

FRAUKE MIERA

Country Report on Education: Germany



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ABOUT EDUMIGROM

Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe is a collaborative research project that aims to study how ethnic differences in education contribute to the diverging prospects of minority ethnic youth and their peers in urban settings. Through applying a cross-national comparative perspective, the project explores the overt and covert mechanisms in socio-economic, political, cultural, and gender relations that make ethnicity a substantive component of inequalities in social status and power. The project involves nine countries from old and new member states of the European Union: the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. EDUMIGROM began in March 2008 and will run through February 2011. The project is coordinated by the Center for Policy Studies at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.

ABOUT THE PAPER

The first research phase of EDUMIGROM focused on background studies on education and ethnic relations in the domestic contexts of the project's target countries. During this phase, research teams gathered and processed macro-level data and information with three adjacent goals in mind: to supply the comprehensive country studies on education and ethnic relations; to inform cross-country comparisons on minority ethnic youth in education; to provide ample information for the multi-level selection of samples for surveys, community and school case studies. A total of 16 studies were prepared, and their publication is intended to share valuable knowledge and stimulate discussion on issues related to the education and integration of minority ethnic youth in Europe. These reports made available to the wider public may no longer contain specific information on the sites and schools selected for the EDUMIGROM field research. The relevant chapters have either been excluded or anonymised in order to protect the identity of the researched schools, communities and individuals.

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1. Overview of the Educational System

1.1 Institutional Structure

According to Article 7, Basic Law, German schooling is subject to State supervision. Education policies are the concern of the 16 Federal States (*Länder*). Schooling is compulsory in Germany for children from the age of 6 (in some *Länder* at age 5) until the age of 18 (including vocational training) respectively for 12 years after enrolment. In 1964 compulsory education was extended to include the children of migrants, i.e. the so-called guest-workers (Secretariat KMK 2006, see also diagram in the Appendix).

Compulsory education does not generally apply to children of refugees who hold an insecure, temporary residence permit or to and undocumented migrants. In 2005 seven¹ of the 16 *Länder* denied compulsory education to students. These *Länder* have implemented the 'right to schooling' (*Schulbesuchsrecht*) upon application by the parents. Nevertheless, because of administrative, financial, legal and organisational reasons the 'right to schooling' is not able to guarantee schooling to all refugee children. Moreover, undocumented children are completely excluded from the public school system in the majority of the *Länder*. The fact that according to Immigration Law heads of schools are obliged to call the immigration office if they receive information about an undocumented student further reduces the chances of school education for this group. Only individual *Länder* – Bavaria and Bremen (2005) – include undocumented children in compulsory schooling (Harmening 2005; UNHRC 2007).

Children attend elementary school until grade 4, in the Federal States Berlin and Brandenburg regularly until grade 6, after which they are streamed into different types of secondary schools (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*) on the basis of their school achievements at elementary/primary school.² 'Special-needs schools' (*Sonderschulen*) (grades 1-9) are established for pupils "whose development cannot be adequately assisted at mainstream schools on account of disability" (Secretariat KMK 2006).³ *Hauptschule* is a type of school at lower secondary level providing a basic general education, focusing on practical subjects (grades 5-9/10). *Hauptschule* is increasingly regarded as the 'school for the rest', namely socially disadvantaged children and migrant students.⁴ *Realschule* (grades 5-10) is also a type of school at lower secondary level providing pupils with a more extensive general education and the opportunity to go on to upper secondary level courses that lead to vocational or higher education entrance qualifications. Graduates from *Hauptschulen* and *Realschulen* (or *Gymnasium* after grade 10) may begin a vocational education and training within a dual system combining work and school,⁵ or attend various technical colleges for grades 11 and 12 (*Fachoberschulen*), which prepare students for *Fachhochschulen*, universities of applied sciences. *Gymnasium* covers both lower and upper secondary level (grades 5-13) and provides an in-depth general education aimed at gaining general higher education entrance. The *Länder* determine different core curricula for the respective school types. At present almost all *Länder* are reducing the required number of years of *Gymnasium* from nine years to eight, making the *Abitur*-level degree (graduation of years 11 to 13 courses preparing for University

1 These are Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia.

2 In some of the federal states grade 5 and 6 are combined to form educational units, called the Orientierungsstufe (orientation course) or the Förderstufe (advanced course), prior to beginning one of the three above mentioned school paths in grade 7.

3 Also known as Förderschule, Schule für Behinderte or Förderzentrum.

4 We will use the term 'migrant student' as a synonym for 'student with a migration background'. Describing a person as having 'a migration background' or 'history' refers to individuals who themselves or one or both of their parents of the first generation, having migrated to Germany.

5 Provided they find an apprenticeship training position, which is not easy – given the current high unemployment rates, especially among young school graduates and even more so among those with a migrant background.

entrance) or *Allgemeine Hochschulreife* (University entrance qualification) possible after grade 12. Although students may change school streams, these are in fact prevalingly only permeable in the downward direction (see Chapter 3).

Comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*), a cooperative or integrated type of secondary school, have been regarded as alternative structures to the rigid streaming of the other school types. While the 'cooperative' comprehensive schools bring the three courses of education (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*) under one educational and organisational umbrella, in fact they simply replicate exactly the same streaming system as the other schools. At 'integrated' comprehensive schools the three courses form an educational and organisational whole. The organisation of *Gesamtschulen* varies in accordance with the respective educational laws of the *Länder*.

Most German schools are half-day schools. In the last few years the introduction of full-day schools has been expanded with the financial support of the German government (Federal Ministry of Education 2007). The number of full-day primary schools has more than doubled between 2002 and 2006. Between 28 and 30% of all primary schools, *Hauptschulen* and *Gymnasien* and 19% of *Realschulen* are full-day schools (Educational Report 2008, 71). About 78% of integrated comprehensive schools and more than one half of the 'special needs schools' offer full-day schooling (*ibid.*). Beside this general increase the quality of full-day education differs. Some schools are not sufficiently equipped or organised to offer adequate afternoon education and recreation, instead only just managing to oversee the children during the afternoon hours. Class sizes in German schools vary between 20 to 35 children.

1.2 Ownership and Authority

In Germany the governing body for schools are organised on two levels – the *Länder* (State) Ministries of Culture and the local district school supervisory boards (*Schulaufsichtsamt*) (Deutscher Bildungsserver 2008).⁶ Usually the primary school sector and the lower secondary school sector as well as special needs education schools are under the supervision of the local governments, while all other types of schools, including vocational education and training schools, are governed by the Ministry. The *Länder* Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) meet in a Standing Conference where they coordinate cross-national issues and formulate recommendations and agreements. They determine core curricula, criteria of the different levels of graduation, the framework of teacher training and the criteria of teacher appointment.

Private schools are acknowledged by state authorities, but, in contrast to **public schools**, independently run under the auspices of church organisations, trade unions, associations, individuals or other organisations. In most *Länder* private schools receive state funding of about 60 to 70% if the school has proved successful after about two or three years.⁷ Regarding their educational aims and teacher training private schools are obliged to the regulations of the respective *Land*; exams correspond to those at public schools. The curricula must orient around the state curricula but do not need to match completely. Pedagogical concepts have to be in accordance with the German constitution (Tillmans 2006). About 80% of all private schools are run by the Protestant or Catholic churches. Generally the number of private schools is growing throughout all types of schools, particularly *Gymnasiums*, special needs schools and primary schools. In school year 2006/07 there were more than 3,000 private schools

⁶ Local school supervision is subdivided into an upper and a lower level. The upper school supervisory board is responsible for government regions (*Regierungsbezirke*) that are subdivisions of the *Länder*. Lower supervisory boards are located in districts (*Kreise*) – either *Landkreise* (country districts) or urban districts: cities constituting a district in their own right (*kreisfreie Städte*) – which are again subdivisions of the government regions.

⁷ Only North Rhine-Westphalia finances more than 90% private school's costs from their very beginning. The costs parents have to pay for private schools vary. Schools run by church organisations cost about 50 Euro per month, while schools run by private organisations may cost 300 to 400 Euro, and if they do not get any state funding: even around 800 Euro monthly (Barthels 2008).

compared to 2,200 ten years earlier (Educational Report 2008, 65). In 2006/07, 7% of all students attended private schools (1996: 5%) – which is still relatively little in comparison around 20% of all European students (ibid.; see also maf/dpa/ap 2007; Barthels 2008).

Another type of private schools are the so-called supplementary schools (*Ergänzungsschulen*) that are also run by independent organisations but are not required to fulfil the stipulations of compulsory schooling. These schools are not obliged to have state acknowledgement but do have to register with the school administration. In order to receive a valid graduation certificate, supplementary schools' students must take external state-approved exams. Supplementary schools most often offer vocational training and education in special branches.⁸

1.3 Finances, Teacher Appointment, Quality Control and School Districts

In Germany education is mainly funded by the public sector – particularly the secondary schools and universities – while the primary level, vocational training and advanced training are supported to a greater extent by private households, non-profit organisations or companies. In 2005 about three-fourths of the total costs for education in Germany (in total: 141.6 billion Euro) had been raised by the public sector, in particular 8.4% by the national state, 51.1% by the federal states and 16.7% by the municipalities. Nearly one fourth (23.8%) of the total costs had been raised by private households, non-profit organisations, companies and by sources abroad (Educational Report 2008, 31).

In the last decade expenditure for education have decreased in relation to national economic development: In 1995, 6.9% of the gross domestic product (GDP) were dedicated to education compared to 6.3% of the GDP in 2005 (Educational Report 2008, 30). Applying the OECD-definition of expenditure for education, which does not include advanced training, youth work, after-school care clubs, etc.: educational expenditure in 2004 accounted for 5.2% of the German BDP compared to an average of 5.8% of the BDP in OECD-countries (ibid. 34). However, one has to take into account that in many OECD-countries the proportion of young people in the population is higher than in Germany.

The teacher training requirements differ according to the various school types and different *Länder*. Generally, teacher training encompasses two phases: university training and a pedagogical-practical education /traineeship (*Referendariat*). Students study at least two school subjects, the corresponding subject didactics as well as general pedagogic. Generally, in teacher training for *Gymnasium*, strong focus is put on the subjects, whereas in primary school teacher training the pedagogic is more central. In times of teacher shortage even newcomers from other professions can qualify as teachers. Teacher training is currently under scrutiny and proposed changes particularly focus on the extension of practical and didactical training.

The Ministries of Culture and Education of the *Länder* define the requirements for **teacher appointment**. The actual appointment procedure and contract is the responsibility of the governments of the certain regions (*Regierungsbezirke*).⁹ There are two selection procedures types. First, the *Länder* compile lists of all the teacher applicants according to their combination of school subjects they have specialised in, their preferred school type and ranked according to their exams results. The *Länder* authorities allocate the teachers with the best marks in the corresponding combination of school subjects to the demanding schools.

This 'list appointment' procedure (*Listeneinstellung*) is flawed as it only takes the applicant's formal qualifications into account. Often the expectations of schools and applicants are incompatible. If an applicant rejects a job offer – meaning the school often has a wait of several months until an appropriate teacher is found – s/he may be suspended from the appointment procedure for two years. In an alternative selection procedure which is used increasingly, especially in North Rhine-Westphalia, the

⁸ Interestingly enough, in Bavaria, parents of a fundamentalist Christian congregation teaching their children at home is the only accepted supplementary schooling permitted, cpa/jol/dpa 2006.

⁹ See footnote 7.

schools themselves select the applicants (*'schulscharfe' Einstellung*). This procedure is far more flexible but certainly contributes to the qualitative segregation of more attractive schools with a higher profile and the schools of lower standard.

As a rule teachers receive the status of a civil servant after a probation period, meaning they are entitled to life tenure, although in the meantime permanent employment contracts without civil servant-status or temporary contracts are also possible. Civil servants' rights to tenure inhibit the application of sanctions against them if they fail to fulfil quality standards.¹⁰ Except for regional government sanctions in cases of severe misconduct or neglect of duties, there is no transparency regarding quality standards and control of teachers – a situation sharply criticised by parents' representatives.

The majority of the *Länder* have developed a catalogue of criteria to establish the quality of a schools functioning standard. These criteria are applied for external evaluations carried out by school inspectorates on behalf of the *Länder* ministries. As schools in certain *Länder* are not obliged to publish these evaluation assessments, their impact remains restricted. Individual schools also tend to develop their own guidelines or a school profile or carry out internal evaluations. The implementation of such standards is up for further investigation.

Generally, the *Länder* Ministries of Culture and the local school supervisory boards control and advise the schools. Improving **quality control** and management has been discussed among policy makers, academics and pedagogues since the early 1990s, and even more so since 2000, when the PISA-surveys¹¹ revealed Germany's weak position within the international ranking of educational performances. Different measures have been proposed and are partly being introduced, such as, for example, substantial target-setting, dedicating more autonomy to the individual schools, increasing of competition between schools, increasing management within the school by the school head, cross country or cross *Land* central testing of students' performances, as well as school inspections (Brüsemeister 2007). While these measures introduce economic principles into school education they also install new control mechanisms that will probably affect individual teachers. Gomolla and Radtke (2002) point to the segregating effects of introducing principles of economic competition into school education. The competition of upper- and middle-class parents for the best schools with specific profiles and the competition of schools for good and easily managed students would result in a deeper gap between high standard schools for these social strata and the 'schools for the rest' – for children from disadvantaged social background often coinciding with a migration background.

Since the foundation of the Weimar Republic in 1918 each primary school and lower secondary school, generally the *Hauptschulen* are assigned to a certain school district (*Schulbezirke* or so called *Sprengel*).¹² Residents of the districts are obliged to enroll their children in the assigned school. School districts are determined by the schools organisational body.¹³ The aim of this regulation was to overcome class divisions and to provide equal chances to all pupils. The main criterion is to ensure children have the shortest possible distance from school they attend independent of social background, led by the slogan 'short legs – short distances'. Other criteria of the determination of the school districts are the demands and capacities of the schools.

Right from the beginning in 1918, after protests from the Catholic party, Christian schools have been exempted from this rule, as have private schools. Further deviations to these regulations are

10 See the debate in Berlin about the suggested re-introduction of the civil servant status of teachers. Since 2007 Berlin has stopped awarding young teachers this status, Zawatka-Gerlach 2008.

11 Programme for International Student Assessment.

12 Data about the usual size of school districts is not available. For example, the city of Mannheim (300,000 residents) is subdivided into three school districts, each of which 6 to 8 has *Hauptschulen*. Each *Hauptschule* accommodates about 1,600 to 1,750 students, http://web.mannheim.de/webkosima/webkosima_vorlagen/303_2002.pdf

13 The school organisational body (*Schulträger*) is the legal entity responsible for the administration and maintenance of a school, normally a municipality, district (*Landkreis*), or Land, Deutscher Bildungsserver 2008.

sometimes made to regulate student numbers according to school capacities. The aim of guaranteeing equal opportunities has been undermined since the introduction of school districts. Upper and middle class families compensate for possible shortcomings in their children's education by providing private lessons, etc., and finally, when changing to the *Gymnasium* the restrictions no longer apply. School districts are still under debate and parents find various ways to circumvent them: They register in a house of relatives or friends in the district of the favoured school or choose a Christian denominational school even without being religious (Spiewak 2007a).¹⁴

Moreover, the determination of the school districts does not always adhere to equal opportunity principles. In one case analysed by Radtke (2004) a new school district was drawn in a municipality after the population had rapidly grown through immigrants moving into a certain development area within a quite wealthy district. Instead of distributing the new pupils with a migrant background onto the existing schools a new school district was drawn which assigned the whole development area to one school. As a probably intended result the migrant students had been separated from the well-off, native inhabitants.

Meanwhile, more and more municipalities and *Länder* allow exemptions from school districts or merge several districts into one so that parents have more options to choose. The city of Kiel has allowed parents to freely choose primary schools for the last ten years and has abolished districts for secondary schools.¹⁵ Fifteen municipalities in North-Rhine Westphalia have repealed the school districts as part of a pilot scheme, and the *Land* plans to do away with them generally as of 2008/2009 school year.¹⁶ Proponents of the abolition of school districts argue that competition among schools would be initiated by this, hence improving the schools quality. On the other hand, the consequences are probably – apart from high bureaucratic effort – that social and ethnic segregation will increase in urban areas while in rural areas possibly small schools have to close increasing the distances children must travel to school (Spiewak 2007a; Busse 2005). (On the issue of segregation, see also Chapter 4.4.)

1.4 Statistical Indicators

In 2006, nearly 9.4 million students attended a general-education school in Germany (see Table 1, Appendix). The development of the student population differs regarding the various types of schools. While the number of children in pre-schooling has been decreasing over the last ten years, the number of students in primary schools declined between 1998 and 2002 but has since then remained stable at about 3.2 million students; in total, the number went down by 15% between 1997 and 2006 (Secretariat KMK 2007, VIII). The number of students in lower secondary level has been declining since 2002 and was at 4.8 million in 2006 (ibid.). The decrease especially refers to *Hauptschulen*: compared to 2005 in 2006 the number of students went down by 6.9% to 950,000. The number of students attending *Gymnasium* rose until 2004 and has slowly declined since then. In 2006, nearly 1.7 million pupils attended a *Gymnasium* in lower secondary level, and 760,000 in upper secondary level. Moreover, in school year 2006/07 408,100 students or 5.8 % of the student population in grades 1 to 10 attended a special needs school (Table 1, Appendix).

The distribution of students of grade 8 appears to be most significant since the transition into secondary level has been completed in all *Länder*. In 2006, 31.5% of all students in grade 8 attended a *Gymnasium*, 26% a *Realschule*, 21.8% a *Hauptschule*, 8.2% an integrated comprehensive school, and 5.2% a special needs school (Secretariat KMK 2007, X).

14 See also the debate on the foundation of a German-Turkish vs. a Protestant primary school in Berlin. Atheist native Germans seem to prefer the Protestant school as they assume it has fewer migrant (i.e. Muslim) students. Existing local schools fear that the new Protestant school will absorb all German native children. CS/mj 2008.

15 See http://www.kiel.de/Aemter_01_bis_20/20/Infos/Schulbezirke/Schulbezirke.htm.

16 See http://neu.kdvz.de/lippstadt/probuenger/public/produkt_detail.cfm?Produkt_ID=284.

Permeability of the German school system and especially the upward mobility between school types is very low as the following figures highlight. In 2006/07, in sum about 64,000 students of grades 7–9 changed from one school type to another which corresponds to a rate of 3%. Of all changes 65.6% refer to a downward change and 14.4% to an upward change. In particular, 39% refer to a descent from a *Gymnasium*, and 27% to a descent from *Realschule* to *Hauptschule*. At least 10.4% manage to change from *Hauptschule* to *Realschule* often at the price of the repetition of one school year at the new school. In Berlin, 53.7% of students changing schools do so in the downward direction and 3.5% upward (Educational Report 2008, 255).

In 2006/07, about 2.7% of the student population had to repeat a school year. These rates differ in the various *Länder* with 1.8% in Baden–Württemberg and even 3.8% in Bavaria. In Berlin the percentage is close to that peak: 3.2% (Educational Report 2008, 6 and; 258).

The rates of 'repeaters' are significantly high in grades 8 and 9 as well as in *Realschulen* (5%) (often a result of the aforementioned change of school types) and are on the increase in *Hauptschulen* and decreasing in *Gymnasiums*. This evidence points to the multiplied segmenting effects of the German education system – those attending *Gymnasium* reaping disproportional benefits while those in the other schools are further disadvantaged, most notably the special needs schools and *Hauptschule*. Over the last ten years, the proportion of students in the typical age group who graduated from *Hauptschule* declined from 30.6% in 1996 to 28.5% in 2006, while the rate of students taking exams after grade 10 rose from 46.4% to 49.6%, the rate of those graduating after grade 12 (*Fachhochschulreife*) increased from 8.5% to 13.6%, and the rate of those graduating with *Abitur* from 28 to 29.9% (Educational Report 2008, 87–88) (see also Table 5, Chapter 3). In 2006, about 75,900 students – or 7.9% of the population of age 15–17 – dropped out of school without graduating. This figure has remained more or less stable over the last couple of years (ibid. 89). Generally, the proportion of students leaving school with a higher type of graduation seems to be improving but a comparison between migrants and non-migrants in the type and number of school graduations, as will be shown in Chapters 2.1 and 3, displays the fundamentally disadvantaged position of the former.

Parents are obliged to ensure that their children receive compulsory schooling. If they fail to do so they may be fined with a civil penalty or even imprisonment and children may be brought to school by police. In reality, there have been several cases where school teachers have not recognised the absence of individual students for some weeks.

2. Schooling of Migrant Students: Differentiation in the Educational System According to Ethnicity

2.1 School Attendance

In 2006/07 in Germany, the majority of migrant students with foreign passports are of Turkish origin or descent (381,560 in total, including pre-schools and adult evening schools, see Table 2, Appendix, also on the following).¹⁷ Other quantitatively relevant groups come from the states of former Yugoslavia – Bosnia and Herzegovina (21,430), Croatia (20,990), and Serbia (45,580) – from the EU-countries Italy (57,930), Greece (31,350), Poland (22,620) and Portugal (12,940), as well as from Albania (20,780),

¹⁷ Until now, schools administration record data according to citizenship: As children of migrants born in Germany often do not acquire German citizenship but count as 'foreigners', these statistics are misleading. In addition, 'ethnic German' migrants from Eastern Europe (Aussiedler) are guaranteed German citizenship and hence are not recorded as 'migrants' as is also the case with naturalised migrants.

the Russian Federation (23,690), and the Ukraine (11,930). Students from Africa and Asia, in particular with citizenship from Morocco (11,510), Afghanistan (12,900), Lebanon (12,250) and Vietnam (15,420), constitute significant minority groups attending German schools, as well as a high number (10,520) of stateless people or people with unclear citizenship, probably the majority of whom are refugees from Palestine/Lebanon.

By international standards, school attendance is quite high in Germany, but there are differences between the school attendance levels of students with and without a migration background,¹⁸ especially in the 20 to 25 age group. The lower school attendance of students with migration history is partly related to their lower socioeconomic status (Educational Report 2006; see also Chapter 3). Within the group of 'migrant' students, those with parents or grandparents from Turkey or other countries involved in labour recruitment schemes¹⁹ showed significantly low attendance (see Table 2; Educational Report 2008, 37).

Table 2: Rates of School Attendance According to Age and Migration Background in 2006 (in %)

Country of origin or background	Age 16 -19	Age 20-24	Age 25-29
Germans without migration background	89.4	44.6	18.4
Persons with migration background	86.5	41.7	16.9
<i>of which:</i>			
Germans with migration background	88.9	46.5	18.2
Turkish background	83.6	27.0	8.0
Other former recruitment countries ¹	86.4	35.3	11.5
Other EU-27-countries ²	87.0	51.8	21.8
Other countries	86.0	44.7	23.0

Source: Educational Report 2008 (also see: http://www.bildungsbericht.de/daten2008/b2_2008.xls)

According to the first federal Educational Report (2006) with special reference to students with a migration background based on micro census data, in 2000, 32% of grade 9 students with a migrant background attended the *Hauptschule* which is nearly twice the number of their peers whose parents were born in Germany. Only 25% went to *Gymnasium* compared to 33% of their German native peers (see Table 4). The situation is even more dramatic amongst the largest group of students of Turkish origin. Every second German-Turkish pupil attends a *Hauptschule* whereas only every eighth attends the *Gymnasium*. Even if they have the same reading competence as their peers, migrant children are less likely to receive a recommendation from their primary school for *Gymnasium* enrolment than German natives (Educational Report 2006, 162).²⁰ The distribution of students in German schools points to the existence of segregation processes. Every fourth migrant student, but only every twentieth German native, attends a school with a majority of other migrant students (ibid. and Table 3).

18 See footnote 5.

19 In the 1950s and 1960s the combination of high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to an extensive program of recruiting guest-workers (*Gastarbeiter*) from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, and South East Asia. Between 1960 and 1973, some 18.5 million people arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1973, due to economic recession, the recruitment of guest-workers was generally halted (Herbert 2001).

20 Recommendations for secondary schools will be presented.

Table 3: Proportion of Migrant Students in Grade 9 According to School Type and to the Level of Migrant Proportion in Schools in 2004 (in %)*

School type	Proportion of migrants	Schools with a proportion of migrants of		
		a) < 25%	b) 25–50%	c) > 50%
	in % of all students	in % of the attended schools		
<i>Hauptschule</i>	35.8	43.6	28.2	28.2
<i>Realschule</i>	21.6	73.9	21.7	4.4
Integrated Comprehensive School	26.2	69.2	23.1	7.7
<i>Gymnasium</i>	16.2	70.2	27.1	2.1
Total	22.2	64.7	23.4	12

* a) + b) + c) = 100%

Source: Educational Report 2006 (see also: <http://www.bildungsbericht.de/daten/h4.xls>)

Moreover, the percentage of migrant students attending the 'special-needs school' for 'students with a learning disability', a type of school not taken into account in the PISA-survey, is disproportionately high. In 1999 4.5% of all foreign students and 2.33% of German students attended a 'special needs school' (Kornmann 1999; see also tables 1 and 6 in the appendix).

Although in general fewer students attend *Hauptschulen* and their educational purpose appears increasingly redundant, migrant students are assigned to this type of school at a disproportionate rate. Even more dramatic is that every fifth *Hauptschule* is described as being "problematic" meaning that there is a high proportion of 'migrant students' and of students from a low socioeconomic background, as well as of students with learning difficulties and deviant social behaviour (Educational Report 2008, 62; Educational Report 2006) – a 'problematic' definition in itself since the number of students with a migration background as such turns out to be a relatively insignificant variable.

Table 4: Proportion of 15-year-old Students in 2000, with/without a Migration Background in the Different School Types According to Their Countries of Origin or Background (in %)

Migration Background/ Country of Origin	Hauptschule	Realschule	Gesamtschule	Gymnasium
No migration background	16.6	38.6	11.6	33.2
Total number of students with a migration background	31.8	29.7	14.0	24.6
Turkey	48.3	22.1	17.0	12.5
Other countries involved in former <i>guest-worker</i> recruitment schemes	30.0	31.4	13.6	25.1
Ethnic Germans (<i>Spät-)Aussiedler</i> (former Soviet Union)	38.4	33.6	9.8	18.2
Other	20.5	29.3	15.5	34.6

Source: Educational Report 2006, 152.

In the 2007/2008 school year in Berlin – the *Land* selected for field research in the EDUMIGROM project –there were 305,280 students in general-education.²¹ 48.5% attended *Grundschule*, 4% *Hauptschule*; 4% 'special needs schools', 6.5 % *Realschule*; 13% a *Gesamtschule* and 24% *Gymnasium* (Berlin School Statistics 2007/2008; own calculation, also below).

21 All figures according to public schools. The number of foreign students at private schools is rather marginal (1,776). Most data available refer to public schools only.

In the same school year the proportion of 'foreign' students in Berlin general-education was 16.3%. Of all 49,910 'foreign' students the group of Turkish passport holders constitutes the majority at 39.7%, followed by students from Libanon (5.7%) and Vietnamese and Polish students (4.7% resp. 4.4%).

Most statistical data about school education in Berlin are not based on nationality of the students but on 'non-German first language'. In the 2007/2008 school year 90,641 of the students in general education had a 'non-German first language'. Their percentage is 29.7%.

Rather different pictures are shown in the twelve boroughs. While in Mitte – the borough in which the field research in the EDUMIGROM project will take place – two-thirds (65%) of the students have a 'non-German first language', the share is ten times lower in the neighbour district Pankow (6.8%).

Just of 56% of 'non-German first language' students attended *Grundschule*, 6% *Hauptschule*; 3% 'special needs schools', 7.5% *Realschule*; 12.5% a *Gesamtschule* and 14.5% *Gymnasium*.

Their proportion is significantly high in *Hauptschulen* (46.2%), while in *Gymnasium* it is relatively low (17.7%). In *Realschule* and *Gesamtschule* the percentage is close to average (34.8% resp. 28.3%). In the different forms of 'special needs schools' the percentage varies between 20.4% and 30.2%.

In the 2006/07 school year, from a total of 32,905 students who left public or private school, 10% (3,295) failed to graduate at all, 7.3% achieved *Hauptschulabschluss* (grade 9), 14.8% left after passing grade 10 (*erweiterter Hauptschulabschluss*), 31.1% achieved *Mittlere Reife* and 36.8% managed to get a university entrance degree (*Hochschulreife*).

The drop-out rate is higher among students with 'non-German first language'. 17.6% (1,233) left public or private school without attainment of any certificate. 11.4 % left after grade 9 and achieved *Hauptschulabschluss*, 23.6% passed grade 10 and got *erweiterter Hauptschulabschluss* while 30.7% achieved *Mittlere Reife*. Only 16.7% got a University entrance qualification (*Hochschulreife*).

The figures concerning the groups selected by the German EDUMIGROM research team – students of Turkish and Lebanese background in Berlin – illustrate even more clearly just how disadvantaged these students are. In 2007/08 in sum, nearly 20,000 students holding Turkish passports attended general-education schools (48% were female). From these students, 49% attended a *Grundschule*, 8.5% *Hauptschule*, 4% *special needs schools*, 10.5% *Realschule*, 14% *Gesamtschule*, and only 13.5% attended a *Gymnasium*.²² Female students were clearly overrepresented in *Gymnasium* (57% of all Turkish students in *Gymnasium*) and underrepresented in *Hauptschule* where they made up 41% of the total Turkish group.²³

The number of students with Lebanese citizenship is much smaller at 2,861.²⁴ Compared to the Turkish group the educational situation of the Lebanese in Berlin is even worse. In the 2007/2008 school year, 52.5% attended a *Grundschule*, 13.5% a *Hauptschule*, 8.5% a special needs school, 13% *Gesamtschule* and only 7% and 4% went to the *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*, respectively.

The attendance of 'foreign' students in private schools is quite low in Germany. In 2006 only 3.9% of all 'foreign' students went to private schools, compared to 7.7% of their German peers. In this case it is possible that the high tuition fees may prove inhibitive to many migrant families (Federal Statistical Office 2007, 18).²⁵

As early as the late 1960s and the 1970s, migrants from the labour recruitment countries,²⁶ particularly from Greece and Spain (and in the 1980s, also those from Turkey) founded parents' associations to highlight their concerns about public schools and local educational politics and to advise

22 An additional 93 Turkish students (0.5%) attended supporting classes for pupils of non-German native in the secondary level.

23 8 September 2006 Statistical Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg.

24 An additional 19 Lebanese students (0.5%) attended supporting classes for pupils of non-German native in the secondary level.

25 Regarding tuition fees see footnote 8.

26 See footnote 20.

parents and students and organise afternoon tutoring lessons (e.g. Gaitanides 2006). One main objective is to introduce courses in their first languages in state schools or at least in supplementary schooling.²⁷ The last three decades have also seen religious Muslim migrants struggling for the provision of Islamic religious instructions in state schools. Since this has been denied for constitutional reasons Mosque congregations and Islamic associations have organised Islamic religious instruction and private Koran classes (see Chapter 2.5).

When the Turkish premier Recep Tayyip Erdogan demanded Turkish schools and Turkish-speaking classes to be established in Germany in February 2008, he provoked public discomfort and mistrust (als/ Reuters 2008) although international, Greek or French schools are broadly accepted and regarded as a symbol of internationalism. Interestingly enough, in several cities private schools for students with a Turkish background already have existed for several years now. In particular, six *Gymnasiums* (in Berlin, Cologne, Hanover, Eringerfeld near Paderborn, Stuttgart and Mannheim), as well as some *Realschulen*, have been established by educational associations of Turkish migrants or their descendants over the last few years and further initiatives are on the way (Hasselberg 2008; KC. 2007; Erb 2007; sve 2004; ck/ AFP 2008; Gerlach 2007). The schools are attended exclusively or mainly by Turkish students although they are open to students of any ethnic background. They serve the needs of middle-class clientele of Turkish background who consider the schools a symbol of their successful integration. Students learn German and Turkish and/or further languages; they may maintain their cultural bonds and feel no pressure to assimilate. Schools do not offer religious instructions but ethics or norms and values. Nevertheless, these schools are often under suspicion of pursuing Islamic or fundamentalist approaches. This suspicion may also correspond with the outcry against Erdogan's proposal, as has been manifested in the contentiousness surrounding the state support of a private German-Islamic primary school and *Kindergarten* in Munich. After having existed since 1982, the school and *Kindergarten* had to close down in 2005 as the Bavarian Minister of the Interior deemed the association that had been running the school to be extremist. He withdrew the licence and the formerly nearly full state funding (n.a. 2005).

2.2 Regulations

In October 1996, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder* (*KMK*) agreed on a resolution regarded as the most elaborate agreement on intercultural education. The *KMK* again approached the issue of the integration, and particularly of Muslims, in schools in Germany with the so-called Weimar Appeal in 2003. Although these resolutions do not have any binding effects on *Länder* policies, they do serve a function as guidelines and of articulating mutual commitments. Second, the National Integration Plan (2007) – the result of the first governmental conference with representatives of migrants' organisations and other NGOs – is perceived as a decisive step forward towards a successful integration of migrants. One of the results of which was the documentation of recommendations and commitments concerning the school system. Although these are not binding, the Integration Plan also serves the function of reflecting the dominant view of current challenges and reasonable strategies on issues concerning migrants and education. In the third part of this chapter, specific education policies are discussed with regard to immigration and cultural diversity on the *Länder* level.²⁸

The recommendation 'Intercultural Education in Schools' conceptualises intercultural education as a concern of both minorities and mainstream society (*KMK* 1996). The *KMK* claimed that pupils should "become aware of their own cultural socialisation, gain knowledge about other cultures, develop curiosity, openness and an understanding of other cultures, recognize their fears and endure tensions, (...) respect otherness, reflect own standpoints (...) and solve conflicts resulting from ethnic,

27 See websites of parents' organisations, e.g. of Spanish parents: <http://www.spanischerelternverein-bonn.de/>.

28 On regulations of compulsory schooling, see Chapter 1.1.

cultural or religious affiliation in a peaceful manner" (ibid. 5). It formulated concrete suggestions in the implementation of these goals as a task for *Länder* policy makers and schools, who should reflect the multilingual and multicultural reality of pupils in curriculum content and teaching methods.

What is most notably absent in these recommendations is the acknowledgement, or even discussion, of the hampering and exclusionary effects of the school streaming system. A further oversight is that the *KMK* has applied a concept of culture as self-contained and more or less static. The recommendations may however, provide some guideline parameters towards a more open-minded and cultural diverse school culture rather than one of assimilation and adaptation to a monolingual and mono-cultural situation.

Similar to the *KMK*-recommendations from 1996, the Weimar Appeal from 2003 – precipitating from a *KMK* conference of experts and community representatives about the role of the education system regarding the integration of Muslims in Germany – emanates from the perspective of religious and cultural diversity as enriching, and defines integration as "mutual acceptance" while underlining democratic rules as a common basis (*KMK* 2003, 140). The declaration reflects the good intent of mutual understanding and is quite liberal and progressive in terms of accommodation of religious needs.

In July 2007, the Federal Government submitted its National Integration Plan, which had been precipitated by the Integration Conference beginning in 2006. The chapter on 'Education, Vocational Training, and Labour Market' details that the importance of educational integration was "to meet future needs of skilled personnel and to stay competitive on an international level" (Federal Government 2007, 65). The Plan therefore maintained that the most important requirement is good German language skills. The paper underlines the general necessity of cultivating an educational system that "opens up chances and develops potential" (ibid. 63). Intercultural competence is regarded as a specific potential in migrant children, rather than a general educational aim. Teacher qualifications should be improved and the selection of teachers with a migrant history should be encouraged, in particular in schools with a high percentage of migrant pupils – as if they were expected to be able to solve the problems that education policies and German teachers have so far been incapable of solving. There are no specific suggestions about education, curricula contents or the accommodation of various cultures and religions. However, the preamble of the Integration Plan makes it clear that the basis of integration is "our moral concepts (...) our cultural self-concept (and) our liberal and democratic order, as it has developed from German and European history (...)." (ibid. 12) In contrast to the *KMK*-recommendations, regarding education, the National Integration Plan does not reflect any real acceptance of, or approach to, difference and cultural heterogeneity, but refers to seemingly clear-cut concepts of the national cultural self and to 'Western tradition' of liberalism and democracy. In response to the international competition among skilled personnel the plan also focuses on a school reform with the aim to make better use of human capital.

Every *Land* has its own school law. Apart from certain articles regarding the support – or separation – of 'foreigners' or pupils of non-German first language (which we will discuss in Chapter 2.3), there is no explicit legislation regarding migrants or ethnic minorities.²⁹ Until recently, most *Länder* have not developed comprehensive concepts concerning migration and cultural diversity in school systems or teacher training. Nevertheless, most of the *Länder* have now designed general integration concepts and started to revise their educational programs and curricula in response to the aforementioned 1996 *KMK*-recommendations. Until the early 2000s, most educational programs have generally depicted migration as being problematic and primarily focused on conflicts within areas with migrant populations, while only some have drawn a positive picture of immigration as enriching. Migrant issues typically receive less attention in the former East-German *Länder* since their migrant populations are smaller and because these states have been primarily occupied with the adaptation of the school system to the West-German model during the 1990s (as an exception see: Saxony). However, confronted with an increase in right-wing extremism, the state of Brandenburg for instance, has addressed the issue as a central problem in their

29 We exclude the state acknowledged national minorities, such as the Sorbs and the Danish as they do not appear as relevant groups regarding cultural conflicts or problems in performance. See also footnote 34.

educational programme (Elverich 2004; Gogolin et al. 2001). Some *Länder* emphasise the task of schools as being one of forming a homogenous cultural identity. According to Bavarian school law pupils "are to be educated in the spirit of (...) the affection to the Bavarian home and to the German nation (...)" (Bavarian School Law 2007, Art. 1).³⁰ Others, like Hamburg, clearly object to concepts of assimilation and support the preservation of a multitude of cultural identities, also proposing bi-lingual teaching. In contrast, a few *Länder* aim to reflect the construction of 'the own' and 'the other' (Gogolin et al. 2001; Elverich 2004).³¹

Some *Länder* indicate areas of institutional exclusion, demanding measures to improve conditions in integration, to foster justice in education, or to abolish direct discrimination. The educational aim of 'tolerance' is referred to as regarding cultural and religious diversity, although it must be said that this aim remains quite general in the sense of "a liberal attitude" (Elverich 2004, 314).³²

On the whole, most *Länder* policy programmes are based on the view of 'cultures' as homogenous, self-contained collectives. An awareness of the hybridity of cultures is most often notably absent, and the challenges that migration poses on the German nation are barely taken into account. However, some approaches do at least reflect a certain degree of openness to cultural diversity and change.

2.3 Differentiation in Education According to Ethnicity

As pointed out before the school streaming, or the multi-track school system, appears to be most decisive in predetermining educational paths according to ethnic and social categories. Streaming schoolchildren appears to have a particularly negative effect on children from poor families, migrant children and children with disabilities (UNHRC 2007). The system of classifying schoolchildren in the last year of primary education includes an individual assessment of the pupil by teachers who, – as the Special UNHCR-Rapporteur on the right to education, Vernor Muñoz, suggests – have not been properly trained for this task (ibid.). The student's further career depends on these recommendations although parents are not obliged to follow the recommendation. Nevertheless, most Gymnasiums ask for a recommendation as a prerequisite of enrolment. The national education report suggests that primary schools do discriminate against migrant children in terms of their assessment and secondary school recommendation (Educational Report 2006, 161) Apparently, authorities attach disproportionate weight to the linguistic competence of schoolchildren, since one of the key elements in the classification assessment is their proficiency in German. Several migrant children have been falsely classified as having learning-disabilities simply because of their sub-standard German language skills (Kornmann 2006; Hovestadt 2003). Some academics infer that students are not primarily disadvantaged because of being migrants, but rather because of their socially disadvantaged position (Kristen 2006), which often coincides with a 'migration background'. On the other hand there are also inherent mechanisms in the school system contributing to discrimination against migrant children.

Gomolla and Radtke (2002) analysed modes of institutional – or covert – discrimination resulting from routines, habits and established practices in internal school organisation. Heads of schools, teachers and administrations would often inadvertently act in a discriminatory way, simply by following the organisational logic of the system, e.g. primary schools oriented to the capacity of secondary schools in the neighbourhood not to the skills of the children. Children who did not attend Kindergarten – mostly migrant children – were often put back a year or sent to 'preparatory classes'

30 See also the debate on displaying religious symbols, esp. the crucifix in class, e.g. Esser 2000.

31 Interestingly enough, those *Länder* with an autochthonous national minority (e.g. Sorbs in Brandenburg and Saxony, Danish in Schleswig-Holstein) follow education policies that support and maintain the national culture of these groups, but do not relate to migrants and their children generally (Elverich 2004; Gogolin et al. 2001).

32 Many federal school laws refer to basic human rights as part of the general educational task. Beyond that, some *Länder* stress the importance of reconciliation between peoples, peaceful cohabitation and understanding beyond national boundaries. Generally, an in-depth analysis of the education policies in the *Länder* and a comparison of their historical paths would be necessary to fully understand integration policies in Germany.

(Vorbereitungsklassen) irrespective their real abilities. Often teachers would regard the wishes of Turkish parents to send their children to a Gymnasium as unrealistic – hence preconditioning their failure³³ and educators would latently not feel responsible for their migrant students.

Schools play a major role in creating a national specific 'political culture'. In their ethnographic study Schiffauer et al. (2004) revealed the existence of a 'hidden curriculum', which subtly and selectively guides educational practices, defines 'normality' and codifies migrant students as the 'other' – for example, when even well-meaning educators only refer to them as 'experts' on their parents' home country. Based on a negative model of national identity, the aim of German 'civil enculturation' is to teach pupils to think and feel democratically and to create a citizenry that acts according to internalised principles. This concept contradicts the legal position that many migrants find themselves in, a contradiction teachers observed in this study apparently did not realise.

In German schools, **overt legal and administrative differentiation** takes place not according to ethnicity but to foreigner/non-foreigner-status or students being of 'non-German first language' (*nicht-deutscher Herkunftssprache*). These may also be second generation migrants or children of ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*).³⁴ The legitimisation for this differentiation and separation is supposedly to support migrants, the subtext of which is a desire to provide German natives or students with good German skills with unhampered education in regular classes. Since the 1960s, migrant pupils who were not capable of following classes in German have been taught in preparatory classes. In many *Länder*, contrary to the actual aim of enabling students to switch to regular classes, these preparatory classes became permanent institutions. In Berlin, until 1995 it was legal practice to concentrate children with foreign passports into so-called 'regular foreigners' classes' (*Ausländerregelklassen*) if their proportion in a regular class exceeded 30%. In these classes instruction could be given by migrant teachers in the language of the sending country "for a transition period" (see Gogolin et al. 2001, 60) – according to the perception that migrants were only temporary residents in Germany. It was common practice to classify students according to their (foreign) citizenship (ibid.; Engin 2003). Today, separation of students with a migrant background or rather of 'non-German first language' is still common. In Bavarian *Volksschulen*, which is a fusion of primary school and *Hauptschule* (grades 1-9/10), pupils of the same non-German first language who are not capable of following regular class are taught in bilingual classes until they are able to change to regular class. Similarly, *Aussiedler* students are concentrated in 'integration classes', if they are not proficient in German. If there is no bilingual class available students of non-German first language can be assigned to transitory classes (*Übergangsklassen*). After two years at the latest they shall change to regular classes. If necessary, the state provides intensive German courses. If students are still not capable of following regular class after having passed these measures the school administration may provide "remedial teaching in German" (*Förderunterricht*) (2-4 weekly hours); students at the secondary level are excused from regular class to take part in this – hence, they miss parts of their general education classes (Volksschulordnung 1998, § 11, 12).³⁵ Parents' organisations have been lobbying against the separation of migrant children in extra classes for some years.³⁶

2.4 Inter-ethnic Relations and Multicultural Education

The results of the PISA-surveys have intensified the perception that German language skills and good school performances were the main criteria for successful integration of migrants and their descendants. Integration measures have therefore been focussed on language acquisition, while bi- or multilingual

33 See also on the concept of "stereotype threat effects" by Schofield et al. 2006.

34 See footnotes 18 and 55.

35 See <http://www.km.bayern.de/km/schule/schularten/allgemein/migrantenfoerderung/diagnose/index.shtml>. Regarding German language teaching and native-language teaching see also Chapter 2.5.

36 See documentary of the Turkish Parents' Organisation (1995).

teaching and multicultural – or as it is called in pedagogical literature: intercultural³⁷ – education is subordinated and often entirely dependent on the commitment of individual schools or teachers. The issue of accommodating culture-specific needs is quite contentious and often intertwined with the ideologically hardened debate about the compatibility of 'Western values' and 'Islam'.

The criteria used to assess functioning **quality standards** in school inspections or internal evaluations reflect the subordinated role that the issue of cultural diversity plays in federal educational policies. These assessments generally demand open-mindedness, orientation towards democracy, tolerance, non-violence, communication, solidarity and fairness etc. More currently, issues of gender equality and the integration of disabled students have been included in the regulations of almost all the states. With respect to migrant students, the assessment criteria require specific support in German language acquisition. However, most often the acknowledgement of cultural diversity is hardly mentioned (Miera 2007).

Intercultural or diversity pedagogy is regarded as being supplementary qualification and only a few *Länder* include intercultural learning and teaching German as a second language in the core material of basic of teacher training. Many universities only offer these subjects at postgraduate level (Elverich 2004; Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006).³⁸ In the 2007 National Integration Plan the different *Länder* made an objective of offering more advanced teacher training in language acquisition. Whether and how these objectives have been realised would require further investigation.

The proportion of **teachers with a migration history** is significantly low. Only about one in fifty teaching graduates has a non-German passport and has been educated in Germany (Ergin and Berendt 2005). Teaching qualifications acquired in other countries are not equated with those from German institutions. In the past, in addition to other structural barriers, school administrations have rejected the idea of deliberately trying to increase the proportion of migrant teachers, since this would violate the legal requirements of neutral job postings for public sector positions. Now several states currently plan to appoint more migrant teachers, particularly in schools with a high percentage of migrant pupils, for example by including specific language skills as a pre-requisite in position postings. German-Turks are explicitly encouraged to become educators in (pre-) schools as they could function as 'bridges between cultures'. Teachers with a migrant background often complain that they are not accepted as professional equals by their native German colleagues and are commonly reduced to 'migrant specific' tasks (ibid.; Unbehaun and Schüler 1998).

Today, all *Länder* test potential students' **German language skills** before school enrolment, some even putting them back a year and referring them to preparatory classes if German skills are considered insufficient. In most *Länder* only children with a migration background have to pass a test which ignores deficiencies in German language skills among native Germans and again contributes to the 'othering' of migrant students.

A federal program supporting children and teenagers with a migration history (*FörMig*)³⁹ aims to support German language skills in every subject, including e.g. maths, biology etc., and in all grades. Although the need for German language teaching has been fairly acute since the migrant-worker recruitment wave of the 1960s and the ensuing family reunion migration since the recruitment

37 See Chapter 5.

38 As an exemption see the case of Hamburg, Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006.

39 Based on the expertise by Gogolin et al. (2003) the Federation-States Commission (*Bund-Länder-Kommission*) for Educational Planning and Research Promotion introduced a support programme (2004-2006) with a budget of 12.8 million Euros, which is currently under the administration of the states (*Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund – FörMig*). The program aims to make the *Länder* foster innovative approaches in language education, to evaluate them and facilitate the transfer of good practice while supplying this data for future educational planning. The pilot scheme has been introduced in several schools in *Länder* Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Nord Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxonia and Schleswig-Holstein, <http://www.blk-foermig.uni-hamburg.de/web/de/all/prog/index.html>.

ban of 1973, methods and teaching concepts have yet to be further developed and implemented. In state schools courses in 'German as a second language' (*Deutsch als Zweitsprache – DaZ*) are allocated according their numbers of children with a non-German first language. This concept neither takes existing skill levels among migrant students nor the deficiencies in German language skills among native Germans into account – a problem that is unmistakably evident in some schools.⁴⁰ The concept of *DaZ* is still under debate as the assigned lessons are often simply misused as substitutes for regular class, e.g. if a teacher drops out because of sickness (which reflects the general problem of teacher shortage at German schools).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the countries sending *guest-workers* and most West-German *Länder* worked in mutual cooperation to give migrant pupils the opportunity of attending **native-language classes**, normally organised by the diplomatic institutions in addition to regular classes (*muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht*). Some of these classes contained nationalistic content, particularly from those countries with authoritarian regimes at the time, such as Greece, which provoked anger and criticism amongst migrant parents (Gaitanides 2006). Today, schools still provide courses in the first language of non-German students, for example in Bavarian *Volksschulen* (up to 5 hours weekly) in addition to regular classes if the parents make an application (Volksschulordnung 1998, § 11).

The history of aforementioned 'foreigners' regular classes' and 'native-tongue additional classes' reflects the assumption that migrants would eventually return to their home countries. A revision of this perspective has, in a way, contributed to the revival of assimilationist approaches and the perception that the acquisition of German language skills was the only mechanism for integrating migrants. For instance, because the assumption that students would return to their (parents') countries has now been abandoned, authorities in the state of Hesse have refused to support native language teaching generally insisting that students with a migrant background should fully adapt to German society (Gogolin et al. 2003).

Although several federal Ministries acknowledge the importance of supporting the first languages of migrant children and despite migrant parents' organisations demanding respect and support of their native languages in schools, only some pilot schemes and projects have been developed, mainly in primary schools.⁴¹ In Berlin a pilot scheme of bilingual German-Turkish alphabetisation was initiated and running between 1983/84 and 1993/94 but has not been implemented on a larger scale. The continuation of this course was prevented for reasons of feasibility, financing and the prioritisation of German languages skills (see Gogolin et al. 2001). Another innovative scheme, only implemented in a few *Länder* on a low scale, is the State Europe School (Staatliche Europaschule) where class instruction is bilingual and one half of the students are German native-speakers and the other are native speakers of another language. In the school year of 2005/06, there were 18 primary and 13 secondary schools of this type in Berlin. The prioritisation of West-European languages is apparent in that it has taken such a long time to establish one German-Turkish primary school (1995) (*ibid.*). Since 2002/03 one secondary school has also integrated a German-Turkish class in each grade as part of the pilot scheme.⁴²

The focus on German language acquisition as the tool of integration has also crystallised itself in some schools in the directive to speak only German at school, including the breaks.⁴³ The Bavarian Ministry has recommended this rule in a letter to all general-education and vocational schools (Bavarian State Ministry of Education 2007). Legitimised by the idea of improving German language skills among

40 Berlin, meanwhile, has legalised the earlier practice of some schools in teaching DaZ to those children really in need of this support, for both migrants and non-migrants – which again in relation reduces the available support for migrant students.

41 Regarding bilingual teaching of migrant students with significant German language deficiencies in separate classes see Chapter 2.3.

42 See <http://www.cvo-berlin.de/europaklassen.htm>.

43 The Hoover-school case has fuelled the debate on 'German only in the playground'. Interestingly enough, in this case it was the students themselves who had agreed on a rule to only speak German during the breaks as a *lingua franca*. The idea was then taken up by educators and politicians to be enforced from above, e.g. tso/dpa 2006.

students, this prescription corresponds to a very assimilationist approach to integration and contradicts the idea of mutual respect.

According to German Basic Law religious instruction is a regular subject in many state funded schools⁴⁴ and is taught in accordance with the principles of 'religious groups' (*Religionsgemeinschaften*). Since the 1980s in several *Länder*, Islamic groups have been lobbying for the introduction of Islamic religious instruction in German schools but have been rejected by the Ministries of Culture because they are not accepted as 'religious groups' in the sense of the Law. The main criterion of a 'religious group' – the existence of a representative person – contradicts the organisational structure of Islamic communities. Furthermore, Islamic organisations, as was the case with immigration in general, was regarded a temporary phenomena in Germany – hence not fulfilling the criteria of constancy. Eventually, Islamic organisations were, and still are, suspected of not conforming to the German constitution, which is another precondition of being accepted as a 'religious group'. As a consequence, Islamic religious instruction was banned from German schools and has only taken place in backyard Mosques⁴⁵ and private Koran classes (en and Sauer 2006; Zentrum für Türkeistudien 2004; Behr 2005). Some *Länder* integrated 'Islamic studies' – a more of a descriptive subject not including denominational orientation – in the aforementioned native-language classes. As an alternative, Islamic or Turkish organisations have founded private schools, although they too have encountered resistance. In German schools Muslim children could take part in Christian religious instruction classes or had to be otherwise supervised by the school. Since the mid 1970s increasing numbers of secessions in the Christian churches and therefore non-participation in religious instructions have resulted in the implementation of the non-confessional and neutral subject 'Ethics' as a substitute, a subject also regarded as an alternative to Islamic religion instruction for Muslim pupils (Tremel 1994).⁴⁶

Since the late 1990s, the general resistance to finding a solution beyond the strict definitions of 'religious groups' has slowly decreased. The official acceptance of Muslims and of Islam as a social reality in Germany, the wish to prevent Islamic fundamentalism and so-called 'parallel lives' and to control the contents of Islamic lessons, practices and teacher training, have paved the way for, at least a start in the process of finding solutions for implementing religious instruction in German schools. This reflects the German ideal of a 'civil religion' (Schiffauer 1997): the integration of constitutional principles and religious denomination. In 1999/2000 North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) initiated a pilot project with 'Islamic religious briefing' in German as a regular subject. The NRW-government aims to transfer the subject to 'real' Islamic religious instruction – including denominational orientation – and to establish it on a broader scale until 2010. Several *Länder* have accomplished similar initiatives or have introduced the subject to teacher training in German Universities (Schraml 2006; Güneysu 2006). Since 2001/2002 two Islamic organisations in Berlin offer religious instruction in some primary schools according to an approved curriculum. After more than ten years of legal wrangling, this legal allowance has at least been possible since religious instruction is not a compulsory subject in Berlin.⁴⁷ The instruction offered by the Islamic organisations is still under suspicion of contradicting the German constitution from sections of the public and the lessons are regularly investigated by unannounced visits from the Berlin Schools Administration (Berlin House of Representatives 2004; Mannitz 2004; Mohr 2006).

44 So-called non-confessional (*bekennnisfrei*) schools are exempt from this rule, on further exemptions see below.

45 In the past, Mosques were usually hidden in old factory buildings or buildings tucked away off the street. Meanwhile, in some cities, representative Mosques have been erected, although native German neighbours often object to them (en and Sauer 2006; Zentrum für Türkeistudien 2004).

46 In the 'new' (former East German) *Länder*, the relevance of the subject Ethics is even greater, since the numbers of Christian pupils are significantly low.

47 Berlin – like only a few other *Länder* – is exempt from the constitutional stipulation that religious instruction should be a regular subject in public schools (Basic Law, Art. 7(3)). The so-called *Bremer Klausel*, (Basic Law Art. 141), states that this clause does not apply to those *Länder* in which a different rule was already in force on January 01, 1949.

In response to the *KMK*-recommendation in 1996, some states have anchored intercultural learning in an all-encompassing task within their school curriculum, while others have designed detailed directives and guidelines. For instance, Berlin and Schleswig-Holstein explicitly oppose forms of educational compensation based on assumptions of a pre-existing deficit in migrant students. Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania has developed a framework largely corresponding to the *KMK*-recommendation (Elverich 2004; Gogolin et al. 2001).⁴⁸ The approach found in core curricula and school textbooks is dominated by a division between native Germans and migrants/descendants from migrants. The dualism of 'us' versus 'them' or 'the foreigners' characterises most accounts. Islam often appears either in historical descriptions as an enemy or as a current threat in the form of Islamism. Moreover, migration is often depicted as being a problem, partly for migrants themselves, especially with the concept of the 'culture shock', but with even more reference to creating obstacles for the 'host' society (like in the form of unemployment); or to threatening social and cultural cohesion. Other illustrations suggest a patronising role model of the members of the majority being supporters of 'pitiable migrants' (Geiger 1997; Mannitz 2005; Ohliger et al. 2006; Miera 2007). Apart from mainstream textbooks, there are several examples of material developed by individual teachers that addresses the heterogeneity of the pupils in a more adequate way (see Gogolin et al. 2003).

Although Muslim and Jewish students are allowed to stay at home on their high religious holidays (Christian holidays are official holidays), schools deal quite differently with these festive days. Some integrate the meaning and rituals of these days into general class; some simply accept the absence of the students; and others know neither about dates nor meanings of non-Christian holidays (Kleff 2005; Miera 2007). Similarly, the accommodation of culturally specific meals seems to be half-hearted with minimal response to the needs of students. Generally, schools providing lunch also offer one meal without pork. Many teachers apparently do not know or are not interested in accommodating the specific food requirements of observant Muslims (provision of *halal* meat, prepared according to Islamic rules). The issue of Muslim dress codes is a highly sensitive and politically tense topic. This particularly concerns the question of Muslim woman teachers being able to wear headscarves, (which is not allowed in many *Länder*). The question was negotiated before the Constitutional Court and fiercely debated in the media (Amir-Moazami 2007). The dominant argument against it being that the Muslim headscarf is not only a religious, but a political symbol. The case has certainly contributed to more Muslim girls proudly wearing their scarves as a symbol of protest. In the media, cases of Muslim girls not taking part in co-educational (male and female) swimming or physical education lessons due to religious reasons (which is legally allowed) are depicted as happening in alarming numbers and used as proof of the assumption that Muslims separate themselves into 'backward, traditional parallel lives' (Kelek Interview 2007; Wood 2004). A recent survey proves that these cases – at least the registered ones – are entirely singular (chw 2007). The attention in this debate is wholly focused on Muslims and their behaviour as the cause of conflict and on their non-adaptation to majority rules. The schools as institutions, teachers and other parents are barely perceived as any part of the conflict. In fact, the sensitivity towards culturally specific sense of shame or respect towards dress codes seems to be quite low amongst teachers (Kleff 2005; Miera 2007). Certainly, these situations are hardly simple and unambiguous. For teachers it might indeed not be easy to identify whether for example: a girl herself wishes to be exempted from a class trip because of moral or religious reasons, or if her parents have put pressure on her, or whether she has other entirely individual reasons for wanting to stay at home. Obviously, a communicative relationship between teachers, pupils and families is extremely important right from the beginning – and not only in the case of conflict. In addition, economic and institutional factors may influence students being able to participate in class outings. For instance, refugee students are sometimes not taking part in class outings simply because as refugees they are subjects to legal restrictions to travel according to their residency obligations (*Residenzpflicht*), in other cases some families simply cannot afford it.

48 Other initiatives such as the federal-program 'To learn and to live democracy' aim to foster the democratisation of schools on all levels and to open up schools to other institutions or NGOs, see <http://www.blk-demokratie.de/>. Most elements of the programme are not specifically linked with immigration or cultural diversity.

3. Other Dimensions of Differentiation in the Education System: Differences in School Careers and Student Performance

Students receive a school report of their results every half-year, the results at the end of a school year determine entry into the next grade. In the first few grades primary school reports are quite informal although some schools have reintroduced report scores or marks. Assessment is based on written tests and oral participation in class during the school year. Exams for Abitur (after grade 12/13) are centralised in each Land, as has more recently been the case for grade 10 graduation (Mittlerer Schulabschluss). Scores range from 1 (excellent) to 6 (unsatisfactory), in upper secondary level from 15 (excellent) to 0 (unsatisfactory). Student performance test results in international, national or Länder levels, such as PISA⁴⁹ or IGLU⁵⁰ have disproved the misconception that students' careers are necessarily dependent on their individual academic ability or even that this ability was assessable according to objective standards (Radtke 2004). Given the disadvantaged position of migrant students within the German education system, this chapter examines the interplay and influence of multiple social categories in the performance of migrant students in schools and their subsequent paths in further training, the labour market and in different careers.

Several studies have revealed that in comparison to other industrialised countries, Germany has the most pronounced correlation between a student's social and migrant background and their educational achievement – even despite the fact that the correlation has slightly diminished between 2000 and 2006 (Prenzel et al. 2007; Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001; European Forum for Migration Studies 2001; Auernheimer 2006b). The secondary analysis of the PISA-survey confirmed the disadvantages of students of lower socioeconomic status and/or a migration background. Children with at least one parent born abroad less frequently attend Gymnasium and more frequently lower qualifying schools than German students from the same socioeconomic stratum without migration background (Educational Report 2008, 63 and 254).

A further central finding of the national PISA-surveys was the relationship between German language skills and school achievement, and the respectively low level of German skills amongst migrant students.⁵¹ Remarkably, students from the **second generation** of migrants – meaning that they were born in Germany the parents being immigrants to Germany – had weaker German skills than new migrants like *Aussiedler*⁵² from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Prenzel et. al 2007). This evidence again reflects the lack of integration measures undertaken in relation to the *guest-worker* generation and their descendants up until recently.

Regarding the correlation between **gender ratios**, migration background and school achievements the surveys suggest that gender differences are similar with migrant and non-migrant students, but that male and female migrant students perform worse than their non-migrant peers. Generally, boys are more likely to repeat a class than girls, but boys and girls with a migration background have to repeat a class more frequently than their peers without migration background (Educational Report 2006, p. 152; Educational Report 2008, 70). The quota of male students dropping out of school without any graduation is significantly higher than that of female students. But both male and female students with foreign citizenship are twice as likely to leave school without graduating than their peers with a German passport. Three times as many 'German' males and females receive their *Abitur* graduation than 'foreigners' (Table 5; see also Educational Report 2006).

49 On critique of the PISA methodology and the influence of international surveys on the educational system see Jahnke and Meyerhöfer 2006.

50 IGLU (Internationale Grundschul-Lese-Untersuchung) corresponds to the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study – PIRLS.

51 On differences in educational performance between Federal States see e.g. Hunger and Thränhardt 2006.

52 Although *Aussiedler* originate from historic German settlements in Eastern Europe the young generation normally does not speak any German upon arrival in Germany (Dietz and Holzapfel 2000).

Table 5: German and Foreign General and Vocational School Graduates According to 2006 Statistics of Achieved Graduation Levels and Gender Ratios (in % of the population of the typical age group)

Level of graduation achieved	Graduates									
	Total		of which							
			Germans				Foreigners			
	No.	in %	Male		Female		Male		Female	
No.			in %	No.	in %	No.	in %	No.	in %	
Without graduation	75,897	7.9	38,905	8.7	22,426	5.3	8,952	19.2	5,614	12.7
Grade 9 (<i>Hauptschulabschluss</i>)	273,481	28.5	137,633	30.8	94,646	22.3	22,356	48.0	18,846	42.8
Grade 10 (<i>Mittlerer Abschluss</i>)	481,845	49.6	221,600	49.2	226,276	52.9	16,205	34.0	17,764	39.7
Grade 12 (<i>Fachhochschulreife</i>)	129,662	13.6	64,937	14.7	57,299	13.6	3,840	8.0	3,586	7.6
<i>Abitur</i> (Grade 13, University prerequisite)	285,456	29.9	123,409	28.0	152,397	36.3	4,285	8.9	5,365	11.4

Source: Educational Report 2008, 274

Differentiating between school performances according to nationality and/or other categories requires a modification of the 'migration background' or 'foreigner' category. Students from EU-countries, East Asia, USA and the American continent achieve the prerequisite graduation for University entrance - *Hochschulreife* or *Abitur* - significantly more frequently than their German peers while only half of the students from Turkey, Italy, the CIS, and from states of former Yugoslavia achieve *Abitur* compared to German students. The national educational report calculated the rates of *Abitur* graduation among students of different nationality assuming they were of the same gender and their parents had a comparable educational level, income and occupational position. Interestingly enough, taking these categories into account the relevance of nationality evidently decreases: The ratio of students from EU-countries, America and East Asia would no longer be significantly higher than for Germans and the disadvantages of students from the CIS, Italy, Turkey, Morocco and Eastern and Middle-Eastern-Europe would also decline. Students from Vietnam and other South Asian countries, Greece, Spain und Portugal would even perform better than their German peers of the same socioeconomic stratum (Educational Report 2008, 91). A separate analysis of the different criteria demonstrates the massive influence of the educational level of the parents. The ratio of students with at least one parent holding a university degree who attend the *Gymnasium* and achieve *Abitur* are three times higher than those students whose parents only had a grade 9 graduation. The ratio even grows to 4:1 if both parents hold a university degree (Educational Report 2008, 91). A better economic situation also significantly improves the chances to achieve *Abitur*. Reasons are not analysed in this study but seem quite obvious: Well educated parents with a good income can support the children intellectually and financially, afford extra lessons, teach not only basic competences like discipline, how to learn but also a certain bourgeois or 'educated' *habitus* that match the teachers' expectations.

In contrast to these variables, a survey of the transition phase between school and vocational training revealed the significant relevance of the category 'migration background'. This phase is considerably longer and less successful for migrant students than for students without migration background: 50 % of 'migrant students' were unable to find an apprenticeship position until 17 months after their schooling while non-migrant students found a position after three months. These differences remain stable even if educational and economical backgrounds are taken into account (Educational Report 2008, 162-163) which points to the discriminatory selection practices of employers as trainers. The selectivity of the German school system continues in the transition phase to vocational training (ibid. 194). Once students have successfully absolved vocational training there are fewer differences

between German and 'foreign' citizens in terms of their success rates in joining the labour market – although in comparison to their 'German' counterparts, more 'foreigners' are find themselves employed in fields not relevant to their vocational training. (ibid. 182-183).

The proportion of young people with a non-German passport entering the labour market or attending further education is decisively lower than for young German citizens. While 60 % of the German citizens find a position within the fully qualifying system of dual vocational training or vocational schooling and 40% depend on the transition system (qualifying programs), the proportion is just the opposite regarding foreign passport holders (ibid. 159). The difficulties facing young migrants are particularly concentrated in urban agglomerations.

Overall, empirical surveys do not provide sufficient answers when trying to ascertain whether migrant students are primarily disadvantaged because of their migration background or rather because of their socioeconomic position. Regardless of these queries, migrant students are disproportionately affected by discrimination as both categories often coincide. The most startling reason for this considerable discrimination against students with a migration history can be found within the multi-track school system – with its elements of highly selective streaming after grade 4 (or 6) and the lack of permeability and upward mobility – as already pointed out above. Mechanisms inherent to the school system contribute to discrimination against migrant children (Gomolla and Radtke 2002). The path through special needs school or *Hauptschule* which is strongly linked with social status commonly predetermines a disadvantaged and difficult school career and a long lasting or even unsuccessful transition to vocational training and into the labour market.

4. Education of Minority Ethnic Youth in Light of Public Debate and Policy-making

4.1 Public Discourse, Policy-making and Representation

Generally, school education of migrant youth is depicted as being highly problematic in current debate in Germany. Positive examples of successful migrant students are barely recognised and common perception is that these students are merely exceptions to the rule, a view that is easily fuelled by the fact that migrant youth generally perform under par at school. The problematic situation is illustrated by reports of classes being unmanageable because of high proportions of pupils with a migrant background, deficiency in German language skills, lack of discipline and willingness to learn and heightened potential for aggression, as the following cases exemplify. The debate is embedded in and influenced by more general topics: first, the general debate on integration; second, linked with the former, the debate on multiculturalism and the alleged incompatibility of 'Islam' and 'Western culture'; and third, the issue of school development and the aim to increase the efficiency of German schools in international comparison.

In March 2006 teachers from a Berlin *Hauptschule* addressed the public with an open letter declaring that they were no longer able to teach.⁵³ The proportion of students with non-German background had risen to account for 83% of all their students, of which 35% were of Arabic origin and 26% of Turkish origin. The teachers, all German natives, claimed that the atmosphere in class was characterised by aggression, disrespect and ignorance towards them. Pupils would destroy school

53 Documentation of the Rütli-school letter, March 30, 2006, <http://www.spiegel.de/schulspiegel/0,1518,408803,00.html>. The huge media attention drawn to the Rütli-school resulted in an immense private and public support program for the school. Meanwhile the school has started taking part in the Berlin Senate pilot program of community schools (*Gemeinschaftsschule*), see footnote 60.

property, attack teachers and refuse to learn. The addressors of the letter demanded a general school reform as well as ad hoc support. This 'emergency call' caused a huge political and media debate about the alleged failure of multiculturalism, the lack of German language skills amongst migrants, the responsibilities of migrant parents, teacher shortages and the failings of the school system. Particularly under scrutiny was the institution of the *Hauptschule* as the school 'for the rest' – the 'rest' being the socially disadvantaged and a disproportionately high percentage of pupils 'with a migration background' (e.g. Musharbash and Volkery 2006; Randow 2006).

In other cases teachers reported that Muslim students had pressurised other Muslims who were not abiding by Islamic rules and that non-Muslims were insulted as 'impure'. They complained that young males behaved in a misogynist/sexist way against non-Muslim female pupils and teachers. Cases of violent and aggressive boys of Arabic or Turkish origin acting in an anti-Semitic way were also described. Simultaneously, Islamic organisations have been accused of exerting pressure on schools threatening the co-education of boys and girls. Generally questions are raised about basic democratic rights and whether they are still valid in schools, and if those same liberal rights have been applied to all people irrespective of their religion (or non-religion) (e.g. Berlin Senate Office of Health 2004; Kleff 2005; Gesemann 2006).

These conflicts are predominately perceived as cultural specific, and primarily to students of Turkish or Arabic (or sometimes Russian) origin, or simply as Muslim specific (more general see Spielhaus 2006). This codification remains quite dominant even if the media take into account the relevance of socioeconomic background of the students' parents, or their 'distance from education' (*Bildungsferne*) – a new euphemism for low social class and education in German discourse. The term points to the importance of an educated, literate environment for the education of children, which socially underprivileged families often cannot offer.

The media often take up these issues in a particularly subjective manner, focusing on conflict and the fragmentation of society allegedly caused by Islam or some Islamic groups (Wood 2004). The debate is embedded in the general issue of migrant integration, focussing mainly on the failure of integration that is exemplified by migrants allegedly living 'parallel lives/societies'. The concept of 'parallel lives' is a catch-word applied to Muslim migrants (of whom the majority are Turkish) who allegedly live closed-off from majority society, lack German language skills and customs, and obey Islamic rules and educational concepts. These rules are depicted as backward, traditional, narrow-minded, and oriented to principles like nemesis, honour, submission, women's oppression and male predominance etc. (e.g. Farrokhzad 2006). Consequently, the responsibility for the school failures of migrant students and for aggression and violent conflicts in schools is ascribed to the individual students and their parents. According to this point of view Islam critic Necla Kelek resumes, "The German school must be a German space in terms of culture and language" (Kelek Interview 2007). In a more liberal approach, several Länder have initiated so-called Islamforen or similar round-table discussions to bring policy makers together. Here, governmental or communal representatives, migrant and Islamic organisations and other social interest groups and individuals are able to discuss conflicts and possible solutions within immigration society, especially with regard to Islam and 'majority society'. These discussion forums symbolise a new level within the integration discourse. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether they will meet their goals or primarily serve symbolic needs.⁵⁴ However, public discourse around these processes tends to ignore the massive efforts made by migrant representatives in

54 Just how fragile these new round-tables and conferences really are, has been exemplified in the run-up to the second national integration conference. After the government tightened immigration rules, some migrant representatives refused to participate in the conference and demanded that the government withdraw the amendment. With this they aimed to reveal the discrepancy between the official use of rhetoric and symbolic policies while simultaneously supporting restrictive immigration policies. They criticised the fact that they had not been involved in the amendment process. In response, politicians and the media nearly unanimously accused the representatives of not behaving according to democratic rules and of lacking maturity with regard to integration and therefore negated the possible legitimacy of the migrants' claims, see Rey 2007; pca/F.A.Z. 2007.

the past in getting sufficient attention from officials and educators to state their needs and offer their cooperation (Gaitanides 2006).⁵⁵ The new communicational structures also pose a challenge to migrant organisations, which are far from unified regarding their aims concerning education policies.

Current suggestions for school reform and development aim to improve individual pupils' achievements, implement equal opportunity structures, increase the autonomy of individual schools and introduce whole-day schools. Still, policy makers refuse to abolish the multi-track school system.⁵⁶ Even the abolishment of the *Hauptschule*, which is scheduled in several *Länder*, is a highly controversial issue, and especially opposed by middle-class native Germans fearing a lowering of school standards and the loss of the privilege that they perceive the system as affording their children.⁵⁷ The general debate on school reform is characterised by the idea of the flexible individual and the aim to create human capital. People are surveyed from Kindergarten onwards throughout 'life-long learning' for their economic usability (Radtke 2004, 2006).

Within this general debate of school reform, the specific needs of migrants and issues of cultural diversity have not been seriously taken into consideration (Gomolla 2006). Apart from aforementioned initiatives to improve methods and infrastructure of teaching German as a second language, the focus of policy measures is put on the individual responsibility of migrant students and their parents, on local networking and the involvement of migrant organisations, as the following examples may illustrate.

The National Integration Plan includes a chapter on 'Integration on the ground' (*Integration vor Ort*), which claims that schools should become spaces of intercultural dialogue in order to revalue these neighbourhoods (Federal Government 2007). Special tasks are applied to migrant organisations. The recommendations for mainstream members of the public only are to volunteer as 'readers' or 'reading mentors' in schools taking on a role through which they can identify themselves as helpers of migrants. No additional financial or organisational means are allocated for these aims.

Several initiatives and projects have been initiated by or accomplished in cooperation with migrants or migrant organisations. For instance, a Turkish parents' organisation cooperates with individual schools by discussing current problems with teachers and advising them, consulting parents, translating between both parties not only regarding language but also in terms of respective expectations and cultural customs.⁵⁸ Since 1991, the program 'Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters' (HIPPPY), originating in Israel, has been implemented in 24 locations in Germany. The program brings families together in a neighbourhood with children in preschool age. Within about 30 weeks the parents are supported in teaching their children basic learning skills. The project is deemed successful in reaching migrant families and in encouraging parents' involvement in school education.⁵⁹ The projects *Stadtteilmütter* (Neighbourhood Mothers) or *Rucksack* (Backpack) – initiated by similar projects in the Netherlands – is based on the idea that migrants themselves may act as mediators to migrant parents who cannot offer an educated, literate environment to their children. After being

55 Migrant parents have mainly organised in independent associations (see above). Only a minority also engages in the institutionalised parental representation in schools. Parental involvement in decision making is clearly defined by law in all schools. The parental institutions concerned with decision making consist of the parent-class representative and the parent-school representative. Parents are represented at the school conferences, the highest level of school decision making. The parent-class representatives and school conference representatives have the right to take part in department conferences and general conferences. Parent-class representatives elect their representatives on the district and state levels.

56 See e.g. the reactions in defense of the school system in response to the Munoz-report (UNHRC 2007), by the Association of Philologists in Baden Wuerttemberg (2007).

57 There are some initiatives to abolish the *Hauptschule*. It is doubtful that the aforementioned discriminatory effects may be overcome if a two-track *Realschule* is established instead, without questioning the whole system of streaming – like recent developments in Rhineland-Palatinate, see Schmiedkampff 2007. In contrast, the Berlin Senate has launched a pilot scheme of community schools (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*) starting in 2008, Berlin Senate Office of Education 2007.

58 Turkish Parents' Association, see <http://www.tevbub.de/>.

59 <http://www.hippy-deutschland.de/>.

trained as a *Stadtteilmutter*, these bilingual migrant mothers instruct a group of other migrant mothers and familiarise them with the German school system, discuss social issues around school and provide them with further material for the education of their children.⁶⁰ Another form of networking is the co-operation between schools with a high percentage of socially disadvantaged and migrant students, and local companies offering internships.

Notwithstanding the potential and positive results of these particular initiatives, policy measures on the local and individual level may not sufficiently solve the exclusionary structures of the school system and discriminatory customs and rites within the institution of the schools. The preoccupation with individual responsibility and parents' involvement seems to contribute to a lack of reflection on the role of the school, its failures in the past concerning German language teaching, communication with parents, and integration of native with non-native children generally.

A further issue in debate is ethnic and social segregation in urban areas and schools, as we will refer to below.

4.2 Equal Opportunities

Against the background of fact that German language skills are decisive for good school performances, the aforementioned state program *FörMig*⁶¹ may be regarded as an indirect policy for equal opportunities as it aims to support children and youth with a migration background. Similarly, other initiatives and co-operations to enhance students' educational circumstances and support and engage parents, as mentioned above, may also have the effect of fostering equal opportunities. Moreover, various foundations support integration programs at schools or give grants especially to individual migrant students.⁶² Nevertheless, a policy with the explicit goal of fostering equal opportunities in education does not exist. Protection for those affected by direct or indirect discrimination in education is relatively weak. The German General Equal Treatment Law effective from August 2006 – more than three years after the deadline for the transposition of the EU Race Equality Directive – also applies to education, but only on a very limited scale. Victims of discrimination are effectively denied support as a result of NGOs having no right to defend them in legal proceedings (Antidiscrimination Network 2005).

4.3 Segregation/Integration

As we've seen above, ethnic and social urban segregation is a major issue in the debate about integration and education which goes right back to deficient urban and integration policies since the arrival of first *guest-workers* in 1955 (Häußermann and Kapphan 2004), accompanied by the phenomenon of schools with 60 to 100% of children with a migration background and German language deficiencies. Schools in these neighbourhoods bear the additional task of having to teach skills and subjects that children of wealthier families often learn automatically through their home environment or in extra private lessons. School districts are obviously not an appropriate means to countervail these processes; nevertheless the current tendency to repeal school districts may encourage further segregation in schools (see Chapter 1.3). The most common suggestion to desegregate urban areas is to foster disadvantaged districts by improving the infrastructure and encouraging civic participation and local networking.⁶³ Within these urban policy programs schools are regarded as 'integration centres' connecting students,

60 <http://www.lesen-in-deutschland.de/html/content.php?object=journal&lid=615>

61 See Chapter 2.5 resp. footnote 42.

62 E.g. <http://cgi.bildungspakt-bayern.de/cgi-bin/grossprojekt.php?projekt=talent>. The abolishment of Hauptschule is also discussed under the label of equal opportunities, but not explicitly with respect to migrant students, Federal Government 2007.

63 E.g. the program 'Social City', <http://www.sozialestadt.de/programm/>.

parents, teachers as well as migrant organisations, the local economy and other relevant agents (Federal Government 2007). According to this idea – and the aforementioned conception of school development – schools are to develop specific profiles in order to attract (German) middle class parents and therefore stop or even reverse segregation. Certainly, 'positive action' strategies in favour of students and their families in socially underprivileged neighbourhoods such as the reduction of class sizes, increase of the numbers of teachers, co-teaching by two teachers in one class, implementation of whole-day schools in order to offer qualified supervision in afternoon hours, as well as the consequent implementation of intercultural pedagogy could radically change classroom culture, conflict management and school performances in these neighbourhoods. In the light of restricted funding of urban policy programs, the feasibility of these strategies is doubtful. Increased competition between schools may also contribute to segregation of schools within certain neighbourhoods.

Another measure, which was suggested by individual proponents and rejected by responsible politicians, was to implement a so-called 'bussing' scheme, meaning to transport students with migration background by bus to schools in districts with a high percentage of native German students (dpa 2006b; Paul 2007).

5. The State of the Art in Research on Minority Ethnic Youth in Education

In the chapters above, we have integrated the most relevant research on the issue of migration and education, especially the work of Radtke (2004, 2006), Gomolla and Radtke (2002), Gomolla (2006), Schiffauer et al. (2004), Gogolin et al. (2001), Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz (2006) as well as the empirical results of national Educational Reports (2006 and 2008) and the PISA survey (Prenzel et al. 2007; Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001; European Forum for Migration Studies 2001).

In the following we will focus on the literature on cultural diversity and education within German speaking pedagogical science – a topic which has been marginalised and is still a secondary domain within teacher-training.

Nevertheless, the literature on 'intercultural education' easily fills its own library section and includes a broad variety of theoretical approaches and practical material.⁶⁴ Pedagogy started dealing with immigration issues in the 1960/70s when increasing numbers of children of so-called *guest-workers* started attending state schools in West-Germany.⁶⁵ The so-called 'foreigners' pedagogy' (*Ausländerpädagogik*) was based on the assumption that 'foreigners' children' attended pre-school and school with considerable deficits resulting from their conflicting experiences of two cultures: the one they knew from their home country or their parents and the new culture of the host society. Their parents were perceived as being unable to absorb this 'cultural conflict/shock' (e.g. Roth 1985). 'Foreigners' pedagogy' was based on the idea of the 'otherness' of a seemingly homogenous group of migrants who would need to be treated with a special pedagogical approach; this has had the consequence of contributing to migrants' separation and incapacitation. Traditional intercultural pedagogy is opposed to the approach of assumed deficits and emphasises different but equal cultural affiliations. The pedagogy of recognition aims to enable educators and children to perceive and respect difference. According to a universalistic approach, different cultures are principally perceived as being of the same value, while

64 For an overview see e.g. Auernheimer 2003; Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006; Nohl 2006. The following rough overview cannot encompass proper consideration to the variety of approaches and research in the field of education in a plural society, like for instance, human rights pedagogy, democracy learning and historical learning, and in particular, Holocaust teaching (Hormel and Scherr 2006; Georgi 2003), or reflections on anti-Semitism in the context of the crisis in the Middle East (Fritz Bauer Institut und Jugendbegegnungsstätte Anne Frank 2006).

65 On education policies in the aftermath of WW II with separate schooling for various national groups of Displaced Persons, see Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz 2006.

universal values provide a common and transnational basis. Pedagogy in this sense aims to educate towards autonomy, autarky or rationality and also towards the maintenance of 'cultures' (Tumat et al. 1986). Subsequently, supplementary text-books and material with generalising descriptions about e.g. 'the Turkish' or 'Islamic culture' have been published (see e.g. Rabitsch 1982).

The approach reflected in these textbooks has been criticised for applying a static concept of culture, reproducing and intensifying stereotypes, and applying uncritical cultural relativism. Furthermore, the ambivalence resulting from the statement that on one hand every culture is equal while referring to a common framework of values on the other, is often solved by then referring to the international convention of human rights as a common ethical authority – which again is a form of defining Western values as universal. Finally, by perceiving dialogue between different cultures as the means to solve conflicts, a harmonising picture of reality is drawn that ignores the unequal status of different cultural groups and the structural dimension of discrimination.⁶⁶

The focus of a further strand of pedagogy and education-related social sciences is concerned with modes of institutional discrimination and the effects of hierarchal structures. The goal of this approach is to concentrate more attention on the institutions rather than migrants; in fact, individual agency is subordinated under social structures. Systemic or structuralistic approaches refute the relevance of 'culture' and argue that by taking 'culture' into analytical consideration one would culturalise and therefore disguise, social structures and power relations (e.g. Hormel and Scherr 2004; Radtke 2006; Gomolla and Radkte 2002).

In contrast to the anthropological approach that seeks a common universal framework for all cultures as a point of departure, is the postmodernist assumption that cultural orientations or 'forms of discourse' – being hybrid, subject to change, and increasing in their plurality – do not coexist in harmony but in a permanent state of conflict or antagonism without a dominant mechanism for solving these conflicts. In this sense intercultural pedagogy has the task of providing the educational possibilities and capabilities regarding different discursive practices and conflict resolution strategies (e.g. Ruhloff 1992).

Intercultural pedagogy in line with cultural sociology or reflexive anthropology applies a constructionist concept of culture and aims to identify processes where 'culture' is used to legitimise power or inequality. In contrast to structuralist approaches, this reflexive intercultural pedagogy regards 'culture' as relevant in identifying differences of experience, world perceptions and the practices of groups. It is assumed that cultural difference does exist – not as a firm attribute, but as a purposeful act performed by the individual in order to distinct themselves from others. 'Cultural distinction' is perceived as both an answer to objective structures as well as a result of individual agency. Reflexive intercultural pedagogy therefore critically questions general pedagogy. It questions the norms or normality applied in education, if for example, the history of minorities is only derived from the 'master narrative'.⁶⁷ It perceives 'culture' as not homogenous, but variously shaped, not static but dynamic, and hybrid (e.g. Koller 2002).

With respect to the individual, intercultural pedagogy aims to enable intercultural capacities on different levels: ranging from an understanding of the different phenomena that reveal cultural or social disparities, the reasons contributing to these phenomena and a capability to reflect on these phenomena from different viewpoints; to the ability to reflect own perceptions and behaviour in a multicultural context and being able to take part in a modern, plural, open-minded and democratic environment (Gogolin 2003). Within the academic debate on intercultural pedagogy the issue of religion appears to be subordinated (see Nusser 2005). This issue is often separately analysed in the context of religious (Islamic) instruction, but not in its broader impact on everyday school life (e.g. Behr 2005; Güneysu 2006).⁶⁸

66 On the other hand, during the 1970s the protagonists of a school reform did not take into account the specific situation of migrants, Auernheimer 2006a.

67 See e.g. the ethnographical research by Schiffauer et al. 2004; see also Mecheril 2004.

68 Kleff (2005) provides insightful reports and interviews with practitioners about the relevance of Islam in schools.

Another major strand in education research regarding migrants or ethnicity focuses on the conditions required for a pupil's successful school results. A main result of which is the strong significance of German language skills, resulting in the development of teaching methods of German as a second language which at the same time are adequate to overcome the "mono-lingual habitus" of German schools (Gogolin et al. 2003). The question how and whether bi- or multilingualism is an advantage or an obstacle in the early phase of learning is still under debate (e.g. Esser 2006). Schröder (2007) points to the varieties of every language which have to be acknowledged in schools instead of reducing teaching methods only on literary language. In-depth studies of individual biographies illustrate the importance of migrant students and their families maintaining a belief in their own social mobility, which is deemed as a migrant specific social capital (Raiser 2007).

What seems quite absent in scientific research is a systematic reflection of the historical legacies of (missing) German educational and immigration politics and practices over the last fifty years. Another pressing issue is the development of a methodology for teacher training appropriate to the requirements of intercultural pedagogy. Finally, besides the question whether the research undertaken on education in an immigration society is exhaustive enough, the main challenge seems to be how to implement a fruitful exchange between educators, policy makers and academics and to transfer research results into practice.

6. Considerations Driving Selections for Empirical Research: Groups, Schools, Sites

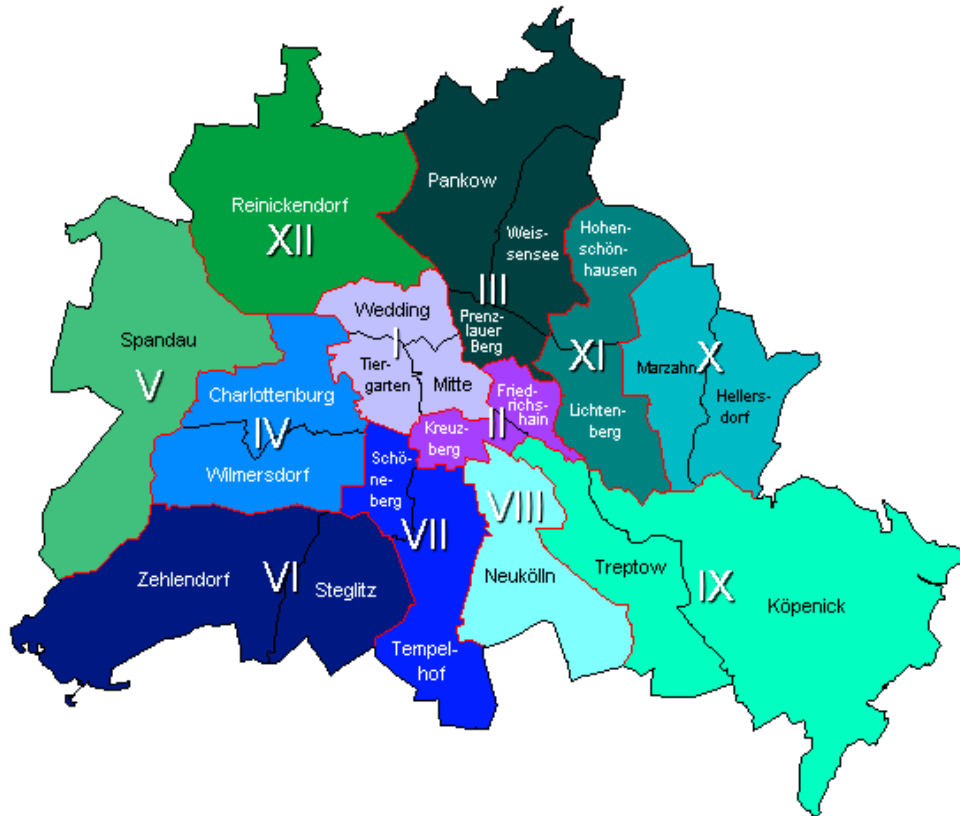
For the in-depth field research, we have selected students of Turkish and Lebanese migration background in *Hauptschule* and *Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule* in two typical immigrant districts of Berlin, i.e. Moabit and Wedding. The survey will not only include these schools but also others like *Realschule*, *Gesamtschule* and *Gymnasium*.

We have chosen these research sites and focus groups because the urban situation in inner city districts can be regarded as quite typical of immigrants' lives in Germany and because Turkish but especially Lebanese students have to cope with many risks of marginalisation, not only in the education system but also on the labour market, in housing and in legal aspects.

Berlin is the capital of Germany and, with its approximately 3.4 million inhabitants, the largest city in Germany. On the day of the German reunification, October 3, 1990, Berlin became an independent state as one of the three city states, together with Hamburg and Bremen that form 16 federal states (*Länder*). Berlin is subdivided into 12 boroughs called *Bezirke*, which are administrative units with political rights comparable to incorporated communities in the rest of Germany (although they are not separate legal entities from the city). The Berlin borough reform in 2001 reduced the number of Berlin's boroughs from 23 to 12 in order to cut down administrative costs. This was achieved by combining several of the old boroughs.⁶⁹

69 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin%27s_2001_administrative_reform

Map 1: Boroughs of Berlin



The districts slightly vary in population sizes (May 2006)⁷⁰

I	Mitte:	324,368
II	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg:	263,388
II	Pankow:	355,521
IV	Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf:	315,204
V	Spandau:	224,659
VI	Steglitz-Zehlendorf:	288,268
VII	Tempelhof-Schöneberg:	332,547
VIII	Neukölln:	305,797
IX	Treptow-Köpenick:	235,607
X	Marzahn-Hellersdorf:	250,098
XI	Lichtenberg:	259,514
XII	Reinickendorf:	243,917

The borough Mitte has been combined from the earlier boroughs Wedding, Tiergarten and Mitte. Moabit which – besides Wedding – has been selected for field research is the northern part of the earlier borough Tiergarten. Moabit has 70,000 inhabitants; 28% with migratory background. Wedding is a little larger (73,500 inhabitants) and has a slightly bigger share of immigrants (30%).⁷¹ Both districts are known as important residence areas of Lebanese families in Berlin.

70 Statistical Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg

71 <http://www.berlin.de/ba-mitte/bezirk/ortsteile/index.html>

The Berlin School System

Berlin has a diverse school system with interchangeable elements. In addition to the 800 public schools, there are 30 private elementary schools, most of which are denominational. These include Catholic and Protestant schools, as well as one Jewish and one Islamic school.⁷²

When a child leaves elementary school, where all the children are taught from the same curriculum, to enter a higher level school, his or her parents or legal guardian can decide to send it to an integrated comprehensive school (*Gesamtschule*), which is available to all children leaving elementary school regardless of their performance, or the parents or legal guardian can decide that the child shall continue his or her education in an intermediate school (*Hauptschule*), a secondary school (*Realschule*), or a high school (*Gymnasium*), depending on his or her previous performance in elementary school.⁷³

Berlin has also introduced another option, the combined intermediate and secondary school (*Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule*). It is also possible to move from an elementary school after the fourth grade to a *Gymnasium* that starts with grade 5.⁷⁴

The school system includes various special needs schools. Upon application submitted by a child's legal guardians (normally his or her parents) or by the school, special educators ascertain whether the child needs special educational assistance. If so, the child's legal guardians choose between having the child be taught and given special assistance in the ordinary school environment or having him or her placed in a 'special needs school' which specializes in teaching and assisting children with the particular problem at hand.⁷⁵

Immigrants in Berlin

Some 14% of the 3.4 million inhabitants of Berlin are non-Germans. Immigrants of Turkish nationality represent the largest group (30 June 2007), with about 114,000 people, followed by Polish (44,000), Serbian and Montenegrin (24,000), Russian Federation and Italian (14,000 each), North-American (13,000), French and Vietnamese (12,000 each), Croatian (11,000), Bosnian and Herzegovinian (10,500), Greek (10,000), British and Northern Ireland (9,500), Ukrainian and Austrian (8,500 each), Lebanese (7,500).⁷⁶

Besides non-Germans, there are many immigrants with German nationality, like the tens of thousands of repatriates from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. For the first time, in 2005, the Federal Statistical Office has included the category 'immigrant background' in the micro census. According to this definition, persons with immigrant background are foreigners, naturalised Germans, repatriates and their descents. Totally, they took up about 23.4% of Berlin's population in 2005, in contrary to 13.3 % without German nationality ('foreigners').

A striking feature of Berlin's immigrant population is their vastly uneven geo-demographical distribution over the city. Further to the conventional East-West division, an immense imbalance in the western part of Berlin is also recorded, mainly between the districts of the city centre and the remaining districts.⁷⁷

72 <http://www.berlin.de/berlin-im-ueberblick/kultur/schulen.en.html>

73 Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin (2008 a) Welcome to Berlin.

74 <http://www.berlin.de/berlin-im-ueberblick/kultur/schulen.en.html>

75 Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin (2008 a) Welcome to Berlin. For detailed information see appendix 'The Berlin school system'.

76 Statistical Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg

77 Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin (Ed.) (2008b) Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion: Integration Policy in Berlin 2007–2011.

The high concentration of immigrants in the districts of the city centre (i.e. Wedding and Moabit) can be explained by three different reasons:

"Firstly, despite the substandard developments of their socio-economic structure, such districts are more suitable than the middle-class residential areas to become the starting point for the newly arrived immigrants with relatively low-income.

"Secondly, upon the arrival of the labour immigrants from Southern Europe, Yugoslavia and Turkey in Berlin, there was ample housing available in these districts at low prices. Moreover, city planners did not counteract this gradual development of immigrants' concentration in the districts.

"Thirdly, through the settlement and growth in the number of immigrant inhabitants in certain districts, the further concentration of the same ethnic group would then be vastly facilitated by chain-migration. Frequently, the influx of non-German inhabitants to the city centre was accompanied by the retreat of German middle-class to the suburbs, which resulted in a higher comparative concentration of non-German population."⁷⁸

In the borough Mitte, two-thirds (65%) of the students have a 'non-German first language'.⁷⁹ In Moabit and Wedding, the share of migrant students is expected to be even higher, since before the Berlin borough reform in 2001, the total Lebanese population in the three earlier boroughs was quite uneven: 58% in Wedding (1,091), 40% in Tiergarten (740) and only 2% in Mitte (52).⁸⁰ It is also possible that a big part – if not the majority – of those, 3,285 persons who are registered in Mitte under the category 'nationality unclear' (2007)⁸¹ are of Lebanese origin. In Berlin, this category is known as including almost exclusively Palestinians, many of them from Lebanon (Gesemann et al. 2002, 91).

Students with Migratory Background in Berlin

In the 2007/2008 school year, there were 90,641 'non-German first language' students in general education. They represent almost one-third (29.7 %) of all 305,280 students. Nearly 50,000 students had a non-German nationality, among them 20,000 Turkish passport holders and 2,900 Lebanese citizens who represent the largest and the second group of 'foreign students'.

The geographical distribution of students with migratory background is quite uneven. In the inner-districts (i.e. Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln) where many blue-collar workers used to live until the 1980s when the economic crisis started, most students have a first language that is not German. In Mitte this applies to two-thirds (65%) of the students in general and to 81% in *Gesamtschule*. In *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* – the school types selected for the in-depth research – the percentage is closer to average (67% resp. 77%). In *Gymnasium*, it is below average, but still relatively high (48%) compared to other boroughs – a fact that might be beneficial for the quantitative survey.⁸²

As illustrated in the previous chapters, students with a Turkish or Lebanese background are not only the largest minority groups, but they also appear to be disproportionately affected by the exclusionary

78 Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin (Ed.) (2008b) Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion: Integration Policy in Berlin 2007–2011.

79 Berlin School Statistics 2007/2008

80 31st December 2001 Statistical Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg

81 31st December 2007 Statistical Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg

82 Berlin School Statistics 2007/2008.

school system and they belong to the category of students whose performances are significantly low – which is often linked to their socioeconomic status and the educational level of the parents. Moreover, Turkish students appear to be the main target group of public discourse, increasingly codified as Muslims, while other groups, for instance students of Italian nationality who also showed quite weak school achievements are barely mentioned.

The comparison group of Lebanese students has an even worse educational performance than the Turkish students, but this is not so much an issue of focus the German discourse. This might be at least partly due to the fact that their number is much smaller. Only 0.6% (40,000) of all foreigners (6,750,000) in Germany are Lebanese, while Turkish citizens represent 26% (1,750,000).⁸³ In Berlin, however, the share of the Lebanese population is slightly higher: 1.6% (7,700).⁸⁴ Since the Lebanese group is quite young, the percentage of Lebanese students in general-education in Berlin is 5.7% of the 'foreign' pupils. Turkish students (20,000) represent almost 40% of the foreign student population, but the Lebanese are the second largest foreign students group (2,900) in Berlin. Furthermore, one may expect to meet as well many students of Lebanese origin during field research who have been naturalized⁸⁵ or are registered under the category 'nationality unclear'.

Public discourse about Lebanese youth in Berlin refers to similar aspects as about Turkish youth but in addition it is very much focused on a small group of criminals and drug-dealers. Articles in Berlin and German newspapers⁸⁶ have repeatedly mentioned that the Berlin heroin market is controlled by several Kurdish family-clans who pretend to be from Lebanon while state authorities presume they are from Turkey. This confusion deters legal bodies from deporting delinquent family members because neither Lebanon nor Turkey is willing to accept them (Henninger 2002⁸⁷). Another subject that is reported by media especially in connection with Lebanese and other Arab teenagers is anti-Semitic behavior.⁸⁸

To sum up, Turkish and Lebanese youth clearly represent 'the other' of Berlin society. But the public image of the Lebanese is even worse. The same is true for their socio-economic situation and their legal status. While in 2006 only 0.9% of Turkish citizens in Germany had precarious legal status (permission to remain or suspension of deportation) 15% of the Lebanese lived here with heavily restricted social and political rights. Another 40% had only temporary residence permits, a situation which has become quite unusual for Turkish citizens (15%).⁸⁹ To have only a temporary residence permit has a decisively negative impact of the future perspectives of students, but to have just a permission to remain or a suspension of deportation makes it very difficult to find a working place or a place for vocational training after school education.

The distribution of students with Turkish or Lebanese citizenships according to the various school types shows that both groups are affected by the exclusionary school system. Table 6 brings together the data scattered through the text and highlights the most striking features.

83 31st December 2006 Federal Statistical Office

84 31st December 2007 Statistical Bureau for Berlin and Brandenburg

85 Nationwide the number of former Lebanese citizens who have been naturalized between 1988 and 2007 is 38,000. This is almost the same size as all the Lebanese passport-holders living in Germany (40,000). Federal Statistical Office, own calculations.

86 Some examples: <http://www.faz.net/s/Rub117C535CDF414415BB243B181B8B60AE/Doc~E0A8892AF137E421F8CF15BB3D89C9AA5~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent~Afor~Eprint.html> http://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article428702/Arabische_Grossfamilien_handeln_mit_harten_Drogen.html. <http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/.bin/dump.fcgi/2003/0425/berlin/0280/index.html>

87 http://www.berlin.de/polizei/Download/impkrim_oeff11.pdf

88 One example: <http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/.bin/dump.fcgi/2002/0522/berlin/0145/index.html>

89 Federal Statistical Office, own calculations.

Table 6: Distribution of Students to School Type (in %)

Students	Grundschule	Hauptschule	Special needs school	Realschule	Gesamtschule	Gymnasium
All	48.5	4.0	4.0	6.5	13.0	24.0
Non-German first language	56.5	6.0	3.0	7.5	12.5	14.5
Turkish	49.0	8.5	4.0	10.5	14.0	13.5
Lebanese	52.5	13.5	8.5	7.0	13.0	4.0

Source: Berlin School Statistics 2007/2008; own calculations

Since Turkish and Lebanese students are both overrepresented in Hauptschule while Realschule seems to be of special importance for upward mobility of Turkish students the EDUMIGROM team has chosen to undertake the field research in *Hauptschule* and *Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule*.

As the percentage of migrant students attending *Hauptschulen* or *Realschulen* in grades 9/10 is predominately high the selection of such a school for in-depth studies is quite obvious. Grades 9/10 are especially important as gates to either vocational training, entry to the labour market or further general-education. Schools to be considered a good research example would be in a neighbourhood with a high percentage of migrant students. Last but not least, a further argument for the selection of Berlin as a research site is the good accessibility of the field due to previous research and contacts of the German research team.

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Appendices

Tables and Diagrams

Table 1: Students in General-education and Vocational Education Schools during the School Year 2006/07

Area of education / Type of school	Students		of which					
	total	Variance compared to previous year in % ¹⁾	Female		Germans		Foreigners	
			total	% ¹⁾	total	% ¹⁾	total	% ¹⁾
General-Education								
Preschooling	29,061	-3.3	11,090	38.2	24,249	83.4	4,812	16.6
Primary level	3,192,623	-0.6	1,567,537	48.1	2,856,484	89.5	336,139	10.5
Lower secondary level	4,838,410	-2.9	2,385,044	49.3	4,388,143	90.7	450,267	9.3
<i>Hauptschulen</i>	953,401	-6.9	417,584	43.8	770,678	80.8	182,723	19.2
<i>Realschulen</i>	1,300,537	-1.8	648,902	49.9	1,199,983	92.3	100,554	7.7
<i>Gymnasien</i>	1,691,274	-0.4	890,545	52.7	1,617,612	95.6	73,662	4.4
Integrated comprehensive schools	420,601	-3.1	204,314	48.6	360,830	85.8	59,771	14.2
Others schools	472,597							
Upper secondary level	887,678	2.9	489,692	55.2	844,215	95.1	43,463	4.9
<i>Gymnasien</i>	758,478	3.5	420,110	55.4	727,506	95.9	30,972	4.1
Integrated comprehensive schools	76,752	0.5	42,520	55.4	68,144	88.8	8,608	11.2
Other schools	52,448							
Special needs schools	408,085	-2.0	149,973	36.8	345,026	84.5	63,059	15.5
Total	9,355,857	-1.6	4,603,336	49.2	8,458,117	90.4	897,740	9.6
Vocational Education								
Vocational schools, Technical colleges etc. (upper secondary level)	2,781,875	0.4	1,250,861	45.0	2,595,048	93.3	186,827	6.7

¹⁾ Proportion of the first column.

Source: Federal Statistical Office 2007

Table 2: Foreign Students According to Citizenship and School Types during the School Year 2006/07

Country of Citizenship	Total	Pre-school (Vorlässen)	School- Kindergarten	Primary schools	Orientation- level (grades 5/6)	Hauptschulen (basic, general secondary school education)	Schools providing several paths	Realschulen (more extensive general secondary school education)	Gymnasien (secondary schools enabling higher education entrance)	Integrierte Gesamtschulen (integrated comprehensive secondary schools)	Free Waldorf Schools	Förder schulen (special- needs schools)	Adult education (evening schools/ Colleges)
Europe	721315	629	2 841	270 277	10 913	152 946	8 910	83 536	78 913	54 653	1 219	49 814	6 712
Albania	20 779	19	51	7 920	289	5 219	417	1 613	933	1 180	1	3 073	84
Andorra	29	-	-	6	-	9	-	8	4	1	-	-	1
Belgium	1 127	-	5	353	15	114	11	93	331	95	16	64	30
Bosnia-Herzegovina	21 433	10	30	8 459	530	3 473	280	2 609	2 886	1 562	11	1 414	169
Bulgaria	1 450	2	1	426	31	213	30	137	469	80	1	45	15
Denmark	1 022	4	-	371	18	71	7	113	305	100	8	21	4
Estonia	322	2	-	99	3	42	7	35	101	24	-	4	5
Finland	526	-	-	181	4	21	4	32	220	40	18	4	2
France	6 653	7	7	2 881	77	533	45	436	2 048	291	104	190	34
Greece	31 354	37	146	11 943	275	6 795	166	4 094	4 124	1 639	37	1 830	288
Ireland	409	4	1	169	2	31	3	47	113	23	11	4	1
Island	143	-	1	59	1	18	1	9	28	10	2	14	-
Italy	57 926	28	333	21 111	510	14 218	824	6 978	4 735	3 600	104	4 995	490
Croatia	20 990	17	76	8 054	271	3 280	105	3 075	3 646	978	16	1 209	263
Latvia	881	2	2	252	13	116	17	92	277	74	2	22	12
Liechtenstein	9	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	3	1	-	-	-
Lithuania	1 614	1	3	531	24	310	32	208	351	96	3	32	23
Luxembourg	414	-	-	113	-	42	18	40	112	14	10	64	1

Mali	37	-	-	-	5	-	4	-	-	12	14	-	-	2	-
Macedonia	9 305	34	13	4 161	183	1 997	96	849	591	635	1	678	67		
Moldova, Rep.	1 094	-	-	323	16	116	25	95	395	79	-	18	27		
Monaco	39	-	-	4	-	20	-	-	-	15	-	-	-		
Montenegro	415	3	6	189	20	45	7	39	41	37	-	43	5		
Netherlands	5 603	7	14	2 328	46	398	52	638	1 272	327	82	180	39		
Norway	245	-	-	112	3	15	4	25	59	20	5	2	-		
Austria	6 488	3	4	2 067	65	801	25	785	2 140	186	104	266	42		
Poland	22 623	48	63	8 036	551	3 879	371	2 364	4 284	1 780	43	700	304		
Portugal	12 939	46	70	4 960	112	2 796	141	1 628	1 319	880	9	868	110		
Rumania	3 914	-	7	1 347	25	905	44	438	795	143	7	140	43		
Russian Federation	23 690	29	51	8 488	385	3 251	596	2 273	6 015	1 393	52	721	436		
San Marino	7	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	1	-	-	-	-		
Sweden	821	4	6	280	8	93	3	71	240	62	24	27	3		
Switzerland	2 012	2	1	551	20	188	19	197	803	78	131	23	19		
Serbia	45 576	35	302	18 293	520	10 838	719	3 826	2 641	1 837	17	6 281	247		
Slovakia	960	1	2	377	12	145	23	104	195	45	3	42	11		
Slovenia	1 099	-	3	430	8	187	9	145	173	50	6	77	11		
Spain	6 608	12	19	2 300	85	907	32	914	1 113	566	48	323	89		
Czech Republic	2 016	-	3	620	22	338	72	190	521	78	9	124	19		
Turkey	38 1459	252	1 386	143 338	6 251	87 698	4 286	45 967	28 387	34 784	167	25 409	3 334		
Ukraine	11 925	14	15	3 282	200	1 058	273	1 389	4 386	777	23	191	297		
Hungary	1 624	1	2	547	21	215	28	156	535	51	12	36	20		
United Kingdom ¹⁾	5 373	3	4	1 795	93	641	27	596	1 331	550	87	183	63		
Belarus	1 728	1	7	615	50	179	34	191	495	89	5	31	31		
Cyprus (EU)	20	-	-	6	1	5	-	2	4	1	-	1	-		
Other	6 614	1	7	2 664	153	1 499	57	778	477	362	40	463	93		
Africa	34 789	75	94	13 633	575	7 006	369	3 330	2 570	3 800	34	2 675	738		
Ethiopia	839	3	3	333	18	188	2	100	75	58	1	40	38		

Algeria	1 262	-	2	482	18	289	63	120	141	63	1	94	9
Ghana	2 101	24	4	877	17	294	47	153	183	323	1	148	30
Morocco	11 513	8	38	4 331	152	2 311	34	1 262	676	1 527	3	957	214
Tunisia	2 204	1	4	704	13	489	26	233	248	230	1	180	55
Other	16 870	39	43	6 806	357	3 475	187	1 462	1 247	1 579	27	1 256	392
America	15 081	28	11	4 980	256	2 555	236	1 294	3 088	1 783	153	503	194
Brazil	1 865	2	1	641	16	391	38	175	341	135	9	71	45
Chile	255	2	-	87	2	25	3	17	79	25	8	5	2
Canada	705	2	-	249	8	78	4	51	217	79	5	10	2
United States	6 078	10	5	2 159	77	711	64	450	1 385	990	66	134	27
Other	6 178	12	5	1 844	153	1 350	127	601	1 066	554	65	283	118
Asia	115 255	256	363	41 616	2 474	19 025	2 922	11 572	19 408	9 435	156	6 592	1 446
Afghanistan	12 900	92	39	3 760	212	1 898	257	1 553	2 098	2 019	7	752	233
India	1 914	8	7	767	19	285	36	190	313	162	4	106	17
Indonesia	398	6	2	173	4	27	4	24	112	27	-	8	11
Iran	9 347	26	15	2 871	140	980	132	987	2 554	918	18	335	371
Israel	630	3	1	267	38	58	12	33	140	48	-	22	8
Japan	1 024	6	2	402	15	111	4	33	290	120	27	12	2
Jordan	914	1	3	395	35	157	8	64	87	70	-	85	9
Korea, Dem. PR.	201	-	2	86	1	3	-	10	91	6	-	2	-
Korea, Rep.	1 109	2	-	376	4	27	10	26	539	78	8	6	13
Lebanon	12 230	11	22	4 326	565	3 047	238	726	412	1 282	-	1 553	88
Pakistan	5 225	26	50	2 063	169	774	87	577	522	534	1	380	42
Philippines	887	4	3	314	9	196	13	111	122	64	2	28	21
Sri Lanka	5 722	2	17	2 623	24	726	94	649	731	577	-	237	42
Syria	4 525	2	17	1 864	72	903	235	314	288	306	1	465	58
Thailand	3 896	5	7	1 418	41	1 185	162	363	280	295	11	93	36
Vietnam	15 419	7	15	5 193	492	1 070	699	1 679	5 247	714	3	283	37

Other	38 894	55	151	14 718	634	7 578	951	4 233	5 382	2 195	74	2 245	478
Australia/Oceania	780	2	1	288	17	93	18	64	199	76	8	11	3
Australia	433	1	-	172	15	45	2	38	126	47	1	4	2
New Zealand	72	-	-	19	-	5	16	3	22	5	1	1	-
Other	255	1	1	97	2	43	-	23	51	24	6	6	1
Stateless, unclear citizenship, n/a	10 520	6	516	3 126	429	1 096	74	738	466	546	8	3 464	41
Total	89 740	996	3 816	333 770	14 664	182 723	12 519	100 554	104 634	70 293	1 578	63 059	9 134

⁰ Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Source: *Federal Statistical Office 2007*

The Berlin School System⁹⁰

Each school year begins on August 1. On that date, the children in Berlin who become obliged to attend school for at least ten years are those who have already become six years old or who will become six years old on or before December 31 of the given year.

If a need for improvement is ascertained, the child first attends a one year language course before starting school (effective August 2008, before then it was just a six month course). The purpose of this course is to ensure that each child has a good linguistic basis for success at school.

In Berlin, there are about 850 public and private schools with a broad spectrum of pedagogic profiles including the federal European schools with their bilingual programs and the elementary schools with German-Turkish alphabetisation.

The school system has several levels of education. All pupils start at an elementary school, before continuing at a higher level school.

Elementary Schools (Grundschulen)

Elementary schools generally cover grades 1 through 6. Most elementary schools offer a half day programme and are always open from 7:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Beyond that, they all offer early morning, afternoon, early evening and holiday child care as full day schools in cases of demonstrated need. There are also 64 full day schools (including the 18 state European schools) which hold classes from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. and also provide child care outside these hours and during holidays in cases of demonstrated need. Many elementary schools offer integration classes in which all children, including those with disabilities, are taught together. Many schools have special pedagogic focal points such as sports, music, theatre, art, Montessori, foreign languages and new media.

Higher Level Schools

When a child leaves elementary school, where all the children are taught from the same curriculum, to enter a higher level school, his or her parents or legal guardian can decide to send it to an integrated comprehensive school (*Gesamtschule*), which is available to all children leaving elementary school regardless of their performance, or the parents or legal guardian can decide that the child shall continue his or her education in an intermediate school (*Hauptschule*), a secondary school (*Realschule*), or a high school (*Gymnasium*), depending on his or her previous performance in elementary school.

Intermediate Schools (Hauptschulen)

Intermediate schools – grades 7 to 10 – impart a basic general education to their students and make it possible for them to obtain all the certificates of secondary level I, in accordance with their performance. The emphasis is on occupation and the relationship of knowledge to practise with the goal of preparing them with all the abilities required to take up vocational training.

Secondary Schools (Realschulen)

Secondary schools – grades 7 to 10 – impart a basis for future vocational training at a higher level. A major area of concentration can be selected from a range of elective courses. The four year programme at a secondary school concludes with a secondary school diploma which is awarded on the basis of a central examination procedure. When this diploma is awarded and further conditions are met the student can, as an alternative to vocational training, also transfer to the upper grades of a high school.

90 See Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin (2008 a) Welcome to Berlin..

Combined Intermediate and Secondary Schools (Verbundene Haupt- und Realschule)

In the combined intermediate and secondary schools the courses taught in intermediate and secondary schools are combined pedagogically and organisationally. In general, separate classes are held for differing courses of study (corresponding to career objectives).

High School (Gymnasium)

High schools generally start with grade 7, but some of them with special profiles start at grade 5. Up through grade 11 each student belongs to a single class in which all subjects are taught. At the end of grade 10 the students take the examination for a secondary school diploma. Students who pass the examination and have suitable grades are promoted to the upper grades. Here, the student selects courses from a structured range of basic and elective courses. Upon completing grade 13 students finish their school education with the so called 'Abitur', which comprises three written and least one oral examination as well as a presentation examination or a special project. Upon passing the Abitur a student acquires the right to study at institutions of higher learning and can therefore be admitted to studies at a university.

Starting in 2011, grade 11 (introductory phase) will be eliminated so that the Abitur can be acquired after 12 years. With some courses of studies, however, the introductory phase will be retained.

Comprehensive School with High School (Gesamtschule mit gymnasialer Oberstufe)

Comprehensive school generally comprises grades 7 to 10. Here, the courses of study of the intermediate schools, secondary schools and high schools are integrated. A given student, depending on his or her capabilities, is imparted a basic, extended or in depth education so that he or she is able to concentrate on an area of learning which, depending on the school leaving certificate, he or she can pursue during subsequent vocational or academic training.

The comprehensive schools aim to teach all students together regardless of their previous performance; students are also looked after on an individual basis and assisted as appropriate. Some of the instruction is given to the entire class and some of the subjects are taught in accordance with previous performance as well as in required and elective courses, according to the student's inclination. Depending on performance, at the end of grade 10 each student is given an intermediate school certificate, an extended intermediate school certificate, a secondary school certificate, or a certificate which entitles him or her to graduate to the upper grades of high school. Most of the comprehensive schools also offer the upper grades of high school and some of them also have a basic level. All comprehensive schools are conducted as full day schools with additional out of class offers, including supervision of homework. Thus the comprehensive schools embody the ideal of 'one school for all'.

Special Educational Assistance

The teaching and educational mission of Berlin's schools also applies to children with needs for special educational assistance. Upon application submitted by a child's legal guardians (normally his or her parents) or by the school, special educators ascertain whether the child needs special educational assistance. If this applies to your child, you as the child's legal guardians choose between having your child be taught and given special assistance in the ordinary school environment or having him or her placed in a school which specializes in teaching and assisting children with the particular problem at hand. Berlin's schools have many years of experience with teaching and assisting these children in the ordinary school environment and are among Germany's best schools in this regard.

The following types of special schools / special assistance centres are available in Berlin for special educational assistance:

- Special schools with focus on 'sight'
- Special schools with focus on 'hearing'
- Special schools with focus on 'physical and motoric development'
- Special schools with focus on 'language'
- Special schools with focus on 'learning'
- Special schools with focus on 'mental development'
- Special schools with focus on 'autistic disability'

Children with a need for special educational assistance in the areas of seeing, hearing, speaking, physical and motoric development and possibly autistic disability are instructed on the basis of the applicable curricula of the Berlin school, insofar as they have the appropriate intellectual capacity. Thus these children do have the chance to earn any school certificate, including the Abitur.

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