

Gießener Beiträge zur Bildungsforschung

Lea Annikki Kaiser

Gender ratio and discrimination:
An intersectional analysis

Heft Nr. 29, Dezember 2021

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Ausgangslage: Interkulturalität wird von der Politik als positiver Wert gesetzt und in Projekten von verschiedenen Ministerien gefördert. Auch in der Hochschulpolitik kommt Interkulturalität als Wert eine wichtige Funktion zu, den demokratischen Zusammenhalt in einer multiplen und internationalisierten Welt zu fördern. Parallel ist aus der Schulforschung ein „Referenzrahmen Schulqualität“ bekannt. Dieser ist jedoch als Liste von 100 Aspekten kaum mehr empirisch überprüfbar. Das gleiche kann für normative Aspekte der Interkulturalität gesagt werden.

In dieser Situation eines nicht empirisch ermittelten Begriffs „Interkulturalität“ kamen wir in der Professur Sozialisation und Bildung angesichts der regelmäßigen Studierendenbefragung auf die Idee, einmal umgekehrt rein die Studierenden erzählen und berichten zu lassen, wie sie Interkulturalität leben, ohne dass danach gefragt wird.

Dazu stellten uns Susanne Ehrlich und Christian Treppesch von der Servicestelle Lehrevaluation der Justus-Liebig-Universität (JLU) Gießen einen anonymisierten Datensatz aus der Studierendenbefragung der Jahre 2018, 2019 und 2020 zur Verfügung. Wir untersuchten dann Antworten der Studierenden zu folgender Frage: „Wenn Sie sich einmal an Ihr bisheriges Studium an der JLU erinnern: Welches besondere persönliche Erlebnis fällt Ihnen ein? Beschreiben Sie bitte möglichst genau, was passierte. In der Auswahl Ihres persönlichen Erlebnisses sind Sie völlig frei!“

Die so aufgeschriebenen ca. 1.400 Antworten haben dann Studierende, die seit dem Sommer 2021 ihre Abschlussarbeit schrieben (BA Social Sciences, WHA, Soziologie-Master), nach verschiedenen Querschnittsthemen ausgewertet.

Der vorliegende Beitrag zur Bildungsforschung hat besonders zur Aufklärung beigetragen, wie Interkulturalität empirisch gefasst werden kann.

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1 Introduction

A study from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program showed the biggest gap between men and women who reported stress resulting from discriminatory experiences in public and private universities. White university members are less likely to experience stress caused by discrimination compared to other faculties. An intersectional analysis reveals that white women report more than double the amount of stress caused by discrimination in comparison to white men. Meanwhile, all men other than Asian/ Pacific Islanders experience a higher level of stress than white women. Women of colour reported the most stress due to the intersectional discrimination of sex and race/ethnicity (Stolzenberg et al., 2019).

The differentiation from single-axis discrimination and discrimination on multiple grounds started in the 1980s. It took until the 1990s to influence universities' policies. Programs and action plans for globalization and pluralism were established. Nevertheless, they mainly relied on statistics that, again, focused on the single-axis analysis of discrimination. Still, today there is a lack of an intersectional approach to discrimination and affirmative action in universities (Davis, 2015). This thesis is an attempt to further fill this gap. The data analysis evaluates different forms of discrimination experienced and examines how they are interlinked. An additional focus will lie on gender relations. The research is based on a student survey from the university of Giessen that was conducted from the year 2018 to 2020 to answer the question of a specific event they recall when remembering their studies.

At first, there will be a theoretical introduction to the topics and social spheres the analysis reveals. Taking into account the biological and constructivist perspectives, the concept of gender will be explained. Furthermore, gender roles and social structure will be examined in a sociological and historical context. The second chapter will discuss gender ratio in linguistics, especially in the German language and in higher education.

The intersectional discrimination of gender and ethnicity in universities proves the significance of an analysis. The theory leading this thesis and forming the sociological foundation will be the social constructivism established by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966).

The methodology of research is the Grounded Theory. The process is characterized by the comparative analysis of literature, theory and empirical data (Glaser and Strauss, 1980). The first chapters will give an insight into the theoretical understanding of the

concept of intersectionality, gender, sex and social constructivism. After explaining the methodology, the empirical part of the thesis will demonstrate the content, linguistic and statistical analysis. Participants' answers will be used to illustrate concepts, phenomena and themes. The linguistic evaluation focuses on gender-inclusive and -exclusive language. This will be further observed using the QDA Miner program for statistical analysis. In addition to a statistical demonstration of the linguistic analysis, the phenomena of intersectionality will be observed using dendrograms.

The intent is to use this single case study as an example to rethink and further shift the focus on intersectionality when talking about discrimination in higher education. In the best case, the reader will consider new possibilities of inclusion and reducing discrimination. The data analysis of the cases reporting discriminatory experiences at the Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen does not pursue to blame this single university, nor only criticize it. Sociologists like Jürgen Habermas suggest that social change can be achieved through communicative action. Discourse can lead to perception and representation of the discussed topics in people's reality (Habermas, 1984). "Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of the persons" (Habermas, 1984, pp. 289f.). The thesis aims to create communication and at best, cause self-reflection and social change in some way. The results show that universities need to add the concept of intersectionality not only theoretically but practically to truly ensure equality and diversity.

2 Theory

2.1 Gender and Sex

'gender' and 'sex'

The English language distinguishes between gender and sex. Social characteristics and roles form gender. Biological differences determine the sex (Steinhauer, Diewald and Dudenredaktion, 2017). The societal definition of the different genders finds its origin in the biological differences: Women's potential to give birth and men's physical strength. The separation of gender and sex this thesis is advocating, is based on the assumption of no possible separation between identity and cultural influences. This will be further discussed in the following chapter "social constructivism". Following the constructivist supposition, social differences cannot solely be drawn from biological differences. It is crucial to examine the cultural environment to understand social and psy-

chological differences between sexes (Greenglass, 1982). The German language lacks such a differentiation between gender and sex. therefore, so does the data. However, for understanding the complexity and perspectivity, as well as the historical, social and political meaning of gender and sex, the differentiation, at least theoretically, is important. Not distinguishing between gender and sex linguistically does not mean that the concepts are not apparent in people's construction of reality.

In modern understanding sex refers to physical distinctions and features, socialization transfers social and cultural gender norms and roles (Greenglass, 1982). Gender and sex can be differentiated and defined on these aspects according to the latest research:

1. "Chromosomal and genetic determined sex
2. Gonadal or determined through sex glands (hormonal) sex
3. Genital or determined through primary genital characteristics
4. Juristic sex or gender
5. Social determined gender role" (Abele-Brehm and Wanke, 2002, p. 131)¹

Gender-chromosomes determine sex through external genitals, hormones and other biological factors. The gender role is widely determined through a social upbringing. Socialization is characterized by the processes of social acceptance, understanding and change (Abele-Brehm and Wanke, 2002).

Any civil society cannot neglect gender and sex. In the earliest stages of socialization, children grow up in gendered bodies (Endepohls-Ulpe and Ostrouch, 2019). Critics of the constructivist's theory articulate the danger of denying natural occurrences that cannot be influenced culturally or socially. Christoph Türcke criticizes the so-called *feasibility delusion*, a potential of uncontrollable autonomy when humans construct and control everything almighty (Türcke, 2021). The paradox would lie in the constructivist's wish to abolish the binary dualism of gender while thinking in the Mind-Body dualism. Antje Schrupp, a political scientist, defends constructivism with the social narrative. Social constructivism does not deny the existence of nature. The main point is the construction of reality through perceiving what's *real*. Narratives and ideas constitute nature and how we humans understand it. Differentiating in sex and gender does not neglect the idea of sex but rather adds the component of the social narrative (Sein und Streit-das Philosophiemagazin, 2021). The concept of gender changed: It becomes something to be performed and reproduced in interaction, rather than something indi-

¹ All translated by the author

viduals simply possess (Mills, 2011). The survey asks for the *Geschlecht* (German for sex/gender) and offers a third option for anyone not defining as cis-male or -female.

Gender roles and norms

The theory of social constructivism adds cultural and social causes to biological, *nature-given* reasoning for gender relations. The concept of nature cannot be understood without including social narratives and ideas. The gender ratio is not only determined through biological factors but also socially constructed. Gender roles and expectations create the phenomena of gender. The following example will illustrate this: Social narrative says that the man procreates children. However biologically speaking, procreation means conjoining of the ovum and sperm. Human reproduction is perceived as hierarchical. Men are the active and creating, while women are the passive and caring part. Narratives produce a social reality that includes gender roles and the demand for humans to fulfil the requirements linked to these social roles. The way we speak and narratives influence the social reality and consequently laws and institutions. Socially constructed gender can be observed when changing the way we speak. Solely speaking biologically, the explanation for women not being allowed to become a priest would be: Only humans with a penis can become a priest. Social gender causes the ban of women as priests, and not the biological differences (Sein und Streit-das Philosophiemagazin, 2021). Gender roles changed from mostly sex-linked physical related roles to a more egalitarian performance of roles. The questioning of the binary dualism of gender evolved only recently. The differentiation in traditional and egalitarian role patterns demonstrates the development from the strict separation of sex to the modern constructivist understanding of gender (Holter, 1970).

Gender ratio

Cultural, historical and political influences that form the patriarchal system, which is a reality for most, are important to understand the gender ratio's development and causal conditions (Greenglass, 1982).

“Ancient philosophers regarded women as essentially creatures of emotion and men as rational, intellectual beings. Men, then, were seen as having to exert authority over women and control them. [...] This misogynist view has persisted to the present day” (Greenglass, 1982, p. 1).

Sigmund Freud was one of the first psychoanalysts offering a theory on gender roles, sex and personality. He roots the dualistic dissimilarities of men and women in biological differences. The development of gender roles is unconscious and psychosexual. He

distinguishes in three mental structures: The id (being driven by biological instincts, mainly to avoid pain and achieve (sexual) pleasure), the superego (a person's conscience that finds guidance in society's norms) and the ego (trying to satisfy id's urgent needs within the limits the superego consciousness and the external reality present). Freud defines an Oedipus complex, meaning that children grow up to see the same-sex parent as a rival and want to own the opposite sex. Women discover their genital inferiority at some point, believing they have been castrated, and blame their mother for it. The mother becomes a rival and the father a love object. Women not having a penis leaves them with the only choice left: Becoming an erotic substitute. The hierarchical dualism of gender lies in the possession or absence of a penis: Men are superior, aggressive and dominant, while women accept their inferior position and are passive and jealous. Differences between men and women, even psychologically, were for a long time assumed as 'normal' or 'natural'. Male behaviour and physique were long and still are perceived as the 'normal', while women are compared in their deviance and similarity to the male behaviour (Greenglass, 1982). An example of gender in medicine illustrates this. Men make up the majority of studies, while women are often perceived as too complicated to use as participants because of menstruation and the changing of the hormonal system. The argument is that women's physique differs (too much) from men's (Criado-Perez, 2020).

Freud concentrates on male psychology. His theory relies on the patriarchal belief that women are second best. He focuses on anatomy and biological factors and ignores social factors. Studies showed less evidence for some of Freud's assumptions: Children are rather attached to their mothers for the first years. Women are not drawn to the opposite gender due to genital indifferences but rather culturally and socially established ones: Men's power and privilege (Greenglass, 1982).

Sex discrimination proved to arise in competitive sex relations, more than in paternalistic sex relations. Paternalistic sex relations rely on everyone knowing and reproducing their assigned role. There was less potential for conflict, similar to the period Illich describes, when men and women were not *mixing genders* (Hochschild, 1983). The competitive model aims to leaving this conflict-free zone and challenging traditional role expectations. Competitive sex relations can mostly be found in the economy sector, in academia and in business (Hochschild, 1973). This thesis hence has a special focus on gender relations while examining intersectional discrimination in academia.

The German constitution states that men and women are equal and are to be treated as such. Gender stereotypes shall no longer prescribe personality. The change of the political sphere was followed by a change in the education system and therefore the process of socialization (Abele-Brehm and Wanke, 2002).

“The Upbringing to emancipate conveys the knowledge that tasksharing and relationshipstructure of the sexes display historically grown, culturally conditioned, hierarchy structured conventions and are not part of a natural order” (Abele-Brehm and Wanke, 2002, p. 138).

This change in childrens' upbringing and the possibility of contraception had enormous influences. 23% more mothers worked in 1990 than in the year 1970. The number of divorces rose about 13% in the same timeframe (Abele-Brehm and Wanke, 2002).

Ivan Illich's *Gender* woke up the philosophical, anthropological and sociological discourse. For him, the argument lies in the assignment of gender today. In the first period, women and men had such different and separated worlds and lifes that there was no danger of *mixing gender*. Therefore, equality was achieved. There was no resentment and no confrontation with reality gendered differently. The inequality arose in the industrial age with the establishment of sex and the mixing of the two genders (Hochschild, 1983). Illich describes gender as vernacular because the associations with it are culturally and historically developing and determined. Sex can be understood scientifically. The meaning of gender only can be grasped by metaphors. Social sex, for Illich, is a form of discrimination from *genderless humans*. Social gender hinders men and women from achieving or doing *the same*. Illich bases his thesis on *keywords* in the industrialized language that is genderless and sexist at the same time. These so-called *keywords* are often and commonly used. They are internalized through the learning of a mother language in the process of socialization. They positively exclude gender and still create a gendered economy through implications (Illich, 1982).

They create a “pseudo-vernacular gloss on engineered reality”. To achieve a genderless economy, these keywords therefore must be avoided (Illich, 1982, p. 384). Illich connects economic capitalistic success to gender dualism: The success of the economy relies on sexism through for example shadow work, mostly done by women and mostly unpaid (Illich, 1982). The New York Times criticized Illich's thesis for not seeking a possibility of gender equality, as well as for the hypothesis of the constant gendering of thoughts and structures as a problem. The article claims that with the idealisation of the first period of European history, Illich joins the front against the feminist movement denying a possibility for equality in modern times (Hochschild, 1983). Illich

differentiates between sex, which he roots and criticizes in today's capitalist society and the vernacular gender. However, capitalism works best with people being detached from everything, even gender, but their employer (Wilson, 1989). The theories of the development of gender roles differ, some see the beginning in the economic inequality, some in the family structure and some in physical and biological differences, like women nursing the children. Nevertheless, industrialization and urbanization are often perceived as the major factors influencing gender roles. Equality and egalitarian gender roles are therefore also disagreed on by scholars. Some, like Illich, do not see a possibility for equality in our modern society, some, like Bott, suggest more egalitarian family roles that change the family pattern and social constructivists locate the opportunity for change in the process of socialization (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Holter, 1970).

Linguistics: gender relations in language

As further demonstrated later on, language forms and produces reality. "[L]anguage constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 153). This analysis therefore not only focuses on the content but also the linguistics that forms reality and therefore gender ratio. Female terms are often derived from male terms. The historical argument for this is that men mostly acquired prestigious work and careers. Female forms were rare and often in low-income domains. New and more masculine terms were created when men entered these domains (e.g. Krankenpfleger (=male nurse)). Here the underlying concept of men being superior to women and women being secondary can be observed (Hellinger and Bußmann, 2003). Alma Sabatini demonstrates in her linguistic analysis of the Italian language, what is also visible in other languages. She points out that sexism in language comes from a universal ideology, rather than one specific culture (Sabatini, 1993): Femininity is determined through the use and formation of female terms and female perceived features. Femininity in language embodies clichés of the patriarchal society and reality. To display this, one can only take a closer look at the meaning and use of 'female' and 'male'. The adjectives of gender not only objectively display sex but determine gender. Femininity refers for example to characteristics like elegance, reservation and certitude (Sabatini, 1993). This exemplifies the role of language for (re-)producing reality. Language is the foundation every social acting is based on (Steinhauer, Diewald and Dudenredaktion, 2017).

Social reality is constructed by dualisms. Differentiating humans in men and women determine the individual and collective life. *Gendern* represents this gender dualism. It

means linguistically portraying the mentality of gender roles. The term is retrieved from the English substantive 'gender' and refers to the process of feminization or neutralization. It aims at representing gender roles non-discriminatory in the linguistic communication (Steinhauer, Diewald and Dudenredaktion, 2017). The main task for using gendered forms² is to achieve equality and fairness for both genders in the language (Endepohls-Ulpe and Ostrouch, 2019). Aminata Touré, a member of the state parliament in Schleswig-Holstein for the green party, argues for the use of gendered forms and language. Language not only displays but also produces reality, as also argued in a later chapter about social constructivism. The generic masculine form excludes non-binary people and women. Using gendered forms would help to include them in the language and therefore reality. More than half of the population defines as female or non-binary, yet the generic masculine excludes both. Women are only referred to in the female form when no other man is present. As soon as a man is referred to as well, the male form is used (Touré, 2020). Critics not only point out the sexist implication of the generic male but also the role for the female invisibility (Braun et al., 1998). Not only German contains sexism in its language. As Alma Sabatini establishes in her work "il sessimo nella lingua italiana", the sexism in language does not originate from one culture but roots in an ideology that results in difficulties for women. Sabatini's linguistic research of women's role and representation shows that women are mostly only included when men are excluded (Sabatini, 1993). It might be noted here that the literature based its assumptions on a linguistic analysis from decades ago. This does not mean that the research results are not important anymore but should be seen in today's light. The debate about the use of gendered forms in Germany shows that society at least interacts with gender ratio and the role of linguistics for the perceived reality. The German dictionary *Duden* changed their online entries and added a female form to the male in 2020 (Nöstlinger, 2021). Still, a recent study revealed, that 65 percent of the German population voted against the inclusion of gendered terms (ZDF, 2021). Michael Becker-Mrotzek defines the momentary linguistic situation in Germany as a *language change in fast motion*. New establishments that concern the construction of reality often follow the pattern of many paths being tried. Many forms are tried before the decision for one is made. This is also the case in gender visibility in language. Change of linguistic rules and norms can take years or even decades (Mankarios, 2021). Using gendered forms, as already established, would mean not only a change of language but also of reality. Studies show that the generic male is associated with masculinity, rather than with gender-neutral assumptions. Co-ordinating or abbreviated

² This paper will use the term 'gendered' as prescribing a form that is not the generic masculine and belongs to the category 'gendern'.

splitting proved to be more inclusive for women. Gender-neutral nouns showed mostly feminine associations (Braun et al., 1998).

“German masculine and feminine personal nouns show asymmetries on various levels: on the morphological level, where feminines are generally derived from existing masculine forms; on the semantic level, with masculine terms carrying more positive connotations than feminine terms, and on the distributional level, where masculines occur more frequently than feminines and in more contexts such as textbooks, dictionaries, newspapers, etc. In addition, there are serious cognitive asymmetries: Masculine term automatically triggers expectations as to a most suitable (perhaps prototypically)- male- representative of the noun” (Hellinger and Bußmann, 2003, p. 160).

Personal nouns provide a form of identification and help to communicate about the self and others. They can inherit a positive or negative attitude. Psychologically, appropriate usage can result in the maintenance of the identity. Inappropriate usage of misidentifying someone’s gender can cause feelings of anger and irritation. The majority of participant’s answers are in German. The gender-related linguistic analysis therefore will be focusing on gender display and portrayal in the German language. Referring to men or women can be achieved through grammatical gender, adjectival modification, compounding or derivation with suffixes. A gender-indefinite expression can mainly be achieved by either neutralization or feminization. Neutralization implies a lexical or syntactic approach (e.g. Lehrende). Feminization explicitly includes the females with *splitting* forms. *Co-ordinating*, leading to *long splitting*, is a method using pair forms connecting the male and female form (e.g. Lehrer und Lehrerinnen). Abbreviated splitting uses various orthographical symbols (e.g. Lehrer/innen; Lehrer*innen; Lehrer:innen). The capital I, restricted to writing practise, has polarized. People criticize it for not being orthographically correct and not being able to pronounce it. Pronouncing is possible with a *glottal stop* or *zero*³. Other forms like nominative singular expressions and adjectival splitting are not that commonly used. Gender-indefinite expression is a possibility too but illuminates personal nouns. While for example England focuses on neutralization and avoiding stereotypes, German guidelines emphasise the importance of female visibility. This has many reasons, one being the manifestation of grammatical gender in the German language (Hellinger and Bußmann, 2003).

³ Glottal stop means making a pause before ending the term (Lehrer-pause-innen). Zero leaves no pause and sounds like the female form (Lehrerinnen).

2.2 Social Constructivism

“*Homo sapiens* is always, and in the same measure, *homo socius*” (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 69).

This analysis bases its’ assumptions on the theory of Berger and Luckmann. The theory states the social construction of reality and knowledge (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Consequently, the gender ratio is assumed to be social in its’ creation and existence. That is why this project focuses on the portrayal of gender ratio while participants comment on student life. Another focus of analysis is the intersectionality of intercultural experience.

Using the sociology of knowledge, Berger and Luckmann explore the construction of reality. The *Lebenswelt* is socially approved and perceived as common sense. Consciousness is always directed towards something. Humans are conscious of realities. The world is perceived as multiple realities. Moving from one to another can lead to a form of shock. The reality that constitutes everyday life is called *reality par excellence*. This form of reality is realised as self-evident, as the wide-wake state this form of reality entails. Language offers the objectification that gives everyday life meaning and sense. The *world par excellence* is experienced as intersubjective, meaning, the reality is shared with others. This results in a continuous exchange of meanings, creating a common sense of reality. The reality par excellence is formed by different sectors, that one can change without problems. It gets problematic when the sectors shift to another reality. Problematic sectors are integrated in everyday life. Common-sense knowledge includes instructions for doing so.

The most intense form of intersubjective exchange is the face-to-face situation. This form of communication not only offers the best opportunity to perceive the other as *real* but also establishes typification schemes. These determine the actions and are reciprocal. The closer these typifications are to the face-to-face situation, the more individualistic they become. Social structure is built by all these typifications and patterns of interaction. Interaction is shaped by indices, signs and language. Language is the most significant sign system. Language can be detached from the present moment. Common objectifications are primarily upheld through language. Language has the power to objectify and generalize. Experiences can be typified and categorized. Therefore, they can be duplicated. Symbols are the most abstract form of everyday experience. Symbols are crucial for the construction and maintenance of *reality par excellence* and common sense. A social stock of knowledge regulates the social structure and people’s

responsibility in society according to roles. The social stock of this knowledge is passed on from generation to generation. Language allows the incorporation of objectified experiences into this knowledge. It offers knowledge about the individual's situation and limits. Not everyone has the same access to this social stock of knowledge, the distribution is role-specific. A social distribution determines who knows what. To avoid problematic sector shifts and to ease the solving of unproblematic situations, routine instructions on how to behave are integrated into this stock of knowledge. Whenever human activity is habitualized and part of a typification, it becomes an institution. Institutions execute power through sanctions and patterns determining the behaviour of society's members.

Social Constructivists believe that humans produce themselves and therefore the social order as well. Humans are products of socio-cultural conditions, there is no biological unchangeable human nature. The three dialectical moments of constructing and reproducing reality are: Internalizing, externalizing and objectification. Institutions exemplify this process: They construct objectivity, cannot be changed by the individual, are therefore external, and are internalized through socialization. Socialization can mainly be understood as two phases: Primary and secondary socialization. After turning into a member of society, the individual is integrated into new objective sectors. Identification and internalization are closely linked. Children internalize roles and attitudes in an emotional process. The identity is dialectically formed from identification by others and self-identification. The generalized other, the abstraction of these roles and behavioural patterns built the objective reality. The symmetry between the subjective and the objective world continually has to be maintained through (re-)production.

Roles are a representation of the institutional order. Some roles have a further function, they legitimize institutionalized norms and patterns by being a symbolic representation of the order. Internalization demands self-identification with the roles and the implied norms (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Rob Hagendijk differentiates the constructivist theory into moderate and radical constructivism. Moderate constructivism analyses the variations of knowledge. Differences and changes in the social structure are assessed (van den Belt, 2003).

Critics like Christoph Türcke fear the arbitrary construction of reality. If everything is socially constructed, what is even *real* anymore? Türcke demonstrates natural factors that cannot be changed by social perception (Türcke, 2021). Gerhardt Roth, director of

the institute of neuroscience in Bremen, argues against the arbitrariness of reality by distinguishing between the term *real* and the German term *wirklich*. There is an individual reality and a reality independent of my consciousness. Perception of reality is a form of interaction and not an illustration. The human brain interacts with the surroundings and establishes a *reality*. Radical constructivists argue that humans cannot prove or perceive this independent reality. According to this perspective, humans can only experience phenomena using terms to describe them. There cannot be any assurance of the accuracy of these terms for the independent reality (Bild der Wissenschaft, 1998). “[...] both ‘nature’ and ‘society’ are seen as being ‘co-produced’ by science, which is conceived as a set of constructive practices that create order out of disorder” (van den Belt, 2003, p. 204). Moderate constructivists believe in an independent existence of social reality or society (van den Belt, 2003).

2.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality offers connecting lines between different forms of discrimination. The main focus lies on identity, being formed by gender, class, sexuality and race (Nash, 2008). Discrimination on multiple grounds is judged differently and proved less successful in court than discrimination on single grounds. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw was the first to introduce the concept of intersectionality in the 1980s. She wanted to demonstrate the issue of feminism concentrating mainly on white women from a specific social class. The discussion started on a juristic level but spread to several disciplines (Mercat-Bruns, Holt and Kutz, 2016).

The field of intersectionality calls for three forms of engagement: Examining intersectional dynamics, debates in a methodological and theoretical way and political engagement (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013). The first form is leading this thesis. The intent is to apply the intersectional lens to the survey answers. Intersectionality seeks to build bridges between forms of discrimination, as well as examine all levels of society. Analysis on the micro-, meso- and macro-level allow grasping the different spheres of intersectionality. This includes possible fields of analysis reaching from structural discrimination on the macro-level to the micro-level, assuming that every individual is positioned at a crossover of different parts of identity that either provide advantages or disadvantages (Gopaldas, 2013).

Crenshaw and McCall urge to broaden the spectrum of intersectional analysis to the level of political and structural inequalities (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013).

For analysing intersectionality, the concepts of discrimination should be defined and explained. The concept discrimination is differentiated in workplace discrimination, racial discrimination, sex-based discrimination and discrimination based on family status, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, age or religion (Mercat-Bruns, Holt and Kutz, 2016). For an intersectional evaluation, the structural and individual levels can be differentiated: The discriminatory experience, the individual's level, the institution and the representative level (Lutz, 2015).

Racism includes unfair distribution of opportunities and unfair dis-/advantages. Jones, similarly to the multi-level analysis of discrimination, distinguishes between three forms of racism in his article "Confronting Institutionalized Racism": Institutionalized, personally-mediated and internalized. Institutionalized racism is often legalized and normative. Personally-mediated racism consists of prejudice and discrimination. The significant difference lies in the reaction to others: Prejudice means having different assumptions about e.g. abilities based on the concept of *race*. Discrimination can be observed in the actions that differentiate based on *race*. Internalized racism affects the other side, meaning the ones suffering from the injustice. The prejudiced beliefs are internalized and accepted (or at least not neglected) as truth and fact (Jones, 2002).

Intersectionality in higher education

"Black Women in the Academy: Defending Our Name" held in 1994 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge discussed many issues of intersectional discrimination. One of the results was the acknowledgement of racism, keeping black people out of academia and differentiating black academics based on sexual orientation, sex and class (scala, 1994).

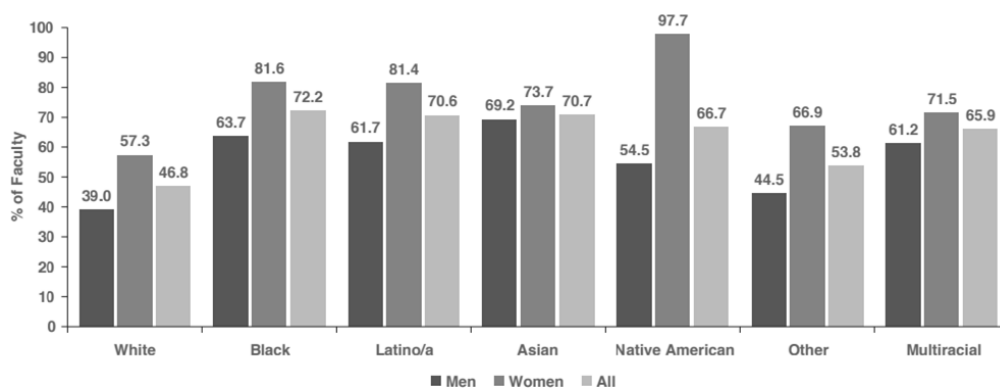


Figure 1: Feeling a need to work harder than colleagues to be perceived as a legitimate scholar by gender and race/ethnicity (% indicating "agree somewhat" or "strongly agree")

The HERI survey evaluation from the High Education Research Institute evaluated the feeling of having to work harder than others to be taken as a Legitimate Scholar by gender and race/ethnicity.

Women generally feel the need to work harder to be perceived as legitimate scholars. The analysis of intersectionality shows again that women of colour face the most difficulties in academia (Stolzenberg et al., 2019).

While genetic cognitive differences cannot be eliminated, studies showed them to be small. Socio-cultural and psychological factors rather proved to determine cognitive ability. New research showed that changing gender roles resulted in changed cognitive differences. A change in the process of socialization, again, would mean a change of roles and norms. Women are proven to be more critical and insecure in their cognitive abilities. The groundwork for this gender difference lays in the process of socialization, where girls receive less encouragement for independence and more protection (Greenglass, 1982).

3 Methodology: Grounded Theory

Strauss and Glaser established the method *Grounded Theory* in 1967. Due to the advantages of data analysis, the methodology is used in many disciplines. The advantage of concepts (which will be further discussed later), theoretical reasons and clarifications help to broaden the study field and further enlighten the phenomena scientifically. Portraying is the cyclic structure of analysis and data collection (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Schütze and Soeffner influenced the spread of the method in Germany. The method aims to identify theoretical models that explain social processes. A broad-scale of social processes are explored: The process of acting, and connected to this phenomenon the process of selecting, as well as the process of groups, acting, interacting and aggregating (Brüsemeister, 2008).

Grounded theory is a methodology of qualitative research. The researcher is as important for the process as data and participants are. There are many arguments for using qualitative instead of quantitative data. Some might be that the inner experiences can be examined, meaning can be further analysed and areas that are yet rarely researched can be studied and researched more extensively. Qualitative and quantitative

research are not contrasting but can complement each other. For example, the provided variables can be useful for quantitative research (Corbin and Strauss, 2015).

The method is characterized by *theoretical sensitivity*. This should help to differentiate between the theories originating in the data and the researchers' theories. The *Grounded Theory* not only determines how to evaluate the data but also assesses the subjective influences from the researcher. The theory is based on the data. The term *data* refers to interviews, documents and observations. Generalization does not equal statistical representation, rather theoretical reasonability. Grounded Theory allows for existing theories to be consulted as ideas for the evaluation of data. Usually, this method is practised in two steps: Open and selective coding. Theoretical Sampling regulates the chosen data. The aspiration of basing the research on what can be found in the data brings a dilemma with it. Pre-existing knowledge is needed to begin the research and cannot be eliminated. Therefore, the solution of the theory suggests to mentally put the presumptions aside. The theory characterizes the practice of evaluating and gathering data at the same time. The results received and established while analysing are used as theoretical, describing and explaining categories for collecting the following data.

The researchers decide whether to capture similar or contrasting data. Strauss named this *minimal or maximal contrast*. These two strategies belong to the process of *theoretical sampling*, meaning that the collection of samples is led by a theory. This theory is provided by the analysis of data and not presumptions or foreknowledge of the researcher (Brüsemeister, 2008). In an initial brainstorming, ideas are used as theoretical concepts and either kept or left out in the following analytical process. The dimensions and concepts are not final but rather help to guide through the further process. They raise questions and provide answers. The important feature of the Grounded Theory does not lie in the document but the interaction of researcher and data while coding openly (Strauss, 2010). The theoretical concepts are tested through *constant comparisons* (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). There are different levels to compare: (1) in-depth comparison: comparing data by one sample, (2) horizontal comparison: comparing different samples, (3) external comparison: comparing external samples to help focus and provoke new thoughts. Comparing does not only help to test the concepts but also generates new hypotheses (Brüsemeister, 2008). The comparison focuses on differences and similarities. Similar data forms a concept which will become a category in further steps of analysis. The core category describes the general theme of the study. Core categories and categories shape the theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2015).

The Grounded Theory seeks to surpass sole observation and empirical data. Therefore, sociologists use generalizing terms to structure and analyse the data. Furthermore, this supports connecting to theoretical concepts and theories. Categories are divided into sociological constructs and in vivo codes. (Strauss, 2010). These codes find their origin in the data. Often the terminology of the actors is used. In vivo codes should be self-explanatory for the specific observation (Brüsemeister, 2008). The forming of codes and categories is linked close to or derived from the data (Kaiser and Presmeg, 2019). Sociological constructs are drafted by the researcher. The knowledge is scientific and substantive and thus can add more sociological scientific meaning. Characterizing is the clear and methodical assembly (Strauss, 2010). Open codes can also be formed by consulting technical literature or relevant areas of study (Kaiser and Presmeg, 2019).

Labelling and naming the categories is important for the comparison. Categories not only explain data but also determine what they can be compared to. Consequently, categories function as methodical guiding instruments for the research process. The main difference to other theories, therefore, is to not solely understand data as observation for social phenomena but to derive the process of methodology from the data as well (Brüsemeister, 2008). The process of forming categories, finding connections between them, comparing and noting first assumptions, hypotheses etc. is called *open coding* (Strauss, 2010).

Social processes are embodied by three sections: (1) the conditions while the process was started, (2) the strategies of acting and selecting and (3) the consequences these strategies bring, as well as the structures the process is embedded in. These three sections can be differentiated by the element of time (Brüsemeister, 2008). Strauss and Corbin determine “conditions, actions-interactions [and] consequences or outcomes” as the main features of the paradigm (Corbin and Strauss, 2015, p. 156). *Axial coding* uses these sections to create connections between the categories. The frame and surroundings of the phenomenon are based on causal conditions. The phenomena are set in a specific context. The context offers conditions for strategies of action and interaction (e.g. time and culture). Action and interaction always aim towards consequences. The sections can intersect and change. This can be seen in the example of consequences, which can become causal conditions for different phenomena (Kaiser and Presmeg, 2019).

Another step is *selective coding*, meaning that only the concepts that are always backed up by the data will be used to explain the social phenomena. After establishing

concepts and hypotheses, comparing to other samples and receiving interim results, selective coding evaluates the data. This form of coding starts when the *theoretical saturation* is obtained. Theoretical saturation states that not more categories can be found to further explain the phenomena. *Core categories* are the ones that are kept after comparing and leaving out categories not helping to analyse the phenomena. They either do not fully grasp the phenomena or they vary too little from core categories (Brüsemeister, 2008; Corbin and Strauss, 2015; Strauss, 2010).

To help the process of coding, nowadays computer software offer help (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). In this project, the analysis of data was done with assistance from QDA Miner (Provalis research, 2021). There are many programs for coding using the methodology of the grounded theory. One should research and compare programs before deciding (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). The decision for QDA Miner was made because the program is specified to analyse documents and data the research uses. In comparison, MAXQDA is limited for a month in its free use and did not work well with the data sample. QDA Miner was therefore used for analysing and coding the sample. The data sample was split into three different fragments: 2018, 2019 and 2020. The program can connect categories and evaluate them, which helps to generate the use of gendered forms. The categories can be deleted, merged and changed. Therefore, the application is additional help for all the steps of coding: Open, selective and axial coding (Provalis research, 2021).

In vivo coding helps with the steps of coding. It signifies labelling a section of data. To capture the elements, in vivo codes are kept similar or equal to the participant's words and terms. The process of in vivo coding shows why it is mainly based in the first stages of coding when categories and concepts are formed. To avoid issues with reliability and validity, in vivo codes should not be overused and chosen carefully, meaning they can be used to generalize (Given, 2008).

Memos and diagrams to protocol analysis and results are advised. Taking notes while analysing and generating data, captures the process and saves thoughts and ideas (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Types of Memos are: "1. Opening data exploration, 2. Identifying or developing the properties and dimensions, concepts and categories, 3. Making comparisons and asking questions, 4. Exploring relationships among conditions, action-interactions, and consequences, 5. Developing the storyline" (Corbin and Strauss, 2015, p. 117). Notes can be memos, field notes, research journals and diagrams. It is important to date them for structured thoughts and ideas when looking back

(Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Protocols can be in the form of theoretical notes, observation notes and methodical notes (Brüsemeister, 2008).

4 Analysis of the given data

A student survey from the years 2018, 2019 and 2020 focuses on the following question: “Remembering your current studies at the JLU: Which specific event comes to your mind? Describe as precisely as possible what happened, please. The event you choose is totally up to you.”

The categories established for the data analysis were: Discrimination, intercultural experience and *gendern*. For the categorization of discrimination, a differentiation between the categories sexism and racism was made. The analysis examines the gender ratio and discrimination in an intersectional analysis.

In the German language, there is the ‘generic male’ form, which is mostly used but excludes the female and other genders. To be more inclusive, many, mostly academics and politicians, include both genders (“Gendern”). The analysis of this data examines whether this was achieved and/or whether there is a distinction between the genders. To investigate this, different gendered forms and expressions were coded and evaluated. The subcategories for *gendern* that emerged were: The generalizing male form, the gender-neutral form, the gendered form, gendered terms, terms that were not gendered, the female form used for females, the female form as generalizing form, the male form for females. It should be added that due to the anonymity of the survey’s participants, solely the given data could be used. The female form as generalizing form therefore could have had the intention to be a gendered one but the participant did not notice that the letter “l” was small.

Example: 2020 | case #83 (female):

[...] ich lerne sehr viel und genieße es, dass ich mich mit so vielen internationalen Kommilitoninnen austauschen kann. [...]

There is no absolute clarity about the use of the generalized male form. In some cases, due to the lack of background information, there is no assurance whether the generic masculine was used or whether all people addressed were male. Still, the assumption of the generic male form is plausible. Addressed people were often generalized (e.g. friends) and addressed many, leaving the assumption that the generic male was used for others along with males as well.

Example: 2020 | case #1 (female)

[...] Zum ersten Mal andere Studenten während der Erstiwoche kennenlernen und Freundschaften schließen.

The analysis showed that different varieties of discrimination are experienced and they can be private or in the institutional setting of the university. Discrimination was experienced in connection to sex, gender, national origin, disability, outer appearance, parenting role and religion. The researcher's aim is to analyse how and in what setting discrimination was experienced. In 64 cases discriminatory experiences were reported. This equals about 5% of all cases.

The data showed that many students described the experience of discrimination not as an intersectional, but rather separate forms of discrimination. They were mostly reported as separate, independent discriminatory experiences and were not interlinked. Thus, the data analysis of the participants' answers led to categories that captured several forms of discrimination.

This analysis merely aims to examine the experience of the participants. Other factors might have influenced a discriminatory occurrence but were not perceived by the participant. The purpose of this thesis is not to achieve absolute determination, which is hardly ever possible in the social sciences, but rather a clear display of experienced discrimination and intersectionality experienced.

This chapter aims to display the results of the analysis. Furthermore, this will be underlined by exemplary answers from the survey.

A very common issue and form of exclusion was the language barrier that often results from lecturers and administrative staff not speaking good and understandable English. Meanwhile many international students, especially in the beginning, did not speak or understand German well. This made numerous students feel excluded and created difficulties in studying abroad:

2018 | case #57 (female)

As an international student who was not able to communicate in German, I had a lot of problems. I was not satisfied with some of the professors. For example, in my first semester and first exam I had some difficulties to understand the language of the professor. He had a lot of grammatical mistakes which made it so confusing to understand the question itself. Another experience is the officer who

is working in our examination office is not qualified to understand students who are studying in English and talking in English and I could not understand her in German as well ... I think employing people who are able to speak in English and understand English for English studies faculty has to come to your considerations. [...]

2018 | case #237 (female)

[...] But unfortunately at JLU English programs are not as qualified as German programs. [...] There is not enough facilities for English speaking people. for example even the university webpage are not entirely available in EN. Also the Studip and Flex now have the same problem. For me, who just wanted to come here for the two year English program it is so difficult to handle my situation. I always have to waste my time and ask different people to help me over the very simple process (just because there is not enough facility for who study in EN). Sometimes even the faculty staff and examination do not have enough information to provide us. I mostly feel those people(for example study coordinator and etc) passing students to different staff to make us exhausted to not following what we demanded. some of staff whose duty is to instruct all student are not dominant enough to help. And I feel International student are completely left without any support. for example I have had a problem with examination office since October and no one following my case while I visit most people and emailed them. Almost all events and seminars are held in German language, although science language is not German. Even the posters for English events are in Deutsch. I think this attitude not just isolate international students but prevent the university to be more developed. Finally, since then I will not recommend any international student to apply at JLU, because of the energy that could be save for learning is just wasted for simple problems that at the end no one would help and support.

2018 | case #411 (female)

Missing offers

There was no support offered for foreign students. There were also no free language courses to improve one's German language skills.

2018 | case #506 (female)

Challenging

[...] In addition, I got the impression from the university website that JLU was a multicultural university and used to dealing with international students. I was surprised to find that the university staff (not the teaching staff but rather the admin-

istration) often don't speak adequate English. This made the initial steps of registering for courses and navigating through Giessen somewhat difficult. If I called, there was often a delay ("let me find my colleague who speaks English" was a phrase I heard often) and if I wrote an email the responses would be in German, meaning I had to use translation software, which is not always accurate. Now that my German has improved it is no longer a challenge for me. However, during the initial weeks of enrolling, especially for international students who may be in the country for the first time, being able to communicate with the university staff is crucial. This is an area the university could look into.

2019 | case#38 (male)

It was indeed an experience.

[...] direct quote Giessen UB iSv: "We decline your acquisition proposal because it is in English. [...]"

2019 | case #43 (female)

Constantly studied for an exam and failed because of the language. Once I asked the exam supervisor for a word, which meaning I did not know and it was not a technical term, it was a verb and I was not told the meaning. I asked to use a dictionary during the exam and I was told no. [...] I constantly have to face something like this all the time.

The participants describe a language barrier resulting from the inability to communicate in German and the bad quality of administrators' and teachers' English. The use of the verb "prepared" in case #113 from 2018 implicates that the lecturer was not necessarily unwilling to help but unable to do so. Additionally, the administrative staff often does not speak English, which is especially concerning for an English studies faculty (case #57, 2018). The main language of study and communication is German. There are no free language courses to learn German that could reduce the language barrier (case #411, 2018). Case #38 from 2019 exemplifies the bureaucratic obstacles the language barrier can present: He was denied a request for handing it in English.

Language barriers make people feel excluded and create difficulties that, like many participants claim, can take energy and time. The case #299 from 2019 proves, that the language barrier can not only make students perceive exclusion but it can also be used as a reason to exclude and discriminate. In this case, the non-German speakers are expected to achieve less.

In case #237 from 2018, the participant feels systematically and institutionally excluded and completely “left without any support”. (e.g. all websites and platforms are not, or only partly, available in English). In this case, even though she highly compliments the quality of studies, the complications resulting from the language barrier were that immense and time-, as well as energy-consuming, that she would not recommend any international student to study in Giessen. Conclusively, one can say that the international experience is hindered by administrative and academic issues resulting from language barriers.

Lack of motivation to make exceptions and alternative offers for non-German-speaking students leads to a negative experience for the international students. Not only the feeling of being excluded as a result but not being offered any alternative, creates difficulties in studying at the university.

Answers like case #506 from 2018 show that one solution to the language barrier and the consequential exclusion and struggle could be avoided by preparing the staff and lecturers for alternatives and offers of help. The experience of discrimination because of a language barrier in some cases were so negative like in case #237 from 2018 that the survey participant would not recommend the university to international students. To avoid this, the international students need to feel more included and less left on their own. Helping services need to be more accessible and easier to find. Moreover, websites, platforms and administrative offers should be available in English. As the dendrogram analysis later will demonstrate, language differences often appear with discrimination based on national origin or foreign outer appearance.

2018 | case #57 (female)

[...] The other experience is related to being an international student in a lecture of a professor with racism ideas. Who was in the idea that “we should never stay in Germany, we should go back to our countries because for example Indians are destroying the economic situation of the country and Germany has to stop having a free education for everyone” It was so irritating while half of the students were international students. I hope that we are not going to face with these kinds of situations anymore again. Thank you in advance.

A professor uses his lecture to express xenophobic ideas. He uses his authorial position and time and place of a lecture for this. Not only does he insult the international students but illegitimately uses his power and position as a lecturer to spread and articulate such ideas. Especially in a lecture setting, this leads to an uncomfortable and

excluded feeling. The first part of this case analysed earlier illustrated the language barrier distressing the life of an international student. This case shows the intersectionality of the discriminatory experience of language issues and national origin.

2018 | case #63 (inter/ diverse or not specified)

A bad prank with consequences

I wore a sweater reading "Compton" a city district from L.A someone asked me in bad English if I was from Compton and then ran away from me and screamed "He is from Compton" "Run guys he have a gun". Yes was not funny at all.

This example shows the significant role prejudice plays, even if intended as a joke. John Code Bayly finds that the main cause of national prejudice lies in ignorance. The closer we get to the individual and the further the anonymous nationality seems, the more one realizes the disillusion. He defines international prejudice as unjust and most of the time very far from the truth (Bayly, 1896). This example shows the reach prejudice can have: As a joke a guy simulated fleeing from an American, warning for a gun. The result is that probably by reflex many were scared. The participant felt uncomfortable and maybe guilty for a lie resulting from national prejudice.

2018 | case #375 (male)

A new phase of life

[...] home students are not integrating with the foreign ones especially blacks.

2019 | case # 196 (inter/ diverse or not specified)

Discrimination at JLU

[anonymized lecturer] describes the nutritional content of some foods in a lecture and mentions "N**** kisses" as an example, although [he/she] says [he/she] is aware that this term is not "politically" correct. [He/ She] ignores the fact that this discriminatory term has not only recently become discriminatory and has been on the slides for years, [...] By the way: Individual [anonymized lecturers in other subject areas] often use discriminatory stereotypes about various minorities (to be noted, mostly unconsciously but also consciously masked as a "joke")

Even if masked as a joke, expressions can be defined as insulting if they harm others or represent them wrongly (Archard, 2014). Political Correctness aims for "recognition of ethnic, sexual, religious and cultural diversity" in language. Offensive and biased language should thus be avoided (Hellinger, 2011, p. 576). The jokes including discriminating stereotypes and politically incorrect terms should not be used or encouraged

but rather result in negative consequences, especially from lecturers, being in an authoritarian position.

2020 | case#19 (female)

A stage for support of a group classified as terrorist by the European Court.

During a lecture hooded people came into the Hall with PKK flags in their hands, shouting slogans and giving a speech. Despite repetitive demands for the professor to end this immediately and call the police, he did not listen, so that a huge number of students with Turkish immigration backgrounds had to leave the lecture. Additionally, the provocateurs continued provoking the students who left the hall after leaving the hall and even became violent. On several indications to the university that the well-being of many students is endangered, we received an answer we could not take seriously. Very sad!

Due to the limited background information, it is hard to tell why the professor did not react. The PKK is an organisation that is forbidden in Germany (Manfred Kanther, 1993). Therefore, he would have had every right to call the police. The university also did not act to make the students feel safer. As state institutions, universities have to preserve political neutrality. Against the assumptions of many that this means no political positioning for universities, controversy and differentiated political discourse are allowed and often even encouraged to avoid the ivory tower positioning. Political events can be arranged as long as there is equal treatment for all and therefore neutrality. Prohibitions are possible and required when the events endanger the free and democratic constitution. The university also has to ensure safety for participants and uninvolved third parties (Anja Steinbeck, 2019). In this case, the lecturer as well as the university were obligated to ensure the political neutrality and safety of students and failed to do so.

2020 | case #159 (female)

Never again!

I had really bad experiences when I first arrived at the uni.. my first lecture at the JLU from [anonymised lecturer].. the worst experience in my whole life.. on the first day I sat on the first row in the lecture.. the others came in too but NO ONE wanted to sit next to me.. could not believe them behaving in that way and why? Tried so much saying LOUDLY that I am not asylum am normal and came with my own money to learn new things. thought that everyone would value that and I would be helped and treated with a smile however like I do what I experienced here was horrible.. was not at all like I thought.. almost cried every day after the

internship.. never felt so lonely in my whole life... I am sorry but every time someone asks me about the JLU I tell the bitter truth...

The participant felt miserable during the internship and lectures due to exclusion and discrimination. She excuses herself for speaking her truth and for portraying life as an international student at the university negatively. She protects the university by excusing herself for telling her truth. Maybe the excuse is because of the overall good academic situation. The loneliness might have taken over the good sites of the university nevertheless. She feels obligated to tell her truth and wants to share the experience but feels bad for criticizing the university. A reason for sharing her experience might have been the promise of anonymity and therefore no negative consequences for a critic.

2020 | case# 251 (male)

Racism in the studies

Discriminatory experience in the internship assignment. No support from the uni or internship officers

These cases demonstrate xenophobic and racist occasions. Experienced consequences were exclusion, hatred, prejudice, different evaluation and uncomfortable lonely feelings. Some even tried to justify their position as foreign students to get included (case #159, 2020). A lot of participants have the feeling of hopelessness and loneliness in common. Often the university did not help enough or not at all. The following cases demonstrate the possible consequence of the missing inclusion.

2019 | case #105 (female)

I hated uni and did not want to attend the uni anymore

How the Germans behave with foreigners is a big hostility! It happened to me many times.

As a consequence, Koeppe and Stumpf developed and established a code of conduct for universities. Being friendly and considerate is important for further communication, potential conflicts and the wellbeing of everyone. Cooperation will be easier if the impression of the other is positive. First impressions are remembered and associated with people and therefore lay the basis for a fair and respectful atmosphere (Koeppe and Stumpf, no date).

Especially in lectures, where lecturers can use their position of power, the support of the university and administration is important to help discriminated students feel more

included and less left on their own. To make international students feel more included, safety measures against incidents like case #19 of 2019 should be ensured. Following Bayly's idea of deconstructing national prejudice, the individual has to become visible behind the disillusion (Bayly, 1896). This can only happen if an international exchange is possible and supported. While being a mentor for the international students, I often heard the criticism that contact with local students is hard and not offered by the university. Ideas for coming together could be more courses taught in English language, more obvious free offers like sport- and language courses and parties. The university could offer jobs for students who organize intercultural events. The analysis of data showed no reports of negative experiences abroad. Intercultural experience is therefore well received from Justus-Liebig-University's students. Another method for avoiding discrimination could be filling a position collecting cases and experiences of discrimination. The task would then be to investigate these cases and if proven correct, guarantee consequences.

Even though the participant describes the experience as negative and criticizes the professor, the upcoming case will show that some resist racist and discriminatory behaviour, and sometimes have to face backlash for it.

2018 | case #453

Violation of minimum standards for those working in civic education

[...] A professor in the field of political science approached me after a seminar and criticized me very angrily saying that my contribution, according to which I was against excessive cultural mixing, was "dangerous" because one could "quickly think of skin colour". I explained to him that mixing takes place in every cocktail glass and that it is by no means a "dangerous term", and additionally that my opinion was qualified and well-founded. The hypersensitivity that was expressed in his attack is likely to poison the discourse and curtail freedom of expression. In the further course of the discussion, I pointed out that the vast majority - if not all - of those present would not have perceived my contribution as remarkable at all, but rather as a completely normal contribution to the debate, which was confirmed a little later. The professor thereupon replied that the other students would be "stupid". I protested against this statement by assessing it as "impudence".

The professor criticized a student after the seminar for his xenophobic contribution. He could have decided to speak up in the seminar, but probably out of empathy and professionalism did it after the seminar. It becomes clear that he tries sensitizing the stu-

dent for the implications and possible consequences by the way he explains the problem in the student's statement. His emotional involvement (criticizes angrily and calls other students stupid for not understanding problematic in the statement) angers the student and hinders the students from listening. Camera J. Jones argues for the method of naming racism, analysing how racism functions in the specific case and eventually together with others facing and demolishing it (Jones, 2002). The professor fulfilled the first two steps. The last step could have been achieved by criticizing him in front of the other students and facing the racism inherited in the statement together. In this case, believing the student that no other student experienced the statement as remarkable, could have become an issue.

2019 | case 420 (inter/ diverse or not determined)

Discrimination in the hospital

Muslim fellow citizens did not want to be treated by a woman in a mandatory internship in the hospital but just by an Arab male doctor.

This exemplifies the ongoing discussion in many liberal countries at the moment. What is more important? Religious freedom or the freedom of integrity. When does one's freedom of religion end and another one's right for equality and no discrimination start?

Article three of the basic constitution of the federal German republic states:

“(1) All persons shall be equal before the law.

(2) Men and women shall have equal rights. The state shall promote the actual implementation of equal rights for women and men and take steps to eliminate disadvantages that now exist.

(3) No person shall be favoured or disfavoured because of sex, parentage, race, language, homeland and origin, faith or religious or political opinions. No person shall be disfavoured because of disability.” (Bundesministerium der Justiz für Verbraucherschutz, 2019)

Article 4 states

“(1) Freedom of faith and of conscience and freedom to profess a religious or philosophical creed shall be inviolable.” (Bundesministerium der Justiz für Verbraucherschutz, 2019)

The European Court has recently been confronted with the exclusion of women from religious communities. The demand from many was to guarantee gender equality. The

Court had to determine where religious freedom and autonomy end and state regulations begin. It ruled that the freedom of religion is to be regulated when a Convention right is violated. International policy and human rights laws expect inequality in the sovereign jurisdiction of religion. In extreme cases, human rights and religion could become competing ideologies. Religion is still dominated by men. Even though the justification for gender discrimination has changed and some religious communities value the participation of women more, male superiority in religion has not changed. It can be argued that nations and unions, like the European Union, are obligated to ensure their constitutional right of equality for men and women (Stuart, 2010).

Rawls discusses the role of the church in his concept of justice as follows: Because churches are part of the basic structure, they must adjust to the requirements that enable background justice. One of these requirements is to sustain basic equal rights (Rawls, 2005).

In this case, the intersectionality of discrimination based on gender, religion and nationality comes together. The only one allowed to treat them is a man, an Arabic and probably Muslim. The juristic situation might not be clear on this one but the sociological analysis shows intersectional discrimination.

2020 | case#27 (female)

Considerate lecturer

I got the wisdom teeth removed one or two years ago, because of which I had to bruise on my face. In a German seminar the lecturer asked about my wellbeing after the session and inquired whether I had to experience violence because of my origin or religious affiliation. He was very caring because of the bruising. I found it to be considerate.

Even though the participant experienced the enquiry for her wellbeing as considerate, it was still derived from the prejudice that she could experience violence based on her national origin or religion.

2018 | case#201 (female)

[...]

In the introductory lecture mental development by [anonymized lecturer], people with disabilities visited regularly, for example, a choir or similar. These sessions were the most profitable for me in my studies until now.

Many cases describe the inclusion of disabled people positively. Inclusive education aims to sensitize intersectionality and challenge the self-evident understanding of *normal*. The central pedagogical challenge remains to listen to the disempowered while not silencing other voices (Joanne Woiak and Dennis Lang, 2016). Sociology is often criticized as a science of the ivory tower. The ivory tower model examines the excluded position of academics, especially sociologists, criticizing society while not applying it to *reality* and the communities. Universities, teachers and researchers are likely to engage in the ivory tower model aspiring an objectivated and distanced attitude (Finkelstein, 2007). “In the ivory tower model, the quest for objectivity and/ or distance far outweighs the value of experience of those under study” (Finkelstein, 2007, p. 17). The addressed inclusion of disabled people in the disability studies can be a way of leaving the ivory tower and address disability inclusively. In this way, the disempowered are heard and included, instead of merely theoretically discussed. Applying sociology to practical use is supposed to improve communities and the problematic situation in an integrated approach of research and practice (Finkelstein, 2007).

2018 | case #458 (female)

Helpful and close to students

Professors are always considerate for disabled people and accept the support, the facility (microphone so that I can better follow the lectures), for me. In various lectures, the professors even thought of it themselves. Which is not at all self-evident.

This case shows the positive impact inclusion and consideration of disabilities in lectures and the university can have on the affected people. This experience guarantees equal chances for all students in the lectures. This person has the chance to follow the lecture, as other, non-disabled students, can do too. The philosophy of equality through appreciation guaranteed no discrimination.

2019 | case #74 (female)

Kicked out of module after illness

[...] This semester was shaped by the fact that I was kicked out of [anonymized course] because I was sick "too often". I had already done a big amount of work. That was not a nice feeling, especially since I cannot influence illness (keyword: powerlessness) and it created problems for me with my upcoming and last semester as a double student and commuter. There was a certain willingness to compromise on the part of those in charge, but in the end, it was not enough and I will start again next semester.

Due to illness, the student could not attend that many sessions. Still, the missed sessions were compensated with more workload. The standardized process did not allow any exceptions and therefore discriminated against the sick student. The equality of sameness, meaning not considering differences, failed to achieve equality.

2019 | case #349

We are the educational elite of Germany

[...] Right from the beginning we constantly made dumb jokes and comments, two handicapped people, that were too dumb to do what everyone else had already done. [...]

This case demonstrates the (probably unintended) discriminatory usage of the word “behindert” (=handicapped) on the actor’s level (Helma Lutz, 2015). In this meaning, its implication is derogatory, to illustrate the stupidity of the two, connecting disability with stupid behaviour. The people described are portrayed as less intelligent than the *norm*.

Behindert is indirectly wrongful in this case, because, as defined by David Archard, expressive acts can be defined as indirectly wrongful when they: (1) cause harm or (2) represent the other falsely. An insult has propositional intent and is directed at someone. The intent is to maintain or gain superiority (Archard, 2014). This, even if not intended as one, can be defined as an insult. A language is a social tool that can lead to inclusion or exclusion. Therefore, avoiding discriminatory language, leads to less discrimination in society (Hellinger, 2011).

2020 | case#177 (female)

Everyday problems at the JLU

I helped a blind student from the Philosophikum 2 to the Philosophikum 1. He would have never found the way on his own. It would be very nice if the JLU could make daily life for people with disabilities easier.

The situation for people with disabilities is often troubling and cannot be handled without help. The university, according to cases like this one, should be more engaged and helpful to ease the student experience for disabled people.

2018 | case #124 (female)

JLU Gießen- the most family-friendly Uni in Germany

I became a mother at the end of my studies. The JLU always portrays itself as the family-friendliest uni, but during pregnancy, I had to find out that no consider-

ation is given here. Sometimes there are inhuman conditions here. What a shame ... I expected more from JLU in this regard. In particular, the fact that nobody adheres to the agreements on equal opportunities etc. annoys me, because then you don't have to publish these documents.

2018 | case#253 (male)

Solidarity

In a seminar, a large part of the students left the room collectively after the lecturer responded to a student's objection that she was a mother and definitely could not attend the sessions for more than the 2 missed dates (he) allowed that she could just sing out of the module.

The discrimination the mother faced was perceived by numerous students. As a reaction and sign of protest, they left the room in solidarity. This underlines the inequality parents face when held to the same standards (in this case: attendance rate) as non-parents.

2018 | case#346 (female)

Either kids OR studying?

[anonymized lecture] by [anonymized lecturer]: I was allowed to bring my children with me (3 and 1) because I did not have supervision. They were very loud and painted, played etc. and [anonymized lecturer] was very friendly and did not look annoyed or unfriendly once. Exactly the opposite: [he/she] had brought paper and pencils to paint, talked with the kids and even picked the smaller one up. That was a nice seminar for me, I felt welcomed as a mother at the uni. :) That is sadly not always the case...

2019 | case#238 (female)

[Employee] was understanding and respectful at the beginning of my studies because, as the mother of a small child, I dare to take the step into full-time studies. I went to [her / him] in October 2018. I wanted to postpone some dates for the upcoming internship because I couldn't find a babysitter. I felt very welcome and completely understood because [she/he] is so passionate about [her / his] job, but also knows and can understand family responsibilities. Especially when you have a lot of other things on your mind and you are not sure whether you will be able to complete your studies, precisely because of the other obligations, it is great to meet people who are both professionally and family-friendly. This conversation motivated me, even if things often don't go according to plan.

2020 | case#105 (female)

WTF?

Some study programs are not meant for students with children, especially for single parents. Even if the JLU claims to be family-friendly, one prof was sure that this certainly is not the case for biology because it is just about speed. He recommended the university Marburg for students with kids. I would have liked to know this before my application. "These subjects are unsuitable if you have children or people to care for." 1. Semester, Bachelor biology, CHV. Yet a change of uni with all its consequences would be neither bearable for me nor the kids because the study program at the JLU was already a relocation necessary.

2020 | case#188 (female)

NO family-friendly uni

I was astounded that a mother of two (mandatory school children) was not recognized the education of her children and nevertheless had to do an internship for orientation, for which the lecture-free time has to be used, which also always means that I cannot use this time to work and financially stabilize me and my children well, but rather do an internship free of charge, which leaves me in financial despair. Family-friendly studying is superficial for me! When it counts, one is abandoned.

Several cases reviewing the situation as a parent and student report negative experiences. Many claim that the university does not fulfil its promise of a family-friendly university. Many experienced no consideration and no exceptions for the mother's role. Case #105 from 2020 can serve as an example of the emotional and psychological stress resulting from combining obligations from university and parenting. The importance of help from others is obvious, as well as the inconsiderate university policy.

Feminists disagree on the philosophy of equality. Some argue for the sameness approach, meaning not differentiating sex and treating men and women equally. Others meanwhile criticize this approach for ignoring the male bias in society and argue for differential treatment, considering for example the difficulties women face combining motherhood and a profession (Capps, 1996). Mothers are held to the same standards as non-parents. The achievement of equality through sameness fails in these cases. The term *mother* is chosen on purpose here because all the affected people were females. This demonstrates a reality, where women still do the majority of unpaid work like raising the children. The *care-taking gap* in 2019 in Germany, estimated by Oxfam, showed that women carry out 52% more unpaid care work than men per day, about

one and a half hours. The gender care gap for couples with children is even higher, at 83.8% for women in Germany in 2017. The *penalty of motherhood* in Germany results in a 61% decrease in income for women becoming mothers, in comparison to men becoming fathers or women without children (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, 2019; Oxfam Deutschland, 2020).

2018 | case #82 (female)

sexism and discrimination in the natural sciences

I did not pass the preliminary colloquium for my internship. The colloquium was held in groups. The justification was: I was the only girl and therefore already received the easier questions, die introduction questions. I had an answer to every question but mostly the justification shocked me.

2018 | case #92 (male)

Is it arbitrariness or discrimination?

Walk to the student secretary to hand in my language certificates. [anonymized employee] copies my A-levels-certificate and certifies it. gives me back the original. Later I heard from female fellow students that [he/she] kept the original in the same case and did not certify it. Was a strange first impression of the local university administration.

2018 | case #501 (female)

Increased condescending remarks, including from faculty, at THM about women in skilled trades. Very negative memories of the THM.

2019 | case #299 (male)

Discriminatory use of language in teaching

During a lecture repetitive sexist and discriminatory statements were made. For example, derogatory remarks were made about students who did not speak German, for which the failure of the state examination would have been ensured already anyways. Additionally, a blind eye would be turned to pretty blonde girls if they made a mistake that was strictly speaking unforgivable.

Here the intersectionality of sexism and other forms of discrimination stand out. 'Pretty blonde girls' were treated more privileged and different than the others students. Non-German speakers were discriminated against and negatively spoken about. Being treated differently due to gender and language difficulties both came together in this case. The *pretty blonde girl* stereotype sociologically carries a lot of history and social phenomena with it. Recent studies not only showed that the sexualization of girls al-

ready begins in school and is therefore embedded in their socialisation. The treatment of sexualized girls and non-sexualized girls is recognizably different. The sexualized girls were generally perceived as less smart and less athletic. Additionally, girls were observed to be more influenced by stereotypes in their behaviour than boys. These observations increased the older the children were (Stone, Brown and Jewell, 2015). In this case, the pretty blonde girls receive privileges solely based on their looks, according to the participant. They are not perceived as equals and evaluated differently. The following examples will show greater depth in the issue of women being perceived to achieve less academical success, than men.

2019 | case#381 (female)

Negative: [anonymized lecturer] of my department expressed himself repetitively and multiple times per lecture/seminar discriminatory/ racist/ sexist...

2019 | case #334 (female)

No courage

In the first lecture, the [anonymized lecturer] makes a lot of inappropriate, sexist remarks and jokes. Many laughed, most remained silent. The worst: With an example, he explained the different types of muscle innervations. An example: wife-beating. Some laugh, almost all are silent. I get up and leave the Hal. I was disappointed that my fellow students accepted it so easily.

2020 | case #5 (female)

[...] After the presentation, my performance was, in my opinion, not constructively criticized and, in contrast to my two co-speakers, clearly belittled.

2020 | case #59 (male)

Collection of professor's sayings

Prof: "Is it going to be a boy or a failure?" [...]

The incidences prove different evaluation and treatment for men and women. In the administrative sector, women are treated differently and therefore have more difficulties (case #92, 2018). "Men's work is superior to that of Women" is a notion that seems to still be held today (Greenglass, 1982, p. 2). The analysis of the data showed that many times women were underestimated or expected to achieve less than their male colleagues. Due to socially established gender roles and stereotypes, some cases also reported discrimination due to being male. This displays that the established perceptions of gender not only harm women. Case #334 from 2019 displays the significance of protest and courage to speak up. Discrimination must be addressed to be recog-

nized. The lecturer did not face consequences or much protest, therefore probably feels encouraged to continue his *jokes*.

2019 | case #387 (inter/ diverse or not specified)

Recognition

[...] Much more important for me was though that we communicated on a personal level and I felt recognized with the gender, I identify with. That gave me motivation and hope for me personally. [...]

The influence and importance of recognizing people in the gender they choose can be seen here. The positive influence in the form of hope and motivation can be a consequence (case #387, 2019).

The last part of the analysis is about the process of experiencing discrimination. The reactions and consequences people draw are different. Overall, they can be summarized under the three categories:

1. Change is possible and a suggestion is made.

Case #253 from 2018 describes the discrimination of a mother and the collective protest of students in solidarity with her. Change is demanded and discrimination is not tolerated. Case #334 from 2019 articulates the disappointment for no reaction to inequality and discrimination. The suggestion and sometimes even action for change is protest in solidarity.

2. Change is not perceived as possible and consequently no suggestions are made.

Case #124 from 2018 expresses the disappointment of the failure of fulfilling the promise of equal opportunities and chances for all. The opportunity of change is positioned on external sides. Due to the failure of these external institutions and structures, the participant gives up the hope for change. Case #105 from 2019 shows a similar reaction of resignation (“I hated uni and no longer wanted to attend uni”).

3. Change is possible and suggestions are made but external factors and help are necessary.

Case #57 from 2018 exemplifies the perception of shared responsibility (“I think employing people who are able to speak in English and understand English for English faculties has to come to our considerations”). However,

the comment implies suggestions for the university to change and does not address the students. The use of “our” to include all in the responsibility is probably a tactic to not only criticize and blame but create a common sense of responsibility. The university is suggested to help disabled people in their daily life by e.g. improving the orientation for blind people on campus (case# 177, 2020). The responsibility for change is pushed on external sides. However, fellow students could be taken into account too. More empathy, consideration and supportive actions could improve the situation for disabled people additionally. Case #237 and #506 from 2018 harshly review the international experience but offer suggestions for the external side (e.g. more English courses/offers) as well as for staff and websites. Case #19 from 2020 demonstrates the consequence of passivity from university and staff to inequality. The discriminated students had to leave the lecture and felt helpless and lonely due to the missing response from the university and professor.

4.1 Statistical analysis

35 survey participants reviewed their intercultural experience abroad, 31 gave a positive feedback- none of them reported negatively about their time abroad. The analysis distinguishes between the intercultural and the administrative experience abroad. The negative factors mentioned were routed in administrative issues with the university but had nothing to do with the intercultural exchange itself. International and global exchange leads to less discrimination and prejudice (Saalman, 2016). This shows the importance and positive effect intercultural exchange has. Some however argue that human beings are egoistic and selfish and therefore not interested in harmony and less discrimination. Social psychology holds against this. Humans would still have an egoistic motive for cosmopolitanism: The emotional interest. This psychological approach disagrees with Kant’s argument that economic interest is the reason for intercultural exchange. Humans desire recognition in the form of love, solidarity or justice in some way (Saalman, 2016). Evaluating the results, an international exchange should be further encouraged and students could use the positive feedback as an encouragement for intercultural exchange in their studies.

With the help of the graphic illustration in the form of dendrograms, the intersectionality and frequency of codes can be observed. With the help of the QDA Miner software the co-occurrence of selected codes can be estimated and graphically displayed. The three

dendrograms show the similarities of codes in the agglomeration order. QDA Miner uses a hierarchical clustering or tree graph. The colours demonstrate the different clusters that the codes were categorized in. Clustering means grouping cases with similar coding. The further the items reach the left, the more theses codes occurred. The links on the right show the co-occurrence of codes and can therefore be used to analyse the intersectionality. Codes often appearing together, are combined early on in the graphic. The independent occurrence of codes means combining them at the end (Provalis research, 2004).

The calculation of the following dendrograms can be explained as follows:

“[The] Jaccard's [...] coefficient is calculated from a fourfold table as $a/(a+b+c)$, where a represents cases where both items occur, and b and c represent cases where one item is found but not the other. In this coefficient equal weight is given to matches and non matches” (Provalis research, 2004, p. 118).

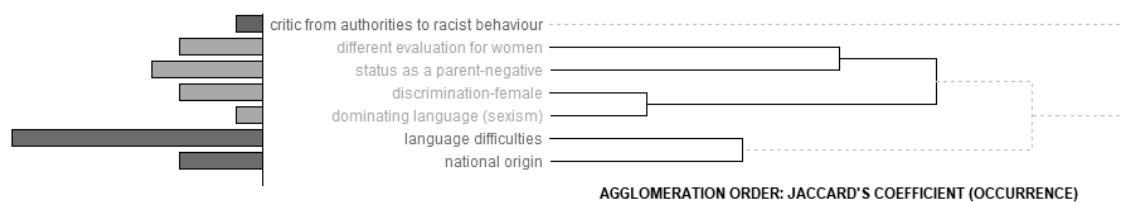


Figure 2: 2018

The experiences that occurred the most compared to the other codes were language difficulties. The code of dominating language to make women's position inferior to men appeared the most with discriminatory experiences due to being female. Thus, a co-occurrence of discrimination based on language difficulties and national origin can be observed.

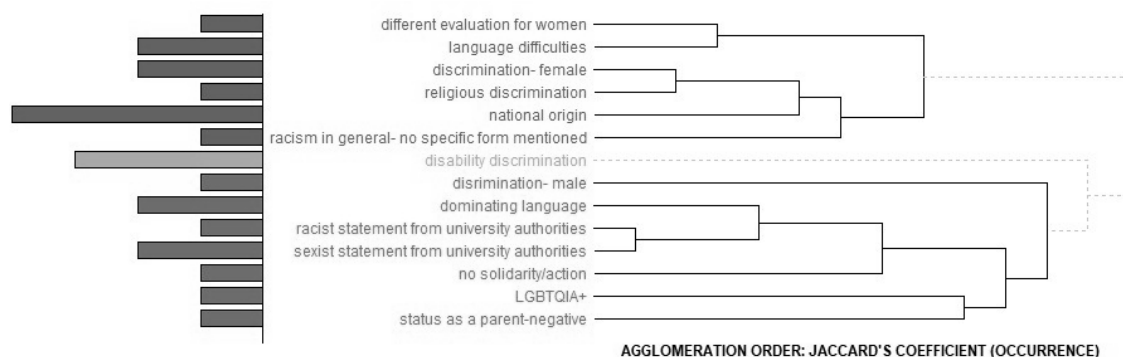


Figure 3: 2019

The majority of the observed cases describe discrimination based on national origin. Racist and sexist statements from university authorities are the form of intersectionality that appear the most. The intersectionality of gender discrimination and racism that Kimberlé Crenshaw enunciates, can be observed in the university setting. In this case, the discriminatory power lies on the university side. A power imbalance between university authorities and the students becomes evident through the university verbalizing racist or sexist thoughts.

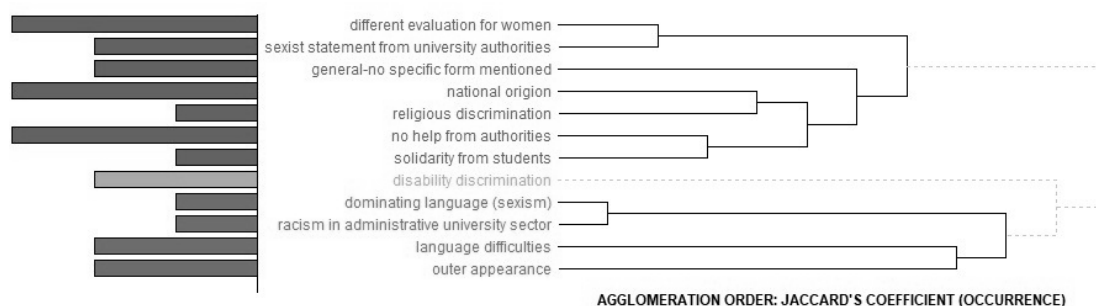


Figure 4: 2020

In 2020 different evaluation for women, discrimination based on national origin and no help from authorities when the discrimination occurred were the codes appearing most. A co-occurrence of sexist dominating language and racism in the administrative sector can be observed the most. Hence, again, the intersectionality of racism and sexism appears.

4.2 Linguistic analysis

The average of the total percentage each year, about 26% of men and 28% of women, used exclusive language. This includes the codes *generalizing male form*, *the term (generalized male form)* and *the male form used for females*. Interestingly, the number of women using exclusive language is even slightly higher than men's number. A recent study from YouGov asked women and men whether they perceived gender-sensitive language as important or not. More women (26%) than men (24%) answered with "very important" or "important". 61% of men and 53% of women understand gender-sensitive language as not important. The opinion on the importance of inclusive language is also just slightly different between men and women (yougov, 2020). These results of this research are similar to the findings of this project. It only differs in the small gender imbalance with more women using exclusive language in the survey of this study.

Table 1: Total percentage of linguistic codes for gender-exclusive, -inclusive, -neutral forms

Forms of <i>Gendern</i>	-9 inter/diverse/ not specified	1 male	2 female
generalizing male form	5.2%	12.3%	25.5%
gendered form	0.2%	1.8%	2.3%
gender-neutral form	4.8%	7.5%	17.5%
term (generalized male form)	0.5%	1.4%	2.7%
term (gender-neutral form)	0.5%	0.2%	0.5%
term (gendered form)	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%
female form as generalizing form	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%
generalizing male form	1.5%	13.7%	30.2%
gendered form	0.0%	1.2%	2.9%
term (generalized male form)	0.0%	1.7%	2.9%
gender-neutral form	0.0%	8.7%	24.4%
female form as generalizing form	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
male form for female	0.0%	0.9%	0.6%
generalizing male form	0.0%	8.1%	16.9%
term (generalized male form)	0.0%	1.1%	4.0%
gender-neutral form	0.0%	7.0%	18.3%
gendered form	0.0%	0.5%	1.9%
female form as generalizing form	0.0%	0.3%	0.5%
male form for female	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
term (gendered form)	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%

The percentage of women using inclusive language on the other hand is more than double as high in comparison to the men's number. About 9% of men and 23% of women use *gendered or gender-neutral forms and terms*.

5 Conclusion

Using the intersectional approach, this analysis showed that the most common re-occurrence of discrimination forms were sexism and racism. Shadow work, as prescribed by Illich, mostly results in difficulties for women combining care-taking of children and studying. The theoretical discussion proved a necessity for inclusive language, while the participants mostly used the generic male. The importance of language for the construction of a more inclusive society, as well as the importance of change on the micro-level, not only the structural and institutional change, could be observed.

Universities are not yet a gender-neutral setting. Applying intersectionality to the *reality par excellence* is essential for social change. This means not only discussing and examining intersectionality on a theoretical and methodological level (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013). By analysing the discriminatory experiences of students, this thesis establishes a start to leave the theoretical sphere and shed a light on the *reality* of students. Examining the discriminatory experiences, the approach of difference, rather than sameness, proved to achieve equality and reduce intersectional exclusion.

According to Berger and Luckmann, change of the reality internalized in primary socialization takes many biographical disruptions. It is easier to change the objective sectors that were integrated into the individual's social reality in secondary socialization. It is relatively easy to dispatch the self from the partial role-specific self. The most important part of the change therefore lies in socialization. The knowledge base is transferred from generation to generation. If this stock of knowledge and the objectivity of the world the child, and later student, internalizes in socialization are changed, a different reality can be constituted (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). The first step of social change would mean changing the easier sectors, one being the *objective sector* of academia. The analysis of the survey answer suggested for example being more linguistically inclusive, having a more active and inclusive attitude and policy, becoming more international, switching to an opportunity of English language in lectures, as well as in the administrative sector, offering more help for discriminatory incidences and taking complaints more seriously. Making universities more inclusive and preventing intersectional discrimination, will change a part of the social stock for future generations and can be a start for a new *reality par excellence*.

The second step implies a change of socialization: Raising children genderless, without gender roles and norms. Society becoming more inclusive and intercultural will also

have effects on discrimination experiences future generations will face. Thinking and judging more intersectionally is as important as re-thinking gender.

This thesis demonstrated the importance of change on all levels, macro-, meso- and micro-level. The dialectic relationship between the institutional and individual objective *reality* means change on one level, which might result in a change on all levels if the *shock in reality* is big enough. Becoming more inclusive is as important as changing laws and norms.

To end this with the words of Foucault:

“We are informed that if repression has indeed been the fundamental link between power, knowledge, and sexuality since the classical age, it stands to reason that we will not be able to free ourselves from it except at a considerable cost: nothing less than the transgression of laws, a lifting of prohibitions, an interruption of speech, a reinstating of pleasure within reality, and a whole new economy in the mechanisms of power will be required. For the least glimmer of truth is conditioned by politics” (Foucault, 1990, p. 5).

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