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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

Language and Immigration in Germany
The Role of German Language in Recent Immigration Debates

By

Livia Sophie Schanze

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
April 2010

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Doctor of Philosophy

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All nations with significant dimensions of immigration and ethnic minorities are facing policy tensions stemming from two contradicting fundamental constitutional principles. The establishment and preservation of nationhood seems to require cultural homogeneity and associated integration of the population living on a specified territory. However, the aim of integration is challenged by the principle of recognising and safeguarding cultural identities of minorities and immigrants. One of central debates concerns language policy.

This country study concerns the recent relation of language policy and immigration policy in Germany. It is based on the analysis of public discourses circling around the legislative process and the subsequent application and amendment of the foreigners' statute of 1997 and the immigration statute of 2004 including the Green card initiative (2000) and the debate about restrictive policies after the Madrid bombing (2004). It also contains a case study of the controversies on the German-only policy on the playground of a multi-ethnic school in Wedding, a district of Berlin. Recent media coverage shows that this example, picked in 2006, has since achieved a paradigmatic quality.

The thesis outlines and applies aspects of critical discourse analysis for the interpretation of selected relevant texts, mainly contained in national quality newspapers. The case study is also based on interviews and use of correspondence addressed to the school.

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Declaration of authorship

I, Livia Sophie Schanze, declare that the thesis entitled Language and Immigration in Germany and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- parts of this work have been published as: Stevenson, P and Schanze, L. (2009). 'Language, migration and citizenship in Germany: discourses on integration and belonging', in Extra, G., Spotti, M. and van Avermaet, P. (eds.), *Language testing, migration and citizenship: cross-national perspectives on integration regimes*. New York: Continuum: 87-106.

Signed:

Date:

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Livia Sophie Schanze

Southampton

May 2010

Definitions and Abbreviations

CDU Christlich Demokratische Union

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

FAZ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

FDP Freie Demokratische Partei

FR Frankfurter Rundschau

HHO Herbert Hoover Oberschule

SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

SZ Süddeutsche Zeitung

TAZ Tageszeitung

1. Introduction

On 23rd March 2010, the most popular German television evening news program, the ‘ARD Tagesthemen’, broadcasted a double feature on immigration policy in Germany, covering in total nearly one third of that evening’s news time. The first of the two features, named ‘education initiative’, related to a ‘campaign to improve the career chances of youngsters with a migration background’

(<http://www.ardmediathek.de/ard/servlet/content/3517136?documentId=4053284>). It contained references to the ethnic situation in the Berlin district of ‘Neukölln’, and specifically to the language policy of the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’. The central aim of the policy was to allow no languages other than German to be spoken during the school day. The evening news program featured an interview with a teacher from the school, who stated: ‘Since we introduced the German language policy everything is working smoothly. Speaking no language other than German avoids conflicts between the ethnic groups who were previously often only understood by other members of their common language group.’ The second feature, also aired during this broadcast, told the story of a Turkish-born social worker in Cologne (<http://www.ardmediathek.de/ard/servlet/content/3517136?documentId=4053284>) who emphasized the necessity of proficiency in the German language for improving career chances. Interestingly, he was shown both at work talking to students and also in his garden pruning his boxwood. The use of this imagery subtly complemented his statement during the broadcast of having ‘a double heart’ - a Turkish one as well as a German one. The quantity of news time devoted to this feature suggests that language policy and integration are a current headline topic in Germany.

In an age of disappearing borders in Europe, the German government – apparently paradoxically – is developing and implementing more restrictive policies on immigration and

citizenship. What is the story behind this? Since Germany's economic boom in the 1950s, in terms of numbers, Germany has been an immigration country. While it may not be a classical country of immigration like the United States or Canada, it would nevertheless be considered a modern immigration country, where a declining and aging population relies increasingly on foreign workers to maintain its social and economic structures. (Bade 2003). Traditionally, immigrants were mostly named 'Gastarbeiter' (guest workers), referring to the underlying assumption that immigrants would fill temporary gaps in the employment market as a short to medium term measure. Following Germany's re-unification in 1990, the government's challenges went beyond the rebuilding of the economy and infrastructure of its so called new federal states (neue Bundesländer); they also had to address issues of belonging, citizenship and social inclusion (Stevenson and Schanze 2009). One key point in the change in Germany's immigration policies was the passing of its new nationality law, which changed the country's political status on immigration from an ethnocultural assimilationist model (Koopmans and Statham 2003) to a more open and pluralistic one, as it supplemented the traditional principle of acquiring citizenship through descent (*ius sanguinis*) with the acquisition of nationality by birth. Another key point was the passing of the intensely debated 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' (immigration statute) in 2004. Between the presentation of the largely liberal approach to immigration proposed in the final report of the Süßmuth Commission in 2001, the first passing of the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' in 2002, its nullification shortly after, its rejection in June 2003 and its final passing in July 2004, the statute became a rather conservative piece of legislation (Bauder 2008).

The starting point for the research underlying this thesis is at the same time its central research question: What role does the German language play in the preservation and promotion of national and ethnic identities in Germany?

As such, the research of this thesis will concentrate on the following subsidiary research questions:

- What are dominating discourses and debates underlying the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?
- How immigrants are referred to in recent German immigration discourses?
- What role does the German language play in recent immigration discourses?
- What are the ideologies underlying the debates around the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?
- How are the wider national and European debates on the role of language in the process of integration interpreted at ‘local’ level?

The subsidiary research questions will be analysed in a multidisciplinary fashion by complementing aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with case study research and will be presented in a conical manner – moving from a broader to an increasingly narrow focus. A broad historical contextualisation of recent German immigration debates will set the scene for the following two analysis chapters. The focus is then narrowed to an analysis of quality newspaper articles drawing on aspects of CDA to investigate selected debates representing key issues associated with the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. The focus is subsequently narrowed further by presenting the case study of the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ in the Berlin district Wedding. The school’s language policy – allowing no other languages than German to be spoken on the playground – can be interpreted as a ‘local’ interpretation of wider German and European language policies.

Below, I will elaborate on the conical structure of the thesis and will give short summaries of the individual chapters and how they address the aims of this thesis.

Chapter 2 provides the historical contextualisation for the research in this thesis. It begins with a historical overview of migration to Germany since the end of World War Two; however, the focus of this section will be on the period surrounding the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ from the founding of the Süßmuth Commission in July 2000 until it came into effect in January 2005. The emphasis of this chapter will be on major milestones and key documents in the recognition of Germany’s status as an immigration country. Furthermore, it will discuss the role that the German language plays in Germany’s new immigration policies with the aim of forming the base for the discussion of data in the two following analysis chapters.

The main aim of chapter 3 is to illustrate the methodological approach taken in chapters 4 and 5. It begins with an overview of research on political discourses on immigration and provides a rationale for basing research on media discourses. As the analysis of language and immigration discourse in this thesis is based on aspects of the discourse-historical approach to CDA as well as case study methodologies, the chapter mostly focuses on these two methodologies. For use in this thesis, CDA is not defined as a level of analysis, but rather as an exploration of how texts at all levels work within socio-cultural practices (Fairclough 1995). As such, it is concerned with ‘analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language’ (Wodak 2001:3). CDA research can take different forms depending on the approach chosen by the analyst. However, for the research of this thesis, drawing on aspects of the discourse-historical approach was deemed most suitable as a backbone to the analysis of newspaper discourses on recent German immigration policies. The particular dependence of context of the discourse-historical approach can be seen throughout this thesis, particularly in the interplay of chapters 2, 4 and 5. While chapter 2 sets the scene with the broader socio-political

and historical context of immigration discourses, chapters 4 and 5 link the broader context to variables related to the specific situation of an utterance. Furthermore, chapter 3 makes a case for combining the more CDA orientated analysis of newspapers and official documentation with the case study of the ‘local’ interpretation of language policies by the Berlin Herbert Hoover Oberschule. To conclude the chapter, a brief section will be devoted to the data management during the fieldwork phase of the research.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus to selected media debates, chosen as they represent key issues associated with the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. The chapter will establish and characterise three sets of newspaper discourses: discourses of national security with relation to immigration, discourses around the scale of migration and discourses on the integration of ‘foreigners’ into German society. Drawing on key analytical concepts from the discourse-historical approach to CDA (see Wodak and Reisigl 2001) the analysis will focus on the following research questions:

- How are people named and referred to?
- What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- Which arguments are used to legitimise/ de-legitimise the proposed action?
- From which point of view are the author’s utterances expressed?
- How are the respective utterances articulated? Are they intensified or mitigated? If so, in which way does that happen?

Having elaborated on the historical and discursive changes associated with the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ in chapters 2 and 4, chapter 5 narrows its focus. It concentrates on the case study of a ‘local’ interpretation of the wider language policies prevalent in Germany – and indeed much of Europe (see Extra et al. 2009) – by analysing the case of the ‘Herbert

Hoover Oberschule' (HHO), a secondary school in Berlin. In February 2005 the HHO introduced a range of measures to improve their students' German language proficiency, among them a reduction in classroom numbers for German language classes, an increased number of German language lessons on the students' schedule and a written agreement with students that they were to speak no language other than German throughout the school day. This written agreement led to intense media scrutiny of the school in early 2006. The analysis will draw on several forms of data: key newspaper articles representing the debates around the HHO's language policies, 'feedback' letters the school received as a result of the media scrutiny, interviews with students and teachers at the school, and field notes collected during my fieldwork at the HHO in May 2006.

2. Historical Background to recent German immigration policy

Migration and integration have been two greatly discussed concepts in Germany over the last decade. Debates on this topic have been characterised by disputes on whether Germany should open its door to new migrants or whether migration should be restricted and controlled. Until recently, German politicians repeatedly denied Germany's status as an immigration country despite the large number of foreign residents. Since 1998, this number has remained relatively stable at approximately 7.3 million (Münz et al. 1999: 185-186; Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder 2007). The bar chart in figure 2.1 ranks the countries which had the largest numbers of immigrants in 2000. While the exact figures of the table are controversial as there are no homogeneous definitions among them of who counts as an immigrant, Germany's third place after the USA and Russia gives an indication of its global status as an immigration country.

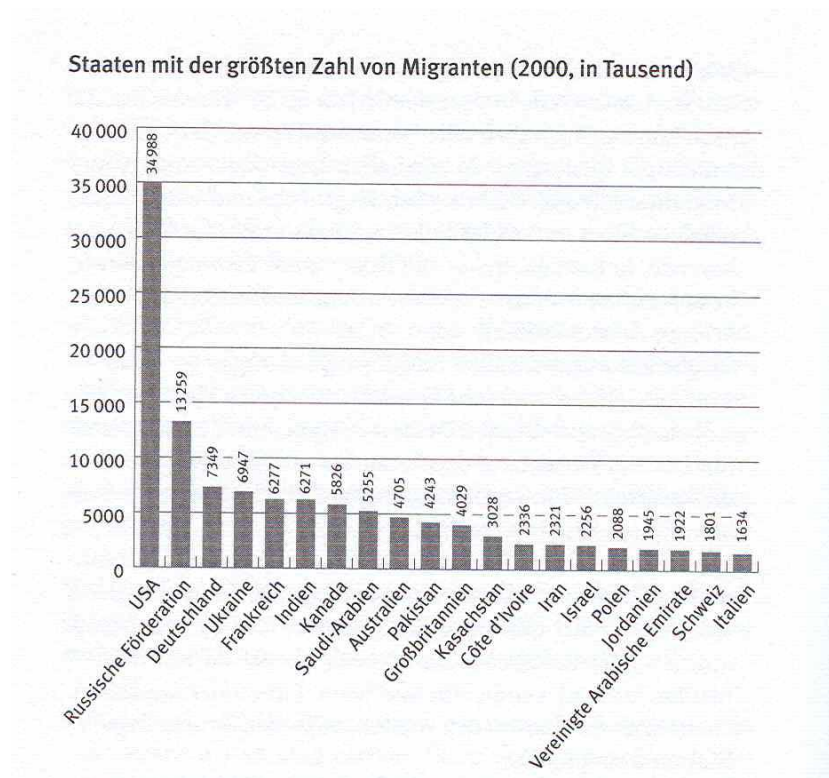


Figure 2.1: Bar chart with countries with the largest number of immigrants in 2000.

(Süssmuth 2006: 64)

The reform of Germany's nationality law altered its political status from an ethnocultural assimilationist model (based exclusively on *jus sanguinis*) (Koopmans and Statham 2003) to a more open, pluralistic one (incorporating also *jus soli*). While the reform in many ways facilitated naturalisation for immigrants living in Germany, a German language requirement was added to the list of criteria for acquiring citizenship, thus emphasising the symbolic importance of the 'national' language as a constituent element of the conception of German citizenship. The idea of a single national language is a 'widespread ideology in effect in many Western nations [...]', which 'dictates that the official language of a country is the most valuable, and thus the preferred language of use by all citizens.' (Hansen-Thomas 2007: 249) The belief that national identity is (still) constructed through language is present in Germany's Nationality Act of 2000 as well as in the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' of 2005. I shall attempt to highlight this and discuss it in detail in sections 2.2 and 2.3.

In this chapter I will give a historical overview of migration to Germany since the Second World War and focus particular attention on the period during the introduction of Germany's 'Zuwanderungsgesetz'; from the founding of the Süssmuth Commission in July 2000 until it came into effect in January 2005. Emphasis will be placed on major milestones in this process as well as highlighting key documents in the process of the recognition of Germany as an immigration country, such as: the 2000 Nationality Act, the 2001 Süssmuth Commission report and the two versions of the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz'. A key point of discussion will be the role given to language in Germany's new immigration policies, particularly in the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' itself. This relationship between national language policy and immigration is a cornerstone concept of the research and is developed further in subsequent chapters. The final section of this chapter will focus on two examples of how the demand for linguistic and societal integration in Germany has been met. This chapter will form the basis for the interpretation of the discourses surrounding Germany's concepts of 'active

immigration’ in Chapter 4 as well as setting the scene for the case study of the Berlin ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ in Chapter 5.

2.1 Immigration to Germany since 1945

In this section, I will briefly describe the most important historical developments in Germany since 1945 in relation to migration. The primary aim here is to provide background information required to understand the recent changes in German migration politics, and I shall then proceed in section 2.2 to concentrate on the period between 1999 and 2005, which characterises Germany’s acceptance of its status as an immigration country.

Münz et al. (1999) identify seven phases of immigration to Germany. However, as the phases are characterised not merely by their historical dates, but also by political actions and attitudes of the German government towards immigration, they often overlap on a timescale. I have hence decided to merge some of the phases described by Münz et al. (1999). In my outline below they will be grouped according to prevailing political attitudes.

During the first phase, from 1945 until 1961, immigrants were almost exclusively so-called ‘Status-Deutsche’ (Status Germans), whose right to remain in Germany is founded on historical and humanitarian commitments as described in Article 16a of Germany’s basic constitutional law (Grundgesetz). By 1960, 12 million refugees had arrived from Eastern Europe, including 3.8 million former GDR residents (Bade 1992).

The phase from 1955 until 1961 sees the start of organised immigration to Germany. While there were still one million unemployed people in 1955, certain trades began to complain

about a lack of unskilled workers. In 1955 the first ‘Anwerbevertrag’ (recruitment pact) was signed between German and Italy, attracting 80,000 Italian migrant workers.

The period from 1961 to 1973 was the height of organised, economically motivated immigration to Germany. In 1961 Germany reached full employment and the demand for foreign workers rose due to Germany’s economic boom (~ 1948 – 1963) as well as the construction of the Berlin wall, which prevented a further influx of migrants from the GDR. Between 1960 and 1970, the German government made further recruitment pacts with Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961/1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), Yugoslavia (1968) and South Korea (1979). In addition to the so-called ‘Gastarbeiter’ (guest workers), 178,800 asylum seekers arrived in Germany between 1953 and 1978 (Münz et al. 1999).

Between 1972 and October 1973, OPEC (the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) proclaimed an oil boycott against western nations as a response to the Yom Kippur War. This raised the price of oil from \$2.89/barrel to \$11.65/barrel. Together with increasing unemployment in the 1980s, the tighter economic situation resulted in attempts to limit and even avoid further immigration altogether. During this time a change in attitude towards immigrants can be noticed in the increasingly negative rhetoric of the media. In the late 1970s the media began referring to migrants as ‘Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge’ (economic refugees) and later as ‘Scheinasylanten’ (bogus asylum seekers) (Wengeler 1995). The increasingly negative attitudes are also reflected in the decreasing acceptance rate of asylum seekers: it drops from over 80% in 1981 to 29% in 1985 (Münz et al. 1999: 54 – 55).

The 1980s are characterised by conflicting attitudes towards immigrants: on the one hand, glimpses of burgeoning multiculturalism founded in attempts to integrate migrants into

society can be seen, but on the other hand, right-wing extremism becomes more prominent. Particularly notable are two events: the publication of the 'Heidelberger Manifest' in 1981 and the foundation of the 'Republikaner' party in 1983 (Andersen et al. 2003). The former is a declaration signed by 15 professors, all members of the 'Heidelberger Kreis', who denounce the 'Unterwanderung des deutschen Volkes' ([foreign] infiltration of the German nation) and the 'Überfremdung unserer Sprache, unserer Kultur und unseres Volkstums' (foreign infiltration of our language, our culture and our national traditions) (Antifaschistisches Pressearchiv und Bildungszentrum Berlin 2002).

The political collapse of the Eastern Bloc in the late 1980s sees an increase in the politically promoted immigration of 'Status-Deutsche' (status Germans), while asylum politics continue to be conservative. In 1989/90, 528,000 former GDR residents settle in the west of Germany together with 721,000 Spätaussiedler (re-settlers), arriving mainly from Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union (Bade 1992: 403). Following the height of immigration, with more than 1.2 million migrants aiming to settle in Germany in 1992 (Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung 2000: 20), a quota for status German migrants was introduced and set at a maximum number of 200,000 re-settlers each year.

The early 1990s saw political and public debates about the possibilities of reducing the number of people seeking asylum in Germany (Münz et al. 1999). Throughout the debates, the CDU/CSU coalition exerted pressure on the SPD to consent to their 'Asylrechtsreform' (reform of the asylum law). The increase in unemployment during the 1990s kept the migration debates alive. According to Münz et al. (1999: 185-186), Germany has 7.3 million resident foreigners in 1998, among them 1.3 million migrant children who have neither German citizenship nor an indefinite right to remain in the country.

During the elections in autumn 1998, the CDU/CSU coalition was replaced by a newly formed SPD/Greens coalition. One of the goals of the coalition was the factual recognition of Germany as an immigration country – this was officially declared by the federal administration in 1999 (Meier-Braun 2002: 98). First and foremost, this recognition is characterised by two major events: the commissioning of the Süßmuth commission report by the coalition, which will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2., and the reformed ‘Staatsbürgerschaftsrecht’ (citizenship law) in 2000. Bade and Münz interpret this as a positive development writing in their introduction to the Migrationsreport 2000: ‘Erstmals erleben wir in Deutschland im Ansatz eine positive Migrationsdiskussion’ (For the first time we are experiencing the beginnings of positive discussion of migration in Germany) (Bade and Münz 2000:7).

2.2 From the Süßmuth Commission Report to the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’: stages in Germany’s immigration policy-making between 1999 and 2005

This section will focus on the changes made to the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ from the liberal ideas underlying its first draft to the considerably more conservative ‘finalised’ policy which came into effect in January 2005. While the section will concentrate on the policy itself, it will also identify official discourses around it. The media discourses surrounding the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, however, will be analysed in detail in chapter 4.

The restructuring of Germany’s immigration policies was initiated by the reform of the German Nationality Act (Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz), which was passed on 21 May 1999 by the Bundesrat and came into effect on 1 January 2000. The central innovation of the Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz was the supplementation of the traditional principle of descent (*jus sanguinis*) as the means of acquiring German citizenship with the acquisition of nationality by

birth (*jus soli*). In the foreword to the booklet ‘Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht’, the then Interior Minister, Otto Schily, wrote in August 1999 that the intention behind this reform was ‘improving the identification with the ‘Heimatland’ (home country)’, in this case referring to Germany (Schily 1999: foreword). Schily (1999) sees the Nationality Act as an opportunity for integration, as naturalisation is subject to certain conditions, among them the need for foreigners to learn German. He compares the Nationality Act to a two way street: on the one side, the Act itself is to be seen as a sign of Germany’s care and concern to foster the peaceful co-existence of all men and women, but on the other side, immigrants are required to provide a significant input to reach the targets of their naturalisation requirements.

The increased input demanded of foreigners aiming to be naturalised in Germany is a leitmotif throughout the debates not only of the Nationality Act, but also of the introduction of the *Zuwanderungsgesetz*. In line with Schily (1999), most of the debates accompanying the introduction of the ‘*Zuwanderungsgesetz*’ over the following 5 years from the passing of the *Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz*, the increased input asked of immigrants was to focus on language requirements. I shall come back to this in more detail in section 2.3, after having provided a brief chronological overview of the passing of the ‘*Zuwanderungsgesetz*’. A timeline of German immigration law, taken from Bauder (2008: 100) figure 2.2, gives a comprehensive overview of the events surrounding the five-year development of the ‘*Zuwanderungsgesetz*’.

Table 1. Time-line of the German immigration law	
2000	
February 23	The public debate of immigration begins with the announcement of the German Greencard.
July 12	Federal Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily, orders an independent commission, with Rita Süßmuth as chairperson.
September 12	First meeting of the 'Süßmuth' Commission.
2001	
June 7	The main opposition party (CDU) announces its own immigration programme based on the recommendations of the 'Müller' Commission.
July 4	The Süßmuth Commission presents its final report.
August 3	The Ministry of the Interior introduces the proposal 'Law for the Management and Limitation of Immigration' (<i>Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung</i>).
December 20	The conservatively-governed states in the upper house of parliament (<i>Bundesrat</i>) oppose the law and demand revisions.
2002	
March 1	The lower house of parliament passes the law.
March 22	The upper house of parliament passes the law, although the opposition parties challenge the procedural correctness of the vote.
December 18	The Federal Constitutional Court (<i>Bundesverfassungsgericht</i>) nullifies the law due to procedural errors.
2003	
May 9	The law passes the lower house of parliament for the second time.
June 20	The upper house of parliament rejects the law.
September 24	Formal negotiations between the government coalition and the conservative opposition begin.
October 10	A parliamentary committee is established after negotiations gridlock.
2004	
March 11	Terror attacks in Madrid.
May 3	The Green Party threatens to pull out of negotiations.
May 25	Party leaders reach a compromise.
June 30	The negotiating parties accept the new proposal.
July 1	The law passes the lower house of parliament.
July 9	The law passes the upper house of parliament.
July 30	The German President signs the law.
2005	
January 1	The immigration law takes effect
<i>Sources: Bundesministerium des Innern 2005; Storr and Albrecht 2005.</i>	

Figure 2.2 Time line of the German immigration law.

(Bauder 2008: 100)

The passage of the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' was by no means a straightforward matter. The long haul of the legislative procedure dragged on for more than four years. During this time, the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' – and more generally the immigration and integration of foreigners into German society - were subject of an ongoing debate. I will identify key stages of the debate here and analyse them in detail in chapter 4.

In 2000 the debates began with the Green Card debate (see chapter 4.2 for a detailed discussion). One of the key points brought up was the desire to attract a greater proportion of highly skilled immigrants. This debate focussed particularly on how Germany could be made a more attractive proposition to highly skilled immigrant IT professionals.

Between the presentation of the liberal approach to immigration proposed in the final report of the Süssmuth Commission in July 2001, the first passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ in March 2002 (which was nullified shortly after), the rejection of the law in June 2003 and its final passing in July 2004, the new law became a rather conservative piece of legislation (Bauder 2008). To illustrate this development of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ I will discuss some of the concepts that underlay the Süssmuth commission report and how these were developed to form the basis for the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. The key concepts are bulleted below and these concepts will be illustrated using several extracts from the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ document itself.

- Formal acceptance of Germany as an immigration country
- Concept of active integration, ‘Fördern and Fordern’
- Who can become a citizen and how
- Concept of Active migration: attracting and selecting immigrants to fill skills gaps in the labour market.
- The role of language; discussed in depth in section 2.3

I shall highlight the change in concepts between the revised Ausländergesetz (1990), the recommendations of the Süssmuth commission report and the first draft of the Zuwanderungsgesetz. I then proceed to discuss the development of these concepts between the first draft of the Zuwanderungsgesetz and its final version, which took effect on 1 January

2005. Potential explanations for the evolution of the Zuwanderungsgesetz will also draw on external events (e.g. the increasing fear of terrorism) as well as on material taken from parliamentary debates.

From Bauder's (2008) overview of the implementation of the Zuwanderungsgesetz it is clear that the announcement of the German Green Card was not the only important event of the years 2000-2001. In 2000, the German government attempted to deal with the lack of qualified migrant workers by proposing to draft what Interior Minister Schily referred to as 'the most modern immigration law in Europe' (Münz 2004). The debates around the introduction of the Green Card instigated wider discussions of German immigration law. In July, 2000 Schily – a Social Democrat - asks an independent commission chaired by Prof Dr Rita Süßmuth to formulate essential requirements for the reform of the existing law. As a prominent CDU politician, Süßmuth appears to be the ideal chairperson for the commission, as the SPD only holds a narrow majority in the Bundestag and, by appointing an opposition politician, attempts to create a wider consensus for its planned reforms (Münz 2004). The Vice-chairperson is the former Federal Justice Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel (SPD). Further members are prominent figures from fields such as politics and economics that have the potential to contribute professional expertise on various issues relating to the topic. For a full list of members of the Süßmuth Commission, see the FAZ article 'Mitglieder der Süßmuth Kommission' in appendix B.

On 4 July 2001 the Süßmuth commission published its report which states in its introduction:

Deutschland ist faktisch ein Einwanderungsland. Menschen sind gekommen und geblieben – andere sind in ihre Heimatländer zurückgekehrt oder weiter gewandert. Zuwanderung ist zu einem zentralen Thema geworden. Die Anerkennung der Realität ist an die Stelle von Tabus getreten. Sachlichkeit bestimmt zunehmend die öffentliche Auseinandersetzung. (Süßmuth 2001: foreword)

While the Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz thematised integration and naturalisation in Germany, the Süßmuth commission report goes a step further: it is the first document that officially declares Germany an immigration country. According to Süßmuth (2001) immigration, however, cannot work without integration: ‘Zuwanderung und Integration bilden eine unauflösbare Einheit, die aktiv gestaltet werden muss’ (Süßmuth 2001:12). The report emphasises the active nature of the integration process and the requirement for input from both the migrant and the German population to create an environment which is conducive to integration. According to Münz (2004), the Süßmuth Commission proposes three key recommendations:

1. The active selection of qualified migrants, following the example of the classic immigration countries.
2. The promotion of integration by way of language and cultural awareness courses for immigrants.
3. The updating of existing asylum rules.

All of the key recommendations are based on a view of immigration as an active process, similar to that emphasised by Otto Schily in the foreword to the new German nationality law in August 2000.

Since integration is not a one-way street, the opportunity entails certain minimum requirements. Anyone wishing to live permanently in Germany must respect our constitution and our legal system. It also goes without saying that he or she will have to learn German. Integration can only succeed where there is a will on both sides – among Germans and among the foreigners living in Germany (Schily 1999: foreword).

The concept of ‘active migration’ occurs in several key documents around the year 2000 and I shall demonstrate how this is exemplified in official discourses by analysing one of the key concepts behind the Süßmuth Commission report, namely that of ‘fördern’ and ‘fordern’. This twin concept mirrors the discourses around ‘active integration’ in Germany in the early stages of the development of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. This can be demonstrated by reference to passages from the Süßmuth commission report in which one or both of these terms occur.

The most common and most emphasised context in which ‘fördern’ and ‘fordern’ occurs in the report is related to immigrants’ German language acquisition. In a similar vein to Schily’s statement mentioned above, the report states: ‘Das Aufnahmeland muss Integrationsangebote bereitstellen, und die Zuwanderer sind berechtigt und angehalten, sie wahrzunehmen.’ (Süßmuth 2001: 18) The reciprocal nature of the immigration process is emphasised throughout the report and also shines through in the following statement.

Die Wechselseitigkeit dieses Verhältnisses wird in dem Grundsatz 'fördern und fordern' deutlich. Während das aufnehmende Land gefordert ist, ausreichende Integrationsangebote bereit zu stellen, ist der Zuwanderer verpflichtet, sich aktiv um den Erwerb der deutschen Sprache und um Integration zu bemühen. (Süssmuth 2001:259)

It is worth noting that this passage distinguishes between language acquisition and integration, which is not always the case in German migration discourses; I shall discuss this point in more detail in chapter 4. The importance of providing conditions conducive to language learning – and the immigrant making use of these provisions – is also emphasised in the next statement.

Ein möglichst rascher Spracherwerb liegt sowohl im Interesse des Zuwanderers als auch der Aufnahmegesellschaft. Beide Seiten müssen sich darum bemühen. Die Wechselseitigkeit dieses Verhältnisses wird in dem Grundsatz 'fördern und fordern' deutlich.' (Süssmuth 2001: 201)

The main difference from the previous passage lies in the greater emphasis on German language acquisition. Language acquisition as a means of fostering integration is stressed throughout the report, for example in the headline: 'Erfordernis deutscher Sprachkenntnisse für Familienangehörige' (Süssmuth 2001: 183), where the importance of acquiring knowledge of the German language is extended to family members of the migrant. The report justifies the emphasis on language learning by declaring that '... Sprachkurse sollen die soziale und berufliche Integration ausländischer Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen fördern'. (Süssmuth 2001:205) The commission recommends the statutory regulation of language testing: 'Durch eine gesetzliche Klarstellung in §6 Abs.2 BVFG sollte das Erfordernis einer

familiär vermittelten und aktuellen Kenntnis der deutschen Sprache als Bestätigungsmerkmal der deutschen Volkszugehörigkeit festgeschrieben werden.’ (Süssmuth 2001: 183)

However, the report does not only stress the importance of German language acquisition, but also specifies other conditions which the commission deems conducive to integration.

Combating racism is mentioned as one of them. ‘Eine Minderheit der Einheimischen vertritt fremdenfeindliche Einstellungen. Zudem gibt es eine kleine Zahl von Rechtsextremisten, die gewalttätig gegen Zuwanderer vorgeht. Dem müssen wir mit Bestimmtheit und Zivilcourage entgegengehen. (Süssmuth 2001: 18) The presentation of Germany as a hospitable and

welcoming country is a theme that continues throughout the report. As such, the commission recommends, for example, that fingerprints should not be required as part of the visa application process, because they feel that ‘das Abfordern von Fingerabdrücken in Zusammenhang mit einem Visumantrag stehe im Widerspruch zur Präsentation Deutschlands als weltoffenes und gastfreundliches Land.’ (Süssmuth 2001: 156)

A particularly prominent point of the report is the necessity of immigration for the German labour market. Throughout the report the commission stresses the need for Germany to recruit qualified migrants in areas where there is demand: ‘... die Zuwanderung von Selbstständigen und Investoren zu fördern und klar zu regeln.’ (p.97) Furthermore, the report suggests issuing temporary work permits to foreign graduates of German universities:

Nach Abschluss des Studiums soll ein befristeter Arbeitsmarktzugang gewährt werden. Eine Befristung auf zwei Jahre ist sinnvoll, da die Mehrzahl der ausländischen Studierenden in ihr Heimatland zurückkehren will und Deutschland dies nicht zuletzt aus entwicklungspolitischen Gründen fördern sollte. (Süssmuth 2001)

Simplifying the temporary work permit process for highly qualified migrants is a prominent concept addressed in the report. However, it only addresses temporary permits and stresses that mobility – economically motivated immigration and emigration – should be aspired to:

‘Entscheidendes Element ist hierbei, internationale Mobilität in beide Richtungen zu ermöglichen und zu fördern sowie Anreize für Rückkehr ins Herkunftsland zu schaffen.’

(Süssmuth 2001: 82) I will discuss how these ideas are implicated in the

‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ in a later paragraph of this section.

Many of the ideas presented by the ‘Süssmuth Commission’ strongly influenced the formulation of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, even though some critics claim that the commission failed to achieve its main goals. Zinterer (2004), for example, examined the role of the Commission in facilitating the paradigm shift in Germany from non-immigrant country to immigrant country. She concludes that the SPD/Green coalition had a unique opportunity to achieve its goals during the initial period, when the commission’s reform proposals were supported even by the conservative parties’ (CDU/CSU) counter commission. According to her, the ‘Süssmuth Commission’ failed to achieve some of its goals, largely due to the length of the debate eroding public and political support for the innovative aspects of the proposed law. (Zinterer 2004) It is useful here to examine areas where the final version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ did not draw on the key recommendations of the ‘Süssmuth Commission’. In order to evaluate Zinterer’s contention, I shall illustrate some of the key points of the final version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and specify how they developed from the initial ideas presented in the ‘Süssmuth Commission’ report through the several versions of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ to the final version that came into effect on 1 January 2005.

The first draft of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ largely drew on the key recommendations of the ‘Süssmuth Commission’. However, following procedural disagreements (see Bauder’s

overview in Table 3.2), the CDU/CSU politicians in the ‘Bundesrat’ (the upper house of Parliament) rejected the initial policy proposal on 20 June 2003 and the ruling SPD-Green coalition lacked a majority to push the law through. This was despite the fact that the parties’ own commission, the ‘Müller Commission’, came up with a proposal in line with that of the ‘Süssmuth Commission’. In 2003/ 2004 the CDU and CSU vigorously opposed the government’s active immigration policy (Münz 2004) and gained support for their opposition to the changes to Germany’s immigration policies among the German public. The debates around this topic and their influence on the public will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, but we can note here that, further burdened by the 9/11 terrorist attacks as well as the Madrid bombings in March 2004, the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ seemed unlikely at the time.

However, direct talks between Chancellor Schröder, Interior Minister Schily and the opposition paved the way for a compromise – the second version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. Between the first version and the second version of the act, several of the key concepts presented by the ‘Süssmuth Commission’ were lost – among them one of the core elements of the original ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’: the active selection of motivated migrants according to a points system. Instead, the recruitment ban from 1973 (see section 2.1 for further information) essentially remained in effect, with three exceptions:

1. Foreign graduates from German universities have the right to remain in the country for one year following graduation if they choose to seek employment in Germany.
2. Top-ranking scientists and managers are granted the right to take up permanent residence, rather than the existing system of offering renewable residence permits.
3. Self-employed individuals might be granted a limited residence permit if they fulfil certain economically motivated conditions.

Not challenged between the first and the second version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’¹ were the improvements to the German asylum process. The extract detailing these improvements will be discussed below together with other key extracts from the second version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’.

In §1 (1) the immigration law states in a sort of preamble its objective and scope of application:

Das Gesetz dient der Steuerung und Begrenzung des Zuzugs von Ausländern in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Es ermöglicht und gestaltet Zuwanderung unter Berücksichtigung der Aufnahme- und Integrationsfähigkeit sowie der wirtschaftlichen und arbeitsmarktpolitischen Interessen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Das Gesetz dient zugleich der Erfüllung der humanitären Verpflichtungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Es regelt hierzu die Einreise, den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Förderung der Integration von Ausländern. [...]

§1 is a central paragraph of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ (2005) as it provides an outline of its main aims and has been much debated throughout the debates surrounding the passing of the law. According to Storr (2008: 9) these are:

- Controlling and limiting immigration of foreigners
- Simplifying employment-motivated immigration
- Simplification of the ‘Ausländerrecht’
- Increased orientation towards EU residency laws/ EU harmonisation
- Tightening and acceleration of asylum procedures
- Better integration of foreigners

¹ The full version of the Zuwanderungsgesetz can be found on the included CD

These aims differ from the original concepts proposed by the Süßmuth Commission (discussed earlier in this section), which centred on active immigration policies. In the following paragraphs I will concentrate on the aims outlined by Storr and discuss them in more detail, referring to extracts from the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ where necessary.

‘Controlling and limiting immigration’ as well as the simplification of the ‘Ausländerrecht’ are major aims of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and compared to the previous ‘Ausländergesetz’ it has seen a number of changes in the regulations governing residence permits. The number of types of residence permit has been reduced from five to two²; the new titles are the ‘Aufenthaltserlaubnis’ (temporary residence permit) and the ‘Niederlassungserlaubnis’ (permanent residence permit). § 9 (‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’) defines the ‘Niederlassungserlaubnis’ as

(1) Die Niederlassungserlaubnis ist ein unbefristeter Aufenthaltstitel. Sie berechtigt zur Ausübung einer Erwerbstätigkeit, ist zeitlich und räumlich unbeschränkt und darf nicht mit einer Nebenbestimmung versehen werden. § 47 bleibt unberührt.

In order to obtain the ‘Niederlassungserlaubnis’ a foreigner must have fulfilled the following criteria as described in § 9 of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’:

- (1) Einem Ausländer ist die Niederlassungserlaubnis zu erteilen, wenn*
- er seit fünf Jahren die Aufenthaltserlaubnis besitzt,*
 - sein Lebensunterhalt gesichert ist,*

² This excludes specific permits which are available for refugees.

- *er mindestens 60 Monate Pflichtbeiträge oder freiwillige Beiträge zur gesetzlichen Rentenversicherung geleistet hat oder Aufwendungen für einen Anspruch auf vergleichbare Leistungen einer Versicherungs- oder Versorgungseinrichtung oder eines Versicherungsunternehmens nachweist [...]*
- *er in den letzten drei Jahren nicht wegen einer vorsätzlichen Straftat zu einer Jugend- oder Freiheitsstrafe von mindestens sechs Monaten oder einer Geldstrafe von mindestens 180 Tagessätzen verurteilt worden ist,*
- *ihm die Beschäftigung erlaubt ist, sofern er Arbeitnehmer ist,*
- *er im Besitz der sonstigen für eine dauernde Ausübung seiner Erwerbstätigkeit erforderlichen Erlaubnisse ist,*
- *er über ausreichende Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache verfügt,*
- *er über Grundkenntnisse der Rechts- und Gesellschaftsordnung und der Lebensverhältnisse im Bundesgebiet verfügt und*
- *er über ausreichenden Wohnraum für sich und seine mit ihm in häuslicher Gemeinschaft lebenden Familienangehörigen verfügt.*

While the reduction of categories of residence permit from five to two simplifies the previously complex system of permits, it might under certain conditions make it harder for immigrants to receive a permanent residence permit. According to previous regulations, the length of residence was a key factor for the decision on whether or not to grant a permanent residence permit. While this has remained an important aspect, new clauses have been added. New additions to the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ are that immigrants applying for an establishment permit must have paid contributions into the social pension fund for at least 60 months and must have a sufficient command of the German language. Language regulations form an important part of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ (2005) and will be discussed in more detail in section 2.3.

The second major change is the explicit encouragement of highly qualified labour migrants to settle in Germany. A new feature of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ is that highly qualified migrants may be entitled to an immediate establishment permit as regulated by § 19:

§ 19 Niederlassungserlaubnis für Hochqualifizierte

(1) Einem hoch qualifizierten Ausländer kann in besonderen Fällen eine Niederlassungserlaubnis erteilt werden, wenn die Bundesagentur für Arbeit nach § 39 zugestimmt hat oder durch Rechtsverordnung nach § 42 oder zwischenstaatlicher Vereinbarung bestimmt ist, dass die Niederlassungserlaubnis ohne Zustimmung der Bundesagentur für Arbeit nach § 39 erteilt werden kann und die Annahme gerechtfertigt ist, dass die Integration in die Lebensverhältnisse der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Sicherung des Lebensunterhalts ohne staatliche Hilfe gewährleistet sind.

However, the establishment permit for highly qualified persons does not necessarily include their family and dependants who may be treated differently to the applicant (see § 19, § 29). § 19 (2) defines highly qualified persons by their income: highly qualified are those with an income of more than 7,000 Euros per month³. In addition, entrepreneurs who are willing to invest at least 1,000,000 Euros and employ a minimum of 10 employees qualify for an establishment permit (see § 21). An important innovation for foreign students at German universities can be found in § 16 (a). According to previous regulations, graduates could not remain in the country unless they fulfilled the criteria for a temporary permit. The ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ stipulates that foreign students who are educated to degree level at a

³ This is calculated using the income tables for health insurance rates.

German university are eligible for a one year temporary residence permit after graduation for purposes of seeking employment.

The ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ also makes several changes to the asylum process in Germany. The Geneva Convention status is expanded to refugees of non-state and gender-specific persecution and has to be granted under these conditions. (§ 60). § 25 (4) regulates that rejected asylum seekers who cannot be deported due to legally binding hindrances will now receive a residence permit after 18 months⁴. Furthermore, the status of asylum seekers in Germany has been harmonised: refugees with a Geneva Convention status (‘kleines Asyl’) and Asylberechtigte (those eligible for asylum) receive access to the labour market (see §25, §26) and will obtain a permanent residence permit after three years, on condition that the situation in their respective countries of origin still does not allow a return. The changes that the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ made to the asylum process have allowed for positive changes to labour market access as well as to the status of Geneva Convention status asylum seekers. However, Asylberechtigte according to §16 of the German constitution have lost the right to obtain an immediate permanent residence permit after the recognition of their status (§26 (3)).

In the introduction to this section I mentioned that the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ has seen several changes between 2000 and 2005. External events such as the Madrid bombings might have influenced the discussion of security in the media and might have led to new security measures in most countries. I will outline the increased security measures here, and elaborate on the discourses surrounding their introduction in chapter 4. The ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ stipulates that all foreigners are subject to regular security checks (‘Regelanfragen’) before an establishment permit or naturalisation is granted. Compared to the Ausländergesetz the

⁴ As long as the asylum seekers are not responsible for the legally binding hindrance, e.g. concealing their identity of country of origin (§25 (4))

‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ establishes several new reasons for the deportation of foreigners. If foreigners are suspected of being a threat to political stability, a ‘tatsachengestützte Gefahrenprognose’ (fact-based prognosis of danger) can be verified by a special court (see §58a). Appeals are not possible.

Until the extradited foreigner can leave the country, § 54a regulates the conditions of his stay:

(1) Ein Ausländer, gegen den eine vollziehbare Ausweisungsverfügung nach § 54 Nr. 5, 5a oder eine vollziehbare Abschiebungsanordnung nach § 58a besteht, unterliegt der Verpflichtung, sich mindestens einmal wöchentlich bei der für seinen Aufenthaltsort zuständigen polizeilichen Dienststelle zu melden, soweit die Ausländerbehörde nichts anderes bestimmt. [...]

Another reason for deportation arises if a foreigner is suspected of terrorist activities. § 54 determines that a foreigner can be extradited if the following points apply:

Ein Ausländer kann ausgewiesen werden, wenn [...]

5. [...]er einer Vereinigung angehört oder angehört hat, die den Terrorismus unterstützt, oder er eine derartige Vereinigung unterstützt oder unterstützt hat; auf zurückliegende Mitgliedschaften oder Unterstützungshandlungen kann die Ausweisung nur gestützt werden, soweit diese eine gegenwärtige Gefährlichkeit begründen,

5a. er die freiheitliche demokratische Grundordnung oder die Sicherheit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland gefährdet oder sich bei der Verfolgung politischer Ziele an Gewalttätigkeiten beteiligt oder öffentlich zur Gewaltanwendung aufruft oder mit Gewaltanwendung droht,

If, under the circumstances above, an extradition should not be possible due to legal difficulties, benefits or civil rights of the individual can be restricted (see §54a above).

The last group of changes in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ I would like to discuss at this point relates to the enhancement of EU harmonisation. The German freedom of movement law (Freizügigkeitsgesetz) was changed with the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. On entering Germany, EU citizens are granted a less formalised residence permit (compared to the previous more formal residence permits granted by the Foreign Office). They can obtain a permanent residence permit after 5 years, as long as they can support themselves (§ 5 Freizügigkeitsgesetz/ EU). Throughout the period in which the applicants hold a temporary residence permit, employment is one of the factors that determine their entitlement to reside in Germany. However, temporary residence permit holders may be allowed to remain in Germany despite being unemployed if they can prove that their ‘main place of residence’ (Lebensmittelpunkt) is in Germany. In this case they may also be entitled to benefits. (§6 Freizügigkeitsgesetz/ EU). While the freedom of movement of citizens of the new EU member states has been discussed widely in the press over the last few years, this is not regulated in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’.

To summarise: the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ represents a major reform of German migration policies. However, critics (see Bauder, 2008) do not see it as a liberalisation of migration laws in Germany as such. Why is that? While the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ contains several liberalising measures, e.g. the changes to the asylum process, the law continues to distinguish between different groups of migrants, e.g. EU citizens, non-EU citizens, asylum seekers and refugees. In the application process for residence permits, members of those groups are treated differently (I mentioned, for example, the freedom of movement law related to EU harmonisation) favouring EU migrants over other groups. The ‘Türkischer Bund’ (Turkish

federation) claims that the inclusion of security aspects in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ may lead to further alienation and victimisation of migrants in Germany (Türkischer Bund 2004).

However, on the whole, security aspects do not take an overly prominent place in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and the changes to German immigration law cannot be characterised as merely restrictive as they provide a legal basis for the integration of the millions of immigrants living in Germany – many of them in the second and third generation.

The introduction of language requirements for integration in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ marks another important change to immigration policy. The role of language in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ is therefore discussed in detail in the next section as it forms the basis for the analysis in chapters 4 and 5.

2.3 The role of language in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’

One of the new elements in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ is the inclusion of a chapter on integration. According to Groß (2006: 87) this is a sign of an increased awareness of the importance of integration by the German government. A central focus in the integration process is assigned to German language acquisition. Bade (2005: 218) argues that this is representative of a shift in immigration politics: immigration has ceased to be something left to the individual and society; it has become a national task. In this section I will examine how the increased focus on language manifests itself in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ by drawing on several extracts from the act that have a particular focus on language.

In section 2.2, I quoted §9 (2) (Aufenthaltsgesetz). This paragraph is concerned with the prerequisites for obtaining a permanent residence permit, the ‘Niederlassungserlaubnis’: in § 9 (2), 8 and 9, the law addresses the necessity of knowledge of the German language and society. Minimum requirements are ‘a sufficient command of the German language’ and ‘a

basic understanding of the legal and social order and the living conditions of the Federal Territory’ (see 3.2 for the full quote of § 9 (2) Aufenthaltsgesetz). This is new in comparison to the previous ‘Ausländergesetz’, where only basic spoken German was necessary to obtain the most permanent resident title, the ‘Aufenthaltsberechtigung’ (Storr 2008: 53). By requiring a sufficient command of the German language and basic knowledge of the legal and social order and the living conditions in Germany, § 9 of the ‘Aufenthaltsgesetz’ stipulates a higher level of integration. But how can a ‘sufficient’ knowledge of the German language be defined and assessed? The ‘Aufenthaltsgesetz’ describes ‘sufficient knowledge of the German language’ as being able to communicate efficiently in everyday situations – including official communication - and being able to communicate with others according to age and level of education. In addition to this, applicants for the ‘Niederlassungserlaubnis’ should be able to read, understand and summarise the contents of a short text. (Storr 2008) Ideally, this linguistic proficiency should be demonstrated through the successful completion of an ‘Integrationskurs’ (integration course), although other qualifications such as school diplomas are also recognised. Further details about these courses will be given later in this section.

However, not all immigrants have to participate in integration courses. Some immigrants are explicitly excluded from participation in these courses for the following reasons regulated by § 44 ‘Aufenthaltsgesetz’:

§ 44

[...]

(3) *Der Anspruch auf Teilnahme am Integrationskurs besteht nicht,*

[...]

2. bei erkennbar geringem Integrationsbedarf [...]

§ 44a

[...]

(2) Von der Teilnahmeverpflichtung ausgenommen sind Ausländer,

[...]

deren Teilnahme auf Dauer unmöglich oder unzumutbar ist.

In these cases, the same rules as those of the previous ‘Ausländergesetz’ apply and immigrants only need to demonstrate basic spoken German.

The ‘Aufenthaltsrecht’ (residence law) regulates the basic principle of integration for the first time in German history. (Storr 2008: 270) As such, it acknowledges that during the last decades many foreigners have permanently built their lives in Germany (see section 2.1 for more information on this). Consequently, the promotion of integration is one of the central areas regulated by the ‘Aufenthaltsgesetz’. This is done according to the principle of ‘Fördern and Fordern’ (encouraging and demanding) (see §43 Aufenthaltsgesetz). This principle underpins the ‘Integrationskurs’ as the major means of acquiring the skills necessary for obtaining the ‘Niederlassungserlaubnis’. The ‘Integrationskurs’ is not an entirely new concept, however, in the past it has neither been centrally organised by the BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) nor been enforced as compulsory. Bommes (2006) states that this is not a radical break with existing migration policies and their practices, but rather an enlargement of existing procedures. I agree with Bommes (2006) in relation to course design and implementation and hence devote a paragraph of the following section to the changes from previous procedures, most importantly the enforcement of participation.

However, I would like to begin with outlining the characteristics, aims and contents of the integration course. According to § 43 (1) of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, the ‘Integrationskurs’ promotes and demands the integration of foreigners who are lawfully and permanently resident in the Federal Republic into the economic, cultural and social life of the German Federal Republic. The main aim of the course is defined in § 43 (2) as: to familiarise foreigners with the living conditions in Germany, so that they can handle everyday situations without the help of others. The course consists of 630 hours, 600 of which are devoted to language acquisition. These 600 hours of language learning are divided into a foundation course (Basiskurs) and an advanced course (Aufbaukurs). Knowledge of the legal and social order and the living conditions in Germany are taught in the remaining 30 hours.

Inclusion and exclusion are one of the central topics in the current immigration debate. Hence, I would like to devote the following paragraph to evaluate who must and who may not participate in the ‘Integrationskurse’. I will also briefly describe possible sanctions for failing to participate in these courses. Paragraph 44a (1) demands that immigrants must participate in the ‘Integrationskurs’ if they fulfil any one of the following criteria. The first criterion is fulfilled if immigrants are eligible according to § 44 (Aufenthaltsgesetz) and cannot communicate in basic terms in German. The ‘Aufenthaltsgesetz’ defines ‘basic terms’ as level A2 of the European language portfolio. According to the portfolio a language learner at level A2 ‘can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). [The learner] can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters; can describe in simple terms aspects of his/ her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.’ (European Language Portfolio) Secondly, an immigrant has to participate in the ‘Integrationskurs’ if the office for foreigners (Ausländerbehörde) asks him

to. However, this is subject to available places within a reasonable distance, so that the life of the course participant is not unduly disrupted. Thirdly, course participation is demanded of an immigrant if he/she is receiving benefits or is determined to be ‘in particular need of integration’ (‘... in besonderer Weise integrationsbedürftig’). According to Storr (2008: 287) the particular need to be integrated applies mostly to guardians of minors living in Germany and is applied if the guardian cannot communicate in simple everyday terms.

The increased importance that is put on language proficiency in the German immigration process also manifests itself in the inclusion of sanctions for not attending ‘Integrationskurse’ in the ‘Aufenthaltsgesetz’. Potential sanctions are:

- Renewal of residence permit can be endangered (§8 (3) Aufenthaltsgesetz)
- Accelerated naturalisation is made impossible (§10 (3) Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz)
- Immigrants cannot obtain a Niederlassungserlaubnis (§9 Aufenthaltsgesetz)
- Any welfare benefits can be reduced by 10% for the period of non-participation (§ 44a Aufenthaltsgesetz)
- The estimated cost of attendance can be demanded of the course participant prior to his/her participation (§44 a Aufenthaltsgesetz)

2.4 Implications of the language requirements in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’: two examples

While section 2.3 focused on the role of the German language in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and the introduction of a standardised mandatory language requirement for obtaining German citizenship, section 2.4 will concentrate on some of the measures that came into place as a result of these increased demands of language competency. While the case study of the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ in Berlin (section 5.1) includes an account of the language and citizenship courses available in Berlin, this section will describe two particular courses

offered in Hesse as illustration of the kinds of courses generally available. It should be mentioned at this point that the range of courses on offer varies in the different federal states in Germany, as Germany's federal system allows the states to exercise educational autonomy. The two examples that I shall discuss here are: 'Deutsch und PC' ('German and IT') and 'Mama lernt Deutsch' ('Mama learns German'). I will conclude the chapter by introducing the BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge), which was founded as a result of the changes in Germany's immigration laws and by discussing its influence on the linguistic and social integration of immigrants.

For their language courses, the Hessian state focuses on early German language support for children from immigrant families. Notable measures include a voluntary pre-school course (Freiwilliger Vorlaufkurs) focusing on German language acquisition and 'Deutsch und PC'. While children can be recommended for the voluntary pre-school course, attending 'Deutsch und PC' is mandatory – should the teacher think that the child needs language support. 'Deutsch und PC' was first introduced in 2001/2002 in two Frankfurt primary schools and was expanded to 15 Hessian primary schools in 2004 (Hessische Landesregierung 2005). It begins in the first grade of primary school and, according to need, can be continued through grades two to four. Children attending 'Deutsch und PC' do not receive their German and Maths education with the rest of their class, but attend two hours of intensive tutorials per day in these subjects instead. Group size in these tutorials is greatly reduced from normal class sizes may vary between six and eight pupils. While the material covered in the tutorials is in line with the Hessian school curriculum, there is a particular focus on German language acquisition in these classes. The focus is partially realised through the use of media and the collective work of the groups with PCs and other forms of new media. It intends to increase the media competency of students attending 'Deutsch und PC'. Subjects other than German and Maths are taught together with the other pupils. According to the leaflet 'Deutsch und

PC' available from the Hessian government, the more intensive tutorials have enabled immigrant children to participate more actively in lessons from the beginning of their school career, as confidence can be increased in the small groups. The PC has been found a useful motivation tool to further increase the children's interest in the German language. The publishers of the leaflet also remark that regular classes of primary schools offering 'Deutsch und PC' also benefit, as lesson times can be used more efficiently.

While 'Deutsch und PC' is aimed at children with insufficient German language skills, 'Mama lernt Deutsch' addresses the mothers of these children. 'Mama lernt Deutsch' is one of the most widespread programs addressing mothers of nursery and primary school children. It is offered in many larger German cities, including Munich, Stuttgart and Wiesbaden (Bayrisches Staatsministerium: Einwohner und Integrationsamt Wiesbaden). The idea behind these courses is that mothers attend German language classes while their children go to school or pre-school. The courses are held in the same building where their children are taught, which is thought to help mothers overcome existing fears of the German education system by exposing them to the school's routines (Einwohner und Integrationsamt Wiesbaden 2005). Education authorities also hope that the exposure to the German language and the school system itself may reduce domestic isolation and may help to integrate mothers more into school activities (Einwohner und Integrationsamt Wiesbaden 2005). The first report of the ministry in Wiesbaden (2005) praises the success of the course. Their data suggests that 75% of all mothers attend courses regularly and 90% of these are planning to attend the follow-up course. The high numbers of participants have led to the development of a coursebook for 'Mama lernt Deutsch' which was published in 2008 (Klett Verlag 2008).

Both courses described above aim at improving the language competency of immigrants. Yet, they are very different in nature, as traditionally the federal system in Germany means that education authority is passed onto the 'Länder' rather than being regulated centrally. The

variety of courses offered all over Germany presents officials with the problem of how to ensure that standards are met and that course participants gain a comparable level of language skills from the courses. The introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ regulates course contents as well as certain course details, such as for example the number of lessons in language acquisition and knowledge of society. However, the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ does not cover the way in which the courses were implemented by the individual course providers, which would have made quality assurance difficult. A new ministry, the ‘Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge’ (BAMF) was created to deal with this issue among others. Nevertheless, the idea of the BAMF is not as innovative as might have been suggested by the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and the official discourses around it. The ‘Ordinance on Recognition and Distribution of Foreign Refugees’ was first founded in 1953, at the same time as the Convention relating to the status of refugees was integrated into the domestic law of the German Federal Republic. At the same time the ‘Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees’ with a staff of 40 in Nuremberg-Langwasser was founded. The Foreigners Act of 28 April 1965 changed the name of the Federal Bureau to ‘Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees’. However, it continued to report to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and worked with roughly 60 staff until the late sixties. With the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and citizenship courses in 2005, it was renamed again as ‘Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge’ and acquired a range of further tasks. As a Federal immigration ministry, the BAMF carries out a variety of tasks:

1. It decides on asylum applications and on the protection of refugees against deportation.
2. It promotes and co-ordinates the linguistic, social and societal integration of immigrants in Germany.

3. It is the central steering body in immigration and migration questions – for example, it helps with the distribution of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and provides information on voluntary assisted returns of foreigners to their home countries.
4. It aims to increase co-operation with its European partners in the field of asylum and migration.

While the above tasks were also carried out by previous offices, the immigration act from 1 January 2005 assigned further responsibilities to the office:

5. Developing and implementing integration courses for immigrants.
6. Development of a national integration programme.
7. Drafting information material for immigrants and immigration authorities etc.
8. Acting as keeper of the central register of foreigners (for more details, see the BAMF webpage)

By developing and implementing integration courses for immigrants and creating a national integration programme, the BAMF takes a supervisory role in the execution of language courses. While the federal states as well as the individual authorities design and carry out the language courses, the BAMF is responsible for setting the guidelines, e.g. validating individual course outlines or ensuring all teachers have the required qualifications. The aim is to create a basis for comparability despite the diverse courses available to foreigners.

Summary

This chapter set out to provide an overview of the recent history of immigration in Germany, starting with the ‘Anwerbeverträge’ during the economic boom in the 50s, 60s and 70s, in

order to provide essential background information for the analysis of discourses which will follow in chapter 4. Particular emphasis was placed on the period between 1999 and 2005, which was characterised by the official recognition of Germany as an immigration country and the consequences deriving from this. The chapter examined key documents and related them to the concept of active immigration which characterises this period. It concluded by analysing how German language acquisition as a prerequisite for citizenship was incorporated in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and by giving two examples of such language courses intended to aid linguistic and social integration. In chapter 4 the background information provided by chapter 2 will be used as a base from which to analyse key discourses accompanying the making and passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. Chapter 2 will also inform the case study in chapter 5 as a detailed example of the increased focus on German language acquisition during this period.

3. Analysing discourse in society: combining aspects of critical discourse analysis with case study research

In this chapter I will give a brief overview on approaches to data analysis that I apply within the research of this thesis. The research on German immigration discourses falls into the category of political and media discourses. Following a brief overview of research on political and media discourses, this chapter will propose a qualitative approach, which triangulates aspects of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with case study research. This is designed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the discourses including the use of:

- referential strategies,
- predication strategies,
- argumentation strategies,
- perspectivation
- intensifying and mitigation strategies.

This qualitative approach contrasts with the largely quantitative methods employed in my MA dissertation (Schanze, 2005) in which I combined qualitative and quantitative methods with much of the emphasis being on the quantitative ‘micro-level’ of analysis; these two methods served as a methodological form of triangulation. In the present research a quantitative methodology – Wordsmith tools - was trialled to extract quantitative information from the dataset; however, it quickly became apparent in this case, that this type of analysis neglected contextualisation as well as mutual influences between authors and discourse. In my thesis, I will emphasise the ‘macro-level’ of analysis and attempt to highlight the complex structures surrounding the concepts of language, citizenship, and identity within the debates surrounding immigration policy. Hence, triangulation has been moved to another level; instead of

triangulating quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, I have decided to triangulate two qualitative methods – a CDA influenced analysis and case study research - and add historical information as an additional source. Triangulation also occurs at the data level with the research drawing upon a range of sources:

- Newspaper articles
- Policy and official documentation
- Interviews
- Field notes
- Personal letters relating to the case study

It is intended that the extensive use of triangulation and the wide range of source materials will decrease the influence of personal bias and provide a comprehensive overview of the discourses surrounding current German immigration policies.

This chapter is separated into four main sections. It begins with a brief examination of previous research on political discourses, followed by a rationale to base the analysis presented in this thesis on media discourses. It will then make a case for a media analysis based on aspects of critical discourse analysis complemented by the case study of the ‘Berlin Herbert Hoover Oberschule’. The section continues with the introduction of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a means for analysing political discourses. It then focuses on explaining the different approaches to CDA and details examples of previous CDA research on political and discriminatory discourses as well as the suitability of the discourse-historical approach for the research of this thesis.

Section 3.2 begins with an overview of previous research on political and discriminatory discourses. The section then proceeds to critically examine the use of aspects of CDA within the context of this research, highlighting its values and shortcomings. Building on the

contextual material in this and the previous section, the use of CDA within the framework of this research is detailed.

Section 3.3 proceeds to give comprehensive details of the qualitative triangulation – combining CDA with case study research – applied within the thesis. I explain how the different approaches can be used to complement each other and hence contribute to a more in-depth analysis of the data within the framework of this research. The final section provides details of the data handling and an overview of data management applied during the fieldwork stage.

3.1 The analysis of political media discourses

The analysis in this thesis will examine political discourses linked to the introduction to Germany's new immigration statute and the way they are represented by the media. In chapter 2, I showed that discourses around immigration and integration are frequently linked to linguistic proficiency and that successful integration is often associated with high German language proficiency. Hence, it could be argued that many discourses on immigration are at the same time discourses about language; more specifically they are discourses about the proficiency in the 'official' language of the country – as opposed to a general linguistic proficiency. In his research on 'Constructions of identity in political discourse in multilingual Britain', Blackledge (2004) had very similar findings. He examined British 'political discourse which appears to make self-evident a 'common-sense' reality that languages other than English are associated with disorder in an English state (Blackledge 2004: 69). Indeed, the idea of 'one language – one nation' is a concept found in many western nation states (for more details on this see Extra et al. 2009). Blackledge (2004) also found that language policy discourse – and its symbolic power – is perceived as more effective when supported legally.

This idea creates an interesting link between the analysis of the media discourses in chapter 4 and the case study of the HHO. The same focus on German language proficiency that follows the introduction of Germany's immigration law also shines through in the school's rules and regulations, which declare that German is the only language to be spoken in the school and on its playground. In both cases, the necessity of the acquisition of the German language is backed up by official documentation. Wodak (2000) takes this point further and describes laws as neither natural nor uncontested, but as emerging from ongoing chains of discourses (media and political). The historical contextualisation in chapter 2 as well as the analysis of media discourses in chapter 4 both discuss a variety of internal and external discursive events that have very probably influence the shaping of Germany's immigration statute. Both, the debates on border management as well as the debates on managing internal diversity focus predominantly focus on German language acquisition as a means for successful integration and societal stability. Here 'political discourse and the law act (alongside other discourses) to create a social world which is self-evident, natural, taken for granted, and which reproduces the social order' (Blackledge 2004: 70).

Bell (1995:23) echoes much of what has been said in the previous paragraph and gives four reasons for basing research on media discourse:

1. *media are a rich source of readily accessible data for research and teaching*
2. *their usage influences and represents people's use of and attitudes towards language in a speech community*
3. *they tell a great deal about social meanings and stereotypes projected through language and communication*
4. *they reflect and influence the formation and expression of culture, politics and social life*

According to Bell and Garrett (1998: 6) the media are particularly prominent in CDA research ‘because of their manifestly pivotal role as discourse bearing institutions.’ They play host to the socio-political agenda of CDA and its endeavour to uncover unequal power relationships through looking at ways of talking and the role of discourse in society. An in-depth discussion of the socio-political agenda and its various approaches to uncover social and political domination in discourse can be found in section 3.2.

The role of the media as a key provider for knowledge plays a central role in studying inequality in discourse (see Bell 1995 above). It is often argued that individual beliefs and actions are based on a body of shared beliefs that must be acquired (see, for example, van Dijk 1989, 1991). According to van Dijk (1989), one of the factors leading to the public’s attitude towards immigration is how the government communicates such measures. For example, the choice of phrases, such as ‘stopping the flow of immigrants’ conveys a certain picture – in this case a negative one – to the public. Even though van Dijk (1989) makes this statement in a British context, it holds true for any other Western European country, including Germany. However, political talk is only one factor that could trigger racist attitudes among the population. Based on his studies throughout the 1980s, van Dijk (1991) argues that racist discourse is more likely to originate in the media than in everyday talk. But which role do the media, and in the case of this study the so-called ‘Qualitätszeitungen’ (‘quality newspapers’), play in the formation of public attitudes towards immigrants among the population? In the context of Western European countries, social information (for example about immigrants) is largely based on public discourses (van Dijk, 1987). The circulation of such discourses helps to build up a popular mental picture, which then forms the basic opinion about the relevant minority group, and any incoming information is processed according to the underlying structure of the model. Only a minority of the population has direct access to political

discourse. Political discourse is brought to most people in Germany via the mass media and hence previous research has found that the news media play an important role in the distribution and acceptance of ethnic ideologies (van Dijk, 1987, 1989, 1991). According to van Dijk, 'the news media do not passively describe or record news events in the world, but actively (re-)construct them, mostly on the basis of many types of source discourses. Corporate interests, news values, institutional routines, professional ideologies and news schemata play an important role in this transformation' (van Dijk, 1989: 203). Castle and Miller (1993) take van Dijk's point further in that they state that the media plays a leading role in establishing consensus among its readership. In the context of this thesis this might imply that politicians might utilise the societal consensus for language proficiency as a marker for successful integration to 'democratically' legitimise increasingly hard immigration restrictions.

Fairclough (1995) is more critical of media analysis focusing on ideological effects of media discourse. His criticism focuses on the automatic assumption of some form of complexity between the media and dominant social classes and groups. In his claim that complexity should not always be assumed and needs to be assessed looking at the individual case, Fairclough (1995: 45) states: 'The point is that while some sections of the media can sometimes appear to be little more than tools of dominant interests, the media overall are in a more complex and variable relationship with such interests.' While the complexity of ideological effects on the readers of the newspaper articles in this chapter are difficult to assess with regard to individual articles, one can assume that the topics of key media discourses play a role in shaping individual beliefs – a point which will be picked up by the case study in chapter 5.

3.2 Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis with a focus on the discourse-historical approach

As has been said in the introduction to this chapter, the analysis of the political media discourses around the introduction of Germany's new immigration statute will be drawing on some aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which are supplemented (and backed up) by the case study of the German-only language policy of the Herbert-Hoover Oberschule in Berlin. The following paragraphs will give a general overview of the history of CDA and explain why the analysis of this thesis will draw on aspects of the context-based discourse-historical approach to CDA.

In the 1970s, the term 'discourse' gained popularity in a variety of humanities and social science disciplines. This wide-ranging use accounts for a variety of meanings that are commonly associated with it (Ehlich 1993; Ehlich 1994) and led to terminological flexibility among its users (Wodak 1999). While I will try to shed some light onto some of the approaches commonly found in the literature later in this chapter, I will first attempt to define CDA. There is no single definition of CDA. One reason for this is due to the variety of methodological and theoretical approaches. Also, CDA is not a level of analysis in contrast to other examples such as phonology or lexico-grammar. Rather, it is an exploration of how 'texts' at all levels work within socio-cultural practices (Fairclough, 1995).

CDA analysts assume a 'dialectic relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action [...] in which they are embedded' (Wodak, 2001b: 66). In other words, discourses are not only affected and shaped by the institutional, situational and social settings but they also actively influence social and political processes and action. As an example; the commonly drawn relationship between immigrants and crime not only concerns

the incident itself, but may also influence the light in which future immigrants will be seen. Hence, such a negative association would very possibly influence future political action, such as the passing of an immigration law and its contents.

While I mentioned earlier that CDA is not a 'level' of analysis, van Dijk takes this point even further by stating that CDA is 'at most a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis' (van Dijk, 1993: 131). In this statement van Dijk mentions not only the heterogeneity in the field of CDA, but also the similarities in the form of a 'shared perspective'. I shall therefore concentrate on the points that most CDA analysts agree upon and then continue by explaining the key differences between the most important schools.

Most CDA analysts will agree on the 'shared perspective' van Dijk mentions in relation to the term 'critical'. Hence they share the view that CDA is concerned with 'analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak, 2001: 2). This means that CDA makes an attempt to critically investigate social inequality, which is expressed by language (written or spoken), in use or in discourse. I mentioned earlier in this section that the starting point for CDA is the perception of discourse as an element of social practices, which does not only constitute other elements, but is also shaped by them (Wodak et al. 1999). Hence, social questions are at the same time also questions about discourse. Consequently most critical linguists agree with Habermas, who states that 'language is also a medium of social force' and that it 'serves to legitimize relations of organized power' (Habermas, 1977: 259). If this is the case, then in contrast to other disciplines in the field of discourse analysis, the focus of CDA goes beyond the text as an object of inquiry: a careful linguistic and semiotic analysis of texts (such as newspaper articles or advertisements) and interactions (for example conversations and interviews) plays a vital part in social analysis. Moreover, the CDA approach to discourse

analysis involves a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures. This influences the creation and production of a text as well as the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups, as social historical subjects, create meanings. In the previous paragraph the three concepts that underlie all CDA analyses are identified: the concept of historicity, the concept of power distribution, and the concept of ideology. However, as they are relatively complex phenomena, these concepts deserve closer examination.

To a small extent, the concept of history is present in every CDA analysis. The role of discourse within the society and culture is seen as historically variable, and Fairclough (1995) argues that in modern and contemporary society discourse has taken on a major role in socio-cultural reproduction and change. This means that discourse is not only influenced by its historical background (e.g. for this analysis the history of the four newspapers), but it also implies that discourse does have an effect on the future of its surroundings. Yet, the emphasis the various strands of CDA place on the role of history varies. For example, Teun van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach as well as Siegfried Jäger's discourse strands and collective symbols approach place less emphasis on this concept than the works of Ruth Wodak, who chooses to analyse discourse from a discourse-historical point of view (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001).

The second concept, the concept of power distribution, is the one which is generally associated with CDA. According to Wodak (2001), CDA makes it possible to analyse unequal power relationships and show up possibilities of resistance to the pressure arising from these relationships. In the current European culture, established power distributions are accepted and rarely questioned. However, by analysing the reasons these relationships became established, CDA analysts also attempt to make people think about the current situation and perhaps even evoke future changes. Hence, CDA analysts believe that power does not derive

from language itself, but that language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it and perhaps even to alter power relationships over time.

The third concept, the concept of ideology, is very closely related to the concept of power distribution. Ideology, for CDA, is seen as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. If we look back at the concept of power relations it becomes clear that this concept is constructed by various social forces. We often accept the unequal distribution of power because it seems natural to us (an example for this could be the student/professor relationship in university). Yet, this naturalization obscures the fact that ‘the way things are is not inevitable or unchangeable’, as they result from particular actions and serve particular interests (Cameron, 2001: 123). Consequently, CDA attempts to show up these ‘hidden agendas’ underlying any discourse, or in other words to ‘demystify’ discourses by deciphering ideologies. (Wodak, 2001) Hence, CDA could be described as being a form of sociolinguistics which not only is explicitly dedicated to the study of text in context, but also values both, text and context, as equally important. (Wodak, 1996)

In the previous paragraphs, I concentrated on the common features of CDA analysts. In this section, I will identify the most salient differences between the approaches of Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak to CDA and attempt to give a brief explanation of how they emerged and developed. I will then offer a more detailed explanation of the discourse-historical approach to CDA as practised by the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis. In the following section, I will follow Wodak (2001) in speaking about national varieties (or schools) of CDA. I will discuss the discourse-historical approach in more detail, as various aspects of it form the basis of the analysis in chapter 4.

The 1970s saw the emergence of a form of discourse and text analysis that recognized the role of language in structuring power relations in society (Wodak, 2001). The British variety, represented among others by Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge, Roger Fowler, Theo van Leeuwen and Norman Fairclough, draws upon Foucault's theory of discourse and, in its linguistic dimension, is often associated with Firth and Halliday and their systemic linguistic theory, as well as with Halliday's social semiotics (Wodak et al., 1999). In 1989, Fairclough began to publish material describing the social theories underlying CDA and illustrating these theories with examples. His main focus lay on the description of how CDA can be used to disclose contemporary social and cultural change through the discourses surrounding it. The influence of Foucault is even stronger in German Critical Discourse Analysis, represented by Jürgen Link, Utz Maas and Siegfried Jäger (Jäger, 2001). A slightly different approach is taken by Teun van Dijk (1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1996, and 1998). Van Dijk shows in his early works that he sees texts and discourse as basic units and social practices. His analytical CDA approach (socio-cognitive approach) is partially based on socio-psychological considerations (Wodak, 2001). Van Dijk uses a triadic model 'to show how personal and social cognition mediates between social structures and discourse structures' (Wodak et al., 1999: 7). In recent years much of his focus was on issues of racism and ideology (van Dijk, 1998).

Ruth Wodak follows the discourse-historical approach which strongly focuses on the interdisciplinary nature of CDA. As a practitioner of the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis, she situates herself within Critical Discourse Analysis, and also within the tradition of Critical Theory (Wodak et al., 1999; Wodak 2001b). She attempts to show how scholars from different backgrounds share a 'particular perspective in which the concepts of power, ideology and history figure centrally' (Wodak, 2001: 7). Hence, the most salient distinguishing feature of this approach compared to Fairclough and van Dijk is the endeavour

to work interdisciplinary, multimethodologically, and on the basis of a variety of different empirical data as well as background information (Wodak et al., 1999). For example, the study of national identity (Wodak et al., 1999) takes historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives into consideration. However, the actual emphasis of an approach may vary slightly according to the matter under analysis.

As such, the discourse-historical approach ‘follows a complex concept of social critique which embraces at least three interconnected aspects, two of which are primarily related to the dimension of cognition and one to the dimension of action’ (Wodak, 2001b: 64). The three aspects, namely history, power distribution, and ideology, have been discussed in more detail in section 3.2. An analysis of the three aspects depends on what Wodak calls the ‘context’ (Wodak, 1996). In her studies Wodak focuses on four different levels of context. The first level is the immediate co-text, namely the semantic environment of the respective discourse. The second level is made up by the ‘extra-linguistic social variables and institutional settings of the specific situation of an utterance’, the so-called ‘middle range’ theories (Wodak et al., 1999: 9). Thirdly, her understanding of context also incorporates the intertextuality of interdiscursive references in the text. The fourth levels of context are the so called ‘grand’ theories: the broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to. However, as mentioned above, the discourse-historical approach does not always incorporate all four different aspects. Grand theories, for example, can serve purely as a foundation. In a specific analysis, however, middle range theories may better serve the analytical aims. I will elaborate on this on how context is interpreted for the research of this particular thesis in section 4.2.3.

The discourse-historical approach does not only look at the ‘context’ of a discursive act from multiple perspectives, but also considers their historical dimension from two different

perspectives. On the one hand, it attempts to integrate as much available information as possible about the historical background of the respective discursive events (Wodak et al., 1999). On the other hand, this synchronic dimension is complemented by a diachronic dimension. The discourse-historical approach also relies on a number of investigations (Wodak et al. 1990; Wodak et al. 1994) that have traced the diachronic change which particular types of discourse undergo throughout a specified time period. The previous section suggests that CDA is generally faced with a twofold task. First, it seeks to reveal the relationship between linguistic means, forms and structures and concrete linguistic practice. Secondly, it attempts to shed some light onto the relationship between discursive action and political and institutional structures.

In contrast to most other schools of CDA, the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis places most of its emphasis on the historic dimension (Wodak et al., 1999). Hence, Wodak is concerned not with analysing the linguistic system and its functional and semantic potential in all its dimensions per se, but rather the linguistic relations between social structures and a concrete linguistic or grammatical option (Wodak, 1997; Wodak et al., 1999).

In this section, I hoped to show that even though most CDA analysts agree on the notions of power, ideology and history, their actual approaches vary. I introduced the discourse-historical approach in more detail as some of its ideas form the basis for chapter 4.

3.3 Political and discriminatory research

In the following section I discuss examples of the discourse-historical approach to CDA and discuss some of the criticisms related to CDA. I then proceed by explaining the way in which I intend to handle these criticisms within this thesis and then detail my approach to CDA as applied to this research.

The study for which the discourse-historical approach was originally developed sought to trace how an anti-Semitic stereotyped image, or 'Feindbild' was constituted by looking at the 1986 presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in Austria (Wodak, 2001b). However, it has been further elaborated in diverse studies, such as Matouschek's study on the discrimination against immigrants from Romania and Wodak's study on national identity in Austria (Matouschek et al. 1995; Wodak et al. 1999).

'The starting point of a discourse analytical approach to the complex phenomenon of racism is to realize that racism, as both social practice and ideology, manifests itself discursively' (Wodak and Reisigl 2001). This can be seen in the fact that on the one hand racist opinions and beliefs are produced and promoted through the means of discourse. On the other hand discourse also serves as a means to criticise, delegitimize, and argue against racist opinions and practices. It becomes apparent that 'race' from a social functional point of view is a mere social construction. Still, it is a highly powerful construction, a powerful enough ideological tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups (Wodak and Reisigl 2001). However, a CDA analysis will not usually study the propaganda of racist groups. As I mentioned in the introduction, CDA is mostly concerned with the ideologies underlying discourse, or in other words, with uncovering the 'hidden agendas' of discourse. Looking at open propaganda, the agenda of the racist groups is not hidden but laid open. Rather, critical discourse analysts have

taken an interest in how racism is made ‘respectable’ in mainstream discourse, as very few people are prepared to say that they speak ‘as a racist’ (Cameron 2001). Consequently, most proponents of racist arguments will make an attempt to distance themselves from the stigma of ‘being racist’. In the next paragraph, I will give some examples from the studies of Fairclough and Wodak on how racism manifests itself in discourse.

An important study on the discursive structure of racism was carried out by Ruth Wodak (1997; 2000), who took the ‘Waldheim affair’ as the focus for an interdisciplinary study that concentrated on the form and content of anti-Semitic prejudice in public and private discourse in contemporary Austrian political culture. The ‘Waldheim affair’ began in 1986 and is based on the allegations that Kurt Waldheim, former Secretary General of the United Nations and Austrian presidential candidate, had a hidden Nazi past and had been a perpetrator of war crimes in World War II. In this study, Wodak investigated who speaks, where, how, and to whom, as well as why and with what effect, as an ‘anti-Semite’. Her discourse-historical approach to the ‘Waldheim affair’ is characterised by the attempt to relate individual utterances to the context in which they were made, or in other words to ‘integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a text’ (Wodak 1997: 71). Related to the analysis of the discourse around ‘immigration’ and ‘integration’ which will be the heart of this thesis, Wodak found in all her studies taken from the Austrian context that in more official settings (such as newspaper articles), nationalist, racist and anti-Semitic stereotypes occurred in vague forms, ‘mostly as allusions and implicit evocations triggered by the use of vocabulary which was characteristic of the historical period of National Socialism’ (Wodak 2001b: 72). An example she mentions is the implication by the FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs) that ‘for Austrian schools, non-native speakers of German represent a great handicap for the school education of Austrian children (because they are assumed to hinder the ‘native’ Austrian children from

learning at school) and, thus a threat to the Austrian children's solid education' (Wodak, 2001b: 92). This example shows a form of discrimination that appeals to the fears of parents about the quality of their children's education and might hence trigger a reaction from them. Other influential studies have been conducted by Teun van Dijk (1991; 1996), who analysed sources such as speeches made in legislative assemblies and press reports. These studies reveal that the language of 'us' and 'them' was very popular in these speeches to create barriers between the people under discussion and the person who is producing the discourse. He also found that minority groups were often labelled with terms like 'immigrants' or 'foreigners'. It is interesting that these terms do not actually refer to race as such and do not distinguish between the nationalities of the minority groups. The findings of van Dijk (1991; 1996) are similar to those which I will discuss in chapter 4. Labelling minority groups with comprehensive terms ('immigrant', 'foreigner') makes it possible for the speaker producing 'racist' discourse to argue that it has nothing to do with race as such.

Looking at the content and the findings of the studies brings us back to the concepts underlying CDA that I discussed earlier in this chapter: they assert the way in which social power is abused, and dominance and social power are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by discourse. Both studies I briefly introduced in this section are in line with my own findings, which I will discuss in more detail in chapter 4.

3.4 Critical examination of CDA

Criticisms of CDA have been voiced in various areas of CDA, however, most of them relate either to its shortcomings as a method or to the role of the analyst. I will discuss the most prominent criticisms of Widdowson (1998), Verschueren (2001), Schegloff (1997),

Slembrouck (2001) and Blommaert (2005). I shall begin with the methodological criticism and then continue onto the criticisms relating to the role of the analyst in CDA analysis.

Widdowson (1998) has several points of criticism relating to CDA. According to him, CDA analysis blurs important distinctions between concepts, disciplines, and methodologies. He relates this partly to the unsystematic nature of CDA. As examples for this, he names the unsystematic application of S/F grammar in Fairclough's work as well as the 'making for pitteance' in van Dijk's analysis of an article published by 'The Sun'. Related to the unsystematic nature of CDA, much of Widdowson's criticism is directed towards the selective partiality of the researcher. According to him, the unsystematic application of CDA makes way for biased interpretations of discourse. He also argues for a clear distinction between the internal co-textual relations which can be semantically traced within a text, and the external relations which help to realise their pragmatic meaning. He believes that CDA does not draw this clear distinction, but that it collapses semantics and pragmatics. He goes further in saying that pragmatics is reduced to semantics. Blommaert (2005) makes a very similar point in so far as he strongly encourages a greater application of context into CDA analysis. He criticises the strong linguistic bias of CDA and its neglecting of absent discourses. Related to this he denounces the lack of historical developments in CDA and its restriction to particular timeframes.

Verschueren's (2001), Schegloff (1997) and Slembrouck (2001) all criticise different aspects relating to the role of the analyst in CDA. Verschueren (2001) claims that CDA demonstrates the obvious: according to him, the analyst's point of view does not substantially differ from that of a participant. Schegloff (1997) is not concerned with the distinctions between the point of view of the participant and the analyst. His main concern relates to analysts projecting their own political prejudices and biases onto their data, which in return influences the analysis.

Slembrouck (2001) is also concerned with the role of the analyst. He claims that CDA makes the analyst the ultimate arbiter of meaning, which could produce a problem of voice. Hence, CDA could potentially produce a view from above rather than from below.

It has been shown that the criticisms of CDA are its selective partiality, its unsystematic application, its closure to particular timeframes, its demonstration of the obvious, the role of the analyst, and the danger of personal bias. The two criticisms of CDA which are particularly pertinent to this study are those of selective partiality and personal bias. In the next section, I shall refer to these criticisms and explain how I will handle them in my analysis. I shall then continue onto the approach to CDA that underlies chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

3.5 The role of CDA in this thesis: a ‘toolkit’ for analysis

Widdowson’s (1998) criticisms of CDA include its selective partiality. This is a criticism, which has strongly influenced my approach to CDA. Personal bias of the researcher is intrinsic to all qualitative analysis and so can never be fully eliminated. Bias on a data level, however, can be minimised by triangulating a range of data sources. As elaborated on above, the analysis of this thesis is significantly influenced by Blommaert’s (2005) multimodal approach to discourse analysis and combines aspects of CDA with a Case Study. By triangulating a range of different data sources including newspaper articles, official documentation, photos, letters and interviews the data aspect of partiality can be reduced.

Schegloff’s (1997) criticised the projection of personal bias onto the analysis. This is a common criticism of many kinds of qualitative research, and probably applies to an even greater extent to Case Study research than to CDA.

In this thesis, CDA serves as a ‘toolkit’ for analysis. As such, it draws on elements of CDA that lend themselves to answering the research questions underlying the analysis of this thesis. Below, I will begin by establishing what the research questions are and then elaborate on how they will be addressed.

The analysis of the newspaper articles underlying chapters 4 and 5 is largely based on the following research questions:

1. How are people named and referred to?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
3. Which arguments are used to legitimise/ de-legitimise the proposed action?
4. From which point of view are research questions 1-3 expressed?
5. How are respective utterances articulated? Are they intensified or mitigated? If so, in which way does that happen?

The above questions draw on strategies of self- and other- presentation as developed by Wodak and Reisigl (2001). Wodak’s and Reisigl’s approach draws on notions of ‘positive self- presentation’ and ‘negative other- presentation’ from Teun van Dijk’s concepts and categories, but in contrast to van Dijk, does not draw on sociocognitism. The main reason for choosing Wodak’s and Reisigl’s approach, over that of van Dijk for this thesis, was van Dijk’s emphasis of a top-down causality of opinion-making and manipulation. Much of van Dijk’s analysis focuses on the impact of the ‘elite’ on ‘ordinary people’. While any critical analysis of newspaper discourses needs to investigate the relationship between different social classes (i.e. the writer of the article versus the subject of the article), van Dijk’s research presumes a largely homogenous elite who have an impact on allegedly homogenous groups of ordinary people. The homogeneity of social groups is a concept that may work for a larger scale

analysis with a more statistical approach to analysis (i.e. looking at the mean rather than deviation); it is, however, not in accordance with the analysis of this thesis. For example, one focus of the analysis is the case study of the Herbert Hoover Oberschule in the multicultural district of Wedding in Berlin – a study aimed at providing an example of how language policies are interpreted and implemented at local level. For this study, the diversity among immigrants played a central role in the analysis. Wodak and Reisigl (2001: 31f) provide a more suitable approach, as proposed notions of ‘positive self- presentation’ and ‘negative other- presentation’ recognise the importance of ‘multicausal, mutual influences between different groups of persons within a specific society’. While Wodak’s and Reisigl’s approach recognises the mutual impact between different social groups – an example in the context of this thesis is shown in the changes of the attitude of newspaper discourses towards the HHO’s language regulations throughout the course of the debate - it does not solve the problem of representing diversity in society. To increase this understanding, this thesis will combine aspects of CDA with case study research and will concentrate on a greater range of data (i.e. newspaper articles, interviews, fieldwork notes, and individual letters written to the school). According to Wodak and Reisigl (2001: 46), positive self- presentation and negative other- presentation involves the following five strategies: reference, predication, perspectivation and involvement, intensification and mitigation, and argumentation. I will elaborate on these strategies below in the discussions of individual research questions.

Analysis in chapters 4 and 5 draws on the five research questions introduced above. However, more often than not, boundaries between the questions were blurred and the results from applying the questions to the data were used as starting points for further discussion. The first research question I would like to discuss is: How are people named and referred to? This question draws on what Wodak and Reisigl refer to as referential strategies or nomination strategies. As such the research questions aim to investigate how social actors are represented

and constructed (e.g. ingroups or outgroups). Referential strategies or nomination strategies are often expressed through membership categorisation devices such as reference by tropes or through the use of biological, naturalising and depersonalising metaphors and metonymies.

The second research question, ‘What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?’, aims at detecting predication strategies. Once social actors (this can refer to individuals, group members or groups) have been ‘constructed’ or ‘identified’ by detecting referential or nomination strategies, linguistic predications are assigned to them. For example, predications may be realised in a newspaper article as stereotypical attributions of negative or positive traits to a social actor. According to Wodak and Reisigl (2001), predication strategies aim to label social actors more or less positively or negatively.

The third research question ‘Which arguments are used to legitimise/de-legitimise the proposed action?’ looks at argumentation strategies and topoi. As such, it aims to discover justification strategies for positive or negative attributions of social actors. Examples for this could be the inclusion or exclusion of social actors or their discrimination or preferential treatment.

The fourth research question ‘From which point are questions 1 – 3 expressed?’ aspires to identify strategies of perspectivation, framing or discourse representation by detecting how speakers express their involvement in the discourse. The question also seeks to position the speakers and their point of view.

The final research question ‘How are respective utterances articulated? Are they intensified or mitigated? If so, in which way does that happen?’ is relatively self-explanatory: it aims to show off intensification strategies as well as mitigation strategies to facilitate qualifying and

modifying the proposition of speakers by either intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of their utterances. As such it looks at ways on how discourses are either sharpened up or toned down.

In this section I elaborated on how CDA strategies of self- and other- presentation are used to stimulate the discussion and analysis of important points of analysis in my thesis. In the next section, I will argue that the localised case study of the HHO in chapter 5 together with the slightly more CDA orientated analysis of chapter 4 can complement each other in showing complexity in the discourses around the introduction of Germany's new immigration statute.

3.6 Combining aspects of CDA with case study research

Case study research and critical discourse analysis (CDA) have not often been used in previous research to complement each other. In this section, I will argue that by triangulating a case study approach with critical discourse analysis and adding a historical perspective, complexity can be captured in research with relatively open boundaries – which is not possible if any of these methods are applied on their own. I will begin by giving a brief overview of case study research and then continue onto where case study research may help me to understand the complexities arising from my research questions. In this section I will also explain why I believe case study to be suitable to complement my CDA analysis. I will then proceed to the case boundaries and identify where in the field of case study research, the type(s) of case study research underlying this paper can be found. After explaining how complexity will be captured, I will conclude with how I believe case study will help me answer my research question and hence contribute to knowledge.

3.6.1 A brief overview of case study research

There is no such thing as one set definition of what case study research is. This may result from case study not being a methodological choice, 'but a choice of objects to be studied'. (Stake, 1994: 236). Hence as a form of research, case study is not defined by the methods of enquiry used, but by an interest in specific cases (Stake, 1994). The focus is on the particular, which can be incorporated by a person or an institution; case study attempts to understand the complexities of these instances. Looking at the above, the question what a case is and how to select it is the essence of case study research. So what is a case? Stake (1994) argues that not everything is a case. According to him, 'a child may be a case. A doctor may be a case – but 'his doctoring' lacks the specificity, boundedness, to be called a case.' (Stake, 1994: 236) 'The case is a specific, a complex, functioning thing.' (Stake, 1995: 2) While all case study researchers agree on some of the features all cases have, all of them distinguish between various types of case study. I will discuss the ones mentioned by Yin (2003) and Stake (1994, 1995a, 1995b) in more detail later in this section.

Researchers using the case study approach tend to focus on the common and the particular features of a case study – the results, however, regularly give insight into something unique. According to Stake (1994: 238), uniqueness is likely to be pervasive, extending to

- The nature of the case
- Its historical background
- The physical setting
- Other contexts, including economic, political, legal, and aesthetic
- Other cases through which this case is recognised
- Those informants through whom the case can be known

Researchers can gather data on some or all of the above.

One of the most common criticisms of case studies concerns the generalisation from a single case (or a small number of cases). Yet, one could ask the question to what extent it is really necessary to generalise from case study. According to Stake (1995) ‘case study research is not sampling research. We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases. Our first obligation is to understand this one case.’ Looking at this statement, case study seems to be a rather poor basis for generalisation. However, Stake (1995) argues that generalisation is present in every case study. He argues that by studying a case in detail and length, certain problems or responses will occur repeatedly, which again will lead to generalisations for this particular case. Stake goes on by distinguishing between petite generalisations and grand generalisations (Stake, 1995: 7f). While petite generalisations aim at the recurrent themes in a particular case study, grand generalisations can also potentially be modified by case study. Campbell (1975) sees case study usefully as a small step toward grand generalisation. Simons (1980) and Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg (1991) emphasise the importance of generalisation in all research. Yet, I believe that despite all generalisation, researchers should be cautious not to lose the complexity of the particular case in the process of generalisation.

3.6.2 The value and application of case study within my research

Having read the above overview of case study research, the problems of applying case study research to the question, what role the German language plays in the preservation and promotion of national and ethnic identities, become obvious. As the boundaries of this question are not specific enough for case study research, case study is not suitable to answer the whole research question. Nevertheless, I argue that case study research can contribute to answering this question by providing a comprehensive overview of the ‘local’ interpretation of national language policy making by the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ (HHO), as well as the media debates that followed the school’s decision to allow no languages other than

German on the playground. As such, the case study presented in chapter 5 adds another dimension to the CDA influenced analysis of newspaper articles in chapter 4.

I will outline the research questions underlying this thesis and then explain which aspects of them can be answered by case study and to what extent case study can contribute to capturing the complexity of the question.

The central research question of the thesis is:

What role does the German language play in the preservation and promotion of national and ethnic identities in Germany?

This question is followed up by five subsidiary research questions:

- What are dominating discourses and debates underlying the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?
- How immigrants are referred to in recent German immigration discourses?
- **What role does the German language play in recent immigration discourses?**
- **What are the ideologies underlying the debates around the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?**
- **How are the wider national and European debates on the role of language in the process of integration interpreted at ‘local’ level?**

The questions in bold print are those which I believe case study could make a substantial contribution to finding answers. However, the research questions will not be answered by the case study alone but in combination with the CDA influenced research in chapter 4. The results of the case study may also contribute to answering the remaining two research questions. In the introduction, I indicated that the changes to Germany’s immigration law

mirror changes to immigration throughout most of Europe (Extra et al. 2009). Extra et al. (2009) suggest a trend towards emphasising a more substantial knowledge of immigrants' countries of residence – German in the case of the HHO (Herbert Hoover Oberschule). The case study will focus on how this trend is interpreted and implemented in the particular case of the HHO, a secondary school with an overly large proportion of students who do not speak German as their first language. The analysis in chapter 5 will go beyond an attempt to answer the research questions set out above alone. It will describe and characterise the HHO within its setting in the multicultural Berlin district of Wedding, analyse the newspaper debate initiated by the school's German-only policy and investigate the relationship between media debates and personal letters written to the school.

The central research question underlying this thesis, 'What role does the German language play in the preservation and promotion of national and ethnic identities in Germany?', is a complex question that can only be answered by approaching the data using a range of methods (methodological triangulation) and collecting different forms of data (data triangulation).

I have not yet answered why I believe that case study research might be a successful complement to a more CDA orientated analysis. I mentioned in the introductory paragraphs that the emphasis of case study lies on the objects to be studied and not on the methodological approach as such. (Stake, 1994) Like CDA, case study is an approach that focuses on in-depth study of complex phenomena. Whilst the same is also true for ethnography, the reason why I believe that case study might have an advantage over ethnography is its approach to data. While in ethnography, the research interests, boundaries etc. evolve from the data, 'purist' case study researchers (for example see Stake's study of Harper School) begin a case study with a set of ideas on what they would like to discover and a clear set of boundaries. Hence, a

purist case study approaches the data gathering in a similar way to that of CDA, but has different foci, which again enhances the understanding of complexities. In addition to the approach to data, Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach to CDA places much of its emphasis on context, which is in line with case study. As Yin (2003) remarks: 'case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context' (Yin, 2003: 4).

While the paragraphs above tackle a potential combination of CDA with case study research in a very hypothetical way, the two methods have been successfully combined in previous research, even though the combination is not particularly commonly seen. In his essay on 'metaphor, morality and myth: a critical discourse analysis of public housing policy in Queensland', Greg Marston (2000) presents illustrative findings from case study research investigating the function and effects of competing discourses in the policy change process. The specific field addressed by his paper is the development and implementation of public housing policy in Queensland, Australia. Marston uses critical discourse analysis to explore discursive constructions of the policy problem and power relations within the policy community.

Marston (2000: 350) claims that 'historically, social policy analysis has almost exclusively focused on the structural dimensions of social order, while remaining weak on non-structural dimensions, that is, behaviour, culture and the meanings people give to their lives.' He believes that by combining case study with CDA, it may be possible to overcome this problem. While I agree with Marston that combining case study research and CDA may enhance the quality of the results, this thesis will complement case study with aspects from a more context based approach to CDA. While Marston (2000) bases most of his CDA analysis on Fairclough (1992), I believe that a more multidisciplinary orientated model of CDA, such

as the one developed by the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis (for example see Wodak, 2001) is more suitable to complement the endeavour of case study research to capture complexity.

The boundaries for the case studies as part of the research underlying this thesis partially evolve from the research questions which can be answered with the help of case study:

- What role does the German language play in the recent immigration discourses?
- What are the ideologies underlying the debates around the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?
- How are the wider national and European debates on the role of language in the process of integration interpreted at ‘local’ level?

The case study will concentrate on the way in which broader national and European language policies were interpreted by the HHO and will hence draw a picture of ‘local’ language policy making. While other Berlin schools with a high proportion of immigrant students (i.e. the ‘Rüttli’ school) also received media attention following the lively debate that the HHO had initiated, the decision to solely concentrate on the HHO was made for the following reasons. First, the HHO’s German-only policy initiated the debates in early 2006 on how the integration of immigrants into the German school system could be improved, and secondly, the following debates on other schools in Germany’s larger cities focused more on improving behaviour among the schools’ students – and the issue of German language learning was mostly discussed by either approving or disapproving of the HHO’s policy.

The following paragraphs aim at situating the case study of the HHO as an instrumental case study. There are different kinds of case study and most case researchers distinguish between at least three different types. I shall describe the approach of my case study research by

referring to Stake (1994, 1995b) and Yin (2003). Stake (1994, 1995b) distinguishes between intrinsic and instrumental interest in cases, which results in three types of case study I will briefly explain below. An intrinsic case study is undertaken ‘because one wants better understanding of this particular case. It is not undertaken because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem.’ (Stake, 1994: 237). On the other hand instrumental case study looks at a particular case to provide insight into an issue or refine a theory. ‘The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else.’ (p. 237) A collective case study also has an instrumental interest, but in contrast to the instrumental case study, it does not concentrate on one single case, but is ‘extended to several cases. (...) They may be similar or dissimilar, redundancy and variety each having voice’ (Stake, 1994: 237). As I am mostly interested in case study as a means to support (or contradict) my CDA analysis, my interest in the case is clearly instrumental, and as I will have more than one participant (generally 2 or 3 participants), the study will fall into the category of instrumental case study.

Yin (2003) identifies at least six different kinds of case study, based on a 2x3 matrix. Firstly, a case study research can be based on single- or multiple- case study; secondly, ‘whether single or multiple, the case study can be exploratory, descriptive, or explanatory.’ (Yin, 2003: 5) According to Yin (2003: 5), ‘an exploratory case study (...) is aimed at defining the questions and hypotheses of a subsequent study (not necessarily a case study) or at determining the feasibility of the desired research procedures. A descriptive case study presents a complete description of a phenomenon within its context. An explanatory case study presents data bearing on cause-effect relationships - explaining how events happened.’ These three categories exist for both types: single- and multiple- case studies. However, according to Yin (2003), multiple case studies include two or more cases within the same study. These multiple cases should be selected so that they replicate each other - either

predicting similar results (literal replication) or contrasting results for predictable reasons (theoretical replication). Despite the fact that my thesis will aim at analysing current debates around immigration and language in Germany, I would like to use the case study of the HHO to add to the in-depth understanding of the complex phenomena surrounding language and identity with relation to the ‘local’ interpretation of language and immigration issues in Germany.

The use of case study in this thesis will be a means of increasing the understanding of the issues surrounding language and identity in Germany. While the CDA orientated analysis in chapter 4 draws mostly on newspaper articles and relates them to historical background information and official documentation, the case study of the HHO goes beyond this. Though mainly drawing on newspaper articles and official documentation as primary sources, the analysis also includes personal letters written to the school as a direct response to its German-only policy. Findings from the analysis of the primary documents are frequently related to notes taken during my fieldwork at the school in May 2006 as well as semi-structured interviews with students and teachers at the school.

3.7 Data management during the fieldwork phase

The following section will contain a brief overview of research practices during the fieldwork at the HHO in May 2006. It will concentrate on how interviews with students and teachers were conducted as well as the way in which the extracts included in the thesis were transcribed. It will also explain the role interviews have taken in the context of the research for this thesis.

3.7.1 Interviewing in the context of my research

The attraction of the interview is that it is a two-way process which allows you to interact with the informant(s), thus facilitating a more probing investigation than could be undertaken with a questionnaire. While interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we attempt to understand our fellow human beings, any discourse always has a residue of ambiguity, which cannot be completely eliminated even through the most careful wording of questions or most precise reporting or coding of answers (Frey and Fontana, in Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Both of the above quotes stress the ability of interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations and ideologies of the persons interviewed. However, in order to get the information required to advance the research questions, choices have to be made with regard to interview methods.

The most obvious distinction in interviewing method is the choice between qualitative and quantitative interviews. While quantitative interviews concentrate on putting interview data into pre-established categories, qualitative interviewing ‘approaches a problem in its natural setting, explores related and contradictory themes and concepts, and points out the missing and subtle, as well as the explicit and obvious. Due to the nature of my thesis, quantitative interviewing is irrelevant and hence, I shall concentrate on qualitative interviewing only.

Rubin and Rubin (2005) describe the key features of qualitative interviews:

- They are built on a naturalistic, interpretive philosophy
- They are extensions of ordinary conversations
- Interviewees are partners in the research enterprise rather than subjects to be tested or examined.

(Rubin and Rubin 2005: 12)

There are numerous forms of qualitative interviews from which researchers can choose according to the purpose of their study. According to Denzin and Lincoln, the ‘most common form of interviewing involves individual, face-to-face verbal interchange, but interviewing can also take the form of face-to-face group interchange, mailed or self-administered questionnaires, and telephone surveys’ (Frey and Fontana, in Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 645). Literature most commonly distinguishes between three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured or ethnographic interviews (Frey and Fontana, in Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Keats 2000; Rubin and Rubin 2005). I shall briefly explain their distinguishing features as well as the contexts in which these forms are commonly used.

Structured interviews are often used in market research. Using highly specified questions that are prepared in advance, structured interviews can be seen as being close to questionnaires in format and assumptions. An advantage of structured interviews is that large populations can be surveyed and their answers compared by asking each informant the same questions in the same order. Common question types include fixed alternative questions (e.g. Q: How do you get to university in the morning? A: By bus, by car, by bike), scaled response questions (e.g. Q: How do you like the student life in Southampton? A: very much, much, indifferent, not at all) or open-ended questions.

Semi-structured interviews have a structured overall framework, but compared to structured interviews allow for greater flexibility. The order in which questions are asked is not rigid and the researcher has space to include a series of follow-up questions.

Unstructured or ethnographic interviews begin with a general agenda from the side of the researcher. Yet, this agenda is usually just an outline of a checklist. The direction of the

interview is dependent on the interviewees' responses and hence the interview shows some characteristics of a natural conversation. 'The purpose for the most part is not to get simple yes and no answers but descriptions of an episode, a linkage or an explanation; formulating the questions and anticipating probes that evoke good responses is a special art' (Stake 1995: 184). To summarise the main differences between structured and unstructured interviews, Frey and Fontana say that 'the former aims at capturing precise data of a codable nature in order to explain behaviour within pre-established categories, whereas the latter attempts to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any a-priory categorisation that may limit the field of enquiry' (Frey and Fontana, in Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 653).

It has become increasingly popular among researchers not to view interviews as a mere tool of data gathering but 'active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results' (Frey and Fontana, in Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 646). Even though researchers do not tend to see interviews as neutral data, the faith that results are trustworthy and accurate (as opposed to being biased by the relationship that evolves between the interviewee and researcher during the interview process) prevails (Atkinson and Silverman 1997).

The degree of structuring in interviews refers to the degree that the questions and other interventions the interviewer makes during the interview are pre-prepared. In the section above I mentioned the various methodological categories that qualitative interviews can fall into. However, interviews do not only differ in their methodological approach, but also in their general intention: an interview can aim at eliciting understandings or meanings or its purpose can be to describe and portray specific events and processes. (Rubin and Rubin 2005)

If I take the example of my case study at the Berlin Herbert-Hoover Realschule, a series of

open ended-unstructured interviews would be useful to obtain a general flavour of what it is like to go to this particular school. However, as I intend to research the role that the German language plays in the lives of the students and teachers of this school, a series of more specific, semi-structured (also called focused) (Merton et al. 1990) questions may be more appropriate in this particular context. The questions for my interviews are formed from the patterns and peculiarities arising from the fierce newspaper debate around the introduction of a ‘German only’ language policy at this school. As it can be seen in the example bulleted below, I differentiated between students and teachers concerning the areas my questions will fall into.

Teachers

- Experiences of multiethnic classrooms and the role the German language plays in them

Students

- Role of the German language in their lives and the values

Although I prepared a set of open-ended questions for each of the two groups, I do not intend to ask them in any set order and intend to (especially with the teachers) follow up on interesting issues that arise from the interview, even if this involves leaving out some of the pre-conceptualised questions. For me interviewing is a means to learn about people’s stories – however, the specific aims of this series of interviews is to learn about the experiences of people with

- The implications of language policies on social inclusion and integration
- Values commonly associated with the German language
- The impact of command of German language on integration

Hence, I decided for a semi-structured approach. The ‘working’ questions can be seen below.

Teachers

- What kinds of issues do you have to consider when you teach classes which have a very multiethnic background?
- Can you describe a typical day at the Herbert-Hoover Realschule?
- For which reasons did you choose German as the only language to be spoken in this school?
- Do the students generally accept this rule?
- If not, can you think of situations in which they would use their native language as opposed to German?
- Did you see any improvements (related to question 1) as a result of a single language policy?
- What role do you believe the German language plays in the integration process?

Students

- Can you describe to me your typical Monday? Which languages do you speak for each of the activities that you do?
- What is your opinion on speaking no other languages than German at school (including the playground)?
- Can you name a situation where you switched to your mother tongue at school?
- If so, Why did you switch?
- Outside of school, which languages do you speak with your friends? Family? Sports clubs? When you go shopping?
- What are your goals in life? Which language(s) are required to achieve these goals? Why?

- On a scale of 1-10, which value would you associate with your mother tongue?
German? Learning other languages, such as French? Why?

This section has dealt with various approaches to interviewing and justified using semi-structured interviews in the context of this research. The next section will deal the transcription of the data gathered from the interviews.

3.7.2 Transcription of interviews

While mostly informing background discussion, it is nevertheless important to consider the process of transcription in this thesis, as this is always a selective process reflecting the theoretical goals and definitions of the researcher. This means, that I make a decision on how much and which information to include in my transcripts. Elinor Ochs (1999:168) claims that ‘one of the important features of a transcript is that it should not have too much information. A transcript that is too detailed is difficult to follow.’ Hence, the researcher has to make a decision which features could be helpful for the analysis. For example, in my case, many of the traditional CA features (<http://talkbank.org/ca/ca-form.html>), such as pitch, tone and breath would complicate the transcript more than they would contribute to the analysis of this thesis. Elinor Ochs (1999:168) continues to say that this ‘selectivity should not be random and implicit. Rather, the transcriber should be conscious of the filtering processes. The exclusions and inclusion of features will influence and constrain the emerging generalisations.’

There is a wealth of transcription conventions that have been developed by researchers over the years, however, many of them are tailored towards Conversation Analysis and hence do not fit my research purposes. Below, I will concentrate on the four transcription conventions

that were most influential to the interviewing in this thesis, namely those by DuBois (1991), Jefferson (1979), Schiffrin (1987), and Tannen (1989).

DuBois (1991) distinguishes between units (such as intonation units), speaker characteristics (for example turn taking and speech overlap), and transitional continuity. These are useful for my research and I shall demonstrate below that the transcription conventions I employed are similar. However, DuBois also distinguishes between terminal pitch direction, accent and lengthening, tone, vocal noises (such as inhalation and glottal stops), and many other features that would not contribute to my analysis as such. While not all of these categories suit my research questions, DuBois also provides a synopsis of transcription design principles: define good categories, make the system accessible, make representations robust, make representations economical, and make the system adaptable. I found these categories helpful when deciding on which transcription system to use. Jefferson (1979) focuses less on the representations of words, but more on the non verbal aspects of speech delivery in groups. While I find his transcription conventions very interesting, the speakers in the small group interviews that I conducted gave each other relatively long turns (in most cases more than 45 seconds per person), so that features like, for example, simultaneous or overlapping utterances very rarely occur. Schiffrin (1987) and Tannen (1989) respectively have very similar transcriptions conventions to those I shall be using, and my choice to use the transcription conventions developed by the Open University (1991) is merely influenced by the fact that I found them slightly more accessible.

Ochs (1999) claims that the use of standard orthography instead of phonetic representation of sounds will influence the researcher's understanding of the participant's verbal behaviour. Yet, she mostly focuses this utterance at her work done with small children and admits that 'the orthographic representations of utterances will vary according to the goals of the research

undertaken' (Ochs 1999:175). However, she insists that a strictly standard orthography should be avoided and proposes that a researcher should rather resort to 'a modified orthography such as that adopted by Sacks et al (1974) (...)' (Ochs 1999:175). The argument as such is supported by her view that the 'use of standard orthography is based on the assumption that utterances are pieces of information, and this, in turn, assumes that language is used to express ideas.' (Ochs 1999:168)

I agree with Ochs in that the orthographic representation of utterances will vary according the researcher's goals, but do not think that standard orthography should be avoided altogether. To a large extent I agree with Deborah Cameron (2001), who mentions three reasons for being cautious about non-standard spellings: inconsistency in the transcriptions, difficulty to read and preserving face of the informants. She addresses the issue of how non-standard spelling makes informants look when representing their speech: 'Hwaryuhh' is somewhat reminiscent of the sort of spelling used in comic strips, where the speakers are caricatures and their speech is supposed to be funny' (Cameron 2001: 41). As opposed to comic caricatures, very little that was said in the interviews I conducted in Berlin and Wiesbaden was meant to be funny and I agree with Cameron that research participants should not be caricatured. While I agree with Cameron that it is important to preserve face of the participants, all of my interviews show fillers which do not exist in standard written language. However, I still felt that they contributed to a reader's understanding of the transcript. Hence, I decided to transcribe them using the letters of standard orthography, but transcribing what I heard – not paying attention to it being a meaning making unit.

While the use of a modified orthography or even phonetic transcription may be useful for some kinds of research, I do not feel that it will contribute to my research. I mentioned earlier in the last paragraph that Ochs sees the greatest drawback of the use of standard orthography

in the underlying assumption that utterances are pieces of information, which is not a drawback for a CDA analysis as such. CDA goes even further in assuming that utterances do not only contain information, but also the speaker's ideologies. Consequently, I decided to use standard orthography for the greatest part of my transcription.

Summary

A qualitative approach to the analysis of media discourses is proposed which triangulates aspects of the discourse-historical approach to CDA (chapter 4) with case study research (chapter 5). The added value of a historical contextualisation has been stressed in chapter 3. Aspects of CDA are proposed as a suitable methodology to examine the broader national discussions on policy making (chapter 4). These are linked to 'local' interpretation of German language policies by the HHO in the form of case study research in chapter 5. Hence, the methodology triangulates the approaches of case study, CDA and the use of historical background. Details of the data gathering and data handling processes during the fieldwork stage of the research were also discussed.

4. Competing discourses: the introduction of the new German immigration statute

Having contextualized the controversies surrounding the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ in chapter 2 by providing an account of the historical events and legal issues surrounding it, the focus of the present chapter shifts to selected media debates. The selected debates represent key issues associated specifically with the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. They also characterise, more generally, current migration discourses in Germany. In chapter 5, the focus will be narrowed further by introducing the case study of a Berlin secondary school, which – rather unintentionally – became the centre of migration debates in Germany in early 2005.

In this chapter, I will establish and characterise some of the dominating discourses and debates underlying the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ concentrating on the following two sets of discourses:

1. Debates on border management

1.1. Discourses of national security with relation to immigration

- The tightening of the ‘Ausländergesetz’ (foreigners statute) (1997/1998)
- Tightening security aspects following the Madrid bombings and 9/11 (2003/2004)

1.2. Discourses around the scale of migration: ‘How many immigrants does Germany need?’

- The Green Card Debate (2000)

2. Debates on managing internal diversity

2.1. Discourses on the integration of ‘foreigners’ into German society

- Debates on ‘integration versus assimilation’ following former Interior Minister Schily’s comment ‚die unproblematischste Form der Integration ist nun einmal die Assimilierung’. (2002)

The discourses and debates are contextualised in section 4.1 and then analysed in more detail in section 4.2. The analysis in section 4.2 will concentrate on extracts from German broadsheet newspapers. Drawing on key analytical concepts from Wodak and Reisigl 2001 (see chapter 3.3) as well as Blackledge 2004, the focus of analysis will be on argumentation theory and pragmatics (as detailed in chapter 3) and will concentrate on the following questions:

1. How are people named and referred to?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
3. Which arguments are used to legitimise/ de-legitimise the proposed action?
4. From which point of view are 1. – 3. expressed?
5. How are the respective utterances articulated? Are they intensified or mitigated? If so, in which way does that happen?

4.1 Dominant media discourses and debates associated with the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’

The issues underlying the debates discussed in this section were already mentioned in the historical discussion in chapter 2. However, rather than giving a broad historical overview of events leading to the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ this section will concentrate on the

newspaper debates, which can be seen as a link between the broader political debates on immigration and the way migration discourses are received and perceived by the public.

In summer 1997, parliamentary debates concentrated on how to renew the existing German ‘Ausländergesetz’ (foreigner statute), which had been passed in 1991. (Frankfurter Rundschau, 14.6.1997) Following debates in which the SPD opposed the tightening of the ‘Ausländergesetz’ (Frankfurter Rundschau, 15.8.1997), whereas the CDU/CSU demanded stricter regulations (Leipziger Volkszeitung, 9.1.1998), the parties found a compromise and came to an agreement. An interesting role was played by Gerhard Schröder, who was then prime minister of Lower Saxony. The ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ wrote on 15 August 1997:

[...] Der bayrische Ministerpräsident Edmund Stoiber (CSU) hatte eine Bundesratsentschließung angekündigt, in der die Forderung des niedersächsischen Ministerpräsidenten Gerhard Schröder (SPD) nach schnellerer Abschiebung ausländischer Krimineller aufgegriffen werden sollte. [...]

At first glance the above passage may seem surprising, as later in this section Schröder will be shown to be a keen supporter of the German Green Card as well as a backer of the more liberal approach to immigration as proposed by the Süßmuth Commission report. In expressing an interest in a quicker deportation of foreign criminals, he might distance himself from other members of his party, the SPD (Social Democratic Party). However, it should not be forgotten that Schröder was about to face the election that would make him German Chancellor. In this context, the proposition of a quicker deportation of foreign criminals could be interpreted as a populist move intended to increase his electoral support. He might have acted in anticipation of the counter- campaign in the election by the CDU (Christian

Democratic Union) and CSU (Christian Social Union), which mainly focused on national security and the deportation of ‘delinquent immigrants’ (Leipziger Volkszeitung, 9.1.1998).

The new German ‘Ausländergesetz’, passed in 1997, tightened the rules on deportation of delinquent foreigners, extending the list of serious offences for which foreigners could be deported without trial. (FAZ, 5.7.1997) Following the focus on national security during the election campaign, newspaper coverage of this topic would lose prominence until revived following the discourses around the Madrid Bombings in March 2004.

After Chancellor Schröder had found a general compromise with the leaders of the opposition parties (CDU, CSU and FDP) in May 2004, the passing of the statute seemed more likely. However, a minority of opposition leaders (e.g. Roland Koch (CDU) and Horst Seehofer (CSU)) remained sceptical about the statute, particularly in relation to national security, the elements of offence leading to deportation as well as the problem of financing integration courses (FAZ, 3.6.04; FR, 16.6.04). The Madrid Bombings in March 2004 coincided with the re-negotiations of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ after its first version had failed (see section 2.2 for more details on this), which could be one possible explanation why this particular event is mentioned frequently (e.g. Die Welt, 27.3.04; FR, 13.3.04) in relation to the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, while in contrast, 9/11 attracted little attention. Several other explanations for the greater focus on the Madrid Bombings could be an increasing Anti-Americanism in Europe (CNN 24.2.2003, ‘Anti-Americanism in Europe deepens’ <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/02/14/sprj.irq.protests.rodgers.otsc/>) and the distancing of German policy makers from the political steps following 9/11.

The discourses on whether Germany should encourage or discourage immigrants to enter the country can be followed throughout the debates on immigration surrounding the

‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. However, while these discourses are present in most debates I will analyse in this chapter, they culminate in the debate around the introduction of the Green Card in 2000. The proposal to introduce a Green Card in Germany was decided by the German Federal Cabinet in May 2000. The Green Card statute would allow 10 000 IT specialists with a university degree and an income of 100 000 Deutschmarks, to receive a 5-year work permit, bypassing the more complicated and time-consuming standard bureaucratic procedures (see section 2.2 for more information on immigration processes). Decisions on individual applications were intended to take no longer than one week. The introduction of the Green Card was, however, heavily disputed among the parties. In April 2000, CDU leader Jürgen Rüttgers called on Chancellor Schröder to retract his Green Card initiative (Welt am Sonntag, 23.4.2000; Tagesspiegel, 23.4.2000). Rüttgers urged the SPD to consider a ‘Zuwanderungsbegrenzungsgesetz’ instead (‘a statute restricting immigration’) (Welt am Sonntag, 23.4.2000): ‘Wer über andere Formen der Zuwanderung in Deutschland reden will, der muss über ein Zuwanderungsbegrenzungsgesetz reden’ [...]. Stoiber (CSU) agreed with Rüttgers on limiting immigration to Germany. In an interview with the ‘Deutsche Presse Agentur’ (DPA) he said ‘[...] dass angesichts der hohen Zuwanderung durch Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge nicht durch die Green Card ‘draufgesattelt’ werden könne.’ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 23.4.2000). The Green Card initiative was supported by the SPD as well as the FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei). FDP leader Guido Westerwelle supported economically motivated immigration: ‘Wir müssen einerseits im Interesse unserer Arbeitsplätze die klügsten Köpfe nach Deutschland holen, an anderer Stelle muss dagegen die Zuwanderung begrenzt und gesteuert werden’. (Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.4.2000) The Green Card initiative was intended to form part of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ and was part of its first version. However, when this version failed to come into effect, re-negotiations meant that it was cut from the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ altogether.

While discourses around the integration of immigrants in Germany are present to a greater or lesser extent in all of the debates around the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, a statement by Otto Schily whipped up excitement. In an interview (the controversial extract can be found below) with the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ on 26 June 2002, Schily revealed that he believed assimilation to be the most successful form of integration. The full interview is provided in appendix A.

Schily: Minderheitenschutz heißt doch nicht, dass wir neue Minderheiten fördern müssen und dass jemand, der hierher kommt, eine Minderheit bilden kann. Integration heißt für mich: Der Zuwanderer lebt sich in die deutsche Kultur, in die deutsche Sprache ein. Ich möchte in Deutschland keine Entwicklung haben, in der viele Sprachen nebeneinander bestehen und die uns am Ende große Spannungen und Konflikte bescheren würden.

SZ: Wie also geht es mit der Integration weiter?

Schily: Ich sage Ihnen ganz offen: Die beste Form der Integration ist Assimilierung.

SZ: Assimilierung heißt: Die Türken übernehmen die Traditionen, die Wert- und Verhaltensmuster der Deutschen.

Schily: Assimilierung heißt wörtlich Anähnlichung. Das kann in sehr unterschiedlichen Formen vor sich gehen. Aber am Ende werden sich die Menschen in einem gemeinsamen Kulturraum ähnlicher.

SZ: Mustafa nennt sich Hans, schwört seinem bisherigen Glauben ab, wird Protestant, Katholik oder Atheist?

Schily: Das muss ja nicht sein. Assimilierung heißt aber zunächst einmal, dass eine gewisse Anpassung und Angleichung an die hiesigen Lebensverhältnisse stattfindet. Dabei verändern sich dann natürlich mehr oder weniger sachte auch die hiesigen Lebensverhältnisse.

Extract 4.1: Extract from an interview with Otto Schily published in the ‚Süddeutsche Zeitung‘, 26 June 2002.

While the detailed analysis of this extract is part of section 4.3, I shall comment on the public reaction to Schily’s statement. In the extract above, Schily gives a definition of how he interprets the controversial term assimilation: ‘Assimilierung heißt wörtlich Anähnlichung. Das kann in sehr unterschiedlichen Formen vor sich gehen. Aber am Ende werden sich die Menschen in einem gemeinsamen Kulturraum ähnlicher’. While Schily’s definition of assimilation goes beyond the language requirement generally associated with the ‚Zuwanderungsgesetz‘, it does not explicitly demand the renunciation of an immigrant’s cultural identity – a claim frequently made by Bündnis 90/Grüne politicians: ‘Grünen-Fraktionschefin Müller betonte: ‘Das Ziel unserer Integrationspolitik ist das Gegenteil von Assimilation. Integration ist ein wechselseitiger Prozess, in dem Deutsche und Ausländer im gegenseitigen Respekt und in gegenseitiger Anerkennung auf Grundlage gleicher Rechte und Pflichten voneinander lernen. Bei der Assimilation wird die eigene kulturelle Identität aufgegeben.’ (Handelsblatt, 30.6.2002 <http://www.handelsblatt.com/archiv/schily-in-eigenen-reihen-unter-beschuss;542941>) While one could say that very broadly Schily’s definition of ‚Assimilation‘ does not differ as much from Müller’s definition of integration, the use of the term ‘Assimilation’ was nonetheless described by many politicians as an unnecessary provocation, among them Bündnis 90/Grüne member Volker Beck, who attempts to clarify Schily’s utterance retrospectively : ‘ Wir wollen kein zweisprachiges Land, aber wir wollen auch nicht mit Zwang eindeutschen, indem sie [referring to migrants living in Germany] ihre eigene Kultur und Religion aufgeben.’ (Handelsblatt, 30.6.2002 <http://www.handelsblatt.com/archiv/schily-in-eigenen-reihen-unter-beschuss;542941>) No matter if one interprets Schily’s utterance as a provocation, a slip, or a faux-pas, it has influenced many debates on integration up to recent times.

4.2. Introduction of the relevant newspapers

The five newspapers I selected for the analysis of chapter 4 represent a spectrum of political tendencies and include one regional newspaper, 'Der Tagesspiegel', and four nationally distributed newspapers, the 'Süddeutsche Zeitung', the 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung', 'Die Welt' and the 'Frankfurter Rundschau'. All of the above newspapers fall into the genre of quality newspapers and the four nationally distributed papers are among the most widely distributed quality newspapers in Germany (AWA 2004). According to the AWA 2004 (Allensbacher Markt- und Werbeträger-Analyse) of quality newspapers, the 'Süddeutsche Zeitung' (SZ) has 1.43 million subscribers and has thus the widest distribution in Germany. It is closely followed by the 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung' (FAZ) with 1.15 million subscriptions. 0.73 Million people subscribe to 'Die Welt' and 0.52 Million to the 'Frankfurter Rundschau' (FR). According to the 'Tagesspiegel's' own research, it is the most cited newspaper in Berlin (Tagesspiegel, 11.1.2008) and with an average of 146 241 copies sold weekly in 2009 (Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern (IVW), 2009) it can be assumed that it is a prominent source of information to people in Germany's capital. Its inclusion into the analysis of chapter four was largely motivated by the local case study on the Herbert Hoover Oberschule in Berlin, Wedding. Even though 'Bild' has the most readers in Germany (AWA 2004), I decided not to incorporate it in my analysis, since it constitutes a different genre of press and would hence be difficult to compare to the other newspapers. The political direction of its publishers, the Springer-press, is represented in my analysis of 'Die Welt' which is published by the same company.

Another reason for choosing these five quality newspapers was that they represent the political scale from centre-left to staunch conservative right. A certain affiliation with political parties can be seen, even though the ‘vast majority of newspapers qualify themselves as ‘above-party’ (‘überparteilich’) or ‘independent’ (‘unabhängig’). (Humphreys, 1994: 89)

Below, I shall briefly characterise the four national newspapers and their political tendencies.

The ‘Axel Springer Verlag’ that publishes ‘Die Welt’ among many other papers, still occupies a dominant position among the German newspaper publishers and is known for its right-wing position on political issues (Humphreys, 1994) A bit more to the centre, but conservative in its political views is the FAZ. However, as we will see later, the feuilleton tends to be more to the left of the political spectrum. The SZ tends to be centre-left and calls itself a ‘liberal-critical’ (‘liberalkritisch’) newspaper. The most leftwing newspaper I chose is the FR, which is seen as a ‘left-liberal’ (‘linksliberal’) newspaper. In the following paragraphs, I will attempt to give a brief introduction to each of the four newspapers.

No other German quality newspaper has had as many debates surrounding its political allegiance as ‘Die Welt’. From the time of its foundation by the British military government and its first edition on the 2 April 1946, ‘Die Welt’ has always been surrounded by critical voices. (Harenberg, 1980) In 1953 ‘Die Welt’ was sold to the ‘Springer Konzern’. However, only 75% of its share capital of 2.8 million deutschmarks went directly to Springer, whereas the other 25% were put into its own foundation, which was supposed to guarantee the paper’s independence. Yet the influence of the foundation on the political line of ‘Die Welt’ has never been the subject of serious academic study. Nonetheless, the conservative, middle-class approach underlying the articles in ‘Die Welt’ is close to the general political view of most of the ‘Springer’ collection of papers, such as the ‘Berliner Morgenpost’. (Die Welt – Media

Informationen) The close affiliation of 'Die Welt' with many 'CDU' politicians can hardly be overlooked.

The FAZ published their first edition on 1 November 1949, with a print run of 9000 copies. (FAZ, 2003) On the one hand the founding members had the vision of following the footsteps of the renowned 'Frankfurter Zeitung', a newspaper that had been banned by the Nazi regime in 1943. On the other hand they had the intention to create a newspaper advertising free-market economy. (Korda, 1980) Similar to 'Die Welt', the original founding members initiated the creation of its own foundation in April 1959 to ensure the independence of the paper. (FAZ, 2003) On the political scale, the 'FAZ' occupies the gap between 'Die Welt' to its right and the 'SZ' to its left. Whereas the political ethos of the newspaper is generally conservative and rather 'CDU' orientated, the feuilleton can be labelled more left. (Korda, 1980)

Among the German population, the 'Süddeutsche Zeitung' ('SZ') is generally seen as a left-liberal (links-liberal) newspaper. (Sueddeutsche Zeitung) The chief editor of the SZ, however, believes that this statement is nothing but the simplification that comes closest to the claim of the SZ to be a liberal newspaper. (Dürr, 1980) The intention of the 'SZ' is to let different political opinions have their say; only radical opinions are factored out. From its first edition in October 1945 to today there have always been approximately equal numbers claiming that the paper was too liberal or too conservative. (Dürr, 1980) However, even though the 'SZ' is known to be loyal to the ruling government, it can still be found slightly to the left of the political spectrum.

The 'Frankfurter Rundschau' ('FR') was one of the first newspapers to be re-established after the end of the Second World War. (Frankfurter Rundschau Online: Flottau, 1980) The

American occupying power gave the license to people belonging to the left political spectrum who had not been involved with the Nazi regime. The goal of the paper was the ‘denazification’ and democratisation of the German people. (Flottau, 1980; Humphreys, 1994) The ‘FR’ has always stayed on the left-liberal side of the political spectrum – however, more to the left than the ‘SZ’. In 1994 the ‘FR’ got into financial difficulties and hence, the DDVG (Deutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft), which is owned by the ‘SPD’ bought 90% of the shares of the DUV (Druck- und Verlagshaus Frankfurt am Main), which again is the publisher of the ‘FR’. Throughout the fierce public debate, the ‘SPD’ tried to reassure the public that there would be no direct editorial influence. However, no studies proving or repudiating this have been completed.

4.3 Critical Analysis of two key discourses

In chapter 3, I established that CDA should not be understood as a single method, but rather as an approach on different levels, which draws on a range of theories. These range from theories of social cognition (e.g. Teun van Dijk), microsociological approaches (e.g. Ron Scollon) to theories on society and power in the tradition of Michel Foucault (e.g. Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough and Siegfried Jäger). Section 2.2 provided a detailed discussion of the approaches mentioned above as well as the justification of my choice to draw on elements of Ruth Wodak’s discourse-historical approach. Yet, before I begin with the analysis of individual newspaper articles, I would like to outline the discursive strategies associated with the analysis and establish the five research questions which will be applied to the articles later in this section.

1. The first research question ‘How are people referred to?’ draws on what Wodak and Reisigl (2001) call referential strategies or strategies of nomination. However, while

Wodak and Reisigl (2001) include metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches in this category, I shall concentrate mainly on membership categorisation along the lines of Sacks (1972). Sacks (1972) associates activities with certain membership categories, i.e. if a person's identity is known, one can work out the activities this person might engage in.

2. The second research question 'What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?' draws on Wodak and Reisigl's strategies of predication (2001), which are represented in stereotypical, evaluative attributions of positive or negative traits to people.
3. The third research question 'Which arguments are used to legitimise/ de-legitimise the proposed action?' is meant to reveal strategies of argumentation, e.g. the use of particular topoi to justify political inclusion or exclusion (Wodak and Reisigl 2001).
4. The fourth research question 'From what point of view are research questions 1-3 expressed' aims to reveal strategies of perspectivation.
5. The fifth research question 'How are the respective utterances articulated? Are they intensified or mitigated, and if yes, in what way does that happen?' relates to strategies of intensification and mitigation try to intensify or mitigate the illocutionary force of utterances.

While these five research questions are underlying the analysis of all texts in this chapter, not all research questions will be slavishly applied to each individual text. Rather, I will focus on key issues of each text along the lines of these questions.

The research questions show an obvious bias towards Wodak and Reisigl's discourse-historical approach. However, while this approach centres its attention on the inclusion of the historical context, it does not provide a stringent procedure for including immediate context

(see my criticism of CDA in section 2.4). Hence, I intend to include the immediate historical context along the lines of Blackledge (2005). His definition of context goes beyond that of Wodak and Reisigl in that he stresses the relationship between texts and ‘other texts which represent the same social events, to other texts which make similar arguments, and to the broader socio-political and historical context within which the text was produced.’ (Blackledge 2005:6) His analysis of the immediate context concentrates on the relationship between text, other texts, and social practices through processes of ‘intertextuality’ (i.e. the presence within a text of elements of other texts), ‘interdiscursivity’ (i.e. the presence of genres and styles within a text) and ‘recontextualisation’ (allowing the analysis of the shift of meanings either within a single genre or across genres). (Blackledge 2005)

4.3.1 Debates on Border Management

Having contextualised the Green Card debates and their role in the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ in section 4.1, section 4.3.1 will concentrate on an analysis of three key newspaper articles characteristic for this debate.

The first one was published by the ‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung’ on 23 April, 2000 under the title ‘Green Card spaltet weiter’ (‘Green Card continues to split’).

Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 23.04.2000, Nr. 16, S. 2

Green Card spaltet weiter

CSU und FDP für Zuwanderungsbegrenzung / ‚Schnellschuss‘

F.A.Z. FRANKFURT. Das Bundesarbeitsministerium hält trotz der wachsenden Kritik an der Forderung eines Fachabschlusses als Voraussetzung für die Green Card für ausländische Computerexperten fest. Unterdessen forderten der bayerische Ministerpräsident Stoiber (CSU) und Spitzenvertreter der Wirtschaft, die Zuwanderung nach Deutschland insgesamt zu regeln und dabei den Anspruch auf Asyl zu begrenzen. Unabhängig voneinander kündigten die CSU und die FDP gesetzliche Initiativen für ein Zuwanderungsberenzungsgesetz an.

Der Spitzenkandidat der CDU im nordrhein-westfälischen Landtagswahlkampf, Rüttgers, verlangte abermals von Bundeskanzler Schröder (SPD), die Green-Card –Initiative zurückzunehmen, weil die Resonanz ‚lächerlich‘ gering sei (Siehe Kommentar Seite 4). Der Präsident des Zentralverbands des Deutschen Handwerks, Philipp, nannte in der Zeitung ‚Die Welt‘ die Idee der Green Card einen ‚Schnellschuss‘, der nichts am Facharbeitermangel in der IT-Branche ändern werde. Arbeitsminister Riester (SPD) hat derweil angekündigt, Wünschen der Wirtschaft entgegenzukommen. Die Aufenthaltsgenehmigung für die Computerfachleute soll jetzt für fünf Jahre erteilt werden.

Stoiber sagte der Deutschen Presse-Agentur, angesichts der hohen Zuwanderung durch Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge könne nicht durch die Green Card ‚draufgesattelt‘ werden. Arbeitgeberpräsident Hundt verwies ebenso auf einen ‚erheblichen Aunahmedruck‘ durch Asylbewerber, illegale Einwanderer und Bürgerkriegsflüchtlinge. Diese unregelte Zuwanderung belaste die Sozialsysteme und die Integrationsfähigkeit der Gesellschaft.

Extract 4.2: Green Card spaltet weiter, FAZ, 23.04.2000, Nr. 16, S. 2

The article has the slightly ominous subtitle ‘CSU und FDP für Zuwanderungsbegrenzung/ ‘Schnellschuss’ (‘CSU and FDP in favour of restricting immigration/ ‘Snapshot’). The article reports on the increasing criticism on the ‘Green Card’ initiative of then-Chancellor Schröder.

It draws on two of the main points of criticism that came up during the debates. The first one mentioned by the article is the poor response of applications by foreign IT-specialists. (‘Der Spitzenkandidat der CDU im nordrhein-westfälischen Landtagswahlkampf, Rüttgers, verlangte abermals von Bundeskanzler Schröder (SPD), die Green-Card-Initiative zurückzunehmen, weil die Resonanz ‚lächerlich‘ gering sei.’) The second criticism of the article revolves around existing pressures to integrate economic refugees and asylum seekers. Stoiber (CSU) and several other conservative politicians argue that existing pressures to integrate immigrants should not be increased – which would be the case if the ‘Green Card’ initiative came into effect. (‘Stoiber sagte der Deutschen Presse-Agentur, angesichts der hohen Zuwanderung durch Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge könne nicht durch die Green Card ‚draufgesattelt‘ werden.’)

The way in which social actors are named identifies the group they tend to be associated with (or at least the groups the author believes them to be associated with). The verb ‚spaltet‘ (‘splits’) in the article’s title is also representative of the way in which the author of the article refers to immigrants: while highly skilled immigrants are associated with positive references, lower skilled immigrants are referred to in a less positive manner. Let me give some examples. Looking at the nominations ‘Ausländische Computerexperten’ or ‘Computerfachleute’, the emphasis is on the professional qualification. Furthermore, ‘Experten’ (‘experts’) is a reference in terms of ability with positive connotations attached. This is in contrast with the ‘problematisations’, Wodak and Reisigl (2001) associated with ‘Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge’ (‘economic refugees’), ‘Asylbewerber’ (‘asylum seekers’), ‘illegale Einwanderer’ (‘illegal immigrants’) and ‘Bürgerkriegsflüchtlinge’ (‘civil war refugees’). Moreover, the article distinguishes itself from most others in the field in terms of perspectivation, i.e. the point of view from which the content is expressed. While several authors choose to distance themselves from the opinions expressed in the articles (I will point

this out several times throughout the analysis), the author of this article places particular emphasis on highlighting the sources of information in this article, e.g. ‘... in der Zeitung ‘Die Welt’ and ‘... sagte der Deutschen Presse Agentur...’.

The second article, I would like to discuss in this section was published by the Tagesspiegel on 23 April, 2000 – the same day as the first article - and was titled ‘Rüttgers: Resonanz auf Green Card ist lächerlich. CSU kündigt Eckpunkte für ein neues Gesetz an’ (‘Rüttgers: response to Green Card is ridiculous. CSU announces cornerstones for a new statute.’)

Der Tagesspiegel, 23.04.2000, Seite 5.

Rüttgers: Resonanz auf Green Card ist lächerlich. CSU kündigt Eckpunkte für ein neues Gesetz an.

Berlin. Mit einer harten Attacke hat sich der stellvertretende CDU-Vorsitzende Jürgen Rüttgers erneut gegen die Green-Card-Initiative der Bundesregierung gewandt und Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder (SPD) aufgefordert, das Vorhaben zurückzuziehen. Rüttgers bezeichnete die Resonanz auf die Initiative des Bundeskanzlers gegenüber der ‚Welt am Sonntag‘ als ‚lächerlich‘. Der Spitzenkandidat der CDU für die Landtagswahl in Nordrhein-Westfalen bezieht sich damit auf die bei der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit eingegangenen Anfragen auf Schröders Vorschlag, kurzfristig ausländische Computer-Spezialisten nach Deutschland zu holen.

Von rund 700 aus dem Ausland eingegangenen E-Mails ausländischer Spezialisten sind – wie der ‚Spiegel‘ berichtet – nur 46 aus Indien gekommen, das als Hauptadressat für Schröders Initiative gilt. Der größte Block kommt hingegen aus Osteuropa, so haben sich aus Bulgarien 119 Interessierte gemeldet. Rüttgers bestritt zudem, dass derzeit im Informationstechnologie-Sektor 75000 Stellen nicht besetzt werden könnten. Dem würden

mehrere Wirtschaftsinstitute widersprechen. Er sprach sich dafür aus, die Zuwanderung nach Deutschland durch ein ‚Zuwanderungsbegrenzungs-gesetz‘ zu regeln.

Eckpunkte für ein solches Gesetz hat der bayerische Ministerpräsident Edmund Stoiber (CSU) angekündigt. Angesichts der ohnehin hohen Zuwanderung könne mit der Green Card nicht einfach ‚draufgesattelt‘ werden. Bei der Regelung der Zuwanderung sei auch eine Änderung des Asylrechts im Grundgesetz nötig. Stoiber berief sich auf den Asylkompromiss von 1992, in dem parteiübergreifend die Formulierung festgehalten worden sei: ‚Wie jeder andere Staat muss auch Deutschland die Zuwanderung steuern und begrenzen können.‘ Auch Schröder habe diesen Satz als Ministerpräsident Niedersachsens unterschrieben. Dieser unerledigte Auftrag muss jetzt eingelöst werden. ‚Nur so erhalten wir Freiräume für die Zuwanderung, die wir zum Beispiel aus wirtschaftspolitischen Gründen brauchen.‘

Auch aus dem Arbeitgeberlager sind am Wochenende skeptische Stimmen zur Green Card laut geworden. Wie Handwerks-Präsident Dieter Philipp und Hans Peter Stihl, Chef des Deutschen Industrie- und Handelstages, forderte auch Arbeitgeberpräsident Dieter Hundt ein Einwanderungsgesetz. Durch die demographische Entwicklung in Deutschland drohe ‚ein dramatischer Mangel an qualifizierten, jungen Arbeitskräften.‘

Extract 4.3: Rüttgers: Resonanz auf Green Card ist lächerlich. CSU kündigt Eckpunkte für ein neues Gesetz an. Der Tagespiegel, 23.04.2000, Seite 5.

The article reports on Rüttgers' attack on Schröder's Green Card initiative, again asking him to withdraw his initiative. (‘Mit einer harten Attacke hat sich der stellvertretende CDU-Vorsitzende Jürgen Rüttgers erneut gegen die Green-Card-Initiative der Bundesregierung gewandt und Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder (SPD) aufgefordert, das Vorhaben

zurückzuziehen.’) While the contents are generally quite similar to those of the first article I discussed above, there are some interesting distinctions. With regard to its content, the first article does not specify applicants of which nationalities have so far responded to the Green Card initiative. However, this article claims that only 46 of the 700 responses triggered by the initiative originated from India – its original target country – while the majority of them were from Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the main differences between the articles are not found in the content, but in the way they name and refer to immigrants (nomination strategies). Similarly to the first article, this article emphasises professionalism and ability in relation to highly skilled immigrants, i.e. ‘ausländische Computerspezialisten’, ‘ausländische Spezialisten’ and ‘qualifizierte, junge Arbeitskräfte’. However, any references to immigrants that could have a negative connotation are indirect in this article. While the article also refers to immigration in more general terms (‘Angesichts der ohnehin hohen Zuwanderung könne mit der Green Card nicht einfach ,draufgesattelt’ werden.’ ,Wie jeder andere Staat muss auch Deutschland die Zuwanderung steuern und begrenzen können.’), these immigrants are never named – they are only included in the collective term ,Zuwanderung’ (immigration).

Similarly to the first article, this article also gives justifications for the need of a ‘Zuwanderungsbegrenzungs-gesetz’ through the topos of the illustrative example. Yet the reasoning is slightly different. CSU leader Stoiber is quoted referring to the asylum compromise from 1992: ,Wie jeder andere Staat muss auch Deutschland die Zuwanderung steuern und begrenzen können.’ (‘Like any other nation, Germany must also be capable of controlling and restricting immigration.’). The article also quotes Dieter Hundt, president of the employers’ association, claiming that Germany’s demographic development will lead to a lack of young and qualified employees. (‘Durch die demographische Entwicklung in Deutschland drohe ,ein dramatischer Mangel an qualifizierten jungen Arbeitskräften.’)

The final article I would like to discuss was published by 'Die Welt' on 29 April, 2000 and is titled 'Erstmals sprachen sich auch die Gewerkschaften für eine gesetzliche Regelung der Zuwanderung aus' ('For the first time unions argue for legally regulated immigration'). Its subtitle is 'Die Rufe nach einem Einwanderungsgesetz werden vielstimmiger' ('The number of calls for an immigration statute is increasing').

Die Welt, 29.04.2000, Nr. 100, S. 4

Erstmals sprachen sich auch die Gewerkschaften für eine gesetzliche Regelung der Zuwanderung aus

Die Rufe nach einem Einwanderungsgesetz werden vielstimmiger

Von Inga Michler

Berlin – Der Druck auf die Bundesregierung, nach ihrer Green-Card-Initiative ein Einwanderungsgesetz auf den Weg zu bringen, wächst. Erstmals sprachen sich auch die Gewerkschaften für ein Gesetz zur Regelung der Zuwanderung aus. DGB-Chef Dieter Schulte sagte der ‚Kölnischen Rundschau‘, er sei der ‚festen Überzeugung‘, dass Deutschland ein solches Gesetz brauche. Rückendeckung bekam Schulte von IG-Metall-Chef Klaus Zwickel. ‚Wir werden über kurz oder lang nicht umhin können, klare Einwanderungsbedingungen zu definieren und Regeln gesetzlich zu formulieren‘, sagte Zwickel der WELT. Wichtiges Kriterium müsse dabei ‚der Bedarf‘ im Land sein. ‚Über das alles kann und muss geredet werden.‘ Dabei zeigten die Erfahrungen traditioneller Einwanderungsländer wie USA, Kanada, Neuseeland oder Australien, dass ‚gesetzliche Einwanderungsregeln mehr sind als eine Schleuse zum Ausgleich nationaler Versäumnisse auf dem Arbeitsmarkt‘.

Bisher hatten sich die Gewerkschaften stets skeptisch über Einwanderungsregeln geäußert. Ihr Hauptargument: Die Zuwanderer könnten deutschen Arbeitnehmern im

Niedrigglohnbereich Konkurrenz machen. Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder hatte zwar gegen den Willen der Gewerkschaften seine Initiative durchgesetzt, mit einer Green Card 20 000 Computerspezialisten zeitlich befristet ins Land zu holen. Dies sollte jedoch nur eine einmalige Aktion sein. Eine grundsätzliche gesetzliche Regelung der Einwanderung wollte der Kanzler lieber nicht zum Thema in dieser Legislaturperiode machen.

Daran wird nun kaum mehr ein Weg vorbeiführen. Feuer und Flamme ist bereits der kleine Koalitionspartner. ‚Wir müssen die Diskussion führen und organisieren‘, sagte der innenpolitische Sprecher der Bundestagsfraktion von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Cem Özdemir, der WELT. Die Grünen wollten darauf drängen, dass ein Einwanderungsgesetz in dieser Legislaturperiode gründlich vorbereitet werde. Die Regelungen sollten dann Bestandteil eines Koalitionsvertrags nach der Bundestagswahl 2002 sein und in der kommenden Legislaturperiode vom Parlament verabschiedet werden. Schon vor der nächsten Wahl sollten Aussiedler und Asylberechtigte dazu verpflichtet werden, Sprach- und Integrationskurse zu belegen, sagte Özdemir weiter. Wer diese erfolgreich abschließe, müsse in Deutschland auch arbeiten dürfen.

In der SPD wird dieser Vorschlag noch skeptisch aufgenommen. Auch hier mehren sich aber die Stimmen, die eine intensive Diskussion über ein Einwanderungsgesetz fordern. Der stellvertretende SPD-Fraktionsvorsitzende im Bundestag, Ludwig Stiegler, will in den kommenden Wochen eine Arbeitsgruppe der Koalitionsfraktionen zu diesem Thema einsetzen. Der innenpolitische Sprecher der Fraktion, Dieter Wiefelspütze, mahnt jedoch zu ‚Besonnenheit, Augenmaß und Sorgfalt‘. Auf keinen Fall dürfe noch in dieser Legislaturperiode überhastet ein Gesetz auf den Weg gebracht werden. Wichtig sei es unter anderem, das Grundrecht auf Asyl zu erhalten. Ohnehin sei ein Einwanderungsgesetz ein

derart zentrales Thema, dass Kanzler Schröder es sicherlich schon bald zur Chefsache machen werde, so Wiefelspütz weiter.

Unterdessen wiegelten Bundeswirtschaftsminister Werner Müller (parteilos) und Bildungsministerin Edelgard Bulmahn (SDP) erneut ab. Müller erklärte, für ein generelles Einwanderungsgesetz sei es noch zu früh. Bulmahn forderte, den Arbeitskräftemangel in einzelnen Wirtschaftszweigen mit besserer Ausbildung in Deutschland zu beheben.

Extract 4.4: Erstmals sprachen sich auch die Gewerkschaften für eine gesetzliche Regelung der Zuwanderung aus, Die Welt, 29.04.2000, Nr. 100, S. 4

The title already gives a sound impression of the content of the article. After Schröder passed his Green Card initiative, calls for the introduction of a statute capable of regulating immigration in Germany increased. ('Der Druck auf die Bundesregierung, nach ihrer Green-Card-Initiative ein Einwanderungsgesetz auf den Weg zu bringen, wächst.') While the article reports on a general agreement between industry and government that such a statute had become a necessity for Germany, the requirements this statute is meant to fulfil vary greatly throughout the article, which is something we will also find in the next article of this analysis. 'IG-Metall' leader Klaus Zwickel favours a need-based orientation of the new immigration statute. ('Wichtigstes Kriterium müsse dabei ,der Bedarf' im Land sein.'). Cem Özdemir from the Greens party demands work permits for those who successfully complete integration courses. ('Schon vor der nächsten Wahl sollten Aussiedler und Asylberechtigte dazu verpflichtet werden, Sprach- und Integrationskurse zu belegen, [...]. Wer diese erfolgreich abschlieÙe, müsse in Deutschland auch arbeiten dürfen.') Yet, Dieter Wiefelspütz (SPD) advises caution in passing the statute and does not favour a rushed decision. He also emphasises the importance of keeping the basic right for asylum. ('Auf keine Fall dürfe noch in dieser Legislaturperiode überhastet ein Gesetz auf den Weg gebracht werden. Wichtig sei

es unter anderem, das Grundrecht auf Asyl zu erhalten.’) The introduction of a new immigration statute is rationalised throughout the article. Examples for that are the views of DGB⁵ leader Dieter Schulte, who is convinced that an immigration statute is essential for the economic future of Germany. (‘[...] er sei der ,festen Überzeugung’, dass Deutschland ein solches Gesetz brauche.’) who is backed by ‘IG-Metall’ leader Klaus Zwickel (‘Wir werden über kurz oder lang nicht umhin können, klare Einwanderungsbedingungen zu definieren und Regeln gesetzlich zu formulieren’.). The author of the article also sees the drafting of a new statute during the existing legislation period as inevitable. (‘Daran wird nun kaum mehr ein Weg vorbeiführen.’).

Section 4.3.1. gives three key examples of the debates surrounding the introduction of then-Chancellor Schröder’s Green Card initiative. The first article by the ‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung’ titled ‘Green Card spaltet weiter’ focused on the increasing criticism of the introduction of a German Green Card. Here, the main focus of analysis was on nomination, i.e. the way different groups of immigrants were referred to. The analysis points out that the article refers to highly skilled immigrants in the light of their professional qualifications, whereas the focus for low skilled immigrants points towards a social problematisation. The second article by the Tagesspiegel – ‘Rüttgers: Resonanz auf Green Card ist lächerlich’ echoes the general tenor of the first article in that it asks Schröder to withdraw his Green Card. References to highly skilled immigrants were found to be similar to those in the first article. However, other groups of immigrants were only referred to indirectly. Both articles ask for more restrictions on immigration through the topos of illustrative example. The increased demand for a new immigration statute is representative for most newspaper articles on Green Card issues; nevertheless, both articles referred to an immigration statute as a ‘Zuwanderungsbegrenzungs-gesetz’ (statute restricting immigration) rather than merely asking

⁵ Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German federation of trade unions)

for a review of immigration statute in Germany. The third article in this section by ‘Die Welt’ ‘Erstmals sprachen sich auch die Gewerkschaften für eine gesetzliche Regelung der Zuwanderung aus’ also focuses on creating a legal framework to regulate immigration. The article represents the key debates leading up to the creation of Germany’s new immigration statute.

The second group of articles was published in the late stages of the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. During this time, the CDU/CSU focused on re-opening the debates on immigration in the light of national security. Having conceptualised the historical events surrounding the introduction of stricter security measures throughout the time it took to pass the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ in section 4.1, section 4.3.2 will concentrate on the critical analysis of three representative newspaper articles related to this. The analysis will follow the general outline explained in section 4.3.

The first article I will discuss was published by the Frankfurter Rundschau on 29.5.2004 and is headed: ‘Union zweifelt Kompromiss an; Neuer Ruf nach schärferem ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’’. A possible translation would be: ‘Union’ (here short for: Christian Democratic Union (CDU)) challenges the compromise; New call for a fiercer ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. The article was published during the final stages of the debates around the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ – after the SPD, Grüne, and FDP had agreed on a compromise of the majority of the content of the new statute. Hence the phrase ‘neuer Ruf’ refers to the introduction of a new aspect of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ that the CDU would like to see revised.

Frankfurter Rundschau v. 29.05.2004, S.4, Ausgabe: S Stadt

Von Vera Gaserow

Union zweifelt Kompromiss an Neuer Ruf nach schärferem Zuwanderungsgesetz

Teile der Union stellen den Zuwanderungskompromiss wieder in Frage. Mehrere CSU-Innenpolitiker forderten, weitere Verschärfungen in das Zuwanderungsgesetz hineinzuverhandeln. SPD, Grüne und FDP reagierten verärgert.

Berlin – 28. Mai – Schon am Donnerstag hatte die Union den gerade vereinbarten Zuwanderungskompromiss wegen der Integrationskosten angezweifelt. Am Freitag legten prominente CSU-Politiker mit Forderungen zur Inneren Sicherheit nach. Angesichts des Falles Kaplan verlangte der innenpolitische Sprecher der CDU/CSU-Fraktion, Hartmut Koschyk, „eine Fortsetzung der Debatte über das Thema Sicherungshaft“. Die Parteien müssten sich darüber erneut „unverzüglich an den Tisch“ setzen, sagte er der Welt.

Bayerns Innenminister Günther Beckstein stellte den Kompromiss an einem weiteren zentralen Punkt in Frage. Bei der Ausformulierung des Gesetzes müsse auch die Unionforderung einfließen, ausländische Straftäter bereits nach Verurteilung zu einer ein- bis zweijährigen Gefängnisstrafe zwingend auszuweisen. Betroffen von dieser Verschärfung wären vor allem jugendliche Ausländer, die in Deutschland geboren und aufgewachsen sind. Eine weitere Absenkung des Strafrahmens, so hatten die Grünen aber auch die FDP in den Zuwanderungsverhandlungen stets klar gemacht, würden sie auf keinen Fall mittragen. Beharre die Union auf diesem Punkt, sei das Zuwanderungsgesetz gescheitert, hieß es bei den Grünen. „No Chance, Herr Beckstein“, kommentierte die Grünen-Fraktionspitze.

Beckstein beharrt jedoch auf der leichteren Ausweisung von Straftätern. „Das ist im Kanzleramt möglicherweise nicht eindeutig behandelt worden und muss nun nachgearbeitet werden“, meinte er. Für die Union sei klar gewesen, dass das Kompromisspapier des Kanzlers nur den groben Rahmen für das Zuwanderungsgesetz abstecke. Wenn die Gesetzesdetails ausformuliert würden, müsse als „Interpretationshilfe“ das Papier der CDU/CSU herangezogen werden. In diesem Papier, das Edmond Stoiber und Angela Merkel

für das Sondierungsgespräch mit Schröder verfasst hatten, heißt es zum Punkt Ausweisung von Straftätern wörtlich: ‚Aus Unionssicht müsste für die zwingende Ausweisung bereits eine Verurteilung zu einer Freiheitsstrafe von einem Jahr genügen.‘ Das Kompromisspapier des Kanzlers griff diese Forderung nicht auf.

Bundesinnenminister Otto Schily (SPD) reagierte verärgert über die Nachforderungen von Beckstein, der mit ihm und dem Saarländer Peter Müller (CDU) das Zuwanderungsgesetz ausformulieren soll. Alle Parteivorsitzenden ‚sollten sich gegen die Vorwürfe Becksteins zu Wehr setzen‘, sie hätten nachlässig verhandelt, forderte Schilys Sprecher in Richtung Merkel und Stoiber. Es sei ausgemacht worden, dass Neuverhandlungen ausgeschlossen sind. Das Bundesinnenministerium wies auch Behauptungen der Union zurück, der Bund habe sich verpflichtet, die Integrationskosten nicht nur für Neueinwanderer, sondern auch für hier lebende Ausländer zu übernehmen. Es sei klar gewesen, dass es nur um Integrationsmaßnahmen für Neuankömmlinge gehe.

Extract 4.5: Union zweifelt Kompromiss an Neuer Ruf nach schärferem Zuwanderungsgesetz, Frankfurter Rundschau v. 29.05.2004, S.4.

The ‘Rundschau’ article focuses on the doubts of the CDU about the compromises on the contents of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ which had been agreed on to that date. The centre of attention of the article revolves around the nature of the doubts and the proposals for change of the statute by the CDU/CSU as well as the responses of the other parties to their demands. In the first paragraph, the author of the article, Vera Gaserow, mentions the demand of the CSU for stricter guidelines for national security (‘Am Freitag legten prominente CSU-Politiker mit Forderungen zur Inneren Sicherheit nach.’) The demand is justified with reference to the law suit of Muhammet Metin Kaplan (‘Angesichts des Falles Kaplan verlangte der innenpolitische Sprecher der CDU/CSU-Fraktion, Hartmut Koschyk, ‚eine Fortsetzung über das Thema Sicherungshaft‘.), the self proclaimed ‚Kalif von Köln‘. Kaplan

was the leader of the radical Islamist group, Kalifstaat. This refers to a series of 23 court cases involving Muhammet Metin Kaplan on account of various offences, including forbidden political activities and asylum applications for himself and his family. Around the time when the article was published, Kaplan was involved in a lawsuit following his indictment in 1996 for the attempted murder of his political rival Ibrahim Sofu who was subsequently shot dead in 1997. Kaplan was finally extradited to Turkey in 2004; however, the length of the extradition process was hotly debated in the media – particularly with reference to the imminent passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. On 3 June, 2004, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* wrote: ‘Der Fall Kaplan hat in Berlin die Diskussion um eine Sicherungshaft angeheizt. Diese droht zum Hindernis auf dem Weg zum Zuwanderungsgesetz zu werden.’ (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/311/401093/text/>) In this context, CDU/CSU demand compulsory extradition for foreign criminals if they are sentenced to a prison sentence of 1-2 years or more.

Having summarised the article and described its immediate context, I shall now proceed with the analysis of the key linguistic features of the article along the research questions outlined in section 4.1.

The ‘Rundschau’ article refers to immigrants in a variety of ways; however, the majority of them make reference to the law case of Kaplan (introduced above) and the detention of foreign criminals. The noun ‘Straftäter’ (criminal) is used three times throughout the second paragraph of the article, once in combination with the adjective ‘ausländische’ (foreign) and twice in the phrase ‘Ausweisung von Straftätern’. The frequent use of the noun ‘Straftäter’, described by Wodak (2000:52) as a criminonym draws the reader’s attention to the social problematisation associated with the ‘Straftäter’. Vera Gaserow further describes the ‘Straftäter’ as foreign ‘ausländisch’, a spatilisation (Wodak 2000:48), further distancing

herself from the ‘Straftätern’. Interesting is the distinction made in the article between foreigners, who are permanent residents of Germany (‘hier lebende Ausländer’) or even born in Germany (‘jugendliche Ausländer, die in Deutschland geboren und aufgewachsen sind’) and newly arrived immigrants (‘Neueinwanderer’, ‘Neuankömmlinge’). The article clearly distinguishes between those two groups in terms of how the proposed changes of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ would affect them in different ways: the proposed ease of detention and extradition would mainly target immigrants who were born and raised in Germany (...Betroffen von dieser Verschärfung wären vor allem jugendliche Ausländer, die in Deutschland geboren und aufgewachsen sind.). Also with relation to the entitlement to participate in the proposed immigration measures, the article distinguishes between the two groups of immigrants: while newly arrived immigrants were eligible, and also in some cases obliged, to participate in the immigration measures proposed by the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, existing immigrants would not receive the same entitlements (‘Es sei klar gewesen, dass es nur um Integrationsmaßnahmen für Neuankömmlinge gehe.’).

The article incorporates a range of argumentation strategies that might influence a negative opinion in the reader of the article about the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. One of the strategies is that of casting doubt on the existing version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. This is highlighted in the opening paragraph: ‘Schon am Donnerstag hatte die Union den vereinbarten Zuwanderungskompromiss wegen der Integrationskosten angezweifelt.’ The choice of verb, namely ,anzweifeln’ (to doubt) and the coining of the noun ,Zuwanderungskompromiss‘ from ,Zuwanderung‘ (immigration) and ,Kompromiss’ (compromise) question the appropriateness of the statute – while the use of noun ‘Kompromiss’ suggests that a sacrifice has been made. In this particular context, the word ‘Kompromiss’ comes across negatively due to the lack of an adjective to warrant it, e.g. ‘a warranted/ necessary/ essential/ justified compromise’. Throughout the article, further coinings involving the noun ‘Kompromiss’ can be found, e.g.

‘das Kompromisspapier des Kanzlers’; coining the term ‘compromise statute’ implies that the statute is now not able to fulfil its original aim. The noun ‘Kompromiss’ continues to be used throughout the article, e.g. ‘Bayerns Innenminister Günther Beckstein stellt den Kompromiss an einem weiteren zentralen Punkt in Frage’. Another point contributing to the discrediting of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ are the insinuations by the Bavarian minister of the interior, Günther Beckstein, who, prior to the publication of this article had demanded re-negotiation and amendments to the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ to facilitate the extradition of foreigners. Beckstein is quoted several times throughout the article insinuating that the amendments that made the current version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ were not negotiated with the necessary care. (“Das ist im Kanzleramt möglicherweise nicht eindeutig behandelt worden und muss nun nachgearbeitet werden”)

The second key article I would like to discuss concerning the debates on the introduction of tighter security policies was published by ‘Die Welt’ on 27 March, 2004. It was published in the section on national politics by Martin Lutz, who has been correspondent for national politics for ‘Die Welt’ and for ‘Berliner Morgenpost’ since 2001 (<http://debatte.welt.de/mitglieder/156/Martin+Lutz>) and is called ‘Zugeständnisse bei erleichterten Ausweisungen – Schily rügt CSU-Chef Stoiber’, which could be roughly translated as ‘Concessions with regard to facilitating extraditions – Schily criticises CSU party leader Stoiber’. The article is subtitled: ‘Zuwanderung: Rot-Grün gibt nach’ (Immigration: Red - Green⁶ gives in)

⁶ Here referring to the coalition of the SPD and Greens party in Germany

Die Welt, Jg. 59, 27.03.2004, Nr. 74, S. 2

Martin Lutz

Zugeständnisse bei erleichterten Ausweisungen – Schily rügt CSU-Chef Stoiber

Zuwanderung: Rot-Grün gibt nach

Berlin – Die nach den Anschlägen von Madrid entdeckte Verbindung eines Verdächtigen nach Deutschland hat die Debatte um die innere Sicherheit weiter angeheizt. Während Unionspolitiker weitere Verschärfungen und die Ausweisung von Islamisten forderten, kritisierte Innenminister Otto Schily ‚nervöse Wortmeldungen‘ der Opposition, die in der ‚Bervölkerung unnötig Unruhe stiften‘. Vertreter der Grünen warnten vor übereilten Konsequenzen aus den Ermittlungen in Darmstadt.

Zugleich gab es Fortschritte in den Verhandlungen um ein Zuwanderungsgesetz. Vor allem die Regierungsseite hält einen Kompromiss für möglich.

Die SDP will im Rahmen der Zuwanderungsverhandlungen erreichen, dass Bundesinnenminister Otto Schily die Abschiebung von Ausländern anordnen kann, wenn sie eine Gefahr für die nationale Sicherheit darstellen. Um den Verfahrensweg abzukürzen, soll eine Entscheidung des Innenministers ohne Gang durch Instanzen nur noch von einem Senat des Bundesverwaltungsgerichts überprüft werden können, sagte der innenpolitische Sprecher der SDP-Fraktion, Dieter Wiefelspütz, am Freitag in Berlin. Die Abschiebung dürfe es aber nur bei einer ‚auf Tatsachen gestützten Gefahrenprognose‘ geben. Dazu dürften auch Erkenntnisse der Geheimdienste herangezogen werden. Ein bloßer Verdacht, wie von der Union als ausreichend angesehen, reiche jedoch nicht. ‚Wir gehen von Einzelfällen aus‘ sagte Wiefelspütz. Eine Einigung mit der Union über das Zuwanderungsgesetz hält Wiefelspütz in der nächsten Woche für möglich. Mit dem neuen Vorschlag, der Schilys Handschrift trägt, reagierte die SPD auf Forderungen der Union. Sie macht eine Einigung über das

Zuwanderungsgesetz von Zugeständnissen bei Sicherheitsfragen abhängig, die sie in einem längeren Katalog aufgelistet hat (siehe Kasten).

Die Grünen äußerten sich zurückhaltend. Grünen-Verhandlungsführer Volker Beck sagte: ,Wir können uns grundsätzlich vorstellen, dass man hier mit der Verfahrensbeschleunigung in diesen Fällen von besonderer Gefährlichkeit über eine andere Zuständigkeitsregelung nachdenkt. Das halten wir für diskutabel.'

CSU-Chef Edmond Stoiber wertete die neue mögliche Terrorspur nach Deutschland als ,schlagenden Beweis für die Sicherheitsforderungen der Union'. Gewaltbereite Islamisten müssten ausgewiesen werden. ,Islamistische Terrorzellen haben in Deutschland nichts zu suchen', sagte Stoiber. Die Bundesregierung gehe mit Terrorzellen aus gewaltbereiten Extremisten ,viel zu lasch' um. Dem trat Innenminister Schily scharf entgegen: ,Schlicht falsch' sei die Behauptung, dass Deutschland das ,Hauptquartier der Islamisten in Europa' sei. Stoiber sollte ,sich vorher vergewissern, was Sache ist'. Es habe zwar Anschläge gegeben, die in Deutschland geplant worden seien. ,Aber das haben wir aufgedeckt.''

Nach Ansicht von Bayerns Innenminister Günther Beckstein (CSU) müssten wegen Terrorgefahr bis zu 2000 Islamisten schnellstmöglich aus Deutschland ausgewiesen werden. Die Zahl der als besonders gefährlich eingeschätzten Islamisten in Bayern bezifferte er auf etwa 200. Da eine Ausweisung aus rechtlichen und anderen Gründen nicht in jedem Fall möglich sei, müssten die Betroffenen mit scharfen Meldepflichten belegt werden, sagte Beckstein am Freitag in München.

Unterdessen legte die CSU ein Sicherheitskonzept vor, das den Schutz Deutschlands und seiner Staatsbürger zur vorrangigen Aufgabe der Bundeswehr erklärt. Damit grenzt sich die Partei klar von den Vorstellungen von Verteidigungsminister Peter Struck (SPD) ab, der den Auslandseinsätzen erste Priorität einräumt. In einem CSU-Papier, das auf einer gestern begonnenen Vorstandsklausur am Chiemsee beschlossen werden soll, wird außerdem ein Gesamtverteidigungskonzept gefordert, zu dem die Aufstellung von Heimatschutzbataillonen

und die Bildung eines Nationalen Sicherheitsrats gehören. Der Bereich Heimatschutz wird allerdings nicht näher erläutert. Es heißt nur allgemein zu Einsätzen im Innern, dass die Bundeswehr dafür ‚eigene Befugnisse‘ brauche. Scharf kritisiert wird die unzureichende Ausstattung der Truppe, die Gefahr laufe, zu einem ‚technischen Hilfswerk mit militärischer Absicherungskomponente für Auslandseinsätze zu degenerieren‘. Außerdem wird eine Anhebung des Verteidigungsetats gefordert. Doch das Papier ist in den eigenen Reihen nicht unumstritten: Ein CSU-Abgeordneter kritisierte gegenüber der WELT, es enthalte nur ‚allgemeine Lyrik‘

Extract 4.6: Zugeständnisse bei erleichterten Ausweisungen – Schily rügt CSU-Chef Stoiber
Zuwanderung: Rot-Grün gibt nach, Die Welt, 27.03.2004, Nr. 74, S. 2

In contrast to the ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ article I discussed above, this article makes direct reference to the Madrid bombings in the first sentence of the article and connects them to demand for tighter security policies in Germany (‘ Die nach den Anschlägen von Madrid entdeckte Verbindung eines Verdächtigen nach Deutschland hat die Debatte um die innere Sicherheit weiter angeheizt.’) In relation to this, the article states that CDU/CSU politicians are demanding the extradition of Islamists, while the – then – German Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily warns that a focus on the above topics could disquiet the German population. The article goes on to say that in the meantime, the SPD has produced a new version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, which is now taking into account some of the propositions of the CDU/CSU, which it is hoped will facilitate reaching an agreement on passing the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. However, Lutz continues to write that the willingness of the CDU/CSU to agree with the ‘new’ version of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ will depend on the concessions the SPD is willing to make with regard to national security (‘Sie⁷ macht eine Einigung über das Zuwanderungsgesetz von Zugeständnissen bei Sicherheitsfragen abhängig

⁷ Referring to ‚Die Union‘, i.e. the CDU/CSU

...'). The article goes on to quote several members of political parties (Volker Beck, Günther Beckstein) and their opinions, several of which will be analysed in the paragraph below.

There is a range of interesting analytical features in this article which I will comment on below. The first analytical feature relates to the naming and the referential strategies with regard to immigrants (compare Wodak and Reisigl 2001 for terminology). They are referred to in a variety of ways, among them, similarly to the first article of 4.3.1 ('Green Card spaltet weiter', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 23.04.2000), some de- spatialisations (Ausländern) which may evoke images of 'us versus them' (compare Blackledge 2005).

However, the article mainly draws on more severe referential strategies such as social problematisation, alerting the reader of the article to a potential connection between immigrants and the threat of terrorist crimes. I shall give some examples below. According to Wodak and Reisigl (2000: 52), the phrase 'eines Verdächtigen' would fall into the category of referential strategies based on social problematisation. In this particular case, as the phrase is mentioned in connection with the Madrid bombings, it could be further categorised as falling in the sub-category of criminalisation. The article hosts a wealth of further examples, such as 'Islamisten' ('Islamists'), 'Islamistische Terrorzellen' ('islamic terrorist cells'), 'Gewaltbereite Extremisten' ('violent extremists'), and 'besonders gefährlich eingeschätzte Islamisten' ('islamists who have been assessed to be particularly dangerous'). Many of the features and characteristics attributed to those 'criminal' immigrants take the form of metaphors. One key example of this in the text is the sentence: 'Islamistische Terrorzellen haben in Deutschland nichts zu suchen, sagte Stoiber'. ('Islamic terror cells have no right to be in Germany', says Stoiber). The metaphor relates to those terrorists involved in the Madrid bombings who were immigrants residing in Germany. In this example, the metaphor 'Terrorzellen' conveys the picture of a hive of terrorist activity to the reader, rather than an isolated terrorist incident. Referring to 'Terrorzellen' broadens the perceived threat to the

reader. In return, Schily tries to downplay the metaphor: ‚Schlicht falsch sei die Behauptung, dass Deutschland das Hauptquartier der Islamisten in Europa sei.‘ (‚Simply wrong was Stoiber’s allegation that Germany was the headquarters of Islamists in Europe’.).

Several other argumentation strategies aiming to legitimise (or delegitimise) greater control over extradition can be found throughout the article. Among them is the strategy of emphasising the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ by using the topos of comparison/ difference between ‘gewaltbereiten Islamisten’ among others, compared to ‘Deutschland und seine Staatsbürger’ (‘Germany and its citizens’). While I already mentioned the ideological associations of ‘gewaltbereite Islamisten’ with social problematisation and criminalisation, ‘Deutschland und seine Staatsbürger’ has no negative ideological associations attached. In the context of this article, the topos of comparison serves to justify ‘Heimatschutz’ (‘homeland security’), i.e. the protection of ‘Deutschland und seine Staatsbürger’. The necessity for more political intervention possibilities in the process of extradition is further rationalised by the topos of external threat: ‘Nach Ansicht von Bayerns Innenminister Günther Beckstein (CSU) müssen wegen Terrorgefahr bis zu 2000 Islamisten schnellstmöglich aus Deutschland ausgewiesen werden.’

The third article to be discussed was published by the ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ on 13 March, 2004 by Vera Gaserow, the same author as in the first article of 4.3.1 (‘Green Card spaltet weiter’, Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 23.04.2000). Its relation to the demand of the conservative parties for an increase in national security already becomes apparent in its title: ‘Sicherheitsfragen bestimmen Verhandlung über Zuwanderung’ (‘Questions of safety are determining the negotiations on immigration’). The contents of the article are further elaborated on in its three subtitles: ‘Union setzt sich mit ihrer Forderung durch’ (‘Union wins recognition of their demands’); ‘Entscheidung über Gesamtpaket bis Ende März angestrebt’

(‘Decision on complete package planned by the end of March’); ‘Grünen-Kritik an Schily’
(Greens criticise Schily)

Frankfurter Rundschau v. 13.03.2004, S.4, Ausgabe: S Stadt

Von Vera Gaserow

Sicherheitsfragen bestimmen Verhandlung über Zuwanderung

Union setzt sich mit ihrer Forderung durch / Entscheidung über Gesamtpaket bis Ende März angestrebt / Grünen-Kritik an Schily

Nach den Bombenanschlägen von Madrid ist offenbar auch Rot-Grün bereit, im Zuge der Zuwanderungsverhandlungen über Sicherheitsaspekte neu zu beraten.

Berlin – 12. März – Die Verhandlungen über ein neues Zuwanderungsgesetz wurden am Freitag erneut vertagt. Bis Ende März, so verständigten sich Regierung und Opposition jedoch, soll der Vermittlungsausschuss eine abschließende Entscheidung treffen.

Bei den Verhandlungen der siebenköpfigen Allparteienrunde stellte CDU-Verhandlungsführer Peter Müller erneut die Bedingung, eine Verständigung über Sicherheitsfragen sei für die Union ‚unverzichtbarer Bestandteil‘ eines Zuwanderungskonsenses. Die CDU/CSU fordert dabei unter anderem, Ausländer schon beim bloßen Verdacht eines Kontakts zu Terrorgruppen ausweisen zu können. Nicht der Grundsatz der Unschuldsvermutung dürfe dabei entscheidend sein, sondern die Gefahrenlage, forderte CDU-Unterhändler Müller. SPD und Grüne hatten bisher eine Vermengung der Zuwanderungsverhandlungen mit Fragen der inneren Sicherheit abgelehnt. Nach den Anschlägen von Madrid sagte Innenminister Otto Schily (SPD) jetzt jedoch, wenn die Union Diskussionsbedarf über das Thema habe, sei die Koalition zu Gesprächen bereit. Auch der Verhandlungsführer der Grünen, Volker Beck, zeigte sich gesprächsbereit. Er warnte aber davor, mit der Debatte über Sicherheitsfragen die Zuwanderungsverhandlungen zu torpedieren.

Die Verhandler von Regierung und Koalition verständigten sich nun, die Sicherheitsfragen erst in der Größeren Zuwanderungsarbeitsgruppe des Vermittlungsausschusses zu beraten. Offen ist, ob dann verschärfte Einreise- und Ausweisungsbestimmungen ins Zuwanderungsgesetz aufgenommen werden oder ob man sich nur mit einer Protokollnotiz auf gemeinsame Grundsätze zur Terrorabwehr verständigt.

Am 21. März wollen die sieben Chefverhandler ein letztes Mal anhand konkreter Gesetzesformulierungen prüfen, ob ein Zuwanderungskonsens gelingt. Der könnte Ende März dem Vermittlungsausschuss zur Entscheidung vorgelegt werden. Am Freitag zeigten sich alle Seiten gedämpft optimistisch über die Einigungschancen. Die Grünen hatten zuvor in der Koalitionsrunde ihrem Ärger über Schily Luft gemacht, der in einem Interview den Koalitionspartner für seine Haltung bei den Zuwanderungsverhandlungen attackiert hatte.

Extract 4.7: Sicherheitsfragen bestimmen Verhandlung über Zuwanderung

Union setzt sich mit ihrer Forderung durch / Entscheidung über Gesamtpaket bis Ende März angestrebt / Grünen-Kritik an Schily, Frankfurter Rundschau v. 13.03.2004, S.4,

Similar to the ‘Die Welt’ article, the FR article makes reference to the Madrid bombings as the key event that re-opened the political discussions of the safety aspects addressed in the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’. According to the article, the previous defensive demeanour of the SPD and the Green party to discuss questions of national security in relation to questions of immigration has ceased due to the recent terrorist attacks in Madrid. The Madrid events were the trigger for re-negotiations with the CDU to include fiercer security measures into the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ (‘Nach den Anschlägen von Madrid sagte Innenminister Otto Schily (SPD) jetzt jedoch, wenn die Union Diskussionsbedarf über das Thema habe, sei die Koalition zu Gesprächen bereit.’). Similar to the articles I have discussed before, this article also addresses the different viewpoints of the major political parties, the greater focus of it being on the conservative viewpoints of the CDU/CSU (‘Die CDU/CSU fordert dabei unter

anderem, Ausländer schon beim bloßen Verdacht eines Kontakts zu Terrorgruppen ausweisen zu können. Nicht der Grundsatz der Unschuldsvermutung dürfe dabei entscheidend sein, sondern die Gefahrenlage, forderte CDU-Unterhändler Müller.’) In contrast to the two articles I previously discussed on security aspects, this article only contains two direct nominations of immigrants, namely ‘Ausländer’ and ‘Terrorgruppen’ (‘terrorist groups’) (for the context, please see previous quote). While immigrants are very much at the centre of this debate on increasing national security measures, reference to them is mostly passive. Furthermore, the author emphasises the difference between her opinion and the attitude of the CDU/CSU coalition in the sentence: ‘Bei den Verhandlungen der siebenköpfigen Allparteienrunde stellte CDU-Verhandlungsführer Peter Müller erneut die Bedingung, eine Verständigung über Sicherheitsfragen sei für die Union ,unverzichtbarer Bestandteil’ eines Zuwanderungskonsenses’.

The article describes the national security debates with a disproportionately large number of words relating to acts of war, further reinforcing the CDU and CSU’s request for stricter national security guidelines. Examples for this are:

- Torpedieren (‘Er warnte aber davor, mit der Debatte über Sicherheitsfragen die Zuwanderungsverhandlungen zu torpedieren.’)
- Attackieren (‘Die Grünen hatten zuvor in der Koalitionsrunde ihrem Ärger über Schily Luft gemacht, der in einem Interview den Koalitionspartner für seine Haltung bei den Zuwanderungsverhandlungen attackiert hatte.’)
- Terrorgruppen (‘Die CDU/CSU fordert dabei unter anderem, Ausländer schon beim bloßen Verdacht eines Kontakts zu Terrorgruppen ausweisen zu können.’)
- Grundsätze zur Terrorabwehr (‘Offen ist, ob dann verschärfte Einreise- und Ausreisebestimmungen ins Zuwanderungsgesetz aufgenommen werden oder ob man

sich nur mit einer Protokollnotiz auf gemeinsame Grundsätze zur Terrorabwehr verständigt.’)

Central to the argument of the three articles above is the imminent demand by the CDU/CSU for stricter guidelines on national security. However, arguments are reinforced in different ways in the articles. The first article by the ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ titled ‘Union zweifelt Kompromiss an; Neuer Ruf nach schärferem Zuwanderungsgesetz’ draws on the example of the 23 court cases involving Muhammet Metin Kaplan, yet does not mention the Madrid bombings. With regard to how immigrants would be affected by the demanded changes to the immigration statute, the article makes an interesting distinction between foreigners who are born in Germany or permanent residents and newly arrived immigrants – the tightened rules would mostly affect long term or German born immigrants: the CDU/CSU demand stricter and more time efficient extradition methods for this group of immigrants. The second article by ‘Die Welt’ called ‘Zugeständnisse bei erleichterten Ausweisungen’ uses the Madrid bombings as an illustrative example to reinforce the demand for stricter national security guidelines. Reference to immigrants frequently suggests social problematisation in relation to terrorist activities as well as emphasising the topos of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The third article by the ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ ‘Sicherheitsfragen bestimmen Verhandlungen über Zuwanderung’ echoes the tenor of the second article in that it nominates the Madrid bombings as the key event that re-opened the debates on national security and its place in the new German immigration statute. Unlike in the second article reference to immigrants is generally indirect – however, the article contains a disproportionately large number of words relating to acts of war.

4.3.2 Debates on Managing Internal Diversity

The final group of articles does not relate directly to the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, but represents one of the key debates on immigration during the time it took to formulate Germany’s new immigration statute. It surrounds Schily’s highly controversial comment during an interview with the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ that ‘Die beste Form der Integration ist die Assimilierung’ (the best form of integration is assimilation). The reason for including this debate among others was that it represents some of the key attitudes towards immigrants in Germany – some of which can also be found in the case study involving the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ in chapter 5. The historical background to the three key articles below following Schily’s comments on immigration has been contextualised in section 4.1.

The first article I would like to discuss was published by the ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ on 30 September 2002. Its title ‘Integration à la Erkan und Stefan’ (‘Integration according to Erkan und Stefan’) refers to two well known German comedians. Its subtitle is ‘Osman Isfen ist für intensiveren Deutschunterricht, aber gegen eine Assimilierung der Türken’ (Osman Isfen agrees with more intensive German teaching, however, is against an assimilation of Turks). However, before I begin with the summary and analysis of the article, I will briefly comment on its title. Its relationship to the content of the article becomes obvious in the second to last paragraph: ‘Immerhin gebe es jetzt auch deutsch-türkische Cliques, in denen junge Deutsche eine Kanak-Sprak à la Erkan und Stefan kultivieren: ,Was kuckst du!’ (‘At least now there are also German-Turkish cliques, where young Germans cultivate a ‘Kanak-Sprak’ like Erkan und Stefan: ‘What are you looking at?’’) ‘Kanak-Sprak’ here refers to ‘Türkendeutsch’, a Turkish – German sociolect with its own linguistic features, as well as a particular way of speaking. (Keim and Androutsopoulos 2000). In order to fully understand this title, further background knowledge on who Erkan und Stefan are is needed. They are a famous and well known duo consisting of the German comedians John Friedmann and Florian Simbeck, who invented the fictional characters Erkan und Stefan. The hallmark of the duo is the mix of an

artificial Turkish accent, the typical Bavarian dialect of north Munich and English slang. This shows in their best known phrase: 'Ey, krass'.

Frankfurter Rundschau , 3.09.2002, s.31, Ausgabe: Region

Von Klaus Nissen

Integration à la Erkan und Stefan

Osman Isfen ist für intensiveren Deutschunterricht, aber gegen eine Assimilierung der Türken

Deutsche und Türken sind einander immer noch fremd. ,Wir kennen uns nicht', sagte Osman Isfen beim Tag der offenen Tür in der Karbener muslimischen Gemeinde. Der 25-jährige Wetterauer Kreistagsabgeordnete sieht Wege zur Verständigung. Die Türken müssten zum Beispiel intensiver Deutsch lernen.

KARBEN. Wer anders als die Mehrheit aussieht, ist fremd. Auch wenn er, wie Osman Isfens Vater, seit 1969 in der Wetterau lebt. Der pensionierte Elektriker stammt aus der Türkei. Erst recht die verschleierte Frauen muslimischen Glaubens machen die Fremdheit zwischen den Deutsch- und den türkisch-stämmigen Wetterauern offensichtlich. Osman Isfen sagt: ,Wir haben Barrieren zwischen uns, die wir ernst nehmen sollten.' Deutsche und Türken hätten kaum gemeinsame Wurzeln. ,Die geschichtlichen Konflikte schlagen sich bis heute nieder'. Gerade nach dem 1. September 2001 machten Pauschal-Urteile der Mehrheit den anders aussehenden Menschen hierzulande Schwierigkeiten. Auch gutmeinende Deutsche sähen sie als Gäste, die doch irgendwann abreisen würden.

Osman Isfen ist lebendiger Beweis des Gegenteils. Der Ober-Mörlener wurde in Istanbul geboren. Bei den Großeltern lernte er die türkische Sprache und Kultur. Doch nach dem sechsten Schuljahr kam er in die Wetterau. Er verließ die türkischen Cliquen und spricht

längst akzentfrei deutsch. Machte 1998 Abitur, dann Zivildienst in Friedberg. Jetzt studiert der eloquente 25-jährige Jura in Gießen. Sein Traumberuf: Richter. Seit 2001 ist er SPD-Gemeindevertreter in Ober-Mörlen, seit wenigen Monaten auch Kreistagsabgeordneter. Der deutsche Staatsbürger betet als gläubiger Moslem fünf Mal täglich gen Mekka. Und beim Tag der offenen Tür im muslimischen Gemeindezentrum an der Groß-Karbener Bahnhofstraße betet Isfen am Samstag gemeinsame mit anderen Karbenern türkischer Herkunft: Allah Akbar – Gott ist groß.

Die Türken bleiben auf Dauer im Lande, ob die Deutschen es wollen oder nicht. Vor allem eine gemeinsame Sprache macht die Verständigung möglich, sagte Isfen in seinem Referat vor einem Dutzend Zuhörer. Möglichst alle Türken müssten besser Deutsch lernen. Auch die Hausfrauen. Das sei zu organisieren.

Leider zögen sich viele junge Türken in Cliques zurück, weil sie sich dort sicherer fühlten. Das sei zwar verständlich, aber nicht gut. Viele türkische Jugendlichen hätten wegen der mangelnden Sprachkenntnisse keinen Schulabschluss und rutschten in kriminelle Subkulturen ab.

Man müsse Geduld haben, meinte eine deutsche Zuhörerin. Immerhin gebe es jetzt auch deutsch-türkische Cliques, in denen die jungen Deutschen eine Kanak-Sprache à la Erkan und Stefan kultivierten: ‚Was kuckst du!‘ Langsam nähern sich also die Kulturen an. Eine solche Integration ist besser als jede Assimilierung, meinte Osman Isfen. Wer so tut, als seien seine Vorfahren Deutsche, schneide nur seine Wurzeln ab. ‚Mann kann seine Herkunft nicht verändern. Es ist ein Zeichen von Stärke, wenn ich mich auf meine beiden Herkunftsebene beziehe. Selbst wenn mich die Mehrheit immer noch als Gast betrachtet, der eines Tages gehen muss‘. Die Menschen deutscher und türkischer Kultur müssten sich im Alltag in kleinen Schritten annähern, meinten auch andere Redner im Versammlungsraum der Türkisch-Islamischen Union. Von den gut gemeinten Ausländerbeiräten hält der Karbener Mustafa Özdemir allerdings wenig: ‚Ausländerbeiräte sind nur ein Alibi ohne echte Macht. Der Ausländer soll

Ausländer bleiben. Ich lebe aber in dieser Gesellschaft und nicht getrennt davon!’ Die Türken müssten sich intensiver mit der ganz normalen Kommunalpolitik befassen, appellierte Özdemir. Dazu gehöre auch das kommunale Wahlrecht.

Extract 4.8: Integration à la Erkan und Stefan, Osman Isfen ist für intensiveren Deutschunterricht, aber gegen eine Assimilierung der Türken, Frankfurter Rundschau, 3.09.2002, S.31.

The reason for publishing the article is the open day at the Muslim community in Karben, a small town north of Frankfurt. It reports on the speech of Osman Isfen, a 25 year-old Muslim and the feedback to his speech from some of the people present. Osman Isfen is presented by the article as the model immigrant of the Turkish community in Karben: born in Istanbul, he arrived in Germany at the end of year six of his school education. Not keeping to the Turkish cliques, he learnt to speak German without a Turkish accent. He got his Abitur and is now a law student in Giessen. While he now holds German citizenship, he does not abandon his Muslim roots and prays every Saturday in the Muslim community centre. The article states that in his speech, Osman Isfen addresses the barriers between Germans and the Muslim community (‘Wir haben Barrieren zwischen uns, die wir ernst nehmen sollten.’) and attempts to improve the understanding between the two groups by giving recommendations on issues which could improve the understanding between the two groups. The article concludes with a variety of remarks from the public and the appeal of Isfen to the Turkish community to get involved in local politics.

Due to the article’s nature, it includes a variety of ways in which immigrants – in the particular context of this article Turkish immigrants – are named and referred to. The first sentence of the article sets the tenor for what is to follow: ‘Deutsche und Türken sind einander immer noch fremd. ,Wir kennen uns nicht’, ...’ (‘Germans and Turkish are still alien to each

other. ‘We don’t know each other’, ...’). In this example, ‘Deutsche’ und ‘Türken’ are ethnifications or nationalisations which are contrasted with each other through the use of ‘fremd’ (alien), which symbolises an explicit dissimilation. Dissimilation is a concept which continues through the opening paragraph of this article, i.e. ‘Wer anders als die Mehrheit aussieht, ist fremd.’ (‘If one looks different to the majority, one is alien.’). Here, the strategy of comparing the looks of the majority of people (‘Mehrheit’ → collectivisation) with an ‘other-looking’ minority is used to underline the alienisation. The reference to difference in terms of attire and religion is also picked up in the sentence ‘Erst recht die verschleierte Frauen muslimischen Glaubens machen die Fremdheit zwischen den deutsch – und den türkisch – stämmigen Wetterauern offensichtlich.’ However, other than focusing on ‘sameness’ and ‘otherness’, the article also uses some of the more common stereotypes associated with immigrants – particularly in the fourth paragraph of the article, in which Isfen addresses the issues which the Turkish community should improve upon to facilitate immigration. Examples of these are:

- ‘Möglichst alle Türken müssten besser Deutsch lernen. Auch die Hausfrauen.’ (‘Preferably all Turkish should improve their German. Also the housewives.’)
- ‘Viele türkische Jugendliche hätten wegen der mangelnden Sprachkenntnisse keinen Schulabschluss und rutschten in kriminelle Subkulturen ab’. (‘Many Turkish teenagers would not obtain school leaving certificates due to a lack of language skills and would slip into criminal sub-cultures.’)

Both of these stereotypes can be frequently found in recent German immigration debates. In particular, the connection between a lack of language skills and criminal offences was frequently found in connection with the ‘Herbert-Hoover Oberschule’ debate, and an example for this will be discussed in detail in section 5.3.

The second relevant article was published by the 'Tageszeitung' on 10 July, 2002 and is titled 'Frei erfundene Zahl' ('Purely made up number'). The subtitles are: 'Stoiber warnt vor 150.000 Ausländern. Wie er darauf kommt, weiß auch die CSU nicht. Schily assimiliert weiter.' (Stoiber warns against 150,000 foreigners. How he comes up with that is not even known to the CSU. Schily continues to assimilate.').

Die Tageszeitung, 10.07.2002, S. 7

Lukas Wallraff

Frei erfundene Zahl

Stoiber warnt vor 150.000 Ausländern. Wie er darauf kommt, weiß auch die CSU nicht.

Schily assimiliert weiter

BERLIN. Taz. Unionskanzlerkandidat Edmund Stoiber (CSU) hat mit seinen neuesten Warnungen vor dem rot-grünen Zuwanderungsgesetz die Experten seiner eigenen Partei überrascht - und in Erklärungsnöte gebracht. ,Ich weiß nicht, wie Herr Stoiber das gerechnet hat', sagte der innenpolitische Sprecher der CSU-Landesgruppe im Bundestag, Wolfgang Zeitlmann, gestern der taz. Er selbst habe ,nicht genug Informationen, um die Zahl der Zuwanderer, die nach dem rot-grünen Gesetz zu erwarten seien, so konkret zu messen.' Stoiber hatte bei seinem Interviewduell mit Kanzler Gerhard Schröder (SPD) in der Bild-Zeitung behauptet, ,dass wir mit diesem Gesetz mit Sicherheit zwischen 100.000 und 150.000 neue ausländische Bürger zusätzlich bekommen werden'. Schröder warf seinem Gegenspieler deshalb vor, er verbreite Angst mit ,willkürlichen Zahlen', die niemand beweisen kann und die einfach in die Welt gesetzt werden. Das neue Gesetz erlaube, im Unterschied zu dem, was Herr Stoiber gesagt hat, eine sinnvolle Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung'.

Auch Innenminister Otto Schily (SDP) warf Stoiber ,bewusste Irreführung der Öffentlichkeit' vor. Das Gesetz werde zu einem Rückgang der Zuwanderung führen, sagte Schily bei der Taufe das neuen ,Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge' in Nürnberg. Sinken würden vor allem die Zahlen der Spätaussiedler und der ausländischen Kinder in Familiennachzug. Den Rückgang der Asylbewerber im Juni bezeichnete er als ,Vorauswirkung' des Gesetzes. Das bisherige Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge soll laut Schily zum Kompetenzzentrum für alle Fragen der Zuwanderung werden und ein umfassendes bundesweites Integrationskonzept erarbeiten. Wie er sich das vorstellt, machte Schily deutlich, indem er seinen Lieblingsbegriff wiederholte: Assimilierung ist die beste Form der Integration, betonte er. Ich weiß gar nicht, weshalb wir vor diesem Begriff eine solche Scheu haben. Der Präsident des Bundesamts, Albert Schmidt (SDP), freute sich über die neuen Aufgaben für seine in der Asyldebatte über Jahrzehnte gebeutelte Mitarbeiterschaft. Weil es immer weniger Asylbewerber gebe, sei die Umstellung weitgehend ohne zusätzliches Personal möglich.

Der grüne Innenpolitiker Cem Özdemir sagte der taz, er begrüße die neue Ausrichtung der Behörde, betonte aber: ,Assimilation gehört nicht zu ihren Aufgaben.'

Extract 4.9: Frei erfundene Zahl, Die Tageszeitung, 10.07.2002, S. 7

The article was written following a newspaper debate between then German chancellor Gerhard Schröder (SPD) and his opponent Edmund Stoiber (CSU) about the implications of the planned 'Zuwanderungsgesetz'. As suggested by the title, Stoiber implied that the new immigration statute would attract at least 100,000 to 150,000 further immigrants to Germany ('Stoiber hatte bei seinem Interviewduell mit Kanzler Schröder (SPD) in der Bild-Zeitung behauptet, ,dass wir mit dem Gesetz mit Sicherheit zwischen 100.000 und 150.000 neue ausländische Bürger zusätzlich bekommen werden.'') The first half of the article discusses Stoiber's numbers with an ironic twist by casting doubt on Stoiber's utterance. The author

quotes the official speaker of the CSU on national politics who claims that he does not have access to the information necessary to come up with such exact figures. ('Er selbst habe nicht genug Informationen, um die Zahl der Zuwanderer, die nach dem rot-grünen Gesetz zu erwarten seien, so konkret zu messen.'). The second half of the article reports on the implications that the statute will have once passed, i.e. re-defining the competencies of the 'Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge' ('Federal office for the recognition of foreign refugees'). Here, one can pick up an ironic undertone in the article towards Schily's prior comments on assimilation and integration (see next article for a thorough discussion of Schily's comments). 'Wie er sich das vorstellt, machte Schily deutlich, indem er seinen Lieblingsbegriff wiederholte: „Assimilation ist die beste Form der Integration', ...' Schily's comment is further euphemised by quoting Greens politician Cem Özdemir: 'Der grüne Innenpolitiker Cem Özdemir sagte der taz, er begrüße die neue Ausrichtung der Behörde, betonte aber: „Assimilation gehört nicht zu ihren Aufgaben.' (The Greens home affairs politician Cem Özdemir said to the 'taz' that he welcomes the new orientation of the ministry, but emphasized: 'Assimilation is not one of their duties.')

As can be seen from the paragraph above, some of the most interesting features of the article revolve around the way the author articulates the quotes of Stoiber and Schröder, a research question also prominent in the work of Wodak and Reisigl (2001). The author employs the strategy of downplaying Stoiber's comment that the new statute would attract a further 100,000 to 150,000 immigrants by putting an ironic twist onto the story (see above) as well as immediately following Stoiber's comment with Schröder's counter-comment: 'Das neue Gesetz erlaube 'im Unterschied zu dem, was Herr Stoiber gesagt hat, eine sinnvolle Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung.' ('The new statute would allow, in contrast to what has been said by Mr Stoiber, a sensible regulation and restriction of immigration.').

The final article I would like to discuss was the original interview between Schily and the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’, in which he first made the controversial claims on immigration and assimilation. While the article itself is not part of the debate following Schily’s claims that the best form of immigration was assimilation, it nonetheless picks up on many of the key characteristics and concepts that are central to the debate that follows Schily’s comment. Hence, I decided to include it in the analysis. The interview was published by the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ (SZ) on 26 June, 2002 and is titled with one of Schily’s citations from the interview: ‘Ich möchte keine zweisprachigen Ortsschilder haben’ (‘I don’t want to have bilingual town signs’). The subtitle has an ironic note: ‘Der Bundesinnenminister Otto Schily (SPD) wendet sich gegen die Förderung neuer Minderheiten und plädiert stattdessen für die Assimilierung’ (‘The German interior minister Otto Schily (SPD) turns against the encouragement of new minorities and instead, pleads for assimilation’). Schily was interviewed by Heribert Prantl, the head of the national politics section of the SZ, who has published widely on contemporary political issues in Germany (see ‘Katalog der deutschen Nationalbibliothek’ <http://d-nb.info/gnd/115783857> for a list of his works)

Prantel interviews Schily extensively on the developments and progress of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ as well as on issues of integration. The part of the interview that has induced the controversial debates went as follows:

SZ: Wie geht es also mit der Integration weiter?

Schily: Ich sage Ihnen ganz offen: Die beste Form der Integration ist die Assimilierung.

SZ: Assimilierung heißt: Die Türken übernehmen die Traditionen, die Wert- und Verhaltensmuster der Deutschen?

Schily: Assimilierung heißt wörtlich Anähnlichung. Das kann in sehr unterschiedlichen Formen vor sich gehen. Aber am Ende werden sich die Menschen in einem gemeinsamen Kulturraum ähnlicher.

Extract 4.10: *Extract from an interview with Otto Schily published in the Süddeutsche Zeitung* on 26 June 2002. Full interview text is provided in appendix A.

The interview refers to immigrants in a variety of ways, often only with subtle distinctions. This becomes apparent in Schily's sixth answer to Prantl's questions. In the same paragraph, he refers to immigrants twice, once as 'zuziehende Ausländer' ('recently arrived foreigners') and once as 'Zuwanderer' ('immigrants'). To see the difference in meaning here, one has to look at the respective contexts. 'Und wenn Herr Stoiber beklagt, dass wir zu große Probleme haben mit Integration von zuziehenden Ausländern – er ist es, der an diesem Zustand nichts ändern will, ...' Here the phrase 'zuziehende Ausländer' is chosen to represent Stoiber's view – it is chosen to express that these people will live in Germany alongside of the existing population. They may very well become a burden and will also remain 'Ausländer'. The use of the noun 'Zuwanderer', further down this paragraph does not make the same connection between immigrants and a potential burden. Still referring to Stoiber, Schily states: 'Er weiß genau, dass ein Bewerber aus dem vorhandenen Arbeitskräfte-Angebot in Deutschland immer Vorrang hat, dass an zweiter Stelle ein Bewerber aus den EU-Kandidatenländern rangiert – erst an dritter Stelle der Zuwanderer zum Zuge kommt.' The noun 'Zuwanderer' is used in this context to describe a person who immigrates, but does not necessarily intend to become a German citizen. Reference to immigrants in terms of their duration of stay or their intent to remain in Germany can be found throughout the article, i.e. in 'Saison- und Werkvertragsarbeiter' ('seasonal and contract workers') and 'Asylbewerber' (asylum seekers). Throughout the later part of the interview, Schily addresses the integration of immigrants, and this is reflected in how immigrants are referred to. 'Minderheit' and

‚Parallelgesellschaft‘ become the primary nominations associated with immigrants. Key example are: ‚Schily: Ich bin entschieden dagegen, irgendeine neue Minderheit in Deutschland zu etablieren.‘ (‚Schily: I am definitely against establishing a new minority in Germany.‘) and ‚Schily: Selbstverständlich sind Fremdsprachenkenntnisse von Vorteil. Aber das heißt nicht, dass wir Parallelgesellschaften fördern sollten.‘ (‚Schily: Of course, the knowledge of foreign languages is an advantage. However, that does not mean that we should cultivate parallel societies.‘). However, the article does not only contain direct references to immigrants, but also a large number of indirect references. The list below compares some of the sentence structures referring to immigrants to those referring to German citizens.

Constructions referring to immigrants

- **Ausweitung des Zuzugs**
- **Neue Belastungen für die Sozialsysteme**
- **Ungesteuerter Zuzug**
- **Qualifizierung der Zuwanderung**
- **Einbeziehung in den deutschen Kulturraum**

Constructions referring to German citizens

- **Parolen**
- **Dumpfe Abwehrmechanismen**
- **Das Land**
- **Unseren Kulturraum**
- **Hiesige Lebensverhältnisse**

Notable are Schily’s argumentation strategies throughout the article. When talking about the delays in passing the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, Schily attempts to shift the blame to the other negotiators in the process (‘Für die Verzögerung bin ich nicht verantwortlich. Es gab

Gesprächspartner, die großen Wert darauf legten, gewisse Phasen doch erstmal abzuwarten, zum Beispiel die Berliner Wahl ...'). Furthermore, Schily attempts to de-value the argumentation strategies of Müller and Beckstein, both negotiators for the opposition in the discussions around the ‚Zuwanderungsgesetz‘. (‘Er (here referring to Müller) versucht, ebenso wie Stoiber und Beckstein, in der Öffentlichkeit ein Bild vom Inhalt des Zuwanderungsgesetzes zu zeichnen, das entweder Leseschwäche verrät oder den Unwillen, den wirklichen Gesetzestext zu lesen.’) De-valuing Müller’s, Stoiber’s and Beckstein’s arguments is a thread continuously found throughout the first half of the interview.

While the key articles on ‘security aspects’ and the ‘Green Card Debate’ were more homogenous in relation to their primary sources and genre, the key articles following Schily’s utterance point towards a more open ended debate. Let me elaborate on this point. The first article by the ‘Frankfurter Rundschau’ titled ‘Integration à la Erkan und Stefan’ is based on a speech by Osman Isfen, a ‘textbook’ immigrant who is fully integrated into German society, whereas the second article (Tageszeitung: ‘Frei erfundene Zahl’) follows a TV duel between Stoiber and Schröder about the implications of the new German immigration law. The third article by the Süddeutsche Zeitung titled ‘Ich möchte keine zweisprachigen Ortsschilder haben’ is a printed version of the interview with Schily, which initiated the debates on the role of assimilation in the integration process in the first place. ‘Integration à la Erkan und Stefan’ focuses on dissimilation between Germans and Turkish immigrants and compares them along the lines of the topos of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. The article also draws on some stereotypes often associated with Turkish immigrants in the media, i.e. the insufficient command of the German language of Turkish housewives and the relationship between insufficient language skills and a criminal career. The articles published by the ‘Tageszeitung’ and the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ both challenge Schily’s utterances on immigration and assimilation, however, they do so in different ways. While the ‘Tagesspiegel’ article plays down the suggested number of new

immigrants to arrive in Germany as a result of its new immigration statute by employing irony towards Schily's utterances, the interviewer in the 'SZ' article challenges Schily and his utterances directly throughout the interview. Schily justifies his proposed assimilation of immigrants by propagating a negative picture of not fully integrated/assimilated immigrants (i.e. 'Minderheit', 'Parallelgesellschaft').

Summary

Having contextualised the immediate historical context of the passing of the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' in chapter 2, chapter 4 focused on selected key media debates. Having begun the chapter with an introduction of the dominant newspaper discourses associated with the passing of Germany's new immigration statute drawing on a larger corpus of newspaper articles in section 4.1, the focus was subsequently narrowed to concentrate on two key debates, each exemplified by key newspaper articles. Following a brief introduction to the newspapers underlying the analysis, section 4.3.1 concentrates on the debates on border management. Section 4.3.2 analyses key issues of the debates around managing internal diversity revolving around Schily's controversial comments on the role of assimilation in the integration process.

One focus of the research in chapter 4 centred on nomination in newspaper discourses, i.e. the naming and reference of immigrants. Discourses in the newspaper articles of the 'Green Card Debates' distinguished between two groups of immigrants: highly skilled and low skilled immigrants. While reference to the first group was mostly in terms of ability and their qualifications, lower skilled immigrants were frequently associated with social problematisation. Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 do not distinguish between different groups of immigrants to the same extent as 4.3.1. However, reference still centres on the differences –

this time between Germans and immigrants – by focusing on illustrative examples reinforcing the topos of ‘us versus them’. Illustrative examples of some of the common stereotypes associated with immigrants were found in section 4.3.3, mostly drawing on the lack of linguistic skills often associated with Turkish housewives as well as the relationship between insufficient linguistic skills and a criminal career. Throughout the articles frequent reference is made to the linguistic ability of immigrants and its importance in the context of successful integration is stressed. Societal assumptions about language and integration will be explored further in the case study of the HHO in chapter 5. While sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 predominantly centre around events directly associated with the passing of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, section 4.3.3 marks the transition to chapter 5 with a greater textual focus on how to integrate immigrants living in Germany. Chapter 5 – a case study of the Berlin Herbert Hoover Oberschule – will pick up concepts such as the topos of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ as well as asking broader questions about how national media integration discourses were interpreted by a school at local level. Chapter 6 will relate chapters 4 and 5 to each other and draw some conclusions from the research with regards to the role of discourse about language in the immigration/ integration debate.

5. Language Regulations in a Multicultural Playground: Case Study of the Herbert-Hoover Oberschule

Having developed the historical and discursive construction of the changes associated with Germany's new immigration statute (Zuwanderungsgesetz) in chapters 3 and 4, chapter 5 will narrow the focus. It will present a case study concentrating on the attention given to German language proficiency throughout the debates around the introduction of the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz'. It will analyse a 'local' interpretation of the wider national and European (Extra et al., 2009) debates on the role of language in the process of integration. It will do so by describing the case of a Berlin secondary school, the Herbert Hoover Oberschule (HHO), which introduced a range of measures in February 2005 intended to improve their students' German language proficiency. Among those measures were increased numbers of hours of German language teaching, a reduction in class sizes for the students' German lessons and a written agreement with students that German was the only language to be used throughout the school day – including recreational time and class trips (see chapter 5.2.1 for more information). Having put into practice their revised language policy for 11 months without receiving negative feedback – and indeed with an increase in student applications to the school for the following year - the school subsequently came under intense media scrutiny in January 2006. This was particularly centred on their decision to allow no languages other than German to be spoken on their playground. The data underlying this chapter consists of key newspaper articles representing the debates around the HHO, personal interviews conducted in May 2006 with students and teachers of the school as well as 'feedback' letters the school received as a result of the media turmoil.

Chapters 3 and 4 established that the introduction of the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' was intended to act as a turning point in Germany's immigration policy by acknowledging its status as an immigration country – a fact that had been denied in official discourses for decades. Against

the backdrop of this newly found German identity, the decision of the HHO to use no language other than German on their playground, during field days and on school trips seems rather surprising at first sight; German is not the mother tongue of more than 90% of the students attending this school with approximately 8-10 different languages spoken (FAZ, 25.1.2006). When interpreting the reasoning behind the school's decision, one has to keep in mind the importance that is given to German language proficiency in the national immigration debates at this particular time (see chapter 4): language proficiency is repeatedly stressed as one of the major factors contributing to a successful integration of foreigners in Germany (Bundesregierung 2002). The controversial debate following the democratic decision of students, teachers and parents to use German as a common language during school breaks can be broken down to two central issues. Firstly, it addresses the values associated with the use of the German language. Secondly, it relates more broadly to issues surrounding the concepts of language ideologies and social identities. Is the use of German a sign of mutual respect, or is it a violation of the constitutional principle of safeguarding cultural identity?

I embark on this chapter with a brief introduction of the HHO, a description of the content and the origin of its language policy, as well as an account of the events leading up to the fierce media debate. Applying analytical concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) I shall concentrate on themes and competing discourses, positioning of actors, as well as on the relationship between the media debate and personal letters written to the school throughout the debate. A broader interpretation of the findings in the case study in the light of chapters 3 and 4 will be discussed in chapter 6.

5.1 Introducing the Herbert Hoover Oberschule

The HHO is in the Berlin sub-district of Wedding, one of the poorest areas of the city. Economically, Wedding is characterised by a high unemployment rate of 25.7% (Linde, 2004), low rents and a highly multicultural setting: approximately 30% of the population do not have a German passport (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin). The multicultural atmosphere is visible to the visitor of this sub-district most noticeably by the multilingual shop signs which are typically written in either Turkish/German or Arabic/German. The way the HHO is presented in the newspaper debates is in line with the social picture of Wedding as described above. ‘Die Hoover Schule hat im letzten Jahrzehnt eine Wandlung durchgemacht wie fast alle Schulen im Viertel. Viele Familien, die ehrgeizigere Zukunftspläne für ihre Kinder hatten, zogen weg, fast alle Deutschen sowieso.’ (The Hoover School has seen similar changes to most other schools in the sub-district. Many families with more ambitious plans for their children moved away, just like the majority of Germans.) (FAZ, 27.2.2006)

The HHO is situated in a well maintained, older building (see photo 5.1 below) within a mostly residential area with a range of smaller ethnic shops. The sitting area in front of the main building was redesigned by the school’s students in 2005/2006 (<http://www.herbert-hoover-oberschule.cidsnet.de/>). In the hallways between the classrooms, students’ artwork is displayed. In the basement of the school is a small cafeteria selling a range of rolls and snacks, as well as a free internet café which is available to students when not in lessons and after school.



Photo 5.1: Front entrance to the HHO

During breaks between lessons, all students have to leave the school building and stay in the playground – exceptions to this rule are made in adverse weather conditions. During this time the main building is locked with the exception of the cafeteria and the internet café, which are accessible to the students. Two teachers oversee the students on the playground, rotating these duties among members of staff, and they are supported by two student helpers. The student helpers are drawn from a pool of volunteer students who are trained by the school as ‘Konfliktlotsen’ (conflict resolver) and they can be identified by a name badge that reads ‘H.-Hoover-Realschule Schülersicht’ (see Photo 5.2)



Photo 5.2: Student monitor identification

Together with the two teachers, the ‘Schüleraufsicht’ are responsible for avoiding conflicts and settling disputes between students. Their duties also include reminding students to speak German if they overhear other languages being spoken whilst they are on duty. However, talking to students and teachers, it appears that the school does not enforce sanctions for speaking languages other than German on the playground, but that the situation is resolved by engaging the students in a discussion and reminding them of the linguistic agreement.

According to the school’s own statistics for the academic year 2006/2007, 96% of all students in this school have a migration background. However, in a country like Germany with many second and third generation migrants, it is important to distinguish between migration background and ‘Herkunftssprache’ (mother tongue). Berlin’s ‘Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung’ looked at ‘Herkunftssprache’ of HHO students for the same academic year and found that 91,6% of the school’s students have a non-German ‘Herkunftssprache’ (<http://www.bildungsstatistik2-berlin.de/portrait/schuelerschaft.asp>).

According to ‘Berlin’s Senatsverwaltung’ webpage, the defining characteristic for ‘Herkunftssprache’ is not nationality, but the language spoken within the family. However, many families of HHO students are not monolingual and the variety of languages spoken at home may not be reflected in the senate’s statistics. The extract below illustrates that a number of students speak more than one language at home and that they ‘code-switch’ between various languages depending on the family member they interact with.

	<u>Interviewer</u>	Student 1	Student 2	Comments
1	mit deiner			laughs
2	Familie (.) redest			
3	du türkisch oder			
4		türkisch deutsch		
5	redest du	(.) so gemischt		
6	unterschiedliche			
7	Sprachen mit			
8	unterschiedlichen			
9	Familienteilen?			
10				
11	mit welchen?	ja (<u>2 secs</u>)		general laughter;
12				student aware that
13		mit mei(.)ner		answer was rather
14		Oma red isch		short
15		türkisch weil sie		
16		kann (.) nisch gut		
17		deutsch (.) mit		
18		meinen Opa auch		
19		(.) eigentlich		
20		können sonst alle		
21		meine Tanten		
22		und Onkel die		
23		können		

24		eigentlich		
25	<u>und wie is es bei</u>	deutsch (.) so (3		S1 looks at S3
26	<u>dir?</u>	secs)		
27				
28			genauso zu	
29			Hause sprech ich	
30			ab und zu	
31			deutsch ab und	
32			zu türkisch (.)	
33			und (.) yeah (.)	
34			bei meiner Oma	
35			und so und	
36			meinem Opa	
37			auch türkisch (.)	
38			weil die können	
39			auch nich so	
40			perfekt deutsch	
			(.) yeah	

Extract 5.1: Interview with 2 male Turkish youths from the Herbert Hoover Oberschule (S2 and S3) (1'55'' – 2'39'').

In the extract, students give several indications for using different languages for different functions and social settings. When asked which language he speaks at home, student 1 answers: 'türkisch, deutsch - so gemischt' (Turkish, German - a mixture). He goes on to explain that he speaks Turkish to his grandmother, 'weil die kann nicht so gut deutsch' (because she cannot speak German well) as well as his grandfather, but all other uncles and

aunts ‘die können eigentlich deutsch’ (they can actually speak German). Student 2 tells a similar story: ‘zu Hause sprech ich ab und zu deutsch ab und zu türkisch’ (at home every now and then I speak German and every now and then [I speak] Turkish). He adds that just like student 1, he also speaks Turkish to his grandparents, ‘weil die können auch nicht so perfekt deutsch’ (because they also do not have quite perfect German). This extract is representative of a larger number of interviews I conducted with students of the school (audio recordings of these interviews are collated on CD in the appendix). Most of the students said that they use several languages in different settings on a daily basis. Some students also reported that they were familiar with basic everyday phrases in the range of more common languages spoken by students at the HHO.

According to the school’s own data, languages spoken in students’ families include (in order of prevalence) Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, German, Albanian, Bosnian, Urdu, Vietnamese, Polish, Czech and Armenian. The most widely spoken languages are Turkish and Arabic; during talks with the students, most of those speaking a less represented language commented that they understood at least some basic Turkish and Arabic and had a considerable repertoire of swearwords in these languages. In the interviews, most students said that while they also used their mother tongue in school, they would switch to German if not all members of the group understood their mother tongue, ‘as it was the polite thing to do’. However, according to the interviews I conducted with teachers of the school, this understanding did not always exist and students who spoke one of the less prevalent languages used to feel left out.

Teachers name this as one of the official reasons for introducing the German-only policy.

Another motive for introducing the school’s language policy which was repeatedly mentioned throughout the interviews with teachers was the problem of mediating in arguments between students. Teachers said they regularly did not understand the issues underlying controversies between students and hence found it very hard to intervene or find solutions.

Having described the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ and its day-to-day procedures above, the next paragraph focuses on how the school introduced their ‘German-only’ policy as well as the school’s motivations for doing so. The ‘Hausordnung’ (school’s regulations) encompassing the German-only policy is dated 28 February 2005, approximately one year before the school became the centre of intense media scrutiny. In accordance with Wodak’s (1999, 2001, 2005) mid-range theories of context it is important to understand how this particular rule evolved and how it was motivated. I shall concentrate on the influence of becoming an ‘anschub.de’ school and how this motivated the school’s rules and regulations. On 12 February 2004, the ‘anschub.de- Schule und Gesundheit’ of the ‘Bertelsmann Stiftung’⁸ was introduced to the head teacher and deputy head teacher of the HHO. Following their initial interest, a vote was held among the teachers of the school, who voted in favour of becoming part of the program. (Schulprogramm: 11). ‘Anschub.de’ calls itself the ‘Allianz für nachhaltige Schulgesundheit und Bildung in Deutschland’ (alliance for sustainable health and education in schools). According to anschub.de, cultural and structural changes in society demand re-thinking and re-developing the school’s place in society (<http://www.anschub.de/cps/rde/xchg/anschub/>). This is done together with the participating institutions by following a series of steps:

- *Developing guidelines for the realization of a good and healthy school environment*
- *Conceptualising local and regional support structures and processes*
- *Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the school as a base for the implementation of ‘anschub.de’*
- *Provision of outside help with the development of the school*

⁸ More information on the motivation and goals of ‘anschub.de’ can be found under <http://www.anschub.de/cps/rde/xchg/anschub/>

- *Quality management and evaluation*

(Loosely translated from http://www.anschub.de/cps/rde/xchg/SID-0A000F14-2C851E90/anschub/hs.xsl/die_ziele.htm)

Having become an ‘anschub.de’ school, several developments of the school over the next year can be directly linked to the goals of the program mentioned above: on 30 August 2004, teachers of the school voted for four of them to support the head teacher as the governing body of the school (erweiterte Schulleitung); on 28 September 2004, the first draft of the school’s rules and regulations was adopted; on 20 January 2005 the ‘Gesamtkonferenz’ (governing body of the school, all teachers and selected students) had a study day on general disturbances occurring during the school day and what could be done to prevent them. A catalogue of acceptable behaviour (Verhaltenskatalog) was produced as a result of this study day. On 28 February 2005, the revised version of the school’s rules and regulations, that subsequently aroused the media attention that the school received in 2006, was introduced. (Schulprogramm: 11)

Also related to the ‘anschub.de’ status of the HHO is the school’s ‘Schwerpunktschule für Deutsch’ (focus on teaching German as a foreign language) program, which was launched at the same time as the school’s ‘Hausordnung’. Incoming students are assessed on their language skills and then divided up into smaller learning groups. Each student has six lessons of German per week – this is two lessons more than at other comparable schools. All German lessons are generally taught as a foreign language (DAF – Deutsch als Fremdsprache), which is a feature of the ‘Schwerpunktschule für Deutsch’ program.

The next paragraph will briefly introduce the school’s controversial language regulations, concentrating on the contentiously discussed part of the school’s rules (the full text of the

school's rules and regulations can be found in the appendix). The school's rules are divided up into paragraphs similar to a legal document. The controversial content is listed prominently under §1, 'Grundsätze' (principles), on page 2 of the school's rules. § 1 deals with a variety of aspects including equality, tolerance, German language, the right to learn and several other points which are aimed at regulating student behaviour during school hours (e.g. attendance, drug abuse, cleanliness). § 1 moves from general attitudes (equality and tolerance) towards specific behaviour expected of the students such as the German-only language policy. Placing the German-only language policy in 3rd place, right after the paragraphs addressing equality and tolerance gives the German-only language policy an important status in the school's rules and regulations. The policy reads:

... Die Schulsprache an unserer Schule ist Deutsch, die Amtssprache der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Jeder Schüler ist verpflichtet, sich im Geltungsbereich der Hausordnung nur in dieser Sprache zu verständigen.

...The official language at our school is German, the official language of the German Federal Republic. Within the territory in which these regulations apply, every pupil is obliged to communicate only in this language.

Extract 5.2: Extract from the HHO's language regulations.

By loosely applying Fairclough's (1989) apparatus for questions⁹ for CDA analysis to this extract, several noticeable features can be identified. An interesting point to start with is the noun 'Amtssprache' (official language) which was picked up upon as being too formal in the subsequent media debate. However, the choice of 'Amtssprache', which purely describes language as a means of communication, is not necessarily inappropriate in this context. Let

me elaborate: unlike in France, the German constitution does not declare German to be the official language of Germany. The only institution in Germany where language use is officially regulated is justice, naming German as the official language used in court (Gerichtssprache). If the school had instead written ‘Die Schulsprache an unserer Schule ist Deutsch, die Sprache der Bundesrepublik Deutschland’ – as was suggested during the media debate - it would have been possible to interpret both national and cultural values into this statement (e.g. ‘Nationalsprache’ (national language)). On the contrary, ‘Amtssprache’ implies the use of language solely as a means of communication. However, how does the choice of wording of this policy depend on, and help to create, social relationships between the school and its students? To explore this: the wording of the policy given in the extract is such that the language policy, which has been established previously in this section to be a guideline, can be readily interpreted as an enforceable regulation. It can be broken down into a declarative (‘Die Schulsprache an unserer Schule ist Deutsch, die Amtssprache der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.’) followed by an imperative (‘Jeder Schüler ist verpflichtet, sich im Geltungsbereich der Hausordnung nur in dieser Sprache zu verständigen.’). The official wording, reminiscent of language used in court, together with the elaboration of the status of German (‘...die Amtssprache der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.’) adds authority to the regulation. However, not only the sentence structure adds stress to the policy: ‘...ist verpflichtet...’ (is obliged) is a verb phrase which is synonymous with the modal auxiliary verb ‘muss’ (must). This is a signal of ‘obligation’ in the taxonomy of Fairclough (1989:107). The official sounding terminology paired with the relational value of ‘...ist verpflichtet...’ is most likely intended to increase obedience of this rule by the school’s students.

The HHO, having been under severe media attack for the formulation of its rules and regulations (see 5.2.1) , reformulated the school’s language policy for the ‘Schulprogramm’ (prospectus) in 2006. The HHO’s prospectus is a comprehensive guide providing background

information on the facts and figures surrounding the HHO as well as giving an overview of the school's focus and its future goals.

... Dabei ist Deutsch unsere verbindliche Verkehrssprache. Auf dieser Grundlage verständigt sich unsere Schülerschaft im und außerhalb des Unterrichts. Damit erwirbt sie zugleich ein umfassendes, sprachlich fundiertes Wissen. ...

...At the same time, German is our mandatory language of communication. On this basis, our students communicate inside and outside of the classroom. In this way, they also acquire a comprehensive, linguistically founded knowledge at the same time. ...

Extract 5.3: Extract from the reformulated HHO language policy

While the previous formulation of the school's policy used the term 'Amtssprache', this was replaced by the term 'Verkehrssprache' (lingua franca) in the 'Schulprogramm'. While 'Verkehrssprache' appears to sound less formal than 'Amtssprache', nevertheless, the meaning of the two terms is similar: both of them relate to language as a medium of communication and do not hold cultural values as such. Also, the imperative 'Jeder Schüler ist verpflichtet, sich im Geltungsbereich der Hausordnung nur in dieser Sprache zu verständigen.' has been replaced with another declarative, stating the school's reasoning behind the introduction of the policy. The revised policy seeks to emphasise the reasoning and justification for the German only language policy which is likely intended to avoid future misinterpretation of the policy. The official language and the lack of solidarity were two of the direct criticisms that the school received in the media debate. While not changing the policy itself, the extract from the 'Schulprogramm' shows an effort from the side of the school to respond to these criticisms. In contrast to the first extract, no obligation is signalled through the use of modal auxiliaries or verb phrases taking their place. Increased markers of

solidarity (Fairclough 1989: 107) of the authors of this extract with the school's students can be seen in the introduction of first person plural pronouns ('unsere verbindliche Verkehrssprache', 'unsere Schülerschaft').

In the next section, I shall discuss the varied media responses to the school's language policies in more detail; however, it is worth remarking that the establishment's response to the HHO's catalogue of linguistic measures was positive from an early point in the debates around the school's language policy. This is exemplified in the two prizes which the HHO was awarded in relation to its efforts to increase the German language proficiency of their students: in June 2006, the HHO was awarded the 'Nationalpreis' of the 'Deutsche Nationalstiftung', a prize meant to promote a unified Germany and German identity in Europe (<http://www.nationalstiftung.de/nationalpreis2006.php>). It was also awarded the 'Stiftungspreis der Helga und Edzard Reuter-Stiftung' in November 2006 (More information on the origins of this prize and its former award holders can be found on <http://www.reuter-stiftung.de/>).

5.1.1 The beginning of the media turmoil around the HHO

Having described the 'Herbert Hoover Oberschule' and the events that led to the introduction of their 'German-only' policy, I will now focus on a chronological overview of the early stages of the media attention the school received. The section will then continue with the analysis of selected newspaper discourses highlighting key aspects of the debate.

On 28 February 2005, the board of the HHO decided to include their German-only policy in the revised version of the school's regulations with immediate effect. 11 months later, on 18 January 2006, the HHO received a phone call from the education authority to inform the

headteacher of the potentially discriminatory contents of the school's regulations. The next morning, the Turkish Newspaper 'Hürriyet' published an article stating that Jutta Steinkamp, the school's head teacher, had decided to forbid all languages other than German at the HHO. The headline translates 'At this school one may only speak German'. The same day the Greens deputy leader, Özcan Mutlu, summoned a meeting of the education committee in the Berlin House of Representatives. Within only two days of the phone call, the first article in a German newspaper, the 'Tagesspiegel' appeared on the morning of 20 January. The headline, rather similar to that of 'Hürriyet', states: 'Berliner Schule verbietet ausländische Sprachen' (Berlin school forbids foreign languages). Despite the rather ominous title, this article, in contrast to the one published by 'Hürriyet', makes an attempt to reflect the different opinions as well as the advantages or disadvantages of such a decision whilst being critical of the wording of the school's rules and regulations. On the day of the article's publication, the school received a phone call from Mutlu, who had initiated the debate in the congress; a teacher described him as 'outraged'. By this time, the school was beleaguered by newspaper reporters from several major German newspapers who tried to interview the students and teachers. Within the next week, the 6 newspapers underlying my analysis had published 26 articles on the subject. Some characteristics and extracts from these newspapers will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2. Establishing themes and competing discourses

I shall begin this section with a brief introduction to the newspapers underlying my analysis. I shall then identify four different strands of discourses into which the newspaper articles can be categorised and analyse illustrative material for each of the strands.

As some of the newspapers were already introduced in chapter 4, this section is limited to a short characterisation of the newspapers and a brief justification for their inclusion in the analysis. The newspaper articles were taken from four German ‘quality’ newspapers: ‘Die Zeit’, ‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung’ (FAZ), ‘Berliner Zeitung’, and ‘Tageszeitung’ (‘TAZ’). One important criterion for selecting the above newspapers was the different nature of their distribution and the resulting divergence of their readership. According to the AWA 2006 (Allensbacher Markt- und Werbeträger-Analyse) of weekly newspapers, ‘Die Zeit’ has 2.07 million subscribers and thus has the widest distribution of the four newspapers. The FAZ is one of the most widely read daily quality newspapers with 0.86 million subscriptions. The ‘Berliner Zeitung’ and the ‘TAZ’ are two Berlin-based newspapers, although the distribution of the ‘TAZ’ has become supra-regional. A second factor that influenced the choice of newspapers was their broad representation of the political spectrum from centre-left to staunch conservative right. A certain affiliation with political parties can be seen, even though the vast majority of newspapers qualify themselves as ‘non-party’ (‘überparteilich’) or ‘independent’ (‘unabhängig’) (Humphreys, 1994: 89). Of the four newspapers used in this analysis, the FAZ is the most conservative one (Korda, 1980). At the other end of the spectrum is the ‘TAZ’, which was founded 1979 in what was then West-Berlin as a left-wing, self-governing newspaper (<http://www.taz.de/zeitung/ueberuns-verlag/>)

Newspapers articles for the analysis in this chapter were selected by their direct reference to the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ and its language policies. Much of the criticisms of CDA focus on its selective nature (Widdowson 2000). Hence, before embarking onto the CDA influenced analysis of extracts from the articles, I conducted a quantitative survey of all articles with Wordsmith Tools which focused on collocations and word lists. However, it was deemed that the results of the Wordsmith analysis were not directly relevant to the overall

understanding of the debates and so these are not presented here. The debate around quantitative analysis is discussed in chapter 3.

The following section will critically examine the array of discourses that are represented in the four newspapers. They can be characterised in two different ways:

1. Discourses arguing against the HHO's decision (section 5.2.1)
2. Discourses supporting the HHO's decision (section 5.2.2)
 - Discourses linking it to improved integration
 - Discourses linking it to better language and career chances for students
 - Discourses linking poor language skills to an increase in crime

There are some remarks that should be made before taking a closer look at some of the details represented by the discourses. Generally, the four papers present very similar arguments, and hence I will discuss them as one group and not distinguish between individual papers. The homogeneity of the papers shall be discussed in further detail when illustrating the discourses in favour of the HHO's decision. While this section is not meant to be quantitative, it is important to mention at this point that the number of articles favouring the HHO's decision is far greater than those opposing it. I shall also only include extracts from the articles in this section, to improve the readability of the analysis. Nevertheless, I am aware that context is crucial to CDA analysis (Blommaert 2005); the full text of each of the articles discussed can be found in the appendix C.

5.2.1 Discourses that argue against the HHO policy

The first category – discourses arguing against the HHO policy - is represented in all four newspapers; with the ‘TAZ’, on a purely quantitative basis, showing a stronger tendency than other newspapers to promote discourses arguing against the HHO’s language policy. The leading voices that are printed and represented in the papers come from the ‘Türkischer Bund’ (Turkish confederation), ‘Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen’ (the Green party), parents, and educators. The ‘Türkischer Bund’ describes itself as an ‘überparteilicher Dachverband von Organisationen und Einzelpersonen’ (an above-party umbrella organisation of organisations and individuals). It describes its goals as ‘rechtliche, soziale und politische Gleichstellung der eingewanderten ethnischen Minderheiten und [...] das friedliche Zusammenleben von Deutschen und Nicht-Deutschen’ (legal, social and political equality of ethnic minorities as well as the peaceful co-existence of Germans and non-Germans). (http://www.tbb-berlin.de/?id_menu=17)

Below, I shall present and discuss one of the passages relating to each category above. The first extract (see appendix C for full length version of the article) was published by the ‘Berliner Zeitung’ on the 25 January 2006. It falls into the early stages of the debate when the criticisms of the school were at their height. The title is a word play on ‘Schule’ (school): ‘Deutschpflicht soll Schule machen’ (German language requirement is meant to be the thing), which is explained in its subtitle: ‘Bundesmigrationsbeauftragte Böhmer unterstützt Hoover-Schule. Dort sind andere Sprachen auf dem Schulhof verboten.’ (Immigration minister Böhmer supports Hoover-Schule. This school forbids other languages in the playground.). The heading of the article (Deutschpflicht soll Schule machen) sets the tone and at the same time also illuminates the stance of the author, who chooses to use the phrase ‘...Deutsch als Pflichtsprache’ (‘German as obligatory language). The use of the noun ‘Pflicht’ (obligation)

in the title describes a stronger requirement than implemented by the school in its rules and regulations, where German is described as ‘Amtssprache’ (official language).

This article, having briefly stated the support of Maria Böhmer for the language regulations of the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ (‘Ja zu Deutsch im gesamten schulischen Leben heiße Ja zur Integration.’), moves on to discuss responses to the school’s policy: the positive reaction of the federal state of Bremen, the mixed reaction of other federal states and the criticism by the Turkish confederation. While relating to the language policies of the HHO, the extract also addresses other current issues in German integration politics and presents the voice of the Turkish confederation in Germany, the strongest opponents to the HHO’s language policies. It should be mentioned at this stage that all four newspapers use the terms ‘Türkischer Bund’ (Turkish confederation) and ‘Türkische Gemeinde’ (Turkish community) interchangeably. The term ‘Türkische Gemeinde’ might be interpreted as including all Turks living in Germany. However, I will show when I discuss the responses to the newspaper articles in section 5.5 that the opinions of the Turkish community are quite diverse and can often substantially differ from the more homogeneous beliefs of the Turkish confederation.

In the same article, the ‘Berliner Zeitung’ also printed the opinion of the leader of the Turkish confederation, Kenan Kolat. This extract was chosen as it is very expressive about one of the underlying fears of the Turkish confederation, that the future of integration in Germany could turn towards assimilation (‘Viele Türken denken, das ist alles System’, sagte Kolat.).

Scharfe Kritik kam von der Türkischen Gemeinde in Deutschland. Präsident Kenan Kolat verwies auf die Einbürgerungstests in Baden-Württemberg, auf geplante Verschärfungen im Staatsbürgerrecht – und aktuell auf die Diskussion um Deutsch als Pflichtsprache. ‚Viele Türken denken, das ist alles System‘, sagt Kolat. Dadurch entstehe ein Klima der Angst. ‚Ich bin sehr, sehr empört‘, sagt Kolat. Die Türkische Gemeinde werde solche Diskussionen nicht widerstandslos hinnehmen. Schulsenator Klaus Böger (SPD) und Bundesvizepräsident Wolfgang Thierse, die die Weddinger Schulleitung unterstützten, müssen diese Aussagen zurücknehmen. ‚Wenn Sprechen verhindert wird, dient das nicht der Sprachförderung‘, so ebenfalls Berlins Migrationsbeauftragter Günter Piening.

Extract 5.4: ‘Deutschpflicht soll Schule machen’, Berliner Zeitung’ on the 25 January 2006.

(Full article in appendix C)

Words used in this extract to evaluate the practices of the school (‘Angst’ (fear), ‘empört’ (outraged)) show Kolat’s critical evaluation of the HHO’s language policies. While the article claims to be primarily about the policies implemented by the HHO, Kolat links them to the wider German policies on the role of assimilation in the integration process. The role Kolat plays in this as a speaker for the Turkish confederation is crucial. He discursively excludes himself from the Turkish community by addressing the Turkish community in the 3rd person: ‘Viele Türken denken, das ist alles System.’ (‘Many Turks think that this is all part of a system’) and also does not use the pronoun ‘we’, which would imply a relationship of solidarity with the Turkish community (Fairclough 1989). However, whilst distancing himself linguistically from the Turkish community, his comments suggest homogeneity between the view he presents of the Turkish confederation and those of the wider Turkish community. Kolat’s comments also imply that the German-only policy of the HHO is in line with broader political changes to immigration policy in Germany (see chapter 6 for a more detailed

discussion on this point). He suggests that this is of general concern to the Turkish population in Germany. However, most of my data suggest that the views of the Turkish confederation may not be representative of the views expressed by local parents and students of the HHO: the school did not receive negative correspondence regarding the new language policy for the 11 months prior to the media debate. A letter was also sent by the school to all parents prior to the introduction of the German-only policy which required their signature – with no negative feedback from parents. Having viewed the school’s written correspondence for this period, there was also no feedback from the wider community. The link between the planned accentuations in the naturalisation law and the decision of the HHO to regulate the language use - made by the Turkish confederations rather than the Turkish community as a whole - is discussed at a later point in this section.

The next extract (Extract 5.5) was published by the FAZ on 29 January 2006, at a later stage of the HHO debates. The choice of the article’s title, ‘Die Heimatsprache’ (‘the native language’) can be traced back to a comment in the newspaper’s article citing the HHO’s student representatives, in which they claim to speak better German than their native language. (‘Die Schülervertreter – eine Türkin, ein Türke, ein Pakistaner – sagen am vergangenen Freitag, sie sprächen besser Deutsch als ihre ‚Heimatsprache‘, ...’). The subtitle illustrates the author’s view on this particular topic: ‘Eine Schule macht etwas richtig und wird angeprangert’ (‘A school acts correctly and is denounced’). Throughout the debate, the FAZ was one of the most supportive newspapers of the school’s language regulations, which can also be seen in this extract. It is interesting in several respects. On the one hand, it was chosen as it represents the parents’ voices against the HHO policy. Yet, on the other hand, it has a remarkable second aspect attached to it: after quoting the mother of a student, the article’s author proceeds to discredit her opinion and hence imposes a personal opinion of his own.

[...] Und trotzdem äußern sich Vertreter verschiedener türkischer Gruppen und Vereine unverändert negativ über die Vereinbarung, die vier oder fünf Berliner Schulen inzwischen zum Deutschsprechen eingegangen sind. Der Türkische Elternverband prüft sogar, ob gegen die Vereinbarungen geklagt werden kann. Eine Mutter sagte in gutem Deutsch, ihr Sohn solle in der Pause ‚Freiheit‘ und ‚Erholung‘ genießen und nicht Deutsch sprechen. Die beklagenswert schwachen Interessenvertretungen der deutschen Türken führen sich in Berlin zur Zeit auf, als ginge es nicht um die Chancen für die Migrantenkinder, sondern darum, den Türken den Alleinvertretungsanspruch für die schönste Opferrolle in Deutschland zu rauben. Die Hoover-Schule ist da weiter: Wo so viele Sprachen gesprochen werden, sei es doch höflich und rücksichtsvoll, die gemeinsame Sprache zu wählen, sagen Eltern, Schüler, Lehrer. [...]

Extract 5.5: ‘Die Heimatsprache’, FAZ on 29 January 2006. (Full article in appendix C)

Analysis of this extract centres on the contrast between the negative view of the school’s policy held by the mother with the author’s more positive viewpoint which is expressed through his use of sarcasm. The author does not attempt to hide his personal opinion: he chooses to single out the nouns ‘Freiheit’ (freedom) and ‘Erholung’ (recreation) by using inverted commas. The addition of inverted commas could be interpreted as a rewording in the sense of Fairclough (1989: 94): an existing and naturalised word is put into a context where its meaning is replaced by one in conscious opposition to it. By doing so, and in the context of the rest of the article, the author implies that the German-only policy does nothing significant to restrict the students’ freedom and right for recreation time. The author then presents a sarcastic comment to further discredit the stance held by the Turkish lobby: this reads ‘the

lamentably weak lobby of the German Turks are treating the HHO's policy not as an empowerment of migrant children, but rather as an attempt to rob the Turkish sole agency of the most beautiful victimhood in Germany' (,die beklagenswert schwachen Interessenvertretungen der deutschen Türken führen sich in Berlin zur Zeit auf, als ginge es nicht um die Chancen für die Migrantenkinder, sondern darum, den Türken den Alleinvertretungsanspruch für die schönste Opferrolle in Deutschland zu rauben').

The use of adjectives (e.g. 'beklagenswert' (lamentable) , 'schwach' (weak)) reinforce the author's sarcastic view of the lobby of German Turks in the case of the HHO.

The article is written in a way - using 'high German' language and sarcasm - to appeal to the sense of humour of well educated German native speakers and suggests that the Turkish lobby is counter-productive in terms of improving the opportunities of the young generations of Turks in Germany. His sarcastic picture is further emphasised by the antonymy of direct collocation of 'schönste' (most beautiful) and 'Opferrolle' (victimhood). Whereas 'schönste' normally appears in a positive context, 'Opferrolle' carries negative connotations.

The next paragraph investigates the interesting role played by 'Bündnis 90/ Grüne' (Green Party) in the debates surrounding HHO's language policy. In section 5.1.1, I described the involvement of the Green's congressman Mutlu in the initiation processes of the media turmoil around this policy. Mutlu, in calling the school's policies 'unconstitutional' (TAZ, 23.1.2006: 21), initially took a strong stance against the school's language policies. At an early stage in the debates the views of the 'Green Party' as a whole mirrored those of Mutlu but were less radical in their condemnation of the school's language policy. This view can be found throughout 'earlier' interactions from the 'Green Party' in the media debate. However, the following extract (Extract 5.6) is taken from a more advanced stage of the debate. While still sceptical about language regulations in schools, the 'Green Party' has abandoned the more radical line and is now pleading for the policy requirements for language to be assessed

on an individual school basis. In doing so the ‘Green Party’ appears to be backing down on their previous stance and recognising the right of schools to democratically implement their own language policies suited to their individual requirements. On February 11 2006, the FAZ reports on a talk by the Green Party education representative Mathias Wagner. According to his homepage (<http://www.mathiaswagner.de/cms/default/rubrik/1/1229.htm>), Mathias Wagner’s primary political focus is on education. He stresses the importance of drawing the right outcomes from the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) study with the aim of creating equal opportunities for all students.

[...] Hessens Kultusministerin Karin Wolff (CDU) hat bereits deutlich gemacht, dass auch sie freiwillige Regelungen über den Sprachgebrauch für den richtigen Weg halte. Die Grünen im Landtag warnten indes davor, Deutsch zur Pflichtsprache in den Schulen zu machen. Jede Schulgemeinde müsse eigenständig entscheiden können, welche Sprache auf dem Schulhof gesprochen werde, sagte der bildungspolitische Sprecher der Fraktion, Mathias Wagner. Bei der Debatte über die deutsche Sprache als Voraussetzung für schulischen und beruflichen Erfolg dürfe zudem nicht vergessen werden, welche Chancen auch in der Mehrsprachigkeit lägen – für die Jugendlichen, aber auch für die Gesellschaft insgesamt.

Extract 5.6: Deutsch soll die Sprache auf dem Schulhof sein, CDU und FDP im Landtag wollen freiwillige Vereinbarungen, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.02.2006, Nr. 36, S. 77 (Full article in appendix C)

This extract takes a different approach from the last FAZ extract (Extract 5.5) discussed above. While the former could be described as a personal evaluation of the situation by the article’s author, the latter claims to be an objective representation of Mathias Wagner’s talk. The focus is on multilingualism and its opportunities/benefits, a topos found throughout the

discourses of the Green Party, which is also anchored in the party's policy statement ('Grundsatzprogramm'):

Eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft hat eine positive Dimension, weil sie die selbstverständlich kulturelle Freiheit jedes Einzelnen bekräftigt, eine Differenzierung zulässt und sich abgrenzt - beispielsweise zu der Idee einer deutschen Leitkultur, die zur Assimilation und Unterordnung verpflichten will. Kulturelle Vielfalt und interkultureller Austausch sind Zeichen der Vitalität einer Gesellschaft.

(A multicultural society has a positive dimension as it strengthens the self-evident cultural freedom of the individual, leaves room for differentiation, and is distinguished from ideas such as the German 'Leitkultur' ('dominant culture') for example, which attempts to commit [people] to assimilation and submission. Cultural diversity and intercultural exchange are signs of the vitality of a society.)

Linguistically, the FAZ extract (Extract 5.6) also shows some significant characteristics. I have already discussed the differences between 'Pflichtsprache' und 'Amtssprache' earlier in this section. Hence, I shall concentrate here on 'Schulgemeinde' (the idea of the school as a community). By using the word 'Schulgemeinde' as opposed to 'Schule' (school) and the adjective 'eigenständig' (independent), Wagner emphasises the status of the school as an independent institution, which has its own rights and rules. In doing so he reinforces the later 'Green Party' rhetoric that schools should have the independence to make their own language policy decisions. Furthermore, in the statement 'Jede Schulgemeinde müsse eigenständig entscheiden können, welche Sprache auf dem Schulhof gesprochen werde, sagte der bildungspolitische Sprecher der Fraktion, Mathias Wagner' (every school community must have the right to decide for themselves which language should be spoken on their playground)

emphasis is put onto this statement by using the declarative mode and the modal verb ‘müsse’, which according to Fairclough (1989:107) is associated with ‘certainty’ and ‘obligation’. In using this declarative Wagner demonstrates complete support for the rights of schools to dictate their own language policy. This represents a quite phenomenal turn around from the ‘Green Party’s’ initial views voiced by Mutlu less than two weeks previously, which were in strong opposition to the HHO’s language policy.

The last example of discourses arguing against the HHO’s language policy comes from German educators and centres on a quote from Sanem Kleff, the leader of a project combating racism in schools. Sanem Kleff has lived in Germany as well as Turkey: she was born in Ankara, grew up in Germany, studied in Ankara and has since lived in Berlin. Until 2003, she specialised in ‘intercultural pedagogy’ and ‘pedagogy against extremism’ in Berlin’s teacher education¹⁰. This article can be distinguished from the other three above, as the focus is less on the ethical values associated with the introduction of the single language policy, but rather on the educational value that the single language policy may have for the students of the school. The article was published by the TAZ under the title ‘Mehr Experimente wagen’ (daring more experiments) on 30 January 2006. The article quotes a variety of representatives of the immigrant community with a view of showing off their diversity. An extract from this article is provided in Extract 5.7.

¹⁰ More information on Sanem Kleff can be found under <http://www.perlentaucher.de/autoren/18331.html>

Der Streit über die Deutschpflicht an einer Weddinger Schule wird differenzierter. Eine Woche nach deren Bekanntwerden mehren sich die Stimmen, die zur genaueren Analyse der Sprachregelung mahnen. Die ablehnende Haltung des Türkischen Bundes Berlin (TBB) wird dabei längst nicht von allen Migranten geteilt. [...] Auch Sanem Kleff, Leiterin des Projekts ‚Schule ohne Rassismus‘, rät zur Besonnenheit. Pädagogisch hält sie von einer Pflicht zum Deutschreden während der Unterrichtspausen gar nichts. ‚Es hat keinen Lerneffekt, wenn sich schlecht Deutsch sprechende Schüler miteinander unterhalten.‘ Aber Schulen brauchen den Freiraum, solche Regelungen auszuprobieren. ‚Man muss experimentieren dürfen.‘ [...]

Extract 5.7: ‘Mehr Experimente wagen’, TAZ, 30 January 2006. (Full article in appendix C)

Sanem Kleff’s statement - ‘Es hat keinen Lerneffekt, wenn sich schlecht Deutsch sprechende Schüler miteinander unterhalten’ (There is no effect on learning [German] if students with poor command of German talk to each other [in German]) - concentrates on attacking one of the most prominent arguments throughout the debate for introducing the German-only policy, namely that the policy will help students to improve their knowledge of the German language. By implying that practising German with other non-proficient speakers will not improve the students’ German (‘kein Lerneffekt’), she attempts to convince the reader that the school’s policy is ineffective. The author’s negative attitude towards the school’s policy also becomes clear in the values attached to ‘Freiraum’ (freedom) and ‘experimentieren dürfen’ (allowed to experiment) in the context of the article: the school’s decision to introduce its language policy is not depicted as a result of discussions, but written off as an experiment of which she already knows the outcome: ‘kein Lerneffekt’ (no effect on learning). It should be noted that Sanem Kleff’s viewpoint, on a surface level, seems to be in conflict with current teaching and language practices in DAF (Deutsch als Fremdsprache).

5.2.2 Discourses favouring the HHO's language policy decision

While the authors of the discourses against the language policies of the HHO form a heterogeneous group with voices coming from many different walks of life, the authors of the discourses supporting the HHO's single language policy are a comparatively homogeneous group. Most of the discourses originate from politicians and government officials. As will be demonstrated below, most of the statements favouring the HHO's decision are generally made on behalf of the immigrants - none of the articles I found in the four quality newspapers quoted immigrants themselves. This evokes some rather interesting questions as to why the views of immigrants are underrepresented in newspaper articles on this topic which deals with language regulations directly affecting them.

The newspapers used for this analysis are quality newspapers (Humphreys 1994) subscribing to 'objective' reporting. A possible explanation for the less frequently quoted immigrant voices in quality newspapers is offered by van Dijk (2000) who provides a thorough discussion of influences on media discourse. One important aspect that comes up in his work is that of access to the media. Relating to this, van Dijk (2000: 37) mentions three points – among many others - which seem particularly relevant to answering the questions above.

1. Negative attitudes about minorities are in the interest of most white readers.
2. The media emphasise such group polarisation by focusing on various problems and threats to 'us', thus actively involving most white readers
3. The dominant (media) discourse on ethnic issues is virtually consensual (van Dijk 2000:37)

According to van Dijk (2000: 36) ‘media elites are ultimately responsible for the prevailing discourses of the media they control’. Most people have few alternative sources of information and the relative consensus of German quality newspapers – a point I will demonstrate on the discourses surrounding the HHO later in this section – can lead to a new form of subtle prejudice, which is ‘cool, distant, and indirect’. (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995) My data suggest that the opinions of immigrants are represented to a much lesser extent than those of German middle class people. Hence, one could argue that the discursive reality of the language regulations of the HHO is established by media elites who are debating on behalf of those people affected by the school’s language regulations. In the particular case of Wedding and the HHO the prevailing argument could be interpreted as the articles preferentially drawing on commentators who share a common social and cultural background with the predominant readership. This may explain why there were few commentators drawn from the Wedding area – which was shown in section 5 to be statistically characterised by lower levels of education and high unemployment. However, it is not clear from the data whether the lack of representation of people from within the Wedding community is due to;

- Lack of interest on behalf of these newspapers to print the views of local Wedding people
- Disinterest of local Wedding people to approach the ‘quality newspapers’ to express their viewpoints
- Difficulties which local people may experience in contacting the ‘quality newspapers’ - potentially accentuated by cultural differences

It is also possible that the newspapers in question were content to present the view of the Turkish confederation as representative of views held by parents at the school. An exception

to this was the desire of the media to interview students of the HHO at an early stage in the media discourse.

In this section, I suggest that there are three different discourses supporting the HHO's language policies, each linking the implementation of the school's policy to an improved knowledge of the German language and ultimately items favoured on the current political agenda (see chapter 4 for a more detailed analysis). I shall begin with discourses linking the HHO's single language policy to improved integration, then continue onto the group of discourses linking the policy with improved career opportunities and finally discuss an extract of the less numerous discourses drawing a link between the policy and reduced crime.

Discourses supporting the HHO's decision (section 5.2.2)

- Discourses linking it to improved integration
- Discourses linking it to better language and career chances for students
- Discourses linking poor language skills to an increase in crime

In the introduction to this section I mentioned politicians and government officials as the main sources within the presented media debates. In the case of discourses linking the single language policy to improved integration, I extend this group to include the 'Reuter-Stiftung', a charitable foundation which, in November 2006, presented the HHO with an award of 15,000 Euros for their efforts relating to integration. It should be noted at this stage that none of the discourses linking the policies of the HHO to improved integration printed by the four quality newspapers of my analysis originated from migrants or migrant interest groups.

The following passage was printed by the FAZ on 11 February 2006 and quotes comments by Dr Christean Wagner, chairman of the Hessian CDU party. The title of the article announces

the idea to spread the German language model of the HHO across Germany's schools ('Deutsch soll die Sprache auf dem Schulhof sein'); however, this particular article only makes direct reference to the proposal of the CDU and FDP to introduce German language policies at Hessian schools (In hessischen Schulen und auf Schulhöfen soll nach Willen von CDU und FDP im Landtag grundsätzlich nur noch Deutsch gesprochen werden.). To give some background information on Christean Wagner: on his homepage (www.christean-wagner.de/press/f/wagnerFV.pdf) he mentions his goals for the next legislation period. These include the expansion of Frankfurt airport, the promotion of research and the introduction of compulsory all-day schools. The last point is particularly relevant to the extract below taken from the FAZ, 11 February 2006 (Extract 5.8).

In hessischen Schulen und auf den Schulhöfen soll nach dem Willen von CDU und FDP im Landtag grundsätzlich nur noch Deutsch gesprochen werden. [...] CDU-Fraktionsvorsitzender Christean Wagner sagte, nur wenn in den Schulen und auf den Pausenhöfen Deutsch gesprochen werde, könne die Sprachfähigkeit ausländischer Schüler verbessert und damit eine Integration in die Gesellschaft erreicht werden. ,Wir wollen eine solche Vereinbarung , da sie Voraussetzung jeder Integration ist.' Dies müsse letztlich auch im Sinne der ausländischen Schüler und ihrer Eltern sein. In vielen Fällen sei die Schule sogar der einzige Ort, an dem die ausländischen Kinder und Jugendlichen Deutsch sprechen und üben können, weil zu Hause die Sprache ihres Heimatlandes gesprochen werde. Wagner und der schulpolitische Sprecher der CDU, Hans-Jürgen Irmer, plädieren für eine Übernahme des Modells der Berliner Herbert- Hoover- Schule. [...]

Extract 5.8: ('Deutsch soll die Sprache auf dem Schulhof sein', FAZ on 11 February 2006

(full article in appendix C)

In the previous section of this chapter, the main argument presented by Sanem Kleff, as a criticism of the HHO's decision, was that students who do not have a high proficiency in the German language will not improve each other's language skills when talking German on the school's playground. Yet, the extract claims the opposite, namely that speaking German throughout their school day was the only option to improve the student's German language proficiency ('CDU-Fraktionsvorsitzender Christean Wagner sagte, nur wenn in den Schulen und auf den Pausenhöfen Deutsch gesprochen werde, könne die Sprachfähigkeit ausländischer Schüler verbessert und damit eine Integration in die Gesellschaft erreicht werden'). When the author talks about 'Sprachfähigkeit' (language proficiency), he refers exclusively to proficiency in German and not proficiency in other languages. In the previous section of this chapter, two of the extracts discussed referred to the policy of the school as 'Sprachpflicht' which is associated with 'obligation' and has negative connotations. This extract speaks about 'Vereinbarung' (agreement), which is meant to evoke a more positive picture with the readers. The author attempts to assure the reader of the 'universal truth' of his utterances (Fairclough 1989:107): all sentences are written in a declarative mode and the author draws a resultative link between improved language proficiency and integration by connecting the two phrases with 'damit' (therewith). A last point to be mentioned about this extract is that it is not written from the point of view of the immigrants, but that it imposes upon them a form of integration. The author uses the pronoun 'we' (CDU) when stating the importance of the school's language policy ('wir wollen'), but refers to the school's students in the 3rd person ('ausländischen Schüler', 'ihre Eltern').

The second group of discourses arguing for the policies of the HHO draws a direct link between the language regulations of the school and improved career opportunities for its students. This group of discourses shows very similar characteristics to the category above and will hence only be discussed briefly. A passage that shows most of the representative

traits for this group was printed by the ‘Berliner Zeitung’ on 6 February 2006. It is a subjective statement by two reporters: Gözde Pesman und Alexander Jahns and was published at a time when the media support of the school’s language policies began to increase. The first sentence of the article titled ‘Pause auf gut Deutsch’ (‘recess in good German’) states the authors’ stance on the language regulations of the HHO. An extract from this article is given in Extract 5.9.

Die Regelung an der Herbert-Hoover Realschule finde ich richtig und wichtig. Schüler nichtdeutscher Herkunft haben wenig Möglichkeiten gute Deutschkenntnisse zu erwerben, denn zu Hause mit den Eltern wird meistens nur die Muttersprache gesprochen. Auch in der Schule verbringen viele die meiste Zeit mit Mitschülern der gleichen Nationalität. Es ist wahr, dass Konversation auf Deutsch mit mangelnden Sprachkenntnissen anstrengend ist. Doch wer nicht spricht, kann es auch nicht lernen. Nur wer die deutsche Sprache beherrscht, hat in diesem Land eine Chance auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Der Schulhof ist für Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund eine gute Möglichkeit die fremde Sprache zu sprechen. Diese muss genutzt werden. [...]

Extract 5.9: ‘Pause auf gut Deutsch’, Berliner Zeitung’, 6 February 2006 (full article in appendix C)

Like the first extract (Extract 5.8), which linked the language regulations to improved integration, the extract connecting the school’s policies to improved career chances does not consider the criticisms voiced by Sanem Kleff,. What is interesting about this extract in particular is the declaration that it requires an active effort to speak German if one has a lack of language ability (‘Konversation auf Deutsch mit mangelnden Sprachkenntnissen [ist] anstrengend’). The article therefore suggests that the challenge of learning a language is

unlikely to be made in the playground. This, however, is contradictory to my observations made at the HHO where students appeared to have no visible difficulty in communicating with each other in German. Indeed from the interviews the HHO students stated that they regularly code-switched to German if a fellow student was not adequately conversant in the language being spoken. Also the authors state that the immigrant students mostly speak their mother tongues when in a family setting. In the interviews with students at HHO (e.g. Extract 5.1) the participants indicated that they commonly spoke German with siblings and parents and generally only spoke their mother tongue with grandparents and family members not conversant in German. These two points taken together allow a different interpretation: it appears that the comments are made ‘on behalf’ of the immigrant population and support the language policies based on an educated mainstream perception of immigrants and their needs by the authors of the articles. These may in some cases differ from the realities I experienced during my fieldwork. There I sensed that communication skills of students were more elaborate than assumed in the mainstream media. The dichotomy between the reality at the HHO and the perception of the mainstream media is supported by van Dijk’s general findings on what he calls an underlying racism.

Returning to extract 5.9, the author is very affirmative of his opinion, which can be seen in the use of declarative mode and affirmative phrases of truth, such as ‘es ist wahr’ (it is true). The author links ‘mangelnde Sprachkenntnisse’ (lack of language command) to students’ origins by using phrases such as ‘nichtdeutsche Herkunft’ (non-German origin), ‘Mitschüler der gleichen Nationalität’ (‘students of the same nationality’) and ‘Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund’ (students with a migration background). However, this would not account for many of the school’s students who are immigrants of the 2nd and 3rd generation and were born and raised in Germany. Another issue brought up in this article is the suggestion that students at school spend a considerable amount of time with peers of the same

mother tongue (‘Auch in der Schule verbringen viele die meiste Zeit mit Mitschülern der gleichen Nationalität’). For the case of the HHO this is the case for the Turkish and Kurdish majority of students at the school but does not take into consideration the vast range of smaller ethnic groups represented at the school. Indeed the ‘FAZ’ (25.1.2006) indicates that 8-10 languages are spoken at the school – this is supported by field observations.

The last group of discourses connects the language policies of the HHO to a reduced crime rate. In order to illustrate this point, I have included discourses which draw a connection between the lack of German language skills and increased crime rates, on the condition that these discourses directly related to the HHO. Having found this to be a prominent group of discourses in migration centred research within my masters dissertation (Schanze, 2005) research, I was surprised to encounter only very few references supporting this link. A possible explanation for this could be found in the altered selection of quality newspapers, as compared to those in my earlier research (Schanze 2005): for example, many texts used in my previous analysis originated from ‘Die Welt’, which was not a source for this analysis. Another explanation could lie in the different and narrower nature of the topic itself - only analysing articles from these four newspapers which directly related to the language policy of the HHO. Examples of this link between German language proficiency and crime were only found in the ‘FAZ’ - the most conservative paper drawn upon in this analysis.

The extract below was printed by the 'FAZ' on 28 January 2006 (Extract 5.10).

Es ist notwendig, den Einwanderungswilligen zu verdeutlichen, dass die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit ein hohes Gut ist, schon wegen der mit ihr verbundenen Rechte und Pflichten. Noch immer an einer gebrochenen Identität leidend, wird Deutschland seinen Einwanderern so schnell nicht mit dem Selbstbewusstsein und Stolz der Schweizer oder Amerikaner entgegentreten. Es sollte seine Neubürger aber wissen lassen, dass sein Selbstverständnis in seiner Geschichte gründet, dass es an seiner in Jahrtausenden gewachsenen Kultur festhalten will und dass es aus den Ruinen zweier Diktaturen als wehrhafte Demokratie auferstanden ist. Niemand wird dazu gezwungen, Deutscher zu werden. Es sollte aber auch nur der Deutscher werden können, dem das erkennbar ein Anliegen ist. Zu diesem Wollen gehört wenigstens das Erlernen der deutschen Sprache. Diese Minimalanforderung darf Deutschland nicht aufgeben, wenn es nicht weiter in Ghettos zerfallen will. Die Folgen der unterbliebenen Integration zeigen sich deutlich, auch an den Schulen.

Extract 5.10: Wir sprechen hier deutsch, FAZ' on 28 January 2006. (full article in appendix C)

The extract above suggests a direct link between an insufficient command of the German language and the decay of Germany's social fabric by using imagery of a Germany reduced to a collection of Ghettos ('Diese Minimalanforderung darf Deutschland nicht aufgeben, wenn es nicht weiter in Ghettos zerfallen will'). The author draws a connection between what he calls 'linguistic segregation' among the population of a country and cultural segregation. He identifies the need for immigrants to learn and speak German as the minimum effort a non-German citizen would need to make in order to integrate into the German society. However

the article presents little background on how and why this might occur or evidence that it is not happening.

The article is written with an underlying patriotic tone most clearly visible in the following statement: ‘Es ist notwendig, den Einwanderungswilligen zu verdeutlichen, dass die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit ein hohes Gut ist, schon wegen der mit ihr verbundenen Rechte und Pflichten’ (It is necessary to make clear to those wanting to immigrate to Germany that the German nationality is a highly valued commodity, for the rights and civil duties connected with it). The statement demonstrates the high level of esteem that the author attributes to German nationality. Returning the focus to the central claim of the article – the lack of language proficiency leading to decay in the social fabric – the extract uses negative sentences, for example: ‘niemand wird dazu gezwungen’ (nobody is forced to). According to Fairclough (1989:104), negation ‘is the basic way we have of distinguishing what is not the case in reality from what is the case.’ By negating the word ‘gezwungen’ (forced) which generally evokes a negative picture¹¹, the author attempts to provoke an emotional response from his readers. The sentences following this negative statement are drawing further emphasis onto the argument by using declarative mode as well as the repetition of phrases with a similar meaning, e.g. ‘das Wollen’ – ‘ein Anliegen’ or ‘das Erlernen der Deutschen Sprache’ – ‘diese Minimalanforderung’. The article as a whole is written to evoke an overtly idealistic image of what the author considers as key values to German society. However, this image of a historically evolved, homogenous German society does not take into account the multicultural reality of 20th and 21st century Germany, showing similarities to the authors of previous articles discussed in this section.

While the link between the lack of language ability and behaviour leading to segregation did not occur in the media to the extent that might have been expected, the extract below (Extract

¹¹ The negative picture can also be seen in the author’s use of the word ‘Ghettos’

5.11), taken from an interview with the deputy head teacher of HHO also suggests a link between the single language agreement and a decline in violent behaviour of the school's students: 'es gab keine Gewaltvorfälle mehr (.) ich will nicht sagen es gab keine mehr aber nicht mehr in dem Maße'. Throughout the interview, the school's deputy head teacher was generally very defensive about the school's decision and he pre-empted many of my questions. However, the interview was conducted at a time when the school was just escaping the waves of the media frenzy and this has to be taken into consideration when interpreting the following utterance.

(.) und dann war das also im Grunde im Jahr 2005 sind die Eltern informiert worden und es kam Ruhe rein (.) es gab keine Gewaltvorfälle mehr (.) ich will nicht sagen es gab keine mehr aber nicht mehr in dem Maße (.) und dann hatten (.) und dann ham wirs ad acta gelegt (.) wir ham hier unseren (.) bescheiden vor uns hingearbeitet mit kleinen Erfolgen (.) und dann kam eben das Interesse der Medien (.)

Extract 5.11: Extract from an interview with the deputy head teacher of HHO.

To summarise this section, I have illustrated how the views of local Wedding people were not directly represented in the 'quality' newspaper discourses on the HHO's language policy. This has been interpreted in the context of van Dijk (2000) which suggested that the views of minority groups are under-represented within mainstream media. This is further exemplified by those authors purporting to support the HHO's language policy, who do so with an educated middle class perspective which is in contrast to the multicultural reality of the Berlin sub-district Wedding.

5.3 Positioning the actors: creating feelings of segregation by contrasting ‘us’ and ‘them’

Section 5.3 will describe an interesting twist on van Dijk’s ideas of access to the media which have been covered in detail in the last section. Van Dijk (2000: 37) states that ‘minorities may have less access to the media because they do not control the many ‘source discourses’ on which daily news making is based’. The ‘Tagesspiegel’ article ‘Deutsche und Türken driften auseinander’ (Germans and Turkish are drifting apart) of 28 January 2006 is an account of an interview with Kenan Kolat, the director of ‘Türkischer Bund’ (Turkish union) in Berlin.

Kolat was born in Istanbul (Lebenslauf Kenan Kolat:

<http://www.tgd.de/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=511>) and he graduated from the ‘Technische Universität’ (TU) Berlin after having attended school and completed parts of his university degree in Istanbul. He holds both German and Turkish citizenship.

The article ‘Deutsche und Türken driften auseinander’ (Tagesspiegel, 28.1.06 – full article can be found in appendix C) uses the German-only policy of the HHO as an example of how Kolat perceives German immigration policy; according to Kolat, policies intended to increase integration of immigrants into German society are actually increasing the rift between immigrants and German citizens.. The majority of the interview with Kolat, however, does not deal with language regulations, but rather concentrates on reasons for the supposedly failed integration of Turkish citizens living in Germany. The ‘Tagesspiegel’ refers to Kolat as the representative of the Turkish community in Berlin, whereas the reporter takes on the role of an interested ‘outsider’. Yet, while the interviewer’s questions address Kolat as an insider of this community (e.g. ‘Sie wissen doch auch, wie sehr sich die Lehrer um das Deutsch ihrer Schüler bemühen’ (You know, too, how much the teachers strive to improve the German of

their students)), Kolat partially distances himself from the Turkish community in his answers. The table below lists Kolat's utterances throughout the interview, with which he either includes or distances himself from the Turkish community.

US versus THEM: creating feelings of segregation

'THEM'	< ----->	'US'
diese Schule	die Jugendlichen	Das finden wir nicht richtig.
die Gesellschaft	die türkische Gemeinschaft	Wir sind uns einig
die Politik	die Türken	unsere Sprache
Wolfgang Thierse		unsere Kultur
die Praxis dieser Schule		Es geht immer nur gegen uns.
die deutsche Mehrheitsgesellschaft		über unseren Kopf hinweg beschlossen
die Deutschen		

Extract 5.12: Analysis of the use of 'US and 'THEM' from the article: 'Deutsche und Türken driften auseinander', Tagesspiegel, 28.1.06. (full article in appendix C)

For the table above (Extract 5.12), I grouped the nouns and pronouns of the article into three separate groups: 'them', 'us' and an 'in-between group'. The title of the article 'Deutsche und Türken driften auseinander' conveys a view that Turkish and German members of the population are moving away from each other. The 'them' column refers to members who are

either associated with the HHO or are German. The middle column refers to Turkish actors. However, the author does not include himself in this group and refers to them in the third person. The 'us' column also refers to Turkish members of society. However, this time the author includes himself (i.e. he uses the pronoun 'we').

I will begin by looking at how actors are addressed and I will then continue with a more content based analysis. In terms of addressing the actors, the column on the left very much corresponds to previous findings in the literature on 'us' versus 'them' (Rewers 2000, Wodak 1990). It represents the 'them' group and all actors are addressed using the third person. Considering the author's background, one would expect him to be part of the other two columns, as both of them are related to the views of the Turkish community. However, this is not necessarily the case. In the group of pronouns on the far right, the author includes himself: pronouns, such as 'wir' (we), 'uns' (us), and 'unsere' (ours) suggest a personal involvement. Nevertheless, the author distances himself from the middle column. He addresses all actors in this column using the third person. One could imagine numerous explanations for this, including references to his dual citizenship, his German university education etc., which may all have an impact. However, conclusions can definitely be drawn from the context. When speaking about topics including language, culture and citizenship rights, the author includes himself. Whereas, when giving background facts (e.g. about the low social status of Turkish citizens in Germany: '70 Prozent der Türken gehören der Unterschicht an...' (70 percent of all Turkish belong to the lower class)), he does not include himself; his German university degree, job and his fluency in German are all traits that other members of this group are unlikely to have.

Consequently, I would argue that while the 'Tagesspiegel' article claims to put forward the views of the Turkish community in this particular case, their informant does not represent the

majority of Turks living in Germany, but rather represents the highly educated Turkish elite. In chapter 5.1, I talked about the social demography of Wedding. Considering the social composition of this quarter, it seems highly unlikely that his views are representative of the HHO's students and their parents.

5.4 Linking different perceptions of the German-only policy: views of school internal voices, newspapers, and the responses of the German public

Throughout his work, Blommaert (2005) stresses the importance of context in any kind of discourse analytical work. In this respect the following section will focus on bringing together the debate surrounding the HHO's language policy, its context, and personal responses: having discussed the background to the HHO's policies as well as several related aspects in more detail (section 5.1.1), I will draw links in this section between the various newspaper discourses and connect them to school-internal voices as well as to responses of the German public in the form of letters written to the school. Frequent connections will be made to the historical events surrounding the creation of the school's language policies.

I shall begin by examining a newspaper article published by the 'Berliner Zeitung' on 25 January 2006 and an extract from this article is provided (Extract 5.13). The article centres around a critical discussion on the introduction of the language regulations at the HHO and hence represents both favourable as well as critical voices. In this article the author cites the federal representative for migration (Bundesmigrationsbeauftragte), Maria Böhmer: 'Spracherwerb findet nicht allein im Unterricht statt'. In this statement she claims that

language acquisition does not only take place during lessons, hence implying that language acquisition can also occur in the playground. Her statement reinforces the reasoning given by the HHO for the implementation of their German only policy to the full school day. Whilst the article as a whole presents a balanced argument, the views presented by Maria Böhmer are clearly strongly in favour of the HHO's language regulations, and she is in favour of the extension of German language agreements to other schools in Germany.

[...] ,Spracherwerb findet nicht allein im Unterricht statt', sagte Böhmer. Deshalb begrüße sie diese Maßnahme. Durch die Selbstverpflichtung, nur Deutsch zu reden, ließe sich das sprachliche Umfeld erweitern und Deutsch im Alltag stärker verankern. Ja zu Deutsch im gesamten schulischen Leben heiße ja zur Integration. ,Es würde mich freuen, wenn dieses Beispiel Schule machen würde', so Böhmer. [...]

Extract 5.13: 'Deutschpflicht sollte Schule machen', Berliner Zeitung 25.01.2006. (full article in appendix C)

Böhmer's statements reflect the terminology and ideas contained within the HHO constitution (the HHO constitution is provided in the appendix). As an example both the HHO's constitution and Böhmer's statement use the word 'Selbstverpflichtung' (self-obligation). Self-obligation is a consensual means to create a duty to comply with a policy and is related to the legal term 'Selbstverpflichtungserklärung' (Declaration of self-obligation), the opposite to an imposed legal obligation. By using this terminology, the HHO are stressing that the language policy is not being enforced upon the students but rather relies on their voluntary participation. However, although the policy is worded to imply a voluntary agreement on behalf of the students to conform to this rule, to attend the school students must agree to this

rule. Since attendance at the school is dependant on acceptance of the language policy it is questionable whether the language regulations actually allow for self obligation.

A voluntary policy can also be interpreted as an agreement having been formulated and agreed upon by both participants, in this case the school and its students. My fieldwork has shown that this is not strictly the case; whilst students were consulted through class discussion and representation through student representatives, they were not full participants in the formulation of the language policy.

Another aspect of the self obligation is its implication that it is not enforced by the school itself but by the will of the participants, the students. This, however, is only partially the case as teachers supervising break time take an active role in reminding students of the language regulations. Yet, there are no official sanctions for non-compliance. The school hands over some of the responsibility for enforcing playground regulations, including the German only language policy, to selected students, the ‘Schüleraufsicht’. This could be understood as an attempt by the school to allow ‘self obligation’ by the students. My interviews with the students, however, show that they are trained as ‘conflict resolvers’ and that they feel that this is where their responsibility lies. They go on to suggest that they might feel uncomfortable enforcing the German language only policy on their peers.

Returning to extract 5.13, it is noteworthy how the ‘sprachliche Umfeld’ (linguistic environment) is mentioned in this context. According to this article the linguistic domains of the students would be widened if they spoke more German. However, in the multicultural district of Wedding one could argue that a person’s ability to communicate might also benefit by basic competency in multiple languages. From my interview data it becomes apparent that besides speaking German, most students indicated basic skills in Turkish and Arabic, which are the first languages of the majority of students at the HHO. The last sentence of this extract

implies that better German language skills automatically lead to a better integration of these students. However, this again depends on which concept of society they are to be integrated into: a monolingual Germany or a multilingual Wedding.

The second extract discussed here (Extract 5.14) is from an article printed in the 'Tagesspiegel', 28 January 2006. The article is titled 'Streit um Deutsch-Gebot – Kritik der Türken hält an' (Dispute about German language commandment – Turks' criticism continues). The article is again based on an interview with the president of the Turkish community in Berlin, Kenan Kolat, and begins with a general resentment of the German language policies of the HHO which is consistent with his previously examined views. The article continues with an attempt to explain why the Turkish community feels discriminated against by German immigration policy including the language regulation of the HHO:

Tagesspiegel: Nach dem Mord an Hatun Sürücü vor einem Jahr gab es runde Tische, an denen Türken und Deutsche gemeinsam überlegten, was man tun kann. Von der Aufbruchsstimmung ist wohl nicht mehr viel übrig.

Kenan Kolat: Die deutsche Mehrheitsgesellschaft und die türkische Gemeinschaft driften auseinander: die Türken fühlen sich diskriminiert, die Deutschen wollen noch mehr Druck. Nach dem 11. September machte sich Misstrauen gegen Muslime breit, dann die Diskussion um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, noch mehr Misstrauen nach den Anschlägen in London, jetzt der ‚Muslimtest‘ und die Deutschpflicht. Viele Türken denken: Jetzt reicht es. Es geht immer nur gegen uns.

Extract 5.14: ‘Streit um Deutsch-Gebot – Kritik der Türken hält an’, Tagesspiegel, 28 January 2006. (Full article in Appendic C)

This extract has several very interesting aspects. First, Kolat talks about two separate societies that co-exist in Germany, and hence implies that integration of Turkish people living in Germany has failed. Secondly, the naming of these ‘societies’ is noteworthy: the author talks about the ‘Deutsche Mehrheitsgesellschaft’ (German majority society) in contrast to the ‘Türkische Gemeinschaft’ (Turkish community). The extract describes two co-existing societies and can hence be compared to the term ‘Linguistisches Paralleluniversum’ (linguistic parallel universe) which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. The two societies described are attributed different qualities: the term ‘Gemeinschaft’ evokes a more positive picture than ‘Mehrheitsgesellschaft’. ‘Mehrheitsgesellschaft’ conveys pictures of oppression of a minority, in this particular case, the German majority population oppressing the Turkish community. The next sentence also contributes to the picture of oppression by saying that the Turks feel discriminated against, while the Germans try to exert more pressure. The ‘word’ pressure in this context relates to learning German. Hence, the argumentation in extract 5.14 is in many ways the opposite of extract 5.13; with extract 5.13 suggesting that language learning was the key to integration whereas extract 5.14 implies that the proposed ‘Deutschpflicht’ (German language requirement) puts additional pressure on immigrants, hence making integration less likely. It is also important to recognise that Kenan Kolat’s quotes in the article, which in itself is a transcription of an interview with Kolat, read very much as political rhetoric and convey an image of an oppressed Turkish minority. As was shown in previous articles examined (.....), whilst Kenan Kolat has purported to represent the views of the Turkish community as a whole, his views may not be representative of the Turkish community in Wedding. For example, prior to and during the media discourse surrounding the HHO’s language policy, the school, far from receiving negative feedback

from the Turkish community actually received two letters supporting their language policy. An example is given later in this section (Extract 5.20). Whilst this does not categorically demonstrate a difference in viewpoint between the Turkish confederation and the Turkish community of Wedding, it does suggest that differences may exist.

The next two extracts (5.15 and 5.16) from the ‘FAZ’, 27 January 2006, and ‘Die Welt’, 30 January 2006, show very similar characteristics and will hence be grouped together for analytical purposes. Both begin by depicting Wedding as a bleak district of Berlin and emphasise the importance of speaking fluent German in preventing the further decline of society. Both articles draw a direct link between language and behaviour and illustrate scenarios that could arise in case of insufficient language skills with particular reference to Berlin.

[...]Im März 2005 verschickte die Hoover-Schule an alle Eltern einen Brief. [...] Was nicht im Brief stand, aber allen bekannt war: Es hatte Fälle roher Gewalt an der Schule gegeben. Immer zwischen Jugendgruppen, die sich in verschiedenen Sprachen beschimpften, deren Schlichtung Lehrern wie Mitschülern unmöglich war, weil sie nichts verstanden. Die Sprache wurde als Waffe eingesetzt, um sich abzuschotten, um zu verletzen, ohne dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden zu können. Das sollte sich ändern, beschlossen Schüler, Eltern, Lehrer. Und es hat sich verändert, versichern die Klassensprecher, die immer noch nicht begriffen haben, warum sich plötzlich so viele Erwachsene darüber aufregen, dass Ausländer gut Deutsch sprechen wollen.

Extract 5.15: ‘Wir sprechen hier deutsch’, FAZ, 28 January 2006 (Full article in appendix C)

[...]Der Vorsitzende des Islamrats, Ali Kizilkaya, sagte, er befürworte die Abmachung, solange sie freiwillig sei. ,Das ist Demokratie, und wenn man so auch noch besser Deutsch

lernt, kann ich das nur begrüßen’, sagte er der FAS. Sprache bedeutet schließlich Kompetenz. Jeder vierte türkische Jugendliche in Berlin verläßt die Schule ohne Abschluss, und mindestens jeder vierte ist arbeitslos. Drogenhandel und Gewaltverbrechen sind oft die Folgen dieses sprachlichen Paralleluniversums. ‚Diese Generation der 17- und 18jährigen Migrantenkinder’, so Gerhard Schmid, Oberschulrat in Kreuzberg, ‚wird man mit gar keiner Maßnahme mehr erreichen. Das ist eine verlorene Generation. Durch Hartz IV hat man diese Situation noch alimentiert: Sie haben jetzt noch mehr Geld in der Tasche und noch weniger Grund, sich selbst um Integration zu bemühen.’ [...]

Extract 5.16: ‘Man spricht deutsch’, Die Welt, 30 January 2006 (Full article in appendix C)

Both extracts attempt to explain the reasoning behind the introduction of the German-only policy at the HHO. The extracts relate desirable student behaviour to a strong command of the German language and conversely attribute negative behaviour to use of minority languages, e.g. ‘Es hatte Fälle roher Gewalt an der Schule gegeben. Immer zwischen Jugendgruppen, die sich in verschiedenen Sprachen beschimpften, deren Schlichtung Lehrern wie Mitschülern unmöglich war, weil sie nichts verstanden’.

In the articles this is achieved through the use of the terminology and imagery associated with fights, violence and war. Considering the ethical issues related to the terminology of war, its figurative association with language is controversial. It is a figure of speech commonly found in a range of newspapers and is not merely used in the German context. For example, in the British context, Blackledge (2004) found this to be common connotation in his analysis of language ideological debates following the so-called ‘race-riots’ in the North of England in Summer 2001. His findings reveal that in the linguistic ideology emerging in these discourses, ‘good English’ has become a precondition for social cohesion, and that ‘proficiency in Asian languages [...] is iconically linked with a predisposition to violence and social disorder’ (Blackledge 2004: 89). Other examples have been described by Musolff (2000:4), who

researched the ‘main source and target domains of metaphors used in Euro-debates’, which he then linked to political connotations. He found that within ‘the Euro-debate corpus, the 211 occurrences of military metaphors constitute the second-largest image field after transport and movement metaphors’ (Musolff 2000: 172). While war imagery has in many cases become a ‘pale’ background metaphor (Musolff 2000), in these particular cases it does, however, have many characteristics of a war-like appeal to protect the public from the ‘dangers’ associated with ‘foreign’ languages.

In the first extract from the FAZ (extract 5.15), language is not only compared to a ‘Waffe’ (weapon), but also attributed the ‘qualities’ of a weapon: ‘sich abzuschotten’ (to withdraw) and ‘zu verletzen’ (to hurt). The author classifies language as a particularly dangerous weapon because one can use it without being held to account (‘Die Sprache wurde als Waffe eingesetzt, um sich abzuschotten, um zu verletzen, ohne dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden zu können’).

The second extract is similar (extract 5.16) to the first one in so far as the author also perceives an insufficient proficiency in the German language as threatening to a functional and unified society. It focuses around the assumption that not having sufficient German skills creates a ‘Linguistisches Paralleluniversum’ (linguistic parallel universe), which implies that there is no linguistic exchange between the members of co-existing societies. However, this is based on an ideology of a monolingual society which can still be found throughout contemporary Europe. For example, Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) studied the ‘rhetoric of tolerance’ in Belgian newspapers and found that most people in Belgium still do not accept diversity, and that one of the key aspects in Flanders for national belonging and homogeneity is language. The reference to a ‘linguistic parallel universe’ has to be understood in similar terms: the author draws a direct link between language and social cohesion.

Blackledge (2000:33) argues that ‘the ideological assertion that one language equals one culture, or one nation, ignores the complexity of multilingual societies.’ Signs of multilingual complexity can definitely be found in the interview data of students from the HHO: students with a non-native German language background generally appeared eager to improve their German (some evidence of using different languages for different social functions has been discussed in section 5.2) and students with a native German language background claimed to be proficient in basic Turkish and Arabic phrases. In an interview with one German and one Turkish student, the Turkish student claimed to switch to German if a German student was present, but immediately added that even if he spoke Turkish, his peer would understand him as he understands a few things (‘er versteht ja auch einiges’). Immediately, his peer adds: ‘man lernt schon so die Sprache so vom Hören’ (one does learn the language just from listening).

Relating back to the ‘Die Welt’ article suggesting that ‘Drogenhandel’ (drug trafficking) and ‘Gewaltverbrechen’ (violent crimes) occur as a direct result of a lack of German language skills. Whilst it cannot be excluded that poor language skills may lead to reduced employment opportunities it is somewhat of a leap to suggest that this automatically leads to violent crime. This connection between lack of German language skills and crime has been commonly presented in ‘Die Welt’ (Schanze 2005).

The final newspaper extract I present in this section (Extract 5.17) was written by the ‘Tagesspiegel’ columnist Sybille Volkholz. From her personal webpage (www.sybillevolkholz.de) it becomes obvious that she holds strong affiliations with the ‘Bündnis 90/Grüne’ party. This is the same party as deputy Mutlu, who publicly opposed the language regulations of the HHO and hence initiated the media debate on this issue. However,

the article titled ‘Respekt vor der Eigenverantwortung’ (respect for individual responsibility) actually makes a strong case for the language policies introduced by the HHO. It embarks on a justification of the language policies themselves and then continues onto a discussion of the criticisms of the school’s policy. The article twists some of the criticisms in favour of the policies introduced by the HHO.

[...] Verschiedene Vereine, der Türkische Bund, der Türkische Elternverein und viele politische Stimmen protestieren gegen diese Regelung und sehen das Recht auf den Gebrauch der Muttersprache verletzt. Wenn hier eine Mehrheit eine Minderheit unterdrückt hätte, könnte ich eine solche Stellungnahme verstehen. An der Schule hat die Mehrheit der Migranten, Eltern wie Schüler, diese Regelung beschlossen. Eine Mehrheit hat sich eigene Regeln gegeben, weil sie ihre Integration damit fördern wollen. Wen wollen die Protestierer eigentlich schützen? [...]

Extract 5.17: ‘Respekt vor der Eigenverantwortung’, Tagesspiegel, 30 January 2006 (full article in appendix C)

This extract has two interesting aspects to add to the discussion. Firstly I elaborate on the twist which applies to previous arguments - the majority imposing their will on a minority - within the context of the language policy of the HHO. The author repeatedly uses the noun ‘Mehrheit’ (majority). The second use of majority can be read in an ambiguous manner which could imply either of these two meanings: ‘at this school the majority of migrants, parents and students, have decided on this regulation’, or equally ‘the migrant majority at this school, parents and students, have decided on this regulation’. In the first interpretation the text

implies simply that a democratic decision was reached which was supported by a majority of parents and students. In the second interpretation however, further meaning is added by implying that migrant groups hold a majority at the school and hence are not a minority group in this setting. This statement, taken in context with the rest of the article, tries to devalue the argument strategy of the Turkish confederation as well as the Turkish parent organisation, who stated that these rules had been imposed by the native German majority on the minority immigrant group. However, doubt can be cast over the validity of Volkholz's comments; since earlier in section 5 it was argued that the implementation of the language policy at the HHO, whilst democratic, was initiated and implemented by the school staff who have no immigrant representation. As will be illustrated in extracts from personal letters (e.g. Extract 5.20) there was, however, support for the policy amongst parents.

Secondly, the extract suggests that integration can be achieved by following a set of rules ('Regeln'). This statement comes across as a simplistic view of the integration practice since it ignores many contributory factors, including cultural and social. To elaborate on this, I will interpret Volkholz's statement in context of Kastoryano (2002). In his comparison of the German negotiations of immigrant identities, Kastoryano (2002) wrote that unexpected consequences of immigration can only be solved by negotiations. He thus implies that a rigid set of rules cannot be used to successfully implement immigration policy, the course of which is not easily predicted.

Kastoryano (2002) also reports on the German shift from policies for foreigners (Ausländerpolitik) to policies of integration (Integrationspolitik). However, more recently, since the publication of 'Negotiating Identities', internal and external events have affected German policy making, turning it from policies of integration to policies of assimilation, which involve stricter rules and guidelines. The article by Volkholz appears to lean towards

this idea of the use of rules and guidelines to achieve integration of minorities into German society. However, the author's final twist is that she suggests that, in the case of the HHO at least, it is the migrants who implemented the German language only policy.

The articles analysed in this section (section 5.3) have been chosen, since they were not only written as a direct response to the German-only policy of the HHO, but also show that the school's rules and regulations illustrate the broader media discussions about language and integration in Germany. All of these articles strongly endorse a high proficiency in the German language, a viewpoint which very much correlates with the current government policy making (e.g. the introduction of compulsory language classes and tests for immigrants). These extracts, with the exception of that of Kolat (extract 5.14), show support for regulating language use through regulatory policy.

The reaction of the public underlines my thesis that the debate around the language regulations of the HHO partially serves as an initiation of broader debates around immigration and integration. I surveyed the 32 letters written to the HHO after the media debate (letters cited in this thesis can be found in the appendix) – 30 of them supported the language policy decision of the HHO and two of them criticized the school's decision. However, only a minority of the letters were written by people who knew the school and its regulations or had ever even read them. Hence, most of the letters can be seen as accounts of people's hopes and fears about the much broader German integration debate. To illustrate the range of content in these letters I shall discuss four extracts from them. The letters were grouped according to the motivations of their author. I found four prominent groups and will discuss one extract from each of these groups below.

<i>TÜLEB (association of Turkish teachers and educators)</i>
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Den Beschluss einer Berliner Realschule, in den Schulpausen das Sprechen nichtdeutscher Sprache zu verbieten hat die Vereinigung Türkischer LehrerInnen und ErzieherInnen in Berlin und Brandenburg – TÜLEB e.V. – mit Bestürzung und Enttäuschung zu Kenntnis genommen. Ein Verbot der eigenen Muttersprache – außerhalb des Unterrichts – hat eine politische Dimension, die weit über die Bildungspolitik hinausgeht. Hier werden Grundrechte verletzt und deshalb sind alle demokratischen Kräfte aufgerufen gegen derartige Bestrebungen zu protestieren. Die sprachliche Förderung und Integration von Migrantenkindern kann und darf nur durch geeignete pädagogische Maßnahmen in Schule, Kindergarten, Hort usw. erfolgen. [...]

Extract 5.18: Extract of a letter written to the HHO by TÜLEB. (Scan of the letter provided in appendix C)

The first extract (Extract 5.18) was written by the association of Turkish teachers and educators (TÜLEB) who claim to be offended by the German-only policy of the HHO. The words in this extract are very emotive. They speak about basic rights being violated ('hier werden Grundrechte verletzt'), about a ban of the mother tongue ('Verbot der Muttersprache') and mainly argue that democratic rights do not allow such a policy. It is interesting to see in this extract that the HHO is not named and that their outrage concentrates on the more general political debate. The views of this letter appear to be similar to those of the Turkish confederation and the Turkish parent organisation as illustrated previously in this section.

Private person (German background)

Ich möchte mich in meinem Namen und im Namen meiner drei Söhne für ihr mutiges Vorangehen bedanken. Was früher selbstverständlich war – dafür setzen Sie sich vorbildlich ein. Ich hoffe, dass andere Schulen Ihnen nachziehen. C. war in der Vorschule sogar der einzige deutsche Schüler.

Extract 5.19: Letter from Private person to the HHO. (Scan of the letter provided in appendix C)

The next extract (5.19) is another example of an emotive letter. Words like ‘mutig’ (brave) and ‘vorbildlich’ (exemplary) are attributed to the school’s efforts to introduce their German-only policy. The writer of this article is overtly nostalgic and seems worried by the change that some of the inner city districts in Berlin have seen over the past decades. This viewpoint is very similar to the image of an historically evolved Germany as presented in the FAZ article (Extract 5.10). One example of this is the phrase ‘was früher selbstverständlich war’ (which used to go without saying in the past), which seems to refer to language in this context. The writer of this letter also seems to reminisce about a time when she perceived Wedding as a more homogeneous society. This attitude corresponds to the findings that Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) made during their research in Belgium.

Father of student (migration background)

Ich bin dafür das unsere Kinder viel besser deutsch lernen und reden. Ich stimme zu das sie bei Wanertage Klassenfahrten usw. nur Deutsch gesprochen werden soll. Ich wollte nur meine Meinung mitteilen für ihren Hausordnung.

Extract 5.20: Letter from the father of a student of the HHO (scan of the letter provided in appendix C)

The penultimate example (Extract 5.20) is provided as a literal transcription of a supportive email written to the HHO. The author, a parent of a student at the HHO, supports the school's policy for completely different reasons from the previous extract (5.19). The writer of this letter hopes that speaking German will enhance his children's chances. While not being fluent in German himself, (the letter contains numerous vocabulary and grammatical errors) this father wants his children to be fluent. According to the notes I took while sitting in the staff room of the HHO, there seems to be a consensus among the teachers that this attitude is typical for about 25% of the school's parents. These families who pay great attention to their children's education are generally known as 'Aufsteiger' (social climbers) among the teachers. However, during my time at the HHO the teachers frequently complained that the majority of parents were not very involved in their children's education. Generally, the school is finding it difficult to communicate with most of the parents - I was told that students often have to come to interpret at consultation days - and the turnout tends to be low.

Junge Union Berlin (junior party connected with the CDU)

[...] Bitte gestatten Sie mir Ihnen zu sagen, dass ich als junger Unternehmer in dieser Stadt auf deutschsprechende Mitarbeiter angewiesen bin. Ich stelle leider immer wieder fest, dass z.T. mehr als die Hälfte unserer Bewerber über unzureichende Deutschkenntnisse verfügen und daher keine Chance bei uns im Unternehmen haben. [...] Deutsch ist Grundvoraussetzung für ein vernünftiges Miteinander in dieser Gesellschaft und ein Grundbaustein für die persönliche Entwicklung jedes einzelnen. Dieses auch von anderen zu fordern und als Schulvoraussetzung zu sehen ist entscheidend und die richtige Richtung. Diejenigen, die z.B. diese Notwendigkeit (für ihre Wähler) populistisch als diskriminierend bezeichnen, schließen die Augen vor der Realität und handeln unverantwortlich. Bloße Reden helfen unserer Gesellschaft dabei nicht, die Herausforderungen von Integration zu bewältigen. Lassen Sie

sich nicht von Ihrem eingeschlagenen Kurs abbringen und setzen Sie sich zum Wohle der nachfolgenden Generationen weiter dafür ein, dass wir als Gesellschaft nicht resignieren, wie erst kürzlich in Kreuzberg geschehen. [...]

Extract 5.21: Letter sent to the HHO by the Junge Union Berlin. (Scan of letter provided in appendix C)

The last extract (Extract 5.21) in many ways presents an opposite view to those in the first letter I discussed (Extract 5.18). Both extracts use very emotive language; yet, while the ‘TÜLEB’ organisation saw Turkish people as victims which is reflected in the wording (e.g. ‘Verbot’, ‘verletzt’, ‘protestieren’), it seems that the ‘Junge Union Berlin’ makes an attempt to justify the decision of the HHO on their behalf. Expressions like ‘diese Notwendigkeit’ (this necessity), ‘die Herausforderung’ (this challenge), ‘zum Wohle der nachfolgenden Generation’ (for the good of coming generations) evoke a traditional picture of Germany as a purely monolingual and monocultural society. The phrase ‘unsere Gesellschaft’ evokes pictures of ‘us versus them’, in which cultures do not merge but in which they are completely separate from each other.

All of the extracts from letters, as illustrated above, are characterised by the use of emotive language and the strength of conviction of their authors, although the individual viewpoints differ considerably. Apart from the student’s father (Extract 5.20), it was interesting to see that the letters sent to the school detailed the wider immigration issues rather than focussing on the case of the HHO’s language policy. This is particularly so in the letters of the ‘TÜLEB’ as well as the ‘Junge Union’ (Extract 5.18 and 5.21): with the ‘Junge Union’ letter centring the HHO’s language policy decisions within its own wider political ideologies and rhetoric and with the ‘TÜLEB’ using the school’s language policy decision as a starting point to voice their concern about wider immigration issues affecting the Turkish community.

In the case of these letters, the authors have used the HHO's language policy, which was debated extensively within the media, to voice their own personal concerns surrounding immigration and integration in Germany. It is not surprising, perhaps, that the media debates surrounding the HHO's language policy have heightened the awareness of immigration issues in people's consciousness – as illustrated through the number of letters sent to the HHO.

Summary

In interpreting all the media discourses and letters presented within this chapter, it is very relevant to consider the social and political background of the authors and the ideologies underlying their views.

The dominant voices criticising the language policies of the HHO came from the quasi-political Turkish organisations that linked the example of the HHO to wider concerns they hold regarding more recent immigration and integration policy making. The fact that the HHO generally had support for its language policy, illustrated by their democratic method of implementation as well as the lack of negative feedback from the local community, suggests that the quasi political Turkish organisations' views on the HHO's policy may be detached from the views of local residents. This may reflect the use of the HHO language policy as a catalyst for Turkish groups to voice their concerns regarding the recent increase in regulation around immigration and integration of migrants in Germany.

Conversely, most articles which supported the HHO's policy decision appear to be written from a middle class German viewpoint which is somewhat detached from the multicultural

reality of Wedding. Rather than reflecting the viewpoint of local people, they evoke an idealistic image of what they believe the fabric of German society should be and are closely allied to recent changes in immigration and integration policy.

This chapter discussed questions of access to forms of media production and it was illustrated that the viewpoints of local people, students at the HHO and their families in ‘Wedding’ were under-represented in the media. While students and their families are merely ‘spoken about’ in the media, there is evidence of an interest of students’ parents in these issues, illustrated by the letters sent to the school. From the analysis contained within this chapter, there is evidence to support the assertion that communication between people with migration background and ‘native’ Germans through the media is problematic.

A result of the media attention surrounding the introduction of the HHO’s language policy was the reworded policy, so that rather than reading as a formal regulation, it was termed ‘Selbstverpflichtung’ (self-obligation). However, neither the content of the policy nor its implementation was changed. A final important point are the positive comments made by teachers at the school on the reduction of incidents between students within the school since the introduction of the new language policy, which they attribute to greater understanding of linguistic differences within the peer group.

6. Discussion: Results, Caveats, Perspectives

All nation states with significant dimensions of immigration and ethnic minorities are facing ongoing policy conflicts concerning the role of language in the integration process. The fundamental aim of integration, implying the creation of ‘complete’ national identity within territorial boundaries within the concept of the Westphalian nation state is challenged by the equally fundamental aim of preserving the cultural identities of minorities and immigrants living within the boundaries of these states. Present modern constitutions of Western industrial states recognise the wealth and the prospects embedded in cultural and ethnic diversity. However, the related discourses are perilous. They do not work in one direction only, meaning that media discourses are not only shaped by political discourses, they also actively shape and influence future policy making.

The key feature in the discourses about ethnic and cultural diversity and national integration is language. This inspired the central research question for my investigations presented in this thesis which concentrates on Germany. What role does the German language currently play in the preservation and promotion of national and ethnic identities in Germany? Using aspects of CDA and a case study I broke down this general question into five subsidiary research questions, namely:

- What are dominating discourses and debates underlying the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?
- How immigrants are referred to in recent German immigration discourses?
- What role does the German language play in recent immigration discourses?

- What are the ideologies underlying the debates around the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’?
- How are the wider national and European debates on the role of language in the process of integration interpreted at ‘local’ level?

I drew on the recent debates of the new German immigration law with specific reference to its express and implied language policies and their underlying ideology. The case study complements these discourses by looking at a seemingly small problem: the regulation of the use of language on a playground of a school with a multi-ethnic student body. In actuality the decision by the HHO to implement a German only policy garnered significant national media attention and helped to reignite national debate on German immigration policy.

My final reflections will begin by shortly establishing the key findings from the research of this thesis and then relate them back to the initial research questions. Furthermore, the conclusions will discuss some caveats and make suggestions for future research.

The dominating debates and discourses around the introduction of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’ took up a central role in the analysis. After their thorough analysis, it became apparent that key discourses could be grouped into two sets of debates: debates on border management and debates on managing internal diversity. The former of the two, debates on border management, centres mostly around two issues: the attraction of highly skilled or ‘desirable’ immigrants and the extradition of criminal or ‘undesirable’ immigrants. Germany’s attempts to draw in highly skilled immigrants manifest themselves in the Green Card Debate. Of particular interest here are the predilections associated with different groups of immigrants. While highly skilled immigrants are generally referred to in terms of their ability as well as their qualifications, low skilled immigrants have less desirable features attributed to them and are often associated with social problematisation. These debates characterise on the one hand

the acknowledgment of Germany of its status as an immigration country, however, most importantly they show an underlying desire to regulate immigration.

Following the rejection of the first draft of the ‘Zuwanderungsgesetz’, the debates moved increasingly away from the idea of attracting highly skilled immigrants towards debates on how to facilitate the extradition of criminal immigrants. Reference to immigrants in the debates around national security following the Madrid bombings in 2004 is frequently made by exemplifying the difference between Germans and immigrants through illustrative examples reinforcing the topos of ‘us versus them’. Issues of managing internal diversity are addressed in the discussion of the debates following minister Otto Schily’s controversial comments on the role of assimilation in the process of integration. Illustrative examples also play a central role in reinforcing Schily’s aspirations to further integration of immigrants living in Germany through assimilation. These illustrative examples frequently draw on stereotypes commonly associated in newspaper discourses with immigrants, particularly on the lack of linguistic skills attributed to Turkish housewives and the relationship between a lack of German language skills and a criminal career.

As has been exemplified by the debates on managing internal diversity mentioned above, German language proficiency is frequently stressed throughout the debates researched in this thesis as a decisive factor for the success of integrating immigrants into German society. The idea that an increased proficiency in the German language could potentially help integration and even help to solve problems of a disciplinary nature (see Schily’s link between a lack of German proficiency and a criminal career) is mirrored in the case study of the ‘Herbert Hoover Oberschule’ (HHO) in Berlin Wedding. In 2005, the school implemented a German-only policy, which does not allow any languages other than German to be spoken throughout the school day. Initial severe criticism of the school’s policy made way for increasingly

positive voices in the newspaper debates, which points to some of the underlying ideologies. Much of the initial criticism originated from a small group of quasi-political Turkish organisations. My research in chapter 5 suggests that these groups used the debates around the HHO's German-only policy as a catalyst for Turkish groups to voice their concerns regarding recent increases in regulation around immigration and integration of migrants in Germany. On the other hand, many of the articles published in support of the HHO's German-only decision have been written from a middle class German viewpoint, not necessarily taking into account the multicultural nature of the Berlin district 'Wedding'. The corpus of newspapers underlying the analysis suggested that viewpoints of 'local' Wedding residents – particularly those with a migration background – were underrepresented in terms of numbers in the debates. Instead newspaper articles favouring the school's decision were found to be closely allied to recent political changes in immigration and integration policy, evoking an idealistic image of what the authors' believe should be the fabric of German society.

Moving on: how can these findings be interpreted? Both, chapters 4 and 5 have presented the empirical findings concerning events: the media discourses and debates about a new immigration statute and a new language policy code on a playground in Berlin. The events are related by their significance to the general topic of immigration and language. Both underlying issues are reflecting efforts to produce eventually 'order' in their own realms.

It is evident that the first event is national by definition. After all, the debates concern a national statute affecting thousands of, if not millions, of individuals who are involved in the process of global migration. There are obvious references to important conflicting issues between national laws and rules of public international law, such as freedom of movement, protection of cultural and ethnic identity of both the host population and the immigrants. These are precarious topics debated since the establishment of national states in the

Westphalian world. The idea of the nation state is closely related to ethnic and particularly language elements. The breakdown of multi-ethnic states such as the Osman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, or recently the USSR, signals their high political relevance. It seems plain that complex regulatory problems are at stake.

The second event is local. It is directly affecting only a small group of persons: the students of a specific school, in a defined location, at special times during school hours. Indirectly it affects some educational and cultural aspirations of parents and teachers. The problem can be defined in a simple norm: for these addresses at this location at specified times: one official language only.

It is interesting that both discourses are obviously constrained by rules of ‘decent’ speech. There are latent lines the trespass of which will be sanctioned by being considered to be ‘offensive’, or not to the point. Moreover, certain expressions are obviously belonging to the repertoire of political factions, such as right, left, conservative, liberal. There is a divide between personal and public opinion, political and expert opinion with own codes of expression. This is exemplified in the debates following Schily’s controversial comment that the best form of integration was assimilation (‘... die beste Form der Integration ist die Assimilierung’). The context and the public responses to his comment were discussed in detail in chapter 4. Here Schily clearly crossed the line of what is considered ‘decent’.

Chapter three established that media discourses can help establish a consensus among its readership and potentially even the population of a country (Castles and Miller 1993). By doing so, the evolving discourses play a central role in determining which phrases, figures of speech and metaphors become increasingly accepted to the point that they are internalised by society. While the idea of legally forcing immigrants to attend German language courses and improving their linguistic skills is socially not only acceptable, but is ‘self-evident, natural [and] taken for granted’ (Blackledge 2004: 70), Schily’s wording had gone beyond the

acceptable. The debates on officially levying a German language agreement on immigrants have made this fully acceptable. My interview with the headmaster of the HHO suggested that neither he, nor the school board, nor any of the students' parents had initial concerns about the controversial wording of the first draft of the school's rules and regulations. The initial media turmoil focused on the fact that students were only allowed to speak German during the school-day. However, the debates very quickly turned away from this towards the use of the word 'Amtssprache', which was found in the wording of the school's rules and regulations. After the school very quickly responded to this and changed the wording of their rules and regulations (however, not the policy itself), it began to receive praise for their German-only policy culminating in official awards only months after the debates around the school's policy began. A parent's letter to the school called the policy 'selbsverständlich' (self-evident), which shows to social normativity associated with the 'one nation – one language' idea.

The idea of 'decent' speech and social acceptability is furthermore reflected in the choice of debates that the newspapers report on. Intrinsically, the German-only policy of the HHO is clearly a local issue. The language agreement of the school was between the school and the students who chose to attend it and in doing so, had to sign the school's rules and regulations on their first day of attendance. The question is how this local event became a national event. One possible explanation is again linked to the German language debates in the integration context. Not long before the beginning of the media turmoil around the HHO the final version of the new German immigration statute had been passed. The discourses during the running up of its passing were saturated with demands from the CDU/CSU as well as the more conservative newspapers (see chapters 4 and 5 for a characterisation of the key newspapers) for more restrictions on immigration to Germany. While the concept of Germany as an immigration country had become increasingly accepted throughout the debates and is also anchored in the 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' itself, a range of internal and external factors (see

chapter 2 for a discussion) focused the debates on restricting immigration by imposing conditions on immigrants. Hence, the idea of the HHO to introduce a German-only policy was in line with national discourses and was very topical at the time when it was uncovered by Mutlu. The initial negative voices surround the HHO debates from various Turkish associations can be summed up with a quote from Kenan Kolat (see chapter 5 for a discussion): ‘Die deutsche Mehrheitsgesellschaft und die türkische Gemeinschaft driften auseinander: die Türken fühlen sich diskriminiert, die Deutschen wollen noch mehr Druck.’ While the interview with Kolat was centred around the language regulations of the HHO, the interplay of previous debates (for example debates on a questionnaire for Muslim immigrants, der ‚Muslimtest‘) shines through. In this case – as well as many others - the language debates around the HHO became a vehicle to discuss unsolved issues about whether or not to increase the conditions imposed on immigrants.

The final point I would like to discuss at this stage is related to the paragraph above and concerns the normativities on discourses published in newspapers. What is published and who gets a voice in these discourses. Whilst only informing background knowledge rather than being directly included in this thesis, I conducted a number of interviews with government officials from the ‘Hessische Landesregierung’ to gain background knowledge on the then proposed, but soon after abolished, idea to question Muslims on a range of ethical questions (‘Muslimischer Gesinnungstest’). Before each interview, I was carefully questioned in writing about my ambitions for the data as well as my political disposition. Whilst this does not constitute a form of censorship, it nonetheless limits discourse practice in an official and sensitive setting. This may further reinforce the point I made above that the extreme media interest of the HHO language debates may have partially served as a vehicle to discuss other, more sensitive national debates on immigration and integration.

When I started the case study on HHO in spring 2006 I had the intuition that the highly controversial playground issue might demonstrate some elements of the precarious broader political issue. At that time I did not understand fully that it contained, not only a local expression of contradicting policies and associated political entrepreneurship but, also a potential institutional mechanism for channelling conflict – at least the pretence of a direct democratic settlement by consensus. Despite all remaining factual doubts on this ‘consensus’, the HHO ‘example’ has become proven ‘practice’. The consensus seems to have become a fact. The project has collected awards. The national media present it currently as a ‘paradigm’ in top news time.

Concerning the observations stated in this thesis some caveats are in place. The status as an impartial spectator can hardly be warranted. One of the self-critical findings of CDA is likely that engaged discourse analysis may imply some delicate, mostly unwanted involvement in the subject matter. The selection of the press articles and the case study may not be free from any bias; the judgement may be influenced by good intentions of a bilingual author who believes in both integration and cultural identity, and the positive prospects of individual learning and mutual understanding.

In this thesis I did not answer the final question of the European dimension of the relation of language, migration, integration and cultural identity. I realised that for this extended issue many country studies would have to be executed (Extra et al. 2009) and finally be merged in a synoptic ‘general report’. However, such a project would need the elaboration of a common frame of reference for making comparisons possible. This might also yield further clarifications and advances concerning the general theoretical framework, including refinement and consolidation of CDA.

In the German language context, similar studies could be conducted in Austria and in Switzerland. New relevant discourses concerning language, identity and integration spring up almost in a monthly cycle. In April 2010 the first German female Muslim state minister of Turkish origin was appointed and sworn in. The broad national and international press coverage did not only concern the appointment in the Federal State of Lower Saxony which is ruled by a Christian Democrat/ Free Democrat majority but also the incident that she delivered the oath with the phrase ‘... so help me God’ , telling the press that she meant her God.

Appendix A

Full text of an interview with Otto Schily as published in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung 26 June 2006.

Interview ‚Ich möchte keine zweisprachigen Ortsschilder haben‘

26.06.2002, 17:522002-06-26T17:52:00 CEST+0200

<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/688/395476/text/>

Sueddeutsche.de

Heribert Prantl

Der Bundesinnenminister Otto Schily (SPD) wendet sich gegen die Förderung neuer Minderheiten und plädiert stattdessen für die Assimilierung.

(SZ vom 27. Juni 2002) - SZ: Wer zu spät kommt, den bestraft der Wahlkampf. Sie haben zu lange gebraucht mit der Vorlage des Zuwanderungs- und Integrationsgesetzes.

Schily: Für die Verzögerung bin ich nicht verantwortlich. Es gab Gesprächspartner, die großen Wert darauf legten, gewisse Phasen doch erst einmal abzuwarten, zum Beispiel die Berliner Wahl...

SZ: Meinen Sie damit die rot-grünen Koalitionsfraktionen oder Ihre Gesprächspartner von der Union, den bayerischen Innenminister Günther Beckstein und den saarländischen Ministerpräsidenten Peter Müller, mit denen Sie sich verschiedentlich zu Verhandlungen in bayerischen Klöstern getroffen hatten?

Schily: Es war auch ein Auf und Ab mit allen.

SZ: Mit der Union war es letztendlich ein Ab. Hätten Sie nicht immer wieder versucht, der Union entgegenzukommen, wäre die Sache mindestens ein halbes Jahr früher über die Bühne gegangen. Sind Sie von Stoiber und Beckstein durch deren Hinhaltetaktik über den Tisch gezogen worden?

Schily: Bei meinen Gesprächen mit Müller und Beckstein in bayerischen Klöstern schien es

so, als ob Bereitschaft bestünde, sich auf einen vernünftigen Kompromiss einzulassen. Diese Bereitschaft ist mit der Ausrufung des Kanzlerkandidaten Stoiber erloschen. Müller hat dann nach Ausflüchten und Vorwänden gesucht, um zu vertuschen, dass er seinen Überzeugungen nicht treu bleibt. Er versucht, ebenso wie Stoiber und Beckstein, in der Öffentlichkeit ein Bild vom Inhalt des Zuwanderungsgesetzes zu zeichnen, das entweder Leseschwäche verrät oder den Unwillen, den wirklichen Gesetzestext zu lesen.

SZ: Der Wahlkampf ist ein Kampf um die Interpretationshoheit über das neue Gesetz.

Schily: Es gibt gar nicht viel zu interpretieren. Es geht darum, ob gelogen wird oder nicht.

SZ: Wer lügt?

Schily: Wer behauptet, mit diesem Gesetz gäbe es eine Ausweitung des Zuzugs, der spricht schlicht die Unwahrheit. Also lügt Stoiber. Er behauptet, das Gesetz bringe neue Belastungen für die Sozialsysteme. Das Gegenteil ist richtig – die Belastungen werden eher zurückgehen. Und wenn Herr Stoiber beklagt, dass wir zu große Probleme haben mit Integration von zuziehenden Ausländern – er ist es, der an diesem Zustand nichts ändern will, wenn er das neue Gesetz ablehnt.

Er will straffere Asylverfahren. Gut, genau die bringt das neue Gesetz. Warum also lehnt er es ab? Stoiber sagt auch die Unwahrheit, wenn er so tut, als nähmen Zuwanderer den Deutschen Arbeitsplätze weg. Er weiß ganz genau, dass ein Bewerber aus dem vorhandenen Arbeitskräfte-Angebot in Deutschland immer Vorrang hat, dass an zweiter Stelle ein Bewerber aus den EU-Kandidatenländern rangiert – erst an dritter Stelle der Zuwanderer zum Zuge kommt. Und schließlich operiert der Herr Kanzlerkandidat mit Zuwanderungs-Integrationszahlen, die mit der Wirklichkeit nun gar nichts zu tun haben.

SZ: Er sagt, 600 000 Zuwanderer im Jahr seien zu integrieren.

Schily: Das ist doch schlichter Unsinn.

SZ: Charlotte Höhn, die Direktorin des deutschen Instituts für Bevölkerungsforschung, spricht von 570 000.

Schily: Es ist ein bisschen seltsam, dass die Dame, die in meinem Verantwortungsbereich arbeitet, nicht zuerst einmal zurückgefragt hat, bevor sie sich in dieser Weise verbreitet.

SZ: Was ist die realistische Zahl?

Schily: Die Bruttozahlen gehen etwas auseinander. Bleiben wir bei der Zahl von etwa 600 000. Die Hälfte davon sind Saison- und Werkvertragsarbeiter. Die bleiben nur für wenige Monate. Was redet Herr Stoiber da für einen Unsinn. Dann sind die Asylbewerber abzuziehen. Diese sind hier zur Prüfung ihres Asylgesuches und nicht zur Integration.

SZ: Wenn die als Asylbewerber anerkannt werden oder sonst lange Zeite hier sind, müssen sie natürlich integriert werden.

Schily: Das sind nicht so viele. Wenn man die Genannten abzieht, sind wir vielleicht noch bei einer Zahl von 200000. Dann sind noch rund 150000 EU-Ausländer abzurechnen. Italiener, Spanier, Franzosen und Engländer verursachen nun wirklich keine ernsthaften Integrationsprobleme.

SZ: Die Bundesregierung behauptet, Stoiber, Merz und Koch würden auf Fremdenfeindlichkeit spekulieren. Was ist denn heute fremdenfeindlich an Stoiber? In früheren Zeiten war er doch weit schärfer. Gemessen an dem, was man schon alles von ihm gehört hat, zeigt er doch bemerkenswerte Zurückhaltung.

Schily: Das ist ja eine merkwürdige Betrachtungsweise. Wenn einer ganz schlimm war, findet man es schon als Pluspunkt, wenn er nur noch schlimm ist.

SZ: Wo ist denn nun speziell bei der Union die Spekulation auf Fremdenfeindlichkeit?

Schily: Das ist doch klar. Es gibt eine diffuse Abwehrhaltung in der Gesellschaft gegen den Zuzug von Ausländern. Darauf setzt die Union.

SZ: Das hat sie mit Otto Schily gemeinsam. Sie haben doch vor drei Jahren den Satz gesagt: ‚Die Grenze der Belastbarkeit Deutschlands durch Zuwanderung ist bereits überschritten.‘

Schily: Wie bitte? Selbstverständlich müssen wir uns auch um die Belastungen kümmern, die mit ungesteuertem Zuzug verbunden ist. Dass Zuzug auch zu Belastungen führen kann und dass auch die Belastungsgrenze überschritten werden kann, das sehen wir in bestimmten Stadtteilen in Deutschland. Deswegen ist es ja notwendig, dass wir ein Zuwanderungsgesetz machen, um auch die Integrationsprobleme anzugehen.

SZ: Darf man, ich erinnere an die Anzeigenkampagne der Bundesregierung vom Beginn dieser Woche, in Deutschland von Zuwanderung nur reden, wenn die Wörter Begrenzung und Verringerung auf dem Fuße folgen?

Schily: Das ist auch richtig so. Eine unbegrenzte Zuwanderung kann das Land nicht verkraften. Deshalb ist es auch falsch zu behaupten, wir könnten die demographische Lücke einfach durch Zuwanderung auffüllen. Das geht nicht. Deshalb haben wir, übrigens auch einem Wunsch der Opposition folgend, in das Gesetz hineingeschrieben, Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung unter Berücksichtigung der Integrationskapazität unseres Landes. Das ist völlig richtig. Man darf sich nicht überfordern.

SZ: Findet dieses Gesetz die innere Rechtfertigung nur dann, wenn es zu Begrenzung und Verringerung von Zuwanderung führt?

Schily: Es führt de facto zur Verringerung. Aber die Quantifizierung ist nicht das Entscheidende, sondern die Qualifizierung der Zuwanderung. Das ist der Kern-Punkt. Wir gewinnen wieder Handlungsfähigkeit. Wir sind derzeit weitgehend nur Objekt von Zuzug, ohne dass unsere Steuerungsfähigkeit genügend ausgebildet ist. Das wird sich ändern.

Wenn Herr Stoiber auf solche Steuerungsinstrumente verzichten und weiter dahinwursteln will, dann beweist er damit seine Regierungsunfähigkeit. Wir haben ein wirklich gelungenes Werk vorgelegt. Deshalb scheue ich mich auch nicht, darüber im Wahlkampf zu reden. In der argumentativen Auseinandersetzung haben wir immer die Oberhand. Wenn es aber um Parolen geht, die dumpfe Abwehrmechanismen versuchen herauszukitzeln, dann kommt das Land in Schwierigkeiten. Davor warne ich.

SZ: Kirchen und Wohlfahrtsverbände monieren, dass der Integrationsteil des neuen Gesetzes mager ausgestaltet sei.

Schily: Sicherlich liegt noch viel Arbeit vor uns. Das Zuwanderungsgesetz ist aber immerhin ein Einstieg in Integrationsmaßnahmen.

SZ: Wie geht es also dann weiter?

Schily: Mit Integrationskursen, mit der Sprachvermittlung, mit der Vermittlung von Kenntnissen über Gesetze und Geschichte des Landes, schaffen wir die Basis. Aber wir brauchen ein viel umfassenderes Integrationskonzept. Dafür schafft das neue Gesetz einen Kristallisationspunkt mit dem künftigen Bundesamt für Migration: Das bisherige Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge wird zu einem solchen Bundesamt umgestaltet. Wir werden aus dieser Zuständigkeit heraus ein umfassendes Integrationskonzept entwickeln, ressortübergreifend – Städtebau, schulische Erziehung, soziale Förderung. Ich werde Vertreter von Ländern und Gemeinden zur Mitarbeit einladen.

SZ: Die Integration hat einen Rahmen – die Verfassung. In unserem verfassungsrechtlichen Gefüge werden derzeit zwar Religion, Sprache und Kultur der ausländischen und eingebürgerten Bewohner toleriert, aber nicht gefördert. Es gibt kein Recht auf Schutz und Förderung der Herkunftssprachen, der Religionen und der Kulturen der Zuwanderer, wie das in anderen Staaten der Fall ist, auf die man bei der Ausarbeitung des Zuwanderungsgesetzes geschaut hat – Kanada, Großbritannien, Niederlande. Nur alteingesessene kleine Minderheiten – Friesen, Sorben, Roma, Dänen – werden gefördert. Sollte sich das im Zuge des großen Integrationskonzeptes nicht ändern?

Schily: Nein. Wir haben autochthone Minderheiten, Sie haben sie genannt. Die sollen gefördert werden. Und da gibt es ja eine beachtliche Erfolgsbilanz. Ich war gerade bei den Sorben und habe entdeckt, dass ein Teil meiner Familie mit den Sorben verbunden ist. Ich habe also sogar etwas Sorbisches in mir. Aber es wäre verfehlt, wenn wir die Entstehung neuer geschlossener Minderheiten fördern würden.

SZ: Konkret: Das sorbisch-deutsche Theater in Bautzen erhält selbstverständlich staatliche Unterstützung. Deutsch-kurdische oder deutsch-türkische Spielstätten gibt es nicht. Oder: Wer über ein TV-Gerät mit Zwei-Kanal-Ton verfügt, kann im Sendgebiet des MDR das Sandmännchen auf Sorbisch empfangen. Warum soll man zum Beispiel den Türken so etwas nicht gönnen? Die zahlen doch auch ihre Rundfunk- und Fernsehgebühren, zählen aber als

Zielgruppe kaum.

Schily: Nein, nein. Integration hat die Einbeziehung in den deutschen Kulturraum zum Ziel. Da können wir nicht noch alle möglichen Sprachen fördern. Das führte doch zu einem völligen Chaos.

SZ: Es gibt ein, zwei Minderheiten-Hauptsprachen.

Schily: Ich bin entschieden dagegen, irgendeine neue Minderheit in Deutschland zu etablieren.

SZ: Mit dieser Haltung schaden Sie dem Standort Deutschland. Sprachkenntnisse sind doch wichtige Ressourcen für Deutschlands Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Diese Kompetenzen können Deutschlands Position im internationalen Wettbewerb verbessern.

Schily: Selbstverständlich sind Fremdsprachen-Kenntnisse von Vorteil. Aber das heißt nicht, dass wir Parallelgesellschaften fördern sollten.

SZ: Es geht um die Förderung der Herkunftssprache als zweiter Muttersprache neben dem Deutschen.

Schily: Ich will nicht, dass sich eine homogene Minderheit entwickelt, deren erste Sprache Türkisch ist. Die Türken müssen hineinwachsen in unseren Kulturraum. Die Muttersprache muss Deutsch sein oder werden. Dass wir uns nicht falsch verstehen: Ich bin sehr dafür, dass unterschiedliche interkulturelle Kompetenzen entstehen. Es muss auch niemand seine Herkunft verleugnen.

SZ: Im Zusammenhang mit der Verfassungsreform nach der deutschen Einheit wurde darüber diskutiert, den Minderheitenschutz ausdrücklich in die Verfassung aufzunehmen. Das wurde abgelehnt.

Schily: Und dabei bleibt es.

SZ: In einer Zeit, in der wir alle neuen Nationalstaaten Europas von der zentralen Bedeutung

des Minderheitenschutzes zu überzeugen versuchen?

Schily: Minderheitenschutz heißt doch nicht, dass wir neue Minderheiten fördern müssen und dass jemand, der hierher kommt, eine Minderheit bilden kann. Integration heißt für mich: Der Zuwanderer lebt sich in die deutsche Kultur, in die deutsche Sprache ein. Ich möchte in Deutschland keine Entwicklung haben, in der viele Sprachen nebeneinander bestehen und die uns am Ende große Spannungen und Konflikte bescheren würden.

SZ: Wie also geht es mit der Integration weiter?

Schily: Ich sage Ihnen ganz offen: Die beste Form der Integration ist Assimilierung.

SZ: Assimilierung heißt: Die Türken übernehmen die Traditionen, die Wert- und Verhaltensmuster der Deutschen.

Schily: Assimilierung heißt wörtlich Anähnlichung. Das kann in sehr unterschiedlichen Formen vor sich gehen. Aber am Ende werden sich die Menschen in einem gemeinsamen Kulturraum ähnlicher.

SZ: Mustafa nennt sich Hans, schwört seinem bisherigen Glauben ab, wird Protestant, Katholik oder Atheist?

Schily: Das muss ja nicht sein. Assimilierung heißt aber zunächst einmal, dass eine gewisse Anpassung und Angleichung an die hiesigen Lebensverhältnisse stattfindet. Dabei verändern sich dann natürlich mehr oder weniger sachte auch die hiesigen Lebensverhältnisse.

SZ: Bisher gibt es in der Regel keinen staatlich anerkannten Religionsunterricht für Muslime an den Schulen. Soll sich das ändern?

Schily: Das wäre wünschenswert. Mir wäre es lieber, wir hätten einen staatlich überwachten muslimischen Religionsunterricht an den Schulen, anstatt das den Koranschulen zu überlassen, die weitgehend unserer staatlichen Aufsicht entzogen sind.

SZ: Das heißt, staatliche Ausbildung von islamischen Religionslehrern?

Schily: Auch das wäre wünschenswert. Vielleicht könnte das dazu beitragen, dass sich ein europäischer Islam herausbildet, der auch die Errungenschaften der europäischen Aufklärung in sich aufnimmt.

SZ: Aufklärung heißt aber auch, dass jeder nach seiner Fassung, mit seiner Kultur selig werden darf. Das kann viele Vorteile bringen, zum Beispiel den: Es wird zwischen den Industrieländern einen großen Wettbewerb um hochqualifizierte Zuwanderer geben. In diesem Wettbewerb um die Besten wird es auch eine Rolle spielen, ob es im Gast- oder Aufnahmeland ethnische Communities und ethnische Infrastrukturen gibt.

Schily: Genau das will ich nicht. Das ist das Gegenteil von Integration.

SZ: Das würde aber den Angeworbenen den Start im neuen Land erleichtern.

Schily: Das mag bei oberflächlicher Betrachtungsweise so sein. Aber genau das führt zu ganz großen Spaltungstendenzen in der Gesellschaft. Es wäre verheerend, wenn sich solch eine Entwicklung bei uns abzeichnen würde.

SZ: Wollen Sie Kreuzberg auflösen?

Schily: Nein. Kreuzberg ist ja keineswegs ethnisch homogen. Es ist sicher so, dass wir in einigen Stadtteilen von großen Ballungsgebieten eine zu starke Konzentration von Zuzügen einer bestimmten Ethnie haben, das ist eher gefährlich. Wir müssen versuchen, das anders zu gestalten.

SZ: Wie? Es gab schon einmal Vorschläge, Stadtteile, in denen der Ausländeranteil hoch ist, für weiteren Zuzug zu sperren.

Schily: Das ist nicht praktikabel. Wie soll man denn das machen? Wir haben Freizügigkeit in unserem Land. Mit solchen planwirtschaftlichen Modellen kommen wir in der Diskussion um Zuwanderung nicht weiter. Mit Quoten kommt man nicht zurecht: Bei der Zuwanderung insgesamt nicht, aber auch nicht in Städten und auch nicht in Schulklassen. Probleme können

wir nicht dadurch lösen, dass wir nach DDR-Vorbild eine Planungskommission einsetzen, die eine Quote festsetzt – damit landet man immer in der Sackgasse.

Appendix B.

Mitglieder der Süssmuth-Kommission

21 Politiker, Wirtschaftsexperten, Bischöfe, Juristen: die Zuwanderungskommission der Bundesregierung. Nur zwei Frauen sind darunter.

02. Juli 2001

Die Zuwanderungskommission der Bundesregierung besteht aus 21 Mitgliedern. Vorsitzende ist die frühere Bundestagspräsidentin Rita Süßmuth (CDU), als stellvertretender Vorsitzender wurde der frühere Bundesjustizminister Hans-Jochen Vogel (SPD), berufen.

Weitere Mitglieder sind Persönlichkeiten aus Politik, Wissenschaft, Wirtschaft und gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, die ihre Sachkenntnis und Erfahrung in die Arbeit der Kommission einbringen.

- Prof. Rita Süßmuth, MdB, Präsidentin des Deutschen Bundestages a.D., Vorsitzende
- Hans-Jochen Vogel, Bundesminister der Justiz a.D., stellvertretender Vorsitzender
- Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen a.D.

Zum Thema

- Zuwanderungsdebatte tritt in entscheidende Phase
 - Dossier: Deutschland reift zum Einwanderungsland
-
- Rechtsanwalt Jürgen Schmude, Präses der Synode der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland, Bundesminister der Justiz a.D.
 - Rechtsanwalt Horst Eylmann, früherer Vorsitzender des Rechtsausschusses des Deutschen Bundestages
 - Prof. Kay Hailbronner, Lehrstuhl für öffentliches Recht, Völker und Europarecht, Universität Konstanz
 - Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Oberbürgermeister der Stadt Saarbrücken, Präsident des Deutschen Städtetages
 - Gerd Landsberg, Geschäftsführendes Präsidialmitglied des Deutschen Städte- und Gemeindebundes
 - Hans-Olaf Henkel, früherer Präsident des Bundesverbandes der Deutschen Industrie e.V.
 - Frank Niethammer, Vizepräsident des Deutschen Industrie- und Handelstages

- Rechtsanwalt Christoph Kannengießer, Leiter der Abteilung Arbeitsmarkt bei der Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände
- Roland Issen, Vorsitzender des Bundesvorstandes der Deutschen Angestellten Gewerkschaft
- Heinz Putzhammer, Mitglied des Geschäftsführenden Bundesvorstandes des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes
- Weihbischof Josef Voß, Vorsitzender der Kommission für Migrationsfragen der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz
- Bischof Karl Ludwig Kohlwege, Vorsitzender der Kirchenleitung der Nordelbischen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche
- Paul Spiegel, Präsident des Zentralrates der Juden in Deutschland
- Herbert Schnoor, Innenminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen a.D.
- Roland Schilling, Stellvertretender Leiter des UNHCR Deutschland
- Prof. Rainer Münz, Lehrstuhl für Bevölkerungswissenschaft an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- Ralf Fücks, Vorstandsmitglied der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung
- Vural Öger, Mehrheitsgesellschafter von Öger-Tours und Vorsitzender der 'Deutsch-Türkischen Stiftung'

Appendix C.

This appendix documents the full articles referred to in chapter five. They are listed in the order for which extracts from the articles occur in the chapter and identified by the Extract number. For those articles for which more than one extract has been used in the chapter, the later extract number in this appendix will refer back to the article listed under the number for which it first occurred.

Extract 5.4 & 5.13

Berliner Zeitung 25.01.2006, Lokales - Seite 20

„Deutschpflicht sollte Schule machen“

Bundsmigrationsbeauftragte Böhmer unterstützt Hoover-Schule. Dort sind andere Sprachen auf dem Pausenhof verboten

Marlies Emmerich

Jugendliche Migranten sollten sich auch in den Pausen auf den Schulhöfen nur in Deutsch verständigen. „Das ist der richtige Weg“, sagte am Dienstag Bundsmigrationsbeauftragte Maria Böhmer. Die CDU-Politikerin stellte sich damit an die Seite der Leitung der Weddinger **Herbert-Hoover**-Realschule, die in der Hausordnung festgelegt hat, andere Sprachen zu verbieten. Nach Recherchen der Berliner Zeitung finden sich in keinem Bundesland Nachahmer für das Vorgehen.

„Spracherwerb findet nicht allein im Unterricht statt“, sagte Böhmer. Durch die Selbstverpflichtung, nur Deutsch zu reden, ließe sich Deutsch im Alltag stärker verankern. Ja zu Deutsch im gesamten schulischen Leben heiße Ja zur Integration. „Es würde mich freuen, wenn dieses Beispiel Schule machen würde“, so Böhmer.

Bremen begrüßt Berliner Modell

In Bremen, wo mehr als zwölf Prozent der Bevölkerung Zuwanderer sind, gibt es zwar keine Schule, die in ähnlicher Form vorgeht. ‚Es würde mir aber gut gefallen‘, sagte Erhard Heinze, Referatsleiter für Integrationspolitik, der Berliner Zeitung. Wenn sich Lehrer, Eltern und Schüler einig seien und auf Leitlinien verständigten, könnte dies an der einen oder anderen Schule eingeführt werden. Ähnlich reagierte Schleswig-Holsteins Bildungsministerin Ute Erdsiek-Rave (SPD).

In anderen Bundesländern ist Deutsch als Pflichtsprache wegen des relativ geringen Migrantenanteils ohnehin ‚kein Thema‘ - dazu gehören Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Thüringen, Sachsen, und Sachsen-Anhalt. Das sächsische Kultusministerium nannte die Anordnung allerdings mit Blick auf den hohen Ausländeranteil in Berlin ‚nachvollziehbar‘. Das Kultusministerium in Baden-Württemberg hat sich noch keine Gedanken gemacht. Niedersachsens Ausländerbeauftragte Gabriele Erpenbeck machte ein Vorgehen wie in Wedding von der ‚realen Situation vor Ort‘ abhängig. Es müssten die pädagogischen Notwendigkeiten untersucht werden. ‚Vorzuschreiben, nur Deutsch zu reden, ist sehr stark mit einem Fragezeichen zu versehen‘, begründete ein Sprecher des bayerischen Kultusministeriums seine Ablehnung. ‚Ich glaube, dass man mit einer Anweisung nicht weiter kommt‘, sagte Hamburgs Schulsenatorin Alexandra Ding-Dierig (CDU). Aus Nordrhein-Westfalen hieß es, es ließen sich bessere Wege zur Sprachförderung vorstellen.

Scharfe Kritik kam von der Türkischen Gemeinde in Deutschland. Präsident Kenan Kolat verwies auf die Einbürgerungstests in Baden-Württemberg, auf geplante Verschärfungen im Staatsbürgerrecht - und aktuell auf die Diskussion um Deutsch als Pflichtsprache. ‚Viele Türken denken, das ist alles System‘, sagte Kolat. Dadurch entstehe ein Klima der Angst. ‚Ich bin sehr, sehr empört‘, sagte Kolat. Die Türkische Gemeinde werde solche Diskussionen nicht

widerstandslos hinnehmen. Schulsenator Klaus Böger (SPD) und Bundestagsvizepräsident Wolfgang Thierse, die die Weddinger Schulleitung unterstützten, müssten diese Aussagen zurücknehmen. ‚Wenn Sprechen verhindert wird, dient das nicht der Sprachförderung‘, so ebenfalls Berlins Migrationsbeauftragter Günter Piening. Die Grünen-Politikerin Claudia Roth warnte, dass sich Integration nicht mit Pausenhofreglementierungen erzwingen lasse. ‚Nach unserer Erkenntnis ist das Weddinger Modell einzigartig‘, sagte GEW-Sprecher Peter Sünram. Die Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW) lehnte das Verbot ab: ‚Man soll nichts anordnen, was nicht durchzusetzen ist.‘

Bundesweit einmalig

Deutsch als Pflichtsprache: Die Hausordnung der Weddinger **Hoover**-Realschule, die vorschreibt, während der ganzen Schulzeit - also auch in Pausen - Deutsch zu sprechen, gilt bundesweit als einmalig. Angewandt wird es in dieser Form nach einer Umfrage der Berliner Zeitung nirgendwo. Die Meinungen in anderen Bundesländern gehen von eindeutiger Sympathie bis zur Ablehnung des Berliner Modells.

Zuwanderer: In Deutschland leben rund 7,4 Millionen Zuwanderer. Unter den Migranten bilden Türken mit rund zwei Millionen Menschen die größte Gruppe.

Berlin: In der Hauptstadt wohnen etwa 430 000 Zuwanderer. Etwa 120 000 von ihnen stammen aus der Türkei. Zehntausende Türken, die einen deutschen Pass besitzen, werden nicht mitgezählt.

Beispiel Niederlande: Eine vergleichbare Initiative wie an der **Hoover**-Realschule hatte in den Niederlanden Debatten ausgelöst. Integrationsministerin Rita Verdonk empfahl erst vor wenigen Tagen, Ausländer sollten in der Öffentlichkeit nur Niederländisch sprechen.

Rotterdam: In einem ‚Manifest für Integration und Bürgerschaft‘ plädiert die Stadt Rotterdam dafür, ‚in der Schule, an der Arbeit, auf der Straße und im Nachbarschaftszentrum Niederländisch als gemeinsame Sprache zu nutzen.

Extract 5.5

Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 29.01.2006, Nr. 4, S. 6

Die Heimatsprache

Eine Schule macht etwas richtig und wird angeprangert

VON MECHTHILD KÜPPER

BERLIN. Es wird lange dauern, bis mit diesen 370 Realschülern wieder vernünftig zu reden sein wird. ‘Wollen Sie mich interviewen? Von welchem Kanal sind Sie?’ fragen aufgekratzte Teenager alle Schulfremden, die ihnen über den Weg laufen. Jeder von ihnen hat in den vergangenen Tagen mehrere Interviews gegeben, und weil die Reporter offenbar lieber von Repression und Zwang hören, und weil auch die Politiker, die sich über den ‘Fall’ äußern, nicht etwa ein Vorbild loben, sondern sich für oder gegen vermeintlichen Zwang ins Zeug legen, ist zunehmend davon die Rede.

Die drei Schüler, die bei der improvisierten Pressekonferenz am Freitag morgen gemeinsam mit dem stellvertretenden Schulleiter der Herbert-Hoover-Realschule in Berlin-Wedding Auskunft geben, stecken in der für Jugendliche leicht peinlichen Lage, bestätigen zu können, was ihre Lehrer sagen: Nach einer langen Debatte haben Schüler, Eltern und Lehrer der

Realschule im vergangenen Jahr offiziell und in aller Form vereinbart, Deutsch zur allgemeinen Sprache zu erklären, die sogar auf dem Pausenhof und auf Klassenfahrten gesprochen werden soll. Es wurde diskutiert, abgestimmt, in der Hausordnung formuliert - und es hat genau den Erfolg, den sich die Vertragspartner davon versprochen: 'Je länger man an dieser Schule ist, desto besser spricht man Deutsch', sagt Schulsprecher Asad Suleman. Die Schüler der Herbert-Hoover-Schule haben acht bis zehn verschiedene Muttersprachen; mehr als 90 Prozent der Jugendlichen sind nicht mit Deutsch groß geworden. Bestraft wird es nicht, wenn die Schüler Türkisch, Arabisch, Serbisch, Russisch oder Tschechisch sprechen. Gemahnt wird, es wird an die Vereinbarung erinnert. Schüler, die wegen Störung des Unterrichts - etwa lautes Brüllen in einer Sprache, die nur die eigenen Kumpels verstehen - bestraft werden, erzählt die Schülerin Haline in pädagogisch-mildem Ton, behaupteten hinterher natürlich gern, sie seien wegen des Gebrauchs ihrer Muttersprache bestraft worden.

Eine Woche lang wurde über die Hoover-Schule in Begriffen wie Pflicht und Verbot gesprochen, von Grundgesetzverletzungen, gar von Säuberungen war die Rede. Vor allem die Grünen taten sich hervor. Claudia Roth nannte die Initiative, Deutsch zur Umgangssprache zu machen, einen 'billigen Integrationsvorschlag'. Die Berliner Grünen trugen so dick auf, daß die FDP-Abgeordnete Senfleben sie aufforderte, die 'systematische Skandalisierung' einer freiwilligen Vereinbarung endlich einzustellen. Die Herbert-Hoover-Schule sei schließlich eine weiterführende Schule, wer dort lerne, sei aus eigenem Antrieb dort.

Vielleicht hilft die aus der Not geborene Öffentlichkeitsoffensive der Schule, den sehnlichen Wunsch der Schulleitung zu erfüllen und die Aufmerksamkeit darauf zu lenken, daß hier vieles richtig, ja vorbildlich gemacht wird. Das gute Beispiel, heißt es in der Gesellschaftspolitik, sei wirkungsvoller als die Pädagogik der Belehrung und des Verbots. Die Berliner Öffentlichkeit aber sieht offenbar nicht hin, wenn mal etwas nicht wie üblich

schiefeht, sondern gelingt, und die Bewohner von Multikulti-Deutschland lernen nur langsam, daß an einigen Berliner Schulen gerade eine Lektion in ‘Leitkultur leichtgemacht’ gegeben wird.

Vor einigen Jahren, berichtet der stellvertretende Schulleiter der Hoover-Schule, hätten die Lehrer gemerkt, daß ihre Schüler Deutsch immer schlechter beherrschen. Daraufhin hätten sie beschlossen, daß sich die Schule ändern müsse. Der Deutschunterricht in der hergebrachten Form wurde abgeschafft, die Zahl der Stunden wurde von vier auf sechs pro Woche heraufgesetzt, gelernt wird in Gruppen von 16 Schülern, sorgfältig zusammengesetzt. Zu Beginn der 7. Klasse - in Berlin dauert die Grundschule sechs Jahre - wird ein Spracheingangstest gemacht, nach dem ersten Jahr wird abermals ein Test gemacht: Die Schüler der Herbert-Hoover-Schule sind seither besser geworden. Das ist meßbar, nachweisbar, belegbar.

Und trotzdem äußern sich Vertreter verschiedener türkischer Gruppen und Vereine unverändert negativ über die Vereinbarung, die vier oder fünf Berliner Schulen inzwischen zum Deutschsprechen eingegangen sind. Der Türkische Elternverband prüft sogar, ob gegen die Vereinbarungen geklagt werden kann. Eine Mutter sagte in gutem Deutsch, ihr Sohn solle in der Pause ‘Freiheit’ und ‘Erholung’ genießen und nicht Deutsch sprechen. Die beklagenswert schwachen Interessenvertretungen der deutschen Türken führen sich in Berlin zur Zeit auf, als ginge es nicht um Chancen für die Migrantenkinder, sondern darum, den Türken den Alleinvertretungsanspruch für die schönste Opferrolle in Deutschland zu rauben.

Die Hoover-Schule ist da weiter: Wo so viele Sprachen gesprochen werden, sei es doch einfach höflich und rücksichtsvoll, die gemeinsame Sprache zu wählen, sagen Eltern, Schüler, Lehrer. Die Schülervertreter - eine Türkin, ein Türke, ein Pakistaner - sagen am vergangenen

Freitag, sie sprächen besser Deutsch als ihre ‘Heimatsprache, und sie seien froh, wenn ihre Lehrer sie ermahnten, beim Deutsch zu bleiben. Haline sagt, die Schüler wollten schließlich in Deutschland leben, sie wollten gute Noten, anständige Jobs - und seien froh, daß ihre Lehrer sie dabei unterstützten.

Extract 5.6 & 5.8

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.02.2006, Nr. 36, S. 77

Deutsch soll die Sprache auf dem Schulhof sein

CDU und FDP im Landtag wollen freiwillige Vereinbarungen

ler. WIESBADEN. In hessischen Schulen und auf den Schulhöfen soll nach dem Willen von CDU und FDP im Landtag grundsätzlich nur noch Deutsch gesprochen werden. Lehrer, Schüler und Eltern sollten dies in freiwilligen Vereinbarungen regeln, heißt es in nahezu gleichlautenden Anträgen an den Landtag. Die Liberalen schlagen eine solche Regelung auch für betreute Jugendeinrichtungen vor. Die Landesregierung solle eine Diskussion über die Einführung von Deutsch als offizielle Schulsprache an Schulen und Jugendzentren unterstützen, fordert die schulpolitische Sprecherin der FDP, Dorothea Henzler.

CDU-Fraktionsvorsitzender Christean Wagner sagte, nur wenn in den Schulen und auf den Pausenhöfen Deutsch gesprochen werde, könne die Sprachfähigkeit ausländischer Schüler verbessert und damit deren Eingliederung in die Gesellschaft erreicht werden. ‚Wir wollen eine solche Vereinbarung, da sie Voraussetzung jeder Integration ist.‘ Dies müsse letztlich auch im Sinne der ausländischen Schüler und ihrer Eltern sein. In vielen Fällen sei die Schule

sogar der einzige Ort, an dem die ausländischen Kinder und Jugendlichen Deutsch sprechen und üben könnten, weil zu Hause die Sprache ihres Heimatlandes gesprochen werde.

Wagner und der schulpolitische Sprecher der CDU, Hans-Jürgen Irmer, plädieren für eine Übernahme des Modells der Berliner Herbert-Hoover-Schule. Dort hatten sich Schüler, Eltern und Lehrer darauf verständigt, daß auf dem Pausenhof nur Deutsch geredet werden dürfe. Die Regelung an dieser Schule hatte eine bundesweite Diskussion über eine Deutsch-Pflicht auf Pausenhöfen ausgelöst. Hessens Kultusministerin Karin Wolff (CDU) hat bereits deutlich gemacht, daß auch sie freiwillige Regelungen über den Sprachgebrauch für den richtigen Weg halte.

Die Grünen im Landtag warnten indes davor, Deutsch zur Pflichtsprache in den Schulen zu machen. Jede Schulgemeinde müsse eigenständig entscheiden können, welche Sprache auf dem Schulhof gesprochen werde, sagte der bildungspolitische Sprecher der Fraktion, Mathias Wagner. Bei der Debatte über die deutsche Sprache als Voraussetzung für schulischen und beruflichen Erfolg dürfe zudem nicht vergessen werden, welche Chancen auch in der Mehrsprachigkeit lägen - für die Jugendlichen, aber auch für die Gesellschaft insgesamt.

Extract 5.7

TAZ, 30.1.2006,

Mehr Experimente wagen

Der Streit über die Deutschpflicht an einer Weddinger Schule gewinnt an

Differenziertheit. Er zeigt, dass die so genannte Migranten-Community längst

vielfältiger ist, als sie wahrgenommen wird

Von Alke Wierth

Der Streit über die Deutschpflicht an einer Weddinger Schule wird differenzierter. Eine Woche nach deren Bekanntwerden mehren sich die Stimmen, die zur genaueren Analyse der Sprachregelung mahnen. Die ablehnende Haltung des Türkischen Bundes Berlin (TBB) wird dabei längst nicht von allen Migranten geteilt.

Er könne mit einer Deutschpflicht wie der an der Herbert-Hoover-Schule gut leben, sagt etwa Ilkin Özisik, Vorsitzender des Vereins Türkischer Sozialdemokraten in Berlin (TSD) und Mitglied im Integrationsbeirat des Senats. ‘Wenn es mit allen Beteiligten abgesprochen ist, dann macht so was Sinn’, meint der 33-Jährige, der in Berlin geboren und ‘stolz darauf’ ist. Auch Sanem Kleff, Leiterin des Projekts ‘Schule ohne Rassismus’, rät zu Besonnenheit. Pädagogisch hält sie von einer Pflicht zum Deutschreden während der Unterrichtspausen gar nichts. ‘Es hat keinen Lerneffekt, wenn sich schlecht Deutsch sprechende Schüler miteinander unterhalten.’ Aber Schulen brauchten den Freiraum, solche Regelungen auszuprobieren. ‘Man muss experimentieren dürfen.’

Die Herbert-Hoover-Schule im Wedding, eine Realschule mit dem Unterrichtsschwerpunkt Deutsch und einem 80-prozentigen Anteil von Schülerinnen und Schülern nichtdeutscher Herkunft, hat seit März 2005 eine Deutschpflicht in ihrer Hausordnung stehen. Auch in den Pausen oder bei Klassenfahrten sollen die Schüler nur Deutsch miteinander reden. Die Regel geht auf einen Beschluss der Schulversammlung zurück, der neben Lehrern auch Vertreter von Schülern und Eltern angehören.

Strafen für die Nichteinhaltung des Gebots gibt es nicht: ‘Die Lehrer erinnern uns daran, wenn wir andere Sprachen sprechen’, sagen die Schülersprecher der Realschule. Sie befürworten die Regel nach wie vor: ‘Unser Deutsch ist besser geworden.’

Scharfe Kritik an der Deutschpflicht üben vor allem türkische Verbände und Vereine. Um die pädagogische Seite geht es dabei nur am Rande. Eine ‘negative Besetzung von Vielfalt’ sieht Eren Ünsal, die TBB-Sprecherin, in der Schulregel. ‘Nationalistisch’ sei ein solches ‘Sprachverbot’, meint Kenan Kolat, Vorsitzender der Türkischen Gemeinde Deutschland

(TGD). Den türkischen Migranten würde der Eindruck vermittelt, man akzeptiere ihre Kultur und Sprache nicht.

Dass viele der Eltern und Schüler, die über die Deutschpflicht an der Hoover-Realschule mit abgestimmt haben, selbst nichtdeutscher, auch türkischer Herkunft sind, bleibt dabei außen vor. Stattdessen folgen diese Argumente alten Trennlinien zwischen einer diskriminierenden Mehrheit und den entrechteten Ausländern.

Auch der Einwand, den Meral Dollnick gegen die Deutschpflicht ins Feld führt, entlarvt ein altmodisches Denkmuster: Es sei sehr anstrengend für Kinder und Jugendliche, den ganzen Tag eine ‘fremde Sprache’ zu sprechen, sagt die Vorsitzende der Vereinigung Türkischer LehrerInnen und ErzieherInnen.

Viele Zuwanderer denken da längst anders: Er habe zwei Muttersprachen, sagt der Sozialdemokrat Ilkin Özisik. Auch Abit Kazci, Vater eines achtjährigen Sohnes, fände es am besten, wenn der zweisprachig aufwüchse. ‘Aber im Zweifelsfalle würde ich dem Deutschen den Vorrang geben’, sagt der aus der Türkei stammende Arzt. ‘Wenn die Kinder nicht richtig Deutsch lernen, haben sie beruflich hier keine Chance.’ Eine Verpflichtung zum Deutschreden könne er deshalb akzeptieren, zumindest ‘an bestimmten Schulen’. In der früheren Kita seines Sohnes hat er einen solchen Vorschlag allerdings abgelehnt: ‘Dort gab es nur zwei nichtdeutsche Kinder.’

Auch Faruk Sen, Leiter des Zentrums für Türkeistudien in Essen, kann mit der Deutschpflicht leben; sie sei schließlich eine Vereinbarung, kein Zwang. ‘Wir wollen doch alle, dass die Kinder gut Deutsch lernen.’ Die ablehnende Haltung türkischer Verbände versteht er nicht: ‘Sie sollten sich mehr mit dem Muslim-Test in Baden-Württemberg beschäftigen.’ Das sei wichtiger.

Extract 5.8: see Extract 5.6

Extract 5.9

Berliner Zeitung' on 6 February 2006

Pause auf gut Deutsch

Gözde Pesman, Alexander Jahns

An der Herbert-Hoover-Realschule in Wedding müssen alle Schüler auf dem Schulhof Deutsch sprechen. Ist das eine gute Regelung, die alle Schulen einführen sollten, oder schränkt sie das Recht auf freie Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit ein?

Die Regelung an der **Herbert-Hoover**-Realschule finde ich richtig und wichtig. Schüler nichtdeutscher Herkunft haben wenig Möglichkeiten gute Deutschkenntnisse zu erwerben, denn zu Hause mit den Eltern wird meist nur die Muttersprache gesprochen. Auch in der Schule verbringen viele die meiste Zeit mit Mitschülern der gleichen Nationalität. Es ist wahr, dass Konversation auf Deutsch mit mangelnden Sprachkenntnissen anstrengend ist. Doch wer nicht spricht, kann es auch nicht lernen.

Nur wer die deutsche Sprache beherrscht, hat in diesem Land eine Chance auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Der Schulhof ist für Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund eine gute Möglichkeit die fremde Sprache zu sprechen. Diese muss genutzt werden.

Es ist wichtig, dass Schüler an deutschen Schulen Deutsch sprechen, denn sie müssen den Unterrichtsinhalten und Diskussionen folgen können. Sicherlich ist es ein Problem, wenn bei einigen Schülern die Sprachkenntnisse dafür nicht ausreichen. Aber dass die **Herbert-**

Hoover-Realschule ihre Schüler per Hausordnung zwingt Deutsch zu sprechen, ist keine gute Lösung.

Der Schulhof ist ein Ort der Erholung vom Unterricht. Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten sollten hier keine Rolle spielen. Man kann doch niemandem vorschreiben, auf welcher Sprache er sich in einer verdienten Pause unterhalten soll.

Integration ist gut, aber nicht, wenn man dafür das Grundgesetz verbiegen muss, das immerhin vorschreibt, dass niemand wegen seiner Sprache benachteiligt werden darf. Wenn man die Deutschkenntnisse der Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund verbessern möchte, sollte man dies mit mehr Angeboten im Fach Deutsch, mit Förderkursen und mit dem Einsatz von qualifizierten Lehrern für Deutsch als Zweitsprache versuchen. Aber sicher: Ein Verbot ist einfacher.

Extract 5.10

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.01.2006, Nr. 24, S. 33

Wir sprechen hier deutsch

Eine Berliner Schule einigt sich auf die einzige Sprache, die alle verstehen: auf Deutsch. Jetzt muß sie sich gegen eine Diffamierungskampagne selbsternannter Schutzmächte zur Wehr setzen.

Von Regina Mönch

Der Schulhof, über den sich das Land erregt

27. Januar 2006

Der Schulhof, über den sich seit einigen Tagen das ganze Land erregt, liegt verlassen unter einer kalten Wintersonne. Hier, in der Hoover-Schule, wird deutsch gesprochen, mitten in

einem Viertel des Berliner Wedding, in dem man sonst überwiegend Türkisch, Arabisch und noch vierzig andere Sprachen hört.

Eine dicke Eisschicht auf dem Boden verhindert, daß die zahlreich angereisten Journalisten sofort die Probe aufs Exempel machen können: Sind Kinder unglücklich, wenn sie deutsch reden? Sind sie unglücklich, weil Deutsch nicht ihre Muttersprache ist, wohl aber die Sprache, in der nicht wenige alsbald die Abschlußprüfung ablegen wollen, um danach, wenn alles gutgeht, die nächste, die große Hürde zu nehmen: das Abitur?

Von dem Vater erschossen

In einem Hof der Schule steht ein kahler Baum, an seinem Fuß eine kleine Grabplatte, die an Iman D. erinnert, einst Hoover-Schülerin. An einem Novembormorgen vor über zehn Jahren wurde das vierzehnjährige Mädchen von seinem Vater erschossen, den es bei der Polizei angezeigt hatte; auf dem Weg zur Schule, nur fünfhundert Meter entfernt. Der Gedenkort im Schulhof will nicht nur an die Tragödie erinnern. Er bietet auch Gelegenheit, immer mal wieder über das tödliche Verhängnis zu sprechen. Und über Vertrauen und Hilfe, die bekommt, wer sie sucht.

Die Hoover-Schule hat im letzten Jahrzehnt eine Wandlung durchgemacht wie fast alle Schulen im Viertel. Viele Familien, die ehrgeizigere Zukunftspläne für ihre Kinder hatten, zogen weg, fast alle Deutschen sowieso. Nun gibt es weniger Eltern als früher, die sich für das Schulleben und Fortkommen ihrer Kinder interessieren, und für viele wurde es zum Problem, der Unterrichtssprache zu folgen. Das ist die Vorgeschichte einer Reform, die jetzt skandalisiert worden ist. Eine Vorgeschichte, die Fachlehrer dazu brachte, ihre Einzelkämpferposition aufzugeben und gemeinsam mit Deutschlehrern ein mühseliges, doch erfolgreiches Lernprogramm zu entwickeln.

Mehr Deutschstunden als anderswo

Seither werden an dieser Realschule mehr Deutschstunden gegeben als anderswo, und mehr Schüler erreichen gute Schulabschlüsse. Auch Migrantenkinder haben längst begriffen, warum sie Deutsch lernen sollten. Und sie wissen, daß der Erfolg von ihnen so sehr abhängt wie von ihren Lehrern. Im Souterrain der Schule gibt es ein Internetcafe, das vor allem bei Mädchen beliebt ist, die hier nach dem Unterricht ungestört viel Zeit verbringen. Mädchen, auf die daheim in aller Regel jede Menge Hausarbeit wartet. Kleine Freiheitsgewinne, über die niemand spricht. So wenig wie bislang über die Hausordnung.

Im März 2005 verschickte die Hoover-Schule an alle Eltern einen Brief. Er war nicht der erste, und er wird, falls Bigotterie und nationalistische Verblendung nicht obsiegen, auch nicht der letzte sein. ‚Liebe Eltern‘ stand darüber und darunter der Hinweis auf die neue Hausordnung. Lehrer, Schüler und Eltern, hieß es, seien eine Selbstverpflichtung eingegangen: ‚Solange die Schüler in der Schule sind, wollen sie deutsch miteinander sprechen‘. Der Brief schloß mit der Bitte, ‚Ihre Kinder dementsprechend zu beeinflussen‘.

Fälle roher Gewalt

Was nicht im Brief stand, aber allen bekannt war: Es hatte Fälle roher Gewalt an der Schule gegeben. Immer zwischen Jungengruppen, die sich in verschiedenen Sprachen beschimpften, deren Schlichtung Lehrern wie Mitschülern unmöglich war, weil sie nichts verstanden. Die Sprache wurde als Waffe eingesetzt, um sich abzuschotten, um zu verletzen, ohne dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden zu können. Das sollte sich ändern, beschlossen Schüler, Eltern, Lehrer.

Und es hat sich verändert, versichern die Klassensprecher, die immer noch nicht begriffen haben, warum sich plötzlich so viele Erwachsene darüber aufregen, daß Ausländer gut

Deutsch sprechen wollen. Geduldig erklärt Schulsprecher Asad Suleman daher den Journalisten noch einmal, warum viele seiner Mitschüler Deutsch besser als ihre Muttersprache sprechen. Und ein türkisches Mädchen wiederholt, sie fände es normal und außerdem höflicher, sich an der Schule in der einzigen Sprache zu verständigen, die alle verstehen: auf deutsch.

Drohende 'Zwangsgermanisierung'

Trotzdem wittern selbsternannte Schutzmächte, die 3sat-Sendung ‚Kulturzeit‘ etwa, eine drohende ‚Zwangsgermanisierung‘. Es war von ‚einfachen Menschen in Angst‘ die Rede und von diskriminierten Jungen. Yener Polat, Deutschtürke und Sprecher der Hoover-Eltern, versteht das Geschrei nicht. Er verwahrt sich gegen die Lüge, gerade die türkischen Eltern fänden das alles verkehrt. Aber aller Widerspruch hilft nicht. Denn es geht nicht um diese Schule, auch nicht um die enormen Anstrengungen von Lehrern und Schülern, Teil dieser Gesellschaft zu sein. Es geht um Macht und Einfluß bestimmter Verbände. Die Zeitenwende in Migrantenschulen, deren Schüler und Lehrer endlich den Mut finden, sich öffentlich zum Deutschen zu bekennen, verfolgen sie mit Argwohn.

Es sind denn auch vor allem türkische Vereine, die jetzt, ein Jahr nach dem Beschluß über die neue Hausordnung, Stimmung machen gegen die Hoover-Schule. Auch sie haben dieser Tage die Medien eingeladen, um das, was sie für die Wahrheit halten, unters Volk zu bringen. Sie behaupten, für alle zu sprechen, die ‚in Angst leben‘, nicht nur die Türken Berlins, auch für Russen, Chinesen, Araber, Pakistani, Libanesen. Daß sich alle Hoover-Eltern und -Schüler auf das Deutsche als Verkehrssprache geeinigt haben, ficht sie nicht an: ‚Daß alle einverstanden sind, heißt noch lange nicht, daß die Sache gut ist!‘ Der Vertreter des türkischen Elternvereins in Berlin entwickelte flugs eine Verschwörungstheorie: Die Eltern seien alle hinters Licht geführt worden, sie würden von der Schule instrumentalisiert.

Auf die Frage, wo denn die Beschwerden Verzeuvelter seien, antwortete er erregt, es werde sie schon noch geben! Und Eren Ünsal vom Türkischen Bund verkündete gar: ‚Wir bestimmen, wann unsere Muttersprache gesprochen wird.‘ Wer das nicht versteht, ist selbst schuld; wer sich dem Diktat entzieht und ausschert, wird unter Generalverdacht gestellt. Der Lärm zeigt, wie brisant die Frage ist, auf die die Berliner Hoover-Schule eine Antwort gefunden hat. Die Frage lautet: Wer sind wir, und wie wollen wir leben?

Extract 5.11: interview with head teacher of the HHO – provided as audio format on accompanying CD

Extract 5.12 & 5.14

Tagesspiegel, 28.1.06

‘Deutsche und Türken driften auseinander’

Der Chef der Türkischen Gemeinde über Misstrauen und aufgestaute Gefühle

Die türkischen Schüler und Eltern in der Herbert-Hoover-Schule sind für das Deutsch-Gebot. Warum sind die türkischen Verbände dagegen?

Es geht nicht allein um diese Schule, sondern um die Art, wie die Gesellschaft und die Politik insgesamt darüber diskutieren. Viele Politiker wie Wolfgang Thierse haben die Praxis der Hoover-Schule als Modell für andere empfohlen. Das finden wir nicht richtig. Wir sind uns einig, dass die Jugendlichen besseres Deutsch lernen müssen. Aber mit Zwang, auch mit einem freiwilligen Beschluss, lässt sich das nicht machen. Das kommt

in der türkischen Gemeinde so an: Man akzeptiert unsere Kultur und unsere Sprache nicht.

Wieso fühlt man sich gleich angegriffen?

 Vielleicht ist es eine Frage der Wortwahl. Ich hätte mir gewünscht, dass in der Hausordnung der Hoover-Schule steht: 'Wir sind eine internationale Schule. Alle Kulturen sind willkommen. Um miteinander besser umzugehen, die Sprache zu praktizieren, plädieren wir dafür, dass auch auf dem Schulhof Deutsch gesprochen wird.' Dagegen hätten wir nichts gesagt.

In der Hausordnung steht aber: 'Die Schulsprache ist Deutsch, die Amtssprache der Bundesrepublik Deutschland...'

Dieses Bürokratendeutsch schreckt ab anstatt zu fördern. Zudem: Warum schafft es die Schule nicht, den Kindern mit anderen Mitteln Deutsch beizubringen?

Die Schule kann doch nicht aufholen, was in den Elternhäusern versäumt wird.

Stimmt. Dann lassen sie uns über die Elternhäuser reden.

Das haben wir doch getan. Es gibt Mütterkurse und vieles mehr. Sie wissen doch auch, wie sehr sich die Lehrer um das Deutsch ihrer Schüler bemühen. Warum erheben Sie den Generalvorwurf, das deutsche Bildungssystem habe versagt?

Das Bildungsproblem ist kein ethnisches Problem, sondern ein soziales. 70 Prozent der Türken gehören der Unterschicht an, 13 Prozent der Deutschen. Die Schulen haben es nicht geschafft, sich um diese Schüler richtig zu kümmern, egal ob Türken oder Deutsche.

Nach dem Mord an Hatun Sürücü vor einem Jahr gab es runde Tische, an denen Türken und Deutsche gemeinsam überlegten, was man tun kann. Von der Aufbruchsstimmung ist wohl nicht mehr viel übrig.

Die deutsche Mehrheitsgesellschaft und die türkische Gemeinschaft driften auseinander:

Die Türken fühlen sich diskriminiert, die Deutschen wollen noch mehr Druck. Nach dem 11. September machte sich Misstrauen gegen Muslime breit, dann die Diskussion um die doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft, noch mehr Misstrauen nach den Anschlägen in London, jetzt der ‘Muslimtest’ und die Deutschpflicht. Viele Türken denken: Jetzt reicht es. Es geht immer nur gegen uns. Vieles wird einfach über unseren Kopf hinweg beschlossen. Ich wurde jetzt erstmals in den Bundestag eingeladen. Ein Anfang.

Wer kann vermitteln?

Ich versuche es. Unsere Stellungnahmen gegen Zwangsheirat, gegen Ehrenmorde nach dem Sürücü-Mord haben in der türkischen Gemeinde massive Diskussionen ausgelöst.

Der ‘Muslimtest’ und die Deutschpflicht fördern die Diskussion nicht, sondern verstärken das Gefühl, das man gegen den Druck von außen zusammenhalten muss.

Dagegen komme ich nicht an. Aber ich habe gestern lange mit Böger gesprochen, den ich für einen sehr kompetenten Senator halte. Wir müssen die Diskussion versachlichen.

Das Gespräch führten Claudia Keller und Susanne Vieth-Entus

Kenan Kolat, 47, ist Bundesvorsitzender der Türkischen Gemeinde Deutschland. Seit 1992 leitet er als Geschäftsführer den Türkischen Bund

Berlin, den er 1991 mitbegründete.

Extract 5.13: see 5.4

Extract 5.14: see 5.12

Extract 5.15:

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 28.01.2006, Nr. 24, S. 33

Wir sprechen hier deutsch

Eine Berliner Schule einigt sich auf die einzige Sprache, die alle verstehen: auf Deutsch. Jetzt muß sie sich gegen eine Diffamierungskampagne selbsternannter Schutzmächte zur Wehr setzen.

Der Schulhof, über den sich seit einigen Tagen das ganze Land erregt, liegt verlassen unter einer kalten Wintersonne. Hier, in der Hoover-Schule, wird deutsch gesprochen, mitten in einem Viertel des Berliner Wedding, in dem man sonst überwiegend Türkisch, Arabisch und noch vierzig andere Sprachen hört.

Eine dicke Eisschicht auf dem Boden verhindert, daß die zahlreich angereisten Journalisten sofort die Probe aufs Exempel machen können: Sind Kinder unglücklich, wenn sie deutsch reden? Sind sie unglücklich, weil Deutsch nicht ihre Muttersprache ist, wohl aber die Sprache, in der nicht wenige alsbald die Abschlußprüfung ablegen wollen, um danach, wenn alles gutgeht, die nächste, die große Hürde zu nehmen: das Abitur?

Von dem Vater erschossen

In einem Hof der Schule steht ein kahler Baum, an seinem Fuß eine kleine Grabplatte, die an Iman D. erinnert, einst Hoover-Schülerin. An einem Novembormorgen vor über zehn Jahren wurde das vierzehnjährige Mädchen von seinem Vater erschossen, den es bei der Polizei angezeigt hatte; auf dem Weg zur Schule, nur fünfhundert Meter entfernt. Der Gedenkort im

Schulhof will nicht nur an die Tragödie erinnern. Er bietet auch Gelegenheit, immer mal wieder über das tödliche Verhängnis zu sprechen. Und über Vertrauen und Hilfe, die bekommt, wer sie sucht.

Die Hoover-Schule hat im letzten Jahrzehnt eine Wandlung durchgemacht wie fast alle Schulen im Viertel. Viele Familien, die ehrgeizigere Zukunftspläne für ihre Kinder hatten, zogen weg, fast alle Deutschen sowieso. Nun gibt es weniger Eltern als früher, die sich für das Schulleben und Fortkommen ihrer Kinder interessieren, und für viele wurde es zum Problem, der Unterrichtssprache zu folgen. Das ist die Vorgeschichte einer Reform, die jetzt skandalisiert worden ist. Eine Vorgeschichte, die Fachlehrer dazu brachte, ihre Einzelkämpferposition aufzugeben und gemeinsam mit Deutschlehrern ein mühseliges, doch erfolgreiches Lernprogramm zu entwickeln.

Mehr Deutschstunden als anderswo

Seither werden an dieser Realschule mehr Deutschstunden gegeben als anderswo, und mehr Schüler erreichen gute Schulabschlüsse. Auch Migrantenkinder haben längst begriffen, warum sie Deutsch lernen sollten. Und sie wissen, daß der Erfolg von ihnen so sehr abhängt wie von ihren Lehrern. Im Souterrain der Schule gibt es ein Internetcafe, das vor allem bei Mädchen beliebt ist, die hier nach dem Unterricht ungestört viel Zeit verbringen. Mädchen, auf die daheim in aller Regel jede Menge Hausarbeit wartet. Kleine Freiheitsgewinne, über die niemand spricht. So wenig wie bislang über die Hausordnung.

Im März 2005 verschickte die Hoover-Schule an alle Eltern einen Brief. Er war nicht der erste, und er wird, falls Bigotterie und nationalistische Verblendung nicht obsiegen, auch nicht der letzte sein. 'Liebe Eltern' stand darüber und darunter der Hinweis auf die neue Hausordnung. Lehrer, Schüler und Eltern, hieß es, seien eine Selbstverpflichtung

eingegangen: Solange die Schüler in der Schule sind, wollen sie deutsch miteinander sprechen. Der Brief schloß mit der Bitte, 'Ihre Kinder dementsprechend zu beeinflussen'.

Fälle roher Gewalt

Was nicht im Brief stand, aber allen bekannt war: Es hatte Fälle roher Gewalt an der Schule gegeben. Immer zwischen Jungengruppen, die sich in verschiedenen Sprachen beschimpften, deren Schlichtung Lehrern wie Mitschülern unmöglich war, weil sie nichts verstanden. Die Sprache wurde als Waffe eingesetzt, um sich abzuschotten, um zu verletzen, ohne dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden zu können. Das sollte sich ändern, beschlossen Schüler, Eltern, Lehrer.

Und es hat sich verändert, versichern die Klassensprecher, die immer noch nicht begriffen haben, warum sich plötzlich so viele Erwachsene darüber aufregen, daß Ausländer gut Deutsch sprechen wollen. Geduldig erklärt Schulsprecher Asad Suleman daher den Journalisten noch einmal, warum viele seiner Mitschüler Deutsch besser als ihre Muttersprache sprechen. Und ein türkisches Mädchen wiederholt, sie fände es normal und außerdem höflicher, sich an der Schule in der einzigen Sprache zu verständigen, die alle verstehen: auf deutsch.

Drohende 'Zwangsgermanisierung'

Trotzdem wittern selbsternannte Schutzmächte, die 3sat-Sendung 'Kulturzeit' etwa, eine drohende 'Zwangsgermanisierung'. Es war von 'einfachen Menschen in Angst' die Rede und von diskriminierten Jungen. Yener Polat, Deutschtürke und Sprecher der Hoover-Eltern, versteht das Geschrei nicht. Er verwahrt sich gegen die Lüge, gerade die türkischen Eltern fänden das alles verkehrt. Aber aller Widerspruch hilft nicht. Denn es geht nicht um diese Schule, auch nicht um die enormen Anstrengungen von Lehrern und Schülern, Teil dieser

Gesellschaft zu sein. Es geht um Macht und Einfluß bestimmter Verbände. Die Zeitenwende in Migrantenschulen, deren Schüler und Lehrer endlich den Mut finden, sich öffentlich zum Deutschen zu bekennen, verfolgen sie mit Argwohn.

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Extract 5.16

Die Welt on 30 January 2006

Man spricht deutsch

Von Mariam Lau 30. Januar 2006, 00:00 Uhr

Nach dem Zerplatzen der Multikulti-Illusion suchen Pädagogen nach neuen Wegen zur Integration. Die Deutschpflicht in einer Berliner Schule könnte zum Vorbild werden

Von Mariam Lau Von ‚Zwangsgermanisierung‘ und ‚Sprachterror‘ ist derzeit in Berlin die Rede. Der Anlaß: Eine Realschule im Problembezirk Wedding, die wie 50 andere Schulen der Stadt überwiegend Schüler ‚mit Migrationshintergrund‘ hat, beschloß vor 18 Monaten, auch auf dem Schulhof dürfe nur noch deutsch gesprochen werden. Eine Pressekonferenz, von der bedrängten Schulleitung einberufen, frequentierten Vertreter des Türkischen Bundes Berlin (TBB) und des Türkischen Elternverbands teils offen, teils als überrumpelte Bürger getarnt. Auf die Frage, wen sie hier eigentlich verträten - denn die Eltern der Schüler tragen die Verabredung ebenso begeistert mit wie die Jugendlichen - sagte die TBB-Sprecherin Eren Ünsal, ‚es geht gar nicht um Regelungen an einzelnen Schulen, sondern um das, was dahintersteht. Wir wollen politisieren.‘

Andere Repräsentanten der Migranten sind da weiter. Der Vorsitzende des Islamrats, Ali Kizilkaya, sagte, er befürworte die Abmachung, solange sie freiwillig sei. ‚Das ist Demokratie, und wenn man so auch noch besser Deutsch lernt, kann ich das nur begrüßen‘, sagte er der FAS. Sprache bedeute schließlich Kompetenz.

Jeder vierte türkische Jugendliche in Berlin verläßt die Schule ohne Abschluß, und mindestens jeder vierte ist arbeitslos. Drogenhandel und Gewaltverbrechen sind oft die Folgen dieses sprachlichen Paralleluniversums.



„Diese Generation der 17- und 18jährigen Migrantenkinder“, so Gerhard Schmid, Oberschulrat in Kreuzberg, „wird man mit gar keiner Maßnahme mehr erreichen. Das ist eine verlorene Generation. Durch Hartz IV hat man diese Situation noch alimentiert: Sie haben jetzt noch mehr Geld in der Tasche und noch weniger Grund, sich selbst um Integration zu bemühen.“ Zwei Jahrzehnte verfehlter Integrationspolitik – das schreibt Schmid, der außerdem schulpolitischer Sprecher der Berliner CDU ist, sowohl der Union als auch Rot-Grün zu. „Als wir in Berlin regiert haben, ist da auch nichts unternommen worden. Wir hatten ja auch Angst, als rechtsradikal verschrien zu werden. Aber wir lernen vielleicht schneller dazu, weil wir weniger Tabus haben.“ In spätestens zehn Jahren, so glaubt Schmid, werden 50 Prozent der Jugendlichen in deutschen Stadtkernen ausländischer Herkunft sein. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß die Schule hier der Hoffnungsanker ist.

Für seine Arbeit erhält der TTB Gelder von der EU, vom Berliner Senat und dem Bund.

Kenan Kolat, sein hauptamtlicher Geschäftsführer, hat nach einem 16jährigen Studium der Schiffstechnik unmittelbar sozialarbeiterische Tätigkeiten aufgenommen; seit 1984 bekleidet er diverse „Vorstandsposten“ in verschiedenen Verbänden.

Der Vorsitzende des Zentralverbands der Muslime in Deutschland, Nadeem Elyas, ist dagegen, mit „Sprachterror“ und „Zwangsgermanisierung“ schweres Geschütz aufzufahren. Elyas sagt: „Die deutsche Sprache muß im Mittelpunkt des muslimischen Lebens stehen, dazu gehört auch der Schulalltag.“ Er bittet aber um Verständnis für manche Interessenvertreter:

„Die Diskussion um den Muslim-Fragebogen in Baden-Württemberg“, so Elyas, „hat das Klima vergiftet. Das können dann viele nicht mehr trennen.“

Die Deutschen suchen, spät genug, nach Wegen, die Integration der Zuwanderer zu fördern, und manche Interessenvertretungen fühlen sich von den Zumutungen diskriminiert. Manche stellen ihre Klientel sogar als potentielle Opfer dar, deren Sensibilitäten die Deutschen schon aufgrund ihrer Geschichte fürchten müßten. So schrieb die Journalistin Katajun Amirpur in der „Tageszeitung“ zum Thema Zwangsehen: „Ein Land, das sechs Millionen Juden umgebracht hat, taugt nicht zum Oberlehrer in Sachen Toleranz.“

Aber ganz so leicht lassen sich die Behörden mit diesem Knüttel nicht mehr einschüchtern. Immer mehr Bundesländer fördern - und fordern.

Als eines der ersten Länder hat Hamburg die Sprachförderung als den zentralen Schlüssel zur Integration begriffen und mit der Einführung eines Sprachtests früh einen Maßstab für andere Länder gesetzt (Hessen). Im Jahr 2002 wurde eine sogenannte Sprach- und Entwicklungserhebung im Schulgesetz verankert. Sie sieht vor, daß die Eltern jedes Kindes im Alter von viereinhalb Jahren von der jeweiligen Schule angeschrieben und mit dem Kind vorgeladen werden. Je nach Entwicklungsgrad des Kindes werden dann verschiedene Förderungsprogramme entwickelt, damit die Kinder zur Einschulung über ein einheitliches Maß an Deutschkenntnissen verfügen. Mit diesem Test, so der Sprecher der Hamburger Bildungsbehörde, Alexander Luckow, erreiche man mit dieser Maßnahme rund 97 Prozent der Kinder, in Hamburg sind das rund 13 000 bis 14 000 Kinder. In Einzelfällen, in denen die Eltern der Kinder dem Vorstellungstermin nicht nachgekommen sind, seien Busgelder verhängt worden. Ab dem nächsten Schuljahr wird die Teilnahme an den Förderungsmaßnahmen verschärft, indem die Schule verpflichtende Sprachkurse verhängen kann. Dieser Nachhilfeunterricht umfaßt vier Stunden nachmittäglichen Deutschunterricht

pro Woche und wird von der Stadt finanziert. ‚Je früher wir die Sprachförderung bei ausländischen Kindern ansetzen, desto größer ist die Chance, einen gravierenden Bildungsrückstand aufzuholen beziehungsweise gar nicht erst entstehen zu lassen‘, so der Sprecher weiter.

In nordrhein-westfälischen Großstädten wie Dortmund, wo traditionell viele Einwanderer leben, hat die schwarz-gelbe Landesregierung beschlossen, was inzwischen allgemein als unverzichtbar angesehen wird: frühkindlichen Sprachunterricht. Nach dem neuen Schulgesetz, das dieses Jahr verabschiedet werden soll, müssen sich Vierjährige künftig einem Sprachtest unterziehen. Bei Defiziten sind sie zur Teilnahme an einem Deutschkursus bis zur Einschulung verpflichtet. ‚Da sollte man die Eltern gleich mitnehmen‘, meint Michael Schulten - was in Berlin seit einiger Zeit mit sehr erfolgreichen ‚Mütterkursen‘ erreicht wird. Mütter von Migrantenkindern können, während die Kinder in der Schule sind, gemeinsam Deutsch lernen. Bisher ist allerdings nur sehr wenig Geld für diese Maßnahme übrig: in Kreuzberg gerade einmal eine Stelle.

Die Landesregierung in NRW will ab diesem Jahr flächendeckend Kindergärten zu ‚Familienzentren‘ ausbauen. Die Anlaufstelle soll etwa Kinderbetreuung, -förderung Familienberatung und Tagesmuttervermittlung anbieten. Die federführenden Landesminister Barbara Sommer (Schule) und Armin Laschet (Integration, Familie), beide CDU, halten darüber hinaus eine Deutschpflicht auf Schulhöfen für hilfreich.

Das Land Baden-Württemberg verweist auf eine über 30jährige Erfahrung in der Förderung von Kindern mit Migrationshintergrund und mangelnden Kenntnissen der deutschen Sprache. ‚Ein System von Förder- beziehungsweise Vorbereitungsklassen oder Kursen ermöglicht auch ‚Seiteneinsteigern‘ in Grund- und Hauptschulen eine intensive Sprachförderung‘, heißt es im Stuttgarter Kultusministerium. Im laufenden Schuljahr seien für eingerichtete Förder- und

Vorbereitungsklassen und Kurse rund 14 000 Deputatswochenstunden vorgesehen. Kinder werden im Südwesten bereits im Kindergarten sprachlich gefördert.

Eine Deutschpflicht auf dem Schulhof strebt die CDU/FDP-Landesregierung nicht an, derartige Regelungen seien ‚nicht beabsichtigt‘, heißt es.

In Stuttgart spielt Integration eine größere Rolle als anderswo. In der Stadt mit einer 22prozentigen Ausländerquote ist das Engagement groß. Viele Bürger, nicht zuletzt viele Migranten, tragen dazu bei, daß Integration nicht nur durch Staat und Stadt organisiert werden muß. Sie wird im Ländle nicht als gutes Werk oder Zeichen von politischer Korrektheit begriffen. Man orientiert sich vielmehr am Nutzen.

Extract 5.17:

Tagesspiegel, 30 January 2006

Respekt vor der Eigenverantwortung

Zur Debatte über die Deutschpflicht auf dem Schulhof

Von Sybille Volkholz Der Gebrauch und die Pflege der Muttersprache von Kindern mit Migrationshintergrund in den Schulen ist seit langem Gegenstand heftigster Debatten, die gerne mit viel Emotionen geführt werden. Von allen Beteiligten wird eigentlich nie bestritten, im Gegenteil immer beteuert, dass der Erwerb der Verkehrssprache Deutsch unstrittig sei. Umstritten sind Verfahren und Methoden des Spracherwerbs. Was ist aber am derzeitigen Streit bemerkenswert?

1. Bei der Regelung, Deutsch auf dem Schulhof der Herbert-Hoover-Schule zu sprechen, handelt es sich nicht um eine flächendeckende Anordnung des Berliner Schulsenators (eine solche wäre in der Tat sehr kritikwürdig), sondern um eine von der Schulkonferenz getroffene Regelung für die Kommunikation zwischen Schülerinnen und Schülern. Begründung ist die Deutschförderung einerseits und die bessere Verständigung zwischen den verschiedenen Muttersprachlern. Nur wenn hier wirklich ein Grundrecht außer Kraft gesetzt würde, müsste die Regelung angegriffen werden. Da sie aber keine negativen und diskriminierenden Sanktionen vorsieht und lediglich eine positive Vereinbarung zur Verständigung darstellt, ist sie rechtlich wohl kaum angreifbar. Auch wenn man unterstellen würde, dass Schulkonferenzen häufig nicht wirklich die eigenständige Willensbildung von Eltern, Schülern und Lehrern bekunden, so hätte spätestens jetzt jeder Beteiligte die Möglichkeit, den Beschluss zu monieren. Doch im Gegenteil äußern Eltern und Schülern auf Nachfrage, dass sie diese Entscheidung richtig finden. Also sollte diese Vereinbarung im Zuge der zunehmenden Eigenverantwortung der Schulen Respekt von außen verdienen.

 2. Verschiedene Vereine, der Türkische Bund, der Türkische Elternverein und viele politischen Stimmen protestieren gegen diese Regelung und sehen das Recht auf den Gebrauch der Muttersprache verletzt. Wenn hier eine Mehrheit eine Minderheit unterdrückt hätte, könnte ich eine solche Stellungnahme verstehen. An der Schule hat die Mehrheit der Migranten, Eltern wie Schüler, diese Regelung beschlossen. Eine Mehrheit hat sich eigene Regeln gegeben, weil sie ihre Integration damit fördern will. Wen wollen die Protestierer eigentlich schützen? Die türkischen Eltern und Schüler vor sich selber? Es kommt einer Entmündigung der Beteiligten gleich, wenn Ihnen das Recht zu dieser Entscheidung abgesprochen oder Unkenntnis der eigenen Rechte unterstellt wird.

3. Das Schulgesetz von Berlin wie auch das Modellvorhaben 'eigenverantwortliche Schule' sehen für die Schulen größere Eigenständigkeit in ihrer Profilbildung und pädagogischen Gestaltung vor. Davon machen mittlerweile mehrere und hoffentlich bald alle Schulen Gebrauch. Es wird zu Profilbildungen kommen, die nicht auf ungeteilte Zustimmung in der Öffentlichkeit stoßen. Dabei wird doch gerade in aktuellen Debatten darüber geklagt, dass unser Bildungswesen bei Reformen zu schwerfällig sei. Der Pragmatismus, mit denen angelsächsische oder skandinavische Länder an die Lösung von Problemen gehen, gilt als beispielhaft. Die unzureichende Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund ist unzweifelhaft ein solches Problem, zu dessen Lösung bisher niemand den Stein der Weisen gefunden hat. Wenn eine Schule einen eigenen Weg ausprobiert, darf sie nicht reflexhaft attackiert werden. Vielmehr sollten sich alle in der Bildungspolitik Agierenden fragen, ob sie nicht besser mit gelassenem Pragmatismus die Schulen zu Innovationen und Eigenständigkeit ermuntern sollten, anstatt die Schlachten der Vergangenheit zu schlagen.

Die Autorin war von 1989 bis 1990 Schulsenatorin im rot-grünen Senat.

Extract 5.18:

TÜLEB

Vereinigung Türkischer LehrerInnen und ErzieherInnen
in Berlin und Brandenburg
c/o Amselgrund 1A
13467 Berlin

„Deutsch-Pflicht auf dem Schulhof“

Offener Brief

Den Beschluss einer Berliner Realschule, in den Schulpausen das Sprechen nichtdeutscher Sprache zu verbieten hat die Vereinigung Türkischer LehrerInnen und ErzieherInnen in Berlin und Brandenburg-TÜLEB e.V.- mit Bestürzung und Enttäuschung zu Kenntnis genommen. Ein Verbot der eigenen Muttersprache –außerhalb des Unterrichts- hat eine politische Dimension, die weit über die Bildungspolitik hinausgeht. Hier werden Grundrechte verletzt und deshalb sind alle demokratischen Kräfte aufgerufen gegen derartige Bestrebungen zu protestieren.

Die sprachliche Förderung und Integration von Migrantenkindern kann und darf nur durch geeignete pädagogische Maßnahmen in Schule, Kindergarten, Hort usw. erfolgen. Bei allem Verständnis für die Lehrer und ihren Schwierigkeiten vor Ort muss klargestellt werden, dass ein Muttersprachverbot auf dem Pausenhof zum einen wenig geeignet ist das sprachliche Niveau der Kinder in dem gewünschten Maße anzuheben, zum anderen den Zielen der sprachlichen und gesellschaftlichen Integration entgegengerichtet ist. Die Verantwortung für das Erlernen der deutschen Sprache wird so von der Schule auf die Kinder in der Pause verlagert.

In den Richtlinien für den „normalen“ Schulunterricht wird die sprachliche Integration allenfalls erwähnt, **in der Umsetzung jedoch werden Pädagogen und Lehrer in Schulen und Kindergärten mit der Situation und mit den daraus entstehenden Problemen allein gelassen.**

Die zunehmend große Anzahl von Kindern nichtdeutscher Herkunft in den Schulklassen hat zu veränderten Lern- und Unterrichtsbedingungen geführt. **Unsere Schüler mit einer nichtdeutschen Muttersprache benötigen intensive konzeptionelle fachliche, pädagogische Begleitung im Schulalltag. Sprachliche Integration stellt für unsere Schulen eine zusätzliche Aufgabe dar. Weder die Institutionen wie Schule und Kindergarten noch die Lehrer und Erzieher können unter den momentanen Bedingungen diesen Anforderungen gerecht werden.**

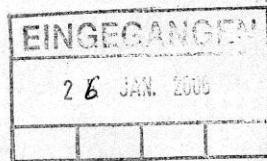
Deshalb fordern wir populistischen/ engstirnigen und gefährlichen Tendenzen entgegen zu treten und stattdessen:

- 1. Gezielte Förderung der Kinder mit nicht deutschsprachigem Hintergrund**
- 2. Gezielte Fortbildungen für Pädagogen und Lehrer für diese Aufgabe**
- 3. Bereitstellung einer ausreichenden Anzahl von Pädagogen, Sozialarbeitern und Lehrern für die sprachliche Integration von Kindern nichtdeutscher Herkunft**

TÜLEB e.V.

Extract 5.19:

Berlin, den 25.01.06



Liebe Frau

!

Ich möchte mich in meinem Namen
und im Namen meiner drei Söhne,
voller Anerkennung über Ihr mutiges
Vorangehen, bedanken.

Was früher selbstverständlich war —
dafür setzen Sie sich vorbildlich ein!
Ich hoffe, daß andere Schulen Ihnen
nachziehen.

Christian war in der Vorschule (W.H.G.-schule)
sogar der einzige deutsche Schüler.

Itodachtungsvoll

Extract 5.20:

Unsere Kinder sollen besser Deutsch lernen

Subject: Unsere Kinder sollen besser Deutsch lernen

From:

Date: Wed, 25 Jan 2006 09:20:44 +0100

To: HHO@herbert-hoover-oberschule.cidsnet.de

Sehr geehrte Schulleiterin, Lehrer, Lehrerin,

mein Name _____, Vater von _____ Klasse 8b

Ich bin dafür das Unsere Kinder viel besser deutsch lernen und reden.
Ich stimme zu das sie bei Wanertage Klassenfahrten usw. nur Deutsch
gesprochen werden soll.

ich wollte nur meine meinung mitteilen für ihren Hausordnung.

mit freundlichen grüßen

Extract 5.21:



Wallstraße 14a

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Herbert-Hoover-Oberschule
Schulleitung

13357 Berlin

Donnerstag, 26. Januar 2006

Deutsch in die Schule

Sehr geehrte Frau

im Namen des JU Landesvorsitzenden Sven Rissmann und der über 3.000 jungen Mitglieder, sowie im Namen der Berliner Schüler Union mit ihren über 1.000 Mitgliedern im Schulalter, danke ich Ihnen für Ihren Vorstoß, Deutsch als „Pflichtsprache“ für Schülerinnen und Schüler an Ihrer Schule zu fordern. Mit dieser Regelung haben Sie einen wichtigen Beitrag geleistet, Integration ernst zu nehmen und nicht nur darüber zu sprechen.

Bitte gestatten Sie mir Ihnen zu sagen, dass ich als junger Unternehmer in dieser Stadt auf deutschsprechende Mitarbeiter angewiesen bin. Ich stelle leider immer wieder fest, dass z.T. mehr als die Hälfte unserer Bewerber über unzureichende Deutschkenntnisse verfügen und daher keine Chance bei uns im Unternehmen haben.

Meine Familie kommt ursprünglich aus Tschechien, und obwohl ich zweisprachig aufgewachsen bin, war es immer selbstverständlich, dass in der Familie deutsch gesprochen wird. Deutsch ist Grundvoraussetzung für ein vernünftiges Miteinander in dieser Gesellschaft und ein Grundbaustein für die persönliche Entwicklung jedes einzelnen. Dieses auch von anderen zu fordern und als Schulvoraussetzung zu sehen ist entscheidend und die richtige Richtung.

Diejenigen, die z.B. diese Notwendigkeit (für ihre Wähler) populistisch als diskriminierend bezeichnen, schließen die Augen vor der Realität und handeln unverantwortlich. Bloße Reden helfen unserer Gesellschaft dabei nicht, die Herausforderungen von Integration zu bewältigen. Lassen Sie sich nicht von Ihrem eingeschlagenen Kurs abbringen und setzen Sie sich bitte zum Wohle der nachfolgenden Generationen weiter dafür ein, dass wir als Gesellschaft nicht resignieren, wie erst kürzlich in Kreuzberg geschehen.

Ich kann Ihnen versichern, auch als Anwohner der Pankstraße, dass viele Menschen hinter Ihnen stehen. Bitte denken Sie daran, dass die Wahrheit für viele unbequem und meist nicht leicht ist, aber die Mehrheit der Berliner – auch der jungen – teilt Ihre Auffassung. Vielen Dank.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

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