An Intersectional Perspective in Social Work and Education

Mart Busche, Elli Scambor, Olaf Stuve

Abstract:

In this article we will describe fundamental results of the European Union (Grundtvig) project *IGIV – Implementation Guideline for an Intersectional Peer Violence Preventive Work (Stuve et al. 2011)*. For the need analysis individual and group interviews have been conducted including a wide variety of social nongovernmental and public organizations working in the field of diversity and violence prevention. The intersectional concept also will be introduced as a critical perspective on dominance relations for the field of social work and education. The needs analysis exposed, that different dominance relations play different roles in the countries and also in different working fields. It became obvious that specifically tailored implementation strategies might be needed regarding social work and education with focus on anti-discrimination work and violence prevention. An intersectional approach which always considers the concrete life conditions of the target group of educational programmes and social work support such a tailored implementation. In the last part of the article we expose examples for the implementation of an intersectional approach in education and discuss consequences for pedagogy.

1. Introduction

In a dynamic and diverse European society it is a challenge to work against violence and discrimination. Current research (cp. Kassis et al 2011, Kuhar 2009) shows that risk factors for violence, discrimination and exclusion differ according to social locations and life circumstances. Violence prevention methods and tools in learning processes therefore should adapt to individual needs and its societal conditions. The main idea of an intersectional approach towards violence prevention is to avoid adressing only a single discriminatory marker but to work on a whole range of social dominance relations in its interdependencies (cp. Walgenbach et.al. 2007) in which a social position of each single person could change in different contexts. Simple views on people in which they appear solely as being discriminated and needy are not accepted anymore. A more complex analytical persepective on complex realities of people should be implemented. The intersectional approach brings new tools for understanding and overcoming mechanisms of social hierarchies and dominance cultures by providing a practical-analytical view on interdependencies and overlappings of social categories. In 2010 and 2011, the European project *IGIV* was conducted, which intended to integrate an intersectional perspective into social work and education. The project focused on violence prevention and anti-discrimination work in consideration of the specific needs of practitioners and experts in the different European countries. *IGIV* stands for *Implementation Guidelines for an Intersectional Peer Violence Preventive Work* and was an EU Grundtvig Multilateral project, with partner organisations from five countries (Slovenia, Italy, Austria, France and Germany).

The project was conforming to the requirements of the Grundtvig programme concerning the improvement of adult education by proposing innovative further education modules and instruments according to the needs of the target groups (adult learners). The European dimension of the project was highlighted by comparative analysis and the exchange on theory, practices and needs between adult learners and trainers in all participating countries.

Different outcomes have been developed, among others a handbook for intersectional violence prevention. The handbook includes results of an interview survey (needs analysis), an introduction into the intersectional approach and it includes an implementation guideline, which introduces the concept as a cross cutting issue for projects, organisations and programmes. A toolbox was produced as well, which includes tools like pedagogical methods and analytical instruments for an intersectional approach in social work and education. The tools are linked to individual module descriptions and to a curriculum, which will be conducted as a European training course (Grundtvig 3) for intersectional violence prevention. All the outcomes of the project are based on the analysis of needs which were formulated in interviews with experts in all participating countries. These outcomes as well as some other material (video clips, glossary, a.o.) are documented on the IGIV website (www.intersect-violence.eu; IGIV 2011).

2. Needs Analysis and Results

In a first step, it was important to explore the range and the nature of needs for an intersectional approach on the social, institutional and individual level. Therefore individual and group interviews have been conducted including a wide variety of social nongovernmental and public organizations working in the field of diversity and violence prevention in Austria (rural and urban area in Styria), France (Marseille and Paris), Germany (Berlin, Baden-Württemberg), Italy (Municipality of Foligno) and Slovenia (Ljubljana). The mixture of experts from different organisations and work contexts exposed a wide range of approaches, methods, didactics and needs. The selection of the interview partners ("experts") was depending on the local contexts. Experts were defined as those, who are familiar with the concept of intersectionality or those who consider different social categories as important aspects of their pedagogical work, for instance gender and social class in gender reflective work. The semi-structured interviews with the experts started with a brief introduction of the intersectional approach and the project intention. The expert interviews were based on a well-defined guideline recorded and summarized (cp. Helfferich 2005). Finally each partner involved conducted six interviews (30 in total), most of which were individual interviews, and some were focus group interviews. The participants of the interviews were university teachers, practitioners and educational experts, social workers, people working for NGO's, activists, street-workers, and others. The interview analysis focused on two thematic areas: to figure out similarities of relevances of social dominance relations in the different contexts the experts underlined in the interviews (see below) and to figure out the needs for an intersectional approach in peer violence prevention.

In Austria interviews were conducted with experts and administrators of open youth work, some of them in particular working with boys in a gender reflective way on secondary and tertiary prevention of violence in the context of school.

In assessing the federal German context the interviews were conducted in the higher educational context, in educational work settings with teenagers or in continual education, in social work with youngsters, in anti-discrimination-counselling and community-work and in the field of civil society foundations. All of them have been familiar with the concept of intersectionality; some of them have already implemented an intersectional approach into their work.

In Italy interviews were conducted with the representatives of the local public administration responsible for the social inclusion service and with representatives of social workers, sportive animators/trainers and psychologists. The concept intersectionality was not known before the introduction for the interviews but different social categories have been considered in the everyday work.

In Slovenia representatives of organizations working in the fields of family violence, integration of homosexuality, integration of migrants and children without escort as well as youth workers in violence prevention and school administration were involved in individual and group interviews. Intersectionality was known as concept by some of the interviewees.

In France interviews were conducted with youth workers who are experts in violence prevention and inclusion, as well as with members of organisations active in the field of anti-discrimination, peace education, integration of migrants and women. The concept of intersectionality was known by the experts working in the acadamic field but not by those working in educational work. Different belongings as different social locations were a point of interest for the pedagogues.

The participating countries are characterised by substantial contextual differences as regards to the extent of developed awareness, knowledge and infrastructure dealing with the issue of diversity in violence prevention. In Germany and Austria (both countries with considerable migrant populations, where migrant status often intersects with lower class status) there is a considerable number of organisations, mainly non-governmental, which focus their attention on how social diversity affects violence, discrimination and exclusion, and organise youth work around the issues of gender, ethnicity/race and class intersections. This is less the case with France, Italy, and even less with Slovenia.

Slovenia in particular, with its post-communist egalitarian historical and ideological background and with its specific migration history within post-Yugoslavia and, later, between the former Yugoslavian countries, tends to consider itself as a country with a socially homogeneous population. Consequently, diversity is considered more or less as a non-issue, even though approximately 13% of the population is comprised of former Yugoslav citizens or "new comers" after secession of Slovenia from Yugoslavia in 1991. Somehow it is similar in France where a strong ideology of civic equality prevents the assessment of youth violence from the point of view of population heterogeneity, diversity and structural inequality despite the fact that the country experiences a salient ethnic and race diversity intersecting with class inequalities and linked with post-colonial immigration. In Italy it seems that strong class identification and the processes of proletarisation of the middle class which drives youngsters to despair, homogenises the youth, and consequently the approaches towards youth violence.

In line with the intersectional approach, the experts were asked to identify not only the individual social categories or personal circumstances which their support services focus on (gender, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, religion, age), but the intersections of at least two social categories which challenge their organisations and call for development of more tailored, specific and individualised services. The identification of social categories and their intersections reflect also a broader range of (problematic) social, political, economic and cultural processes and developments, which enforce the problems related to diversity, violence, discrimination and exclusion, such as culturalisation and ethnicisation, poverty, subcultures, homophobia, and other. The expert statements are different and somehow contradictory. Some of the statements can be understood as constructing gender, ethnic and/ or social class stereotypes in connection with violence. Processes of attribution in the arguments as well as critical discussions of the arguments became visible. But in consideration of these contradictories the needs analysis has served us to have a deeper knowledge of the local situations, to develop appropriate methods, tools and recommendations for the implementation of an intersectional approach and to be able to give some non-stereotyping answers to the needs which are expressed in a stereotyping manner by some of our experts.

The interviews showed that organisations dealing with diversity, violence and youth most often encounter issues related to intersections of gender, class, ethnicity, religiosity and sexuality in different combinations. Their observations show that social exclusion and discrimination on the ground of gender and ethnicity appears on the symbolic level as

culturalisation (in Germany, for instance, prejudiced attributions to people of real or assumed Muslim faith; in Italy e.g. towards Roma young mothers). Furthermore, the assumption that migrant youth are as such more homophobic than other youth groups was criticised by some while reproduced by others. Discourses, which represent cultural differences as natural and unbridgeable, construct migrant populations as "others", respondents say. Men and women, boys and girls, seem to be affected by these processes in different ways. There is a strong awareness among respondents about the fact that the categorisation „migrant background" can be used in education and social work as a label that stigmatises and enhances stereotypes regarding the youth. It is often used to explain all problems, avoiding to analyse situations, and to justify a repressive policy. Some interviewees would like to reflect on impact in their daily practices but avoid culturalisation. Youth workers and experts outline that migrant population is often related to bad economic situations, which interconnects the categories of class and ethnicity, again in a gender specific way. However, class and poverty are becoming important also in a more general way, not only in relation with migration. More and more often, autochthon people find themselves in the situation of poverty. Sexuality is generally considered a very personal issue, and becomes a particular sensitive issue when it is linked to certain religious beliefs. However, it should also be taken into consideration that in the dominant culture, some groups such as lesbians or transsexuals face problems with social invisibility. Social invisibility for certain groups has been commented upon, for instance, particularly by women in France.

Organisations working in the LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bi- and Transsexual, Queer) field face diversities among members, clients and activists also in terms of handicap, religiosity, migration status and age.

Though the project has its focus on youth, considering the demographic trends in Europe, the category of age in different combinations of intersections with other personal circumstances is becoming a more and more salient issue, which came up in particular in Slovenia.

To sum up, respondents emphasise the most salient topics identified in needs analyses as: migration, poverty, gender differences, processes of culturalisation, ethnicisation, othering and sexualisation, homophobia, aging of population and new communication technologies available to youngsters. The above mentioned topics are closely related to social diversity, violence, discrimination and exclusion and can be mastered by intersectional approaches more effectively.

Complex social processes have to be addressed, analysed and reflected in violence prevention programs and projects in order to become aware of the fundamental reasons for violence. That calls for development of new knowledge, tools and methods, organisational mechanisms and sustainability resources. It needs to be emphasized that particular needs in four thematic fields often intersect, for example, theoretical knowledge and practical methods and tools about self-reflection, self-ascription and "othering".

- Needs for specific knowledge focuses on further education in the field of peer violence prevention. In the interviews needs showed up for more theoretical knowledge about postcolonial theory, heterogeneity, diversity, identity, gender equality, subcultures, and knowledge about (self-)ascription and creating the "other".
- Needs for methods and tools involve the need for tools for self-reflection (on professional and individual levels) and peer counselling. Respondents also emphasised the need for methods and tools for analysis of social categories, dominance relations and of one's own position in the social processes.
- Needs for organisational mechanisms mainly relate to the necessity of diversity in team structures. As pointed out in the interviews, the ability to deal with differences can be based on concrete role models, which can be enabled with diverse teams. Also, needs for organizational mechanisms include a systematical introduction of

supervision, peer counselling, and self-reflection. Besides, networking of different actors (schools, home/families, social and public sector) is emphasised.

- Needs for resources of sustainability include the need for continual education for pedagogues and cooperation with schools and families in order to be more effective in violence prevention. In relation to funding and policies the need is expressed in the interviews for long-term strategies at national and local levels as well as for programmes and projects that include analysis and reflection.

We assume that similar situations and needs faced by youth workers and experts in peer-violence preventive work, which we identified in five different EU countries, can be found all over Europe.

3. An Intersectional Approach in Social Work and Education
SOCIETAL LOCATIONS

Extensively discussed markers of inequalities in social work and education are social class, gender and ethnicity/nationality; further markers are sexualities, disabilities, religions and others. These social markers of difference can have an impact in different ways: First, because of them people may be privileged or discriminated. But also they can have a strengthening impact for the individuals in their marginalisation or discrimination. The social location can create positions of resistance because they define affiliations to groups fighting for justice and recognition like for instance producing a powerful position in the fight of People of Colour against racism. (Cp. Combahee River Collective 1981; Collins 2000)

Furthermore an intersectional perspective can capture contradictory tendencies inside the dynamics of dominance relations. For example, „a young female migrant who is illiterate […] is more vulnerable than a university student from abroad, just like a black male adolescent in a wheelchair is more vulnerable than a Turkish youngster who is able to walk on his two feet and so forth" (see Castro Varela/Jagusch 2006: 6). Everyone can principally be affected by processes of inclusion and exclusion, but the categories of "being discriminated against" or "being privileged", being a "victim" or being a "perpetrator" still remain relevant, as the accumulation of privileges does not randomly vary significantly between social groups. The possibilities for societal participation and the access to resources like education and money, for example, prove themselves to be regulated along the lines of social markers of difference. This means we need to understand different aspects of discriminating and privileging of individuals or groups to work with them on strategies to overcome for example barriers of participation. However, this does not mean that pedagogues can always know everything. On the contrary: it means that they have to ask people they work with a lot of questions. This enables to not attribute a fixated victim or perpetrator status to the individuals or groups we are working with.

Societal locations in the form of affiliation and belonging also function as resources, even if the affiliation is to a minority. It depends, for example, on how strong the feeling of support through the affiliation to a specific community is. One example of a (political) community in our interviews is the group GLadT - Gays and Lesbians from Turkey (located in Germany). The activities of this group are joint practices of resistance, for example, against homophobia in "their" "own" (minority) group (the Turkish community in Berlin) and against homophobia and racism in the societal majority at the same time, resulting in strengthening effects for the individual person (cp. Stuve/Frenzel/Busche 2010).

With the help of an intersectionally extended analysis we are able to identify different indicators which are important for (groups of) people, which can be developed to factors of empowerment, self-organising, and resistance against violence and discrimination. This might help to work with concrete contexts instead of having to stick to fixed assumptions or even stereotypes.

THEORY/IES OF INTERSECTIONALITY

The term intersectionality is used by scholars and activists, but also by policy makers in discussions and practices, therefore it seems to be a kind of "zipper" which combines issues mentioned above such as dominance and oppression with different types of social categories, identities and biographies. Therefore, there are numerous definitions of intersectionality, resulting in different scientific and practical approaches, last but not least because "(…) peoples' real life experiences have never fitted into the boundaries created by academic disciplines" (Weber as cited in Berger/Guidroz 2009: 11). One basic idea of intersectionality is "that a person's experiences with a multitude of factors, such as race, gender, ability, age and socio-economic location, can interact or intersect in ways that can either advantage or disadvantage the person's well-being and development" (Symington 2004: 1-2).

According to our understanding of the intersectional approach, the list of factors mentioned above can be infinite and can contain various categories which influence the place of the individual in a social structure. It also has to be underlined that these factors can neither be strictly nor firmly defined since the level of their complexity is relatively high. As an example of the ambiguity, the category of 'race' can be recalled. According to Kanchan Chandra (2005), 'race' as such seems to be a very complicated and complex term, in whose definitions a number of rifts can easily be found. Under the umbrella concept of race/ethnicity, groups are differentiated by skin colour, language and religion. The differentiation seems to be essential. But "(...) 'race' is socially constructed" following Ann Phoenix and "involves power relations and becomes socially significant through social, economic, cultural, and psychological processes" (2008: 20) which directly correspond with the core of the intersectionality approach where all social categories, roles and positions are defined as fundamentally socially constructed, not as based on any type of universal or natural "essence". Another example for this complexity is the category of gender which cannot simply be divided up into male and female. What has been perceived as "natural" or "biological" facts of exactly two sexes for some few centuries has been discovered by critical revision of the history of (medical) science as being socially constructed. Today, we can define the term gender in many different ways: not only can we talk about "cultural gender", "psychological gender", "legal gender", but also about transsexuality, transgender, androgyny, as well as queer, polysexuality, asexuality, homosexuality, drag, and many others (for more information see: Butler 1990, 1993, 2004). But even if the realities become more and more complex, the mechanisms of dominance relations still generate "normal" and "deviant lives", recognised or non-recognised subjects around imagined ideals of something "essential" or "authentic".

As a direct consequence of complex realities of people's lives the theory of intersectionality intend to "provide a conceptual language for recognising that everybody is simultaneously positioned within social categories, such as gender, social class, sexuality and 'race'" (Crenshaw, 1998). "So even when focusing on one social category in particular (such as "race", gender and social class), intersectionality reminds us that we cannot understand that category in isolation. A full understanding of any social category requires the analysis of differences, as well as commonalities, within groups" (Phoenix 2008: 23).

EXAMPLES OF IMPLEMENTATION IN PEDAGOGY AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The intersectional approach can be effectively used in the area of education and social work. The use of an intersectionality analysis becomes clear when writing about the need for educator's sensitivity to the connections among such factors as race, gender and social class. For equity issues there is a tendency "to be separated from each other, with no overarching

relational or systemic analysis provided for factors of gender, race and social class for either students or teachers" (Cassidy/Jackson 2006: 438). Results are often simple answers to complex realities. One of the most recent examples of a reductionist analysis of a certain social phenomenon is the debate about boys as losers in education ("The boy crisis"[1]): One single marker lead to one social position. In a dominant debate boys seem to be a homogeneous group of "losers" in the recent educational system. But they are not: In fact there are fewer and fewer boys, who are doing worse (cp. Kimmel 2010). The rate of early school leavers has slightly declined in the last 10 years in most of the European countries, but the gap between boys and girls is still persistent (cp. Scambor 2012). Not all boys are affected. Failing boys are predominantly found in lower classes, where they are not equipped with the necessary support which guarantees a successful school career. That means, "gender" is not the main marker which has certain impacts on education, but social class is. And social class has a strong relation to ethnisation. And finally, girls are not a homogeneous group either. An intersectional approach helps to avoid those simplifications.

The concept of intersectionality has for example been used by Ann Phoenix who conducted complex and extensive research on masculinities' representations among pupils from British schools and their connection with peer violence. One of the most important conclusions drawn from using the intersectional approach shows that boys have to use different types of behavioural strategies which makes it possible for them to switch between different roles such as "good student" and "cool lad". During that process they have to construct their male identities by using and (re)defining social categories such as their race, class or sexual orientation. According to Phoenix "(…) the intersection of racialisation and masculinities in British schools mean that boys have to manage their everyday school interactions in the context of complicated, multiple positioning that means that they expend a great deal of energy in competing with each other and avoiding being teased. Masculinity is thus a 'practical accomplishment' (Connell 1995) that is racialised and where power relations are evident and contradictory" (Phoenix 2008: 36).

Another aspect of necessity of the intersectional approach in educational studies has been presented by Wanda Cassidy and Margaret Jackson who have focused on the role of the teacher. Basing their opinion on their research on labelling and zero tolerance practice used at schools, they suggest that the concept of intersectionality has to be popularised among teachers who usually have a tendency to unification and seeing pupils as a homogeneous group instead of a set of individuals with different backgrounds, needs and possibilities. Simultaneously, they have noticed that many teachers demonstrate different reactions to the insubordination of pupils from particular social groups: the treatment of white students from middle class is usually less rigorous and more tolerant than the treatment of others who are probably from lower classes. School policies should be formed after an initial discussion of the concept of intersectionality, not only as it operates within the education system, but also in society as a whole. "The effects of factors such as racism, gender, class, (dis)ability, and sexual orientation can lead to negative labelling of children, by children against children in bullying situations, but also by teachers and administrators when the labels of bully and behaviour problem become attached to individual children." (Cassidy/Jackson2006: 451)

At a very concrete level this can be addressed by endorsing non-stereotyped group memberships, which are changeable in the sense of a "dynamic self". Particularly important is the way that teachers are giving feedback. Non-stereotyping feedbacks were characterized by high and still satisfiable performance expectations and avoiding unjustified praise. The ability to satisfy the performance expectations must be supported by evidence that can be recognized by a matching criteria (cp Stuve/ Frenzel/ Busche 2010: 8 and Herwartz-Emden 2008: 94).

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[1] Newsweek Cover, Jan 22, 2006.
http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2006/01/29/the-trouble-with-boys.html

4. What are the consequences for pedagogy?

Whether we are talking about counselling victims of discrimination and violence, performing an educational project on racist discrimination at school or about work in a youth centre, an intersectional perspective should make it possible to develop projects in a way that takes the complexity of realities of the participants into account. Most of the realities of adolescents and young adults are characterized by wishes for (societal) recognition and friendship, by experiences of discrimination and violence and by affiliations to different social groups, social locations and subjective ways of dealing with attributions. Simple methods are useless concerning the complex realities of the kids. Therefore we consider an intersectional approach as an important concept in social and educational work. Intersectional work integrates specific experiences without homogenising, fixating or stereotyping anyone (see Busche/Stuve 2010).

Beside the concrete work with the target group of social work one of the main strategies to decrease discrimination also should be connected to institutional development. Gender Mainstreaming, Intercultural- or Diversity Management or the concept of inclusion are approaches of changing the management within institutions. An intersectional extension of these concepts takes up these aspects of institutional development and extends them by integrating an explicit dominance-critical perspective, e.g. a critical perspective on racism. The intersectional perspective assumes that, in order to break down conditions of dominance, it is crucial to understand these conditions which are the basis of dynamics of violence and discrimination, like the construction of "Us" and "Them", gender stereotypes, like ethnisations and group identities in their hierarchical order.

Breaking down conditions of dominance can mean to resist against forms of stereotyping and depreciation. Or it signifies to exit the dynamics of dominance, like e.g., not taking part in name calling or it means to criticise a dynamic of bulling. Further examples to work on that in pedagogical practice could be for instance:

- Making the term "racism" available to young people who are experiencing social exclusion because of their skin colour, their (assumed) religion, their attributed cultural background etc., thus enabling them to name these experiences of exclusion. The goal can be empowerment, e.g., by sharing experiences, acknowledging these experiences and looking for strategies of resistance.
- Explaining the dynamics of the "serious games of competition" (see Bourdieu 2005) to young men and male adolescents, enabling them to exit these. The "serious games of competition" present a basic structure which makes violent actions among boys, male adolescents and men appear normal.
- Working with youths on everyday insults that refer to sexualities, gender, (dis)abilities and other markers of social inequality und thereby produce the differentiation between "norm" and "deviation". In *IGIV* project we have a method available for doing this: "The Insult Alphabet"
- Making multiple affiliations visible and making multiple discriminations a topic of discussion.
- Ensuring diversity in the pedagogical team.

For didactic deliberations this means:

- Taking up the interests of the participants. From the very beginning, communication about the needs and wishes of the participants should take place. Projects should always contain something like an experimental ("research") phase exploring, for example the question of which experiences of violence and discrimination actually should or have to be taken up in the project. You need to create a nice atmosphere to lead participants to articulate their own interests and needs. During this phase,

different interests (among the participants, but also among the pedagogical staff and the participants) should become clear. Small field work investigations are possible too.

- For social pedagogy and violence prevention it means recognising and working with various forms of violence and discrimination as everyday experiences of young people. We do not consider a Zero Tolerance strategy to be useful if it prevents making everyday experiences of violence and discrimination a subject of discussion.

- An intersectionally extended social pedagogy and violence prevention is interested in everyday experiences. It also asks the participants which adequate solutions are thinkable. Taking a distance from the idea of having answers ready at its disposal, intersectionally extended educational and social work focuses primarily on asking questions.

- Applying intersectional extensions in educational and social work means not to define and fixate children and youths to gender identities or to an attributed cultural background. At the same time, it recognises the impacts of gender and culturalisations.

- An intersectionally extended pedagogy switches between reflectively dramatising and de-dramatising (Faulstich-Wieland 1995) paradoxes of identity, attributions, affiliations and social positions. Gender can for example be dramatised in a useful way by working separately in boys' and girls' groups, thereby stressing gender as a category when conflicts arise at this line of difference. It might be easier to work out the conflicts within the boys' and the girls' groups in gender-homogenous groups. But this also means differentiating within the groups, which again can (but doesn't have to) lead to de-dramatising gender.

- Intersectional extensions of intercultural and anti-racist approaches within pedagogy mean not permanently repeating the division between "we" and "them" but to assume heterogeneity. Hereby it can even be helpful to assume one's own ignorance in reference to the other person, especially when a majority position meets a minority position. Politely asking questions can be helpful.

- Working intersectionally also means being sceptical towards first impulses, to our own as well as to those of others. We are therefore pleading for assuming an attitude in pedagogical settings that enables one to take a step back from one's own first impulse and for a moment assume the opposite. We call that contra-intuitive action and consider it useful because we often reproduce dynamics of dominance in spontaneous everyday pedagogical actions, which are not productive.

An example for a contra-intuitive action could be when you answer to self-ethnisation behaviour of a young boy who says: "In our culture men do not clean kitchens, it is women's work". In this setting probably the boy expects from a social worker, who is a member of the majority group in society, a reaction like: "But in our culture, men do clean kitchens. You have to adapt yourself!" In that case a self-ethnisation and its confirmation take place. But the social worker could also react in another way: "In our culture it is the same as in yours, men normally don't clean kitchens, but here in this youth club men do clean kitchens." In this case the social worker would not accept the differentiation along ethnic or cultural differences. Instead a social worker could point at the specific settings of the youth club or in the school where norms like gender equality rule. Of course there should be a common sense concerning the realisation of gender equality among the employees before.

- In a way, contra-intuitive action is based on the technique of "contra-punctual reading". You could say that this refers to the capability of reading between lines. When a newspaper reports on violent male youths with a migration background, reading between the lines can mean recognising the disregard of social conditions in

that specific text. One can also often find that society is being constructed on a division between "us" and "the others" (e.g., "native" citizens versus people with a migration background), making a distinction between people who belong to something and those who don't. We might also be able to read between lines when a young man is quoted as saying "in our culture, men don't do that" – one can possibly assume that the underlying feeling in this statement is "I will never be accepted by you therefore I don´t try to be like you but reproduce your images of me or try to oppose your culture with mine". Here training of "contra-punctual readings" and "contra-intuitive action" is necessary. Peer counselling is one of the methods you can use to create a cooperative space to work on difficult tasks from everyday work and learn to recognise all the different ways of reading a situation.

- Intersectionally extended educational and social work therefore aims at making social categories visible which are not being recognised or which are overshadowed by other categories and at including them into the work.

In general societal differences and the dominance relations should be considered in relation to different life experiences of clients, participants, and those seeking advice or counselling. Critical reflections of discriminatory behaviour should be raised, even if the person who discriminates belongs to a minority group. Let's try to find out if such behaviour is an "answer" e.g. to a certain circumstance or experience.

A special focus on empowerment of minority groups should be exposed. It is most important for a social change! And we should be critical towards discriminatory and violent attitudes at the same time. Perhaps, in order to deal with such a difficult situation, peer counselling and supervision is needed as well.

Multiple affiliations should be recognised and accepted. Where do we find resources to empower people in regard to these different affiliations?

Individual people should not be blamed at all but violence and discrimination should be criticised as social phenomena.

There is a dilemma concerning categorisation and deconstruction of categories. Sometimes it is right to underline a category in order to describe dominance relations, sometimes it is needed to question a category of affiliation.

Societal relations and not only on individual relations, should be exposed. The intersectional approach always looks for individual, personal changes but also for self-organisation, resistance and social changes.

5. Conclusion
One of the main targets of the *IGIV* needs analysis focused on a deeper knowledge of challenges according to dominance and subordination in youth work in order to develop appropriate methods, tools and recommendations for an intersectional approach in peer violence prevention. The expert observation showed very clearly that social exclusion, subordination and discrimination on the ground of different social categories appears on the symbolic level as culturalisation. A need to reflect about the daily practice was addressed in order to avoid culturalisation. Therefore an intersectional extension of pedagogic approaches should not be understood as a purely strategic movement. Rather, with the help of the intersectional approach the addressees are supported to identify existing social conditions, the own involvement and position in it (meaning dominances, discrimination and privilege, violence in its diverse forms) and understand their character as modifiable. Different dominance structures and their mutual crossings can cause different violent or discriminatory relations. Discriminatory effects may sometimes be discussed with reference to one single category (e.g. migration), while other important dominance structures may be covered

through these discussions (e.g. poverty).The extension of the training approaches with an intersectional perspective means first and foremost to implement a critical intersectional perspective regarding the notion and analysis of dominance structures; and to transform this approach into an integral part of the trainings for professionals and multipliers.

Among others, the need analysis showed a clear need for resources of sustainability in order to be more effective in violence prevention. Especially in relation to funding and policies the need for long-term strategies at different levels as well as for implementation strategies in programmes and projects was outlined. A sustainable implementation of the intersectional approach requires an implementation concept of the intersectional violence prevention approach, which exceeds single and isolated measures. Therefore the implementation approach should be shaped as a cross cutting issue.

Contradictory statements as well as processes of attribution and stereotyping, which became visible in the interviews with some experts, show that it is of major importance to raise awareness among those who develop furtherance programmes in order to avoid that the introduction of group related funds contributes to the construction of a problematical group. The intentions may be good – group specific furtherance – but the effects might be oppositional – the construction of a problematic group in deficit. It is not to be doubted that funds must be applied specifically and purposefully. However, it is salient to reflect on the effects of pedagogic strategies and affiliated financial input and its effects; and if necessary also to perform requisite changes.

The handbook which is one result of the *IGIV* project provides an implementation guideline, in which an implementation concept for the intersectional violence prevention approach into practical educational work is exposed on the level of projects, organisations and program (cp. Stuve et al 2011). The intersectional violence prevention approach is described as a cross cutting issue and a mainstreaming strategy, comparable to the European directive of Gender Mainstreaming. But whereas Gender Mainstreaming seems to rely on heteronormativity, the concept of intersectionality exceeds the limitations of gender as an isolated single category. It replaces the simply adding up of different categories marking a specific person or group by an analytical tool to study, understand and respond to the ways in which gender, ethnicity, class, and other categories do intersect and expose different types of discrimination.

The mainstreaming approach of intersectional violence prevention cannot rely on an official political or administrative strategy. We nevertheless tried to depict a process of implementation, which is based on the commitment of the concerned actors. The commitment implies that intersectionality is a core issue in all processes of decision making and work procedures and subject to each individual's responsibility because the experience shows that inequalities and dominance relations do not disappear on its own. It needs a vision and a plan.

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