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The Unequal Structure of the German Education System: Structural Reasons for Educational Failures of Turkish Youth in Germany

Patricia Fernandez-Kelly

Princeton University, United States of America Fuat Güllüpınar, Anadolu University, Turkey

Abstract

The paper examines the educational experiences of Turkish youth in Germany with special references to the statistical data of Educational Report, PISA surveys. The results of the educational statistics of Germany show that more than group characteristics like social and cultural capital, structural and institutional factors (multi-track system with its selective mechanism, education policy, context of negative reception of Germany, institutional discrimination, and lack of intercultural curriculum) could have a decisive role in hampering the educational and labor market integration and social mobility of Turkish youth. This can be explained by a mix of factors: the education system which does not foster the educational progress of children from disadvantaged families; the high importance of school degrees for accessing to the vocational training system and the labor market; and direct and indirect institutional discrimination in educational area in Germany. Thus, this work suggests that the nature of the education system in Germany remains deeply “unequal,” “hierarchical” and “exclusive.” This study also demonstrates maintaining the marginalized position of Turkish children in Germany means that the country of origin or the immigrants’ background is still a barrier to having access to education and the labor market of Germany.

Keywords

Turkish Youth; Inequality of Education; Institutional Discrimination; Intercultural Education; Germany

Brief History of the Turkish Population in Germany

Germany signed an official agreement on labor migration with Turkey in 1961. The peak of the Turkish labor migration was between 1971 and 1973, years in which more than half a million Turkish workers came to Western Europe, 90% of them recruited by German industries (Özüekren & Van Kempen, 1997). In 1961, the *recruitment agreement for Labor* created a steady supply of Turkish male labor. In fact, Turkish labor rose to about 1 million of the 2.6 million foreign laborers living in Germany by 1973. Turks are the largest legally immigrant group in Germany. Now accounting for just under 3 percent of the general population, Turks constitute the largest immigrant group— 27 per cent of the Germany's 7.3

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million foreigners—and amount to roughly three-quarters of its 3.2–3.4 million Muslims (Laurence, 2007: 55).

Once ensconced in Germany, the Turkish population began to grow. Family unification was one growth factor because it led to a sizable influx of Turkish spouses and children. Another factor was high Turkish fertility rates. A third factor has been the practice of bringing in spouses from mainly rural Turkish areas due to the commonly held Turkish belief that Turkish women from local German communities are too westernized. Other emerging demographic factors concerned German authorities. For instance, in 2002, 17 percent of the Turkish-German population was born in Germany, 53 percent immigrated to Germany via family unification, and 30 percent came to Germany as immigrant workers (Goldberg et al., 2002: 15). Researchers also discovered that approximately 2.5 million Turks were living in predominantly Turkish communities in Germany representing by far the largest and most established foreign-born population in the country. These communities include first-, second-, and third-generation German residents of Turkish descent of whom an estimated 500,000 held a German passport (Verdigo and Mueller, 2009: 4–5).

German industries particularly needed low-skilled labor at the time, and most first-generation Turkish "guest workers" were recruited from the lowest socioeconomic strata and had very little education. In the rural areas, where most of them grew up, educational opportunities were generally limited to primary school. In general, first-generation men had only finished primary school, and most women had just a few years of schooling. Education in Turkey was not primarily geared toward conveying knowledge that would aid people in their peasant existence, or in breaking away from it. Its main aim was to transmit Turkish national ideology and to promote the cultural integration of the country. It is important to take into account internal differences relating to ethnicity, levels of education, and religiosity *within* the Turkish immigrant populations. Most Turkish migrants came from small villages in central Turkey or along the Black Sea coast; those from larger cities (such as İstanbul, İzmir, and Ankara) are a minority (Crul and Schneider, 2009: 2–3).

Because the old citizenship law did not provide for the automatic acquisition of German nationality upon birth in the territory, second and third generation Turks were not automatically granted citizenship. Even as the total foreign population grew to 9 per cent in the 1990s, successive Christian Democrat (CDU)-led governments affirmed that the federal republic was "not a country of immigration." Since 2000, however, German outlook and policy have changed; the reality of immigration and permanent settlement is now recognized and a new willingness, in principle, to extend citizenship has developed. However, the view that integration should precede naturalization the requirement that Turks and other Muslims should first integrate and demonstrate their "Germanness" before they may acquire that citizenship remains a formidable brake on the process (Laurence, 2007: 55).

Prior to an overhaul of naturalization law in 1999, relatively few guestworkers or their children qualified for German citizenship. The reforms allowed the children of foreign workers who had resided in Germany for at least eight years to hold dual citizenship in Germany and their parents' country of origin, but they must still relinquish one nationality by the age of eighteen. Despite these changes, the rate of citizenship remains low among the

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Turks in Germany, roughly 26%. There is a high correlation between poverty and religiosity among the Turks in Germany, and the poorer, more religious Turks are least likely to seek citizenship. The low citizenship rate means that Turks have relatively little influence in politics, whether at the national level or in local elections that influence issues such as educational policy (Ross, 2009: 689–690).

A new Alien Law was ratified in 1999, which is partially based on the principle of jus soli (the right to acquire citizenship according to the place of birth). Accordingly, foreing children born on German soil after 1 January 2000 automatically acquire, until the age of twenty-three, German citizenship as well as the citizenship of their parents. However, dual citizenship is only temporarily allowes. These younsters have to make their final decision between the ages of eightenn and twenty-three. At present almost every second foreign student in Germany holds a Turkish passport. The number of migrant children benefiting from this rule is about 35.000 to 40.000 each year. The problem of education of migrant children has remained a permanent item on the agenda of decision-making authorities in Europe since the recruitmet stop in 1974 and the increase in family reunions. Untill the beginning of the 1990s, Germany assumed that their migrant workers would return to their homeland, and thus the direction of the education of their children needed to facilitate their reinsertion into homeland. However, the guestworkers remained (Abadan-Unat, 2011: 112).

The Turkish immigrant group stands out by its high share of high school dropouts, the small share of bi-cultural marriages, and low female labor force participation (Riphahn et al., 2010: 1). As Beck-Gernsheim rightfully reminds us, the social stratification, school system, and discriminating evaluation of teachers are equally relevant in interpreting the achievement or failure of second and third generation youth (cited by, Abadan-Unat, 2011: 113).

Who is Responsible for the Education Failure of Turkish Youth

The high levels of unemployment, poor educational achievement and housing segregation are symptomatic of the marginalization of Turkish[1] immigrant in Germany. These cannot be explained simply by the argument that immigrants lack the necessary socio-cultural capital for educational achievement or having labor access. The high levels of downward mobility are, in part, the result of a specific type of discrimination against certain groups, characterized by racial, ethnic and religious markers in Germany. The paper will argue that German policy makers and some scholars have been unwilling to recognize the exclusionary practices and structures within German society that make it very difficult for immigrants to integrate. This paper claims that the perspectives which only focus on the characteristics of the individual and familial background of Turkish students neglect what goes on in schools,

[1]I use the general descriptor "Turkish" throughout the paper to indicate the immigrants and their offsprings connection to Turkey. If necessary, other ethnic and religious terms will be used as a marker of defining all different ethnic and religious groups in Turkey such as Kurdish, Alevi, Sunni etc. Also, this study is well aware of not treating the ethnicity as a homogenous and closed entity rather it underlines that the identity formation of children of immigrants has multiple resources in so far as local, national and global values are all together affective in this process. In addition, identity is a process of ascription both by the self and other. Thus, there would be no one-time connotation defined by one-time event about identity. We have to consider circumstantialist claims about the fluidity and dynamism of identity. That is why we don't need value-loaded identity definitions which are only based on ethnic or national features. We need to accentuate the affinities of seemingly incommensurable stages of 'host' and 'home' country cultures.

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streets, institutions and to what degree schools are responsible for the below-average performance of students with a migration background.

The children and grandchildren of Turkish immigrants find themselves in unfavorable positions throughout the different stages of school education, and their academic competences. The results of educational performances PISA studies have shown are worrying and clearly below average for Turkish children. This can be explained by a mix of factors: lacking social and cultural capital of the parental generation; an education system which does not foster the educational progress of children from disadvantaged families; the high importance of school degrees for access to the vocational training system and the labor market; and direct and indirect institutional discrimination in both educational areas and labor market; selective German education system; the low socio-economic status; and German language deficiencies of the average Turkish student. More importantly, the German education system fails to provide adequate language training for children who speak non-native mother languages and shows a strong tendency to reproduce social inequality. It is safe to argue that current school practices institutionally discriminate against children of non-German origin. Thus, the German education system has been criticized for not sufficiently implementing equal opportunity (Gomolla and Radtke, 2007) and intercultural learning guidelines in mainstream education, and for adhering to the “monolingual habitus” (Gogolin, 2009).

Two Different Approaches for the Educational Failure of Turkish Youth

In the migration and education literature, the reasons for these educational disparities are the subject of an extensive discussion. There are two major groups of explanatory approaches. While the first group points out characteristics of the migrant and their alleged “cultural distance” to the receiving society (Diefenbach, 2002; Worbs, 2003) the second group emphasizes the unequal conditions and individual and/or institutional discrimination in the German education system (Gomolla and Radtke, 2007). Former argument emphasizes usually low educational levels of the parents, information and integration deficits, the few resources (in terms of time and money) that can be invested in education, and return orientations that are believed to be detrimental to the children's school career (Diefenbach, 2002; Worbs, 2003). Moreover, the education failures are related to Turkish group's quite traditional Muslim background. Turkish immigrants are widely considered to be one of the “toughest” groups to integrate, so they constantly test the effectiveness of national policies aimed at the integration of newcomers (Crul and Schneider, 2009). However, in the latter argument, Gomolla and Radtke (2007: 278–85) claim that there are direct and indirect institutional discriminatory practices at work that maintain and reproduce social stratification, and systematically disadvantage children with migrant backgrounds. As Meier (2010) emphasizes, the fact that, in Germany, children are streamed in segregated school types from the fifth grade (from seventh grade in Berlin), aggravates the “social stratification,” since children are not given enough time to develop their language skills before they are streamed.

The difference in achievement between migrant and non-migrant children in German school system can partially be explained by the unfortunate socio-economical situation of

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immigrant families and consequently, their possession of relatively little cultural capital in comparison to that of parents born in the host country. Previous research attempting to explain more of the differences followed various hypotheses, which were so far primarily based on characteristics and attributes of the migrants themselves or of their living conditions (Gogolin, 2009: 94).

However, the superficial phenomena-nationality, religion and the features attached to it-could not ultimately be responsible for the differential distribution of educational success in the group of pupils. In her survey of the relevant studies, Heike Diefenbach concluded: "It has not been empirically verified that the disadvantages of children and youth from migrant families can be explained mainly by the fact that their cultural predispositions would not match the expectations of German schools or by the comparatively poor socio-economic situation of their families" (Diefenbach, 2007; cited by Gogolin, 2009: 94).

As can be seen from the Table 2, when compared with Germans, the Turkish family's income is often relatively low, and many families live in substandard and cramped housing in Germany. Past research has indicated that Turks are Germany's most poorly housed national group. Their position relative to Germans and foreign nationals remained unchanged over time with respect to their access to central heating and average level of crowding. Subjective valuations in-dicate that the gap between their level of satisfaction with their living space, the amount of rent they pay for their unit and the level of repair of their units has widened over time (Drever ve Clark, 2002: 2444–2445). Thus, Turkish immigrants still represent sharp socio-economic contrasts between migrants families and the native populations in Germany.

It is possible to claim that the educational disparities between the children of Turkish immigrants and German youth probably result from a combination of factors. A weighting of one of these single factors would be seriously wrong. It should be emphasized that educational disparities are the results of a combination of individual characteristics of the migrant family and institutional discrimination of the German education system. On the one hand, unfavorable conditions in the migrant families, on the other hand an educational system which largely fails in the attempt to offer pupils with different prerequisites the same opportunities for success. Individual (e.g. by single teachers) and institutional mechanisms of discrimination certainly play roles as well, although it seems difficult to prove individual and indirect discriminations.

Multiple Structural Reasons for Downward Mobility of Turkish Youth in Education

Selectivity of German Education System

In general, the education system in Germany is divided into the elementary level (kindergartens for children between *3* and *6* years), primary level (the *Grundschule* covering the first to the fourth year), secondary level and tertiary level in Germany.

The transition from primary school into one of the school types of the secondary level is regulated differently in various federal states. The secondary level basically comprises three

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school types or streams. German education system is based on the three tier education system of secondary schools. In Germany, enrollment in one of the tiers of secondary school (lower secondary school, Hauptschule, intermediate secondary school, Realschule, academic secondary school, Gymnasium) shapes access to apprenticeships. The more prestigious training positions and thus increased employment opportunities accrue to intermediate and academic secondary school graduates. Children attend elementary school until grade 4, (in the Federal States Berlin and Brandenburg regularly until grade 6), after which they are streamed into different types of secondary schools (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*) on the basis of their school achievements at elementary/primary school.'special-needs schools' (*Sonderschulen*) (grades 1–9) are established for pupils "whose development cannot be adequately assisted at mainstream schools on account of disability" (Miera, 2008). The German *Sonderschule*, the school for children with learning handicaps, serves mainly foreign children. If not enrolled in these highly unprivileged schools, most of the Turkish students will attend lower levels of the secondary school (Ünver, 2006: 26).

In German education system, *Hauptschule* is a type of school at lower secondary level providing a basic general education, focusing on practical subjects (grades 5–9/10). *Haup-tschule* is increasingly regarded as the 'school for the rest', namely socially disadvantaged children and migrant students. *Realschule* (grades 5– 10) is also a type of school at a lower secondary level providing pupils with a more extensive general education and the opportunity to go on to upper secondary level courses that lead to vocational or higher education entrance qualifications. Graduates from *Hauptschulen* and *Realschulen* (or *Gymnasium* after grade 10) may begin a vocational education and training within a dual system combining work and school, or attend various technical colleges for grades 11 and 12 (*Fachoberschulen*), which prepare students for *Fachhochschulen*, universities of applied sciences. *Gymnasium* covers both lower and upper secondary level (grades 5–13) and provides an in-depth general education aimed at gaining general higher education entrance. The *Länder* determine different core curricula for the respective school types. At present almost all *Länder* are reducing the required number of years of *Gymnasium* from nine years to eight, making the *Abitur*-level degree (graduation of years 11 to 13 courses preparing for University entrance) or *Allgemeine Hochschulreife* (university entrance qualification) possible after grade 12.

Although students may change school streams, these are in fact prevailingly only permeable in the downward direction (Miera, 2008: 2). Thus, secondary education in Germany is characterized by its three different tracks, i.e. school types, which lead to different certificates with a clear hierarchical order. Only the *Abitur* certificate, acquired at a grammar school (*Gymnasium*), provides entrance to university. The certificate of the lowest track (*Haup- tschule*), acquired after the ninth or tenth grade, has been greatly devalued over the last decades, putting young adults in an unfavorable position when applying either for vocational training or a qualified job. The intermediate type of secondary education, *Realschule*, takes up the position in between. The certificate gained at this type of school ensures better prospects for vocational training. Comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschule*), which exist in some *Länder* as a fourth type of school, integrate these three different tracks, facilitating movement between them.

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Besides, it should be mentioned that a powerful exclusionary force in discriminatory differentiation is the multi-track school system, which indirectly and negatively particularly affects immigrant students and children from a socially disadvantaged background. Institutional – or covert – discrimination results from routines, habits and established practices in internal school organization. Educators and administrations often inadvertently act in a discriminatory way, simply by following the organizational logic of the system. Streaming stu- dents appears to have a particularly negative effect on children from minority ethnic groups.

As can be easily recognized from the Table 5, the distribution across school tracks in the year 2000, 48.3 percent of Turkish pupils attended *Hauptschule* (versus 16.6 percent of those with a father born in Germany), 22.1 percent *Realschule* (versus 38.6 percent), 17.0 percent comprehensive school (versus 11.6 percent) and only 12.5 percent attended *Gymnasium* (versus 33.2 percent). Moreover, it is clear that students of Turkish origin showed the least favorable distribution compared to all immigrant groups.

As can be seen from the Table 3, Table, 4, Table 5, the education level of Turkish youth is so limited that their prospective future and possible career paths are directly affected by these negative educational outcomes. Poorer levels of education appear to be a general characteristic of the Turkish second generation in Germany, although figures do conceal some undoubted success stories. In Germany, Turkish youth are statistically much less likely to graduate from the higher educational streams than native Germans. This means that, in Germany, children of immigrants are already selected out to vocational education at a young age, with the result that they go to schools where the majority of pupils are of immigrant background. Though school certificates are an important indicator of a group's educational structure, more crucial for the position on the labor market are vocational qualifications. In this context it is striking that Turks commonly remain without formal vocational training in Germany.

The current state of affairs in education of Turkish migrants in Germany is more than alarming. According to PISA 2003 of OECD (Programme for International Student Assessment), the school performance among Turkish second generation migrant children is in comparison to native children alarming. For example, only 19% of foreign students are able to attend the *Gymnasium*; the Turkish rate there is even lower. The deteriorated situation of these children with a migration background seems to be a consequence of the German trajectory school system with a relative early ramification that has a stronger impact on the migrant families. (PISA, 2003) The attendance rate to *Hauptschule*, the school for preparation to vocational training, is dramatically higher than the German students' rate of attendance: 50 to 21%. Less than 10% of Turkish students can reach *Abitur* (certificate necessary for higher education admission). The rate among German students is approximately 26% (cited by Schierup, et al., 2006: 159).

The participation at vocational training rate among those with migration background is in addition lower than their German students of the same age (15 or 16): 68% of young Germans were 1999 in apprenticeship, whilst the young foreigners reached a rate of only 39% (ibid: 160). The majority of young Turks enrolled for vocational training lower

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qualification professions such as mechanics, hairdressers or retail clerks and will not have the opportunity of promotion after training. Moreover, Schönwälder (2006: 96) states that in 1983, of youths with a non-German passport, 34% left school without formal qualifications; in 1989 their share was down to 20%, but in 1991 it was still 21%, and in 1998, 19%. Only about 65% of the 15 to 19-year-old foreign citizens are still in school – compared to 92% of the German citizens (1999 figures); participation in professional training (*Lehre*) is much lower than for German citizens. While among the 18 to 24-year-old German citizens 71% attend schools, universities or professional training, only 25% of the foreign citizens do the same (1999). Figures for 2000s are almost unchanged.

Failures of Recommendation (Empfehlung) System: Too Early and Highly Selective

The decision on what type of secondary school is to be attended by a child is normally made at the age of nine or ten, based on the parents' wishes and recommendations given by the primary school teachers. As Miera (2009: 25) points out, the system of classifying students in the last year of primary education includes an individual assessment of the student by teachers who have not been properly trained for that task. Often teachers reify ethnic stereotypes or latently feel less responsible for their immigrant students. The student's future career depends on these recommendations although parents are not obliged to follow the recommendation. An unjustified referral to these schools for special education can be considered an indicator of indirect discrimination since the chances of achieving a higher school certificate are very low. The national report suggests that primary schools do discriminate against immigrant students in terms of their assessment and secondary school recommendation (Miera, 2009).

Söhn and Özcan (2006) argue that compared to the school systems in other countries, the German school system channels students into different tracks of secondary education at a very young age. This decision in a child's life strongly influences his or her future life chances and is hardly reversible at a later stage in a child's school career or in adulthood.

The special schools for learning disabilities, namely, *Sonderschule* are supposed to meet the students' particular needs. In contrast to the migrant children's special situation as second language learners, however, the teaching staff of these schools is rarely trained for teaching German as a second language. An unjustified referral to *Sonderschule* for special education can be considered an indicator of indirect discrimination since the chances of achieving a higher school certificate are very low.

Already during primary education, selection of students into different school types takes place to a certain extent. Children who cannot meet the requirements of a regular school are thought of as having "special needs" and can be transferred to special schools for pupils with learning disabilities. When migrant children are sent to these school types, it might often be the case that language problems become mixed up with cognitive deficiencies as perceived by the teachers.

It can be pointed that it is controversial and unclear how this recommedations come about and, more importantly, whether these decisions are justified in German education system. Accordingly, it can be argued that the children of Turkish migrant children are confronted

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with institutional discrimination both because of their ethnic background and their working class background, which cannot be easily separated. Even though, the recommendation of the teachers might be fair, the basic instruction given during primary education seems not to be enough. Because, it does not meet these students' needs and does not enable them to fully develop their potential.

The Question of Social Acceptance and the Foreign Pedagogy/Ausländerpedagogik

Germany was reluctant to respond to the presence of 'guest workers' and fitting minority ethnic communities like the Turkish Muslims into its Europeanized concept of nationhood. 'Integrating guest worker children' into the German school system while preparing them for a possible return to their country of origin, known as 'foreigner pedagogy' (Ausländerpedagogik), was the guiding principle of education in the 1960s and early 1970s (Faas, 2007) The "*Ausländerpedagogik*" established in this period focused on education problems, and school attainment, vocational training and transition to the labor market continue to be major topics (Worbs, 2003).

Until recently, German policies towards immigrants and cultural diversity was characterized by the reality-contradicting notion that Germany was not an immigration country and migrants would eventually return to their home countries. On the other hand, some social workers and pedagogues confronted with increasing numbers of migrants and their children developed a certain attitude towards this clientele that was characterized by good-will and at the same time patronizing and stereotyping. There are some explicitly segregating practices, such as the categorizing of immigrants or children of immigrants according to their citizenship or their non-German mother tongue and concentrating these students in extra classes or in remedial classes, a legal administrational practice in some federal states until the late 1990s. Transfer to regular schooling from these classes was difficult. The approach found in core curricula and textbooks is dominated by a division between native Germans and immigrants and their descendants.

Despite mass immigration, it was not until the 1980s that a concept of multicultural education was developed in response to the presence of 'guest worker children' and it was only in 1996 that the KMK (Ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs [The Kultusministerkonferenz]) published the guideline 'Intercultural Education at School' (Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule), stating that the federal states should 'overhaul and further develop their curricula and guidelines of all subjects with regard to an intercultural dimension; develop teaching materials which address intercultural aspects as an integral part of school and education; and only allow school textbooks that do not marginalize or discriminate against other cultures' (Faas 2007: 579).

Moreover, Germany has also recognized the need for teaching intercultural skills in schools. Following a surge of right-wing attacks on migrants in the 1990s, the German Conference of Education Ministers made recommendations, among others, to place an emphasis on intercultural education. This document required schools to play an active role in the: 'development of attitudes and behavior committed to the ethical principles of humanity, freedom and responsibility, as well as of solidarity, democracy and tolerance in all learners' (KMK 1996, cited by Meier, 2010: 428).

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The majority of schools in Germany continue to operate on a monolingual assumption, which Gogolin termed 'the monolingual habitus in multilingual schools'. This means that schools largely ignore the fact that many children in multilingual urban centers speak diverse languages at school entry, and non-German language backgrounds are effectively seen as a problem (Meier, 2010: 427).

However, it is clear that mainstream schools in Germany lack an intercultural approach to a certain extent. In linguistic terms, it can be said that many native-speaking German teachers feel that migrant languages have no place in regular schools, apart from being used as auxiliary languages to accelerate the children's learning of German. As Miera (2009: 22) points out in October 1996, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder* agreed on a resolution, regarded as the most elaborate agreement on intercultural education of its kind in Germany. Most of the *Länder* have now designed general integration concepts and started to revise their educational programs and curricula, but this new approach is far from being widely implemented. The issue of accommodating culture-specific needs is quite contentious and often intertwined with the ideologically hardened debate about the compatibility of 'Western values' and 'Islam'. Although several federal Ministries acknowledge the importance of supporting the first languages of immigrant children and despite immigrant parents' organizations demanding respect and support of their native languages in schools, only some pilot schemes and projects have been developed, mainly in primary schools. Instead, German language acquisition is increasingly perceived as a remedy of current educational difficulties.

As can be observed from above discussion, it is clear that the German education system fails to provide adequate language training for children who speak non-native mother languages and shows a strong tendency to reproduce social inequality. So, it is meaningful to explain the significant features of the second-language program. The options and practices of second-language education are many and varied, and there is still considerable debate about the best method for improving proficiency in official national languages. This has yielded a multitude of programs and methods, ranging from transitional bilingual programs to intensive instruction exclusively in the second language. No country appears to have clear-cut guidelines in place for the provision of second-language teaching (Crul and Vermeulen 2003: 980).

As a matter of fact, the educational system in Germany is ill-prepared for dealing with second language learners as "normal" students and a mainstream phenomenon. Training in teaching German as a second language is clearly insufficient. In the promotion of immigrant students' native tongue, educational policies vary across the regional states. For instance, the typically mother tongue instruction, namely Turkish lesson, ranges from 2 to 5 hours per week, usually given in the afternoon. With the exception of the regional state of Hessen, attendance is voluntary (and not always possible, if there are too few students of the respective language group). In some Länder, mother tongue instruction is organized and financed by the consulates of countries like Turkey; in others, German state authorities are responsible.

In Germany, some federal states opted for intensive second-language programs, while others provided instruction in migrant languages, creating separate classes for the children. Even into the 1990s, however, methods of learning German other than the traditional approaches were still rare. Overall, then, the second generation above age 15 who attended primary school in the 1980s or early 1990s did not profit from special language programs to any reasonable degree (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

Obviously bilingual/bicultural teachers play a key role in a bilingual/bicultural education, and their contributions are manifold in the classroom: first, they play an essential part facilitating the transition between the minority culture and the school culture; second, they are expected to function both as mediators between the different principles and patterns of the cultures, and as positive role models for all pupils (Moldenhawer, 1995: 79).

Ignorance of Cultural Differences: Lack of Intercultural Curriculum and the Prejudices of German Teachers

The common problem of all German schools for the children of Turkish immigrants is that educational curriculum is unable to provide them with cultural capital so that they could turn it to economic capital after graduation. Thus, this condition also creates a barrier for them to further career possibilities and social and economic mobility which causes German society to label the culture of immigrants and their children as a ‘backward culture’ and to consolidate the strong prejudices that define social, economic and educational problems in terms of this backward culture. This prejudice labels immigrant culture as backward and become a volum- nious hinderance to change an unsustainable educational system into a more democratic, equal and inclusive system for all individuals in Germany.

As some Turkish youth respondents declare, like all other social relations, the relations in schools are also racialized and stratified. All individuals are perceived and stigmatized as supposedly having at least one ethnical identity, as if they have to have an identity. In other words, the schools label the students as immigrants and other discriminative categories, even though they were born in Germany and already socialized in these German schools. Ironically, even the third generation Turkish youth is blamed for not being integrated into German society, yet they cannot be evaluated within the paradigm of integration because they are not immigrants.

Some scholars tend to explain the educational failure of Turkish pupils with their family tradition and Islam:

> “A salient distinction between the two second generations as a whole is that the Turkish seem more inclined to adhere to the norms and values of their own ethnic community (in areas such as religious practice, marriage, gender roles and traditional customs). Tightly knit social networks play an essential role in the Turkish community. Strong social control prevails, and the behavior of girls and young women is closely monitored. Both traditional gender thinking in the Turkish community and the practice of early marriage pose formidable barriers to the education of second-generation Turkish girls. A quarter of them leave school

without any secondary diploma, most to soon become full-time housewives" (Crul and Doomernik, 2003: 1062).

From this point of above view, the behavior of Turkish youth are evaluated in an ethnic and religious vacuum with its Islamist and Turkish character rather than contextualizing them within German society. Stigmatized as 'belonging to another world' or being a non-European 'foreigner' in Germany, the Turkish community has suffered from a lack of social acceptance. Even this lack of acceptance directly or indirectly influences their labor market opportunities and educational success.

When dealing with cultural difference among the Turkish and German pupils, German teachers have a marked tendency either to describe or understand the Turkish pupils in terms of cultural stereotypes or to ignore their cultural background entirely in the actual teaching. The cultural stereotypes are particularly noticeable in relation to gender roles and other rule sets with roots in Islam. These are often regarded as intrusive or plainly irritating and fundamentally irrational. Paradoxically, these teachers are in principle tolerant in their attitude to cultural difference, but they are still adamant in insisting, for instance, that all the parents must allow their children to participate in school journeys. They justify their irritation with reference to the well – being of the children and the cohesion of the class, but this is not the only problem they mention. From the school's point of view, the problem rather has to do with the teachers, feelings of impotence because there are no common regularities to refer to, nor do they have the time to give individual consideration to each immigrant family.

This means that the teachers can find it difficult to respect the immigrants' objections ('for example, by saying that "don't worry; we'll keep an eye on your daughters"). Furthermore, that they regard the cultural background as something which can be dealt with first and foremost by acquiring knowledge about the Muslim way of life, of relations between Turks, of living conditions in the homeland, etc., since such knowledge may help them to a better understanding of the pupils' behavior. However, there is a tendency for the teachers to ignore the cultural background in cases where they have to relate to Turkish pupils whose foreignness is not apparent in their appearance or behavior.

Conclusion

Because, the dual system of vocational training in Germany seems to be better suited for labor market integration, especially because apprenticeships are more practice oriented and do count as work experience for later application procedures (Crul and Schneider, 2009). The dual system and remedial programs ensure that most school-leavers (age group sixteen to nineteen) are in training and/or are employed, although unemployment increases in the age group twenty to twenty-four. Income poverty does not seem to be widespread among Turkish labor force participants in the sixteen to twenty-four year old age group. Nevertheless, as Faist (1994) emphasizes, the future prospects for inclusion of Turkish immigrants into mainstream society in Germany are uncertain. Moreover, adult Turkish workers are also much more likely to be among the long-term unemployed than adult

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German workers. It is conceivable that a sizable section of Turkish immigrants will become permanently marginalized in a changing labor market competition.

We cannot safely claim a considerable intergenerational progress between parents and their children for the Turkish community, although there is some progress of the third compared to the socond generation. On the other hand, obvious deficits in comparing to the structural position of German youth do remain, especially for Turkish youngsters and young adults. This can be explained by a mix of factors: lacking social and cultural capital of the parental generation; an education system which does not foster the educational progress of children from disadvantaged families; the high importance of school degrees for access to the vocational training system and the labor market; and direct and indirect institutional discrimination in both educational areas and labor market.

It is clear that the school abandonment, failure of educational process and deviant behavior that are part of this process consolidate the position of Turkish youth at the bottom of German society and reinforce racial/ethnic stereotypes among the native German population. Such stereotypes increase hostility and opposition to subsequent waves of labor migrants and reduce their chances for successful integration.

In Germany, children enter school late and are selected early and they have fewer contact hours and receive less supplementary support. Children should begin school earlier (kinder-garten education) and have more hours of face-to-face tuition, and also have the most supplementary help and support available inside and outside school. They shouldn't undergo educational selection until a fairly late age. Native German youth graduate more often from *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*, whereas the Turkish respondents perform poorest of all immigrant groups including ethnic Germans in Germany.

Generally, as Söhn and Özcan suggest (2006) the three-tiered system of secondary education itself seems to be a major cause of ethnic and social class segregation in schools. Reforming this hierarchical system would imply teaching all children together at comprehensive schools for a longer period than the usual four years of primary education. In addition, teachers should be better trained to adequately handle classes which are and will be culturally, linguistically and socially more heterogeneous than in the past. From these kinds of reforms, not only migrant children but all students with a disadvantaged background might benefit and German society would be able to profit from at present undisclosed talents and potential of these children.

Furthermore, it can be said that the German school system has clearly failed in compensating for the disadvantaged social background of Turkish children up to now. Because we cannot change socio-economic conditions of the children overnight, it is clear that the educational measures should concentrate on changing public institutions as well as school – parent relationship. Additionally, in order to overcome the racialization and institutional discrimination, the teachers should be trained with an intercultural formation which concentrates on the students with a migration background.

On the other hand, Kristen (2002) believes that it is not teachers who actively discriminate against Turkish and other migrant pupils. Rather, their lower achievement is, in her view,

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due to structural factors like ethnically segregated schools, which offer a poor learning environment, or family resources, e.g. parents' limited knowledge of the German school system as well as their low level of education.Turks in Germany disproportionately reside in more deprived areas where schools are more likely to have fewer resources, more disciplinary issues, and higher staff turnover. This echoes some of the notions in the downward mobility variant in the segmented assimilation theory. The residential areas in European cities are, however, not comparable in scale or in terms of their social problems with US ghettos, where the potential for "downward assimilation" is seen as greatest (Portes and Zhou, 1993). As a result, today the question for third or the next generation Turkish youth is not whether integration will take place, but to what extent and to what segment of German society will integrate them. In other words, for the children of Turkish immigrants, the question is no longer whether to stay or return but how to secure permanent spaces for their intercultural skills and identities.

Biography

Professor Patricia Fernandez-Kelly ....

Assistant Professor Dr. Fuat Güllüpınar received a PhD from the Department of Sociology of Middle East Technical University in 2010. Güllüpınar works as an Assistant Professor at Sociology department of Anadolu University. Güllüpınar is interested in sociology of migration, sociology of citizenship, social stratification and inequality. In his dissertation, Güllüpınar examines the recent transformations of integration policies and citizenship laws in Germany with a special focus on the experience of the children of Turkish immigrants in Goslar, a small town. By following civic stratification thesis, he argues that the conditions and restrictions differentiated by different migrant categories and rights regarding entry, family reunification, welfare benefits, and labor market access go along with a particular legal status of those admitted migrants have created hierarchy of stratified rights.

Patricia Fernández-Kelly holds a joint position in the Department of Sociology and the Office of Population Research at Princeton University. She conducted pioneer research on global economic integration and the study of export-processing zones on the U.S.-Mexico border. Her book, For We Are Sold: I and my People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier (1983), is regarded as one of the first global ethnographies. With Lorraine Gray, she produced "The Global Assembly Line," an Emmy-winning documentary focusing on the effects of globalization on women in Mexico, the United States, and the Philippines. Fernández-Kelly has conducted extensive research on immigration, race and ethnicity, gender and the labor market, and the informal economy. With Paul DiMaggio, she is the co-editor of Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States (2010). Her latest book, edited with Alejandro Portes, Immigration and Health: Understanding the Connections, will be published in 2012. She is currently completing a book entitled, The Hero's Fight: African Americans in West Baltimore and the Shadow of the State.

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Table 1

Housing Quality for Households with German and Foreign-origin Household Heads in West Germany, 1985 and 1998

GERMAN			FOREIGN ORIGIN			
			ALL FOREIGN ORIGIN		JUST TURKISH	
	1985	1998	1985	1998	1985	1998
No bathroom (%)	2	1	15	2	21	2
No Central Heating	17	5	34	16	42	22
Crowding Index*	1.16	1.29	0.86	0.95	0.77	0.89
Percentage feeling Crowded	13	16	31	33	31	39
No renovations necessary (%)	64	68	52	50	49	42
Feeling rent high (%)	19	20	33	32	36	41
Rent as percentage of income	24	29	19	27	17	26

*These calculations were made using the 'Cologne recommendation' scale. A value of 1 indicates that a group's average adjusted level of space per person is exactly adequate. A value of 1.16 indicates, for example, that dwelling space is on average 16 per cent greater than it needs to be. *Source:* **GSOEP, Drever ve Clark, 2002: 2445.**

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Table 2

The German Education System

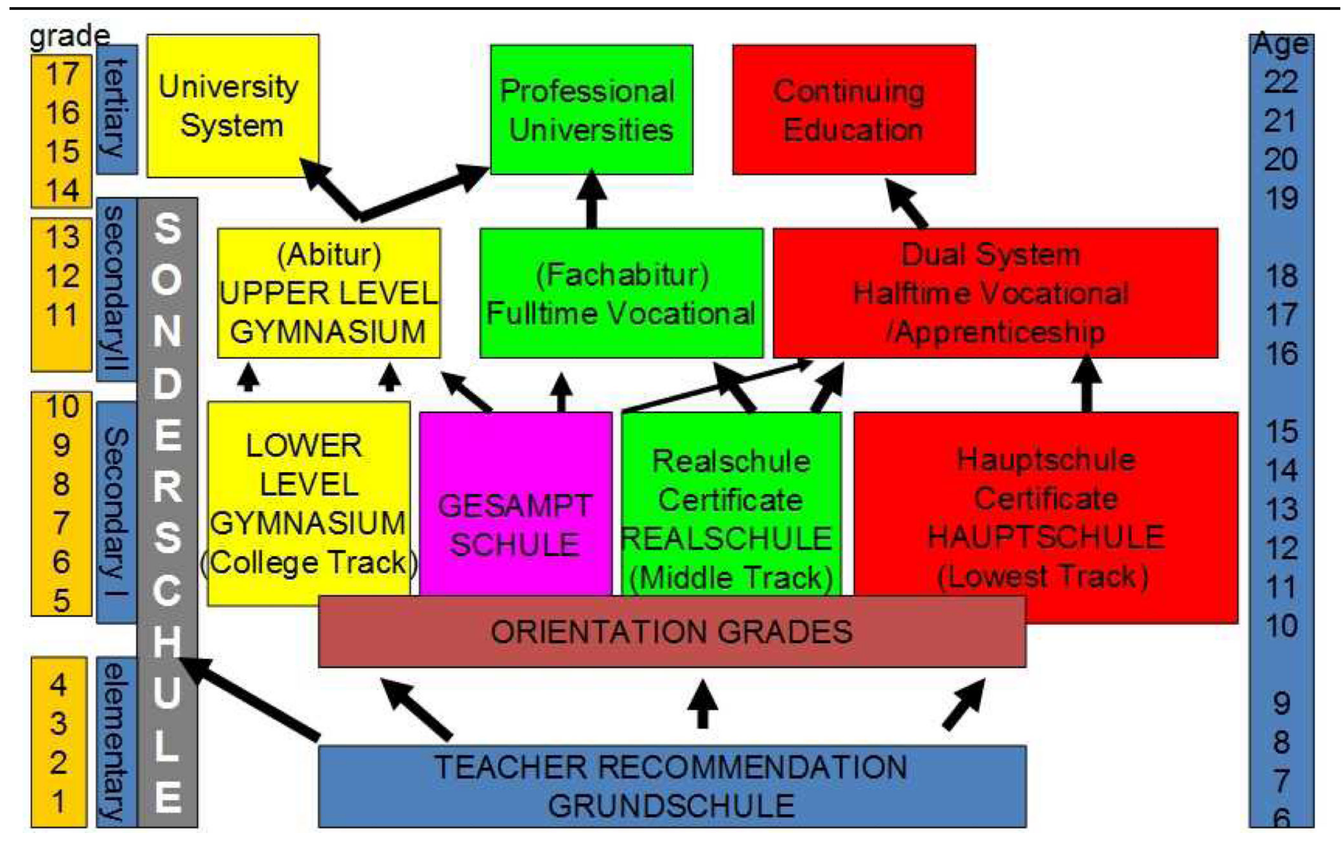

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Table 3

General Picture of Education (2008) Comparing Germans with Migrants

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

Source: Educational Report 2008

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Table 4

School Types of Migrants in Germany

Scholl Type	Proportion of Migrants	School with a Proportion of Migrants of		
		a)<25%	b)25-50%	C)>50%
	In % of all students	In % of the attended schools		
Hauptschule	35.8	43.6	28.2	28.2
Realschule	21.6	73.9	21.7	4.4
Integrated Comprehensive school	26.2	69.2	23.1	7.7
Gymnasium	16.2	70.2	27.1	2.1
Total	22.2	64.7	23.4	12

a)+b)+c)=100%, Source: Educational Report, Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006: 152.

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Table 5

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

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

Source: Educational Report, Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006: 152.