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Multiculturalism and successful integration

- A capable system or contradiction?

A Situation analysis of migrants in Germany and France

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1. Introduction

Now over one year has passed since the murder of Theo van Gogh, the director of a critical film on Islam, by a radical Islamist in 2004 in the Netherlands. Since then a discussion has been arisen about the integration of ethnic minorities in different European countries.

Especially in Germany many politicians, journalists and other intellectuals started making up their mind whether the countries` integration policy has failed. Looking at official statistics it becomes clear that especially in the field of education and employment migrants are disadvantaged to their German fellow citizens. It is more likely that they leave school earlier and that the unemployment rate within this group is higher. (compare www.eurostat.com;24.11.2005)

Also in France this discussion has become relevant since two 15 and 17 year old boys with migrant background had died when they fled from the police in the end of October 2005. *This was the start of nightly occurring fights between extremist youth, living in Clichy-sous-Bois a suburb (Banlieue) of Paris, and the police. The riots lasted for over two weeks mainly in districts with a high percentage of inhabitants with migrant backgrounds but also extended to places all over France.*(Hahn,D. *die Tageszeitung*;11.11.2005) It was assumed that they wanted to gain attendance by public for their disadvantaged situation in terms of living conditions, education and the labour market.(compare www.tagesschau.de 12.11.2005)

Angela Merkel the German Chancellor is of the opinion that *idea of a multicultural society has failed* (iz3w;2005.p.2) therefore the questions arises: Is the idea of multiculturalism still valid for a future coping strategy?

Or do we even have to blame multiculturalism for the existing problems?

Proceeding from these questions I will compare the situation of people with a migrant background living in Germany and France in the following work.

In the beginning I will give a definition of the terms migration and integration as well as for multicultural society in order to make sure that reader and author have a common understanding and starting point of discussion as there are different approaches existing in literature.

Afterwards I will have a look at the situation of migrants in Germany and France within the two sectors of employment and education as it can mean the basis for further integration in a society in terms of status of membership, attendance to societal life and the person's identification with the country.

What kinds of problems are occurring? What are the deficits in the policy of integration in both countries?

In order to answer these questions I will analyse the integration policy in Germany and France since World War 2 because most of the problems are the result of a longer development and can not only be understood through the analysis of the current situation within in the historical context.

I will focus on two distinct groups of population in Germany and France in order to enable a detailed comparison of the situations. For me it seems to be most suitable to compare the group of migrants from Turkey in Germany with the group of migrants from Algeria in France as they are determined to be the biggest groups of migrants in each country. (compare Tieman; 2004; p2)

In the end I will give a short conclusion of the concrete problems in both countries, in how far they are leading to failed integration and try to show some approaches to solve these in the future.

2. Methodology

In order to develop a clear structure for the paper one has to become clear of the methodology that will be used in the research. Therefore I will concentrate on the derivation of the initial research question and its resulting sub-questions. Then I will deal with the state of literature in order to get an overview of the existing researches in this field and in order to decide on my method of data gathering. In the end of this chapter I will have a closer look at possible problems occurring within the comparison of data.

2.1 The initial research question

For every research a concrete problem definition is of great importance. This consists of the initial research question and a description of context and relevance of the work.

My initial research question will be:

Research question:

Is multiculturalism capable of successful integration or not?

In my exploratory research I first decided to have a look at the development of the concept of integration in terms of Assimilation, Acculturation and Multiculturalism in order to gain a background for the following testing of the situation on empirical facts in order to understand means, causes and relations of the topic and to be able to formulate the research question. Therefore my research question is descriptive as well as explanatory.

To answer this question I decided for a deductive reasoning, therefore I start my paper with the theoretical background and concentrate on the observation of facts like the state of unemployment of people living in Germany and France with a migrant background. Further I will observe their learning conditions at school in order to prove my hypothesis that these are central aspects for integration in a society.

2.2 Literature: state of the art

Integration is a topic gaining in importance in public in the last years. That is the reason why one can find a big variety of literature on this topic in form of theoretical discourses, introductory works, empirical researches, newspaper articles and dissertations in Germany as well as in France.

Many new theoretical discourses e.g. published by Hans Ulrich Wicker (Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity; Berg; Oxford; 1997) are dealing with the transformation of the term of integration within the last years from Assimilation to Multiculturalism and its influence and means for a countries` policy.

The theoretical basis of a countries` integration policy will be expressed through its legal conditions for immigration and citizenship. In order to understand a countries` state of integration one also has to analyse these legal preconditions. An important institution for this is Pro Asyl who published a paper on the practice of the New Right of Residence which was translated into action in the same year.

Empirical researches and dissertations are mainly analysing the causes and effects of integration policy in a certain country, through the analysis of a distinct group in society. Wetzels, K. and Brettfeld, K. for example analyse the situation of Turkish youth in Berlin and their attitude towards religion and violence in comparison to their German fellow citizens.

(Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn? Migration, Religion und Gewalt junger Menschen; Lit Verlag, Münster; 2000)

For my research I especially needed comparative data of Germany and France which has been e.g. set up by Tiemann ((2004) Die Integration islamischer Migranten in Deutschland und Frankreich: Ein Situationsvergleich ausgewählter Bevölkerungsgruppen, Woodstock Verlag) and Schwab ((1997) Integration von Moslems in Deutschland und Frankreich; Universitätsverlag; Wien).

Here one finds comparative analysis on the integration of distinct population groups in both societies. Tiemann and Schwab are especially interested in the

integration in the sphere of education and employment of migrants with a Muslim background, therefore these two books mean are an important basis for my work because I will focus on the group of people with a Turkish and an Algerian background.

Another important source within this field is the internet. Here one can find actual statistics on migration to Germany and France, differentiated by the different home countries as well as official statements and discussions in articles published by the government and international organisations (e.g. www.unhcr.de, www.integrationsbeauftragte.de, www.ecre.org). Especially for the research on Non-Governmental Organisations working on this topic, the Internet is an important source to gain knowledge because they use it as a platform to present their attitudes, action plans and working papers.

2.3 Data gathering

After I found out that there already exist a huge variety of literature on the topic of migration and integration, I decided to only use secondary data for my research.

The use of secondary data like statistical and research data from the sources described above gives the advantage of reliability and internal validity, promising a higher truth of my inference for the observations made, which primary data gathering through interviews and questionnaires can not ensure to the same extend. It also strengthens the external validity of the work as it is easier to generalize the outcomes to a larger population.

The used data of my following work will be the basis of argumentation leading to possible causes and effects.

2.4 Key variables

Before one can start an analysis of the factors leading to a lack of integration, its key variables have to be concreted and fixed.

Taking the total percentage of “foreigners” in Germany and France as a basis, I will first have a look at the number of employed nationals in comparison to the number of employed people with migrant background. Focussing on the group

of Turkish migrants in Germany and Algerians in France it will be very interesting seeing the distribution of different occupations in comparison to the indigenous people.

Analysing employment and distribution of occupation will lead to first statements on the situation of each society and will give hints about the problems migrants have to face in the two countries.

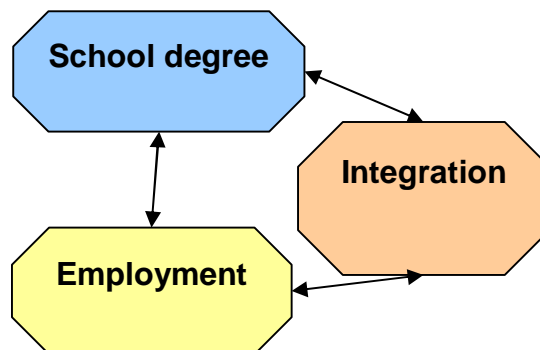
Secondly I will determine the differences in education between residents and people with migrant background in terms of the number of school degrees and research on the different problems they face in school.

The variables “employment” and “school degrees” can be described as independent and dependent at the same time as well as explanatory and intervening as they can stand for themselves in order to gain results for the research question but are also linked to the other variables as one plays an important role in the causation for the other one.

Integration as a variable plays a special role in the line of argumentation as it is part of the process playing an important role in the causation for the other variables but its dimension will be also the result and an important part of the conclusion of my research at the same time.

These inter-linkages are shown in the following chart:

Chart:



2.5 The sub-questions

From the explanation of chosen key variables in 2.4 one can now conclude on the sub questions which will concrete the intention of my research:

These will be:

Sub-questions:

1. Which role do theoretical ideas play for the integration of people to a society?
2. How did integration policy develop in Germany and France since World War two?
3. What effects does this have on the flow of migrants and their situation?
4. What is the current situation on the labour market and in the field of education for people with a migrant background like?
5. In how far is this leading to a lack of integration?
6. What are the concrete deficits of integration policy?
7. How can this be solved?
8. Is the idea of multiculturalism still valid for a future coping strategy?

The second level of the problem definition is the description of relevance of the work which I will leave out here, as it has been already described in my introduction and will be discussed in the context of each chapter.

2.6 Methodological problems

Having a closer look at the methodological dimensions of the work it becomes clear that there are also some problems involved.

Determining the variables, it turns out to be a problem that statistics do not include those people having a residents permit. They do not count as “foreigners” but face similar problems as those because they are belonging to the big group of migrants living in a country for the second or third generation. The Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) demands that statistics in Germany have to be transformed because *they are not expressing reality any more* (Pfaff, J. 3.12.2005; die Tageszeitung). They criticise

that therefore nearly anything is known about the problems of integration on this growing number of migrants with a German passport. (compare Pfaff,J.; 3.12.2005; die Tageszeitung)

Therefore statistics about the number of migrants in each country can be taken as an orientation but not as an exact number for this research.

When one would like to analyse and compare migration in Europe and the single member states some further problems arise which make it more difficult to reach reliable outcomes that can be referred to a number of reasons: First, there is no Europe-wide definition that clarifies who a “migrant” is. *In some member states immigrants are counting as migrants after one year of permanent stay and will be included in statistics, other states refer on the real time or their purpose of stay. In EU member states with a colonial history like France, immigrants from former colonies can easily become naturalised.* (www.bpb.de;29.11.05)

France even does not have an official statistic on migrating people.

Further there are some technical and defining problems in the making of a statistic. *Very often statistics are used as “real proofs” for or against a certain position but it is always important to be critical and question statistics and to find out how, why and from whom they are developed* (www.bpb.de;29.11.05)

A third dimension of problems linked to that is the usage of vague terms in quantitative data like statistics but also in qualitative ones. In order to gain a common understanding it is necessary to develop definitions that are as distinct as possible which will be done in the following, in each relevant chapter.

2.7 Structure of the research

The following chapters are structured related to the order of my sub-questions. In chapter 3 of my work I will answer the question of the role of theoretical ideas for the integration of people to a society. Chapter 4 will deal with the development of integration policy since World War 2 in Germany and France and its effects for the flow of migrants to these countries. This means an important introduction for Chapter 5 and 6 that will answer the questions on the current situation on the labour market and the field of education for people with a

foreign background and how this is resulting in a lack of integration.

Here chapter 5 will concentrate on education in both countries whereas chapter 6 describes the situation on the labour market.

Chapter 7 will present a conclusion on the concrete deficits of integration policy in Germany and France in comparison to each other and how they could be solved. This leads to the final question whether the idea of multiculturalism is still valid for a future coping strategy for the problems of integration.

3. Theoretical Background

Which role do theoretical ideas play for the integration of people to a society?

The theoretical background is very important for the determination of terms, in order to gain an equal understanding of what I am discussing in the following. I would like to analyse the state of integration of migrants in Germany and France and therefore I first have to define what can exactly be understood by the terms of migration, integration and multiculturalism as a conceptual basis for the paper but also to gain a common understanding of the main research question. In the following chapter the main questions will be: What kind of different types of migration and integration do exist and which ones are relevant for my research? And: In how far is the theory of multiculturalism of importance?

3.1. Migration

Migration (lat.migrare;engl. to walk) in general means the movement of people, to leave one place for another one. (Treibel; 1990; p18) In social science there is no uniform definition for "migration". It is a multidimensional and empirical term. Depending on the interests, different aspects can be observed: Migration can be categorised in collective or individual, voluntarily and forced as well as limited in time or for ever. *It can be distinguished by the distance and if it is a migration in different bases, following a certain tradition or occurring as chain migration. (Mühlum;1993;p.13)* Chain migration can be motivated by political, economical, ecological, demographic, social or cultural reasons but most of the time the individual decisions for migration are complex combination of several reasons at the same time.

The most common ones are labour migration and migration of refuge.

The so-called labour migration (or migration for economic reasons) is migration leading to an improvement of social economic living conditions. *This should be reached by employment, training or operational activities in another country or territory.*(Tiemann 2004;p.11)

So called migration of refuge is occurring when the decision for migration is forced e.g. through disregard of human rights, persecution, threat of minorities, war or civil war, environmental catastrophes or pauperisation.(Tiemann;2004;p12)

In Tiemann`s opinion labour migration and migration of refuge, which is planned for a limited time span but can extend to a durable stay in the host country, often goes together with the migration of family unification. (compare Tiemann;2004;p.13)

The migration of Turks in Germany and of Algerians in France is a good example for an overlapping of different causes and motives of movement by people. At first, migration of the two groups was economically motivated but can be also partly determined as migration of refuge.

3.2 Integration

In Germany but also in other countries it is heavily discussed what integration exactly is and how it can be realised. (Treibel;1990;p18) Generally the term aims at the unification of the different.

Integration can be regarded as the connection of individuals and groups to a societal oneness through acceptance and recognition of cultural differences. This is a process that can last over several generations because of the differences in living conditions of residents and migrants. (Beger;1997;p11)
Integration can be described as the process as well as the aim of the process at the same time. (Tiemann2004;p12)

One has to differentiate between four dimensions of integration which are structural integration, describing the status of membership, cultural integration which describes processes of learning of societal life, social integration dealing

with the attendance and acceptance of social activities and identificatory integration that determines the personal identification to the host country.(compare Tiemann;2004;p13)

The incorporation of refugees is described through a whole variety of terms like assimilation, absorption, adaptation, accommodation, acculturation, integration. It is difficult to understand these terms in their lingual preciseness because nearly every attitude of the host country can occur in the relation of people to their surrounding which can e.g. be conflict, segregation or interaction. (compare Esser;1990p.15)

In the following I will have a look at the terms assimilation and acculturation which were developed in the USA as well as multiculturalism which is used most often today. They are important for my work as they mean the basis for the answer of the main research question.

3.2.1 Assimilation

In sociology and ethnology the term of assimilation can be understood as a process of adjustment (lat.assimilare, engl. to make similar) by people who live in another ethnic group for a long period of time. (Tiemann 1999; p13)

This process can be determined as multidimensional in which the feeling of affiliation of the migrating group to the indigenous group changes.

It can last for a certain period of time and can therefore lead to conflicts between the generations. *When cultural, political and institutional traditions of the host country are overtaken, a melting of behavioural patterns can develop which is based on a new group consciousness but which can be disturbed by conflicts of different values, prejudices and discrimination.*(Dornis 2001;p35)

The debate on the integration of migrants has its source in the 1920`s in a research developed in the field of sociology of cities in America which is called “the concept of assimilation by the early school of Chicago”.

In the second half of the 19th century every year ten thousands of people from Europe came to Chicago so that between 1850 and 1930 the number of inhabitants grew from 30.000 to 3.3 million. Therefore the city turned out to be

an optimal object for the research of migration.(compare Dornis 2001;p 35)

“The Polish Peasant in Europe and America” by Thomas and Znaniecki in five volumes edited between 1918 and 1921 and “The City” by Park, Burgess and Mc Kenzie edited in 1925 became one of the classical works for the research of migration and integration. Thomas and Znaniecki dealt with the effects of migration for immigrants. For this purpose they documented biographies of Polish immigrants in Chicago and illustrated their lives in two different worlds in order to show how they are losing their home culture and adapt to the culture of the host country step by step. Here the authors especially focused on the lack of orientation many people experienced during the arrival in a host society.

On the other hand Park, Burgess and Mc Kenzie analysed the effects of migration for American cities. They took Chicago as an example to develop a concept of expansion of the city which categorises the settlement of population in the city.

Dornis generalizes the outcome of his research as the following: *In the first step to the integration of migrants is a foundation of ethnic colonies in districts with a low living standard which is a first help for incorporation. Then the tendency of settlement goes towards the settlement to districts with a higher living standard. Already the next generation is living in better conditions than the previous and ethnic colonies are established less often. (Dornis; 2001; p36)*

Park describes the process of assimilation in four different phases which he called the “race-relation circle”. ¹(compare Park;1950;p.51) Park describes assimilation as the final and inevitable step of integration which implicates the giving up of the immigration culture. (compare Park; 1950;p 51)

As Dornis states *this concept is the basis for the melting pot ideology widely*

¹ As the first phase he describes “isolation and contact”. Here immigrants mostly stay within their ethnic group and their contact to the host society can be described as peaceful and determined by curiosity. The second phase is competition and conflict, including a conflict on job positions and flats. There still is local separation and because of discrimination it could come to riots. The third phase is characterised by social and economical balance still including ethnical division of work, occurring discrimination and leading to the fourth phase of adjustment of material relations and cultural habits and dissolution of ethnic identities.(compare Park; 1950;p50)

supported in America. (Dornis;2001;p.36)

3.2.2 Acculturation

In contradiction to the concept of assimilation, acculturation only consists of the overtaking of some elements of the other culture. This overtake of cultural aspects can appear on both sides on the migrant as well as on the indigenous group.

Depending on the intensity of contact between the cultures this can lead to different grades of acculturation. *Acculturation can vary between the first grade, overtake of material elements of the foreign culture, to higher grades of usage of language elements of the foreign culture. (Esser; 1990; p23)*

With this concept Gordon is dealing in his book "Assimilation in American life" published in 1962.²

Looking at the situation of Afro Americans in America and other ethnic groups, Gordon is analysing the structures of group-life in sub-societies and the interethnic relations in the USA and focuses his view on ethnic and class structures. (compare Dornis 2001;p 42)

In his research he found out that there are very few interethnic contacts like friendships and relationships between different ethnic groups. Therefore he assumes that a feeling of unity in a society is confronted with two obstacles of integration. First the ethnic group but also the social class. (compare Treibel 1999;p110) He thinks that the process of assimilation often stays at the level of cultural assimilation i.e. acculturation.

Acculturation means the basis for the other steps of assimilation like the structural one, describing the attendance to institutions like parties or trade unions or identificatory assimilation in which a feeling of attendance to the host society is evolving. (Dornis;2001;p50)

As a consequence Gordon demands for tolerance towards migrants not adapting to the core group of local people and the development and support of a

² With this work he breaks with the tradition of Anglo-Saxon research of migration and is the first one analysing the American immigration and assimilation policy of the "melting pot" in a critical way

cultural- pluralistic concept of adjustment in politics.

3.2.3. Multiculturalism

Today most often the term of multiculturalism occurs within discussions on migration and integration. Multiculturalism describes the cultural pluralism through migration existing in every society.³

The raise of importance of the concept of a multicultural society can be seen as a consequence of the fail of the concept of Assimilation and the melting pot in the US. (compare Schierup;1997;p43)

The new concept is discussed in three different dimensions. *First, it is an expression of ethnic and cultural conditioned heterogeneity; secondly, it is a measurement of equality and respect in the living together of cultural differently influenced people. Thirdly it can be understood as a political program against discrimination which is the duty of the government and administration. (Brockhaus;2001;p206)*

In Germany this term first occurred in the early 1980`s in discussions of social education and the church. A couple of years later it was taken over in the discussion on foreign policy.

The term of multiculturalism is often described as vague, but in its core it expresses the dealing with social inequalities, discrimination but also economic security, legitimisation, social status and the possibility of political participation of foreigners. (compare Brookhaus;2001;p209) Further it deals with problems like unemployment, scarcity of houses and crime which are problems of the whole society.

In the following I will have a look on how integration policy has been developed in the last 60 years, how the idea of multiculturalism has been implemented in Germany and France and which effects migration has for immigrants in both countries.

³ The term first occurred in Canada and Great Britain before it came to the United States and Europe. (Schierup;1997;p43)

4. Integration Policy since 1945

How did integration policy in Germany and France develop since World War 2 and which effects does this have for the flow of migrants to these countries?

In January 2005 a New Right of Residence came into practice in Germany that tries to implement the new consciousness of being an immigration country in the law. But still there are big discussions going on in public and the question arises whether German politicians really accept the countries role within the field of migration and promote integration of foreigners coming to Germany. Although the New Right of Residence has been changed and simplified in comparison to the old one, as there are only three different residence entitlements left, responsible politicians still have to face criticism concerning the opportunities of structural integration the law implements. (compare Ekkehard;2005.p.13)

France has a totally different view on immigration to the country. Its traditionally positive attitude towards immigration gave the country a special position in West Europe. These ideals are rooted in the French Revolution that defines the country as „a native country of human rights and land of refuge" (compare Tieman;2004;p.16). In the 19th century the French author Beaumarchais stated that *every person has two native countries, his/her own one and France.* (Treibel;1999;p.55)

In this chapter I will show how the policy of integration has developed since 1945 and how these two completely different mentalities of dealing with the issue of migration are expressed within their political decision making process. In the following I will focus on integration policy in general but also on the legal preconditions in both countries and on the political participation.

4.1 Germany

After the persecution of Jews during National Socialism, Germany wanted to give a sign in order to create a law of immigration everyone can appeal on and gives people the opportunity to stay in Germany if they are persecuted because of their political attitude.(compare www.bpb.de) But in practice integration policy until today is more influenced by the principle of *dependence of occupation by foreigners to the labour market situation* (Treibel;1999;p.18).

This also becomes clear when having a look at the development of migration to Germany since 1945, which is determined by labour migration. In 1955 the first labour workers came to Germany after the Federal Employment Agency (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) signed the first contract of recruitment with Italy. (compare Tiemann;1999;p.19) Soon afterwards also other Mediterranean countries like Spain, Greece and Turkey started to send workers to Germany that have been urgently needed as work force to rebuild Germany after the Second World War. *In the beginning of labour migration, pull factors have been of greater importance than push factors* (Ronge;2001;p.14.) At first the occupation of foreigners should have been limited in time. Therefore the term of the so called "Gastarbeiter" was coined which implemented the principle of rotation. *The sending states as well as Germany were of the opinion that after a while the workers have earned enough money for a self reliant existence or bigger investments and then go back.* (Treibel;1999;p.23)

When it was recognised that the number of people staying in Germany as well as the birth rate deeply increased in comparison to the German citizens, laws have been brought into practice that stopped the recruitment (1973) and supported the remigration into the peoples` home countries. (compare Ronge;2001;p.16)

These laws have not been very successful as only some people left Germany but most of them stayed and also wanted to bring their families to the country. Therefore the purpose of migration changed from labour migration to family unification and migration of political persecution. (compare statistics on Asylum;2005;p.35) including the immigration of people from eastern Europe

during and after the crash down of the Socialist system in the 1980`s and 1990`s.

In the year 2003, 8, 1% of the population in Germany has a migrant background. (compare www.bpb.de) In the following chart it can be seen how this group is represented by the different nationalities. One can observe that the biggest group is coming from Turkey after the group of people from Serbia/Montenegro and Italy. In 2003 approximately 290.000 Turks were living in Germany.

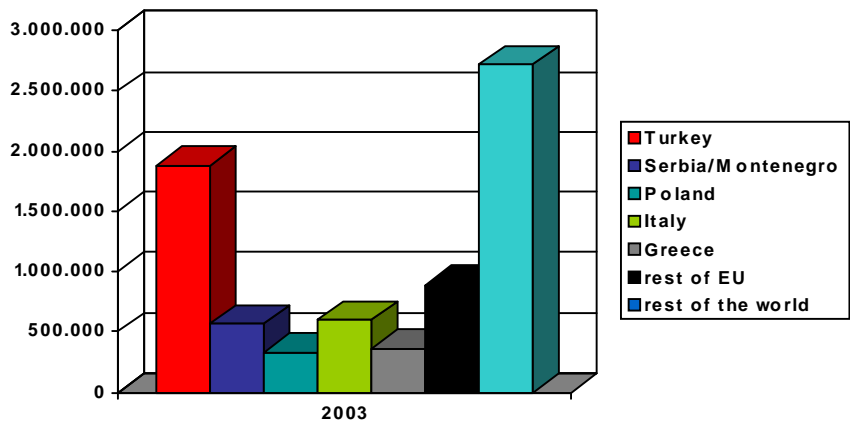


Chart: Foreign population in Germany in 2003

4.2 France

In comparison to the situation in Germany, the development of migration in France is determined by two factors, first by the application of labour force in the 1950`s and 1960`s and by the countries` colonial history.

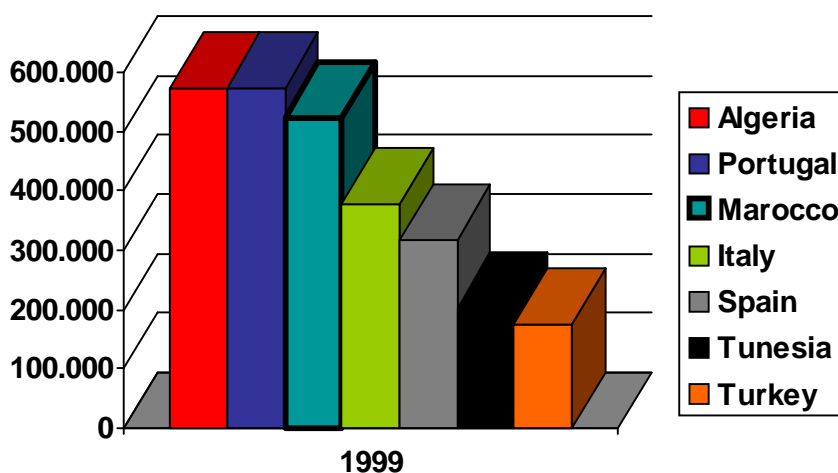
Within this time the number of migrants deeply increased because of labour force that was mainly recruited from Belgium, Germany, Poland, Russia, Italy and Spain and the process of independence in the former colonies.(www.focus-migration.de/frankreich) Especially in connection with the war in Algeria (1954-62) a wave of immigration came into the country. Whereas in 1962, 350 000 Algerians lived in France it already were about 900.000 in 1975.(Schwab;1997;p.25)

This is mainly resulted by push factors, as a majority belongs to the so called "Hakis" who fought for France during war. *Due to the fact that the Hakis have*

been regarded as traitors and the Algerian infrastructure and economy has been destroyed, they came to France and were partly accepted as political refugees. (Schwab;1997;p.25)

But in 1964, as a result of the huge number of Algerian immigrants, the treaty of Nakkache-Gramul was signed which regulates immigration economically, depending on offer and demand. (compare Schwab;1997;p.26) First, the migration from Algeria to France was intended to be temporarily, but with the general stop of recruitment of labour force in 1974, that also took place in Germany, this changed. Many Algerians stayed in France because of the fear not to be able to come to France again.

Despite the treaty and stop of recruitment, immigration continued in form of family unification, similar to the development in Germany. Therefore Algerians are the biggest group of migrants living in France at the moment. In 1999 it has been 574.208 people after the group of Portuguese (571.874) and Moroccans (522.504).(compare chart) Turkish migration is not that dominant in France at it is in Germany. Within the ranking, the group of people with a migrant background, Turkey can be found on number 7 of the list (174. 160).



France tried to restrict the immigration into the country through different approaches but which have not been very successful.

In the beginning of the 1990`s the minister for Inner affaires Charles Pasque

from the Conservative Party implemented the policy of "zero immigration" which sharpened several regulations the extension of family unification from one to two years. (www.focus-migration.de/frankreich)

But the introduction of the so-called "Pasqua Laws" have been very controversial and led to huge protests (that became famous under the name *sans papiers*) which resulted that under Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, many regulations have been taken back. (compare www.focus-migration.de/frankreich)

Although the direction of French policy changed several times and now follows a conservative and restrictive direction again, the rate of foreigners living in the country stayed relatively constant. *In 1999 about 3,3 Mio foreigners were living in France which makes 5,6% of the total population. (www.focus-migration.de/Frankreich)*

But as it has been already stated above, these numbers are difficult to analyse and to compare as they do not include those people with a French citizenship but nevertheless belong to the group of people with a migrant background that are partly facing integration problems.

A further important point is the issue of citizenship which has a different significance than in Germany. French citizenship is linked to the ideal of "ius soli", therefore citizenship is not linked to heritage/blood "ius sanguis" like in Germany but to the country of stay which can have different influences on the peoples` identity and legal situation. This for example means that children who are born in France automatically gain French citizenship at their 18th birthday.

France and Germany are having different ideological backgrounds determined by the countries` older history, but especially in terms of labour migration several parallels can be recognised like the stop of recruitment and the increasing occurrence of family unification. But what kind of effects do these ideals and political decisions have on people with a migrant background living in these countries in the sphere of education and employment?

5. Education

What does the current situation in the sphere of education for people with a migrant background tell about their state of integration to the German and French society?

Education means one of the most important conditions for integration for children and youth of migrant families as it mean a chance for cultural, social and identificatory integration. *Through the participation to school and professional education this can lead to a sense of belonging to German society. (Tiemann;2004;p.37)* Furthermore, *a high level of education can increase children's competences in coping with cultural differences (Zentrum für Türkeistudien;2001;p14)* as they learn important abilities and have a better access to information. This includes language skills and competences in understanding different institutional frame conditions as well as their treatment.

In the following I will analyse in how far these competences have been mediated to Turkish migrants in Germany and Algerians in France and what this means for their state of integration in both countries. In the end of the chapter I will conclude existing deficits and try to show perspectives to solve these.

5.1 Germany

Today's` discussion on education is mainly dominated by the outcomes of the international comparative studies on PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) and IGLU (International research on primary school reading abilities). Especially in Germany, it is widely discussed whether children in Germany are learning in the right way, the right things and the right amount which has been affected by bad results of the PISA study.

The decisive fact is, that in no other comparative country, the chances of education for children are that much depending on the social status of the parents like in Germany. (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Migration;2005;p.35) This can lead to the assumption that institutions of societal and educational concerns are not able to compensate

social inequalities.

The strong dependence on educational success on the social origin especially affects children with a migration background. (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Migration;2005;p.35)

This can be explained through different research approaches: On the one hand through an analysis of inner school conditions which could promote the education of children and youth with a migrant background in an optimal way and on the other hand through analysing the reasons for the success and failure within their socio economic conditions like the educational level of their parents or duration of stay in Germany.

The total amount of pupils with a migrant background has tripled from 1965 till today. *In 1965 one counted 35.000 pupils, today nearly one million children with a migrant background are going to school.(Hunger;2001;p.130)*

These numbers point out that the topic is of major concern and of great importance for the economic and societal development of Germany.

Nevertheless there are still big differences existing in the school data between German youth and youth with migrant background. The German Institute of Economical Research (DIW) published data that show that the participation on the school system of young migrants lies below those of German children. *Whereas in 1992 the participation of Germans between 15 and 30 years was 92%, the participations of migrants only lie around 63,4%.(Hunger;2001;p.132)* With a rising age this discrepancy even increases. *In the age between 20 and 25 the distance of participation rate is three times and between 25 and 30 year olds even four times. (Hunger;2001;p.132)* From this one can conclude that it is linked to compulsory school attendance.

Further results on the school success can be reached in a comparison of school degrees of pupils with a migrant background with German pupils concerning the total development of school degrees within a certain time. In general one can conclude that the situation of pupils with a migrant background in the German school system has been improved since 1965 but there are still big deficits existing in comparison to the German pupils. (compare Treibel;1990;p.34)

The reasons for this will be presented in the following, starting with the countries policy, determining the basis for the situations development in this sphere.

5.1.1 Policy

The political basis of migrants in the educational system has been implemented through common resolutions by the conference of responsible ministers of the Federal States (Kultusminister Konferenz). *It is their duty to deal with culture policy on state significance, with the aim of finding and represent common opinions. (Hunger;2001;p.125)*

Within this context the resolution from 1964 is of special importance.

The resolution dealt with the fact that a bigger number of immigrants are temporarily or permanently staying in Germany for the first time. The ministers decided on three core elements that have to be implemented in the school system, adapted to the new situation. (compare;Rauschenbach;2005;p.14)

For the first time it was of prime importance to integrate pupils with a migrant background into German classes.(Hunger;2001;p127) This concept included the promotion of compulsory school attendance for children with a migrant background, additional German lessons in order to improve German language skills and the introduction of lessons in their mother tongue.

But soon afterwards criticism arose, especially concerning deficits in compulsory school attendance and a lack of school degrees which resulted a further resolution by the ministers in 1971 which is regarded as *a milestone in school policy for pupils with a migrant background.(Rauschenbach;2005;p.14)*

This resolution stated an abolishment of a two-class- education and the promotion of a treatment as equals of children with a German and migrant background through supporting equal rights in parental participation and the employment of foreign teachers.

But as *federal states have a high self responsibility and legislative power in the sphere of education (Hunger;2001;p.129.)*, the resolutions only have a directing character proposing a common framework in which each state can convert its policy individually and in detail. Therefore one can not easily conclude on the

success of integration from this because frame regulations are individually translated into practice by each federal state.

But how does the educational participation and situation of pupils with a migrant background exactly look like today?

The previous comparisons only drew a very vague picture of the situation and did not leave any possibilities to analyse its affects on the state of integration of people with a migrant background. Therefore one should differentiate between the people's country and region of origin in order to lead to more distinct results which will be done through an analysis of the situation of migrants from Turkey as they are determined to be the biggest group of migrants in Germany.

5.1.2 Language skills

As Tiemann states, *today the level of education of young Turks has been increased since the so-called "first generation" came to Germany but still stays behind German youth. (Tiemann; 2004;p.38)* one of the most important preconditions for integration are language skills as without it a communication and contact to societal life is not possible.

Without language skills migrants are excluded from social, economical and political life.(Hunger;2001;p134) They can not come into contact with locals, have less chances for a higher school or professional education and are excluded from cultural and media life.

Statistics say that 12 % of the Turks living in Germany are of the opinion that they are "bad" in understanding German, 20% think that they are "bad" in speaking and over 30% estimate their writing skills to be "bad". (Tiemann; 2004;p.45)

Especially the so called first generation of Turkish immigrants as well as older people and those without a qualification have to deal with these language problems.

There are several reasons for this. As there were only expected to stay in Germany for a limited time, it was not put enough effort on the systematic implementation of language courses. Most of the Turkish labour workers only

learned basic German through the daily use, therefore their level of language skills stayed low.

Tiemann is of the opinion that this is partly resulted by the creation of conurbations. (Tiemann;2004;p.45) Families coming to Germany moved close to other Turkish families, friends and relatives as it creates a feeling of security and home to hear the own language on the streets, to have the possibility to go to shops with Turkish staff and to have lawyers and doctors that speak Turkish. Therefore Turkish often remained the dominant language in every day life.

Language deficits turn out to be a problem in public life in terms of administration, working place and looking for flats where German is needed.

The younger generation is primarily learning German in the sector of education. But especially the third generation, whose parents were mainly born in Germany, have bigger problems in speaking German. *When both parents are working, children are mainly cared by their grand parents that only have a low knowledge in the language.(Tiemann;2004;p.47)* A further reason is migration for the purpose of marriage, when especially young women are coming to Germany. *Traditional families arrange these marriages in order to ensure that their son gets married to a woman with the same cultural background.(Zentrum für Türkische Studien 2001;p 12)*

Analysing representative statistics from the Centre of Turkish Studies in 2000, show that the efforts for learning the language are quite low. Only 7% of the stakeholders stated that they have attended a language course in German independently from school or occupation.(compare Zentrum für Türkische Studien 2001;p 15) This was reasoned by a lack of time and offers.

Due to own language problems many families can not provide a good language education for their children. Therefore Turkish communities in Germany demand a duty to send children to kindergarten in order to get used to the language before coming to school. (compare Zentrum für Türkische Studien;2001;p.17)

5.1.3 School education

In the year 1998/99, 408.712 children with a Turkish background attended school, which is 44% of the total number of foreign pupils in Germany.(Zentrum für Türkeistudien;2000;p.4) This is a relative reduction in numbers of pupils with a Turkish background although their total number has increased. In 1995 it has been 63% of the total number of foreign pupils.(Zentrum für Türkeistudien;2000;p 6) Tiemann is of the opinion that this is resulted by the fact that youth and family with a migrant background attach less importance to higher education. (compare Tiemann;2004;p46) In 1999, 30% of the Turkish pupils left school without a degree in comparison to 7,9% of Germans.(Hunger;2001;p.140)

The German school system distinguishes between three different school forms in higher education which are "Hauptschule" and "Realschule" that can be finished after ten years and qualify for further education in a company and the so called "Gymnasium" after 13 years which enables for studying at university. In 1999 approximately 42% of Turkish pupils gained a degree in "Hauptschule" and 7% gained a "Abitur" at "Gymnasium". (compare Tiemann;2004;p.44)

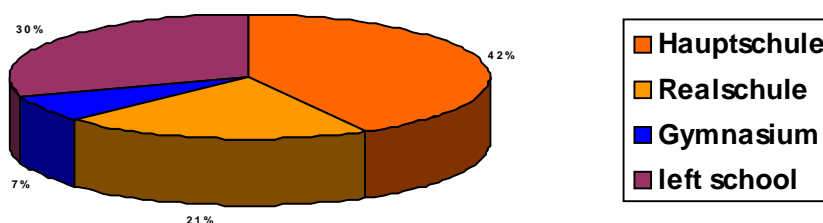


Chart: Distribution of pupils with a Turkish background in different school types in 1999

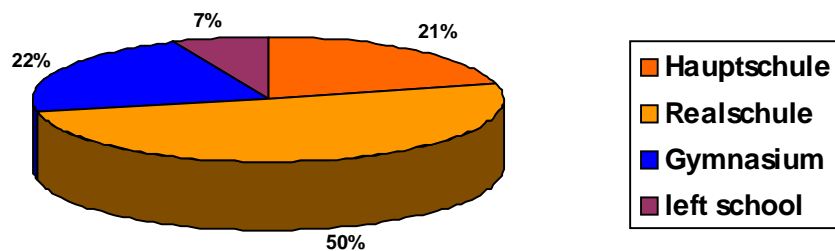


Chart: Distribution of German pupils in different school types in 1999

This stands in clear contradiction to the group of German pupils in which 26% finished "Gymnasium" and 25% "Hauptschule". (compare Tiemann;2004;p.47)

The Centre of Turkish Studies states that *the traditionally high value of education in Muslim culture increasingly lost importance in the second and third generation.*

For a long time Turkish pupils mainly represented the lower third of performance. (Zentrum für Türkeistudien;2001. p 15)

This is rooted in deficit living situations in connection with a low educational background and state of integration of the parents which *complicates a successful learning within family and supporting contact to Germany of the same age which leads to language deficits and knowledge with contents of education and forms of interaction at school.*(Tiemann;2004;p.49) The formation of conurbations therefore is not only hindering for learning German for the first generation but also for the next ones as class communities in these area do not have a balanced relation between German and Turkish children.

Often Turkish kids are older than their class mates (Hunger;2001;p.137) which mean a further fact for a lack of integration into the German school system which results in a seclusion to family and friends of the same nationality.

Support by the parents can be very contradictory because of different social structures in Germany and Turkey. *Education in Turkey is more based on*

authority, performance and obedience, whereas in Germany it is more focussed self reliance and initiative. (Hunger;2001;p145)

Due to family unification in the 1970`s, the problem arose that many Turkish kids came to Germany that were too old to get the possibility to gain enough language skills for a school degree.(compare Tiemann;2004;p.47) Here Germanys special problem within educational policy lied in the fact that the government estimated that most of the Turkish immigrants, coming for labour purposes, go back. Therefore not enough effort had been taken to support them in language skills so that Turkish youth is often disadvantaged to Germans in the educational system.

5.1.4 Professional education

In comparison to the first generation the situation within the sector of professional education has been improved for Turkish youth although they are still underrepresented. *Since the first half of the 1990`s the situation of professional education got worse again. Between 1995 and 1998 the number of professional educations decreased from 41,1% to 37,8% whereas the number of educations in companies by German youth increased from 63,8% to 65,9%. (Statistisches Bundesamt;2000;p.87)*

Turkish youth is primarily educated in the sphere of lower qualified services and production sector which incorporates a higher risk of unemployment and lower prospects of promotion. *Altogether one third of people with a Turkish background in Germany in the age between 18 and 30 do not have a professional education at all. (Tiemann;2004;p44)* Hunger estimates that it becomes more and more difficult for Turkish youth to compete with higher educated Germans especially in the economy and administration sector. (compare Hunger ;2001;p.135) Tiemann even argues that *they are not having enough knowledge in order to understand distinct parts of the system of occupation and professional education which is reasoned by a deficit of access and information to and on the reality of this system. (Tiemann;2004;p46)* This can be reasoned by different aspects. On the one hand one can estimate that

this is caused by a lack of school degrees as well as of professional education possibilities. It is also connected to the understanding of family relations implemented in Turkish society. *Turkish youth are much more oriented to their families occupations and professional lives than German youth is.* (Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p 24) Therefore Turkish youth orients on the first or second generation coming to Germany that often work in un or lower qualified jobs.

One related aspect to this within the situation analysis is discrimination.

It is difficult to measure the percentage of Turkish youth effected by it in terms of gaining a professional education but the state department on statistics is of the opinion that it is an important point within the decision making process of an employee to hire someone if this person stays available for the company after finishing education and therefore shows the attitude to stay in Germany or not, as the company invests in the education and wants to have a use out of it. (compare Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p 26)

Concluding this one can formulate a further reason for the high number of Turkish youth not having a professional education:

Due to own possibilities and orientation on the family, Turkish youth are concentrated in distinct, few educational sectors and show a high number of breaking offs. *Approximately one fourth of Turkish youth starting a professional education do not finish it.* (Tiemann;2001;p.59)

Often they are failing because of increasing expectations within professional education which can result a lack or breaking off. This means a big obstacle in societal integration as it reduces the individual chances on the labour market.

5.2 France

Whereas in Germany the reforms in the educational sector mainly established because of the results of the PISA study, France is more concentrated on a discussion of the internal development of the educational system and societal problems. (Zettelmeier;2005;p120) Comparative studies are influencing national debates only to a small extend, although the results by the IGLU study have not been positive. Zettelmeier states that *the development of the educational system*

in France still is a measurement for societal transformation process which is rooted in a collective consciousness of conviction, that the education sector plays a central role within state and nation building process and a manifestation of republican ideals. (Zettelmeier;2005;p. 120)

There is a tensioned relation between the education of masses and elites which also affects children with a migrant background.

Despite possible economical and social problems, do they have an equal chance within this system? Or is this system even promoting inequality between youth and adults in different occupations?

Similar to the last chapter, analysing the situation of migrants in the sphere of education and occupation, I will find answers to these questions through analysis of inner school conditions and analysing the reasons for success and failure within their socio economic conditions.

5.2.1 Policy

All educational programs in France are regulated by the Ministry of National Education (officially called Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche). (compare:www.focus.migration.de/Länderprofil)

In comparison to Germany the French educational system is highly centralised and organised. It is divided into three stages: primary education (enseignement primaire); secondary education (enseignement secondaire) and tertiary or college education (enseignement supérieur). (compare www.focus.migration.de/Länderprofil)

At primary and secondary levels, the curriculum is the same for all French pupils in a given grade, in public and semi-public institutions. However, there exist specialized sections and a variety of options that pupils can choose.

The legal basis of the French educational system is a law implemented in 1989, which defines the institutional and programmatic framework of school education. (compare Tiemann;2004;p.46) It was the aim to create a bigger dialogue between the ministry of education and school. This program includes a central

education plan as a precondition for equality and unity within the sector of education but also includes new supportive participatory elements. Therefore every school has to take into consideration the individual school surrounding and has to establish a development plan.

This policy was introduced by Mitterrand in 1981 and became known in public under the name "Zone d`education prioritaire" (ZEP) *in order to improve the situation of cultural, educational, economical and social disadvantaged regions with a high percentage of foreign pupils through participation of social and immigration organisations.*(Schwab,1997;p 28) Further, an introduction of classes for extra encouragement, especially in French language, were introduced. But although in 1990 already 12% of pupils were involved in these programs (compare Zettelmeier;2005;p.121) it did not fulfil its aim of improving the integrative role of the school.

5.2.2 Language skills

The level of education of Muslims living in France in comparison to Germany is much higher. (Tiemann;2004;p.45) The reason for this is that French is official spoken language in Algeria; therefore the preconditions for social integration in France are completely different from Germany. In Algeria the French school system was introduced during colonialism. Therefore Algerian migrants are much more related to the educational system of the "host country" than Turks in Germany and one could think that integration is much easier.

The focus of French language courses as a precondition for equal chances and opportunities of young French and migrants stood in close connection to the effort of improving the language knowledge of French pupils and adults.(Tiemann;2001;p.47)

That means that courses were offered for people with French as well as migrant background.

Similar to Germany, there also was a big discussion going on about the promotion of courses in the mother tongue which underwent different stages and

opinions. In Schwab's opinion *these courses were often seen as an additional burden because it took place after regular school lessons (Schwab;1997;p.35)* whereas Tiemann thinks that *extra language sections in the curriculum are useful to teach language skills in the sphere of commerce and technology can promote the resistance of cultural identity and can create perspectives in international communication with Arab countries which are experiencing an economic and political success (Tiemann; 2004; p47)*. For the French government these language courses therefore not only mean to create an option of remigration to the home country and reducing the rate of foreigners but also to benefit within the international context.

Contradictory to this, in Germany the support was limited to the promotion of the Turkish cultural identity.

5.2.3 School education

In 1994 approximately 7, 9% of the pupils in France had a migrant background. The biggest group of them are children coming from Algeria which are 19,6%, a number that does not include French youth with an Algerian background.(Tiemann;2004;p48) Researches state that this group is the one most affected by bad school results which differ a lot between foreign nationality groups.

Public schools are under central focus in terms of integration. Therefore they have to fulfil high expectations which unfortunately could not be fulfilled to the full extend looking at the number of youth quitting school. *45% of foreign youth do not have a school degree in comparison to 35% of French. (Tiemann;2004;p.48)* But further researches result that success at school is more linked to economic status than to the pupils' national background or those of their parents. 81,5% of the pupils without French citizenship belong to the economically disadvantaged group in society. (compare Schwab;1997;p.38)

This means a totally different situation than in Germany where integration is primarily linked to language skills. In France integration is more linked to living conditions. The establishment of conurbations is more defined by the social

status than to one nationality and one dominantly spoken foreign language, which results a lower educational level at school. (compare Tiemann;2004;p.45)
The introduction of ZEP`s was not that successful as it has been expected as the percentage of youth with learning deficits was to high within the total number of pupils so *that a useful education is not possible any more* (Tiemann;2004;p51)

5.2.4 Professional education

It is difficult to make clear statements on the Algerian population within the sector of professional education as well as on the labour market as French statistics do not distinguish between different ethnic groups.

Therefore I can only make statements on political efforts to improve the professional education of migrant youth but not on their effects on single ethnic groups like the Algerians.

Tiemann is of the opinion that *the basis for professional education lies in the Law of Professional Education from 1971 which regulates primary professional education and continuative education in order to decrease unemployment of the youth.* (Tiemann;2001;p.59)

Although one could not find any distinct data on the success of these regulations, the available literature states that this program has been more successful than in Germany as continuative education has a special significance within French educational system. Prime education and continuing education are closely linked to each other and *can compensate lacking education.*(www.focus.migration.de/Länderprofil)

6. Employment

What does the current situation on the labour market for people with a migrant background tell about their state of integration to the German and French society?

Besides education, the situation on the labour is one of the central aspects for the integration of immigrants. The migration of Turks to Germany as well as the migration of Algerians to France is determined by the purpose of labour.

Their labour force was temporarily needed for the countries' economic growth. But as migrant labourers stayed in the countries and labour force was not needed to that extent any more, a couple of problems evolved.

Today for immigrants it is often difficult to gain occupation depending on their qualification.

A strict system of qualification degrees, often leads to the fact that qualifications made in the home country are not or only partly accepted in Germany. Tiemann is of the opinion that *the system of acceptance of foreign degrees is very complex and difficult to understand. (Tiemann;2004;p.40)* Therefore many people are not allowed to work in the field of occupation they used to work in their home country.

But *migration is not only a discussion in terms of scarcity of labour but also on advantages for Germany in terms of demography. (Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p. 27)*

Corresponding to the discussion on the decreasing demographic development in Germany and France, the connection between the developments of population and gainfully employed as well as the effects of migration gain in interest.

The surplus of migration could prevent Germany and France from a decreasing number in population. (Beauftragte für Migration und Flüchtlinge;2005;p78)

But the discussion of immigrants on the German and French labour market should not only include the countries' use out of it but also include the immigrants' situation and state of integration within the country. *A lack of integration on the labour market can lead to the empowerment of immigrants (Tiemann;2004;p50)* The structural integration of migrants on the labour market

includes the distribution of people to the different sectors as well as unemployment, which will be analysed in the following, Again, the focus of examination will be the group of Turkish migrants in Germany in comparison to the group of Algerians in France.

6.1 Germany

The navigation of immigration and occupation of foreigners in Germany has a long tradition which is going back to the German empire. *Primarily this is worked out due to state control of foreigners as a possible threat of state security.* (Beauftragte für Migration und Flüchtlinge;2005;p.73) In the 1960`s and 1970`s the contracts of application for South Europeans only had the purpose of solving scarcity of workers. Only since 1975, foreigners got the possibility to gain an extension of the individual entitlement of residence after certain time of stay in Germany. The New Right of Residence implements a stay of four years, an occupation for a distinct time and other preconditions to gain an unlimited settlement permit and a free access to the labour market, as this is limited by the so called precedence examination (Vorrangprüfung) which states that after an application for a job it will be first proven if it can be done by a qualified German or European citizen. (compare Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p 24) Therefore the labour market situation is not only of economic but also of great legal interest.

6.1.1 Situation on the labour market

In German language use it is still talked about "Gastarbeiter" when meaning Turkish immigrants although this does not correspond to current reality at all. (Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p.32) During the last years they became a fixed part in German society, economy and social system, which are benefiting from labour and consumption power as well as tax and insurance premiums of the Turkish labourers to a great extend.

The contribution of Turks being gainfully employed on the GDP (gross national product) was 1,97%, in absolute numbers 34,5 Bio Euros. (Tiemann;2004;p51) Tiemann is of the opinion *that it often is characteristic for people with a migrant background on the labour market, that they are working in the economic sphere*

they have been applied for in their home country or they do work, locals do not want to do. (Tiemann;2004;p51)

The effect is a concentration of immigrants on high production economic sectors where they are confronted with high psychological and physiological strains. But as Tiemann states there are further negative aspects occurring: Because of lower qualification that is needed for much of the performance worked out, it is difficult to gain a better status within a company, often there is an over proportional high risk of accidents and they have to deal with piece- and shift work. (compare Tiemann;2004;p.57) The high risk of accidents is connected to the individual ability to communicate. People with less language skills only have the possibility to work in mass production where this is less important, but as these works are often characterised by monotony and have a high potential of routine as the same tasks are often repeating, the risk of getting injured increases.

But looking at statistics one can figure out that there is a slight tendency towards qualification of Turkish migrants.

In 1972, 84% of the male Turks are registered as unqualified workers and 16% as qualified workers. In 1993 the number of unqualified workers decreased to 50% and the number of qualified workers increased to 25%, 17% as employers and 6% as self reliant workers. (Tiemann;2004;p.59)

Analysing the ranking of different spheres of occupation it shows that hotel and restaurant business in on the first place.

But data from 1993 of the structure of occupations shows, that it is differentiating and getting more heterogenic although the promotion to administrative and office jobs as well as to leading positions is still difficult to pass for young Turks. (compare Tiemann;2004;p.58)

In comparison to German workers, they still fall behind in qualification and still can not be seen to have equal chances.

6.1.2 Unemployment

Unemployment means a big problem for Turks, as their number is much higher as within other population groups in Germany. *The number of people registered as unemployed were 60.390 in the year 2001 which is a proportion of 7,4% of all unemployed people in Germany.*(Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p.36)

Analysing unemployment of this group in order to find out about the causes for it, a differentiation between the first and the younger generations is necessary because there are different reasons for it. *Within the first generation the main reasons are the close down of certain industries in which Turkish workers were highly represented, higher expectations in terms of qualifications and a deep economic change that abolishes whole categories of working places through rationalism, automatism and the concentration of companies.* (Tiemann;2004;p.54) The structural crisis of traditional industrial branches towards the second sector effected a steep increase of unemployment that harmed German as well as migrant employers to the same extend which led to *a relation of competition which was not existing before, disadvantaging foreigners on the labour market.*(Tiemann;2004;p.52)

Because of increasing unemployment through a general economic crisis and an increasing use of social services, unemployment of foreigners more and more became a social problem.

One can conclude that today Turkish employers in Germany are much more affected by unemployment than their German fellow citizens because they are often working in sensitive economic production sectors.

Once getting unemployed it is very difficult for unqualified Turkish migrants to get a new job which is reasoned by a lack of qualification in language and job.(Tiemann;2004;p.54)

The unemployment of Turkish youth has different reasons than those of the older generation. The unemployment rate within Turkish youth is overproportional high. *It means the most critical elements within foreign policy.*(Wetzel/Brettfeld;2000;p.43)

In 2001 the unemployment rate in the group of 20-24 year old youth with a Turkish background is 12,3%, in the group of 25-29 year olds it is 12,9%.(Statistisches Bundesamt;2001) These numbers have to be seen within the context of rise of Turkish youth and children in Germany since the 1970`s but nevertheless the development has to be taken serious.

But what effects does this have on German society and their state of integration?

The high unemployment rate of Turkish youth can be seen as an expression of social declassification and a sign for a constant economical and social weakening which also has influences to other spheres of life. It can have effects on the living situation and on the individual chances on social integration.

As Tiemann formulates it: *Unemployment of youth can become the root of socially diverged behaviour. (Tiemann;2004;p.55)*

It encompasses the danger of stigmatising the whole group of Turkish population living in Germany as being “unproductive and criminal” but a low professional qualification contradicts the practice and offer of employment on the current labour market that has easy access to many people with special qualifications.

With an increasing risk of unemployment, also the risk for people with a limited residence permit increases that they have to leave the country. If those people are unemployed for a longer time it becomes more and more difficult to get a job and have to rely on social welfare. If this is the case, the New Right of Residence implements the threat of deportation out of the country. (compare Ekkehard;2005.p.17)

6.2 France

The history of labour workers in France is originated in the First World War when the country recruited soldiers and industrial workers. *In 1926 over 65% of workers in metal industry and about 50% of construction workers were of Maghrebian origin. (Schwab;1997;p. 167)* During the years after the war, Algerians were preferred as cheap labour workers and got those positions the rest of French society denied as they often are of high risk for health and do not

lead to further job opportunities within a company.(compare Schwab;1997;p 168)
In general one can say that France underwent a similar development in terms of the situation of labour workers and demography until now, except for the legal significance of occupation to gain citizenship because the Algerians long had a closer relation to France as a former colony.

If the situation of Algerians and Turkish can be also compared to each other in detail will be analysed in the following.

6.2.1 Situation on the labour market

In January 1999, 2,1Mio migrants had a job, which makes 8,1% of the economical active population.(Schwab;1997;p.169) Like in Germany they often belong to the category of unqualified workers, are more often working in part time and temporary jobs and therefore earn less money than the rest of the gainful occupied people in France.

The average income of full-time occupied immigrants lies at 89,9 % in comparison to those of full-time occupied French.

Algerians belong to the group with the lowest incomes. (Tiemann;2004;p.56)

Official researches state that *in 1990, 66,5% of occupied Algerians are workers and only 15,8% employers.(INSEF;1999;p.3)* Like in Germany this means an over-representation in less qualified and health risky jobs. But also a positive development can be observed, analysing statistics. It can be found out that the percentage of qualified Algerians increased to 28,3% in comparison to 27,8% of French.(compare Tiemann;2001;p.59) Therefore an adaptive development can be observed to the French youth.

Looking at the distribution of the different sectors of occupation, statistics show that Algerians are over proportionally represented in the trade sector. *Over 31% of Algerians have an occupation as traders which can be separated into "ethnic"and "common" business. (Schwab;1997;p.170).*

Ethnic shops called `Hanout` fulfil an important cultural, religious and social function as they mean a place to meet and to exchange experiences and information. (compare Tiemann;2001;p.62) But especially young entrepreneurs are doing common business which can be caused by the campaign of Grenoble.

This campaign starting in 1979 was introduced by the chamber of commerce in Isere, working against the huge number of Maghrebians in the small scale trade sector. This effected a competition between Maghrebian and French traders who more and more took over the market. (compare Schwab; 1997;p. 171)

Competition can be also generally seen as a reason for unemployment of the Algerian youth. Schwab is of the opinion that *only half of the Algerian youth found access to French society whereas one third marginalised.* (Schwab;1997;p.170)

One now has to find out what this exactly means and what kind of effects this has.

6.2.2 Unemployment

In 1999 the group of unemployed foreigners was about 23,7 % and therefore was much higher than within the group of unemployed French (11,1%). (compare Tiemann;2001;p. 62)

The high rate of unemployment especially means a problem within the group of Algerian youth, as it affects over 50 % of the 15-24 year olds in 1992. Statistics made ten years later show that this is a constant development as no big changes can be observed. (compare Schwab;1997;p.173)

This means a difference to the Turkish youth in Germany who is also affected by a high unemployment of the youth but which could be reduced. But these are only estimations because France does not have any data on the different nationalities as already mentioned before. Tiemann is of the opinion that *the reasons for this are, that certain numbers are not published by the government in order to prevent big social and inner-political discussions.* (Tiemann;2004;p.56)

Similar to Germany, the high number of unemployed youth has to be seen in connection to the demographic development, with an over proportional rise in Algerian youth since the 1970`s as well as in connection with a concentration in terms of living in ghetto-like suburbs. The high unemployment rate of youth in these areas is revealingly leading to riots like in autumn 2005.

Despite a big variety of school- qualification- and integration programs, employment of youth reached dimensions that can not be easily improved. *The potential of young long term unemployed what do not have a real chance of becoming integrated into the labour market, approximately lies between 50.000 and 300.000 people. (Tiemann;2001;p.63.)*

Generally one can say that unemployment more affects those migrants that kept their nationality than those with a French citizenship. It can be only estimated why this is the case. One reason could be that those with a French citizenship have been staying in France for a longer time and therefore are more adapted to expectations that have to be fulfilled on the labour market. Another reason can be that some working places are not accessible by foreigners.

7. Conclusion

In the last two chapters I did a description as well as an analysis of the state of integration in the sphere of education and labour market. I explained the situation of Germany and France in terms of language skills, school education, professional education, situation of the labour market as well as the countries' unemployment of people with a Turkish and Algerian background in comparison to Germans and French, showing existing developments and deficits as well as their effects for society and the individual person.

In the following I will compare these two countries in order to be able to answer the concluding questions: What are the concrete deficits in integration policy and how can they be solved? And to be able to answer the main research question whether multiculturalism still is a capable idea of integration under the existing deficits in Germany and France or if the understanding of integration currently undergoes a transition.

7.1 Comparison of the two countries

For a conclusion on similarities and differences in the German and French education and employment sector both countries will be compared to each other. In general the conclusion will be more focussed on Germany but the comparison to France makes it possible to see in how far social and structural developments and present problems can be related to each other.

7.1.1 Education

When comparing the two educational systems of Germany and France one has to start with the countries' educational background which shows distinct differences. Whereas the German system is characterised by federalism in which the state only has directing character, the French system is very centralised especially in primary and secondary educational level and has a big variety of private schools which are often only accessible by well off families and

therefore not for most of the children with an Algerian background living in a low economical standard. In order to improve on existing learning deficits occurring in certain areas, the system of ZEP`s have been implemented which unfortunately turned out to be unsuccessful.

Different from Germany, where educational programs are offered individually, the French program is linked to areas and districts, which is resulted by the different main problems of integration in the two countries. In Germany the main problem of integration is determined by language skills whereas in France the states of integration is less linked to nationality, as many migrants are coming from the former colonies and are used to the language but to the economic status which is reflected through living conditions in conurbations.

The close living together of economically disadvantaged families leads to a social danger for the whole society. *The conurbations are characterised by a lack of infrastructure and activities, a high unemployment rate which can lead to a higher percentage of violence, criminality and the establishment of parallel societies.*(Tiemann;2001;p.54)

The formation of conurbation also is a topic in Germany but under different aspects. People of one nationality (e.g. from Turkey) live together very closely and stay within their national community. This can lead to the same problems like in France but additionally prevent people from the need of learning the language of the new home country. This is especially true for the older generations who therefore are often excluded from German society and from social, economical and societal integration.

But also the younger generations are prevented from learning German properly. It is very difficult for schools to cope with this task alone within the normal curriculum, especially when the majority of pupils have to deal with these problems. Additional offers have to be established and supported by the state. Language skills should be more imparted in kindergarten. Maria Böhmer from the Christian Democrat Party e.g. proposes a language test for all five year olds. *From the first day in school on, the children should be able to follow lessons; otherwise they do not have a chance.* (TAZ;4.Dec.2005;p.6)

Further it is demanded to offer extra courses for people without a school degree and to have a closer connection between school and professional education like in France.

But while OECD publishes these results and institutions for migrations demand for more state support, the German Minister for Inner Affairs, Wolfgang Schäuble announces to reduce the money for language courses by half which is reasoned by a lack of demand. (compare;TAZ;10.March;2006;p.7)

Until now responsibility is send to different actors without finding solutions.

7.1.2 Labour market

The integration on the labour market is as relevant as the integration in the educational system as it determines the individual economic chances and perspectives which influence nearly all spheres of life.

In the German as well as in the French system of occupation, labour migrants mean a special risk group, as they are more directly connected to the industrial production process, dominantly fulfil un- or low qualified tasks and are more affected to physical damages and to become unemployed. But why is this the case?

Tiemann evolved different thesis on that. First it is the theory describing that *foreign workers were the last group that reached the local labour market and therefore had to do the most unattractive, insecure and burdening jobs.* (Tiemann;2004;p.56) But this only describes the development of the first years of foreign occupation in Germany and France but does not explain the constant development which will be done by the qualification-deficit-theory.

This theory says that *social inequality of immigration groups on the labour market are mainly rooted in a lack of qualification.*(Tiemann;2004;p57) This could be proven by the fact that a big group of foreign workers did not gain a formal professional education and that especially those are highly affected by redundancies in France and Germany.

But often it is not taken into consideration that at least some of the workers have potential of qualification which has not been supported. Existing deficits in language or qualification themselves are the result of insufficient measures of

qualification or social under privilege in companies, schools and society.

In both countries *discrimination and disadvantaging still occurs in terms of getting a job even when the qualification is higher.* (Schwab;1997;p.145.)

This process can therefore be not only explained through the state of qualification of Algerians and Turks. Therefore Tiemann speaks of a third thesis the so called fluctuation theory which tells that employers still intend that people with a migrant background are one time returning to their home country and therefore are excluded from further inner company qualifications. (compare Tiemann;2004;p.58) Here the fact is neglected that inner company qualifications are relatively low in costs although employers as well as the company could benefit from it.

Others state that *the existing high fluctuation of workers with a migrant background is caused by structural deficits like a low job security, small chances of promotion and bad working conditions.* (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung;2005;p.245)

One can conclude that each thesis can not be seen individually to explain the situation of migrants on the labour market but have to be seen in connection and relation to each other.

What exactly does this mean for a conclusion of the labour market integration of people with a migrant background in Germany and France? And where are the differences between Germany and France?

To one can state that they are neglected to the Germans and French on the labour market. A lack of professional education more often affects to unemployment or high risky jobs in terms of physical security. To solve the problem of qualification and employment, two different dimensions are of central importance. First, there is the dimension of personnel policy and the dimension of migration and foreign policy on state level.

On the lower level, the situation evolves through personal and individual attitudes and experiences of the employees; on state level which especially occurs in Germany is the extra legal status of "foreigners". (compare Tiemann;2004;p.58)

Precedence of labour and replacement of foreigners from the labour market are regulations benefiting Germans. Although the German term of “Gastarbeiter” is not used any more, the idea of migrants who temporarily come to the country in order to work and leave again after a couple of years is still implemented in legal regulations and in the heads of employees. Why should a company invest money into people’s education that will leave soon and the company will not benefit from it? This is still an often occurring question although reality shows that people are staying. Therefore one can speak of a structural discrimination against people with a migrant background which counteracts a full integration of people meaning participation of social, cultural and economic life.

Measuring the general standards of material security, health care, education and living quality, participation of migrants is legally restricted in both countries. It needs efforts by politics, economy, trade unions and civil society to increase participation within professional education.

The topic of structural discrimination also means a big problem in France although its colonial history creates a bigger awareness of the fact that foreign people belong to the French society and will permanently stay in the country.

Although migrants in France are also dominantly represented in unqualified occupations they could establish an important position in the sector of trade which can be regarded as a first change in the development.

But besides the trade sector the government also has to promote other branches to overcome the countries high unemployment rate. Especially programs against unemployment of the youth are urgently needed.

In order to solve the problem of unemployment of young people the French government first has to become aware of its dimension and collect concrete data on it which is still missing.

7.2 Perspectives

From the situation analysis one can assume that new alternatives have to be found within integration policy, especially in the field of education and occupation. Before coming to a final conclusion, in the next chapter one project will be introduced that tries to overcome integration problems with new attempts

and show general perspectives how structural deficits could be solved in the sphere of education.

I choose to concentrate on the sphere of education as this often means the precondition for occupation and is highly discussed in Germany at the moment.

Reading press one find several ideas for alternative learning methods, like those of a secondary school in Berlin which agreed on German as the only language spoken during lessons, breaks and other school activities which effected a huge discussion whether this is useful and if children with a migration background are discriminated. (compare Zeit;No.8;2006;p40)

In the following I want to have a closer look at another project in the sphere of school education implemented in Germany but one will find out whether it could be also useful in France.

Example: Integrative school project-Spreewald school

One successful example for an integrative educational concept is the Spreewald Primary school in Schöneberg, a district of Berlin. Here 80% of the pupils have a non-German background and it is situated in one of the conurbations of Berlin where mainly Turkish families are living. (compare Politik Orange;2005;p.13)
The concept of the school has been changed since 1998, under the new director Eberhard Laube.

The new concept includes offers in bilingual education, a special emphasis on theatre and the transformation to all day schooling. As Laube states *in schools in a social focus, like mine it is the case that most of the children are coming from families with a low educational level, therefore they have to be supported intensively.*(Fachtagung Migration;2003;p.24)

For Turkish children extra courses in German are obligatory as well as six hours of Turkish in order to support the proper use of both languages.

Theatre orientation in this school means that first, third and fifth grade each rehearse one play and present it in the end of the year. The idea behind it is, that playing promotes German language skills, self confidence as well as a sense of belonging together.

A further use of this orientation is that also parents from other districts are interested the school which leads to a more balancing relation between children with a migrant background and Germans. (www.sprewald-grundschule.de)

All day schooling can support this trend but this is linked to the economical situation of the federal state as well as of the parents. At Spreewald school parents only have to pay for lunch but even this some times turns out to be a problem.

Within this concept there are still aspects that could be improved but the school tries to use every possibility in form of consulting and networking with small organisations and experts in order to gain new ideas to solve the existing problems.

When concluding on this successful example of an integrating school project for a future coping strategy in Germany, the introduction of all-day schooling stands in the focus of attention. The reason for it is not only the debate on a lack of knowledge within the group of pupils with a migrant background but within the whole group of German children, as PISA evaluated.

The system change to all-day schooling gives the opportunity for more intensive and individual support for the children. This gives more time for creative learning projects in smaller groups and enables teachers for more concentration on individual language deficits which can promote a better cultural, identificatory, social but indirectly also a better structural integration.

In France all-day schooling is obligatory but as well as in Germany the aim has to be to mix children with different ethnic and social backgrounds to gain success.

The older the people are and they missed the opportunity for school education, the more difficult the situation becomes. It needs additional training possibilities to impart necessary knowledge and skills for a gainful occupation.

But offered programs can not be successful if the awareness of importance for distinct qualifications is not given. Therefore it is even a bigger task for the educational system to strengthen this awareness.

Although the proposed measurements of the different German parties vary from

each other, one recognises a general shift from a policy of self responsibility in the last years to a policy being more restrictive.

7.3 The idea of Multiculturalism under transition?

Reflecting the fact that German integration policy becomes more restrictive as well as the popular opinion by the German chancellor Angela Merkel that *the idea of a multicultural society has failed* (iz3w;2005;p.21) arises the question whether multiculturalism is an idea that is useless for solving the existing problems.

The term of Multiculturalism is used in different ways. *On the one hand it means that a society is multicultural and can be understood as a utopia how a society can be. On the other hand Multiculturalism means a political strategy how a society deals with ethnic and cultural plurality.* (Rommelspacher;2002.p.25)

But despite the existing problems in Germany and France, one can say that the basic principles of multiculturalism in terms of a political strategy (ethnic and cultural heterogeneity, equality and respect in the living together and efforts against discrimination compare chapter 3.2.3) are still valid today and for the future.

As Rommelspacher defines, there are different trends within multicultural policies that have to be seen separately.

Conservative and liberal multiculturalism promote strict homogeneity within cultures and heterogeneity between them and the separation of private and public life which is defined as neutral. (compare Rommelspacher;2002;p.25)

In my opinion these two trends within multiculturalism can not be regarded as valid descriptions of the current reality and a basis for successful integration policy as *migrant groups are very heterogenic* (iz3w.2005;p.21) and *public societal life in Germany is not neutral but influenced by the Christian church* (Rommelspacher;2005.öp.26.).

The left Multiculturalism basically promotes the resistance of equal chances for migrants in the social and economic perspective. (compare Rommelspacher;2005.p.26)

But equal chances are further restricted in integration policy because Germany still is not conscious of being an immigration country like France does.

In Germany multiculturalism has an ambivalent meaning and the discussion in the country differentiates to the ones in classical immigration countries: On the one hand it is used to create an awareness of the social dangers of migration and on the other hand to show deficits of a tolerant behaviour with foreigners as well as deficits in the living together of cultural differently influenced people.(Wicker;1998;p111)

Today Germany sees the chance to solve these social dangers through new regulations of citizenship which follows the conservative multiculturalism approach of categorisation into distinct groups (namely citizens and non-citizens).

But does citizenship stand in the end or in the beginning of the integration process?

In my opinion the consciousness and willingness for integration can not be promoted by regulations related to citizenship as for many people this categorisation does not have importance for their personal identity.

As Rommelspacher states *identification is not only related to an ethnic group but also to class, sex, health condition, age, sexual orientation, age and political conviction.(Rommelspacher;2002;p.27)* Therefore one can speak of plural societies in which the cultural identity varies in its importance and state policy has to adapt to this fact.

Of course these are high expectations for a multicultural integration policy but as Germany de facto is an immigration country, integration policy should be of central focus and should create openness and flexibility through a steady revision of measures creating an opportunity for equal chances and recognition to society for everyone living in the country.

In my opinion, what is actually meant with “the failing of Multiculturalism” is that it was long missed to revise measures and adapt them to people’s identities in a country, therefore I am of Rommelspacher’s opinion *not Multiculturalism has failed but the policy.(Rommelspacher;2002;p.27)*

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