

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON IMMIGRANT
INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF THE SECONDARY SYSTEM IN
HAMBURG, GERMANY

BY

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A Case Study of the Secondary System in Hamburg, Germany

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ABSTRACT**Kathryn Austin, M.A.****Department of International Studies, May 2009****University of Kansas**

This thesis addresses the topic of intercultural education and immigrant integration as it relates to the secondary school system in Germany. Student and teacher surveys were conducted in Hamburg, Germany. The results showed that students have frequent contact with people from various backgrounds and that many acknowledge the importance of intercultural education. However, while some noteworthy programs have been implemented, there remains room for improvement from the federal level down to the local level.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my parents, who have continuously encouraged me in my academic endeavors. Thank you for all you have done, I love you and appreciate your support more than I can express.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction to the Problem

Today, more than ever, the world is witnessing an increase in the movement of people. People are leaving their home countries to go and work, live and raise a family in another country and society, starting over in a completely new environment. This affects not only the immigrants themselves, but also the citizens of the receiving country. How these cultures learn to live together is important because it determines whether there will be conflict or harmony. Often the members of the receiving country are not consulted about whether or not they would like immigrants, however they must deal with the situation appropriately. Therefore, immigrant integration policies and practices are of the utmost importance in aiding immigrants, but furthermore in assisting the receiving country's citizens in the adjustment.

James Banks (2007) states that “worldwide immigration is increasing racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity throughout the United States as well as in other Western nations such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Australia” (p. v). Indeed, these are not the only countries that are experiencing changing populations. Banks (2007) argues that this is a time when the world “demands leaders, educators, and classroom teachers who can bridge impermeable cultural, ethnic, and religious borders, envision new possibilities, invent novel paradigms, and engage in personal transformation and visionary action” (p. v). Christine Bennett (2007) adds to this argument by stating currently, more than ever

before, there is an urgent need for citizens in the world that have a strong “multicultural competence” and who aim for global goals such as social justice and economic equality in order for there to be a sustainable peace (p. xi). The intensified movement of people in recent times has not gone unnoticed, and must be addressed if peaceful societies are to exist.

The United Nations (2006) furthermore presents statistics on immigration and notes that as of 2005, there were approximately 191 million people living outside their country of birth, which represented 3% of the world’s population (p. 1). The UN (2006) then goes on to break down the numbers of immigrants by regions, writing, “most of the world’s migrants live in Europe (64 million), followed by Asia (53 million) and Northern America (45 million)” (p. 1). Not only are people migrating to work in foreign countries, but many are also settling abroad. As previously stated, this means that people of different cultural backgrounds are confronted with the issue of living together, and doing so harmoniously. However, this is a difficult task, since many individuals inhabiting the same countries now speak several languages, follow different religions, and have various understandings of life in general. Furthermore, some countries have not considered themselves to be traditional immigration countries, and therefore many natives are not overly receptive toward immigrants. These significant differences and attitudes can, and have, led to many problems in immigrant receiving countries.

Different countries have attempted to rectify the problem of increased tension and conflict by many means. Though there are indeed numerous ways of facilitating

integration, intercultural education is an important facet. This thesis will examine the option of intercultural education as one method of addressing the integration concern facing receiving countries. This is, however, only a small part of a larger problem, and to address the multitude of additional options would not be possible in one thesis. Therefore, it is important to realize that this solution is not a panacea, but rather an aid in promoting more peaceful integration.

Intercultural education is a complex topic, and one that is not easily defined. However, for the purpose of this study, several terms relating to the theme will be addressed in the next section. Some concepts associated with intercultural education are tolerance, acceptance, peace education, assimilation, integration, diversity, and many more.

This study examines the concept of intercultural education in the context of the German secondary education system, and is a valid subject since Germany is the top European immigrant receiving country. It has also experienced many problems related to immigration, and has in turn tried to address the issue in various ways. Intercultural education has been one method, however it has varied throughout the country, hence the need for an evaluation of what is being implemented on a daily basis, and if it is making a difference. The purpose of this study is to investigate what is actually occurring in schools in regard to intercultural education, and how that is affecting students and teachers. Surveys were conducted to get the opinions of students and their teachers in a small sampling of secondary schools in the city-state of Hamburg, Germany. The sampling was limited, therefore this study cannot be

treated as a fair representation of the German population as a whole, but rather is a small start to investigating an issue that impacts the country. This is useful information when added to official, federal policies and studies.

A wider goal of this research is that by examining current applications and interpretations of intercultural education and their levels of success, that Germany and perhaps other countries could improve their programs, equipped with the knowledge of what is more and less effective.

Key Terms

There are certain key terms that will be used frequently throughout this thesis, therefore a brief description of these concepts is helpful in understanding the further sections.

First, the two main terms that must be distinguished between are intercultural education and multicultural education. These concepts have been elaborated on greatly in various scholarly literature, and they vary from author to author. Often these terms have similar but not exact meanings, sometimes they are used interchangeably and other times they are understood to be very distinct ideas.

Multicultural education has many interpretations. For example, Ian Hill (2007) describes multicultural education as coming from the state systems of schooling and that it has developed out of a need to address migrant children, who are generally of a lower socio-economic status when compared to the rest of the community. However, historically it was also a notable movement in the 1960s and 1970s during the United States civil rights movement, but did not become more

widely accepted and practiced until the 1980s (Hill, 2007, p. 248). In the beginning, according to Hill (2007), the focus was on ethnic and marginalized groups, but expanded to “embrace a mandate of social reconstruction for communities whose diversity went beyond, but was linked to, culture and language: equality of educational opportunity for minority groups, disenfranchised youth, girls, and students with disabilities” (p. 248). Hill argues that it was a political response resulting from issues of a plural society. He then goes on to state that multicultural education is successful when suspicion between people due to differences no longer exists, and furthermore when people, specifically the individual, accept that “different” does not equal the idea of “better” or “worse” (Hill, 2007, p. 248).

A different interpretation of this concept is presented by James Banks (1993), a prominent multicultural education scholar, who argues that this educational movement is “an idea stating that all students, regardless of the groups to which they belong, such as those related to gender, ethnicity, race, culture, language, social class, religion, or exceptionality, should experience educational equality in the schools” (p. 25). This differs from many others, who argue that multicultural education is rather focused on minority groups or other groups that may be disadvantaged. Banks disagrees with this interpretation and maintains that it instead aims to help all students gain knowledge and live together more harmoniously in an increasingly diversified world. Concerning the major theorists and researchers in the field of multicultural education, he maintains that they mostly agree on the movement’s goal of restructuring educational institutions in order for all students, including those that are

not considered to be at a disadvantage, to acquire skills, knowledge and ways of thinking that will aid them in a world which is increasingly diverse, both culturally and ethnically (Banks, 1993, p. 22). Banks' understanding of multicultural education does not only reject the idea of mainly focusing on marginalized groups, but goes so far as to state that, "the claim that multicultural education is only for people of color and for the disenfranchised is one of the most pernicious and damaging misconceptions with which the movement has had to cope" (p. 22).

Multicultural education, according to Banks, has five dimensions. His dimensions are content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture (Banks, 2007, p. 20-22). Banks (2007) maintains that this form of education encompasses a broad concept that has various different and yet important dimensions and that these can be used to reform schools in a manner that better reflects the goal of multicultural education (p. 20).

Banks (2007) furthermore mentions the complexity of this form of education and that a major problem is the oversimplification of the issue by "teachers, administrators, policy makers, and the public" as well as the media (p. 24). Therefore, this is a difficult term that is not easy to define, which is perhaps one of the reasons so many scholars disagree on the specifics.

Another multicultural education scholar that shares similarities with Banks is Christine Bennett. She argues that this method of education should "foster the intellectual, social, and personal development of *all* students to their highest

potential” (Bennett, 2007, p. 4). Her interpretation consists of four dimensions: equity pedagogy, curriculum reform, multicultural competence and teaching toward social justice. It also encompasses four core values, “(1) acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity, (2) respect for human dignity and universal human rights, (3) responsibility to the world community, and (4) respect for the earth” (Bennett, 2007, p. 12). While her core values may differ slightly from Banks’ ideas, she also asserts that with more recent developments that have made the world even more interconnected, multicultural education has widened to include a global perspective.

Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant, also established multicultural education scholars, acknowledge that there are indeed various interpretations of the term and what it addresses. They maintain that multicultural education is mainly focused on differences and diversity and specifically includes “race, language, social class, gender disability, and sexual orientation” (Sleeter and Grant, 2003, p. iv). They furthermore argue the position that schools tend to operate in favor of the “haves”, putting the rest at a disadvantage. Thus, multicultural education, in their opinion, needs to address these areas of diversity while encouraging students to speak out, challenge the status quo, and to take an active role in changing their lives (Sleeter and Grant, 2003, p. 229).

Further complexities arise when considering both multicultural and intercultural education. Banks’ description of multicultural education sounds quite similar to that of intercultural education, and Hill argues that the two terms are often used interchangeably, although they do not necessarily have the same meaning.

Usage of both terms is not always consistent, but generally multicultural education concentrates more on race and ethnicity and is additionally more prominent in the United States, while intercultural education is used more in a European context (Hill, 2007, p. 248). Indeed, most European scholars tend to use the latter, and Jagdish Gundara (2000) states that English-speaking researchers and scholars usually prefer the term multicultural while the others tend to use the term intercultural (p. 223). Still, one can find articles from countries and publications based in Europe that use both intercultural and multicultural education as similar terms.

In discussing intercultural education, Hill maintains that this concept addresses the desire for all students to have an equal opportunity for learning, regardless of differences related to ethnicity, race, gender, socio-economic position, etc. Hill (2007) quotes the European journal, *Intercultural Education*, which discusses intercultural education and what that includes. Explaining intercultural education, it states,

topics covered include: terminological issues, education and multicultural society today, intercultural communication, human rights and anti-racist education, pluralism and diversity in a democratic frame work, pluralism in post-communist and in post-colonial countries, migration and indigenous minority issues, refugee issues, language policy issues, curriculum and classroom organisation, and school development (*Intercultural Education* 2006) (Hill, 2007, p. 248).

Intercultural education can therefore be understood to address a wide array of issues and concerns and therefore when discussing the idea of intercultural education in this paper, it is acknowledged that there are many different interpretations of the word as well as its purpose, goals and importance.

One last point Hill makes about distinguishing the two terms is based on a conference in May of 2000 that attempted to separate the terms more clearly. Here, the idea of multiculturalism was interpreted as a “conceptual and policy response to cultural diversity in a region or state” whereas interculturalism was understood to focus more on communication as well as interaction among cultures (Hill, 2007, p. 250). This definition of terms was previously supported by the International Bureau of Education (UNESCO) back in 1990 at the 42nd International Conference on Education (Hill, 2007, p. 250). Therefore, in a more general attempt to summarize, multicultural could be more concerned with diversity, while intercultural refers to the interaction among different cultures. Gundara (2000) goes on to argue that, “the term 'multicultural' has increasingly been seen to reflect the natures of societies and used in descriptive terms, while the term 'intercultural' is indicative of the interactions, negotiations, and processes” (p. 223). Again, these two terms are quite similar, though they can be used separately for specific meanings.

Still, other scholars have their interpretations of the terms. Yvonne Leeman and Guuske Ledoux (2003) describe intercultural education as a form of integration, where in an ideal world it would “develop a common core of knowledge, values, and attitudes that creates bonds between peoples and enables them to function in society”, while at the same time promoting respect for “individual and cultural differences” (p. 386). They go on to quote the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science regarding intercultural education, stating that it is aimed at

preparing pupils from the majority population and the ethnic-minority pupils for participating in a multicultural society. Young people should gain knowledge about one another's background, circumstances and culture so as to further mutual understanding and to combat the prejudice, discrimination and racism associated with ethnic-cultural differences" (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003, p. 387).

Thus they have expressed goals for such education, as well as view it as being vital to a modern, well-functioning society.

There are other authors that take a more simplistic and general approach to the term, and Lotty Eldering (1996) understands intercultural education in a broader sense as education that considers ethnic and cultural differences among students (p. 318). Here, diversity is expressed as a main focus, which may lean more toward the concept of multicultural education. Furthermore, she does not provide specifics on her concept of intercultural education, but rather leaves much to be desired regarding a concise interpretation. However, this perspective is valid in that she is not alone in her understanding, illustrating that some scholars have very precise meanings concerning terms while others may conceptualize them in a more general manner.

The previous examples present several explanations of both types of education, however, for clarity in this study the use of intercultural education will be used. Although one term will be referred to, it must be stated that the use of it in this thesis will actually combine goals from both forms of education. As mentioned, these terms have similar meanings, in the fact that they concern a form of education in which cultural diversity, awareness, tolerance, respect, integration and acceptance is part of the curriculum. However, intercultural education will be used to encompass these ideas.

Again, perhaps it makes more sense to use multicultural in the United States, because it truly is more of a society that has almost always been multicultural and sees its future as such. On the other hand, most of Europe, or at least a good portion of it, has not always seen itself in such a light and therefore the concept of intercultural, or “between cultures”, really does seem to be more accurate. This thesis is mainly centered on Germany, and Germans have almost always considered themselves to be a homogeneous society and that immigrants are clearly of the Other.¹ This outlook does not entirely lend itself as easily to the idea of multicultural. However, in this paper intercultural education will be employed as a concept that addresses cultural diversity, awareness, tolerance², respect, acceptance and integration as part of the curriculum that aims to prepare all pupils for a diverse and interconnected world and a harmonious future therein.

In addition, one important difference between the two terms is that intercultural education is understood by the researcher to be more of an exchange between people, which encompasses interaction. “Inter-“, meaning between or among, implies that intercultural education involves participation from all parties. This conceptual difference is one of the reasons that the use of intercultural education has been chosen over multicultural education.

Two last terms that are important to this thesis and that have many interpretations and uses are integration and assimilation. Richard Wolf and Mihaela

¹ This will be more fully elaborated on later.

² The actual goal would aspire to much more than tolerance, and indeed tolerance is not the full argument. However, it is a starting point, and can be referenced throughout the literature.

Tudose's (2005) explanation is thorough and well-suited to this study. They state that,

integration means an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a change in individual characteristics, a building of social relations, and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification by immigrants towards the receiving society. It is a process that depends on a number of conditions relative to a host society's so-called 'openness' to a new group of people (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 104).

Therefore it is not only understood to be a one-way street. Immigrants are expected to do a fair amount of the work when it comes to integration, however the receiving country must also make an effort or the process will fail.

Integration, though, ought not to be confused with desegregation, which is not the goal of intercultural education. Desegregation is more focused on eliminating the isolation of certain groups in a society. While this is a noble aim, integration goes further to incorporate everyone.

One final distinction to be made is that of the difference between *integration* and *assimilation*. This thesis aims to address the concept of integration rather than assimilation. These terms are at odds with one another, one encouraging the hiding and eventual loss of culture, while the other searches for a way to blend cultures together, or to be tolerant and respectful of each other, while learning from one another. As stated in the concluding remarks of the Weimar Appeal (2003),

integration is possible only if people belonging to different cultures and religions live together on the basis of equal rights and if their political, social, economic and cultural involvement is guaranteed. In the words of the Federal President, Johnnes Rau, integration does not mean abandonment of one's roots and faceless assimilation. It provides the

alternative to the disconnected parallel existence of incompatible cultures (p. 138).

Thus, in the literature review models of integration are focused on over those of assimilation. As Wolf and Tudose (2005) write, assimilation “almost immediately evokes emotional reactions and connotations of cultural suppression in many audiences” (p. 104). Assimilation is often a more negative policy that does not necessarily encourage a harmonious society.

Relevance

After a more thorough understanding of what intercultural education encompasses, one ought to know why it is relevant. Most scholars and authorities seem to agree that it is necessary in helping people within (as well as across) societies function better and live together with less conflict. It is a way to assist in creating a more harmonious present and future. Nigel Grant (1997) believes that, “unless we can educate children and adults to value their own cultural entity and those of others and sensitise them to the unavoidable pluralism that we all live in now—a fearsomely difficult task—the alternative is terrifying to contemplate” (p. 11). This perspective may be slightly extreme, however it is important to recognize the magnitude of the issue. Furthermore, besides maintaining the importance of the matter, Grant argues that this type of education is not easily accomplished.

Sandra Mahoney and Jon Schamber (2004) share a similar viewpoint when they state, “if students are to become successful in a diverse world, a large part of that success will be the ability to communicate and negotiate among diverse cultures.

This goal remains a challenge because of the complexities associated with cultural difference” (p. 311).

However, one might question why the method of education. There are many pertinent answers for this. The Council of the European Union finds education to be highly important in addressing the issue of immigrant integration, which is a point this thesis also maintains. They emphasize the importance of education the host society has on immigrants as well as their cultures, and recognize that education is critical in preparing immigrants and their descendants to be more successful and active members of society (Council of the European Union, 2004, p. 6). Therefore, as previously stated, intercultural education is a collaborative effort and is not simply limited to immigrants or the marginalized.

Furthermore, Newton (2003) makes a powerful point when he states, Education is a form of socialization. The purpose of education is to modify behavior, to make the individual a different person from what he would otherwise be. It is for this reason that educational policy is always social policy and that, in the modern world, the school is employed, deliberately, for the achievement of definite social purposes, becomes, in fact, a crucial element in national policy (Newton, taken from Sleeter and Grant, 2003, p. 123).

Therefore, education is a highly influential means of getting different parts of society to learn to cooperate in a more effective manner. Intercultural education aids in the immigrant integration process, which is already difficult enough, and successful integration faces many challenges.

History of Immigration

Once a clear understanding of the terms has been established it is important to present a history of immigration, especially in Europe, so that one can better understand what position countries such as Germany are in currently. This section focuses mainly on history post-WWII and discusses how several countries, specifically Germany, have been affected.

Traditional vs. Non-Traditional Countries

Some countries are regarded as traditional immigration countries, due to a strong history of immigration, while others are not, considering they did not experience larger waves of immigration until a later point in time. Countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand fall into the category of traditional immigration, while most of Western Europe, Germany included, have not been included in this group (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 1). These two groups differ in that the first viewed immigration as not only essential to the founding but also to the development of the countries, and is still encouraged to the present day. In addition, the countries in the first grouping have a record of inviting immigrants not just to migrate and work, but also to settle, and in larger numbers than the second grouping (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 1).

Europe's different historical trend of receiving immigrants at a later time has occurred mostly as a result of post-colonial immigration or labor recruitment. The United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands are among some of the first category, while Germany, Austria and Sweden are among the recruiting group. Finally, other

countries in Europe such as Italy, Spain and Ireland have had histories based more on emigration rather than immigration, which has seen a turn-around recently (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 2).

The traditional countries have had less restrictions concerning immigration, but have still seen some selectivity. For example, the United States was fairly unrestricted in its immigration policy until the 1920s when the country instated a slightly stricter policy to determine who would be granted a visa. Canada and New Zealand have, in the last few decades, implemented point policies which make their immigration policies more selective than they previously were. However, they still encourage immigration, and in the present day their focus is more on skilled workers, business people, refugees, and families of these categories (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 2).

Post World War II Immigration in Europe: The Case of Germany

After discussing the differences between traditional and non-traditional immigration countries, one can better understand the case of Germany. The time period following WWII in Europe witnessed a dramatic change in immigration. Different scholars divide up the phases in various ways. However, many seem satisfied with Schmidt and Zimmermann's categorization of four phases. Bauer et al (2000) list them as, "i) periods of post-war adjustment and de-colonization, ii) labor migration, iii) restrained migration, and iv) dissolution of socialism and afterwards" (p. 3). They consider this first phase to include the years from 1945 until the early 1960s, during which Germany received approximately 20 million people who had been displaced by the war. Fertig and Schmidt (2001) add that from 1945 until 1950,

most of the people coming to Germany were “displaced people of German ethnicity originating in Eastern Europe” (p. 3). Other countries such as Great Britain, France and more received immigrants from European colonies as well as workers returning from former overseas territories (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 4).

The second phase they describe briefly overlaps the first and lasts from roughly 1955 until 1973. During this time period there was an increase in economic growth and labor shortages, thereby prompting several countries to actively recruit usually unskilled labor from other countries. Germany’s goal in recruiting labor was to maintain and support its ever-growing manufacturing sector despite the lack of workers, bringing in people to work in factories and services (Fertig and Schmidt, 2001, p. 3). Fertig and Schmidt (2001) maintain that there was an excessive demand for labor during the 1960s that could not be met by the increased participation of females in the labor force, which in other places sufficed. Therefore, there was a notable focus on enticing others to migrate to Germany in order to satisfy labor shortages (Fertig and Schmidt, 2001, p. 3).

Hansen (2003) agrees, stating that

by the mid-1950s, Germany and the rest of continental Europe had a level of demand for labour that could no longer be satisfied domestically (or, in Germany, by expellees from eastern Europe). In a pattern common to most continental European countries, Germany looked first to southern Europe (believing that such migrants could be assimilated more readily into the labour market), later to Turkey and finally to North Africa (p. 25).

Germany, more specifically, began with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), and progressed to Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia

(1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) (Hansen, 2003, p. 25). Approximately 5 million people migrated north from Southern Europe to work (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 4). It is also important to remember that during the 1960s, the German Democratic Republic (GDR)³ recruited workers of its own. Veysel Özcan (2007) writes about the GDR, “it concluded agreements with other socialist states, including Poland (1965), Hungary (1967), Mozambique (1979) and Vietnam (1980)”, however, it “concentrated more rigorously on limiting periods of residency than the Federal Republic did, as it wanted to avoid any ‘creeping integration’” (p. 2).

However, the economic boom in Europe did not last. There were recessions in the late 1960s, then in 1973 the first oil crisis struck, and with it came further economic problems (Fertig and Schmidt, 2001, p. 3). The oil crisis took form after the organization of the Arab Oil Boycott, which happened shortly after the Yom Kippur War. The raising of oil prices caused inflation in many countries that relied on crude oil, as did many European countries.

Germany experienced its first recession in 1967. The country had been relying on a labor plan based on the rotation principle, where immigrant workers work for a certain period of time, leave, and other migrant workers then rotate in to repeat the same process. The Germans believed that their labor plan of workers returning home in a less successful economy was working. The government had passed a law allowing “only one-year work permits that were tied to a specific job and a particular employer, who could renew the permits but could not dismiss guestworkers during

³ Also known as East Germany, which was a self-declared socialist state in existence from 1949 until 1990.

the year specified" (Constant and Massey, 2002, p. 6). The authorities believed that once the economy slowed down, migration would not be a problem since visas would expire, causing the guest workers to rotate out.

There was indeed a significant number of workers that did return to their home countries, however they often came back after a short visit once they found their economic goals met and new ones developing. Furthermore, it was more cost-efficient for employers to keep the same workers since they had already invested time and money in training them, and employers would even seek to extend their workers' visas. The workers wanted to stay where they were since they had a steady income and good jobs, and as mentioned before, were achieving their initial economic goals (Constant and Massey, 2002, p. 6).

Therefore, when the early 1970s witnessed a slowing economy without a slowing immigration rate, the German SPD-FDP government decided to issue a halt on immigration, effective 1973. As Hansen (2004) argues, this move unintentionally locked in the foreign population in Germany (p.26). These workers realized that if they left, they were not guaranteed easy access to return, and therefore many simply opted not to leave. Then, with the help of churches, NGOS and other activists, they secured enough legal judgments to present them with the right to stay. Much to the disappointment of many natives, this lack of return migration could not be forcibly altered, and their "temporary" solution was suddenly looking more permanent, especially between 1974-1988 when many of these migrants brought over their families (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 4). Constant and Massey (2002) even state that after

1974, the majority of immigrants coming to Germany have done so as a result of family reunification (p.6).

Germany was certainly not alone in this experience. Europe in general was suffering economically and other countries that had guest worker programs (such as France, Denmark, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Switzerland), also either ended or harshly reduced their labor migration (Hansen, 2004, p. 26).

The fourth phase of Bauer et al's immigration classification involves the years after 1988, during which, they claim, immigration has been more dominated by east-west migration and the movement of refugees and asylum seekers. Bauer et al (2000) state,

according to estimates of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the total number of asylum seekers and refugees in Europe in 1987 was about 190,000 but increased to 700,000 by 1992. Whereas in the 1970s and 1980s asylum seekers originated mainly in Africa and Asia, the inflow of asylum seekers and refugees from European countries increased significantly in the 1990s (p. 4).

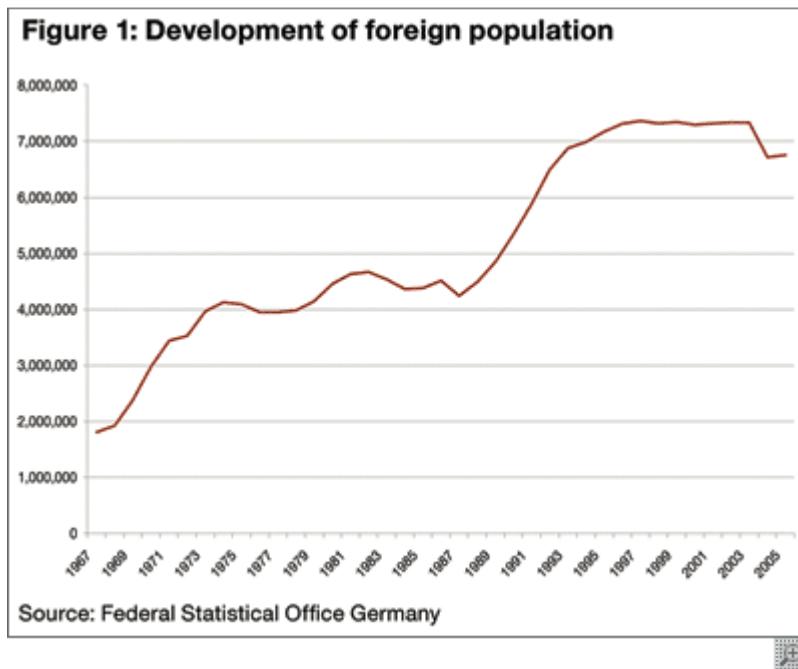
This resulted largely from the fall of the Iron Curtain and the political problems experienced in the former Eastern European socialist states. Furthermore, the war in Yugoslavia only added to the trouble, as well as Turkey's conflicts among the Kurds and Turks.

Not all countries accepted this increase in refugees and asylum seekers without a fight. Germany was so bold as to change an article in its constitution that allowed for a reduction of asylum seekers, thus allowing them to send back those asylum seekers that arrived from elsewhere in Europe as well as other countries that were legally defined as "safe" countries (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 5). This emphasizes

how anti-immigration Germany has been at times. However, after these changes, Europe experienced a reduction of such immigrants after 1992. Therefore, in 1995 there were approximately 300,000 refugee and asylum seekers that migrated to Europe, although one must not forget the end of the war in Yugoslavia very well might have affected those numbers (Bauer et al, 2000, p. 5).

Referring to the 1990s, John Rodden (2001) remarks on how Germany had become “the immigrant haven of Europe” and not simply a multicultural society. He also adds that the country received more immigrants during the 1990s than all of the European Union combined (Rodden, 2001, p. 72). Furthermore, there has been a return to temporary workers. Özcan (2007) states that after the end of the 1980s, “the temporary employment of foreign workers, including contract employees, seasonal workers and showman’s assistants has once again assumed a significant role. In 2005, 320,383 permits were granted to seasonal workers and showman’s assistants” (p. 2). As of 2006, the foreign population in Germany was approximately 8.2%, or 6,751,002 people (Özcan, 2007, p.1). The diversity of the population can be illustrated through the variety in countries of origins. For instance, according to the German Federal Statistical Office, as of December 2006 the top ten most common foreign citizenships in Germany were: Turkish 1,738,831; Italian 534,657; Polish 361,696; Serbian-Montenegrin 316,823; Greek 303,761; Croatian 227,510; Russian 187,514; Austrian 175,653; Bosnian-Herzegovinian 157,094; and Ukrainian 128,950 (Özcan, 2007, p.3). The next few figures illustrate these points.

Figure 1.1



This first figure, which Özcan took from the German Federal Statistical Office, presents data from the late 1960s until 2005, showing the number of foreigners in Germany. The next figure regarding Germany, taken from the UN, presents more limited information and only from a select number of years. While it gives general population figures, it does not break them down by subcategories such as country of origin, etc.

Figure 1.2

Figure 2: Depiction of Foreign Born, 1990 – 2005

Germany	1990	2000	2005
Estimated # of Foreign Born (mid-year)	5,936,181	9,802,793	10,143,626
Total Population (mid-year)	79,433,000	82,344,000	82,689,000
Percent Foreign Born	7.47%	11.90%	12.27%

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, Trends in Total Migrant Stock: the 2005 Revision

Therefore, Figure 1.3 is useful in that it breaks down the top ten foreign populations by country of origin, reiterating the diversity already mentioned.

Figure 1.3

**Figure 3: Foreign population as of
31st December 2006, 10 most common citizenships**

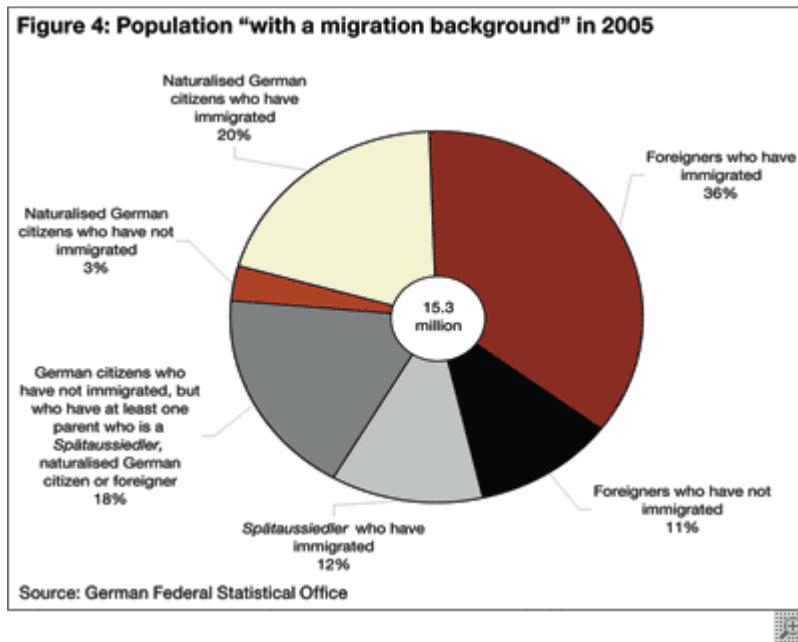
Citizenship	Total
Turkish	1,738,831
Italian	534,657
Polish	361,696
Serbian-Montenegrin ¹⁰	316,823
Greek	303,761
Croatian	227,510
Russian	187,514
Austrian	175,653
Bosnian-Herzegovinian	157,094
Ukrainian	128,950

Source: German Federal Statistical Office

Figure 1.4 addresses the section of the population “with a migration background” since the numbers then include people whose parents migrated to Germany and who were simply born in the country, but are not of German descent. It also includes immigrants who have become naturalized. This distinction is important to some scholars in that it can “illustrate that citizenship as the sole indicator is insufficient to adequately describe the immigrant population” (Özcan, 2007, p.3). To better clarify, Özcan (2007) writes, “persons with a migration background can be foreign or German citizens, and include the following groups of people: foreigners born abroad, foreigners born in Germany, (Spät-)Aussiedler, naturalised citizens who have themselves immigrated, as well as their children who have no personal, direct

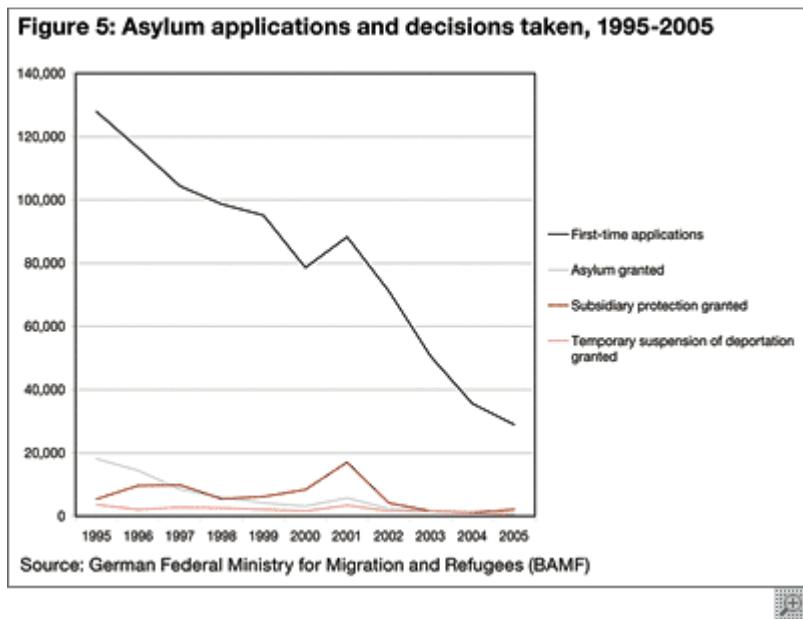
experience of immigration" (p. 3). This distinction is also significant to note because it changes the number of immigrants or foreign population in Germany, depending on which definition one considers.

Figure 1.4



As already stated, Germany attempted to curb its intake of asylum seekers and refugees, and has been fairly successful, turning many to seek residence in France (Özcan, 2007, p.5). The next graph shows how the numbers of asylum seekers and refugees in Germany have declined since 1995.

Figure 1.5



Thus, Germany has experienced a roller coaster of immigration in the post-WWII period. From recruited guest workers, economic crises and those seeking safety, the country is currently composed of various cultures and backgrounds, all living in the same area. The challenge is how they will do so successfully and peacefully.

Organization of Chapters

Chapter Two provides information regarding structural and political changes over the past several decades in Germany. It then briefly explains the German education system, as it is unique. Furthermore, this chapter presents information on the official policies of education and integration in Germany, as well as diversity, reform and plans for further changes. This section illustrates what has been done to facilitate integration on federal as well as local levels. Finally, it describes efforts being made in the city-state of Hamburg, which is the main focus of the study and where research was conducted.

Chapter Three concerns methodology, results and limitations. The selection of subjects and sites are discussed. Furthermore, information regarding guiding questions, demographics, data collection and analysis, and limitations of the study are considered.

The fourth and final chapter concludes the thesis as well as addresses the results of the research conducted and discusses how they fit into existing literature. It also presents recommendations for changes and future studies. In addition, it explains the importance of such research for not only Germany but other countries and regions, such as many European countries facing similar issues.

After the chapters there is an Appendix and References.

Chapter Two: Living Together

Europe, the Netherlands, and Germany

Europe

It is perhaps beneficial to also mention that Europe as a whole is tackling the same issue as Germany, and the European Union has begun focusing on this area in initiatives such as the Lisbon Strategy. The European Council met in Lisbon in March of 2000 and prepared many objectives for the next ten years, with one main area of focus being that of education and training. This strategy focuses mainly on improving rates of higher education at the university level, but also emphasizes the importance of secondary schooling, and how performance there will prepare pupils for future success. It includes goals such as quality, openness and accessibility. However, one of the most important stated goals of this meeting was “to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (European Union, 2007, para. 3). Each member state is supposed to invest more in and reform their education and training programs. There is also a sense of urgency expressed in catching up with some of the EU’s main competitors such as Japan and the United States, which spend more on education. However, in order to obtain these goals, education in the EU must be open and accessible to all members of society, regardless of their backgrounds.

In addition to the Lisbon Strategy, both Germany and the European Union have embraced UNESCO's⁴ Education for Tolerance initiative. Rodden (2001) describes the initiative as “peace education for the new millennium” which focuses on “cultural issues of interracial respect, interpersonal harmony, and 'inner peace'” (p. 67).

In the 1995 Declaration of Principles on Tolerance, UNESCO defines and examines tolerance, as well as gives a broad recommendation for how it can be used in education. Article 1.1 states the first part of the definition:

1.1 Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty, it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace.

This definition is perhaps even a better one for defining the goals of intercultural education than have been previously stated. While one could argue that the word “tolerance” might bring with it a negative connotation⁵, the explanation provided promotes successful integration.

Article 4 of the Declaration discusses the educational aspects:

⁴ United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

⁵ Especially when referring to certain people like J.W. Goethe, who said, “Toleration should only be a passing attitude, it must lead to acceptance. Sufferance is an insult.” The researcher would personally agree with Goethe's statement, however in this paper it is acknowledged that UNESCO is treating the definition of tolerance as being quite different from Goethe's understanding. In addition to that, it is used in a most positive and encouraging light.

Article 4 - Education

4.1 Education is the most effective means of preventing intolerance. The first step in tolerance education is to teach people what their shared rights and freedoms are, so that they may be respected, and to promote the will to protect those of others.

4.2 Education for tolerance should be considered an urgent imperative; that is why it is necessary to promote systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance - major roots of violence and exclusion. Education policies and programmes should contribute to development of understanding, solidarity and tolerance among individuals as well as among ethnic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic groups and nations.

4.3 Education for tolerance should aim at countering influences that lead to fear and exclusion of others, and should help young people to develop capacities for independent judgment, critical thinking and ethical reasoning.

4.4 We pledge to support and implement programmes of social science research and education for tolerance, human rights and non-violence. This means devoting special attention to improving teacher training, curricula, the content of textbooks and lessons, and other educational materials including new educational technologies, with a view to educating caring and responsible citizens open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve them by nonviolent means.

In section 4.1, the relevance of such education is stated. The following sections are a good beginning to intercultural education, giving a slightly vague outline of what could be done. Section 4.4 is more exact in recommendations, however, it is not enough information for a country to go about restructuring (or even structuring) a kind of intercultural education program. Yet the building blocks are there.

This problem of a lack of standardization, whether it is a detailed curriculum, teacher training, etc., is a recurring theme in the literature reviewed. While Rodden

(2001) discusses how Germany has, in some regards, taken this program into consideration and that “since the early 1990s, some German states have developed special 'intercultural courses' in schools”, the key word is still on *some* (p. 68). Therefore this noteworthy lack of a unified attempt is definitely one of the main issues not addressed in the literature.

These schools that have taken the initiative seriously have implemented such programs as ranging from one-day activities to week-long school celebrations of other cultures. Hence, some attention has been paid and some steps have been taken. However, Rodden goes on to mention that the universities in Germany have been much more active in UNESCO's Education for Tolerance than the primary and secondary school systems. Therefore, this idea seems to be falling short of its potential.

Comparing Germany and the Netherlands

While Germany is the main focus of this thesis, it is useful to compare it to at least one other country in order to obtain a more thorough understanding of the situation. In the literature on other countries and intercultural education, Yvonne Leeman and Guuske Ledoux discuss the situation in the Netherlands, as well as compare it to Germany. This comparison is relevant because not only are the two countries neighbors, but they also have a significant population of immigrants/immigrant-origin

peoples. Furthermore, they both have a relatively similar composition of foreigners, with the largest group being of Turkish descent (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003, p. 386).

Leeman and Ledoux (2003) argue that European governments have different perceptions of the issue and, “whereas German policy...still places a strong emphasis on monoculturalism, since the 1980s Dutch policy has officially promoted a multicultural society” (p. 387). They argue that the Dutch have been more liberal in their education policy.

The Dutch made this form of education a priority, and furthermore they focus on the Dutch population, not just the immigrant population. In the first chapter of this thesis, these authors were stated as having quoted the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science regarding intercultural education. They emphasized the importance of education as preparing students for success in a multicultural society. This is definitely a goal of intercultural education and it also corresponds with UNESCO's Education for Tolerance. Furthermore, it emphasizes the importance of intercultural education and its role in immigrant integration, including not just immigrants but the host society as well. Leeman and Ledoux go as far as to charge other European countries with neglecting this area.

However, despite a seemingly progressive stance on the issue, there remain limited standards and specifics when it comes to what should actually be done in Dutch schools. The government provides funds and lets the schools decide how they will handle the situation (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003, p. 387-388). They go on to criticize that the Dutch curriculum has lacked “the intercultural”, where it has only

really been a focus in mixed-ethnic schools (and not “white” ones), and that other problems lie in the fact that it is an unclear concept with no detailed formula for implementation, the public is not insisting on reform, and the teachers themselves do not comprehend the importance of the project (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003, p. 388). In this regard, the Dutch model has some similarities to the German one. Therefore, examining what the Dutch are doing is an interesting comparison, especially since both countries are experiencing similar situations and difficulties. However, since the focus of this thesis is on Germany, the Netherlands will not be discussed further in this paper.

Structural and Political Efforts

Since World War II, social policy and immigrant populations have held importance for the German economy and prosperity. As previously stated, a significant amount of the workforce in Germany was increasingly made up of people from other countries and they were prolonging their stays in Germany (Cohn-Bendit and Schmid, 1993, p. 111). The country has been criticized for being anti-immigrant and making no efforts to integrate this foreign population, however, in reality the country has indeed made integration efforts, and they have mainly been structural (addressing access to society’s core institutions⁶) and political. Ireland (2004) expresses the situation as having led to “a host society finding it easier to extend

⁶ This area includes education, however that will be discussed in the next section.

formal protections to immigrants than to embrace them as members in full” (p. 27-28).

Initially, German integration policy was reactive. For several years the belief that immigration was a temporary phenomenon influenced the government’s stance that accommodating immigrants’ brief stay was all that was necessary (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 108). However, once the government realized the country was past this stage, it turned to a structural focus, including areas such as housing, job training, social welfare and education. By the 1970s, many guest workers had become residents due to the economic forces at work, and therefore placed demands on the host society with which the German government had to address. The goal then became settling and integrating this population, and steps such as a reduction in restrictions on family reunification occurred. Ireland (2004) states, “as of 1978, immigrants could apply for an unlimited residency permit (*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) after five years in possession of a limited one, and a permanent residency permit (*Aufenthaltsberechtigung*) eight years after that” as long as they met certain criteria (p. 30). These criteria consisted of housing that met the local standards, adequate knowledge of German, and mandatory school attendance for the children of the immigrants. Furthermore, those working individuals needed to possess the appropriate work permit. Ireland (2004) notes that this system has always been quite complex and has changed over time, and also allows for many exceptions and provisions (p. 30).

Another complexity of the issue lies in the division of responsibility within the government. For example, the entry of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrant workers are controlled by federal officials. However, the states (*Länder*) are in charge of primary and secondary education, mass communication, internal security, police and the administration of justice, but they can also have a say in issues concerning family reunification and deporting rejected asylum seekers. The two areas of government work together on higher education, housing, and regional economic development, however the states assume most of the responsibility for implementation (Ireland, 2004, p. 31). These divisions can complicate integration.

Concerning housing policies, at first guest workers accessed housing provided by their employers. Since there was a shortage of affordable housing, especially for immigrants, many continued to rent apartments rather than purchase houses. However, the government did intervene in the private housing market. In the 1970s and 1980s there was public financial assistance for the building of units to be social housing. The federal and state governments shared financial responsibility while the state level assumed responsibility for implementation. While housing was a primary concern, Germany stayed away from constructing large housing projects like those seen in Belgium, the Netherlands and France (Osenberg, 1997, p. 741).

The government also relied heavily on nonprofits, in particular three: the Roman Catholic Caritas, the Evangelical Lutheran Diakonisches Werk, and the AWO (*Arbeiterwohlfahrt*). In fact, these organizations for social welfare provision became so large that Caritas alone, by the 1980s, had more people employed than that of

Siemens, which was Germany's greatest private industrial employer. These three organizations dealt not only with immigrants, but also people of immigrant origin (Ireland, 2004, p. 35).

These nonprofits were part of the German government's integration plan that included "differentiation according to ethnic criteria" (Ireland, 2004, p. 33). Not only were ethnic-based strategies adopted by public institutions, but many of these strategies even constructed ethnic identities. There were ethnoreligious divisions, basically divided into Catholic, non-Catholic and non-Christian. However, this division was achieved without legal codification or public discussion. The Caritas took responsibility for social work with Italians in 1960, Spaniards in 1961, Portuguese in 1962 and Catholic Yugoslavs in 1962 as well. The Diakonisches Werk took over for the Greeks in 1960, and also the Orthodox Christians (for example Serbs) and Protestant immigrants. Finally, the AWO, which was secular and union-linked, began working with immigrants from Turkey in 1962, Tunisia and Morocco in 1965, and any non-Catholic immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in 1969. In the end, the AWO was responsible for approximately half of the guest workers, even though it was the weakest nonprofit financially (Thränhardt, 1983, p. 69).

One of the main integration problems concerning these nonprofits was the fact that programs were reactive. Immigrants were not provided participatory institutions, and the organizations did not work with immigrant associations. This left immigrants with a dependency on social workers, a sort of cliental relationship. These nonprofits aided their specific groups, but they also spoke on their behalves, and Ireland (2004)

quotes the Diakonisches Werk when it described itself as the “mouth of the dumb” (p. 37). Therefore, immigrants had little to no say in which organization they could turn to, and there was a rise in ethnic segmentation. For example, an Italian who was also an atheist would still have to work with Caritas, and a highly conservative Turk would be placed with the AWO. Hence, the German government was advocating the organization of immigrants along ethnonational lines (Ireland, 2004, p. 37).

In regards to political integration, there was a move in the early 1970s to recognize minorities’ perspectives. The government’s solution was to form foreigners’ auxiliary councils (*Ausländerbeiräte*), which were purely consultative and lacked voting. However, these were also organized along ethnonational lines, assuming that immigrants were homogeneous groups and thus reinforcing ethnic division. Furthermore, due to a lack of influence, most immigrant political participation was quite low. In addition, the German government also created a Commissioner for Foreigners in 1978, whose purpose was to focus on the issue of integration, defining its needs and acknowledging the importance of the matter (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 108). The creation of this institution was a political statement that integration was a topic in need of addressing.

While Germany had been avoiding many of the immigration-related conflicts that its neighbors, France and Belgium, had been experiencing, the economic problems of the mid and late 1970s led to changes in Germany. Unemployment rose greatly and was combined with a federal reduction on social welfare spending, with the immigrant populations being affected disproportionately.

There was a restructuring of the system, which was done through decentralization, privatization and delegation. An introduction of market forces left many immigrants and immigrant-origin people in even more marginalized positions than before. Another change was the focus on self-help, which was cheaper as well as idealistic. However, there were new policy implications that aimed to eventually let immigrants choose with which association they wished to work. This was a significant change. Despite this notable progress, officials still focused on ethnic-based strategies when it came to immigrant integration policy (Ireland, 2004, p. 44).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, there was an increase in anti-immigrant violence in addition to legislation that made it easier to deport foreigners. The government sought to limit immigration after the reunification of Germany, however there were many political refugees allowed in, and the eastern side received an influx of people, which only escalated problems. Hate crimes and tensions continued to intensify, and in 1993 Germany tightened its asylum law. There was also an increase in political-cultural disconnection, and many immigrants fell back on their ethnic identities (Ireland, 2004 p. 46).

The year after reunification presented other concerns for immigrants, such as a continued reduction on social spending, housing shortages, and distracted nonprofits. The government was dealing with a ballooning deficit, and therefore cut social spending once again. Furthermore, the addition of a housing shortage plus the government's lack of involvement in the housing market affected many immigrants negatively. Finally, the nonprofits were busy rebuilding the east, which took

resources and attention from immigrants. These events threatened to reverse the integration progress of the past (Kanther 1996).

The regression in structural integration also paralleled a similar trend in the political-cultural integration. The interests of immigrant groups were not often considered among German policymakers, which led to immigrants retreating into ethnic groups, and in turn retreating from the German institutional system. However, in time ethnic-based political parties developed. Still, there were more divisions, especially along secular-religious lines. In addition, there was a noticeable reduction in sociopolitical participation. For instance, numbers of immigrant union members fell and numbers for ethnic-based organizations (such as homeland associations or clubs) rose.

The 1990s witnessed an increase in crime that media associated with immigrants and a loss of social control. This, in turn, led to attacks on immigrants and refugees. Ireland (2004) states, “because it had taken a relatively long time for ethnic conflict to manifest itself in Germany, due to the effectiveness of structural integration policies and social control, policymakers were caught flat-footed” (p. 54). These events were the trigger needed to provoke a shift away from ethnic-based strategies and instead toward problem-specific solutions, in order to aid the incomplete integration of immigrants.

The new goal of the German government was to diversify services and workers in the social welfare system in order to address a diverse population and their needs. The effort began at the street level, building up networks that could then be

supported and fit into local and national German networks. One example of change was the attempt to incorporate immigrant-origin workers in public services (Gaitanides, 1992, p. 318).

At the end of the century, Germany was a mixture of successes and failures. The unemployment gap between Germans and immigrants had widened dramatically over the years. Furthermore, there was increased residential concentration and segregation of immigrants, and there was a significant amount of the population with a poor knowledge of the German language. On the other hand, naturalization for guest worker children was easier than before. While there had been positive changes, many agreed that more needed to be done regarding the rights of permanent residents (Ireland, 2004, p. 58).

The new century brought with it substantial changes in policy. As of January 2000, a new citizenship law was instated. It was quite revolutionary in that it legally dismissed the old belief of *ius sanguinis* (Latin for “right of blood”, which stated German nationality was reliant upon having German ancestors, i.e. German blood). This law introduced *ius soli* (Latin for “law of the land”, which based nationality on where one was born rather than one’s ancestry), which in turn eased naturalization and this law also somewhat tolerates dual citizenship (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 109). This was a major breakthrough in German law as far as immigration and integration are concerned.

Then in 2002 there was a historic, federal recognition of Germany as a land of immigration. During the first few years of the new century, the government debated

about legalizing a new Immigration Act. The document was written, rejected, re-written, and rejected several times before 2004, when it was finally passed, the first time such an act was passed since the beginning of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Act became official on Sept. 1, 2004 and improved access to the labor market for many workers, and it made work and resident permits easier to obtain. Furthermore, it stated that new immigrants and residents who lacked a significant command of German were to take integration courses that focused on the German language and civic education. However, the cost of this program was borne by the federal government, not the immigrants (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 109).

Therefore, ever since the end of WWII, immigration and integration have been important topics for Germany, and there have been many ways of addressing the issues. The policies over the last few decades have produced mixed results, and there is still a notable gap to be bridged before the country can successfully be intercultural and harmonious. However, one very important area to discuss is education, and the next section will focus on that.

Education in Germany

There have been gradual changes concerning the German education system and integration over the last several decades. It has come to be an important issue to the federal and various local governments. Hamburg in particular has been noteworthy in promoting change recently. However, before examining these events, it is necessary to have an understanding of how the German system functions.

German Education System

The German system is unique. Primary education, *Grundschule*, begins in first grade and usually ends in fourth, when teachers and parents decide which school the child will next attend (Kultusminister Konferenz, 2009). There are three main choices, the *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, or *Gymnasium*. The *Hauptschule* (secondary modern school) is academically the lowest of the three, and students attending this school will graduate after ninth grade, where they then have the opportunity to transfer to a *Berufsfachschule* (vocational school). In this school they learn specific job skills, and can also choose a dual-track option where they attend some school, and also partake in a paid internship for approximately three years. After completing this part, students may obtain some college-level education at certain, specific colleges. Students that attend the *Hauptschule* and follow that track usually work as technical or labor specialists.

It should be noted, however, that education experts in Germany are starting to vocalize the beginning of the end for the *Hauptschule*. Some argue that the three-tiered system is out-dated and no longer useful, while others maintain that the *Realschule* could replace the *Hauptschule*. Udo Beckmann, a member of the *Verband Bildung und Erziehung* (Organization for Education) and a director of a *Hauptschule* himself for over ten years, stated, “it is not the *Hauptschule* that is ill, rather the three-tiered school system”⁷ (Oberwittler, 2007, para. 11). In fact two federal states,

⁷ This is a personal translation. The original reads, “Nicht die Hauptschule ist krank, sondern das dreigliedrige Schulsystem”.

Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg, have already decided to phase out the *Hauptschule*, which “should contribute to a reduction in social and performance-based segregation in schools and, therefore, to an improvement in the educational opportunities for young and second-generation immigrants, who are overrepresented in this type of school” (Özcan, 2007, p. 7). While these two out of the sixteen states are the only ones that have taken this step, it is something others are considering. This will be an area to watch for change in the future.

The *Realschule* (secondary school which leads to intermediate qualifications) is a step up from the *Hauptschule*, and students graduate after the tenth grade. This is equivalent to a U.S. high school diploma. If students from this school would like to continue their education, they are also limited in their options as they may do three more years in a career-training program in a *Fachoberschule*. If they would like some level of higher education, they may transfer to a *Fachhochschule*, but only in restricted fields. After completing this education, students may seek work in various fields, such as social work, nursing, technical fields, and business.

The highest level of education starts in the *Gymnasium* (grammar school/college preparatory school). Here, students attend through thirteenth grade, where they graduate with an exam called the *Abitur*. This allows them to attend universities. Once at university, they have an unrestricted choice of majors, which gives them the most academic and career possibilities of all three tracks of German education. Students at university can choose any career they would like, however,

many careers may only be achieved through a university education, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and many more.

Finally, in the 1970s Germany experimented with the idea of a *Gesamtschule* that has all three schools inside until the eleventh grade. This school is not overly common, and in fact some states do not use it at all. Furthermore, there are special schools for children with disabilities.

One of the key points to note about this system of education is that by the end of the fourth grade, a pupil's future is already partially decided. A student sent to the *Hauptschule* will not become a doctor, lawyer, or teacher. This is important because many immigrant students are still learning German at that age, and their lack of language skills often results in them being sent to the lower schools. This keeps a large percentage of immigrants out of higher level jobs and hinders successful integration.

Language Acquisition

The education of migrant children was first formally addressed in 1964 by the *Kultursministerkonferenz* (Conference of Ministers of Culture), when the Ministers of Education decided that children of guest workers were required to attend school. The rationale was that these children ought to be integrated into the regular school system, but there should also be the opportunity for “preparatory and parallel German language training...in addition to voluntary tuition in special courses in their mother languages after regular classes” (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 111). In this respect,

schools were responsible for integrating or “assimilating” immigrant children, which led to an unofficial curriculum of integration and acculturation.

Even though different areas of Germany have been allowed to vary their approaches to immigrant integration in schools and the programs they offer, there is a significant trend of focusing on language acquisition. This is, in fact, where the greatest emphasis has been so far in the educational aspect of integrating immigrants. There have been many studies which illustrate the importance of language acquisition, and it is indeed a fundamental focus. Without the proper language skills, students will most likely not move on to the *Gymnasium*, since German is one of the main subjects considered for the secondary schooling transition (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 122). Furthermore, a lack of language comprehension hinders one’s integration into society.

With this in mind, Germany has tried not only to help children, but whole families of migrants. Since 1974, the government has instated language programs, which included approximately 500 institutions that have worked together to implement similar programs, teaching methods, and certificates. The government spent around 484 million DM⁸ on the project, and over 1.32 million people participated in these programs (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 118). It has been estimated that approximately one third of all migrant children participate in these classes.

⁸ The Deutsche Mark was the former currency in Germany, which was replaced by the Euro in 2002. Two Deutsche Mark are approximately equal to one Euro.

Some of these classes are offered at *Volkshochschulen*, or a sort of community education center, and are often offered in the evenings and are available to people of all ages. These classes can be offered at a reduced price, or sometimes even free of charge to immigrants in order to expedite their learning of the language. However, they are not mandatory. Other variances of language programs include special help for children at day care centers, but only some partake in this option. Maria Boehmer has stated that only 58% of day care centers in Germany offer children with immigrant background language assistance (Deutsche Welle, 2008, para. 3).

Some studies have been done to see how well foreigners or foreign-borns feel with their German abilities. Tables 2.1 and 2.2, while only dealing with a few groups of immigrants, give some insight into the situation.

Table 2.1⁹: German Language Proficiency of Turks, Italians and the 2nd Generation

	Turks		Italians		2 nd Generation	
	1991	1997	1991	1997	1991	1997
Oral German Skills						
Very good	18.3	17.4	24.2	27.0	-	64.7
Good	28.8	34.7	32.1	32.3	-	29.4
Fair	27.9	28.1	24.6	28.2	-	5.9
Poor	18.3	17.0	18.1	11.9	-	0.0
Negligible	6.8	2.8	1.1	0.6	-	0.0
Written German Skills						
Very good	12.5	12.3	19.5	19.4	-	51.5
Good	22.1	26.6	16.6	18.2	-	32.4
Fair	15.8	19.6	15.0	20.7	-	12.5
Poor	21.3	21.2	23.4	24.8	-	3.7
Negligible	28.2	20.3	25.6	16.9	-	0.0

⁹ Taken from Wolf and Tudose, 2005, pg. 133. Their source is SOEP data from 1991 and 1997.

Table 2.2¹⁰: EFFNATIS: Self-Assessment of Linguistic Competence by Second-Generation Youth With Turkish and Yugoslav Backgrounds

How do you assess your ability to write in German?	
- very good	39.5%
- good	48.4%
- average	11.1%
- poor or non-existent	1.0%
How do you assess your ability to write in your parents' native language?	
- very good	22.5%
- good	37.9%
- average	28.1%
- poor or non-existent	2.9%
How do you assess your ability to speak in your parents' native language?	
- very good	34.0%
- good	45.7%
- average	17.4%
- poor or non-existent	2.9%

The first table is not entirely positive in showing a dramatic or even slight increase in the area of “very good”, however there does appear to be some improvement, as can be seen in the “good” category. However, the second generation does appear to feel significantly more secure in their language abilities. Still, there is clearly room for improvement, and that supports the focus on language acquisition. Another fact mentioned by Frank van Tubergen and Matthijs Kalmijn is that in countries with stronger anti-immigrant attitudes, the immigrants tend to have a harder time learning the language. That implies that the host country's behavior is also critical and something to consider (van Tubergen and Kalmijn, 2005, p. 1449).

10 Taken from Wolf and Tudose, 2005, pg. 133. Their source is EFFNATIS-Survey, 2000.

Inequality in Education

While language certainly plays an important role in the formal education of immigrant children as well as their success and integration in German society, there are other concerns regarding education. Wolf and Tudose (2005) maintain that “education in schools, vocational training and employment are key variables in the successful structural integration of migrant youth, which in turn has positive effects on their cultural and social integration” (p. 119). Furthermore, Dr. Maria Böhmer, Germany’s Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration, has also stated that education is of central importance to integration (Spiegel Online: Regierungsbericht, 2007, para. 5). In addition, German chancellor Angela Merkel acknowledged an existing inequality in education and the problems that poses. She stated that education is an area to focus on regarding integration at the international symposium for “Integration through Education in the 21st Century” in Berlin (Spiegel Online: Merkel verspricht, 2007, para. 1). Thus, areas such as education, equality and integration are interrelated.

When discussing inequality in education, this thesis is referring to non-German students’ disproportionate and lower performance in an academic setting. Often they are at a disadvantage due to language skills, but there may be other factors involved.

It has also been noted that recently these children have been included more in the higher system of education, but yet that proportionately they still lag significantly

behind that of German children the same age. These immigrant children are at a disadvantage in the education system, regardless of efforts made. For example, studies have shown that migrant children make the transition from primary school to the *Hauptschule* far more often than their German counterparts (Özcan, 2007, p. 6). They also have lower percentages moving to the *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* than German children. Wolf and Tudose (2005) note that Turkish and Italian children fare the worst, with German students transitioning to the *Gymnasium* four times more often than Turkish or Italian students (p. 122).

Wolf and Tudose further illustrate the issue of inequality by providing tables depicting German and non-German pupils at certain schools.

Table 2.3¹¹: Non-German Pupils at General Schools by Type of School, 2001-2003

¹¹ Taken from Wolf and Tudose, 2005, pg. 121. Their source is Federal Statistics, 2004. This table was broken down into three separate tables for easier viewing.

2.3.1

Type of school	2001			
	German pupils		Non-German pupils	
	No.	%	No.	%
Schools providing general education	8,914,727	100	955,718	100
<i>Of which</i>				
Primary schools	2,824,314	31.7	387,172	40.5
Hauptschulen	917,019	10.3	196,934	20.6
Special needs schools	360,047	4.0	65,436	6.8
Realschulen	1,193,388	13.4	84,351	8.8
Gymnasien	2,195,732	24.6	88,594	9.3
Comprehensive schools	480,837	5.4	66,816	7.0
Others ¹²	943,390	10.6	66,415	6.9

¹² Including, for example, school types with several courses of education, orientation classes independent of school type, and evening schools.

2.3.2

Type of school	2002			
	German pupils	Non-German pupils		
		No.	%	No.
Schools providing general education	8,818,896	100	962,835	100
<i>Of which</i>				
Primary schools	2,766,480	31.4	377,827	39.3
Hauptschulen	908,952	10.3	202,471	21.1
Special needs schools	361,429	4.1	67,846	7.1
Realschulen	1,195,586	13.6	87,505	9.1
Gymnasien	2,206,487	25.0	90,237	9.4
Comprehensive schools	478,909	5.4	68,304	7.1
Others ¹³	901,053	10.2	67,191	7.0

¹³ Including, for example, school types with several courses of education, orientation classes independent of school type, and evening schools.

2.3.3

Type of school	2003			
	German pupils No.	Non-German pupils		
		%	No.	%
Schools providing general education	8,764,199	100	961,381	100
<i>Of which</i>				
Primary schools	2,777,462	31.7	369,417	38.4
Hauptschulen	889,349	10.1	203,142	21.1
Special needs schools	360,662	4.1	68,663	7.1
Realschulen	1,205,599	13.8	91,107	9.5
Gymnasien	2,223,511	25.4	92,752	9.6
Comprehensive schools	475,004	5.4	69,924	7.3
Others ¹⁴	832,612	9.5	67,830	7.0

These tables reinforce Ireland's argument that the immigrant population has been overrepresented in institutions of lower academic levels and therefore many are seen as weaker students. Also, immigrant youths are more likely to not finish their formal studies as well as receive their diplomas. Furthermore, language deficiencies serve as an excuse to place many immigrant students into special needs schools (Ireland, 2004, p. 31).

Problems with inequality have also been noted outside of Germany, for instance by Vernor Munoz, one of the United Nations human rights inspectors, who argued that one of the greatest weaknesses of the German system lies in the early

¹⁴ Including, for example, school types with several courses of education, orientation classes independent of school type, and evening schools.

division of different academic forms which puts poor children, slow learners, and migrant children at a disadvantage (Oberwittler, 2007, para. 11). The only other country in Europe that divides up school children at such a young age is Austria. As mentioned before, this early determination of academic ability has a significant impact on children, especially those with a migrant background, and their integration and future in Germany. This issue will also be examined later in specific regards to Hamburg.

PISA

In 2000, thirty-two countries took part in the PISA exam, including Germany. PISA, or Programme for International Student Assessment, is a world-wide test used to measure scholastic performance and is implemented with the help of the OECD, or Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. The results of the PISA study highlighted immigrant integration problems in Germany regarding education. The study showed that first and second-generation immigrants are less successful than their German counterparts in Germany's education system (OECD 2007). It also agreed with other studies in that immigrant students are and have been placed in lower levels of schooling (*Hauptschule* and *Realschule*) than German pupils (Özcan, 2007, p. 6). However, as already stated, this is largely due to an insufficient knowledge of the German language, which in turn affects all fields of academics (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 126).

The PISA study was also important because within Germany there was a specific focus on immigrant pupils, and students with immigrant backgrounds. Out of the 5,000 students chosen, 1,056 had a migration background. This helped reveal the discrepancies stated above. Furthermore, Germany then carried out a national amendment to the PISA study with approximately 67,000 students throughout the country. This study pointed out that results varied greatly among federal states. In certain states such as Bavaria, Hessen and Rhineland-Palatinate, the differences were less noticeable. However, in places such as Bremen and North Rhine-Westphalia, a significant academic achievement was obvious. Wolf and Tudose (2005) maintain that these results illustrate “that migrant children are greatly affected by the general quality of the school system: not only are pro-integration support measures important, but regular measures and educational offers also make a significant contribution to increasing equality of opportunity for migrants and ...Germans” (p. 126).

Furthermore, in 2003 the OECD published a detailed analysis of the PISA study which confirmed the correlation between proportions of immigrant children within a class and academic achievement. It also stated that once there was a migrant population of 20% in a class, there was a large decline in “medium performance”. This phenomenon was explained in Germany by the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, which carried out the study in Germany, by stating that schools wait to introduce special measures until a certain “critical threshold” has been

observed and crossed. Therefore, schools were already having problems addressing the issue of heterogeneity (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 126).

In addition, the SpiegelOnline makes a strong statement regarding Germany and its education. In 2006, Rose-Anne Clermont wrote, “the most recent PISA study claimed that the German educational system is culturally biased and actually discriminates against pupils with non-German backgrounds” (para. 15). Thus, the PISA study and its results have been of concern in Germany, since it has highlighted academic issues in regards to migrant children when compared to Germans.

Intercultural Education

There has been an increased focus on intercultural education in the past few years, especially after studies such as PISA were reviewed. Wolf and Tudose (2005) describe this pedagogical principle as one that promotes intercultural cohabitation within schools and focuses on both immigrant children and Germans. In some states there are special support classes which help immigrant children with language as well as other subjects in order to prepare them for regular classes. These are found in both primary and secondary levels. Sometimes, however, there are not enough students for a special class, and then special instruction can be offered in addition to regular schooling. These options are deemed temporary, and after a period of several months or one year, students are moved back to regular classes (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 115). However, these actions are rarely enough to achieve their objectives.

In the late 1990s certain policies arose that aimed at developing positive relations between immigrants and natives, reducing prejudices, racism and xenophobia, and intercultural education was also considered a part of this process. Initially the main goal was to help migrant children in school, and focused mainly on non-natives. Today, though, it is more widely accepted as something that concerns all students and subject areas. However, this means that intercultural education can take a wide variety of forms in various curricula, and often how this plays out in a course is still dependent on the individual teacher. Thus, it is necessary for teacher training to include the topic of intercultural education, and textbooks that deal with different cultures in more productive manners need to be better integrated into the teaching process. Some progress has been made since the 1970s, but there is noteworthy room for improvement (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 117).

There have been other miscellaneous attempts at fostering a better relationship between Germans and foreign-borns in different schools. Rodden (2001) describes some of the examples, stating that “educators have developed diverse programs, such as promoting contacts between schools and refugee hostels, arranging for German students to tutor immigrants in German, coordinating student volunteer activities with immigrant welfare agencies, and sponsoring friendly sport competitions with immigrant teams” (p. 67). There has also been the occasional weekend seminar focusing on relations, activities encouraging good will through music and dance and other social events. Therefore, there are definitely actions, and creative at that, being taken in and facilitated by the field of education and that is an important start.

However, this scattered and sporadic focus on intercultural education and integration is not enough. As Banks (1993) argues in his own research, it is not enough to reserve special days for focusing on the issue, but rather such education must be a greater part of the entire process (p. 37).

There is definitely a noticeable change in the university system regarding teacher education and intercultural education. At several universities, the University of Hamburg included, students studying to become teachers are offered more intercultural education classes, and more of their regular education classes have aspects of the intercultural included. The researcher was able to take a few of such classes and experience them first-hand.

Integration

In January of this year, the German publication SpiegelOnline published an article stating, “a new study has delivered a damning verdict on the integration of Germany's immigrants, concluding that an alarmingly high percentage of them live in a parallel world with poor prospects of a decent education and career advancement” (Elger, Kneip, and Theile, 2009, para. 1). The article goes on to state that even when immigrants live in Germany for fifty years or more and hold German passports, integration is still a challenge. Therefore, intercultural education can be a means to aid in this process.

In addition to the previously mentioned forms of education meant to help integrate students, there are many other measures taken. These programs develop

from various sources and are sometimes proposed by teachers, parents, social workers, etc. Wolf and Tudose (2005) provide the example of an organization called *Netzwerk von Regionalen Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen – RAA*, or the Network of Regional Offices for Foreigners' Affairs, which has forty-six offices throughout the country. These regional offices work with the federal government as well, and in the western part of the country focus on integrating immigrant youth, while in the east focusing on intercultural education and combating xenophobia (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 115).

While there are large initiatives such as the one mentioned above, there are also smaller, more local initiatives that focus on integration. One such example is the *Neue Marzahner*, or New People of Marzahn program, which was developed by parents in the Thuringia area to integrate ethnic German pupils as well as improve communication between locals and immigrants (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 115). This initiative was financed by the federal government. There are also several other small programs throughout Germany that work to integrate immigrants.

The importance of the matter can be seen in the integration summit that took place in July of 2006, which was put together by German chancellor Angela Merkel and Maria Böhmer, the Integration Commissioner of the German Federal Government. The summit began an on-going process to focus on integration policy and brought together “state and government officials, town councillors, employers and trade union representatives, welfare organisations, religious communities, the media, charitable foundations, scientists and migrant organizations” (Özcan, 2007, p.

6). This federal and local concern with integration illustrates an important step forward for Germany.

Furthermore, the federal government published a national integration plan on July 12, 2007 which outlines broad integration goals. While it lacks specifics on how to implement these goals, it does mention the importance of intercultural and anti-racist education in order to avoid the solidification of prejudices. The document also states that there needs to be more support for educating immigrants, which is an important factor in integration (Die Bundesregierung, 2007, p. 175).

Wolf and Tudose (2005) also maintain that if integration is a two-way process, and indeed it is, then the focus must not lie entirely with immigrant populations but instead with immigrants and natives alike (p. 116).

Hamburg

While there are sixteen federal states to choose from, this thesis focuses on Hamburg, and thus the area of intercultural education and integration will be discussed in more detail regarding this specific area of Germany.

Within the country, the western states tend to offer more additional instruction to children in certain non-German mother tongues, mainly in languages from former guest worker countries. Hamburg is a good example of such, and is the only state in Germany that offers Romani as a subject, and does so in seven schools. Usually this type of special education is done by foreign teachers employed by the state. However, in other states this teaching is sometimes provided by the consulates,

though lessons take place within school buildings. Wolf and Tudose (2005) state that the initial goal of such education was to aid in migrant children's return to their country of origin, but that over the years the importance of the program's socialization function has been recognized and focused upon (p. 116).

Another important program currently in place in Hamburg is the *TFM(Projekt zur Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund)*, or Support for Immigrant Minority Children and Youth. This model program was instated on September 1, 2004 and is a five-year pilot program funded by the Federal States Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion. There are several other German states that are participating in the program, such as Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Sachsen, and Schleswig-Holstein (Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund, 2009). One of the goals of the program is to focus on language skills of children with potential in order to advance their studies and their opportunities in order to obtain higher diplomas in the future (Förderunterricht, 2009). The program is voluntary and free for children in grades four through thirteen, and classes meet twice during the week at the University of Hamburg. There, children are put into small groups and university students assist in the subjects German, English and math. Many of the university students have also grown up speaking more than one language, making it easier for them to relate to and help the children. So far, approximately 300 students have participated in the program in Hamburg (Mercator-FörMig-Treff, 2008, p. 2).

The program claims to be successful, using teacher surveys as a main instrument for measuring said success. However, the program also boasts that 67% of the participating children have improved their grades in school, and that 32% have even improved their grades with half a year of participation. Teachers have reported approximately 60% of the students have a better attitude towards school and school work, and that almost half of them participate more in class and perform better on their homework (Universität Hamburg, 2009). The program also lists quotes from parents and teachers of these students to illustrate progress¹⁵.

Overall, this program is not only aimed at language acquisition and improvement, but at better scholastic achievement and a more secure future for the students involved. It helps prepare them for a track that will enable them to obtain a better career.

Hamburg has also been making strides toward incorporating intercultural education and integration into the school system in the last few years. In September 2006 there was a *Hamburger Integrationskongress* (Hamburg Integration Congress) and then in December of the same year the Hamburg Senate met to discuss a plan of action to integrate immigrants, some of the decisions which will be implemented in certain government agencies. In 2005, the Behörde für Bildung und Sport¹⁶ (Government Agency for Education and Sports) founded the *Beratungsstelle Interculturelle Erziehung* (Information Center for Intercultural Education) at the

¹⁵ For a listing of these comments, please reference: <http://www2.erzwiss.uni-hamburg.de/spendensie/Evaluation/Erfolge.html>

¹⁶ This agency recently changed its name to *Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung*, or Government Agency for School and Occupational Training.

Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung (State Institute for Teacher Education and School Development). They did so in order to provide advice, further education and guidance for school development to teachers (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 3).

This organization also publishes information for teachers, such as their brochure for teachers that discusses diversity in schools and how teachers can be more helpful and understanding regarding differences, especially among children from various cultural backgrounds. The director of the Institute, Peter Daschner, states in the forward, “a peaceful cohabitation of cultures is only possible when the fundamentals of respect and tolerance are considered, where the principle of equality incorporates gender equality, and where students are entitled to develop into independent and self-determined members of a free society” (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 5)¹⁷.

Part of this goal is achieved by educating teachers on various subject matters. One such area is religious holidays and festivals. The Institute’s brochure focuses on days that are important to Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists and Hindus. It then provides suggestions, such as being aware of these days and planning lessons and trips accordingly, for example, perhaps trying to avoid major tests on such days. Another idea proposed in their pamphlet is to let the children who celebrate these days explain or discuss it with the rest of the class in an informative manner. While

¹⁷ This quote was personally translated. The original states: *Ein friedliches Zusammenleben der Kulturen ist nur dort möglich, wo die Grundsätze von Achtung und Toleranz gelten, wo der Gleichheitsgrundsatz die Gleichberechtigung einschließt und wo sowohl Schülerinnen als auch Schülern die Entwicklung zu selbstständigen und selbstbestimmten Mitgliedern einer freiheitlichen Gesellschaft zugestanden wird.*

this section of the brochure does not go into further detail, it does give educators several other links online that they can turn to for further information (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 7-11).

Other sections in the Institute's brochure deal with the issues of physical education, sexual education, and school trips. Concerning physical education, Germany requires that student partake, and swim lessons are part of the curriculum. However, more recently this part of the curriculum has become a problem for some students. Therefore, some changes are being made to accommodate these students, for example parents and students can request to have only one gender doing swim lessons at a time. They may also wear different swimwear that coincides better with their beliefs, and during changing, there are extra rooms provided for students who do not wish to change out in the open with everyone else. Furthermore, students who wear headscarves are allowed to continue wearing them during physical education instruction (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 13-14).

In regards to sexual education, this is an area where both parents and schools play a role. Sexual education is not just a topic that is taught in Biology, but is also addressed in a social manner. Certain topics like “handling feelings” and “orientation of values” are discussed. German schools do cover biological topics and encourage children to know their bodies and be responsible. Sexual education is required, and students must partake in the lessons. However, changes are being made in this area as well as the population diversifies. Teachers have the option of using drawings instead of pictures of people, children are given various options so that if they feel

uncomfortable with some they can choose others, teachers cannot state personal beliefs, and the lessons should consider other cultural and religious values. The brochure does state, at this point, that children from other cultures can be seen and used as experts of their cultures, however, some scholars do not view this in a positive light, as it puts pressure on students and because one pupil will not necessarily be representative of a certain culture. Finally, parents may meet with the teachers and discuss any concerns they have (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 15-17).

The last main informational section of the Institute's brochure handles the topic of school trips. It is common for classes in Europe and especially Germany to take trips together, sometimes for a weekend or a week at a time. A school trip can be something as simple as a short field trip within town, or a week trip to another country to visit historic sites. Students are required to go on these school trips, as they are considered part of the curriculum and important to a student's education. However, certain considerations have been made to accommodate concerns. For instance, parents may accompany students on trips, and if trips require an overnight stay, then boys and girls are placed in separate rooms. In addition, the parents can restrict certain activities of their children while on extended trips, such as swimming, biking, etc. Furthermore, if students have special dietary considerations, such as not eating pork or being vegetarian, the teacher and other parent supervisors can assist to ensure that that student receives appropriate meals. Finally, teachers are to carefully consider at what time of the year they plan their trips (see previous mention of

holidays and festivals) and parents are always welcome to come and discuss concerns with teachers (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 19-22).

The final section of the pamphlet provides teachers with addresses and contact information for various sources that could be useful. Some of those pertain to intercultural education, religion, general education, translation and more (Behörde für Bildung und Sport, 2007, p. 23-25). While the *Behörde für Bildung und Sport* is only one example of what is being done in Hamburg, it is an important one that, when paired with other efforts, seeks to make a difference in the community and aims to better facilitate peaceful coexistence, tolerance and integration.

There has also been talk of reforming a part of the Gymnasium's Oberstufe and certain courses/emphases it offers. While this has not been specifically labeled as intercultural education, the areas included are foreign languages, philosophy, geography, religion, history, culture, etc. In the description of several, intercultural awareness and understanding is mentioned.

Another change taking place in Hamburg involves the age that children transition to secondary school. Christa Goetsch, Education Senator, states that Hamburg intends to move the age up from approximately ten to age twelve, so that children are older at the time of the transition (Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Die Schulreform, 2009). She remarks that Germany and Austria separate children at the youngest age in Europe, while countries like Spain, England, Finland and Sweden have a transition at age sixteen. This age varies throughout Europe, with age ten being the lowest and age sixteen the highest. Goetsch maintains that Hamburg would

like to raise the transition age to better meet the standards of Europe (Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Deutschland trennt, 2009). Hamburg's mayor, Mr. Ole von Beust, also supports Mrs. Goetsch and her school reform plans. He acknowledges that the early transition age is outdated and that especially considering so many children with immigrant backgrounds (again between 40%-50%), the best way to go forward is to raise the transition age similar to other areas of Europe (KG Hamburg 1 Fernsehen, 2008). In an address to the citizens of Hamburg, Mrs. Goetsch states that these changes will be implemented as of 2010 and the transition will occur after sixth grade. This is still at the low end when considering the rest of Europe, but it is indeed a step forward in Germany. She asserts that this change will help to achieve better social equality and achievement (Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Die Schulreform, 2009).

In addition to this change, there is a so-called *Schuloffensive*, or school offensive, that is currently taking place in Hamburg that is focused on reform. This began with regional school development conferences that started in September 2008 and will run until May 2009. Teachers as well as students and their parents are welcome to participate and make suggestions for improvement. The main goals of improvement for the classroom focus on more competence orientation in the classroom, smaller classes, more full-day schools, more language advancement, more integration, and finally more continuing education for educators. There are also goals for restructuring the schools, and those encompass primary school through sixth grade

and flexible basic levels in primary school (Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Die Schulreform, 2009).

One of the biggest changes resulting from this *Schuloffensive*, however, is the restructuring of types of schools. Hamburg will replace the *Haupt-* and *Realschulen* with *Stadtteilschulen*, or district (neighborhood) schools (Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung: Eine kluge Stadt, 2009). This reform, which will also begin in 2010, will hopefully give students a better chance to succeed at school and obtain higher levels of education while increasing their chances of attending university. This is also a monumental change in the German school system and could be viewed as highly progressive and significant.

Thus, Hamburg has recognized that integration is a serious issue that needs to be addressed in various manners, but that the educational system is an important area to include.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology of this project, as well as provide more details regarding Hamburg's composition of inhabitants.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Results

Purpose

This research investigated which educational programs and policies Germany currently has in place to facilitate the goals of intercultural education and integration, and if students perceive these programs as influential. A narrower focus on the city-state Hamburg and its secondary education was employed. Three guiding questions were: 1. What sort of contact do students have with people from different backgrounds; 2. Does the school encourage and implement some form of intercultural education; and 3. Does this education affect how students view people different from themselves?

Survey Methodology

The research was achieved through a means of surveys created by the researcher. The student surveys, which were the main focus of this study, were comprised of 15 questions, 13 of which were short answer and 2 of which were multiple choice. The primary purpose was to survey students and 98 surveys were returned. However, a few teachers were also given surveys and their responses will be provided only as a very limited insight, and should not be interpreted as highly representative, especially since only 4 surveys were returned.

The original German surveys are located in the Appendix for reference, while a translated version in English is provided in this chapter. The surveys were administered in German, and the researcher was there to answer questions regarding

understanding. More detail regarding exact questions and responses will be discussed in later sections.

Location

This case study was conducted in Germany, where there are currently approximately 15 million people living who have an immigrant background, and that includes those that possess German citizenship (Spiegel Online: Merkel verspricht, 2007, para. 4). As previously mentioned, Germany is the top immigrant-receiving country in Europe, and is therefore an ideal location to study the issues of education and integration. The city of Hamburg was chosen for several reasons. Hamburg is the second-largest city in Germany, as well as the most populous non-capital city within the European Union. Approximately 1.8 million people reside in the city, there are about 4.5 million when including the metro area, and 14% of the Hamburg population consists of immigrants/foreigners (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2008). Therefore, Hamburg has the highest percentage of immigrant residents than any of the other sixteen states. Furthermore, with 35% of Hamburg's school children speaking two or more languages at home, and 45% of them having a migration background, it is a logical place to examine intercultural education (TFM, 2008, p. 1).

Hamburg was an ideal location to do research concerning integration, however, it may not be fully representative to all areas of Germany. Many small villages are primarily composed of non-immigrant background Germans, which means less cultural diversity. Also, areas such as Bavaria have been noted in studies

to experience more issues with positive integration, and indeed some studies have noted more prejudice toward non-Germans in that state. Therefore, this case study is applicable to some areas of Germany, but not all. However, even if some areas are primarily composed of Germans without migration backgrounds, this type of education is still beneficial to everyone. This is the same of Europe, where some countries receive more immigrants than others, and yet this type of education is useful regardless of the exact number of non-native or location.

In this research, two secondary schools were included, and older students participating in the TFM¹⁸ program were also involved. In order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, these schools and program have been given pseudonyms and will be referred to as *Hamburger-Hanseatische-Schule, Goethe Technisches Gymnasium* and the TFM program. The *Hamburger-Hanseatische-Schule* is actually a cooperative *Gesamtschule*, and has *Haupt-, Realschule* and *Gymnasium* tracks within the same building. The school is one of the largest in Hamburg and has around 1580 students. It is also quite progressive and was the first one in Hamburg to have the goal of improving the transferability between the different schools (Hamburger-Hanseatische-Schule¹⁹, 2009). Children are kept in the same classes without being separated into different tracks until the end of the sixth grade. Three classes were surveyed from this school, two eighth grade classes as well as a ninth grade class. The ninth grade class was on the *Realschule* track, while the eighth grade classes were *Gymnasium* students.

¹⁸ Renamed for anonymity purposes.

¹⁹ Pseudonym. Information obtained from the school's website.

The *Goethe Technisches Gymnasium* is a trade school for metal work as well as a technical *Gymnasium*. Students come from all over Hamburg to attend this school, and there are approximately between 180 and 200 students enrolled in the *Gymnasium*. However, the percentage of female students is quite low, comprising a mere 10% of the population. Only one class was surveyed from this school, an eleventh grade class (Goethe Technisches Gymnasium²⁰, 2009).

The third group of students surveyed were participating in the previously mentioned TFM program and taking additional afternoon classes located at the University of Hamburg. The teacher was finishing her teaching degree and partaking in the program simultaneously. The students were in various higher grades, and more detail will be given below concerning the results of the surveys.

There were no surveys obtained from any *Hauptschulen*, only from the *Realschulen* and *Gymnasien*. Had *Hauptschulen* been included, the results may have varied. However, Hamburg and Germany are slowly moving away from the use of *Hauptschulen*.

Data Collection

Data was collected only in the form of surveys. The researcher spoke with the teacher beforehand, and gave a brief summary of the study being done. The teacher was shown the surveys and consent forms, but there was not extensive information provided. The students were given a short introduction the day of the surveying, but again not much information was revealed.

²⁰ Pseudonym. Information obtained from the school's website.

The surveys were conducted in the late spring and early summer of 2008. Students completed the surveys during their regular class periods and only had that class period to fill out the form. However, students did not need extra time and finished within the hour. Teachers completed the surveys while their class was doing the same.

Demographics

Students: Participant Demographic Information

The 98 students that participated in this study were asked to include their age, class, gender, ethnicity and language(s) spoken at home. The teachers, however, were not asked these questions. The following information presents the demographics of the students surveyed.

The first area examined is that of gender. There was a very even mix of females and males, as can be seen by the following table.

Table 3.1: Gender

Gender	Response count	Response rate
Female	49	50%
Male	48	48.9%
No answer	1	1%
Total	98	99.9%*

* Percentage total not 100 due to rounding.

According to this graph, responses were almost perfectly split between male and female participants. There was only one student who did not mark gender.

Another area of interest is age. Ages from student respondents varied from 13 to 21. The following figure depicts the range of ages.

Table 3.2: Age

Age	Response count	Response rate
13	6	6.1%
14	42	42.9%
15	20	20.4%
16	6	6.1%
17	10	10.2%
18	12	12.2%
19	1	1%
20	0	0%
21	1	1%
Total	98	99.9%*

* Percentage total not 100 due to rounding.

It is not unusual to have students of various ages in the same class, as it is more common in Germany to repeat a grade. However, the majority of the students surveyed in this study were in the eighth and then ninth grades, and thus the ages 14 and 15 are most common, comprising 63.3% of the total.

The classes surveyed are represented in the next table.

Table 3.3: Class

Class (grade level)	Response count	Response rate
8	50	51%
9	24	24.5%
10	2	2%
11	21	21.4%
12	1	1%
Total	98	99.9%*

* Percentage total not 100 due to rounding.

Again, this table shows that approximately half the students surveyed were in the eighth grade. However, there were similar amounts of ninth and eleventh graders surveyed as well, and very few tenth and twelfth graders.

The next category concerns ethnicity, or more specifically where students are from and where their parents are from. The column titled “additional countries” is used for countries other than Germany that respondents said either they or their parents were from. The names of the respective countries are also listed in this column for clarification. The first table shows the students’ responses regarding their own nationality, while the second table addresses that of their parents.

Table 3.4: Student Ethnicity

Country of origin	Additional countries	Response count	Response rate
Germany		76	77.6%
Germany and other(s)	+ Egypt + India + Peru + the Netherlands + Turkey	5	5.1%
Country other than Germany	Afghanistan (3) Armenia (2) Egypt Iran Palestine* Poland Russia (4) Thailand Turkey (2)	17	17.3%
Total		98	100%

* Student’s wording.

The students were asked to write in where they were from as well as where their parents were from, and they did not have any choices from which to choose. Therefore, answers such as Palestine arose. This is one limiting factor when using a means of self-reporting such as surveys.

Table 3.5: Parental Ethnicity

Country of origin	Additional countries	Response count	Response rate
Germany		55	56.1%
Germany and other(s)	+ Australia + France (2) + Greece + India + Iran + Italy + the Netherlands + Peru & the Netherlands + Russia/Switzerland & Spain/Portugal + United States (3)	13	13.3%
Country other than Germany	Afghanistan (5) Albania Armenia (2) Croatia Egypt India Iran Jordan & Palestine Morocco Pakistan Poland (3) Poland & Pakistan Russia (4) Serbia Thailand Turkey (4)	30	30.6%
Total		98	100%

The ethnicity of parents varied even more so than that of the students, which shows a large mixture of different backgrounds.

Another matter of interest was the languages spoken at the children's homes.

The survey addressed this issue and the results can be seen in the following table.

Table 3.6: Languages Spoken at Home

Language	Additional languages	Response count	Response rate
German (only)		58	59.2%
German and other(s)	+ Afghani (2) + Albanian + Arabic (4) + Armenian (2) + English (5) + Farsi + Iranian + Persian + Polish (3) + Russian (2) + Serbian + Spanish (2) + Swedish + Turkish (2) + Thai + Urdu & Hindi	30	30.6%
Other	Afghani Farsi & Pashto Italian Polish Russian (2) Turkish (2)	8	8.2%
No answer		2	2%
Total		98	100%

A majority, nearly 60%, of the students marked that they speak only German at home.

However, approximately 30% of the students surveyed said they speak German plus one other language (at least) when at home. The small percentage of students that speak only other languages at home was around 8%, but that is still an important number to consider. The languages spoken at home relates to the previous issue of language acquisition, and how vital that is to integration and succeeding at school.

Results

This section provides details regarding the questions asked on the surveys and the results collected, both for the student and teacher surveys.

Contact

Other than demographic information, the students' survey explored contact with people from different backgrounds and friendships. While most of the following questions had some form of yes/no response, they also allowed for some responses to be written in and added on to the yes/no part. Therefore, anything in addition to the yes/no answer that is relevant will be discussed with the corresponding question.

Question 6 was as follows: How often do you have contact with people from other countries (for example in school, at home, on vacation, in sports, etc.)? The choices provided were: a. daily, b. once a month, c. once a year, d. never. The following table illustrates the students' responses.

Table 3.7: Contact

Students	Response count	Response rate
Daily	88	89.8%
Once a month	6*	6.1%
A few times a year	3	3.1%
Never	1	1%
Total	98	100%

*2 students marked this choice but wrote in "a few times a month".

A large majority of students answered that they have daily contact with people from different backgrounds. Also, many students wrote in that they have this contact

within their school. This further illustrates how diverse schools have become, and emphasizes the need for intercultural understanding.

The next question on the survey asked students whether they have friends from other countries, and if so, to please list where some of them are from. This differs from the contact question in that it focuses more on positive relationships between people of different backgrounds, and not just whether or not they come into contact with one another.

Table 3.8: Friends from other countries

Students	Response count	Response rate
Yes	94	95.9%
No	3	3.1%
No answer	1	1%
Total	98	100%

An overwhelming amount of respondents, almost 96%, indicated that they are friends with people from different countries. This is a significant percentage, and can be viewed as highly positive.

After asking about the students' relationships, the next question concerned their parents and asked whether their parents have friends from other countries and to please list the countries they are from, if known.

Table 3.9: Parents' Friends

Parents	Response count	Response rate
Yes	71	72.4%
No	19	19.4%
Don't know	3	3.1%
No answer	5	5.1%
Total	98	100%

While these numbers of “yes” responses are lower than the previous table, there is still a majority of students who said their parents have friends from other countries.

School

The next few questions on the survey dealt with intercultural lessons in school, stereotypes, and their opinions on the importance of where one comes from. Question 9 asked: Do you learn about people from other countries and how the people there live in school (for example food, music, traditions, holidays, clothing, religion, etc.)? This was a simple yes/no response and results are shown in the table below.

Table 3.10: Cultural Lessons

Students	Response count	Response rate
Yes	93	94.9%
No	5	5.1
Total	98	100%

Clearly, some sort of cultural lessons are being given in these classes, since almost 95% of students surveyed answered yes.

While the previous question was more objective, Question 10 took a more subjective approach and asked the students if they liked such lessons.

Table. 3.11: Enjoyment of Cultural Lessons

Students	Response count	Response rate
Yes	75	76.5%
Sometimes	13	13.3%
No	5	5.1%
No answer	5	5.1%
Total	98	100%

This question was originally meant to be a yes/no response, however, it was left for students to fill in their answers, and many wrote in “sometimes”, therefore it was added as a column. Again, the majority of students marked “yes”, but there was a remaining 23% that either indicated they sometimes enjoyed the lessons, did not enjoy them, or the students simply did not choose to answer this particular question.

In order to specific further, Question 11 focused on whether the students could think of a certain lesson they enjoyed or simply remembered, and to briefly tell what it was about. The following table presents their answers.

Table 3.12: Remembered Lessons

Students	Response count	Response rate
Yes	46	46.9%
No	36	36.7%
Don't know	2	2%
No answer	14	14.3%
Total	98	99.9%*

* Percentage total not 100 due to rounding.

This time the answers were more evenly split between yes and no, and furthermore almost 15% of respondents did not answer the question. Therefore, students remember having cultural lessons, but cannot necessarily remember what they were specifically about. The ones that did recall certain lessons provided some examples such as history, American music, xenophobia, Russia, culture, national awareness, Australia, Thailand, Alaska, politics, sports, life in general, Spanish food, China, life in India, films, Chile, geography, Tibet, USA and Birma. Students simply listed topics they remembered in the space provided.

The next question addressed the importance of learning about other cultures and how people live, as well as asking students to provide a why/why not answer.

Table 3.13: Is it Important to Learn about Life in Other Cultures?

Students	Response count	Response rate
Yes	87	88.8%
No	5	5.1%
Don't know	1	1%
No answer	5	5.1%
Total	98	100%

Almost 89% of respondents said it was important to learn about people from other cultures and their lives. Some of the reasons for this that they provided are to better understand others, it is simply good to know, culture, education, acceptance, tolerance, life in general, prevent racism, right and wrong, life perspective, and comparisons. Several students wrote in tolerance, better understanding, life, and culture.

Their answers show that many of the students are already aware of some of the goals of intercultural education, even if they do not necessarily associate these goals with the education. They acknowledge that these things are important objectives.

The last question that will be addressed in this section concerned the importance of where one comes from. Students were given the choices of: a. very important, b. important, c. neutral, d. not important, e. completely unimportant. The results are as follows.

Table 3. 14: How Important is it Where You Come from?

Students	Response count	Response rate
Very Important	33	33.7%
Important	26	26.5%
Neutral	30	30.6%
Not important	2	2%
Completely unimportant	6	6.1
No answer	1	1%
Total	98	99.9%*

* Percentage total not 100 due to rounding.

The responses are fairly evenly split between the first three columns, while only a small percentage indicated that where someone is from is not of much importance. Hence, almost 60% of respondents noted that where one is from is important. However, a “why” component was not included, and therefore it is impossible to know the reasoning for their responses. If the survey was to be administered again, this would be a part that the researcher would like to add.

There are two questions included in the survey not addressed in the tables above, one concerning what students thought to be stereotypical of Germans, and one

asking them where they would like to go in the world. These did not seem to be of great relevance to this chapter, therefore they have not been examined.

The actual survey (translated version) is presented in the figure below. The original survey, which was written in German and previously mentioned above, can be found in the Appendix.

Figure 3.1

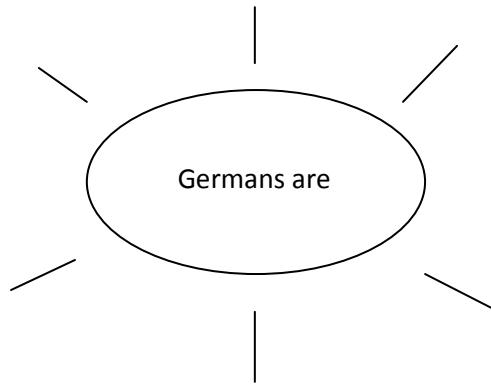
Student Survey

Age _____ Class _____ Gender _____

1. Where are you from?
2. Where do your parents come from?
3. Does anyone in your family live outside of Germany?
- If so, where?
4. Have you ever been to another country?
- If yes, where and for how long?
5. Which language(s) do you speak at home?
6. How often do you have contact with people from other countries (for example in school, at home, on vacation, at sports, etc.)?
 - a. daily
 - b. once a month
 - c. once a year
 - d. never
7. Do you have friends that are from other countries?
- If yes, where do they come from?
8. Do your parents have friends that come from different countries?
- If yes, where do they come from?
9. Do you learn about people from other countries and how the people there live in school (for example food, music, traditions, holidays, clothing, religion, etc.)?

10. If you do learn about these things, do you enjoy these lessons (about other countries)?
11. Is there a specific lesson that you remember, or one that you especially enjoyed?
- If yes, what was it about?
12. Do you think it is important for one to learn about other countries and life there?
- Why/why not?

13.



What do you think is “typical German”? List at least six characteristics that you consider typical of Germans.

14. How important is where you come from?
 - a. very important
 - b. important
 - c. neutral
 - d. not important
 - e. completely unimportant
15. Is there a certain country that you would really like to go to (travel or live)?
- If yes, where and why?

Teachers

The teachers' surveys differed from the students' surveys. There were less demographics obtained from them, such as gender, age, etc. However, they were asked what subjects they teach, how long they have taught them, and so forth. Their surveys then focused more specifically on intercultural education, what programs are available, how students respond, and their own opinions. Only 4 teachers returned the surveys, which makes this a highly limited sample that is also not truly representative, but it is still an opportunity to explore the subject.

For the teachers' surveys, the English version of the actual survey is presented first in the figure below, and then the results per question are discussed.

Figure 3.2

Teacher Survey

1. How long have you worked as a teacher?
2. Which levels of class have you taught?
3. What level of class do you currently teach?
4. Which subjects do you currently teach?
5. Is there a specific program for intercultural education that you must follow?

If yes, please answer Question Nr. 6. If not, you can go directly to Question Nr. 7.

6. Please describe the program:
 - a. Subjects/Topics: Structure of the lesson
(Group work/individual work/written work/presentations)
 - b. Is there a specific textbook or school or government agency guidelines that you have to use?

- c. Who provides the program (or textbook)? The school, the government, or someone else?
7. If there is not specific program to be followed, do you personally incorporate a program or lessons with intercultural education for your students?

If so, can you describe the program? (When possible, please provide specific examples.)

Subjects/Topics:

Structure of the lesson:

If not, why not?

8. How do the students react to these lessons?
9. Are there particular reasons for these reactions?
10. Do you think that intercultural education is something important that should be implemented in schools? Why or why not?
11. How important is intercultural education in school?

Not important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very important

12. What changes regarding intercultural education have you observed, since you started teaching?
13. Do you find this positive or negative? Please support your opinion.

The following table depicts the first four questions asked on the teachers' survey.

Table 3.15: Teachers' Information

Questions	Responses
How long have you worked as a teacher?	Years: 3.5 35 2.5 2*
Which levels of class have you taught?	Grades/Levels: 5-13 Secondary level 2 2 & 5-8 11-13 & middle level
What level of class do you currently teach?	8, 11, 12 Secondary level 2 5-8 10, 11
Which subjects do you currently teach?**	German, English Philosophy, German, Politics English, Art English, German

*One teacher was still studying but had been student teaching for two years.

** In Germany, teachers almost always teach at least two subjects when not teaching in primary schools.

Within the teachers surveyed, most were newer teachers, while one had been teaching for a significant amount of time. Grade levels varied from 2 up through 13, however the teachers were currently teaching mid to upper level classes. The subjects were less varied, as they all taught at least one language. This is mostly due to the fact that the researcher obtained contacts that were also involved in studying/teaching languages, and used those to locate teachers willing to participate in the study.

The next part of the survey specifically addressed intercultural education. When asked if there was a specific program for intercultural education (Question 5), all teachers answered no. Therefore, Question 6 was appropriately skipped by all participants.

Question 7, shown above, asked if they directly incorporated intercultural education in their own classrooms, and to please describe such lessons/programs if applicable. Only one teacher responded yes, and wrote that her American teaching assistant told the students about the United States and that was a way to include intercultural education in the classroom. If teachers responded with a no, they were asked to explain. One teacher wrote that the administration at that time would not allow diversions from the regulated curriculum. Another wrote that even though there was no specific program in that school, students were still exposed to intercultural topics on a regular basis. The last teacher noted that again, while there was not a specific program within that school, the Hamburg curriculum did incorporate intercultural education in its regular lessons. However, how that education is taught is up to the teacher individually. This teacher said s/he personally examined the issue through texts, often in English, by exploring how people in other cultures live, and by addressing the topic of national stereotypes.

As for students' reactions to such lessons, two teachers did not answer these questions (Questions 8 and 9). The teacher with the American teaching assistant wrote that the students "like it a lot, even though they do not understand everything" (Question 8) and added that they liked listening to a native speaker (Question 9). The class of 5 was the class where the students all had immigration backgrounds, and this teacher remarked that the students reacted positively to such lessons, but that they were often surprised that there were people more "foreign" than themselves.

Question 10 addressed the teachers' perceived importance of intercultural education in school and asked them to support their answer. All 4 answered yes, this type of education was important. Three gave supporting reasons: 1. Many students have migration backgrounds; 2. To better understand people from different countries; and 3. It is always important, however it depends on how that education is administered and with what goals. It is also important not to learn just what someone in another country eats, but one must learn that there are differences among all people in every situation and differences should not be classified as stereotypes or portrayed in a negative light.

In accordance with Question 10, Question 11 asked how important this education was. A scale ranging from 1 to 10 was provided. 1 was closest to not important, while 10 was next to very important. They answered 8, 10, 10 and 10. Hence, as already established, they viewed intercultural education to be a significant topic.

The final two questions on the survey dealt with changes regarding intercultural education which they have observed, and if they have found it to be positive or negative. One teacher chose not to answer either question, while a second answered only Question 12 and wrote that s/he had not been teaching long enough to answer this question properly. One teacher responded that originally this topic played no role, but recently it has become important (this was the teacher who has been teaching for 35 years). This teacher also noted that s/he views it as a positive change, as Germany has become a land of immigration. The last teacher said that s/he has

noticed an increase in the importance of this topic, however s/he feels there is not enough time allotted to properly address the issue during the school year.

The teachers' surveys were aimed at more directly inquiring about intercultural education while the students' surveys were slightly more indirect. Again, while not many teachers participated, the ones that did provided some useful information.

Limitations

While this study was intended to provide insight into the German education system, it should be noted that many limitations do exist. First, this was a very small sampling of students and teachers, therefore it cannot be fully representative of Hamburg, as well as the whole of Germany. Ideally, the researcher would have preferred to have obtained a larger sample with a more varied grade level response, as well as more responses from teachers.

Secondly, the choosing of participants was not random. Classes were found by contacts at the University of Hamburg as well as Fulbright contacts. Teachers were asked if they would participate, and those that said yes were included in the study. This not only made participation voluntary, but also restricted the number of classrooms visited. Also, students were told they did not have to fill out the surveys if they did not want to, and no surveys were collected without a signed parental consent form.

Students did not know about the surveys or what they entailed before the day of the surveying. The researcher, along with the participating teacher, gave a brief description of the survey, but did not tell what information was intended to be obtained specifically. Students were instructed to work alone, though some did discuss occasional answers with their neighbors, despite being asked not to do so. For example, one student would turn to another and ask what they put for a certain answer. Therefore, there should have been limited contamination effects.

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, surveys are a method of self-reporting, which is self-reflective. There may have been different perspectives presented if there had been research conducted in the form of observation in addition to the surveys. That would be something to consider for future research.

Concerning the issues of validity and reliability, this particular study is lacking in both. As far as reliability, there was no form of retesting used, nor were there alternate forms included, such as reworded surveys or differently stating questions. Students, as well as teachers, were only surveyed one time, therefore reliability cannot be assessed as high. In addition, when looking at four methods of validity (face, content, criterion and construct), only one of the three were conducted. There is some face validity, as the researcher did show other untrained people the surveys in order to obtain an opinion on validity, however this is a very casual method and not always considered the best method. There were no reviewers with some knowledge of the subject except one university student, therefore content validity is also extremely low. The researcher could not find similar work to compare

the survey against, thus criterion validity does not apply, and the researcher is as yet unable to determine how meaningful the instrument is in practical use, which then cancels out any construct validity. In retrospect, the researcher would examine these concerns in more depth before attempting another survey or similar research.

Another weakness is that educational programs all over Germany vary. Therefore, programs and curricula in Hamburg are not guaranteed to be the same as those in, for example, Munich, or in any other part of the country. Thus, how students view such programs cannot possibly be the same. Furthermore, populations are also varied, and as already mentioned Hamburg has a higher percentage of people with immigrant backgrounds, which could also change results. Hence, this small case study is simply that: a very small study specific to a certain area within the country.

While the surveys were written in German and that is not the researcher's native tongue, a native speaker from the university did revise the surveys to make sure they were grammatically correct and understandable. Therefore, that area should not be a limiting factor.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

After I graduated with my Bachelor's degree I spent a year as an assistant English teacher in a *Gymnasium* in western Germany. I was able to work with grades sixth through twelfth, and often given the hour to lead by myself. One day, when I had an older class I started the lesson by writing "American" on the board. I then asked them to tell me what they thought was typical American. The list looked something like this:

American

Fat
Love McDonalds
Movie stars
Drive big cars
Superficial friendliness
Bomb other countries
Loud
Jeans, sweatshirts and tennis shoes

After getting their list down, I then wrote my own up on the board, however I titled mine "German". It looked like this:

German

Sauerkraut
David Hasselhoff
Lederhosen
Beer
Oktoberfest

Sausages

Orderly

Unfriendly

As I wrote these things on the board the class got louder and louder. I heard protests and laughter, kids saying that these things were definitely not true and just stereotypes. I pretended to be surprised and asked if they all did not really love wearing *Lederhosen* and eating sausage while listening to David Hasselhoff sing. They made faces and were very vocal about discrediting these ridiculous stereotypes. I then asked if they thought I fit into the American list. They shook their heads no and said I did not fit into that list.

That was simply one way of introducing a lesson on stereotypes and judging people from what one hears and does not experience personally, especially about people with different backgrounds or people from other cultures. The kids were engaged in the lesson and I felt it was a useful part of their intercultural education. This is, however, just a very small example of one way of incorporating such education. It also reinforced in my mind the importance of including intercultural education in the schooling process, and that there are numerable ways to do so. Teachers have the option of making these lessons fun and memorable, and hopefully helping students become more open-minded and accepting in the process.

This thesis has explored some of the many reasons why intercultural education and immigrant integration are related, and why they are important topics in today's world. With globalization and the increase in rapid and significant numbers

of immigrants, countries that previously did not see themselves as lands of immigration are having to adapt to recent changes. The Council of the European Union (2004) has recognized now that, “immigration is a permanent feature of European society” (p. 1). Therefore, it is a situation that needs to be seriously addressed if the states involved want to encourage a positive environment for their citizens.

Not only has the change in populations become apparent, but also the importance of education and its role in shaping society and aiding in integration. This thesis has discussed how crucial language acquisition is, as well as intercultural education in addition to other federal and local programs. However, it has also shown that while the German government recognizes that intercultural education can be useful in helping integrate tension-filled populations, expressing this idea federally has not necessarily corresponded with local implementation. As previously mentioned, some areas in the country take a more aggressive approach to including intercultural education in the curriculum, while others do not. There is a definite lack of uniformity in implementation, and sometimes even a lack of it altogether in some areas. The example of Hamburg provided in this paper illustrated some programs that are currently in place and a desire to incorporate even more, which is on the more positive end of the spectrum, but again, not an accurate representation of the whole country.

Conclusions

After reviewing some of the literature on intercultural education, focusing on the case of Germany, and reviewing the survey results of this study, the researcher has come to three conclusions. First, education is an important means to aiding in immigrant integration and a better functioning of the German society as a whole. Second, while some efforts have clearly been made, there is still room for more to be done. Finally, there is a noticeable lack of information and research on specific curriculum and programs dealing with intercultural education, as well as research on the evaluation of such programs.

Regarding the first conclusion, supporting statements can be found in the literature itself. Rodden (2001) writes, “many of them [educators] believe that...only a revolution in German pedagogy—toward character education rather than the traditional German concentration on knowledge acquisition and skills training—will eliminate racial stereotypes, dissolve centuries of bigotry, and instill intercultural understanding” (p. 68). In addition,

within complex societies the need to develop cross-cultural negotiations and learnings is an important issue. While it is important for minorities to know about their cultures and histories it is more important that other dominant groups understand this issue. This is partly the case because there is an urgent need to develop common and shared core civic values with the public domain (Gundara 233).

Not only is this education important, Gundara includes another vital aspect, that of focusing on native Germans and their views and understanding. How they interpret “foreigner”, “German-ness”, and “integration” greatly influences how successful integration can be.

Wolf and Tudose have also included a table illustrating how “German” certain groups of immigrants feel. Two groups, Turks and Italians, were surveyed to obtain a better understanding of how integrated and part of the host society they feel. They also wanted to

focus on identity and if by living in Germany for a prolonged period of time (or even growing up there), people with a different background would identify themselves as German. Table 4.1 shows that immigrants and those with immigrant backgrounds have not and continue to not identify overwhelmingly with being German.

Table 4.1²¹: Identification as German (1991, 1997) in %

How strongly do you feel German?					
	1991		1997		
	Turks	Italians	Turks	Italians	2 nd Generation
Completely	1.3	6.5	2.1	4.7	8.1
Mostly	6.0	0.2	10.9	15.6	15.4
Half and Half	26.0	31.2	27.2	34.6	41.2
Hardly	19.3	19.9	27.5	20.9	16.2
Not at all	47.5	33.3	32.3	24.3	19.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

One might think that being born in Germany and growing up there would change the numbers drastically, however, when looking at the Second Generation column, this is not the case.

Integration does not seem to be occurring as quickly as one would hope or assume. This leads one to ask why, and what could be done to increase and speed up the integration process. While this table only focuses on two groups of immigrants, it does provide evidence in support of the argument that immigrant integration continues to be an issue of concern.

Concerning the second conclusion,

there are regulations in all federal states for the provision of certain supportive measures intended for pupils of non-German origin. It is true that these measures are carried out with the intention of facilitating the integration of immigrant children and youth into the German education

21 Wolf and Tudose, pg. 136. Their source is SOEP data for 1991 and 1997.

system, but they are rarely considered sufficient to achieve these objectives (Wolf and Tudose, 2005, p. 115).

Therefore other measures are needed. As previously mentioned, Wolf and Tudose (2005) go on to argue that, “if cultural integration is considered a two-way process, then there must also be policies directed towards the native population” (p. 116). This is where an important portion of the solution lies.

If intercultural education does not focus on both groups, immigrants and Germans alike, then it is only addressing half of the issue. One group must be willing to integrate, while the other must be encouraging and open to that integration. As the former president of the Bundestag, Rita Süssmuth, has said,

if the integration of people should succeed, those who come from another culture to Germany, and those who have other traditions than those of the majority and belong to other religions, then all parties concerned – immigrants and the majority of the society – must make a contribution
 (Süssmuth p. 3)^{22 23}

The conference she was speaking at in 2003, while focused on Muslim and German relations, had a great deal to do with intercultural issues, especially in the German school system. There were various speakers at this conference, and they addressed issues such as intercultural education work in schools, Islam in schools, Islam and teacher education, Islam in the curriculum and textbooks, and finally active integration of Muslims into the German school system. There were different methods of integration discussed, and the examples of focusing on textbooks, teacher training, etc. are good options. As for Dr. Süssmuth’s quote,

22 President of the Bundestag from 1988-1998.

23 Translated by researcher. Original German: Wenn die Integration von Menschen gelingen soll, die aus einem anderen Kulturkreis nach Deutschland gekommen sind, die in anderen Traditionen als denen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft aufgewachsen sind und die zudem einer anderen Religion angehören, dann müssen alle Beteiligten – Zuwandere wie Mehrheitsgesellschaft – hierzu beitragen.

however, her more general statement on integration is accurate in acknowledging the need for both parties to put forth effort.

As Sigrid Luchtenberg (1998) warns of what could happen if intercultural education and immigrant integration are ignored,

we could see the development of:

- (1) A large group of young migrants who are marginalised because of their status and their poor school careers, a group that is unable to cope with discrepancies between different challenges from German society and from their families or ethnic communities in Germany. This could lead a large group into isolation, depression or crime.
- (2) A large group of German students who feel unable to cope with different groups in 'their' country representing different religions, different lifestyles, different values. At worst, this could lead them into neo-fascist groups (p. 55).

These statements are quite powerful and alarming. Taking into consideration the first part of Luchtenberg's statement, one could look to the riots in France in 2004/2005 as a possible example of what happens when integration is not successful. Many of the participants in the car burnings and rioting were unhappy immigrants that felt segregated from French society. Luchtenberg's argument that these sorts of isolated feelings could lead to dangerous expressions has perhaps already been witnessed, and if measures are not taken to change the status quo, things could stay the same or even get worse, maybe even to the extreme of acts of terrorism. This speculation might be too dramatic, however it might also be a possibility.

Her second point addresses the issue of Germans not feeling comfortable in their own country, and how this could lead to neo-fascism. This is a valid point for the whole of Europe, however. Europe in general is experiencing significant immigration and working on finding successful methods of integration. As already shown, there is still much tension in Germany and other countries. It would definitely benefit the countries of Europe to invest time, money and effort into stemming this tension and the possible development of neo-fascist groups. Luchtenberg's statement is certainly a credible warning.

In the end, though, one cannot force everyone to embrace integration. Even if people are made aware of intercultural education and its benefits, it may result in only a cosmetic change for some. Some people will most likely choose to be more active in the complex process of integration, and some will choose to abstain. However, working toward a positive change in institutions may be more valuable than changing individual mindsets, and may also be a more realistic and obtainable goal.

In addition, as important as this form of education is, one must also ask at what cost does incorporating such programs into education come? Is there a substantial trade-off in spending time on other practical subjects such as math and reading, in order to make sure intercultural lessons are introduced? Some teachers would argue that currently they barely have enough time to get through their regular lessons plans, let alone add more to them. However, often local governments are the bodies that decide what programs ought to be included in schools.

Furthermore, by incorporating such education locally, will there be a noticeable and worthwhile difference? Is it worth the effort to try and change individual biases, and will it be helpful down the road? It is difficult to tell whether these programs can make a substantial and positive difference in the coming decades when these students come into positions of power. It is the opinion of the researcher, though, that some effort is certainly worth the effort.

Undoubtedly, integration is a crucial issue that needs to be handled from various angles. Changing laws, creating new programs, adapting ones already in place, etc. are things that can be done. However, intercultural education also plays a vital role in the process and should not be overlooked.

Results

The results presented in the previous chapter illustrate that students frequently have contact with people with different backgrounds from themselves, especially in a school setting. They do have some intercultural lessons and many are aware of the significance of such education.

The teachers' surveys revealed that while there is a lack in specific intercultural education programs, times do seem to be changing and this issue has recently become more pronounced. They also see the value in incorporating such education.

These results do correspond to the current situation in Germany in that there is a noticeable need for change, and it is starting to come about. However, these things take time, and a similar study done in the future could present very different results.

Personal Changes

Upon completion and review of this study, the researcher has come to the conclusion that should she do further research on this topic, several changes would be necessary. First of all, there would need to be a much bigger focus on issues such as validity and reliability where the surveys are concerned. Surveys would be re-worded, reviewed by others, and given more than once. As already stated, this study is highly limited and lacking in many areas. However, the researcher feels this was a good learning experience, and would be better prepared the next time.

Furthermore, if this research were to be continued, it would be beneficial to increase the amount of participants, and ideally to conduct the surveys in more than one city. This

would more accurately represent the country than the current small sampling from only one city.

In addition, the researcher would attempt to base her surveys off of other surveys already used in successful studies, as that was not done with the current surveys.

Hence there is significant room for improvement, should the researcher ever pursue this topic further.

Recommendations

From the literature and surveys that were reviewed, this section contains some possible suggestions. First, it would be beneficial if a more standardized intercultural education program be implemented throughout Germany, because “the role that a rigorously selective but intercultural curriculum can play in helping to shape such values is fairly critical” (Gundara, 2000, p. 233). As Wolf and Tudose (2005) acknowledge, even though some successful programs have been instated, there has never been such a standardized and country-wide program implemented (p. 143). In order for children to value ideas such as respect, tolerance, acceptance and understanding, they must first be exposed to them.

The surveys collected for this project definitely showed that most students had fairly regular contact with people different from themselves, and that they probably had some kind of intercultural lessons from time to time, but they also demonstrated a need for more exposure to such programs/lessons. Also, the teachers surveyed acknowledged a lack of intercultural education programs and yet expressed the significance of such education.

There are many aspects to intercultural education that must be carefully taken into consideration, from language acquisition to identity and UNESCO's definition of tolerance.

However, it must be implemented throughout Germany in a more unified and frequent manner.

Not only should there be a more unified and tangible effort, but there should be more documentation concerning it. In reviewing the literature on the subject, it was extremely difficult to find specific intercultural education programs and curriculum laid out in detail. There are many possible reasons why there is not much literature available, and one very plausible cause could be the distinct lack of unity among programs. A researcher would literally have to evaluate each school and area separately, which is near impossible. In order to gather information concerning Hamburg, the researcher found that information was scattered in several different places, and no one place truly had a listing of all programs or how to access information regarding them. This could also be occurring since the federal government only provides broad guidelines for intercultural education, leaving local areas to decide for themselves how to implement these matters.

Furthermore, the literature was very consistent in arguing there is a consensus that something needs to be done, and what ideals need to be in place. It also says that some areas are working on such projects. As for specifics, however, that is still an area that needs to be addressed and elaborated upon. In addition, there needs to be more studies evaluating the current situation in as scientific a manner as possible. As Banks (1993) argues, there is a serious and substantial gap in the theory and practice of intercultural education, with theory development leaving actual practice struggling to catch up (p. 3).

While implementation and documentation are significant issues, careful, systematic and thorough execution of programs is also of the utmost importance. Deborah Freedman Lustig (1997) argues that if superficial education is instated, it poses the danger of doing more harm than good. She states that careless and superficial implementation can lead to an

increase in ethnic aggravations and isolation, accomplishing the opposite of what intercultural education hopes to achieve (p. 575).

Another meaningful point is made by Professor Dr. Mualla Selçuk (2003) when he questions,

we face a new educational paradigm. That is 'taking others as a starting point, seeing the issue from the point of other and providing a way for a better awareness'. In practice this new paradigm raises several educational problems while the main aim is to respect the children's cultural and religious background. An answer is still needed for this question: Can we teach this new paradigm? And if so; how? How is this teaching to be integrated into the school? (p. 19).

An answer to these questions would perhaps further the process of change and reform in Germany, paving the way for a better-functioning and more peaceful society, one in which immigrant integration would not have to be such a contentious and difficult challenge.

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Appendix

German (original) version of student survey:

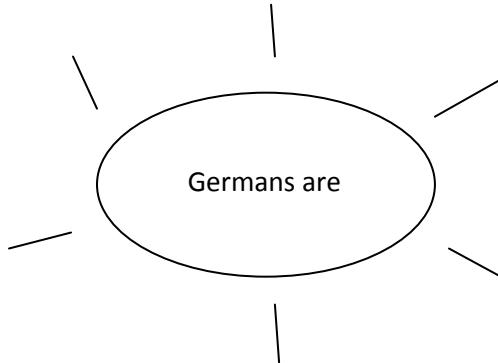
Fragebogen Schüler

Alter _____ Klasse _____ Geschlecht _____

1. Woher kommst Du?
2. Woher kommen Deine Eltern?
3. Wohnt jemand von Deiner Familie außerhalb von Deutschland?
- Wenn ja, wo?
4. Warst Du schon mal in einem anderen Land?
- Wenn ja, wo und wie lange?
5. Welche Sprache(n) sprichst Du zu Hause?
6. Wie oft hast Du Kontakt mit Personen aus anderen Ländern (z.B. in der Schule, zu Hause, während der Ferien, im Sportverein, usw.)?
 - a. täglich
 - b. einmal im Monat
 - c. ein paar Mal im Jahr
 - d. nie
7. Hast Du Freunde, die aus anderen Ländern kommen?
- Wenn ja, woher kommen sie?
8. Haben Deine Eltern Freunde, die aus anderen Ländern kommen?
- Wenn ja, woher kommen sie?
9. Lernst Du in der Schule etwas über andere Länder und wie die Leute dort leben (z.B. Essen, Musik, Traditionen, Feste, Kleidung, Religion, usw.)?
10. Wenn ja, gefallen Dir diese Unterrichtsstunden (über andere Länder)?
11. Gibt es eine bestimmte Unterrichtsstunde, an die Du dich besonders erinnerst, oder die Dir sehr gefallen hat?
- Wenn ja, worum ging es?
12. Denkst Du, dass es wichtig ist, dass man über Leute aus anderen Ländern und deren Leben etwas lernt?

- Warum/warum nicht?

13.



Was findest Du “typisch deutsch”? Liste mindestens sechs Eigenschaften auf, die Du typisch deutsch findest.

14. Wie wichtig ist es, woher Du kommst?

- a. sehr wichtig
- b. wichtig
- c. neutral
- d. nicht wichtig
- e. total unwichtig

15. Gibt es ein Land, in das Du gerne gehen (reisen oder leben) möchtest?

- Wenn ja, wohin und warum?

German version of teacher survey:

Fragebogen für LehrerInnen

1. Wie lange sind Sie schon als LehrerIn tätig?
2. In welchen Klassenstufen haben Sie schon unterrichtet?
3. Welche Klassenstufe(n) unterrichten Sie zurzeit?
4. Welche Fächer unterrichten Sie zurzeit?

5. Gibt es ein spezifisches Programm zur Interkulturellen Bildung, dem Sie folgen müssen?

Wenn ja, dann beantworten Sie bitte Frage Nr. 6. Wenn nicht, können Sie direkt zu Frage Nr. 7 weitergehen.

6. Bitte beschreiben Sie das Programm:

- a. Fächer/Themen: Struktur der Stunden
(Gruppenarbeit/Einzelarbeit/schriftliche Arbeit/Präsentationen)
- b. Gibt es ein bestimmtes Lehrbuch oder einen Leitfaden der Schule oder der Behörde, das Sie benutzen müssen?
- c. Wer stellt das Programm (oder das Lehrbuch) zur Verfügung? Die Schule, die Behörde oder die Regierung? Oder jemand anderes?
7. Falls es kein spezifisches Programm gibt, führen Sie selbst ein Programm zur Interkulturellen Bildung für Ihre Schülerinnen und Schüler durch?

Wenn ja, können Sie das Programm beschreiben? (Falls möglich bitte mit spezifischen Beispielen.)

Fächer/Themen:

Struktur der Stunden:

Wenn nicht, warum nicht?

8. Wie reagieren die Schülerinnen und Schüler auf diese Unterrichtsstunden?
9. Gibt es bestimmte Gründe für solche Reaktionen?
10. Denken Sie, dass Interkulturelle Bildung etwas Wichtiges ist, das in der Schule vermittelt werden sollte? Warum/warum nicht?
11. Wie wichtig ist Interkulturelle Bildung in der Schule?

Nicht wichtig 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Sehr wichtig

12. Was hat sich in Bezug auf Interkulturelle Bildung geändert, seit Sie angefangen

haben zu unterrichten?

13. Finden Sie das positiv oder negativ? Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Meinung.