lives, one has also always got there the influences, but it became just always gradually more honestly so always so so so always so as I got older, I have dealt with it more and more and gained more interest in it. And by the fact that I also regularly in Mexico one has had influence, but basically when I grew up, was then already in Germany always so the main thing and was for me the normal actually. The extraordinary was then always the Mexican side and that has then always of course, as soon as I got older, always changed... the German became less and less but. When I was growing up Germany was always normal for me to be there.

I: Okay. And you're just saying that your Mexican family still lives in Mexico? Right?

R: Right.

I: That means you don't have any Mexican relatives in Germany?

R: No, no, that's right, yes. So my father's family from...who's Mexican...they all live in Mexico. And my mother's family... who... of course is German, they all live in Germany, that is in so my Mexican relatives live in Mexico, my Germans live in Germany, and.... No Mexican relatives in Germany. Just my father, of course. Yes. All the time. (?)

I: OK, then I would go directly to the second question. Namely, what would you say was the presence of your cultural and ethnic background, in a growing up so...? The first 3 years in Mexico, then in Germany with your German mother. But you still had contact with the Mexican

family, or did your mother help you with that, too? Or didn't help with that... But what contributed to the fact that you were a bit closer to your culture or so or learned a bit about it?

R: Yes, definitely. So in any case... At first, of course, my parents were still together. They separated later relatively early, so when I was 6. But for my mother it was always important that I also get to know my Mexican family and side. For my father, of course, so too, and that's why I was actually regularly there to visit. Visited there my father my family. And... So my parents are... here... my parents definitely encouraged that. Of course, when you're so young, you probably don't really... first of all, when you are 6,7,8,9 years old, you don't have the interest. Because... of course Germany is home. Ne? You're just too young to really realize that. But, there... from the beginning it was so, that I also get to know that and still.

I: How was that for you, did you talk to your Mexican... or, the Mexican side of your family in German, in English or in Spanish or something?

R: I always talked to her in Spanish. They don't know German either, and they don't really know English. You have to speak in Spanish. And... no, in the beginning... in the beginning it went well. I can... even when I was a child, I could speak Spanish relatively well, but as soon as I was a teenager or from about 12 or 10, I don't know... it decreased a little bit. Now at the end it increased again enormously. Sure, when I was then only Spanish was not sure, my father has always helped or my mother helped, but that was always in Spanish.

I: OK. Does speaking the language also give you a sense of...? Or a greater sense of belonging? Now especially also when you are there?

R: Yes, definitely. Definitely. So, now, if I hadn't been able to speak Spanish all this time... it would have been something completely different, then I wouldn't have felt both, not so... [...] not really part of the family probably... I guess, you don't know of course. But I guess I wouldn't have felt so part of the family. And that was definitely important, that I could talk Spanish with them.

I: OK, and what about in Germany? Do you sometimes use your Spanish there or not at all?

R: Not really, no. So I... sure, if you know people who speak Spanish and stuff like that, of course, but it's not like I speak Spanish with my family in Germany. Or do you mean in everyday life?

I: So also in everyday life or so no idea [...].

R: Now meanwhile... recently more and more because you have met a lot of people who maybe also have a Spanish background or Latin American... have Latin American background. So I spoke more and more Spanish, but... So now you use it more and more, if you have the opportunity, because it's kind of fun, or because you want to improve somehow.

I: It probably also gives you a sense of community. With the people you can do things with, right?

R: Definitely. That connects you, when you realize that you have the same background or speak the same language, you directly have this sense of community.

I: Okay. Cool, then I think what that means first. I would like to move on to the next topic. This is a little bit about discrimination. I don't know if you've had any experience with that. So... but were there any challenges that you had to face in your childhood or youth or even nowadays? That you were confronted with, now especially in relation to your background like that?

R: I had almost nothing to do with discrimination. Just not really perceived. For the reason there... I don't know. Because in Hamburg... That's where I grew up... It's actually a cosmopolitan city. There were always other people with a migration background, and that was never really... as far as I can remember, never really a big issue. Or even... Or I can definitely remember and.... and that wouldn't have been such an issue if I didn't remember it. So I haven't really had any really big experiences with that, nope.

I: OK, and would you say that you feel, or? yes, do you have the feeling that you are sometimes treated a little differently by your friends or by a social environment? So that doesn't have to be negative or anything. It can also be positive, but through jokes, for example, about your origin or something like that?

R: Yes, yes... yes... yes. I think so, when you know that you are half Mexican. I think that has an influence. Not in a negative way, not discriminatory, but somehow... can also be more positive, but I think that's already a topic in the back of your head. And you are also so... so confronted with it with your background. Actually neutrally said. But in any case. In any case.

I: And how do you feel about it? Or can you give examples or something for now?

R: Yes, which is quite often... When it comes to food, for example. Does the Mexican... Mexican is relatively famous cuisine. And is famous for being spicy. And then maybe there are jokes that you should actually eat spicy food, which is not really... so already the case, but not so blatant. So not so great. [...] directly come to mind, is of course now relatively harmless example now. Otherwise... Um... I have to think about it again. But... that I would be treated differently... Yes otherwise rather small things, if then rather so small things, I think times.

I: Well, it doesn't have to be anything so... Huge, you know, that your people treat you really differently, but also so... what you meant today so everyday things like with the food or something it can also be. You have to now... if you can't think of anything in a hurry, you don't have to give any more examples now or anything.

R: Yes, unfortunately I can't think of anything quickly but.... Now I think that one would be treated slightly differently, but now then rather... if then rather easily and not at all actually in

negative regard. And that is also a bit normal, if you notice that someone comes here differently, then you can also associate that a bit with it and bring the connection with it. But I can't think of anything right now. None more honestly.

I: OK, and if? When something like that happens to you, how does it make you feel? Do you feel more like...like...? do you feel comfortable with it? Do you like it when it happens or does it annoy you sometimes, or?

R: Ne. I really hope... so comfortable would be too much to say, I think. Nervous would also be too much to say, but probably a mix of both, but I'm basically comfortable with it. But it's not like I have to say "This has to be now.", or "I want this so bad."

I: Yes.

R: So yeah, I'm comfortable with it and I can understand it and so.... I probably do too. But I don't see that I now wish or find that really extremely good or something, but it's relatively neutral and...

I: Yes, so, would you say, it's just one of those things that you're used to and so it doesn't... Disturbs but also does not feel happy or so ne.

R: Yes yes, exactly.

I: And then on the subject of well-being. First, I think I can already.... Or have you already more or less answered. Whether you feel well integrated like that?

R: Yes. So I actually already feel. I've also been in Germany for a very long time.

I: Yes, OK. And the second question you have actually already answered so. Whether these... I mean, you haven't had any blatant experiences with discrimination or anything like that. That's why I'm assuming that these little... comments and stuff. They probably don't have any... no big impact on your self-esteem or on your psychological well-being or something, ne?

R: Nope, not impact. Maybe rather the opposite. So I... so one also already actually more and more proud that one also has another nationality. So, one is actually still... even prouder, even if maybe there is a comment that is slightly... maybe negative, or... maybe not appropriate. What comes now not so often... will occur but certainly I already times occurred that has my self-esteem now not changed, but actually vice versa. Has made me all the more proud. Because, meanwhile I am already proud of it and find that also good. And comments can't actually worsen that or if then just... Yes, it reinforces even more my... my... my self-esteem about my origins.

I: Well, cool, I even had a question about that afterwards, which you answered very well, it was also about pride. Good to know so... and one last question about well-being, or about your... mental... so to the mental so, influence. nope... the influence on the mental of it. And that is you have... I don't know if you worry about it or something, but do you ever get scared or...? worry

about the fact that... that somehow in the future, because of your background, you might face some... some kind of problems in the future. Like with finding a job or other things.

R: I have already thought about it, definitely. But because they actually already feel relatively integrated in Germany and know the culture relatively well, I've never really had the feeling that I will now have great problems, but is also due to Germany. The counties where I am in the counties, the cities, which are also all relatively cosmopolitan. Because Germany is also a country where many people from other backgrounds simply move there? There is now... Well, that's not an isolated case. It's already relatively common in Germany is actually already relatively multicultural set up. And that's why I actually had... Hm... No, I didn't think that I would have disadvantages now.

I: OK, so you have a very positive view of the future, so to speak.

R: Yes, actually, yes. I. I do, I think it's going to get better rather than worse, to be honest, but...

I: Do you mean... what do you think? It's getting better rather than worse, so do you think society is improving accordingly... or your situation?

R: Oh, I think society as a whole is improving, so that life is becoming easier for people from other backgrounds.... I would already have the feeling that it is easier. You have to... think further. Maybe I forgot some things that are important. But I personally have not seen any disadvantages. And I also think that the company is actually on a relatively good way. Sure, other things are coming... but actually I believe. That the future there is not so not... so negative sees?

I: Yes, that's true, you probably get presented with the worse things in the media more than the positive ones.

R: Definitely. I mean, I know a lot of people with a migrant background, too, and also many people who are comfortable with it.

I: OK then again to the next bigger section and actually almost the last big section which consists of a few questions and that is now about your identity formation. The first question about that is how do you identify yourself in terms of where you come from? Would you rather say you're German or Mexican or both? So how do you feel about yourself?

R: In any case, both. I have actually already dealt with the question? And I have already noticed that I would neither say that I am German or... more German, but nor would I say that I am more Mexican. Also... so I also find actually that half call so, even if I now more time... although of course I grew up in Germany and spent more time there, I would say about half half. Because in recent times my Mexican side has also become more and more influential with me. And actually it's both like that. And I can't... I don't want to choose one side or yes... so really. So in that respect, I would have then yes.... Yeah, you either say both or you don't have ne. So

somehow. It can also be that I then rather... that one has then just rather no real identity, but yes. Or just both.

I: Yes yes, so no identity at all probably not so ne, but so then both halt.

R: Just ne then both yes.

I: Would you say that your identity can change a little bit depending on the context... or the context or the situation, so I can give you some examples if you don't know exactly what you mean by that...? What I mean by that. And so, I also have an Afghan background and I would say, in Germany I already feel.... or when I... Yes, in Germany, at home, I probably feel a bit more like an Afghan. Or even a mix of both and.... Sure, here too, where I study in Groningen but because I'm in a foreign country, so I always feel like I have to introduce myself as German or something or.... you know, I have the feeling that for people here I'm more German than Afghan?

R: Yes.

I: So, have you ever had situations like that? Or depending on the friend group you are with or the people around you like that.

R: Yes. Yes yes, I had. So, I think also abroad and also interestingly in.... So in Mexico, for example, when I'm Mexico. I am also, or I am also here never so really this so no Mexican so. There German background is always present and I'm also more often simply presented as the also as German backgrounds. And in Germany I think it also depends on the circle of friends. For example, if I am now with other people who also have backgrounds or somehow. Have any backgrounds from other nations, I also introduce myself... I also introduce myself as a Mexican. But otherwise generally now among Germans really quite normal in some other country to vacation. Not Germany, I actually always introduce myself as a German. And I would always introduce myself as a German, because of course I grew up there and.... Yes, that's why [in] Mexico. Of course I'm also Mexican, but I'm also always the one who is German and in Germany it always depends on where. With other people who also have backgrounds, I sometimes introduce myself as Mexican. Also mostly, if it is also somehow people who also speak Spanish, then yes. And, otherwise but generally now just in Germany and among those.... sure, you can also mention that Mexican is. Do I certainly sometimes, but otherwise you are also quite normal German. And on vacation... in a foreign country, which is not Germany or Mexico, then also.

I: OK, so that's actually what you meant earlier with... Or what we were talking about with this... Group identity or this sense of community or so I mean ne.

R: Mhm yes, that's right. Because as I said, when you now... Notices that one with many people... that they also speak Spanish, then immediately the feeling comes up and then also immediately the feeling comes up that one also presents his Mexican side. Not only, but also that is definitely mentioned. But that's right, that's right.

I: OK and then next question you have actually already answered in any case and that is are you proud of your background?

R: Yes, yes, very proud. I just wanted to... as I said, I have already... I have also said before... became also always of... so... as soon as I became older, more and more. I think earlier now... I don't know when I was 12 or when I was still relatively young, I wasn't... it wasn't such a big issue for me, but then with the years when I got a bit older... when I just always... I understood it more and more, but there was more and more interest. And meanwhile I'm very proud of it and I'm also happy to just know that somehow you were allowed to get to know 2 cultures or grew up between 2 cultures and then of course you can always take out the good and the bad. Best of course always the good and that you also have this change. Because that is also a big change between Mexico and Germany, from the culture. And I'm also glad that simply... I also see it as a bit of a privilege that I was really able to get to know both.

I: Yes. Then next question you actually just answered now... or even before. Whether you feel that your identity has changed or evolved over time? But there you have just said that you have dealt more and more with the topic over time and have become more and more proud and so.

R: Yes. It has definitely changed, as I said and as you also just said. It became more and more and in the beginning it was not such an important topic for me. Or not important at all. Maybe in the beginning, maybe I didn't like it that much. But then always neutral. Was not worth mentioning, but then at some point as soon as you got older more and more.

I: And about that, do you feel like, or...? Did you have any events or experiences that changed that for you over time? So were there any sticking points for you? It doesn't have to come from the outside, it can also have come from you.

R: So you mean sticking points for what exactly?

I: Yes, so for the identity to have evolved or changed or did it just... automatically come like that.

R: Nah, there were definitely sticking points. I think the sticking points were the times, I think after high school, when you had a lot of time. Then I started to really spend longer... longer time in Mexico and not always only in the vacations maybe 3 weeks, but I was also after the Abi also really 3 months there. And then also always during... And after that, then also always longer and partly also 2 months was, and I was now even recently even still in the semester abroad in Mexico. And I think, after the Abi, those were the sticking points. So these long stays because, there I also had... I also built up a lot more relationships, even in the country. Where you then also... no, as soon as you had any relationships you felt much closer and as soon as you spent more time you also spent a lot with your family. Could get to know them better you just noticed that it's also a thing that you actually like.

And yes, I think simply the regular stays after the Abi, which also became longer and longer. Yes.

I: So for you it really has something to do... with being in the country, also to do so very much.

R: Yes yes, definitely. And? You have to think about it. Yes, yes, that's what has... I think that was the sticking point. So because one has then spent more time in the country and then one has also always. Had I always then always more, then also perhaps the country from missed than not, there was. And so that came then yes.

I: OK. Then that's actually it with my questions, so did you make it, so unless you have the feeling that you would like to add something or contribute or so the feeling that I haven't addressed them or something?

R: Nah. I think everything important has been said. Thank you for the interview, it was very interesting.

I: OK, thank you for that, and also thank you for participating. And then also... did you like the interview or is there anything else that I could improve or something?

R: I liked it very much. I found it very, very interesting, because that's what you deal with. Yourself. But you don't really talk about it that often, or almost... so if then rarely about it. And that's why it was very interesting. So I think this is a very important topic.

I: Thank you.

7.2.4 Interview I4

I: Hello, my name is Phillip. I am 23 years old, I am from Hamburg and I am studying Human Geography and Planning at the University of Groningen. This year I will finish my bachelor and this research is part of my last steps. With this research, I am trying to gain insights into what influences the identity formation of second-generation migrants in Germany. In this way, it could help to understand what can be done in certain areas to improve second-generation migrants' sense of belonging. I think this is an important topic because it is important to understand that identity formation has a great impact on a person's self-development. Before I begin with the questions, I would like to remind you that participation in this interview is voluntary and you are free to interrupt or take a break whenever necessary. The interview is based on anonymity, which means that your name or any other names you give will not be published in the research paper. Also, the information you share in this interview will only be used for academic and research purposes. If you agree, I will record the interview so that I can evaluate it as accurately as possible later. Is that okay with you?

R: Super.

I: Nice, do you have any questions before we start or is anything I said unclear to you?

R: Nah, but I found it very interesting is a very interesting question.

I: Thank you very much and then if you are okay with that, I would use that.... use the data obtained through this interview.

R: Yeah, sure OK.

I: Then I would start directly with the questions ne... and it is structured in different parts. Once goes a bit... so first you simply introduce yourself. And then it's about family and community, then your experiences with discrimination, if you have any, your well-being. Then about your identity formation and yes... the first question is simply, can you briefly introduce yourself for me and tell me a little bit about your family background or something?

R: Yes, of course, so my name is [...], I come from the most beautiful city in the world, Hamburg. 22 years young, meanwhile I live in Cologne. To study here. To my background, my mother is German, my father is, has African roots, comes from Zanzibar, is ne small island before Tanzania. That's about me, is that enough?

I: Yes, that's enough, thank you very much for that. And then 1-2 questions about your family and community that you experienced. First of all, can you describe your experiences, how it was for you to grow up as a second generation migrant in Germany?

R: Yes, yes, I'll put it this way, basically quite well in any case. I have actually dealt with my identity and my origin somehow quite late. As a child, you don't have it at all. You kind of look at yourself the same way. What was the question again exactly?

I: Yes, so just generally describe an experience as it was.

I: Yes, experiences. Actually, as I said, I grew up in Hamburg, in Ottensen, and that is really such a multicultural neighborhood where there are an incredible number of different cultures. That's why I've always felt very comfortable. And I had very good experiences. There you have everything, there you have Turkish migration, there you have African migration. There you have Germans all together. And yes, when you get older and deal with things a little bit and gather experience and can somehow process everything a little better, of course one or two not so nice experiences come along. But all in all, I think that Germany is already reasonably good for second-generation migrants. I think when it comes to discrimination [...?].

I: Yes, and you just mean that you only started to think about your identity and so on at a certain age? When, when approximately was that? How old were you then?

R: So I would say that was so about.... Yes so with 13/14 or so it begins then already somehow, I would actually on the with high school so from 11 it went off that one so checks, yes the look yes nevertheless somehow differently than I and makes itself there a little more thoughts about it.

I: Have so far all said so exactly the age. And then next question. How present was the cultural

and ethnic background of your family when you were growing up? You mean, your mother is German, his father from Zanzibar?

R: Exactly. Actually not that big because my parents separated really early in my childhood and I really don't remember much about that. I know I didn't have that much to do with my dad when I was younger. I just... my father is pretty well integrated, I didn't learn his language either and of course something like that was always family vacation and got to know all of them in Africa but now culturally from my father I kind of didn't... so much from my father. And that really came only at a higher age, where I myself dealt with the origin of my father and generally what it means to be mixed race and so on, that is, in my childhood I did not really get much culturally now. It also clearly depends... so the fact why that is so, is that I grew up with my mother and not my father.

I: Yes OK and your... Your mother kind of tried to bring a little bit of your African background to you, to teach you something or something?

R: Actually now actually nee.

I: Okay, then I would go directly to the next topic. to the topic of discrimination. Namely, do you have the feeling that you were confronted with discrimination in your childhood and youth or even nowadays or so in different areas.

R: Yes 100% so the topic is too big to drive up. So as a child no idea I can not assess, because I did not understand. So then came only later, when one has thought about it. So at school, for example, I had the feeling that a few teachers were... They were not racist or not active, but I had the feeling that I definitely had to do the same... So had to do more for the same grades. Then I had in my in my teenage years so from 16 to 19 or so... we were a bit wilder on the road somehow. And then you got to the police twice and then I was also quite clearly other bahndelt by the police. every time. so I was now on the Kiez I think, once or twice racial profiled. One was a little guy so 18 so before I had somehow made stress.

I: So from bouncers or something or what?

R: No, by the police. That was on Hamburger Berg... I was stopped twice by the police and checked. Yeah, right there I had a blatant thing once. During Corona with a policeman. I got into a bit of a fight with him and then he reported me. Because of a spit attack that was just not true so and then 2 negotiations that we actually had and I won you so so he just really just said shit about me was just not true what he wrote about me. and then what now ... so I can deal with it better so and I also always smile when any people come at me so stupid, because I always think so what poor sausages that they have to treat me so, but what I still notice in any case blatant ... has become less, but just so sometimes dealing with strangers. So in the train or so or even outside, who just kind of weirdly shit on because of crappy foreigners, which I just really funny encountered, where I then think to myself okay, is that now because I just look different and you have somehow... you relate now somehow hate me or so ne shit or are they just so to everyone? You can't know of course, but it's definitely, I have to say, that has become less. But

it also has to do with how I deal with them. I don't know how, but I have the feeling that it has definitely become less the older I've gotten.

I: OK. But still present so or not at all meh?

R: Yes, it is less present, but I think it's actually related to my person, because of course you just so now over the years so n bit more found out who you so really really is. Topic identity education and so n so n younger little type you can of course rather so... there one is rather, [...] diskriminieren or racist, then one presses the rather so a saying purely and so. But now people have to be really scared that if they get stupid, that I pull the thing so, you know, because of that? I think that also has a lot to do with the fact that they just see OK. Adult man so and now, you can now no longer make so blatant down or When I was then still 18 or so.

I: OK and what you just meant does that relate more to, so random people that you.... That you encounter, or even what you meant police and stuff.

R: Yeah, exactly. Police I had but, so I had nothing to do with the police for a long time. so, I had... there also hab yes illegal done, but I let it come on it and now I'm just totally. I am out of it. I try to keep the police... so just really have as much distance as possible not to burn anything. That's why it's totally random always. if I have experience last years or months always just been any people on the street that have arrived somehow stupid.

I: OK and one more question? Um, what you just meant that you try to avoid the police and so you think that your experiences back then have instilled a bit of respect in you. Also towards the police, so you're a little bit afraid, partly or something.

R: I definitely... what do you mean scared, but I definitely feel in the.... so, when police are there I definitely don't feel safe. You should feel safe, but I definitely don't feel safe, because I never know... you don't have the upper hand, so in the end, they can also take white German hops. But my experience, with the police, was 80% bad and yes as I said, I know who sits on the longer lever and can somehow shit talk and cover each other, therefore. is no respect, but it is it is so a certain certain fear that I already have. Because I yes as I said simply no chance against the ne and before my feeling is halt so. My experience is already so that he so people who meets us.

I: OK, then again. It doesn't necessarily have to do with discrimination or anything like that, but do you have the feeling that you are treated a bit differently by your social environment, i.e. friends, or closer people in general, with whom you have to do in your life, that you are sometimes treated a bit differently, so it doesn't necessarily have to be negative, it can also be simple jokes among friends or something like that.

R: So you also have to say that my friends here are also very multicultural, that is, everything is great, the only thing that you just... it's just these clichés are not always, which are of course also with us friends and also in the young generation still there. are now also not at all negative, but because of Blacks can always dance or... people just see you in an environment or also... so

you are directly associated with something. for example... That's a good thing that example. the friends, all the girlfriends of my of my girlfriend, they find me now also great, but back then at the beginning all have not celebrated it at all, because the just not so bad fuckboy so just so I know yes so I think if I were white, then that would not have been the case, but you have somehow association so "oh yeah okay, halfcast. looks now not so shit has somehow Instagram" so this. I think [...] I would have been white, but on the whole the....The things environment are all quite relaxed.

I: Yeah OK, so they don't have a negative impact now, do they?

R: So no, no so the only. wouldn't give a shit what her friends say.

I: Yes, but all these clichés they have... how do you let yourself for rather so do you find it funny do you find it....

R: sometimes it's funny, but sometimes it's annoying, of course. so it comes... depending on the situation. I mean, we actually had that with us in the university. It's just quite normal that people just think in pigeonholes, drawers, boxes, because that's just the way it is. I have that myself so you know, when I see certain people so then I also associate something with them. That's why I don't hold it against them. I just think it's important that you somehow don't make a big deal out of it. And that you just really form your own opinion about the person and not just draw any conclusions, such as the friends of my girlfriend had also drawn conclusions about me, although they did not know me.

I: OK. Thanks for the answer already ne and then next topic. is about your well-being so n bit and namely. I think you already answered the first question well so whether you feel so well integrated despite your experiences.

R: Yes, you feel well integrated, you feel comfortable. No question about it. But that is also [...] the topic of identity formation. And makes there thoughts so times with 13/14 what I know. it is just already so [...], so I do not feel too.... I feel too... I am 100% German, but I do not feel 100%...I don't know exactly where I belong, because here you sometimes have the feeling that you don't belong somehow. But I definitely don't belong to Africa, because every time I'm there... yes, exactly, I am a rich European. So direct. That's why you feel comfortable in any case. everything is great, but. At 100%, you just feel somehow not quite arrived and accepted.

I: Okay, and what do you think about that, so...? does that have any effect on your self-esteem or your psychological well-being?

R: Hey well, I say so, I am really a self-confident young man so. I'm not so itchy about it now. of course you kind of think about who you are? Where do you belong? but I think that comes with age, that it gets better. So that has in any case no negative effects on my, on my psychological well-being or something like that in any case.

I: OK.[...]

I: Then we continue ne, and that is. Do you think... or what would you say, how your outlook on your future is? do you sometimes have the feeling... or do you worry that your background could somehow put obstacles in your way or something?

R: Yes, 100 percent. so I have to say that everything is definitely getting better... the whole subject matter, because just a lot of people are dealing with it. Have definitely thought about it. so hiring process for companies.... just like that with the name and all that. But that's why I think it's crass, because a lot of companies are just becoming more and more international and also kind of need English CVs or whatnot. or I generally also like to set myself up internationally, work abroad sometime. And there you have for example with the CV, there you have only the name so. there you have no.... no... nothing. that's totally anonymous, but they pay a lot of attention to creating equal conditions. but where I definitely don't want to do it is looking for an apartment. so because [...] I don't know, they prefer to leave one, I don't know Jonathan... Jonathan Günther in it than such a [...]. so, that's why I'm definitely a bit scared of it. and yes, of course the starting conditions that you have are not the same, that's quite clear, but I think that everything is getting better and better now with our generation. I definitely don't worry as much as I did 5 years ago or something like that.

I: Yes. OK then. All in all already positive.

I: Definitely positive, but so I, I am 100% convinced that I don't have it so... or that you.... or that we generally don't have it as easy as German. But I don't see it as blatantly bad as I once saw I see a positive development.

R: Yes, also interesting, that was also said once now. On the subject of identity formation now, right. So there, you have already touched on this question a bit. Namely, how would you identify yourself, so would you rather say that you see yourself as German, or Tanzanian, or a mix of both, or nothing at all?

I: Yes, so, I see myself 100% German so. I have it then always, when people have said to me "you are German", then I have always seen as an attack, because always so "I want black somehow", but I have discarded. I mean, one grew up here, grew up with mother and simply much more German culture mitbekommen and therefore I quite clearly German as I said 100% is one simply these things experienced... that one has experienced. Still will experience one is not 100% arrived here so. I see but also... I think that will also... I hope it will be better there... whereby one knows now also no more with the right urge. one must look however I feel in any case not as Zanzibar or Tanzania. that is just also [...] simply the language barrier for example the culture, which my father me little teaches I say times. So clearly... clearly German.

I: OK and do you feel like that can change a little bit depending on the context or situations? I can give you an example if you have no idea what I mean by that. If I'm in a group of just Germans kind of out and about.... and especially if I don't know them that well, then I feel a little bit like an outsider, sometimes you know... and if I now.... I don't know hang out with my really good buddies or something, then I don't care about that at all, then I feel so more German

and stuff. or also with Germany.... when I'm in Germany, I feel like sometimes I identify more as Afghan and here abroad or something I would just always introduce myself as German, you know what I mean?

R: Yes. Definitely, I also definitely see it partly like that. i have to say, I'm really.... [...] meanwhile so incredibly... I don't change, I'm so incredibly adaptable. so I never think now when I'm in a group of Germans somehow like, "I feel somehow fully different, somehow fully different as a foreigner." I rather think... it's more like that, because German... with Germans... in a lot of university groups and so just like "what for spastes simply."But that doesn't refer at all to the origin or something. But I also have [...] my university is not so diverse.... And very many guys and very many German and really my this German German now. And even partially the foreigners are, so German, so there I also think to myself so "Boah, krass." The feeling that I am somehow excluded or so I have there not at all. Unless people give me the feeling that "you belong to us, you're different". but that's definitely the case abroad. so abroad you definitely have to be more German. And, I also feel like a German in Germany. But of course, it's obvious that I still have roots somewhere else, and so do you. of course, here you're just kind of a mix. or yes here African or what do I know from where?

I: OK and... Now it goes again a little bit so on your self-esteem and so. and namely, would you say that you are proud of your background?

R: So 100%. nothing against white Germans. but never... even through my experience that I've had, and also partly shitty experience, I would never.... would never want to be someone else, so I'm proud of where my father came from. I'm proud of the color of my skin and yeah, for sure. and that's not going to change.... So bad experiences, even back then. That's never changed. So I kind of thought "Oh shit, I would have a lot easier now if I had..." so yet of course, I did think that. But never on such a level of like now I'm kind of pissed off that I'm black or.... half black. so I'm definitely 1000% proud of it.

I: Would you say that maybe these experiences, even partly made you more proud, so? that you can deal with it, have to deal with it and something?

R: Yes, good question then. I don't want to say prouder... or yes, I would also say, up to a certain point, but above all stronger. Just a situation that just had now. That were one was really from 16 to 19, there were one was also still n somewhat stupidly in the head, was really still also young. has also the situation partly looked for. So I have to say. There were one was so on "I am now here somehow full-grown and now it goes.". Exactly therefore. We have simply made the situation stronger and just also to a certain point, I have now reached the peak of pride so proud I can no longer become.

I: Yes OK, that's good, isn't it? And then? I don't know... do you sometimes have the feeling that your identity or something or your role in which you find yourself is or was sometimes ascribed to you by other people?

R: Yes, Well, to the conscience, yes, so what does the identity mean attributed.... I don't think

that the identity was ascribed to me and I was pressed into it somewhere, but of course... I said earlier that there are these clichés that... and that's just the way it is. I have them myself. Of course, you just get into situations a bit... I've always had that in soccer. Whenever we had a new coach. So first of all the discussion, but I just played 6 and what captain so. often ne... so... and there I actually made a presentation. it's just so that very people, especially sports... that just black athletes, for example, simply have other attributes, for example, faster, stronger and bigger and higher can jump and less game intelligence. what I noticed in any case in soccer at that time, that just when new coaches came somehow, that we were always first put on the sidelines so "Digger, no, it's not like that." And you have that of course... you have that of course somehow in other areas of life as well. But I think that's also one of those things, the, the stronger your own identity becomes, the stronger, the more you know who you are, the less you let yourself, I think, get involved in such situations, and let such situations somehow press you into such, such roles, roll, press you.

I: Yes OK. And if you experience something like for example with the trainer or so, what you just told, how do you feel then in the role probably rather negative, ne?

R: Yeah, shit, of course, so I don't know how I felt back then, but that's just a bit of a lack of understanding. It's just... You just... [...] you are simply put into a school, because you simply look like you look. And that's how people form their opinion. It's also completely OK that people put you in a... that they categorize, but it's about getting to know the person... or it's about getting to know the person. And then just to confirm to yourself that these advantages are not true. And in such situations, of course, you do not feel good.

I: OK, but you would say about yourself that you don't let yourself be influenced by these clichés and such in your way and in your behavior or so ne?

R: Not anymore. But it also has to do with the fact that I'm really in a different mood now. I'll tell you. I meant to you earlier that this... this personality development, when you move to a new city and something like that... I have in the last year and a half... a lot has changed in my head. I just don't let situations get to me anymore, so when I just have bad experiences, I usually think to myself... even on the train or something to Dortmund to my girlfriend. In the train came really 2 older people so disabled, where I thought to myself "Digger you want to fuck with me now?" and then you're just so short "yes OK abfuck". But yes, just shit on it best always hold up the mirror and I always like to say so because of I... so I always try to produce or play their behavior on them, so that they check how handicapped they are. And there was... I had a really good situation. I was on my way back from Hamburg and then I was on the train to my home and then I... the train was completely empty. Here these streetcars have just plastic chairs, so there are no, no things, not that there is somehow reference on it. and I had my foot not on the... not, not on it, on the other chair, but so at the knew. That was just... the lane was completely empty. And then a woman sits down in the quad next to me and looks at me the whole time. I already think to myself, "safe, something's coming". And then she says "yes, luckily you are somehow not my son or so yes. Your behavior doesn't work at all and whatnot." And then you just have to laugh "what are they doing now?" "And yes, they are so unbelievably unhappy what is going on with them? Why are they looking for a problem here now? What's

the point of that?" So and now she really went off again and then we both went out at the same station, and then I said, "you know what? I still wish you a nice evening like this and I hope you'll just be happy and not unnecessarily put others down because you're miserable yourself." And then she actually... it was totally crass... she actually said to me herself... she said that "everything kind of sucks with her and yes" and admitted herself that she was just really unhappy. Just... Just people, kind of wanting to make fun of. and I'm pretty sure she wouldn't have done that with a German. just like I said.... hold up a mirror, and then actually a few people also kind of checked, so this.... so "Digger what's actually wrong?".

I: OK, so you just learned for yourself, the way you have to deal with these situations over time?

R: Exactly. At that time, I was confrontational myself. So "what do you want?" Played into their cards? Then the situation is hyped up, they felt confirmed and now I do it the other way around. I'm then suddenly nice to them... thinking "what's going on now?" I'm nice to them and make it clear to them that their behavior is just totally out of order. And whether they check the situation there or afterwards and think about it. So, "the much bigger of the situation."

I: OK and I have one last, or one 2 last questions. And you would say... you have already answered this even at the beginning, whether your identity has developed over time? so you mean for example that you have not thought about it at all until 11/12/13 and so.

R: Of course it changes, like I said, you didn't think about it early in life, because somehow everything was the same, because we were kind of kids, yeah, everything.... Seen the world through his children's eyes. Definitely changed. Also like... I talked to my father more about my family in Africa, got very busy, got myself more involved with myself and me here in society and stuff like that. Anyway, the identity changes again. Very interesting to know how it would have been if I had grown up with my father somehow, and had gotten more cultural insights. But yeah, definitely changes over time.

I: And do you have any defining moments or sticking points? Where you think they contributed to the development or change of your identity or something?

R: Hmm, good question. I'll have to think about it. Yeah, not that snowy now. Yeah, yeah, I wouldn't call that einschneident... or I can't name one event. But I definitely know when I was older.... I was with... I wasn't in Zanzibar for a long time, and then I was 17 again after 5 years or so, and I kind of realized. So, so, how proud I can be to somehow come to Zanzibar or to come from there and I checked it out somehow. I have to say, even though I don't feel as comfortable in Zanzibar as I do in Germany, somehow. Because I just do not live there, and do not live, I must say that I am even somehow happier. Hangs maybeht aich together with the fact that I make there then always vacation. But it is already so. There I noticed, like with 17... When I was alone after graduating from high school, so... Yes, that I can simply be proud of where I come from and that it's something great to have somehow different roots and also something extraordinary. A bit boring here from Bad Oldesloe. I don't know, Oldenburg or something. Exactly therefore einschneident I would not say, but I think the time you have spent

on Zanzibar ... especially the time alone after graduating from high school, which has helped me somehow a little bit, so somehow shapen my identity.

I: Nice and nice, then that's it. Is there anything else...? do you have anything to say that somehow I haven't touched on? or a topic like that?

R: No, by all means please send me your... your thesis, because I find that interesting. You realize, I just babbled a lot digger, because I find the topic really nice. Because that's not often addressed. that's exactly why, feel free to send me that, but otherwise.... ne man. so also the question and so were full, full good digger. one is real to think about... not so superficial but really a bit more profound.

I: Hi nice, thank you I would now finish the recording here.