

TURKISH LANGUAGE PROVISION IN BERLIN

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Contents

Introduction	10
<i>Multilingualism and Monolingualism</i>	12
The Monolingual Nation	12
Demographic Change	13
Multilingualism and Immigrant Languages	14
The Vitality of Turkish	19
<i>Profile of the Turkish Population in Germany</i>	22
Population and Migration Status	22
Turkish Population in Berlin	24
Immigration of Turks to Germany	26
Focus, Limits and Methods of the Investigation	30
Investigation: Education	33
<i>Kindergartens</i>	33
Komşu Kindergarten	33
Mosaik Kindergarten	34
<i>Schools</i>	36
Rixdorfer Primary School	37
Franz Schubert Primary School	38
Heinrich Heine Secondary School	39
Robert Koch Secondary School	39
<i>Neukölln Adult Education Centre</i>	40
<i>Comment</i>	40
Investigation: Local Council Offices	43
Official Representative for Migrants	43
Office for Youth	44
Citizens' Office	46
Office for Nature Conservation and Green Areas	46
<i>Comment</i>	46
Investigation: Health	48
<i>Vivantes Hospital</i>	48
Nurses	48
Gynaecology and Maternity Department	49
Accidents and Emergencies	50
<i>Berlin Ambulance Service</i>	50
<i>Comment</i>	50
Investigation: Other Public Services	51
<i>Libraries</i>	51
Central and City Library of Berlin	51

Family Library Kreuzberg	52
<i>Swimming Pool Network</i>	53
<i>Unemployment Office</i>	54
<i>Waste Recycling Organisation</i>	55
<i>Community Interpreters</i>	55
<i>Comment</i>	56
Evaluation	57
<i>Motivation of Provisions</i>	57
Symbolic Provisions	58
Provision of Information	58
Provisions which Promote Participation and Equal Rights	59
Provisions which Intend to Promote Multilingualism	59
<i>Wider Perspective</i>	60
Conclusion	61
References	64
Appendix	69

Word Count 13 514

Tables

Table 1	Three phases of Turkish labour migration to Germany	27
Table 2	Number of persons with Turkish nationality in Germany between 1960 and 2005	28
Table 3	Number of immigrants to Germany from Turkey from 1991 to 2006	29

Appendix

Map showing the Distribution of the
Turkish population in Berlin

69

Abstract

Berlin has a large immigrant Turkish community. As in many other European cities, Turkish in Berlin has been shown to have a much higher vitality than other immigrant languages. Among other factors this is due to the strong support the language receives from maintained contacts with Turkey, extensive availability of Turkish media and a network of flourishing Turkish businesses and services. This study looks beyond the support from the Turkish community itself by asking if Turkish, and therefore multilingualism, is promoted in Berlin's *public sector*. The study observes a range of institutions from the areas of education, health, council offices and public services, examining what provisions are made in Turkish and asking what policies, if any, motivate such provisions. The observations reveal a clear lack of any linguistic policy at state or federal level other than that of ignoring languages other than German. A host of provisions can be observed but these are rather random measures often initiated by individuals. They are not aimed at promoting multilingualism but rather at facilitating communication for citizens who do not speak German. Furthermore minimal provisions in the area of education appear to be more decorative than substantial. Clearly Berlin's increasing multilingualism is not recognised as something to be protected. On the contrary, in spite of the fact that Germany is obviously an immigration nation, public services reflect the still prevalent monolingual ideology: In Germany we speak German.

Declaration

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Show me your ways, O LORD, teach me your paths. Psalm 25

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Introduction

Berlin, Germany's capital, is undoubtedly a cosmopolitan and multilingual city. Almost 200 nations are represented throughout its boroughs and almost one quarter of its population has a background of international migration, with an upward trend. The largest and most visible group of migrants are people from Turkey.

Berlin's Turkish population is not evenly distributed across the city but rather concentrated into communities in only a handful of the 16 boroughs. In such neighbourhoods, which can be also found in other German cities, Turkish life and language are visible to all:

In the cities districts exist with high proportions of Turkish people, where life in the streets has a quasi-oriental character. In such quarters all goods and services that are necessary for everyday life – from medical provisions to books, gifts, toys, clothing, food and entertainment – are available 'in Turkish' (Gogolin / Reich 2001:198).

In Bezirken wie Kreuzberg können Menschen, die Türkisch sprechen, leben, ohne auch nur ein Wort Deutsch zu sprechen. Es gibt keine Dienstleistung, die nicht in türkischer Sprache angeboten wird (Ateş 2003:213).

Turkish life and language are flourishing with the help of a thriving private sector offering a host of services in Turkish. García / Fishman observe a similar situation in New York City:

Private businesses have always used LOTEs [languages other than English] to sell to the international or ethnic community in New York. ... Businesses recognise and promote New Yorkers' multilingualism because they know they can sell more in the language of the 'heart', even if the customers are bilingual (1997:42).

But in Berlin does the motivation to provide services in Turkish go beyond 'selling more'? Are there other areas where Turkish is promoted?

I myself am one of the many migrants of Berlin and live in one such 'Turkish' neighbourhood. This motivated me to examine the extent of its 'Turkishness' by looking beyond what shops and businesses offer to see how much provision (if any) is made for Turkish in Berlin's *public sector*.

Kaplan / Baldauf assert that it is the responsibility of governments to respond to the (linguistic) needs of immigrant groups. When 'economic migrations occur which instigate a significant dislocation of some population, the government receiving the displaced population must engage in some sort of language planning in order to maintain civil administration and facilitate commerce' (1997: ix).

What form this language planning takes reflects what the respective government believes about its own language and about multilingualism. Such planning can be a default policy of requiring all immigrants to simply speak the majority language or it can be anything from a range of permissive, active or even preventive language defences (Fishman 2004: 421-3).

The following investigation will thus observe where it is possible to speak or use Turkish in a variety of different public institutions. It asks what provisions are available and if these are motivated by any linguistic policy. The answers to these questions will give an impression of the extent to which provision is made for the use of Turkish as well as of what attitudes towards multilingualism can be found in Berlin.

The dissertation is structured as follows:

I begin with reflections on multilingualism, immigrant languages and the case of Turkish, concluding the section with a demographic profile of Berlin. I then describe the focus and limits of the investigation, defining more clearly what is intended by the term *public sector* and which kind of services were chosen for the investigation and why. A presentation of the data collected from different public sector services follows. These comprise institutions from four

different areas: education, council offices, health and diverse other public services. I then consider the motivation of the provisions and draw conclusions about linguistic policy and attitudes towards multilingualism in Berlin.

Multilingualism and Monolingualism

The Monolingual Nation

Monolingualism is a phenomenon found all over the world, although perhaps less often than we would automatically assume. For those of us who grew up as speakers of the dominant language in a Western European country, monolingualism was most likely an unquestioned norm. Dorian refers to it as 'the unmarked condition by members of the dominant linguistic group in modern nation-states' (2004:438). The ideology of the monolingual nation-state is a powerful one. The message is passed on from one generation to the next: In Germany we speak German.

The roots of national-language ideology can be traced back to Romanticism, industrialisation and modernisation including the introduction of mass education.¹

The creation of nation-states with national languages went hand in hand with the creation of minority languages: When certain dialects or varieties became dominant in a community and designated as the central, national language, all others became stigmatised and minoritised.

These stigmatised minority languages have two types: *indigenous* and *immigrant*. Indigenous (or *autochthonous* or *regional*) are those languages other than the national one spoken by *nationals* of a territory. In the case of Germany these languages are Sorbian, Danish and varieties of Frisian and

¹ For a discussion see: Anderson (1983); Barbour (2000); Gellner (1983); Hobsbawm (1992); May (2003); Safran (1999).

Romani. *Immigrant* languages are by definition those spoken by immigrants, i.e. those who are not (or have only recently become) nationals of a territory.

This distinction between the two types of non-national language is common and confirms what sociologists consider to be a 'typology of minorities' (Nic Craith 2003:60),² wherein the languages of immigrants and refugees rank lowest on the scale. This distinction is made not only at national but also at European level. Skutnabb-Kangas / Phillipson note that 'most definitions in charters and covenants [of the EU] require nationality in the state concerned' (1995). *Regional minority languages* are offered recognition and protection (albeit minimal) while immigrant languages receive almost no affirmative action.

Extra / Gorter point out the inconsistency in European public discourse. On the one hand politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and maintenance of 'national' norms and values. The cultural and linguistic wealth of national and regional languages is to be protected. But in the same discourse immigrant minority languages are not considered a source of wealth and diversity but are conceived as sources of problems and deficits and obstacles to integration (2001:7). Immigrant languages (perhaps along with immigrants themselves) seemingly have a bad image. 'The idea of a multilingual Germany is not yet prevailing, neither in political mindsets nor in the public opinion' (Gogolin / Reich 2001:212).

Demographic Change

Human migration is surely as old as humankind and each and every human movement has made its contribution to demographic change and the (linguistic) profile of the world as we know it today.

The last five decades have seen massive population shifts in Europe with the result that many industrialised Western European countries have a growing number of immigrant populations.

² Eriksen 1993, Kymlika 1995, Fenton 1999, May 2001 in Nic Craith 2003.

Labour migrants and family members who joined later were followed by asylum seekers, overseas students and highly qualified professionals. Extra / Gorter predict that immigrant populations will continue to grow due to the increasing number of political refugees, the opening of internal European borders and political and economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe and other parts of the world (2001:12).

An overall decrease of the indigenous population of Europe has been observed over the last decade and an increase in the immigration figures, with the largest number of immigrants observed in France, Germany and Great Britain (ibid.).

This movement of populations is not only *transnational*; there is also what Kaplan / Baldauf call the 'siren call of urbanisation' (1997:13). Cities continue to be magnets for national and non-national populations alike. However as Gogolin points out: (linguistic) changes are much less felt in remote villages than in large city conglomerations (1995:481). Nelde contrasts the high-levels of multilingualism in cities with the relative homogeneity of more rural areas. Immigrant populations are to be found almost entirely in the cities (Nelde 2000 in Donakey 2007:23). Extra / Gorter estimate that in the year 2000 about one third of the population under the age of 35 in urbanised Western Europe had an immigration background (2001:13). Clearly urbanisation and immigration are having a profound effect on today's societies, with consequences for the language behaviour of all concerned, including the monolinguals among us (Gogolin 1995:482).

These recent demographic changes lead us to ask two related questions: What will become of the homogeneous monolingual nations we believed we lived in? And what is to be the fate of the immigrant languages within them?

Multilingualism and Immigrant Languages

Clearly our nations, or at least our cities are becoming increasingly multilingual, hence the expression *urban multilingualism* which has been

used in recent years. Will this multilingualism be maintained, and if so for how long?

In his work on Norwegian immigration to the USA, Einar Haugen observed the following pattern: 'A group migrated, experienced some dialect levelling and bilingual code-switching, before shifting to the majority language altogether. This process usually takes about three generations' (Haugen 1969 in Backus 1996:45). This three-generation model is an example of the prototypical 19th and 20th century overseas immigration (Backus: *ibid.*). But Fishman, whose well-known research on the maintenance and shift of immigrant languages has now spanned several decades, still upholds this model of language shift for immigrant languages in the USA today:

To this very day any multilingualism present .. generally remains a marker of fairly recent immigrant status. Speakers of non-English languages in the USA are overwhelmingly either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants: the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of immigrants have overwhelmingly become English monolinguals, having lost direct and socially patterned contact with speakers of the language brought by their grandparents and great-grandparents. Language shift has been a dominant (and perhaps even *the* dominant) 'American experience' almost since the very founding of the country (2004:407).

Fishman asks what makes the American soil so inhospitable to immigrant languages, suggesting that the case of America is an *exotic* one not necessarily found in other immigration situations (2004:407/9). How much of the observations in the USA can be applied to Europe's multilingual societies? For the first time modern European nations are being called *immigration nations* akin to the classic immigration nations such as the USA or Australia. While still lagging behind in millions, the growth in European immigrant populations of the last decades makes the comparison at least legitimate.

Dorian believes that 'environments that favour the maintenance of multiple languages are not difficult to find, but they are reported largely from non-European cultural contexts where quite different language ideologies prevail' (2004:443). She clearly names nation-state ideology as a strong factor in the shift of minority languages:

Greatly increased pressure for a shift to a dominant language monolingualism in many parts of the contemporary world seems likely to rest in part on continuing dissemination of European language ideologies, above all the one-language, one-nation ideology associated with nationalism and the 'ideology of contempt' for subordinate peoples, but also European notions that the languages of peoples who exhibit low technological development must necessarily be equally limited (2004:452).

She furthermore believes: 'Where access and socioeconomic incentives are present the frequency of shift to an official language is undeniable' (2004:443). Paulston gives the following prognosis for nation-states:

In nation-state settings with socioeconomic incentives and access to the dominant language, sustained group bilingualism is unusual. Given access and incentive, the norm for groups in prolonged contact within a modern nation-state is for the subordinate group to shift to the language of the dominant group, either over several hundred years as with Gaelic in Great Britain or over the span of three generations as has been the case of the European immigrants to Australia and the United States in a very rapid shift (Paulston 1994:12-13, in Dorian 2004:442).

Dorian's convictions are confirmed by observations in France by Tabouret-Keller:

We cannot escape the conclusion that currently they [regional and immigrant languages] share a common fate: after three or four generations, the dominant language of the country is taking over and bi- and multilingualism inside families is coming to an end

(2004:683). Present-day migrants, seeking work, better living conditions, and freedom, also import their languages, but ... they have only a minor influence on the local languages and do not produce long-lasting bilingualism; the language of origin is given up in three or four generations and, in any case, deteriorates (2004:667).

The outlook for immigrant languages in Europe would thus appear to be just as bleak as it is in the USA. The question for European sociolinguists and policy makers is: what can be done to maintain multilingualism?

The nomenclature reflects a change in our attitude towards immigrants. During the 1950s and 1960s in Germany they were called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). This term was later dropped in favour of *(labour) migrants*.³ The *Zuwanderungsgesetz* of 2004 officially acknowledged that immigrants have become an intrinsic part of German society, but Germany is still unsure about what consequences that has.⁴

Integration has been and still is a popular and persistent term. Ateş writes:

In diesen vierzig Jahren ist der Begriff Integration wie ein Kaugummi unendlich oft im Mund herumbewegt worden. Trotz einer Fülle an Gesprächsstoff hat ein richtiger Dialog meiner Ansicht nach nicht stattgefunden (2003:213).

Es gibt einen merkwürdigen Unterschied. ... Deutsche und Menschen aus anderen mächtigen Ländern bringen ihre eigene Kultur als Bereicherung in das jeweilige Ausland. Türken und Menschen aus so genannten Drittweltländern werden als 'Gastarbeiter' und auch nach vierzig Jahren noch als 'Ausländer'

³ See also page 26 (Immigration of Turks to Germany). The term 'Gastarbeiter' was also problematic; it was too transparent as a euphemism for 'Fremdarbeiter' used under National Socialism (Herbert 1999)

⁴ See: Zuwanderungsgesetz: http://www.migration-boell.de/downloads/migration/Zuwanderungsgesetz_gesamt.pdf

geduldet. Wobei sie ihre eigene Kultur bitte vor der Tür abgeben sollen. Sonst ist eine Integration nicht möglich (2003:215).

To be permitted to join a community but asked to leave one's culture (and language) at the door is not *integration* but *assimilation*. There is a widespread conviction that immigrants should become German by speaking German and submitting to a German Leitkultur wherein the inclusion or maintenance of immigrant languages and cultures is perceived as nothing but a threat to integration and social cohesion.

'The extremes of the spectrum [of the use of the term integration] range from assimilation to multiculturalism' (Extra / Gorter 2001:6). At one end of the spectrum integration involves immigrants giving up their culture and language. At the other end integration is a multilateral task for all inhabitants of a society: all need to embrace multiculturalism and multilingualism. As Gogolin points out, everyone is involved in integration:

Es gehört zu den verbreitetsten und hartnäckigsten Irrtümern in den Einwanderungsgesellschaften, die Thematik 'Sprache und Migration' berühre nur Probleme der gewanderten Minderheiten selbst. Die sprachliche Lage der seßhaften Mitglieder der Majorität sei nicht von Änderungen betroffen, und daher reichten auch Lösungen aus, die allein an die Minderheiten gerichtet sind und die Überbrückung ihrer 'Sprachschwierigkeiten' intendieren. Doch ist dies eine entschieden verkürzte Sichtweise. ... Die sprachliche Gesamtlage der hiesigen Gesellschaft ist von migrationsbedingten Veränderungen betroffen (1995:481).

It seems there is a great deal of ideological work to be done if we are to maintain the increasing linguistic diversity on our continent. If immigrant languages are to survive longer than just a few generations then their status needs to improve: their presence in society needs to become valued as a source of wealth and not of problems. Fishman asks if the monolingual mainstream can be persuaded that it really needs languages other than its

own. If not, our communities 'will be consigned to being "linguistically retarded" in an increasingly multilingual world' (2004:408).

The Vitality of Turkish

In spite of the pessimistic outlook of the previous section several researchers describe Turkish in Europe as being a *relatively vital* language.

Turkish and Maghreb residents are the largest immigrant groups in EU countries. There is a sizeable Turkish 'diaspora' in many cities of the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Austria and Switzerland (as well as in Australia). The largest Turkish community is clearly to be found in Germany (Backus 2004:690).

The Turkish communities in The Hague, Hamburg, Madrid, Lyon, Göteborg and Brussels were part of the focus of observation for the *Multilingual Cities Project*. Extensive data about the use of immigrant languages in these cities was collected. Children between the ages four and thirteen were asked about their language use in home and school via a language survey questionnaire. The findings of the data were published in Extra / Yağmur: *Urban Multilingualism in Europe* (2004). Using the categories *language proficiency*, *language choice*, *language dominance* and *language preference*, the authors constructed a scale for measuring the relative vitality of each immigrant language, called the Language Vitality Index (LVI).

While the meaningfulness of such an index is obviously questionable, at the very least it gives an impression of the vitality of an immigrant language *in relation to other immigrant languages*. In The Hague, Brussels and Lyon the LVI for Turkish was the highest of all immigrant languages. In The Hague Turkish shares this status with Somali and Farsi, in spite of the fact that Turkish has a 'longer intergenerational status as a language of immigration and minorisation in the Netherlands' (Extra / Yağmur 2004:127). In Hamburg and Göteborg Turkish is still fairly high up on the scale, but for Hamburg

'Romani / Sinte', Urdu / 'Pakistani' and Dari / Pashtu / 'Afghan' have greater vitality and for Göteborg Somali, Bosnian, Kurdish, Tigrigna / 'Eritrean'.⁵

In the case of Germany Gogolin / Reich claim: 'It can be taken for granted that the Turkish minority in Germany is a vital and viable linguistic community' (2001:198). They base this conclusion on a variety of factors: the density of the linguistic community, a high birth rate (more than twice as high as the rest of the population), a large number of religious and social institutions where Turkish is regularly spoken and the higher-than-average language loyalty observed in Turkish emigrant communities in other countries (ibid.).

Backus also confirms this conclusion in the case of Turkish speakers in Holland. He refers to the following eight factors to which linguists attribute a 'high degree of language maintenance' (2004:694):

1. Few exogamous marriages (and prospective spouses often sought in Turkey)
2. Commitment to the language because of the assumption of 'going back' to Turkey
3. Improved communications and maintained contact with Turkey, including frequent summer-long holidays in Turkey
4. Easy access to Turkish media
5. Exposure to standard Turkish in schools
6. Density of social networks and abundance of Turkish organisations
7. Tight link between language and religion⁶
8. Negative societal factors of marginalisation and physical segregation.

⁵ In Madrid Turkish was not included in the LVI. Turkish was recorded by only three children in the language survey questionnaire as an immigrant language used.

⁶ Although obviously the language of Islam is Arabic, there are (at least in Berlin and presumably in Holland) many mosques where predominantly Turkish is spoken.

With perhaps the exception of exposure to standard Turkish in schools,⁷ these factors are equally applicable to the Turkish community in Germany and in Berlin. In addition to these eight factors Turkish has been shown (at least among adolescents) to have a covert prestige. 'A particularly large number of children [in Hamburg] said they would like to learn Turkish, and these were children from families where Turkish is *not* the home language. ... In a research project carried out in Hamburg among adolescents, it was empirically shown that Turkish is so important for communication that it is also used by adolescents of non-Turkish ancestry' (Auer / Dirim 2000 in Extra / Yağmur 2004:189).

Furthermore a significant factor in the maintenance of Turkish is continued immigration. Backus describes the Turkish community in Holland in 1996: 'Many young people in the community seek their spouses in Turkey, which has resulted in a new addition to the immigrant community: the recently married partner, born and bred in Turkey. As the first generation is getting older, the community becomes more and more like any other: there are older people, middle-aged people, young people, adolescents and children. The older generation uses mainly Turkish, most younger people are bilingual, with the youngest perhaps even Dutch-dominant. A sizable minority among the young people, however, the Turkey-born spouses, are dominant in Turkish' (1996:44).

He claims 'if there is on-going immigration and maintenance of extensive contacts with the country of origin, the need for L1 will be kept alive' (1996:40).⁸ Matras argues: 'In the age of globalisation, frequent travel and cultural exchange with the country of origin, and the accessibility of media in the form of satellite broadcasts, films and computer-mediated communication (chat rooms, websites and email), the survival prospects of linguistic-cultural diasporas – communities whose culture is not necessarily determined entirely

⁷ Backus believes that this is also no longer the case in Holland. Backus: Personal communication, 10.3.08.

⁸ L1 = first language

by their geographical location but rather by their maintenance of traditions through a network of contacts – are arguably higher [than Fishman's predictions]' (2008:16).

But in spite of all optimism about the *relative vitality* of Turkish and the process of shift to the majority language being probably slower than immigration settings of the past, it is arguable that Turkish *is* in a process of shift.

Backus's studies of code-switching among immigrant Turks reveal the same 'language choice patterns familiar from studies of language shift in bilingual communities' (2004:695). In his extensive work on Dutch-Turkish code-switching he further observes 'generally, first-generation informants speak Turkish with just a few foreign content words thrown in. The dominant speech mode for the intermediate generation (defined as having arrived in the Netherlands when they were between 5 and 12 years old) was a mix of insertion and alternation, while the second generation engaged in frequent alternation' (ibid.:701).

He concludes: While the Turkish community is 'better equipped than most to maintain its heritage language for a long time' (ibid.:717) one may predict for Turkish in Holland and in Europe as a whole that if it follows the course of most immigrant languages, it will disappear altogether.

Profile of the Turkish Population in Germany

Population and Migration Status

Until recently, despite all evidence, Germany considered itself to be a non-immigration country, which in the same vein meant: a monolingual country. Thus, official data are only available about non-German citizens living in Germany (Gogolin / Reich 2001: 194).

Until 2005 national (and regional) census statistics represented the ethnic background of the population in terms of *nationality* using the categories

German and *non-German*. This, as we will see, gives a very undifferentiated impression of the ethnicity of the population.

Germany has a population of 82 465 300.⁹ Around 9% of these are *non-Germans* i.e. foreigners without a German passport. The many thousands of foreigners who have been naturalised are simply categorised as *German*. However the Microcensus of 2005 reveals that there are 15 332 900 persons *with a background of migration*. That is around 18.6 % of the population, almost double the number of *non-Germans*.

These new statistics were made possible by the introduction of the categories *persons with background of migration* and *persons without background of migration* in the 2005 Microcensus.¹⁰ The category *persons with a background of migration* further differentiates between persons *with own migration experience* and *without own migration experience*. Those with own migration experience are those persons who have migrated themselves to Germany (first generation). Those without are persons who were born in Germany with at least one parent who migrated to Germany or who was born as a foreigner in Germany (second and third generation). We will henceforth use the term *migrants* to describe all persons in both categories.

The migrant population in Germany is concentrated mostly in the cities as well as in the industrial centres of North Rhine Westphalia and Baden Württemberg. All larger German cities have a sizeable percentage of migrants. Stuttgart has the highest with 40.1 %. Berlin has a migrant population of 23.4%.

There are 2 397 400 persons living in Germany with a background of migration with *current or previous Turkish nationality* (for this group we will henceforth use the term *Turks*). In Germany this figure (just as with the one

⁹ Unless otherwise stated all national statistics in the section *Profile of the Turkish Population in Germany* are taken from the Federal Statistics Office (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland)

¹⁰ Heinrich Böll Stiftung. See: http://www.migration-boell.de/web/migration/46_795.asp

for all non-German nationalities) is just above double the number of non-Germans with a Turkish passport (1 185 200 persons). Turks form 15.6% of all migrants and 2.9% of the entire population of Germany. They are the largest migrant group from a single nation, followed by migrants from the Russian Federation with 1 012 400 persons.

Turkish Population in Berlin

Regarding the Turkish population in Berlin¹¹ the statistics are unfortunately not as clear as the national ones. While the microcensus of 2005 at state level uses the category *persons with background of migration* it does not offer specific information about the current or previous nationality of this group. It only offers this information for the group of *non-Germans*.

Berlin has a population of 3 390 460. There are 463 723 *non-Germans*, that is 13.7% of the total population. However, the microcensus shows that there are 793 900 *migrants* in Berlin, that is around 23.4% of the total population and almost double the number of non-Germans.

There are 116 665 non-Germans in Berlin with Turkish nationality. A reasonable estimate would therefore be that there are around 199 730 Turks in Berlin.

It should be noted that there are many thousands of Kurds living in Germany. The *Kurdistan Kultur- und Hilfsverein e.V.* believes there are around 70 000 Kurds in Berlin of whom around 60 000 are from Turkey. Furthermore almost half of the Turks in Berlin are Kurds but many do not identify themselves as such.¹²

¹¹ *Berlin* is the Federal State of Berlin which has the same extension as the City of Berlin. Unless otherwise stated, all statistics in the section *Turkish Population in Berlin* are from the Berlin State Statistics Office (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2008).

¹² Kurdistan Kultur- und Hilfsverein e.V.: Personal communication 16.4.08.

The migrant and Turkish populations are found in different densities around Berlin. Turks can be found with the highest density in the boroughs of Mitte (15.6%), Neukölln (14.6%) and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (15.1%).¹³ The map in the appendix shows that the highest concentration of Turks is in the northern part of Neukölln, parts of Kreuzberg and Wedding. Other western boroughs have between 1-7% percent Turkish migrants while the eastern boroughs have a 0-2% Turkish population.

Kreuzberg has not only a high concentration of Turks, but has also developed a reputation as having a Turkish flair, which is often referred to in the immigrant German literature, e.g.

Für Touristen ist Kreuzberg auch eine Attraktion, es hat ein ganz besonderes Flair, [es] wird auch liebevoll 'Klein-Istanbul' genannt (Ateş 2003:213-4).

[D]ie halbautonomen Knobi-Inseln Berlin-Kreuzberg und Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg ... In diesen Sperrbezirken sind Einheimische nicht gerne gesehen, und die soziale Kontrolle funktioniert bestens. Kinder erreichen das Grundschulalter von der deutschen Sprache gänzlich unbefleckt und werden nur ungern den Einrichtungen des deutschen Bildungssystems übergeben (Pamuk 2005:61).

Manche türkische Schneiderinnen [konnten] nach zwanzig Jahren Kreuzberg kaum mehr Deutsch als meine Oma nach drei Jahren Maichingen (Alanyali 2006:212-3).

The Turkish profile of these parts of Berlin and the city as a whole is, at least in the immediate future, likely to be maintained if not intensified. Birth rate statistics show that Turkish families on average have more than twice the number of children as the non-immigrant German population (Gogolin / Reich 2001:198).

¹³ These figures are estimates based on the number of Turkish *non-Germans*.

Immigration of Turks to Germany

The beginnings of Turkish immigration to Germany date back (at least) to the beginning of the 20th century when large numbers of young Turks came to Berlin as trainees. Thereafter, between the wars, many Turkish students attended university in Berlin and the first Turkish societies and associations were founded (Seden 2007:1). But clearly the largest influx of Turks to the Federal Republic of Germany began in the 1950s and 1960s. During a period of industrial prosperity and growth in Europe in the 1950s Germany (as well as several other European countries) began to actively recruit workers from other European and north African countries to do low-qualified jobs under short-term work contracts. Bilateral recruiting agreements were signed with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968).

The majority of these workers were men and they were commonly known as *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). Employment was on a basis of rotation, i.e. workers were to be substituted after a maximum of two years (Özcan 1995). Neither recruiters nor employers had the intention of these workers setting up permanent home in Germany and thus only the most basic of accommodation was provided, and little or no effort was made to learn German. However, in 1964 the two year restriction was annulled and it became clear that many workers were staying permanently and were bringing family members to Germany.

In the wake of the oil crisis of 1973 official recruitment of workers stopped. Thus official labour immigration ended. But immigration continued with the arrival of family members and others seeking asylum, particularly in the wake of the military putsch of 1980 in Turkey. The term *guest worker* was becoming meaningless and later became replaced by the terms *migrant workers* or *first generation migrants*.

Today there are Turks in the fourth generation living in Germany. Of all nations of the world with a high percentage of immigrants, Germany took third place in 2005, after the USA and the Russian Federation.¹⁴

Özcan (1995) and David (2001) divide the development of Turkish labour migration to Germany into three phases (Table 1):

Table 1

Phase	Period	'Politically Correct' Terminology
Recruitment of workers	beginning of 1960s until recruitment stopped in 1973	guest-workers (<i>Gastarbeiter</i>)
Joining of family members	1974 – mid 1980s	foreign employees (ausländischer Arbeitnehmer)
Final settling, establishing communities	since the end of 1980s	(labour-) migrant (Arbeits-) Migrant

¹⁴ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge: Migrationsbericht 2006, Tabellen 7-13.

Table 2 shows the number of persons with Turkish nationality living in Germany since 1960. As with all statistics in this chapter it is noted that only persons without German nationality are recorded here. It should be borne in mind that naturalisations greatly influence these statistics. For example between 1995 and 2000 the Turkish population appears to have decreased, but in fact many have simply obtained German citizenship (e.g. 100 324 persons in 1999) and are no longer recorded as non-Germans. Between 1972 and 2006 a total of 726 278 Turks obtained German citizenship.

Table 2

Year	Turkish population (registered) in Germany
1961	6 679
1965	132 800
1970	469 160
1980	1 462 442
1985	1 401 932
1990	1 694 649
1995	2 014 311
2000	1 998 534
2005	1 764 041

Table 3 shows the number of immigrants from Turkey from 1991 to 2006.¹⁵ There has been a continual influx of immigrants, although clearly numbers are dropping each year.

Table 3

Year	Number of Immigrants from Turkey
1991	82 818
1992	81 404
1993	68 618
1994	64 811
1995	74 558
1996	74 344
1997	57 148
1998	49 091
1999	48 383
2000	50 499
2001	56 101
2002	58 648
2003	46 699
2004	42 222
2005	36 341
2006	31 449

¹⁵ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge: Migrationsbericht 2006, Tabellen 1-6.

Focus, Limits and Methods of the Investigation

The investigation observes provisions in Turkish made by the following institutions:

1. Education

- Komşu Kindergarten
- Mosaik Kindergarten
- Rixdorfer Primary School
- Franz Schubert Primary School
- Heinrich Heine Secondary School
- Robert Koch Secondary School
- Adult Education Centre

2. Council Offices

- Local Borough Council
- Official Representative for Migrants
- Citizens' Office
- Office for Youth

3. Health

- Hospital (Vivantes Klinikum am Urban): Nurses
- Hospital (Vivantes Klinikum am Urban): Gynaecology Department
- Hospital (Vivantes Klinikum am Urban): Accidents and Emergencies
- Ambulance Service

4. Other public services

- Central and City Library
- Kreuzberg Family Library
- Swimming Pool Network
- Unemployment Office
- Waste Recycling Organisation
- Community Interpreting Service

In order to limit the volume of the study it was not possible to give exhaustive coverage of the services of a whole city. I therefore chose to focus on a range of different local public institutions, by which the following are meant:

Institutions are included which cater for the needs of a local population. This can be borough-wide (e.g. serving the whole of the Neukölln borough), as in the cases of the council offices, the adult education centre, the unemployment office and in part the hospital. But it also includes institutions which are more at the level of a district or neighbourhood, such as the schools and kindergartens and the family library. It further includes some central Berlin-wide institutions which have local branches or whose services are offered 'locally'. In these cases institutions have locally adjusted services. These are the swimming pool network, the individual deployments of the community interpreting services, the ambulance service and the waste recycling organisation. The city library is not only a central service for the whole of Berlin, but is also located in Kreuzberg.

With the exception of the so-called central institutions just mentioned, the investigation focuses on institutions from the regions of North Neukölln and Kreuzberg, i.e. those parts of Berlin with the most dense Turkish population.

Where relevant the investigation also makes reference to certain legislation at state-level, such as policies from the Berlin senate.

Local public institutions are further defined as those which receive local public funding. The term 'local' is used in this case to refer to both funding at state (*Bundesland*) level as well as at borough (*Bezirk*) level, as distinct from national or European funding, or funds from foundations or from private enterprises. Instances of state-level funding are the schools and kindergartens, the hospital, the ambulance service, the city library, the swimming pool network, the community interpreting service and the waste recycling organisation. Cases of borough-level funding include the council offices, the adult education centre, the family library and the unemployment office.

We acknowledge, however, that a clear differentiation is not possible in every case. For example, the unemployment office is also partly funded by federal resources and the hospital and the waste recycling organisation are essentially private companies which receive public money to provide public services.

Regarding policy measures Kaplan / Baldauf distinguish three levels: *macro*, *meso* and *micro* (Donakey 2007:21, referring to Kaplan / Baldauf, 1997). *Macro-level* policies are top-down national activities. *Meso-level* language policies have a 'more limited focus, usually limited to one sector of a polity, or [...] designed to meet the language needs of a specific group of individuals' (Kaplan / Baldauf 1997:52). *Micro* level policies are bottom-up, small-scale practices and initiatives by smaller groups, family units and individuals.

This investigation observes *meso-level* policies. By this we refer to provisions offered by *institutions* with access to some form of resources (financial and/or personnel), even if in reality a single individual in an institution administers such resources.

Finally the data was collected between January and April 2008. The investigation took the form of personal interviews. A smaller number of interviews were conducted over the telephone and additional information was gathered via the internet.

In the following the term 'Turk' and 'Turkish' refers to first, second, third and fourth generation migrants from Turkey. It is assumed that in each instance these are also speakers of Turkish as a first language.

Investigation: Education

Kindergartens

The *Berliner Bildungsprogramm* of 2004 which outlines goals for pre-school education makes many references to the family language of children. These include:

- Page 28: 'wahrnehmen, dass es unterschiedliche Sprachen gibt; sich in Hochdeutsch und in der Familiensprache verständigen' (Kompetenzen im Bildungsverlauf).
- Page 33: 'achten darauf, dass die verschiedenen Dialekte und Sprachen der Kinder im Alltag zur Geltung kommen' (Aufgaben der Erzieher/Innen).
- Page 61: 'Mehrsprachigkeit als kostbare Ressource für Bildungsprozesse nutzen' (Aufgaben der Erzieher/Innen).
- Page 67: 'regelmäßiges Vorlesen auch in den Familiensprachen der Kinder' (Aufgaben der Erzieher/Innen).

The implementation of these goals however can be quite different from one kindergarten to the next.

Komşu Kindergarten

The Komşu (*neighbour*) Kindergarten in Kreuzberg has 125 children. Around one third are Turkish, one third are German and a final third are children from binational relationships / marriages. They have 18 pre-school teachers and two directors. Half of all of the staff (as well as half of the cleaners) can speak Turkish. There is one Turkish-speaking and one German-speaking colleague in every group. Komşu is a popular kindergarten with a waiting list, so they are able to select children according to sex, age and home-language quotas. It is state funded but is under the trusteeship of the NGO (non-governmental organisation) *Komşu*.

The language policy of the kindergarten has two guiding principles:

1. German is the language of school and of success in society. They do not teach Turkish to the German children. If these children pick up songs and expletives that is fine and good, even desirable, but the goal is certainly not bilingualism. To this end the kindergarten has a minimum of 51% children with German as a home language. This they believe is enough to motivate all children to speak and learn German.

2. Every language is welcome. Each language is equally valid and respected. Children are allowed to speak whatever language they choose and are not reprimanded when they do not speak German. There are for example moments where it is advantageous to speak the family language – for example it is much better to comfort an upset child in its family language.

Furthermore, based on the conviction that a second language can only develop as far as the first language does, the kindergarten encourages Turkish parents to speak Turkish with their children. This is to counter the belief among many Turkish parents that they should be speaking German with their children, even when this is not fluent. The kindergarten tries to encourage parents at parents evenings, at registration in the kindergarten and through their involvement with the *Rucksack Projekt*.¹⁶ Communication between kindergarten and parents is also made facilitated by having Turkish speaking pre-school teachers.

Mosaik Kindergarten

The Mosaik Kindergarten in Neukölln has 110 children. 38 children are Turkish. There were more Turkish children in the past, but recently more and more Arab families have started sending their children to kindergarten which has changed the profile. Whereas many of the Arab families can speak

¹⁶ The Rucksack Projekt encourages particularly mothers to speak their home language with their children, with the intention of developing the home language as an important basis for learning German as a second language. See: <http://www.raa.de/rucksack.html>

German, around 50% of the Turkish families speak no German, neither the parents nor the children. There are only two or three children from German families. There are 14 pre-school teachers, one of whom is Turkish. The kindergarten is state-funded but under the trusteeship of the NGO *Lebenswelt*.

There used to be two Turkish pre-school teachers but now there is only one. The director believes that one Turkish teacher is enough: If there are more then it is rather counter-productive because parents see the teacher as a translator and fellow compatriot but not as a pedagogue. Furthermore parents are much less motivated to learn German. It is enough if the teacher knows just a few words in the family language, especially while the children are settling in, such as 'toilet' or 'mummy will come back'.

Until 2004 the kindergarten was run by the local authorities, and there were until then no foreign-language staff at all. In 2004 *Lebenswelt* took over the responsibility of the kindergarten and introduced the first foreign-language speaking staff. The director believes that bilingual education is not the best solution for two reasons: 1. She would have to replace most of her employees; 2. German is plainly the language of education in Berlin and Germany. But having said that, she shares the belief that it is necessary to speak your first, family language well and to this end the kindergarten tries to communicate to parents, especially mothers, that they have an important role to play in speaking their family language to their children.

Where necessary *Lebenswelt* offers translation and interpreters for important communications with parents from its pool of employees. *Lebenswelt* is an intercultural organisation offering home nursing care, counselling and opportunities for young people as well as running six kindergartens. It was founded ten years ago with the aim of offering services to *all* people in the neighbourhood. Its founders are Turkish and together the employees speak a total of 40 languages.

Schools

Education in Germany is entirely under the jurisdiction of the federal states. Regarding the teaching of family languages other than German the Berlin *Schulgesetz* of 2004 states the following:¹⁷

Schülerinnen und Schüler nichtdeutscher Herkunftssprache können Angebote zum Erlernen ihrer Muttersprache erhalten. Die Schule kann sich dabei der Angebote Dritter bedienen (§15 Art. 3).

Die für das Schulwesen zuständige Senatsverwaltung wird ermächtigt, das Nähere zu den Voraussetzungen und zur Ausgestaltung des Unterrichts für Schülerinnen und Schüler nichtdeutscher Herkunftssprache durch Rechtsverordnung zu regeln, insbesondere... (4.) die muttersprachlichen und bilingualen Angebote für Schülerinnen und Schüler nichtdeutscher Herkunftssprache (§15 Art. 4).

The Berlin senate offers bilingual education in nine languages (English, French, Russian, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Turkish, Portuguese and Polish). Bilingual education either takes place in regular schools with one or more bilingual track(s) or in state-funded *Europaschulen*.¹⁸ Official Turkish-German bilingual education began in the 1980s as a response to discrimination against foreign children and the helplessness felt by teachers. By the 1990s there were 15 primary schools which offered it. The first *Europaschulen* began officially in 1995, and in 1996 the first Turkish *Europaschule* began. Today, however, Turkish-German bilingual education is only offered in 6 primary schools and 8 secondary schools.¹⁹

As well as bilingual education, there is also optional Turkish education financed by the Turkish government and implemented by the Turkish

¹⁷ See: <http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-bildung/rechtsvorschriften/schulgesetz.pdf>

¹⁸ See: http://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/besondere_angebote/staatl_europaschule/

¹⁹ See: http://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/besondere_angebote/sprachen_lernen/index.html

consulate.²⁰ There are at present 50 Turkish teachers offering optional, extra-curricular Turkish lessons at 120 schools, nearly all of which are primary schools. These teachers were all trained in Turkey and are employed by the Turkish government under five-year contracts. According to one consular teacher there are around 20 000 Turkish primary school children in Berlin and around 3 000 of them have lessons from consular teachers.

Consulate-financed lessons are usually for two or three hours in the afternoon, once or twice per week. Schools offer rooms for these lessons but apart from that have nothing to do with the lessons or the organisation of them. Parents can choose to register their children for these lessons or not.

For the investigation in schools data was collected at two primary schools and two secondary schools, in each case one offering bilingual education and one not.

Rixdorfer Primary School

Rixdorfer Grundschule has around 650 pupils, around 70% of whom are Turkish. There are four teachers for Turkish (as well as two teachers of German who are also Turkish). The school offers one track per school year of bilingual teaching. This means that one class out of three, four or possibly five in any school year receives five hours per week of lessons in Turkish as well as two hours per week of Turkish as a *Begegnungssprache* for the German children in the same class. In practice, however, these seven hours are pooled and lessons are taught according to a principle of *Turkish immersion*. The bilingual classes clearly show higher levels of school-success of the pupils. Around 30% of these classes receive recommendations for *Gymnasium*, compared to around only 3-5% from each of the other classes. The bilingual track is very popular among parents: there is great demand and a long waiting list. Children are taken on a first-come

²⁰ Six federal States, including Berlin, offer consular mother tongue teaching. (Bühler-Otten / Fürstenau 2004:179)

first-served basis. In spite of demand the school has not been able to persuade the senate to finance a second bilingual track.

As well as the bilingual track there are also consular Turkish lessons five afternoons a week. 94 pupils are registered for these lessons.

There is a Turkish *intercultural moderator* at the school. *Intercultural moderators* are qualified social workers with a specific migrant background and language who are employed to form a bridge between pupils, parents, the school and the neighbourhood. Their contact with parents can be in German or in the migrant language as is needed by parents. They are financed by the Berlin senate under the trusteeship of the NGO *Jugendwohnen im Kiez*.²¹

Franz Schubert Primary School

By way of contrast, *Franz Schubert Grundschule* (FSS), a five minute walk from Rixdorfer School, offers almost no Turkish teaching. It has 340 pupils, 70% of whom are Turkish. There are no Turkish teachers at the school, but there is one Turkish pre-school teacher at the *Hort* (afternoon childcare linked with the school). There is a Turkish *intercultural moderator* at the school. On Monday afternoons there are two hours of consular teaching in which around 12 pupils take part.

FSS is one of 16 Berlin schools which take part in the *FörMig* Project (Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund).²² FörMig is an initiative of the *Institut für International und Interkulturell Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* at the University of Hamburg. It is financed (in the case of Berlin) by the senate and seeks to promote language competence among children whose family language is not German. While its

²¹ Jugendwohnen im Kiez is an NGO providing different social and educational services. See: http://www.jugendwohnen-berlin.de/sites/aktuelles/1006_1007.html#1007

²² See: <http://www.foermig-berlin.de/beteiligteeinrichtungen.htm>

original intention was to promote migrant languages as well as German, in reality the focus is almost entirely on learning German. In the case of Turkish at FSS the project has initiated 2 hours per week of reading aloud: two Turkish mothers read stories in Turkish to pupils who choose to take part. The mothers receive a small remuneration from school funds.

Heinrich Heine Secondary School

Heinrich Heine Realschule in Neukölln has a total of 282 pupils, around 70% of whom are Turkish. There are no Turkish members of staff and no Turkish lessons offered at all. The school has one Turkish *intercultural moderator*.

Robert Koch Secondary School

Robert Koch Oberschule (RKO) in Kreuzberg is a state funded grammar school (*Gymnasium*), the only state-funded gymnasium in Berlin which offers Turkish. The other seven schools offering Turkish are *Realschulen*. Additionally, there is a privately funded *Gymnasium* which offers Turkish. RKO has 600 pupils, around 70% of whom are Turkish. It has been offering lessons in Turkish since the 1980s.

At all *Gymnasien* pupils are required to learn two foreign languages from grades seven to eleven. RKO offers French and Turkish as a second foreign language (the first foreign language is English). Turkish used to be called *Zweitfremdsprachenersatz* (substitute for the second foreign language) but has been upgraded to being a *second foreign language*. French is taught without any prior knowledge, whereas Turkish assumes a native (or near enough) ability. It is therefore learned only by Turks. It is taught as a regular subject and is financed by the Berlin senate in the same way as any other subject.

220 pupils take part in Turkish language education. On average 25 pupils learn Turkish until *Abitur* (until grade 13), however not as a *Leistungsfach* (specialisation), but only as a *Grundkurs* (basic level). This year 15 pupils will

take a written examination and 20 pupils will take an oral examination in Turkish as part of their Abitur. The Berlin senate has up until the present not permitted Turkish as a *Leistungsfach* at Abitur. The school director could possibly apply for permission but would then need appropriate staff. The school has three teachers of Turkish. All three are Turks but only one is a qualified teacher of Turkish. The other two are *Studienräte* (teachers)²³ of other subjects who use their mother-tongue knowledge of Turkish. The teacher of Turkish is not a *Studienrat* and therefore not qualified to teach Turkish as a *Leistungsfach*.

Neukölln Adult Education Centre

The *Volkshochschule* in Neukölln offers two computer courses in Turkish for senior citizens. The interest for these courses is very much linked to the teacher, who knows the participants well and is able to fill the courses. It seemed convenient and a good idea to the director to offer these courses because the teacher was available. In the past there were more courses in Turkish, but the director thinks there is less demand nowadays because the many Turkish societies offer a variety of educational courses.

Additionally in the past the centre offered a Primary School Certificate for Turks who were planning on 'going back' to Turkey, where such a qualification was necessary for certain things such as obtaining a driving licence. But the teacher of this course retired last year and with her the course stopped, even though it had been quite popular.

Comment

In some schools there is education in Turkish; in others (with an equally high number of Turkish children) there is none. While the Berlin senate allows and does not forbid Turkish to be taught in schools, it is offering little support in

²³ A *Studienrat* is a teacher qualified to teach the highest level of secondary education.

the actual implementation of Turkish lessons. This situation became apparent in the course of the many interviews with teachers, head-teachers, consular teachers and intercultural moderators. There are many bureaucratic and ideological problems which hinder a more widespread implementation. As well as the difficulties mentioned in the data, the following problems were cited:

- The senate has no money to finance more Turkish teachers.
- There are no Turkish teachers available.²⁴
- There are no Turkish teachers qualified to teach at Abitur level.
- The teaching qualifications of teachers who studied in Turkey are not properly recognised.
- Turkish teachers have to work under bad conditions: animosity from other members of staff; lack of materials; lack of specific in-service training; lower pay than teachers of other subjects.
- Some female Turkish teachers want to wear a headscarf, which is a hindrance to their being employed.²⁵

But as well as all these claims, some teachers and intercultural moderators believed that many parents do not want their children to learn Turkish at school. This is also reflected in the low number of children attending the consular lessons (20% of Turkish children at Rixdorf school and only 5% at FSS). One consular teacher believed that Alevi and Kurd families do not want their children to have consular lessons out of religious or nationalistic

²⁴ According to the University of Duisburg and Essen which is the only institution in the whole of Germany which trains teachers in Turkish to become teachers of Turkish, around 200 teachers have graduated since the department opened 12 years ago. None of the three universities in Berlin, all of which offer degrees in education, offer teacher training in Turkish.

²⁵ The *Bezirksverordnetenversammlung* ordered that no one in a public office in Neukölln may wear a headscarf. (See page 45).

reasons. This may be the case but could also be an excuse for simply not wanting to learn Turkish.²⁶

One intercultural moderator summed up the situation by saying *es ist nicht wirklich gewollt* (they do not really want it). There is not only not enough support and resources but the prevailing ideology in education is also: German is the language of school and success. This is also confirmed in Pfaff's research in Turkish education in Berlin:

While in the early years of the labour migration, the primary educational issue was ... teaching older immigrant children in their first languages to facilitate re-immigration and as a bridge to instruction in regular German classes ... [this] has been superseded by the current focus of attention on proficiency in German (2003:195).

The *Bildungsprogramm* for pre-school education is rather general. Kindergartens are free to speak and promote Turkish or any other language (alongside German), but are also free to speak only German provided they make occasional reference to migrant languages. The Komşu kindergarten, while having Turkish staff, a Turkish name and a (partly) Turkish identity would have the best conditions for offering bilingual pre-school education, but chooses to promote only German. Similarly, the Mosaik kindergarten (which clearly has needs for translation when communicating with parents) believes: German is the language of education.

There is no linguistic policy at the adult education centre. The director has freedom to allocate resources as he thinks fit. The courses he offers however must have a minimum attendance and demands for lessons of various kinds in Turkish are apparently met elsewhere.

²⁶ It is noted that in Berlin, just as in Turkey, Turkish clearly has a better status than Kurdish and is clearly more widely promoted.

Investigation: Local Council Offices

The local borough council (*Bezirksamt*) for Neukölln comprises a host of different offices and administrations. The present investigation includes data from four such offices: Official Representative for Migrants (*Migrationsbeauftragter*), Office for Youth (*Jugendamt*), Citizens' Office (*Bürgeramt*) and the Office for Nature Conservation and Green Areas (*Naturschutz und Grünflächenamt*).

The *Bezirksamt* has 2 200 employees. Between 10 and 15 of these are Turks. Of these there is one employee in the Office for Building Construction (*Hochbauamt*); two in social education; five in the area of youth recreation and three in administration at the Town Hall and in the borough's districts. There are 90 trainees, around 25% of whom are migrants (although not only Turkish).

The *Bezirksamt* has a comprehensive website but all information is in German only.²⁷

Official Representative for Migrants

The current *Migrationsbeauftragter* in Neukölln is concerned to spread the conviction that multilingualism is *not* a hindrance to integration. He supports a variety of measures within the *Bezirksamt* although he admits to having simply taken many of these on board from his predecessor who in some cases had to fight to get them established.

For example: there are interpreters available at the town hall five mornings a week (three mornings Arabic and two mornings Turkish). The town hall provides an office and technology for this service and the interpreters are financed by the Unemployment Office (*Job Center*). The interpreters offer drop-in advice on filling in forms as well as offering appointments to

²⁷ See: <http://www.berlin.de/ba-neukoelln/index.html>

accompany citizens to interviews at the local council offices such as the Citizens' Office.

There are several signs in the Town Hall written in four languages (German, Turkish, Russian, Arabic), such as 'no smoking'. There is also an annual booklet listing activities and services for senior citizens in the borough which includes an introduction in Turkish, Serbo-Croat, Russian, Greek and Arabic. The *Migrationsbeauftragter* believes such measures to have an important symbolic function: it is inviting to find a few sentences in your own language.

Occasionally whole flyers are translated, particularly on subjects such as avoiding risks or danger (for example a flyer about forced marriages in Turkish and German). In such cases he believes it is important to communicate information reliably. But there is no special budget for translations.

He would like to see more foreign language speaking personnel in the local borough council, but thinks this will only be achieved by introducing employment quotas for migrants.

Office for Youth

The *Jugendamt* has between 350 and 400 employees 11 of whom are Turkish. These are employed in different institutions around the borough including social education, psycho-social counselling and youth recreation activities. There are also several Turkish colleagues who work in the youth recreation institutions on a freelance basis.

There was one full-time Turkish interpreter who was shared with the Office for Health (*Gesundheitsamt*). She has just retired and her position will not be filled again mainly due to the freezing of the budget in Berlin (since 1996).

The hiring freeze and the German policy of life-long employment for civil servants make it almost impossible to employ any new migrants. Even in cases where a post becomes available and will continue to be financed an

appropriate employee has to be sought first of all within the *Zentrales Personalüberhangmanagement*, a pool of surplus Berlin civil servants. Only in very exceptional cases is it possible to employ someone from 'outside'. There are almost no migrants in this pool.

A further issue in Neukölln is the fact that the *Bezirksverordnetenversammlung* (a body of voluntary representatives from the borough invested with certain rights)²⁸ has determined that no woman with a headscarf can be employed in a public office in Neukölln. This is a further hindrance to employing more migrant social-workers.

However, the director was recently able to convince the senate to finance three new Turkish social workers to work with families in North Neukölln. This was an exceptional case in the senate financial administration. The director considers the new employees to be a great advantage for the *Jugendamt*.

The *Jugendamt* uses the *Gemeinde Dolmetschdienst*²⁹ although this practice is relatively recent and not fully standardised. The budget for the whole *Jugendamt* is drawn up on a two-year basis, based on predicted needs. By the end of April 2008 the translation budget for January-June 2008 had been used up. This means that they will apply for a larger sum to cover translation costs in the next household plan (which is not until 2010).

From the whole of Neukölln not many requests are made for translation services (approximately two to three per day). Translation is offered as a necessary part of counselling, although the *Jugendamt* considers very carefully if people really need translation or if their German is good enough.

²⁸ See: <http://www.neukoelln-online.de/27-0-Bezirksverordnetenversammlung.html>

²⁹ For information about the *Gemeinde Dolmetschdienst* see page 55-56

Citizens' Office

The *Bürgeramt* in Neukölln is the place for registrations of all kinds such as legal registration of residence, applications for housing benefit or for passports as well as counselling and information about questions and problems of everyday life. The office is open every day to the public without appointments. There are no employees who speak Turkish and no counselling or information is available in Turkish. For citizens who require translation into Turkish or Arabic it is possible to use the interpreter service from the *Bezirksamt* (free of charge).

Office for Nature Conservation and Green Areas

Many parks and playgrounds in North Neukölln have signs in German and Turkish with instructions such as 'no barbeques', 'no cycling', 'no dogs'. These signs were erected by the *Naturschutz und Grünflächenamt*, the office responsible for the upkeep of all green areas of the borough. The director of the office recalled that the signs were erected around 20 years ago and that the translations into Turkish were the result of a recommendation made by the *Bezirksverordnetenversammlung*. There was no special budget and they were a one-off measure: when they are damaged they will be replaced by signs in German only.

Comment

The *Migrationsbeauftragter* for Neukölln is employed to promote communication and understanding between different cultural and ethnic groups in the borough.³⁰ He implements the senate's *Integration Concept for*

³⁰ See: <http://www.berlin.de/ba-neukoelln/verwaltung/migrationsbeauftragter.html>

*Berlin of 2007*³¹ which includes a vast number of measures for integrating migrants, but not specifically their languages.

He would like to see a policy of quotas in order to employ more migrants in the council offices to counteract their gross underrepresentation. But of course merely appointing migrants does not necessarily mean increased linguistic provision, although it has the potential of offering more resources in Turkish.

He is convinced that multilingualism is a good thing, but his belief has not yet had many substantial consequences.

At the *Jugendamt* there is also no direct linguistic policy to be followed. They are equally subject to policies such as the Integration Concept and the *Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetz* of 2006.³² Recent studies in the health and social sectors have criticised the lack of provisions for migrants. Ledyaikina / Uebelacker / Borde cite:

Im weitgehend monolingual und -kulturell ausgerichteten Gesundheits- und Sozialwesen ist es für MigrantInnen mit geringen Deutschkenntnissen bisher nicht möglich, einen gleichberechtigten Zugang zu adäquater Versorgung zu bekommen. ... Unter diesen Bedingungen ist die gesundheitliche und soziale Chancengleichheit gefährdet und Potenzial für Diskriminierung von MigrantInnen gegeben (2007:111).

Equal opportunities, participation and communication are the chief motives for employing Turkish speaking counsellors and financing translators. The *Jugendamt* is bound by the senate's crippling hiring freeze. This is clearly counter-productive to the promotion of Turkish. The fact that the director applied for an exception to the 'in-house employment' rule (and was

³¹ See: http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb-integration-migration/publikationen/berichte/integrationskonzept_2007_bf.pdf

³² See: <http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/agg/BJNR189710006.html>

successful) is significant. (It is also economically more effective to have employees who can speak Turkish – this saves expenditure from the external translation budget).

In the case of the signs in the park, these depended on the initiative of a local group. But there has been no continuity: there was a provision 20 years ago but not one now. This shows just how haphazard and short-lived provisions can be.

Investigation: Health

Vivantes Hospital

The *Vivantes Netzwerk für Gesundheit GmbH* is a hospital operator which took over nine state hospitals in Berlin in 2001. These hospitals meet the needs of around one third of the hospital patients in Berlin. The *Klinikum am Urban* in Kreuzberg treats around 60 000 patients each year.³³ In all departments at least one third of the patients are Turkish. The percentage is currently increasing in departments such as internal medicine as the Turkish population increases in age. The director of nurses estimates around as many as 80% Turkish patients in the gynaecology and maternity department.

Nurses

There are 350 nurses at Urban Hospital. There are also another 150 nurses employed in the operating theatre, accidents and emergencies and in out-patients services. Around 20 of the nurses are Turkish. There are also around ten Turkish auxiliary nurses.

³³ See: <http://www.vivantes.de/web/einrichtungen/kau.htm>

The director responsible for employing nurses would very much like to have more nurses with a migrant background, in particular Turkish for Neukölln and Russian for the many German repatriates in the Vivantes hospital in Hellersdorf (which is also under her jurisdiction) but this is difficult for two reasons: 1. There has been a hiring freeze since 1996. The Vivantes group took over the hospital in 2001 and nurses can only be hired from the surplus of demand within the Vivantes network.

2. Very few nurses with a migrant background are trained. Each year the hospital takes on 50 to 60 staff from its nursing school. Last year's group included six migrants and only one Turk.

The hospital additionally has around 50 employees in different departments around the hospital who can speak Turkish and are available for help with translation. The hospital also works with the community interpreting service and pays for each deployment from the hospital budget. This is considered to be a necessary cost and a matter of course in a patient's treatment.

Decisions about migrant language speaking staff and the use of interpreters are made by the respective staff at the hospital and not by *Vivantes*.

Gynaecology and Maternity Department

1 300 babies are born each year at the *Klinik für Gynäkologie und Geburtsmedizin*.³³ According to one doctor from the department around 60% of those who give birth are migrants, most of whom are Turkish.

There are two Turkish doctors and one Arabic-speaking doctor in the department but no Turkish nurses. The out-patients surgery has only one Turkish nurse. Many older patients bring their daughters, daughters-in-law or neighbours with them to translate. One doctor from the department expressed the view that there are a large number of communication problems, that so few Turkish speaking nurses was a clear deficit and that really at least one third of nurses speaking migrant languages would be appropriate.

There is one Turkish midwife at the department. Berlin has two midwifery schools: Vivantes Hospital in Neukölln and the *Charité* Hospital. At Vivantes Neukölln there are 20 midwifery students per year and in this year's group there is one Turk. There is also a large pool of fully qualified Turkish midwives from around the whole country who apply for work at the hospital. But due to the hiring freeze they are not able to employ anyone else.

Accidents and Emergencies

At the *Notaufnahme* of the hospital there are no Turkish employees and no provision with interpreters. In their experience Turks who do not speak German bring their own translators with them.

Berlin Ambulance Service

The Berlin Ambulance Service is part of the *Berliner Feuerwehr* which is available for medical and fire-related emergencies. It has an emergency telephone number to call for an ambulance or fire service. The operators of this telephone service speak German and only co-incidentally would they speak a different language. The ambulance service as a whole does have Turkish employees, but these were not employed because of any language ability. They can be drawn on for sporadic translation questions, but they offer no dependable service.

In each ambulance there is a folder with information for patients in medical emergencies in several languages including Turkish, French, English, Spanish and Polish.

Comment

The hospital is obliged to follow the policies of the Vivantes network. Vivantes has no linguistic policy, thus provisions for Turkish patients (Turkish speaking staff and translation services) are facilitated directly by hospital directors and

senior staff. These provisions are based on the conviction that proper hospital treatment requires being understood and they are financed from a general budget as a standard and necessary part of the treatment.

The hiring freeze and the staff surplus at Vivantes as well as the low number of Turks training in health-related professions are enormous blockages to employing more migrants. *Gesundheit Berlin e.V.*³⁴ attempts to address this problem with a policy of encouraging school leavers to consider training in the health sector. This again, though, is a policy for migrants and not specifically for their languages.

Investigation: Other Public Services

Libraries

Central and City Library of Berlin

The Turkish lector at the *Amerika Gedenk Bibliothek* (AGB) believes his collection to be the largest and most sophisticated collection outside of Turkey. The collection was established at the end of the 1970s at the AGB in (former) West Berlin. 50 000 DM from lottery funds were provided to finance a collection of light fiction in Turkish for a conceived population of non-German-speaking guest-workers. This collection then later developed to include more sophisticated and varied literature.

In 1982 a Turkish central lectorate was established to supervise the collection at the central library as well as developing collections in the libraries of the local boroughs.

³⁴ *Gesundheit Berlin e.V.* is a non-profit association of health organisations.
<http://www.gesundheitberlin.de/index.php4?request=home>

Today there are around 9 000 Turkish media at the AGB which are regularly renewed and replaced. The emphasis is not on the collection being as large as funds allow but rather on being as manageable, current, well kept and visible as possible. The library as a whole has 3.5 million media, but only 220 000 of these are visible and immediately accessible. The rest are in store or are on loan. The Turkish lector believes a collection of over 10 000 Turkish media to be no longer meaningful. Not only the size is of significance, but also the number of loans – each medium needs to be borrowed to be justifiable.

Each department at the library has a lector who has relative freedom to manage their respective collections and acquisitions. The departments are grouped into faculties within which there is annual discussion about the allocation of funds. Turkish forms part of the General Interest faculty and therefore has to compete with fiction, biographies, hobbies, *Eltern-Kind-Ratgeber* and *Lebensgestaltung* for funding. A Turkish collection can quickly become dispensable, though the current library management is interested in maintaining it.

Family Library Kreuzberg

The *Kinderbibliothek* in Glogauer Strasse has a total of 17 998 lendable media. These include primarily different kinds of books, but also music CDs, films (DVD and VHS) and games. There are a total of 581 lendable Turkish media. These include: 116 picture books, 15 non-fiction books, 258 books for young people and 192 CDs and films. This is not a significant proportion (3.2% of the whole collection). Furthermore considering that 70% of the library users are Turkish it is even less.

However, the figures cannot be entirely taken at face value. As with the central library, not only the size of the collection but also the number of loans are important. In the past there were many more novels in Turkish, but these were almost never borrowed and so were taken out of circulation. On the other hand, Turkish music CDs are currently borrowed at a high rate.

The library budget is dependent on how many media are borrowed and how many people visit the library. They therefore endeavour not only to have modern and appealing media but also to attract new borrowers from the neighbourhood.

The director of the library believes in the importance of the family language and would like to expand the selection of Turkish books, but finds good quality Turkish books difficult to obtain. There are only a few publishers who produce Turkish (or Turkish-German) books, as these are not very profitable. The best way is to buy them in Turkey, but for this there is no appropriate colleague at the moment. She is very open to suggestions from Turkish parents, but up until now there have been none made.

The library tries to attract particularly the parents from its predominantly Turkish neighbourhood. The director believes that many Turkish parents from the neighbourhood are illiterate for whom quite likely the concept of a *public library* is as foreign as reading itself. There is little openness towards the library. The library initiates story-telling sessions where Turkish mothers are invited to read in Turkish to the children, as well as similar events in conjunction with local NGOs. But it is difficult establishing continuity with parents.

There is one Turkish trainee. In the library itself there are also words around the building denoting objects in the room (such as 'window') written in Turkish. The librarian took this initiative to help Turkish children feel at home in the library.

Swimming Pool Network

The city-wide *Berliner Bäder Betriebe* has a catalogue of swimming courses offered in its pools across Berlin.³⁵ These courses are published online on the service's website and these then take place at the local swimming pools.

³⁵ See: http://www.berlinerbaederbetriebe.de/BBB_Kurse_1JH-2008_-_Endversion.pdf

For one larger popular swimming pool in Kreuzberg there are two courses offered with a Turkish swimming teacher. The courses themselves take place in German. But due to the large Turkish audience, the organiser took the initiative of employing a Turkish teacher in order to facilitate communication, particularly with families where the children speak German but the parents do not. He was also hoping to reach families who might not let their daughters take part in swimming lessons. The presence of a Turkish teacher he hopes might raise the chances of girls being allowed to learn to swim.

Unemployment Office

The *Job Center* is one of the agencies in Neukölln with the tasks of issuing unemployment benefits and helping the unemployed find work. It has a reception area where seekers can come without an appointment and then be referred to an appropriate counsellor. There are no Turkish speaking employees at the reception. Turkish customers who do not speak German bring along their own interpreters.

Among the counsellors there are several Turkish speaking employees, but these do not offer advice in Turkish. Counselling is principally in German (although there is no printed or explicit prohibition against using another language if such a situation offered itself).

The agency supports a variety of initiatives by financing people to take part in short-term projects (which also use Turkish) such as the *Gemeindedolmetschdienst*, the translators at the town hall and the *Stadtteilmütter*.³⁶

There is no printed information available in Turkish with the exception of a single small flyer with the telephone number and opening hours of the *Job Center*.

³⁶ The highly successful 'District Mothers' project trains mothers with a migrant background to make contact with families in north Neukölln who speak the same language (with a focus on Turkish and Arabic) and offer help and encouragement on various subjects related to family, health and education. <http://www.berlin.de/ba-neukoelln/verwaltung/modellprojekteimbezirk.html>

Waste Recycling Organisation

Berlin Sammelt ('Berlin collects')³⁷ is the name of the campaign from *Team Grüner Punkt* which has the task of public relations and provision of information for the various waste removal organisations which finance it.

Berlin Sammelt has a variety of leaflets, one (and only one) of which is translated into ten languages including Turkish ('Correct Sorting of Waste Packaging'). This is also available as a pdf file online. The Turkish translation was made around five years ago.

In the years 2007 and 2008 there has been and there will be in future a series of radio advertising spots in Turkish on *Radio Metropol FM*, a Turkish radio station in Berlin, Rhein-Neckar, Stuttgart and Mainz.³⁸ The spots are several minutes long and call for citizens to collect and sort their rubbish.

There is also further low-key publicity in Turkish, for example with the *Stadtteilmütter* project. This project cooperates with *Berlin Sammelt* and instructs its employees in the subject of collecting and sorting waste.

Community Interpreters

The *Gemeinde Dolmetschdienst* (GDD) was a pilot project set up in 2002 for five years, financed by local, state, federal and European funds with *Gesundheit Berlin e.V.* as its responsible body.³⁹

The GDD offers a pool of translators to work as mediators between doctors, social workers, teachers, counsellors etc. and patients or customers in the social and health sectors. They are used for example in schools, hospitals, kindergartens, homes for the elderly and youth counselling services as well as regularly with NGOs.

³⁷ See: <http://www.berlin-sammelt.de/>

³⁸ See: <http://www.metropolfm.de/>

³⁹ See: <http://www.gemeindedolmetschdienst-berlin.de>

They currently have a pool of 104 translators. 51 of these were trained by the GDD and the rest have similar qualifications from elsewhere and were taken into the pool due to increasing demand for translation services. The GDD used to train translators but is no longer able to finance this. They translate into 20 languages as well as other dialects. In 2007 their services were used a total of 989 times. Around 40% of the services were in Turkish.

The five year pilot phase is over but the project continues in a different format. For institutions with their own translation budgets such as hospitals or *Jugendämter* the translators continue to be used on a freelance basis. For other institutions without their own budget such as schools or kindergartens translators will be financed by a new two-year project itself partly financed by the unemployment office.⁴⁰

It is a struggle not only for the project as a whole to be properly financed, but also to provide a regulated policy for financing for each individual service. While some institutions see translation as a necessary part of counselling or treatment and also have a proper budget for such, at other institutions decisions are taken more arbitrarily and there is no guarantee for the customer or patient that translation will be provided.

Comment

There is no stated linguistic policy governing the libraries. A budget for Turkish media was made available for the city library in the past, and has until now been maintained, although the Turkish collection does not have the status of other collections at the library. Both library directors have reasonable freedom to purchase whatever they consider appropriate, but both are equally subject to the constraint that whatever is financed must be borrowed. If they offer Turkish media, then they are also required to have Turkish users who borrow them.

⁴⁰ This is a so-called ÖBS Projekt (Öffentlich Geförderte Beschäftigungssektor) <http://www.oeps-berlin.de/>

The swimming pool network and the waste recycling organisation are also not subject to any linguistic policy. Individuals within the institutions simply made decisions to provide information or services from the resources available.

At the *Job Center* there is essentially no provision made for Turkish; on the contrary, there is an unwritten practice of 'German only'.

The *Gemeinde Dolmetschdienst* was established to provide better health and social services for migrants. In spite of being in high demand (their deployment has more than doubled in the last two years), they still struggle to find adequate financing and have had to cut down on organisational staff as well as the training of new interpreters. There is no linguistic policy that would secure the future of this service.

Evaluation

Motivation of Provisions

The previous section presented a varied set of provisions found in different areas of public life in Berlin. We will now consider the possible or perceived *motivation* behind these provisions.

In the absence of any binding linguistic policy from any higher level, we ask what causes people to make linguistic provisions for others. We propose distinguishing the following motives for the provisions we have observed:

- Provisions which are symbolic
- Provisions which are intended to supply information
- Provisions which intend to promote participation and equal rights
- Provisions which intend to promote multilingualism

A clear distinction between them is not fully possible or necessary. We also recognise the limitations in determining the motivation of a provision based

only on information gathered in interviews. It is clear that we can only make assumptions from what is said.

We exclude the three institutions investigated which offered essentially no linguistic provision at all. These are *Heinrich Heine Oberschule*, Accidents and Emergencies at the hospital and the *Job Center*.

Symbolic Provisions

Peddie points out that 'policy statements tend to fall into two types – symbolic and substantive, where the first articulates good feelings toward change' (Peddie 1991 in Kaplan / Baldauf 1997: xi).

Symbolic provisions include some observed at the *Bezirksamt*. The *Migrationsbeauftragter* himself said that certain measures like signs at the town hall and the introduction to a booklet of activities (written in German) were translated to make people feel welcome.

We also tentatively propose that the provisions made by the Berlin *Schulgesetz* and the *Bildungsprogramm* can partly be considered symbolic. The permission to offer Turkish education in schools certainly sounds positive and open-minded and is a necessary precursor to other policies which implement it. But such a policy in itself only becomes substantial if it is implemented. The fact that so little support is given to its implementation leads one to conclude that it is perhaps more a policy of appeasement than a contribution to multilingualism. Fishman describes permissive language rulings and legislation as being 'largely decorative gestures' (2004:421).

Provision of Information

A variety of provisions in different places appear to be motivated by the simple desire to communicate information and when this is not possible in German, then information is made available, in the most cost-effective way, in Turkish.

These instances include the following:

- Translation of flyers at the *Bezirksamt*
- Information in the ambulances
- Translation of information about sorting waste.

Provisions which Promote Participation and Equal Rights

Participation is different from a simple one-way communication of information. Participation is two-way and is about citizens having the same chances to take part in society and the same access to its services.

Those provisions which promote participation include the following:

- The (planned) introduction of employment quotas for migrants at the *Bezirksamt*
- Translation services and Turkish-speaking employees at the *Jugendamt*
- Turkish nurses and doctors at the hospital
- Resources at the libraries
- Community interpreting service
- Swimming lessons
- Computer courses at the adult education centre

Participation and equal rights are worthy and essential goals to pursue and the contribution to the maintenance of migrant languages made by such provisions is not to be overlooked. However such provisions are not motivated by a desire for multilingualism per se but rather by the fact that *people cannot speak German (yet)*.

Provisions which Intend to Promote Multilingualism

All provisions observed so far make a contribution to the maintenance of Turkish and therefore to multilingualism, however minimal or unintended this

may be. If any of the provisions have the genuine intention of supporting multilingualism per se, then perhaps the library services are a case in point. The conscious acquisition and maintenance of a collection of media has a longer-term outlook than certain other measures intended to meet immediate communication needs; being able to borrow books is less urgent a need than being understood by doctors or counsellors.

Wider Perspective

The provisions observed in the present investigation give an impression of the extent of services in Berlin's public sector. This impression can of course be supplemented by observations in other public services which were not included, such as the police force, prisons or the law courts. In the case of council offices, the same offices and departments in *other* Berlin boroughs may reveal quite a different level of provisions.⁴¹

Perhaps even more informative would be an observation of the activities of the very many Turkish and non-Turkish NGOs in Berlin. These operate in the areas of education and health and fill many of the gaps left by the direct public services. The present investigation made reference to a few of these incidentally (*Stadtteilmütter*, *Rucksack Projekt*, *Lebenswelt*). There are many more and many publish information or offer translation or other services in Turkish. These are funded by various public or non-public sources, often on a shorter-term basis.

Micro-level initiatives, in particular services offered by the host of Turkish-speaking doctors and specialists, as well as nationwide institutions with

⁴¹ Recent studies at the Jugendamt in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg for example give the impression that Turkish provisions are more a matter of course than in Neukölln. See Borde / Albrecht 2007.

subsidiaries at state level such as the Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse (AOK)⁴² would also complement the information gained from the present study.

Finally the observation could be extended to the essentially private services which are used by a large proportion of the public e.g. the local public transportation network or the network of public toilets.

Conclusion

What policies and in particular what linguistic policies have we observed in this investigation? In Berlin (as well as in Germany as a whole) there is no overarching linguistic policy aside from that of ignoring all languages other than German. The *Schulgesetz* and the *Berliner Bildungsprogramm* are non-committal about migrant languages. Integration policies focus on migrants and on the importance of learning German but hardly on the use of migrant languages.

We have observed a variety of provisions, but these are not implemented as the result of a policy from a higher level but are rather mainly random decisions made by individuals within institutions to find immediate solutions to communication problems, as well as the mainly decorative provision of Turkish education. These reveal a limited acceptance of the necessity of providing certain services in Turkish.

García / Fishman observe a similar attitude in New York City:

Government today uses LOTEs [languages other than English] only to enable monolingual LOTE speakers to participate in government services, court proceedings or education, and to that end it has adopted a multilingual policy of tolerance during the transition to English stage. Government only recognises New Yorkers'

⁴² The AOK, for example, is the largest public health insurance fund. It offers information in Turkish on its webpage for its patients in Berlin.

multilingualism when their clients are monolingual LOTE speakers, but once they're bilingual, LOTEs have little room in any social public domain in the city. Bilingualism is relegated to the home, and the ethnic community and its institutions (1997:42).

The *National Integration Plan of 2007*,⁴³ alongside a myriad of obligations and suggestions for the integration of migrants also makes reference to the promotion of multilingualism:

Mehrsprachigkeit unter Einschluss der Herkunftssprache stellt daneben ein wichtiges Potenzial für das Individuum und die Gesellschaft insgesamt dar, das es zu fördern gilt. Es sind geeignete Maßnahmen zu erproben, wie der Mehrsprachigkeit im Schulalltag angemessen Rechnung getragen werden kann, beispielsweise durch bilinguale Schulformen (page 64).

Die Kultusministerkonferenz verpflichtet sich, auf der Grundlage der nationalen Bildungsberichterstattung in einen kontinuierlichen Meinungsaustausch zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit einzutreten (page 66).

The *Migrationsbeauftragter* for Neukölln also claimed that multilingualism is a good and desirable thing. However, promoting multilingualism needs more than just believing it is a good idea.

Gogolin points out, while public rhetoric may have improved (although that in itself is also an important process), substantial implementation remains sparse.⁴⁴ Berlin's multilingual reality clearly strikes against a widespread monolingual mindset. The claim by the *intercultural moderator* that education in Turkish is 'not wanted' refers not only to the lack of interest from the senate

⁴³ See: <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2007/07/Anlage/2007-07-12-nationaler-integrationsplan.property=publicationFile.pdf>

⁴⁴ Gogolin: Personal communication, 8.5.08.

but to the general inertia felt by everyone involved. With Gogolin we must conclude that 'the idea of a multilingual Germany is [still] not yet prevailing'.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ See page 13.

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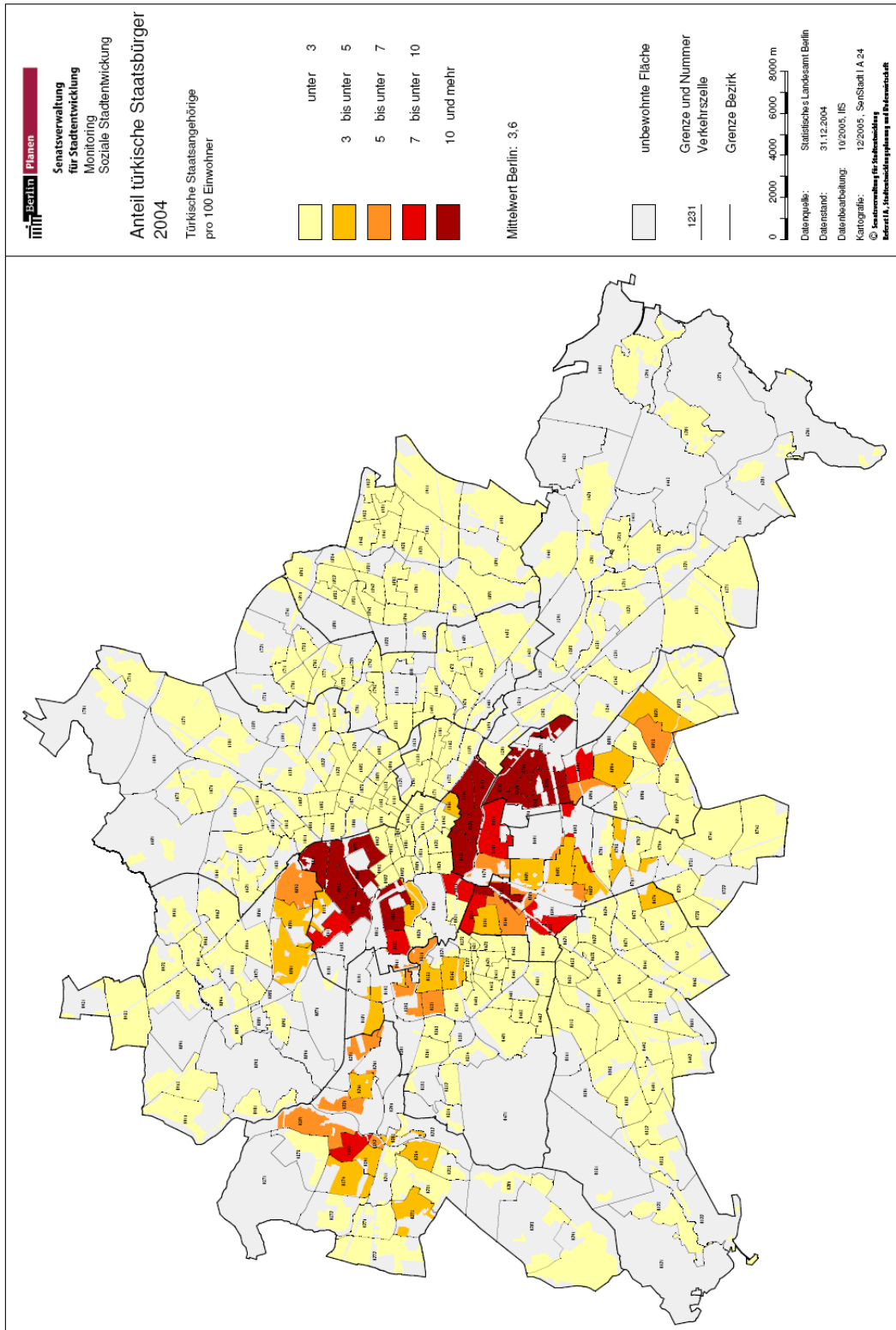
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Appendix



Map showing the distribution of the Turkish population in Berlin.

From: Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung

http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/basisdaten_stadtentwicklung/monitoring/download/2006/karten/28_tuerkAnteil2004.pdf

It will be noted that the figures on this map represent *non-Germans* with Turkish nationality. For the number of *migrants* with previous or current Turkish nationality these figures need to be almost doubled.