

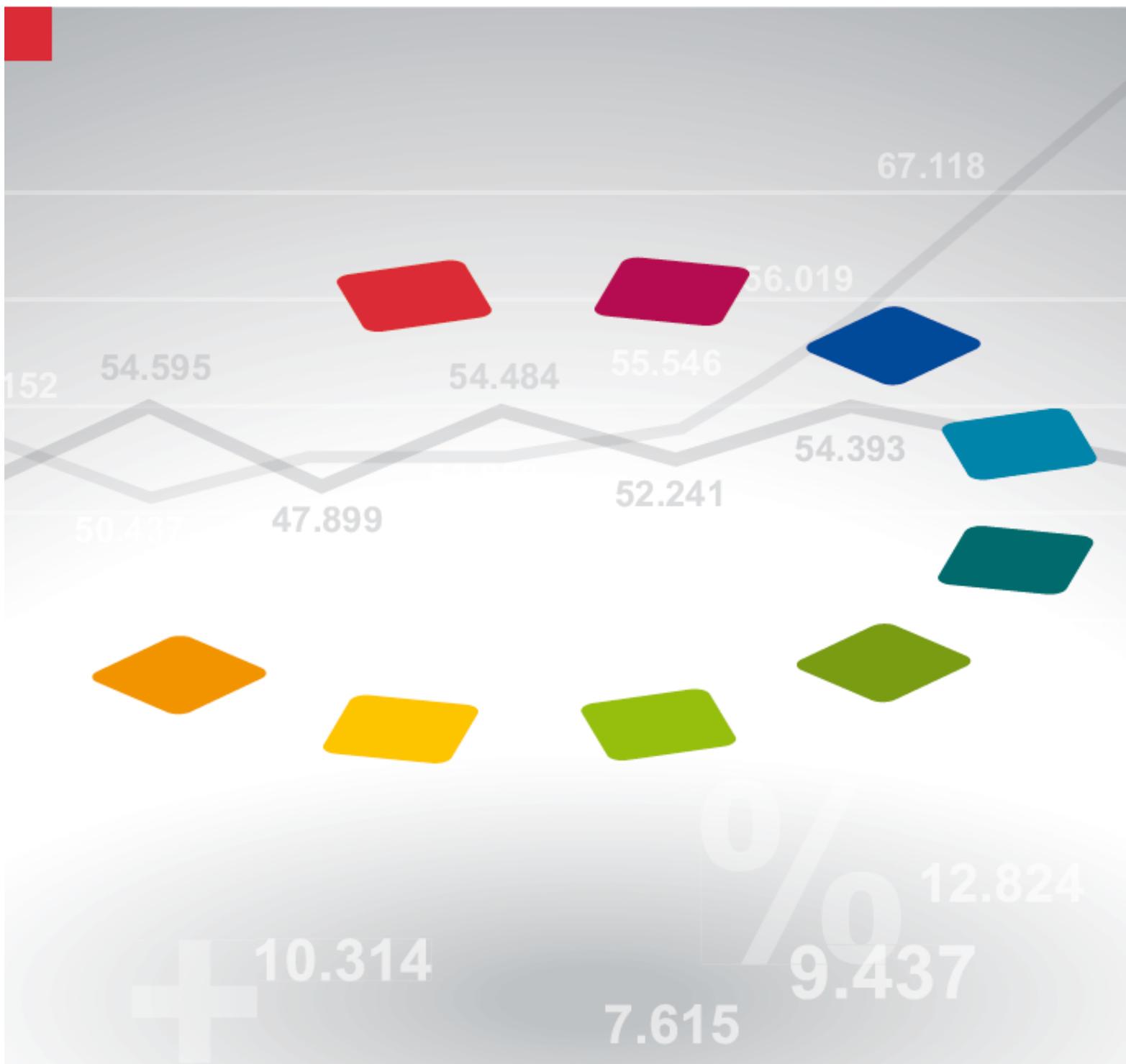
Ministry of Justice, for Integration and Europe
of the State of Hessen

HESSSEN



Statistical Report on the Education of Children with an Immigration Background in Hessen:

Pre-school, Primary, and Secondary Education 2011-2012





Differences in employment opportunities, income, and social security, as well as in involvement in society and politics are closely linked to individual success in education. Education is a decisive factor for personal development opportunities, participation in the economy, and for the social cohesion and the democratic development of our society.

Various studies demonstrate that foreign citizens and German citizens with a background in immigration currently tend to underachieve in education with respect to their German peers without an immigration background. These differences can be seen as early as primary and secondary school and become even more discernible in the higher education system. We should act as early as possible to increase children's educational prospects. Improving access to pre-school education – and specifically to childcare centres – is thus an important goal of Hessian integration policy. The key to successful integration is mastery of the German language at an early age.

With early support, children with an immigration background are given an equal start. Hessen is the first German state to have drawn up an education and development plan for children ages 0-10 that creates holistic educational opportunities and makes consistent support possible. Our objective is that every child in Hessen should receive support at the soonest, in the best and most sustainable way possible. By doing so, we want to unlock the potential that children with a background in immigration have.

The Hessian integration policy's evaluation methodology, built on a sound scientific basis, has also interested others throughout Europe. This brochure, therefore, is intended for readers outside Germany.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jörg-Uwe Hahn'.

Jörg-Uwe Hahn

Minister of Justice, for Integration and Europe
of the State of Hessen

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1 Immigrants in Hessen

Hessen is a state in the heart of Germany and in the centre of Europe. The south-western part of the state, in particular, is one of the most densely populated and economically powerful regions of Europe. A large number of immigrants live here, as Germany has the second highest level of immigration in the world (after the USA). Approximately 80% of the immigrants in Hessen have lived here for at least 10 years.

Many of these immigrants are well integrated. However, on average, the social situation of immigrants and their offspring is not on par with the native population. Therefore, the Hessian State Government strives to give immigrants and their children equal educational and career opportunities and to involve them in social and economic life as much as possible.

Out of a state population of 6 million, 1.54 million people (around 25%) in Hessen have an immigration background¹ (2011; see below). When looking at the population by age brackets, 46.2% of children under the age of 6 have an immigration background. In larger cities – such as Frankfurt – this percentage reaches up to 71.1%. Table 1 provides an overview of the proportion of people with an immigration background in Hessen by specific age groups.

| Age group | Proportion of immigrants |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 0 to 2 years | 47.4 % |
| 3 to 5 years | 45.0 % |
| 6 to 16 years | 36.2 % |
| Total population (all ages) | 25.3 % |

Table 1: Proportion of Hessian children and the total population with an immigration background in 2011
Source: authors' calculation based on microcensus data from the Statistical Office of the State of Hessen

The Hessian State Government believes that a target-oriented integration policy requires an empirically supported basis for planning and decision-making. For this reason, the Ministry for Integration of the State of Hessen published the first Integration Report in 2010 and the second Integration Report in 2013 (see www.integrationskompass.de → “Integrationsmonitoring”). In addition, the ministry has prepared in-depth reports on the subject of education, the findings of which are summarized in a brochure for readers outside of Germany.

¹ As defined by the German Federal Office of Statistics, persons with a migrant background include "anyone who has immigrated into the present territory of the Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, any foreign citizen born in Germany, and any person born as a German citizen in Germany who has at least one parent who is an immigrant or was born as a foreign citizen in Germany".

2 The Definition and Collection of Statistics about Immigrants in Germany

Immigration to Germany post World War II took place in several waves. In the mid-1950s, predominantly low-skilled workers from southern Europe were recruited. Despite the implementation of the ban on recruitment in 1973, immigrants brought their families to Germany so they would not remain separated. The subsequent arrival of immigrants' families reinforced the long-term residency of immigrants. In the 1980s, there was a strong increase in the number of asylum seekers. The late 1980s were characterised by an immigration of "Aussiedler" (expatriates), most of whom had an intermediate level of education. Many expatriates were descendants of previous German emigrants to Eastern Europe and were privileged to receive German citizenship on the basis of the "ius sanguine."

With the reforms of the Law on Nationality (see e.g. http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/EinreiseUndAufenthalt/Staatsangehoerigkeitsrecht_node.html), the number of immigrant workers, their families, and the number of immigrant children with German citizenship increased. As most official statistics only make a distinction between people with German citizenship and people with foreign citizenship, these statistics do not satisfy the increasing demand for information about the diversifying society. People who were born in Germany as the children or grandchildren of immigrant workers and belong to the "second" or "third generation" are recorded as "immigrants", in spite of the lack of experience of immigration and their potentially poor knowledge of German as German citizens.

To remedy this flaw in the data, the concept of an "immigration background" was developed. As a general rule, one has an immigration background if one has immigrated or if one's parents or grandparents immigrated after 1949." However, the statistics that record the attendance of immigrant children in day-care centres use different definitions.² This should be kept in mind when interpreting the data used in this brochure.

Data that focuses on children with an immigration background have been available across Germany since 2006. Similarly, the data that describes school attendance have been available since the academic year 2009/2010.

3 Education as a Key to Integration

Immigrants' participation in education is regarded as an important factor for integration into modern society. Education heavily determines an individual's professional and social opportunities. In addition, education has a huge influence on social status.

The 2013 Integration Report of Hessen states that people with a background in immigration across all age groups tend to have lower graduation rates and lower vocational qualifications than people without an immigration background (State Ministry of Justice, for Integration and Europe of the State of Hessen 2013: 74ff.). For instance, a certain proportion of the Hessian youth population with an immigration background does not graduate secondary school, and

² The child and youth welfare statistics, deviating from the microcensus, collects data on an immigration background with the question of whether a parent of a child in childcare is of foreign origin ("parents' immigration experience"). The second stage of the survey characteristic is the question about the "language mainly spoken at home" (German / not German).

As defined by the school statistics, an immigration background covers three features: nationality, common language mainly spoken at home, and country of birth. The immigration characteristics of the parents should not be used to obtain the characteristics used for this definition.

thus has few chances completing a vocational training. In Germany, completed vocational training³ is regarded as an essential prerequisite for entry into the working life and the continuity of employment. Moreover, tertiary education acts as a safeguard against unemployment and poverty. Therefore, the lack of degrees in higher-level education by youth with an immigration background has dire consequences for their search for employment and their socio-economic status.

At the same time, education, poverty and income are not only associated with social skills, but also with financial resources and familial skills. Many families with a background in immigration tend to be disadvantaged.

The Hessian State Government has concluded that efforts must be made for the education of people with an immigration background. Investments in education pay off, in particular, for children and young people because they benefit from education for the rest of their lives (e.g. Anger et al. 2010). Therefore, education is more useful than almost any other integration initiative.

A reasonable grasp of the German language is a prerequisite for access to education and successful entry into the employment market. However, a large proportion of Hessian children grow up in a family in which a language other than German is spoken as the main language. Therefore, it is important to introduce these children to the German language even before they start primary school. At a childcare centre, the children of immigrant parents are brought into early and intensive contact with the German language. In childcare centres, additional knowledge and social skills are also taught in an age-appropriate way, which is important for children from families with a poor educational background. Studies have shown that the period of attendance of a childcare centre is decisive in one's success in learning the German language and for a smooth transition to primary school (e.g. Anger/Plünnecke 2006: 4; Erdmann et al. 2011: 16).

3.1 Measures of Education

On one hand, the level of education of the population with an immigration background can be compared with that of the population without an immigration background (in terms of the human capital accumulated in society as a whole). However, because the level of education changes slowly, it is more interesting to map the results of the current educational processes (various methods can also be used to measure these data). It is assumed that the educational prospects of children with an immigration background improve when their school attendance and graduation rates match those of children who do not have a background in immigration. Therefore, various studies compare attendance and graduation rates in each level of education between students with a background in immigration and students without a background in immigration. In addition, the proportion of people with an immigration background throughout all education levels provides insight into the social structure of the establishment.

³ "Traditionally VET is organised within the "dual system": companies take responsibility for the practical training, which is supplemented by instruction at public part-time vocational schools to cover the theoretical orientations and knowledge-based elements of the occupation. For many years, dual system VET has met Germany's needs for young skilled workers, kept youth unemployment at a low level in comparison with other European countries, and integrated young people from less well-educated families into recognised occupations" (Authoring Group Educational Reporting 2008)." (Wilkens 2009: 52)

3.2 Educational Pathways in Hessen

The early support of children in childcare centres is a public service that helps parents raise their children; it is the parents' decision to take advantage of this opportunity. 17.5% of all children under the age of three and 92.2% of three to six year-old children attend a childcare centre. The aim of the childcare establishments in Hessen is to support every child's individual learning requirements, personality, and level of development. The Hessian State Government promotes the expansion of childcare – especially that for children under three (Ministry of Justice, for Integration and Europe of the State of Hessen 2012b: 3).

Children generally start school at the age of six. Around ten, the children move on to secondary schools (see figure 1). For secondary schools, the German educational system splits into three different levels of secondary education: the *Gymnasium*, the *Realschule*, and the *Hauptschule*. The *Gymnasium* is the most ambitious type of secondary education, followed by the *Realschule* and then the *Hauptschule*, which is the least rigorous. In Hessen, “support stages” are also offered that lead to attendance of a comprehensive school or a combined *Hauptschule* and *Realschule*. For children who need extra help, there are special needs schools.

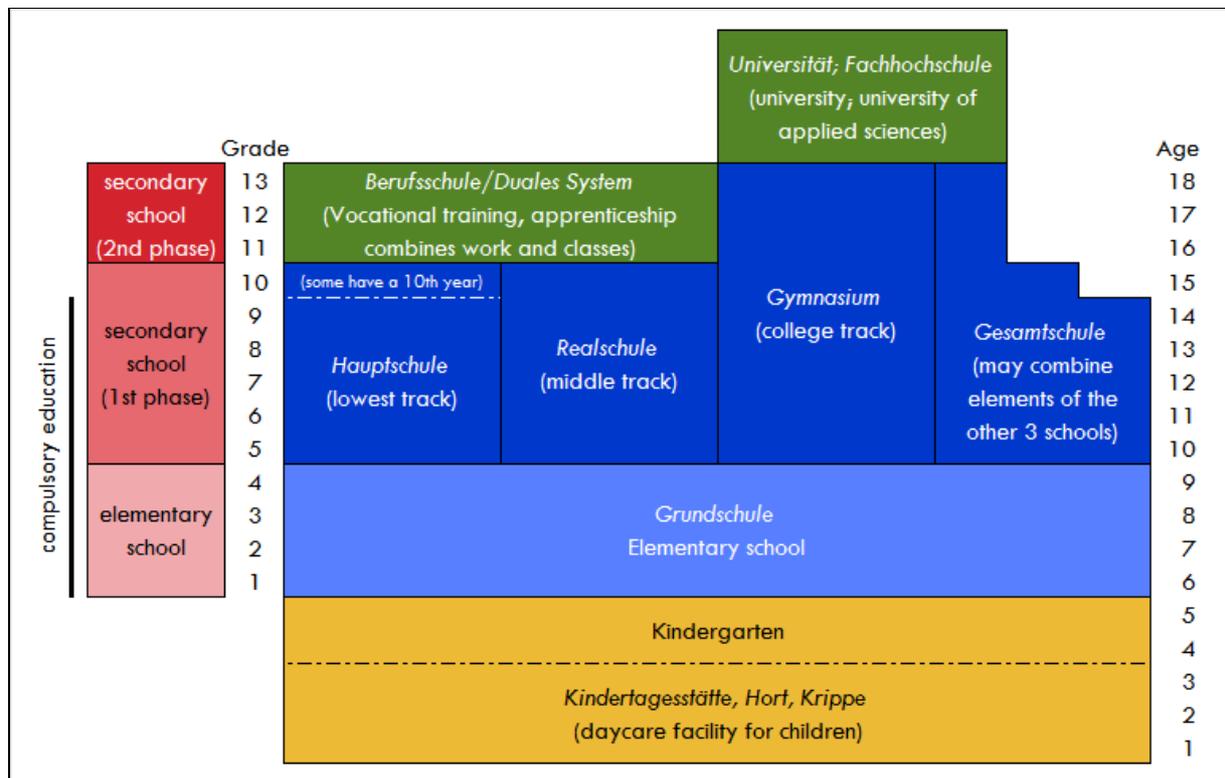


Figure 1: German education system (simplified view)
Source: Compiled by the authors

After graduating from a *Hauptschule* or *Realschule*, students can participate in vocational training in specified fields. After graduating from a *Gymnasium*, students take the *Abitur*, a lengthy and strenuous examination that shows a student's capabilities in varying class subjects. While the *Abitur* is the prerequisite for admission to a university, a course at a university of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulreife*) can be started a year before the completion of the *Abitur*.

4 Children with an Immigration Background in Pre-school Education

This chapter reports the attendance of children with a background in immigration in Hessian childcare centres. According to the child and youth welfare statistics, 3,950 childcare centres were available in Hessen in 2011 for children up to the age of 14. These childcare centres looked after 233,930 children.

4.1 Children with an Immigration Background in Hessian Childcare Centres

Of the children who did not attend primary school but attended a Hessian childcare centre in 2011, almost all (99.5%) were under the age of seven. 37.7% had at least one foreign parent. German was not the main language spoken at home by 24.0% of the children, and 23.9% of the children displayed both of these characteristics. Below, Table 2 differentiates these data between age groups. As the children's age increases, the proportion of children with a background in immigration in childcare increases. In particular, the proportion hovers around 40% during the last year before school.

| Children not attending pre school education | At least one parent of foreign origin | Main language spoken at home not German | Both characteristics |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 0 years | 31.2 | 18.7 | 18.3 |
| 1 year | 26.6 | 14.9 | 14.7 |
| 2 years | 26.4 | 14.6 | 14.5 |
| 3 years | 37.5 | 24.3 | 24.2 |
| 4 years | 40.3 | 26.6 | 26.4 |
| 5 years | 39.7 | 25.1 | 25.0 |
| 6 years | 40.3 | 25.7 | 25.5 |
| Total (age 0 to 6 years) | 38.5 | 24.5 | 24.3 |

Table 2: Children in pre-school education by age-group and immigration background at Hessian childcare centres in 2011; data in per cent

Source: authors' calculation based on data from the Federal Statistical Office

If the children are grouped together by the age groups that are typically used to compare the proportions of children with a background in immigration in the population of Hessen, a clear underrepresentation of Hessian children with background in immigration exists in childcare, especially for children under the age of three.⁴

⁴ Attention should be drawn to the problem that different sources of data with differing definition bases and different populations are related to one another here. The procedure follows that of the Federal Statistical Office, however (see Böttcher et al. 2010). The percentages should, therefore, only be interpreted as a trend.

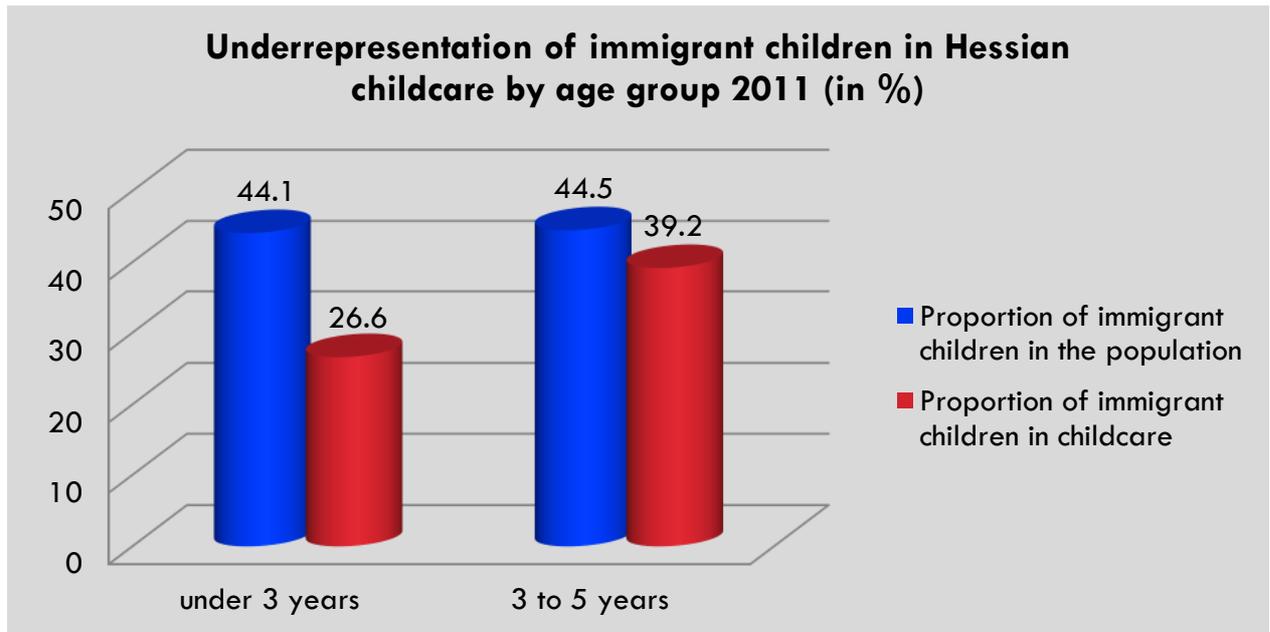


Figure 2: Underrepresentation of children with a background in immigration in childcare by age group in 2011; Source: authors' calculation based on the data from the Statistical Office of the State of Hessen and the Federal Statistical Office

4.2 Immigrant-specific Childcare Percentages

When comparing the child and youth welfare statistics data to the *Microcensus* data, 52.6% of children with an immigration background and 60.6% of children without an immigration background attended a childcare centre in 2011. The proportion of children without an immigration background ages 0-2 who attended a childcare centre was 21.1% in 2011, while the percentage of children with a background in immigration in the same age bracket was 11.9%. In the age group of three to five years, the percentage of children in childcare increased to 94.2% for children without an immigration background and 89.4% for children with an immigration background. When comparing the data from Hessen to other western German states, the percentage of children with an immigration background in childcare is higher in Hessen, especially in the 3-5 age bracket (see table 3).

| Childcare percentage | Age group | Without immigration background | | | With immigration background | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-------|
| | | total | 0 - 2 | 3 - 5 | total | 0 - 2 | 3 - 5 |
| Region | Hessen | 57.6 | 21.1 | 94.2 | 51.1 | 11.9 | 89.4 |
| | Western Germany | 557.1 | 18.8 | 94.9 | 49.5 | 11.3 | 85.9 |

Table 3: Percentages of children in childcare centres by immigration background and age group in Hessen and in the former territory of the Federal Republic of Germany in 2011; data in per cent
Source: Statistical Office of the State of Hessen, Federal Statistical Office

4.3 Further Analyses

The National Report on Education⁵ states that children with an immigration background are not evenly distributed amongst the childcare centres; the immigrant percentages differ between the childcare centres.⁶ These "tendencies towards segregation" may lead to German not being the main language spoken at home for the majority of the children looked after in certain childcare centres. "Everyday language support" is made considerably more difficult by such a situation. Throughout Hessen, 40.6% of children who speak a language other than German at home attended childcare centres in which at least half of the children do not speak German at home. (Educational Reporting Consortium 2012: 245)

The German government's second *Integrationsindikatorenbericht* (Statistical Report about Integration) empirically examined whether the parents' background in immigration influenced a child's attendance at day-care for children ages 3-5. The study concluded that "the statistical probability of attendance of a childcare centre is determined by regional circumstances, such as childcare services and the average acceptance of childcare in the state." (Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration 2012: 149) However, attendance in childcare centres is also closely connected to the level of education of the parents and the possible employment of the mother.

In addition, the report found that even if the age of the child, social background of the child, employment status of the mother, and number of siblings are identical, children whose parents come from non-EU countries attend childcare centres significantly less often than children from families with an immigration background (Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration 2012: 149). According to the report, the generation of the parents and their country of origin also have an influence on a child's attendance of a childcare centre: children of second-generation parents and/or of parents from another EU country "attend a childcare centre significantly less often than children from comparable homes without a background in immigration" (ibid.).

Socio-structural features, linguistic difficulties, a lack of information, and "cultural reservation about childcare outside of the family" are listed as some of the reasons why parents with an immigration background chose to not send their children to childcare centres. It should be noted, however, that it was not possible to test these hypotheses empirically in the second *Integrationsindikatorenbericht* due to the data used for the analysis (Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration 2012: 149).

⁵ English summaries can be downloaded at <http://www.bildungsbericht.de/zeigen.html?seite=6609>.

⁶ The "tendencies towards segregation" are "generally a reflection of the close living environment of the families" (Authoring Group Educational Reporting 2010: 53). In addition, the parents have a free choice of childcare centres and the institutions establish the criteria for admission themselves.

5 Participation of Children with an Immigration Background in Primary and Secondary Education

The educational pathway continues with the attendance of a school – first a primary school, then a secondary school. About one third of all Hessian school pupils attended a primary school in the academic year 2011-2012. The proportion of students who attend a *Gymnasium* is 33.1%; 13.1% attend a *Realschule*. The significance of the *Hauptschule* is constantly declining; currently, only 3.9% of Hessian school pupils choose to attend a *Hauptschule*. 10.0% of all children attend an integrated form of secondary school, 3.8% attend a special needs school, 2.7% attend the 'support stages,' and 0.2% attend the new *Mittelstufenschule*⁷ (authors' calculation based on data from the Statistical Office of the State of Hessen 2012; s. figure 3).

The 2013 Integration Report of Hessen shows that students with an immigration background in Hessen are slightly underrepresented at *Realschulen*, strongly underrepresented at *Gymnasiums*, and disproportionately overrepresented at *Hauptschulen*. Between the academic years 2006-2007 and 2008-2009, a slight upward mobility can be observed both among students with and without an immigration background in attendance of a *Gymnasium* (Ministry of Justice, for Integration and Europa of the State of Hessen 2013: 61f.).

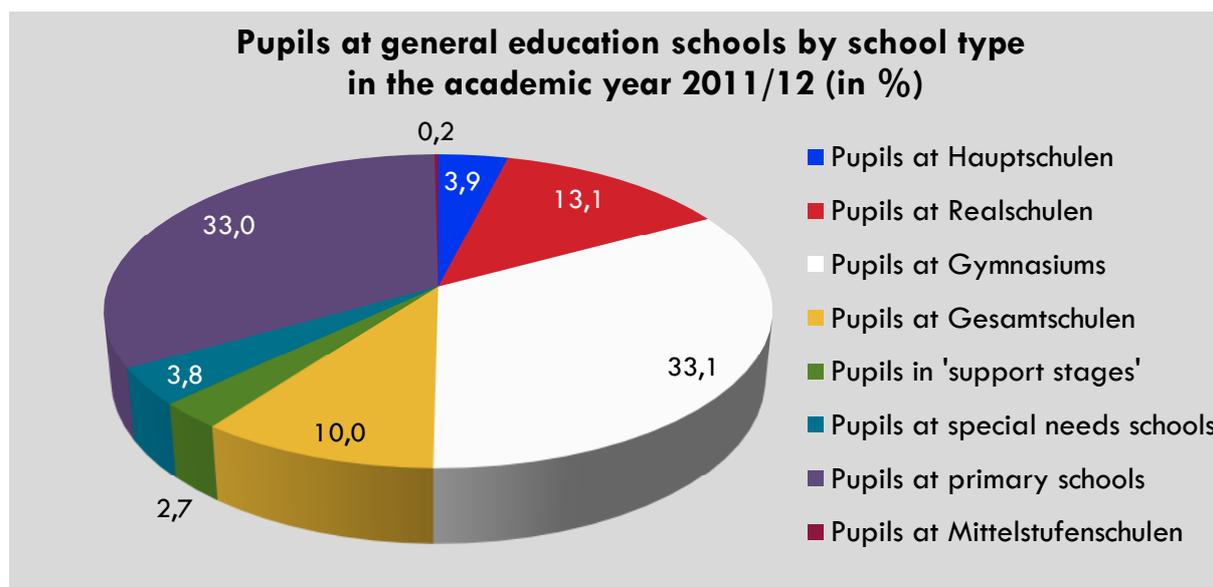


Figure 3: Distribution of pupils at general education schools in Hessen in the academic year 2011/12
Source: authors' calculation based on the data from Statistical Office of the State of Hessen 2012

5.1 School Attendance Percentages

Throughout the academic school year in 2011-2012 in Hessen, 24.1% of the students at general education schools⁸ had a background in immigration; this figure was 27.9% at primary schools and 22.2% at secondary schools.

The following figure shows the distribution of children and youth with and without an immigration background for the various types of schools.

⁷ This type of school was established for the academic year 2011/12. It comprises a joint development level in grades 5 to 7, the practice-oriented programme (forms 8-9 and 10) and, in parallel to that, the intermediate programme (8-10). In both programmes, the young people are given a systematic vocational focus.

⁸ General education schools are distinct from vocational schools. Vocational schools provide general and vocational education in programmes that qualify the pupils for a profession and for a higher education course.

For students without an immigration background, the *Gymnasium* attendance percentage is 53.6%, which is higher than the percentage of students with a background in immigration who attend *Gymnasium* (35.3%). However, the proportion of students with an immigration background who attend *Gymnasium* has increased by more than 1% in the past year alone. The proportion of students with an immigration background who attend *Realschule* is higher than that of students without an immigration background (23.2% to 18.6%). The proportion of students with an immigration background who attend *Hauptschule* is significantly higher (11.2% to 4.4%). In comparison with the previous year, this percentage has decreased by almost 1%.

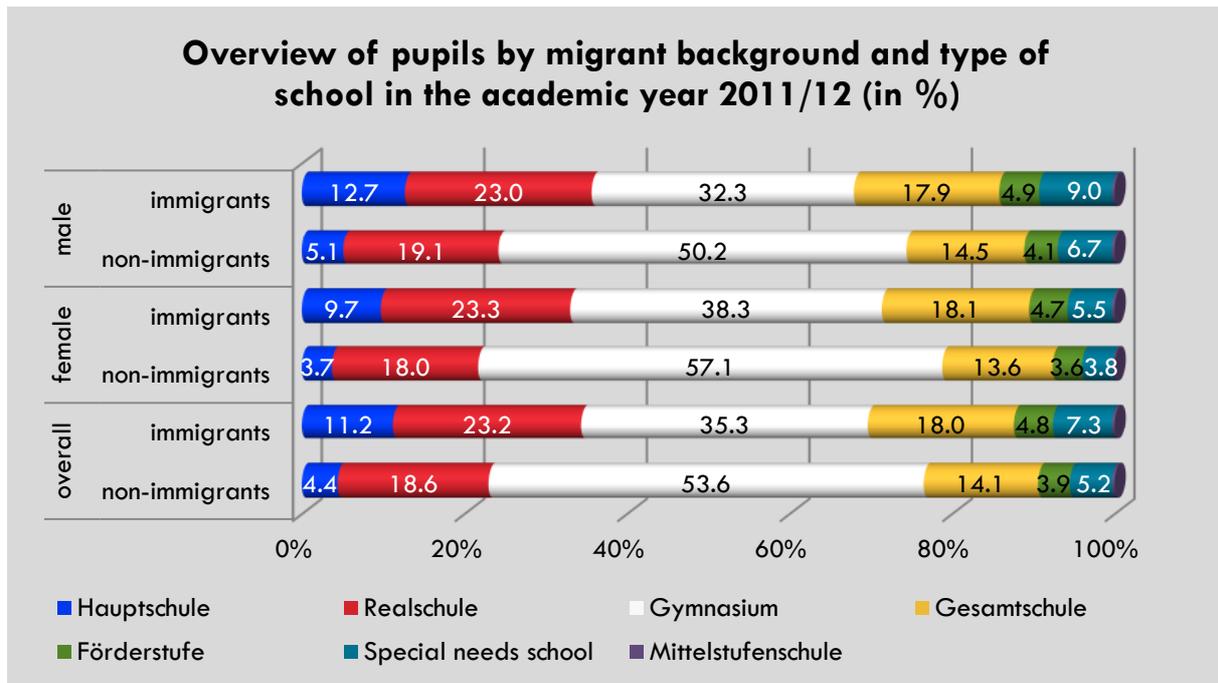


Figure 4: Distribution of the pupils to the various types of school in Hessen by immigration background and sex, academic year 2011/12; data in per cent

Source: authors' calculation based on data from the Statistical Office of the State of Hessen

Figure 4 also shows the distribution of school attendance by gender. Regardless of an immigration background, females outdo males in school attendance; girls attend *Hauptschulen* less often and *Gymnasiums* more frequently. The smallest differences can be found in the *Realschule* attendance percentage. However, there is a difference between pupils, both male and female, without and with an immigration background. Thus, 57.1% of girls without an immigration background, but only 38.3% of girls with an immigration background, attend a *Gymnasium* – for boys these figures are 50.2% and 32.3% respectively. 3.7% of girls without an background in immigration and 9.7% of girls with an immigration background attend a *Hauptschule*. For boys, these percentages are 5.1% and 12.7%, respectively.

5.2 Secondary Education Graduation Rates

Which secondary diploma one receives at the end of his or her secondary career has a significant impact on his or her continuation of education and access to the employment market. School drop outs, in particular, have higher risks of being unemployed.

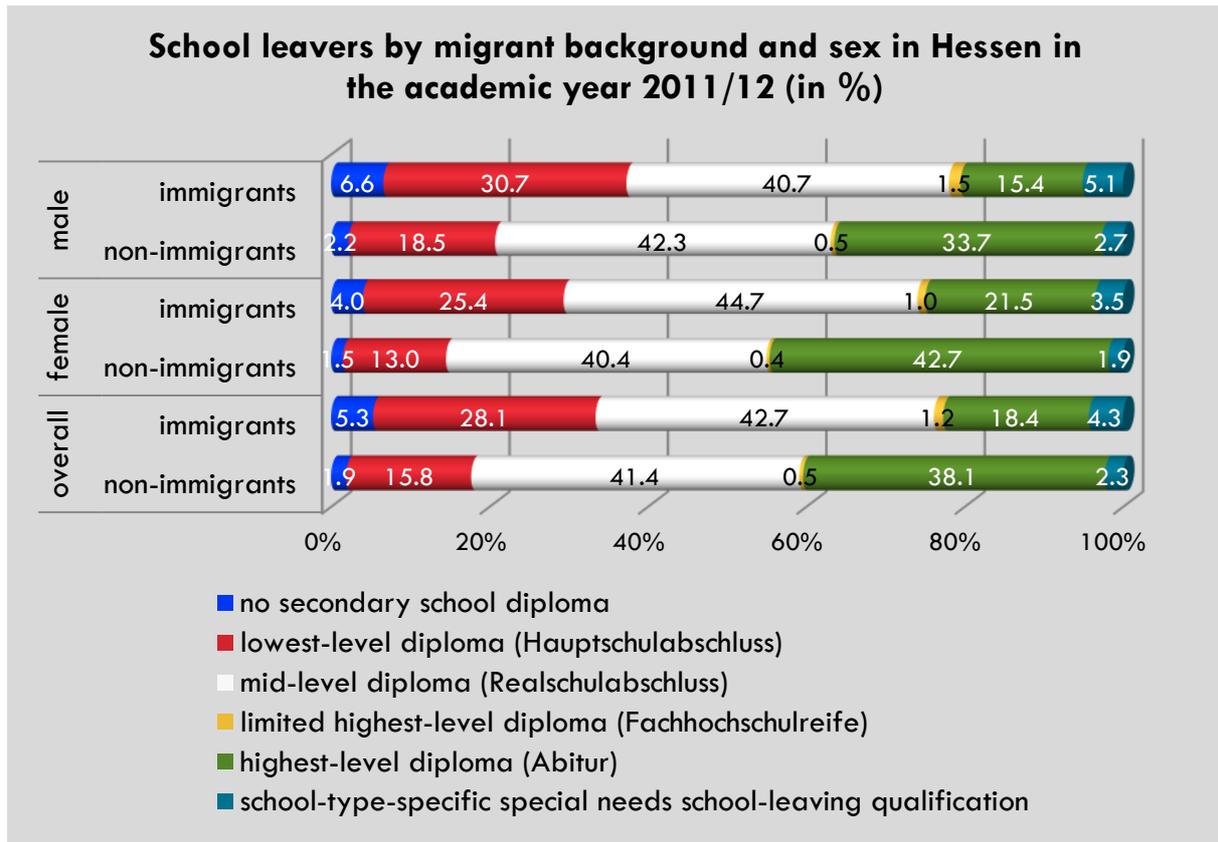


Figure 5: School leavers by immigration background and sex with the various graduation qualifications in Hessen, academic year 2011/12; data in per cent

Source: authors' calculation based on data from the Statistical Office of the State of Hessen

The data show that people with a background in immigration are more likely to graduate from *Hauptschule* (the lowest-level of secondary school) than students without an immigration background (28.1% to 15.8%). This statistical difference applies to young men in particular (see figure 5). At the same time, the school dropout rate is significantly higher among youth with an immigration background than among youth without an immigration background (5.3% to 1.9%). Conversely, students with a background in immigration graduate from *Gymnasium* (the highest-level of secondary school) significantly less often than students without an immigration background (18.4% to 38.1%). The proportions of students who graduate from a mid-level secondary school (*Realschule*) are about the same (41.4% without and 42.7% with an immigration background).

Overall, females do a lot better in school attendance and graduation rates than boys; 42.7% of young women without and 21.5% of those with an immigration background graduate from *Gymnasium*, but only 33.7% of young men without and 15.4% of young men with an immigration background. Young men have the highest proportion out of any group that graduates from *Hauptschule* (30.7%). Among young women, this figure is 25.4% (compared with 13.0% of young women and 18.5% of young men without an immigration background).

5.3 Further Analyses

The results presented here are in accordance with other international research on education (National Report on Education, IGLU and PISA-Studies⁹, OECD etc.). This works out further details, for example that immigrant pupils are behind in terms of competencies more frequently than non-immigrant pupils (Authoring Group Educational Reporting 2010: 65, 87f.; Educational Reporting Consortium 2006: 152; Bos 2003; Prenzel et al. 2004, 2007; OECD 2007: 54; Siegert 2008: 34ff.).

Linguistic deficiencies and a lack of school and family educational requirements lie at the centre of the debate over immigrants' educational opportunities. The National Report on Education (Authoring Group Educational Reporting 2010: 87f.) states that disparities are closely linked to the social situation of the families, "as almost half of youth with but only one fifth of youth without an immigration background come (author's note: throughout Germany) from families with a low socio-economic status." Irrespective of this, an immigration background has "its own effect on school attendance", whereby the National Report on Education differentiates between different immigrant groups (ibid.). As well as a family's socio-economic situation, the level of education or the educational aspirations that the parents instil in their children plays a role, as do the language(s) spoken at home. Recently, an increased focus has been placed on the parents' selection of a primary school, which sets the course for the subsequent educational career (Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration 2012).

The unfavourable performance of students with an immigration background in the school system can also be traced back to a so-called "institutional discrimination." There is scarcely another country in which school success correlates so strongly with social origin and language skills (Prenzel et al. 2004, 2007). For example, the second generation of immigrants hardly shows any progress in their reading skills compared with the first generation (OECD 2011: 225). This lack of progress cannot just be the difficulty of the German language. The reasons for the poor success at school of immigrants are, in particular, a lack of language support, the distribution of students in various levels of secondary education, and the orientation of schools (lesson contents, language, teaching staff) (e.g. OECD 2006; Auernheimer 2010). Sadly, students with an immigration background apparently are not receiving the governmental and public help they need due to a lack of public funds and half-day class schedules. Thus, this results in "social selection with an ethnicization effect, in which the combination of belonging to a lower class and speaking a language other than German at home has a particularly detrimental effect" (Britz 2006: 26). This applies in particular to newcomers who are older than six (Beicht/Ulrich 2008: 4).

Finally, further analyses should be conducted with focus on the gender-specific situation (Wilkens 2013).

⁹ PISA is an international study that was launched by the OECD. It aims to evaluate education systems worldwide regularly by assessing 15-year-olds' competencies in mathematics, science and reading.

6 Conclusion

Over one third of all children and young adults in Hessen have a background in immigration. Statistics analyses reveal that foreign citizens and German citizens with an immigration background tend to achieve poorer results in education when compared to German citizens without an immigration background. The skewed proportions of children with an immigration background in primary and secondary education indicate a need for change in terms of integration policies.

Overall, children with an immigration background do not perform as well in the Hessian education system than children without an immigration background. Students with an immigration background attend a childcare centre less frequently, graduate school without or with a lower-level diploma, and rarely achieve higher educational qualifications. This trend does not only exist in Hessen, but rather all of Germany.

When reading these statistics, one must bear in mind that immigration to western Germany was largely uncontrolled with respect to educational qualifications. While very narrow criteria are set for immigration in the traditional immigration countries, such as Canada and Australia, in order to make immigration primarily for educationally-qualified people, the immigration policy in western Germany has allowed the immigration of people with a poor educational background. In eastern Germany, by contrast, due to their different immigration history, the immigrants achieve, on average, better results in their educational and training qualifications.

Education research relates the unfavourable performance of children and young adults with an immigration background in western Germany to the fact that the German education system relies heavily on the education of one's parents. Pupils whose parents have a poor educational background tend to be at a disadvantage.

Therefore, the Hessian State Government is committed to ensuring that children with an immigration background – and particularly those from disadvantaged families or who speak a language other than German at home – attend a childcare centre and receive additional support at school.

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