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The Integration of Adolescents of Immigrant Origin into the German Education System

Investigating Everyday Racism and Xenophobia:
A case study of an integrated public secondary school
in Germany

Foreword

This book provides a rich ethnographic account of the experiences of immigrant-origin adolescents at an integrated public comprehensive school in Oldenburg, Germany, as they encounter everyday racism and xenophobia within the German education system.

This case study is particularly relevant in the Post-Cold War Germany since the rise of competitive racism erupted in xenophobic violence in the early 1990's and has reared its head again in recent years. The researcher made two salient discoveries: the first is that insufficient studies have been conducted on the integration of immigrant origin youth in Germany; and the second is the reluctance on the part of German scholars to name racism. Instead, scholars have incorporated 'softer' terms such as 'culture' and 'racial discrimination' to describe racism and xenophobia.

These findings are all the more telling given that this particular school was selected for the case study on the basis of its reputation as 'model' school for the integration of minority groups, even adopting an explicitly anti-racist motto. Despite the fact that the learners were attending a 'model' school for integration, the minimal presence of minority group members attending the school was indicative of a selective enrolment process at the school. A crucial finding was that the staff body (with few exceptions) believed that they were engaging in a non-racist strategy when adopting a colour blind perspective to immigrant-origin learners and that this approach would facilitate the integration of learners into the school environment. By contrast, this case study indicates that this approach is integral to assimilationism, not integration, and thus the very notion of the 'model school is shown to be problematic. The self-reflexive nature of research employed by the author allows for a thorough critique of concepts that are otherwise ignored or are not accounted for by less critical researchers. The author seeks to critique intergroup dynamics by taking account the ever-present power relations that operate within the educational setting, ranging from relatively benign paternalism, to enabling racial discrimination against foreigners, and ultimately to xenophobic violence.

This is a timely study that will have resonance well beyond the setting of the study.

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Abstract

This case study is an ethnographic account of the experiences of immigrant-origin adolescents of an integrated public comprehensive school. Field work was conducted from March – April 2007 in Oldenburg, Germany. The aim was to investigate the experiences of everyday racism and xenophobia; and in doing so, give voice to the experiences of marginalized groups within the German education system.

The investigation took the form of an exploratory study which involved a micro level of analysis of the experiences of individuals of immigrant origin in the German education system. Qualitative research methods have been employed on account of its naturalistic, holistic and inductive approach to the research process. In-depth interviews were conducted with a primary sample consisting of six 14–17 year old adolescent males with immigrant backgrounds in grades 8 and 10. The secondary sample included three adults of immigrant origin who worked in the field of education and had attended German schools; four teachers and one social worker who worked at the school; and the ex-principal of a high school in South Africa who was connected to the German school via an intercultural exchange program.

This particular school was selected for the case study as it had a reputation for being a 'model' school for the integration of minority groups which had adopted an explicitly anti-racist motto. The immigrant-origin learners interviewed generally did not express marked concerns with racism and xenophobia as barriers to integration at the school. This finding was contrary to my expectation. Despite the fact that they are attending a 'model' school for integration, the minimal presence of minority group members attending the school indicates that the school is selective in its enrolment process. The learners (and some educators) interviewed drew attention to the fact that the situation at neighbouring schools was very different because those schools had a far greater immigrant population. The issue of greatest concern was that the staff body (leaving room for a few exceptions) had adopted an assimilationist approach. They approached immigrant-origin learners from a colour blind perspective, as they considered it to be a non-racist strategy that would facilitate the integration of learners into the school environment. This dissertation has exposed problems with the notion of the 'model school' which, while being dedicated to inclusivity, has engaged in an assimilationist model which favours minimal engagement with the Other in the school, as

reflected in the meagre immigrant origin presence within the general school population.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

Abitur	entry qualification for higher education; also referred to as matric exemption in South Africa
Ausländer	foreigner
Berufsschule	vocational school
Gastarbeiter	guest workers/migrant workers-
Gesamtschule	comprehensive/integrated school
Grundschule	primary education which lasts for four years
Gymnasium	grammar school that combines lower and upper secondary levels of secondary school
Hauptschule	lower level secondary school programme
Länder	German states
Realschule	intermediate level of general secondary school
Aussiedler	German citizens who had migrated (mainly to Russia) and who returned to Germany. The term refers mostly to Germans who lived in Russia from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and returned in the 1990s
Schule	school

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1   Introduction

1.1   Contextualising the research project

I became interested in researching adolescents of immigrant status in Germany after stumbling across an article on Germany authored by Mark Terkessidis[1] in which he discussed the hybridity of Turkish youths who were resisting the dominant culture. In this article the largely normalised depiction of young Turkish males as deviant and criminal was problematised. Terkessidis also highlighted the position of young Turkish females, vacillating between the invisibility they experience as a consequence of the perception that they are repressed by their faith and the hypervisibility of being exoticised by Westerners. Interestingly, many of them now defy the dominant culture by wearing their headscarves with pride whereas the previous generation of Turkish women generally did not wear traditional headscarves that covered all of their hair[2]. Bhabha[3] refers to the position of hybrids as occupying 'the third space', the space occupied in between two cultures. The stickiness of hybrid identity and the struggle of the individual oscillating between two cultures is a familiar experience for me, since I am a Muslim hybrid born to a father of immigrant origin and a mother of mixed parentage.

In 2007, the Oldenburg Centre for South-North-Cooperation in Education (CSN) intercultural exchange program linked to the the Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa Centre of the University of Cape Town offered me a scholarship to conduct my masters thesis research at the University of Oldenburg in Germany. I took this opportunity to broaden my academic horizons as well as the scope of my thesis. Being an outsider who researched Germans catapulted academic growth into unexpected directions. The experience forced me to become hyper reflexive and intensely aware of my surroundings, how I presented myself and how I was viewed by Germans.

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1   Mark Terkessidis, "Global Culture in Germany or: How Repressed Women and Criminals Rescue Hybridity", in Communal/Plural, 2000, Vol. 8 (2).
2   Ibid., 231.
3   Homi Bhabha, The location of culture (London: Routledge, 1994).

This dissertation explores the experiences of adolescents of immigrant origin in an integrated public high school in Germany. The aim is to investigate the impact of racism and xenophobia on the sample studied in an educational setting.

The Federal Republic of Germany has a population of 82, 422, 299 inhabitants of which 91.5 % are German (citizens with a German passport), 2.4 % are Turkish and 6.1 % are labelled as "other" (mainly Greeks, Italians, Poles, Russians, Serbo-Croatians, and Spanish peoples).[4] Whilst Turks form the largest minority group in Germany, Russian-Germans who have returned to Germany after the war are also a significant minority that face the question of integration or assimilation. Regardless of whether they were born in Germany; or have arrived more recently to live, attend school and work there, these minorities are not considered to be German[5] and are most commonly referred to as *Ausländer,* foreigners, in the country where they reside permanently. Thus, people of immigrant origins occupy a contested space in German civic life; however permanent they may regard themselves to be, they are viewed as transient entities by many members of the dominant group, namely, Caucasian Germans. To the dominant group, individuals with immigrant backgrounds are invisible at some times and hyper-visible at other times. As invisible entities they are "othered", marginalised and ostracized by numerous members of the dominant group; as hyper-visible entities, they become targets of racism, xenophobia and, in extreme cases, even violence.[6]

Taking into account that the German economy is the fifth largest in the world,[7] it is no surprise that Germany is an attractive place for immigrants hoping to escape poverty and/or persecution in their countries of origin and to secure employment and/or asylum status in an affluent First World country. The children of these immigrants are the main concern of this thesis. The aim of this thesis is to find out whether the pupils of immigrant origin at a public high school in Oldenburg, Germany are being educated in an inclusive envi-

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4   *CIA World Factbook* online [2006 estimates].
5   Wolfgang Nitsch, *The City of Oldenburg and our Cooperation Programme*, Oldenburg: University of Oldenburg, 2001 (www.uni-oldenburg.de/download/The_City_of_Oldenburg_ Cooperation_Programme.pdf).
6   Philomena Essed, *Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996); Mark Terkessidis, "Global Culture in Germany or: How Repressed Women and Criminals Rescue Hybridity", in *Communal/Plural*, 2000, Vol. 8 (2).
7   *CIA World Factbook* online [2006 estimates].

ronment which appreciates and values diversity, or whether they contend with racism and xenophobia in the school environment.

1.1.1 Contextualising the City of Oldenburg

The site of this study is Oldenburg in Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), Germany, which has a population of 160.000 (in 2007).[8] Historically, the State of Oldenburg was the only region in Germany whose citizens voted with a majority in favour of the Nazi Party already in 1932, and got a Nazi government even before Hitler seized power in the *Reich* in 1933. However, in 1932, liberal and social democratic groups demonstrated in the city of Oldenburg against the Nazi Party and 700 teachers signed a declaration of protest against authoritarian practices of their new state government. [9] The city therefore has a patchy record in relation to its willingness to embrace notions of inclusiveness, or to endorse notions of racial exclusion and purity.

With regard to social inequalities and disadvantaged peoples, contemporary Oldenburg is characterized by a relatively high percentage (12 % to 14 %) of unemployed people, of whom 11 % are living on social welfare grants. Oldenburg has a relatively small percentage of foreign and immigrant inhabitants: 4 % to 5 % compared with 10 % in many other German cities of similar size. This can be explained by a lack of industrial jobs.[10] In terms of spatial distribution, Nitsch[11] maintains that people living in poverty, unemployed welfare recipients, the majority of the foreign immigrant families, and many students and youth in vocational training are concentrated in particular residential areas in Oldenburg – some of which have been described as "social problem areas" with a trend towards social isolation, invisibility, and a lack of infrastructure. Nitsch[12] suggests that the heterogeneous nature of the population of the aforementioned areas makes it difficult for the inhabitants to communicate and relate to each other. The students, elderly German couples,

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8   Wolfgang Nitsch, *The City of Oldenburg and our Cooperation Programme*,: Oldenburg, University of Oldenburg, 2001 (www.uni-oldenburg.de/download/The_City_of_Oldenburg_ Cooperation_Programme.pdf); Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oldenburg. Dr Nitsch and the Wikipedia online encyclopaedia have been utilized since they are the only English language resources I was able to find to reference the city of Oldenburg's demographics and history.

9   Wolfgang Nitsch, *The City of Oldenburg and our Cooperation Programme*, (Oldenburg: University of Oldenburg, 2001, 3.

10   Ibid.

11   Ibid., 4.

12   Ibid.

German re-migrants[13] from Russia and Asia, as well as immigrant families from Southern European countries and Turkey who speak little German are confronted with language barriers and have little common ground amongst themselves.[14] Of particular interest to this thesis is that the children of German re-migrants from Russia and Asia (who are culturally treated as "Russian") and of foreign immigrant and refugee families stick closely to their own peer-groups and do not speak adequate German. It is readily apparent that these children may face particular challenges within the educational environment, and pose challenges to the German education system.

1.2   Significance of the study

An exploration into the impact of everyday racism and xenophobia has become significant in Germany in the light of increasing violence[15] amongst immigrant origin learners and German educators. OL Schule[16], a public comprehensive school in Oldenburg, Germany was chosen as the site for my research because it is an integrated school which educates all learning levels in one building and includes pupils with disabilities. This school has a reputation as a 'model' school for integration of minority groups and its motto, *Gegen Rassismus,* is explicitly anti-racist. Thus OL Schule became the site of choice for a study despite the fact that it only had a meagre immigrant population, estimated[17] at less than one percent, enrolled at the school in contrast to its counterparts which had far greater numbers of pupils with immigrant backgrounds in attendance. An outsider's perspective of what is happening in

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13   Re-migrants in this case refer to Germans who migrated to Russia and then returned to Germany at a later stage.

14   Wolfgang Nitsch, The City of Oldenburg and our Cooperation Programme, (Oldenburg: University of Oldenburg, 2001), 4.

15   There has also been violence amongst immigrants and locals in severe cases which involved Neo-Nazi groups. A study of this nature is also particularly appropriate in the climate of fear in the aftermath of 9/11 which fuelled the West's racial discrimination and rampant Islamophobia. In addition, the headscarf controversies in France and Belgium as well as the backlash against the political cartoons produced in Denmark that depicted the prophet Muhammad are extreme examples which indicate the West's failure to integrate Muslims and "Others" that may resist complete assimilation into the racially charged contexts in which they find themselves. These incidents are indicative of a more broad-based European concern for the effects of the changing demographic of European cities.

16   OL Schule is a pseudonym for the name of the school where the bulk of the research was conducted.

17   I arrived at this percentage through interviews with the school social worker and other teachers as well as gathering as much documented records of immigrants as I could obtain.

the school becomes an opportunity to provide a platform for marginalised voices that otherwise may not have been heard.

1.3   Problem Statement

The purpose of this research project was to investigate if the participants have experienced Everyday Racism and Xenophobia and the extent to which it has impacted the integration of adolescents of immigrant origins – if at all – into the German context. This translates into an explorative study along the following dimensions: first the interplay between the socio-cultural and economic contexts of immigrants; second the realities faced by learners going through the German education system; and finally the impact of everyday racism and xenophobia on the integration of pupils of immigrant origin into the classroom and broader society.

The thesis is structured according to the following logic: Chapter Two constitutes a literature review of key areas concerned in this research project. These include: the paradigms of Everyday Racism and Xenophobia; Immigration and Citizenship; the German education system; Multicultural education in opposition to critical Multiculturalism; and finally looks at notions of an 'authentic' culture. Chapter Three outlines the research methodology. A brief interview profile of each participant is also included in Appendix B – ii. Chapter Four discusses the research findings and synthesizes analyses of the data collected. It includes a thematic analysis of the interviews conducted as well as the empirical observations made at the school. Chapter Five concludes the research project with final remarks regarding the research process and findings. Finally, Appendix C describes the personal learning and reflections of the researcher during the research process as well as at its conclusion.

2   Literature Review

2.1   "Race", Everyday Racism and Xenophobia

"Race" and Racism in Germany[18]

'Race' has been defined as "a human group that defines itself and/or is defined by other groups as different from other groups by virtue of innate and immutable physical characteristics."[19] However, it is more a matter of a difference in *degree* (whether it be of skin colour or other characteristics) and of *perception*, rather than of objective difference.[20] Modern conceptions of race must take into account the fact that the invention of race can not be divorced from political and economic conditions and paternalistic[21] interests.

Post-modern conceptions of 'race' view it as a *social construction*[22] that involves a combination of ingroup favouritism and outgroup exclusions and has been *naturalised*[23] by consensus. Essed asserts that 'race' is an ideological, and not just a social construction; because the notion of race has never existed outside a framework of group interest.[24] Omi and Winant assert that race is a *socio-historical concept* and argue that "[r]acial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded." [25] The historical construction of race is masked by viewing race as fixed, immutable, and rooted

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18   See Appendix A for a more detailed account of the history of "race" and racism in Europe.

19   Pierre L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism (New York: Wiley, 1967), 9.

20   Werner Sollors, "Ethnicity and Race" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

21   Essed (1996) describes this form of paternalistic racism as condescending sympathy: a position in which the dominant group views (other)racial-ethnic groups as childish, uncivilised, ignorant, impulsive, immature.

22   Michael Banton, "Race Relations" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

23   By this I mean that they have become 'normal', generally accepted.

24   Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).

25   Michael Omi and Howard Winant, Racial formation in the United States (London: Routledge: 1986), 60.

in "nature" whilst neglecting to take into account the role of politics and ideology in shaping race relations.[26]

The term 'racism'[27] emerged during the 1930s in association with Nazism.[28] Initially it was a positive term employed by fascists to describe the importance they ascribed to race; but it later transformed into a key concept used to express intellectual critiques of Fascism.[29] Currently, German social scientists view the use of the concept of 'race' as illegitimate since it has been (incorrectly) understood in biological terms.[30] Consequently, Germans avoid using the term so as not to lend credibility to the ideology of racial superiority. For Germans, the term *rassismus* is reminiscent of Nazi doctrines and practices that constitute their inescapable past, and which they maintain has no place in contemporary German society.[31] German scholars do not refer to the concept of 'racism' but instead to a more palatable synonym of 'racial prejudice'. In this context, the term 'racial prejudice' is defined as "a set of unjustifiable negative attitudes towards and ethnic group and its members." [32] These attitudes stigmatise other groups according to perceived difference which are taken to "denote distinctive cultural characteristics and to prevent successful integration into the ingroup." [33]

Notions of biological inferiority have shifted to notions of cultural difference and under development, which meant that racist discourse has attempted to move its base of legitimacy during the twentieth century.[34] Therefore, con-

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26 Ibid.

27 See Appendix A for a more detailed account of the Historical development of "race" and racism in Europe.

28 Werner Sollors, "Ethnicity and Race" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

29 Werner Sollors, "Ethnicity and Race" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

30 Jürgen Winkler, "Explaining individual racial prejudice in contemporary Germany" in Education and Racism, Eds. L. Hagendoorn and S. Nekuee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

31 Michael Banton, "Race Relations" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

32 Ibid., 94.

33 Ibid.

34 Martin Barker, The New Racism (London: Junction Books, 1981) cited in Wieviorka (2002); Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

temporary conservatives no longer emphasize 'natural' features of racialised groups, but instead point out culture, traditions, religion and language in addition to substituting 'ethnicity' for 'race'. Racism has evolved into the "*New Racism*" which focuses on the threat that difference poses to the identity of the dominant group.[35] New racism can also be viewed as the exchange between economics, migration, nationalism, as well as the history and transformation of a nation.[36] In addition to the salience of cultural difference, large scale immigration threatens the (perceived) national homogeneity which activates the anxiety of citizens. Consequently, Europeans refrain from references to race, colour or intellectual inferiority of minority groups, but instead emphasize their reliance on social welfare and the use of other state resources. Hence, cultural racism and differentialist racism are based on the notion of a "radical incompatibility of cultures to live together" in a shared space.[37]

Understanding racism as a social process and a structure[38]

Racism is a *process* that sustains unequal power relations and is "routinely created and reinforced through everyday practices."[39] Understanding racism as a social *process* implies that structures and ideologies of racism are reinforced and reproduced through attitudes (prejudice) and actions (discrimination). As a process, everyday racism is inextricably linked to competition for resources in which the dominant party can impose, coerce or procure people's compliance by its potential to withhold critical resources or rewards, or

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35 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Europe and its Others" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

36 Nahla Valji, Creating the nation: The rise of violent xenophobia in the New South Africa [Unpublished Masters Thesis] (York University: Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation, 2003).

37 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 462; See also: Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein,, Race, Nation, Class; Ambiguous Identities [Translation of E. Balibar by C. Turner] (London: Verso, 1991).

38 See Appendix A for a brief account of the Socio-economic dimensions of racism.

39 Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991), 2; Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

threat of punishment.[40] Power is thus exercised through the dominant group's ability to defeat or deflect resistance. Systemic domination is achieved by organizing the system in order to reproduce that dominance.[41] However, power is not the property of the individual; instead it belongs to the group that has the ability to hold onto it via group consensus. Thus group power only exists as long as the group remains cohesive.[42]

All members of the dominant group are structural beneficiaries of racism; whether or not they willingly accept this. However, it must not be assumed that all Whites are agents of racism and that all Others are only the victims.[43] The notion of everyday racism can be utilized as "a tool for understanding that racism is a process involving continuous, often unconscious, exercise of power predicated in taking for granted the privileging of whiteness."[44] Defining racism as a process highlights racism as a system of structural inequalities and as a historical process; which are both created and recreated through routine practices in the allocation of resources in sectors such as labour market, housing and education; whether their consequences are deliberate or unintentional. [45]

2.1.1   The notion of Everyday Racism

Racism is a *socially produced ideology* that operates in everyday life. Everyday life is concerned with the immediate environment of the person in which we are physically and socially located.[46] Indirect discrimination is defined as equal treatment with equal circumstances, but under unequal social conditions. [47] Racism frequently operates through seemingly non-racial practices and is thus difficult to pinpoint. Although everyday life is heterogeneous, it is

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40   Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
41   Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).
42   Ibid.
43   Ibid.
44   Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 204.
45   Kedar Dwivedi, "Introduction" in Meeting the needs of ethnic minority children, Eds. K. N. Dwivedi and V. P. Varna, (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1996); Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).
46   Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).
47   Kedar Dwivedi, "Introduction" in Meeting the needs of ethnic minority children, Eds. K. N. Dwivedi and V. P. Varna, (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1996); Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).

based on expectations and conditions for behaviour that are taken for granted.[48] Everyday racism is distinguished from racism (as we know it) as it only involves practices that are repetitive and systematic, socialized attitudes and behaviour because it is embedded in familiar practices. Everyday racism is transmitted in routine practices that seem 'normal', which means that racism often goes unrecognized, unacknowledged, and is often not problematized.[49] Consequently, the "integration of everyday racism into everyday practices become part of the expected, of the unquestionable, and of what is seen as normal by dominant groups."[50] Everyday racism includes experiences of inter-racial as well as intra-racial discrimination. Everyday racism does not involve extreme incidents of racial discrimination. Instead, it is characterised by mundane daily practices which are felt persistently and are often difficult to pinpoint. These seemingly small injustices are normalized and are consequently taken for granted.[51] The concept of everyday racism rejects the view that racism is either an individual problem or an institutional one.[52] When an individual engages in racial discrimination it can be dismissed as an individual view, thereby dislocating the agent of racism from his/her socio-political, economic and historical context (i.e. from the institutional context).

2.1.2   Xenophobic attitudes and practices in Germany

In a homogeneous system the local structure is closed and rigid in its boundaries. It is also culturally insular, making it difficult for newcomers to become members of the community; since being granted local status translates into breaching all boundaries.[53] Giorgi[54] argues that the nation state is not homogeneous, and it is thus a struggle to maintain boundaries that serve to exclude Others. In an attempt to fill the void found in their new environment, the xenophobic subjects retreat into ethnic identification, and regress into an imaginary space of their history that result in nationalistic sentiments. Conse-

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48   Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).
49   Ibid.
50   Ibid., 50.
51   Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
52   Ibid.
53   Liana Giorgi, "Constructing the xenophobic subject" in Innovation in Social Sciences Research, 1992, Vol. 5 (2).
54   Ibid.

quently the assertion of difference between the 'self' and 'stranger' emerges.[55]

The impact of subscribing to a hegemonic culture translates into immigrants being met with intolerance, fear and even fierce hostility because their presence ruptures what is perceived to be fixed, 'normal', and unchallenged in a given society. It is at this point that the citizen is confronted with the reality that culture is not static and that immigrants represent alternative lifestyles, perspectives, and sources of knowledge.

2.1.3   Defining Xenophobia

Hjerm[56] and Boehnke[57] have defined xenophobia[58] as a negative or hostile attitudinal orientation, or fear of individuals or groups, who are in some sense different (whether real or imagined) from oneself or the group(s) to which one belongs. This attitudinal rejection of foreigners or outsiders may be manifested in romantic notions of a people who are perceived as superior, and with whom one feels safe. Since violence is a display of power, violent acts against outsiders are an attempt to prove that you are the winner in order to expel them symbolically. Expelling them physically allows you to get rid of the threat in a tangible way. [59]

From a socio-economic perspective xenophobia has been partially recognized as …

> a late-twentieth century reflex of the threatened and the fearful who have been passed over by the economic revolutions of production and consumption. Their education, occupational training, and social orientations may reflect modernization deficits that leave them bewildered and hostile in an individuated culture that is postmodern/ postindustrial or rapidly on its way to becoming so. Or they may simply have

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55   Ibid.
56   Mikael Hjerm, "Do Numbers Really Count? Group Threat Theory Revisited" in Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies, 2007, Vol. 33 (8).
57   Klaus Boehnke, John Hagen, and Gerd Hefler, "On the development of Xenophobia in Germany: The adolescent years" in Journal of Social Issues , 1998, Vol. 54 (3).
58   In conversations with a colleague in the field of clinical psychology, Waseem Hawa alerted me to the fact that the term "xenophobia" is inaccurate since it pathologises those who display discriminatory attitudes and behaviour. He recommends the term "xeno-ism". Due to the limited scope of this dissertation, I am unable to interrogate or discuss the terminology any further.
59   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

existential fears that they – and not someone else – will fall victim to shortages in housing, jobs, and a future.[60]

2.1.4 Group threat theory

Modernization and capitalistic exchanges have increased heterogeneity in societies and have subsequently seen the intensification of levels of xenophobia and racism. This is due to the fact that members of dominant groups perceive Others as infringing on their socio-economic territory. Economic indicators such as increased or stagnant unemployment levels have resulted in *competition* amongst the less well off for scarce resources.[61] Therefore, large scale immigration jeopardises the (perceived) national homogeneity which activates the anxiety[62] of citizens who may feel that their culture or livelihood is threatened by Others, who are marked as non-European intruders.[63] Such perceptions of difference impede socioeconomic integration and create feelings of resentment and hostility between mainstream society and minority groups.[64] Blumer[65] identified group identity, out-group stereotyping, preferred group status and perceived threat as essential to prejudice. Group threat theory suggests that when one or more minority groups are perceived as threatening to the dominant group, this evokes anti-immigration attitudes in the latter. The (perceived) threat would be greater during periods of national strain such as an economic slump – which was the case in Germany.

2.1.5 Nationalism and Xenophobia in Germany

During the Weimar era, the Nazi party amalgamated the existing fear, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and *nationalistic* sentiments into an integrated fascist

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60   Ibid., 2.
61   Nahla Valji, Creating the nation: The rise of violent xenophobia in the New South Africa [Unpublished Masters Thesis] (York University: Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation, 2003).
62   Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 462.
63   Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).
64   Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1); Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
65   Herbert Blumer, "Race prejudice as a sense of group position" in Pacific Sociological Review, 1958, Vol. 1 (1), pp. 3-7 as cited in Boehnke et al (1998).

ideology that was later legitimized as the official ruling ideology of the Nazi government. For neo-Nazi groups, foreigners and Jews were ideological targets (*scapegoats)* for their frustrations with the strained German economy. By the early 1980s youth were generally more tolerant of foreigners than older German citizens. However, during post-unification, the hostility displayed towards foreigners by the less educated and under/un-employed youth became a serious problem. The "problem" with foreigners was almost exclusively associated with the economy, housing shortages and a lack of employment opportunities. Foreigners thus became targets for the socioeconomic anxieties experienced by German youth and others.[66] The apprehension of transitioning from a socialist society to a modern nation, coping with unexpected social costs, and perceived inequalities of distribution can cultivate resentment and the attribution of blame to out-groups.[67] This involves targeting outgroups and promoting ethnocentric fears, hypernationalism and ethnic/cultural rejectionism.

One such response is exaggerated nationalism. Since 1989, Europe has endured a turbulent political and economic landscape that has been accompanied by "aggressive nationalism" [68] and xenophobia.[69] De-stabilization produces mass insecurity which, combined with the structural crisis of European society and economy (which resulted in mass unemployment), has led the society to seek an explanation and a solution. "The racists and fascist begin to give those answers – however bizarre irrational and grotesque." [70]

'Nation' and 'alien' are relational terms that are inextricably linked in nationalist thought and practice. Manzo[71] maintains that without the racialised alien there can be no national kin. Soguk[72] highlights the exclusionary nature of the nation, in which the interaction between the state and migrant is a scripted performance that facilitates the reproduction of nationality to demonstrate

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66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
68 For a more detailed description of nationalism see Appendix A,
69 Glyn Ford, Fascist Europe. The Rise of Racism and Xenophobia (London: Pluto Press.1992), xxi.
70 Ibid.
71 Manzo (1996) as cited in Nahla Valji, Creating the nation: The rise of violent xenophobia in the New South Africa [Unpublished Masters Thesis] (York University: Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation, 2003).
72 Nezvat Soguk, "Transnational/Transborder Bodies" in Challenging Boundaries, ed.s M.J. Shapiro and H.R. Alker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996) as cited in Valji (2003).

authority over territory and to reinforce its internal cohesion. Anti-foreigner sentiments are incited and compounded by nationalism which attempts to displace competing identities in favour of a common loyalty and patriotism to the state.[73]

At the start of unification there was a distinct "uneasiness" which Watts[74] refers to as the "malaise" within German culture. Some implications included: long-term unemployment, structural adaptation in the German economy, the increasing gap between the more successful and the less advantaged (particularly between the educationally qualified and those on margins of society), and xenophobia was one manifestation. Around 1990, shortly after German unification, xenophobic attitudes reached "dangerous levels" and xenophobic acts of violence[75] escalated significantly in 1992. Violence against foreigners and their property was perpetrated by right-wing fundamentalists in 1992. Even though the violence later subsided and changed form, the underlying causes have not disappeared.[76] What is significant about these acts of violence is that they were associated with youth and some aspects of (international) youth culture; and that it was largely different from the fascism in the 1930s. The danger posed by the right has changed. Instead it contributes to the altered conditions of the post-war German youth. These new conditions include a consumption-oriented and materialistic youth culture, a need for increasingly higher qualifications for employment, as well as occupational security. Furthermore, the loss of a network of traditional institutions that could give meaning to their lives and serve as a buffer against social stress, also negatively affects these socially dislocated youths. Politicians may fuel this problem by suggesting that the removal or limitation of

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73   Nahla Valji, Creating the nation: The rise of violent xenophobia in the New South Africa [Unpublished Masters Thesis] (York University: Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation, 2003).

74   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997),2.

75   Jewish cemeteries and memorial sites were desecrated; foreigners were attacked in their homes, in public and at refugee hostels. In 1993, youths with no formal links to any neo-Nazi organization torched a house and killed five members of a Turkish guestworker family in Solingen. There were also reports of attacks against vulnerable targets such as disabled and homeless people as well as sexual minorities, all of whom are considered to be "socially weak" by Germans. See Watts (1997).

76   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

foreigners from gaining social access to German society will ameliorate the existing socio-economic tension.[77]

Otherness is implicated in heterogeneity and notions of difference. It is often perceived as a threat to the survival of a cultural identity, in this case, the notion of what it means to be German. Giorgi[78] illuminates the position of the Other within our external imaginary border as well as in a psychological space. In questioning whether difference can co-exist in the same space; we need to recognise that we are multi-dimensional beings. Since there is no stable or fixed notion of the "self" that enables us to clearly define the "other",[79] one questions what qualifies an individual as "authentically" German. Such an authenticity does not exist. Individual identity is socially *constructed* based on the notion that one has of oneself (*Selbstbild*) and the recognition of the notion by others *(Fremdbild)*.[80] In the dominant perspective, traits such as skin colour, the shape of the eyes, hair texture and so forth, transform Others into objects of disrespect and aggression. Being persecuted because of skin colour or ethnic origin becomes an experience that bonds people of a similar experience together, even if they were born far away from each other.[81]

Shapiro asserts that the threat posed by immigrants has less to do with economic factors than issues of identity. Although from a rationalistic standpoint immigrants are perceived as competitors for jobs, more significantly,

> they constitute a disturbance to the mythic stories with which states are alleged to contain single nations. They are perceived as threats by those who seek identity exclusivity in their nation-state attachment. Immigrants therefore challenge national stories and attracting war-

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77 Ibid.

78 Liana Giorgi, "Constructing the xenophobic subject" in Innovation in Social Sciences Research, 1992, Vol. 5 (2).

79 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Europe and its Others" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

80 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1), 98.

81 Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).

ranting attention for purposes of individual and collective identity formation.[82]

2.1.6 Notions of German-ness

Citizens who were deeply unsettled within a modern capitalist system in West Germany, and those disenchanted with the socialist East Germany, often vented their discontent against foreigners. "[B]oth Germanies tended towards the rightist projection of a mythical German-ness (that offered identification with a powerful in-group that was not specifically with the other, historically antagonistic German state)".[83] The resurgence of German-ness in the early 1990s was a complex phenomenon that had roots in the growing unease about foreigners during the 1980s.

> The assertion of an aggressive and mythical German-ness transcended the problem of the two [opposing German] states; its antithesis was not another Germany but that which was non-German; that is, the foreigner.[84]

Notions of authenticity[85] (who is "really" German) are pervasive and are based on ethnicity[86] as well as culture. Those without German ancestry are therefore not considered to be German.[87] Instead, they are treated as visitors and foreigners living in Germany despite being born, educated and raised there.

Notions of foreignness and strangeness have been captured by the German terms *Ausländerfeindlichkeit and Fremdenfeindlichkeit,* respectively.[88] The

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82 Michael J. Shapiro, Cinematic political thought: Narrating race, nation and gender (New York: NYU Press, 1999), 40.

83 Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), viii.

84 Ibid.

85 See Appendix A for a brief discussion on hybrid identities and notions of 'authentic' cultures.

86 Ayhan Kaya, Redefining Europe and Europeanness: A Comparative Study on German-Turks and French-Turks, Paper presented at the International Workshop on the Integration of Immigrants from Turkey in Austria, Germany and Holland, Istanbul (27-28 February 2004).

87 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1), 98.

88 Jürgen Winkler, "Explaining individual racial prejudice in contemporary Germany" in Education and Racism, Eds. L. Hagendoorn and S. Nekuee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

latter, more popular term is defined as hostility towards *particular* foreigners or strangers.[89] This concept implies an aggressive form of Xenophobia that surpasses phobia (irrational fear) of the foreign, to an active and potentially violent deep-seated animosity.[90] Banton[91] highlights the existence of expressions of hostility towards immigrant workers – particularly of Turkish origin – as well as antagonism towards immigrants of German ancestry (remigrants) that have returned to Germany several generations after their forbears settled in Russia. However, Watts[92] maintains that hostility in East Germany was selectively directed at certain national and ethnic groups. The social construction of the 'bad' foreigner was incited by prejudice and the perceived threat of the presence of foreigners, which resulted in targeting minorities and turning them into scapegoats for real or imagined conflict of interests with German citizens.[93]

2.1.7   *Youth,Identity and Violence*

Youths are arguably the most sensitive population groups for being impacted by social change. They "act out the anxieties of the older generations."[94] Waves of ethnocentricism and xenophobia are not, however, the invention of the youth; they have been linked to the broader political climate that were hostile towards cultural and ethnic heterogeneity, and facilitated the growth of a militant (sub)culture of street violence. [95] These youths "find identity and the illusion of strength in group solidarity and the protection of territory (whether that territory be defined spatially, culturally or ideologically)."[96]

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89   Michael Banton, "Race Relations" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002); Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
90   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Europe and its Others" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
91   Michael Banton, "Race Relations" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
92   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
93   Ibid.
94   Ibid, 21
95   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
96   Ibid,.28

2.1.8 The Skinhead movement[97]

The skinhead phenomenon originates from the British working class neighbourhoods that were not initially racist and even had multicultural dimensions in the 1970s. However, the alienated and hostile nature of the disgruntled working class transformed them into a movement that became increasingly violent and racist by the 1980s.[98] The skinhead style in Germany was aggressive, "projected a defensive and atavistic hypermasculinity, and by the 1980s had undergone a general transformation from multicultural to monocultural (white/Aryan) racial imagery. Potential losers in the process of modernization and economic transition in East and West Germany were mostly the youth, lacking in education and/or job opportunities. These circumstances facilitated the symbolic association between jobs and foreigners as a burden during the period of unification.

2.1.9 The case of the Islamic German-Turkish identity[99]

Islam is generally considered to be, and is represented as, a threat to the European way of life in the West.[100] Islam is the world's and Germany's second largest religion following Christianity. In contemporary Western society, political Islam is often depicted as the major external challenge to Western hegemony since it embodies an alternative *way of life*. The challenge of political Islam originates from cultural alienation, civilizational legacies, opposition to colonialism, frustration and anger regarding Western chauvinism and double standards.[101] Kaya argues that religious revival is a sympto-

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97   For a more detailed account of the skinhead movement see Appendix A.
98   Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
99   The case of Turkish-Germans is mentioned in light of the fact that they are the largest minority group in Germany. They are the other Other who face double exclusion because they are not only foreign, but they are also predominantly Muslim or of Islamic origin. Due to the limited scope of this dissertation I have acknowledge other nationalities, races and religions that have also suffered racial discrimination and xenophobic violence in Germany; however I have been unable to discuss them at great length.
100 Ayhan Kaya, Redefining Europe and Europeanness: A Comparative Study on German-Turks and French-Turks, Paper presented at the International Workshop on the Integration of Immigrants from Turkey in Austria, Germany and Holland, Istanbul (27-28 February 2004).
101 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Europe and its Others" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

matic of disenchantment caused by structural constraints such as marginalization, unemployment, racism, xenophobia, and sometimes assimilation.[102]

The German-Muslim middle class emerged from the guest worker programs implemented in the 1960s and 1970s.[103] Despite the fact that *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) were invited to Germany, little effort has been made to integrate them into German society.[104] Segregation and relative socioeconomic deprivation in Germany has resulted in the formation of a parallel traditional Turkish society.[105] Immigrant communities tend to create parallel societies[106] within their host societies in order to provide their communities with their own interest groups, religious organizations, cultural facilities, private schools, commercial associations and sports clubs that reflect those that exist in their host societies.

European institutions have produced a tertiary-educated generation of Muslim youth who are "intensely aware of the subordinate position they hold in comparison to members of the mainstream society." [107] Franz[108] argues that European governments have failed to integrate Muslim communities into mainstream society leaving them feeling "disenfranchised in a society that does not fully accept them, and so they turn to Islam as a badge of identity."[109] In this context, relative deprivation is defined as "the realization that one will remain a second-class citizen with clear limits to one's socioeconomic mobility".[110]

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102 Ayhan Kaya, Redefining Europe and Europeanness: A Comparative Study on German-Turks and French-Turks, Paper presented at the International Workshop on the Integration of Immigrants from Turkey in Austria, Germany and Holland, Istanbul (27-28 February 2004).

103 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).

104 Douglas Pratt and Barbara Göb, "Islam and Christian-Muslim relations in Germany" in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations in Germany, 2007, Vol. 18 (1).

105 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).

106 Immigrant communities that hold fast to their cultures, traditions, language and faith who choose to operate alongside, but not within, their host socieites, are known as 'parallel societies'.

107 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1), 98.

108 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).

109 Ibid., 91.

110 Ibid., 99.

Furthermore, radical Islamic movements recruit the youth because they recognize that European Muslims are poignantly aware of the gap between what they perceive to be their deserved place in the host society and the marginalized place that they occupy.[111] Franz also asserts that terrorist attacks such as those in London in 2005, the outrage sparked by the Danish cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad during 2006, and the riots in France in 2005, are indicative of Islamic alienation due to Europe's failed integration policies. The European media, right-wing parties and members of the xenophobic population as a whole, have branded Muslims as "backward, uneducated religious fanatics who marry their daughters off like other people sell cars."[112] As a result European Muslims endure feelings of alienation and resentment.

European nation-states have taken different approaches to their treatment of Muslim minorities: these include aggressive assimilation, policies that embody neglect resulting in ghettoization and marginalization. Therefore, questions of identity and socioeconomic deprivation have a profound impact on the dimensions of daily lives of Muslims in Europe. Social class, urban ethnic settlement patterns and ethnicity jointly contribute towards ethnic stratification of several German cities. The first generation of immigrants hid their religiosity because they wanted to integrate themselves into the host society. Turkish origin individuals remain largely alienated from German society and turn to Islam for identity-construction and self-validation. Embracing an Islamic identity has become popular as a result of decades of discrimination experienced by European Muslims in housing, education and job markets. German Muslims are being perceived as outsiders and are forming an underclass of disadvantaged urban youth with little hope for socioeconomic advancement or integration.[113]

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111 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).
112 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1), 98.
113 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).

2.2 Immigration and Citizenship

The impact of legal culture in Germany has manifested itself in the form of racism against minorities, particularly Turks, who have been excluded from civil rights but does not prevent them from undergoing the process of social integration nonetheless.[114] Marginalization, ostracism and aggression against ethnic groups are structural phenomena manifested in socioeconomic sectors like the labour market, housing and education. It is also implicated in culture domination that refers to one-sided images and exclusion through the media, literature and communication systems.

Racism targets immigrants and is inextricably linked to the exploitation of labour in Germany. Individual appearance or country of origin serve as 'justification' for the allocation of the worst jobs or minimal wages. Immigrants from the South who are admitted within the fortress of industrialised nations discover that the colour of their skin prevents them from being assimilated as full citizens.[115] A significant number of immigrants "can be picked out at a glance and marked as non-Europeans, as intruders."[116] European chauvinism was born out of the development gap that emerged from the difference in technological capacity between Europe and non-Western countries from the end of the eighteenth century. Eurocentrism developed when modernization became held as the equivalent of Westernization. The differences between developed and lesser developed or "backward" societies were amplified and also corresponded with binary notions of "tradition" versus "modernity", "Third World" and "First World", "North" and "South".[117]

114 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

115 Nahla Valji, Creating the nation: The rise of violent xenophobia in the New South Africa [Unpublished Masters Thesis] (York University: Centre for the study of violence and reconciliation, 2003).

116 Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 61.

117 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Europe and its Others" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

2.2.1 Immigration[118]

During the 1950s, Germany began recruiting "guest workers" from less developed countries who were *invited* to perform jobs for which Germans were not available (or inclined) to do.[119] West Germany became increasingly concerned with the growing amount of foreigners despite the fact that there has been no additional recruitment of guest workers since the mid-1970s. Even when guest workers were later joined by their families; Germany did not see the need to grant them citizenship.[120] Immigrant workers were naïvely expected to forever remain as foreigners.[121] Refugees were also attracted to the affluent and democratic countries in order to forge a better living for themselves and their families. At the same time the number of ethnic Germans from the East increased dramatically with the asylum provisions of the Basic Law[122] (Constitution). During German unification, this induced panic among those who felt economically and/or culturally threatened which resulted in what has been described as "the boat is full" mentality.[123] Foreigners were perceived as being instrumental in exacerbating the already strained German economy by depleting their resources and were viewed as competitors for the jobs and houses that Germans were already lacking. In the case of perceived threat, the "beliefs do not need to be objectively true, but only be perceived as such".[124]

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118 See Appendix A for a more detailed description of migration which includes the history of migration as well as a critical account of German migration policy..

119 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1), 98; Spiegel Staff, "Can Merkel's Integration Summit Deliver More than Just Promises?" in Der Spiegel , 11 July 2007.

120 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1); Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4).

121 Spiegel Staff, "Can Merkel's Integration Summit Deliver More than Just Promises?" in Der Spiegel , 11 July 2007 ; Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

122 Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

123 Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 117.

124 Ibid, 118.

Viewing immigration as a temporary phenomenon was a colossal error on the part of Germans; since guestworkers became economically indispensable to German production and labour arrangements.[125] "[A]t the same time, however, the society rejects any political, cultural, and social integration of the workers or their families."[126] The obvious result was a climate of tension. Germany is no longer a "transient stop for guestworkers" who will leave to return home.[127] Today, almost one out of five residents in Germany (15 million out of a population of 82 million) is either an immigrant or the offspring of immigrants.[128] Migration creates multi-ethnic societies and undermines myths of national homogeneity[129] which activates the anxiety of citizens[130]. Considering that Germany is rapidly evolving into a multicultural and ethnically diverse society; it is not surprising that foreigners are marginalised and become targets of discrimination and even violence.[131]

2.2.2   Citizenship[132]

By Law, German citizenship was traditionally conferred by birth to German parents. This *jus sanguinis* (blood-based) citizenship has been used to create a pervasive narrative which asserts that Germans construct themselves with an ethnic identity. In contrast, Miller-Idriss[133] points out that the majority of the youth she interviewed understood that citizenship in terms of the dimensions of culture, economics, geography and birthplace took priority over race or ethnicity when defining German citizenship and who would be eligible for

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125 See Appendix A for a critical account of Germany's immigration policy.

126 Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4), 403.

127 Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4), 403; Spiegel Staff, "Can Merkel's Integration Summit Deliver More than Just Promises?" in Der Spiegel , 11 July 2007.

128 Spiegel Staff, "Can Merkel's Integration Summit Deliver More than Just Promises?" in Der Spiegel , 11 July 2007.

129 Stephen Castles, "Migration" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies, Eds. D.T. Goldberg and J. Solomos (Massechusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

130 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

131 Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4), 401.

132 See Appendix A for a more detailed account of citizenship in Germany.

133 Ibid.

it. Miller-Idriss collected data[134] in Berlin between 2000 and 2001 which revealed that ordinary German understandings of citizenship challenge the static and oversimplified narrative of German-ness which is based on blood ties. She argues that youth construct understandings of citizenship predominantly based on culture. Citizenship is not static, but is, instead imagined and re-imagined by communities in diverse ways.

2.3 Education, Racism and Multiculturalism

2.3.1 The German education system

In Germany, school attendance becomes compulsory at the age of six years. After four years of primary education at the *Grundschule*, teachers evaluate the ten year old child's progress and a recommendation for the next phase of schooling; namely secondary school. The German secondary school system comprises of three tiers: first the *Hauptschule* (lower level secondary school programme) normally spans from grade five to nine in addition to providing access to vocational training. Upon successful completion at the *Hauptschule,* pupils receive the *Hauptschulabschluß*, which is the most basic qualification enabling them to apply for an apprenticeship. Second, the *Realschule* is at the intermediate level of general secondary school and usually spans grades five to ten. The *Realschule* awards pupils with the *Realschulabschluß* which enables them to further their school education as well as entry into vocational training for a wider range of jobs. Third, the *Gymnasium* (grades five to thirteen) is a grammar/academic school that combines lower and upper secondary levels and lasts eight to nine years.[135] The *Gymnasium* offers the qualification of *Mittlere Reife* after successful completion of year six, and after year eight or nine the *Abitur* entry qualification for higher education.[136] In addition, there are integrated schools (*Gesamtschule*) and multi-

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134 From 2000- 2001, Miller-Idriss analysed 60 semi-structured interviews about the conception of citizenship and national belonging with German vocational students (defined as working class) aged 17- 25 years. Interviews formed part of ethnographic fieldwork in Berlin between 1999 and 2004.

135 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002); Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

136 Hanna Ostermann and Uta E. Schmidt, "Education, Training and the Workplace" in Modern Germany: Politics, Society and Culture, Ed. P. James (London: Routledge, 1998).

track schools which are comprehensive schools that provide a unified programme or various programmes in a single institution. All the aforementioned qualifications can also be obtained at the *Gesamtschule* which combines all three tiers.[137] Furthermore, special education schools are for children with special needs. Finally, there are alternative schools – these are typically private schools, particularly of a religious nature.

The German Constitution enables the *Länder* (states) to have almost complete jurisdiction in educational matters. Each *Land* (state) has extensive powers on educational matters that are regulated by legislation adopted by its Parliament. This inconsistent framework across the *Länder* means that Germany does not have a unified education system. In addition, the German administration of education is under the dual supervision of the state administration and self-governing local authorities which has resulted in a lack of autonomy of the schools. "The structure of the German school system is complex and diverse. Although Germany does not have a unified school structure there is, in practice, a recognizable framework across different *Länder*."[138] Generally, once children reach the age of six they are obliged to attend primary school (*Grundschul*) for four years.

The transition from primary school to one of the lower secondary schools is dealt with differently according to each *Land* which is a highly fragmented structure.[139] The hierarchical nature of the German education system means that children are divided into different schools depending on their primary school academic achievements and the teacher's perception of the child's capabilities. The German education system has thus been widely criticised[140] for this method of recommendation since the child is judged on his/her academic capabilities at the age of only ten years of age.[141] Considering that this

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137 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Unpublished PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002); Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

138 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007), 6.

139 Ibid.

140 Vernor Muñoz, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human rights on the right to education was sent to Germany on a mission that lasted from 13 – 21 February 2006. The aim of his mission was to evaluate how Germany planned to implement the right to education as well as obstacles encountered at national and international level.

141 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

phase of schooling will have a life-changing impact on the child's future, the teacher's recommendation could cap the child's potential if s/he has prejudiced or stereotyped views – this is a particular concern in the case of pupils with immigrant backgrounds. For example, if the teacher views all pupils of immigrant origin to be academically deviant or underachievers then the likelihood that these pupils will be recommended to the *Gymnasium* is scant. In fact, pupils of immigrant origin are under-represented at the *Gymnasium.*[142] In light of such prejudicial attitudes, children of immigrant origin and lower socio-economic status may also have language difficulties whilst adapting to their new environments. Ultimately, the transition period (which includes learning to speak German as a second or third language) could be perceived as a learning deficit. This has resulted in the over-representation of pupils of immigrant origin into special schools for children with learning disabilities; instead of taking into account the fact that they need the time and support from staff in order to adapt to their new educational and social environment.[143]

Although there has been little mobility between the different types of schools, an increase in opportunities to study at a tertiary institution after completing the *Abitur*[144] has occurred.[145] From year two in any of the three tiers, a pupil who fails two or more subjects without being able to make up for it with very good marks in other subjects, has to repeat the year. It is not permissible to repeat a year more than once. Therefore, in the case of a second failure on the same level a pupil would be demoted to a different type of school.[146] Being placed in a *Hauptschule*[147] leaves the child with few job opportunities in the

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142 James Banks and James Lynch, .Multicultural Education in Western Societies (London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1986) as cited in Athiemoolam (2002).

143 Ibid.

144 Refers to grade 13 which allows entry into university depending on educational achievement.

145 Hanna Ostermann and Uta E. Schmidt, "Education, Training and the Workplace" in Modern Germany: Politics, Society and Culture, Ed. P. James (London: Routledge, 1998).

146 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Unpublished PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

147 According to Sigrid Luchtenberg ("Multicultural Education: Challenges and Prospects",in: Sowi Online Journal (2005), statistics show a clear overrepresentation of students with a migrant background in *Hauptschulen* (which are the academically lowest secondary schools) and in *Gesamtschulen*. These results indicate a failure of the German school system in bringing forward the school careers of students with a migrant background. These results are rather severe if one reflects the fact that the secondary school leaving certificate

future; whilst attending a *Realschule* increases these opportunities, and attendance at a *Gymnasium* paves the way for almost certain entry into tertiary institutions and greater employment opportunities. In addition, the German education systems includes full-time or part-time Vocational Training for school-leavers who prefer a non-academic alternative when training for a job. The *Duales System* (dual system of qualification/training) enables individuals to qualify for the job market via an apprenticeship scheme. It consists of practical instruction in a trade or industrial company, or a workshop or a public-sector firm; in addition to theoretical training in a *Berufsschule* (vocational school). An apprenticeship typically lasts between two and a half to three and a half years, after which trainees are awarded a certificate.[148]

Whilst the German school system is characterized by relatively high enrolment rate at all levels, only 37 % of upper secondary students are enrolled in the *Abitur,*[149] which is lower than the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) country[150] average of 49 %.[151] Studies conducted under the PISA programme have revealed a high correlation between the social/migrant background of students in Germany and educational achievement. Special Rapporteur, Vernor Muñoz suggests that the German government reconsider the multi-track school system which is selective and could lead to discrimination. The classification process that takes place at lower secondary level (on average students are aged 10) fails to adequately assess students. Children of poor and migrant backgrounds and those with disabilities are thus negatively impacted by this classification system which exacerbates their already marginalized positions leaving them doubly disadvantaged. Poor children of immigrant origin are over-represented at the *Hauptschule*; whilst being under-represented at the *Gymnasium*. The German classification system tends to favour separation as an educational strategy, instead of inclusivity, since it is based on the use of an educational structure that fails to categorize pupils appropriately. Forty-four percent of classifica-

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of the *Hauptschule* has lost its status in the last decade since many professions that could be learnt with this certificate nowadays demand a higher qualification. These structural problems within the German school system have been labelled as institutional discrimination..

148 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002)

149 Refers to programs that provide qualifications for entry into university.

150 Germany is a member of the OECD.

151 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007), 8

tion decisions were inappropriate and did not correspond with the children's actual abilities. One crucial recommendation was to postpone the age for decision-making regarding the orientating of pupils towards specific secondary education schooling tracks in order to enhance overall inclusion as well as language skills acquisition opportunities in German schools.

According to Muñoz,[152] stringent school selection procedures (commencing as early as age eight or nine) foster school careers based on the will of the parents rather than on the merits gained by pupils. He recommended that the federal structures in the German school system as well as the selection process of schools be revised because they are inhomogeneous and lead to inequalities. Muñoz's visit to Germany was to review the country's school system and declared that the structure of the German education system fosters inequalities. School students with immigrant and low-income backgrounds were doubly disadvantaged in German primary schools and had a slim chance of obtaining academic qualifications.

Muñoz draws attention to the fact that the Convention on the Rights of the Child should take precedence over the child's status as a refugee, and instead as the holder of rights that should be upheld. Refugee children were not included in the compulsory school system. Muñoz recommends that the educational system be restructured in order to make it more permeable and also take into account that they come from various cultural backgrounds. Thus the education system should function from the principle of diversity as the core of its operation. Parents, together with the pupils themselves, should be able to participate in the decision-making process that relates to the classifications and other important aspects of the education system.[153]

2.3.2 Education, Racism and Gender

Racial crises such as the issue of the banning of headscarves worn by Muslim females in Belgium, France and other Western European countries highlights anxiety; the fears of having another religion and/or culture impinge upon European society. Racism is also embodied in segregation in which both German and immigrant parents turn to schools that are "known for their social and possible cultural homogeneity, and avoid schools with a high per-

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152 Ibid.
153 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

centage of poor and immigrant-origin children."[154] In the long-term this contributes to the disintegration of the education system. Schools should give children an "education which will provide them with the resources necessary to participate as fully as possible in civic and national life."[155] From a xenophobic perspective, children of immigrant origin are often suspected of introducing the following 'problems' into schools: challenging the secular nature of education, having cultures in which violence is perceived to play a key role, being a source of difficulty or deterioration for teachers or of tension for pupils, as well as general problems that are the product of urban and social crises.[156]

The classroom is a racialised environment. Students' experiences are shaped by where they are positioned in terms of race, ethnicity, class and gender. The classroom environment is embedded in the wider social system in which racism as an ideology[157] is present in everyday life. The "racialised dimensions of a situation may affect the learning process of students differently".[158] Students can draw on their own experiences, meaning and subjectivity, which informs the socio-political-historical context of their lives. The school is a major site for reproducing social inequality.[159] "The power of the teacher includes, among other things, power to give or to withhold rewards. Marginalization in the classroom comprises a range of practices promoting the image of the model student as white, where the ethnic minority students are tolerated but not accepted as equally important to the intellectual body of

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154 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 468.

155 Ibid.

156 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

157 Ideology refers to all the concepts, ideas, images, and intuitions that provide the framework of interpretation and meaning-making for notions of race in society (Stuart Hall, 1986)as cited Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).

158 Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 126-7.

159 Martina Weber, Heterogeneity in Everyday School Life – Construction of Ethnic and Gender Differences [Heterogenität im Schulalltag – Konstruktion ethnischer und geschlechtlicher Unterschiede. Schule und Gesellschaft] (Germany: Leske & Budrich: 2003).

the nation."[160] The teacher is supposed to evaluate the pupils with fairness. However, some teachers acknowledge white students and overlook the achievements of minority group students.[161] Marginalization of minority students is ideologically rooted and expressed in explanations associating them with problems such as being less intelligent, having language deficiencies, lacking cultural sophistication, having an insufficient work ethic or inept social skills.[162]

Most teachers see a strong connection between ethnic origin and students' performances which informs their deficit oriented stigmatisation of foreign students. Expectations and assumptions regarding learning performance of foreign students were negative and some teachers admitted a lack of knowledge concerning the cultures of their students. The causes for lack of education from the teachers' perspectives were that the students rejected integration by forming a separate group, they had insufficient knowledge of the German language and Turkish students are seen to be socially underprivileged.

In terms of the socioeconomic deprivation, students of Turkish origin are a case in point. They are the least successful in the educational system and are most likely to drop out of school. Their rates of unemployment are also very high (24 %). Hence, this underclass of young men and women has little hope for permanent or stable employment. Nineteen percent of all immigrants drop out of high school and twenty percent of the prison population is foreign born.[163] Children of Turkish origin are more likely to be sent to special schools for the learning impaired and elementary schools use ethnic background to determine their eligibility for special-education classes instead of mainstream education.

Education "is the space between policy and the classroom practices that provide the real opportunities for multicultural and anti-racist education."[164] A

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160 Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 207.

161 Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).

162 Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

163 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1),108.

164 Smith (1989) as cited in Dwivedi and Varna (1996).

decrease in racism is strongly associated with education and age.[165] "Due to increased rates of participation in higher education, it has been assumed that more tolerant people will in time, replace the older more intolerant people."[166]

2.3.3   *Parental attitudes towards education*

Many guestworker children were born in Germany and do not know their homeland. Their parents hope for an easier and more successful life for them. However, "most indicators suggest the prospects are dim".[167] Taking into account the guestworker child's marginal access to formal learning, lack of citizenship, ambiguous cultural identity and meager chance for upwardly mobile employment, it is unsurprising that alienation has become a common experience.[168]

Strom *et al*'s study[169] of parental expectations was conducted at nineteen public and private schools serving immigrant and Germans in Bavaria, Germany. The results of this comparative study for West German and immigrant guestworker parents revealed that attitude differences among ethnic groups were greatest toward issues of child control and parental ability to facilitate the teaching-learning process. German and Turkish parents shared favourable attitudes regarding the development of independence during childhood. The similarity of the views between these groups was unexpected. Previous literature suggested that Turkish parents would be the most control-oriented of

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165 See Werner Bergman and R. Erb "Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" in Ergebnisse der emprishcen Forschung von 1946 – 1989 (Oplanden: Leske und Budrich, 1991) as cited in Winkler (1999); Werner Bergman and Rainer Erb "Rechtsextremismus und Antisemitismus" in J.W. Walter, H.G. Jashcke and J.R Winkler (eds), Rechtsextremismus, Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung (Oplanden: Westdeutshcer Verlag, 1996) as cited in Winkler (999).

166 Jürgen Winkler, "Explaining individual racial prejudice in contemporary Germany" in Education and Racism, Eds. L. Hagendoorn and S. Nekuee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999),102.

167 Ibid., 427

168 Robert Strom; Stanley Wurster; M. Austin Betz; Susan Daniels; Peter Graf; and Louise Jansen, "A Comparison of West German and Guestworker Parent's Childrearing Attitudes and Expectations" in Journal of Comparative Family Studies; 1984, Vol. 15 (3).

169 Strom et al conducted a study to compare the child-rearing expectations of 155 West German parents and 215 immigrant guestworker parents to West Germany from Greece, Italy and Turkey was conducted using the Parent As A Teacher Inventory. 370 participants were mothers and fathers of kindergarten or first grade children. The sample of parents consisted of indigenous Germans (47%) and immigrant workers (53%). Guestworkers originated from Greece, Italy and Turkey. The total group was a fair representation of the distribution of income for Western Germany and they had achieved comparable educational levels.

all immigrant groups, demanding absolute obedience from their children.[170] In contrast, the previously authoritarian German parents appear to have become permissive.[171] Strom *et al*'s study challenges the view that Turkish immigrants are committed to their ethnic traditions of childrearing. Parents who participated in this study surprised the researchers because they did not differentiate expectations for their sons and daughters. The findings revealed that parents of immigrant origin who had young children were capable of being receptive to a parent education curriculum that emphasized equal opportunities for the optimal development of children regardless of sex. Furthermore, both mothers and fathers held similar attitudes towards childrearing practices which is a positive indicator of the likelihood for equal opportunities for both daughters and sons. Guestworker parents in Strom *et al*'s study indicated a willingness to change traditional childrearing attitudes by modifying sex-specific attitudes towards sons and daughters. These changes have occurred outside of the sphere of formal education and Strom *et al* suggested that immigrant origin parents needed more assistance in order to facilitate integration into the host society.[172]

"Public recognition that an individual lacks intellectual ability is often a matter of shame… [T]his can lead "the child to disengage from academic activity… and then failing may attract the attribution of low ability."[173] Therefore, children's understandings of the nature of intelligence and their attributions for success and failure are likely to have a significant impact upon motivation and academic achievement.

2.3.4   *Multiculturalism*

Multiculturalism aims to make people more accommodating, tolerant and understanding of the diversity of cultures which constitute the world in which we live.[174] The recognition of group rights, celebration of difference, and the

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170 Refer to Nermin Abadan – Unat, Turkish workers in Europe 1960-1976 (The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1976); Nermin Abadan – Unat, "Implications of the migration of emancipation and pseudoemancipation of Turkish women" in International Migration Review, 1977, Vol. 11 (1), pp. 31-57.

171 Strom et al, "A Comparison of West German and Guestworker Parent's Childrearing Attitudes and Expectations" in Journal of Comparative Family Studies; 1984, Vol. 15 (3).

172 Ibid.

173 Julain Elliot, Neil Hufton and Leonid Illushin, "International comparisons – What really matters?" in Learning from Others. Eds. D. Shorrocks-Taylor and E.W. Jenkins (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 81.

174 Ibid.

notion of reciprocity is upheld within this framework. Athiemoolam's[175] analysis of various definitions of multiculturalism indicate that the term is used synonymously with cultural differences, multiculturality and cultural pluralism; and refers to groups of people who differ according to race, language, religion and nationality. The cornerstone of multiculturalism is the notion of difference which is problematic since it is in direct opposition to the state's tendency to uphold the appearance of a homogenous society. Whilst the notion of difference has become popular in contemporary social thought, it is often disconcerting and confusing. This difference then becomes a source of anxiety and counters equality.[176] The multicultural society translates into a society in which people are viewed as equal but treated differently.[177] Hence, the emphasis on difference appears to contradict the notion of equality which is the foundation of liberal democracy. Kaya argues that the ideology of multiculturalism tends to compartmentalize cultures. Multiculturalism also assumes…

> that cultures are internally consistent, unified and structured wholes attached to ethnic groups. Essentializing the idea of culture as the property of an ethnic group, multiculturalism risks reifying cultures as separate entities by overemphasizing their boundedness and mutual distinctness; it also risks overemphasizing the internal homogeneity of cultures in terms that potentially legitimize repressive demands for communal conformity.[178]

Kaya therefore suggests that the interculturalism discourse may usurp multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism can be "defined through a variety of ideological constructs, and signifies a terrain of struggle around the reformation of historical memory, national identity, self- and social representation, and the politics of dif-

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175 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
176 Liana Giorgi, "Constructing the xenophobic subject" in Innovation in Social Sciences Research, 1992, Vol. 5 (2).
177 Liana Giorgi, "Constructing the xenophobic subject" in Innovation in Social Sciences Research, 1992, Vol. 5 (2).
178 Ayhan Kaya, Redefining Europe and Europeanness: A Comparative Study on German-Turks and French-Turks, Paper presented at the International Workshop on the Integration of Immigrants from Turkey in Austria, Germany and Holland, Istanbul (27-28 February 2004),14.

ference."[179] For multiculturalism to become a useful pedagogical concept, educators need to present it as a framework for critical understanding of the pluralizing of differences. It should also be used to inform educators and learners of the power dynamics of dominant social relations. Cultural differences cannot simply be assimilated into a uniformed set of policies and practices which are controlled unilaterally since this essentializes culture as homogeneous and static.[180]

Multiculturalism is not only about the discourse of racialised identities but also essentially about the issue of whiteness as a symbol of racial and gender privilege. Minorities pose a 'problem' to white society that is to be 'resolved' by benevolent assimilation or as a threat to be policed and/or eliminated.[181] Multiculturalism is therefore an issue concerning whiteness[182] and its claims to a self-definition that excludes the blurred relations of race, power, ethnicity and identity. Asymmetrical power relations give authority to who speaks, under what conditions, for whom, the content voiced and with what amount of institutionalised support at his/her disposal. In this context, multiculturalism interrogates who speaks from a privileged position and who is left on the margins. Essed argues that the multicultural approach tends to overemphasize the relevance of information regarding different cultural backgrounds as a strategy for countering prejudice. Consequently, the exaggeration of difference indirectly reinforces assumptions of superiority of the dominant culture.[183]

2.3.5   *Multicultural education*

Multicultural education has been subjected to large scale criticism (which will be highlighted later in this chapter) and attempts to gain recognition have been hampered by confusion and debate over its meaning, as well as its fea-

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179 Henry Giroux, "Insurgent Multiculturalism and the promise of pedagogy" in Multiculturalism: A critical reader, Ed. D.T. Goldberg, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 336.

180 Ibid.

181 James Baldwin, "A Talk to Teachers", in Multicultural Literacy, Eds R. Simonson and S. Waler (St. Paul, MN: Graywolf Press, 1988) as cited in Giroux (1994).

182 However, it must be noted that Eastern Europeans and remigrants to Germany are also white, but both face discrimination in the German education system.

183 Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).

sibility as a process of facilitating equity in education and society.[184] Multi-cultural education has been defined as "a multiple education programme that provides multiple learning environments matching the needs of the pupil."[185] The aim of imparting knowledge and skills that are required to enable the pupil is in order to move toward greater equality and freedom. Multicultural education emphasizes the anti-racist component and is described as a form education which "enables children to develop the ability to recognise inequality, injustice, racism, stereotyping, prejudice and bias and which equips them with the skills and knowledge to help them challenge and combat these manifestations."[186] Therefore, multicultural education should go beyond merely giving recognition to various cultural beliefs and practices of the various racial/ethnic pupils in a school, and should prioritise the conscientisation of pupils so that they will become aware of injustices and discrimination in society at large.[187] Multicultural education accepts and recognises the rightful existence of different cultural groups. It views cultural diversity as an asset and a source of social enrichment rather than as a handicap or social problem.[188] Definitions of multicultural education reject the melting pot notion (assimilation) and instead recognise and accept all racial/ethnic groups that constitute the school as a whole. Furthermore, the ideals of non-racialism, democracy and equity are the fundamental to multicultural education; whilst in practice multicultural education requires the total reform of the school environment.

Integration has become a key concept in German political, media and societal discourses that focus on migration particularly with regard to new migrants as well as guestworkers and their families who have settled in Germany. The fear of the development of parallel societies is considered to be a danger to integration. Luchtenburg[189] asserts that true integration – as opposed to assimilation – has always played a crucial role in multicultural education. The

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184 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

185 B. H. Suzuki, "Curriculum transformation for multicultural education" in Education and Urban Society 1984, Vol.16 (3), 305 as cited in Athiemoolam (2002).

186 R. Hessari and D. Hill, Practical ideas for multicultural learning and teaching in the classroom. London: Routledge, 1989), 3 as cited in Athiemoolam (2002).

187 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

188 Joan Squelch, Multicultural education, (Halfway House, South Africa: Southern Book, 1993) as cited in Athiemoolam (2002).

189 Ibid.

focus on integration has demanded the support of mixed classes of German and non-German students and the rejection of all forms of separate classes.

Contemporary multicultural education has widened in scope to include the impact of ethnocentrism and racism, the role of the media, the relationship between individual and group identity, and the acceptance of multicultural-ism and multilingualism against the pervasive conceptions of a homogenous monolingual country.[190] Integrating migrant languages into school and class-room life indicates to migrant students and their parents that their background is accepted.

A multicultural education approach attempts to reform the total schooling process for *all* children, irrespective of whether the school is an all white or all black school. In doing so, pupils are provided with greater knowledge of different cultures and an understanding of cultural differences is promoted. Multicultural education is therefore directed at all students as the target group instead of an education that addresses minority group students only and is orientated towards differences instead of deficits.[191] The *whole school approach* to multicultural education promotes the significant adaptation of the total school environment in order to cater for greater diversity in the school population as a whole. The total school environment as a system consists of factors such as a school culture, school policy and politics and the formalised curriculum and course of study.[192]

A "*multicultural curriculum* must be informed by a new language in which cultural differences are taken up not as something to be tolerated but as essential to expanding the discourse and practice of democratic life."[193] A multicultural curriculum needs to focus on dominant institutions and histories in order to interrogate their injustices. Therefore, multiculturalism is about

> making whiteness visible as a racial category; that is, it points to the necessity of providing white students with the cultural memories that

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190 Ibid.
191 Sigrid Luchtenberg, "Multicultural Education: Challenges and Responses" in Sowi Online Journal 2005.
192 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
193 Henry Giroux, "Insurgent Multiculturalism and the promise of pedagogy" in Multicultural-ism: A critical reader, Ed. D.T. Goldberg, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 338.

enable them to recognize the historically- and socially-constructed nature of their own identities.[194]

Such an education allows learners to recognise their complicity with, or resistance to the dominant powers that legitimize dominant voices whilst silencing others. Encouraging the parents of all learners to be actively involved with their child's life at school positively demonstrates a school's attitude towards racial/ethnic diversity. Teachers may believe that ethnic minority group parents are too shy, have no time, are not interested or would be embarrassed to participate; however, these reasons are often put forward to cover the teachers' own hesitance at approaching parents who may not speak much German.[195]

The situation of pupils of immigrant origin in the German school system is exacerbated by the lack of support that students in general and migrant students in particular experience in the German school system. This is partly due to its selective structure, in which students are sent to different schools when they fail in one, or, at the very least, they have to repeat one grade. Thus, teachers always have an alternative solution to that of encouraging and fostering a student. The school system appears to prefer selective solutions to supporting ones. Consequently, many pupils of immigrant origin are referred to special schools (especially those for children with learning difficulties), far more than German students. It can also be assumed that the half-day-school system does not leave enough time to give weak students further help and assistance or to coordinate extra lessons like mother tongue teaching and German as a second language.[196]

If teachers have low expectations of ethnic minority pupils, this might result in their inferior treatment in the classroom by giving them less attention, praise, contact, or resources that they have the power to distribute. Such discrimination could lead to the under achievement of ethnic minority pupils because they are not given the emotional and physical support in order to excel in the classroom.[197] It is crucial for teachers to acknowledge that all the

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194 Ibid, 339.
195 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
196 Sigrid Luchtenberg, "Multicultural Education: Challenges and Responses" in Sowi Online Journal 2005.
197 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

pupils have special talents which need to be nurtured and developed.[198] Since these talents may be linked to their own unique cultural experiences, teachers must afford them the opportunity to express their talents in the classroom so that all pupils may be enriched by these experiences. "Creating an atmosphere in which people learn they cannot achieve is tantamount to creating failure."[199] In order to empower teachers with skills so that they would reject racism and discrimination, understand the cultural backgrounds of pupils and accept that all pupils have talents, it is imperative that education departments make concerted efforts to provide effective pre- and in-service training programmes.

2.3.6   Critical multiculturalism

Insurgent multiculturalism questions what it means for educators and cultural workers to treat schools and other public sites as "border institutions in which teachers, students, and others engage in daily acts of cultural translation and negotiation."[200] Here students are introduced to the organisation of culture in which they are shown who is in the (dominant) position and which culture to valorise. Furthermore, the connection between race and class has been overlooked or rejected by many educational critics of multiculturalism. Viewing the Other as a physical or economic threat justifies a view that criminalizes and labels 'them' as deviant outsiders.[201] This has been the case for young Turkish males[202] who are members of the largest minority group in Germany.

A solution to the narrow scope of mono-cultural education (and an improvement on early multicultural education) is an *anti-racist education.* Antiracist education finds its origins in the British critique of multicultural education in the 1980s. In an anti-racist curriculum this has been accomplished through seeking out appropriate literature, oral histories, biographies, music, poetry and art. The aim of anti-racist education is thus to make people aware of the

198 Ibid.
199 Ellis Close. "Twelve steps toward a race-neutral nation" in Color-blind (New York: Harper, 1997) 263.
200: Henry Giroux, "Insurgent Multiculturalism and the promise of pedagogy" in Multiculturalism: A critical reader, Ed. D.T. Goldberg, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 335
201 Henry, "Insurgent Multiculturalism and the promise of pedagogy" in Multiculturalism: A critical reader, Ed. D.T. Goldberg, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
202 Mark Terkessidis, "Global Culture in Germany or: How Repressed Women and Criminals Rescue Hybridity", in Communal/Plural, 2000, Vol. 8 (2).

injustices and inequalities in society. It therefore focuses on systematic discrimination in all its manifestations, ranging from the treatments of minorities in history to the hidden curriculum in schools. Both anti-racist education and multicultural education are inextricably linked and are inadequate when taught separately. Instead, they must be part of a combined strategy if either is to have any real effect.[203]

Most German schools prefer to adopt "an ill-prepared assimilation approach when integrating ethnic minority pupils into their schools."[204] The approach adopted by most teachers in desegregated schools tends to focus on integrating the pupils into the school with the bare minimum of changes to the learning environment. Consequently, the *assimilationist approach* tends to be the major approach adopted by teachers to cater for the changed learning environment. Teachers tend to adopt this strategy as the best one under the circumstances since they are not prepared to change and they often lack the necessary skills and training associated with multicultural learning environments.[205]

The German education system has been dominated by an assimilationist ideology which aims to maintain the national identity and the cultural hegemony of existing dominant groups.[206] The policy of assimilation requires minority groups to become absorbed into the dominant group by adopting its language, values and cultural modes. This approach results in frustration and dissatisfaction among the minority groups as it leads to oppression and discrimination since minority groups are excluded from social structures and social and economic mobility are difficult to achieve.[207] A *colour blind* attitude as a response is often based on the erroneous assumption that to recognise race is to be racist.[208] This strategy entrenches divisions in society and leads to the continued oppression of marginalized groups. However well-

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203 Ibid.

204 Ibid., 239

205 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

206 James Banks and James Lynch, The name assigned to the document by the author. This field may also contain sub-titles, series names, and report numbers.Multicultural Education in Western Societies (London: Publisher name and contact information, as provided by the publisher; updated only if notified by the publisher.Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1986) as cited in Athiemoolam (2002).

207 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

208 Ibid.

intended, such an approach reinforces notions of certain groups as inferior. Adopting an attitude in which obvious differences are ignored, has been labelled by Halstead[209] "colour-blind racism".

Compatible with the assimilationist stance is the "business as usual" approach in which minority group pupils are expected to adjust to the school. Most teachers tend to adopt a colour blind approach since they are not prepared to acknowledge cultural or racial differences. Thus, it is not uncommon for educators to make statements such as: "I don't see colour. I only see students." This statement assumes that to be colour-blind is to be fair, impartial and objective. Viewing the class through colour blind lenses, may result in refusing to accept differences and therefore accepting the dominant culture as the norm. As a consequence, well-meaning teachers may be denying the very identity of the pupils and thereby discriminating against them unintentionally. It is not fair that all children be treated the same. The pupils whose values and attitudes are congruent with those of the teacher's are most likely to achieve success in the kinds of tasks the teacher sets and are therefore more likely to be rewarded. [210]

The teacher has a crucial role to play in the transformation of the learning environment since s/he is able to bring about meaningful changes at grassroots level to his/her class because of the length of time which he/she spends with his pupils. Educators committed to change teach from a perspective which is not based on the ideology of cultural superiority; thereby creating a learning environment in which pupils would be motivated towards successful learning of skills, information, values, attitudes and beliefs which would enable them to participate effectively within a multicultural democracy.[211] Educators need to be sensitized towards the cultures of their pupils and possess knowledge of cultures that are not their own. They must also be cognisant of cultural factors influencing the teaching-learning process. Furthermore, teachers' attitudes towards pupils could have a decisive effect on how well the pupils do in school. It is precisely for this reason that they need to learn culturally responsive ways of teaching all their pupils and should not place the blame for poor performance solely on pupils. Instead, they need to

209 Halstead (1988) cited in Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
210 Ibid.
211 Ibid.

consider under what conditions to foster optimal learning, how their cultural backgrounds may influence their learning and how their own pedagogical practises need to change as a result[212].

212 Ibid.

3   Research Methodology

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology which includes: a background to the site of study; a description of the research design, as well as the sample and a brief profile of each of the interviewees; an explanation of the data collection procedure and an outline of the process of data analysis. This is followed by a description of the obstacles anticipated and encountered, the research constraints encountered, and ethical considerations. Finally, a section on self-reflexivity concludes this chapter.

3.1   Background to the Research project

An exchange programme between The Centre for South-North Co-operation in Educational Research and Practice (CSN) at the University of Oldenburg in Germany and the Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa (INCUDISA) based at the University of Cape Town in South Africa provided me with the opportunity to conduct research for my master thesis. The CSN provided me with the funds to conduct my fieldwork in Oldenburg, Germany for two months from March – April 2007. At Oldenburg I was co-supervised by Dr Wolfgang Nitsch and a PhD student, Ms Malve von Möllendorff who were both based at the CSN as well as in the Faculty of Education at the University of Oldenburg.

Dr Nitsch's role was to oversee my research project. He also connected me to some of the participants of the study: the ex-principal of a high school in South Africa (now living in Oldenburg), the teacher who served as my gatekeeper at the school where I conducted my research, a Tunisian master student attending the University of Oldenburg, and an Afghan staff member at the University of Bremen. The teacher helped me to negotiate access into the school where the study was conducted. Access to the school was gained by meeting with one of the social workers at the school and then obtaining permission from the principal to conduct research. The principal's sole condition was that I obtain permission from the parents of the pupils I wished to interview. I was subsequently given unhindered access to the entire school building, including staff rooms, the cafeteria, playground and any class where permission was granted by the teacher prior to the lesson. In addition, Ms von

Möllendorff assisted me wherever necessary. This included gaining access to the library and meeting rooms at the University of Oldenburg, providing me with recording equipment, and being present at interviews where German translations were needed, as well as translating key documents that were not available in English.

This particular public secondary school (hereafter referred to by the pseudonym of OL Schule) was chosen for the study because it was exceptional in the following ways: firstly, it is an integrated *Gesamtschule* which means that pupils at different learning levels are educated under one roof, including pupils with disabilities (unlike other schools[213] which admit pupils according to their academic achievements); secondly, it had a reputation as being a model school for the integration of minority groups and has adopted an explicitly anti-racist *(Gegen Rassismus)* motto; thirdly, it differed from other public schools in Oldenburg (which had large numbers of pupils with immigrant backgrounds) because it admitted very few pupils of immigrant origin.

3.2   Research Design

The interpretive paradigm informed the data collection and analysis in this research project since this approach enables the researcher to describe and interpret people's subjective experiences in human terms.[214] This paradigm indicates the *meaning* of human experiences and words, taking into account the socio-historical context of the situation.[215] Qualitative research methods have thus been employed on account of its naturalistic, holistic and inductive approach to the research process. This translates into studying real-world situations and being open to whatever emerges from the data, understanding the phenomenon studied as part of complex system in which different categories of data are interrelated.[216]

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213 The German secondary school education system is divided into three tiers of schools, each at different levels. At the top of this hierarchy is the Gymnasium, in the middle is the Realschule, and at the lowest level is the Hauptschule.

214 Kevin Kelly and Martin Terre Blanche, "Interpretive Methods" in Research in Practice. Eds. M. Terre Blanche and K. Durrheim, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1999) 123.

215 Ibid., 125.

216 Kevin Durrheim, "Research Design" in Research in Practice. Eds. M. Terre Blanche and K. Durrheim, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1999) 43. Refer also to Michael Q. Patton, Qualitative evaluation and research methods, (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990).

This investigation took the form of an exploratory study which is an open, inductive and flexible approach to researching phenomena.[217] It involved a micro level of analysis of the experiences of people with immigrant origins in the German education system and took into account the perceptions of adults in the field of education who impacted on and/or had insight into their social reality.

3.3   Sample

Although individuals are the agents of racism, focusing on racist practices and their implications, not individuals, is important, because speculating as to whether individuals are racist or not oversimplifies the problem. The concept of everyday racism counters the view that racism is an individual problem.[218] On this basis, I chose not to interview German learners since it would be unlikely that they would reveal (possible) racist and xenophobic attitudes. Had I interviewed German learners I would expect to find a very different picture of the school situation.

3.3.1   Primary sample

The Primary Sample consisted of six participants[219] in grades 8 and 10 out of a population[220] of 938 learners[221] attending the school. These included 14–17 year old adolescent males with immigrant backgrounds who were either born in Germany or immigrated and started attending school there at a very young age. Consent forms were given to ten males and two females in grade 8 and 10 since those grades had the greatest listed number of immigrants at the school at the time the research was conducted. Unfortunately, the primary sample does not include any females because no female learners responded to the consent letters provided to them. Hence, the sample was procured via a non-random purposive strategy. Taking into consideration that having an immigrant background was the only criteria that needed to be met, this would indicate that criterion-based sampling was utilized for procurement in this

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217 Ibid., 39.
218 Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).
219 See Appendix B - II for interviewee profiles.
220 The exact number of pupils of immigrant origin is unknown since the lists proved to be inaccurate. During interviews, teachers at school estimated that the immigrant population at the school came to a total of one percent of the general school population.
221 See Appendix B - I for a brief demographic profile provided by the school's principal.

sample. However, this category of sampling overlapped with convenience sampling[222] since I was only able to interview immigrant origin learners who were willing and available to be interviewed.

3.3.2 Secondary sample

A secondary sample[223] consisting of three categories of people in the field of education was utilized in order to obtain a more holistic impression of the environment and position of the pupils. The secondary sample was procured using criterion-based sampling. The first category of participants in the secondary sample included three adults of immigrant origin: a Tunisian female (who was also engaged in a follow-up interview), an Indian female, and an Afghan male. The criteria for these interviewees included their age (being an adult), having an immigrant background, being schooled in Germany, and working in the field of education.

The second category of participants included German women; five of whom were teachers at the school and one who was a social worker at the school.[224] The criteria for the procurement of this sample was that they worked at the school, would be willing to be interviewed, and spoke English fluently. It was also preferable for the educators to have taught grade 8 and 10 classes since learners in those grades constituted the primary sample.

The final category included a non-random sample of one participant: the ex-principal of high a school in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. He was specifically chosen because the high school in Port Elizabeth was partnered with a high school in Oldenburg, and he remained connected to this exchange. He was also identified as an individual who would have useful insights from an outsider, South African perspective which would contribute to my own interpretation of the data collected as a South African researcher.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure

In an attempt to present a holistic view of the population studied, data was triangulated. Triangulation of data "entails collecting material in as many

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222 Kevin Kelly, "From encounter to text: collecting qualitative data for interpretive research," in Research in Practice. Eds. M. Terre Blanche and K. Durrheim, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1999), 380

223 See Appendix B-VII for interviewee profiles.

224 Referred to as pedagogical assistants.

different ways and from as many diverse sources as possible."[225] In this case, data was collected from various sources. Electronic materials as well as books and journals were consulted as both primary and secondary sources. Empirical observations of the learners and teachers in the classroom, on the play ground and in the cafeteria were also employed as an additional source of data. The primary source of data was collected by conducting the in-depth semi-structured interviews with the sample described above. Furthermore, literature was consistently collected and reviewed in order to inform a retrospective literature review. This form of literature review enabled me to collect information that was more pertinent to the analysis rather than just more generally applicable to the subject. Therefore, as themes emerged from the data, I was able to engage in a more nuanced analysis in this iterative process.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were utilized to gather data because the richness of information that emerges from this form of interview remains unparalleled. The methodology mainly consists of open-ended questions which provide respondents with the room to express themselves more fully than closed questions which are common to survey questionnaires.[226] Interviews allow for a more natural interaction with the participants of the study than utilizing questionnaires (which can be impersonal and tedious) and are thus consistent with the interpretive approach to research.[227] Interviews are most appropriate in this case because intercultural experiences are highly subjective and need to be contextualised in order to engage in an in-depth analysis of the text. In addition, in-depth interviews are particularly suitable for respondents who have language difficulties since they provide the space for the researcher to clarify misunderstandings[228] and to observe more subtle behavioural or emotional nuances which may be of importance at a later stage in the analysis.

In-depth interviews were conducted first with the intention of conducting a focus group as an additional resource thereafter. However, due to time con-

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225 Kevin Kelly and Martin Terre Blanche, "Interpretive Methods" in Research in Practice. Eds. M. Terre Blanche and K. Durrheim, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1999) 128.

226 Abraham Naftali Oppenheim, Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude measurement (London: Continuum, 1992), 69, 102.

227 Kevin Kelly and Martin Terre Blanche, "Interpretive Methods" in Research in Practice. Eds. M. Terre Blanche and K. Durrheim, (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1999) 128.

228 Abraham Naftali Oppenheim, Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude measurement (London: Continuum, 1992), 69, 102.

straints it was not possible to conduct a focus group since most of the learners who had agreed to participate in the focus group had clashes in their timetables or other extra-mural activities and were thus unable to attend the focus group. I was unable to reschedule because of my return to South Africa at the end of that week. Whilst the use of focus groups can be very useful to draw out themes, naturally quiet or more reserved individuals could be overshadowed or feel intimidated by their verbally dominant counterparts. I therefore settled that the interviews were sufficient.

Subsequent to negotiating access to the school, the first step was to engage in empirical observations over a period of two weeks. During this time, I was allowed to wander around the school grounds and silently observe lessons taking place whilst taking copious notes to record both the incidences that appeared significant, as well as those that appeared to be mundane.

I wanted to get a feel for the atmosphere in different classes with learners of different ages engaged with a variety of materials in order to see what their reactions to their educational environment was like. Thus, I engaged in empirical observations of twelve random classes which included different grades eight to ten. I observed lessons taught in subjects varying from Art and English, to Mathematics and Social/Religious studies. I sat at the back of the classroom after being introduced as a researcher from South Africa. I then noted the class demographic, the racial and gendered dynamic of seating arrangements, the race and gender of the teachers, the interactions between learners and their teachers, and as well as interactions between learners. In addition, I also made notes regarding what the classroom looked like in terms of what posters were on the wall, what messages were being portrayed by these posters, which learners were depicted on these posters either directly (in photographs, drawings or paintings) or indirectly through if their races and/or nationalities (in cartoons, posters of celebrities and so forth). In some instances, the teacher would allow the learners to ask me questions. Most of the questions came from German boys who wanted to know my age, my marital status and what the landscape in Cape Town looks like. Both girls and boys asked where I was from and why I was in Germany. I told them that I was conducting research on the experiences of children of immigrant backgrounds in schools, but did not specifically mention the dimensions of race and xenophobia in an attempt to avoid influencing the outcomes as far as was possible. I did not want the participants to have preconceived notions re-

garding the exact nature of the questions I asked during interviews with them because I did not want them to prepare model answers.

In addition, I spent time observing learners in the playground and cafeteria during their lunch break. I noted interactions between learners of different genders and races, including which learners sat next to and played with each other. After having completed my empirical observations, I approached the school's principal for lists of learners with immigrant backgrounds who attended the school. The principal then provided me with what can be described as an incomprehensive record of learners with immigrant origin attending the school. This document listed the number of learners with immigrant backgrounds by grade; and included the gender, nationality and class each pupil was in. However, it omitted the names of the pupils listed; and hence it was not possible to find them without approaching their teachers. I then approached Mareen,[229] the sixth grade teacher (who was my gatekeeper at the school) who connected me to several teachers across various grades who I also approached for a similar list. I subsequently discovered that some teachers listed learners of immigrant origin (even by name) but others did not see the need to do so. It was thus not possible to obtain records of scholastic achievements that accurately mentioned the background of the learners. After consulting both the principal's and the teachers' lists, as well my notes taken during my observations of classes where I noted the learners who, in my opinion, appeared to be immigrant in origin, I concluded that the grade eight and ten classes contained the highest number of learners of immigrant origin.

Learners were addressed by their teachers who explained that a researcher from South Africa was looking for any adolescents with immigrant backgrounds to volunteer to be interviewed after gaining their parents' consent. According to one of the teachers interviewed,[230] most of the learners had already questioned the presence of a foreign researcher in their classrooms and at their school, so many were keen to find out what the research was about. Learners who were interested and consented to participating in the study were then given the consent form and had to obtain permission from their parent(s) or guardian(s) in order to participate in the study. Participation was entirely voluntary.

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229 This is a pseudonym used to protect the identity of the individual referred to.
230 Interview with Leyna, April 2007

Consent forms were given to ten males and two females in grades 8 and 10 since those grades had the greatest listed number of immigrants. Consent forms were also given to two boys (who I had observed) with immigrant backgrounds who were not listed in either the school's or the teacher's record of pupils of immigrant origin. It thus became clear that the both the teachers' and the principal's record of pupils with immigrant background were inaccurate, since I had observed and confirmed by asking some learners who were not on these lists if they were indeed of immigrant origin. Learners who were interested in being interviewed then met with me and I explained that I wanted to discuss their experiences as learners of immigrant origin at that school. This was also an opportunity for them to ask me any questions they had about the research and for me to establish rapport with the learners. By the end of that week, the consent forms were returned, and we arranged dates and times that were convenient for the learners to be interviewed at the school. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted in empty meeting rooms at the school and were approximately 45 minutes in length. Interviews with all the pupils were conducted in German by a white German female translator, and some English was spoken when the interviewee felt comfortable with the language. In one case the interviewee spoke Dutch in addition to German and English; so he and I communicated in Dutch and Afrikaans, but only briefly before resuming to German with my translator.

Mareen also connected me to grade eight and ten teachers who would be willing to be interviewed and who spoke English fluently. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with these teachers and the one of the school's social workers in empty meeting rooms at the school and the social worker's office, respectively. These interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each and were conducted in English since they had an adequate (and in some cases fluent, such as those who taught English as a subject) command of the language.

The first in-depth semi-structured interview conducted with the ex-principalof the high school in Port Elizabeth, South Africa was conducted in his home in Oldenburg and the follow-up interview was conducted five weeks later in my supervisor's office at the University of Oldenburg. Both interviews lasted approximately one hour and were conducted in English since he spoke the language fluently.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were also conducted with adults of immigrant origin who worked in the field of education. The interview with the

woman of Indian origin was conducted in her office at the University of Oldenburg and lasted for approximately one hour. This interview was conducted in English because she spoke the language fluently. The interview with the man of Afghan origin was conducted in his office at a university in Bremen and also lasted approximately one hour. The first interview with the woman of Tunisian origin was conducted in a relatively empty an ice-cream parlour near to her home in Bremen, and the follow-up interview was conducted the following day in an empty meeting room at the University of Oldenburg. The duration of both interviews with her spanned approximately one-and-a-half hours each. Interviews with the woman of Tunisian origin and the man of Afghan origin – who both spoke English as a third language – were conducted primarily in English with German translation provided (by my co-supervisor, Ms von Möllendorff, who was present at these interviews) where necessary.

3.5   Data Analysis

The analysis of the triangulated[12] data was an iterative process involving the following categories of analysis: a desk top analysis of the school's documents, as well as the data found on school's website; analysis of the largely theoretical literature reviewed; the empirical observations and interview transcripts, which were the main focus of the analysis. This process translated into becoming immersed in the data over a period of several months. During this time, literature was constantly collected and reviewed. Literature gathered included journal articles both electronic and in hardcopy. Some of the articles were German sources, but a few of them were written in English. Several books concerning this particular research project were reviewed as well. In addition, I obtained lists of learners of immigrant origin who attended the school from the principal and information about the school from the school's website.[231]

Qualitative data analysis was initially employed by using the Grounded theory[232] approach, which has been described by Strauss and Corbin[233] as a theory that has been arrived at inductively from the study of a phenomenon.

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231 The school's website can not be reference for the sake of confidentiality.
232 Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques (London: Sage, 1990).
233 Ibid., 23.

This means that the phenomenon is discovered and explicated via a process of systematic data collection and analysis. Consequently, data collection and theory have a reciprocal relationship with each other. Therefore, the researcher does not commence the research by setting out to prove a hypothesis; instead s/he starts with an area of study and unpacks what *emerges* from it.[234] Allowing for the emergence of themes thus allows the researcher to steer clear of preconceived notions as to what those themes should look like or how they should manifest within the text. Strauss and Corbin[235] have identified two main processes of the grounded theory analysis; namely coding (including open coding, axial coding and selective coding) and adjunctive procedures (in this case memos where used).

The qualitative data gathered in this study (including interview data as well the data gathered through empirical observations made at the school) was categorised using open coding[236] which entailed a line-by-line analysis achieved by labelling of the text. Transcripts[237] were read and re-read whilst noting important (possible) themes and highlighting significant events using memos.[238] After consulting the memos, the transcripts were coded and those codes were refined when necessary. Common themes that emerged from the text were highlighted and utilized for a conceptual[239] analysis of the data. A conceptual analysis of data is a *process* that involves determining the level of analysis, deciding on how many concepts to code for, taking into account the frequency or the existence of the code, distinguishing amongst concepts, coding texts, and analysing the results. [240] Furthermore, the level of analysis of this study has been described as cognitive mapping[241], which extends and maps out the relationship between elements found in both proximity analy-

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234 Ibid.
235 Ibid.
236 Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, The basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998).
237 In some cases transcripts had to be translated first and were cross-referenced with the copious notes I made during each interview.
238 For a more detailed description of memos see: Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques (London: Sage, 1990).
239 Conceptual analysis was previously referred to as "Thematic Analysis' but is no longer favoured amongst qualitative researchers. See Earl Babbie and Johann Mouton Qualitative data analysis in The Practice of Social Research, South African Edition, (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2001), 492.
240 Ibid.
241 Ibid., 494.

sis[242] and affect extraction.[243] The final analysis has been presents the research as an ethnographic account of adolescent experiences of everyday racism and xenophobia.

The interviews that were conducted in German were also translated by a white German female translator. She also transcribed the interviews and highlighted instances where the participants may have displayed a significant reaction to the questions asked. For example, if the participant was particularly distressed or excited by a question asked. A few interviews were translated and transcribed by a German student/teacher-in-training who understood the complexity of the study. Once the interviews were translated and transcribed I read through them several times, coding and revising the previous codes each time. Codes were finalised when themes emerged from the data.

Empirical observations, which were documented via copious notes, underwent the same process of open-coding as the interviews. Codes were revised to until themes emerged that were most similar to the themes found in the interviews. Both similar and different themes were then analysed. Refined themes were then utilised in the analysis.

3.6   Obstacles anticipated and encountered

Anticipated obstacles included negotiating access to schools as well as negotiating informed consent from the parents of the children who were keen to participate in the study. The language barrier was the most obvious barrier expected. Furthermore, interviews were conducted at the school and finding a quiet private space suitable for interviews would not be easy to find.

Obstacles encountered included one parent who refused to allow his/her child to be interviewed and gave no reason for the objection. In addition, it was extremely difficult to locate students in order to answer their questions regarding the research as well as to arrange interviews that best suited their

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242 Proximity analysis has been described in Babbie and Mouton (2001) as the process in which the co-occurrence of more than one outstanding key concept in the text is utilized for the analysis of qualitative data.

243 Affect extraction has been described in Babbie and Mouton (2001) as an attempt to identify the emotions of the interviewees.

teeming timetables. The most astonishing discovery was the fact that the school did not list grade 8 – 13 learners[244] of immigrant backgrounds by name. The school's principal was only able to provide me with a list of genders and corresponding nationalities, but no names for learners in these grades. As mentioned previously, I discovered that this list did not prove to be accurate in terms of nationality.

It would have been ideal to have spent more time at that school; as well as to have conducted research at another school in the area in order to gain a deeper understanding of the current situation. However, a degree of familiarity with the school environment was attained; and some insight into the social atmosphere that the learners were positioned in was also gained. Initially, a second school was going to be researched in order to provide a more balanced view of the reality of the academic and social situation that children with immigrant backgrounds found themselves in. However, due to an unexpected school holiday, time constraints disallowed such an investigation. The second school that would have come under the lens of this research project was a public high school also located in Oldenburg. It was not, however an integrated *Gesamtschule*, and had a much greater population of learners with immigrant backgrounds which made it more typical of schools in Germany. Research at this school would have afforded the more common experience of learners with immigrant backgrounds in Germany. Unfortunately, the Integrated *Gesamtschule* had to suffice, and hence the nature of the research became focused on an analysis of a "model" school instead of the comparative study initially envisioned.

3.7 Research Constraints

The language barrier was an expected encounter. Although I spoke conversational German; it was insufficient to gauge the nuances of a more in-depth discussion. In order to minimize the loss of subtle nuances or ruptures to the interview process, the translator utilized was a not only a local, but was also briefed in detail and consulted regarding the exact wording and themes of each question. Furthermore, the 26 year old female German translator also translated the interviews with the pupils and was encouraged to comment on any nuances that could have been missed during the interviews. As for the interviews with adults, those who understood English well, were conducted

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244 Lists of this nature were only available for grade 5-7.

in English, and interviews with individuals who did not feel as confident speaking in the English language were conducted with the aid of the 30 year old German female, Ms von Möllendorff, who also co-supervised the research in Germany. The race, gender and nationality of the translators may have elicited "face-saving" strategies. Despite these precautions, it must be acknowledged that this research project is reflective of the impressions of a young, female South African foreigner of mixed heritage. Whilst some of the disadvantages to this position have been mentioned above; there are overlaps in the advantages and disadvantages faced. In addition to being a foreigner, being positioned as a young female may have had many consequences that can not be known for certain.

With reference to interviews with the learners, who were the primary subjects of this study, the overlaps may have included the possibility of not being taken seriously due to the age and gender of the interviewer. However, the relatively small age gap is likely to have been an advantage in the sense that it probably made the interview process run more smoothly since teenagers are more likely to relate to an interviewer who is closer in age. As for being a female, it can be argued that female interviewers are perceived as less threatening than their male counterparts. Furthermore, being a foreigner translated into the possibility of feeling a similar sense of alienation to the participants who have also been subjected to the German gaze. However, all the participants of this study were either born in Germany or had arrived in the country at a very young age. In contrast, being an outsider looking in affords the researcher a more objective lens that is crucial to the analysis of the data obtained. However, attention must be drawn to the fact that a qualitative study is subject to interpretation that is subjective in nature.

It is essential to note that the time spent at the school at which the primary research was conducted, served as a series of snapshots of the situation at that time. Whilst this small sample can not be generalized to a broader population, it may be possible to transfer my findings onto similar situations. In reality, the school has been described as a "model" school precisely because it is exceptional in many ways that have been outlined above.

3.8   Ethical Considerations

In order to protect the confidentiality of the interviewees, and to inform them of their rights, they were asked to sign a consent form. Informed consent from *both* parents and children was required for interviews. All research

participants – and in the case of learners this included their parents or guardian as well – were informed of their rights within the research process. These included: the right to terminate the interview at any stage, to make comments off the record, and access to the final research report upon request. In addition, interviewees were made aware of the fact that participation in the interviews was strictly voluntary and highly confidential.

In order to refrain from exploiting the vulnerability of the pupils' participation in the study, they were given the opportunity to ask me questions regarding the interviews without being watched by their teachers or peers, and were approached to sign the consent form on a voluntary basis. This was done in order to avoid coercion on my part, as well as on the part of parents whose signatures were also required for informed consent. Permission was obtained from participants to record the interviews using a recording device and supplementary hand-written notes were also taken to capture the essence of each interview. Both the notes and the mini-discs were labelled with pseudonyms used to protect the identities of the participants. Taking into account that I am aware of the identities of all the interviewees – despite having kept no record of their names – meant that anonymity could not be guaranteed to the participants of this study. At the start of each interview, my German translator explained that the interviewees' participation was strictly voluntary; that there was no "correct" or incorrect" answer to the questions asked; that they had the right to terminate the interview, go off the record or take breaks at any point during the interview process. Verbal consent was established prior to the interview and all records of the interviews referred to interviewees using pseudonyms. At the end of the interviews, all interviewees were given the space to make additional comments or enquiries and were offered a summary of the research findings if they so desired.

3.9   Self-Reflexivity

As a researcher I had to take into account the power dynamic between myself and the participants; taking into consideration the learners interviewed in particular. Even though adolescents the learners were at an age where they were developing a competent[245] awareness of their social reality; this does

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245 Susan Kirk, "Methodological and ethical issues in conducting qualitative research with children and young people: A literature review" in International Journal of nursing Studies, 2007, Vol. 44(7).

not make them invulnerable to exploitation[246] by the researcher. This meant taking into account the impact of my age, gender, "race(s)", nationality, education level, language(s), class and perceptions, in relation to the individuals I researched. It is often all too easy to categorise participants using binaries (such as immigrants versus locals (Germans), learners versus educators, and so forth) thereby revealing my own stereotyped beliefs. The impact of my presence at the school and interaction with the interviewees can not be measured because it is subjective, and unknown to me. I can only theorise around the *possible* impact of my interactions with the interviewees. Mikhail's (one of the learners I interviewed) comment at the end of the interview aptly captures this grey area of impact:

It is already enough that one is being asked.[247]

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246 Ibid.
247 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.

4 Research Findings and Analysis

4.1 The socio-cultural and economic contexts of individuals of immigrant origin

Whilst the social context at the school subscribes to a norm of "Germanness"; the socio-cultural contexts of its learners will obviously vary. The bastion of culture begins in the home where primary socialisation takes place. It is here that young children are taught to look for culturally "appropriate" social cues and trained to live within the norms of their cultural, religious and other social groups as well as their class. Each group has its own rules of engagement for successful participation in that group. Adolescents of immigrant origin in German schools have to maintain a balancing act between the socio-economic context found at home and that found at the schools they attend. They then position themselves accordingly. According to positioning theory, "what race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion mean for identity is not fixed, but flexible, shifting and contested." [248] People engage in dynamic social relationships in which each participant "creates and makes available positions for themselves and others to take up, ignore, or resist."[249] Positions only become 'subject positions' if people take up a particular position as their own – whether momentarily or for longer periods.

4.1.1 Socio-economic factors, racial-ethnic origin and social mobility

It is not unsurprising that various nationalities migrated to Germany; since it is one of the largest economies[250] in the world and has the appeal of a First World country that is perceived to offer a better life for all its inhabitants. Most immigrants see Germany as a place where they can seek better employment opportunities and provide their children with a high standard of education too.

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248 Ann Phoenix, "Remembered racialization: Young people and Positioning in differential understandings" in Racialization studies in theories and practice, Eds. K. Murji and J. Solomos (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005),105.

249 Ibid.

250 CIA World Factbook online [2006 estimates].

OL Schule was an interesting site of study since it is renowned for its officially non-racist and intercultural approach towards education. Whilst non-racialism and interculturalism is the official standpoint, the reality is that many teachers and students I came across did not have sufficient knowledge of the Other – which may partly be due to the fact that the Other is only meagrely represented at this school.

It was common for both learners and teachers to make assumptions regarding the nationality, culture and religion of the learners in their classes. For example, one of the teachers I interviewed told me that Kolzak was Russian, when in fact he was from Kazakstan. However, I could see why she would assume so, since he was Russian-speaking. The same teachers told me that Zerzan was a Muslim Turk. During an interview with Zerzan I discovered that he was not Muslim. He is a member of the Yazidi[251] faith. When Zerzan was asked if he knew why his parents immigrated to Germany he cited financial, political and religious issues in Turkey. When I asked him to elaborate, Zerzan[252] responded: "Because I'm not Muslim and it's not easy for my parents to find work. I'm Yazidi". When asked if being a Yazidi was problematic in Turkey; he said:

"For some Turks it's a problem. It's like Nazis. Only some [German] people don't like Jewish people. Only some Turks don't like Yazidis. I don't know what the problem is because I don't live there. Muslims and Yazidis engage in violence and that's why my parents left. But mostly it was for financial reasons".[253]

Financial circumstances appeared to be the chief motivation for immigration to Germany as confirmed by Kolzak (from Kazakstan) who cited "financial reasons"[254] for his family's immigration to Germany. Arash was, however, uncertain as to why his parents and many other relatives immigrated to Germany and the US. He said that they had everything they needed in Iran: "We

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251 Muslims are vehemently opposed to the Yazidi faith. Muslims and Yazidis strongly differ in their beliefs stemming from the Yazidi belief that Satan is not the devil, but is instead an angel. Of course there are differences in religious practice too. Factual information regarding the Yazidi faith was not easy to obtain.
252 Interview with Zerzan, May 2007.
253 Ibid.
254 Interview with Kolzak, May 2007.

had a house, we had a shop and we had a lot of fun there. We often went on holidays."[255]

In order to assess the socio-economic integration of immigrant-origin learners, Khalid (originally from Afghanistan) who was working in the field of education at a German university was asked if he felt that the schools that he had attended and been working in had integrated minority groups successfully. Khalid[256] said that it depended on where one grows up. He describes himself as lucky because he attended a school in a relatively small town, as opposed to bigger towns, like Bremen[257], where there is a larger population of immigrants and a lot of people who live in poverty. In bigger cities the lifestyle is harder and "[y]ou don't have the same chances" because there is a differential access to resources and…

> Khalid: …sometimes also youth that are not also well educated and their teachers are not prepared…I was at a *Gymnasium*. It's another thing if you are at the *Gymnasium* or the *Hauptschule*. It's totally different thing. If you work well then you can reach the things you want to reach. It's another atmosphere in the *Gymnasium*. There is more commitment. There is [a] more positive climate.

> Gyro: Would you say it's more inclusive, more accepting of people of different backgrounds than the *Hauptschule* or *Realshcule*?

> Khalid: I think yes. It also has something to do with the social background of the children attending the *Gymnasium*. If the teachers know that you come from a well-educated family background then they have no problems. If they know you come from a problematic background… If you don't then it's a higher probability that they won't teach you the same as they treat the others. It's not always good if the teachers know everything of the social background… And they get prejudices.

> Gyro: In your case did most of your teachers know about your parents' educational background?

> Khalid: Yes I think so. They learned about my mother's background. My mother was also a teacher. She speaks quite well German. And how much value it has on your education.

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255 Interview with Arash, May 2007.
256 Interview with Khalid, March 2007.
257 Bremen is Oldenburg's neighbouring city, just a 45 minute train ride away. Many residents commute between the two cities for work or study purposes.

Erika, the school social worker was asked if she thought that children with immigration backgrounds were happy with the atmosphere and their friends OL Schule.

Many say: It's better for me to live in Germany; because they have economic or

> political problems in their home country. It's difficult for some because they lost their native culture, language, friends, family. I can't say if they are happier. I don't know their feelings.[258]

The fact that all the teachers and social workers at OL Schule were German does not mean that they are ineffective as cultural workers; but that minority group children may find it more difficult to approach them as asymmetrical power relations are either consciously or subconsciously acknowledged. However, having educators from minority groups may make it easier to establish rapport with immigrant origin children who may be experiencing socio-cultural problems at the school. When interviewed, Hedja[259] (who had a Tunisian background) mentioned that the Department for Youth and Family asked her to help Arabic-speaking families and children who experienced problems at school because they thought that she "could understand them better – not only in terms of the Arabic language, but also Arabic culture." She believed that learners with immigrant and Islamic backgrounds at the primary school where she worked found it easy to approach her to discuss social issues:

"So I assist in understanding what is actually a social problem. For example, there is this fourteen year old girl. She has problems with her stepmother. The Youth Department says it's because her stepmother wears a *Kopstuhl* and is oppressing her. I think if she was German they would just say it's because of puberty. They want to push the point that it is an Arab problem. They are categorizing it as a cultural and racial conflict. These stereotypes of conflict are reflected in the Youth Department. This girl, in my opinion, has psychiatric problems. But the Youth Department says her father is forcing her to live in a Muslim way. The girl has been for psychiatric help. Her therapist says to me: You've got to save her from this family! But the girl loves her father because he raised her alone."

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258 Interview with Erika, April, 2007.
259 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.

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When Yahya[260] was asked if his teachers or peers treated him in a manner that was different to that of his German peers, his response was indicative of the notion that assimilation was equated with acceptance:

> Not with me, just the ones who always get themselves into trouble. That happened at my other school… I wasn't just at an integrated *Gesamtschule* in Aurich, I was at a *Realschule*, too, and there were a lot of foreigners– they didn't like foreigners. They gave me back grades, so I would have had to repeat a grade, but that didn't happen. There were 5 other foreigners with me in this class and they all had to repeat the grade, but not Germans. It was clear that they were sort of concentrated on us. Here there aren't many foreigners, either. That's why there isn't as much of a problem. There were more at my other school.[261]

Group threat theory explains hostility toward foreigners (xenophobia) as consequence of the perceived cultural or economic threat (whether real or imagined) that minority groups pose to the dominant group.[262] One dimension of competitive racism is highlighted when racial-ethnic groups are perceived as *creating* problems and hence *being* a problem.[263] In the context of the contemporary German education system, it could be argued that Germans view immigrants as a socio-economic "problem" – a group of poor people competing for the best education that will give them access to the best jobs. From a xenophobic perspective, children of immigrant origin are often suspected of introducing the following 'problems' into schools: challenging the secular nature of education, being a source of difficulty or deterioration for teachers or of tension for learners, as well as general problems that are the product of urban and social crises.[264] This could be part of the explanation for the actions of teachers with racial prejudice and xenophobic attitudes who may recommend a learner of immigrant origin to the *Realschule* or *Haupt-*

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260 Interview with Yahya, May 2007.
261 Ibid.
262 Mikael Hjerm, "Do Numbers Really Count? Group Threat Theory Revisited" in Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies, 2007, Vol. 33 (8), 1254; Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
263 Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).
264 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

schule regardless of their academic capabilities and achievements. Another explanation for this is that these teachers may have low expectations of immigrant origin learners (which will be discussed later in this analysis).

4.1.2 Socio-cultural factors, nationality and identity

As current theorisation of Hybrid[265] identities would lead us to expect, the learners at OL Schule are taking advantage of the in-betweenness of vascillating between two (or more) cultures. This Third space provides hybrids with the opportunity to negotiate the differences to their advantage and in doing so, they position themselves into hyphenated identities (for example, German-Turk). Yahya, a pupil at OL Schule, was born to an Egyptian mother and a Lebanese father. When asked if he would consider himself to be German or half-Egyptian and half-Lebanese; he responded: "Absolutely not Lebanese!" He refused to identify as Lebanese because he had had no contact with his father. However, he goes to Egypt once a year and it had become a second home to him. When asked whether he felt more German, half-German, or half Egyptian; Yahya said that he felt "seventy-five percent German!" Later that month, I saw Yahya's beaming face on the cover of a local newsletter for German teenagers. He was holding up his identification document and in the article proudly declared himself to be a German citizen which indicated his willingness to be integrated into German society.

Other immigrant-origin adolescents also described their relationship to their mother country as their home or second home (if they were born in Germany). Arash left Iran at the age of six years and when asked what it was like when he arrived in Germany he said:"At the beginning it was really cool. At last to be out of Iran, but now I have sometimes a little bit of homesickness."[266] Arash[267] expressed the desire to visit his family in Iran because to him "it is home. I feel good there. I don't know why, but… I think I would manage it there better than here." [268] He also described the difference in behaviours and mentalities between Germans and Iranians:

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265 See Bhabha (1994) in Paul Meredith (University of Waikato), Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Paper Presented to Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, 7-9 July 1998.
266 Interview with Arash, May 2007.
267 Ibid.
268 Ibid.

> For example if someone here [in Germany] has an accident, then they would call the police and so. But in Iran you say *hello!* And you are more friendly. You manage it by yourself and the people there are not that cold. If you talk to them they like to answer and they are help-ful.[269]

Zerzan also expressed a strong sense of belonging and attachment to his parent's country of origin event though he was born in Oldenburg. When asked if he had ever been to Turkey he said that he went there with his family once a year.[270] When asked what it was like in Turkey, he said: "It's not just a holiday feeling. It's more. We visit my aunts and uncles. It's a familiar feeling *(He smiles)*. I can't explain it."[271]

As the theory of positioning[272] would suggest, Yayha appears to have adopted a subject position of being German, choosing from amongst the many contesting and shifting possibilities for identification. Sometimes individuals are conscious of their subject positions; but are often unaware of the positions they ascribe to others or take upon for themselves. Asking interviewees – both adults and adolescents – of immigrant origin to describe how they identified themselves in opposition to how they were identified by Germans or others of the same background lent insight into how they were positioned in German society.

Amisha[273] worked in the field of education and described herself as being very proud of her Indian descent. However, said that it was difficult to explain how she would identify herself because it depended on who was asking and what context she found herself in.

> Depending on the tone of voice I can be very obstinate…It depends if the context is right…What I don't like is the German shopkeepers asking me where I am from or complimenting me on my good grasp of German, which I find extremely insulting... I don't want to answer or respond to these people because it will change nothing. They think it's appropriate to ask people they don't even know in a very belligerent, top-down kind of way to ask where I am from… I always answer

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269 Ibid.
270 Interview with Zerzan, May 2007.
271 Ibid.
272 Ann Phoenix, "Remembered racialization: Young people and Positioning in differential understandings" in Racialization studies in theories and practice, Eds. K. Murji and J. Solomos (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
273 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.

> children and people with a foreign background because there is a different kind of connection I feel with those people.

Amisha[274] said that she had German citizenship since the age of ten years when her family "switched over" and had to pay an exorbitant amount of money since German citizenship was not automatic even if you are born there. Her parent's decision was also motivated by the fact that "there was – I am not sure what it is like now – a special quota at university for students from non-German origins…why should I have less of a chance of getting the seat if I just fall into that 10 % instead of being a German?" Amisha[275] also told me that her parents were "very secure in their Indian-ness" because they had never been anything else. "They are not stuck in the middle like I am. Every now and then I say Germany and every now and then I answer Indian." Amisha speaks to the notion of the 'Third Space' in which she vacillates between being a person of colour (culturally identifying as Indian or politically identifying as Black) and being German (not noticing the colour of her skin) in upbringing and lifestyle. Whilst she oscillates between seemingly fixed identities in this Third space, she also has the agency to *choose* her identities and to define *herself*.

Hedja[276] identified herself as an "Arab. I am not a German girl! I'm German because I have German nationality and Tunisian. I like Germany." In terms of how she was identified by Germans; she said that they saw her as exotic.

> I think it's not nice because I am not exotic. I am normal. I am not different… Why should I be exotic? They are very curious. All the way from school time, the pupils did not know I was Tunisian. When I told them Tunisia is North Africa. Pupils did not want to believe I am African. They say: Huh? But you are not Black! Then they say: You are from Tunisia or Indonesia? I am African.[277]

Hejda felt "surprised" to know that Germans perceived her to be German because she felt that she did not look like a German:

> My hair is curly. My nose is little bit bigger, and my lips are bigger… Everyone is different. When I was young people would ask first of all if I was German then Russian, Poland, Turkish, Italian – but Tunisian, very little. Less if I was Arabic. I don't

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274 Ibid.
275 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.
276 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.
277 Ibid.

know why. It shows that you can't say from the outside if you are German or not.

Hedja is able to position herself according to the contexts she finds herself in. When she feels that it is necessary to emphasize her German identity she does so and she does the same with her Tunisian/Arab and Tunisian/African identity. It is interesting to see how Hejda sees herself as no different from other people in one moment, and in the next she mentions all the physical characteristics that differentiate her from Germans, and in other moment she will say that she looked like a German child with blonde hair when she was younger. Unlike her darker skinned family members, or Amisha, Hejda has been able to *choose* her identity when it suits her because she looks German. Hedja also says that she was never treated differently to Germans because of her appearance, however, her darker-skinned German-speaking mother and siblings were treated differently.

> [F]or example, I saw my mother with a *Kopftuch*.[278] She looks a little bit dark. She looks like a *Moslemisch*[279] woman. When they talk to my mother at the supermarket they use another language than they do with me. With my mother they speak so slowly and broken German. Think she can't speak German. Once I was in the supermarket with my two daughters, and they look a little bit brown... A man came up to me and asked me if they could understand him. Ah! I thought why not? I am sure in the future my daughters will be handled different.[280]

In order to assess intra-group acceptance, adults of immigrant origin were asked if they had any attachment to their own communities and if so, how they were identified by their own communities. Hejda[281] said that the Tunisian community in Bremen did not accept her as Tunisian, but as German because her best friend was German. Hedja said that she did not care that the German-Tunisians did not accept her as Arab/Tunisian. She said this rejection was due to the fact that she lived her life outside of the Tunisian community where Tunisian is spoken; whereas she spoke the language with a German dialect. When she went with her family on vacations to Tunisia, they went as tourists and she often took her German friend with her. She also described the Tunisian community in Tunisia as "a little *dorf*" [282] with a

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278 Islamic headscarf.
279 Translated it means "Muslim".
280 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.
281 Ibid.
282 Translated it means "village".

mentality that did not interest her. Consequently, the Tunisian locals also perceived her to be German. Hedja described her father as "open". He also took her to discos ad drank alcohol; but her sister was the opposite…

> She likes the Tunisian way of marriage and culture…Everyone is different… Sometimes they ask me as well, not just Germans, but Muslims, why I don't wear a

> scarf. I tell them if I don't want to wear it then I won't. It's a little bit private. Why

> should I tell them?

Amisha[283] told me that Germany has never been an attractive country for Indians to migrate to and that there was no Indian community in Bremen. She didn't know anyone from the Indian community because her parents had no connections to the Indian community in Germany even thought they were both born in India. She said that the other Indian children who were in touch with the Indian community knew Indian languages and watched Indian movies. Instead, her family …

> did the typical German thing and took trips to France and Spain and up to the North Sea in Easter and not to India. So they had little trinkets, clothes and bangles and knew so much more about the culture and I didn't. And my parents were not interested and became distant.[284]

Amisha was ambiguous in her response to being at a loss for not having that connection to the Indian community.

> No, it's more complicated than that. My parents are extremely open-minded and

> brought me up to be a strong a feminist inclined woman... not having ties to the community has got to do with the geography; as in us being in this small town. There is a community about two-and-a-half to three-and-a-half hours away. I found these people to be very annoying and they are very close minded… Kind of traditional… They were strangers to me. And I found them to be quite ugly looking. The Indians. The men all have moustaches and I found that very weird. It was

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283 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.
284 Ibid.

different… Actually I missed out a lot because I never had anyone to speak the Indian language[285] to; which they taught me painstakingly.

Hedja, unlike her sister, did not see the need to maintain a traditional Tunisian/Arab lifestyle. Her sister was well accepted by Tunisians in Germany because she maintained contact with Tunisia, whilst Hedja did not. Her sister married a Tunisian man, whilst Hedja's first husband was a Lebanese man. Unlike Amisha, Hedja has had access to the Tunisian community where she resides in Bremen as well as to the community in Tunisia. Immigrant communities, such as the Turks and Tunisians in Germany, that hold fast to their cultures, traditions, language and faith who choose to operate alongside, but not within, their host societies, are known as 'parallel societies'.[286] This type of community was not attractive to either Amisha or Hejda because they were born in Germany and lived a non-traditional lifestyle.

Amisha[287] was frustrated by the blanket statements (made by Germans) about Indian lifestyle(s), Hindu beliefs and the lack of knowledge about Others in general: "I mean come on people, read a book! I'm not your book!" She also said that the First Worlds lack of knowledge about the Third World was as bad as possessing…

> a very dangerous half-knowledge of supposed things…Believe me, after 30 years people are asking the same questions. I am not the one who has to go around enlightening people… You know I wanted to be white in behavior and in everything, and the skin colour was just a mistake.

Here Amisha shows signs of having negated her own identity in the past when she was aspiring to the notion of whiteness and "authentic" Germanness that she believed would enable her to successfully integrate into the community she lived and schooled in. Thus, she used fashion and arrogance to protect herself from being Othered. Amisha also described how she was perceived by Germans of different ages.

> I tend to be quite an arrogant person. It is not necessarily because I am arrogant. This is a protective feature. So if you come across as being

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285 Amisha told me that she spoke Malayalam but refused to continue speaking it at the age of 6 years. Her parent's common language is German so for her it was always a special effort to make her speak the language.

286 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).

287 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.

arrogant people react to it; and strangely enough people mostly react to it with a slight degree of deference. And this is what I do because people in general perceive me to be less knowledgeable, less intelligent, less…because of my skin colour…Sometimes the picture in their heads is so strong they don't even hear what I am saying…So being fashionable is also one of my ways of establishing who I am very clearly so no one can mess around with me. I'm very weary of old people because if I look at them those are the people who voted for the Nazis and participated in their crimes... If I ever end up in a situation like having Neo-Nazis sitting in a train with me…[But] [i]t never happens to me because I am very careful of where I go… I know that there is quite an active scene [of Neo-Nazis] here in Oldenburg and you recognize them by the way they dress. They are bald.

In order to assess whether there were (perceived) differences along the dimensions of race, nationality, religion or culture; we asked learners if they thought there were any differences and the similarities between themselves and their German schoolmates. Arash[288] said that his appearance to that of Germans so people could see that he was not from Germany and "perhaps some have prejudices against foreigners."

Orhan,[289] a Turkish learner, said that his culture and religion differentiated him from Germans, but "otherwise I feel the same as them."Orhan's response is shows that his view of difference is deeply embedded in *contradictions*. On the one hand he sees culture and religion as an obvious difference. On the other hand it appears as if he experiences a high level of inclusivity since he has German friends at school and Turkish friends too. However, the case of most of the respondents was that they had German friends at school and another set of friends at home who either of the same origin or also of immigrant origin which highlights the formation of parallel societies[290] that operate alongside German society.

Mikhail[291] also indicated that the German-Russian difference was that he was from a "totally different culture" and in the process of adapting to German culture he is now able to "handle two cultures." Mikhail's integration into German society was thus contingent on his ability to adapt to his new

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288 Interview with Arash, May 2007.
289 Interview with Orhan, May 2007.
290 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).
291 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.

environment. This also indicates that he is vacillating between two cultures developing his identity in the Third Space. He also added that his experience was different from his German peers because…

> I have seen many more sad pictures of life. For example, I have also been to Russia

> a lot during holidays…I had also been beaten by Russian skinheads. They recognised me and said that I moved to Germany etc. You will not get away from here! In front of my eyes my friend had been shot because he placed himself in front of me…They asked him: what are you doing with this betrayer? Which was me. Piss off and so on. And my friend said: I do not leave him alone because he moved away. And that is why he was presented as a traitor… I was fifteen then.

The fact that a group of teenagers can have internalised the Russian-German conflict of their forefathers indicates that xenophobic hatred and fears are deposited from one generation to the next. Germans have captured the notions of foreignness and strangeness in the terms *Ausländerfeindlichkeit and Fremdenfeindlichkeit,* respectively.[292] *Fremdenfeindlichkeit,*is the more popular term and denotes hostility toward *particular* foreigners.

4.2 The German education system in practice

4.2.1 *The educational experience at OL Schule*

Interviewees[293] made constant comparisons to OL Schule and X-strasse[294] in the same area but which had a much greater immigrant origin population. The presence of immigrant origin learners was associated with social problems such as delinquency, violence and poor academic achievement.[295] Learners of immigrant origin interviewed admitted that the chief reason why they or their parents chose OL Schule was that the number of foreign students was significantly lower than that of surrounding schools. What is striking is that OL Schule is not a private school, but is instead a public school that manages to have a tiny "foreign" population. The presence of immigrant

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292 Jürgen Winkler, "Explaining individual racial prejudice in contemporary Germany" in Education and Racism, Eds. L. Hagendoorn and S. Nekuee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
293 Interview with Fabian, March 2007; Interview with Yahya, April 2007.
294 This is a pseudonym for the school.
295 Interview with Fabian, March 2007; Interview with Yahya, April 2007.

origin learners was associated with social problems such as delinquency, violence, conflict[296] and poor academic[297] achievement.

In order to gauge parental commitment to their children's education, we asked the learners if they knew why their parents sent them to OL Schule. Instead, I discovered that the school was chosen based on its reputation[298] for having low immigrant population associated with the school's track record for high academic achievement. This finding highlighted how immigrant origin parents and their children have internalized racial/cultural stereotypes of immigrants as 'problematic,'[299] assuming that they would instigate violence and create an atmosphere of laziness, delinquency and low work ethic.

Yahya[300] chose the school himself because he wanted to attend an integrated *Gesamtschule* and had heard that OL Schule had a good reputation. He mentioned that crime and delinquency was a problem with immigrant groups. He did not get along with them because he observed that they would loiter instead of doing their school work and some also engaged in violence against Germans. According to him, the low immigrant population at OL Schule thus made it a more attractive place for him to be educated without distractions.

Mikhail[301] chose the school for himself because he had heard that school had a good reputation, it was not associated with criminal acts, he would be able to get assistance with his homework at school, and because he liked the general conditions which would make it easier for him to graduate.

> because of the low amount of foreigners… I know what it is like at other schools. That
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> there are, for instance, people with Turkish background that tell you, you are a Russian and blah blah blah. Because there are still often arguments at the school with others. I went to this school especially because I do not like that.

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296 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.
297 Interview with Ula, April 2007.
298 Interview with Arash, April 2007; Interview with Fabian, March 2007; Interview with Mikhail, April 2007; Interview with Orhan, May 2007; Interview with Yahya, April 2007; Interview with Zerzan, April 2007.
299 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
300 Interview with Yahya, April 2007.
301 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.

Arash[302] said that his parents sent him to OL Schule because they felt that it would be better for him to attend a *Gesamtschule*[303]:

> My parents are intelligent but of course they don't know much about German history and so on. My mom was a teacher in Iran. So it's better for me to be here in that school where I can do my homework and so on with some help.

One of the features that differentiated OL Schule from mainstream schools was the extended school day. Homework is incorporated into the school day where they have teachers and peers available to assist them. OL Schule recently introduced a peer program in which younger learners of immigrant origin link up with older learners who assisted them with their homework.

Ula,[304] one of the teachers at OL Schule, stated that there was a very small immigrant population of the school and that the school "was the choice of parents". She said that primary schools usually send immigrant-origin learners to *Hauptschule* because they think it's better to separate them…

> because a lot of teachers think it's German tradition that you can better work with children on the same level. They think that children with immigrant backgrounds are academically weaker. But I don't think it's necessarily true... Only our school and one other school in Oldenburg are *Gesamtschule*, comprehensive schools... The rest are all traditional – which means that they separate the different levels of learning. Schools have been like this for over two hundred years…other schools are making a big mistake in separating the children. This creates conflict on a social level because they don't know each other.

In order to gain an impression of the everyday experience of immigrant origin learners; interviewees were asked whether they liked OL Schule or not. Arash[305] said that he did not initially like the school but has come to appreciate it because he is "together with people that are not so intelligent, but you can also learn a lot from them… I like it to be in one class with all that different views, that's cool." His comment indicates that learning from peers at different academic levels and with various perspectives and backgrounds

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302 Interview with Arash, April 2007.
303 This type of school integrates learners of all learning levels from grades five to thirteen. It also includes special education and children with disabilities.
304 Interview with Ula, April 2007.
305 Interview with Arash, April 2007.

creates an educationally enabling environment that is beneficial for *all* learners irrespective of race, culture or educational aptitude.

Mikhail[306] was asked if his classmates or teachers treated him differently because he is from Russia. He said they used to treat him differently because of language difficulties. Things had to be explained more precisely, "but that was all… they did not hassle me or treat me somehow badly. According Frieda,[307] one of the teachers at OL Schule, the desk arrangement enables group learning as learners are given…

> group work exercises to find solutions together. Each group has one very intelligent child, one normal and one not so intelligent child so they can help each other. I want to guide them. These children come from normal [economic] backgrounds, they are not poor.

Kolzak[308] said that he was happy most of the time; but also that children sometimes treated him differently because he was Russian.

> Kolzak   : Sometimes we fight a little. But only with *Scott. *Scott fights with me. I don't know why. Sometimes we are friends and sometimes we fight. Some other boys and girls treat me differently – mostly boys. They call me "Russian" and stuff like that. But no fighting… My classmates say: "Go back to where you're from!"
>
> Gyro: How do you react to them when they say things like that?
>
> Kolzak: In by the one ear and out by the other.

I discovered that it was not uncommon for Russian pupils to suffer such hostility; because I incorrectly assumed that white migrants would be automatically accepted and that the remigrants would be welcomed back in Germany. However, the opposite is true: Eastern Europeans are often Othered by Western Europeans and remigrants are not considered to be authentically German even if they are ethnic Germans.

Arash[309] was unsure as to whether he was happy at the school or not. He said that he did not know; but had "that feeling sometimes in the past, that they treat me in a different way because I am a foreigner but not nowadays." Be-

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306 Interview with Mikhail, May 2007.
307 Interview with Frieda, April 2007.
308 Interview with Kolzak, 2007.
309 Interview with Arash, April 2007.

ing unable to pinpoint the exact nature of racist incidences is another feature of everyday racism.

Zerzan[310] said that his teachers did not treat him differently. He said that he liked the school and that it had a good atmosphere. One of Yahya's teachers praised him for his intelligence and said that he was a pleasure to teach. It would not be uncommon in any school for a teacher to favour intelligent children and react negatively towards pupils, like Zerzan, who was disruptive in class. One of Zerzan's teachers mentioned that his attitude was problematic because in her view:

> Muslim[311] boys have to be strong and successful. *Zerzan has a mask. He acts out. He has seven sisters and is the only boy. He is very masculine. His parents may value him more than his sisters. [312]

I also observed Zerzan in the classroom and noticed his arrogant and sexist attitudes as well as his generally disruptive behaviour in the classroom. It is, however, easy to overlook the fact that many males act out their masculinity during their adolescence.

Orhan[313] said that he had not "seen any hostile treatment. It's always been pretty normal. Friendly, nice…with teachers and with schoolmates too." When Steffi added that it was a strange question to ask, Orhan agreed:

> Yeah, actually, it's really good because there aren't so many foreigners here. Because if I... had gone to a *Hauptschule* it wouldn't have been so nice. I actually think this school is pretty good.

Here Orhan shows insight into being positioned as a pupil of immigrant origin. He knows that if he was sent to a *Hauptschule* that his situation would be very different than at the *Gesamtschule*. One of the main differences between OL Schule and other schools is that children of immigrant origin are over-represented at the *Hauptschule*.

In order to compare OL Schule to mainstream German schools in the Niedersachsen province, Fabian[314] and the pupils were asked if they thought there were any differences between OL Schule and other schools in Oldenburg.

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310 Interview with Zerzan, May 2007.
311 Leyna incorrectly assumed that Zerzan was Muslim. He was of the Yazidi faith.
312 Interview with Leyna, April 2007.
313 Interview with Orhan, May 2007.
314 Fabian is a pseudonym for the ex-principal of a high school in Port-Elizabeth, South Africa who was living in Oldenburg.

Mikhail[315] was a conflict mediator[316] at the school and mentioned that there were conflicts between Turkish and Russian learners.

> [I]t is really the Turkish immigrants, who are looking for trouble, they really start the arguments and transfer this to others. If you do that at a younger age, then you will become like that later also…That lies in the mentality… I come from Russia…There I was beaten up every day also. Just for nothing. I am actually Jewish, that is why I also came here to Germany and that is why I was also accepted to this school without being on the waiting list. Because I think that is really because of the persecution in the "Old country"….[317] [I]n Turkey or elsewhere people also had been beaten up and then had come to Germany and now trying to struggle through (get along) so that this would not happen again… basically just like with me. I was being picked on and beaten the whole time – because there was also a war between Germany and Russia. And when the Russians from my street got to know that I was going to move to Germany they said I was a betrayer and I got beaten…There they often also shoot because of things like that.

Paused in contemplation.

> At the beginning I was also a little like that because at first I did not know how it works like here in Germany. I played soccer and I was hustled and picked on and then I just could not hold myself back. I… slapped him. But then I apologized the next day... It is really a completely different world here…

Mikhail's prejudice and critique of Turkish people is filled with contradictions. On the one hand he vehemently brands *them* all as problematic and on the other he contrasts the Turkish experience with his own. However, he is so consumed by his own xenophobic attitudes towards Turkish people, that he is unable, or perhaps unwilling to see that he actually had similar experiences of being abused or confused in his new environment.

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315 Interview with Mikhail, May 2007.
316 In German schools there are often programmes that teach pupils how to mediate conflicts when you see somebody in trouble. You can do that course voluntarily (The interviewee does not say whether he took part in it).
317 Steffi, my translator, said that he is probably referring to "country of origin."

4.2.2   Multicultural education

The whole school approach to multicultural education seeks to change the
entire school environment to meet the needs of *all* learners. This means that
attempts are made to adapt the total school environment in order to cater for
greater diversity in the school population as a whole. To this end, the school
has not created an environment that significantly reflects diversity in its
learner population. The total school environment as a system consists of
factors such as a school culture, school policy, politics and the formalised
curriculum.[318] The whole school approaches also encourages the appoint-
ment of teachers from all racial-ethnic groups, which did not appear to be the
case at this school.

But is it critical enough?

Multicultural education is anti-racist approach which aims at imparting
knowledge and skills that equips children to develop the ability to recognise
and combat prejudice. OL Schule has a reputation for being an anti-racist
school with an intercultural approach towards education. Findings suggest
that learners are receiving an intercultural education that fosters a critical
attitude in immigrant-origin adolescents. However, it could be argued that
minority group members are more inclined to accept intercultural education
as they are keenly aware of (and may experience) the costs of a lack of inter-
cultural awareness first hand.

Mikhail[319] described the conditions at OL Schule as favourable, making it
easier to graduate there and…

> …from the beginning you will learn to be considerate of others, that
> you also take care of others. It is not simply a general education (that
> is educating on a broader level) school, where you do not only learn
> how to read and write I think.

Mareen,[320] a teacher at OL Schule said that the school did not have an offi-
cial policy regarding the integration of minority group children; but that it
had a very active anti-racism campaign. Whilst Mareen was not sure of the
school's policy for integration of minority group children, she mentioned that

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318 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high
      schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
319 Interview with Mikhail, May 2007.
320 Mareen is a pseudonym for the teacher who was interviewed in March 2007.

there are a few learners who are trained for peer conflict resolution.[321] *Klassenrat* is a weekly meeting in which learners discuss whatever is most pertinent for their class (for example whether they should paint the class or deal with a conflict). There are always two educators present (one male and one female). The school also encourages peer tutoring. One such program involves grade nine pupils who provide support for grade seven pupils whose parents do not speak German.

OL Schule and a (formerly Coloured) high school in Port Elizabeth have been in partnership through an intercultural exchange[322] program since 2000. Ula[323] described the exchange experience from the point of view of German children who had gone to South Africa. She said that they missed home the first week but adapted quickly and that school…

> is hard in South Africa – all of them say this. They say it's boring because you just listen and don't get to think for yourself. South African pupils said they never thought they would love school; but in Germany they look forward to school.

The exchange program gives German students a sense of the hardships of underprivileged South African pupils. When they go back to their own school they only interact with a meagre immigrant population. So while they are exposed to diversity on a large scale during the intercultural exchange program, they encounter very little real diversity at OL Schule; thereby revealing a contradiction in the school's integration policy.

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321 An Example of Klassenrat: I observed 29 pupils in a discussion facilitated by 2 German teachers (one female and one male) who used this time to discuss issues, problems and events that affected the pupils. Topics on the agenda that day included: class duties for the week, a five day field trip to Schleswig-Holstein with the class planned for later in 2007, an athletics competition, and an issue with a boy who was bullying some other children. This boy was present and was clearly held accountable for his actions to all the pupils in the room – each of whom could have a say in the matter. The teachers ensured that the enquiry regarding his aggressive behaviour did not become hostile.

322 Students in the South African workshop are from grades ten to thirteen. In South Africa, German pupils study South African history with South African pupils. Every year since 2003 OL Schule has sent two to four pupils who go on the exchange every month. In 2004 seven South African students and three teachers went to Germany for three weeks and they worked together with the staff and students of OL Schule on solar energy and together built solar power project.

323 Interview with Ula, April 2007.

Fabian[324] is the ex-principal of the South African school that is partnered with OL Schule. He said that the exchange program benefited both South African and German learners. According to him, the South African learners at his school (an ex-Coloured school) do not have access to white people in every institution. Therefore the exchange is an "eye-opener" because they get to see…

> a world beyond my little ghetto. German students see the reverse. They develop an awareness of how fortunate they are as well as interdependence. They get to see the unequal distribution of wealth and resources in our world. They found that South African people are so happy and friendly despite the fact that they have so little. And that South Africans laugh a lot.

The peer programs and the intercultural exchange are indications that OL Schule is committed to establishing an appreciation for diversity within the school. However, the classroom environment does not reflect that diversity in its learner population. Hence, the selection criterion for gaining entry into the school falls under question.

Teachers define the quality of the curriculum.

A school can attempt to incorporate a multicultural curriculum into the school program. However, the teachers' commitment to interculturalism[325] is the real indicator of whether diversity will be appreciated at the school or not. Empirical observations at OL Schule revealed that teachers were utilizing various mediums across subjects (namely, English, Religion and Ethics, and History and Politics) to introduce elements of multiculturalism into the curriculum. Maps, music, film clips and group projects supported discussions about minority groups other religions, and the history of occupation in various countries. Empirical observations have shown that this has been accomplished by the school. To this end, empirical observations have revealed that the school has made attempts to incorporate a critical multicultural awareness through teaching the histories if injustice around the world. However, it appears as if the nature of the dissemination of anti-racist education lies at the discretion of the individual teachers.

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324 Interview with Fabian, March 2007.
325 Multiculturalism and Interculturalism are used interchangeably. However, the former is the more popular term and the latter is a more recent development of the term.

The multicultural approach aims at empowering educators with skills to teach in multicultural learning environments.[326] Intercultural sensitivity training is necessary for such an approach to be successful. Khalid[327] commented on the differences between the *Gymnasium* and the *Hauptschule* as well as role of teachers' commitment to multiculturalism.

> [S]ometimes youth that are not also well educated and their teachers are not prepared…I was at a *Gymnasium*. It's another thing if you are at the *Gymnasium* or the *Hauptschule*. It's totally different thing. If you work well then you can reach the things you want to reach. It's another atmosphere in the *Gymnasium*. There is more commitment. There is [a] more positive climate.

If teachers have low expectations of ethnic minority learners, this may result in their inferior treatment in the classroom by giving them less attention, praise, contact, or resources that educators have the power to distribute. Such discrimination could result in the under-achievement of ethnic minority pupils because they are not given the support in order to excel in the classroom.[328] Hedja[329] described how her schooling career in Germany differed from that of her darker skinned siblings who were grouped with Turkish children and other foreigners. She said that she had "never felt racism" or that she had been treated any different to her German best friend. She always had opportunities because she was quiet, intelligent and looked German. However, her siblings had the opposite educational experience. She described a recurring incident in which she accompanied her mother to her younger brother's parent-teacher meetings because her father was always working and her mother's grasp of German was not very good.

> [It was always the same… [T]he teacher told me: you can't talk Turkish to your brother all the time. It's not good for him! I told her that we are not Turkish! We are *Tunisisch*[330]…and we don't speak *Arabisch*[331] in the house. My mother talks to us *Arabisch* and we spoke German. This was not just one time…This teacher was a little

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326 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
327 Interview with Khalid, March 2007.
328 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
329 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.
330 Translated it means "Tunisian".
331 Translated it means "Arab".

bit racist. And he is still there at *P Schule.[332] I will never forget that, my brother had this friend from Somalia and his best friend was Turkish. And once…[a]ll three of them got good marks for the test but the teacher refused to give them a good mark. The teacher said: You are not good at school. You will work on the streets. You are monkeys! And made jokes about Prophet Muhammed and the Qu'ran.

It could be argued that as a result of being viewed differently by their teachers, Hedja was sent to a *Gymnasium* whilst her darker skinned brother was referred to a *Realschule* despite his good academic achievements. Her brother's teacher displayed an overtly racist attitude and Islamaphobia which contributed to her low expectations of the immigrant-origin learners in her class. This is one example of how a teacher's negative and xenophobic attitudes can cap the learners' potential and negatively impact their schooling career at the emotional and academic level. Underestimation legitimizes the continued exclusion of minority groups from fair access to resources.[333] The dominant group has vested interests in perpetuating the view that minorities are low achievers, inferior, less intelligent and incompetent. The underestimation of learners (like Kolzak, Hejda's younger brother and his friends as well as the continued underestimation of Amisha) and lack of encouragement by educators makes learners feel underrated when it is assumed that they are low achievers or unqualified for positions.

Teachers and the school social worker commented on the overall level of diversity awareness at the school. Erika[334] said that they had lessons such Politics and Religion where they learn about race, disability and gender and "We try to look at problems. We don't say: There is no problem or be blind to it." Whilst Erika, as the school social worker, was very willing to confront issues concerning immigrant-origin to assist them, generally the educator's at the school felt that treating all children the same way would be the best way to appreciate diversity. Silke,[335] one of the teachers was another exception: she tackled controversial issues directly.

> We teach them about other cultures, religion, etc. In my class[336] I taught about the facts about Islam and the problems they have since

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332 P Schule is a pseudonym for the school in Bremen that she and her siblings attended.
333 Philomena Essed, Understanding Everyday Racism (London: Sage Publications, 1991).
334 Interview with Erika, April 2007.
335 Interview with Silke, April 2007.
336 Silke teaches the subjects of Art and Economics.

9/11. They have a difficult position in the world. We talk about how to help integrate. I taught them not to say "The Moslems." All are the same. The person, the human being… Everybody is different. It doesn't depend on colour of skin, religion or country.

Parents' attitude towards their children's education

Most of the educators interviewed agreed that parental commitment to their children's education was key to their success at school. Some educators[337] and learners[338] emphasized the willingness of the immigrant parents (especially those who were unable to speak adequate German) to ensure that their children attended schools that would maximise their chances at gaining the best employment.

Silke[339] was asked if the school made adequate accommodations for learners of immigrant origin. She said that immigrant-origin parents were supportive of their children but that there were no programs to help them and that teachers wanted to help learners but they are unable to do so since they needed the government to give them the lesson plans to assist learners who were struggling at the school.

Most teachers saw a strong connection between ethnic origin and students' performances. Some of the teachers interviewed at OL Schule mostly emphasized the deficits of children of immigrant origin but never mentioned those of ethnic German students. In addition to negative[340] assumptions regarding learning performance of immigrant-origin learners, some teachers had a lack of knowledge concerning the cultures of their pupils which also negatively impacted the way they were perceived (and perhaps also how they were assessed). The aforementioned incidences are examples of marginalization of minority group learners that is rooted and expressed in explanations associating them with problems such as being less intelligent, having language deficiencies, lacking cultural sophistication, and having an insufficient work ethic or inept social skills. [341]

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337 Interview with Fabian, March 2007; Interview with Mareen, March 2007; Interview with Silke, April 2007.
338 Interview with Khalid, March 2007; Interview with Arash, April 2007.
339 Interview with Silke, April 2007.
340 For example, when I told Leyna that I was looking for learners of immigrant origin to interview, she told me that Kolzak was Russian and "was not so smart".
341 Philomena Essed, "Everyday Racism" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

4.2.3   The Impact of Education on Racism and Xenophobia

Critical skills of reflection and communication usually increase at higher levels of education. However, this does not mean a degree from a tertiary institution guarantees critical knowledge or insight into racism. However, education is an important means of "expanding one's understanding of society and of developing critical skills to interpret and evaluate the social world."[342] It is important to provide all learners of all ages with a multicultural education that is critical of the status quo and thereby equips them to exercise their democratic rights.

Hedja[343] described situations in which people were prejudiced towards her when she told them that she was unashamedly Arab and Muslim. "Now they look at me differently. They look surprised because I don't wear a *Kopstuhl*. But they don't say negative things." She also provided her view of how education levels could either facilitate, or hamper intercultural dialogues. In the first example, the she refers to a discussion she had with an uneducated man:

> I overheard a German saying bad things about Muslims. I confronted him. I asked him: How do you know this? He said: I saw it on T.V. So I asked him if he read the Qur'an. He said: No. Okay maybe not all Muslims are like this. I worked with less educated people. They are more ignorant…[H]e was not educated at all… He thought that all Muslim women were oppressed… When I told him I am Moslem and I know it is not true what he said. Then he started to listen to me and he said: Okay, maybe not everybody.

In the second example mentioned by Hedja, the more highly educated individual was described as being unwilling to even listen to her view:

> I spoke to a very well educated student who wanted to buy something from a Black woman and called her a nigger. I confronted him but he said it is his right. Then he started to offend me…He was very arrogant about Muslims… He didn't want to listen to me at all. Then I told him: You can't say this!

Hejda then described the difference between the two incidences:

> It was a little bit different [with] the lower educated man, he gave me a chance. He listened to me. But the other one, bah! He started to tell

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342 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007). 101.

343 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.

bad things to me. Then the chef said: Why do you talk about this word? *You* can not talk about this word. *You* are not Black! It is not your problem. I said: it does not matter if I am not Black. You don't use this word when you talk about these people. You hurt them.

Hedja[344] was asked when she felt like she had the right and felt confident enough to confront people who were offensive. Initially she said that she was able to voice her opinion without being "punished"; but later she described an incident in which she chose not to confront the offending party because the confrontation would have placed her job in jeopardy.

> [A]t the school where I was working … I worked with a person like me, not a teacher[345], who is German. She told Moslemic boys and girls… she said to a boy…You always talk so much! You say you can't do this, you can't to this. If it was the Qur'an then you say I can, I can, I can! I felt… I thought for myself now normally I should go to her and ask her why do you talk like that? You hurt them! Why to you talk about Qur'an? It has no relations between school. Then another time she told a Turkish girl who wears a *Kopftuch*:[346] One time you will say to your Allah: Thank you because I am a wife, I am woman, I've got many problems. Because I'm a girl I've got more problems.

Hejda felt that it would be difficult to talk to the offensive teacher, so she consulted a Turkish colleague, who advised her to think of the consequences since the principal and many other teachers held the same opinion as the xenophobic and Islamophobic teacher she worked with. In fear of losing her job and compromising her daughters who attended the school, she decided instead to tell the learners that she was Muslim too.

> They are happy when I tell them I am Moslem too. ..They feel a little bit like home. They don't have to feel ashamed. They can talk about their religion sometimes when I am in the class. I talk about it. I tell them: Today let's talk about the Muslim way or the Christian way or the Yiddish way... Why should I go the risk and then they will dismiss me...

Here Hejda, as an immigrant educator, is more approachable to learners with immigrant and Islamic backgrounds. She is sensitive to the emotional and

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344 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.

345 She is referring to the work she does at schools, not in the capacity of a teacher, but as a person who supervises and assists with children's homework after school.

346 Islamic headscarf.

cultural needs of all children and provides them with an intercultural educa-
tion which celebrates diversity. On the other hand, racism also impacts white
children, who may be inculcated with/ or acquire a false sense of superiority
based on stereotypes if they are not offered alternative (i.e. non-discrimina-
tory) ways of thinking and behaving.[347]

4.2.4   A brief Critique of the German education system

Both Ula and Fabian[348] said that children at *Gymnasium* are arrogant because
they believed that children at *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* are stupid.[349]
Ula[350] criticized the German education system's method of recommendation
which involves judging children's capabilities at the age of ten years and
subsequently dividing them into different categories[351] of schools.

> Here you have to decide after Grade four where the children will go.
> At that age! They are too young! In Grades eight and nine children go
> to work for two weeks. This is the practical part of schooling. Also,
> you can't do matric in *Hauptschule*. It's not possible to change to
> *Gymnasium* unless your final result is the highest for your final exam.
> Only then can you go to *Realschule*. And if you get the highest mark
> at *Realschule* in the final exam, then you can enter *Gymnasium*.[352]

According to Ula,[353] after grade ten many children from other schools, who
come from *Realschule,* "struggle at OL Schule because they don't know how
to work in groups since they had very little exposure to group work at the
other schools." Ula[354] also mentioned that fact that parents can now decide to
send their children to *Gymnasium* even if teachers suggest *Hauptschule*.

> But being demoted to *Hauptschule* is easy and children feel bad as a
> result… When you come from *Hauptschule* employers don't want to
> employ you…More people at our school are passing the *Realschule*

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347 Kedar Dwivedi, "Introduction" in Meeting the needs of ethnic minority children, Eds. K. N.
   Dwivedi and V. P. Varna, (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1996).
348 Fabian is the ex-principal of the high school in South Africa that has engaged in the inter-
   cultural exchange program with OL Schule. At the time of the interview he was residing in
   Oldenburg.
349 Interview with Fabian, April 2007; Interview with Ula, April 2007.
350 Interview with Ula, April 2007.
351 The categories are hierarchically arranged and include: and Gymnasium. See the Literature
   Review for explanations for these categories.
352 Interview with Ula, April 2007.
353 Interview with Ula, April 2007.
354 Ibid.

exams that leads to entrance into *Gymnasium* than in the traditional [schooling] system.

Ula and other teachers interviewed agreed with Special Rapporteur, Vernor Muñoz[355] who suggested that the German government should reconsider the multi-track school system which is selective and could lead to discrimination. The classification process fails to adequately assess or categorize learners appropriately.[356] The child is judged on his/her academic capabilities at the age of only ten years which will have a life-changing impact the child's future. The teacher's attributions for success and failure are likely to have a significant impact upon motivation and academic achievement since the teacher's recommendation could have a glass ceiling effect on the child's potential if s/he has prejudiced or stereotyped views. If a teacher, such as the one who taught Hedja's brother, views all immigrant-origin children as academically deviant or as underachievers then the likelihood these children will be recommended to the *Gymnasium* is scant.

Children of low-income and migrant backgrounds who may also have language difficulties whilst adapting to their new environments) and children with disabilities are negatively impacted by this classification system which exacerbates their already marginalized positions leaving them doubly disadvantaged.[357] As Ula suggested, the German education system results in the stratification of employment since immigrant-origin learners at the *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* have a meager chance of obtaining academic qualifications that will prepare them for employment.[358]

Hedja[359] discussed the pros and cons of the German education and said that she liked it because they are less authoritarian than Tunisian educators and because children play a lot at the school. She felt that her children had good teachers. However, she did not enjoy being forced to sing Christmas songs because she believed that schools should show appreciation for diversity. However, she also admitted that the situation had improved since she had attended schools because Muslims in Bremen were also filling vacancies in

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355 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

356 Ibid.

357 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

358 Ibid.

359 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.

the education system. She also said it was different because when she was young, Islamic holidays were not mentioned on the school calendar. Hedja described the educational experience of her daughters as different to hers since there were more foreigners at the primary school than when she attended it. She also described her daughter's teacher as "very tolerant" since he wished the children a happy *Eid*[360] and merry Christmas. She was impressed with the fact that he, as a German, had African friends. Hedja was also pleased that this school[361] was sensitive to racism and that many Muslim mothers were actively involved at the school.

Hedja's examples emphasize the need for teachers to be culturally sensitized and to have knowledge of the diverse backgrounds of their learners since this would better equip them to provide an educationally environment for all.

4.3   The impact of Everyday Racism and Xenophobia on integration into the classroom

Mikhail[362] described how the atmosphere at OL Schule was different from other schools:

> You will really be acknowledged although you are an immigrant here and one is not being made a foreigner here. That is really good.

Mikhail's comment reveals a contradiction that is at the core of school's culture. OL Schule's explicitly anti-racist motto and commitment to multiculturalism are deeply embedded in contradictions: the visibility of immigrants who are assimilated so well that they are no longer viewed as immigrants by teachers who say that they don't differentiate races or nationalities. Additionally, there is the acknowledgement of difference in the curriculum and teaching tolerance while ignoring difference embodied by learners of immigrant origins. These contradictions can be described as a colour-blind approach to difference which defeats deep integration. Deep integration would require a whole school approach to critical multiculturalism which seeks to change the total school environment for the benefit of *all* learners. Assimilation, in contrast, aims at absorbing minority group learners into the existing school culture (however progressive it may already be) by making

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360 Eid is a religious holiday celebrated by Muslims.
361 Hejda refers to a primary school in Bremen, not the high school that was the site of study for this dissertation.
362 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.

minimal changes. OL Schule lies somewhere in the middle because it is up to teachers to implement the curriculum. The fact that there are few members of the immigrant population in attendance makes it easier to assimilate them into the school population. This serves the colour blind approach well. Generally, it was found that most educators engaged in a colour blind approach to integration which means that minority group members become cookie-cutter images of what it means to be German in a German context.

4.3.1   Assimilation versus Inclusive Multiculturalism

Issues concerning multiculturalism are essentially about questions of race and identity. Therefore, multiculturalism is not only about the discourse of racialised identities but also focuses on the issue of whiteness as a symbol of racial and privilege. Minorities represent a 'problem' to white society that is to be 'resolved' through the benevolent assimilation.[363] Approximately one percent of the school population at OL Schule was comprised of learners of immigrant origin who were assimilated in their journey of striving towards the German school culture as a way to survive their environment.

Most of the learners interviewed were generally satisfied with the social environment at the school with exceptions usually at the start of their schooling career when they were new to the country and still struggling with the language. One learner, Mikhail (a Russian boy) cited distinct prejudices against Turks (already outlined in the analysis). Learners appeared to be generally satisfied at the school because they had been assimilated into the German norm of schooling: they had German friends, spoke German fluently, were observed interacting across with their German and other immigrant peers during lunch breaks at the school, and had similar interests (fashion, sports, etcetera) to their German peers.

Yahya[364] considered the German language to be his mother tongue because "I grew up here and we learned the language. We fit in." His comment is indicative of an unconscious desire to be accepted into German society. For him, and all other minority group members, language acquisition is a crucial part of becoming part of German society.

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363 James Baldwin, "A Talk to Teachers", in Multicultural Literacy, Eds R. Simonson and S. Waler (St. Paul, MN: Graywolf Press, 1988) as cited in Giroux (1994).

364 Interview with Yahya, April 2007.

Educators were interviewed to gain deeper insight into the level of inclusivity as well as to highlight possible prejudices at the school. Leyna[365] was asked which children were identified as having immigrant backgrounds. She said that Turkish, Kurdish, and Russian-Germans were identified as immigrants and that the Kurdish have "a very strong national feeling". She mentioned remigrants in light of Russian-Germans who she described as Germans who lived in Russia from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and returned in the 1990s. She explained immigrants from Eastern Europe are not fully integrated…

> because they want to keep their culture and language. I think it's important. It's not a problem, it's good. It makes them different. To ask them to become fully German is not good... Language acquisition is always useful. For example, being bilingual is not appreciated here because people are mixed up on the difference. Learning levels increases tolerance.

Leyna identified the differences between cultures as the cause for all problems encountered by immigrant-origin learners. She was one of two educators interviewed who problematized culture as a way of explaining why immigrant-origin learners found it difficult to cope with academic tasks or for their integration into the classroom.

> When they come to school it's their first contact with German society. Due to personal variables, it may be frightening to be in a new environment; especially if you have to speak a language that is not their own.

When asked if all children were treated in the same way at the school, Leyna[366] said that the school was "special because they engage with difference everyday. Difference is natural here." Here she referred to the fact that learning levels were combined in classrooms and the integration of disabled learners into the school population. Leyna did not mention race or nationality when referring to difference. This omission is crucial to the attitude taken on by most of the teachers interviewed at the school. For them, overlooking race, nationality and culture is a way of doing their best to treat all learners equally.

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365 Interview with Leyna, April 2007.
366 Interview with Leyna, April 2007.

In Silke's[367] response to the same question she hesitantly admitted that: "Maybe sometimes we have a little racism." She added that teachers had strong views on racism and if they found out a racist incident, they would discuss it with the child, parents and the teacher. In order to create racial awareness, the learner then has to write a report about the problem or go to an organisation and report about it there. In the Religion and Ethics class learners are educated about racism. Discussions revolve around…

> how to integrate each other, and how to communicate with each other. We have handicapped people here who are integrated and people of different religions too. We don't discuss it in class, but we try to teach them how to be a human being.

Silke[368] discussed the impact that race and gender has on children at the school. She said that the biggest difference was between girls and boys but that is normal everywhere in the world. She felt that there was no difference between German and non-German girls. However, she attributed culture to explain aversion to accepting authority.

> Boys of immigrant backgrounds sometimes act different. For example, Turkish boys sometimes have problems accepting authority. They are respectful but you can see they have a problem with authority. It's a feeling. German boys in grade eight and nine are reaching puberty and have similar behaviour. Sometimes, I'm not taller and I am a woman, then I have to be authoritarian and I don't like that.

Silke[369] said that delinquency was not much of a problem at OL Schule; but that it was of great concern to schools in big cities such as the school in Berlin[370], and also at *Hauptschule* due to large immigrant populations.

> These children support each other through gangs. This does not happen in Oldenburg or at this school. We have a little paradise here. It's very a nice proper city. But in Berlin they have problem areas with

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367 Interview with Silke, April 2007.
368 Interview with Silke, April 2007.
369 Ibid.
370 The teachers at Rütli-Schule in Berlin did not want to teach there in 2006 because they were experiencing violent conflict at the hands of immigrant-origin learners. The teachers wrote a letter aimed at the government, voicing their concerns that received great attention in the media. Source: Jess Smee, "Berlin schools hire guards after attacks on pupils," in The Guardian, 11 December 2007; Marc Young , "Germany's School of Hard Knocks" in Spiegel Online, 5 April 2006.

high percentages of people who are on a lower social level and unemployment.

Here Silke refers to the 'problem' posed by immigrant-origin adolescents based on cultural differences (as in the case of the Turkish boys) as well as the impact of socio-economic factors such as social class and unemployment. She frames the problem as one of delinquent behaviour but also acknowledges that boys reaching puberty have similar behaviour regardless of their culture or nationality. Her description of Oldenburg as a "proper city", a "little paradise" in comparison to the big city "problem" (racial conflicts) in Berlin implies that smaller immigrant populations (such as that in Oldenburg) are equated with less "immigrant problems". Oldenburg and OL Schule are therefore viewed as an enclave where these 'problems' are minimal.

4.3.2 The experiences of immigrant-origin learners at OL Schule

The learners interviewed did not feel that teachers had treated them unfairly because most of them had become assimilated over time. This process of assimilation appears to be motivated by the need to survive in the German school context. For many learners, this process was not without the challenges of adapting to a new environment, a foreign language, and a new school culture whilst coping with racial prejudices of their peers (both German and others of immigrant-origin).

In order to gauge degrees of inclusivity (or marginalization) at the school, learners were asked questions framed around popularity: "What's cool or not at school?" They were also asked whether their friends were German or of immigrant origin or both; and if they were invited to parties and sleepovers, played sports together and so forth.

4.3.3 What's cool and popular (or not) at school?

Arash, Kolzak and Orhan said that specific brands of clothing, shoes and sneakers as well as jewellery were also popular but that it was not absolutely necessary to have it in order to make friends. Arash[371] said that rap music was cool for him, but that very few others in his class shared his appreciation for it. For Orhan[372] Hip Hop, Rap, and Turkish music was cool. However, he

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371 Interview with Arash, April 2007.
372 Interview with Orhan, April 2007.

added that Turkish music was not popular with Germans. Kolzak[373] also said that smoking was cool but Yahya[374] said that it no longer mattered if you smoked or not. Yahya and Arash agreed that a generally positive attitude, loyalty and a good sense of humour was most valued in friendships. Naturally, anti-social behaviour is not favoured in social situations. Mikhail[375] felt that popularity was gained when foreign students talked in a different language but that some also "see that negatively and they think that people are gossiping but mostly that is not the case."

The boys' answers indicated that there was nothing specific that they could wear, own or do to be part of the in-group. Their attitudes and interests were what made them outcasts or gained them friends. The issue of language was paradoxical: if you spoke a foreign language your peers could show interest in you. However, fluency in the German language was of utmost importance in order to avoid social exclusion. Any other language was of secondary interest to them.

4.3.4 Who are your friends at school and at home?

Learners had both German and immigrant-origin friends at OL Schule; however, many of them had another set of immigrant-origin friends at home who attended neighbouring schools. Having German friends at home as well as at school appears to be an indication of assimilation into the German school culture and decreased feelings of marginalization. However, true integration would mean that their immigrant origin friends at home would be able to mix with their friends at school. Most learners cited differences in groups of friends as differential interests. However, some of them also cited religious and cultural differences which gave them a greater sense of belonging with their friends at home than those at school.

Arash[376] said that it was initially difficult to make friends and that he was "often alone" when he arrived in Germany because of the language barrier. However, once he became fluent in German "it became very easy" for him to make friends and became friends with everyone in his class and invited them

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373 Interview with Kolzak, April 2007.
374 Interview with Yahya, April 2007.
375 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.
376 Interview with Arash, April 2007.

for sleepovers. "I have German friends and foreigner friends. I don't mind. Human being is human being."

Zerzan[377] said that most of his friends were Kurdish (Turkish) and that he only had one German friend who was older than him and had already left school. He initially said he did not know why he was not invited to birthday parties or to join his German classmates over weekends or after school. Later he said that he belonged to a group of friends who liked the same music and that the children in his class "behave differently to me and they talk about other things. So we have no real contact. They are just different. It's not a language issue." Zerzan uses a strategy for coping with social isolation at school in which he feigns indifference and acts arrogant. During the interview his entire demeanor changed from a mask of arrogance (which Leyna, his teacher also mentioned) to a more abrupt and insecure boy. He is not willing to admit that he may be the one who is 'different' in the context of the school and thus surrounds himself with friends of the same background who will make him feel included at home.

Orhan[378] said that the friendships he had with Germans (at home and school) and Turks were the same. However, at school he only had German friends because there were not many Turkish learners at OL Schule. He was invited to parties and other social events and reciprocated invitations to his German friends. Orhan described the difference between the two types of friendships:

> Here I talk about certain things with my German friends in German, and then at home I talk about other things in Turkish…. At home we talk about soccer games in Turkey or maybe about girlfriends and relationships, family, the mosque… We talk about our religion… with my Turkish friends it's easier. We're on the same level. Here it's a little harder… [I]t's possible that my friends here at school misunderstand what we talk about at home. We talk about Turkey and how nice it is there, and that's something that can be misunderstood here… With my friends at home…we also talk about our problems here [at school].

When Orhan was asked about the situations found at his Turkish friends' schools he said that they were all sticking together but that at OL Schule he was "sort of alone" even though he valued his German and Turkish friend-

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377 Interview with Zerzan, April 2007.
378 Interview with Orhan, May 2007.

ships equally. Orhan's comments highlight how a common language, culture, religion and nationality can create a sense of cohesiveness for group. These are safe spaces in which individuals of immigrant-origin may feel more easily understood and shared common interests and/or perspectives.

Mikhail's girlfriend was German and his parents had no problem with him dating her. He also had Russian friends but kept his distance from Kurdish and Turkish people because he was involved in an incident where some of them pushed him off his Moped for reasons unknown to him. They kicked him until he was seriously concussed with fractures. He consequently developed a prejudice towards all Turks and Kurds in the stereotypical belief that "they are all crazy" and would befriend anyone except Turks.[379] This is an example of the development of xenophobic attitudes that are rooted in fear of the Other – even though both groups are immigrant-minorities.

Yahya[380] had both German and non-German friends. He also had different friends at school and at home. He also said that he distanced himself from people who he described as 'wanna-be' gangsters and show-offs. These were mostly foreigners – people who he believed had the "most problems". He avoided them because they said that "Germans are beneath them" and that he could not accept that view because he was born there.

4.3.5 The educational experience of adults of immigration origin in German schools

Adults of immigrant origin had contrasting experiences in the classroom depending on factors such as their parents' educational background and language competency, as well as teachers expectations and preconceived views of immigrant-origin learners. All the adults of immigrant origin revealed that they were assimilated because they were intelligent, hard working and ascribed to the German culture at the schools which they were attending.

Adults of immigrant origin who worked in the field of education were also asked questions surrounding the issues of inclusivity, assimilation and integration into the German education system. Amisha said that she was definitely accepted by university with colleagues and students. She didn't mind answering questions about her origins when "people are genuinely interested, and ask in a polite way." For her it was not an issue of linguistic competency

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379 Interview with Mikhail, April 2007.
380 Interview with Yahya, April 2007.

because she did not sound different from other Germans when she spoke. Amisha currently resides in Bremen, which she described as "a multicultural city." However, she added that the fact that it was a diverse place "doesn't stop things from happening." She went on to describe a situation in which a journalist asked her how she liked Bocholt (her home town), how long she had stayed in Germany and complimented her on her German. She said: "he was a reporter in my small home town. But even in my small home town there are people who don't look at me as a German. To them I am foreign."

Adults of immigrant origin were asked who was popular when they attended schools in Germany. Hedja[381] said that when she was at school, foreigners became more popular around grade five because they had more brothers and sisters so they didn't fear abuse. Amisha and Khalid said that they belonged to the "cool group." However, Khalid[382] explained as a member a minority group you have to prove yourself more because you have to fight against negative attributions and work twice as hard as someone who was born there…

> because you don't want to feed these people with their prejudices and attributions. You have this need…for acceptance. Not just for me but more maybe also for students at the *Hauptschule.* Your self-confidence is not independent [of] how confident you really are. You have to work on your self-confidence. You get the self-confidence if you are successful. If you are not successful then it's very easy that the cultural background gets blamed… you lose respect not only with teachers; but it influences your self-worth, your self- confidence…it has consequences on your feelings, your behaviour, your performance.

When Khalid[383] first arrived in Germany as a young child he "did not feel like a full part of society" and was "very conscious" of not having been born there in addition to having another culture. Consequently, he was always comparing…

> the different cultures and mentalities. But I did not see it as a negative thing to switch... I was always curious about it. I tried to fit myself with my friends. It was very easy for me to integrate myself because I was very young here and I had a lot of contact here with German

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381 Interview with Hedja, March 2007.
382 Interview with Khalid, March 2007.
383 Interview with Khalid, March 2007.

friends. And I was in classes where there were not so many foreigners. I learned the language very fast.

Khalid said that there were many situations in the past where he felt uncomfortable…

In those situations I always ask myself who is foreign? Or who is otherwise. Is it me or the others? I also I feel that I am part of the society. There are no bars between me and the others. It does not mean that the others think the same… For example when there is a very fast introduction. Someone tries to categorise me very fast without knowing me well and so on.

Khalid attributed racially-motivated hostility and inhospitability to "cultural differences" which made him feel "uncomfortable." He also alluded to the fact that members of minority groups feel that they have to prove themselves to be worthy of acceptance. He was also fascinated with contrasting German and Afghan ideologies and was able to oscillate between the two; thereby finding a space to position himself within German society. He was acutely aware of how German society positioned him as a man from Afghanistan and tried to avoid the negative attributions that were attached to this stigmatized identity. He found himself in the blurry space between being schooled in German society and raised by Afghan parents whilst not feeling like he was a full part of the society in which he found his home.

Adults of immigrant origin were also asked about the friendships they made as children being schooled and raised in Germany. Khalid said that it was easy to make friends with both Germans and immigrant-origin learners at school. Hedja had a very mixed clique of friends including her German best friend as well as friends of immigrant-origin; whereas All of Amisha's friends were German because she was accustomed to being the only minority in her school or at least in her grade. Amisha felt that she was fully integrated with her friends.

Amisha[384] was the only foreigner in a population of 800 pupils in the first primary school she attended and was teased for being an intelligent freak ; not for her skin colour. However, her mother said that she was treated "strangely" by her teacher; but she attributed this to the fact that she "didn't know what to do with me." According to Amisha, her teacher would giver her tasks that would take the other children 3 days to complete, but she fin-

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384 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.

ished them the same day. Once her teacher told her that she was thinking of giving her an A for this subject but if said if they teased her so much she would give Amisha a B symbol instead. Her teacher's inability to cope with her intelligence negatively impacted Amisha whose attitude towards academia subsequently changed: "Later on my life's mission was to achieve average; and I did that very successfully." In the fourth grade she switched to the Montessori school, which she enjoyed and was amongst students from foreign backgrounds for the first time: "Colour! Wow! It changed me because I became very vociferous, loud and strong." Amisha's change from a quiet and reserved "intelligent freak", to a confident child indicates that being around peers of a similar background allowed her to gain confidence. She then went to a *Gymnasium* where she was once again in the minority.

> High school was easy peasy! At that time I only had average marks because at that
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> time it was my big aim in life to be average. I finished with an average degree. I had
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> friends. It was perfect. I was the only Black person in school until my sister came
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> along. ..The good thing about being the only one is that none of the teachers actually bothered with me. They were very nice and good teachers.

Amisha appears to have equated being an "average" achiever with being accepted into her school environment. This was the cost of trying to feel included. When many German teachers expect children of immigrant origin to be under-achievers, she defied this stereotype only to the point where she frustrated her teacher whose insecurities resulted in a negative attribution to intelligence.

> When I read literature or observe it now, I see that many teachers discriminate against students from migrant backgrounds, many times not being conscious of it. Sometimes even being conscious of it. They have pictures in their heads of how their students are supposed to be and then they try to be interculturally sensitive and just end up bringing these stereotypes into class… My teachers never … looked at me as being different from my classmates. I think that was a good thing… I look at teachers and how they handling their students now, the teachers who are being culturally sensitive are the ones being most discriminating. So I was fine with not being recognized.

Khalid[385] was asked if he was ever on the receiving end of differential treatment by his teachers. His teachers were approachable and that he did not experience disadvantage from his teachers. However, he also said:

> but most of them did not see the whole potential of me. They did not know or recognize what else I could also do. I think they were not trained to see more because they were not prepared.

Khalid cited an example of having received what he referred to as a "negative attribution":

> I got the recommendation to go to middle school; not the *Gymnasium…* but I did not know the reason why. I did not take it very seriously... But when I said I want to go to the *Gymnasium* I did not see any problem because I know what I capable of and I know I will work [hard]. But the teacher she said: Oh my God! I see black for you! It did not touch me very much.

Khalid also described himself as a humourous child. It is possible that he used humour to cushion the impact of negative attributions he received at school. Fortunately, his teacher's negative attitudes did not place a cap on his potential as in Amisha's case. Instead, it motivated him to disprove their stereotypes. Amisha's journey into her racialised personhood and sense of inclusivity arrived outside of school when she came to the realization (around the age of 13 years) that she was not White.

> You know when you're not accepting when you're not white. I started carrying outside signs of being very much white... I tried to be extremely white… Then I realized it's never going to change. I am never going to be white – never *ever*! [386]

She described it as a gradual process that was partially impacted by a gradual influx of cultures including musical idols and…

> Seeing cool people who were not beggars and asylum-seekers or poor starving people. At some time I remember reading Malcolm X's autobiography. It was a life-changing event! …. It was the first time ever that I read something where someone was so *proud* of being Black and so unapologetic of being Black… I felt that I belonged but people around me didn't realize that I belonged. Which is why I got the ex-

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385 Interview with Khalid, March 2007.
386 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.

> pensive clothes so at least then they recognized that we had the same status! [387]

In realizing that she was not white, Amisha came to a point where she could

> no longer avoid confronting herself with India, her country of origin and hence she decided to study at a university in India. Amisha described what it was like to be in a crowd when she arrived in India, and then later when she returned to Germany:

> In the beginning when I saw crowds of people and they were all brown-coloured, I found it very difficult to distinguish one person from the next…Because I just wasn't used to it… When I had to meet friends, even the guy I was madly in love with at the time, I couldn't make him out in a crowd… After five-and-a-half years when I came back [to Germany] the same thing happened in reverse. I looked at all these pinky white faces and I thought: My God! They all look like a mass. I couldn't make out my [German] friends.[388]

Hejda, Khalid and Amisha became aware of how they were positioned in society in various contexts. While most of their friends treated them as their equals and some (but not all) of their teachers did not make overtly them negative attributions; the rest of society recognized them as immigrants, persons of colour or by their religious backgrounds. By positioning herself as a Black woman, Amisha reclaimed her power and was able to find a sense of community without even coming into contact with Black people. The sense of inclusivity experienced by the three of them was always based on (a largely unconscious) striving towards a notion of German-ness (in the form of fashion, linguistic competence, by accident of appearance in Hejda's case, and academic excellence).

4.3.6   Colour blindness

A colour blind attitude as a response is often based on the erroneous assumption that to recognise race is to be racist. It implies that since no significant changes are anticipated, the newly assimilated minority individuals will be attitudinally and behaviourally indistinguishable from the majority.[389] This strategy entrenches divisions in society and leads to the continued oppression

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387 Ibid.
388 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.
389 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).

of marginalized groups. However well-intended, such an approach reinforces the notion that certain groups are inferior. Adopting an attitude in which obvious differences are ignored, was labelled by Halstead[390] "colour-blind racism". Treating people of colour "as if their skin colour is invisible and somehow neutral is to deny their very existence". [391]

Most teachers, with the best of intentions, appear to have engaged in a colour blind approach to education at OL Schule as they felt that this would be a non-racist strategy to best integrate learners into the school environment. However, treating them all as equals, irrespective of the disadvantages of social class, race or academic achievement, does not mean that they have been treated fairly. Differential access to resources and a lack of understanding of the socio-cultural contexts of their learners translated into stereotyping and assumptions made about the learners. Silke, one of the educators interviewed had the insight to discuss controversial issues that highlighted difference whilst being sensitive and knowledgeable of the cultures and religions discussed. She understood the need to openly discuss difference in a way that shed light where there was uncertainty and controversy in the face of prejudice. She simultaneously taught learners to interrogate their stereotypes and appreciate difference; thereby providing her learners with a critical multicultural education. This does not imply that the other educators interviewed were not committed to a multicultural education; but that some of them presented an intercultural curriculum that often (but not always) neglected to *critically* investigate *underlying* assumptions for prejudices.

The fact that the school did not list grade 8 – 13 pupils[392] of immigrant backgrounds by name is revealing. The school's principal was only able to provide me with a list of genders and corresponding nationalities, but no names for pupils in these grades. As mentioned previously, I discovered that this list did not prove to be accurate in terms of nationality and was therefore not useful to track down the names of learners of immigrant origin or records of their scholastic achievement. If the school does not "see colour" then how do they hope to address the marginalization of minority groups or to create a meaningful impact by creating diversity awareness at the school?

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390 Halstead (1988) cited in Athiemoolam (2002).
391 Flynn and Phoenix (1988) cited in Athiemoolam (2002).
392 Lists of this nature were only available for grade 5-7.

When a teacher was asked which was the largest minority group represented at the school, Mareen[393] was uncertain and said that the "grouping is not by minority groups, unless it's for speaking mother tongue." She also said that one of the children who were recommended for special school (for children with learning disabilities) was not cultural but a linguistic issue. Identifying pupils as having purely linguistic difficulties is one way of glossing over the problematic notions of race or nationality. However, it does not remove the stigma attached to non-German identities.

When Ula, a teacher at OL Schule was asked if all children were treated in the same way at the school she said she had hoped so; but that in reality she knew that it was not the case: "It's not possible to treat everyone the same way. A lot of teachers just think every student is the same. But it's not true."[394] Silke responded to the same question by saying that: "Children never treat each other the same way. They like or don't like each other. Here at this school children make no differentiation with children from other countries."[395]

The school has three German social workers (pedagogical assistants) – two female and one male – who are available for consultation both in the games room as well as privately. This is a great space for pupils to interact with social workers and request their help if they should need it. Should the social worker need further assistance with pupils or parents, they are easily able to connect to official organizations to assist them. One of the social workers at the school asserted that immigrant-origin children and those from German families approached her for the help with the same problems. In order to ensure that children with immigrant backgrounds are comfortable and productive the school, Erika[396] stated that:

> All of us want to be friendly with the others and that's very important. The teacher doesn't make a differentiation between immigrants and Germans. That's the basic understanding for friendly work and life together at school. If it's necessary to support an immigrant then we try. For example, with linguistic problems we try to support every pupil.

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393 Interview with Mareen, March 2007.
394 Interview with Ula, April 2007.
395 Interview with Silke, April 2007.
396 Interview with Erika, April 2007.

None of the teachers interviewed mentioned or indicated an awareness of the school's officially policy for integration. It is common to hear teachers say: "I don't see black or white. I only see students".[397] This statement assumes that to be colour-blind is to be fair, impartial and objective. This was certainly the case at OL Schule, where seemingly well-intention teachers overlooked race, culture and nationality in an attempt to treat all pupils equally. However, viewing the class through colour blind lenses may result in refusing to accept differences and therefore accepting the dominant culture as the norm.

The minority group experience in any institution can be very alienating, and particularly so for children who are not fully equipped to deal with exclusion and isolation. As the only minority at the school, Amisha[398] had no one to emulate and said that her German peers did not see her as a minority. To her friends she was…

> nation-less. Many times my friends forget that I am Indian. I barely notice... One of my friends was telling me about a certain kind of tights she was buying…she was telling me how fabulous those fish net stockings are when you have chalky white legs. She bought herself a pair – it was slightly brownish in colour – and she said: Amazing! They make my legs look tanned. You should buy them as well. And I looked at her and thought; what's wrong with you? I am no longer a person with a certain skin colour… I have brown legs whatever the climate is.

Amisha described the alienation she felt at having no-one who looked like her to bond with as well as how she felt when her German peers would say hurtful things about her.

> My parents used to tell me: So what? India is a beautiful country. You look lovely and you have nice hair and nice skin colour. But for me it was hard. But the thing is if you don't see yourself reflected I anyone else's faces… But in other people's eyes, because they were all white, I often forgot that I was not. So when I was walking down this shopping centre with my girl friends being 11, 12, 13 years old and caught my reflection in a shop window I was actually surprised to see that I

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397 Logamurthie Athiemoolam, A comparative study of multicultural education in high schools, [Published PhD Thesis] (Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth, 2002).
398 Interview with Amisha, April 2007.

was not white! That I was actually Indian. I am dark. I didn't exist in Germany. My parents did.

The approach of liberals contending that race does not matter reveals a lack of racial sensitivity. Not noticing difference in the form of colour (or culture) is to deny the identity of minority group members who face marginalization, negative attributions and domination by the dominant class in society. The colour-blind approach is therefore incompatible with a critical approach to multiculturalism since it does not interrogate or accommodated the needs of the student; instead it helps to alleviate the anxieties of educators who are careful not to offend learners.

5 Conclusion

The focus of this research project was to draw attention to the experiences of immigrant-origin adolescents whose voices usually go unheard. OL Schule[399], a public comprehensive school in Oldenburg, Germany was selected because it is an integrated school (*Gesamtschule*) which educates all learning levels in one building and includes pupils with disabilities. There are only two integrated *Gesamtschule* in Oldenburg and this school has a reputation for being a 'model' school for integration of minority groups. OL Schule's anti-racist motto (*Gegen Rassismus*) is indicative of the school's commitment to a school (and society) that is explicitly against racism and other forms of discrimination. Thus OL Schule became the site of choice for the research conducted despite the fact that it only had a meagre immigrant population enrolled at the school in contrast to its counterparts which had far greater numbers of pupils with immigrant backgrounds in attendance. This dissertation seeks to problematize the notion of the *'model' school* as one which, while being dedicated to inclusivity, has engaged in an assimilationist approach which favours minimal engagement with the Other in the school reflected by the meagre immigrant origin presence within the general school population.

The educators interviewed at OL Schule were in agreement with Special Rapporteur, Vernor Muñoz[400] who suggested that the German government should reconsider the multi-track school system which involves a classification process that fails to adequately assess learners.[401] The child is judged on his/her academic capabilities at the age of only ten years which will have a life-changing impact the child's future. The teacher's attributions for success and failure are likely to have a significant impact upon motivation and academic achievement since the teacher's recommendation could have a glass ceiling effect on the child's potential if s/he has prejudiced or stereotyped views. This was the case for some of the immigrant-origin adults interviewed who had attended German schools. Teachers who overtly underestimate mi-

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399 OL Schule is a pseudonym for the name of the school where the study took place.
400 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).
401 Vernor Muñoz, United Nations Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education, Mission to Germany in 2006 (UN General Assembly, 2007).

nority group learners in front of their peers are reinforcing and legitimizing negative stereotypes and marginalizing them in the classroom. It is therefore recommended that teachers undergo training that enables them to be sensitised for heterogeneity and power relations between majority and minorities must be acknowledged. Intercultural[402] education also needs to be part of teacher education and self-confidence of the learners with migration backgrounds must be boosted in order to create an educationally enabling environment. An additional recommendation would be that the school could employ educators and social workers with immigrant backgrounds who may be more approachable to the immigrant population, as discussing issues around racism and xenophobia may be discussed apprehensively with German adults.

The findings confirmed that at the school the multi-track school system has lead to discrimination. Furthermore, educators play a crucial role in the classification system since their judgement informs the recommendation to school tracks that divide children into three types of schools. Educators' views of immigrant-origin children also impact their social and academic experiences at the school. If a teacher views all immigrant-origin learners as academically deviant or as underachievers then the likelihood that these children will be recommended to the *Gymnasium* is scant. The German education system can thus foster the stratification of employment since immigrant-origin learners at the *Realschule* and *Hauptschule* have little chance of obtaining academic qualifications that will prepare them for employment. Children of low-income and migrant backgrounds may also have language difficulties whilst adapting to their new environments) and children with disabilities are negatively impacted by this classification system which exacerbates their already marginalized positions leaving them doubly disadvantaged.

The immigrant-origin learners interviewed generally did not express any marked concerns with racism, xenophobia as barriers to integration at the school. This was finding was contrary to my expectation. Despite the fact that they are attending a 'model' school for integration, the minimal presence of minority group members indicates that the school is selective in its enrolment process. The learners (and some educators) interviewed drew attention to the fact that the situation at neighbouring schools was very different because those schools had a far greater immigrant population than OL Schule. Many

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402 Intercultural education is used synonymously with multicultural education.

of the pupils claimed to have little or no problems with social integration at the school. However, they all had a clique of friends at home who were also of immigrant origin with whom they felt more comfortable speaking to than their German friends or classmates.

The immigrant-origin adults interviewed were employed in the field of education. Their positions gave them the unique view of having critical insights into the German education system. The adults were able to retrospectively recognise asymmetrical power relations that operated during their schooling careers. The development of their (racialised) identities and struggles with citizenship and integration into German society could thus be traced back and revealed several incidences of stereotyping as well as both covert and overt discrimination against themselves and/or their siblings. They also provided insights into how they felt the German education system had changed or remained the same.

Contradictions appeared in the way that immigrant-origin adolescents have managed the disjuncture between the incidents of everyday racism and covert xenophobia that often go unnoticed or are difficult to pinpoint as a racialised experience when it is directed at Others in a covert manner. Consequently, learners may fee socially alienated at the school for reasons they can not seem to understand or explain. As a result they "explain away" the racism and prejudice they experience as something else or trivialising it in order to survive. Aspiring to a notion of German-ness appeared to be a way of facilitating "survival" in the German school as well as in broader society for both learners as well as adults of immigrant origin (who were once learns in the German education system). In striving towards German-ness, the immigrant-origin individuals felt more integrated into their surroundings. However, this is not true integration; but assimilation into a norm of German-ness.

The educators interviewed generally showed a genuine commitment to teaching multicultural curriculum aimed at raising diversity awareness. However, the presentation of the intercultural curriculum often appeared to neglect to *critically* investigate *underlying* assumptions for prejudices. The issue of greatest concern was that the staff body (leaving room for a few exceptions) had adopted an *assimilationist approach*. They have been approaching immigrant origin learners from a *colour blind* perspective to education as they felt that this would be a non-racist strategy to facilitate the integration of learners into the school environment. However, turning a blind eye to diverse cultures, religions and nationalities does not facilitate integration of minority

group members into the dominant population. When educators operate with dominant discourses, principles and values in mind; they (unwittingly) expect minority group members to conform to their preconceived notions of what integration looks like in the classroom. Whether these notions are negative or positive raises equal concern. Negative expectations are based on prejudices that view children of immigrant origins as low academic achievers, possessing a cultural or religious background that does not fit with Western principles,. If their background is not perceived to be congruent with German principles, minorities will always be measured against an idea of German-ness that they may not subscribe to. Integration from this view, places the burden of change on immigrant-origin learners in order to fit into the German context. This means, for example, that minority group child has to not only speak German, but speak German fluently and in a particular manner. This translates into the need for minority group learners to partake in activities and act in a manner that is considered to be "German". Hence, the level of "German-ness" displayed becomes a measure of their successful *assimilation* into German schools and broader society too. Even positive expectations can be counterproductive since equal treatment and the belief that minority groups will assimilate into the German population fails to recognise the needs of a diverse population. Though all people may be treated equally, this treatment may not be fair considering the disadvantages faced by minority group members. Instead, the whole school approach to critical multicultural education needs to be adopted as it seeks to change the entire school environment to meet the needs of *all* learners. This translates into catering for greater diversity in the school population as a whole. To this end, the school has not created an environment that significantly reflects diversity in its learner population.

Despite being framed as the 'model' school for integration it is embedded in a crucial contradiction: while it prides itself on being explicitly anti-racist, inclusive and diverse in reality its immigrant population totals approximately one percent of the general school population. The neighbouring schools are, in contrast, viewed as experiencing an 'immigrant problem' since its immigrants have a far greater numerical presence in the school populations there. How can can OL Schule claim to be open to diversity, when, for some unknown reason, it's immigrant population is one of the lowest in the area? OL Schule is the popular choice of both parents and learners of German and immigrant origin *because* its reputation is based on the fact that it has a low immigrant population. The school demographics are suggestive of a narrow

selection process. Learners and their parents have internalized the racist and view that associates immigrants with delinquency, conflict and academic failure/weakness. Hence, OL Schule, while committed to celebrating diversity, appears to only have a minimum engagement with the Other that it seeks to provide awareness about and tolerance. Tolerance is not equated with respect. In order to be truly inclusive, diversity must not only be celebrated through intercultural exchanges, but must also be represented in the school's demographic population so that deep engagement with the Other can take place. In an attempt to create an educationally enabling environment for *all* learners, schools must be willing to make significant changes in the existing school culture that require deep and critical interrogation of the multicultural approach to education.

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Appendix A

Additional Literature

A brief history of "Race" and Racism in Europe

In Western Europe, the term 'race' dates back to the sixteenth century and was originally used to denote lineage but was often used very loosely.[403] The term 'race' has also been associated with people considered to be 'defective'. Therefore, whilst one 'race' can be perceived as noble, the others have been perceived as 'tainted' and subject to 'contamination'.[404] By the eighteenth century, notions of race also included "tribe", "stock" and "nation".[405]

"Racism" emerged in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages when Europeans embarked upon voyages of "discovery" resulting in the colonialisation of several countries. [406] During this era contact was made with "Others" whose cultures, traditions, lifestyles and even appearances were different, and which subsequently ignited socio-cultural anxiety on the part of Europeans.[407] Ethnographic studies that took place during the voyages of 'discovery' (of the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa, China and America) laid the foundations for manufacturing a new philosophy of history, truth and notions of people who were racially labelled as inferior. Interactions with

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403 Michael Banton, "Historical and contemporary modes of racialization" in Racialization studies in theories and practice, Eds. K. Murji and J. Solomos (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

404 Verena Stolcke, "Invaded women: Gender, race, and class in the formation of colonial society" in Women, "Race", and Writing in the Early Modern Period, Eds. M. Hendricks and P. Parker (London: Routledge: 1994) cited in Werner Sollors, "Ethnicity and Race" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies. Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

405 Emmanuel Eze, "The modern invention of race" in Achieving our humanity (New York: Routlege, 2001).

406 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

407 Emmanuel Eze, "The modern invention of race" in Achieving our humanity (New York: Routlege, 2001).

"Others" therefore stimulated the European fabrication of racist ideologies and doctrines that evolved during the Modern era.[408]

European explorers encountered indigenous people who challenged their existing conceptions of the origins of the human species. This raised disconcerting questions as to whether all people could be considered to be of the same species of humanity, or if there was more than one species in existence. Religious debates were sparked in attempts to reconcile the Bible with the existence of people who appeared to be of a different race.[409] Consequently, the European Church advanced a paternalistic mission to convert the people they had encountered regardless of their existing beliefs. Their secondary goal was to exploit the indigenous peoples in order to serve their own economic interests. Exploitation presupposed the view that distinguished Europeans (who perceived themselves as human beings) from "Others" which was needed to justify why some should enjoy freedom whilst others should be enslaved.[410]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several scholars dedicated themselves to ranking variations of humankind in the belief that race was a biological concept. The eighteenth century also saw resurgence in the acceptance of a concept of the "Great Chain of Being" which promoted a hierarchy from the lowest form of life to the Creator at the apex and which legitimised and naturalised inequality between human beings.[411] In order to avoid dilution, Europeans believed that they had to refrain from mingling with different races and lower classes. Consequently, thinking along racial lines emerged out of a status anxiety on the part of European aristocracies and upper classes who felt threatened by the revolutionary changes at the end of the eighteenth century. During the French Revolution, notions of nationhood became a de-

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408 Emmanuel Eze, "The modern invention of race" in Achieving our humanity (New York: Routlege, 2001); Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

409 Michael Omi and Howard Winant, Racial formation in the United States (London: Routledge, 1986).

410 Ibid.

411 Michael Omi and Howard Winant, Racial formation in the United States (London: Routledge: 1986).

fining trait of identity and by the nineteenth century, notions of "race", nationality and language intermingled.[412]

The emergence of scientific racism at the end of the eighteenth century was followed by scientific conceptions of race which were established by the dawn of the nineteenth century. The objectives of scientific racism were threefold: to demonstrate the superiority of the "white" race over "other" races, to classify human races, and to indicate that racial mixing was a source of degeneration of the race they perceived to be superior.[413] Nazism promoted scientific definitions and hierarchical classifications of certain groups (such as Jews, gypsies and people with disabilities) in order to assert the superiority of the Aryan[414] race, as well as to naturalise and legitimise[415] their position at the apex of the racial hierarchy. The conclusion of the Second World War as well as decolonisation in the 1950s was accompanied by the realization of the brutality of Nazi brutality and also the delegitimization of scientific racism.[416] The nineteenth century saw the rise of the eugenics movement that propagated the belief that superior races produced superior cultures and that racial mixing constituted the degeneration of the race they perceived to be superior.

Socio-economic dimensions of racism and xenophobia

Members of the dominant group have also suffered under the processes of deindustrialisation and social change, which has resulted in socio-economic marginalization. According to Wieviorka:

412 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Europe and its Others" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

413 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

414 'Aryan' is a term that was used in Germany to refer to the preferred race. However, the original word 'Aryan' is the name for a group of languages including Sanskrit of ancient India and the languages of ancient Persia; but has also been used to describe a larger group of languages; the Indo-European, which also includes German, English, Latin, Greek, Armenian and Slavic. Thus 'Aryan' has no reference to German heritage, but instead to a group of languages. See: Ruth Benedict, "Race: What it is not" in Theories of Race and Racism, Eds. L. Back and J. Solomos, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 114.

415 Jürgen Winkler, "Explaining individual racial prejudice in contemporary Germany" in Education and Racism, Eds. L. Hagendoorn and S. Nekuee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

416 Michel Wieviorka, "The development of racism in Europe" in A Companion to Racial and Ethnic studies, Eds. D.T Goldberg and J. Solomos (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

These people are powerless, have a distinct feeling of being neglected or abandoned, are often expected to share the same conditions as the immigrant-origin populations, and are in some extent in competition with them on the labor market. [417]

Racism in this context may take the form of verbal abuse or even brutal attacks by skinheads or Neo-Nazis. The second dimension of racism is often characterised by more controlled forms of expression that corresponds with the wealthy, middle- or upper-class social groups who are

mainly concerned with maintaining a distance between themselves and the other by constructing symbolic and concrete barriers of segregation: separate residential areas, the use of private schools to avoid schools in the public sector in which the number of immigrant-origin children is considered to be too high, voting for the political parties which are the most opposed to immigrants, and so forth.[418]

The findings of the ALBUS survey were indicated a high level of resistance to ethnic minorities.[419] Most German scholars maintain that the perceived increase in racial prejudice between 1989 and 1999 was the result of poor economic conditions as well as a dramatic increase in violent behaviour towards members of ethnic groups during the first half of the 1990s.[420] The majority of studies have found higher degrees of racial prejudice in eastern Germany than in western Germany. These regional differences have been explained as a result of poor economic climate and destabilisation caused by political revolution in the former East Germany.[421] Another result of the ALBUS study showed that the dominant group perceives the subordinate groups as a threat to their position.

The Skinhead movement

Skinheads first made an appearance in Britain in the 1960s when they were involved in 'Paki bashing' which included the assault and murders of Pakistani-origin peoples. During the 1980s the skinhead cult spread from Britain

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417 Ibid., 476.
418 Ibid., 467-8.
419 Ibid.
420 Ibid., 99.
421 Jürgen Winkler, "Explaining individual racial prejudice in contemporary Germany" in Education and Racism, Eds. L. Hagendoorn and S. Nekuee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

across to West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Scandinavia. The skinhead movement also gained popularity amongst unemployed and racist youth in France, Poland, Hungary, and East Germany. [422]

Skinheads are often visually provocative and popular, and are referred to as Neo-Nazis in the media. It is their perception of the threat posed by foreigners, as well as the perceived lost opportunities that motivate their aggression that manifests itself in the form of violence, propaganda and vandalism. Most perpetrators of violent xenophobic crimes have been teenage males. They do not have tendency to be members of organized political groups, however, they may have assumed elements of xenophobic and right-wing ideology, and some may even be influenced by neo-Nazis or the radical extremist right.[423] Skinheads are not really an organization, but are instead part of a youth cultural style with surprising internal diversity (many of whom are not violent xenophobes). Racial prejudice in popular culture has been expressed via fascist rock bands, ethnocentric hooliganism displayed against foreign soccer players (especially Africans), as well as concentration camp computer games.

Does an authentic culture exist?

Determining 'degrees of culture' is problematic because it creates a hierarchy of cultures that ultimately subordinates some cultures to the dominant culture(s). [424] A 'pure' race does not exist. Not even in the biological sense. Instead, all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. [425]

Hybridity and the Third Space in Postcolonial Discourse

The notion of 'Hybrid invisibility' illuminates culture as being subjected to transformation and fluidity. [426] Therefore, the idea of a static or homogeneous culture is proved to be a fallacy. Consequently, "culture" has been rede-

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422 Ibid.

423 Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

424 Renato Rosaldo, Culture and Truth: The remaking of social analysis, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 196, 200.

425 Homi Bhabha, Nation and narration, (London: Routledge,1990); Homi Bhabha, The location of culture, (London: Routledge,1994); Cheryl Hendricks, "Debating coloured identity in the Western Cape", African Security Review; 2005, Vol.14(4).

426 Renato Rosaldo, Culture and Truth: The remaking of social analysis, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 209.

fined as heterogeneous. This leaves room for a Third space; namely that of hybridity. Rosaldo[427] describes hybridity as the blurred zones between (perceived) "pure" cultures that have been left unexplored. These blurred zones can be described as cut and paste scenarios that allow individuals to vacillate between seemingly fixed identities. The Third space gives members of marginalized groups the agency to *choose* their identities and to position[428] *themselves*.

Bhabha[429] defines hybridity as the process by which the colonial governing authority undertakes to translate the identity of the colonised; namely that of the *Other*. The new hybrid identity or subject-position that emerges from the interweaving of elements of the coloniser and colonised becomes a vehicle for challenging the authenticity of essentialist cultural identities. In the case of minority groups in Germany, the relevant terms would be hyphenated identities such as German-Turk, for example. The advantage of vascillating between two (or more) cultures is that this in-betweenness gives hybrids the ability to negotiate the differences to one's own advantage.

The development of hybrid cultures poses a challenge for multicultural education since it defies notions of cultural homogeneity which takes for granted that individuals can only belong to one culture. [430] For example, a teacher might may assume "Turkish" chauvinistic behavior in a student with Turkish background who dislikes a female teacher. These attitudes, which also occur outside of school, are criticized as cultural or ethnic attribution. Individual forms of hybridism like the development of a mixed language are also protests against these attributions of binary oppositions and instead adopt an inclusive approach that allows for the possibility of feeling at home in different cultures.[431]

Educators need to abandon the presumption of cultural distinctness and instead to deal with a high amount of ambiguity. The tendency of schools in

427 Ibid.
428 Ann Phoenix, "Remembered racialization: Young people and Positioning in differential understandings" in Racialization studies in theories and practice, Eds. K. Murji and J. Solomos (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005
429 Homi Bhabha, Nation and narration, (London: Routledge,1990); Homi Bhaba The location of culture, (London: Routledge,1994).
430 Sigrid Luchtenberg, "Multicultural Education: Challenges and Responses" in Sowi Online Journal, 2005.
431 Sigrid Luchtenberg, "Multicultural Education: Challenges and Responses" in Sowi Online Journal, 2005.

Germany is to produce homogeneity. The development of hybrid cultures and hybrid identities in individuals clashes with the concept of assimilation and ruptures the latter discourse in politics and the media. In order to meet the challenges of understanding and incorporating diverse cultures into school population and broader society in general, individuals need to overcome the danger of ethnic and cultural attribution remains pervasive today. Hybridism is one way to overcome cultural and ethnic attribution. However, the racial/cultural sensitization and multicultural training of teachers is crucial in order to unlearn and abolish entrenched racialised and xenophobic attitudes that will ultimately contribute to meeting the needs of *all* pupils.

Immigration

History of migration

Foreign labour played a significant role in Germany's rise in status as a major power leading up to the First World War. The Nazi regime recruited massive numbers of foreign workers to replace the German men who had been conscripted for military service. In the 1990s individuals of German descent from Eastern European countries returned to Germany. These return migrants had the right to re-enter Germany as well as automatic citizenship. Refugee-receiving countries such as Germany restricted their entry rules. The high fertility rate and young underemployed populations of Turkey and North Africa appeared as a threat to many Europeans, but also as a potential benefit in terms of gaining a labour force for factories and building sites. [432]

Immigration policy

Immigration policies have traditionally been formulated with the intention of making new immigrants permanent members of the host society.[433] Immigration countries of the European North have, in contrast, passed legislation that prevents foreigners from obtaining citizenship and permanent residence. European nations have restricted immigration policies and reduced the rights of non-nationals. In these countries it is more accurate to speak of a "for-

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432 Ibid.
433 Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4).

eigner policy" than of an immigration policy.[434] Spiegel has highlighted the tongue-in-cheek political discourse by observing that many politicians refer to Germany as a "country of integration," rather than a "country of immigration". [435] While EU citizens' rights have expanded, these rights are not applicable to citizens from non-EU nation-states. Domestic, social, economic and political considerations play a larger role in the lives of immigrants than global or even religious factors. Traditionally, Germany's immigration policy has been based on a temporary residence model (more commonly referred to as the Guest Worker Model). Germany saw itself as a non-immigration country that only granted provisional residence for immigrants.[436] German immigration policy had three dimensions: the first included liberal asylum provisions, the second was the guestworker program, and the third was the almost automatic granting of citizenship to ethnic Germans.[437] During the 1950s, Germany began recruiting guest workers to fill the gap in their labour shortage during a period of economic boom.[438] The third major source of immigration was the practice (also written into the Basic Law) of granting citizenship to people from the rest of Europe (mainly the East) who claimed German ethnic heritage regardless of the length of time away from Germany.

In 1973 the Federal Republic of Germany banned the further recruitment of foreign workers. This prohibition was justified on the grounds that increasing national unemployment was of great concern and that jobs needed to be available for youth entering the labour market for the first time. The 1970s was also the time when the German government encouraged repatriation of guestworkers to alleviate the anxiety of the local working population. This standpoint was developed in the context of recession and rising unemploy-

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434 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1); Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4).

435 Spiegel Staff, "Can Merkel's Integration Summit Deliver More than Just Promises?" in Der Spiegel , 11 July 2007.

436 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1), 104.

437 Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

438 Barbara Franz, "Europe's Muslim Youth: An inquiry into the politics of Discrimination, Relative Deprivation and Identity formation" in Mediterranean Quarterly, 2007, Vol.18 (1).

ment in the post-war economic downslide. [439] The 1980s saw an influx of intra-refugee movements which was perceived as an increase in asylum-seekers that was above the symbolic danger point. Subsequently, this provided the precedent for obtaining change in Article 16 of the Basic Law in order to restrict asylum.[440] The German Basic Law made a provision for refugees which provided Germany with increasing immigration that peaked in 1992 and declined after the policy was restricted. The result was the portrayal of the refugees as a flood or tidal wave which simulated panic. It was declared that the "boat is full" and could not accommodate any more passengers from Eastern Europe and the Third World. There was also talk of "fortress Europe" defending its battlements from the immigration onslaught. [441]

Refugees were attracted to the affluent and democratic countries in order to forge a better living for themselves and their families. Foreigners and asylum-seekers were viewed as competitors for the jobs and houses that Germans were already lacking. Foreigners were thus perceived to deplete resources of the already strained German economy.[442] Under the 1990 Schengen Agreement, signed by the Schengen countries (Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg) the relaxation of internal border controls between the signatory states was stipulated in addition to more rigorous checks at external borders. Effectively this made it far more difficult for non-Europeans to enter the Schengen countries.[443] Legislative measures were taken from 1993–1994 which restricted the provisions made for asylum-seekers. The Schengen countries signed an agreement to "harmonise" the policy on visas and to co-ordinate crime prevention concerning narcotics, explosives and the registration of hotel guests. As a result, exiles, refugees and asylum seekers as well as people of colour were being equated with criminals via the media and European state officials in these countries.[444]

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439 Ray Rist, "Guestworkers in Germany: Public policies as the legitimation of marginality" in Ethnic and Racial studies, 1979, Vol. 2 (4), 401.
440 Ibid.
441 Ibid., 6.
442 Meredith Watts, Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
443 Glyn Ford, Fascist Europe. The Rise of Racism and Xenophobia (London: Pluto Press, 1992).
444 Philomena Essed, Diversity: Gender, Colour and Culture, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 123.

Citizenship

Defining citizenship

Modern citizenship[445] has become linked to national identity in the post-war context in which capitalism has led to socio-economic divisions of class. The nation-state is territorial in nature and embodies a cultural boundary of citizenship. Passive citizenship is "developed from above by the state, which grants rights to the citizens" who are only expected to exercise their rights by voting.[446] In contrast, active citizenship "is developed from below through citizens' mobilization in various types of social and political movements." [447] Such citizens are active socio-political agents who utilize their rights to claim new and/or better ones. Citizenship is a form of "social incorporation and a necessary condition for social integration."[448] While cultural homogeneity is considered to be a given in the state, cultural heterogeneity tests the strength of citizenship rights.

Citizenship in Germany

Citizenship laws combine the criteria of descent (*jus sanguinis*) and territory (*jus solis*). [449] In 1913 the first national citizenship law conferred citizenship via filiation[450] forming the foundation for German law for the twentieth century. Consequently, German citizenship policy became an ethnic policy.[451] Up until 2000, eligibility for German citizenship was determined by German ancestry and not country of birth. Even second – and third generation "foreign" residents born in Germany had little chance of naturalization. In 2000,

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445 According to Martinello (2002), the three main dimensions of modern citizenship include granting civil and socio-political rights to individual members of a political collectivity. Secondly it refers to specific social roles (such as voter or activist) enacted by citizens to express their participation in government processes; which implies a form of political competence in defending ones political interests. Finally, citizenship refers to a set of moral qualities that are perceived to be crucial for the survival of the "good citizen". The presence of a migrant origin population questions the link between formal and substantive citizenship. Today, formal citizenship is still the primary necessary condition for being granted integral substantial citizenship.

446 Ibid., 117.

447 Ibid.

448 Ibid., 118.

449 Michael Veit Bader, "The Ethics of Immigration" in Constellations, 2005, Vol. 12 (13).

450 Filiation is defined as direct descent from a parent who is a German citizen.

451 Cynthia Miller-Idriss,. "Everyday Understandings of Citizenship in Germany" in Citizenship Studies, 2006, Vol. 10 (5).

the new German citizenship law was passed and allowed second-generation foreigners born in Germany to apply for citizenship provided that their parents had legal residency.

Prior to reforms relaxing the requirements for naturalization in the early 1990s, the process through which foreigners could obtain German citizenship in the Federal Republic of Germany was exceptionally difficult and relatively rare, thereby ensuring that "ethnic" Germans constituted the overwhelming majority. The first set of reforms in 1990 altered the German foreigner law (*Ausländergesetz*) in an attempt to address the security concern of long-term foreign residents and to make it easier for them to apply for German citizenship.[452] Naturalization in Germany is thus becoming more moderate.[453] The most significant reform of citizenship and naturalization policy occurred when the German citizenship law was passed in 1999 and was implemented in 2000. The *jus sanguinis* element of the law remained in tact in addition to a *jus soli* (based on birth place or territory) policy. These reforms in the German citizenship law assured automatic naturalization at birth and made it easier for new immigrants to become eligible for citizenship. The new law asserted that children born in Germany after 1 January 2000 are automatically eligible for citizenship even if they were born to foreign parents – on condition that at least one parent has legally resided in Germany for a minimum of eight years with secure resident status. In addition, if the child has another citizenship, it must be renounced before the end of their twenty-third year or they face having their German citizenship revoked. [454]

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452 Cynthia Miller-Idriss,. "Everyday Understandings of Citizenship in Germany" in Citizenship Studies, 2006, Vol. 10 (5).

453 Michael Veit Bader, "The Ethics of Immigration" in Constellations, 2005, Vol. 12 (13).

454 Cynthia Miller-Idriss,. "Everyday Understandings of Citizenship in Germany" in Citizenship Studies, 2006, Vol. 10 (5).

Appendix B – I

The school's demographic profile for 2007 [455]

The school's population

938 pupils[456] attended this school in 2007 including:

249 pupils in grades 11 – 13; including 92 males and 157 females

689 pupils in grades 5 – 10; including 345 males, 344 females

A brief profile[457] of the grade 7–10 immigrant population at the school:

grade 7: Four pupils with immigrant backgrounds; including two males and two females out of a population of 120 pupils

grade 8: four pupils with immigrant backgrounds; including two males and two females out of a population of 114 pupils

grade 9: one male with an immigrant background out of a population of 106 pupils

grade 10: four pupils with immigrant backgrounds; including one female and three males out of a population of 108 pupils

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455 This profile was compiled from documentation of immigrants sourced from the school's principal in 2007.
456 Sources: the school's principal and the school's website, November 2007.
457 Source: document provided by the school's principal, April 2007.

Appendix B – II

Interviewee Profiles for the Primary Sample[458]

Arash is a 16 year old Muslim male of Iranian origin who referred to himself as Persian. He was a grade 10 pupil at the school. He immigrated to Oldenburg, Germany with his Iranian family in 1997. His is partly Assyrian in origin since his mother is Assyrian and speaks both the German and Assyrian languages; whilst his father speaks Farsi and German. Farsi is Arash's first language, Assyrian is his second language, German is his third language, and he learned English at school.

Orhan is a 16 year old Muslim male of Turkish origin who was born in Oldenburg, Germany. He was a grade 10 pupil at the school. His parents were Turkish in origin and spoke both Turkish and German to him. He considered his mother tongue to be both German and Turkish because he felt that he was equally fluent in both languages.

Mikhail is a 16 year old Jewish male in grade 10 at the school. He was born in Russia. He immigrated to Germany with his family in 1998. His parents are both Russian and speak both German and Russian. The Russian language is his mother tongue and he started speaking German at the age of eight years; but considers both languages to be his mother tongue. He also learned to speak English in grade one in Russia and then also at school in Germany.

Yahya is a 17 year old Muslim male born in grade 10 at the school. He was born in Germany to his Egyptian mother and Lebanese father. He identified German as his mother tongue. He also spoke English as a second language; and Arabic and Dutch as his third languages.

Zerzan is a 15 year old Kurdish male of the Yazidi faith. He was in grade eight at the school. He was born in Oldenburg to Kurdish parents from Turkey. They spoke Kurdish, Turkish and German fluently. Kurdish is his mother tongue and German is his second language, but felt that he spoke

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458 All interviewees were given pseudonyms to protect their identities.

German better than Kurdish. He also learned to speak English at school and a little Turkish too.

Kolzak is a 15 year old male in grade eight at the school. He was born in Kazakhstan and identifies as Russian. His parents are both from Kazakhstan and speak German at work and only Russian at home. Russian is his mother-tongue and German is his second language. He also learned to speak English at school.

Interviewee Profiles of the Secondary Sample[459]

Adults with immigrant backgrounds who work in the field of education

Hedya is a 30 year old Muslim female of Tunisian origin. She was born in Bremen, Germany to Tunisian parents who speak a Tunisian dialect of Arabic as their first language and German as their second language. She speaks fluent German as well as Tunisian, Lebanese and Algerian dialects of Arabic, and English too. She studied Sociology, Pedagogy and Politics at a university in Germany. She is a divorced mother of two children, and was completing her master in Intercultural studies at the time of the interviews. Hedya also works at the primary school that her daughters attend assisting pupils with Mathematics and German homework.

Amisha is a 30 year old female of Indian origin. She was born in Bocholt, Germany. Her mother has lived, was educated and has worked in Germany for approximately 40 years; whilst her father has was educated in India and later in Germany where he has lived and worked for the past 30 years. Her relatives are Syro-Malabarian[460] Catholics. German is her first language and English is her third language, but she speaks the latter as fluently as she does the former. In addition, she spoke Malayalam but refused to continue speaking this language at the age of six .Her parents' common language is German, with her father speaking both Tamil and Malayalam as his mother tongues. Amisha received a Bachelor of Arts (in Psychology) in London. In India, she studied Indian Social Anthropology as well as Indian Sociology. Amisha was a research assistant doing her PhD in Pedagogy at the time of the interviews.

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459 This group of Christians originates from Syria and Malabar (a coast in India).

Khalid is a 31 year old male born in Afghanistan. He attended kindergarten and the first grade in Kabul and then immigrated to Gurting, Germany at the age of seven years. Dari (Farsi)[460] is his first language and German is his second language. He also learned to speak English and French at school, but has forgotten to speak the latter. Dari is also his parents' first language. His father studied in Germany in the 1960s and then immigrated to Germany with his wife and children in 1983. Khalid studied Sociology and the Sciences in Germany. He is an academic who works on a project to improve the speech and language competencies in German of youths of various cultural backgrounds at a university in Germany.

Educational staff at the school in Oldenburg

Erika is a German female social worker at the school. She works with two other social workers at the school to organise breaks in which the pupils can play games and have contact with social workers during their free time.

Ula is a German female teacher at the school. She teaches Grade nine German language, Art, as well as Religion and Ethics. Previously, Ula taught Mathematics as well. She is also one of the teachers involved in the partnership between their school and the school in South Africa.

Silke is a German female teacher at the school. She has taught grades five to eleven; but was only teaching Economics to grade nines and Art to grade tens at the time the interview was conducted.

Leyna is a German female and is the youngest teacher at the school. She has taught grade five, six, seven, eight, ten and eleven. At the time the interview was conducted, Leyna was teaching Religion and Ethics to grade eight pupils and English to grade ten pupils. Whilst studying, she conducted research on how immigrant German children could use their mother tongue in the sciences to learn German more easily. She looked at Geography and Science to see how another subject can be used to make sure people learn. This is known as affective learning.

Frieda is a German female teacher who approached me to discuss the pupils whilst I was engaged in empirical observation in her grade 10 Mathematics lesson.

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460 According to the interviewee, Dari is Farsi, the original of the Persian language spoken in Afghanistan.

Mareen is a German female teacher at the school. She was my gatekeeper into the school and arranged for me to meet several teachers and gain access to the teachers' meeting rooms as well. She teaches Biology and English to grade six pupils. Mareen is also involved in the partnership between the South African school and the site of study.

The ex-principal of a high school in South Africa

Fabian is a Coloured South African male who resides between South Africa and Germany. He is the ex-principal of a high school in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, that has a partnership with the school studied in Oldenburg, Germany. He remained connected to the school in Oldenburg via that partnership.

Appendix C

Personal Learning and Reflexion

As I became absorbed in this research project I had to confront my own mis-conceptions and stereotypes of people with immigrant origins. I mistook the Tunisian participant of this study to be a Russian woman because she was pale in complexion, had red hair and green eyes. Imagine my surprise when I discovered that we were both African! More interesting for me was Germans and people of immigrant origin's response to me in the streets and shops in Germany: they looked at me with blankly, baffled when I identified myself as a South *African*; and not the Iranian or Indian many perceived me to be. Many of them could not conceive of an African who was not black/brown in colour.

I began to embark upon a process that led me to a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of people with immigrant origins and to question and re-evaluate my own stereotypes.

Notwithstanding racist jokes and stereotypes aimed at Indians and Coloureds, I now see that my hybridity became a buffer against being discriminated against as being either Indian or Coloured in public ex-Coloured schools in South Africa. I was neither Indian enough nor Coloured enough to please anyone or to fit neatly into any of their categorizations of these racial groups. Vacillating between these two racial identities was not just a painful process at first, but also a way partially escaping the internalisation of these crude stereotypes. The participants of this study, however, did not have this luxury, as is evident in the example of darker skinned Tunisians who were perceived as Turks; whilst a white-skinned Tunisian was perceived as German both by Germans and Tunisians in Germany. The ability of this Tunisian-German individual is very similar to the experience of numerous Coloured men and women who 'passed as White' during the Apartheid era's 'biological' discrimination between the "races" in South Africa. Humiliating pencil tests and the like are testament to the ridiculousness of the notion of biological determinism and notions of inferiority.

Even though my father is a first generation Indian, I never felt the ostracism and civic marginalisation to the extent that many immigrants experience both in South Africa and Germany. It was at this point that I had to acknowledge how I had taken my South African citizenship for granted. I had never thought of myself as an Indian-South African or as a Coloured-South African; but instead as a South African person of colour. My citizenship was never threatened or questioned in my country. It was when I arrived in Germany that the authenticity of my South African citizenship was questioned: why was I not Black or White? This is was the first time I had to contend with the Third world gaze of First World citizens. The way Germans in Oldenburg would only look at me when they heard me speak English was disconcerting because the rest of the time I was treated as invisible in public spaces when my appearance elicited a sense of hyper-visibility within me. Instant eye contact was a form of acknowledgement and connections were easily made with other foreigners – particularly the handful of Black people I saw on bus trips to the inner city as well as Muslims who noticed me walking in the streets. This made me feel strangely comfortable in unfamiliar surroundings. My identity as a Third World citizen fell into question. What is a person from the Third World supposed to look like? What are the rules of engagement? How do Europeans expect me to act and react towards them? What is the most polite form of interaction when your grasp of the German language is limited? Suffice to say, valuable lessons were learned and I look forward to returning to Germany again in the future to learn more about the situation of "foreigners" living in Germany as well as to extend my personal growth through intercultural interactions.

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