



Master's thesis to obtain the degree of Master in Psychology

ASSESSING THE VIEWS AND NEEDS OF MALE, ISLAMIC ETHNIC MINORITY YOUTH IN GERMANY CONCERNING SEXUALITY, ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AND SEX EDUCATION

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A circular logo with the letters 'WW' inside, rendered in a light gray color, positioned behind the text 'WETENSCHAPSWINKEL'.

WETENSCHAPSWINKEL

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SUMMARY MASTER'S THESIS

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Title of the master's thesis: Assessing the views and needs of male, Islamic ethnic minority youth in Germany concerning sexuality, romantic relationships and sex education.

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Summary: Due to recent events and developments Islamic immigrants receive mainly negative attention in popular media and political debates, where stereotypical and prejudicial ideas focusing on gender and sexuality are portrayed. An intersectional lens shows how these immigrants are likely to find themselves as part of marginalized groups within society, making identity formation especially concerning sexuality and gender challenging for migrant adolescents. Having to integrate contradicting information from two different cultures, sex education can facilitate identity formation and ensure a healthy sex life. However, migrant adolescents may have special needs considering their situation. So far, research has focused on migrant girls, turning a blind eye to the situation of boys. Therefore, eleven male participants between the ages of 15 and 19 were questioned based on a semi-structured in-depth interview. Interviews were analyzed according to the six steps of the thematic content analysis as defined by Clarke and Braun.

Participants overall portrayed a high awareness for the different views on gender, sexuality and relationships within their home culture and the German culture. While personally leaning towards a rather modern definition of the genders, they described great respect and understanding for their parents' views. Also, they described numerous stereotypical masculinity ideals being portrayed in German popular media. Concerning romantic relationships, participants see their parents as role models, also striving for their sense of commitment, faithfulness, honesty and respect. In relation to sexuality, romantic relationships appear inevitable in order to find a sexual identity. Sex education can lay the groundwork for a healthy sex life and adolescents described a definite need for detailed information. Considering their specific situation opening the definition of sex education, including the concept of gender might be advisable. In addition, it may be considered to include parents into the process of sex education in order to decrease tension.

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Sexual attitudes and behaviors are intimately bound up in religion, tradition, culture, politics, and economics. They are part and parcel of sexuality – that is, the act and all that goes with it, including gender roles and identity, sexual orientation, pleasure, intimacy, eroticism, and reproduction. (El Feki, 2014, p. xviii).

Sexuality is a construct embedded within history, society, tradition, economics, politics and religion (El Feki, 2014). In his history of sexuality Foucault (as cited in El Feki, 2014) describes how the essential element of sexuality is the transfer of power between two people, not necessarily partners. It therefore exceeds the mere sexual intercourse, mirroring relations and changes within them (El Feki, 2014). Freud (as cited in Hebbrecht & Dehing, 2011) saw sexuality as one of the two urges central to identity development, and yet as something that needs to be controlled. As key prerequisite for civilization, sexual impulses must be transformed into socially acceptable behaviour (Vermote, 2011; Wekker, 2016). As Plummer (2005) puts it: “[...] sex is not a simple property of people (or men); it does not exist in a social vacuum but is flooded with the social” (p. 187). This embeddedness of sexuality makes its analysis complex as the related concepts may not be neglected (El Feki, 2014; Plummer, 2005). At the same time, the conclusion can be drawn that studying sexuality gives great insight into the most intimate aspects of a society (El Feki, 2014). Consequently, sexual education is a tool of great sociopolitical meaning (El Feki, 2014; Herkendell, 2003). However, as sexual education is inherently bound to cultural circumstances (El Feki, 2014), execution of it differs from society to society. Therefore, Western examples are not naturally applicable to other societies (El Feki, 2014). In the process of immigration different attitudes and intertwined systems of two different cultures inevitably collide. Discussions, adaptation or integration problems and political challenges can be an undeniable consequence.

Currently there are 19,5 million people with a migratory background living in Germany. Compared to 2011 the proportion of migrants of Middle Eastern background has risen by 51%, totalling 2.3 million immigrants today (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017). In 2015 there were between 4.4 and 4.7 million muslims with a migratory background living in Germany. This totaled 5.4 to 5.7 percent of the total population (Stichs, 2016). Due to recent incidents (i.e. New Years Eve in Cologne 2015, 09/11) and developments (i.e. refugee crisis) in Germany and the world this group of migrants has gotten mostly negative attention. This ultimately increased tension within the German society and led to numerous political discussions about the extent to which Islam can be a part of Germany (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Klormann, 2018). Discussions and tension often evolve around concepts of sexuality, genderroles and genderrole-values and entail prejudices and stereotypes against people

of Middle Eastern heritage or Muslim faith (Bracke, Celis, Coene, & Withaecx, 2016; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Klormann, 2018).

As outlined a study on sexuality can provide great insight into the most intimate aspects of a society. The centrality it has in current political discussions and the integrational challenges Germany is facing underline its importance. Due to its sociopolitical instrumentality, sex education can be a powerful tool for enhancing integrational processes. Consequently, this study aims to determine the needs and views of Islamic, male ethnic minority adolescents concerning sex education, sexuality and romantic relationships. So far, a large body of research has focussed on Muslim girls in different immigration contexts (i.e. Basit, 1997; Dagkas, Benn, & Jawad, 2011; Dittmann & Krönig-Hammer, 1986; Nowak, 2009; Nökel, 2000; Orgocka, 2004), a consequence of femininity being the subordinate construct to masculinity (Wekker, 2016). In addition, current survey data show that Muslim migrant parents tend to be much less involved than German parents in their children's sexual education (Bode & Heßling, 2015). Therefore, a well-adapted sex education is essential for these teenagers in order to lead a healthy sex life. Understanding their needs and views may also increase the integrative sociopolitical instrumentality sex education can have. Lastly, as can be seen in political discussions and popular media, men and boys of Muslim faith are framed in a rather prejudicial, stereotypical manner. It is thus only fair to hear their side of the story.

In order to do so, firstly an overview of current survey and research data will be given, before turning to the theoretical background. Consideration of the different constructs at play and their relation to each other will be done. Next, the process of cultural transmission will be discussed and how adolescence as a developmental stage unfolds in the specific situation of these teenagers. Lastly, a short overview will be given on how sex education is taught in Germany.

Differences and commonalities in-between migrant and German youth

Sexual experiences and development.

In general, little research has been done on the needs and views of Islamic male ethnic minority youth concerning sex education, romantic relationships and sexuality. When done, these studies focus primarily on one specific ethnic group or gender. In 1988 von Salisch (1990) conducted a study evaluating common aspects and differences between Turkish and German adolescents concerning their sexuality and interpersonal intimacy. The study found a great deal of common experiences, showing that German and Turkish teenagers develop their sexuality gradually, taking similar steps towards greater intimacy as they grow older. The average age of the first sexual genital intercourse was about the same (15-17 years). Furthermore, not having found the right partner was the number

one reason for both groups for not having had sex yet. Besides these common aspects, significant differences were found. Firstly, Turkish adolescents speak significantly less to their parents about sexual relationships (~40% never, ~40% rarely, ~20% often) than German adolescents do (~7% never, ~28% rarely, ~65% often). However, this mainly regards talking to the mother. Fathers are approached with a similar frequency in both groups. In addition, Turkish adolescents feel significantly less well sexually educated in comparison to the German group. Although both groups go through the same steps, Turkish teenagers have more partners (~27% more than five partners, Germans ~15%). Yet, in this case ranges were broad within the groups (Germans $SD = 5.28$, Turkish $SD = 6.65$). Lastly, an important difference was found concerning their value proposition. Interpersonal values (i.e. trust, understanding) seem to be less important to Turkish adolescents. They put a higher value on the extent to which they correspond with their partner sexually (sexual correspondence) (von Salisch, 1990).

Since 1980 the Federal Center for Health Education (BzgA) repeatedly conducts surveys questioning youth about sexuality, sexual health and contraception. Due to the developments described the ethnic background of adolescents plays a more and more central role in their analysis. Several of Salisch's (1990) results have been reproduced and new aspects could be added (Bode & Heßling, 2015). Compared to German parents, parents in migrant families of any background play a far less active part in their children's' sexual education, especially their sons' sexual education. The difference is most visible for Turkish adolescents. Turkish adolescents also do not see their parents as confidants for sexual topics (Bode & Heßling, 2015). Male migrant adolescents most often name their friends and same generation male family members as trusted source of information concerning sexuality. In comparison to migrant girls and German male adolescents, migrant boys are sexually active earlier and to a greater extent than both. However, this is only the case until the age of 17. Lastly, migrant adolescents often name moral reasons (i.e. no sex before marriage) for not having sexual contact. This is the case for girls and for boys from the age of 18 onwards (17%) and especially for Islamic youth (Bode & Heßling, 2015). However, Bode and Heßling's (2015) results do not make a strict distinction between different countries of origin.

Sexual education in school.

In direct reference to sex education, ethnical and gendered differences can be found amongst adolescents. Although receiving the same educational content, adolescents with a migratory background remember significantly less having learned about different topics (i.e. physical developments, pregnancy) in class in comparison to German adolescents. For example, only 73% of the ethnic minority boys remembered talking about contraception in class, while 83% of the German

male adolescents did. The biggest difference can be seen concerning topics on the female body (menstruation and ovulation German: 79%, migrants: 68%) (Bode & Heßling, 2015). Only concerning tenderness and love, migrants to a larger proportion state to have discussed these topics in school (49%, German boys 41%). Girls only gave different answers concerning the topic of abortion (migrants 35%, Germans 41%).

These results might be linked to the elaborateness, with which sexual education is taught in German schools. As Herkendell (2003) pointed out, a lot of adolescents with a migration background are overwhelmed with how explicitly sexual education is taught due to their conservative upbringing at home (Hendrickx et al., 2002). More abstract topics without direct reference to sexual intercourse such as tenderness and love might thus be easier for them to follow. This might also explain why, although following the same educational content, Turkish adolescents feel significantly less well sexually educated compared to German teenagers (von Salisch, 1990).

Theoretical background

To get greater insight into why exactly approaches towards sexuality and sex education are so different, and how societal tension between groups develops, it is important to shed a light onto the relevant concepts at play.

Gender (masculinity).

Gender refers to psychological and behavioural aspects addressed to being either a man or a woman. It thus has to be distinguished from the mere biological and physiological characteristics summarized under the term *sex* (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Norocel, 2015). Popular mainstream ideas on gender generally portray a dichotomous view: based on physical indicators there are only two genders, thus reducing gender to sex (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Modern research and theory, however, chose a social constructionist standpoint (Kimmel et al., 2005), meaning that masculinity and femininity are culturally bound. They change over time and are socially constructed within society (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). This applies to masculinity and femininity alike. However, given the aim of this study, the following will focus on the concept of masculinity.

Drawing from the social constructionist standpoint, we can thus not only find multiple masculinities worldwide but also within one culture or even community. These masculinities are bound to class, generations and institutions and held in place by interactional power and institutional structures of a society. In this process masculinity ideals can be found. These so-called hegemonic masculinities provide a normative framework as to what the most desirable way of being a man is, one example being star athletes (Connell & Messerschmitt, 2005; Connell, 2005). Considering the

normative and idealistic nature of the hegemonic models, there are also numerous masculinities within a society which are considered less ideal, reaching as far as to the marginalization of certain masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Coston & Kimmel, 2012). While generally men find themselves privileged based on their gender, in cases of marginalized groups it is the exact opposite. In other words, discrimination, or privilege removal (emasculatation) occurs based on gender (Coston & Kimmel, 2012). "Marginalization requires the problematization of the category (in this case masculinity) so that privilege is rendered invisible" (Coston & Kimmel, 2012, p.99). A hierachial oder of different masculinities can thus be found within one society, allowing dominance of the hegemonic models over other masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Ironically, it is the varied and multiple nature of masculinity that makes it possible for marginalization to take place. By devaluating anything that does not meet the normative, hegemonic ideal (i.e. white, heterosexual, middleclass), other masculinities (i.e. homosexual, black, lower class) are problematized. Thus, emasculating the inferior group, makes legitimization of superiority possible for the hegemonic masculinity (Coston & Kimmel, 2012).

Sexuality.

Sexuality, as gender, gives shape to our identities, to "the way we define ourselves" (Plummer, 2005, p.191). And while a large part of sexuality can be described as gendered, it is important to distinguish the two concepts from each other (Jackson, 2006). Jackson (2006) defines gender as the clear dichotomous segmentation of men and women, ascribing different positions to them concerning nearly every aspect of life. Sexuality in this sense is one of the realms of life, where men and women are positioned in. It is thus, less bound and influenced by several parts of our identity (not only gender) and different social relations (Jackson, 2006). Sexuality is more than just a biological act. It is an act with symbolic value directly linked to power (Plummer, 2005; El Feki, 2014). Therefore, it includes every aspect of social life with an erotic relevance (Jackson, 2006). What Plummer (2005) calls "the new theories of sexuality" (p.187) takes this embeddedness into account.

However, an inherent association between gender and sexuality can be found and therefore, the mainstream dichotomous idea about gender can also be seen concerning sexuality. This leads to the conclusion that there are two different, gender specific, naturally given sexualities (feminine sexuality and masculine sexuality). These entail direct references to behavioural patterns and preferences and carry a self-evident, undeniable relationship between gender and sexuality (Plummer, 2005). Heterosexuality is considered the normal, thus desirable form to express sexuality (heteronormativity). Yet, due to the inherent association between gender and sexuality, it also ascribes gender-relationships to many different aspects of the social life besides the mere sexual

(Jackson, 2006). It defines the "normal way of life" (Jackson, 2006, p. 107), thus also gender-relations concerning aspects like workrelations and access to resources. Thereby, it legitimizes itself through marginalization of other forms of sexuality and hence carries a normative connotation, defining what is normal not only in sexual aspects, but in other social practices (Jackson, 2006). Heteronormativity thus conceptualizes male and female sexuality as two distinct yet complementary sexualities. Thus, sex performed in this manner is considered normal and natural. Anything else, for example homosexuality, is deemed not normal (Jackson, 2006).

Male sexuality.

With regards to male sexuality, different versions of the same story can often be found in popular media. Male sexuality "is powerful, natural, driven; it is uncontrollable; it is penis centered; it seeks to achieve orgasm whenever it can." (Plummer, 2005, p.178). The central symbol of the phallus itself entails contradiction. While on the one hand it is ultimately strong and potent, on the other hand it is the most vulnerable, weak organ of the male body and hence a source of great insecurity. Therefore, it has been argued that in contrast to women, men seem to make sexuality the one defining factor of their masculinity (Plummer, 2005). Nevertheless, modern approaches abandon popular single stories and acknowledge that genders are not that different and that also within one gender, different forms of sexuality can be found. Stories thus become pluralistic, less clearly defined and more open to change and individualism. However, this development does not come without insecurities (Plummer, 2005). Hegemonic, one-sided stories made identity development easier, basically handing identities to people. One just knew what it meant to be a man or a woman, with sexuality being a very important factor for the male identity. With the new pluralism, identity development becomes more of an individual task, bringing possibilities for insecurity and anxiety (Plummer, 2005).

Ethnicity, religion and class

Ethnicity, religion and class form three other concepts which often serve as sources for social segregation and discrimination. Ethnicity refers to "the social system that gives meaning to ethnic differences between people – to differences based on origin, appearance, history, culture, language and religion" (Wekker, 2016, p.22). Scientifically speaking there are no clear criteria that can account for ethnicity or the classification of humans in ethnic categories. As in the case of gender, looks serve as an indicator for expected behavioural, psychological, and social patterns (West & Fenstermaker, 1995).

Religion has more frequently been approached as discriminative itself, rather than as distinguishing factor for differences between people. This has especially been applied to genderroles in Islam (Purkayastha, 2012). Yet, Purkayastha (2012) argues, religion has a similar effect like ethnicity and is used to racialize others, something particularly striking about Islam. People of different ethnicities are approached as one based on their common religion (Bracke et al., 2016; Schiffauer, 2004). Yet, the normative role religion can have on genderrole-values, genderrole-expression and sexuality may not be neglected. In the Arabic and Northern African world, this often means a taboo on premarital sexual intercourse, especially for women. This leads to a glorification of female virginity, a strong heteronormativity, and an overall demonization of sexuality as a dirty and forbidden topic (El Feki, 2014; Hendrickx, Lodewijckx, Royan, & Denekens, 2002). These values are persistent, having been shown to still influence second and third generation immigrants (Hendrickx et al., 2002).

Class describes the accessibility of resources for a specific group of a society (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). It thus refers to an economic division on group level due to social structure not individual characteristics (Morgan, 2005). Like gender, class is accomplished, situated and maintained in society. Yet, although often attempted, it cannot be based on biological or natural characteristics (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Due to the modern strong believe in meritocracy, class is often seen as an outdated concept as economic inequalities are attributed to individual characteristics and not class differences. Therefore, meritocracy can easily hide the stratification power of class (West & Fenstermaker, 1995).

Intersectionality.

Intersectionality tries to analyse how the different concepts described interact with one another. It "is concerned with the simultaneous and mutually shaping systems of difference and inequality on the basis of gender, ethnicity/race, social class, and sexual orientation" (Norocel, 2015, p.144). It is thus almost impossible to evaluate one concept without taking the others into account. Good examples of this are how male sexuality or religion influence genderroles, as discussed above (Wekker, 2016; Plummer, 2005). Mostly, intersectionality has been studied under the denominator of discrimination, resulting in a large body of literature on the respectively subordinate part of a concept. In other words, more literature can be found on femininity than masculinity (i.e. Muslim girls). Consequently, the privileged category as for example masculine, white and upper class are often approached as naturally given, invisible categories (Morgan, 2005; Wekker, 2016).

An intersectional lens to Muslims in Germany.

The different factors described are thus important to analyse the situation male, Muslim ethnic minority youth is facing in Germany and Europe. Firstly, it is worth considering Islam's influences, as it is one of their commonalities and the factor popular media and politics currently draw most attention to (Bracke et al., 2016; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Klormann, 2018). In Schiffauer's (2004) analysis of the development of the diaspora-Islam in Europe, he points out two main aspects in which Muslims are constructed fundamentally different from Europeans. Firstly, as a group, they are often portrayed as unfit for democracy and being no contributing group to society. Alice Weidel, the chairwoman of the party Alternative für Deutschland (AFD, alternative for Germany) made this vividly explicit when she stated that Muslim immigrants "[...] won't save our wealth, the economical growth and especially the social state" (Geil, 2018, Rüge van Schäuble für Weidel, para.3). Secondly, the Muslim family concept and its traditional genderroles are felt to be contradictory to the egalitarian European family (Schiffauer, 2004). While the traditional model is characterized by "rigid paternal authority in hierarchal relations across generations and across gender" (Idema & Phalet, 2007, p.77), building upon interdependence, the egalitarian model emphasizes independence and separateness (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005). Islam thus has immediate consequences on the axis of gender with more conservative, traditional roles being ascribed to men and women. This is in line with Bracke and colleagues (2016) who describe the stereotypical idea that Islam applies a fundamentally different system of values leading to a prejudicial picture that Muslim men are allowed to be sexually abusive (i.e. the sexually abusive dark man). This may also be referred to as the construct of the *Moslem-Other*. This construction of an ultimate other stands for everything one does not want to be, and thinks is wrong to be, and hence, uses to dissociate from (Bracke et al., 2016, Schiffauer, 2004). The progressiveness of a society is thus largely conceptualized in terms of female emancipation, which often feeds prejudices (Bracke et al., 2016). The highly emotional tension around these topics of family models and genderroles may arise from the fact that they build upon genderrole-values. "Values are defined as abstract desirable goals that become the building principles in developing personal attitudes and behaviours" (Idema & Phalet, 2007, p.75). Hence, differences strike at our very core, our system of values around which our world is build.

It is interesting how Islam as religion has a similar effect as ethnicity as a factor. We have certain ideas of how men of a particular ethnicity are and how they behave, be it Latin masculinities (Gutmann & Viveros Vigoya, 2005), European masculinities (Novikova et al., 2005) or likewise Islamic masculinities (Gerami, 2005). A stereotypical idea of the Islamic man is often portrayed in popular media. Universally, the prototypes of Muslim men "are bearded, gun-toting, bandanna-

wearing men, in long robes or military fatigues of some Islamist (read terrorist) organization or country" (Gerami, 2005, p.449), something supporting the idea of the Moslem-Other. More specified and diverse research on Muslim masculinities has largely been conducted in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Not only have numerous different masculinities been found, but also did country specific ones arise (Gerami, 2005).

However, the stereotypical picture keeps having a big influence on the life of these men and can lead to what Mutua (2013) refers to as *gendered racism*. This theory has largely been based on the experiences of black men in the U.S. In situations where white men would draw privilege from their gender, black men often must face, for example, racial profiling and thus harsher treatment (Mutua, 2013). To which extent this is applicable to the situation Muslim men are facing in Europe must be further examined. Nevertheless, the stereotypical representation within popular media and the construction of the Muslim-Other suggest a similar phenomenon (Bracke et al., 2016).

Also considering the intersection of sexuality, ethnicity and gender, differences between groups can be seen. A phenomenon Wekker (2016) refers to as the "sexual construction of race" (p.34) or what can also be summarized under *sexualized racism*, describing how we have a certain picture of how men and women of a certain ethnicity (or religion in the case of Islam) perform sexuality. Sexualized racism manifests itself in the stereotypical approach towards Islamic men and women, as can be seen in their representation in popular media (Bracke et al., 2016). While Islamic men are portrayed as violent, uncontrollable and dangerous (Bracke et al., 2016), the representation of Islamic women has changed throughout the last centuries from progressive, open and hypersexual to suppressed and sexually backwards (El Feki, 2014; Wekker 2016).

Besides gender, sexuality and ethnicity/religion, class also plays an important role in the theory of intersectionality. While the working-class man is portrayed as rather "collective, physical and embodied" (Morgan, 2005, p.170), the picture of the upper-class man is more "individualistic, rational, and relatively disembodied" (Morgan, 2005, p.170). It might even be argued that class acts as a mediator of doing masculinity (Morgan, 2005). That is, when thinking of an individual we see class and gender as one (i.e. the middleclass man). In addition, we find highly gendered representations of class in popular media, for instance, on front pages of high-level magazines or in the presentation of lower-class male violence (Morgan, 2005). Given the story of a lot of migrants, they often fall into the lower-class category. For example, Turks, the biggest Islamic migrant group in Germany, came to the country specifically as inexpensive workers. Islam therefore developed as the religion of the underclass (Schiffauer, 2004). In their study Idema and Phalet (2007) also outlined

how class has an influence on genderrole-values. A higher socio-economic status and education level were associated with more progressive genderrole-values in young women in Turkey.

These racialized, sexualized, and classed masculinities often fall under the above-mentioned marginalized masculinities. As standards for hegemonic masculinities include wealth and power, men at the intersection of class and ethnicity more easily fall into marginalized categories, because working-class man and migrants are less likely to obtain either wealth or power. They thus, from the beginning, lack the resources to be able to fulfill hegemonic ideals (Coston & Kimmel, 2012; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). In consequence men show different reactions when confronted with ethnical/racial discrimination as Goff, Di Leone and Kahn (2012) describe. In their study they confronted black and white men with racial discrimination. While black men portrayed masculine overcompensative behaviour (push-ups), white men referred to their higher-class status to handle the insult (Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012). This may also apply to Muslim men in Germany.

Islamic ethnic minority youth in Germany

The process of migration: cultural transmission religion and ethnic identity

In the context of immigration, it is necessary to talk about some key concept of *cultural transmission*. It describes the dynamic process of regeneration and obtaining of distinct behavioral patterns of a society through learning and teaching. (Idema & Phalet, 2007). Values regarding family- and genderroles, in any upbringing situation, are passed on through this process. Cultural transmission never leads to an exact replication of the values of the former generation. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of development was a milestone in acknowledging that not only the close family influences children's developments but also their broader context (Idema & Phalet, 2007). When growing up under the influence of two different cultures, children can be confronted with contradicting information via *vertical transmission* (parents), *horizontal transmission* (peers from home and host culture), and *oblique transmission* (adults other than parents) (Idema & Phalet, 2007). Generally, in Turkish families, sons tend to remain more conservative in comparison to daughters. Different factors are of influence here, such as the education of the mother and knowledge of the German language. Nevertheless, the key factor seems to lie within the intercultural tension between the home culture and the German host culture as it is related to conservative, traditional genderrole-values in second-generation Turkish boys (Idema & Phalet, 2007). Hendrickx et al. (2002) describe how strongly the cultural values of the family, religious morals and traditions influence adolescents (in their study youth of Moroccan origin in Belgium) in their sexual life. For instance, female virginity carries a high importance for these adolescents as well, underlining the moral influence especially Islam seems to

have on sexuality (Bode & Heßling, 2015). Boys on the other hand perform premarital sexual intercourse without showing great concern for safe sex (Hendrickx et al., 2002). If these results would hold for the German context, this would be alarming considering that boys of ethnic minorities tend to have sex earlier and with a greater number of partners than German boys do (Bode & Heßling, 2015).

Evidently, religion occupies a special position in this migration story (Bracke et al., 2016; Norocel, 2015; Schiffauer, 2004). The situation of second and third generation Muslim migrants is complex. They must position themselves with respect to their culture of origin as well as with respect to the German culture. This positioning is an extremely hard task (Schiffauer, 2004). Legally speaking, they are German. However, due to the construction of the Moslem-Other and the associated prejudices, they constantly must fight for recognition and acknowledgment leading to the impression of a double discrimination: as Moslem and as immigrant. The fight for acknowledgement can be situated between the two poles of wanting to be seen as equal and wanting to be accepted in what makes one different (distinctiveness). In the case of Islam, those two poles seem to be incompatible, meaning that a Moslem who expresses their distinctiveness (e.g., a girl wearing strictly Islamic clothing) represents someone who cannot be acknowledged as equal, as the action is in contradiction with the dominant framework of values in Germany. Consequently, the Moslem would have to deny a large part of his/her identity in order to find acknowledgment in the Western society. To find an identity as European Moslem is thus quite difficult and dilemmas in identity development a natural consequence (Schiffauer, 2004).

To what extent members of the second generation of a migrant ethnicity identify with their parents or the host countries ethnicity, their *ethnic reaffirmation*, is outlined by the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM). The IAM states that if migrants experience a great level of threat, disapproval, and hostility in the intercultural relationships, they will turn to their parents' ethnicity as a source for identification (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Schiffauer, 2004), underlining the importance of the factor of intercultural tension (Idema & Phalet, 2007).

Adolescence as developmental phase for immigrant youth.

Adolescents of a different ethnic origin are thus confronted with several contradicting sources of influence as well as potentially tense intercultural relations. Yet, they still face the same tasks any adolescent faces (biological changes and societal tasks such as growing autonomous and making first sexual experiences). Adolescence is neither the start nor the end of identity formation (Marcia, 1980). Yet, especially late adolescence resembles an important step in this process because for the first time physical changes, cognitive aspects and societal expectations are consciously put together

to create one's own path in life (Furman & Shaffer, 2003; Marcia, 1980; Winter & Neubauer, 2005). In this process adolescents are able to integrate different perceptions and conceptions of themselves into one logical, consistent identity across situations and people (Furman & Shaffer, 2003; Marcia, 1980; Winter & Neubauer, 2005).

The *gender intensification hypothesis* (GIH) emphasizes the importance of gender and genderrole-identity within early adolescence, stating that in this phase "gender-related expectations become increasingly differentiated" (Furman & Shaffer, 2003, p.5). This means that girls are expected to behave in stereotypical female ways, whereas boys should stick to stereotypically masculine behaviors (Furman & Shaffer, 2003). Adolescents find their possibilities and perspectives in approaches to masculinity and hegemonic ideals (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Yet, with the decrease in distinctiveness of the definition of the genders, and the decline in influence of moral institutions like the church, new possibilities for a stronger individual input in identity-formation evolve. The influence of traditional ideals regarding masculinity has thus been limited (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Adolescents nowadays must therefore be seen under the influence of modern and individually shaped processes as well as traditional elements (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). However, as Plummer (2005) illustrated, new dialogues on masculinity and sexuality also bring anxieties and insecurities. This is especially true for boys since modern ideas about what it means to be a man are not as well-defined as for modern, emancipated femininity (Plummer, 2005; Winter & Neubauer, 2005). As a result, information, support or successful examples are of great importance. Such resources can largely shape the individual ways teenagers take to approach themselves, their body, others, their sexuality, and society (Winter & Neubauer, 2005).

It is a key task and also a particular challenge for adolescents to integrate their sexuality as one part of their identity (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006). Adolescents must handle their own physical changes and upcoming desires, deal with expectations and restrictions from their parents, and respond to peer pressure. Modern developments including the decrease in the strictness of sexual morals, intensified sexual education and an extended juvenile phase led to a more relaxed intercourse with sexuality itself (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). The new focus is the development of a "healthy sense of sexuality" (Furman & Shaffer, 2003, p.12).

A rather neglected topic of research is the role (romantic) relationships play in the acquisition of a sexual identity (Furman & Shaffer, 2003). This is striking because, as Moore and Rosenthal (2007) put it "unlike many of the activities we engage in, expression of our sexuality (for the most part) involves a relationship, no matter how limited or fleeting, with another individual" (p. 2).

Furman and Shaffer (2003) believe that these relationships “are likely to be one of the primary, if not the primary context, for learning about most of those facets of sexuality” (p. 12).

Thus, any adolescent must integrate contradicting information from various sources (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006). In the case of these migrants however, these contradictions, especially when concerning sexuality and genderroles, are likely to reach a more severe, even opposing level (Idema & Phalet, 2007). They frequently must handle conflicts between their family’s attitude towards sexuality and gender and the attitude they are taught in school or experience in German society (Herkendell, 2003; Idema & Phalet, 2007). This can also lead to disputes within the family. Overall, adolescents are able to adapt much faster than their parents to the culture they migrated to, leading to growing differences in values between the generations the longer the family resides outside the home country (Idema & Phalet, 2007). In addition, these teenagers are rarely privileged with an extended juvenile period, which puts extra pressure on them to finish their development of self-conception and identity formation. Positive examples and guidance can be of crucial help to them (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Unfortunately, migrant teenagers often fall into the category of poor access to resources (Schiffauer, 2004; Winter & Neubauer, 2005). This is especially the case for the second and third generation, because fathers and other family members went through adolescence in the home country and thus cannot serve as examples. Combining this lack of role models with how new pluralistic views on masculinity create insecurity, how men of lower class tend to masculine overcompensation when confronted with racial discrimination and the overall influence of the GIH during early adolescence, an overemphasis on the body and a fallback onto stereotypical, hegemonic masculinities can be the consequence (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). The body becomes a non-verbal medium for communication but also a medium of social differentiation. Often a certain meaning is ascribed to certain body types (i.e. the idealization of the Mediterranean male body). These socially ascribed qualities can have a restricting effect on the ability to give form to one’s own adolescence (Winter & Neubauer, 2005), creating a vicious circle. Presently, patriarchy and macho-behavior are associated with either a lack of authenticity or lower class and migrant adolescents. Yet, adolescents with little access to resources use traditional ideas and their bodies as symbols to define their masculinity. Others in turn refer to precisely this behavior to differentiate themselves from those marginalized groups (Winter & Neubauer, 2005).

The role of sexual education

Education is regulated by the individual federal states in Germany (Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Bundestages [WD], 2016). The example of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) is given because the

participants were exclusively from this area. Being an undeniable part of a holistic education, sexual education in Germany is considered one of the educational tasks of schools (MSB NRW, 1999). Nevertheless, schools are meant to only play a supportive role next to the parents, who's right and duty it is to sexually educate their children (MSB NRW, 1999). The goal is to enable students to approach sexuality in a socially as well as biologically ethical way. In order to do so questions regarding "biological, ethical, social and cultural" (MSB NRW, 1999, p. 7) aspects should be addressed appropriate to the given age group. Free personality development and dignity should be embraced. In the course of this, the goal is for students to develop a greater autonomy and maturity, take on responsibility and base decisions on their individually defined values towards sexuality (MSB NRW, 1999). Sex education thus is no longer restricted by moral institution (church) but is also not moral free (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Parents and institutions today take a strong stand to prevent risks associated with sex, including sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancies and sexually abusive behavior. The moral code today is thus not as tradition-bound anymore, but rather based on scientific knowledge, as well as gender sensitivity (Winter & Neubauer, 2005).

Admittedly, teachers have to respect and tolerate the cultural and religious background of their students and handle concerns from parents in a serious manner. However, students are obligated to attend sexual education lessons and content may not be changed. In order to prevent serious disputes, it is suggested to inform parents early on and to try to find a way to cooperate (MSB NRW, 1999). Cultural differences concerning genderroles, sexual practices and intimate relationships are explicitly part of the curriculum. Yet, they are defined very vague and open as to how they should actually be addressed in class (MSB NRW, 1999). The explicit approaches, methods and designs of the lessons are up to the individual schools, which have to develop own curricula based on the official guidelines (MSB NRW, 1999).

In summary, second and third generation male, Islamic migrant adolescents are confronted with several particular challenges in their development. Intercultural tension may arise in relationships. Often contradicting information must be processed concerning gender, genderrole-values, family values, and attitudes towards sexuality. Limited access to supportive resources, and prejudices can have a restrictive influence on developmental possibilities. One major developmental task for adolescents is the acquisition of sexuality. Given the particular conditions for these teenagers and the lack of research especially concerning the situation of Muslim boys, this study is going to evaluate their views and attitudes concerning the topics of sexuality, romantic relationships and sex education. In addition, greater insight into their views may be used in sex education classes, intensifying the integrative instrumentality of them and ensuring the possibility for a healthy sex life

for all teenagers living in Germany. Experienced sex education classes as point of reference are expected to be diverse given the legal situation in Germany. Based on Herkendell (2003) it can be expected that participants feel rather uncomfortable maybe even overwhelmed in sex education classes. It is going to be evaluated if indeed they feel rather overwhelmed and if they can identify what exactly makes them feel uncomfortable. The aim is to formulate concrete needs and wishes for more culturally sensitive sex education classes. In addition, questioning which other sources of information participants use and why, might give further insight into their needs and wishes. Drawing from former research it can be hypothesized, that male teenagers will portray rather conservative genderrole-views and attitudes (Idema & Phalet, 2007). However, it is clear that they integrate information and views from the German culture and their culture of origin (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Therefore, the question is which aspects they adopt from which culture and how nuanced their view is on gender and genderroles. How do modern developments and pluralistic definitions of masculinity, even more in contrast with traditional views, influence these teenagers in their identity development? Conservative attitudes might also be reflected in their relationships and attitudes towards relationships, considering their value for premarital virginity (Hendrickx et al., 2002) and the tendency of boys to rather take over the conservative values of their parents (Idema & Phalet, 2007). As the role of relationships in the acquisition of sexual identity is rather unclear (Fuhrman & Shaffer, 2003), it will be evaluated how adolescents experience relationships and what role they play for their sexual development.

Method

Participants

Eleven male adolescents between the ages of 15 and 19 participated in this study ($M = 17.1$, $SD = 1.21$). Participants were contacted through social media (Facebook), a youth center and via personal contacts. Five participants were of Turkish origin, three were Moroccan, two Palestinian and one was Macedonian. All of them grew up with the Muslim religion. Yet, none identified as "very religious", two identified as "religious" and most identified as "a little religious". Eight participants were second generation immigrants, two were third-generation immigrants and one was first generation, arriving in Germany at the age of four. Seven participants attended a Gymnasium (or the gymnasial branch of a Gesamtschule), three a Realschule and one had attended a Realschule but was currently enrolled in an apprenticeship program. Four participants currently said to be in a romantic relationship. The

adolescents received a movie theatre gift card for their participation. The gift cards were provided by Sensoa, the Flemish centrum of expertise for sexual health.

Material and procedure

Based on the central concepts from the literature review, a semi-structured in-depth interview scheme was developed.

After the first contact was made as described above, and participants agreed to take part in the study, a date and time was set for the interview. The interviews took place in a calm room. Due to youth center policies, a social worker was present during three of the eleven interviews. As a first step, participants were handed the informed consent to read. After clearing remaining questions, participants and researcher signed the consent. After that participants received a demographic questionnaire to fill out. Participants were always free to stop the interview and they could withdraw their participation at any point or choose not to answer one of the questions. On average the interviews took 39.16 minutes, lasting between 22.15 and 59.33 minutes ($SD = 12.77$).

The interviews were recorded with the Audacity computer program and transcribed according to standard norms (Mortelmans, 2007). Coding took place based on the six-step plan of content analysis as defined by Clarke and Braun (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017) with the help of the MAXQDA software.

Results

Information about sexuality

State of the art: how is sex education taught?

Plainly to have a point of reference, adolescents were questioned about the sex education they had received. As expected, the adolescents reported various different approaches to sex education. Five of the eleven participants reported sex educational classes already in primary school. The others did not receive it until early secondary school (5th or 6th grade, ages eleven to twelve). Mentioned subjects and topics varied. If taught in primary school, students received sexual education in the subject of general knowledge. Most common topics named were the basic biological and physiological aspects of how a baby develops and is conceived. In secondary school, biology as subject was mentioned most often. Main topics were reproduction, physical changes during puberty and pregnancy. The more psychological and interpersonal aspects of sexuality such as sex itself,

contraception, consent, sexual orientation and the social interaction with a pregnant woman were discussed in other subjects such as practical philosophy, German, and ethics. It's worth mentioning that sexual orientation and consent were only named by one participant. Also, workshops, daytrips, or projects were described. In these cases, external experts and not teachers themselves taught. Topics most often involved contraception and sexually transmitted diseases.

Students responses and opinions on the education received.

Students' responses in emotions, behaviour and opinion on the sex education received varied. It was reported that in primary school and early secondary school, sex education was primarily perceived as funny. Participants described how they and their classmates responded with childish behaviour, making silly jokes to cope with the novelty and unpleasantness of the new topic.

P1: "Well, in primary school we watched something like a cartoon on how to have sex. It was portrayed a little funny for kids. And yes because of that it was kind of funny."

Growing older, sexuality as topic became more relaxed and normal. Some students even reported no problems or negative feelings at all when talking about sexuality in class.

P4: "[...] We could talk about these topics for example open in class because for me it's not a taboo, sexual intercourse is just normal"

However, most participants still revealed a high level of discomfort in class. They felt weird and uncomfortable and had the impression of almost being forced to talk about very intimate aspects of their personal life.

P6: "[...] and everything was oppressive somehow. The room got really small suddenly and you just think oh God, now I can't get out of here."

Some would even go so far as to describe talking about sexuality in class as inappropriate. However, reasons for this differed. While some described more conservative, religiously or culturally influenced attitudes towards the topic, others gave just personal preferences and attitudes as explanation.

P11: "Sex has always been, since I was young, a very private topic to me and something that you don't really talk about."

P7: "Yes, talking about God is good. But talking about sexuality, I think is not so good."

Some of the students who deemed sex education in school as inappropriate, also reported skipping class. Some schools handed out forms for parents to sign, informing them that students will receive sex education shortly. Students then either received 'official' excuses from their parents or decided themselves to skip class.

P9: "But they [the parents] said then that I could stay at home. And yes of course, not going to school is always first choice."

The ones who were excused by parents felt thankful for the excuse. Yet, they also reported that after some years, they probably would have been more comfortable talking about sexuality in class, suggesting that the content of sex education classes might have been too early for them.

The emotional and behavioral response of the individual students is influenced by several factors such as their upbringing, their own character, genderrole ideas and attitudes towards sexuality (see below). However, one school-related factor of great influence, which can distinctively contribute to the students' level of wellbeing in class, has been identified: the attitude and skills of the teacher. Most participants found their teacher to be awkward with the topic himself, to rush through content and to show a close-minded and insecure attitude in class.

P6: "Someone is standing there, explaining stuff to you like semi-shy and all you think is oh God, what is happening?"

Furthermore, several participants perceived the relationship with the teacher as problematic and not neutral. For instance, because the teacher is no objective person, usually grading their performance. Also, they have to see them everyday. In addition, they just do not want to see the teacher as a sexual being themselves.

P5: "Someone completely objective, external, with the teacher you have already build a relationship in some way. I think for me it would have been better to talk to someone completely objective or external [...]"

P6: "[...] She [the teacher] was horrible, horrible hair, horrible hooknose. [...] And there was always this rumor that she was wearing a wig and then this woman comes and tries to explain this stuff to you. And you can only think oh God this woman has sex."

However, if there is a trusting relationship between teacher and student, adolescents may even turn to the teacher with individual questions outside of sex education classes.

Despite the reported awkwardness, and even if classes had been skipped, all but one participant reported finding sex education generally incredibly important. This reveals a personal need for the information and a fundamental validation for the concept itself. This was underlined by the fact that the same participants reported the classes to have been helpful.

P10: "Well, I mean I didn't go, but I think, sex education is really important and healthy and stuff."

Reasons for the importance were personal ones like being aware of the consequences of ones' actions and being able to stay healthy, as well as societal reasons like keeping Aids-rates and numbers of teenaged pregnancies low. Not feeling ready to be a father, and not believing adolescents to be able to perform well as parents was of outstanding importance to the participants, making prevention of teenage pregnancies the number one goal of sex education to some of them.

I: "What do you think would be extremely important?"

P4: "Well, protecting the under 14-year-old kids from pregnancies"

Aside from the general opinion, opinions on the education received varied according to the quality of class. Students found them either well organised, well-adjusted to age and speed of implementation, or the exact opposite: too fast, superficial, dull and shallow. Opinions were spread quite equally and very connected to the factor of the teacher.

Needs and wishes concerning sex education classes.

Participants phrased several explicit wishes for improvement of sex education, including new and modern material and more interactive methods in class, making content livelier and thus easier to remember.

P1: "Yes, I would say, to somehow show the people the things, what the different methods of contraception are. For example, when you are talking about a condom, showing what it is."

Most of them showed greatest concern for learning how to prevent teenage pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases and therefore found that contraception as topic should be covered most intensively and should be repeated regularly.

Where the taboo surrounding sexuality was most extensive, teenagers had most difficulties talking about it in class. Most participants wished for a separation of genders. Giving the fact that a lot of them grow up with only little or very different interaction with girls, this is not surprising. Moreover, they feel more vulnerable opening up in front of girls, as they think the genders cannot relate to one another concerning the experience of sexuality.

Next to organisational and content changes, one of the factors of most concern was in relation to teachers and their attitude and skills. Participants phrased a need for more relatable people taking over sex education classes.

P6: "[...] I think, I would have liked it if maybe teenagers had taught teenagers. Well, maybe teenagers because that might have taken the filter away [...]. That you might have an easier access. I think access would have been easier."

Other information sources.

Other sources of information can roughly be divided into situations where participants actively speak about sexuality, and sources where they can look up information themselves without other individuals involved.

Talking about sexuality.

Several factors influence if another person is considered a confidant for sexual topics. Firstly, gender is a very important factor. Participants felt that girls are going through different changes and have different problems. Therefore, they might not understand girls and risk embarrassing themselves in front of girls. Consequently, they give a definite preference to talking to boys like brothers, cousins or friends. The mother and teacher were the only exceptions here.

P5: "I don't know. It is, at least, it feels like a different environment [girls and boys separated in sex ed. classes] because guys they share more of the same experiences than with girls."

Another relevant factor is the age of the other person. Adolescents feel more comfortable either talking to people their own age or slightly older. Parents and teachers again were an exception here. Also, the character of the person is of relevance. When talking to someone about vulnerable topics, adolescents feel safer talking to someone more open-minded, loving, caring, relaxed and understanding, explaining why the attitude of the teacher is of such relevance to them. To some of the participants, the cultural background of the person also played an important role. Comparable to the variable of gender, they feel that others who share the same culture, face the same problems and consequently have an implicit knowledge of the problems they have. Therefore, they must explain less.

P10: "Yes well, culture definitely plays an important role. My questions like, when I ask my friends, they might not understand, but as soon as I ask my cousins or my brother, they are like oh yes, I know exactly what you are talking about, because they just know the same culture, the same background, same society."

Also, language can be of importance here. Although, concerning the topic of sexuality, most participants stated that they prefer the German language over their mother tongue as sexuality often is a taboo in their families and they are missing the words to express themselves. Last but not least, all participants reported the need for a trusting relationship to be able to talk to someone about sexuality on a deeper level. They need the trust that that the conversation is private, and content will remain a secret. This explains why the mother, or both parents, in some cases even the teacher may be considered a confidant. If the relationship is trusting enough, this seems to outway other factors such as age or gender.

Family.

Within their family, older brothers and older cousins are sources of great importance to several participants. They are close enough in age to be relatable and yet old enough to have a greater knowledge about sexuality. As they went through similar experience a few years earlier, they are perceived to have great understanding and compassion. Seeing the family bond, the relationship is experienced as safe and trustful. Thus, four important factors are coming together (age, gender, a

trustful relationship and a common cultural background), facilitating the exchange about intimate topics like sexuality.

P2: "Mh, I have always asked them [the cousins] which experiences they had made already because they are all older than me. Due to that, well if I didn't know something, they always did."

Drawing from former research results, it was presumed that parents only play a minor role in their children's sex education. After analysis this can be verified. Only four of the eleven participants actively talked to their parents about sexuality. Interestingly, it was always either father or mother involved, never both. While the one parent was perceived as more open-minded and relaxed with the topic, the other one was described as conservative or insecure. Yet, even if involved parents often stuck to a rather superficial level of the topic. Homework usually served as starting point for the conversation. Parents then made sure that the child had understood everything that had been taught. However, they would not go to a deeper level or approach other aspects not discussed in class. Some parents even managed to not involve any educational aspects at all.

P6: "He [the dad] just said, don't get the girls pregnant."

Reasons for not talking to either parent appear gendered. While fathers are perceived as strict or conservative, mothers are thought of as being unable to cope with the topic, or not having the words to talk about sexuality and therefore not even being able to teach anything about it. Adolescents were mostly afraid of their parents' emotional reaction if they sparked up a conversation. This was either because they want to save their parents embarrassment or discomfort, or because they assume, parents might react angrily or even aggressively. Here, cultural background and religion play a crucial role. Both serve as explanation why parents have such a hard time approaching the topic and therefore lead to a great deal of understanding for the parents' resistance amongst the teenagers.

P2: "[...] I think, normally it should not be like this [that parents are involved]. The thing is, it wasn't topic at home for them, they weren't even interested in it [...]."

Friends.

All participants, to one degree or another, stated to talk to their friends (guys) about sexuality, making friends one of the most important sources. We can see how the relatedness in age, the male gender and the trustful relationship play a facilitating role in talking about sexuality with friends. One of the most discussed topics, however, are not sexual practices but women. More specifically, how a girl looks or how easy she is to get. Participants made a clear distinction between close friends, acquaintances, distant classmates, and what they can discuss with whom. With close friends actual intimate conversations and open questions are possible. However, with rather distant ones or in group situations at school, social norms, hegemonic masculinity models and sexual stereotypes play an important role. Sexual behaviour here becomes a matter of bragging about own experiences, and not showing weakness in any way. Asking questions or showing that you are not experienced in sexual manners is equal to showing weakness, making one less cool or even vulnerable to attacks.

P6: "Yes of course, what do you think, we were talking about? Of course, sleeping with a girl made you king. That's clear [...]."

In no other situation and with nobody else does sexuality become a topic of such power regarding one's reputation and status. This can create great pressure for adolescents, pushing them to make experiences much earlier than they feel ready to. In these situations, sexuality, or references to sexuality are even used as insults or reasons to exclude someone from the group. These insults are most often about virginity and homosexuality.

P10: "It's an insult telling someone oh you're a virgin."

P3: "Because of that people gossip about him now, that he is gay, and they laugh about him as fag."

Others.

Not a lot of other people were mentioned as possible sources. The girlfriend played an important role for most of the participants who were in a relationship. Yet, she was not really considered a source of information by most, since topics were more hands on, learning by doing and not as educational as pregnancy or the different methods of contraception.

Not talking about sexuality.

Three possible sources were named, which do not involve actively talking about sexuality: the internet, TV and books. TV and books played a minor role. The internet, however, appears to be one of the most important sources for information and was named by almost all participants. Three different ways to use it became apparent: a Google search, watching porn, and social media, where people can present themselves and post about sexual experiences. Even though a Google search was mentioned, most adolescents did not see the internet as a source where one actively has to search for information. It rather hands information to you, often in form of porn advertisement on other webpages. The visual aspect of porn is appreciated, yet participants also acknowledged the unrealistic, gendered and sexist nature of a lot of porno movies.

P11: "A lot of them are rather aggressive, but yes sure there are porno movies, which try to be more realistic, like what's happening in bedrooms in bed and not in bedrooms of pornstars."

The internet thus forms an important source, mainly due to its flexibility, availability and possibility to search on one's own terms. Yet, information is not filtered, not adjusted to age groups and portrays stereotypical, gendered, sexist ideas.

The influence of the own character.

Whether teenagers choose to talk or not to talk about sexuality, who they choose to talk to and how they feel while talking to someone, cannot be seen isolated from their personality. Participants who portrayed a rather anxious character and showed quite a strong fear of being judged for their questions and behaviour also stated to be less likely to talk about sexuality. They were less likely to take the risk of possible insults or exclusion. Therefore, they more easily got overwhelmed by the topic and indicated that they had been rather shy in class.

Underlying concepts

Gender.

The majority of participants portrayed a mix of a traditional, breadwinner, patriarchic model of masculinity (and femininity) and genderrelations, and a modern approach. For instance, a man must especially financially care for his wife and children and must protect his family. Moreover, a real man possesses physical strength, is somehow badass, is independent and autonomous, shows no

weakness or emotions, and behaves more dominantly than the woman. It is striking that a lot of the rather traditional aspects were directly phrased as “duties”, or things a man “must do”.

P1: "Yes, well for sure the duty of every man should be to protect his wife, to give her security."

When participants talked about more modern aspects of masculinity, this rather referred to feelings, character traits and behaviour of a man. A man should be romantic, caring and passionate. He should actively take care of parts of the household and support his wife. By no means should he hurt his wife, neither physically nor emotionally. Moreover, a man should be empathic, down to earth, respectful and appreciative. While this can actually be seen as a more modern reinterpretation of the duties of a man, it is interesting, that participants chose to rather phrase these aspects as character traits. By choice of words, participants thus described the greater flexibility in the modern view of masculinity.

I: "[...] and how do you define your masculinity? What makes you a man?"

P2: "That I am down to earth, honest, faithful and I would say empathic."

This view on masculinity contains contradictions itself. While on the one hand a man shouldn't portray emotions or weaknesses, on the other hand he should be empathic and caring, something which is hard to do without showing emotions. The masculinity ideal of these adolescents itself, thus seems to represent the intercultural tension they grow up in.

A similar mix out of modern and traditional aspects can also be seen concerning participants' view on femininity. On the one hand, women should be independent and work too. On the other hand, they should also be rather subordinate, talk less, take care of the household and the kids and are responsible rather for the emotional side of taking care of a family than the financial one.

A link can be made with their cultural background. Participants showed a high level of awareness for the cultural differences concerning genderroles and genderrole-values and while actively dissociating from some aspects, they also showed great respect and thankfulness towards their parents (see below). This, in turn, leads to an acceptance and appreciation of a number of rather traditional genderrole-values.

P8: "I think my parents are [role models]. They are somehow, they do it [having a relationship] well, you know?"

Lastly, participants also pointed out how the level of education may influence one's attitudes towards gender, suggesting that higher level of education lead to a greater gender equality within relationships.

P6: "Well, I think more educated couples don't have that [traditional genderroles]. I think, that this is really related to education."

Sexuality.

On the one hand, sexuality is seen as an important part of a romantic relationship and on the other hand of one's own identity. Firstly, most participants place sexuality within a fixed relationship. Only one participant stated to prefer rather loose relationships. However, different than expected, all participants revealed an openminded attitude towards sexuality, not being preoccupied with conservative values as female premarital virginity. However, sex life is also not moral free.

P6: "[...] don't do it with animals, don't do it with children, only do it with someone who wants to do it with you too, or who you are paying for it. Like, that's the thing. Well like, you should stick to the basic law"

Mostly positive emotions such as trust, intimacy, joy, pleasure, honesty, closeness and love were associated with sexuality. Sex, as it often involves being completely naked, was described as the ultimate manner to open up to another person. This entails to be completely oneself, with no possibility to hide, and therefore reaching a higher level of authenticity whilst getting to know the other one even better than before. Sex thus also works as a facilitator of bringing two people closer together emotionally, opening possibilities for deeper conversation and honesty. Since these effects outlast the moments of actual sexual intercourse, sexuality has a crucial role in romantic relationships for these adolescents. In addition to facilitating closeness within a relationship, sexuality was also described to facilitate self-confidence. The feeling of being wanted even in the vulnerable, naked form and being able to satisfy the partner, give self-confidence.

P5: "If you feel wanted, then generally you are, probably you have both feet more firmly on the ground."

Negative emotions were often associated with first sexual intercourse in general or with one partner. Nervousness and anxiety to make a fool of oneself can accompany these experiences. Yet, participants reported also positive sides to this, a positive excitement, making nervousness a normal experience that comes with anything that is new.

The link between gender and sexuality.

Participants did see a link between gender and sexuality, yet most of them referred to it as being portrayed on a societal level and within the media, but of less importance for themselves and within their closer circle of friends. They feel masculinity is often portrayed in form of dominance and patriarchic responsibility. Real men are highly sexually active, and they perform inside the bedroom as well as outside the bedroom. Hollywood movies and popular music stars (Gangstarappers) most often portray the hegemonic image of the successful, self-confident, slightly ignorant man achieving any goal he has set eyes on. Anyone not fitting that picture as for instance homosexual men, is marginalized, insulted and excluded.

P5: "Possibly, well difficult because this playboy-image is always, well every teenager, every guy desperately wants to be a playboy because that's a sign somehow of, I don't know, masculinity, if you had sex with more than one girl or sex in general."

Femininity on the other hand is portrayed as sexually subordinate, pleasing the man and obeying to his rules.

P6: "Of course, the ideal picture of the society at the moment is the dominant man, also in porn, who is up and about with the woman and she has to submit herself."

The subordinate position of women is also reflected in payroll differences. Interestingly, these observations the participants made, are not referring to their culture of origin. They find these stereotypical, rather patriarchic representations within popular Western media, such as Hollywood movies or the German music scene.

P6: "[...] I just think that a lot of men don't know where they stand anymore. And because of that, they need that in porn, like with the own sexuality, the own points of reference like when am I a man? [...] I think the picture of a man is pretty much dissolving within the European society right now and everything has to, you have to find a new position somehow."

Nevertheless, participants see changes on a societal level. Firstly, they feel that sexuality plays a less important role for a masculine identity than it used to. Secondly, they feel genderroles are shifting, and traditional ideas are rewritten (#metoo, gendercorrectness, etc.) leading to a growing insecurity amongst men.

P6: "I think that we right now, that the idea of men is dissolving within the European society [...] and that everything has to, you have to find a new position somehow."

For their own definition of masculinity, they find sexuality not irrelevant but rather of minor importance compared to caring for family and friends, honesty and correctness and performances in school or sports. Most participants even clearly distanced themselves from the stereotypical representations in popular media.

P3: "Then [if a guy has a lot of sex] I am thinking, how disgusting are you. [...] What is he trying to proof? Very unnecessary, I think."

A romantic relationship

Relationships within the environment.

Genderrole attitudes and views on sexuality are also displayed within one's relationship attitudes and values. Participants reported being confronted with different relationship styles within in their environment, the biggest differences being between the ones they are confronted with in their family and the ones they see within their circle of friends and at school. A Palestinian participant reported the greatest difference, seeing clear patriarchic structures within his family and modern relationships amongst his friends.

P10: "Well, maybe not controlling [men], but the men are more themselves maybe in contrast to the women, who have to follow what the man says and how they should behave, because they have to adapt to the culture somehow and to the society. In contrast to

my friends [...], they just find each other even if they don't actually match, you know. [...]."

Here, P10 points out how the traditional as well as the modern masculinity- and relationship-ideals have advantages. Men can be more authentic in the traditional model. Due to their privileged position, they don't have to make many compromises. On the other hand, this traditional view carries expectations and rules, making freedom of choice the biggest advantage of the modern attitude.

Despite, all criticism participants had towards the traditional views on gender and relationships, even those participants, who currently didn't see themselves as "relationship-type" (P4), considered their parents' relationship a good example and desirable. They mostly emphasized interpersonal values and behaviour, such as the way mother and father treated each other and their interpersonal values. Parents are respectful with each other, faithful and committed. They work as a team and don't fight a lot. A relevant factor is also how they behave towards their children. Being there, being caring and attentive is important to the participants and colours their impression of the isolated relationship between their parents. Since, participants were not questioned to greater detail about their parents' relationship, it is difficult to say how traditional or modern they were. In any case, most mothers were housewives, while fathers had jobs, suggesting a more traditional breadwinner-model, which inevitable contradicts participants' views on genderroles. Still, they saw their parents' relationship as a role model. Firstly, because interpersonal values were emphasized not genderrelations. Furthermore, it became apparent that participants had a hard time criticizing their parents in general. They displayed a great understanding and thankfulness for their parents and what they have been through in order to migrate to Europe.

P1: "Yes, they [the parents] couldn't even go to school. I mean, maybe they would have learned it [sexuality] in school. But you [parents] couldn't even go to school, so that is crazy, how different it was."

Seeing their parents' relationship as number one role model might also be linked to the description that there are no other desirable models around. When turning to their friends or others their age, participants described rather dysfunctional patterns. This represented a break with the most important relationship values of them.

P2: "Well, in any case they are like, what I heard most for example is, that they are not honest with each other for sure."

The own romantic relationship.

Taking into account the described relationships within their environment, three main values of importance can be seen: faithfulness, respect and honesty. In addition, adolescents are looking for someone they can trust. They desire an exclusive, balanced relationship, where compromises can be made, partners work as a team and care for each other. Participants recognise how modern society and social media influence relationships. As the world is so high-paced and finding new partners, be it online or at parties, is perceived as extremely easy, commitment becomes a rare factor. Sticking to traditional values is therefore also a safety net and a way to find a reliable partner. Hence, participants, look up to their parents because they have managed to stay committed to each other over the years and to treat each other with respect and dignity. Parents here represent the opposite of what adolescents see amongst their friends and within the fast-paced modern world.

P6: "Yes and then mostly a relationship breaks nowadays, where everything is so fast-paced. Then you're quicker to say good than not."

The factor of sexuality must not be neglected as sexual compatibility is important to participants. While character and values have to match outside of bed, preferences and attitudes also have to correspond inside the bedroom.

P5: "But Sex has the same importance here, because if it doesn't match in bed, then by all means, at least that's what I think, then something is missing."

In addition, romantic relationships, for most participants, form the context in which they can make own sexual experiences and find a sexual identity. It is thus not surprising that trust and respect are two of the most important needs within a relationship. Relationships therefore are essential for gender and sexuality identity formation as they form the context for practical experiences and knowledge.

P6: "After I had my first girlfriend, I made own experiences and slowly understood the topic [sexuality] better [...]."

Similar to the topic of sexuality, it could be seen, that those growing up within rather enclosed communities had a harder time approaching relationships and the other gender in general.

Adolescence as developmental phase

All the information gathered should be seen in the context of adolescents as developmental phase. This was clearly pointed out by the older participants. Adolescence is a time of finding an own consistent identity over situations and people. This causes insecurities as well as vulnerability. While the own character forms, adolescents look for points of reference within their environment and within society. Adolescents are desperate to define themselves and therefore are looking for a clear script, a role model which gives them guidance as to who they should be and how they should behave.

P6: "And in a relationship that is often the case, that that is a problem in the beginning, when boys are finding themselves, that they tell the girl you have to do that or that now, because they are insecure, I think in the interaction."

For ethnic minority youth this stage creates an extra challenge integrating two different points of view from two different cultures. Growing up in a rather enclosed Palestinian society in Germany, P10 describes how he had to learn how to actually interact with women and how to position himself as a 'proper' man.

P10: "As I said, at home with my family everything is very traditional. I was very shy. Of course, I went to school, had some German friends there, but I mainly grew up with my family and I didn't know how that, how to interact with girls. I was shy and more like quiet, timid. [...] And a lot of people, they assumed, I was gay. [...] A friend of mine she was like hey my friends think you're gay. And I was like, why? And she well, you don't flirt, you don't make any compliments and you're like somehow very shy and stuff. [...] After that I started to touch more, and then hey a new problem, it's too much. All of the sudden like hey you are harassing girls. [...]"

Hence, ethnic minority youth are facing the challenge of integrating different societal values. They have to find their way through two different, often contradicting ways of living, balancing the

expectations of two different cultures and learning at least two different appropriate behaviours for similar situations.

Concerning sexuality, participants reported changing attitudes and feelings with age. When thinking back to their early youth, older adolescents reported a lack of interest for the other gender, followed by insecurity and shame when first developing interest, then a time of hypersexualised behaviour and exaggerated focus on sexuality (also as provocation), until developing into a rather relaxed attitude towards sexuality. The first sexual experiences can be seen as breaking point to a more relaxed attitude.

P6: "[...] but that is all, that boys of that age do (14, 15): talking to friends about sex and watching porn."

P5: "Now I am more relaxed. [...] Well, that was more a learning-by-doing process."

Discussion

Due to current societal and political developments and integrational challenges, migrants of Muslim faith have received lots of negative attention. As they are seen as fundamentally different from Europeans (Muslim-Other), they are portrayed in stereotypical ways, with genderroles and family models at the core of numerous prejudices, leading to a marginalization of this group of immigrants. Research so far has rather focused on the position of girls, turning a blind eye to how men experience the migration process and their attitudes towards gender, genderroles and sexuality. Keeping the centrality of these concepts in mind, sex education is a tool of great sociopolitical value, helping to facilitate integration processes and creating more understanding between the different cultures. This study aimed to evaluate the needs and views of male ethnic minority youth concerning sex education, sexuality and romantic relationships.

Finding an own identity

Growing up under the influence of two different cultures, these adolescents are facing the challenge of defining their own identity between sometimes opposing views on topics such as sexuality and genderroles (Idema & Phalet, 2007, Hendrickx et al., 2002). Participants were highly aware of this challenge, consciously managing their own way through these different influences. Participants saw different genderroles and genderrole values within their environment. However, they did not mention feeling caught or trapped between them. In contrast, they found positive as well as negative

characteristics in the different views and tried to manifest their own attitude by combining advantages from the two and adding individual components (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Traditional aspects of masculinity such as financially caring for the family and protecting the woman were mentioned. However, most participants emphasized equal rights, mutual respect and support for each other. Thus, differently than expected (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Hendrickx et al., 2002) masculinity ideals entailed a large amount of modern, progressive aspects, not being overly conservative. Also, differently than expected concerning sexuality (Hendrickx et al., 2002), no participant revealed highly traditional values (i.e. premarital female virginity). Rather, they described a value for a respectful and healthy sex life. Currently, most participants thus described rather nuanced masculinity ideals, even going to the point where they had little respect for hypermasculine behaviour and attitudes. Therefore, they used stereotypical, hegemonic ideal rather as representations to dissociate from than as something to strive for. Most participants grew up in Germany in second generation, thus with a strong influence of Western ideas, potentially adapting quickly to German standards (Idema & Phalet, 2007). As in Germany, these stereotypical masculinities represent rather marginalized groups (Winter & Neubauer, 2005) it can be hypothesized that participants may have adapted rather modern standards. This makes also sense under the light of the IAM. Migrants tend to identify more strongly with their culture and ethnicity of origin, if they experience greater disapproval or hostility (Idema & Phalet, 2007) within the hosting culture. Even though not explicitly asked none of the participants talked about prejudices or hostility experienced from the German culture and most of them reported having a circle of friends from German as well as other ethnical backgrounds. Therefore, they might tend to identify not as strongly with their parents' culture and ethnicity and have an easier time adapting the German attitude. In addition, participants saw hegemonic, stereotypical, macho masculinity ideals in Western, popular media (porno, movies, music). One might thus wonder how progressive the German society is and which genderroles are portrayed within popular media.

Also, religion as a factor should be examined more thoroughly. Two of the participants who deemed sex education rather inappropriate identified as most religious. Purkayastha (2012) describes how Islam can have a discriminating effect on gender. In addition, religion can have a normatively regulating influence on the approach towards sexuality and sex education (El Feki, 2014; Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Yet, although often focussed on in popular media, religion played only a minor role for participants themselves. It was rather a factor explaining why their parents had a hard time talking about sexuality. As most participants identified as not overly religious, this might also explain why they described rather modern, nuanced views on sexuality and gender. It would thus be

interesting to see responses of more religious adolescents. In addition, this suggests that in this case religion has a stronger normative influence on gender and sexuality than culture has.

Different factors seem to be of influence in the adaptation and integration of genderrole-ideals and the approach to sexuality. Firstly, those participants growing up in more closed-off subcultures had a harder time integrating the different views and adapting to the different demands. It can thus be hypothesized that interaction between cultures is vital and facilitating in identity development and integration of the different views (Idema & Phalet, 2007). However, subcultures exist and sometimes exchange can be very little. In these cases, a broader definition of sex education may be required, including gender, genderroles and genderrole-values. By treating gender and sexual identity as overlapping, closely related topics and approaching both in class, sex education may to a greater degree assist in the process of identity development for these teenagers. In addition, this may increase the integrative and sociopolitical value of sex education even further (Herkendell, 2003).

Secondly, age and developmental phase seem to be crucial to the approach towards sexuality and gender as described by older participants. An overemphasize on hegemonic masculinity ideals thus may be a normal juvenile phase. When first exploring one's own sexuality and masculine identity, hegemonic ideals may provide guidance and therefore a way to cope with insecurities. In addition, participants were aware of how genderroles are currently changing within European societies, acknowledging that this may have enhanced the insecurities (Plummer, 2005) when they were younger. However, the possible lack of resources and guidance these adolescents are facing (Schiffauer, 2004; Winter & Neubauer, 2005) may not be neglected as influential factor because it might increase insecurities even further. As a consequence, they might feel an even greater need for stereotypical, hegemonic ideals. Generally, a gender stereotypical emulation can also be seen in preschool children and is underlined by the GIH in early adolescents (Perry & Pauletti, 2011). Here, further research is needed to determine how societal pressure, developments and norms in combination with normal developmental factors and cultural characteristics play together, causing the spike in focus on hegemonic masculinity models in early adolescence for ethnic minority youth.

Romantic relationships

The role of romantic relationships in the development of an own identity and own approaches towards gender and sexuality has been rather neglected in scientific research so far (Furman & Shaffer, 2003). Yet, trustful, respecting, honest and caring romantic relationships form the realm in which adolescents can find their own sexual preferences and identity. Here, romantic relationships provide

the one thing sex education cannot provide: practical, hands-on knowledge and learning-by-doing experiences. Therefore, they form the context in which theoretical knowledge can be put into action and actual identity formation can take place. In addition, committed and trustful romantic relationships seem to be the one context in which participants can let go of influences from social norms and peer pressure. The importance of relationships thus exceeds the factor of sexuality including gender, genderroles and relationship-values. Withal, a successful and loving relationship can enhance self-confidence and therefore spike one's ability to dissociate from societal, cultural and peer norms to define own values.

However, having a relationship and exploring sexuality can be difficult within the context of these adolescents. Most participants described sexuality as a taboo subject at home. Most often, it is their parents' emotional reaction holding them back. Sometimes they even fear anger and aggression, surely expecting embarrassment and mental overload on the parents' side. As 'moral emotions' like anger and disgust are often reactions to the breaking of taboos (Gutierrez & Giner-Sorolla, 2007), this fear is understandable. Therefore, sex education classes should include an awareness for cultural differences and the strong grip taboos have. An inclusion of parents going beyond a mere information note might be an option here, surely also because the law generally requires parents to take part (MSB NRW, 1999). Drawing from the fact that participants showed a high value for their parents, great respect for their relationships and understanding for their behaviour, different views on the topic should be discussed without judgement, but rather with an open attitude, helping teenagers questioning mainstream believes and developing their own.

Sex education classes

All but one participant found sex education to be very important and healthy, pointing to an overall need for information about sexuality and the wish for a healthy, well-informed sex life. Differently than expected, most did report no feeling of being overwhelmed by the content or elaborateness (Herkendell, 2003). Discomfort was mainly related to the novelty of the topic in the beginning and decreased with age. The majority felt that topics weren't discussed openly enough, that information was missing and that classes should be more extensive. Different factors can be the reason for this. Firstly, the sample of participants were obviously rather openminded adolescents, willing to talk about sexuality. The sample might thus not be representative for more conservative, and closedminded teenagers (Herkendell, 2003). Secondly, this group of adolescents might have a stronger, deeper need for formal, reliable sources of information concerning sexuality because parents tend to be sparsely if at all involved in sex education of their children (von Salisch, 1990;

Bode & Heßling, 2015) and friends, even though important and sometimes trustful sources, cannot be seen as substitute for a formal education. They are only making their first experiences themselves and thus often lack understanding. In addition, the factor of coolness and group pressure appear to be most influential within the circle of friends, making serious conversations difficult.

As outlined participants gave several explicit wishes for an improvement of sex education classes, one of the most important factors being the attitude and skills of the teacher, as they largely determine the atmosphere in the classroom. Using external experts more relatable in age and/or culture or extensive teacher trainings, can be considered here. Moreover, training for experts and/or teachers should involve different cultural views on the topics of sexuality, gender and genderroles, as participants expressed high value for not having to explain themselves repeatedly.

Where the taboo surrounding sexuality was most extensive and adolescents grew up with little interaction with the other gender, teenagers experienced the highest discomfort in class. In this context, a number of participants wished for a separation of genders at least for parts of the classes. Thus, although based on what participants described not the method of choice, separating the genders as part of a more culturally sensitive sex education class, might actually be advisable (Herkendell, 2003).

Lastly, the influence of the individual personality and developmental stage may not be forgotten. It has been proven how personality shapes our behaviour and our likeyness to take social risks (Ajzen, 2005; Nicholson, Soane, Fenton-O'Creevy, & William, 2005). In addition, adolescents develop differently and while some might feel ready for first sexual experiences, others might need more time until they make first encounters (Winter & Neubauer, 2005). Sex education classes thus face the challenge of adapting to the average of the group but not ignoring the individual differences. While following the curriculum, there must thus also be room for flexibility and the acknowledgment that individual differences exist as normal part of society (Plummer, 2005; Connell, 2000; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Moreover, repetition of important topics on a regular basis may be advisable in order to make sure adolescents receive the relevant information and remember it, when necessary.

Limitations of this study

Firstly, due to the intimacy of the topic, and the resistance of teachers, schools and youth centers to cooperate to initiate contact with possible participants, a rather limited number of adolescents was interviewed. It is thus questionable to which extent results are representative on a group level. Furthermore, qualitative analysis to a certain degree is always biased. Quantitative studies on a

larger scale, working with questionnaires could be used. In addition, giving the even smaller sample size from each culture of origin, it is impossible to account for needs and attitudes specific to one culture. However, current research results suggest great differences between different Islamic cultures (El Feki, 2014; Hendrickx et al., 2002; Idema & Phalet, 2007).

Secondly, class or socio-economic status were not assessed. Yet, as Morgan (2005) pointed out, class is as much an influential factor on how we define and perceive gender norms, as are sexuality, ethnicity and religion. Even participants themselves pointed out education as relevant to relationship-norms. Also, as could be seen in von Salisch's (1999) study after controlling for class, sexual behaviour of Turkish and the German adolescents did not differ significantly. Therefore, further research should take the factor of class into account. In the case of this study, class might thus also be an explanation as to why participants described rather modern views and attitudes.

Thirdly, also other factors influencing the individuals within the sample were not accounted for. Further research should take the social network and extent of integration into the German culture into account, as could be seen that more open-minded participants showed greater interaction with the German culture. Growing up in a rather enclosed subculture seems to make the integration process a greater challenge.

Lastly, since only Islamic, ethnic minority boys and no other individuals have been interviewed, there is no way to account for how gender or ethnicity specific these needs are. Some aspects are very clearly in reference to their twist between cultures and the influence of Islam, others are not. Yet, it might be that culture plays a less relevant role here and tension arises from more religion linked, conservative attitudes. Therefore, German teenagers from strictly Christian homes might experience similar problems, which should be explored in future research.

Conclusion

This small sample of male ethnic minority adolescents conveyed a wide range of different views on the topics of sexuality, sex education and romantic relationships. Growing up between two cultures, they can feel the more conservative values in their family being different from the more modern, egalitarian values present in their broader environment. Yet, they manage to integrate them well. Concerning relationship-values they see their parents as role models, striving for their sense of commitment, faithfulness, respect and honesty. However, it is important to them that men and women have equal rights and work as a team. They consider sexuality an important part of a relationship. Relationships form the primary realm in which they can put theoretical knowledge into practice and identity formation is facilitated. Sex education classes build a foundation for the

possibility of a healthy sex life and participants stated a definite need for an extensive and open approach. However, as sexuality is such an intimate topic, they would prefer talking to someone relatable and trustworthy. Therefore, external experts closer in age or of the same cultural background could be an advantage for more culturally sensitive sex education. In addition, participants indirectly suggested a broader definition of sex education including gender and genderroles. Integrating parents in the process of sex education could be an advantage. However, generally, participants' answers call for a focus on their extensive awareness and their openness and skilfulness integrating the different values influencing them and the actual commonalities of cultures.

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Appendix

Informed Consent

Dear participant,

My name is Katharina Nießen. I am a student at the Vrije Universiteit (VUB) in Brussels, currently enrolled in the third semester of the master's program clinical psychology – developmental psychology. For my master thesis I am conducting a study on the views and needs of male, Islamic, ethnic minority youth between the ages of 15 and 19 concerning sexuality, romantic relationships and sex education. The study is supervised by Dr. Wendelien Vantieghem. This informed consent has the purpose to inform you about the details of the study and to invite you to participate. Participation is voluntary and if you have any questions, don't hesitate to ask.

Sexuality and how we see it and handle it are very personal topics, which are influenced by many different factors. It is the duty of parents and schools to offer an extensive and thorough education on these topics in order for children and adolescents to be able to live an independent, healthy and fulfilling sexual life. Since culture and religion are factors of great influence, the question is whether children and adolescents who grow up with two or more different cultural influences have special needs and attitudes concerning sex education, romantic relationships and sexuality because they might get caught between the different opinions of different cultures. This study will focus on male teenagers firstly because less research had been conducted on the male gender in this context and secondly because in popular media these adolescents are often portrayed stereotypically.

This study consists of one individual interview of about 30 to 60 minutes. Participation is voluntary. Sexuality is a very personal topic and some questions, even if not intended, might make you feel a little uncomfortable. You are always free to not answer a question without giving any reason. You can always stop the interview completely or withdraw your participation at any point of time.

Only me and you will be present during the interview. The entire interview will be recorded and transcribed in order to analyse it and compare it with other interviews conducted. Only me and Dr. Vantieghem will have access to the recordings. These will be saved and stored anonymously under a code and not your name. This informed consent will be stored separately. Furthermore, all shared information will be handled confidentially in further analysis. Your name won't appear anywhere except on the informed consent. This study is in collaboration with Sensoa, the Flemish center of expertise for sexual health. The results of this study will be used by Sensoa to develop new methods for sex education classes. Sensoa will also handle all information confidentially.

As a thank you for your participation you will receive a movie gift card for one person. Furthermore, you help me with my thesis, and you contribute to the bigger project of Sensoa.

The final thesis will also be published on the homepage of the wetenschapswinkel of the VUB (<http://www.vub.ac.be/onderzoek/wetenschapswinkel#home>). If you would like to receive a copy of the thesis, please let me know and I will forward it to you after it is finished and graded in September 2019.

Questions are always welcome either personally, or via phone or email addressed to me or Dr. Vantieghem (Dutch or English).

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I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Place, date:

Name of participant:

Signature:

Statement by the researcher/person taking consent

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the participant understands that the following will be done:

- 1. An interview on needs and attitudes concerning sexuality, sex education and romantic relationships of about one hour will be conducted**
- 2. Participation is voluntary and the consent can be withdrawn at any given point in time**
- 3. The interview will be recorded and transcribed**
- 4. All information will be saved and analysed anonymously and confidentially**
- 5. The results will be used by Sensoa to develop new methods of sex education**

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Place, date:

Name of researcher:

Signature:

Demographic questionnaire

Age:

Place of birth:

Place of residence:

Living situation (with parents, alone, with friends, with partner, etc.)?

Do you still attend school? Yes No

If yes, which type of school?

If no, are you doing an apprenticeship? Yes No

If yes, what kind of apprenticeship?

If no, what is your occupational situation?

Are you part of a religion? Yes No

If yes:

Which religion?

As how religious do you consider yourself?

Not at all religious A little religious Average Religious Very religious

Are you in a relationship? Yes No

Your fathers age:

Place of birth of your father:

Education/job of your father:

Age of your mother:

Place of birth of your mother:

Education/job of your mother:

Place of birth of your grandfather:

Place of birth of your grandmother:

Semi-structured interview

Opening question

Introduction of myself, the research topic and practical aspects → giving opportunity to ask questions

Maybe now you can introduce yourself and tell me a little bit about yourself?

Introductory questions

In school you get sex education in different classes/subjects. (If I remember correctly, we mainly spoke about sexuality and contraception in biology class.) In which classes did you get sex education?

Which specific topics do you remember being covered in sex education classes?

And how did you like these classes?

And when you think back to these classes? How did you feel talking and/or hearing about sexuality in this environment at school?

Did the classes help you? Did you feel like you got enough and correct information?

Would you have liked to talk about certain topics/not talk about certain topics?

Would you change something about the way the classes were given (organisational factors such as: male/female teacher, pictures shown, external person, boys and girls together or separate)

Can you think of anything else which would have made the sex education classes better?

Transitioning questions

We just talked about that at school you receive information about sexuality and related aspects. But next to the classes at school there are many other possible sources of information about sexuality.

Where else and by whom else did you receive information on this topic?

To what extent do you talk to your parents about sexuality?

What exactly do you discuss with them?

How does it feel to talk to them about it/How does it feel not to talk to them about it?

Do you wish it [whatever participant has described] was different?

To what extent do you talk to your friends about the topic?

What exactly do you discuss with them?

How does it feel to talk to them about it/How does it feel to not talk to them about it?

Do you wish it [whatever participants described] was different?

Same questions concerning other people mentioned: siblings, cousins, aunt/uncle, teachers, doctors/nurses, etc.

If several people are named right away: Do you discuss the same aspects of sexuality and relationships with everyone you just mentioned, or is it rather that you discuss certain aspects with specific people?

You also mentioned/Do you also look up certain information online concerning sexuality?

On which specific homepages do you find the information?

Is the information satisfying?

Another aspect I would like to talk to you about are gender roles of men and women. Within our society everyone has very different ideas about what it means to be a man or a woman, how each gender should behave, which rights they have, and how they should relate to each other. Every person thinks a little different about it and I would like to hear your opinion on the topic.

What do you think what should a man ideally be like within a romantic relationship?

And on the other hand, a woman: what is your ideal picture of the female gender in a relationship?

You now just described the ideal ideas you have about a man and a woman, if you now think of couples you see and experience in your environment. What do you think to what extent do people fit into these ideal pictures?

Key questions

Sexuality as gender roles is a very personal topic. Different people think differently about it, they have very different opinions and different attitudes, which are influenced by a lot of different factors: the family you grow up in, the group of friends, religion, culture, the social environment, experiences one makes and many more.

When you think of a sexual relationship, what is your ideal idea? What should this relationship look like?

What kind of role does sexuality play in your own life?

In what context does it take place? (Within a relationship, one-night stands, waiting until marriage, ...)

We also talked about how sexuality is a topic between you and your friends and you told me that you mainly talk about ... In what kind of manner/how do you talk about these topics?

And is sexuality something that is important for one's reputation within your group of friends?

If I understood correctly ... To what extent is masculinity defined through sexuality within your group of friends? (As an example: are friends which are more sexually active perceived as more masculine?)

Is that also an important factor for you personally? Do you define yourself as a man through your sexuality?

We just talked about the in which contexts sexuality has a place in your own life and also what it means for your identity as a man. I would like to talk a little more about your emotional life connected to sexuality.

How do you experience sexuality in your life? Which emotions do you associate with it? (As examples: Do you associate it with love, intimacy and trust as it takes place within a loving relationship? Is it something that is a little intimidating/that makes you a little nervous/insecure because it is new/a lot to learn?)

Final questions

Those were all my questions. First of all, thank you very much for participating. Before we do a little short evaluation: Do you have any questions?

Was the interview like you expected it to be?

Did it cover any unexpected topics or aspects? Would you like to add anything? Do you think it missed important aspects?

How did you feel doing this interview?

Interview as example

Interview

Disclaimer: In order to ensure the anonymity of the participant, certain parts of the interview as the first introduction of himself and statements irrelevant to this study will not be published as part of the appendix.

[...]

I: Ok. Ok, danke. Mh dann würd ich vorschlagen, dass wir einfach mal anfangen, ja? Ähm und zwar würd ich gern mit dem Aufklärungsunterricht erst mal anfangen, wie der stattgefunden hat. Und zwar gibt's den ja eigentlich in der Schule in verschiedenen Fächern. Wie war das denn bei dir? Kannst du dich da erinnern in welchen Fächern, das stattgefunden hat?

P4: Ähm auf jeden Fall war das in Bio, also in Biologie und in Ethik. Mh nur leider ist das halt das Problem, zumindest auf unserer Schule, dass es ziemlich stumpf erzählt wurde. Also dass nur so zum Beispiel Pubertät wurde erzählt und wie man also wachsen und sonst was. Nur halt auch zum Beispiel auch die Verhütung aber halt nur so halt vielleicht zwei Unterrichtsstunden und dann war das Ganze auch vorbei so. Ähm ich hät' mir gewünscht, da n bisschen mehr darüber zu erzählen, weil viele hams auch gar nicht verstanden und viele sind halt na waren in der zehnten und hatten schon n Kind und das hat mich schon n bisschen erschüttert so, muss ich sagen so, weil ähm ich würde jetzt nicht gern als Vater dastehen mit 15 so.

I: Mmh.

P4: Ähm aber vielleicht liegt es auch nicht mit der Schule zusammen, wie auch immer. Also die Aufklärung wird halt nur stumpf erzählt.

I: Stumpf. Mh, das ist dann wahrscheinlich vor allem im Biounterricht passiert, ne? So...

P4: Auch in Bio.

I:...also Verhütung.

P4: Also ich hab das Gefühl, dass in Ethik n bisschen mehr aufgeklärt wird als in Bio, weil in Bio sollte das eigentlich ein Hauptthema sein so.

I: Und was wurde dann im Ethikunterricht besprochen?

P4: Ähm na ja zum Beispiel über Verhütung, wenn man schwanger wird. Wenn was man am besten macht, um das Kind irgendwie besser aufzuziehen und so was.

I: Ok.

P4: Ich glaub das wurde erst nach hineingeführt, als dann ne Schwangere plötzlich da war.

I: Ah ok, so'n bisschen dann angepasst an die Gegebenheiten.

P4: Mh, die haben sich angepasst. Nicht, dass ihr das meiner Schule erzählt. Die bringen mich um.

[...]

P4: Ja nur zu oberflächlich.

I: Oberflächlich mh. Wie hätte man das denn verändern können deiner Meinung nach? Also was wär' besser gewesen?

P4: Ähm wir ham das halt nur mündlich besprochen, sagen wir mal so. Vielleicht hätte man auch ich weiß nicht n bisschen mehr so mit Rollenspielen oder halt, dass man sich das besser merkt, nicht so nicht so einfach so mal nebenbei erzählt und dann war's das. So einfach, dass es einem mehr so im Gedächtnis bleibt so und vielleicht Modelle dazu oder vielleicht, dass man selber Statistiken erstellt. Also einem mal wirklich mal in dieses Thema mit reinbeziehen und nicht das oberflächlich so so stumpf erklären und dann hofft, dass man's verstanden hat.

I: Also so, dass es anschaulicher ist.

P4: Anschaulicher!

I: Mh.

P4: So das wird glaub ich schon ab der vier. Also mein ganz kleiner Bruder, der hat jetzt schon Sexualkunde. Ähm in der dritten. Wir ham das eigentlich fast die ganze Zeit, nur halt wird das jedes Mal halt entweder falsch erklärt oder einfach nur so, dass man's sich einfach nicht merkt.

I: Mh also sogar Fehlinformationen?

P4: Ja hatten wir schon.

I: Mh. Und Themen mäßig gäb's da irgendwas, was du denkst, was unbedingt noch besprochen werden müsste im Unterricht?

P4: Ähm die Benutzung von Kondomen. Wie man die richtig benutzt.

I: Also Verhütung.

P4: Verhütung ja.

I: Ja. Wurde denn bei der Verhütung, hast jetzt schon gesagt mit der Schwangerschaft, ging's denn auch um Geschlechtskrankheiten zum Beispiel?

P4: Ah ja das stimmt. Aber wie gesagt, wenn dann wieder nur so, dann wenn man das nicht benutzt, dann benutzt das, sonst kriegt ihr Aids oder so. Also, so was wie Geschlechtskrankheiten wurden auch erwähnt, aber alles halt nur so in zwei Stunden zusammengefasst.

I: Mh ok, einfach zu kurz. Auch n bisschen schnell dann wahrscheinlich, ne?

P4: Ja, zwei Stunden halt. 70 Prozent der Leute merken sich das eh nicht.

I: Ok, und wenn du so an den Unterricht zurückdenkst, wie war das für dich im Klassenverband mit andern darüber zu reden oder das zu hören.

P4: Na ja also als wir sagen wir mal das erste Mal, als wir sagen wir mal das erste Mal das Thema hatten war's noch ne ziemlich lustige Sache, so'n bisschen kindlich. Dann wurd's auf jeden Fall n bisschen ernster. So man konnte über die Themen halt zum Beispiel in meinem Klassenverband offen reden so, weil's auch für mich kein Tabuthema ist, ist halt normal so Geschlechtsverkehr. Ähm ja, ich hab das eigentlich als ziemlich offen empfunden, vor allem manche Lehrer sind auch offen, manche eher so so ... halten sich davon zurück und so was.

I: Also auch sehr Lehrer abhängig?

P4: Ja, auf jeden Fall. Also es gibt Lehrer bei denen kann ich mir Sachen gut merken und es gibt Lehrer, bei denen ich mir denke, wie erklärst du das. So viel zu kompliziert.

I: Mh. Wann war das erste Mal, dass ihr das in der Schule besprochen habt?

P4: Boah, in der vierten fünften Klasse so? So ungefähr so, früh auf jeden Fall. Wir hatten's das erst Mal in der Vierten, dann wieder in der Sechsten. Da waren wir sogar auf nem Ausflug und ham da so gelernt, wie man Kondome benutzt und so was.

I: Das klingt ja schon sehr anschaulich eigentlich...?

P4: Ähm ja da war's noch anschaulich, nur dann halt ab der Achten hatten wir das Thema dann noch mal. Ja und da war's für mich so ne Sache. Also ich hab's halt vorher schon verstanden, weil wir mit dieser Frau BLANK hatten, nur es sind halt neue Schüler dazu gekommen, die das vielleicht noch nicht hatten oder vielleicht schon vergessen haben ja und. Gut man merkt, man lernt es ja auf jeden Fall. Aber ich mein so'n bisschen offener und dass die Lehrer halt auch bisschen mehr darüber erzählen.

I: Das ist vielleicht auch nicht unangenehm ist, ne?

P4: Genau!

I: Das klingt n bisschen als wären einige Lehrer da selbst sehr unsicher in dem Thema, wie sie das rüberbringen.

P4: Unser Biolehrer ja!

[...]

I: [...] ok mh danke. Ähm jetzt haben wir n bisschen das in der Schule besprochen, wie das in der Schule läuft. Aber außerhalb der Schule gibt's ja auch ganz viele Informationsquellen über das Thema.

P4: Ja.

I: Ähm bei welchen anderen Personen oder über welche anderen Wege hast du dir selbst denn auch noch Infos geholt?

P4: (lacht). Na ja da gibt's zum Beispiel noch das Internet.

I: Ja.

P4: Äh (lacht).

I: Was ist so lustig?

P4: Egal.

I: (lacht).

P4: Ähm und dann gibt's natürlich auch andere Personen.

I: Ja.

P4: Scheiße man, was sind das für Fragen ey. (lacht).

I: (lacht).

P4: Ich beantworte die aber trotzdem.

I: Ja? Ist ok, oder?

P4: Ja, ist ok.

I: Darf ich auch noch weiter nachhaken, oder...?

P4: Welche Stellungen oder wie, hä wie? Wie meinst du das jetzt?

I: Nein, nein darum geht's ja gar nicht. Es geht nur darum ähm mit wem du drüber sprichst oder wie du, also zum Beispiel auch....wir können ja auch erst mal beim Internet anfangen. Geht's da um vielleicht Pornoseiten oder geht's eher um Infoseiten? Das ist auch sehr unterschiedlich.

P4: (lacht). Ja gut sagen wir mal das Erste. Also ähm na ja gibt's ja auch viele Werbung, zum Beispiel auf irgendwelchen Seiten kommt dir dann ne Werbung, ne Renate 56 sucht das und das und dann siehst du die plötzlich nackt und dann, dann. Ähm man lernt es auf jeden Fall über's, also ich hab immer übers Internet gelernt, mehr als in der Schule.

I: Ja. Ähm wie ist das denn, wenn dann auf ein mal so Werbung oder so was kommt am Anfang, wenn man noch nicht so aufgeklärt ist vielleicht. Wie war das?

P4: Ähm ja, ja da denk ich mir auch nur so. Da denk ich glaub ich gar nicht drüber nach, ich klick das einfach weg.

I: Mh ok. Mh und bei anderen Personen, hast du mit andern Personen auch mal über das Thema gesprochen?

P4: Nur gesprochen? (lacht)

I: (lacht).

P4: Ach so ja stimmt, es sollte ja nicht darum gehen. Ähm ja also mit Freunden ja auf jeden Fall.

I: Mit Freunden mh. Inwiefern sprecht ihr denn darüber?

P4: Erfahrungen.

I: Über Erfahrungen ganz explizit.

P4: Ja.

I: Und wie fühlt sich das mit Freunden sich darüber auszutauschen?

P4: Na ja ist halt ne andere Sache ne? Mit Freunden kann man offener sein so. Zumindest mit festen also äh mit engen Freunden so, da kann man offener Sachen erzählen so.

I: Also muss schon ne Vertrauensbasis auch da sein?

P4: Ja.

I: Ähm

P4: Na, ist ja ne intimes Thema sag ich mal so. Heutzutage wird das ja eher so als offenes Thema so, schon bei Instagram sieht man wie irgendwelche was hochladen in ihrer Stories, was da nicht sein sollte und die sind 15.

I: Mh. Sprichst du, oder hast du mit deinen Eltern denn auch mal über das Thema gesprochen?

P4: Ja, wenn ich mal Hilfe gebraucht...also erst mal war's natürlich so ähm ne Sache so Woow. Ganz vorsichtig.

I: Ja.

P4: Aber ich glaub das man gewöhnt sich mit der Zeit dran. Also meine Eltern sind jetzt nicht soo krass religiös. Wir sind zwar religiös so. Wir glauben auf jeden Fall an Gott. Aber zum Beispiel mein Vater ist jetzt nicht so krass religiös. Meine Mutter eher schon n bisschen mehr.

I: Mh.

P4: Ich glaub mein Vater hat ihr auch geholfen mit diesem Thema erst mal klar zu kommen, weil es ist ja ne Umstellung, wenn das Kind nie über so was spricht und dann kommt man nach Hause mit

so nem Zettel und dann denken se sich so woow. (lacht). Und dann. Aber man gewöhnt sich mit der Zeit.

I: Mh, das heißt du hast quasi deine Eltern damit konfrontiert?

P4: Mh ja und das ziemlich direkt.

I: Ja, keine Hemmungen gehabt.

P4: Ne, ich bin einfach hingegangen, meinte hier musst unterschreiben.

I: Ah ok, da gab's dann was ausm Unterricht?

P4: Ja genau, haben wir so n Zettel bekommen: Ihr Kind wird über dies das bla bla aufgeklärt. Damit die auch Bescheid wissen. Bin da hingegangen, hab gesagt, hier unterschreib. Haben die das dann gelesen. Meine Mutter so ne Augen und mein Vater so am lächeln.

I: (lacht) ok. Ähm, das hör ich zum Ersten mal zum Beispiel, dass man da was kriegt zum unterschreiben. Kann ich mich selbst jetzt auch gar nicht dran erinnern, dass ich so was bekommen hab.

P4: Äh, also ich habs zumindest bekommen, weil unsere Schule sind halt viele Leute, die muslimischer Abstammung, äh musli Abstammung sag ich schon, muslimisch religiös sind. Ich glaub, Lehrer ham sich auch gedacht: Jo, bevor ich jetzt meinem Kind, denen irgendwas erzähle oder Kondome zeige oder so was, zeig ich das erst mal den Eltern. Nicht dass die dann zur Schule kommen und dann gibt's da so'n Drama.

I: Ja.

P4: Ja und dann ham wir, ham wir so'n Zettel bekommen, ham das den Eltern gegeben, mussten das dann irgendwie ne Woche später abgeben.

I: Mh ok. Ähm und seitdem kannst du auch offen mit Fragen zu deinen Eltern kommen, oder mal was erzählen, oder ist das immer noch n bisschen...?

P4: Ja also das ist so ne Sache, solangs um die Schule geht, helfen die gern. Aber ich mein, wenn ich da jetzt hingeh und über so was frage. Ich glaub nicht. Das ist denen auch unangenehm so.

I: Ja, spürst du auch, dass das für die nicht so...

P4: Ja klar.

I: ...nicht so angenehm ist als Thema. Aber sonst, also wie, dass mit dem Zettel abgeben und so, das klang ja als wär es recht locker für dich gewesen ja?

P4: Für mich ist das äh, war das locker, weil ich da noch so'n Kind war so. Ich hab mir halt nicht viel dabei gedacht. Ich hab's einfach abgegeben. Ich hab nicht mal den Zettel gelesen. (lacht).

I: (lacht).

P4: Ich hab nur gesehen, die müssen unterschreiben und so Sexualkunde und hab das abgegeben so. Aber jetzt merk ich schon jo, das ist meinen Eltern schon sehr unangenehm, wenn ich da jetzt mit Fragen komme, die jetzt eigentlich überhaupt nicht in den Kontext passen.

I: Mh ja.

P4: Und ich mein so, das ist, ja das ist so wie so'n Tabuthema mit denen schon. Ist halt schon so'n Tabuthema zuhause, sagen wir mal so.

I: Schon n Tabuthema?

P4: Also, wenns um die Schule geht, nicht wirklich. Zumindest mit meinem Vater kann ich offen darüber reden. So. Aber mit meiner Mutter da ne.

I: Aber wenn's dann um die Schule geht, inwiefern sprichst du da mit deinem Vater drüber? Was ihr besprochen habt im Unterricht?

P4: Ne, zum Beispiel beim Hausaufgaben helfen oder so. Also die fragen ja jetzt auch nicht nach, hey was habt ihr gemacht.

I: Ja. Ähm und wie ist das für dich, dass das so'n bisschen n Tabuthema ist zuhause?

P4: Ja, ich bin mittlerweile schon daran gewöhnt so. Ist ja auch in vielen anderen Familien so, bei Christen auch. Also es ist, vor allem wenn man religiös ist, ist das n anderes Thema. Ich kenn das von Freunden, die sind, deren Eltern sind Atheisten und die auch ähm. Manche sind sogar immer noch n Tabuthema. Bei manchen ist es komplett offen, also...Ist halt immer so von Familie zu Familie abhängig, ob jetzt religiös oder nicht.

I: Aber hattest du jemals das Bedürfnis es vielleicht offener mit deinen Eltern besprechen zu können?

P4: Nein.

I: Nee? Ist dann doch auch n bisschen unangenehm?

P4: Ja mit der Zeit wird das schon so so, da denk ich mir auch so, die brauchen das auch nicht wissen.

I: Ja, das kann ich auch verstehen. Ähm und wenn ich das jetzt vorher richtig rausgehört habe so mit Freundinnen oder Partnerinnen ist das auch Thema? Kannst du auch offen drüber sprechen?

P4: Ja

I: Fällt dir sonst noch irgendwie, fallen dir noch andere Personen ein. Ich weiß nicht, manchmal so Cousins Cousinen oder so werden noch genannt, Sozialarbeiter werden auch manchmal genannt als wichtige Quellen.

P4: Ich hab noch mit nem Sozialarbeiter über so was geredet. Ne, ne halt einfach nur Freunde.

I: Ja, Freunde hauptsächlich. Ok. Gut, dankeschön.

P4: Ja, kein Problem.

I: Ähm, dann würd' ich gern noch auf n sehr eng damit verbundenes Thema eingehen, aber gar nicht direkt jetzt Aufklärungsunterricht oder Sexualität auch, sonder Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit. Das ist n Thema, das ist auch sehr religiös, kulturell geprägt.

P4: Ja.

I: Und da hat auch innerhalb von ner Kultur jeder Mensch irgendwie ne andere Einstellung, ne andere Meinung zu. Mich interessiert natürlich deine Meinung. Ähm, was ist so dein Idealbild von einem Mann? Welche Eigenschaften sollte der haben? Wie sollte der sich in ner Beziehung zu ner Frau verhalten?

P4: Ähm für mich gilt immer die Regel, wer ne vernünftige Frau will, muss n vernünftiger Mann sein. So, wenn du nicht selber vernünftig bist, kriegst du auch keine Vernünftige so. Ähm.

I: Was genau bedeutet denn vernünftig?

P4: Vernünftig heißt, weiß wie man für seine Familie sorgt, ist selbstständig. Du hast ne Treue und ne gesunde Ein, Eifersucht, also gesund nicht krankhaft.

I: Was, was ist ne gesunde Eifersucht?

P4: Na halt gesund heißt, zum Beispiel meine Freundin will zu ner Party, sag ich ok. Also sie kann gehen, aber ist halt immer so n gewisser Basisvertrauen da. Also wer wer in ner Beziehung kein Vertrauen hat, dann ist es keine Beziehung. So.

I: Ja.

P4: Ähm ja das ist für ne gesunde Eifersucht. Also man hat, hat das immer im Hinterkopf so, aber man weiß ich kann ihr vertrauen so. Und dann ich will ja auch nicht meine Frau da irgendwie da da ääh zwingen Kopftuch zu tragen (lacht) oder so. Also es ist halt für mich immer sie kann machen, was sie will. Ist ihre Entscheidung. Wenn sie das will, kann sie das machen, wenn nicht dann nicht. Ich bevorzuge es nicht. Ähm ist halt immer so ne Sache. Ja und das vom vernünftigen Mann noch auf jeden Fall, dass er gut spricht. Also ne gewisse Romantik ähm ha so ne Eigenschaften, die eigentlich typisch für n Mann sein sollten. Und nicht so'n asihaftes ich baller dir eine weg oder so was. So was ist...ach. Gibt halt viele.

I: Mh. Ähm und im Gegensatz dazu die Frau? Was ist da dein Idealbild, wie die sich verhalten sollte?

P4: Mh, die sollte sich auf jeden Fall na eigentlich ungefähr so wie der Mann.

I: Mh.

P4: So ungefähr halt aber die. Ich weiß nicht, wie das erklären soll.

I: Kannst dir gern Zeit lassen da ein bisschen drüber nach zu denken.

P4: Ähm na ja wie der Mann eigentlich so. Frau und Mann sind ja nicht, sind ja genau gleichberechtigt.

I: Mh ja. Gibt's gewisse Dinge, die ne Frau vielleicht anders ausfüllen würde als n Mann. Also zum Beispiel wenn du sagst, der Mann soll wissen, wie er für die Familie sorgt. Sorgt ne Frau anders für ne Familie oder für den Partner?

P4: Ach so na ja zum Beispiel sie geht auch arbeiten, also nicht faul oder sonst irgendwie. Also weiß, wie man sich um Kinder sorgt oder so was, oder um den Haushalt wie auch immer. So was halt.

I: Ähm

P4: Die muss schlau sein.

I: Schlau.

P4: Der Mann übrigens auch.

I: (lacht) Stehen sie sich auch in nichts nach Mann und Frau. Mh, wenn du jetzt so'n bisschen an die Paare in deiner Umgebung denkst und dann mein ich, es können Freunde sein, aber auch Eltern oder äh andere Familienmitglieder oder so. Entsprechen die Menschen diesem Idealbild?

P4: Im Freundeskreis zumindest extrem ääh also extrem dagegen.

I: (lacht) ah ok, ja das ist wichtig.

P4: So, weil dann ist vielleicht n Schlauer mit ner Dummen zusammen oder irgendwie anders. Dann dann klappt die Beziehung äh die Beziehung meistens nicht. So das die bricht halt auch nach drei Wochen ab, weil irgendwie ist der andere dann irgendwie viel zu eifersüchtig, oder der hat mit der geschlafen oder dies das. Das sind immer so ne Gerüchte, die gehen dann rum und dann werden andere Paare eifersüchtig und...Das ist wie so'n Teufelskreis dann. Dann unterbrechen alle. Dann fangen wieder neue an so a plus b mit c d und d dann wieder mit a und b mit d und c mit äh.

I: Das klingt kompliziert (lacht).

P4: Ist es auch, deswegen kann ichs auch nicht so krass erklären. Aber die entsprechen sich halt meistens die Eigenschaften, die eigentlich da sein sollten für ne Beziehung äh entsprechen meistens fast gar nicht. Also es gibt Beziehungen, die haben jetzt schon zwei Jahre gehalten. Zu denen meint ich, ey ihr habt's geschafft so. Zu den anderen so nach drei Wochen sag ich auch, ihr habt's geschafft aber halt so drei Wochen nur. So'n bisschen Motivation so, damit die wieder hochkommen und nicht depressiv werden.

I: (lacht) ok. Und ähm andere Paare, die du kennst?

P4: Wie jetzt?

I: Also jetzt nicht im Freundeskreis sondern vielleicht ältere Generationen?

P4: Oh ha ältere Generationen (lacht). Meine Eltern?

I: Mh.

P4: So als alt sind die nun auch nicht.

I: Älter als du wahrscheinlich (lacht).

P4: (lacht) ja. Ähm also auf meine Eltern bin ich auf jeden Fall stolz, weil ähm die streiten sich fast nie so. Die normal in ner Beziehung streitet man so, aber die, wenn die streiten, dann wissen die wie man streitet und nicht ihre Ehe dann direkt einfach so zerbrechen lässt oder irgendwie so. Also die wissen schon, wie man genau eine Beziehung führt. Also respektvolles miteinander.

I: Würdst du sagen, die haben da so ne Art Vorbildfunktion für dich auch?

P4: Klar, die sind ja meine Eltern (lacht).

I: Ja. Aber das ist auch was äh sehr Schönes und Wertvolles, find ich.

P4: Ja.

I: Also ich glaub, dass kann man sehr wertschätzen, wenn man die Eltern in dem Bereich als große Vorbilder sieht. Das ist...

P4: Das ist aber auch selten heutzutage. Die sehen heute eher so Gangsterrapper so und dann gehen die einbrechen so nebenan und dann...

I: (lacht).

P4: Ja, das ist wirklich so. Zumindest ich war ne Zeit lang auch so. Also ich bin nicht einbrechen gegangen. Aber ich mein, das waren so Vorbilder für mich.

I: So Gangsterrapper?

P4: Ja aber nicht im Sinne von, dass ich genauso wie die sein will. Ääh weil nicht genau so hoch sein also genauso viel Geld, wie die rappen will, sondern eher im Sinne von, dass ich einfach krass sein wollte. Und das ist halt so ne andere Sache. Ich hab auch Vorbilder, die sind Rapper. Aber die haben, die nutz ich dann immer als Stütze, um weiter hoch zu kommen. Ja.

I: Ja. Mh, Sexualität ist ja auch wie Geschlechterrollen n sehr individuelles Thema, wie man darüber denkt ähm und das ist auch was wo Kultur, Religion, aber auch also auch so was wie das soziale Umfeld innerhalb von einer Kultur n ganz, ganz großen Einfluss drauf haben. Ähm wenn du an ne sexuelle Beziehung denkst, was ist da so dein Idealbild von? Wie sollte die aussehen?

P4: Wie meinen sie das?

I: (lacht).

P4: Na ja ja ich mein, wie soll die aussehen hä?

I: Ja vor allem in was für nem, sollte das ne Beziehung sein oder ist das auch was, was ruhig vielleicht mal so'n One-night stand mäßig stattfinden kann?

P4: Ähm also ich bin jetzt nicht so der Freund von Beziehungen. Sag ich ehrlich so. Ähm das sind jetzt so Sachen, die wenn ich in ner Beziehung wäre, die Sachen, die so sein sollten. Wenn nicht, dann sind mir die Sachen sowieso erst mal egal so. Ähm ich mag eher so gesagt Freundschaft plus, One-night stands so. Das ist halt so.

I: Ok. Mh, gibt's da denn bestimmte Dinge, die erfüllt sein müssen dann?

P4: Bei Freundschaft plus?

I: Mh, zum Beispiel.

P4: Ne Freundschaft.

I: Also schon auch ne gewisse emotionale Nähe gehört dann da ja auch zu, ne?

P4: Ja, Vertrauen.

I: Vertrauen schon.

P4: Und One-night stand ja ist egal ähm. One-night stand, was soll man denn da sagen?

I: Na, ich denk, du würds' wahrscheinlich auch nicht irgendwen dann auswählen, oder?

P4: Nein.

I: Da gibt's bestimmt auch was, was relevant ist.

P4: Ja nein nein natürlich. Da gibt's immer auch so Kriterien, aber ich meine der Charakter spielt da jetzt nicht wirklich ne Rolle.

I: Ist dann nicht so wichtig. Ist dann eher das Äußerliche?

P4: Ja.

I: Mh, wir haben auch schon n bisschen besprochen, oder du hast gesagt, dass du's mit Freunden auch besprichst.

P4: Mh.

I: Und dass ihr auch über Erfahrungen spricht. Auf welche Art und Weise spricht ihr über Sexualität?

P4: Ähm man spricht zwar, aber eher in son ner abwertenden Art und Weise. Also nicht über die Sexualität sondern über die Frauen.

I: Ah ok mh.

P4: Also nicht wenn der Typ jetzt in ner Beziehung ist, reden wir natürlich gut über seine Freundin so (lacht). Aber ich mein, wenn jemand jetzt n One-night stand hatte, dann sagt boah ey. Den Rest können sie sich denken. Das möcht ich jetzt nicht hier auf der Aufnahme sagen.

I: (lacht). Sorry, ich lach wegen dem sie immer wieder.

P4: Ach so aah. Ist ne Angewohnheit.

I: Ja ne, es ist total ok. Es tut mir leid, dass ich jedes Mal wieder schmunzeln muss. Aber ich kriegs nicht raus.

P4: Ja, ist gut.

I: Ähm, ist Sexualität denn auch was, was ähm n bisschen also was, was nen bestimmten Stellenwert hat im Freundeskreis? Was zum Beispiel auch wichtig ist dafür wie cool jemand ist oder...?

P4: Das ist mittlerweile, find ich, relativ egal. Da geht's eher wer der stärkere ist und wer mehr Sachen, krumme Dinge...so was. Das...also kommt drauf an in welchem Umfeld man ist.

I: Ja, geht um deins.

P4: Ich bin jetzt in son nem Umfeld da ist das nicht so. Vielleicht an zweiter Stelle oder an dritter Stelle so. Da ist mehr an erster Stelle, wer stärker ist.

I: Also so'n bisschen das ähm Körperliche?

P4: Körperlich ja.

I: Aber wenn du sagst so an dritter Stelle spielt Sexualität schon auch ne Rolle?

P4: Also es spielt immer ne Rolle. Nur halt bei manchen mehr, bei manchen weniger. Bei uns halt eher weniger. Man redet zwar drüber, aber ich mein nicht jeden Tag oder so.

I: Mh ähm...

P4: Und wenn dann auch nur oberflächlich dann. Also so...

I: Also jetzt dann ist der Freundeskreis jetzt auch nicht die Zielgruppe, wo du mit echten Fragen oder so hingehen würdest?

P4: Ist halt wie gesagt immer von Umfeld oder von Person abhängig. Es gibt natürlich Personen, die sprechen das auch mehr an, manche weniger. Und zu den Personen, die das mehr ansprechen, da kann ich schon auch mit Fragen hingehen, hey wie läuft das und das.

I: Ok, da hast du schon im Freundeskreis noch mal n paar

P4: N paar einzelne Leute, sind aber auch wenige.

I: Ähm denkst du denn Sexualität ist auch was, was äh wichtig ist für die Männlichkeit. So wie man Sexualität auslebt. Wie man als Mann, dass das zusammenhängt.

P4: Das ist ne schwierige Frage.

I: Ich weiß (lacht).

P4: Ich glaube, man kann auch ohne Sex zu haben n Mann sein so. Aber um sich damit zu brüsten, denk ich mal, wer jetzt heutzutage sagt, ich bin noch Jungfrau, wird ausgelacht so.

I: Mh.

P4: Zumindest in den Schulen oder wie auch immer. Also ich glaub heute ist man erst n richtiger Mann, wenn man nicht mehr Jungfrau ist, damit man sich damit brüsten kann. So die meisten erzählen, sie sind keine Jungfrau, aber sie sind selber eine. (lacht) Und ja.

[...]

I: [...] Ähm ist das was, was du dir anders wünschen würdest, der Umgang mit dem Thema?

P4: Mh nicht wirklich. Also ich mein, wenn ich darüber rede, möchte jetzt zwar auch nicht mit allen darüber reden. Vielleicht mit einzelnen Personen, die es wissen. Ok, dan war's das. Aber jetzt nicht mit dem ganzen Umfeld. Also das find ich schon gut.

I: Ja, ich kann mir nur vorstellen, wenn's so dieses Unausgesprochene gibt, wer wer Jungfrau ist, der ist kein richtiger Mann oder so, dass einen das schon auch unter Druck setzt, dass man ...

P4: Auf jeden Fall!

I:...bestimmt Erfahrungen machen muss.

P4: Auf jeden Fall also ich halt das jetzt immer noch anonym so. Ich nenn jetzt auch keinen Namen. Gibt's n Kumpel sag ich mal, der hat nem Mädchen was vorgemacht, einfach um mit ihr zu schlafen. Er war noch Jungfrau. Und nachdem die Sex hatten, hat er nicht mehr mit ihr geredet. Damit er sich halt damit brüsten kann, hey ich bin keine Jungfrau mehr. Ne und ich meine, wer heute noch mit elf noch Jungfrau ist, dem dem drück ich die Daumen.

I: Mh, mit elf?

P4: Ja, ja die meisten fangen ja jetzt schon, die sind jetzt schon mit 13 keine Jungfrau mehr, wo ich mir denke.

I: Das ist was, was du nicht äh gut findest.

P4: Auf keinen Fall. Also ich mein, ich will nicht mit 13 n Kind. Also das es kann ja immer passieren so. Da gibt's 13-jährige Mädchen, die sehen mittlerweile aus wie 20 und die hatten schon mehr Geschlechtsverkehr als es, als mein ganzes Umfeld und so was. Das ist für mich schon, das ist schon so'n krankhaftes, hey ich hatte. Mich...ich nehm mal jetzt n Mädchen als Beispiel. Mich haben die Jungs, mich mögen die Jungs mehr. Oder wollen mehr Jungs was von mir. Das ist immer so von Mädchen zu Mädchen abhängig. Ich find so so'n richtiges Mädchen, was meinen Respekt hat, ist ein Mädchen, was sich zurückhält, was ihre Sachen macht und nicht irgendwelche Leute vögelt, um sich damit zu brüsten.

I: So'n bisschen so den Selbstwert klingt das.

P4: Selbstwert. Die sind ja fast wie Prostituierte dann, halt ohne Geld.

I: Ist dann auch was, wo du n bisschen, wo du nicht viel Respekt vor hast.

P4: Auf keinen Fall. Ich hab gar keinen Respekt davor, überhaupt nicht. Genauso wenig wie für Männer, die das machen.

I: Mh.

P4: Aber ok gut. Das änder ich jetzt noch mal. Ähm, die das also die diese Mädchen dann komplett hängen lassen so, im Sinne von dann irgendwie einfach so weglassen und nie wieder mit denen reden. Das mein ich damit bei Männern. So ich mein, wenn ich jetzt irgendwie n One-night stand hatte und das Mädchen mich noch mal anspricht, dann sag ich hey wie geht's. 50 shades of grey. So ungefähr. Aber ich mein, man sollte trotzdem schon n bisschen schätzen.

I: Schon auch so n Grundrespekt einfach haben?

P4: Ja, auf jeden Fall.

I: ...auch wenn es nichts Ernstes ist?

P4: Ne nein, ist...nein ich kann auch nichts Ernstes fühlen. Ich bin nichts so'n Mensch. Ich weiß auch nicht warum. Ich bin da eher, ich brauch da auch meine Freiheit. Ich find Beziehung ist für mich einfach wie so'n Käfig. Für manche ist das nicht. Für mich schon.

I: Ja. Hast ja auch noch n bisschen Zeit, ne?

P4: Ja (lacht), ich weiß.

I: Ähm. Ich glaub ist jetzt auch noch mal n bisschen ne schwierige Fragen vielleicht. Ich würd gern noch n bisschen mehr auf deine Gefühlswelt eingehen.

P4: Gefühlswelt? Wie Gefühlswelt? Wie definieren sie das, äh du das?

I: (lacht) Und zwar ähm würd mich interessieren, welche Gefühle du denn mit Sexualität verbindest?

P4: Na ja wie soll man das denn mit dem empfinden, also...hä? Also ich kann die Frage gar nicht beantworten? Was soll man denn da fühlen?

I: Das ist sehr unterschiedlich. Was du da fühlst, kannst leider nur du mir sagen.

P4: Ja, ist halt Sex. Was soll man da fühlen. Ich mein so halt das Standard mäßige.

I: Mh.

P4: Ist halt was Schönes.

I: Ist was Schönes. Ok, schon was schon positive Gefühle.

P4: Ja ja natürlich.

I: Ja, es gibt auch Leute also Leute, die da sehr viel Nervosität mit verbinden, manchmal sogar Angst.

P4: Ja also beim ersten Mal so immer.

I: Ja genau und dann hinterher schon was Positives?

P4: Kommt halt mit der Erfahrung.

I: Ist das denn auch so was, was vielleicht so was wie Geborgenheit oder so geben kann?

P4: Also bei mir jetzt nicht, in ner richtigen Beziehung bestimmt. Die Kekse sind übrigens lecker. Woher haben sie die?

I: Ja, ich merk das schon. Die gehen hier weg, wie....Tatsächlich von Aldi. Also es ist kein spektakulärer Kauf gewesen. Ähm ok das haben wir schon besprochen. Dann...

P4: Jetzt kommt's

I: Ne, sind wir durch eigentlich....

P4: Ach so.

I: Ich hätte noch n paar abschließende Fragen an dich. Erst mal möchte ich mich natürlich bedanke ne...

P4: Kein Problem.

I:...für deine Offenheit. Ähm. Ähm bevor wir jetzt kurz nachbesprechen. Hast du grad noch irgendwelche Fragen? Irgendwas an mich?

[...]

I: Ähm genau ich hab jetzt n paar abschließende Fragen. War das Interview, was du erwartet hattest? Wie hast du dich gefühlt währenddessen?

P4: Ähm manchmal eher so nicht unsicher, aber ich mein, aber ich hab erst mal nach Antworten gesucht, musste n bisschen grübeln. Ähm das Interview war eigentlich ganz spannend.

I: Ja?

P4: Ja. Die Fragen waren auch gut.

I: Sind irgendwelche Dinge drangekommen, die du nicht erwartet hattest, oder umgekehrt?

P4: Das mit den Gefühlen. Also das hab ich jetzt nicht erwartet so weil ich fühl da jetzt nicht wirklich was.

I: Das sind die Psychologen immer auf Gefühlsebene (lacht).

P4: Ja ne.

I: Ähm ist irgendwas nicht drangekommen, was du gern noch hinzufügen würdest? Was du denkst, das ist total wichtig wär.

P4: Nein. Also die unter 14-jährigen am besten vor Schwangerschaft schützen.

I: Ich merk schon, dass ist dir n wichtiges Anliegen.

P4: Ja. Ich will ja jetzt nicht, dass irgendwelche 12, 13-jährigen Mädchen mit nem Kind mit nem Kinderwagen rumrennen so...äh das macht doch die Gesellschaft kaputt. Und dann werden wieder die die Väter und äh Mütter immer jünger und...ist doch krank so was.

I: Ok. ok, nichts mehr hinzu zu fügen?

P4: (schüttelt den Kopf)

I: Gut.

P4: Gut.

I: Dann vielen Dank.

P4: Kein Problem.

I: Ich mach mal die Aufnahme aus.

Overview thematic analysis and codes

Theme 1: Information about sexuality

1. Sex education in school

1.1. Organisational aspects

1.1.1. Type of school and grades

1.1.1.1. Realschule

1.1.1.1.1. 5th grade

1.1.1.1.2. 6th grade

1.1.1.1.3. 7th grade

1.1.1.1.4. 9th grade

1.1.1.1.5. 10th grade

1.1.1.2. Gymnasium

1.1.1.2.1. 5th or 6th grade

1.1.1.2.2. Oberstufe (grade 11-13)

1.1.1.3. Primary school

1.1.1.3.1. 4th grade

1.1.2. Subjects/classes

1.1.3. Depends on chosen profile

1.1.3.1. German

1.1.3.2. Sex education

1.1.3.3. Ethics

1.1.3.4. Practical Philosophy

1.1.3.5. Biology

1.1.3.6. General knowledge (Sachkunde)

1.1.4. External experts, trips

1.1.5. Girls and boys together

1.1.5.1. Uncomfortable: girls can't understand

1.1.5.2. Uncomfortable: no experiences with girls, can't understand girls

1.1.6. Note for parents before

1.2. Topics covered

1.2.1. Biological/physiological aspects

1.2.1.1. Pregnancy

1.2.1.2. The human body

1.2.1.3. Puberty: changes of the body

1.2.2. Different methods of contraception

1.2.2.1. Abstinence

1.2.2.2. Condom

1.2.2.3. Pill

1.2.2.4. With reference to pregnancy

1.2.2.5. With reference to sexually transmitted diseases

1.2.3. Sexual orientation

1.2.3.1. How homosexual people feel

1.2.4. Interpersonal aspects

1.2.4.1. Consent

1.2.4.2. How to raise a child

1.2.4.3. How to treat a pregnant woman

1.2.5. Philosophical

1.2.5.1. Human behaviour: sexuality as urge or decision

1.3. Methods

1.3.1. Interactive: game

1.3.2. Cartoon, movie, visual material

1.3.3. Collecting terms

1.3.4. Practicing with condoms

1.3.5. Teacher-centered teaching

1.4. Emotions with regards to sex education

1.4.1. Positive/comfortable emotions

1.4.1.1. Interesting

1.4.1.2. Funny, humorous

1.4.1.2.1. Humor, silliness as coping strategy

1.4.1.3. Normal, relaxed

1.4.2. Negative/uncomfortable emotions

1.4.2.1. Overwhelming

1.4.2.2. Uncomfortable

- 1.4.2.3. Weird
 - 1.4.2.4. Imposed: you have to do it/obligation
 - 1.4.2.5. Oppressive
 - 1.4.2.6. Inappropriate
 - 1.4.2.6.1. Behavioural reaction
 - 1.4.2.6.1.1. Skipping class
 - 1.4.2.6.1.2. Excused by parents
 - 1.4.2.6.1.2.1. Reaction to excuse
 - 1.4.2.6.1.2.1.1. Critical: professional opinions would have been helpful
 - 1.4.2.6.1.2.1.2. Thankful
 - 1.4.2.6.1.2.1.3. There are enough compensations
- 1.4.2.7. Indifferent
- 1.4.2.8. Serious
- 1.5. The role of the teacher
 - 1.5.1. Skills of the teacher
 - 1.5.1.1. Language/choice of words
 - 1.5.2. Attitude/presence of the teacher
 - 1.5.2.1. Negative: enhancing discomfort
 - 1.5.2.1.1. Insecure
 - 1.5.2.1.2. Not empathic
 - 1.5.2.1.3. Uncomfortable
 - 1.5.2.1.4. Tense
 - 1.5.2.1.5. Shy
 - 1.5.2.2. Positive: enhancing comfort
 - 1.5.2.2.1. Openness
 - 1.5.2.2.2. Trustworthy
 - 1.5.2.2.3. Relaxed
 - 1.5.3. Relationship with the teacher
 - 1.5.3.1. Negative: enhancing discomfort
 - 1.5.3.1.1. Unattractiveness of the teacher
 - 1.5.3.1.2. Not neutral
 - 1.5.3.2. Positive: enhancing comfort
 - 1.5.3.2.1. Trustworthy
- 1.6. Opinion about sex education received
 - 1.6.1. Positive
 - 1.6.1.1. Very important
 - 1.6.1.2. Helpful
 - 1.6.1.3. Sufficient, extensive
 - 1.6.1.4. Interesting
 - 1.6.1.5. Healthy
 - 1.6.1.6. Good speed (age appropriate)
 - 1.6.2. Negative
 - 1.6.2.1. Inappropriate
 - 1.6.2.2. Dull, plain
 - 1.6.2.3. Superficial
 - 1.6.2.4. Wrong information
 - 1.6.2.5. Too fast (not age appropriate)
- 1.7. Wishes, proposals for improvement
 - 1.7.1. Scratch the topic
 - 1.7.2. Material
 - 1.7.2.1. Actuality
 - 1.7.2.2. Modern
 - 1.7.3. Organisational aspects
 - 1.7.3.1. Splitting the group
 - 1.7.3.1.1. Making smaller groups
 - 1.7.3.1.2. Girls and boys separately
 - 1.7.3.2. Giving a notice beforehand
 - 1.7.4. Attitude of the teacher
 - 1.7.4.1. Relaxed
 - 1.7.4.2. Open
 - 1.7.4.3. Calm
 - 1.7.5. Methods
 - 1.7.5.1. Interactive
 - 1.7.5.1.1. Not only teacher-centered

- 1.7.5.2. Vividness
 - 1.7.5.2.1. Visual material
 - 1.7.5.2.2. Showing different methods of contraception
- 1.7.5.3. External experts
 - 1.7.5.3.1. Other adolescents/young adults
- 1.7.5.4. Models, statistics
- 1.7.5.5. Roleplays
- 1.7.6. Repetition of topics
 - 1.7.6.1. Methods of contraception
- 1.7.7. Age appropriate
- 1.7.8. Topics
 - 1.7.8.1. Gender identity
 - 1.7.8.2. Sexual orientation
 - 1.7.8.3. The other sex/gender
 - 1.7.8.3.1. Female orgasm, female arousal
 - 1.7.8.3.2. Gynecologist
 - 1.7.8.4. Pregnancy, insemination
 - 1.7.8.4.1. Consequences of pregnancy/having a child
 - 1.7.8.5. Other methods of contraception
 - 1.7.8.5.1. Functioning of contraceptives
- 2. Other sources of information
 - 2.1. Actively talking about sexuality
 - 2.1.1. Who to talk to
 - 2.1.1.1. Doctor: urologist
 - 2.1.1.2. Partner
 - 2.1.1.2.1. Hands-on/learning-by-doing knowledge
 - 2.1.1.2.2. What do I like, what does she like
 - 2.1.1.3. Friends
 - 2.1.1.3.1. Manner of talking to friends
 - 2.1.1.3.1.1. Superficial
 - 2.1.1.3.1.2. Not talking, making assumptions
 - 2.1.1.3.1.3. Learning by listening
 - 2.1.1.3.1.4. Joking, being silly
 - 2.1.1.3.1.5. Exchange of experiences
 - 2.1.1.3.1.6. Open questions
 - 2.1.1.3.1.7. Bragging
 - 2.1.1.3.2. Feelings: how is it to talk to friends
 - 2.1.1.3.2.1. Positive
 - 2.1.1.3.2.1.1. Relaxed
 - 2.1.1.3.2.1.2. Funny
 - 2.1.1.3.2.1.3. Comfortable
 - 2.1.1.3.2.1.4. Normal
 - 2.1.1.3.2.2. Negative
 - 2.1.1.3.2.2.1. Uncomfortable
 - 2.1.1.3.2.2.2. Weird
 - 2.1.1.3.3. Topics with friends
 - 2.1.1.3.3.1. How does what work
 - 2.1.1.3.3.2. Women
 - 2.1.1.3.3.3. The sex life of others
 - 2.1.1.3.3.4. Who is dating/sleeping with whom
 - 2.1.1.3.3.5. Contraception
 - 2.1.1.3.3.6. Explicit experiences
 - 2.1.1.3.3.7. Who has a girlfriend
 - 2.1.1.3.4. Pressure through norms (group pressure)
 - 2.1.1.3.4.1. Peer pressure
 - 2.1.1.3.4.2. Wanting/having to be cool
 - 2.1.1.3.4.3. Influence of self-confidence
 - 2.1.1.3.4.4. Not want to appear weak
 - 2.1.1.3.4.5. You should just know this stuff
 - 2.1.1.3.5. Sexuality as insult
 - 2.1.1.3.5.1. Making fun of others
 - 2.1.1.3.5.2. Sexual terms as swearwords
 - 2.1.1.3.5.3. You're prey if you are still a virgin
 - 2.1.1.3.5.4. Devalue women

- 2.1.1.3.5.5. Devaluate sexuality
- 2.1.1.3.5.6. Begin gay
- 2.1.1.4. Family
 - 2.1.1.4.1. Older brothers
 - 2.1.1.4.2. Older male cousins
 - 2.1.1.4.3. Parents
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1. Talking to the parents/ one parent
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.1. How is it to talk to the parent(s)
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.1.1. Ok, no problem
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.2. The father
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.2.1. Education/language skills: he knows the words
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.2.2. Superficial education
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.2.3. Openmindedness
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.3. The mother
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.3.1. Openmindedness
 - 2.1.1.4.3.1.3.2. Strong, trustful relationship
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2. Not talking tot he parent(s)
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.1. How is it not talking tot hem
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.1.1. Pity
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.1.2. Ok, no problem
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.1.3. Used to it
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2. What makes it difficult to talk to them
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.1. How to start the conversation
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.1.1. Homework as entry point
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.2. Not being brave enough
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.3. Having to see them everyday after the conversation
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.4. Non of their business
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.5. Taboo
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.6. Emotional reaction of parents
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.7. Influence oft he culture/religion
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.7.1. Different values
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.7.2. Sexual orientation
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.2.7.3. Traditional concepts
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3. The father
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.1. Emotional reaction
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.1.1. Uncomfortable
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.1.2. Angry, aggressive
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.1.3. Ashamed, embarrassed
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.1.4. Relieved
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.2. Strict, conervative attitude oft he father
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4. The mother
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4.1. Education/language skills: not having the words
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4.2. Emotional reaction
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4.2.1. Ashamed, embarrassed
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4.2.2. Angry, aggressive
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4.2.3. Silly, humor as coping
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.4.3. Overwhleming the mother
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5. Understanding for parents
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.1. There is sex education in school: compensation
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.2. Role of religion
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.3. Cultural differences
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.4. Different way of growing up
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3. The mother
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.1. Education/language skills: not having the words
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.2. Emotional reaction
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.2.1. Ashamed, embarrassed
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.2.2. Angry, aggressive
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.2.3. Silly, humor as coping
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.3.3. Overwhleming the mother
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5. Understanding for parents
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.1. There is sex education in school: compensation
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.2. Role of religion
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.3. Cultural differences
 - 2.1.1.4.3.2.5.4. Different way of growing up
- 2.1.1.5. The influence oft he own character
 - 2.1.1.5.1. Anxious: sensitive to condemnation
 - 2.1.1.5.2. Own attitude towards the topic: private
 - 2.1.1.5.3. Shyness
- 2.1.1.6. Reasons for talking to a specific person
 - 2.1.1.6.1. Age
 - 2.1.1.6.2. Character
 - 2.1.1.6.2.1. Openness
 - 2.1.1.6.3. Cultural origin
 - 2.1.1.6.3.1. Implicit knowledge
 - 2.1.1.6.3.1.1. They just understand: having to explain less

- 2.1.1.6.3.2. Language as factor
- 2.1.1.6.4. Gender/sex
 - 2.1.1.6.4.1. Male
 - 2.1.1.6.4.1.1. More in common, same experiences
 - 2.1.1.6.4.2. Female
 - 2.1.1.6.4.2.1. Different, different experiences
- 2.2. Not talking about sexuality
 - 2.2.1. Internet
 - 2.2.1.1. Google search (actively searching)
 - 2.2.1.2. Social media
 - 2.2.1.2.1. Instagram
 - 2.2.1.3. Pornos
 - 2.2.1.3.1. Advertisement (internet hands information)
 - 2.2.1.3.2. Not age appropriate
 - 2.2.1.3.3. Visual aspect
 - 2.2.1.4. Need for reliable source
 - 2.2.2. TV
 - 2.2.2.1. Series and shows
 - 2.2.2.1.1. Scrubs
 - 2.2.3. Books

Theme 2: Gender

1. Own definition of masculinity
 - 1.1. Traditional/conservative aspects
 - 1.1.1. Being badass
 - 1.1.2. Man as conqueror
 - 1.1.3. Are pampered by mother
 - 1.1.3.1. Can't clean
 - 1.1.4. Behaviour
 - 1.1.4.1. Showing emotions and needs as sign of weakness
 - 1.1.4.2. More present and more dominant than woman
 - 1.1.4.3. Independent, autonomous
 - 1.1.5. Duties
 - 1.1.5.1. Protecting the woman
 - 1.1.5.2. Taking care of the woman
 - 1.1.5.2.1. Financial responsibility
 - 1.1.5.2.2. Responsible for wellbeing of woman
 - 1.1.5.3. Physical strength
 - 1.2. Modern aspects
 - 1.2.1. Behaviour
 - 1.2.1.1. Actively taking part in household
 - 1.2.1.2. Not limiting the woman
 - 1.2.1.3. No physical/emotional violence
 - 1.2.1.4. Good, honest behaviour
 - 1.2.1.5. Showing love and affection
 - 1.2.1.5.1. Loving, caring
 - 1.2.1.5.2. Romantic
 - 1.2.1.5.3. Passionate
 - 1.2.1.6. Supporting woman, helping her
 - 1.2.1.7. Adaptable, flexible
 - 1.2.2. Character
 - 1.2.2.1. Honest
 - 1.2.2.1.1. Not taking advantage of woman
 - 1.2.2.2. Loyal and faithful
 - 1.2.2.3. Down-to-earth
 - 1.2.2.4. Empathic
 - 1.2.2.5. Respectful
 - 1.2.2.6. Reasonable, good behaviour
 - 1.2.2.7. Appreciative
 - 1.2.2.8. Correct
 - 1.3. Interests
 - 1.3.1. Computer games: counter strike
 - 1.4. Being badass: performing
 - 1.5. Educated
 - 1.5.1. Intelligent, clever
 - 1.5.2. Good language
2. Own definition of femininity
 - 2.1. Traditional/conservative aspects
 - 2.1.1. Character
 - 2.1.1.1. Down-to-earth
 - 2.1.2. Duties
 - 2.1.2.1. Taking care of the household
 - 2.1.2.2. Caring emotionally
 - 2.1.2.3. Protecting children
 - 2.1.3. Behaviour
 - 2.1.3.1. Not being the center of attention
 - 2.1.3.2. Talking little
 - 2.1.3.3. Timid
 - 2.1.3.4. Good, decent behaviour
 - 2.1.4. Needs protection by the man
 - 2.2. Modern aspects
 - 2.2.1. Behaviour
 - 2.2.1.1. Showing love and affection
 - 2.2.1.2. Has a job, is working

- 2.2.1.3. Independent, makes own decisions
- 2.2.2. Character
 - 2.2.2.1. Respectful
 - 2.2.2.2. Passionate
 - 2.2.2.3. Responsible
 - 2.2.2.4. Romantic
 - 2.2.2.5. Honest
 - 2.2.2.6. Faithful
- 2.2.3. Equal to the man
- 2.3. Intelligent, clever
- 2.4. Appearance
 - 2.4.1. Sexy, attractive
- 3. Genderroles in the environment
 - 3.1. Family
 - 3.1.1. Uncle and aunt
 - 3.1.1.1. Balanced relationship
 - 3.1.2. Siblings
 - 3.1.2.1. Relationship of sister as role model
 - 3.1.2.1.1. Happy, getting along well
 - 3.1.2.1.2. Discussing
 - 3.1.2.1.3. Humorous with each other
 - 3.1.2.2. Parents
 - 3.1.2.2.1. Breadwinner-model
 - 3.1.2.2.2. Relationship of parents as role model
 - 3.1.2.2.2.1. Teamwork
 - 3.1.2.2.2.2. Respectful
 - 3.1.2.2.2.3. Commitment
 - 3.1.2.2.2.4. Little fighting
 - 3.1.2.2.2.5. Happy
 - 3.1.2.2.2.6. Honesty
 - 3.1.2.2.2.7. Equal
 - 3.1.3. Influence of culture of origin
 - 3.1.3.1. Men
 - 3.1.3.1.1. Reckless, inconsiderate
 - 3.1.3.1.2. More themselves
 - 3.1.3.1.3. Controlling
 - 3.1.3.1.4. Dominant
 - 3.1.3.2. Women
 - 3.1.3.2.1. Have to adapt to cultural standards
 - 3.1.3.2.2. Subordinate
 - 3.1.3.3. Clear genderroles
 - 3.1.3.4. Segregation of the genders
 - 3.1.3.4.1. Little interaction
 - 3.1.3.5. Compulsion: arranged marriages
 - 3.2. Friends
 - 3.2.1. Good examples
 - 3.2.1.1. Are golden exception
 - 3.2.1.2. Honest, respectful
 - 3.2.1.3. Supporting each other
 - 3.2.2. Bad examples
 - 3.2.2.1. Unfaithful
 - 3.2.2.2. Male dominance
 - 3.2.2.3. Dishonesty
 - 3.2.3. Influence of education
 - 3.2.3.1. Higher education more equal rights within relationship
 - 3.2.3.2. Education influences social interaction
- 4. Man and woman in relation to each other
 - 4.1. Masculinity as point of reference for female behaviour
 - 4.2. Equality
 - 4.2.1. Same behaviour
 - 4.2.2. Same rights
 - 4.2.3. Same duties
 - 4.3. Patriarchy

Theme 3: Sexuality

1. Feelings concerning sexuality
 - 1.1. Positive/pleasant feelings
 - 1.1.1. Intimacy, closeness, belonging together
 - 1.1.2. Trust
 - 1.1.3. Passion, arousal/excitement, pleasure, satisfaction
 - 1.1.4. Calmness, relaxation
 - 1.1.5. Interesting, exciting
 - 1.1.6. Romantic
 - 1.1.7. Love
 - 1.1.8. Being authentic
 - 1.1.9. Getting to know the other better
 - 1.1.10. Honesty
 - 1.1.11. Luck
 - 1.1.12. Happiness
 - 1.2. Negative/unpleasant feelings
 - 1.2.1. Insecurity, nervous
 - 1.2.2. Fear of making a fool of one self
 - 1.2.3. Nervous excitement
 - 1.2.4. Sadness
 - 1.3. Normal
 - 1.4. Source of self-confidence
 - 1.4.1. How one looks (being naked, can't hide anything)
 - 1.4.2. Being ones' true self
 - 1.4.3. Pleasing the partner
 - 1.4.4. Being wanted
2. A sexual relationship
 - 2.1. Relationship concept
 - 2.1.1. A monogamous, fixed relationship
 - 2.1.2. Friendship plus
 - 2.1.3. One-night stands
 - 2.2. Moral rules
 - 2.2.1. Being considered of the other one
 - 2.2.2. Stick to the law

Theme 4: Link between gender and sexuality

1. Link between gender and masculinity
 - 1.1. Definition of masculinity through sexuality
 - 1.1.1. Sexual activity (how does a real man perform sex)
 - 1.1.1.1. asking questions/showing insecurity around sexuality as sign of weakness
Societal view
 - 1.1.1.2. Sexual dominance
 - 1.1.1.2.1. Physical dominance also seen inside the bedroom
 - 1.1.1.3. You are only a real man, if you are not a virgin anymore
 - 1.1.1.3.1. Shame if you are a virgin
 - 1.1.1.4. It is no problem if you are sexually very active (have a lot of partners)
 - 1.1.1.5. Having a lot of sex is cool
 - 1.1.1.6. Being excluded if you are gay
 - 1.1.1.7. Sexuality is important for being part of the group
 - 1.1.1.8. Own view: dissociating from societal norms
 - 1.1.1.8.1. Having a lot of sex is the opposite of being cool
 - 1.1.1.8.1.1. Little respect for this behaviour
 - 1.1.1.8.1.2. Disgust towards this behaviour
 - 1.1.1.8.1.3. Male whore
 - 1.2. Not seeing a link
 - 1.3. Link not strong within own circle of friends
 - 1.3.1. Second or third factor defining masculinity
 - 1.3.2. Physical strength as important factor
 - 1.3.3. Performance in different areas of life (school, sports) as important factor
2. Link between sexuality and femininity
 - 2.1. Sexual activity
 - 2.1.1. Women should be subordinate
 - 2.1.2. Having a lot of sex is sick
 - 2.1.3. Women who have a lot of sex are whores/bitches
 - 2.1.3.1. No respect for this behaviour
 - 2.2. Male attention for self-confidence

Theme 5: A romantic relationship

1. A good relationship
 - 1.1. Balanced, fair
 - 1.2. Teamwork
 - 1.3. Being there for each other, caring for each other
 - 1.4. Honesty
 - 1.5. Making compromises
 - 1.6. Respectful towards each other
 - 1.7. Healthy jealousy
 - 1.8. Compatability
 - 1.9. Faithfulness
 - 1.10. Showing love to each other
2. The influence of modern society/world
 - 2.1. Fast-moving nature
3. Sexuality as very important part of a romantic relationship

Theme 6: Society and media

1. Masculinity within society
 - 1.1. Portray in the media
 - 1.1.1. Pornos: dominant man
 - 1.1.2. Gangstarapper
 - 1.2. Ideals
 - 1.2.1. Man has responsibility: makes decisions for woman and family
 - 1.2.2. Dominant man
 - 1.3. Homosexuality as problem (heteronormativity)
 - 1.3.1. Exclusion of gay men
 - 1.3.2. If you have a lot of female friends you are gay
 - 1.3.3. „gay“ as insult/swearword
 - 1.4. Sexual activity
 - 1.4.1. Sexual dominance over woman
 - 1.4.2. Playboyimage: having a lot of partners is cool
 - 1.4.3. Having to perform sexually
 - 1.4.4. Being a virgin as insult
2. Femininity within society
 - 2.1. Sexually subordinate
 - 2.2. Lower pay for women: assumption they perform less well
3. Changes/developments within society
 - 3.1. Sexuality becomes less and less important for masculinity
 - 3.2. Equal rights for men and women
 - 3.3. Dissolution of traditional genderroles
 - 3.3.1. Masculinity ideals dissolve, men feel lost
 - 3.3.1.1. Overemphasis of stereotypical masculinity ideals
 - 3.3.1.1.1. Dominant man in pornos
 - 3.3.1.2. Men have to make compromises and give up rights/privileges
 - 3.4. #Metoo and gendercorrectness
 - 3.4.1. Independence of women

Theme 7: Puberty as developmental stage

1. The own identity
 - 1.1. Having to find oneself as man
 - 1.2. Dissolution of traditional genderroles: who do I want to be as a man?
 - 1.3. Standing between the cultures
 - 1.4. Dissociation from societal ideal
2. Development of feelings towards sexuality
 - 2.1. Indifference towards sexuality and the other sex/gender in the beginning
 - 2.2. Discomfort with the topic when first interest develops
 - 2.3. Focus on sexuality
 - 2.3.1. Provocation with sexual topics and behaviour
 - 2.4. Turning point: the first sexual experiences
 - 2.5. More relaxed attitude towards sexuality

Mindmap thematic analysis: the views and needs of male, Islamic ethnic minority youth in Germany concerning sexuality, romantic relationships and sex education

*Disclaimer: only broader topics of relevance are displayed

