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EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN THE MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY

Wolfgang Mitter

Basic Considerations: The Scopes of Multiculturalism

Present-day Germany must be defined as a "multicultural society," although this is contested by "conservative" politicians and ideologists. Their denials extend from feelings of latent indifference and reservation to manifest intolerance and hostility against "strangers" or "foreigners." Although irrational and demagogic, such attitudes are rooted in a narrow perception of what constitutes "German society." This is because:

1) German history is perceived in terms of apparent homogeneity and "monoculturalism" to be traced back to the strength of particularism and to the historically oscillating relations of many Germans to their own national identity. Therefore they fail to take into account, for instance, the remarkable contributions of Huguenots in Prussia and the other former German principalities and Polish miners in the Ruhr-District to the formation of modern "German culture." They ignore the German-Jewish relations and their tragic termination by the Nazi totalitarianism (Spaich 1981, Smolicz 1990).

2) The debate on cultural identity is narrowed to the legal and political status of "German citizens"--the official line of West German (and since 1990 all-German) legislation and policy up to now. Accordingly, the "multinational" component of multiculturalism in present-day Germany (there are 4.6

million "migrants") is reduced to the "foreigners' issue," whereby the illusion of "temporariness" is maintained, as if the bulk of foreigners might leave Germany in the foreseeable future (Cropley 1982).

3) The mental configuration of "Germanity" (*Deutschtum*) which is embedded in the heritage of Romanticism (and has influenced East Central and Eastern Europe), has survived and is today an essential constituent of national identity. It is based on the irrational and vague criteria of descent and ancestry and not on the rational criterion of place of birth used by the French. This explains why "ethnic Germans" (*Volksdeutsche*) immigrating from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are accorded German citizenship without any restrictions, while children of migrants who were born in Germany are denied this claim.

All these three views which exist in German society affect educational processes: identifying the legal status of students and teachers; regulating access to the education system, in particular to institutions at the higher education level; developing and implementing curricula and textbooks, particularly in the subjects of German, history, and social studies; controlling parents in school committees, etc. Language teaching has to face the paradox that many children of "Russia-Germans" (*Russlanddeutsche*) must be taught their German "mother tongue" after arriving in Germany, while an increasing number of migrants' children who were born in Germany have a near perfect command of the German language. School instruction must be prepared to cope with both cases.

Beyond these historically based political and educational practices, there is the basic question of cultural identity as one of a people's essential basic rights. Therefore multiculturalism, in its most frequent appearance of "bi-culturalism," must be derived from the evidence that all aspects of "cultures" point to the superordinate notion of "culture" which comprises people's relation to nature, society, to themselves as individuals and to the divine or metaphysical sphere. Culture can be structured in various ways, according to the seeker's curiosity, self-awareness, and action. Social analysts usually classify by

social class, age-group, educational standard, political status, religious commitment, ethnic descent, and national loyalty (Mitter 1984).

"Multiculturalism" in this chapter means the narrower sense of "multiethnicity" and "multinationality" with their impacts on education. Multinationality is related to the concept of "nation" or "national group" (nationality), as used by political science and focussed on the feature of national commitment and solidarity. Multiethnicity is identified as a concept rooted in cultural anthropology and cultural sociology. Its features are defined as language, life-styles, and customs. All three terms assume the coexistence of different value systems. In many cases the commitment of a people's values to ethnic or national coherence is linked with religious confession.

While mentioning the criteria of multiethnicity and multinationality, we must not forget their close and complex action among the criteria mentioned above. For instance, the neglect of the interdependence between social class and ethnicity can lead to serious errors. "Foreigners" or "immigrants" education usually is associated with schools and educational issues affecting lower classes. The majority of "migrants" in Germany are of peasant descent, having come from their rural homes to metropolitan cities. The bulk of "first generation" Turks have come to Germany from Anatolian villages, not from Istanbul. There is a two-fold problem resulting from the social concern for schooling. On the one hand, such children confront a cultural environment which differs fundamentally from that of their origins and the behaviour patterns of their families. On the other hand, unless special care is taken in their school, the culture shock leads to weak scholastic achievement and consequently to repetition, school failure, or transfer to a remedial school. Such a situation can be aggravated by the practice of foreign students being combined with "native" students with quite different educational problems. Such is the case in some *Hauptschulen* (secondary modern schools) in Germany. In these secondary schools there are classes consisting of migrant workers' children and children from disturbed homes, very often associated with unemployed parents.

This unhappy circumstance can be contrasted with cities with large multinational communities of business executives, engineers, doctors, university teachers, and other professionals. Unless their children can attend their own local schools, they go to special international schools. These children often have to cope with individual adjustment difficulties, but these are comparatively easy to overcome through private remedial instruction or special educational measures typical of international schools (individual or small-group language courses, etc.). The success of these schools is rooted in above average teaching/learning conditions, extraordinary financial contributions by parents, and the motivation of students and parents.

Multiethnicity as a Topical Issue

German multiethnicity consists of four major relationships: Indigenous minorities, Ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) having resettled from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, people seeking asylum, and migrants.

Multiethnicity includes relations between the non-German groups, but in its constitutional and legal meaning in Germany, the term "minority" is only applied to the first community. On the other hand, migrants constitute the largest non-German category and claim the most attention from politicians, administrators, educators and the public. Due to the particular position that migrants have attained in the German society, they will be given the most extensive attention.

Indigenous Minorities

Until the reunification of Germany (October 3, 1990) the Danish community was the only indigenous non-German ethnic group to enjoy a special status, including the right to maintain Danish-medium schools. These institutions are run privately (Mahler/Steindl 1983) by the "Danish School Association" (*Dänischer Schulverein*). At the same time they are

highly subsidised by the Land of Schleswig-Holstein. German-medium schools to the North of the German-Danish border receive reciprocal treatment (Reich 1986) for reasons rooted in the long history of this border region. Schools were an important factor in the conflicts between the two "mother nations" which even escalated into wars, particularly in the nineteenth century. Since 1945, the relations have gradually improved and reached the satisfactory state which they enjoy today. They give a positive example of how bi-ethnic issues can be settled.

While the Danish minority is typical of the solution in a border region, the Sorbian minority in Eastern Germany (in the East of Saxony and the Southeast of Brandenburg) represents the remainder of a formerly widespread ethnic group, occupying part of the territory between the rivers Elbe and Oder (Urban 1980). In contrast to the other tribal and political units in that region, the Sorbs have survived, though gradually being assimilated into the German majority. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) favoured their survival by safeguarding bilingualism in administration and education. For instance, the Education Act of February 1965 confirmed preceding provisions for Sorbian-medium primary and secondary state schools. However, minority policy was promoted at the cost of the autonomous cultural agencies that the Sorbian community had built up in the nineteenth and beginning twentieth centuries. Although the Laender (provinces or states) of Saxony and Brandenburg have made explicit provisions for maintaining the Sorbs' right to run their own schools, the future of this ethnic group depends upon its strength to resist assimilation.

The Ethnic German "Resettlers"

The ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) are those who, since the beginning of the seventies (and particularly as a concomitant of *Perestroika*) have been allowed by their governments to resettle in Germany where their ancestors had come from centuries ago. In certain cases, German communities in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Romania went back to the thirteenth century.

434 Integration of Recent Immigrants

The resettlers are automatically given German citizenship when crossing the border, including all rights and duties involved. However, school children often have a poor command of German due to their use in school and home of another language (often reinforced by social pressures before resettlement against speaking German even at home).

The need to integrate these children into the German (until 1990 West German) society and educational system has led to the establishment of one-year and two-year special courses, sometimes with boarding provisions. Recently a few private religious schools have been established by Mennonite ethnically German communities from Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union. These ethnic German resettlers are "temporary" minorities, whose special problems are the non-fulfilled expectations of people who "return" to the country of their ancestors.

People Seeking Asylum

Certain problems have emerged with people who have come to Germany as political refugees, in particular during the past twenty years. The children of those refugees who have been given political asylum are required (like the migrants' children) to attend school. Educational provisions for them usually take place within the framework of regular German-medium school classes.

In recent years the problems with refugee seekers have increased because of the continual stream of newcomers and the relatively liberal interpretation of admission for "non-acknowledged" refugees.

The Migrants

In contrast to the hitherto-mentioned minority groups, the migrants form part of the "foreign population" (Mitter 1984, 1986). While the Federal Statistical Office allocates all persons of non-German citizenship to this category, in educational and social policy the term "foreign" is usually applied only to the

"migrants." They are numerically dominant and in socioeconomic and political terms the most significant group of the "foreign population." That means that the official terminology of educational policy neglects two subgroups of "minor" importance. First, there are numerous and growing communities of foreign diplomats, business executives, engineers, doctors, university teachers, particularly in the large cities. Schooling of their children has been already tackled above. Secondly, there are foreign workers who either belong to very small ethnic groups or whose children merge into German schools because they speak German or a similar language (Dutch children). Education authorities take no special measures for these groups.

Two categories of "foreign" children have assured rights in Germany. There are children of workers from the "European Community" and those where Germany has bilateral agreements: Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

Reunification has confronted Germany with an additional group of foreign workers who are actually migrants although they do not officially enjoy this status. GDR authorities have invited and employed some foreign workers, mostly from Vietnam and Mozambique. Since reunification the majority of these migrants have left Germany, while those who have stayed are being included in the "migrants' policy" of the Federal Government. Their situation differs from that of the "West German migrants" insofar as they have come to (East) Germany without their families, so "multicultural education" is limited to their further vocational training. The following considerations concentrate on the "West German" variation.

The Socioeconomic and Political Framework

The socioeconomic and political background conditions of migrant workers must be investigated in the mirror of their forty years of history. They first arrived in the Federal Republic in the early 1950s, to provide an additional work force. After a period of economic expansion, the 1970s experienced the "oil crisis," leading to the Federal government asking the Federal Authority of Labour to stop recruiting foreign workers. One of the unwanted side-effects of this measure was that it motivated the vast majority of workers who

had already arrived in the Federal Republic to stay. Migrant workers' numbers stabilized. Moreover, the Italians, Greeks, Spaniards, and Portuguese are not affected by the restriction on foreign workers: full freedom of movement is available to inhabitants of the "European Community."

The economic recessions and the rationalisation of industry in the late 1970s brought increasing unemployment to migrant workers. The government again encouraged migrants to return to their home countries in 1983 and 1984, by offering immediate cash for their rights to unemployment and other insurances (McRae 1980). However, this incentive did not work: the migrants usually stayed. Since 1984 there has been an increase reflecting improved employment prospects for migrants. In spite of the brief recruitment stop, the number of migrants has nearly doubled.

This increase stems mostly from the arrival of migrant workers' families, first wives with small children, then older children (Mahler/Steindl 1983). The Foreigners Act (*Auslaendergesetz*) of 1965 granted residence permits to foreigners' wives and all family members up to their sixteenth year. This right has been subsequently extended to migrants' older children. This relatively liberal interpretation of the Foreigners' Act, as handled by the regional and local authorities, was widely supported by the public and by the courts. Article 6 of the Basic Law (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany) promulgated that marriage and family are particularly protected by the State, so attempts by the Federal Minister of the Interior to lower the age of migrants' arriving children to six years had only partial success.

The ethnic composition of the migrant population has shifted from Italians (prevailing among the migrants in the 1950s and early 1960s) to Turks and Yugoslavs. Turks have become almost one third of the migrant population (1.5 million). This demographic trend discloses the complexity of the issue. The legal provisions refer to the overall category of "foreigners," as exemplified by the Foreigners' Act of 1965. Even in its narrower interpretation (confined to the migrants of the aforementioned six European countries) the summary classification provides no real understanding of what the West

German society has to cope with. The use of "foreigner" or "migrant" insinuates that there is a homogeneous group which does not exist.

Migrants differ from nation to nation in fairly specific ways. The societal systems of the home countries, e.g. in Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, differ from one another and internally. They are culturally and religiously diversified. Three countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal) are Roman Catholic; Greeks are Orthodox Christians; the largest group of migrants (the Turks) are mostly Muslims; and the Yugoslavs combine all three. Languages are similarly complicated: linguistic diversities exist from country to country, but also inside the individual nations (e.g. the Kurds among the Turkish group, and the "Yugoslavs" Serbocroat, Slovenian, Macedonian and Albanian). Any dissolution of the Yugoslav state would complicate this issue even more. In this context, membership in the EC affects the general legal provisions as well as specific regulations.

Migrant Children and Youngsters

Policy issues in Germany are decided according to their place in a federal constitution. There is a network of laws and guidelines comprising legal and social provisions such as residence permits, unemployment insurance, and social welfare. Within this framework, educational matters are the full responsibility of the Laender. The duration of compulsory school attendance (nine or ten years) falls into the "cultural responsibility" (*Kulturhoheit*) of the Laender, so they determine the stages of primary education, lower secondary education, and the school-bound forms of upper secondary education. It is only higher education, job-bound vocational education, and further vocational education which are jurisdictions shared by the Federal and Laender governments. Pre-school education is a traditional domain of non-governmental agencies (churches etc.) and local communities.

The legal provisions for the education of migrants are totally embedded in this overall structure, enabling political strategies and administrative measures practised in the individual Laender to differ. Such diversities include

organisational as well as curricular matters that may be traced back to controversial approaches to how to harmonise the core values of "integration" and "cultural identity" (Cropley 1982, 52). There is a wide consensus about the validity of both values. However, when education policies of the Laender are transferred from general guidelines and directives into everyday operations of the schools, they have to set priorities. This process is widely influenced by the political philosophies governing the individual Laender. There is a "Christian Democrat" and a "Social Democrat" model. Party-bound philosophies with regional and local attitudes and interests give a spectrum of nuances to West German policies in the education of migrants. The (re-)establishment of the Laender in East Germany will extend this diversity.

The challenge of educating migrants' children has been taken seriously by the (old) Federal Republic of Germany, promoting continuous efforts of the Laender to achieve sufficient uniformity in handling the necessary tasks and measures (Mahler/Steindl 1983). Such coordination has come from the Standing Conference of Laender Ministers of Education and Culture, formed in 1948 (before the Federal Republic of Germany). The need for unanimity in conference resolutions entails great pressure for compromise, but slows decision-making or even prevents reasonable solutions. There is a further critical point: the Standing Conference can only recommend; there is no binding effect on the decision of the Laender. Considering the problem area of educating a diversified population, one has to acknowledge that the Standing Conference has been rather successful, particularly for its Resolution of April 4th, 1976; amended October 26th, 1979 (Mahler/Steindl 1981, 203-207). All the West German Laender have accepted and incorporated this resolution in their respective laws and decrees:

It is essential to enable the foreign students to acquire the German language and to reach German school-leaving certificates as well as to maintain and to improve the knowledge in the mother-tongue. At the same time the educational measures are to pay a contribution to the social integration of the foreign

students as long as they stay in the Federal Republic; moreover, they serve the purpose of maintaining their linguistic and cultural identity. (Preamble)

Summing up, there are four issues of general concern for the education of migrants' children and youngsters in Germany. The first deals with the international dimension of the education of migrants. Considering that all member countries of the European Community are more or less involved in this matter, the Federal and Laender authorities pay great attention to the activities of this supranational organisation. Its resolutions and recommendations are regarded as important incentives to the solution of concrete problems in Germany. Among them the "Guideline of the Council concerning the Schooling of Migrant Workers' Children" of July 25th, 1977 (full version documented in Mahler/Steindl 1983, 210) paved the way for regular consultation among the member states. Within a broader geographical context, the eighteen national Ministers of Education of the Council of Europe had adopted a similar resolution on November 8th, 1974 (full version documented in Mahler/Steindl 1983, 207-210).

Second, endeavors to reach and extend bilateral co-operation with the authorities of the migrants' home countries have been greatly encouraged by the Standing Conference of Laender Ministers of Education and Culture. Within the framework of existing "cultural agreements," bilateral commissions have been established; in the meantime they have developed into permanent forums of discussion about all matters concerning education and schooling of foreign students. Between 1974 and 1980 such joint commissions have been constituted with Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

One should not be surprised to learn that the individual counterparts emphasise specific interests. Divergent attitudes result from different expectations with regard to the youngsters' return to their home countries. These range from Italy which seems to favour the integration of their migrants in Germany, to Greece whose governments, irrespective of their ideological orientations, have emphatically stressed the continuing adherence of their compatriots to the Greek nation. These

divergent views explain differences in the instruction of the vernacular. Specific cultural and civic knowledge in the learning areas of history and geography is discussed for these children.

For Turkish children, religious instruction raises a special problem. German Laender have refrained from including religious instruction for Muslim students in the curricula because of the incompatibility of certain component parts of the Islamic religion (e.g. the individual and social position of women) and the value order laid down in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic and the Constitutions of the Laender. On the other hand, the attendance of Koranic Schools by Turkish children and youngsters is suspected to produce effects in civic and moral education contrary to the goals and objectives of German schooling.

Third, there is a distinct impact of the expectations of the migrants' home countries upon private schools. Conflicts emerge when the foreign initiators' philosophy collides with Article 7 of the Basic Law which requires that private schools, particularly at the primary level, must observe the educational goals and objectives which are valid for the public school system. Recognition of private primary schools, moreover, is dependent on "a special pedagogic interest" to be confirmed by the educational authority. In this constitutional and legal context, the Danish schools in Schleswig Holstein and the Sorbian schools in Brandenburg and Saxony have been acknowledged; the second group consists of schools whose students are very likely to stay in Germany only temporarily i.e. American, French, British, and Japanese institutions. For migrants, Greeks have been exceptionally active in opening private schools and there is one German-Italian private school run by the Catholic Church. The ongoing encouragement by the Greek government has provoked caution by some educational authorities. In this context we touch again the problem of how to harmonise integration and cultural identity as educational core values (Rist 1978). While, on the one hand, the adherents of private schools refer to better opportunities for preparing the youngsters for their return, the opponents argue that in fact many or most of such students are likely to stay in Germany. Their needs are best served by adjusting to the German labour market and career system in general.

Fourthly, there are important activities of the Federal Laender Commission for Educational Planning and the Promotion of Research. It was established in 1970 by an agreement between the Federal and the Laender governments. During the past twenty years it has launched a great number of pilot projects at various levels for the education of migrants' children. Moreover, the Laender themselves have been active in this field.

Specific Problem Areas

According to the Resolutions taken by the Standing Conference of Laender Ministers of Education and Culture, the EC Guideline of 1977 and the constitutional and legal provisions made by the individual Laender, the formal education of migrants' children and youngsters is bound to the main goals of integration and maintenance of cultural identity. These two goals have been pursued by various strategies which are rooted in Laender's different priority settings. The differences are recently being reduced, as recognised by the handling of the language of instruction. In general, Laender emphasise all migrants' children acquiring both the German language and their mother tongue, subject to certain restrictions.¹

Migrants' children are assisted in coping with German schooling conditions by organisational arrangements (Cropley 1982):

1) There are one-year and two-year preparatory classes in which instruction in the vernacular language is provided not

¹ The Federal Republic respects the official Turkish doctrine that Turkey is a monolingual country which means that Kurdish and other non-Turkish speaking children have to learn Turkish in German schools because of their national citizenship, so they cannot study their mother tongues. For practical reasons (size of classes, availability of teachers, etc.) mother tongue tuition is usually limited to the dominant languages of the children's home countries. This restricts the language program for those Yugoslav children who do not belong to the Serbocroat-speaking community.

only in the specific "language" subject (Italian, Greek, etc.), but also in some other subjects, such as Social Studies and, in some cases, Mathematics. Such preparatory classes exist in all Laender except Hesse where migrants' children are immediately admitted to regular German classes.

2) In large cities and other districts with concentrated migrant populations, "national classes" have been established. They offer migrants' children a bilingual instruction in separate units, then the "regular" instructional language gradually glides from the vernacular to German. Such "national" (bilingual) classes last from four to six years.

3) In Bavaria there are special "national" classes which comprise the whole compulsory school attendance of nine years.

The Laender of Bavaria and Hesse represent the two extreme wings of the spectrum (Mahler/Steindl 1983). Hesse (with its long Social Democrat tradition from 1945 to 1987 and since 1991 again) strongly favours early integration. Bavaria (with its continuous majority of the conservative Christian Social Union) has always emphasised the option for "national classes." All the Laender have provided options for migrants' children to enter regular German classes when their knowledge of the language is sufficient. This is most important at the transition from primary school to selective secondary education (Grammar Schools/*Gymnasien*, Intermediate Schools/*Realschule*

youngsters choosing their vernacular language as a regular school subject instead of learning a second "foreign" language; that means, for example, that a Turkish student who has taken English as the first foreign language, chooses Turkish instead of French as a second one. Children living in areas with a concentration of migrants, particularly in the large cities, benefit most from these provisions (McLaughlin/Graf 1985).

The language issue is complicated when youngsters do not enter school at the beginning of the primary level, but at a later stage. The later a student arrives in Germany, the more difficult is the adjustment to the prerequisites of the German school. Fluency in German usually turns out to be only one of the disturbing factors. The most complicated cases involve youngsters who move "to and from," which often leads to virtual

illiteracy in both languages. Special problems are also posed by youngsters who have completed compulsory school attendance in their home countries. In large cities special classes have been established for this group, where teachers introduce their students to their new environment and to some basic knowledge of German. These fluctuations arise from economic needs, in that fathers and mothers are both employed so they leave their children in the care of the grand-parents. It is also rooted in the permanent uncertainty of migrants: will they stay or return? (Most of them actually stay in Germany).

Teachers and Teacher Training

Teachers who are capable and willing to educate migrant workers' children may be German or native language teachers who are usually appointed temporary contracts (Cropley 1982).

A number of universities and colleges of education have introduced special courses for German teachers, dealing with the specific issues of educating migrants' children. Courses in the educational foundations link with optional language courses at elementary and advanced levels (McLaughlin/Graf 1985). These efforts are far from satisfactory because the activities are primarily the initiatives of individual professors or lecturers. In-service training has become the main qualification for teachers of migrants' children. In-service institutes or centres now exist in all the Laender, but they are often restricted to special tasks, e.g. instruction in preparatory or "national" classes. Such initiatives solve only part of the problems, for the education of migrants' children affects the whole of schools and all teachers. Neglect of this dimension in teacher training and teaching practice leads to highly trained and committed teachers finding themselves frustrated among an indifferent environment.

Since the beginning of the 1970s the Laender have appointed "native language" teachers with two functions: to teach the vernacular language to "their" children, and to awaken and maintain their cultural identity. There are two categories of native language teachers: persons directly appointed by German

authorities (often married women of foreign descent with permanent residence in Germany), and teachers delegated by their own Ministries of Education for a period of three to five years. Such appointments result from a bilateral agreement between Germany and counterparts. Native language teachers initially lacked effective preparation for their task at German schools, so in-service training institutes have offered courses to this group too. These activities are often linked with the production of teaching and learning aids (textbooks, handbooks for teachers, etc.).

Considerations Concerning the State of the Art

Although this chapter has been focussed on the state school system (which in Germany comprises the vast majority of schools) non-governmental institutions also face the problems. Particular attention has been given by the churches to pre-school education. Unions and other professional associations assist with vocational and further education.

Two incompatible perspectives disrupt the orderly development of education policy. First, the Federal Republic of Germany still defines itself as a "non-immigration country" (McRae 1980, 119) while the everyday practices in classrooms and other educational places are oriented towards patterns of "multicultural education." This educational contradiction is caused by the commitment of many educational policy makers and classroom practitioners to this task, and by the unlikely prospect that most migrants will return to their home countries.

The "non-immigration" doctrine also justifies the official emphasis on "integration" and "re-integration" (which is shared by the governments of the most home countries, with the most emphatic representative of the re-integration philosophy being Greece). Politicians often expect and advocate integration and re-integration in particular in rhetorical speeches. However, educationists must be sceptical about such expectations. Neither goal can be realized in the normal German school day, which is overloaded for all concerned--children, parents and teachers.

Conclusion

The reunification of Germany has induced a new dimension of multiculturalism. It would be too extreme to infer the emergence of an "ethnic duality" from the forty-five years of partition: that will not long survive the "national duality" which ended in 1990. There is substantial linguistic unity. "Command education" (*Kommandopädagogik*) has failed as a medium of ideological indoctrination, because the "ways of life" have not diverged much (thanks to mutual visits of West and East Germans and to the majority of East Germans being able to receive West German television). Yet, the brief period since the opening of the Berlin Wall in 1989 has provided evidence of "socialist" customs, values and expectations which have survived the collapse of their ideological "superstructure." Therefore we may posit the continued existence of "cultural" peculiarities in East Germany, similar as differentiating criteria to social class and educational standard but not to ethnicity. The viability and duration of these peculiarities cannot be predicted.

The "ethnic" specification multiculturalism is soon likely to expand. The implementation of the Single Market (from January 1, 1993) will result in growing mobility inside the European Community and soon incorporate further countries (both Western and Eastern). In the end this development might absorb the "migrants' issue" by the superordinate "Europeanisation" of multiculturalism in its proper meaning. As in other European countries, the education system in the reunified Germany must then be prepared to cope with "multicultural schools" on a large scale. Social scientists predict this trend, and a consequent immigration from Germany's Eastern neighbour countries. Above all, migration from the Soviet Union will result from its economic crisis as well as its already initiated transition to liberalising exit permits.

The conclusion to be drawn from these new perspectives for multicultural education in Germany is that multicultural education must be related to integration, which may be distinguished from assimilation. Assimilation-- the opposite of

segregation--advocates one-sided adjustment; an ethnic minority conforms to the cultural norms of the majority and thereby renounces its own ethnic identity. Integration emphasises the merger and unification of two or several groups whose social position is considered as equivalent. The outcome of such integration is not assimilation of the minority in the majority, but the emergence of a new culture (Mitter 1984).

In the past such processes have often lasted for generations or even for centuries, with the various stages characterised by great variety. Therefore "integration" must be conceived and practised as an aim to be realized by openness and tolerance, above all by the readiness of all groups concerned to solve their problems and conflicts peacefully. The success of such policies depends on the good will of the immigrants (in the widest sense of this term). However, the German hosts are confronted with greater responsibility concerning legislation, administration and social communication, which can be generalised to all host nations in similar situations. German history can provide lessons both from negative *and* positive experience.

This chapter has concentrated on the inter-personal and social aspects of multiculturalism and multicultural education. However, multicultural education influences the personal development of the young (and adult) people. It is a process caused by the intra-personal coexistence of two (or several) cultures. Therefore, all solutions on the political level must provide for the individuals' freedom to choose their personal cultural identity--including the right to define it "above" historical experience and convention. For example young Germans and Turks may want to establish their identity above these ethnic and national distinctions as Europeans or global citizens. Education has to help the individual to make his/her decision, whereby the "price" resulting from every decision must not be concealed. Consequently, multiculturalism and multicultural education are likely to develop into a constituent component of pluralism to be conceived as a social *and* intra-personal phenomenon.

The education issue depends on the overarching socioeconomic and political issues of the whole social system.

Education alone cannot solve the problems. However, the education of all children and youngsters belonging to "minorities" in Germany indicates how education can contribute to the solution of the overall and particular problems.