

EDUCATION AND IMMIGRATION: FEDERAL DEBATES AND POLICIES IN WEST  
GERMANY, 1960S-1980S

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## **ABSTRACT**

BRITTANY R. LEHMAN: Education and Immigration: Federal Debates and Policies in  
West Germany, 1960s-1980s  
(Under the direction of Karen Hagemann and Konrad Jarausch)

In the 1970s, the number of children with migrant backgrounds within the new West Germany rose considerably and debates about their schooling developed on multiple levels. The Federal Government, spurred on by international pressure, internal considerations, and public concern, quickly became involved in these debates. This paper analyzes these federal debates on migration and education and the related federal policies during the late 1960s to the late 1980s by asking two questions. First, what did the different Federal Governments define as the major problems regarding the schooling of the children of guest workers and how did the perception of these problems change? Second, what policies did different Federal Governments and their ministries and administrations propose to solve these problems?

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## ***1. Introduction***

In the summer of 2010 the German media inundated its audience with reports on a new book titled *Germany Does Away With Itself* by the Social Democratic politician and board member of the Deutsche Bank Thilo Sarrazin.<sup>1</sup> His highly controversial claim that the millions of children with Turkish backgrounds were “dumbing down” German society raised an outcry throughout society and ignited debates across the public, the parliament, and the government regarding the state of the integration of migrants in Germany. These debates particularly focused on the undeniable achievement gap between “children with migrant backgrounds” and “ethnic German” children<sup>2</sup> and brought the successes and failures of the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds once again into the national spotlight. Already in 2000, this debate was brought to public attention as a subject of contention when the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) published its first study of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) comparing the school performance of fifteen-year-olds in 32 countries. The study demonstrated that, while most

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<sup>1</sup> Thilo Sarrazin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab. Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen*, DVA, München 2010. Sarrazin was a member of the Executive Board of the Deutsche Bundesbank until 30 September 2010 and a member of the SPD. He served as senator of finance for the State of Berlin from January 2002 until April 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Because “German” identity is so hotly contested and unclear, I will use “ethnic Germans” to refer to those people in possession of (West) German citizenship or eligible for it under the West German citizenship laws implemented after the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. I avoid the term “native German,” because many children with migrant backgrounds are born within the country’s borders yet, unlike in France, ineligible for West German citizenship. The focus of my study is on “children with migrant backgrounds,” which I use to discuss those children with “non-German” ancestry who arrived in the FRG after 1949 due to processes of family reunification, as asylum seekers, and through other forms of migration. Throughout the text, these groups will alternately be referred to as they are in the primary sources, but always with quotes (i.e. “foreign children” for *Ausländerkinder*). This is an attempt to recognize the diversity of this group, in regards to self-identification, nationalities (e.g. their passports), mixed ancestry, longevity of residence, country of birth, and other categories.

OECD countries had a performance gap of children with lower socio-economic and migrant backgrounds, in Germany it was larger than in any other.<sup>3</sup> Following this report, attempts were made to address these issues, but as of yet the outcome is unclear. It is perhaps too early to tell how much policies on the ground have really changed regarding the educational opportunities of migrants.

Although the situation in Germany is particularly controversial, problems regarding the education and integration of minority groups and foreign nationals are an issue across the Western industrialized world and have been under scrutiny since the 1960s. Since the 1960s, West German politicians, alongside their fellow European Community member states, have debated the question of how best to organize the schooling of “foreign children,” with particular focus on the so-called “guest-worker children.” Beginning in the 1970s, these debates have continually centered on both the performance gap between “ethnic” and “foreign” children in schools – usually defined by percentages of attendance at the different levels of the German tripartite school system – and the question of what was to be done to improve the situation.

My MA thesis will explore the shifting debates in and policies of the German Federal Government concerning the school education of migrant children from the 1960s through reunification in 1990 by focusing on the reports and statements of two Federal bodies directly involved: the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft* (Ministry of Education and Science)<sup>4</sup> and the *Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen* (Commissioner of

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<sup>3</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Measuring Student Knowledge and Skills: The PISA 2000 Assessment of Reading, Mathematical and Scientific Literacy*, Education and skills (Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> I will use “Ministry of Education” to refer to the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft* (Ministry of Education and Science) throughout the paper. In 1994, the Ministry would be joined with the

the Federal Government for Questions Regarding Foreigners),<sup>5</sup> created in 1978 as a federal commission for concerns regarding foreign residents affiliated originally with the *Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales* (Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs). The Ministry of Education, responding to international pressure, especially from Italy, began to explore the problem of schooling children with migrant backgrounds in the 1960s. Through the 1970s and 1980s, it became increasingly responsible for setting policy guidelines for these children's instruction as well as for fielding questions on this topic on behalf of the Federal Government. Thus, its statements in respect of the schooling of migrant children often reflect the stance of the ruling coalition on immigration and integration. The *Ausländerbeauftragte*, in contrast, concerned with the situation of "foreign" residents, engaged with the problem of schooling specifically as a component of integration. Created to provide recommendations for improving the integration of "foreigners" into West German society, its role is to advocate on these groups' behalf. Together, these two federal entities exemplify the complexities and contradictions in the debates regarding the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds.

With a focus on these two federal bodies, my analysis will explore the legislative period of two Federal Governments that had early and significant influence on West German politics on migration and education: the 1969-1982 coalition of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP), and the 1982-1998 coalition of the

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*Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie* (Ministry of Research and Technology) and, as of 1998, it has carried the name, the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (Ministry of Education and Research).

<sup>5</sup> Referred to throughout the paper as the *Ausländerbeauftragte*, however during the 1980s, the full title of the office was the "Commission for the Integration of Foreign Workers and their Dependents" (*Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen*). Today, the office is called the "Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration" (*Beauftragte für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration*).



Christian Democratic Party (CDU), the Christian Social Union (CSU), and the FDP. While the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition would continue for another decade, my thesis ends in 1990 in light of reunification and the complete change in the political landscape. While both coalitions' stance on integration and immigration would transform significantly over these twenty years in response to social, cultural, and political changes, the political majority in the CDU/CSU on the one hand and the SPD and FDP on the other pursued different approaches in their education and migration policy. Most leaders of the CDU/CSU tended first towards a policy of return (*Rückkehr*) and later of "assimilation," while the SPD leadership since the 1970s at least rhetorically supported cultural rights, i.e. a policy of "cultural diversity," often at the expense of individual human rights.

Integration and assimilation are two terms that change their meaning depending on the speaker, time period, and context. There is, however, usually an important distinction between the two. Integration usually refers to some level of incorporation into a society, in this case West German, without abandoning either lingual or traditional cultural ties. Within the discussion on the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds, "to integrate" is usually used in the context of becoming a fully functioning, i.e. employable and German-speaking, member of West Germany, while maintaining their cultural rights as minorities. Cultural rights are viewed here as the primacy of maintenance of cultural heritage. In contrast, "assimilation" usually refers to a complete turn to the norms of the dominant culture in the host country. Those arguing for assimilation over integration often do so on the premise of individual rights, which are seen here as the extension of human rights equally to every individual.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Individual rights are seen in reference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international Human Rights law. For a discussion of the tensions between individual and minority rights, see Holly Cullen,

The Federal Republic of Germany's (FRG) Basic Law from 1949 defines the responsibility for the school system as a "*Ländersache*," which means that all laws and regulations are enacted individual in each *Bundesland*.<sup>7</sup> Yet, while education would remain a *Ländersache*, changes to the Basic Law in 1969 allowed the Federal Ministry of Education a measure of competency in educational policy (*bildungspolitische Kompetenzen*) and permitted increased amount of funding for programs within the *Länder*. The Ministry of Education tried, particularly under Chancellor Willy Brandt, to use their limited competencies to promote reform, predominately through the publication of their *Bildungsbericht* (reports on education). It is therefore crucial to analyze the Federal Government's debates, decisions, and initiatives in order to understand the development of the debates and policies on the national level.<sup>8</sup> They inform and reflect public opinion and respond to changing policies in the European Community. Thus, changes in the Federal Government's approach can potentially have far-reaching political consequences even as they reflect changes in economy, society and culture.

I analyze the federal debates on migration and education and the related federal policies during the 1970s and 1980s by asking two questions: First, what did the different Federal Governments define as the major problems involved in the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds and how did the perception of these problems change? Second,

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"Education Rights or Minority Rights?," *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 7, no. 2 (August 1, 1993): 143-177.

<sup>7</sup> For more information on the Basic Law and education in West Germany, see P. Glotz and K. Faber, "Richtlinien und Grenzen des Grundgesetzes für das Bildungswesen," in *Handbuch des Verfassungsrechts der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Ernst Benda, Werner Maihofer, and Hans Jochen Vogel, 2nd ed. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1994), 1324.

<sup>8</sup> Christoph Führ, "IV. Zur Koordination der Bildungspolitik durch Bund und Länder," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte: 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Christa Berg, Christoph Führ, and Carl-Ludwig Furck, vol. 1, 6 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998), 74.

what policies did the different federal coalitions and their ministries propose and implement to solve these problems?

In order to answer these questions, I use a selection of primary and secondary materials. My primary sources are the printed materials from the Federal Government's ministries, commissions as well as the Bundestag with the intention of engaging with the debates within the Federal Government directly. In particular, I examine records from the German Parliament (*Bundestag*) as well as reports (*Berichte*) and memoranda from the Ministry of Education and the *Ausländerbeauftragte* published between 1969 and 1990. These public documents provide the official recommendations of the two branches of the Federal Government alongside oppositional opinions. They further demonstrate the multifarious influences and complexity of the debates. While these sources do not allow us to see into the actual implementation of the policies and recommendations, they provide insight into the concerns influencing policy formulation as well as the policies' outlines.

In addition to these primary sources, interdisciplinary scholarship on issues of migration and education provides me with important background information. Scholarship in history as well as educational, political, and social sciences allows me to situate my work in a broader historical and political context and shed light onto issues my primary sources do not show. Most important in the field of history is the work by scholars such as Ulrich Herbert and Klaus J. Bade, who since the 1980s have intensively engaged with the development of migration policy and the general trends of immigration to Germany through several comprehensive studies.<sup>9</sup> By being among the first to directly engage with the history of immigration to Germany, they have significantly influenced the field with their scholarship.

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<sup>9</sup> Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge* (München: Beck, 2001); Ulrich Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in*

Recently, historians have focused on the long-neglected question of female guest workers and family migration, with emphases on the perspective of the migrants themselves and the public debate on the guest worker program. Monika Mattes demonstrated in her 2005 book *Gastarbeiterinnen in der Bundesrepublik* (“Female Guest Workers in the Federal Republic”) how fundamental of a role the FRG, between the 1950s and 1970s, played in restructuring the West German labor market and further disproved the common assumption that the federal policy focused only on men.<sup>10</sup> Karin Hunn, in her 2005 book on Turkish guest workers, examined the role of the countries of origin – specifically Turkey – in influencing German policy developments in general and education policy in particular by making demands for better care of their citizens.<sup>11</sup> Rita Chin’s 2007 book, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, explored the development of the public discourse in the FRG.<sup>12</sup> These studies demonstrate that the history of immigration and minorities in (West) Germany is complex with diverse actors, including the multiple migrant groups, each playing an influential role. Together, they enable me to situate my analysis within the wider historical context of German immigration history.

The scholarship of educational, social, and political scientists offers more specific insights into debates on the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds, especially

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*Deutschland, 1880 bis 1980: Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter* (Berlin: J.H.W. Dietz, 1986). Klaus J Bade, *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck, 2000); Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, 6. Familienbericht: Familien ausländischer Herkunft in Deutschland: Leistungen - Belastungen - Herausforderungen, Unterrichtung, Familienbericht (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, December 27, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Monika Mattes, *"Gastarbeiterinnen" in der Bundesrepublik: Anwerbepolitik, Migration und Geschlecht in den 50er bis 70er Jahren* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Karin Hunn, *"Nächstes Jahr kehren wir zurück--": die Geschichte der türkischen "Gastarbeiter" in der Bundesrepublik* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

within the *Länder*. Already, in 1978, American political scientist Ray C. Rist's book *Guestworkers in Germany* discussed the failures of West German integration policies with a focus on education describing them as discriminatory and illogical.<sup>13</sup> In the 1990s, educational scientist Marianne Krüger-Potratz released a series of studies on the recommendations of both the *Länder* and Federal Government regarding the schooling of “foreign children” from the beginning of the Federal Republic, demonstrating their insufficiency.<sup>14</sup> Legal scholar Lutz-Rainer Reuter has additionally explored the development of education policy within individual *Länder* and further examined the extension of the right to education to children with migrant backgrounds.<sup>15</sup> These works help me to explore the complex issues surrounding the legal and educational debates on immigration and schooling, painting a picture of a situation in which, even as efforts are made, more is needed and needs to be done.

While these excellent bodies of scholarship engage multiple aspects of federal and *Länder* policy, scholars have yet to perform a systematic study of the way school education was understood by the Federal Government as a measure for integration and their suggested programs over the twenty year period of my focus. In order to look at these debates, I begin by providing a brief overview of migration trends – with a focus on family migration – in the

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<sup>13</sup> Ray C. Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany: the Prospects for Pluralism* (New York: Praeger, 1978).

<sup>14</sup> Jürgen Puskeppeleit and Marianne Krüger-Potratz, *Bildungspolitik und Migration Texte und Dokumente zur Beschulung ausländischer und ausgesiedelter Kinder und Jugendlicher 1950 bis 1999*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Münster: Münster Arbeitsstelle Interkulturelle Pädagogik, Fachbereich Erziehungswiss. und Sozialwiss., 1999); Marianne Krüger-Potratz, *Interkulturelle Bildung: Eine Einführung* (New York: Waxmann, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Lutz-Rainer Reuter, *Schulbildung für Aussiedlerkinder und Migrantenkinder in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* (Hamburg: Universität der Bundeswehr, 1996); Lutz-Rainer Reuter, *Das Recht auf chancengleiche Bildung: Ein Beitrag zur sozial ungleichen Bildungspartizipation und zu den Aufgaben und Grenzen der Rechtswissenschaft bei der Verwirklichung eines sozialen Grundrechts auf chancengleiche Bildung* (Ratingen: Henn, 1975); Lutz R. Reuter, “Schulrecht für Schüler nichtdeutscher Erstsprache,” *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik* 21 (2001): 111-119.

FRG and related federal policies between the 1960s and 1980s. In the subsequent three sections, I structure my thesis chronologically, following the two major coalitions in order to show the different perception of the major political parties of the role of the government in integration as well as changes in their positions.

In the third section, I explore the debates and policies of the SPD-FDP coalition between 1969 and 1974, asking how the Ministry of Education attempted to balance the need for integration and instruction designed to prepare “foreign children” to reintegrate. In the fourth section, I analyze how these discussions changed to emphasize integration in the late 1970s through the reports and publications of the Ministry of Education and how the newly appointed federal commissioner for Foreigners Affairs (*Ausländerbeauftragter*) tried in 1979 to change federal policy and practice. I ask how they attempted to reconcile the focus on integration with continued support of preparation for return. The fifth section examines the development of the Federal Government’s debates and policies in respect of migration and education under the CDU/CSU-FDP government that came into power in 1982 through the Fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. In this last section, I explore how the increased focus of the Kohl government on children with Turkish backgrounds and concerns regarding this group’s cultural practices influenced debates regarding integration as it became undeniable that most of the foreign workers and their families would stay in West Germany.

## ***2. Migration Trends, Foreign Residents, and Federal Policies***

Through the 1960s to the 1980s, over 21 million foreign nationals entered West Germany under employment contracts, through family reunification, and as asylum seekers. Coming first as “guest workers,” family migration took precedence after 1973 as West Germany closed its borders to new labor. Initially, the West German Federal Government recruited “guest workers” with the belief that they would only maintain a brief residence. This expectation of the migrant workers’ eventual return after one or two years to their countries of origin would continue to inform policies regarding integration through the end of the 1970s. Consequently, in the 1980s the Federal Government, even as the number of “foreign residents” rose above four million and new migrants entered the country, continued to have to address the question of integration into West German society and the role of the Federal Government in that process. This section asks what overall migration patterns to West Germany were through the 1960s to the 1980s and how the Federal Government’s policies influenced migration and “foreign” residency.

### **2.1. Recruitment and the Assumption of Return between 1955 and 1973**

West Germany recruited its first waves of “foreign” immigrants into the FRG in response to unprecedented employment rates and the booming economy of the “Economic Miracle.” Although significant recruitment would not begin until 1961, the first movements started in 1955 after the FRG signed its first bilateral agreement for labor recruitment (*Anwerbeabkommen*) with Italy. This initial contract was signed partly in response to a growing need for manpower, but also due to pressure from the Italian government. Italy

faced high unemployment rates and the Italian government advocated for the reestablishment of traditional (pre-WWII) rotational – usually agricultural – systems for temporary workers. In the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition's efforts to rehabilitate Germany's damaged international image and (re)establish West Germany's continuity with the democratic Christian West, the West German Federal Government was reluctant to offend Italy by seeming uninterested.<sup>16</sup> Five years later, the FRG signed agreements with Spain and Greece for ostensibly similar reasons. Additional treaties were signed with Turkey in 1961, Portugal in 1964, and Yugoslavia in 1968.<sup>17</sup> In each of these agreements, both parties – the Federal Republic and the sending countries – agreed that the migrant labor entering West Germany should only be temporary, resulting in so-called “guest worker” programs. Entering the country under short-term labor contracts, originally individual men – but increasingly women – were recruited with the intention that they stay only as long as they were needed and then return with improved skills to their countries of origin.<sup>18</sup>

The emphasis on short term, one or two year, labor contracts changed in the 1960s and altered the makeup of those “foreigners” within the Federal Republic. Beginning with the building of Berlin Wall and the closing of the East German border on August 13, 1961, West Germany now needed migrant labor to fill the jobs left empty by East German workers. With migrant workers increasingly employed in factories instead of in agriculture, West German

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<sup>16</sup> See Ulrich Herbert and Karin Hunn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers in the Federal Republic: From the Beginning of Recruitment in 1955 until its Halt in 1973,” in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968*, ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 188; Heike Knortz, *Diplomatische Tauschgeschäfte: "Gastarbeiter" in der westdeutschen Diplomatie und Beschäftigungspolitik 1953 -1973* (Köln: Böhlau, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of “othering” and the contracts, see Jeffrey Peck, Mitchell Ash, and Christiane Lemke, “Native, Strangers, and Foreigners: Constituting Germans by Constructing Others,” in *After Unity: Reconfiguring German Identities*, ed. Konrad Hugo Jarausch (Providence, R.I: Berghahn Books, 1997), 75.

<sup>18</sup> Herbert and Hunn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers,” 188-190; Mattes, “*Gastarbeiterinnen*” in *der Bundesrepublik*, 13, 60.



employers renewed employment contracts and kept their workers for increasingly longer periods. As the migrant workers' employment in Germany lengthened, the numbers of families and "foreign" children, as can be seen in the tables below, increased dramatically, either born to "foreign laborers" or by entering the country through the processes of family reunification (*Familiennachzug*).

*Table 1: Migration over the FRG's Borders by Men, Women, and Children, 1964-1989*

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>under 16</b>
<b>1964</b>	698,609	510,453	188,156	53,574
<b>1969</b>	980,731	655,706	325,025	113,688
<b>1974</b>	601,013	330,281	270,732	193,526
<b>1979</b>	649,832	390,203	259,629	172,999
<b>1984</b>	407,282	221,956	185,326	54,465
<b>1986</b>	567,215	315,722	251,493	109,540
<b>1989</b>	1,522,190	-	-	-

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch

*Table 2: Non-German Migration into the FRG by European Affiliation, 1964-1989*

	<b>Total Migration</b>	<b>European Community</b>	<b>European</b>	<b>Non-European</b>
<b>1964</b>	625,484	-	577,743	47,641
<b>1969</b>	909,566	219,693	861,119	48,339
<b>1974</b>	538,574	127,776	475,527	62,878
<b>1979</b>	545,187	135,059	448,514	96,364
<b>1984</b>	331,140	78,490	244,844	86,144
<b>1989</b>	770,771	122,448	637,912	130,627

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch

To control the process of migration and attempt to restrict the hundreds of thousands of new migrants ever year, the Federal Republic placed multiple constraints on their increasing "guest worker" population. Laws such as the *Ausländergesetz* (Foreigner Law) of 1965 prevented families from obtaining permanent residency.<sup>19</sup> Yet, demands from countries of origin regarding the treatment of their nationals forced West Germany to consider the

<sup>19</sup> See Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, 211-212; Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 50.

living and educational conditions of their growing immigrant populations.<sup>20</sup> As early as 1962 Italy, in letters from their consulate pressuring the FRG to provide access to housing and education.<sup>21</sup> This consideration was especially important by 1970 as the Federal Government under the SPD and FDP – especially in the Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs as well as in the Foreign Office – increasingly considered the possibility of the permanent residence of “guest worker” families and subsequent need for “full integration” for families “and especially for children.”<sup>22</sup> As the numbers and diversity of children with migrant backgrounds increased (see Tables 3 and 4 below), this concern would become increasingly pressing, inciting myriad debates within the West German Parliament over the subsequent decade.

## **2.2. Continued Migration and Foreign Residents between 1973 and 1982**

The tenor of debates on the situation of “guest workers” and their families in the Federal Republic changed in the 1970s, partly in response to the Oil Crisis and growing unemployment. In November 1973, the social-liberal (SPD-FDP) coalition government responded to these developments by instituting a recruitment stop (*Anwerbestopp*).<sup>23</sup> Efforts to actually limit the right of family reunification were overruled by the German Supreme Court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) and the European Courts, as the forced separation of

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<sup>20</sup> Herbert Robert Koch, *Gastarbeiterkinder in deutschen Schulen* (Königswinter a. Rh.: Verlag für Sprachmethodik, 1970), 3, 17.

<sup>21</sup> BArch B 138/38289.

<sup>22</sup> Koch, *Gastarbeiterkinder in deutschen Schulen*, 16-17.

<sup>23</sup> Herbert and Hunn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers,” 210-212.

families was deemed in violation of human rights.<sup>24</sup> Based on the European Charter of Human Rights “every individual has the right to live with his family.”<sup>25</sup> In following, between 1973 and 1975, more than 31 percent of new immigration was attributed to family reunification.<sup>26</sup>

Unable to prohibit family reunification, the SPD-FDP government attempted to discourage continued in-migration by setting limits on residency and work permits for new migrants. Children and spouses entering West Germany after November 30, 1974 no longer had a right to employment and were increasingly dependent on their parents’/spouses’ continued residence.<sup>27</sup> Although the German government under the SPD-FDP implemented these divisive measures in order to reduce the foreign population, these restrictions actually resulted in a sharp increase in immigration – particularly Turkish – as families rushed to bring their children into the country before the new restrictions came into effect.<sup>28</sup> By 1978 it was apparent that many of the “temporary” migrant workers and their dependents had indeed become permanent residents.

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<sup>24</sup> The European Convention on Human Rights (long title: *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*) was drafted in 1950 with the design of protecting what are considered fundamental human rights. Now called the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), Article 8, Paragraph 1 addresses family reunification, as does the 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child.

<sup>25</sup> European Communities, *Education in the European Community. Communication from the Commission to the Council.*, Bulletin of the European Communities Supplement 3/74 (Washington, D.C.: European Community Information Service, March 17, 1974), 11.

<sup>26</sup> Klaus J Bade, *Sozialhistorische Migrationsforschung* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2004), 391.

<sup>27</sup> Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 93.

<sup>28</sup> After the recruitment stop the first couple of years did see a decrease in the number of “foreigners” in Germany (Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 94).

Table 3: West German Residents with Migrant Ancestry by Country of Origin in Thousands, 1969-1989

	Total	Greek	Italian	Yugoslav	Spanish	Turkish
1969	2381.1	271.3	514.6	331.6	206.9	322.4
1974	4127.4	406.4	629.6	707.8	272.7	1027.8
1979	4143.8	296.8	594.4	620.6	182.2	1268.3
1984	4363.6	287.1	545.1	600.3	158.8	1425.8
1989	4845.8	293.6	519.5	616.5	127.0	1612.6

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch.

Table 4: West German Residents with Migrant Ancestry by Sex and Age in Thousands, 1969-1988

	Total	Women	Men	Children under 6	Children 6-10	Children 10-15	Children 15-18
1974	4127.4	1596.3	2531.1	353.2	190.5	171.6	121.4
1979	4143.8	1744.9	2398.9	392.8	268.9	275.7	142.2
1984	4363.6	1874.1	2499.5	338.8	275.9	368.5	204.3
1988	4845.9	2179.4	2666.5	-	-	-	-

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch.

These changes in recruitment policies, residency permits, and employment contracts had different impacts on “former guest workers” and their families depending on their country of origin. In 1968, European Economic Community directive 1612/68 granted the right to residence and employment for member state nationals, which meant that any restrictions regarding residency or employment did not apply to them. Originally these rights only applied to Italy, but were extended to Greece in 1981 and five years later to Spain and Portugal upon entrance into the European Community. Yet, even as these groups obtained the right to freedom of movement, the possibility of naturalization remained out of reach. Because the right to citizenship was based on ancestry (*jus sanguinis*), children of foreign nationals, no matter their country of origin, retained the citizenship of their parents with few options – usually through marriage – for becoming West German citizens.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See Douglas B. Klusmeyer, “Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens: The Politics of Inclusion in the Federal Republic of Germany,” *Daedalus* 122, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 99-101.

By the 1970s, the children with migrant backgrounds in question were a significantly more diverse group than in the early 1960s. Not only had their numbers skyrocketed (see Tables 3 and 4 above) but the “ethnic” composition of the child population had changed. Through the 1960s, a declining majority of the children came from European Community countries (predominately Italy). By 1970, official statistics indicated that only 25 percent of children with migrant backgrounds originated in the European Community with the rest coming from a variety of third countries (non-EC), with 17 percent from Turkey.<sup>30</sup> Of these, increasing numbers of children with foreign citizenship were born in the Federal Republic, as indicated in Table 5.<sup>31</sup>

*Table 5: Births in the FRG, 1964-1989*

	Total	German Citizenship	Non-German Citizenship	Non-German % of Births
1964	1,065,437	1,034,580	30,857	2.9
1969	903,456	852,783	50,673	5.6
1974	626,373	518,103	108,270	17.3
1979	581,984	506,424	75,560	13.0
1984	584,157	529,326	54,795	9.4
1989	681,537	601,669	79,868	11.7

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch.

The proportions of “foreign children” in comparison to “ethnic German children” born in the FRG made integration vital. Due in part to dramatic decrease of the birthrate of “ethnic German” women, from 2.5 percent in the mid-1960s to 1.5 percent in the mid-1970s,<sup>32</sup> government statistics showed comparatively high birthrates for West Germany’s minority groups – particularly those of Turkish origin.<sup>33</sup> Prognoses from the Ministry of the

<sup>30</sup> Puskeppleit and Krüger-Potratz, *Bildungspolitik und Migration Texte*, 1:8.

<sup>31</sup> 5. Bericht über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland August 2002 (Bonn: Beauftragte für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, August 1, 2002), 249.

<sup>32</sup> Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, *Die Lage der Familien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland - Dritter Familienbericht*, Unterrichtung (Bonn: Bundesregierung, August 20, 1979), 107.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 160.

Interior predicted already in the 1970s that by 2030, West Germany would be home to over twelve million “foreigners” and that the “foreigner problem” was not going to “melt away.”<sup>34</sup>

By the late 1970s, the Federal Government’s debates on the “foreigner problem” centered increasingly on West German residents with Turkish ancestry. This group, in the aftermath of the recruitment stop, grew exponentially (see Table 3). In addition to thousands of children both in the FRG, former Turkish “guest workers” opted to bring their dependents into West Germany rather than leave.<sup>35</sup> As this group grew, perception of them as a cultural “other” was exacerbated.<sup>36</sup> Coming to the FRG predominately from rural Anatolia and migrating to an urban West German environment, multiple layers of difference – urban/rural, Muslim/Christian, and European/non-European – contributed to the perception of a distinct cultural gap between “Germans” and “Turkish.”

While West German politicians focused on residents with Turkish ancestry, the perception of “foreign” residents was additionally influenced by the growing migration of asylum seekers, increasingly from “Third World” countries. From the founding of the FRG until 1973, West Germany had received an average of 7,100 asylum seekers per year as part of liberal asylum laws enacted in part as a response to the Nazis’ gross mistreatment of minorities.<sup>37</sup> In the 1970s, the number of asylum seekers began to rise, but remained constant

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<sup>34</sup> Klusmeyer, “Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens,” 93.

<sup>35</sup> Because Turkish nationals were not members of the European Community nor had a chance of soon becoming so, if they returned to Turkey, it was possible that they might be denied reentry.

<sup>36</sup> Hilary Steedman, “The Education of Migrant Workers’ Children in EEC Countries: From Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism?,” *Comparative Education* 15, no. 3 (October 1979): 259-268.

<sup>37</sup> Among the most prominent refugee groups were families and individuals from Iran (after the CIA-led coup of Iranian President Mossadegh in 1953), from Hungary (after the failed Hungarian Revolution quashed by Soviet tanks in 1956), and from Poland (in 1968 and again in 1981 after the institution of martial law). See Klaus J Bade and Myron Weiner, eds., *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997), 85; Klaus J Bade, *Ausländer, Aussiedler, Asyl in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 3rd ed. (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1994).

at just over 10,000 until 1976. Understood as political refugees fleeing the tyranny of totalitarian regimes, this small number of refugees was welcomed by West German population with few qualms. However, in the late 1970s and 1980s, with increased knowledge about West German asylum laws and diminishing restrictions on travel from the East, the number of asylum seekers jumped to over one hundred thousand per year, reaching its peak in 1980 at 107,818 individuals with increasing numbers from non-European and developing countries (see Table 6).<sup>38</sup> This sharp increase, coupled with West German perception of these asylum seekers as *Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge* (economic refugees), diminished popular acceptance.<sup>39</sup>

Table 6: *Asylum into the FRG, 1979-1989*

	Total	Europe	Africa	Am. and Australia	Asia	Stateless
1979	51,493	18,192	3,295	207	22,352	3,159
1980	107,818	65,809	8,339	217	31,998	1,455
1984	35,278	11,553	5,868	86	16,849	922
1985	73,832	18,174	8,093	97	44,298	3,170
1989	121,318	73,387	12,479	320	32,718	2,414

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch.

### 2.3. Perceptions of “Foreign” and Policies on Migration in the 1980s

In response, previous feelings of benevolence morphed into suspicion in the 1980s as German nationals increasingly viewed new arrivals as “economic refugees” trying to milk the welfare system.<sup>40</sup> The second Oil Crisis in 1979/80 and the rise in unemployment from

<sup>38</sup> Douglas B Klusmeyer and Demetrios G Papademetriou, *Immigration Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany: Negotiating Membership and Remaking the Nation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 130-142; Klaus J Bade, *Migration in European History*, trans. Allison Brown (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 270-273.

<sup>39</sup> Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, 299.

<sup>40</sup> For more on the policies regarding payment for repatriation, see *Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten: Tätigkeitsbericht 1983 bis 1986* (Bonn: Beauftragter Bundesrepublik Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, 1986), 33-34; Klusmeyer, “Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens,” 92.

approximately three to over eight percent in 1983 due to the corresponding economic downturn encouraged West German tendencies toward conservatism and increased xenophobic sentiment. Correspondingly, the new CDU/CSU-FDP coalition, which came into power in 1982, focused their *Ausländerpolitik* (foreigner policies) on “Integration, Reduction of Family Reunification, and Repatriation” (*Integration, Reduktion des Familiennachzugs und Rückkehrförderung*).<sup>41</sup>

Part of the CDU/CSU-FDP government’s focus lay in its claim that there was a maximum threshold for the number of “foreigners” that could be integrated. In order for residents “with foreign backgrounds” (not immigrants for the FRG was *kein Einwanderungsland*) to successfully integrate, no new “foreigners” could be absorbed. Working out of this belief, the conservative-liberal government implemented a selection of policies and programs to restrict continued migration and encourage residents with non German nationalities to repatriate. To limit continued in-migration, the conservative-liberal coalition placed restrictions on asylum to prevent the arrival of “poverty refugees” from the “Third World,” as can be seen in the dramatic decrease in asylum related migration in Table 6.<sup>42</sup> Among other measures, in 1983 the conservative-liberal government implemented a program offering financial incentives to encourage repatriation. 140,000 former guest workers would take advantage of one particular program offering 10,500 Deutsch Marks per person and 1,500 per child to return to their countries of origin within a six-month period.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland* , 249.

<sup>42</sup> For more information, see Klusmeyer, “Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens”; Konrad H. Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, trans. Brandon Hunziker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 245.

<sup>43</sup> Klusmeyer, “Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens,” 92.



It is important to note that within the CDU/CSU-FDP's argument that "the boat [was] full," the meaning of "foreigner" had undergone an important change, in part because of the growing role of the European Community and increased emphasis on religion. In the 1950s and 1960s, "foreignness" was an exclusively ethnic term, which "othered" all those who were not members of the larger German ethnicity (thus barring groups such as Italians, Turks and Spaniards from being "German"). In the 1970s and 1980s, however, as West Germany increasingly identified as a member of a European Community, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, and Greeks gradually lost much of their "foreignness, which in turn allowed many children with designated European backgrounds born in Germany at least some measure of identification with their surrounding community."<sup>44</sup> With the guaranteed right to "free movement" for European Community member state nationals, the West German state could no longer enact restrictions on the employment and residence for any of these groups.<sup>45</sup> With the expansion of inclusion to embrace other "ethnic" backgrounds, religion increasingly became an emphasized point of difference. In consequence, especially as conservative Muslim groups gained popularity in the 1970s and 1980s, the German government focused on their residents with Turkish backgrounds as the encapsulation of "foreign."

The CDU/CSU-FDP coalition, in discussing "foreign children" focused on families with Turkish backgrounds, which by 1983 included over 370,000 schoolchildren (see Table 7 below). These children and youth often self-identified as "Turkish." Policies of the Turkish government, including compulsory military service and inheritance laws, encouraged Turkish

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<sup>44</sup> Bade, *Migration in European History*, 232.

<sup>45</sup> The right to free movement was enacted in 1968 with EEC directive 1612/68. For an overview of the laws regarding the "free movement" of EC nationals within the European Community, see European Commission, "Free Movement of Workers," n.d., <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=458&langId=en>.

nationals in Germany to continue to maintain ties to their country of origin. Further influencing issues of identification, despite the long presence of these communities in the FRG, trends involving continued migration through family reunification – in particular of young female spouses – meant that there continued to be a significant number of new immigrants, who frequently had limited education.<sup>46</sup> In consequence, many children with Turkish backgrounds were born into households in which the father was a second-generation migrant, but the mother was a recent migrant – usually from rural Anatolia – with little or no German language skills. As Karin Hunn has shown, these multiple influences continually reinforced these groups' identities as "Turkish" and contributed to the increasing popularity of Muslim groups.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, the majority of children with Turkish ancestry were born (over 54,795 "foreign children" in 1984 alone, see Table 5) in West Germany and had often never lived or traveled outside of the FRG.

*Table 7: Schoolchildren with Foreign Nationalities in the FRG by Nationality, 1965-1989*

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Greek</b>	<b>Italian</b>	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Turkish</b>	<b>Yugoslav</b>	<b>Portuguese</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>1965</b>	35,135	4,160	9,531	7,125	3,081	-	-	11228
<b>1970</b>	159,007	26,475	34,885	12,162	27,211	12,027	1130	35049
<b>1975</b>	390,045	51,048	66,410	28,713	104,549	33,064	9679	66565
<b>1980</b>	638,301	50,776	76,332	24,646	317,509	65,088	18111	76946
<b>1985</b>	667,200	41,495	69,136	20,047	331,592	85,148	13511	99161
<b>1989</b>	760,259	38,024	71,751	15,815	358,496	102,942	11249	161982

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch.

Despite the focus on second- and third-generation Turkish children in federal debates on the "foreigner question" and integration, there continued to be a significant minority that did not fit within this group and were frequently disregarded. Concentrating on those born in

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of "foreign" residents right to residency in the FRG, see Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Integration der Ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, ed., *Anregungen der Ausländerbeauftragten zur Novellierung des Ausländerrechts* (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1987).

<sup>47</sup> Hunn, "Nächstes Jahr kehren wir zurück--", 451-525.

the country, several government bodies overlooked the continued immigration of children and youths (see Table 1) from Turkey or otherwise, who often had problems of their own, including limited (if any) German language skills.<sup>48</sup> In addition, as Table 7 shows, out of the 667,200 schoolchildren with “foreign ancestry” attending West German schools, 328,498 came from Italian, Spanish, or Yugoslavian (and other) backgrounds. These children, both newly arrived and born in the FRG, many of whom the Federal Government perceived as “European,” continued to be treated as non-Germans and continued to face discrimination.<sup>49</sup>

Within this complex situation, the CDU/CSU-FDP government debated and implemented new policies to limit immigration while maintaining that West Germany was not a country of immigration (*kein Einwanderungsland*).<sup>50</sup> Changes in rules regarding employment and the right of residence tied (non-EC) children to their parents’ houses and made job placement – already a problem – increasingly difficult.<sup>51</sup> Some ultra-conservative politicians pressed for more stringent deterrents. Federal Minister of the Interior Friedrich Zimmermann’s (CSU)<sup>52</sup> for instance, made efforts to limit family reunification to spouses of

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<sup>48</sup> Lieselotte Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen* (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1991), 14.

<sup>49</sup> Puskeppeleit and Krüger-Potratz, *Bildungspolitik und Migration Texte*, 1:8.

Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration*, 8. Also, Joachim J. Savelsberg, “Zu wenig für die Rente?: Mit Hilfe der Ausländer im Lande ließe sich ein deutsches Problem aus der Welt schaffen,” *Die Zeit* (Hamburg, January 11, 1985), sec. Modernes Leben.

<sup>50</sup> Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, 249-250.

<sup>51</sup> Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familien, Frauen und Gesundheit, 7. *Jugendbericht: Jugendhilfe und Familie: die Entwicklung familienunterstützender Leistungen der Jugendhilfe und ihre Perspektiven*, Unterrichtung (Bonn: Bonner Universitäts-Buckdruckerei, 1986), 65.

<sup>52</sup> Member of the Christian Social Union of Bavaria, Friedrich Zimmer was appointed Federal Minister of the Interior from 1982 until 1989 under Chancellor Kohl’s CDU/CSU-FDP coalition.

least three years and to children six years old or younger.<sup>53</sup> Zimmermann argued for these restrictions on the basis that children with migrant backgrounds under the age of six had a better chance of succeeding in the West German school system and consequently of integrating successfully. The CDU never actively tried to implement this particular policy, as even in an atmosphere of aggressive xenophobia and calls for the reduction of the “foreign” population, the protection of the family was still a priority for voters.<sup>54</sup>

As the 1980s progressed and the economy gradually improved again, both conservative and liberal politicians agreed (once again) on the need for some form of integration as unemployment decreased. The successive Federal Governments had assumed that differences would vanish with time. Yet, problems associated with migrant communities did not disappear but instead contributed to the formation of urban ghettos (*Ghettoisierung*).<sup>55</sup> The need to break down these boundaries prompted Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU) to change his rhetoric toward “fellow residents with foreign ancestry.” In 1988, in a forward for the tenth anniversary publication of the *Ausländerbeauftragte*, he wrote “the integration of foreigners is the most important aspect of *Ausländerpolitik* (foreigner policies)” and that “we have to live together with respect, tolerance, and openness.”<sup>56</sup> Instead of focusing on assimilation, Kohl and politicians involved in debates on migration and

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<sup>53</sup> Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familien, Frauen und Gesundheit, *Siebter Jugendbericht*, 10, 89; Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, 253.

<sup>54</sup> Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 200.

<sup>55</sup> Debates on migration and integration in the 1970s and 1980s commonly discuss “*ghettoisierung*” as a both a fear and a contemporary problem (Ray C. Rist, “On the Education of Guest-Worker Children in Germany: A Comparative Study of Policies and Programs in Bavaria and Berlin,” *The School Review* 87, no. 3 (May 1979): 252). Panayi, however, reminds us that (West) German ghettos are not comparable to either those in the United State or in Great Britain (Panikos Panayi, “Racial Violence in the New Germany 1990-93,” *Contemporary European History* 3, no. 03 (1994): 280.

<sup>56</sup> Beauftragter für die Integration der Ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und Ihrer Familienangehörigen and Bernd Geiß, *Bericht '99: zur Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien* (Bonn, 1990), 7.

integration acknowledged that West Germany itself might have become a multicultural society (*multikulturelle Gesellschaft*) in which groups from different cultures, religions, or nationalities could coexist equally.<sup>57</sup> These sentiments and related debates were, however, cut short by the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989 and the subsequent quest for reunification with East Germany.

These changes – the waves of immigration and corresponding attempts to control population movements – were closely tied to specific efforts to control education and influence integration. School education was explicitly tied to immigration debates as schooling became “the main tool for integration.” Because success in the education system in Germany was connected to employability and social status (*Berechtigungswesen*), the completion of a secondary school (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, or *Gymnasium*) degree was paramount for eventual employment and social mobility. Consequently, debates on the schooling of children with migrant background and appropriate levels of integration demonstrate the Federal Government’s view of these children’s place or lack thereof in West German society.

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<sup>57</sup> Bernd Geiss and Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, eds., *Bericht '99: zur Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven für die 90er Jahre*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1990).

### ***3. Return or Integration? (1970-1974)***

By the time the social-liberal coalition, first elected in 1969, ended the recruitment of guest workers in 1973, debates on the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds were well underway. The Standing Conference of the Ministers for Education and Cultural Affairs' (*Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, abbrev. KMK) recommendations created a focal point for debate and reform on education and immigration in this decade. The KMK's 1971 "double strategy" promoted efforts to create policy and implement measures to improve simultaneously integrate "foreign children and youths" into West German schools and prepare them for repatriation and reintegration.<sup>58</sup> Following these recommendations, the Ministry of Education attempted to advocate and promote programs to reconcile and align conflicting beliefs regarding "foreign" children's needs. These competing understandings and conceptions of these needs – coming from the European Community, the children's countries of origin, the major political parties, as well as local *Länder* and communities – were complex and incongruous. In an effort to respond to these contradictory claims, the Ministry of Education sought to reconcile these perspectives with a potpourri of recommendations and programs that were equally contradictory.

This section begins by concentrating on four of the involved actors – the governing SPD-FDP coalition, the sending countries, the European Community, and the KMK – and

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<sup>58</sup> Heinz Kühn would call the KMK's recommendations a "double strategy" in *Stand und Weiterentwicklung der Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Memorandum des Beauftragten der Bundesregierung* (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, September 1979), 5.

examines their stances on the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds. Next, I ask how the Ministry addressed both sides of the “double strategy” by looking at efforts to address instruction for reintegration, especially in culture-specific classes through *Konsularunterricht* and thirdly at the Ministry’s recommendations for integration into West German society as well as its perceived hurdles.

### **3.1. Multiple Voices Building towards a “Double Strategy”**

In the 1960s, under the conservative-liberal government led by Chancellor Ludwig Erhard<sup>59</sup> (1963-1966) and the Grand Coalition Government led by Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger<sup>60</sup> (1966-1969), the Federal Government progressively became more involved in debates on schooling for “guest worker children.” Assuming that migrant workers and their families would return to their countries of origin within one or two years, these different Federal administrations, the European Community, and the workers’ countries of origins focused on trying to prepare children for eventual repatriation and reintegration. This preparation included providing instruction in the children’s countries of origins’ – predominately Italy, Spain, and Greece – history, geography, and language, among other subjects – often referred to as *Heimatkunde*.<sup>61</sup>

At the end of the 1960s, however, the clear trend toward extended residences of five years and more began to change the perceptions about the growing minority groups in West Germany. In 1969, the new SPD-FDP coalition under Chancellor Willy Brandt<sup>62</sup> placed

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<sup>59</sup> Ludwig Erhard, (CDU), Chancellor (following Konrad Adenauer) October 16, 1963 to December 1, 1966.

<sup>60</sup> Kurt Georg Kiesinger (CDU), Chancellor December 1, 1966 to October 21, 1969.

<sup>61</sup> BArch B 138/38289.

<sup>62</sup> Will Brandt (SPD), was the first social democratic Chancellor in West Germany, October 21, 1969 and May 7, 1974.

educational reform at the pinnacle of diverse reform movements.<sup>63</sup> Access to education and equality of opportunity became central to these reforms.<sup>64</sup> In this atmosphere, federal politicians, especially the social democratic Ministers of Education, questioned the previous de-emphasis of integration and compulsory schooling in the Federal Republic's German language-based educational model.

While the Ministry of Education and other federal politicians encouraged integration, they also continued to respond to the sending countries' demands. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, these governments, the majority of "guest workers," and West German officials continued to presume that migrant workers would eventually repatriate. Sending countries, such as Italy and Spain, correspondingly demanded access to education for their nationals.<sup>65</sup> Specifically, they required that provisions be made in the children's mother tongue and *Heimatkunde*.<sup>66</sup>

All five of the European Community's member states – West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands – were involved in labor migration as either sending or receiving countries. As many "children of migrant workers" were nationals of EC member states, the Community took an interest in their welfare and schooling. Advocating the development of equality in education, the European Community's support for education translated into encouragement and enforcement of the dual goals of full access to state

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<sup>63</sup> Führ, "Zur Koordination der Bildungspolitik," 74.

<sup>64</sup> Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Bildungsbericht '70: Bericht der Bundesregierung zur Bildungspolitik* (Bonn: Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1970).

<sup>65</sup> BArch B 138/38289.

<sup>66</sup> BArch B 304/3284.



schools and culture-specific instruction.<sup>67</sup> Specifically, under the European Community's directive 1612/68, children of migrant workers had the right to enter state schools "under the same conditions as the nationals of that State."<sup>68</sup> The Community further expressed its "conscious[ness] of the necessity of ensuring, in their own interests, that the children of migrant workers do not lose their culture and linguistic heritage." While these reports acknowledged that promoting both educational goals would create a "burden" for the children, they nonetheless saw the provision and promotion of both aims as necessary.<sup>69</sup>

Responding to these demands from the international community and Federal Government, as well as from individual *Länder*, the KMK entered the debate through the release of recommendations for the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds in May 1964 and then again in 1971 (with revisions in 1976).<sup>70</sup> Created in 1948, the Standing Conference was designed to coordinate education policy across the *Länder*. Strictly intergovernmental, the KMK constituted a point of contact between the Federal Government and the *Länder*, which the Federal Ministries could approach when trying to make recommendations, influence school practices, or collect information on schools.

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<sup>67</sup> Viola B Georgi, ed., *The Making of Citizens in Europe: New Perspectives on Citizenship Education* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2008), 24, 320, 391.

<sup>68</sup> Commission of the European Communities, *Report on the Implementation in the Member States of Directive 77/486/EEC on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers* (Brussels, January 3, 1989), 2.

<sup>69</sup> Sitki Bilmen, *Education of Migrant Workers' Children: Organization of Experimental Special Classes and School Career and health Record for the Children of Migrant Workers* (Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe Population and Vocational Training Division, September 3, 1971); Council of Europe, "Resolution (70) 35 School Education for the Children of Migrant Workers (Adopted by the Ministers' Deputies on 27 November 1970)," in *The Rights of the Child: A European Perspective* (Council of Europe, 1996).

<sup>70</sup> Gerhard Aht, "Jeder fünfte Ausländer möchte für immer in der Bundesrepublik bleiben: Gastarbeiter ohne Rückfahrkarte," *Die Zeit* (Hamburg, December 10, 1971), sec. Wirtschaft, <http://www.zeit.de/1971/50/Gastarbeiter-ohne-Rii-ckf-ahrkarte>.

Consequently, the KMK's 1964 and 1971 recommendations created a platform from which the Federal Government could make its own proposals.

The KMK's first recommendations on "instruction of the children of guest workers" specifically emphasized preparation for return to the children's country of origin and stressed instruction in the children's mother tongue and culture.<sup>71</sup> Assuming a short stay, the KMK did not recommend compulsory schooling, but rather emphasized the "right" to attend state schools if they chose to do so. By 1971, however, the KMK revised their recommendations to make accommodations for those children remaining more than the short stay initially expected. Their new recommendations, promoted the "full integration of 'foreign' children into German schools in the framework of compulsory education," thereby simultaneously reaffirming that "guest worker children" would be leaving Germany and emphasizing the continued provision of culture-specific instruction.<sup>72</sup>

### **3.2. Preparing for Eventual Repatriation and *Konsularunterricht***

Adhering to the assumption that the majority of migrant workers and their children would eventually return to their countries of origin, the Ministry of Education supported preparatory classes for reintegration with the intention of enabling children to have equal opportunities upon their repatriation. In 1971 Dr. Klaus von Dohnanyi (SPD), Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry of Education,<sup>73</sup> wrote that "from the beginning, the idea of the

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<sup>71</sup> For more information on the creation of the KMK, see Führ, "Zur Koordination der Bildungspolitik," 70-73.

<sup>72</sup> See "Country Report: Federal Republic of Germany," in *Ad Hoc Conference on the Education of Migrants (Strasbourg, France, November 5-8, 1974). Council of Europe, Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Country Reports* (Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe, 1974), 98. For a discussion of the KMK's recommendations on the education of foreign students, see Puskeppelit and Krüger-Potratz, *Bildungspolitik und Migration Texte*, 1:18-21; Rist, *Guestworkers in Germany*, 193-196.

<sup>73</sup> Dr. Klaus von Dohnanyi (SPD) was a Parliament Secretary for the Ministry of Education under Chancellor Willy Brandt from 1969 until 1972 and Minister of Education from 1972 until 1974.

reintegration of foreign workers into their home economies and their children's return to their native school systems has ... determined the social and educational measures of the Federal Republic.”<sup>74</sup> Working within this assumption, the Ministry believed it necessary to provide the children of “guest workers” with an education that allowed them equality of opportunities in their countries of origin's schools and labor market upon return.

In light of this assumption and multiple pressures from both international and local organizations, the West German Federal Government – the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Foreign Office, in this case<sup>75</sup> – in conjunction with the *Länder* developed agreements with the sending countries to provide *Konsularunterricht*. These agreements stipulated that children with migrant backgrounds would be able to receive instruction in their mother tongue as well as the history, geography and other subjects considered relevant to their native culture. The consulates of the children's countries of origin provided both financing and teachers, although the *Länder* supplemented funding “for diplomatic reasons.”<sup>76</sup> This arrangement underlines the perception that these children belonged to their country of origin.

Yet, despite support from across the European Community, the social-liberal coalition, and the *Länder*'s Ministers of Education, the provision of *Konsularunterricht* proved problematic. While demanding that children be provided with instruction to smoothly

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<sup>74</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/2071, Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Hüssing, et al. *Betreuung Schul- und Berufsausbildung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 30 March 1971), 2.

<sup>75</sup> Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, Bundesministerium des Innern, und Auswärtiges Amt.

<sup>76</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 9/1244, Antwort des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Wissenschaft auf die mündliche Anfrage des Abgeordneten Dolata. *Belastung ausländischer, insbesondere griechischer Schüler durch zusätzlichen sogenannten Konsularunterricht* (Bonn, 31 December 1981).

reintegrate into their countries of origin, politicians from both the Social Democratic and Christian Democratic parties found the idea of instruction in non-German subjects objectionable. These politicians rarely examined teachers and curricula from European Community member states, but the content of culture-specific instructions and qualifications of third country teachers and lessons caused concern.

Greek schools, for example, constituted a particular concern in the first half of the 1970s, especially given the political situation in Greece. Members of Parliament (MPs) were concerned by what the Greek junta, a series of right wing military governments between 1967 and 1974, might be teaching Greek children within West German borders. With particular frequency in 1970 and 1971, SPD and CDU Members of Parliament, disturbed by the mere presence of possibly “‘junta’-true Greek teachers,” repeatedly referred to the possibility of “anti-democratic” content in the children’s instruction.<sup>77</sup> Asking the Ministry of Education whether “the Federal Government [was] aware that Greek children of guest workers in German schools [were] taught from schoolbooks from the junta that distort history and glorify the dictatorship,”<sup>78</sup> these MPs questioned the legal basis for such instruction and insisted that the Ministry of Education check associated Greek language schoolbooks for problematic messages.

Not only were the potential messages in *Konsularunterricht* worrisome, but the provision of culture-specific classes came into tension with the increased expectation in West

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<sup>77</sup> For an example, see Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/480, Mündliche Anfrage des Abgeordneten Wende, *Verwendung von Lehrbüchern mit tendenziösem Inhalt bei der Unterrichtung griechischer Gastarbeiterkinder in deutschen Schulen sowie Schutz der Lehrfreiheit gegen den Mißbrauch durch undemokratische Kräfte* (Bonn, March 11, 1970), 4.

<sup>78</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/1253, Mündliche Anfrage des Abgeordneten Hansen, *Überwachung griechischer Lehrer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland durch einen Schulinspektor der griechischen Botschaft in Bonn* (Bonn, October 14, 1970) 16.

Germany and throughout the European Community that all children come under laws for compulsory schooling, regardless of their national origin. Many of the children's countries of origin had different, and often fewer, requirements for completing their compulsory schooling than the Federal Republic.<sup>79</sup> Turkey, for example, required only five years of compulsory schooling throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In comparison, in 1978, West Germany compulsory education lasted for nine years, between the ages of six and fifteen.<sup>80</sup> In addition, after these nine years youths were "obliged to attend vocation school on a part-time basis between six and twelve hours a week," unless they were enrolled in higher levels of secondary schools.

With such differences among state educational systems, focus on eventual repatriation and equality within the children's countries of origins called the necessity of completing compulsory schooling in West Germany into question. Many wondered why it was necessary to make their way through the complex system when they would be leaving. Yet, if they stayed in the FRG, without completing West German secondary school certifications and vocational training, children would not have the qualifications necessary for anything but the lowest forms of unskilled labor. Concerned about the future social integration and employment of these children, the Ministry of Education focused on schooling to enable children with migrant backgrounds to have equal opportunities and prevent social problems (i.e. unemployment).

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<sup>79</sup> See "Country Report: FRG," 98. For an overview of contemporary schooling requirements in the largest guest worker populations' countries of origin, Koch, *Gastarbeiterkinder in deutschen Schulen*, 52-62; Fabrice Murtin and Martina Viarengo, "The Expansion and Convergence of Compulsory Schooling in Western Europe, 1950-2000," *Economica* (October 2009): 1-22.

<sup>80</sup> Out of the ten *Länder*, nine of them had nine years of compulsory education. In West Berlin, ten years were required. For more information, see Klaus von Dohnanyi, *Education and Youth Employment in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1978), 17; Christoph Führ, *The German Education System Since 1945* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1997), 78-82.

### 3.3. Integration, Compulsory Education, and Permanent Residence

Even as between 1969 and 1982 all Ministers of Education in the SPD-FDP government rhetorically backed both aspects of the KMK's double strategy, these Ministers progressively concentrated more on integration and the enforcement of compulsory schooling in West German state schools.<sup>81</sup> Reports of the approximately 50 percent of school-age children with migrant backgrounds either dropping out or failing to attend school in 1970 concerned Federal Ministers of Education, especially as increasing numbers of youths were reported "illiterate in two languages."<sup>82</sup> While this signified that neither side of the double strategy was being achieved, the Ministry of Education was particularly concerned by what failure to complete West German certification would mean for future integration. If left unchecked, the reportedly high rates of truancy would undermine social control, and the lack of necessary qualifications would, in turn, make many "foreign" youths reliant on state support.

Despite agreement on the need to fully integrate children with migrant backgrounds into the West German school system, the logistics of fully integrating children with migrant backgrounds into the system while providing culture-specific classes proved problematic. For full social integration into West German society, the Ministry of Education argued that "foreign children" were supposed to have as much contact as possible with West German schools and "ethnic German" children from the same age cohort. Yet, because West German

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<sup>81</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/1299, Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Regner, et al. und der Fraktionen der SPD, FDP, *Betreuung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmern* (Bonn, 20 October 1970). Also discussed in Koch, *Gastarbeiterkinder in deutschen Schulen*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> Veröffentlichungen der Kultusministerkonferenz, *Sonderheft: Statistik und Vorausberechnung Nr. 1*, Dokumentationsdienst Bildungswesen (Bonn: Sekretariat der Kultusministerkonferenz, 1977), 3-15; Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/76, Mündliche Anfrage des Abgeordneten Graaff, *Schulbesuch und Ausübung regelmäßiger Arbeit durch Schulpflichtige Kinder italienischer Gastarbeiter in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, November 26, 1969), 16.

schools generally ended with the half day there was only limited time available for interaction.<sup>83</sup> Any time required for culture-specific classes or other extra instruction, even in the German language, meant limited participation in the German classroom and exposure to “German” schoolchildren. The school system’s half-day school structure did not allow significant time for special classes if children with migrant backgrounds were to fully integrate.

Alongside the difficulty of taking time out of the short school day for extra classes, the Ministry of Education further considered children with migrant backgrounds as “disadvantaged” (*benachteiligt*) because of their parents’ frequent inability to assist in their children’s education at home. The Ministry considered children functionally disadvantaged if parents – either “foreign” or “German” – were unable to fully guide their children’s upbringing both in early childhood education and later for homework help. As the majority of children with migrant backgrounds fell into this category, they were automatically at a disadvantage in the West German school system. In addition, “foreign” children faced further difficulties because even those whose parents had the time to participate in their children’s education were often hindered by the parents’ limited (*mangelhaft*) German language skills, lack of education, and imperfect understanding of the West German school system.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> For a discussion of the half-day school in West Germany, see Karen Hagemann and Karin Gottschall, “Die Halbtagschule in Deutschland: Ein Sonderfall in Europa?,” ed. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, *PISA-Studie - Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 41/2002 (October 12, 2002): 12-22; Karen Hagemann, “A West-German ‘Sonderweg’? Family, Work, and the Half-Day Time Policy of Childcare and Schooling,” in *Children, Families, and States: Time Policies of Childcare, Preschool and Primary Education in Europe*, ed. Karen Hagemann, Konrad H. Jarausch, and Cristina Allenmahn-Ghionda (New York: Berghahn Books).

<sup>84</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/2071, Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Hussing, et al., *Betreuung Schul- und Berufsausbildung der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 30 March 1971).

To overcome some of the children with migrant background's disadvantages, the Ministry of Education promoted and implemented several programs. Among them, the Ministry attempted to address parents' deficient knowledge of the West German school system. In the early 1970s, the Ministry of Education, in connection with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, published a series of informational materials about the structure and importance of the system in the form of video, radio, and multi-lingual publications. In order to try and have maximum effect, they distributed these materials both in the sending countries before the parents entered the Federal Republic and in their work places.<sup>85</sup>

The Ministry of Education also attempted to overcome "foreign children's" disadvantages through the promotion and funding of programs for homework help (*Hausaufgabenhilfe*). Beginning in 1970 the Ministry began promoting "*Hausaufgabenhilfe für Ausländerkinder*" (homework help for "foreign children") in connection with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) International Year of Education.<sup>86</sup> The goal of the program was to promote German and "foreign" interaction. Homework help – especially when provided by local organizations and "German" members of schools – was supposed to increase contact and improve children's capacity to engage with school material.<sup>87</sup> While the Ministry of Education would continue to support such programs throughout the 1970s, the Ministry was unable to either enforce implementation or determine the success of what implementation there was.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Koch, *Gastarbeiterkinder in deutschen Schulen*, 129.

<sup>87</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/2071; Deutscher Bundestag, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages 7. Wahlperiode, Stenographische Berichte* Sitzung 54 (Bonn, October 4, 1973), 3136 C-3137 B.

<sup>88</sup> Efforts to determine success are discussed in Deutscher Bundestag, Deutscher Bundestag, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages 7. Sitzung* 54, 3137 A-B.



While publications describing the West German educational system and homework help may have been of assistance, these measures did not overcome the linguistic barriers erected by both the parents' and children's limited German language skills. The Ministry of Education attempted to rectify this problem – which it considered the biggest obstacle to participation – through several measures supporting language instruction. Children of all ages, based on European Community and KMK recommendations, were ideally supposed to have access to intensive German language instruction, particularly in preparatory classes (*Übergangsklassen, Vorklassen*).<sup>89</sup> In the schools themselves, the “Federal Government promoted the activity book ‘*Sprich mit uns*’ for primary and lower secondary (*Hauptschulen*) schools, as well as in vocational training” in order to provide further language help (*Sprachhilfe*).<sup>90</sup>

Yet, both cost factors and the lack of teachers qualified to work with “foreign children” or even teach German as a second language, prevented systematic implementation. The quickly growing number of schoolchildren with migrant backgrounds and insufficient training programs for teachers made the provision of adequate instruction impossible even in those *Länder*, such as North Rhine-Westphalia, which invested in “integration in [regular] German classes.”<sup>91</sup> In order to rectify this deficit of qualified teachers, the Ministry of Education in conjunction with individual *Länder* implemented programs for teacher

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<sup>89</sup> For a discussion of the efforts of the different EC member states, see Commission of the European Communities, *Report on the Implementation in the Member States of Directive 77/486/EEC on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers* (Brussels, January 3, 1989).

<sup>90</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/2716 Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Angeordneten Glombig, et al. und der Fraktionen der SPD, FDP, *Politik der Bundesregierung gegenüber den in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland lebenden ausländischen Arbeitnehmern und ihren Familienangehörigen* (Bonn, 29 March 1979).

<sup>91</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 6/2071, 2. For a discussion of the problem by West German school teachers, see Hermann Müller, *Ausländerkinder in deutschen Schulen: ein Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1974).

training.<sup>92</sup> Supported by the Federal Government at a cost of 830,000 Deutsch Marks, four pilot projects were launched in 1972 in both North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria. These aimed particularly at preparing teachers to work with “non German” children and provide German language instruction.<sup>93</sup>

The simultaneous recommendation of programs designed both to facilitate integration into the West German school system and provide culture-specific instruction made it difficult to achieve either. On the one hand, claims that the schoolchildren would eventually repatriate threw into question the necessity of compulsory schooling under a German-language educational model. On the other, extra course work in culture-specific classes detracted from time spent in the German school system. These dual expectations and the continued emphasis on return might have worked if the “guest worker” children had only remained for one or two years. But the majority of “foreign workers and their dependents” did not repatriate. Instead, as circumstances regarding “migrant workers” changed across the European Community (and the Western world) exclusionary measures and the promotion of culture-specific classes proved problematic and isolating. In response, West Germany, and indeed the rest of the EC, sought to find ways to reconcile cultural rights with integration and to enable children with migrant backgrounds to fully function in German schools and society without denying them their cultural heritage.

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<sup>92</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages 6. Wahlperiode, Stenographische Berichte* Sitzung 167 (Bonn, January 28, 1972), 9603 B-D.

<sup>93</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages 6. Wahlperiode, Stenographische Bericht*, Sitzung 167 (Jan. 28, 1972), 9603 B-C.

#### ***4. Integration through Education (1974-1982)***

The social-liberal coalition continued to officially support the “double strategy” of trying to integrate children with migrant backgrounds while preparing them for reintegration throughout the 1970s and into the early 1980s. In the aftermath of the 1973 recruitment stop, however, the Federal Government, in both parliament and the civil service bureaucracy, steadily increased its emphasis on integration into German society. Yet, even though integration was emphasized, continued support of culture-specific instruction colored most policies as the State (federal and *Länder*) failed to provide the assistance required to allow children with migrant backgrounds to succeed in a system that was structurally stacked against them. Studies and reports from Federal Ministries and Agencies began to focus specifically on what prevented integration and to suggest measures to improve the situation. By 1978, the question of how to promote integration had become so prevalent that the SPD-FDP Government created the office of the *Ausländerbeauftragte* specifically to engage with the problem of integrating residents with migrant backgrounds.<sup>94</sup> This section looks at two questions: first – how the Ministry of Education, despite their limited jurisdiction, continued to engage with the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds as the decade drew to a close second – how the newly created *Ausländerbeauftragte* sought to rectify the problem.

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<sup>94</sup> Bernd Geiß and Bundesrepublik Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten: Tätigkeitsbericht 1983 bis 1986* (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, November 1986), 5-10.

#### 4.1. The Ministry of Education and Focus on Integration

Instead of leaving when their “guest” status expired, the “‘underclass’ of unskilled foreign workers” that Ludwig Erhard had promoted in the 1950s remained and grew, moving into residential areas and public schools.<sup>95</sup> Yet not only did the number of foreign nationals – particularly from Turkey – increase, but the Federal Government also had to deal with the fact that, in the words of Swiss author Max Frisch, “we asked for laborers and people came.”<sup>96</sup> As a consequence, instead of focusing principally on return and the necessary preparation for reintegration, the Ministry of Education alongside the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs underlined the need for “foreign” children to fully integrate into the state school system and German society in general, chiefly with the goal of subsequent employment.<sup>97</sup>

The social democratic Minister of Education Dr. Jürgen Schmude<sup>98</sup>, among others, used Frisch’s statement in 1982 to reflect this new understanding that in the wake of the recruitment stop the “guest worker” families and children residing – increasingly born (see Table 3 and 5) – in the FRG had become permanent fixtures of West German society. For Schmude and others before him, this meant that West German residents “with foreign backgrounds” required social support, specialized education, and assistance with

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<sup>95</sup> Ludwig Erhard (then Minister of Labor and Social Order), in a 1954 interview, “formulated ... one of the central principals of employing foreign workers, namely, the formation of an ‘underclass’ of unskilled foreigner workers in the labor market.” Cited in Herbert and Hunn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers,” 189.

<sup>96</sup> Frisch initially said the sentence in 1965, see Jan Motte, Rainer Ohliger, and Anne von Oswald, eds., *50 Jahre Bundesrepublik, 50 Jahre Einwanderung: Nachkriegsgeschichte Als Migrationsgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1999), 163.

<sup>97</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 7/2128, Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Löher, et al. und Genossen, *Ausländerbeschäftigung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, 20 May 1974); Kühn, *Kühn Memorandum*, 5.

<sup>98</sup> Social Democrat Jürgen Schmude was Minister of Education from 1978 until 1981, when he received an appointment as Minister of Justice.

employment.<sup>99</sup> He, and other federal politicians involved in integration debates, made these claims regarding needs of children with migrant background as a way to escape dire predictions for the “future” (*Zukunft*).<sup>100</sup> Government and expert reports warned of a future plagued by crime, a vanishing “German” people – defined only as those with ethnic German ancestry – and endemic high unemployment unless *something* was done.<sup>101</sup> In order to meet these needs and avoid the creation of an “underclass” of “ghettoized” and impoverished foreigners, politicians from all major parties (SPD, FDP, and CDU/CSU) agreed that “integration of those foreigners – in particular the children and youths – who live here [West Germany] need[ed] to be improved” and each major political party turned to education as a solution.<sup>102</sup>

Working to promote integration, the Ministry of Education continued to single out homework help and German language instruction as necessary extra curricular activities, but it also began increasingly to recommend that local communities provide “suitable preschool (*vorschulische*) instruction.”<sup>103</sup> The Ministry of Education’s call for increased early education for children with migrant backgrounds corresponds with general debates on the need for an extension of early childhood education for “ethnic German” children.<sup>104</sup> This

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<sup>99</sup> BArch B 138/14276.

<sup>100</sup> Kühn, *Kühn Memorandum*, 24; Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache 8/1811, Antrag der Abgeordneten Hasinger, et al. und der Fraktion der CDU/CSU. *Zukunftschancen der Kinder ausländischer Arbeitnehmer* (Bonn, 17 March 1978).

<sup>101</sup> Kühn, *Kühn Memorandum*, 2-3; Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Berufsbildungsbericht 1981* (Bonn: Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1981), 1.

<sup>102</sup> See Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/2716, 2, 4.

<sup>103</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Große Anfrage der Abgeordneten Lattmann, et al. und der Fraktionen der SPD, FDP, *zur Bildungspolitik* (Bonn, 13 April 1978), 47.

<sup>104</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, 40.

stance fit into general debates on the need to extend half-day schooling to include early childhood education. It was seen as a way to better prepare children – especially those with migrant backgrounds – for the West German school system: by exposing “foreign children and youths” to the West German language and culture in a school environment, the probability of successful integration – i.e. completion of a secondary school certificate, entrance into higher levels of secondary school, and future employment – increased. Yet, because of extreme costs and education as a *Ländersache*, the Ministry of Education, and other federal bodies, many of the promises of early schooling remained stuck at the level of rhetoric.<sup>105</sup> In addition, parents had to pay for kindergarten instruction, which hindered attendance. The Ministry of Education encouraged the provision of increased placement spots and the training of more teachers in early childcare, but there was little that it could actually do without a significant financial investment.<sup>106</sup>

Under the SPD-FDP government under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt,<sup>107</sup> the Ministry of Education increasingly compared “German” and “foreign” children in the debate on education and migration and used the underrepresentation of children with migrant backgrounds in higher levels of secondary education as a key evidence for the failure of integration policies. In regular reports on general education and their *Berufsbildungsbericht* (reports on occupational training in the FRG) specifically, the Ministry discussed the performance of migrant children and emphasized the “disadvantaged groups” of female, “foreign,” and disabled children and the need to improve these groups’ access to the school

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<sup>105</sup> For a discussion of the provision of preschool and Kindergarten places, see Hagemann, “A West-German “Sonderweg”?,” 19-20.

<sup>106</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, 40.

<sup>107</sup> Helmut Schmidt, member of the SPD, was Chancellor of Germany from 1974 until 1982.

system.<sup>108</sup> It was unacceptable for the Ministry that there was a clear performance gap, i.e. percentages of children entering higher levels of secondary school or completing *Hauptschule*, between these groups of children and percentages of “German” children as a whole. In 1979, seventeen-percent of “foreign” children born in West German entered Gymnasium, while only eleven-percent of those born abroad did.<sup>109</sup> The Ministry saw this gap as demonstrating a lack of equality of opportunity inherent in the system that demanded redress.

The SPD-controlled Ministry of Education did not, however, consider children with migrant background disadvantaged (*benachteiligt*) only on account of their “foreign” backgrounds. Instead, in a 1981 publication *Arbeiterkinder im Bildungssystem* (“Working Class Children in the Educational System”) the Ministry argued that socio-economic background continued to be an influential factor in educational success. In this publication, the new SPD Minister of Education Björn Engholm,<sup>110</sup> successor to Jürgen Schmude, argued that children from lower socio-economic backgrounds – specifically the working class – performed significantly below the success rates of other “German” (and especially *Beamten*) children.<sup>111</sup> Children with migrant backgrounds were “working class children too” as “ninety percent ha[d] working-class fathers.” When compared directly with “German” children from

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<sup>108</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, 49.

<sup>109</sup> See Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Arbeiterkinder im Bildungssystem* (Bad Honnef: Verlag Karl Heinrich Boch, 1981), 4, 43..

<sup>110</sup> Björn Engholm joined the SPD in 1962 and became a member of the German Parliament in 1969. He served as Minister of Education between 1981 and 1982 and from 1988 to 1993, as Minister-President of Schleswig-Holstein.

<sup>111</sup> In 1979, 9.5 percent of working-class children entered Gymnasium, while 49.6 percent of children of *Beamte* and 38.2 percent of children of *Angestellte* entered Gymnasium (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Arbeiterkinder im Bildungssystem*, 11).

their same socio-economic group, the performance gap diminished significantly, although it was still dependent on nationality.<sup>112</sup> The report suggested that while ethnic background and cultural traditions influenced success, class was also a crucial factor in the discrepancy.<sup>113</sup>

Building on over a decade of research, Engholm upheld the view that this problem was partly the tripartite structure of the school system. In this context, he presented the need to close the performance gap as a political demand of Article Three of the Basic Law.

While discussing the role of class-status in the success of children with migrant backgrounds, the SPD Ministers of Education did not dismiss the importance of national and cultural backgrounds. Studies demonstrating that the children's (or their parents) ethnic background influenced their scholastic success also showed that the divide did not fall between nationals of European Community member states or third (non-EC) countries. Some groups – for example Greeks and Yugoslavians, who were not yet technically part of the European Community – actually “successfully” managed to navigate the school system. With 13.1 percent of children with Greek ancestry and 18.4 percent of children with Yugoslavian ancestry entering Gymnasium, they appeared to have as much of a chance as “ethnic German” (or more) of entering higher levels of secondary schools.<sup>114</sup> Other groups – including Italian nationals, who were specifically “European,” and children with Turkish backgrounds – had only 6.1 and 3.7 percents of schoolchildren in Gymnasium.<sup>115</sup>

While the feared future of unemployment and “ghetto situation” (*Ghetto-Situationen*) still loomed in the minds of many, the scholastic chances for children from all socio-

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 3, 41-49.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 43-45.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 42.



economic and national backgrounds had in fact significantly improved over the 1970s.<sup>116</sup>

“While in 1970 only about half of the six to fifteen year-olds visited general schools,” seventy-five percent of children with migrant background were enrolled by 1978 (see Table 7).<sup>117</sup> Consequently, as general enrollment proved less of a problem, the measure for success in integration shifted from enrollment numbers to completion rates and entrance into higher levels of secondary schools in comparison with “ethnic German” children in the same aged-cohort. As old goals were met, more ambitious standards were set in response. Yet, Engholm would write in 1982 that “despite these successes, equality of opportunities [had] not yet been realized,” especially in light of sustained under-enrollment in vocational training (122,194 of 217,900 children between 15 and 18 years of age in 1982) and difficulties with job placement.<sup>118</sup>

#### **4.2. Recommended Programs to Support Integration**

In the mid-1970s, alongside the continued emphasis on the problem of class, the SPD-controlled Ministry of Education turned increasingly to “culture” as a reason for the continued performance gap of children with migrant backgrounds, especially those with Turkish ancestry. As mentioned in the previous section, children with Turkish backgrounds had low enrollment rates in Gymnasium and the Ministry argued that parents still did not have the knowledge base either about the German language or the West German school

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<sup>116</sup> Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Arbeiterkinder im Bildungssystem*, 3; Uwe Sander and Ralf Vollbrecht, “II. Jugend,” in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte: 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Christa Berg, Christoph Führ, and Carl-Ludwig Furck, vol. 1, 6 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998), 206-211.

<sup>117</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, 46.

<sup>118</sup> *Neue Wege in der Weiterbildung ausländischer Mitbürger* (Bonn: Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1982), 10; Der Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Berufsbildungsbericht 1984*, 1984, 88; Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, 3.

system in order to be able to assist their children in obtaining a German language education.<sup>119</sup> By the end of the 1970s, as fundamentalist religious groups gained popularity, the supposedly repressive, patriarchal structure of Muslim families was added to the list of problems.<sup>120</sup>

Table 8: Children with migrant backgrounds in West German Schools (allgemeine Bildung), 1974-1989

	Total	Grund.	Haupts.	Sonder.	Real.	Gymnasium	Gesamt.
1974	-	305,622		10,370	11,730	23,609	3,765
1979	550,633	458,185		23,868	24,504	35,807	8,269
1984	661,599	500,136		39,103	47,188	54,750	20,422
1988	737,207	280,676	229,241	41,753	63,901	69,927	35,439

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Statistisches Jahrbuch

Considerations of the allegedly repressive nature of “foreign culture” brought the provision of *Konsularunterricht* under mounting scrutiny during the second half of the 1970s. On the one hand, it was still necessary to provide instruction for preparation to reintegrate in order to enable children to have equal chances in their country of origin. In addition, increased concern for respecting cultural rights made the provision of instruction in the children’s culture and language essential.<sup>121</sup> Yet, on the other hand, the Ministry of Education believed that these classes prevented children with migrant backgrounds from participating equally in the German public school system. *Konsularunterricht*, merely by its provision, either took away from children’s already limited time in the German school

<sup>119</sup> In spite of similarly low enrollment figures, the “culture” of Italian students was not seen as an impediment like that of students with Turkish backgrounds.

<sup>120</sup> Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familien, Frauen und Gesundheit, 6. *Jugendbericht: Verbesserung der Chancengleichheit von Mädchen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Unterrichtung (Bonn: Bonner Universitäts-Buckdruckerei, February 15, 1984), 55.

<sup>121</sup> Commission of the European Communities, *Report on the Implementation in the Member States of Directive 77/486/EEC on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers*, 5-10.

system's classes or, when provided after regular school hours, created what Member of Parliament Dolata (CDU) called a "double burden." The Ministry, while not in charge of implementation, encouraged the KMK in the early 1980s to recommend that each individual *Länder* offer these programs within their own existing school systems in order to alleviate both the "double burden" and allow them to monitor all school instruction within the West German system.<sup>122</sup>

In order to overcome these challenges, particularly between 1977 and 1982, the Ministry of Education, in connection with the *Länder* and other Ministries, intensified its support of programs to rectify the situation.<sup>123</sup> Alongside recommendations and *Bildungspolitik* (education policy), the Ministry released multiple pamphlets in an effort to encourage communities to engage with their "foreign" populations. Among them, in 1978 the Ministry released the sixty-eight page brochure titled "Programs for the Integration of Foreign Workers and their Families" (*Programm zur Eingliederung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familie*), detailing suggestions for majority German communities on how they could better include migrant workers and their families in the community.<sup>124</sup> Not limiting itself to recommendations, the Ministry both financially and rhetorically also supported a variety of programs, including bilingual education programs, the development of

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<sup>122</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 9/1244, Antwort des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Wissenschaft auf die mündliche Anfrage des Abgeordneten Dolata, *Belastung ausländischer, insbesondere griechischer Schüler durch zusätzlichen sogenannten Konsularunterricht* (Bonn, 31 December 1981), 33.

<sup>123</sup> See also Jürgen Schmude, "Die Erziehungs- und Bildungsaufgabe der Integration," in *Vom Gastarbeiter zum Bürger: Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Wilfried Röhrich (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1982), 81-88.

<sup>124</sup> Claus-Dieter Härchen, *Programm zur Eingliederung ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien* (Bonn: Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1978).

audio-visual materials and other materials for primary and secondary schools, as well as vocational training.<sup>125</sup>

Among these programs, in 1976, the Ministry of Education, alongside the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, also controlled by the SPD, began a series of programs under the titles “*Maßnahmen zur sozialen und beruflichen Eingliederung ausländischer Jugendlicher*” (Measures for Social and Employment Integration of Foreign Youths, abbrev. MSBE) and “*Deutsch für ausländische Arbeitnehmer e.V.*” (“German for Foreign Workers”) in order to overcome both social and work-related problems created by lack of certifications and diplomas as well as limited German language skills. Because these programs had to be implemented in the *Länder*, which also had to cover most of the costs, the availability of funding was an issue. For this program, the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (Federal Employment Agency) dealt with financial concerns for this particular program “in order to increase offering.”<sup>126</sup> In 1980 alone, the Federal Government contributed over 12 million Deutsch Marks, the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* 80 million and the individual *Länder* over 6 million.<sup>127</sup> These expenses resulted in some successes, at least in participation: in September 1980, 12,900 “foreign youths” were taking part and by November 1980 the number had already jumped to 14,700.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 8/1703, 46.

<sup>126</sup> Parliament Secretary Engholm’s answer to question from Member of Parliament Würtz (SPD) on the view of the Federal Government on integrating more “children of foreign workers” into the German *Berufsbildungssystem*, see Deutscher Bundestag, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages 8. Wahlperiode, Stenographische Bericht*, Sitzung 197 (Jan. 18, 1980), 15788 C-D.

<sup>127</sup> Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Berufsbildungsbericht 1981*, 98, 142; Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, ed., *Berufsbildungsbericht 1980* (Munich: Gersbach & Sohn Verlag, 1980), 68, 71.

<sup>128</sup> Der Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Berufsbildungsbericht 1981*, 89.

#### 4.3. Recommendations and Criticism from the *Ausländerbeauftragte*

The question of how best to integrate “foreign children” and resolve the multiple and contradictory meanings of “integration” finally prompted the social-liberal government to create an office for the commission for foreign affairs in 1978 – the *Ausländerbeauftragte* – and requested that SPD member Heinz Kühn<sup>129</sup>, previously the Minister-President of North Rhine-Westphalia, take the position of *Ausländerbeauftragte* (the Federal Commissioner for Foreigners Affairs).<sup>130</sup> Member of Parliament Dieter Hüssing (CDU)<sup>131</sup> first advocated the creation of such an office (*Amt*) in 1971, but the Federal Government deemed such an action unnecessary. By 1978, however, the “potential for conflict (*Konfliktpotential*)” persisted and “the foreign population was not better integrated,” prompting all major political parties to view the situation as urgent enough to allow the Federal Government to create the office. With a severely limited budget and no power for implementation beyond the rhetorical power of recommendations, however, the office was commissioned to provide suggestions for improving the situation of “foreigners” in the FRG.<sup>132</sup>

Kühn fulfilled his commission in the form of a fifty-page memorandum in 1979 under the title “*Stand und Weiterentwicklung der Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Memorandum des Beauftragten der Bundesregierung*” (“Position and Further Development of the Integration of Foreign Workers

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<sup>129</sup> Heinz Kühn, a member of the SPD, was appointed as *Ausländerbeauftragte* by under Chancellor Schmidt in 1978 and retained the position until 1980. For more information on Kühn’s service as *Ausländerbeauftragte*, see Geiß and Bundesrepublik Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Tätigkeitsbericht 1983 bis 1986*, 3.

<sup>130</sup> Reinhard Grindel, *Ausländerbeauftragte: Aufgaben und Rechtsstellung* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1984), 12.

<sup>131</sup> This Member of Parliament was continually concerned with the integration of “foreigners” into German society.

<sup>132</sup> Herbert and Hunn, “Guest Workers and Policy on Guest Workers,” 189.

and their Families in the Federal Republic of Germany”). This so-called “Kühn Memorandum” presented a scathing indictment of the contemporary situation and condemned existing practices and policy as discriminatory.<sup>133</sup> Kühn’s primary argument recommended entirely removing any differentiation between “German” and “foreign” residents and fully recognizing “foreigners” as “immigrants” and part of modern German society.<sup>134</sup> Within this proposal, he demanded the “entire removal of all segregating measures (*segregierenden Maßnahmen*) in the school sector” and urged schools to “intensification of integrative measures for all children and youth, meaning in preschool (*Vorschule*), school (*Schule*), and vocational training (*beruflichen Bildung*).”<sup>135</sup> Without radical changes in policy and the extension of all political and social rights to “foreign” residents, Kühn argued that success would continue to be limited.<sup>136</sup>

As Commissioner, Kühn further criticized the multi-track structure of the contemporary school system and labeled measures to improve integration as “ineffective” (*wirkungslos*).<sup>137</sup> He believed that the KMK’s double track suggestions actually harmed children through the expectation that they straddle two cultures and he recommended that the KMK do away with their *Doppelstrategie* (double strategy).<sup>138</sup> If the children with migrants backgrounds were staying in the Federal Republic, the Federal Government was advised to

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<sup>133</sup> For a brief description of the Kühn Memorandum, see Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*, 245-246.

<sup>134</sup> Geiß and Bundesrepublik Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Tätigkeitsbericht 1983 bis 1986*, 10.

<sup>135</sup> Kühn, *Kühn Memorandum*, 3-4.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

work with that as their goal and do away with the emphasis on maintaining a foreign identity so as to better focus on integration.

Many of Kühn's suggestions for overcoming problems associated with the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds reflected general aspects of the Ministry of Education's recommendations for integration, but he often took them a step further. Instead of encouraging *Konsularunterricht*, he recommended that the Federal Government and KMK instead provide instruction in the children's native languages by making it available as a "second language" that German children could choose to learn as well.<sup>139</sup> Among further suggestions specifically for integration, he supported *Vorschulen* (preschool), which usually began at the age of five – one year before compulsory primary schooling and was voluntary – with the idea that not only would expose children at an earlier age to the German school system, but would additionally involve parents in their education and improve understanding of the system's intricacies.<sup>140</sup> Like the Ministry of Education, Kühn emphasized that by introducing the children and their families to German culture and language early, their entire school careers would be smoother.<sup>141</sup> In contrast, however, Kühn also recommended making *Vorschule* part of compulsory schooling.<sup>142</sup>

The SPD adopted Kühn's agenda and pushed for more ethnically mixed classrooms and instruction in the value of multiple cultures.<sup>143</sup> However, bending under pressures from

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 30-31. Kühn discusses several other problems and possible solutions as well, including religious instruction.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 18-23.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 28-29.

<sup>143</sup> Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 104-105.

the conservative parties, Chancellor Schmidt's administration did not implement most of Kühn's recommendations.<sup>144</sup> Education continued to be a *Ländersache* and the Federal Government could only support programs through funding and rhetoric. In addition, the second Oil Crisis in 1979/80 threatened the economic situation well-being of West Germany, along with Western Europe. As money for education and popular support disappeared as unemployment rose, continued efforts to institute integrative programs and measures deteriorated. The political system was too unstable for radical change in the first years of the 1980s as the SPD and FDP coalition fractured and split over both domestic (i.e. budgetary) and international (i.e. nuclear armament) policies.<sup>145</sup> Both major political parties (the SPD and CDU/CSU) agreed that action was needed and that the number of effectively illiterate students dropping out of school was unacceptable. Such agreement, however, led nowhere as officials vehemently disagreed on actual solutions, on the very meaning of integration, and on the role of the State.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>145</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler*, 152.

<sup>146</sup> Steedman, "The Education of Migrant Workers' Children in EEC Countries," 267. The Ministry of Education also discusses this in Deutscher Bundestag, *Verhandlungen des deutschen Bundestages* 8. *Wahlperiode, Stenographische Berichte*, Sitzung 96 (Bonn, June 9, 1978), 7589.



### 5. *Assimilation or Multiculturalism? (1982-1989)*

Between 1982 and 1989, the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition's approaches to the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds would undergo significant changes. Between 1982 and 1985, the conservative-liberal coalition's stance on the topic disclaimed any need for Federal involvement even as they demanded some level of integration and preferably assimilation. Their claims that "the boat was full" and removal of Federal funding for programs promoting integration prompted the *Ausländerbeauftragte* to claim that the coalition's stance was at the core of the growing performance gap. Yet, by 1989 the Federal Government was promoting rhetoric of multiculturalism and encouraging intercultural education (*interkulturelle Bildung*) as Kohl advocated "respect, tolerance, and openness" between "we Germans ... and our fellow foreign residents."<sup>147</sup> In this section I ask first how the Ministry of Education's stance, which was in line with that of the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition, on policies and programs regarding education and migration changed over the decade. Second, I ask how the *Ausländerbeauftragte* under Liselotte Funcke (FDP),<sup>148</sup> who held this position from 1981-1991, responded to these changes and what criticisms and solutions the office offered.

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<sup>147</sup> Helmut Kohl, "Vorwort von Bundeskanzler Dr. Helmut Kohl," in *Bericht '99: zur Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven für die 90er Jahre*, ed. Bernd Geiss and Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1990), 7.

<sup>148</sup> Liselotte Funcke was appointed by the SPD-FDP government in 1981 after Kühn received a mandate from the European Parliament. She would retain her position in the CDU/CSU-FDP government under Chancellor Kohl, but would resign in 1991 in "frustration at the Kohl administration's lack of attention to migrant affairs" (Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 252).

### 5.1. The Demand for Assimilation to Support of Multiculturalism

Addressing the “problem of minorities,” the conservative-liberal coalition capitalized on the fact that the SPD-FDP coalition’s goals and efforts regarding the schooling of children were not widely viewed as successful. Claiming that a lack of unquestionable success equaled failure, the CDU/CSU-FDP argued that integration was clearly impossible for many – particularly Turkish – minority groups. Breaking with previous efforts to support culture-specific education, the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition stressed the necessity of greater levels of integration and assimilation or, preferably, repatriation of (at least some) second-generation children into their parents’ countries of origin.<sup>149</sup> Despite the radical move away from earlier support of the KMK’s double strategy and denunciations of its failure, throughout the 1980s both domestic and international pressures led the Ministry of Education to continue to promote integration into the German-language based classroom and the maintenance of cultural ties. Yet, while shifting away from the rhetoric of the 1970s, tensions remained between the perceived cultural rights of those with migrant backgrounds and the imperative of rapid integration.

The most distinct break with previous rhetoric regarding the double strategy was in regards to the claim that the Federal Government should contribute to the provision of both culture-specific classes and programs to support integration. Instead, in keeping with neo-liberal economic policies and a general halt on educational expansion, the new CDU/CSU-FDP coalition put the impetus for success in education on “foreign” children and their families. Even as it acknowledged the necessity of integrating, and preferably assimilating, the thousands of schoolchildren with “foreign” – particularly Turkish – backgrounds, the

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<sup>149</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler*, 247.

conservative-liberal coalition saw itself as having no imperative to facilitate the process.<sup>150</sup>

The same argument applied to culture-specific education, but with the addition that while minority groups had every right to preserve their own cultures, it was far better (and easier) for them to do so in their own countries.<sup>151</sup> In this environment, while the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition continued to rhetorically support programs for German language instruction and to further vocational training, the Minister of Education limited its support of programs – such as the MSBE – that were in place.<sup>152</sup> Additionally, funding and programs specifically designed for new students – especially intensive language instruction and reception classes – almost disappeared.<sup>153</sup>

Despite withdrawing most Federal financial support, the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition demanded some level of cultural assimilation into West German society. While this had long been the party's stance, reports on domestic abuse, honor killings, and arranged marriages within minority communities demanded redress and heightened the perceived need of immediate integration.<sup>154</sup> Muslim households were viewed as repressive familial structures that denied daughters their individual rights, while supporting only male children.<sup>155</sup> Even as the conservative-liberal coalition moved away from financially backing policies and

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<sup>150</sup> Beauftragter für die Integration der Ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und Ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Bericht Zur Ausländerpolitik* (Bonn: Der Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, March 19, 1984), 33-34.

<sup>151</sup> Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 144-149; Bernd Geiss, *Wehrpflicht für Ausländer und Doppelstaater*, 5th ed. (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1989).

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<sup>153</sup> Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration*, 14.

<sup>154</sup> Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Hearing zur Situation ausländischer Frauen und Mädchen aus den Anwerbestaaten 21. und 22. Oktober 1987 in Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Stadthalle: Kurzfassung der Dokumentation* (Bonn, 1988).

<sup>155</sup> Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, 143-44.

programs designed to integrate children with migrant backgrounds, many conservative politicians argued that some level of integration, or preferably assimilation, was necessary to overcome these human rights abuses. As reports of this nature proliferated, Federal Ministries – including the Ministry of Education and the Family Ministry – emphasized the importance of school not only for the provision of opportunity and integration, but also as a way to save children – especially girls – from their conservative and fundamentalist families.

In contrast, by the end of the 1980s instead of demanding assimilation, the CDU/CSU-FDP government debated possibilities for overcoming problems facing “foreign children” through a multicultural environment. The Federal Ministries – both the Ministry of Education and the Family Ministry – in conjunction with the *Ausländerbeauftragte* discussed possibilities for overcoming concerns for the welfare of female children with Turkish backgrounds.<sup>156</sup> At the “Hearing on the Situation of Foreign Women and Children from Recruitment Countries” on October 21-22, 1987, among the many recommendations put forward, schooling featured prominently.<sup>157</sup> In order to try to rectify the situation for the “1.9 million female foreigners of the first, second and third generation” and give them an opportunity to integrate, the participants recommended, among other measures, intercultural education, which sought to emphasize both the importance of “German” and “foreign” traditions and cultures in public schools. Further recommendations, staying within this multicultural framework, advocated the creation of speaking groups (*Gesprächskreise*) and

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<sup>156</sup> Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Hearing zur Situation ausländischer Frauen und Mädchen*.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

other programs providing spaces for “foreign school girls” to work together with “German school girls.”<sup>158</sup>

Through the end of the decade, the Ministry of Education advocated programs providing spaces for both male and female children from diverse (both “foreign” and “ethnic German”) backgrounds to work together. In 1989, the new Federal Minister of Education, FDP member Jürgen W. Möllemann,<sup>159</sup> could write that in conjunction with other concerned ministries “the Federal Government understands the integration of foreign children and youths into the educational system as a holistic process of mutual agreement and encouragement (*wechselseitiger Verständigung und Förderung*).”<sup>160</sup> Moving away from claims that the “foreign children” had to integrate entirely on their own initiative, Möllemann actively backed programs that supported schooling for children with migrant backgrounds for both integration into German schools as well as culture-specific classes.<sup>161</sup> Now, however, integration was discussed in terms of instruction for all children as “social integration is intended through the process of interaction between foreign children on the one side and German children and educators on the other, which provide multiple opportunities for speaking.”<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 38-39.

<sup>159</sup> Jürgen W. Möllemann, member of the FDP, was appointed as Minister of Education in 1987. He served as such until his appointment as Minister of Economics in 1991.

<sup>160</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 11/5285, Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Schmidt (Salzgitter), et al. und der Fraktion der SPD, *Kinder und Kultur* (Bonn, 9 September 1989), 6.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 18.

Once again actively supporting federal funding for programs for integration, the Ministry of Education continued to have to justify its still limited level of involvement in the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds to members of parliament of the SPD and the newly formed Green Party.<sup>163</sup> As the Ministry emphasized that the development of programs for integration was “in the jurisdiction of the *Länder* and communities,”<sup>164</sup> it touted its involvement once again in financially supporting several measures for “a variety of pilot projects, the goals of which is the integration of foreign children.” Specifically, the programs that were co-financed (*mitfinanziert*) by the Federal Government furthered the development of language skills through kindergarten work (*Kindergartenarbeit*), with the goal of helping both “German” and “foreign” children with “social integration.”<sup>165</sup> The Ministry further helped fund the development of five reading clubs (*Leseclubs*) for “German and foreign children and youth” to promote literacy, which was an important political issue. Möllemann saw instruction to promote literacy in the German language as a main goal, but also endorsed after school classes for maintaining “personal, cultural, and ethnic identity” through instruction in the children’s mother tongue and culture. Yet, even while promoting these programs, the Ministry of Education couched their claims in the rhetoric of minority and human rights, with reference to the double strategy nowhere to be found.

Throughout the decade, the SPD, the *Ausländerbeauftragte*, and later the Green party criticized the continued performance gap between “ethnic German” children and “children of fellow foreign residents (*Kinder ausländischer Mitbürger*),” in particular those with Turkish

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<sup>163</sup> The Green Party would become one of the most vocal advocates of rights for minority groups in the Federal Republic.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 18.

ancestry. In 1989 and 1990 these groups pointed to “poor qualifications and overrepresentation in schools for mentally and physically disabled (*Sonderschulen*).”<sup>166</sup>

While acknowledging these problems, the Ministry of Education pointed to the positive results of their projects. In particular, the Ministry emphasized “that a reason for the overall positive developments is in the efforts of the Federal Government and the *Länder* from the beginnings of the 1970s ... to develop pilot projects for the advancement of the integration of foreign children in the German school system.”<sup>167</sup> These “positive developments” could then be seen in the increased number of “foreign schoolchildren” finishing their school certificates (*Schulabschlüsse*) and the numbers of children entering *Realschule* and Gymnasium (see Table 8).<sup>168</sup>

## 5.2. The *Ausländerbeauftragte*’s Critiques and Recommendations

At the end of the 1980s, even as the *Ausländerbeauftragte* criticized the lack of programs for integrating schoolchildren with migrant backgrounds as well as the Federal Government’s discriminatory rhetoric, the office also celebrated improvements in other areas. In contrast with the beginning of the decade, larger proportions of students “with foreign backgrounds” completed their secondary school certificates and a changing job market allowed “foreign” schoolchildren and youths to find both more apprenticeships and jobs. Yet, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* continued to point to the significant performance gap

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<sup>166</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 11/7815, Antwort des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Wissenschaft auf der schriftlichen Anfrage des Abgeordneten Würtz, *Verbesserung der schulischen Leistungen ausländischer, insbesondere türkischer Schüler* (Bonn, 7 September 1990), 40.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. For a discussion of the Green Party’s policies on integration, see Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos and Andrej Zaslove, “Influencing Migration Policy from Inside: Political Parties,” in *Dialogues on Migration Policy*, ed. Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), 183.

<sup>168</sup> Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 11/7815, 40-41.

between children with migrant backgrounds and “ethnic German” children. The “approximately eighty-percent of foreign youths at a minimum completing a *Hauptschulabschluss*” (lowest level secondary-school certificate)<sup>169</sup> may have been worthy of applause, but the *Ausländerbeauftragte* considered the “almost two-thirds of foreign youths without vocational training” a considerable concern.<sup>170</sup>

Funcke herself contended that the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition’s discriminatory policies, negative rhetoric, and public opinion contributed to the continued performance gap.<sup>171</sup> In the first years of the conservative-liberal coalition, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* argued that the new administration’s stance on immigration and integration had directly contributed to a decline in schoolchildren’s motivation thereby adversely affecting the percentage of “foreign youths” finishing school and entering the work force. Correspondingly, Funcke saw the Federal Government’s refocus at the end of the decade on West Germany as a multicultural society contributing to improvements. Yet, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* still viewed the conservative-liberal coalition’s practices differentiating “foreign children” from “ethnic German” as problematic.<sup>172</sup> Continuing Kühn’s arguments in his 1979 memorandum, the office continued to see any ongoing differentiation between West German residents “with foreign backgrounds” or “ethnic German backgrounds” as “discrimination.” While

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<sup>169</sup> Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration*, 11.

<sup>170</sup> Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Integration der Ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, ed., *Zur Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven für die 90er Jahre*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Integration der Ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, 1990), 12; Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Berufsbildungsbericht 1990* (Bonn: Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1990), 120.

<sup>171</sup> Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, *Berufsbildungsbericht 1990*, 120. Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familien, Frauen und Gesundheit, *Siebter Jugendbericht*, 47.

<sup>172</sup> Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration*, 39.



acknowledging federal limitations in direct implementation of many policies, the office nonetheless viewed continued restrictions on residency and especially on citizenship as negatively affecting schoolchildren's motivation and consequently contributing to the continued performance gap.<sup>173</sup>

The *Ausländerbeauftragte* also argued for increased provision of programs for assisting children with overcoming the three main difficulties facing them children in their education: "schooling in a foreign language, no help with homework at home, [and deficient] support in dealing with cultural tensions between the family and German society."<sup>174</sup> Funcke claimed that many "foreign residents liv[ed] isolated lives in cities and municipalities with heavier concentration in particular regions" and had little chance of interaction with "German neighbors."<sup>175</sup> This translated into less exposure to the German language in schools since children attended institutions with student bodies predominately composed of children with migrant backgrounds. With a limited linguistic proficiency and few possibilities for improvement, there was little chance for eventually entering higher levels of secondary schooling.

To overcome the continued performance gap between children with migrant backgrounds and "foreign" children, the office of the *Ausländerbeauftragte* advocated a

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid. For the *Ausländerbeauftragte*'s recommendations regarding citizenship and permanent residency, see Bundesrepublik Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Anregungen der Ausländerbeauftragten zur Novellierung des Ausländerrechts*, Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen (Bonn, 1987).

<sup>174</sup> Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration*, 12.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

variety of programs, although it continued to lack any ability to fund or implement them.<sup>176</sup>

The office nonetheless attempted to provide information to new residents for help with orientation through publications, including the pamphlet *Orientierungshilfen für Ausländer*. This publications, printed in multiple editions, informed new migrants about how the system worked (i.e. when school vacations fell, what the MBSE program was, and where to find help for school).<sup>177</sup> To overcome the urban isolation and linguistic deficiencies, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* emphasized programs to encourage interaction between “children with foreign heritage” and “German children.”<sup>178</sup> In continued support of this approach, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* encouraged campaigns for intercultural education throughout the 1980s. While only able to promote them through publications, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* argued that these programs for homework help and intensive language courses were necessary in order for the diverse groups of “foreign” children to become successfully integrated. As it was, “newly arrived children of workers, asylum seekers, and refugees ... are either placed in the class associated with their age without any lingual preparation or isolated in national classes.”<sup>179</sup>

By the end of the decade, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* also supported movements beginning to discuss multiculturalism in West Germany and across the European Community. “Cultural ancestry of the foreign children in schools” was no longer to be

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<sup>176</sup> Bernd Geiss, *Orientierungshilfen für Ausländer*, 3rd ed. (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1986), 16-17.

<sup>177</sup> Geiss, *Orientierungshilfen für Ausländer*.

<sup>178</sup> Geiss and Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Bericht '99*.

<sup>179</sup> Funcke, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration*, 14.

ignored, but given “equal status to German values.”<sup>180</sup> As Chancellor Kohl advocated “mutual respect, tolerance, and openness,”<sup>181</sup> the office would write in 1988 that “the Federal Government understands integration not only in terms of the seamless assimilation (*konturenlose Anpassung*) of the foreign population into German lifestyle, but also the simultaneously friendly interaction and coexistence of Germans and foreigners with respect for difference.”<sup>182</sup> Instead of the double strategy, which had separated children by ethnicity and reinforced difference, this approach argued that children from all cultural backgrounds – including German – should live together and interact with mutual respect.

Throughout the 1980s, government reports written on the situation of “children and youths of foreign heritage” as well as school statistics demonstrated a continued performance gap between “ethnic German” children and children with migrant backgrounds. Various officials and ministries attributed failure to continued segregation in the areas of culture, society, and housing, the inability to make future plans (especially with the necessity to stay so directly tied to their parents), the insecurity of the job market, as well as generational differences. The *Ausländerbeauftragte* further claimed that government policy and rhetoric continued to promote cultural isolation and consequently prevented integration.<sup>183</sup> The conservative government's short discussion of Germany as a multicultural society might have

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<sup>180</sup> Ursula Boos-Nünning, “Interkulturelle Erziehung - interkulturelles Leben?,” in *Bericht '99: zur Situation der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familien: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven für die 90er Jahre*, ed. Bernd Geiss, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Das Amt der Ausländerbeauftragten, 1990), 191. See also Krüger-Potratz, *Interkulturelle Bildung*.

<sup>181</sup> Kohl, “Vorwort von Bundeskanzler Dr. Helmut Kohl,” 7.

<sup>182</sup> Geiss and Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Bericht '99*, 15.

<sup>183</sup> Beauftragter für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen, *Bericht zur Ausländerpolitik* (Bonn, 1984), 4, 21, 30, 40.

resulted in gradual improvements, but the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989 refocused debates on “ethnic Germans” and reunification. Whether or not the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition was right to abandon debates on multiculturalism, the party’s move away from programs to achieve that end prohibited attainment of their expressed goal of the full integration of children with migrant backgrounds into West German society.

## ***6. Conclusion: Integration and Education***

In approaching this thesis, I asked two questions regarding the West German Federal Governments' involvement in the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds. The first asked about the changing views of the SPD-FDP coalition (1969-1982) and CDU/CSU-FDP coalition through the 1980s (1982-1989) regarding the major problems of the schooling of "foreign children." The second question examined these governments' proposed policies and programs during this twenty-year period. In engaging with these governments through the positions of the Ministry of Education and the *Ausländerbeauftragte*, this thesis demonstrated the complexity of and tensions within the debates on the education of children with migrant backgrounds, decades before either the publication of the 2000 PISA test results or Sarrazin's 2010 book.

These debates and the policy recommendations of both entities show the gradual awareness and changing perceptions in West Germany of the intricacy and depth of the problem of integration. Basing early policy efforts on the initial conception of the bi-lateral recruitment agreements from 1955 through 1968, which were designed to bring migrant workers in on a rotation basis, early efforts toward the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds focused on preparing children for their return home and employment in their countries of origin. Believing that these children were "guests," the Federal Government recommended treating their education in relation to the ease of reintegration after repatriation. Only in the wake of the 1973 recruitment stop and subsequent recognition that these guests were permanent members of West German society did federal policies attempt

to fully integrate children with “foreign backgrounds” using education as a main tool.

However, even with this shift in federal policy, the government continued to cling to the possibility of return and emphasized culture-specific classes. Not until after the CDU/CSU-FDP government took power in 1982 would emphasis on school instruction specifically for reintegration be finally abandoned, but only as the government claimed that it was the responsibility of the “foreigners” to integrate or leave.

The complexity of the situation and the multiple factors of influence (international, local, cultural, religious, etc.) contributed to a series of slow and somewhat confused steps toward resolution. Under the leadership of the SPD-FDP coalition throughout the 1970s, the Federal Government attempted to create policy and aid programs to support the KMK’s double strategy. With delusions about different cultures successfully living next to each other and addressing each goal in isolation, resultant policies actually obstructed success in either objective. Limited jurisdiction and funding faced by the Ministry of Education and *Ausländerbeauftragte* further frustrated their efforts and kept their policies and recommendations confined to the realm of extra-curricular activities and informational publications.

Even under the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition in the 1980s, when the double strategy for school instruction was finally discarded (although hope for repatriation still ran strong), the government’s efforts to force integration failed when combined with xenophobic rhetoric and limited programs. Responding to real concerns regarding human rights abuses (i.e. honor killings and domestic abuse), the CDU/CSU-FDP government tried to force integration. Yet, its defensive stance against a further influx of “foreigners” and its continued insistence that West Germany was not a country of immigration made integration more difficult.

Responding to this environment, the *Ausländerbeauftragte* would argue that these policies and rhetoric frustrated scholastic success and ultimately integration.

By the end of the 1980s, the continued performance gap and other social problems (i.e. continued lingual deficiencies and growing urban ghettos) contributed to a discussion of multiculturalism. As seen in the debates on intercultural education, the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition had begun to support programs providing spaces for both “ethnic German” and children with foreign backgrounds to work together. This course effectively supported both integration and the right to maintain cultural ties, but now in the language of individual and cultural rights. Yet, even as these debates took shape, the Fall of the Berlin Wall put an end to Federal participation as the Kohl administration turned its attention toward unification with East Germany.

Despite these frustrations and tensions, educational success rates for children with migrant backgrounds continually improved throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Originally only measured in enrollment in general education, government officials (i.e. the Ministry of Education and the *Ausländerbeauftragte*) and scholars (political and social scientists) by the mid-1970s began gauging success based first on completion of secondary school certificates for *Hauptschule* and then enrollment in higher levels of secondary schooling. Finally, at the close of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, scholastic achievement was assessed in direct comparison with “German” children of the same aged-cohort.

This thesis only represents a small segment of the debates in West Germany regarding the schooling of children with migrant backgrounds. Ideally, in order to gain a more accurate understanding of the transformation of West German perceptions of education and the use of schooling, further examination of this topic would include a more complete

examination of the Federal debates, but also analyze the local (*Länder*) with a particular emphasis on implementation. Due to the federal structure of (West) Germany, implementation of federal or KMK policies is different in each individual *Bundesland*, reflecting both different political and social environments and concerns. Preferably, such research would include a comparison contrasting traditionally conservative and liberal *Länder*, which would enable me to explore how federal recommendations were perceived and analyze different ideological approaches. Such a study would also allow insight into the engagement of minority communities with their local school systems.

Even with the recurrent rise of debates on education and immigration in 2010, the basis for success and the meaning of integration has not been settled. On the one hand, this lack of clarity and clear continuation of a performance gap between “ethnic German” schoolchildren and schoolchildren with migrant backgrounds allowed for Chancellor Angela Merkel’s announcement at the CDU party caucus in October of 2010 that multiculturalism had “utterly failed.”<sup>184</sup> On the other hand, significant improvements and the integration of millions of former guest workers, asylum seekers, and other migrants has allowed Jürgen Habermas, in contrast, to write in the same month in an article for the New York Times that “... the social integration of Turkish guest workers and their descendants has generally been a success in Germany ...”<sup>185</sup> Working from the same events, same facts, and same groups, these prominent public figures could draw two vastly differing conclusions about the educational success of immigrant integration in the Federal Republic, demonstrating that the debates are clearly not yet over.

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<sup>184</sup> Lisa Caspari, “CDU-Regionalkonferenz: Merkel stützt Seehofer – und sich selbst,” *Die* (Hamburg, October 16, 2010), sec. Politics, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2010-10/merkel-regionalkonferenz-berlin>.

<sup>185</sup> Jürgen Habermas, “Leadership and Leitkultur,” *The New York Times*, October 28, 2010, sec. Opinion.



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