

GERMAN EDUCATION POLICY AND REFORMS REGARDING MIGRANT  
INTEGRATION

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German Education Policy and Reforms Regarding Migrant Integration

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science at George Mason University and Master of Arts at University of Malta

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## **DEDICATION**

This is dedicated to my loving husband Michael and daughter Sara and to all who tirelessly seek to resolve conflicts through peaceful means.

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I would like to thank my friends, relatives, and supporters who have made this happen by encouraging me to take this course, especially Michael and my daughter Sara for their patience. Thank you Dr. Lutterbeck for your advice, guidance and encouragement. I would also like to thank Thanos Gatsias, all the professors and visible/invisible staff members at both George Mason University and the University of Malta who are instrumental in making this programme meaningful and a fulfilling experience.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bavaria .....	By
Berlin.....	Be
International Organizations.....	IOs
Integrated Secondary School .....	ISS
National Action Plan.....	NAP
National Integration Plan.....	NIP
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development .....	OECD
Programme for International Student Assessment.....	PISA
Programme for International Student Assessment – Extension.....	PISA-E
Socio-economic Status.....	SES
United States.....	US

## **ABSTRACT**

### **GERMAN EDUCATION POLICY AND REFORMS REGARDING MIGRANT INTEGRATION**

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This thesis is a comparative study of educational reforms in two German States, Bavaria and Berlin, following reactions to PISA scores and rankings after 2000. The purpose is to understand the objectives of the reforms implemented and whether goals were met. Since the outcry post PISA 2000 was due to the failures of the education system in regards to youth of migrant background within the secondary school system, the study will analyze what has been discovered and whether the introduced reforms have addressed and improved on these issues.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Germany has the largest number of immigrants in Europe. A country that is historically known for not seeing itself as a country of immigrants until within the last few decades. Ever since the mid-1960s the question of immigration and integration in Germany has been a topic of discussion, and even more so within the last couple of years. These two topics, immigration and integration, have been discussed, researched and written about by many scholars and politicians leading to an abundance of literature. The available literature reveals the difficult processes and struggles Germany has had in accepting itself as a country of immigration. This struggle was brought to the forefront of the German psyche when Germany took part for the first time in the *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) in 2000. The student assessment results, and the research that ensued, revealed an education system that was highly selective and incompatible in integrating minority youth into the education system.

The importance of this study is to indicate how having a low levels of education can get in the way of integrating minority youth and their communities within a majority society. The post-PISA 2000 inquiries attributed Germany's poor rankings to a highly selective secondary education system, the poor language skills of minority youth, and the socio-economic situations of both German native and students with migrant backgrounds. The below average results were also attributed to the low levels of education of

immigrant parents. These education outcomes, particularly for socio-economically disadvantaged students and youth with a migrant background, have revealed characteristics that have hindered the integration process within a greater society.

Consequent to the PISA results, the German Federal government, the Senate of Berlin which is the policymaking body of government, and other experts acknowledged that there was a lack of transparency in the German education system. The officials also agreed that the PISA results revealed structural discrimination within the education system that needed to be immediately addressed and reformed. The PISA 2000 results became a heated topic in the media leading some German States to introduce extensive reforms and policies regarding immigrant integration, reforms within the education system and also pursuing integration through education of minority youth.

Each of the 16 states in Germany has a commissioner that deals with integration issues in cooperation with the Federal Commissioner. In 2012, during the Conference of Ministers, Senators discussed ways in which they could cooperate on certain integration measures seeing that each State deals with integration issues separately. For the purpose of this paper, the study will explore educational reforms and youth integration through education comparing two German State reforms and objectives to international ones. Bavaria and Berlin, the two selected States for analysis, have responded to youth integration through education very differently since post-WWII. Bavaria's educational system is highly regarded as number one within the country, whereas Berlin has been ranked very poorly (in the last two spots) among the sixteen States. While exploring these two State's reforms, international comparisons will be drawn on to further assess reasons

behind the introduction of very different educational reforms in these two States following PISA 2000.

Responding to the below average results of PISA 2000, the Senate of Berlin, in the year 2006, introduced long overdue comprehensive and transparent reform policies regarding immigrant integration and education reforms. The new reforms, the Senate declared, would bring together all inhabitants of Berlin to work together to promote legal and social participation in all sectors. Berlin took time with the introduction of new educational reforms starting in the 2010/11 academic year, while Bavaria, on the other hand, quite promptly introduced educational reforms in the academic year of 2003/2004.

Chapter two will discuss methodology, while in chapter three, an overview will be presented and discussed to highlight the key themes of immigration and integration in Germany that this study touches upon due to the important factors leading up to the particulars of this comparative analysis. Existing literature will offer the reader insights regarding the discussions that have already been taking place vis-à-vis the topic of this research. The literature review will start with a discussion of the phenomenon of migration in Germany after WWII, with the arrival of thousands of guest workers and ethnic Germans into the country. The review will then move on to present the challenges Germany associated with the presence of immigrants in the country, both for the migrants themselves and for the local population. Challenges that have triggered ongoing discussions on immigrant integration throughout the country for decades. This will be followed by a discussion on immigrant integration in general, before proceeding to an overview of immigrant integration policies in Germany.

Since the focus of this comparative study is on the role of education in the integration process of youth with a migrant background, at this point chapter four of this study will include a section that presents insights on this relationship between education and integration as found in the abundance of scholarly literature. The study will then turn to the specifics of the case and explore the evolution of youth education in Germany, before looking at the issues related to the German States of Bavaria and Berlin, the history of their education systems vis-à-vis the integration of youth with a migrant background and the deficiencies or criticisms presented.

Chapter five will briefly give insight into the purpose of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This comparative study will discuss in depth what research has identified as the systemic challenges that the existing education system presented for socio-economically disadvantaged youth as well as youth of migrant background. This will be reinforced by assessing literature and research that has presented international educational challenges when dealing with integrating minority youth.

Finally, in chapter six, the study will offer an overview of the reform initiatives introduced in Bavaria and Berlin, and what research has revealed about educational reforms by comparing these with international educational developments. The chapter will also present what the stated objectives and latest scientific data regarding the success or failure of the initiated reforms. The grounds for comparing Bavaria and Berlin are, on the one hand, due to the fact that Germany, assessed as a whole, scored below average on the PISA 2000 rankings. On the other hand, Bavaria, being highly regarded in Germany as having first class educational results within the country and being very proud of this

status, takes on reforms. In comparison to Bavaria's first class ratings within the country, Berlin has always been ranked as the lowest scorer within the country. So, instead of choosing to compare the States in between to understand reform objectives, deciding on these two States, the highest and lowest scorers, may reveal how officials decide to take action when put under international scrutiny; and to compare the objectives of reforms in regards to integration through education of youth with a migrant background. With this, the study will end with a conclusion.



## **CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY**

The purpose of this paper is to explore the topic of *Integration through Education* of youth with a migrant background by conducting a comparative study. The paper will compare and contrast the educational systems, reforms and the impacts they have had in two German states - Bavaria and Berlin. The comparative study of these two German States is to attempt to understand what the objectives of recent reforms were and how the implementation of these objectives have assisted in the ‘integration through education’ of youth with a migrant background. The reason for comparing educational reforms and objectives in Bavaria and Berlin is because these two states took different approaches in the implementation of educational reforms. The study will also attempt to find out the objectives behind the reforms, and how the reforms have assisted in the integration of minority youth within the education system.

For the purpose of acquainting the readers with a full representation of the issues of youth integration through education, some background information about immigration and integration in Germany post World War II will first be presented. This will be followed by a section about the evolution of German youth integration through education to attempt to put into context how the education system evolved in Germany. Following this framework, the study will specifically turn to the Federal states of Bavaria and Berlin

to describe their approaches and policies in regards to the integration through education of youth with a migrant background.

The study will be qualitative in nature. The research will be accomplished by using primary and secondary sources. The primary sources will include various writings and theories, and data already presented by sociologists, researchers and scholars. The primary source information that will assist in this endeavor and give objective insight into the topic being studied and will be provided from books, scholarly articles, journals, and interviews already conducted by others who have written and presented their works on the topics of immigrant movements, theories of education, integration, and youth. The study will also use secondary sources.

Secondary sources will comprise of governments documents, reports, texts, policy documents and government websites. This will assist in the understanding of what policies have been put in place and implemented, and will give a clear understanding of the relevance and objectives of the policies introduced regarding the issues of youth integration through education.

Since the main focus of this study is on the integration of youth of a migrant background into mainstream society through educational processes, this comparative study will disclose what emerged about Germany's educational system to initiate comprehensive policies and reforms by exploring and comparing the reform policies of Bavaria and Berlin against other OECD countries. This will be accomplished by briefly introducing the purpose of the *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD) and the *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) in chapter five.

Pursuing this introduction, the study will be complemented by information of a scholarly and theoretical nature revealing the various foundations of poor performances of youth with a migrant background within the education system. The study will also describe the German Federal government's policies and State policy comparing these against international policies; reform objectives, and results in Chapter six, before presenting a conclusion that will attempt to answer the thesis question in chapter seven.

## **CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

### **3.a. Migrant movements in post-WWII Germany**

An overview of the history of migrant movements in Germany is essential to understand the challenges and discussions that emerge about immigration, integration and education to date. Throughout the mid- 1950s and up until 1973, Germany, as in many other European countries, was in need of cheap labor to counteract inflation and therefore recruited ‘guest workers’ to fill in this labor gap. The “guest worker” invitation was purely for economic purposes and therefore Germany didn’t take into consideration any future plans of workers according to historian Ulrich Herbert (Spicka 2013, p. 345). Recruitment of foreigners stopped in 1973 due to the oil crisis, but that didn’t stop the guest workers from staying on in the country. Germany subsequently eliminated legal means for immigration and encouraged repatriation of the guest workers on a voluntary basis (Wegmann 2014, p. 132), but many workers favored remaining in the country as there were no jobs to go back to in their countries of origin. In 1965, a “West German Foreigners’ Law” was created in order to ban foreigners from residency rights and therefore force them to constantly re-apply for authorization to reside within the country according to Wegmann. This law didn’t apply to Italian workers, she adds, who had freedom of movement and were also allowed to seek employment.

The “Gastarbeiter” or ‘Guest Workers’ as they were called at the time came mainly from Greece, Italy, Spain and Turkey; “had relatively low levels of education” and were not expected to settle but rather to “stay for a short while and then leave” (OECD 2011, P. 206). The “guest workers” not only in Germany but also in other European countries (Italy and France) feared border closures and hurriedly brought relatives over to join them. Families began to settle in Germany and local state officials passively watched as immigrants were settling and becoming a part of Germany. The term “guest workers” was ultimately changed to “Auslander” meaning foreigner; a label used for people residing in Germany who were “people of color, visibly identifiable as ‘the other’ ...[excluding] Northern Europeans or North Americans” (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p.194) who were able to easily blend into the wider German communities. According to Anne Sliwka, after decades of no official policies, Germany began to recognize that those considered as foreigners and living in parallel communities were becoming a social problem (Sliwka 2010, p. 207), and therefore, in the 1990s, the German government had to begin rethinking previous policies. The 1990s were also at a time when the country was dealing with the challenges of reunification with East Germany and the tensions arising between East Germans and minorities.

Parallel to the influx of “guest workers” of post-WWII, another group of immigrants entered the country as ethnic Germans fleeing from the Soviet Communist Regime’s occupation of the pre-war Eastern parts of Germany. The repatriation of displaced ethnic Germans into the West of the country was in accordance with German law. A law that guaranteed full benefits as citizens of Germany. It is estimated that “12 million ethnic Germans” entered West Germany during the 1945 expulsions, and that

they continued to return to Germany up to 1991 mainly arriving from Poland, Russia and Central Asia. (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 193). After German reunification it was estimated that more than 2 million “repatriates” returned to Germany with an estimated 49,000 of them arriving in Berlin alone between the years 1991 and 2005 (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p. 12). Throughout the repatriation program, these groups, for the most part up until the 1990s, didn’t experience resentment towards them as they settled into the country due their ethnic origins and mainly due to the needed labour force. The repatriates, it is claimed, were in competition with other minority groups for the low wage jobs and this may be the reasons for little resentment from a majority population. Germany has since made it more difficult for “ethnic Germans” to repatriate by requesting proof of ethnicity.

Germany for a long time had difficulty accepting itself as a country of immigrants. Foreigners settling in the country were limited in having an active role in society or fully participating due to the regulations put upon them, i.e. restricting residency and work permits within the country in the hope of repatriating them to their countries of origin. Although immigrant groups were settling, they did not belong and therefore this may have contributed to the lack of integration within certain segments of the immigrant population which was passed down through the generations. Adding to the fact that with the oil crisis of 1973, many of the low wage and poorly educated workers might have been a burden on a government and country going through recession.

Putting all this into perspective, one can see that immigrant integration is a process that goes hand in hand with how one is treated, and how one feels, within a country and society. It is clearly obvious that certain groups of immigrants were preferred

while others were rejected. Of course, one cannot disregard the fact that cultural assimilation usually allows for better integration within a majority community.

Borrowing Schunck's definition, Assimilation is "the process by which individual immigrants become culturally and socially more similar to the autochthonous population," and that some immigrants have assimilated so well within society that they are "undistinguishable from the autochthonous population" (Schunck 2014, p. 11).

Maxwell says that racial and ethnic discrimination as a barrier to integration has been a problem for white European migrants and non-white migrants alike. But it has been much easier for white European migrants to easily "assimilate and blend in with natives"(Maxwell 2010, p.28).

So, what does research tell us about integration and how it can become a success?

### **3.b Migrant Integration/different approaches**

Migrant integration is a process that incorporates many factors, and therefore it is difficult to claim that migrant integration is achieved by either one factor or another. Integration means different things to different people depending on which trajectory lens one selects to look through. Various theorists use different words to explain their perceptions or interpretations of what immigrant integration means or entails. Reading through the many pieces of literature written about this topic, one understands that migrant integration is a multifaceted and complex process that need to be taken into consideration and acknowledged when these issues are raised by both the immigrants and the host citizens. Yet both immigration and integration belong together, because without

one, there would be no discussion about the other. Something that may be impossible to imagine in today's globalized world.

Sociologist Reinhard Schunck claims that there are over 30 terms used to explain or define what immigrant integration is due to “intense normative political and public debate”, and he adds that “integration is well suited to serve as an overall concept, describing the interrelationship between an individual and society” (Schunck 2014, p. 9-10). There are certain foundations which may facilitate the basic phases in which immigrant integration can occur within a host society. Integration may well be possible when an individual is given the same opportunity in which to participate fully within a society in which he/she is a part of. Timely foundational stages are crucial, if not necessary for this to occur, especially when concerning immigrants who have more difficulties adjusting to and dealing with integration because of their limited abilities. Likewise, immigrants have to be willing to participate, respect and become members of a majority host society. Maxwell states that it is easier for an individual to integrate by acquiring citizenship, learning the language, and understanding the culture of the country they become a part of” (Maxwell 2010, p. 27). These recommendations are made easier within the right environment and when policies are in place to assist immigrants in this pursuit.

Citizenship is beneficial and important for immigrant integration, because it assists in creating a sense of belonging and acceptance within a host society. It enables participation in public life and allows immigrants in some respects to be on the same footing as their native compatriots. Citizenship therefore provides for the fundamentals of integration whereby an immigrant can feel welcomed in a new environment and has a



sense of stability in life. The stability which is made possible through citizenship allows for greater opportunities to fully participate in daily life and this in turn encourages and facilitates the process of integration. Weldon (2006) discovers “that majority group members’ tolerance of ethnic minorities [is] systematically linked to the citizenship regimes and cultural policies that [are] implemented” (Schlueter et al. 2013, p. 672). This means that if policies are in place to accept minorities as citizens, majority groups become more tolerant. Tolerance may not be an *accepting* word to the ear, but it may be the first step needed for social contact and mutual understanding between communities. In order for this first step to occur, it is therefore important for immigrant communities to learn the national language.

The significance of learning the language of a host country cannot be over emphasized. Language is a connecting force that brings people together and provides many other benefits which are important for immigrant integration. Learning the language of a host country facilitates interaction between immigrants and natives of a host country and may facilitate the integration process regardless of an immigrant’s background and/or limitations. In the introductory section of the Esser’s book on *Migration, Language and Integration* the author describes the many benefits of learning a host nation’s language. Esser states that language is a resource; it can act as a symbol of belonging or of foreignness, it provides opportunities ,and can promote and encourage inter-cultural exchange and understanding (Esser 2006). Language facilitates interaction with others, but “linguistic integration by itself does not guarantee that people will live peaceably side by side”(Knoll and Hinzen 2007, p. 48). There may be many factors that may come in the way of learning a new language such as not being motivated enough or

having particular skills associated with learning as Esser explains. Another issues that may interfere with the process of learning a language may have to do with cultures and customs.

Peter Richerson states that “[c]ulture is both a product and a driver of evolution” (Richerson 2012). Culture has become a nineteenth century term attached with agendas, and ends up being complicated, but can be very generally defined as “something widely *shared* [or not shared]by individuals in a society” according to Avruch (Cheldelin et al., 2007, p. 168). Today’s societies encompass multiple cultures that either overlap, become intertwined or become detached from each other. Peters explains that “social and cultural spaces are seen as collective human constructions that are relational, ideological and contestable on the basis of class, gender, race, age and other structural and cultural factors” (Peters 2014). Cultural spaces and “human constructions” can be found in many countries around the world. Spaces where cultural identities are shaped through experiences within the environments one lives in and grows up in.

These human cultural spaces (communities) are created in relation to and are a cause of multiple factors, and are issues that many European countries have been and still are struggling to come to terms with. Today’s youth of immigrant background have a cultural identity of their own shaped and molded by their experiences within the social spaces they grow up in and not where their parents came from according to many researchers. This cultural identity is formed by the knowledge that youth gain from their parents and the environmental spaces they live in (Hinze 2013, p. 77). Germany is encouraging its minority communities to learn about the culture of the country they are a part of and are living in. Learning about the culture of a country and also respecting it

does help immigrants understand commonalities and differences and can facilitate and generate harmony. Culture can be better understood when people interact with each other, speak to each other about their life stories, living spaces and experiences, given that there are opportunities set-up for the creation of these interactions to occur.

As has been shown, citizenship, language and the understanding, respect and acceptance of different cultures are important and basic factors that facilitate immigrant integration. Depending on the social conditions and environment individuals find themselves in, it will be either easy or difficult for integration to occur. Esser has pointed out that ethnic groups who create their own communities and use their own language will have a more difficult time exposing themselves to the native language when there is already a great difference between the two languages.

That being said, this does not necessarily have to be the case for those who aspire to integrate and succeed by overcoming the many obstacles that confront them. Hinze has, through her research in the heavily populated immigrant districts of Berlin, revealed that there are those who have strived and succeeded at integrating themselves by getting an education. That has in turn given them a chance on the labour market and also has motivated them to participate and make a difference within their communities and in the wider society. So, citizenship, language and acceptance of different cultures *can* lead to integration and also assists in facilitating full participation within host societies. Considering these basic facts of integration, Germany's migrant integration problems and policies may be partially attributed to the decades of delayed integration policies.

### **3.c Migrant integration in Germany: Policy – reforms – progress**

Germany, as is well known, has had a difficult time accepting itself as a country of immigrants up until the mid-1990s. The government, rationalizing that guest worker recruitments were a temporary phenomenon, decided it best to use “models of segregation” which would allow for easy ‘reintegration’ back in the homeland- while at the same time the guest workers also perceived their stay in Germany as temporary (Knoll and Hinzen 2007, p. 44). Discourse on immigrant integration in 1960s was geared towards creating mutual understanding between German citizens and the “temporary co-citizens” as Germany did not think of itself as “a land of immigration” (Spicka 2013, p. 360). In 1976, second generation foreign migrants were still seen as “*Fremde*” meaning foreigners or aliens; they lived mainly in the poorest areas away from and parallel to native German communities, and therefore had very little possibility of integrating. As time went by, children of immigrants didn’t feel at home in Germany nor in their parents’ homeland (Spicka, 2013, p. 363). Many migrant “statements document the dual rejection that immigrants feel on the basis of their “neither here nor there” identity (Hinze 2013, p. 90). Research suggests that this confusion and frustration of not knowing where one belongs is passed down from generation to generation when it was not tackled appropriately.

Germany, as in many European countries, was also taking in displaced ethnic nationals and fully integrating them into the greater society. There were different policies in place for the different groups of immigrants. The ethnic Germans had full rights and

privileges under the German Constitution. These rights entitled them to all privileges endowed on citizens of a country which included assistance in all aspects of the integration process.

To put immigrant integration into perspective, it is obvious that Germany was attempting to deal with the issues of “foreign’ immigrant integration and reforms for a very long time. Governments officials since 1978, as will be briefly explained, have been struggling with policies and the implementations of policies up until mid-1990s. The call for the integration of youth by providing them with “access to professional education and labour” began in 1978 under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Commissioner for Foreigners Heinz Kuhn (Bendel 2014, p. 2). At the time, the government was being pressured by trade unions to give legal status and permanent residence to foreigners (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 202) and allow for their youth to gain access to professional education, according to Bendel.

Liselotte Funke succeeded Commissioner Kuhn in 1981 until 1991 and further developed integration policies understanding that this was the only way forward, but at the same time “guest workers” were still being encouraged to return to their countries of origin “with financial backing from the federal government” - many did while others decided to settle in Germany permanently (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 193). The integration policies of the 1980s, a time when family reunifications were still on-going, were aimed at sponsoring and promoting “intensive instruction in the German language” to facilitate “labour market integration of young people” (Bendel 2014, p.2). It was not until the 1991 that Foreigners, the largest number being of Turkish origin, were given *semi* legal rights as residents of Germany according.

Federal Commissioner for Foreigner's Affairs, Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, stipulated certain rules concerning legal residency and which allow for the ejection of disagreeable foreigners from the country. Craig Whitney reports on Commissioner Schmalz-Jacobsen's criticism of the German government as she fought for minority groups to be allowed citizenships, and for Turks, because of inheritance laws in Turkey, to be allowed dual citizenship (Whitney 1994). While the new legal rights under the leadership of Commissioner Schmalz-Jacobsen were a positive step towards accepting foreigners, immigrant populations were still under-represented in high end jobs and highly represented in low end jobs compared to foreigners living in other countries such as in the United Kingdom, according to Clasen and Freeman. The regulations may have been pursuant of a labour law introduced in 1969 which prioritized and also assisted the native over the foreigner (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 198-200) During this time, tighter laws were enforced restricting "ethnic migrant" repatriation although, for those who made it, they still received substantial benefits "including an arrival grant, access to cheap loans, full social insurance rights, the rights to paid employment and training, and access to special needs education and skilled trades" (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 193). Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel took office in 2005 and due to concern about the lack of integration of minority groups within the country the Chancellor hosted the first Integration Summit where policies would be addressed and implemented nationwide. This being more than four decades after "guest workers" first moved to Germany to make a living. Further details on the Integration Summit and policies will be discussed in the reforms section.

Structural instability within the migrant communities, of not knowing where they belong, may be one of the causes of disinterest in integrating into the wider communities. Every Commissioner since 1978 has called for better integration policies and opportunities for youth to gain professional education to access the labour market. While calls for better opportunities for youth were being proposed, foreigners, mainly Turks as the largest minority group, were still being encouraged to repatriate; further suggesting that they were not wanted/needed in the country. This sense of instability continued up until the mid-1990s when foreigners were allowed certain legal rights.

As Schunck rationalized, integration is only possible when individuals are given the same opportunities to participate within a majority society. The limited rights provided by policy makers for foreigners in Germany up until the mid.1990s may have participated in how immigrant youth may have been overlooked within the education system. To understand this, the next section will focus on theories of education and integration before discussing education policies in Germany as a whole, and looking at two German states and how they dealt, in the early years, with youth integration through education.

## **CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION and INTEGRATION THEORY**

### **4.a Theoretical review on integration through education of youth and minority groups**

Literacy is held in high regard because of the many opportunities it provides. Extensive research has been conducted around the world on the topic of education and its importance for social advancement within countries and societies. It is known that individuals are more secure in life when “[h]aving a strong social, cultural, and economic capital [which] implies being able to avoid [certain] risks” (Johansson and Höjer 2012, p. 1136). The assumption for most people is that receiving a proper education is the way forward to achieving security in life. For the socio-economically disadvantaged, it is clear that in order to achieve a comfortable and secure lifestyle, one has to have a formal level of education. Educational achievements improve the chances to participate within a society and in turn create opportunities of social advancement and self-fulfillment. For example, early history reveals that the Greeks and Romans indicated concern about learning and its relationship to citizenship and participation of the people.

Gradstein et al.; state that historically, socialization was the motive behind public education, and that government intervention only began in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The authors state that government intervention was done for diverse reasons such as: to keep “subjects’ allegiance to the state,” to forge a “unified national identity,” and most importantly during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the United States [made an effort to



unify] national identity,” by expanding public education for purposes of cultural and economic assimilation (Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, 1963; Gradstein and Justman 2002, p. 1193)). Peter’s asserts that educational theory has always been a part of the “political and epistemological orientations laid down in the history of disciplines”(Peters 2014). Considering these theories, political orientation and the distribution of knowledge appear to be understandable in how countries create and promote institutions in general, especially institutions regarding education and training.

The trend suggests that education has a close relationship with the political economy of a country. The association becomes even more evident when governments and private businesses make opportunities to participate more difficult to obtain, or even make these unobtainable for some, by setting the requirements higher and more challenging.

Theorists’ have claimed that governments and businesses seek higher educational certification and individual recommendations to prove employability. To be more specific, theorists’ have suggested that government institutions cope with certain economic and social realities by rearranging policies and to achieve certain goals.

Population growth, longer life spans, and fewer jobs have meant that institutional systems need to introduce adjustments through regulatory measures in order to keep societies and youth occupied. This is where the political discourse come into play in regards to educating youth and providing equal opportunities for all, by providing a gateway to the labour market, but at the same time making the way leading to the potential opportunities and goals more strenuous.

Theoretically speaking, the suggestion is that with a little harder work academically, individuals will and can achieve success. According to Miller, these adjustments are

termed by some as “The Diploma Curtain” and “The Credential Society” ...[in which policies attempt to keep youth in the education system for as long as possible] and [also] off the labour market [for] as long as possible” (Miller1978, p. 78). While Moore specifies that as students are becoming more qualified, something that used to be an elite privilege, employers to seeking higher qualifications (Moore 2004, p.100). This creates competition within the education system where socioeconomic status and privileges prevail. The competition, therefore, for diplomas, credentials, and ultimately employment is so great that over qualified individuals end up accepting lower wage jobs in order to secure income (OECD 2011), or even accepting jobs that do not correlate with academic achievements or qualifications.

Rob Moore states that education is seen as the impediment that hinders equality between different social classes, genders, and those of ethnic background. The author adds that education is claimed to be “the problem” that needs to be tackled to achieve equality, and that education is implicated in “the reproduction of social inequalities”(Moore 2004, p. 7). Extending on these attributions and implications, Moore presents other approaches towards education - the “Externalist approaches” and “Internalist approaches. The externalist theorists’ claim that education is not the problem. The problem they claim is with the “educability” of individuals, citing that families are socio-economically incapable or academically ill equipped to assist “their children to fully benefit from school”(Moore 2004, p. 18). On the other hand, the Internalists’ believe that it is the structure of the institutions themselves “that categorize, select and order pupils in terms of academic and other criteria” by way of educational processes such as: the structural organization of the system; social biases within the curriculum; the

transmission of covert assumptions about social class, and teacher expectations...which lead to the “success for some groups and the failure by others” (Moore 2004, p. 18 - 19). Taking these issues into consideration when engaging with socio-economically disadvantaged youth within the secondary education is quite important.

Important, because the consequences of not dealing with the issues of educational and economic integration of disadvantaged and minority youth could outweigh the rewards when assessing the demographic trends and the pressure these trends are putting on the education system, especially in secondary schools. Why the secondary system?

There is a growing demand, as discussed earlier, within the economic market for people with higher education qualifications, and greater knowledge and skills in handling modern technology. Kagia, an educator and expert in the field, claims that “[g]overnments are implementing policies that increase income inequality [by increasing]...the demand for university education ...[as mentioned above, and therefore] increase[ing] the [push] for secondary school graduates...to attend post-secondary schools” (Kagia 2005, p. 8). The implications are therefore concerning if only post-secondary certification will allow participation within the economic market.

Globalization, has shown that it is not only the economy that is moving, but also a constant flow of people. Students with both higher and lower education, knowledge and skills are seeking and following opportunities – especially in the European Union (EU) with the freedom of movement agreements. Youth, especially those at a disadvantage, should not be overlooked and need to be prepared to be self-reliant individuals by providing them with the tools and opportunities to succeed in a market driven economy. As Johansson and Höjer clearly state:

Ambitions and aspirations, both educational and professional, are central in forming a position and viewing ...scopes for future action. A self can be said to be formed, with the strong influence of parents, friends, teachers, neighbors and others and resulting in either a strong confidence in...educational capacities or a weaker (Johansson and Höjer 2012, p. 1137).

According to Ruth Kagia, the estimate for the year 2015 was that there would be 3 billion youth worldwide between the ages of 15-25; and 0.5 billion of these youth are in the developed world. This is something that should not be ignored. Kagia adds that youth between the ages of 15-24 years are susceptible and vulnerable to becoming potential threats to global stability because of physiological changes. These youths she declared should be given the opportunity to get an adequate education to prepare them to lead an independent and dignified life, so that instead of asking whether “this generation [will] present a potential threat to global stability [, the answer will be that these youths will be] a potential resource for development”(Kagia 2005, p. 6). It is no secret that it is this age group, especially uneducated or semi-educated minorities and disadvantaged youth that are vulnerable to becoming entangled in neighborhood instability, crimes, drugs, prostitution, and anti-social behaviors as many have suggested.

Education theory is multi-faceted and very complicated, but as Moore clearly states: “(a) all schools should have high *academic* expectations of *all* pupils, and that (b) they should have the flexibility to adapt teaching styles to the particular needs of particular groups of pupils” using a “pragmatic rather than ideological” approach (Moore 2004, p. 33). With this in mind, an analysis of the brief history of the German approach towards youth integration through education will be presented before moving on to and

comparing internationally two different approaches taken for minority youth integration through education in the German States of Bavaria and Berlin. Both approaches that were criticized by academics and scholars.

#### **4.b Beginnings of Integration through Education of Youth in Germany**

In the mid to late 1800s, a time of German industrialization when young people were moving to urban areas for work, ‘education and training’ laws were introduced in a “youth savers” campaign to keep “uncontrolled youth [off] the streets [where they were] causing social unrest;...[and] to control the work, living conditions and behavior (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 130) with church assistance. Realizing that this campaign was working in a positive way, civic education was a part of further discussions into the reforming and integrating of youth and turning them into respectable ‘members of society’ (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 130). Wilhelm von Humboldt, a very prominent educational reformer and founder of the University of Berlin in 1810 and also founder of the German *Gymnasium* system, “believed [along with other German “Enlightenment” leaders] that the duty of the school [was] to help the individual realize himself, and create a civilized state which would provide freedom for all”(OECD 2011 201). The purpose of education then was to create law and order within societies and reduce crime and unrest by keeping youth off the streets by civilizing them.

Further reforms in 1920s introduced the “Berufsschulen” meaning professional schools which became compulsory in 1938 leading to the foundation of the vocational school system within Germany that was a great success. The Second World War devastated the educational system and left many German youth roaming the streets and surviving off of criminal acts. A post war government was set up and education and

vocational training was an immediate priority as part of the reconstruction and *resocialization* of the country. The new German Constitution of 1949 put German education under the direct responsibility of each “Lander” meaning ‘State’ in German. The new German constitution was written with United States guidance which specifically restricted central government involvement in the education system (OECD 2011, p. 201). In all, there are sixteen States in Germany today.

Claire Wallace says that one has to understand the complexity of the German educational system which links “vocational to academic education” to have a clear idea of Germany’s policies and its society, adding that Germany’s very successful industry is mainly due to its social policy which focuses on the training and educating of young Germans to become experts at certain skills (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 129). Germany’s educational institutions followed up until recently a highly selective three-track secondary school system after students completed four years of elementary schooling. Some states, especially in the south of the country, still follow this form of education which will be briefly explained.

The three track secondary school system includes the *Hauptschule*, from fifth to ninth grade for students with the lowest grade marks which provides a leaving certificate; *Realschule*, from fifth to tenth grade for students with average grades which allows students to pursue technical or clerical training; and *Gymnasium*, from fifth to year twelve, in some states thirteen, for high achievers who then go on to pursue higher education at university. This German educational system set-up (until the recent reforms) in which “the transition from elementary school is a significant part of students’ lives” (Tichenor and Tichenor, 2003) places/d intense pressure on students and parents to achieve high grades

from an early age in order to be selected into the Gymnasium. Some Northern European countries, (i.e. Finland, Sweden, Norway) had a similar educational set-up but got rid of it because they understood that it was ethically wrong to generate a future destiny for children at such a young age. Germany, despite the pressures this system puts on both students and parents, and the known disadvantages it created for minority youth, was not ready to change or accept change even when the opportunity arose through reunification.

Youth with an immigrant background were either attending or “over represented” in the lowest of the track school systems; they left school with low or no qualifications at all, and most had difficulties finding apprenticeships which would become a repeat cycle from generation to generation, according to Wallace (Clasen and Freeman 1994, p. 145).

Wallace adds that the government in the early 1980s, while still promoting repatriation, introduced measures to provide and integrate youth within the educational and vocational training programs realizing that something needed to be done, while overlooking the disadvantages the three-track system had on them.

Researchers in the social sciences reviewing educational systems call the above mentioned multi-track system an institutional “sorting” process. Miller claims that although this process may not seem like a sorting machine because school characteristics are established on the basis of “test scores or expressed interests of the students...any rank ordering of schools by socioeconomic status variables inevitably also ranks them roughly by achievement level” (Miller 1978; p. 75). Sociologists establish that the sorting” process encompasses certain practices such as:

- (a) Homogenous grouping at the elementary-school level - a procedure widely employed to group children in different classrooms within the same grade by

ability; (b) high-school tracking, in which those children who are going on to college pursue one curriculum while others follow a vocational or “general” track; (c) in larger cities, the development of separate high schools that are themselves tracks, devoted primarily to college preparatory or vocational studies; ... (e) variations in participation in extracurricular activities, and in the availability of these activities from school to school (Miller 1978; p. 75)

The German educational system’s structure, philosophy, and methodology had essentially remained intact and practically unchanged from pre-WWII up until PISA 2000 despite the many efforts and attempts at reforming it. Some States still pursue this structure, philosophy, and methodology. A look at Bavaria and Berlin’s reform objectives compared to international reforms, will inform the reader about how states and countries react to certain pressures put upon them. The two German states responded very differently to the PISA 2000 results. First, a brief introduction on how Bavaria and Berlin attempted to integrate minority youth into the German education system in the 1970s, with two different strategies, will give the reader some understanding of how Germany ended up being forced to reform after much scrutiny post-PISA 2000.

#### **4.c The German Education Systems of Bavaria and Berlin**

The focal point of this research is to understand the role of integration through education of youth with a migrant background – using Germany for this study. The reason for this comparative study exploring Germany’s education system is due to recent institutional reforms as a result of the negative outcomes from the *Programme of International Student Assessment* (PISA) in 2000. This exploration will focus on two German states: Bavaria and Berlin. Why Bavaria and Berlin?

Germany, as stated previously, is comprised of sixteen States. Bavaria has always been highly regarded as having a first class educational system in Germany. The



Bavarian State has produced positive outcomes, highest level grades, and is seen as an example to follow in the rest of the country. On the other hand, Berlin has always had a very low ranking, at times the lowest, among the sixteen states. Berlin, as with the rest of the German States, followed the same three-track system until reforms. Why did Bavaria decide to reform its highly regarded system post-PISA 2000 and what were the objectives for change? Have the reforms helped youth of immigrant background integrate within the education system? What were Berlin's reforms and the objectives for reforms? Were the objectives met in regards to integrating youth of an immigrant background?

The intended aim is to understand why each State took different approaches in reforming their institutions; to assess the effects of the reforms and compare these approaches against international approaches. Germany's Federal Government put the responsibility of regulating education at the State level. Each State finances their own educational institutions up to 71.0% while the Federal government contributes 7.8% towards costs (Bendel 2014, p. 11). The German States have the authority to control their own policies regarding the integration of youth into the education system as they see fit. The available literature reveals that Bavaria and Berlin have shown very different philosophies in how to integrate youth with a migrant background within the German education system.

### **Education in Bavaria post WWII to Present: Immigrant Integration through Education - Recent Institutional Reforms**

Bavaria, is a conservative state influenced by the Christian Socialist Party (CSU) who have been in power since after WWII. As in most German State schools, Bavaria follows a three track system of (1) *Hauptschule*: basic general education which leads to

apprenticeships with a combination of vocational school and on sight training; (2) *Realschule*: the more extensive general education which leads to apprenticeships and higher education qualifications such as technical school certification; and the (3) *Gymnasium* which leads to university degrees. The Bavarian State is very proud of its educational system as being the best in Germany and has resisted and rejected institutional amendments going back to post-World War II Germany (1946/48) when the United States (US) was demanding that the State reform its schools and adopt a comprehensive school system.

Similar to the rejection of US attempted intervention, the Bavarian governing officials observe the “strongest proponent of a strictly federal organization of education policy, opposing any compulsory centralized coordination and enforcement of school reform in Germany” (Rotte and Rotte 2007, p. 293). The State rejected any interference in its education policies. Post-World War II, Bavaria resumed its pre-war structural educational system in which students attended four years of primary school before being distributed into the highly selective three-track system at age ten. Students who were selected to continue in either *Hauptschule* or *Realschule* would spend additional two years together before being further divided in the sixth grade between the two lower tracks. Students selected to pursue *Gymnasium* remained together from fourth grade until graduation.

In the 1970s, Bavaria took as philosophical approach to integrating immigrant students into the education system. Bilingualism was specifically encouraged for only immigrant children as the authorities believed that it was highly unlikely that direct and full integration into the German education system would be straightforward. It was

deemed logical and necessary to keep immigrant students acquainted with their native language, with the idea of repatriation. The bilingual approach was highly commended by International Organizations (IOs), but there were also critics who rejected this approach claiming that it was for reasons other than bilingualism and labeled this method “functional illiteracy in both languages” (Rist 1979, p. 246). The reason for the term, Rist adds, was due to the fact that children were taken out of important scheduled German classes to be taught in their mother tongue. This approach, officials claimed, was to give students and their parents the option to either choose to continue their education in their mother tongue by missing some German lessons or to switch to all German classrooms. Bavaria attempted to encourage other States to follow its many educational approaches in regards to the children of immigrants. Different groups of minorities chose different options for the education of their children.

Ray C. Rist suggests that there may be many possible reasons for the different steps taken by immigrants regarding the education of their children. The author figures that: (1) some immigrants, such as the Greeks, preferred to control their own education and create their own schools, (2) other immigrants due to insecurities concerning their status within the country stuck to their mother tongue, (3) some, due to their “social and cultural” experiences in the host country, began to idealize the homeland, (4) and some immigrants may have assessed their opportunities within the German education system as being unreachable due to the lack of supplementary academic assistance and gave up on the system as a whole (5) ultimately immigrant students who missed German lessons because they joined native classes missed important instruction on material covered on exams initially projecting future orientation in secondary school (Rist 1979, p. 248-250).

The projection of future orientation is based on certain criteria during the four years of elementary schooling.

Secondary school tracking in Bavaria is generally decided by teacher recommendation and/or parents' wishes and is also based on authority defined average grades achieved in the taught subjects of German, Math and in some schools Science. It is claimed that the secondary tracking recommendations in Bavaria are binding after the primary school. The binding policy may be pursuant, of former Cultural Minister of Bavaria, Mr. Hundhammer's beliefs. Hundhammer rationalized that the early tradition of student differentiation informed by the principles of scientific evidence of learning "*performance and ability*" give ample cause to maintain educational standards, and added that undeniable "*biological differences*" which cannot be eliminated for reasons of "*established inequality*" are recognized through developmental psychology (Baldi 2012, p. 1011). The ideology of this belief therefore leaves no room for pragmatism nor accountability.

It has been suggested that the belief in learning "*performance and ability*," that is judged by teachers lacks transparency and accountability and has continuously been rebuffed due to the fact that education policies, it is claimed, are "based on values, and not data"(OECD 2011, p. 211). Bavaria, as in other German States, prepare their own school leaving exams, and students graduating from the Bavarian State have better opportunities at entering higher educational institutions and even on the job market across Germany because the educational system is highly regarded (OECD 2011, p. 211). The three track system is still in force today in Bavaria despite some minor reforms to its structural education system after PISA.

Bavaria took pride in its performance in regards to the PISA scores, as students fared well in comparison to the rest of Germany. This may be a reason for very minimalistic educational reforms. The minimalistic reforms also make known that Bavaria is not willing to give up “deep rooted” educational traditions to comply with international standing and a more globalizing educational system. These traditional beliefs and minimal reforms are also supported by the majority of the Bavarian population, teachers and the authorities according to Ralph Rotte and Ursula Rotte.

While some States preferred more autonomy, Rotte and Rotte claim that in Bavaria there is a mistrust between teachers and school administrations leading to resistance towards more autonomous school systems. The preference for teaching staff is to keep the education system governed by the State. Teachers in Germany are employed by each State and are considered government employees or civil servants. Bavaria did introduce institutional reforms following PISA 2000 results but kept these reforms to a minimum. The reason being cost effectiveness. The criticism is that there are areas that are in need of financing which are being ignored. For example, the recruiting of new teaching staff and the implementing of further pedagogical training for staff in the kindergarten and primary educational systems is not being fulfilled and are very important areas to focus on. The claim is that some teachers in kindergarten aren't professionally trained for the positions they are in (Rotte and Rotte 2007, p. 309).

Bavaria's implemented structural reforms which can be observed on Piopiunik's graph below show student selection for either the *Hauptschule* or *Realschule* is set at a much earlier stage than before. Instead of separating students in the sixth grade (which happened before reforms) into one of the two lower tracks, students are allocated to

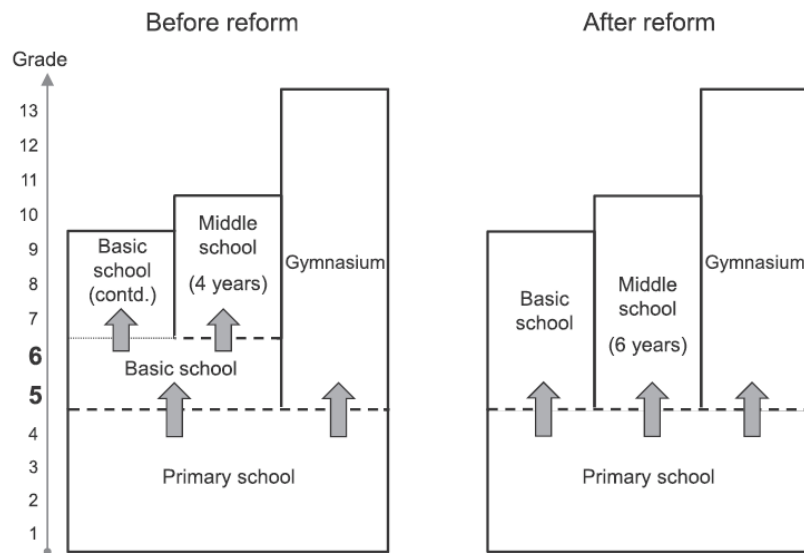
different tracks when finishing the fourth grade. The entrance age into primary school (first grade) has also been reduced by one year and this has caused serious problems according to Rotte and Rotte. It is claimed that young primary school children are inadequately prepared for this transition and (not all children) are showing “social and cognitive deficiencies.... a lack of self-confidence, independence [and] stamina” which may be associated with the “shortage of ...highly qualified personnel”(Rotte and Rotte 2007, p.307).

The Bavarian authority's logic behind the reforms post PISA I was that the new structural adjustments would provide students six years of middle school instead of four, and it would also allow teachers to be better informed about student ability before dividing them into the two lower tracks. Rotte and Rotte claim that the structural adjustments have put immense strain on the educational system as a whole. Teacher, parents and students are under more pressure to succeed and there has been an “increase in the socio-economic selectivity of the [three-track] system...[which favors] the interests of the political and economic elites”(Rotte and Rotte 2007, p. 309) The authors claim that the *Hauptschule* is still a collection ground for socio-economically disadvantaged native youth as well as youth from immigrant backgrounds which they stress can result in serious problems concerning social inequality and are a form of injustice (Rotte and Rotte 2007, p. 309). Sohn claims that institutional policies which regulate education, labour and welfare lead to “institutional inequalities” which yield and reproduce “social inequalities”(Söhn 2013, p. 295-296)

Despite these findings, there are some who view the early selection three-track system as being beneficial and claim that it is an important period in which to separate

“slower from faster, and to a much lesser degree the ‘good’ from the ‘bad students’” and also preferably at a time which “coincides with the maturity of the stage of concrete operations...before the beginning of puberty and its disturbances” (Bank 2012, p. 206). Early separation therefore can become the blocking point for minority youth due to the advantages native students have over them concerning language, culture, and socioeconomic background. Bank claims that the act of early selection system was judged as a human rights violation as well as a violation to the “Right to Education” by a United Nations representative.

The selected *gymnasium* students experience no disruption to their education because they remain together throughout secondary school. As is shown in the graph below, the track system was reorganized, but the grade point average selection system that has always been in place remains the same and is not a part of the reforms package. State wide reforms went into effect as of the year 2003/2004.



\*Source: "M. Piopiunik/Economics of Education Review 42 (2014) 12-33"

Recent statistics from the "*Bureau of Statistics Bavaria*" reveal for the in the academic year of 2014/15 out of 32% youth attending Gymnasium 3.8% were "Ausländische Schuler" meaning foreign students, and there were 3.8% of foreign students from a total of 31.9% attended Realschule. The 2013/14 academic year reveals more or less similar results (see graphs below). One thing may that may need to be taken into consideration is that the percentage of "foreign students" may not include naturalized students with a migrant background and may also include students who have recently arrived in the country or are only residing in Bavaria, Germany temporarily.



“Distribution of 8<sup>th</sup> Grade Students 2014/15 in the Various Educational Systems and Regions”

\*Source: “Bureau of Statistics Bavaria: <https://www.statistik.bayern.de/statistik/schulen/>”

**Verteilung der Schüler in der Jahrgangsstufe 8 2014/15 nach Schularten und Regierungsbezirken**

- Stand: Oktober 2014 -

Gebiet	Von 100 Schülern der Jahrgangsstufe 8 besuchten ein(e)											
	Hauptschule		Förderzentren und Schulen für Kranke		Realschule <sup>1)</sup>		Wirtschafts-schule		Gymnasium		Freie Waldorf-schule <sup>2)</sup>	
	insges.	männl.	insges.	männl.	insges.	männl.	insges.	männl.	insges.	männl.	insges.	männl.
Oberbayern .....	26,3	28,6	3,4	4,0	30,5	29,5	2,3	2,3	36,0	34,0	1,6	1,6
Niederbayern .....	32,0	35,4	4,2	4,8	35,2	33,0	2,7	2,7	25,9	24,0	-	-
Oberpfalz .....	30,7	34,0	3,7	4,5	33,9	32,9	3,3	2,9	28,4	25,7	-	-
Oberfranken .....	27,2	28,8	3,6	4,3	32,0	31,7	3,4	3,6	32,0	29,6	1,9	2,0
Mittelfranken .....	28,2	29,4	4,7	5,5	28,0	27,9	4,0	4,0	34,1	32,2	1,0	0,9
Unterfranken .....	28,1	30,1	4,1	4,9	33,8	33,2	2,9	2,8	30,6	28,6	0,5	0,4
Schwaben .....	31,4	34,2	3,6	4,2	34,0	32,6	2,9	2,8	27,9	25,9	0,3	0,3
<b>Bayern 2014/15 .....</b>	<b>28,5</b>	<b>30,8</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>4,5</b>	<b>31,9</b>	<b>30,9</b>	<b>2,9</b>	<b>2,8</b>	<b>32,0</b>	<b>29,9</b>	<b>0,9</b>	<b>0,9</b>
dav. München .....	21,5	24,1	4,7	5,5	25,1	24,8	2,8	2,9	41,6	38,3	4,2	4,4
Nürnberg .....	31,7	32,8	5,6	6,5	24,4	24,1	3,1	3,4	33,5	31,7	1,6	1,4
Augsburg .....	29,1	33,2	3,9	5,2	22,8	16,6	6,1	7,8	37,1	36,0	1,1	1,1
Würzburg .....	11,2	12,2	8,5	10,7	26,3	22,7	5,6	6,8	46,5	45,6	1,9	2,1
Regensburg .....	21,9	23,6	6,3	8,3	25,9	22,4	3,5	3,9	42,4	41,8	-	-
übrige kreisfreie Städte ..	19,1	21,3	4,4	5,5	27,4	26,0	8,1	8,3	40,2	38,0	0,8	0,8
Landkreise .....	31,7	33,9	3,3	3,8	34,7	33,8	1,6	1,5	28,2	26,5	0,5	0,5
Bayern 2013/14 .....	27,2	29,7	3,6	4,3	32,9	31,7	3,1	3,0	32,2	30,4	1,0	0,9

<sup>1)</sup> Einschl. Realschule zur sonderpädagogischen Förderung. - <sup>2)</sup> Einschl. Schule besonderer Art, Europäische Schule, Deutsch-Französische Schule.

“Foreign Students in all Vocational and Apprenticeships Schools 2014/15”

\*Source: Bureau of Statistics Bavaria <https://www.statistik.bayern.de/statistik/schulen/>”

**Ausländische Schüler an allgemein bildenden und beruflichen Schulen 2014/15**

- Stand: Herbst 2014 -

Schulart	Ausländische Schüler insgesamt		davon in (der)						
	Anzahl	-% <sup>1)</sup>	Ober-bayern	Nieder-bayern	Ober-pfalz	Ober-franken	Mittel-franken	Unter-franken	Schwaben
Volksschule .....	61 979	9,9	30 089	4 158	3 355	2 432	9 800	4 000	8 145
Förderzentren und - Schulen für Kranke .....	5 044	9,4	2 279	272	224	145	1 044	402	678
Realschule <sup>2)</sup> .....	9 043	3,8	4 974	373	323	339	1 244	524	1 266
Gymnasium .....	12 719	3,8	6 726	587	573	591	1 995	683	1 564
Freie Waldorfschule <sup>3)</sup> .....	3 456	23,3	3 246	-	-	10	180	-	20
Zweiter Bildungsweg <sup>4)</sup> .....	607	21,0	156	-	7	9	296	60	79
Berufsschule <sup>5)</sup> .....	28 566	10,7	13 628	1 579	1 365	1 036	4 531	1 888	4 539
Wirtschaftsschule .....	2 148	10,8	819	115	90	131	400	175	418
Berufsfachschule (BFS) .....	2 371	11,4	889	128	129	91	568	259	307
BFS des Gesundheitswesens .....	3 363	11,4	1 785	281	127	95	557	187	331
Fachschule .....	465	2,7	229	17	16	27	78	34	64
Fachoberschule .....	4 019	8,9	2 032	179	193	146	537	233	699
Berufsoberschule .....	785	6,4	430	35	31	25	115	37	112
Fachakademie .....	563	6,4	349	13	11	8	102	26	54
<b>Insgesamt</b>	<b>135 128</b>	<b>8,0</b>	<b>67 631</b>	<b>7 737</b>	<b>6 444</b>	<b>5 085</b>	<b>21 447</b>	<b>8 508</b>	<b>18 276</b>

<sup>1)</sup> In Prozent aller Schüler der jeweiligen Schulart. - <sup>2)</sup> Einschl. Realschule zur sonderpäd. Förderung. - <sup>3)</sup> Einschl. schulartunab. Orientierungsstufe, integrierte Gesamtschule, Privates Lyzeum der Republik Griechenland, Europäische Schule, Munich International School, Bavarian International School, Deutsch-Französische Schule, Franconian International School und St. George's Munich. - <sup>4)</sup> Abendrealschule, Abendgymnasium und Kolleg. - <sup>5)</sup> Einschl.

This brief account of Bavaria's history regarding how it runs its internal affairs in regards to education allows the reader to understand that the State is to some extent adamant in doing things its way. As has been revealed, the State, despite having the best ratings within the country, it is still the disadvantaged and minority youth who are ending up in the lowest track system which has been criticized as a "collection ground" for those going nowhere. Berlin, having the worst educational ranking of all the States within the country, has also had a history of attempting to integrate its minority youth within the education system, but only got a wake-up call with the "PISA shock." Berlin's attempts at minority youth integration through education Post-WWII was different from Bavaria's and also received criticism. Criticism, that in hindsight shouldn't have been ignored and dealt with accordingly.

### **Education in Berlin post WWII: Immigrant Integration through Education and recent Institutional reforms**

West Berlin post WWII and up until the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 was an "island" within the communist block and had special legal treatment under the rule of United States, United Kingdom, France and Soviet Union. Since 1989, reunified Berlin, the biggest city in Germany, became the capital of the Federal Republic of German with a large multinational community. Some of Berlin's districts are heavily populated with people of immigrant background, the majority being of Turkish origin.

West Berlin's educational institutions Post WWII up to the recent reforms were similar to Bavaria's in regards to the three-track system. The only difference was that students were selected for the track system after finishing the sixth grade rather than

having the two-year transition period from fourth to sixth grade as was presented in the “graph” of the Bavarian educational set-up. Berlin, though, took a different stance compared to Bavaria in regards to youth integration within the education system.

In the 1970s West Berlin was advised to integrate its immigrant youth into the German education system as it would “have positive social effects that [would] ripple far beyond the confines of the classroom” (Rist 1979, p. 252). Jancke, an educator, emphasized that:

The success of school integration will directly influence whether and how much the younger generation succeeds in securing the same civil rights as... Germans now have. Besides, the integration of the foreign pupils will sooner or later favorably decrease the present ghetto-like situations in the foreign worker housing areas (Rist 1979, p. 252. Jancke 1976a, pp. 325-326).

The Senate of West Berlin (the executive political body) set forth to integrate the children of immigrants in 1971 by introducing a policy statement that encouraged *integration through education*. Immigrant youth, it stated, would be excused from certain classes and be provided with intensive German language classes in order to bring them up to par with their peers in the classroom. The new policy specified that classes could not exceed 20% immigrant students, and that immigrant students in secondary schools (both newly arrived and others) would be provided with special German lesson arrangements— which in hindsight, Rist says, didn’t really integrate immigrant youth at all. According to Rist, the implementation of extensive German lessons for immigrant youth meant that segregation rather than integration was occurring since classes ended up being occupied by immigrant students only. Realizing that there was a lack of integration, the Senate attributed this problem to “the private sphere of [students’] home[s] and

neighborhood[s]” (Rist 1979, p. 253) rather than associating it with school setting and policy.

Rist says that other options were suggested to assist in the integration of immigrant youth by realigning the limits of school districts to spread out immigrant student populations to other schools which would increase diversity, but this was not a viable solution according to the Senate. The Senate believed that students didn’t stay in the school system long enough for them to have the opportunity to integrate academically and socially. In Berlin the school system consisted of half days only until recent reforms introduced all day schooling.

In 1974/75 school year, up to 70% of immigrant students and 26% native students did not receive or complete the vocational track certification according to Rist.

Employment was available for some at the time although minimal. Berlin’s attempts to integrate rather than segregate its immigrant youth by way of “Germanizing” them was in effect an effort to assist immigrant students and their families through time to adjust to the “life of the society rather than to exclude them”(Rist1979, p. 255-257). Some have been critical of both methods and claim that it was a form of segregation (Qureshi and Janmaat 2104, p. 722 - 724) that existed until the 1980s when new ideas were introduced - ultimately leading to immigrant youth and native children of lower class families ending up with no lower track certification and/or no qualifications to succeed in life. The facts, already visible in the 1970s, were that the socioeconomically disadvantaged populations and youth, with little or no educational qualifications or certificates, were increasing as immigrant populations in the northern cities including Berlin were rapidly growing, according to the OECD. At that time, as stated earlier, jobs were readily available and

only a few highly qualified people were needed compared to today (OECD 2011, p.207), where the problem seems worse off.

Education enrolment in Berlin is regulated by the districts in which students live. As a consequence of these regulations, heavily populated migrant districts, up to 70% in some quarters, schools are also primarily populated with students of migrant background meaning that they are segregated from a majority native community throughout their educational life. Although this study is looking at youth integration through education and the secondary school system to understand the reasons and objectives of recent reforms, pre-school and primary education cannot be separated from this discussion as being irrelevant due to a correlations established through many studies. Pre-school and primary school structures are just as important, if not very important considering the fact that it is in diverse groups where children at a young age learn to socialize and interact. Parents as well have opportunities to get to socialize with other parents outside their immediate neighborhoods which can be interpreted as an aspect of the integration process.

Scholarly research suggests that it is very important for children from a very young age to socialize outside their family unit which in turn facilitates the integration process, especially for children of immigrants who do not speak the national language at home (von Below 2007, p. 213). Some scholars have revealed that kindergarten attendance in Germany is not mandatory and immigrant children not attending this important first step of social integration were/are in the majority (Söhn and Özcan 2006, p. 104). One reason for this may be that up until recently, within the last couple of years, access to German kindergartens was prioritized for working class parents, single parents

and for parents seeking employment. Another reasons may be related to the cultural background of families where the role of the mother is accepted and thought of solely as a homemaker.

Even when taking cultural background and traditions into consideration, the issue of children attending kindergarten still raises certain scenarios. Even if children do attend kindergarten to learn how to socialized in the national language of a country, due to heavily populated immigrant locations these children are most probably still speaking in their mother tongue when away from home. This may hold true for educational institutions as well, where immigrant youth spend their whole social and educational lives within communally separated neighborhoods from a majority society.

In Berlin, parents are required to register their children for primary school in their geographical locations. Under certain circumstances parents are allowed to apply at other primary schools in other geographical locations where applications may be accepted depending on availability and under certain conditions, such as: friendships would be affected; parents are seeking...“a particular pedagogic ethos...[ or require] full-time supervision...[and] after-school care”(Noreisch 2007, p. 71). In highly populated migrant districts this implicates that since registration is within the districts classrooms will most probably be populated with a high numbers of students with migrant backgrounds speaking their native language and therefore having German language deficiency. Language deficiency was revealed with the PISA results of 2000 and many studies that have ensued.

The first rounds of PISA results were quite a wake-up call for Germany and very much so for Berlin with its high immigrant population. Results that were at or below the

international average revealed that students with an immigrant background were found to be incompetent in the German language. The Senate of Berlin claimed, (at the time of publishing a 2006 report) that 79,080 students of migrant background in Berlin did/do not speak German but rather speak their mother tongue at home which compromises their chances of success in the classroom (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p.24). Many of the students, as was revealed by sociologists, may have not attended German pre-school where children learn to socialize in the language of the host country before beginning school life.

The Senate report also revealed that higher secondary school students were dropping out of school with only a ninth or tenth grade level certificate or were leaving school with no certificate at all. The report stated that students of immigrant background living mostly in the districts of Berlin Mitte, Kreuzberg-Friedrichshagen and Neukölln – highly populated areas of non-German mother tongue - are at 45-55 percent meaning that the distribution in the classroom of non-native speakers is relatively high. This high percentage, it was stated, was/is a contributing factor to social segregation leading to a lack of opportunities both academic and in the labour market. This in turn has exacerbated the social welfare system which has also contributed to welfare dependence and social problems (Ohliger and Raiser 2006 p. 24-25). What is thought-provoking is that these issues were raised and predictions of outcomes were put forward in the 1970s but were passively overlooked (Rist 1979, p. 252. Jancke 1976a, pp. 325-326).

The Senate of Berlin claimed that in 2003/2004 only 14% of Berlin's non-German students qualified for the Gymnasium compared to 34.4% of native Germans, and for students who didn't qualify - chances of receiving an apprenticeship were also relatively

lower than German natives. At the same time the Senate cautioned that it would be reckless to “hypothesize that there is casual relationship between ethnic origin and lower educational attainment” claiming that the reasons are about the poor grasp of the national language, lack of qualifications and “low participation rate in vocational training” (Ohliger and Raiser 2006 p. 25). This may be true for apprenticeships. It has been claimed that apprenticeships are in high demand and there is great competition for these positions by students who have finished *Gymnasium*.

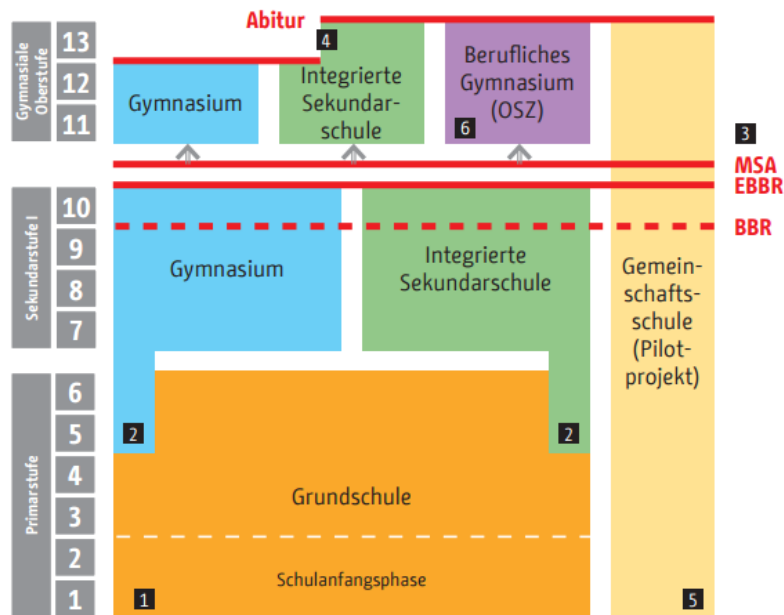
According to Bendel, through research, it has been revealed that “structural discrimination” included with other complex issues may play a role in preventing admission of students with an immigrant background from vocational education and training (Bendel 2014, p. 12) for the job market. Gymnasium students waiting for their university applications to be processed apply for apprenticeships as an alternative option just in-case their university applications are not accepted or they are put on waiting lists - a way of securing a future against unemployment (OECD 2011, p. 205). According to the OECD (2011), employers benefit from having higher educated students working for them and that some employees even keep students on while studying at university because they have been trained to do the job meaning they also have the experience. This takes away opportunities mainly from students in lower track education who attempt to enter into the labour force through apprenticeships. Some scholars argue that people should be hired according to ability and relevance and not on the basis of higher educational certification.

With a rapidly changing job market in a world of globalization, students, taking a gap year before starting university while at the same time seeking any kind of employment to gain experience and make a small wage don't realize that this is



contributing negatively to those who can only work in low wage employment. This has been proven to be the case with highly qualified students from Poland, and other Eastern European countries, working in the United Kingdom. Highly qualified students taking low wage jobs further increases the likelihood of youth with low education levels and certification of having no prospects. This new model of seeking cheap labour by employees and seeking employment while waiting to finish higher education is happening all around Europe. These findings have mainly come to the forefront, since extensive research has revealed many issues hinder the advancement of minority youth.

Berlin's institutional reforms Post PISA 2000 were completely different in comparison to those taken by the Bavarian state. While Bavaria further reinforced its three-track system, Berlin decided to attempt to build more inclusive comprehensive educational system quite similar to the Finnish model. Berlin's new institutional reforms went into effect in the school year 2010/11. As can be seen on the graph below, the transition from primary school to secondary school begins after the sixth grade instead of fourth grade. The *Hauptschule/Realschule* have been merged into an Integrated Secondary School (ISS), with the intention that all secondary school students will receive a school leaving certificate either from the ISS or the *Gymnasium*. Class repetitions has also been abolished. Berlin, like most German States, introduced an all-day school system as part of the new reforms.



**\*Source:** for both the graph and Berlin school structure list below (my (in brief) translation into English) from: “Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Wissenschaft (Senate for Education, Youth and Research)”: <http://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/schule/bildungswege/>

### The Berlin school structure as seen on the graph

1. Parents have been given a choice to begin school in phase 1, 2, or 3 (Schulanfangsphase 1 and 2 (School beginning phase 1 and 2) or Grundschule 3 (elementary school)) as shown on the graph
2. Both students joining either the Integrated Secondary School system or Gymnasium can begin in phase 5 depending on abilities in certain subjects
3. Students following a vocational path or have completed middle school will be given a final exam. Students who desire to continue to the upper secondary level need to fulfil certain requirements
4. Gymnasium students continue for a further two years for their high school certificate. Integrated Secondary School students and Vocational Gymnasium students continue for an extra three years. Integrated Secondary School students are also offered a two year programme

5. Students in the General Education can join community schools in the framework of a pilot project
6. The upper secondary schools will have a Gymnasium level incorporated with vocational oriented educational topics in cooperation with the Integrated Secondary Schools

Berlin's objectives behind the institutional structural reforms was that the new adjustments would provide students with better opportunities, and parents with more choices and possibilities. Goals are to increase the number of school leavers with school leaving certificates after the tenth grade and the Gymnasium, especially youth from ethnic backgrounds who are in the majority. Baumert et al., find this comprehensive restructuring of the education system in Berlin under the Education Act of 2010 quite remarkable knowing that reforms usually invoke very heated discussions from officials and teachers who are usually resistant to change. A Study is currently underway to evaluate the new structural reforms and their effects on educational outcomes at transitional levels (Baumert et al.2013, p. 5-9) and will be published 2018.

Both Bavaria and Berlin have reacted to minority youth "integration through education" in very different ways since Post WWII. Both State's reacted comparatively differently to PISA 2000 results as well. While Bavaria, it may seem to the outsider, took a very conservative approach by further tightening its grip on education, Berlin took a very "Finnish" approach in responding to its educational failings. Were Bavaria's reforms, as has been suggested, purely cosmetic, and if so why introduce reforms at all? Are the reforms the reason for Germany rising in the rankings of the PISA scores?

## **CHAPTER FIVE: The OECD – PISA**

### **5.a The PISA shock: What further research revealed about Education in Germany**

The *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD) works with governments to promote policies which will benefit the social well-being of citizens and improve economic standings within member states. The OECD does this by setting international standards through the use of data to compare and predict trends between all 35 member countries (OECD 2016). Youth education is also monitored in member nations through *the Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA). The PISA assessment programme was brought to the attention of many, internationally, within the recent decade and a half provoking deliberations and analyses as well as criticisms.

International Student Assessments are conducted every three years in OECD member countries to evaluate 15-year-old students' competencies in mathematics, sciences, reading comprehension and knowledge. Reading is a very important aspect of these assessments as they reveal the level of understanding through critical thinking students are able to achieve. Before PISA assessments are conducted, pupil information and institutional information is collected from each OECD member country in the form of questionnaires. Pupils are questioned about "social background, aspects of [their] relationships to parents, attitudes to reading and reading habits[.]" while questions asked of institutions are mainly regarding the participating institution's "human and material

resources, class size, organizational structures and decision-making processes”(Baumert et al., 2002 p. 2). There has been criticism regarding PISA assessments from. It is claimed that the assessments are too politicized by economic lobbyist who are interfering and influencing the processes of education.

Germany spent 247.4 billion euros on education and research in 2012 with an expectation of increasing that amount by 10% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2015, according to the latest education report of 2014 from the Federal Ministry of Education (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 7). Bank, a critic of the system, claims that the OECD puts political pressure on countries regarding their educational systems by using the theme of “equal opportunity in education” forcing many countries to reform their education policies to align with current economic market transformation and demands. The OECD’s claimed purpose, Bank argues, is to enhance economic growth, improve employment possibilities and living standards by deploying “expertise in the economics of education [even though the OECD] is not an expert organization for education”(Bank 2012, p. 194). Bank justifies his argument by claiming that Article 2(b) of the OECD Convention encourages technological and scientific research without mentioning *education* because its aim is to collect data on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of each country. The author adds that this data then provides information on how much GDP is being contributed to educational institutions. Bank believes that this pressure is creating unnecessary competition between countries which in turn become “*traps and pitfalls*” because looking at the outcomes there will always be “relative winners and relative losers in [the] ranking[s]” (Bank 2012, p. 197). The reaction and response by Germany towards

its standing within the PISA ranks may have possibly triggered a trend – which will be discussed further in the next subsection.

According to Dobbins and Martens student assessment comparisons have become “the trend” more recently in the last ten years. The unnecessary pressures and competition, as Bank suggests, have been reiterated by many and the pressures of accountability transmitted through the international assessments are increasingly influencing the educational process (Volante 2013, p. 173). International Organizations (IOs) are influencing country policies by publishing comparative assessments and triggering diverse reactions from politicians, the media and the public (Dobbins and Martens 2012, 23-24). It is well known that the public most often react to negative rather than positive press information. The media is generally responsible for relaying information to the public, therefore the more negative the press are towards a certain issue or policy the more of an effect it will have on public opinion, which includes education policies that in turn create a sense of political urgency (Dixon et al.2013, p. 486).

Despite the competitiveness, the creation of a sense of accountability and increasing pressure, some researchers have found that responses contrast in different countries. For example, according to Dobbins and Martens, France is known for its dislike of comparisons due to its “principles of equality” and has had a turbulent relationship with the OECD. The authors also state that France is not interested and unconvinced with international assessments, the comparisons that ensue, nor the data they provide. In spite of this, France participates in PISA assessments.

France's performance was on average in the 2000 and 2003 assessments, its ranking has been declining ever since from a ranking spot of 13<sup>th</sup> place down to 21<sup>st</sup> place in 2006 among 34 nations (Dobbins and Martens 2012, 23-25), and yet the political response has remained minimal compared to Germany's reaction (Dixon et al. 2013, p. 497). France's rankings have not changed much in the following assessments as well. The United Kingdom has also shown similar rankings and has been highly criticized by the press who have focused much of the blame on politicians - who in turn redirected the blame towards the previous government, teachers, parents, rather than initiating change (Dixon et al. 2013, p. 498). The authors implicate through their research that international rankings may or may not have an effect on a country through press coverage and scrutiny. Dixon et al. discovered through their research that Germany responded quite swiftly and continues to be active which may be due to the great media discussions and scrutiny about the disparity between the different social groups within the German states.

Many articles have mentioned that in countries (Finland, France and now even Germany) are not happy with the methods used to rank and compare countries educational systems. Finland having the highest scoring on the PISA believes that the system is not promoting an overall view of students social and practical abilities. France, even though it was claimed failed in pedagogy methods and quality of education, has not cared about nor fancied the ranking system for a long time and only started to show interest in 2006. German press is also beginning to doubt the system (Dixon et al. 2013). So, why did Germany react in "shock" when other countries such as France, United Kingdom, among a few didn't go through the same shock? Was it due to the press coverage? The OECD has claimed that in most of the countries participating, minority

groups are at a disadvantage and are scoring the lowest, although one may add that Germany's minority youth were the worst off.

### **5.b Germany's PISA reaction**

Germany, as Bank (2012) mentions, was a loser in the PISA 2000 rankings and debates and discussions followed to seek answers. In the year 2000, Germany participated for the first time in the PISA tests which focused specifically on reading literacy. The low score results from the assessments shocked Germany into rethinking its educational set-up. Germany has always been resistant to changing its three-track education system but the PISA results seemed like a wake-up call. Research institutes, the media, academics, and government discussions revolved around the failures of the education system. Research conducted by Dixon et al., on France, Finland, Britain and Germany's PISA result press coverage discovered that Germany showed the strongest negative reaction from 2000 to 2008 when criticism started decreasing.

Germany, once thought of as having an excellent education system, was resolute to follow up on why it had ranked so badly following PISA 2000. PISA uses 5 levels to assess success. Level 5 being the highest ranking and Level 1 being the lowest; meaning that students who scored at level 1 were only able to read and comprehend texts at an elementary level. Germany scored below average revealing "that almost one-quarter of young people in Germany [could only] read at elementary level...[and that] these students [were] regarded as a potentially at-risk group"(Baumert et al., 2002 p.8).

The potential "at-risk groups" it was reported are mainly youth of lower socio-economic status with a majority being of a migrant background. The media discourse



propelled and created continued interest in discovering more about the association between socio-economic status, minority youth and poor PISA assessment outcomes. Low educational outcomes particularly for students with a migrant background and low socio-economic status exposed another important aspect of “at risk groups” – the lack of youth integration, not only in the education system but also, in the labour market and into a majority or host society.

Low outcomes for minority youth is not just a problem in Germany even though the country bore the burden of attention. Other European countries show similar trends, i.e. France. Socio-economic status in France plays a significant role in educational outcomes even though “educational equality” is at the core of French principles, according to Dobbins and Martens. Poor results have been criticized by PISA both in the quality of education it provides and the pedagogical methods (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 30), but this did not even move the country towards reforms. Not until 2006, the criticism influenced the French government to attempt reforms and to also reassess its educational policies. Critical criticism also influenced Germany’s reevaluation of the education system.

The PISA ‘shock’ discourse due to the below average scorings, strangely enough, only gained attention and momentum in Germany. There was no other mention of “A PISA Shock” in other countries, even though as mentioned, other nations have ranked below average on the PISA scale. After the PISA “shock” as it was called, public scrutiny and debate forced Germany to reassess and restructure its education policy. Research revealed that the structure of the three-track German education system made the social advancement of socioeconomically disadvantaged native youth and youth of a migrant

background all the more difficult. These findings “put the federal organization of education policy to the test” declared Schroder, former Chancellor of Germany in 2003 (Schroder 2003, p. 13).

Chancellor Schroder openly stated that social origin of students, meaning migrant children, meant that this group received no encouragement compared to countries with similar percentages. Social origin, Chancellor Schroder added, determined the results of academic achievement, stating that many other countries have been able to ‘compensate for learning disadvantages – [and that Germany is] a divided land as far as educational opportunities are concerned”(Schröder 2003, p. 14)

Petra Bendel, professor of political science, adding to this view, claimed that the success or failure of students depended on opportunities to participate in education (Bendel 2014, p. 11). He claimed that the country has to do some serious questioning of the state of the education system. Schroder also spoke of a country that should ask itself whether educational and life opportunities are assured for every student. The scores revealed that one out of four students ‘achieved such a low level of education by the end of compulsory school... that they have virtually no prospect of a skilled and satisfying working life” (Schroder 2003, p.15). Bendel as well, indicated that the PISA results were a manifestation of a defective system that revealed a large gap and discrepancies between the success rates of foreign born Germans, non-Germans, and German grad students.

Many scholars, researchers, and sociologists have reported over and over again about the disadvantages within the education systems for youth of a migrant background – disadvantages beginning in Germany in the 1970s. These reports have concluded that minority youth academic performances and outcomes are low compared to native youth,

which in turn further hinder future prospects, so these weren't hidden facts from policy makers. In many European countries research has revealed that minority youth "grow up in homes where their parents have only low levels of education" (Griga and Hadjar 2014, p. 275) and don't speak native languages fluently. Interestingly, research has revealed that in the United Kingdom students from ethnic minorities outperform natives on a much larger scale than in other European countries, i.e. Germany, France and Italy.

Researchers and scholars have intensively studied and continue to examine and theorize reasons behind the poor assessment results and the discrepancies between youth groups. Some studies reveal that the integration of children of migrant background into the education system is not only a German problem, even though the disparities in PISA scores were greatest in Germany in the year 2000. In the quest for answers, discussions revolved around "the high number of immigrant students" in Germany who performed below average leading to several studies focusing "on the link between immigrant background and student performance (Ammermueller 2007, p. 215). Konan et al., have found that in Europe it is the belief that high numbers of immigrant students "impair the global level of [educational] achievement" which they suggest may be correlated with the perception of "ingroup threat" and where there is competition of resources (Konan et al. 2010, p. 235). They aren't the only one to suggest this theory of "ingroup threat."

Sociologists reviewed institutional approaches to immigrant integration in 27 Eastern and Western European countries to understand how this perceived threats are dealt with. The theorists' "Group Threat Theory" suggests that when a majority society feels threatened over the competition of goods and services which is an aspect of immigrant integration, and when "institutional directives...improve immigrants' opportunities in the

domains of educational participation, political decision making, or employment ...[this]could be seen as a threat to the majority's way of life, their history, [and] symbolic features" (Schlueter et al 2013, p. 671). Therefore, according to the authors, accepting immigrants as equals *may* raise the insecurity of a majority and be perceived as a real threat, leading to the social injustices Park discovered in his study.

Konan et al., found that in America minority groups are not seen as a threat, but rather the culture of diversity has a positive effect on educational performances and that students benefit from each other. Taking into consideration that may the Americans have more experience with minority youth integration and dealt with the issues much earlier than European countries did.

Finland seems to be an exceptional country where policy implementations have rewarded the country with high PISA scores and much admiration and praise for its educational system. Finland's top scores in PISA, has many turning to the country in an attempt to gain inside knowledge about the workings of Finish educational institutions (Bank 2012, p. 202). This is representative of how PISA comparisons promote certain actions to achieve certain outcomes which seem be directing countries towards uniform teaching practices. Although Finland has been critical of PISA's methods as well. The impact of comparisons is not only creating cross border competition but also internal evaluations between states and within districts which Germany is a part of.

The German government's objective in response to PISA 2000 was primarily to find answers to the low ranking by conducting institutional assessments of its own across the country and remedy them. These other assessments and extensions are now a fixture not only in Germany but in Canada as well even with its high ranking. The German findings

revealed that student background has been a significant factor in poor performance as PISA-E (E for extension) has shown. The impact of PISA I led the German government to conduct numerous investigation and discern in which states' students performed badly by conducting additional testing of 50,000 youths across the country, ten times the number tested for PISA in the year 2000 (Bank 2012, p. 206) (Sälzer and Prenzel 2014, p. 59). The findings revealed that Turkish, Russian and Polish students with a migrant background scored below native Germans - with Turkish students scoring the lowest of all.

The internal assessments also revealed as other studies have shown that there are variations in disadvantages even among youth of migrant background and their social origin (Griga and Hadjar 2014, p. 275). Germany's internal assessments revealed that the Southern States fared well with PISA-E and other assessments results (Ammermueller 2007, p. 218) leading the Southern States to validate, justify their educational policies and compare the strength of their systems. This is raising many concerns that external and internal assessments are slowly influencing how education is delivered not taking into account the many other qualities students may possess which are not incorporated into the arrangements.

Baumert claims that disparities will always be visible no matter what changes take place (Baumert et al., 2013 p. 20). There is concern however that the education system is being taken away from experts in the field and being molded by the OECD (with a purpose) to the trends of "test taking" as a form of academic evaluation or prompting numerical standardization scores, hence educators become the initiators of higher test scores rather than the contributors of knowledge. These concerns have been raised: by

teachers in Bavaria, in the Finish press, French politicians among a few. The weight of statistical scores and media attention has put great pressure on Germany to spend more on its educational institutions translating into, as Banks states, “ a larger budget [which] is meant to enable better outcomes, [although] there is no functional coupling” (Bank 2012, p. 198). This may add weight to Bank’s allegations that it is educational competence and not economic expenditure that leads to success. France is a leader in secondary educational funding, has the lowest student/teacher ratio among OECD member states, longer class hours compared to other EU countries, and yet is still ranking below average (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 32).

The focus now, among OECD member States, seems to be on achieving high scores on international assessments to the extent that many countries due to the competitive nature of PISA are overwhelming education instruction, and students, with constant and routine testing. For example, Canada is narrowing its curriculum to put more emphasis on obtaining results through assessments that there is fear that students whose strengths are in other subject areas may be alienated and not supported in this “global achievement race” (Volante2013, p. 174). This is happening even though Canada’s PISA results are above average ranking in one of the seven top spots with only small gaps of difference between student scores according to Volante. France has also claimed that PISA over simplifies indicators by assessing economic outlooks when evaluating education, and questions whether it is even feasible to compare different educational systems (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 28).

The question is whether these assessments are leading to academic success for students or not? Are these assessments, evaluations and competitive rankings responding

to what researchers have revealed about the real failings within the system? How are teachers responding to or reacting and what role do they play in educational results or outcomes? And isn't all this overstressing teachers' capacity and energy to focus on the disparities between groups within the system rather than attempting to achieve top rankings internationally.

### **5.c Teachers' roles within German education and internationally**

Teachers play a huge part in the education system. Apart from having tremendous responsibility, they also have certain powers within the education system. They are professionally knowledgeable and have the skills to understand what does and does not work in the best interest of those in their care – the students. Understanding a teacher's role and accountability as well as pedagogical responsibility in regards to student achievement is important in attempting to understand why certain students succeed academically or not. Of course one cannot expect total success in regards to student achievement, but research has shown that certain structural mechanisms within educational systems are favorable towards student success rates in many countries. Research has also revealed that certain educational systems, such as the three track-system in Germany, hinder academic success, especially for socio-economically disadvantaged students and minority youth.

Many characteristics have been revealed and explained through research about the poor performance and lack of integration of minority youth within the education system. Studies conducted in Germany post PISA 2000 have revealed that one reason for poor performances was that over-aged teachers were ill-equipped and not trained to deal with diversity in the classroom (OECD 2011, p. 212). The grounds being that teachers could

not deal with diversity within the classroom when official policy, as literature suggests, did not for decades recognize diversity within its society. The training, regulating and the managing of teacher qualifications is at the discretion of each German state consequently understanding that teachers followed, and in some states still follow, institutional regulations (Bendel 2014, p.5). Teachers, as civil servants, follow the directives and regulations of the Ministry of education within each state. Germany's applied educational system allows teachers to regulate the "selecting and sorting" of students depending on abilities, in a subjective manner, into the *right or wrong* types of schooling. By subjective, teachers evaluate maths, sciences, the German language and individual student comportment or behavior.

The selecting and sorting process by teachers in Germany is implemented through "subjective measures...[using] grades and teacher recommendations for secondary school tracks in tracked school systems" (Lüdemann and Schwerdt 2013, p. 456) which ultimately decides a student's future prospects. The methods used are to "legitimize uniform teaching for large groups: [providing unbiased] equal content, equal learning steps, [as well as an] equal amount of time [for] assigned...learning" (Sliwka 2010, p. 210). Teachers from some German states, such as Bavaria, adhere to and justify prescribed curriculum methods where the "actual freedom...to interpret [the curriculum] according to their own views and the needs of the students" hasn't changed but decreased post -PISA with the new reforms (Erss et al., 2016, p. 593-597).

Uniform teaching without taking into consideration that diversity exists even within groups in regards to cognitive abilities and individual skills can lead to a refined form of passive discrimination. Therefore, selecting and sorting as well as uniform teaching when



dealing with minority groups will most likely put this group at a disadvantage within the system as has been revealed, and as research has suggests. This naturally will generally lead to a lack of integration both academically and in the labour market and this as well has been proven.

Analysts have indicated that it is “general inequalities” in regards to socioeconomic background rather than “ethnic discrimination” that play a role in the educational selection process (Lüdemann and Schwerdt 2013, p. 457). Lüdemann and Schwerdt admit that minority groups are the ones at a disadvantage because the lack of “integration through education” ultimately leads to a lack of “economic assimilation” and is initially associated with many problems with minority youth in several European countries (Lüdemann and Schwerdt 2013, p. 455-456). This lack of integration, associated with structural discrimination, as some have claimed, has played a part in the track selection methods when looking at research results and findings.

Analysis’ findings from PISA outcomes have revealed that students in Germany in the lower track system of *Hauptschule* were found to be achieving better results than those in *Realschule*, and that students in *Realschule* were also performing better than *Gymnasium* students (Sliwka 2010, p. 211). Gymnasium students, as teachers admit come mostly from affluent social backgrounds”(Bendel 2014, p. 12). This even though “the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the German States in the Federal Republic of Germany [specify that] teacher track recommendations should be based on cognitive skills, with no consideration given to parents’ income, social class, or migration background”(Lüdemann and Schwerdt 2013, p. 459). An

example of this not being the case is revealed in Hinze's interviews in minority neighborhoods in Berlin.

Annika Hinze, a German researcher, conducted on-sight interviews with women from two immigrant districts in Berlin and through discussions learned how some students in these districts experience/d school life. The interviewees claimed that teachers channel students in the different tracks because certain parents aren't familiar with the system and therefore do not complain. Hinze gives an example of one such case where a student of immigrant background, claimed that she attempted to get recommendations for transfer to Gymnasium (12 grade), but her teachers disapproved claiming that she didn't have strong enough German language skills. Hinze added that "when [she] spoke to [this former student], her German was perfect and accent-free, and [Hinze] would not have been able to tell her language skills from that of a native German" (Hinze 2013, p. 93). This former student took another route to receive a *Gymnasium* diploma, and graduated from university in Germany and practices as a lawyer. Hinze asserts, as this example reveals, that individual experiences of youth with an immigrant background within a country can either leave a *positive or negative* sense of belonging and hinder the integration process both academically and socially.

Another study gives an example of a native students from Bavaria with above-average marks on a *Hauptschule* certificate having a better chance at applying and getting a place in a vocational school, for example, in Berlin than a student of immigrant background presumably with the same qualifications (Granato and Ulrich 2014, p. 223). The claim that ethnicity does not playing a role in academic outcomes contradicts, to some extent, claims suggested by Lüdemann and Schwerdt's findings that inequality has

to do more with socio-economic background rather than ethnic background. It seems as though both socio-economic and ethnic background may be intertwined and associated with poor outcomes. Of course this should not be taken out of context to claim that all teachers deliberately discriminate against minority students, but it has been an important issue that was obviously overlooked or ignored pre-PISA 2000, as results have proven.

Dobbins and Martens found through their enquiries that teacher autonomy is something that French students have fought against in the country's highly centralized educational system. The reason being that if autonomy is provided to individual schools, this would result in the disregard of the principles of *égalité* (equality), and that students fear that teachers would not be objective and neutral when assessing learners' performance or when involved in examinations – ultimately integrating student performance with social background and place of residence the authors add. French students believe that objectivity is something only the central government would be able to provide with the ideals of equality (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 34). Even though it has been claimed that school and teacher autonomy improves student achievements within educational systems and reduces inequalities in regards to socioeconomic background.

In the justification of teachers regarding inequalities with the education system, Bank argues that teachers were not given the attention they needed to relay expert advice on the faults of the German educational system. Germany's response to the outcry of the failure of its education system was due in part, Bank claims, to the fear of future economic failure – although the author agrees that the PISA studies have brought about “overdue reforms”(Bank 2012, p.207). Granting years after the first international

assessments, teachers still believe that “youth opportunities vary according to the socioeconomic status of their families”(Bendel 2014, 12), and studies still coming out almost 15 years later still reveal that this is the case even though there have been improvements and above average scores within the PISA rankings.

Baumert et al., believe that even with the introduction of new reforms, teachers still play an active role in the decision making when it comes to secondary tracks. The authors state that the aspirations of parents have led to the increase of students wanting to join Gymnasium between the years 2005 and 2011 from 37 to 45percent (Baumert et al. 2013, p. 24), but it is still students with higher socioeconomic status who have better chances at succeeding. The authors add that teacher recommendations still carry more weight than parents’ aspirations do, and due to policy there is a process that parents have to go through while making decisions for their children. In Berlin, following reforms, parents are allowed to choose up to three schools for their children to attend depending on space availability; are required to have a consultation with their child’s teacher regarding aspiration and recommendation; and are given a written evaluation (report card) on the social and academic status of their child for prospective school preferences. These parent requirements have not changed and are still a part of the system (Baumert et al. 2013, p. 21).

As is mentioned above, teachers play an important role within the education system. However, as is obvious, uniform teaching has only worked for certain types of students which can lead to perceived or real allegations of discrimination. Prescribed curriculums with no autonomy to improvise in diverse classrooms naturally hinders, or puts at a disadvantage, the educational performance of minority groups compared to those learning

in their native language. It has been alleged and observed that uniform teaching also ends up being more teacher oriented, in order to cover curriculum material, rather than student oriented. If this is the case, it prevents teachers from assessing individual student progress, and therefore when academic reports are subjective, as they are in Germany, it is comprehensible in terms of implications. Consequently, it is clear that socio-economically disadvantaged students are mostly likely to miss out on opportunities due to their social background, and as Lüdemann and Schwerdt have pointed out with the most impact being on youth of immigrant background.

#### **5.d What role does family background play?**

Much debate has linked family background to the low performance levels of minority youth within the education system. PISA scores have been the framework of these debates and analyses. The debates and research have discussed and focused on educational inequality, socioeconomic background, poor educational backgrounds of parents, poor reading habits, native language deficits due to lack of exposure at home as some factors contributing to low performance outcomes among immigrant youth.

Sociologists have established significant links between the family background of minority groups around the world and educational attainment. Socioeconomic status which also stipulates social class most times predicts academic achievement and vice versa. Class position within a community depends on educational pathways, with “education [being a possible tool or gateway] of disconnecting with a socially disadvantaged background” (Johansson and Höjer 2012, p.1135). Johansson and Höjer add that expectations for higher education are acquired through cultural and social capital

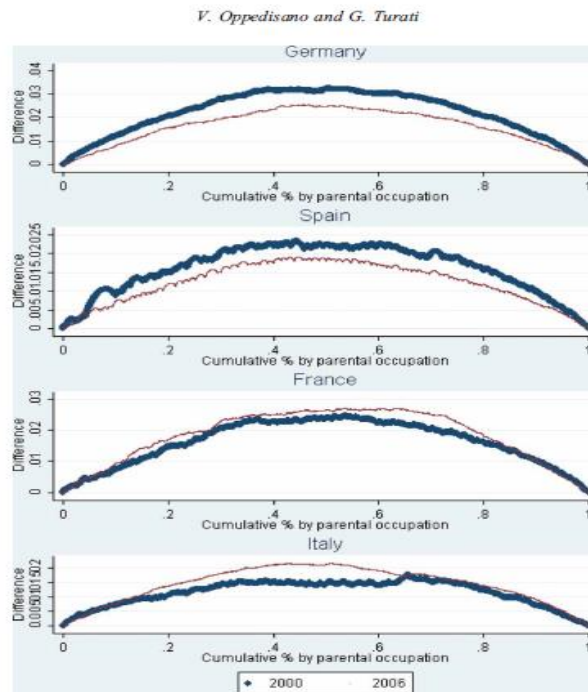
meaning that socioeconomic background is an important factor in the reproduction of educational success or failure.

Oppedisano and Turati assessed educational inequality by using PISA test scores from the years 2000 and 2006 and also measured a set of other probable contributing factors. The researchers conducted their study in schools in Germany, Italy, France and Spain. These countries have different educational systems- France and Italy's educational institutions are centralized while Germany and Spain's educational institutions are decentralized. Randomly selected schools were chosen in each country and questionnaires were used to seek valuable circumstantial information from students and heads of school. The information sought through the responses on the questionnaires pertained to "students' individual characteristics and family origins as well as on schools' resources endowment and educational practices" in order to gain insight into the socio-economic status (SES) of parents by "capturing the attributes of occupations that convert parents' education into income" (Oppedisano and Turati 2015, p. 7). The authors used the PISA results of *reading comprehension* due to the fact that the OECD claims that poor performance in the labour market is associated with poor reading abilities.

Understandably poor reading skills hinder the advancement of higher education; hamper integration into the labour market and impede on most aspect of an individual's life as many studies have discovered. The lower the education one has; the lower the income and social status. Swedish studies have shown that there is a strong linkage between socioeconomic background and high or low grades received by secondary students (Johansson and Höjer 2012, p. 1136) in which the contributing factors include reading habits and knowledge of the native language.

Oppedisano and Turati's findings revealed that "high scores were concentrated among the better off" students with well-off parents. Bendel also points out that a recent study in 2013 revealed that 70% of youth from well-to-do backgrounds attended Gymnasium in contrast to only 30% of youth from a lower socio-economic status (Bendel 2014, p. 12). Baumert et al., say that this has to do with different groups of parents where both socio-economic and social status differ greatly between them. Parents choices depend on their status when looking into Gymnasium and the lower track systems. Baumert et al., add that parents who have a higher education expect no less for their children, even though it is obvious that families with immigrant background are just as motivated to see their youth succeed academically (Baumert et al., 2013, p. 23-24).

Oppedisano and Turati's finding revealed a link between the decentralization of schools and a decrease in educational inequality due to the fact that districts are in charge of the maintenance of their own school systems (Oppedisano and Turati 2015, p. 8 & 11). Studies in Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway have also shown that there is less educational inequalities related to social status or student origin and a higher number attaining higher education in comprehensive school systems (Griga and Hadjar 2014, p. 277). Oppedisano and Turati's confirm that their findings revealed that the decrease in educational inequality in both Germany and Spain were mainly due to their decentralized systems, while both France and Italy who both have centralized systems showed an increase in educational inequality as shown in the Oppedisano and Turati's (2015) graph below.



Oppedisano and Turati's (2015): "Centralized and Decentralized Education Systems"

Socio-economic Status (SES) is said to have an impact on academic success rates starting from kindergarten onwards. Scholarly research advises on the importance of children from a very young age socializing with their peer groups which in turn facilitates the integration process - especially for children of immigrants who do not speak the national language at home (von Below 2007, p. 213). Kindergarten attendance in Germany is not mandatory and it is claimed that the majority of children with an immigrant background *were* not attending this significant first step of social integration (Söhn and Özcan 2006, p. 104) One reason for immigrant children not attending



kindergarten may be that up until recently within the last couple of years access to German kindergartens was prioritized for working parents, single parents and parents seeking employment. Another reason may be due the traditional role in some cultures of mothers being homemakers and taking care of their children up to school age.

Holding on to traditional roles may be a cause for Turkish students ranking the lowest on the PISA assessments. Another aspect to take into consideration, as Bank asserts, is that if children are able to attend good kindergartens, they are more likely to continue on a good educational pathway through primary and secondary schooling, university and eventually have better chances in the labour market. Those who are not able, or willing, to find good institutions from the beginning end up being left behind (Banks 2012, p. 203). Banks gave this example of the school system in China, where competition for the best kindergartens is high to secure a good start. This example could apply in any country where large communities of low-income families live.

Further studies and views are that family values have an effect on youth educational performances. Ammermueller states that “immigrant parents might share different values to native parents and might thereby affect the process of learning”(Ammermueller 2007, p. 216). The differences in academic achievements between native and immigrant youth, Ammermueller believes may have more to do with a less favorable environment for learning at home, late school enrolments and class repetitions than a parents’ education or income and recommends that this is where improvements should be made (Ammermueller 2007, p. 225). Von Below agrees that parental background and student achievements are interlinked and claims that “education is ‘hereditary’ in that educational values and expectations are transmitted between

generations ... [which have an effect on] student's chances of eventually achieving a professional degree and career" (Wegmann 2014 p. 137; von Below 2007) This may be why Germany's Turkish youth who hold to "traditional norms and values" as explained above are scoring lower than other youth with migrant backgrounds, i.e. the Polish and Russians.

However, at the same time one cannot dismiss the reality in that income and status do play a role in how values are interpreted and/or understood. Family standards change with opportunities. When opportunities are provided, then the environment in which families find themselves changes and also becomes more favorable. Finland is highly regarded among European countries due to its high success rate and according to Dobbins and Martens, this is due to the promotion of diversity, comprehensive teacher training and the overall integrative pedagogical approach in regards to school autonomy and social integration (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 34). Most "immigrants who make it socioeconomically do not remain in [poor migrant neighborhoods and communities]" (Hinze 2013, p. 154), and just as social statuses increase so do certain values and expectations when it comes to children's higher education.

## **CHAPTER SIX: REFORMS – OBJECTIVES – RESULTS**

In Germany, as in many countries where minority groups and migrants live, education is a part of ongoing discussions, although in Germany, true reforms have only been taken up recently within the last fifteen years. Education, as is well known, is very important for the social advancement of the socio-economically disadvantaged, and is beneficial for positive integration of youth within a society. Nationwide reforms have been taken up by the Federal government concerning immigrant integration through *The National Action Plan* (NAP). The NAP includes implementing sustainable *Integration through Education* for youth with a migrant background.

The Senate of Berlin presented comprehensive integration policies in 2005. The reforms introduced include structural reforms as mentioned previously, and institutional inspections to encourage “better practices”. German foundations are contributing by awarding schools that are successful in promoting positive learning. Due to the autonomy of each German state, reforms have been tackled differently. Bavaria’s reforms have been minor in comparison to Berlin.

### **Reforms on the Federal Level**

Reforms at the Federal level under the heading of the *National Integration Plan* (NIP) came into being at an integration summit in 2006. This summit brought together members of the Federal government under the leadership of Commissioner for

Integration, Dr. Maria Böhmer, as well as members of each Federal State, and local authorities. These summit members were assembled to coordinate and draw up a sustainable national integration policy. The NIP has become known as the *National Action Plan on Integration* (NAP). The NAP's objectives are to provide sustainable integration at all levels as well as to actively tackle a long overlooked issue of integration. The aim was to provide

better access to education, vocational training, and employment; [to deliver better] opportunities for women and girls; [to create a] role [for] local communities in integration efforts; [to encourage] intercultural competence; integration through sports; cultural diversity in the media; civic participation of immigrants; and [to] promot[e] [a] worldwide exchange of ideas (Mushaben 2010, p. 156–157; Wegmann 2014, p. 134).

The integration initiative included, from the start, four hundred voluntary commitments, as well as the involvement of five hundred companies signatory to an agreement called “*Charter of Diversity*” to promote and assist in the training and employment of youth with migrant backgrounds recognizing the “valuable language and cultural skills” they have in promoting Germany in a globalized world (Bundesregierung 2009). The initiatives are specifically to encourage youth to continue their education and to increase the number of students leaving school with qualifications, especially those with a migrant background, by providing them with better opportunities. These initiatives are similar to those promoted in Sweden. Sweden, actively encourages the under-represented youth in secondary school by providing study groups as one way of attaining secondary school qualifications and addressing social disparities to create “upward social

mobility,” although this group is still not highly represented in more “prestigious programmes” at university (Johansson and Höjer 2012, p. 1140).

Additionally to the NAP and NIP, a *Youth Integration Summit* was convened in 2007 by Commissioner Böhmer in the Federal Ministry where eighty “young adults,” media representatives, and other organizations from all over Germany came together to discuss ways forward concerning language, education, cultural diversity and setting and committing to “benchmarks and deadlines (Mushaben 2010, p.157). Chancellor Angela Merkel’s integration plan has taken up a considerable amount of complex issues and has involved actors from all walks of life, both native and those of a migrant background, in order to attempt to make this work.

Another initiative was launched in 2006 to promote and encourage educational reforms. German Foundations Robert Bosch and Heidehof Foundations got involved in the reforms by encouraging school “best practices” in education. In its tenth year now, this motivating initiative introduced by the Robert Bosch Foundation and the Heidehof Foundation presents awards to schools that stimulate a positive learning experience for all students as a response to PISA 2000. All “mainstream” schools are permitted to participate following the guidelines of six categories that are accessed as best practices. Most of the criteria’s guidelines are also procedures taken up as part of school inspections that were introduces with educational reforms. One specific guideline that really stands out in the way it is titled and can be interpreted as being a little harsh by those who do not understand how the German education was (and still is in some states) managed. *Dealing with Diversity*, one of the criteria and a title that Sliwka mentions as “quite revealing”,

seeing as it is encouraging educational institutions to *deal* with all aspects of individual differences within the schools.

Diversity, according to Bendel, “is drawn from a rights-based approach...[that] underlines the rights and faculties and the potential”(Bendel 2014, p. 4) of individuals. In American classrooms diversity has been celebrated as beneficial and also has a positive effect in the educational performance of all students say Konan et al. The authors states that immigrant students and natives benefit and learn from each other in the US. Something that Germany and Switzerland did not embrace for a long time and believed that immigrant students “impair[ed] the global level of [educational] achievement” and have also brought down the quality of education for the natives (Konan et al. 2010, p. 230 - 235). These types of reforms, that can provoke intense opposition and emotions, are interpreted by leftist Unions in France as the “Americanization” of the education system when the French ideals adhere to the principles of equality (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 36-37). The word “*diversity*” has become a guiding policy in Germany that in 2006, Commissioner for Integration and Migration Mr. Gunter Peining, used it in the title of the new Integration Policy of Berlin: *Encouraging Diversity-Strengthening Cohesion*(Ohliger and Raiser 2006).

Using the word “*deal*” as did the Robert Bosch and Heidehof Foundations is something Sliwka, an educator herself, has explained. Sliwka reveals that German teachers were not formally trained to *deal with diversity* in regards to “student abilities, interests, and needs,” and that they conceptualized teaching as they knew it from “the school system in which they have been socialized,” (Sliwka 2010, p. 212). The focus is now changing from *dealing with diversity* to *understanding diversity* through the

introduction and enactment of professional training which tackles issues that have not been a part of pedagogical studies before. Teachers are being trained to learn more about the developmental stages of life. Accepting diversity as an asset, as countries (i.e. United States and Canada) with more experience in integrating their youth through education have, not only allows individuals to succeed in life but also benefits societies as a whole (Sliwka 2010, p. 212). But it can be seen as a step in that direction. Bendel asserts that some politicians prefer using the term “diversity” when discussing issues concerning ‘integration’ (Bendel 2014, p. 4). Diversity, a word that the Senate of Berlin adopted as an important feature of the new State policies regarding integration.

### **Reforms On the State Level: The Senate of Berlin**

The Senate of Berlin, the first to respond to the PISA findings and introduce a wide range of reform measures, implemented an *Integration through Education* programme on May 2005 that emphasized focusing on three important objectives (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p. 26). These objective were: **Objective 1:** To make learning the German language compulsory for minority groups and to encourage children and youth from minority groups to increase their efforts in education in order to become self-reliant and active participants in society. **Objective 2:** To encourage parents to learn German which will be beneficial for their children, and to be more involved in their children’s education in cooperation and with assistance from schools and parental councils. **Objective 3:** To inform “students and if possible also their parents, [that they] need to acquire the basic information on culture and society, or enhance their knowledge” (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p. 26).

Adding to the three major objectives mentioned above, the Berlin Senate reversed a long standing tradition in the German education system. Berlin introduced a comprehensive school programme, by getting rid of the highly selective three-track system, and also allowed for institutional autonomy for teachers to adopt a more flexible approach towards teaching (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p. 26). The changes in the structural and educational processes in Berlin have been proven to be successful methods in providing opportunities for minority groups in the United States, Canada, and Finland to name a few countries.

As has been mentioned previously, Finland is one of the top scorers in PISA. European countries, including France and Germany, have explored what the Finish model of success incorporates to accomplish high rankings. One thing that is very interesting is that Finland is critical of the PISA assessments (Dixon et al. 2013, p. 492) in a very pragmatic way despite the excellent ratings the country receives. This is fully understandable and should be valued as constructive criticism by all OECD participating countries since, as the Finish argument goes - The reforms focus should not be on promoting the standardization of education and competition but rather focus should emphasis (or include) practical and social skills, and also reducing social alienation by promoting diversity; where focus is on positive assessment results that are continually rising “for some,” including Germany, but aren’t as “clear-cut” when assessing socio-economic reliance (Dixon et al. 2013, p. 493). Since socio-economic outlook doesn’t just depend on the maths, sciences and reading, but also practical, social and cultural skills, and inclusion. The focus of ratings on an international scale are affecting curriculums, as Volante has discovered, in Canada.



Canada, as in other OECD countries, seems to be putting more emphasis on achieving high scores on international assessments due to the competitive nature of PISA – even though the country ranks among the top seven. This, Volante claims, is overwhelming the education system, and students, with constant testing. Canada narrowed its curriculum to put more emphasis on obtaining results through assessments that there is fear that students whose strengths are in other subject areas may be alienated and not supported in this “global achievement race” (Volante 2013, p. 174). Berlin reforms take on the Finnish model and introduce a comprehensive school system.

The Berlin Senate’s introduction of a comprehensive secondary education system and the allocating of certain freedoms to teachers to adopt a more flexible approach towards curriculum will be monitored and measured using indicators (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p. 26). The *Integration through Education* programme will be monitored, according to the Berlin Senate, to assess children and youth of migrant background from pre-primary education to secondary school certification including vocational training and apprenticeships.

Younger children *can* be prepared through specifically developed German language courses at ages 4 to 5 before sitting for a school entering test. It is not quite clear whether the specifically designed language courses are provided in kindergarten, since children are encouraged to attend kindergarten before beginning elementary school. Although the German courses are not specifically targeting children with an immigrant background who are “disproportionately affected,” it is well known that it is these groups that lack language proficiencies (Bendel 2014, p.13). Berlin’s Senate provided a very

detailed account of how the State is going to tackle integration through education; even have an English translation of its policies and website. Something that seems to be lacking on the Bavarian Ministries of Education's web page. Bavaria's Ministry of Education, has similarly implemented an integration through education policy. There is an introductory page in the English language that explains general information about the school system for prospective parents and students (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Bildung und Kultus, "The Bavarian School System").

The curious thing though is that Bavaria's detailed information in how the Ministry is assisting in the "*Integration through Education*" of youth is only in the German language. The search through the "Integration & Sprachförderung" (Integration & Language Support) link informs the reader about how the State is assisting new refugees and asylum seekers within the school system (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Bildung und Kultus, "Integration & Sprachförderung"). In regards to youth integration within the school system, the objectives are to create an ethos of intercultural learning; to improve relationships between school and home. To improve on the all-day school offers, and adjusting classrooms with high numbers of students of immigrant background. The ministry also claims to be working on training teachers (Bayerischen Staatsregierung 2008, p. 7).

### **Reforms on an Institutional level**

Berlin's Institutional reforms seem to be in line with what most researchers are discussing, suggesting and looking into. Germany's objectives for internal institutional reforms was to keep youth, especially youth with a migrant background, within the education system for longer and increase the number of graduating students, with either

Gymnasium certificates or middle level certificates through the Integrated Secondary School (ISS) system. For this reason, the “highly selective three-track systems” in Berlin have become two-track comprehensive systems by integrating the two lower tracks of *Hauptschule* and *Realschule*. Many believe that this move was long overdue. Students in Berlin are given more time within the system before making a decision on which track and future direction they will take; while in Bavaria the selection time has been reduced from the sixth grade to the fourth grade. Bavaria was pleased with the PISA 2000 outcomes in comparison to most States in the country and therefore considered the results proof that its system works.

This being said, the restructuring of the three track system in Bavaria has put more pressure on school communities, parents, teachers and students, and consequently has further “increased the socio-economic selectivity of the system” which usually favors the “interests of political and economic elites” (Rotte and Rotte 2007, p. 309). On the other hand, the Senate of Berlin, when introducing the comprehensive system, gave school heads more autonomy to choose their educators, delegated responsibility directly to the institutions themselves, and therefore will make them accountable for educational performances (OECD 2011, p. 212). At the same time, as part of the reforms package, the Senate will keep a check on the system by receiving clear guidelines from schools on “their educational work in a comprehensive school programme” (Ohliger and Raiser 2006, p. 26). Autonomy and accountability also allows for flexibility in Berlin schools to adapt the curriculum depending on the social areas in order to assist the process of integrating youth within the education system. In Bavaria this is not the case.

Bavaria, according to Rothe and Rothe, has the full support of government officials and the majority of the populace (Rotte and Rotte 2007, p. 309). The resistance for change has also been shown to be strong in the French centralized education system due to mistrust and fear on the part of the students that the principles of equality would be corrupted (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 34). Whereby in Bavaria, it is the teachers who resist the idea of autonomy preferring to be accountable to the Bavarian State ministry rather than the direct authority of school heads. An interview with Bavarian teachers, by Rothe and Rothe, has given insight into how the system works.

Bavarian teachers interviewed about their views of autonomy revealed that granted *the rhetoric* by officials that schools are free and flexible - teachers don't have the freedom to adjust and adapt the curriculum that is provided by the state to benefit students in their care, according to Errs et al. The teachers also revealed, to the authors, that they are under more pressure with the many assessments and standardized tests since PISA. To the extent that they are losing curricular time during the academic year due the restructuring of the three track system and removal of the extra year for Gymnasium studies (Erss et al., 2016, p. 593-597). The teachers also complained about the lack of funding by the Bavarian State for the additional support needed for students and that the reforms were purely of a cosmetic nature.

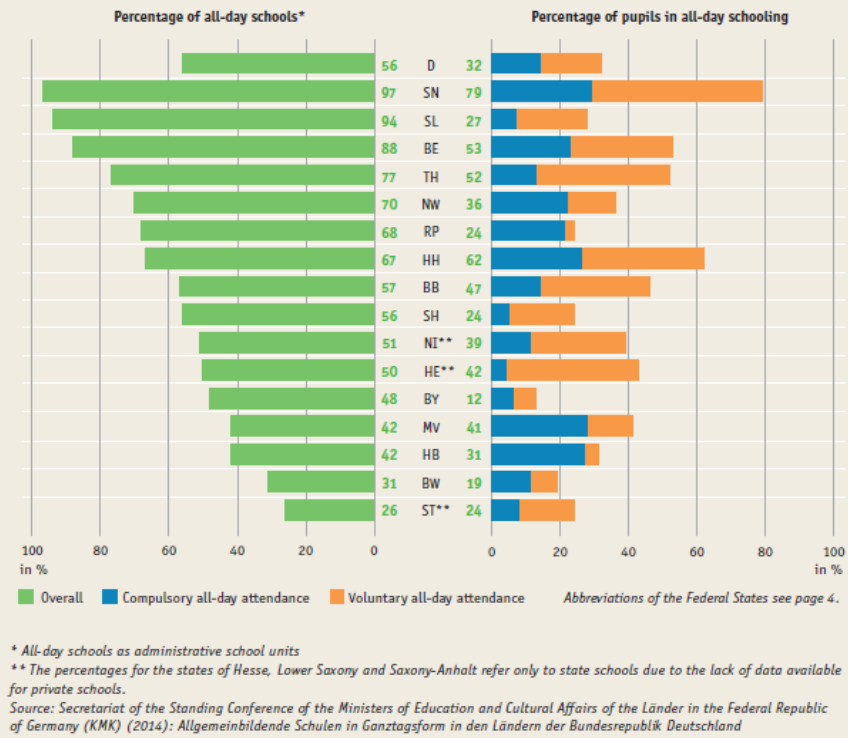
Surprisingly, even though the Bavarian teachers exposed their concerns about certain aspects of reforms that are hindering the educational process, they do not feel that it is their responsibility for student achievements, but rather that is the responsibility of the students themselves. Headmasters only follow ministry policies and have limited

power over school staff (Erss et al., p. 593-601). However, it appears as though new future teachers are being primed for modern times and updated ways of teaching.

It is believed that the hiring of more younger teachers is contributing to the improvement and quality of teaching in the classroom which is noticeable with Germany's improving ratings on the PISA scale (OECD 2011, p. 212). Teachers of immigrant background are increasingly being hired (Bendel 2014, p.13) to promote and increase diversity within the schools. Reforms also include future teacher-trainers being educated about the "different developmental stages" of students, according to Sliwka. In particular, teachers are being taught to develop "pedagogies and teaching strategies to productively deal with diverse student abilities, interests and needs" and not focus primarily on different track systems and where students fit in (Sliwka 2010, p. 212).

As part of the reforms package, all day schools have been introduced from 8:30am to 4:30pm with the objective idea that *integration through education* will develop as a result as students will be spending more time together. Curiously, some of these all day schools are on a voluntary attendance basis. As can be observed on the graph below, Bavaria (BY) has been very restrictive in introducing all day schools at 44% compared to Berlin (BE) introducing 88% all day schools. The same trend can be observed regarding compulsory and/or voluntary attendance.

Figure 8: Percentages of all-day schools\* at primary and lower secondary level and of pupils in all-day schooling by state in 2012\*\*



“Percentages of All Day Schools and Percentages of Pupils in All Day Schooling”

\***Source:** “German Ministry of Education. *Education in Germany 2014*” (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p.13).

As part of the reforms for the Federal Republic of Germany, in the 2005/06 academic year school inspections in both Bavaria and Berlin were introduced. The inspections span over five years to permit time for the assessment of as many schools as possible. Inspections last for three to four days with a mixed team of participants from teachers, to parents, to principals and governors. Their responsibility is to interview the

school community, collect data and observe classrooms. Each Bavarian school receives both oral feedback as well as a detailed report of inspection observations, and each school is expected to follow through with the suggestions provided by inspectors, but it is up to the school to deal with results in an appropriate way through targeted reform agreements (Dedering and Müller 2011, p. 310).

The Berlin Education Act specifies how inspections are to be conducted and disseminated. Comprehensive inspections are conducted in general educational and vocational state schools subsequently detailing accounts of strengths and weaknesses. This information is shared with each individual school, but differing from Bavarian inspections, inspector reports do not offer recommendations. The inspections, according to the report, are for sole purpose of ensuring that the quality of institutions, their educational programmes, and teaching competencies are being fulfilled (see table below). The objectives for inspectors is to observe and assess school life in general which includes observation of administrators' and head teachers, their role in school leadership and its advancement. Inspectors also evaluate the language support given in schools that have more than 40% students of a migrant background. Deficiencies within the institutions are expected to be acted upon according to the advice and feedback from inspectors with follow-up inspections (School Inspection in Berlin Second Round 2013p. 3-7).

Land (Federal State)	Designation	Institution in charge	Composition of team of inspectors	Interval of lesson observations	Inspection report (recommended actions)
Baden-Württemberg	Fremdevaluation (i.e., external evaluation)	State institute	2 to 3 people (qualified teachers, outside person)	20 min	Includes recommendations
Bavaria	External evaluation	Agency for quality	4 people (qualified teachers, school principals, school governors, parents, finance representatives)	45 min	Includes recommendations
Berlin	School inspection	Autonomous department within the Ministry of Education	4 people (full-time official school board governors, teachers, part-time principals, parents, finance representatives)	20 min	Does not list any recommendations
Brandenburg	School visitation	Autonomous working group within the Ministry of Education	2 to 4 people (full-time official school board governors, teachers, part-time principals)	20 min	Does not list any recommendations
Bremen	External evaluation	Institute for School Development	2 people (teachers, principals, school governors with extended experience from other federal states)	20 and 45 min	Includes ministerial recommendations
Hamburg	School inspection	Department of the Institute for Educational Monitoring	3 people (former teachers, experts in education)	20 min	Does not list any recommendations
Hesse	School inspection	Institute for Quality Development	2 to 4 people (principals, school governors, parents, psychologists, scientists)	20 min	Does not list any recommendations
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	External evaluation	Department in the Federal Institute	At least 3 people (former teachers, subject supervisors)	45 min	Does not list any recommendations
Lower Saxony	School inspection	School inspection as an autonomous body of school governors	2 to 5 people (principals, school government officers, educational psychologists)	20 min	Does not list any recommendations

*“School inspections in the German federal states—Overview of selected aspects”*

\*Source: (Dedering and Müller 2001. p. 304).

## Results of Berlin Inspections

The latest Berlin inspection report reveals that in the past five years 700 Berlin schools have been inspected out of which 30,000 lessons were observed and received a rating of “A” (being the highest score) for organization and learning environment. The majority of schools received a “D” (lowest) for pupil oriented teaching. The results in the report following Berlin inspections are defined as such: (1) School approval of outside evaluations is accepted as a part of the new educational system and is also seen as an “outstanding Achievement” despite some criticism from staff. School satisfaction in general is high which complements the school environment. (2) Professionals are required to take action when crucial for the betterment of the schools inspected. (3) The environment at school is healthy and free of anxiety which is contributing to positive



learning – but teachers are more class centered rather than providing individualized assignments.

Although the inspectors claim that the schools they visited are constructive and conducive to a learning environment, they reveal that teacher development is needed in integrating “more pupil oriented teaching and learning processes which promote self-dependence [and encouragement which they claim] is a tough and lengthy process which requires support and “progress control” from outside the schools” (Boekhoff 2013, p. 3-9). Researchers and European governments have looked up to the Finnish model of success, and discover that comprehensive teacher training was *a* key point. The “Finnish recipe” of comprehensive training of teachers (old and new) and the overall integrative pedagogical approach in regards to school autonomy, and social integration (Dobbins and Martens 2012, p. 34) is something that should be promoted and encouraged.

A 2014 report reveals that 48% of teaching staff in German schools are around 50 years old (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 12). This may be the reason for low marks concerning student oriented teaching, but does it have to be that way?

The table below from the Inspection report gives an overview of lesson observations and ratings in Berlin.

## “Overview of Lesson Observation Ratings in Berlin Schools”

Table 1: Overview of lesson observation ratings from “+ +” to “- -” and the comparative average rating of all Berlin schools

Lesson conditions	++	+	-	--	n	++	+	-	--	Rating	AR	AR Berlin	Comparative Rating
2.2.1 Use of teaching and learning time	27	2	1		30	90,0%	6,7%	3,3%		A	3,87	3,53	b
2.2.2 Learning and working conditions	26	3	1		30	86,7%	10,0%	3,3%		A	3,83	3,65	b
2.2.3 Lesson structure and transparency of objectives	22	7	1		30	73,3%	23,3%	3,3%		A	3,70	3,33	b
2.2.4 Cooperation among the teaching staff	3	3		2	8	37,5%	37,5%		25,0%	B	2,88	3,31	b
2.2.5 Behaviour in the lesson	29	1			30	96,7%	3,3%			A	3,97	3,65	a
2.2.6 Educational climate in the lesson	28	1	1		30	93,3%	3,3%	3,3%		A	3,90	3,52	a
2.2.7 Willingness to perform and to work hard	17	9	4		30	56,7%	30,0%	13,3%		A	3,43	3,13	b
<b>Teaching process</b>													
2.2.8 Promoting self-confidence and self-assessment	4	21	5		30	13,3%	70,0%	16,7%		B	2,97	2,82	b
2.2.9 Subject-specific, interdisciplinary and subject-connective learning	9	19	2		30	30,0%	63,3%	6,7%		B	3,23	3,16	b
2.2.10 Method and media choice	18	7	5		30	60,0%	23,3%	16,7%		A	3,43	3,09	b
2.2.11 Language and communication support	6	9	12	3	30	20,0%	30,0%	40,0%	10,0%	C	2,60	2,66	c
2.2.12 In-class differentiation	6	5	7	12	30	20,0%	16,7%	23,3%	40,0%	D	2,17	1,96	b
2.2.13 Independent learning	3	6	6	15	30	10,0%	20,0%	20,0%	50,0%	D	1,90	2,00	c
2.2.14 Cooperative learning	9	3	6	12	30	30,0%	10,0%	20,0%	40,0%	C	2,30	2,21	b
2.2.15 Problem-centred learning	3	4	10	13	30	10,0%	13,3%	33,3%	43,3%	D	1,90	2,13	c

Source: "School Inspection in Berlin Second Round 2013 p. 9"

What is curious, but may change in the future, is that inspection reports aren't ranked or compared like PISA results are. Inspections are only published on a voluntary basis by individual schools in both Bavaria and Berlin, and schools are not required to comment on inspection results. Schools are allowed to decide, if they choose to report, and they also can decide on the scope of information they release to the public. This system is organized very differently from inspection systems such as in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and other countries where, according to Dederling and Müller reports are the crucial educational strategies for improving school systems through transparency.

The United Kingdom and the Netherlands share and publish results to assist schools in becoming more accountable when it is called for, and schools are either openly praised and awarded or sanctioned. Depending on the state of the report, in the mentioned

countries, certain measures that are taken can go as far as school closures if necessary (Dedering and Müller 2011, p. 306-307). The authors do believe that “a degree of pressure is also observable in Germany where schools with good inspection results publish these findings openly on the internet and thus force the less successful schools into action” (Dedering and Müller 2011, p. 318) to keep them out of the spotlight. The authors add that the objective of giving schools in Germany the option of openly exposing inspection findings or not, and the inspection team not applying consequences to negative results, is to work with the schools in a constructive manner. This is to avoid having schools try to improve their image by giving misinformation in order to obtain a desirable outcome and good standing.

### **Education in Germany 2014 Results**

The educational reforms that were introduced in 2006 also included the participation of Scientific and academic researchers. These leading members of research have been monitoring the educational reforms and report their finding every two years. The scientists and academics use “indicator-based” reporting which can be compared and updated with each new report that is published on a two-year interval. The *Education in Germany* reports provide the Ministry of Education with clear data concerning the development of the intended educational reforms. The data provided, according to Hasselhorn et al, is not for the purpose of developing recommendations but rather to assist giving a presentation of where action is needed within the system.

The latest report “*Education in Germany 2014*” reveals that the one third of children under six have a migrant background and that number is increasing. Educational

reform policies have been taking shape in early childhood education as well as in the introduction of all-day schools. In some States there is a continuing increase in the number of children of immigrant background with percentages of minority groups reaching over 40% and this is being revealed in the “trends towards segregation in child day-care facilities”(Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 6). According to the authors, official statistics revealed that in 2012 children in Germany between the ages of 0 to 19 with a migrant background were at 28.2% compared to only 18.1% natives born.

The report reveals that there has been a substantial increase in the number of youth entering higher education and, while at the same time vocational training and general education are showing the least movement, and to add to this, there is a further decrease in training places compared to previous years (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 9, 23). This trend shows that more disadvantaged native and immigrant parents are aspiring for their children to get a higher education – the *Gymnasium*.

The purpose for extensive reforms within the education system was to increase the number of school leavers, mainly from poor families, with secondary certificates and it seems to be paying off. Statistics reveal that in 2006 there were 46.2% and a steady increase to 53.6% by 2012 of tenth grade (*Realschule*) youth with qualifications. Even though this is promising, there are still gaps between students due to socio-economic background entering the *Gymnasium* and these gaps are also present with regards to transitioning to university (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 10-11). According to the Hasselhorn et al., students mainly of immigrant background seeking to further their qualifications through training, totaling at more than 250,000 in 2013, ended up in transitional facilities.

The transitional system is supposed to assist in preparing students for the change from education to training.

Student numbers have increased in *Realschule* but those with *Hauptschule* qualifications cancelling vocational training contracts are in the majority compared to students who have higher education. This may be due to the fact that many are ending up in the transitional system due to lack of places. Youth unemployment is still a challenge although the number of companies taking on trainees has increased, but these companies are mainly in Eastern Germany (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 17).

There has been a rise in the number of educational institutions due to increased demand for early childhood and higher education and the focus is now on the quality of educational processes which the report describes as five policy-making challenges in which four of them are relevant to this study and are summarized below (Hasselhorn et al 2014, p. 23-24).

1. The overall quality of early childhood education in regards to educational staff ratio, timing schedules, and structures.
2. The design of all-day schools needs a clear organized pedagogical vision and mandatory standards for all regions with all-day schools especially as parents' expectations are rising
3. Organizational action needs to be taken regarding transition from general schooling to vocational schooling. One quarter of a million school leavers end up in the transitional system.
4. Due to more students preferring higher education, a new policy needs to be put in place to cover both the vocational training and higher education due to the high competition between the two.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

The purpose of this research was to explore and compare the objectives of educational reforms in regards to the integration of youth of a migrant background using educational theory, scholarly research and data as a basis for association. Theoretical research has revealed, as is common knowledge, that education and employment are essential in a competing world for all societies. Equally, education and employment are important preconditions for the integration of minority groups within a host society. This does not mean that integration will happen, or come naturally, but these preconditions make the process of integration a possibility.

### **7.a: Were intended objective met for restructuring the education system in Bavaria and Berlin?**

This study has used an abundance of information regarding the purposes for educational systems, reform policies and how these policies assist in the integration process of minority youth within the education system. Analysis of educational reforms internationally while assessing reforms taken up in the State of Bavaria and the State of Berlin post-PISA 2000 has provided a broader understanding of the intended objectives when amendments to educational policies are made. Research has revealed how policy changes may either hinder or support minority youth integration within the education

system. The reason for choosing to look at the State of Berlin and the State of Bavaria, is that they both took radical but different steps in reforming their education system. This being after extensive research revealed that minority youth were failing in the highly selective three-track educational system.

Of course it is well known that Bavaria has a very good economy to be able to provide for its subjects, but the objectives of its reforms are quite questionable, since the intended goals were to improve opportunities for minority youth by integrating them into the education system. Bavaria, as research has shown, has kept its three-track system intact and made it more *rigorous* during the transitional period by introducing students at an even younger age to both elementary school and into the highly selective secondary school tracks. Berlin on the other hand restructured its whole school system by introducing the ISS system to accommodate to the needs of its socio-economically disadvantaged students which include mainly minority youth.

On a structural and State level it can be said that the intended objectives of the restructuring of the education systems in both Berlin and Bavaria were met, otherwise reforms wouldn't have taken place. Firstly, it may be stated that the media outcry was being responded to with action, albeit very different action within each State. Secondly, it was a system that wasn't working anymore and as many have acknowledged was outdated claiming that reforms were long overdue. As history has shown, while Bavaria responded to the call for reforms right away, the State stuck to tradition with the three-track system still intact.

Were the intended objectives of reforming the school structures in Bavaria and Berlin met? Bavaria's objectives, based on the research conducted, seem to be that the

State dislikes interference in its policies on a national and international level, and took an even tougher stance on providing educational reforms to its people. Berlin, with its more intense and pragmatic approach in reforming the educational system has to a certain extent removed the structures of a three-track system in order to offer better opportunities to its minority youth through the ISS system. Attempting to follow the example of the Scandinavian countries (Finland, Sweden, and Norway) that realized long ago that the selective system was not a fair way to provide educational opportunities for all youth, Berlin introduced many similar policies and is going through the process of change where objectives may take much longer to achieve and produce results.

#### **7.b: To What Extent Have Policies Improved the Integration of Minority Youth in the Education System?**

What can be understood, and as this study has suggested and revealed, is that minority youth have a better chance at success regardless of socioeconomic background in comprehensive school systems. Especially when students are not separated into different groups of the “performers and non-performers.” It can also be indicated that once these labels and groupings are established and put into motion it not only affects how students may feel about themselves but also creates perceptions that may not be factual or of benefit to youth success within the education system or in a greater society.

After all, education in earlier times was introduced as an important part of the socialization process; something that a comprehensive school system may offer. Education policies have changed with evolution and become more stringent reforming from the nature of socialization to organized education. What is meant by organized education? It is the manner in which the separation and categorization of groups, mostly



in selective systems, is made into – “performers and non-performers”, and the “haves and have nots” even if it is under the banner of abilities in the Maths, Sciences and Reading.

The study has also shown that decentralized systems allow for better performance because schools with autonomy can adapt and change with the times; whereas State controlled systems make schools highly dependent upon them. To this extent, Berlin has turned over certain controls and given more responsibility to schools to conduct and deliver education to students of diverse backgrounds, whereas Bavaria still controls the school systems. The policy of autonomy in Berlin schools was specifically introduced with the aim of integrating youth of migrant background into the education system seeking to obtain successful outcomes which would lead to better opportunities later on in life. Objectives that cannot be said to have been met through Bavaria’s reforms in regards to minority youth, according to the research presented. One can conclude that both Bavaria and Berlin’s responses were to a certain extent due to OECD pressure and early media attention post-PISA 2000, with Berlin taking into account minority youth.

Germany as a whole performed below average in PISA 2000, but further internal assessments revealed that Bavaria produced the highest scores of all, while Berlin failed its students according to the OECD. While the OECD claims that it is promoting policies for the well-being of citizens and national economies, one has to question whether promoting uniform international standardized tests is really aiding in the well-being and development of youth by creating stressful environments for all involved. Where, the focus geared more towards achieving high scores through the drilling of specific subject matters in order to compare rankings with other countries rather than to promote and encourage the development of diverse minds and provide opportunities with an

understanding that life, abilities, communities and youth need support in working together for the betterment of all. Finland is a case in point.

One positive aspect of taking part in the PISA 2000 was that it opened debate about the education system in Germany as well as in other countries. It can be acknowledged that the reassessment of the whole education system, its set-up and the many opportunities lost in regards to integration, *firstly*, of immigrants in general and, *secondly*, of youth of migrant backgrounds was long overdue and only occurred because of PISA 2000. The outcomes opened the debate about how teachers were trained and guided to evaluate student performances and how schools operated leading to much scrutiny and internal examination of the unfairness of the whole system. Without this scrutiny, the many years of lost opportunities for many youth, lost opportunities which have been recognized *and to some extent* been rectified, may take some time to provide positive results.

On the other hand, by opening this door, Germany as other OECD countries, it seems, have become a tool “*for the OECD*” to guide students in one direction, creating desired outcomes which are promoted through modern schooling of uniform standardized tests and assessments in Maths, Reading and Sciences. With this, the OECD may be further sidelining other students whose abilities and interests are equally as important in creating and contributing to the motions of the vast and diverse world we live in, and not as is claimed to be promoting well-being.

Germany’s PISA rankings have increased and become better with each assessment, but it is not clear, due to policies, how and who are the beneficiaries of these results, since research suggests that there is still a gap between native born youth and

youth of migrant background regarding educational outcomes. Countries, such as France, Finland, and Germany are becoming critical of the PISA system because, as Bank (2012) rightly pointed out in his criticism of the OECD, there will always be winners and losers within the ranks. To add to that, it seems as though the same can be said about youth within most participating countries – with socio-economically disadvantaged and minority youth among the losers.

In much of the research analyzed for this comparative study, Finland has proven to be the most praised and successful with its education policies towards youth integration within the education system. Finnish success is happening regardless of PISA assessments, because the country's focus is on the well-being of children from a very early age regardless of family background; the quality of education as a whole; and not on the pressures of conformity, competition, rankings and economic progress. With this attitude, Finland is raising a healthy society that will be beneficial not only for its economy, but for the country as a whole. It is known that if students are happy within their environment, their educational experience can also be positive and meaningful. Berlin is attempting through its reforms to complement “the Finnish recipe” with the new policies set in place, putting much emphasis on minority youth, something Bavaria has ignored through its “cosmetic reforms” as teachers and researchers have claimed.

One has to question whether Bavaria aims with its tightening of its system through educational reforms was taking the well-being of minority youth integration into consideration, because what research has revealed, the Bavarian reforms have just put further pressure on the system as a whole starting from elementary education upwards into the secondary system. By “further tightening” the selective track system, it seems as

though the strict education policies are only further separating and creating a gap between certain youth groups within societies; which ultimately ends up intentionally guiding socio-economically disadvantaged youth and youth of a migrant background in a desired direction.

Studies on the German education system have claimed that the gap remains between native born and youth of migrant background despite reforms in both Bavaria and Berlin, even though there is evidence that parents of minority youth aspire and apply for their children to gain a *Gymnasium* diploma for entry into university. Research in both Bavaria and Berlin have also revealed that families are given the opportunity to select educational pathways and schools for their children, *but* the weight of teacher recommendation still takes priority.

Berlin has allowed for parents to apply to schools of their choice outside heavily populated districts, but it is up to the schools through a process of evaluation to either accept or deny applications. Therefore, students, mainly youth of immigrant background and socioeconomically disadvantaged youth are still being placed in the lower track system or geared towards vocational training or apprenticeships despite a large number attempting to join the *Gymnasium*. So it could be said that to a certain extent objectives have not been met and there are still hurdles in the way for minority youth.

In Berlin there have been some improvements by introducing the comprehensive system, but many minority youths who aren't making it in *Gymnasium*, or getting places in vocational training or apprenticeships, are ending up in "transition" classes in large numbers recent research has revealed. One wonders if the transition classes are the new *Hauptschule* of the past, and another way for governments and educational institutions to

cope with not being able to provide the stated outcomes due to the high demand– school leaving certificates in order to enter the job market. A job market that may not be able to accommodate all.

Results from the *Education in Germany* report 2014 show that *Hauptschule* students receiving vocational training contracts are cancelling them, revealing that most of the companies offering training are in the East of the country. The State Reports of Berlin & Bayern (Baethge et al. 2015) state that school leavers without certificates *will not* be able to enter the job market, which further makes one understand how measures are put in place to make these efforts all the more difficult by creating, as theorists have suggested, a “credential curtains.”

Secondary schools in many countries including Germany have introduced a second diploma called the International Baccalaureate to the *Gymnasium* certificate which is being promoted as *the* best gateway to most universities worldwide. Is this one way for institutions to claim that opportunities are available and out there for everyone to take advantage of, only to make these opportunities more difficult to achieve -especially for the socioeconomically disadvantaged which include minority youth who are a majority?

The extent to which reforms have integrated disadvantaged and minority youth within the education system seem to be limited and complicated for many reasons. The educational process may need a holistic approach such as is the case in Finland. The reforms introduced in Berlin were supposed to rectify this by providing autonomy to schools to be flexible and adapt to support youth who need more attention, and it must be pointed out that progress is being made to a certain extent. Many teachers from the south

of Germany are heading north to Berlin to work because of the reforms. Reforms in Bavaria, as teachers have attested – have changed nothing within the system, but only caused more overall anxiety and stress.

Five years on according to the latest school inspections teachers are still following the old traditions of teacher oriented methods rather than adopting student oriented methods which for the most part create interest and curiosity in learning from students. This has been associated with older teachers who have not known any other way of teaching, and may take time to rectify as new teachers are being taught to be more student oriented rather than just teach the material that needs to be covered. Teacher oriented learning is something that Finland, the United States and Canada have moved away from long ago. Of course change may happen in the coming years with further teacher professional training.

It is apparent and recognized that other factors have played a role in the lack of integration within the education system even among minority groups (students). As research has suggested, Russian and Polish students score higher than Turkish youth who show the lowest achievements of all minority groups. Turks being the largest minority group in the country. Research has revealed that the reason for this is that Russian and Polish minority groups as “ethnic Germans” were given full rights and assisted in all aspects of integration within the country as well as the integration of their youth into the education system.

The assistance of “ethnic Germans” may have facilitated the integration process of other Polish and Russian migrants/citizens into the larger communities by already having a foundation to rely on. Laying those foundations was something that America

thought about early on when the nation's priority was to create a unified national character and promote allegiance to the State. The same cannot be said about Turkish communities in Germany, being the largest group, who created and lived in parallel societies for decades, stuck to their language, traditions and culture and only until the late 1990 were granted rights as German citizens.

It cannot be overemphasized how education and language facilitate and are an important part of integrating minority groups within a host society. Esser (2006) has pointed out that ethnic groups who create their own communities and use their own language will have a more difficult time exposing themselves to the native language when there is already a great difference between the two languages. Taking this into consideration, Berlin and Bavaria attempted to integrate minority youth into the education system but it was only to a certain extent and with an intended outcome since mainly the "Turkish" minority were not regarded or accepted as a part of the "whole" with unfortunate consequences in regards to lack of educated and integrated minority youth.

Keeping this in mind, it may take a much longer time, even a next generation, to integrate these youths within the education system, because it would seem that the integration of groups who have been rejected for decades and who have created their own parallel societies cannot be reversed through educational structural reforms only. Berlin has taken this on board by promoting integration programs within the immigrant neighborhoods.

Another issue must be taken into consideration. Is it even possible to reform schools and integrate through education when classrooms are occupied with a majority of

youth of migrant background in heavily populated immigrant neighborhoods? Berlin is attempting to tackle this and has opened a pathway in the hope of reaping educational success by giving parents and students opportunities to apply at schools of their choice outside of heavily populated migrant districts. Bavaria has also given parents the ability to choose educational pathways, but it is revealed that the last word, in both States, is ultimately in the hands of school administrators.

Both Berlin and Bavaria have adopted policies of integration through education. Bavaria has provided through the ministry of education, guidelines for teachers to assist in this endeavor, while Berlin has expanded on this and has provided assistance within minority neighborhoods encouraging integration not only in the classroom but also in the neighborhood communities (Sayej 2015). Promoting and accepting diversity is key to this success and the results may be small and invisible, but in the long term with effort and support, change may be seen both in the classrooms and in the neighborhoods.

To conclude: As theory has revealed and research has confirmed, there is little chance for minority youth to access the labour market without a proper education, credentials or diplomas/certificates which seem to be more complicated and difficult to obtain. Introducing the comprehensive educational system has to a certain extent provided a possibility and opportunity for success. But, by putting pressure on the education system as a whole will not solve any problems without taking a holistic approach towards youth education – once again taking Finland as a preferred example. If the intent is to give all youth a chance at success within the education system, one must keep in mind that social and cognitive abilities, interests and needs are not uniform and



each student develops as an individual at different stages, some much faster and others much slower.

As this paper has revealed, integration through education of minority youth is a very complicated affair due to many deliberate and/or unforeseen circumstances and consequences. Many factors come into play when looking at objectives and whether these are met in regards to minority youth, because while some may be met, others may not. Reforming educational systems can be contentious where many complicated issues regarding the structures of the institutions, teachers' roles, the winners and losers within the system come to the surface. What can be said is that minority youth, with the proper support, have a better chance at success in certain systems but not in others and that Berlin has recognized this by administering all round reforms to address these deficiencies. Although intensive reforms have been put in place to assist in the integration of minority youth within the education system, schools still remain highly populated with minority youth in Berlin, as do kindergartens. The latest education report has raised concerns about kindergartens remaining segregated institutions where the lack of professional staff is leading to a teacher/student ratio that cannot create the ideal environment for learning or success later on. But an important observation that can be made, is that action is being taken and it may take time for real results to come to fruition.

When education becomes a competition for success and is not transparent, it is most likely that those with economic means are going to be the winners in this competition. It seems as though Bavaria's goals were met at the State level by sticking to the principles of "performance and ability," and ignoring the promotion of a more modern globalized educational system. It can be said, as research has suggested, that

nothing has really changed with the Bavarian education system which is still under State control, and as research has suggested, caters to the well-off; where minority youth are still performing lower than natives, with a majority only receiving the Hauptschule certificate. Funding to support teachers and students is minimal ultimately reducing the chances of success of a higher education.

The system changes in Bavaria have increased pressure on all parties with outcomes of greater inequality between minority youth (socioeconomically disadvantaged) and native students. Although officially Bavarian claims were that the reforms provide more time for students to spend in middle school, the selectivity at an early age and separation of strong and weak performers is still mapping out future pathways for very young children.

But what is further complicating educational success routes not only in Germany but also in many countries worldwide, is the promotion, the quest, and the competition ignited by organizations and institutions for higher education which is making it more difficult for disadvantaged and minority youth to get ahead. The “credential curtain,” as mentioned in this study is providing a way to justify a perfect defense against those who may criticize the system by acting as if the opportunities are there for those who seek them. This can be seen as a form of marginalization and can lead to many youth feeling left behind and excluded. Exclusion which in turn could lead to undesired consequences as Kagia has pointed out in her report on the consequences or even dangers of having many youth with low or no education and no future prospects (Kagia 2005).

To answer the question of whether objectives have been met with the restructuring of the three-track system in integrating youth with an immigrant

background, it can be answered in both the positive and negative form. While Bavaria's objectives seem to be that the State likes to conduct its affairs without outside interference even if it means that minority and disadvantage youth do not succeed in getting a higher education, Berlin's objectives can be seen as a positive attempt to take a comprehensive and inclusive approach by removing certain barriers to success. Although it has been five years since reforms have been introduced, it may take another five years or even longer to be able to see if the methods in integrating minority youth with the education system taken in Bavaria and Berlin were the right approaches.

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Mouna Keune received her Bachelor of Arts in Global Affairs from George Mason University in 2007. She has been working and volunteering in International and German schools in Morocco, Washington D.C., London and Malta. She was the Verdala International School (VIS) coordinating officer of a two year European Funded Comenius Project which facilitated and encouraged intercultural cooperation and interaction between students and teachers from several European schools. She was, for two years, VIS logistics coordinator and participant of the International School Theatre Association which develops creative learning through theatre, as well as logistics coordinator and participant for the Birkerød Gymnasium's Model United Nations (BIGMUN) where students are made aware of and debate international issues in a conference setting. She received her Master of Arts in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University and her Master of Science in Mediterranean Security from the University of Malta in 2016.