DEPOSIT AND CONSULTATION OF DISSERTATION

One copy of your dissertation will be deposited in ORA (Oxford University Research Archive), where it is intended to be freely available online. In order to facilitate this, you are requested to complete and sign the form below.

Please use block capitals

Surname APPLE
First names (in full) LANA
Faculty board EDUCATION
Degree name and pathway MSC EDUCATION (COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL)
Title of dissertation CAN INTEGRATION BE ACHIEVED THROUGH SCHOOLS?: SCHOOL APPROACHES TO MANAGING STUDENT DIVERSITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY N.B. The title stated here must be precisely the same as that stated on the title page of the thesis submitted. **A candidate wishing to amend the title previously approved by the faculty must apply to the faculty board for permission to do so.**
Supervisor DR. NATASHA ROBINSON
Subject keywords *Enter your own keywords or phrases to describe your work. This information helps us describe your work in ORA* GERMANY, UNITED STATES, INTEGRATION, IMMIGRATION, ASSIMILATION, LANGUAGE POLICY
Research methods used *This information helps us describe your work on SOLO for future students e.g. quantitative, interviews, vocabulary test, systematic review, etc.* INTERVIEWS, POLICY ANALYSIS

Declaration by the candidate as author of the dissertation

1. I understand that I am the owner of this dissertation and that the copyright rests with me unless I specifically transfer it to another person.
2. I understand that the Department requires that I shall deposit one copy of my dissertation in the Oxford University Research Archive ('ORA') where it shall be freely available online for use in accordance with ORA's Terms and Conditions of Use [https://ora.ox.ac.uk/terms_of_use].
3. I understand that this dissertation should not contain material that can be used to personally identify individuals or specific groups of individuals, and that such material should be removed before this dissertation is deposited in ORA.
4. I agree to be bound by the terms of the ORA Grant of Non-exclusive Licence [www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ora/deposit-in-ora/deposit-licence] and I warrant that to the best of my knowledge, making my thesis available on the internet will not infringe copyright or any other rights of any other person or party, nor contain defamatory material.
5. I agree that my dissertation shall be available for download in ORA in accordance with paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 above.

Signed [an electronic signature is sufficient]: 
Date: 24 AUGUST 2021

Can Integration Be Achieved Through Schools?: School Approaches to Managing Student Diversity in the United States and Germany

Lana Apple

Supervisor: Dr. Natasha Robinson

Trinity Term, August 2021

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science in Comparative and International Education

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES ..... **III**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..... **IV**

ABSTRACT ..... **V**

ABBREVIATIONS, GERMAN TERMS, AND DEFINITIONS ..... **VI**

CHAPTER ONE: CONTEXT, QUESTIONS, AND DEFINITIONS **1**

1.1 Context and Rationale 1
1.2 Research aims and questions 2
1.3 Definitions 3
1.3.1 Integration 3
1.3.2 Immigrant 4
1.4 Outline of this study 4

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW **5**

2.1 Introduction 5
2.2 Social cohesion 5
2.3 Education's role in immigrant integration 6
2.3.1 School-related tools that *could* facilitate integration 7
2.3.2 How schools *might* constrain integration 8
2.4 Conceptual framework 9
2.4.1 Overview 10
2.4.2 The four quadrants 11
2.5 Conclusion 14

CHAPTER THREE: POLICY CONTEXT **15**

3.1 Introduction 15
3.2 The intersections of German immigration, integration, and education policies 15
3.2.1 Integration of immigrants 15
3.2.2 Education 16
3.3 The intersections of U.S. immigration, integration, and education policies 18
3.3.1 Integration of immigrants 18
3.3.2 Education 20
3.4 German and U.S. policies in relationship to the conceptual framework 21
3.5 Conclusion 22

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY **24**

4.1 Introduction 24
4.2 Methodology 24
4.3 Research Design 25
4.3.1 Site Selection 26
4.3.2 Participant Selection 26
4.4 Analysis 28
4.5 Ethics 29
4.6 Challenges 30
4.6.1 Position of the researcher 30
4.6.2 Epistemological choices and concerns 30
4.6.3 Limitations 32
4.7 Conclusion 32

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS FROM BERLIN **33**

5.1 Introduction 33
5.2 Context 33

5.2.1 Teachers and their schools 33
5.2.2 School population 34
5.3 Teacher reflections on school and classroom integration policies 35
5.3.1 *Willkommensklassen* 35
5.3.2 German as a second language (DaZ) 36
5.3.3 Partnerships and organizations 36
5.4 Teacher reflections on integration 37
5.4.1 Diversity 37
5.4.2 Definitions of integration 37
5.4.3 Role of teachers in integration 38
5.5 Roadblocks to integration 39
5.5.1 Teachers 39
5.5.2 Lack of will among parents 40
5.5.3 Navigating geopolitics and religion within the classroom 41
5.6 Conclusion 42

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS FROM CALIFORNIA 44

6.1 Introduction 44
6.2 Context 44
6.2.1 Teachers and their schools 44
6.2.2 School population 44
6.3 School and classroom integration policies 45
6.3.1 Language learning 45
6.3.2 Testing 47
6.3.3 Support services 48
6.4 Teacher reflections on integration 49
6.4.1 The use of the word integration 49
6.4.2 Self-segregation and comfort 51
6.5 Barriers to integration 52
6.5.1 Lack of support from administration 52
6.5.2 Housing segregation 53
6.5.3 Tracking system 54
6.6 Conclusion 54

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION 55

7.1 Introduction 55
7.2 Comparison of school-level policies and initiatives in Berlin and California 55
7.2.1 Overview and explanations 55
7.2.2 Reflections on comparison 58
7.3 Teacher conceptualizations of schools as sites of integration 59
7.4 Reflections on the conceptual framework 62
7.5 Conclusion 64

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION 65

REFERENCES 67

APPENDICES 79

Appendix A: Overview of German and U.S. school tracking systems 79
Appendix B: Table of participants 81
Appendix C: CUREC approval 82
Appendix D: Interview protocol questions (California) 85
Appendix E: Interview protocol questions (Berlin) 87
Appendix F: Participant Sample Email and Information Sheet 89
Appendix G: Consent form 93
Appendix H: Example participant interview transcript 95
Appendix I: Example of NVivo coding for participant interview 96

APPENDIX J: SELECTED CODES AND EXAMPLES OF DATA 97

List of Figures

FIGURE 1: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE GOALS OF INTEGRATION THROUGH SCHOOLING 11
FIGURE 2: GERMAN INTEGRATION-RELATED POLICIES MAPPED ONTO THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 18
FIGURE 3: U.S. INTEGRATION-RELATED POLICIES MAPPED ONTO THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 20
FIGURE 4: U.S. AND GERMAN INTEGRATION-RELATED POLICIES IN COMPARISON 22
FIGURE 5: MAP OF BERLIN'S NEIGHBORHOODS 34
FIGURE 6: MAP OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA'S COUNTIES 45
FIGURE 7: POLICIES AND INITIATIVES DISCUSSED BY INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS 56
FIGURE 8: BERLIN SCHOOL TRACKING SYSTEM 79

Acknowledgments

When I accepted my place in the CIE program in March 2020, no one had any idea how a year at Oxford in a pandemic would function. Despite the physical distancing and isolation, I am very grateful to the friends I've made and the people who have made this dissertation possible.

Firstly, I would like to thank the teachers who participated in my interviews, making time during an incredibly difficult school year. I would also like to thank the people who helped me to contact teachers and believed in my project enough to ask others to participate.

Second, I am grateful for Dr. David Johnson's support as I crafted an idea for this research and his wisdom in guiding the early stages of my research. Moreover, I am extremely thankful for Dr. Natasha Robinson taking over my supervision and dedicating her enthusiasm, support, and time. Natasha made the process enjoyable and inspired me both academically and personally.

Additionally, the personal relationships I made at Oxford, both virtually and in-person, have no doubt enhanced my dissertation experience. In particular, thank you to Rebecca Latter and Nick Salmon for talking through my dissertation with me over countless dinners and to Christina Hasenhüttl for helping me conduct my research.

Finally, thank you to Jonathan Kovac for reading drafts, giving input, and helping with the research process. Thank you to my father and step-father for supporting my studies and being my cheerleaders. And a huge thank you to my mom, who convinced me to apply to Oxford, has given me endless writing tips, and has supported my education for the last 14 years—I couldn't have done this without you.

Abstract

Given that a large proportion of immigrants today are school age, the public and governments alike assume that schools will be sites where integration will happen. However, how this integration will occur and whether education policies and school-level initiatives facilitate social cohesion is not yet clear. Focusing on California and Berlin as examples of politically left-leaning states that receive immigrants in substantial numbers, this international and comparative study seeks to determine whether schools are a site where integration of immigrants is taking place. Through 16 qualitative interviews with teachers in Berlin and California, this study examines school-level policies and initiatives aimed at facilitating integration using an original conceptual framework. The data provides insights into how teachers in Berlin and California reflect on school-level policies and initiatives in thinking about the potential of the school as a site for integration. This study reaches three primary conclusions: (1) school-level policies and initiatives consider diversity a positive, but do not extend so far as to facilitating a new culture that productively operationalizes the diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant students; (2) California and Berlin do not differ substantially in their goals for integration, as characterized by the conceptual framework; and (3) the integration process in schools is highly dependent on micro-interactions among teachers, school culture, and students, which are often not in alignment with state-level integration efforts.

Abbreviations, German Terms, and Definitions

Abitur	The German school-exit exam for the *Gymnasium* track. Students must have completed the *Abitur* to attend university.
AVID	Advancement Via Individual Determination is a California program designed to provide extra support for disadvantaged students, by placing lower-achieving students in higher-level classes and offering additional tutoring. The goal is to level the playing field in regards to socioeconomic status, migration background, and first-generation college students.
Brennpunktschule	Hotspot schools. Refers to a school in a district that is socially disadvantaged, often due to high poverty and unemployment, and therefore has unique challenges. Other terms that are used less colloquially include *hoch belastete Schule* (highly stressed schools), *Schulen mit besonderen Herausforderungen* (schools with special challenges), and *sozial benachteiligten Schulen* (socially disadvantaged schools).
DaZ	*Deutsch als Zweitsprache* (German as a second language) is a method for teaching German to students who have moved to a German-speaking country. The states provide specific learning plans to teach DaZ and teachers can take specific training.
ESL	English as a second language is a method of teaching English to students who have moved to an English-speaking country. In California, the progression of ESL classes is often referred to as ELD (English language development).
Ethnicity	For the most part, terms used in this dissertation regarding ethnicity and immigrant backgrounds were the ones used by participants during interviews. As this study concentrates on immigration, ethnicity is used most often as it refers to different nationalities and cultural traditions. The term “race” is only used in conjunction with U.S. policy that collects data on race/ethnicity. The term “White” has been used in the U.S.-context, as it is the term most often used for people in the U.S. with European heritage.
GED	General educational development, an alternative path to earning a high school diploma. Once students pass this test, they may apply for university.

Gemeinschaftsschule	Comprehensive school, a newer school type in Germany that allows students of all ages and tracks to attend the same school. Years 1–10 are offered, with some schools allowing students to stay until Year 13 and do an *Abitur*.
Gymnasium	The highest secondary school track in Germany. In the *Gymnasium*, students study for the *Abitur*, which allows them entrance to university.
Hartz-IV	A form of welfare support from the German government. Colloquially, *Hartz-IV* recipients refers to people who receive welfare or are socioeconomically disadvantaged.
KMK	*Kultusministerkonferenz* (conference of ministers of education) is the assembly of German ministers of education from each state. As education is a state domain, their directives are not binding, but rather suggestions that states are encouraged to adopt.
Magnet school	U.S. public schools that have a unique focus (examples: science, performing arts, sports) and are often competitive to get into. The goal of magnet schools was to facilitate integration in the United States by offering specialized school programs in low-income areas and incentivizing wealthier parents to send their students.
RC	Receiving country, the country that immigrants are immigrating to.
Title I	According to the U.S. Department of Education, schools in which more than 40% of the student body comes from low-income families are eligible for Title I funds. This funding supports programs for all children in the school to raise the achievement of the "lowest-achieving" students.
Willkommensklasse	Welcome class. An integration-related initiative by the German federal government. Immigrant students to Germany spend one to two years in the welcome class, where the focus is on learning German and, in theory, getting to know Germany.

Chapter One: Context, Questions, and Definitions

1.1 Context and Rationale

Andreas, an English teacher at a Berlin secondary school, believes his school holds day-long workshops on sexual, religious, and political diversity because the school sees the necessity of discussing diversity. However, Andreas still observes the student body being separated by religion and language. When asked whether he thinks school can be a place to combat segregation, he replied:

> The big question [is] how much of an impact do we have as teachers? I think teachers [have] 15%, the rest is peer group and family, [but] it's something that society expects us to do 80%. That's the dilemma in every respect....We can't really combat [segregation], but we try to do everything to be a role model for tolerance and… being open and seeing people coming from all over the world as something positive.

Dave, a California high school history teacher, sees the effects of segregation throughout his school. He believes his students are socially segregated due to the city's housing and economic segregation, which sends Latino students to certain schools and White students to others, as well as to the school's academic leveling system, which starts as early as middle school. By the end of high school, higher-level classes are composed almost entirely of White students, though theoretically any student can enroll. In reference to whether schools can promote skills of acceptance, he replied:

> I think part of the problem with our educational system is the goddamn thing is fully segregated almost everywhere you go. California schools are more segregated today than… prior to *Brown v. Board*….[1] I think our educational system reflects our society and nobody wants to mention that, nobody wants to talk about increased poverty, nobody wants to talk about lack of social mobility, nobody wants to talk about any of that stuff, they just want to say… the school should fix it. This is a societal issue that they want schools

[1] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) was a U.S. Supreme Court case that deemed segregation by race in U.S. schools unconstitutional.

> to fix without providing them any of the things that would allow them to deal with them.

Andreas and Dave reach similar conclusions. They each represent contexts that are debating how society will adapt in response to increasing immigration. Given that a large proportion of immigrants in California and Berlin are school age, education as a process and schools as a place have been identified as a solution to integration. For instance, in the midst of Europe's refugee influx many, including scholars at the World Bank, saw education as the principal means by which to integrate refugee children into their new countries (Bodewig, 2015). Similarly, the U.S. Department of Education (2017) proclaims that schools are the basis for "support[ing] the civic, linguistic, and economic integration of immigrants." Additionally, academic literature widely supports the idea that educational institutions are a site where integration of immigrant children may occur (Heynemann, 2000; Hyndman, 2011; Pritchard et al., 2019). However, *how* this integration will occur and whether schools are actually facilitating social integration and cohesion is far less clear. This is the question my research hopes to address.

1.2 Research aims and questions

This dissertation focuses on the intersection of immigrant integration and education in two states in Germany and the United States. California and Berlin, which have recently consistently voted for left-leaning political parties,[2] have been chosen to focus on how systems that are generally receptive to immigration conceive of integration.

The project asks these research questions:

1. How do school-level policies and initiatives in Berlin and California presently engage with the project of immigrant students' integration?
2. Can school-level policies and initiatives be classified as assimilationist, accommodationist, positive diversity, or productive diversity?

---

[2] This work uses left-leaning political parties as defined by the Manifesto Project (Volkens et al., 2020). For Berlin, this refers to the SPD which has held the majority in the state since 2001. In California, the governor has been from the Democratic Party since 2011.

3. How do teachers in Berlin and California reflect on school-level policies and initiatives in thinking about the potential of the school as a site for integration?

With an aim to address this larger question:

4. Are schools capable of facilitating integration between immigrants and non-immigrants?

1.3 Definitions

1.3.1 Integration

"Integration" is used widely and loosely in discussions about immigration, stymying "coherent policy development and productive public debate" (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 166). Integration can be both a process and goal. Education, health, employment, social bonds, linguistic and cultural knowledge, and rights and citizenship contribute to the integration process (Ager & Strang, 2008). Moreover, legal status, political participation, economic participation, intermarriage, language-proficiency, and educational attainment are considered quantifiable measures that both affect and signal integration. Grey literature often defines integration as a "two-way process" that requires adaptation on the part of immigrants and acceptance and support from the receiving country (RC) and public institutions (Cerna, 2019; European Commission et al., 2018; UNHCR Nicosia, 2014). While academic literature has contributed diverging definitions (Heckmann, 2003; McBrien, 2005; Pritchard et al., 2019), Berry's (1997) definition, which refers to being integrated as having "a strong sense of identification to both the original and the majority culture" (p. 12), is perhaps most widely cited. Heckmann (2003) argues that integration is all of the above: "an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a change in individual characteristics, a building of social relations and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification by immigrants towards the immigration society," all of which is dependent on the RC being open to immigrants (p. 47). This dissertation considers integration to be the process by which immigrants begin to identify with the RC as well as their own country, provided that the RC offers acceptance and support to facilitate this process. "Progressing" integration is characterized by less inequality along ethnic or cultural lines (Heckmann, 2003, p. 47).

1.3.2 Immigrant

The integration process is something any immigrant must contend with and any society that receives new residents must address. Therefore, this work defines "immigrant" broadly; "immigrant" is used as an umbrella term to refer to migrants (with and without legal authorization), refugees, and asylum seekers. Additionally, "immigrant students" can refer to both children born outside of the RC and those born within the RC with an "immigrant background" (Qureshi & Janmaat, 2014). While legal status and length of time in the RC impacts how immigrant students interact with the integration process, Berry (1997) holds that the "basic process of adaptation" is similar across immigrant groups (p. 9). Further, the goals for integration should be generally applicable to all immigrant students who intend to remain in the RC. Still, this research acknowledges that such goals may be different for students without legal authorization or for those who have been in the RC since birth.

1.4 Outline of this study

In Chapter Two I explore the reasoning for integration and social cohesion, discuss the literature on education's role in integration, analyze tools that schools have to facilitate integration, and present a conceptual framework that will guide the analysis of integration-related policies in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four I discuss this study's methodology. In Chapters Five and Six I present the findings from Berlin and California. In Chapter Seven I discuss the findings in reference to the conceptual framework. In the final chapter, I return to the larger question of whether integration can be achieved through the schools.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

With more immigration into countries like Germany and the United States, inequality in economic earnings, educational attainment, and standards of living is growing. Rising inequality results in many migrant communities being segregated, stigmatized, and socially excluded from a receiving country's (RC) larger society (European Commission, 2019). Moreover, the urgency to mitigate inequalities in outcomes through the education system is a topic of public debate (Brücker et al., 2019). National and international institutions, such as the OECD (2015), European Commission (2016, 2019), World Bank (Bodewig, 2015), U.S.-based Migration Policy Institute (Jiménez, 2011), and Germany's commission on integration (Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit, 2021), see education as key to achieving integration. Public opinion largely agrees with institutional perspectives; in 2019 the Eurobarometer found that 90% of people surveyed said education plays an "important role in the successful integration of immigrants" (p. 148).

With a significant amount of policy based on the idea that integration will occur through schools, this research aims to test that assumption. In this section, I draw on literature on social cohesion and immigrant education to outline what we know about integration through education. Then I present a conceptual framework that could guide understanding of the goals of integration through education.

2.2 Social cohesion

Integration is a process through which inequalities and social divisions are ameliorated as a multicultural society becomes more socially cohesive. Heynemann (2000) argues that "multiethnic democracies" are tested by language, ethnicity, and religion, which are exacerbated by the "inconsistency of legislative and legal institutions," leading to growing inequality along these lines (p. 173). Heynemann (2000) maintains that relying on institutions, like schools, can help mitigate this social tension and even provide "the basis of a stable democracy" (Heynemann, 2003, p. 25). Green et al. (2009) note that discussions of social cohesion have become more prominent in public discourse since the 1980s, likely due to increasing inequality and social diversity that accompanies globalization, and

because large questions of social cohesion are often raised during "times of rapid social change" (p. 4). For instance, in 2007, just 19% of Germans saw immigrant integration as an important political issue (Abah, 2009); however, following the refugee influx of 2015, 80% of German agreed that "fostering integration of immigrants is a necessary investment for their country" (Eurobarometer, 2019, p. 108).

Among literature on social cohesion, promoting social cohesion within schools is considered to have impacts outside of the classroom (Hill, 2011). Historically, Heynemann (2000) argues, "the principal task of public schooling… has traditionally been to create harmony within a nation of divergent peoples" (p. 177). Within this expectation of public schooling, however, is the tendency, as Jansen et al. (2006) argue, to use a "deficiency discourse" in which education is seen as a way to disseminate "the 'right' knowledge, skills and attitudes" (p. 189–190). Moreover, as Schweisfurth (2006) points out, schools and teachers in multicultural societies have had roles in "fueling racial hatred and in actually penetrating violence" (p. 702).

While keeping the critique of a normative definition of social cohesion in mind, this study proceeds on the assumption that integration, which facilitates social cohesion, is something multicultural societies should work towards. Furthermore, it assumes that the RC has some responsibility in progressing integration. This study adopts this stance in reference to governmental policies, public opinion, and this study's conceptual framework.

2.3 Education's role in immigrant integration

Among the literature on education's role in immigrant integration is a stark divide between research that considers schools integral to immigrant incorporation and integration and research that questions whether schools can transcend societal factors to aid the integration of immigrant students. This section explores this divide. Throughout this section, I focus on micro-level interactions that occur in schools. This focus is supported in the theoretical literature by Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1994) bioecological model of human development. Similar studies also encourage a focus on micro-level interactions, including Engel et al. (2013), which found that although important British government initiatives targeted social cohesion from the national level, "the real impact lies with local level system actors who

embody and enact community cohesion" (pp. 4–5). In Chapter Three I will focus on the policy-level strategies that promote integration.

2.3.1 School-related tools that *could* facilitate integration

Learning the language of instruction is necessary to access content and mitigate disparities in educational attainment (OECD, 2015) and is integral to immigrants' economic integration (De Paola & Brunello, 2016). Closing the achievement gap that exists along linguistic lines can be supported by teaching content to new immigrant students as soon as possible, as through bilingual instruction (OECD, 2015). In addition, studies have shown that supporting heritage language at school in the RC enables immigrant students to feel that their "cultural and language background is appreciated as much as that of the majority" and allows children to "bridge the gap" between their home life and school (Brind et al., 2008; Driessen, 2005; European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; OECD, 2015, p. 93).

Second, schools are considered critical arenas where "social and cultural competencies" that enable "intergroup friendships" can occur, thus creating relationships supportive of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Pica-Smith, 2009, p. 38; Cappella et al., 2017; Zirkel, 2008). Ideally, in schools with a variety of ethnic groups and student backgrounds, young people have the opportunity to engage with students from diverse backgrounds and form friendships across ethnic lines, resulting in less "bias and victimization" and higher rates of student belonging (Cappella et al., 2017, p. 1093; Aboud et al., 2003; Allen & Kern, 2017; European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019; Goodenow, 1993; McGlothlin & Killen, 2010).

In addition, parental involvement positively affects student achievement (Jeynes 2007; Fan & Chen, 2001; Mena, 2011; Sibley & Brabeck, 2017), regardless of immigrant status (Nusche, 2009). With this research in mind, if schools can facilitate closer ties between immigrant parents and their children's school education, schools are more likely to enable integration and perhaps even reduce the achievement gap among immigrant and non-immigrant students (Sibley & Brabeck, 2017).

Fourth, through intercultural (or multicultural) education, various school curriculums in many countries attempt to teach students conceptual tools needed to facilitate integration (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2019, p. 140; Stromquist, 2012). By correcting for bias in curricula and textbooks, schools make an effort to be more inclusive (Nusche, 2009); with curricula that do not marginalize immigrant students, intercultural education aims to facilitate a "hybrid cultural identity" among non-immigrants and immigrants by reducing discrimination and othering of immigrants (Faas et al., 2014, p. 306).

Finally, extensive research, particularly in the United States, has supported the claim that teacher quality is highly correlated with student achievement and learning outcomes, regardless of background factors (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Nusche, 2009; OECD, 2015). In terms of teachers in classrooms with refugees and other immigrants, teachers have a large influence on their students' identity formation (Faas, 2007; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012), socialization (Pica-Smith, 2009), and learning outcomes (Pastoor, 2015).

2.3.2 How schools *might* constrain integration

While the characteristics listed above are ways in which schools can support integration, school structures have also been shown to perpetuate already existing divisions in societies. For instance, in most contexts academic tracking, whether between school buildings (as in Germany) or within the building (as in the United States), hinders social integration as first- and even second-generation immigrants are underrepresented in higher tracks (Davoli and Entorf, 2018; Sibley & Brabeck, 2017; Stromquist, 2012). While students' ability to speak the language of instruction fluently has much to do with track assignments, so too does parents' educational achievement (Rotte & Rotte, 2007). With students in different classrooms and schools along linguistic, socioeconomic, and ethnic lines, school structure can facilitate isolation and feed stigmatization (Carey, 2008; Moody, 2001; Sibley & Brabeck, 2017; OECD, 2015).

Both the United States and Germany lack credentialed bilingual or DaZ/ESL teachers (Stromquist, 2012; Grüneberg, 2015). Failures to teach German or English as a second language (DaZ/ESL) efficiently and effectively also hinder integration efforts, with many teachers in OECD countries reporting they do not feel they have the "diagnostic skills or

tools to assess their immigrant students' linguistic and cognitive capacities" (OECD, 2015, p. 86). Studies also show that immigrant students are often assigned less qualified teachers, partially due to teacher preferences (Stromquist, 2012; OECD, 2015). School administrators often have "no formal training on diversity, intercultural pedagogy or language learning" and "may lack the awareness, knowledge and skills" to support and guide teachers (OECD, 2015, p. 88).

Third, schools are at the mercy of housing segregation and poverty. Though schools could be a place where cross-cultural interactions occur, school zoning by neighborhood often results in children attending schools with people from their already-segregated neighborhoods (Bhargava, 2018; Fix, 2009). Due to these issues of housing segregation and poverty, there are large concentrations of immigrant students in disadvantaged schools (Dill et al., 2011) and it is usually difficult to convince parents of non-immigrant students to send their children away from a neighborhood school without a special academic program, like U.S. magnet schools or Berlin *Europaschule*n (Europe schools) (OECD, 2015).

Finally, incidents of prejudice, racism, bullying, and marginalization are endemic to schools. Refugees in some cases face "racist and attitudinal barriers" that impede their inclusion into the RC (Devere et al., 2006, as cited in Taylor & Sidhu, 2012, p. 3). In terms of interethnic friendships, racism and prejudice have been found to "create a negatively-charged environment" that decreases the likelihood of intergroup friendships (Pica-Smith, 2009, p. 45).

2.4 Conceptual framework

With literature showing that schools have the potential to facilitate integration but are heavily constrained by structural issues, this study will analyze whether schools facilitate integration from another angle: how schools conceptualize integration-related goals for their student bodies. This study adapts Johnson's (2007) model of integration and participation, first used in the South African context, to focus on goal-setting and identity formation, key components of integration. This study builds primarily on two empirical studies: Johnson (2007) and Damaschke-Deitrick and Bruce (2020). Johnson's

conceptualization of integration-related goals includes enabling school policies (including language and diversity of parents on the school board) and an enabling school ethos (hiring diverse teachers and celebrating many religions). However, Johnson's study does not focus on which goals schools set for the integration project as a whole. Additionally, Damaschke-Deitrick and Bruce's work offers a policy-based explanation for the goals of refugee integration through schooling, concluding that Germany's goals are primarily language based, whereas U.S. goals for integration focus on economic outcomes. This dissertation builds on these two studies, furthering Johnson's framework to conceptualize integration-related goals and adding new perspectives to Damaschke-Deitrick and Bruce's integration-related objectives in the United States and Germany. This section provides an overview of the theories used to augment the theoretical framework and an explanation of each quadrant of the framework.

2.4.1 Overview

Johnson's (2007) model of integration and participation and Berry's (1997) theorization of acculturation strategies form the foundation of the conceptual model used in this study. Johnson's model is unique in providing a "barometer by which to monitor progress towards [an] ideal" (2007, p. 309). Berry's (1997) delineation is helpful in this task as it focuses explicitly on how individuals in plural societies negotiate daily acculturation strategies. Furthermore, I use Farrell's (2007) understanding of types of equality, Kalantzis and Cope's (1993) discussion of pedagogies, Delpit's (1988) culture of power, and Bourdieu's (2002) conception of social capital to characterize the four constructs. Crucially, this framework, presented in Figure 1, assumes that integration is the goal.

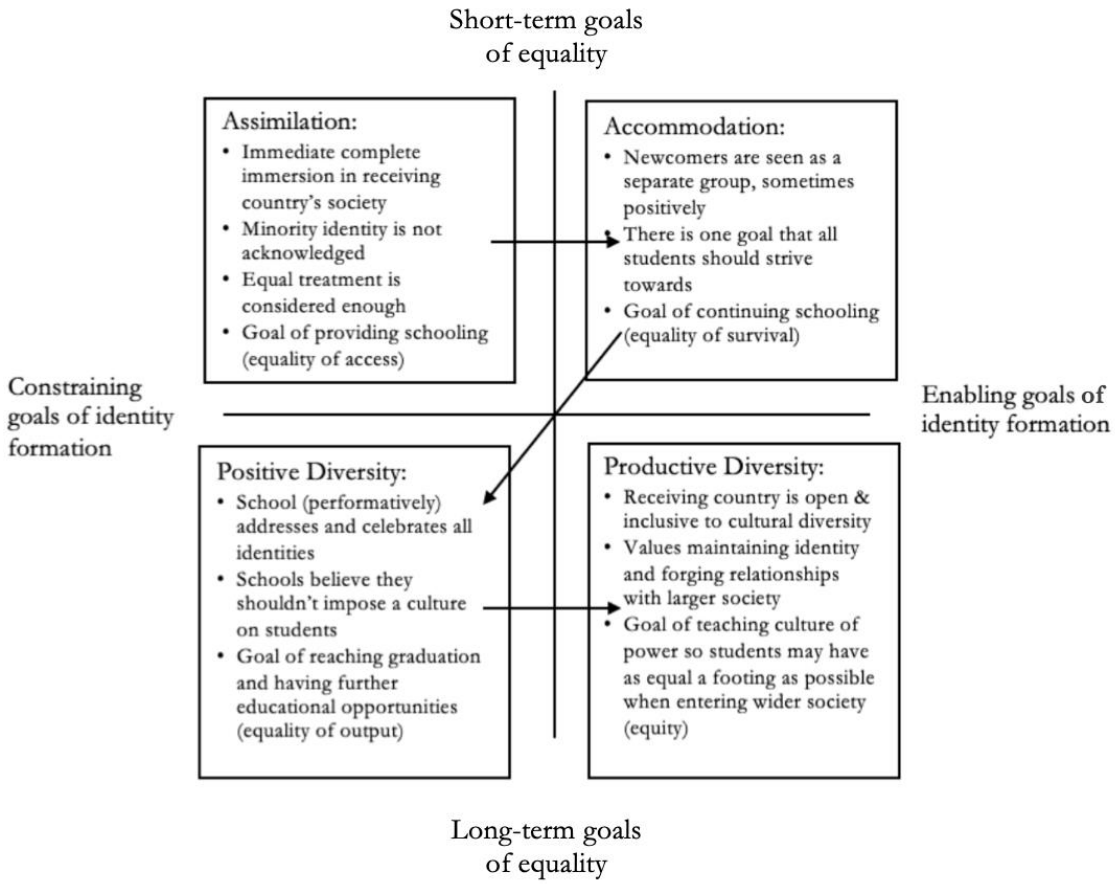


Figure 1: A conceptual framework of the goals of integration through schooling

This model does not account for education systems that would exclude students due to their status as immigrants. Rather this model assumes that in many RCs, particularly in politically left-leaning areas, like Berlin and California, immigration is accepted and sometimes celebrated. Similar to Qureshi and Janmaat (2014), in using this conceptual framework to guide analysis of policies and qualitative data, I do not expect to find "pure manifestations" of any of these typifications of integration (p. 713); rather, I argue that these four constraints will facilitate a comparative analysis between my two fieldsites. Next, I outline the four quadrants of the conceptual framework.

2.4.2 The four quadrants

2.4.2.1 Assimilation In education systems that operate with the goal of assimilating immigrant students, there is a rejection of acknowledging immigrant students and the extra support they may require. In systems that operate with limited policies by which to address

immigrant students, providing access to schooling is considered sufficient (Farrell, 2012). For instance, this could be a policy that allows all children, whether possessing legal documentation or not, to attend the local neighborhood school, but not requiring that schools ensure these students have transitional language classes.

As Kalantzis and Cope (1993) write, education systems and schools that operate with the goal of assimilation have an "underlying epistemology" that there are "fixed and constant 'facts' and moral and social 'truths' in the world" (p. 42). With such an epistemology, there is no space to transform the policies, practices, or curriculum to embrace students from diverse backgrounds or to understand that one-size-fits-all education may not work for everyone. Moreover, the belief that all students will benefit from the same curriculum and access to the same knowledge coincides with the expectation that "all immigrant [groups] become like those in the dominant society" (Berry, 1997, p. 12). In such a belief system, minority identity is seen as unimportant to consider, similar to "color-blind" policies (Wells, 2014).

2.4.2.2 Accommodation Integration efforts that seek to accommodate immigrant students recognize that such students may require some additional support to access the same materials and participate in social life. Such policies acknowledge that students may need special support, such as English- or German-as-a-second-language classrooms, but there remains one primary goal for schooling "to which everyone, regardless of cultural background, should strive towards" (Johnson, 2007, p. 311).

Kalantzis and Cope (1993) refer to such accommodationist policies as "progressivist pedagogy of modernism and experience," which combine an attention to the individual nature of children, but still hold that "cultural difference" is something schools can ameliorate and even do away with (p. 47). In terms of equality of opportunity, schools believe they have a duty to ensure equality of survival; namely, student background should not affect whether students remain in the school system until a defined point (Farrell, 2007). Thus the goals of integration combine limited understandings of newcomer students with a goal of uniform success.

2.4.2.3 Positive diversity This construct typifies education policies and schools in which diversity and difference are celebrated and addressed, though often in a performative manner. In such schools, events celebrating cultural holidays may be supported. However, this celebration does not always result in a deeper understanding of the needs of these student groups. At eye level, such systems provide diverse curricula and are vocally welcoming to newcomer students, positively acknowledging diversity and difference among the student body. However, it becomes clear upon deeper analysis that while the system is pushing for an equality of output, students are learning "the same things to the same levels" at various points of schooling (Farrell, 2007, p. 9). Thus there is relatively little acknowledgment that newcomer students are operating at a social-capital deficit in their new culture (Bourdieu, 2002).

In Kalantzis and Cope's (1993) theorization, this "pedagogy of postmodernism and difference" rejects assimilation for goals of "cultural pluralism" (p. 48). While proclaiming "liberalism and tolerance" the postmodernists are "tolerant and open to difference, except differences that are not liberal and tolerant" (p. 56). Further, their tolerance often stops at allowing newcomers a "fair chance to use education as a means to social mobility," thereby continuing educational inequity (p. 58). By doing so, such systems have not fully acknowledged that learning might be improved through embracing diversity and compensating for a lack of social capital, rather than merely celebrating diversity, "learning might be improved" (Johnson, 2007, p. 311).

2.5.2.4 Productive diversity As within positive-diversity systems, schools and policies that engage in productive diversity are open, receptive, and inclusive to immigrants' identities. What differentiates systems operating with a mindset of productive diversity is the acknowledgment that to work towards any sort of equality, the education system must commit to teaching the "culture of power" (Delpit, 1988). This is represented best by one of Delpit's rules of power: "If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier" (1988, p. 282). While the education system does not pretend that equality of outcomes is easily attainable, the players in this system operate with the goal of teaching the culture of power so students may have as equal a footing as possible when entering wider society. Furthermore, in such

a system, both the system and the immigrants place value on maintaining identity and forging relationships with larger society, similar to Berry's (1997) definition of integration. Cope and Kalantzis (1993) refer to such a pedagogy as "the power of literacy and the literacy of power." They theorize that it is the role of schooling to help marginalized groups access streams of power, not merely through leaving their work at "difference is difference," but going a step further and recognizing that there are "common linguistic, cognitive and cultural conditions for social access" (p. 64).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter argued that while many international organizations and much academic literature consider schools to be places that facilitate integration and social cohesion, many structural factors stand in the way of schools creating an integrated student body. The conceptual framework presented in this chapter suggests a new way of analyzing whether schools can be places of integration: by looking at identity formation and school-level goals for students. Chapter Three will use this conceptual framework to analyze recent U.S. and German integration-related education policies.

Chapter Three: Policy Context

3.1 Introduction

While the U.S. and German federal governments dictate immigration policies and guide integration plans and pedagogy, education is a state domain. Nevertheless, immigration policies impact integration, including education (Hochschild & Cropper, 2010). This section briefly analyzes how German and U.S. efforts regarding the integration of immigrant children through education have developed over the last 40 years. I look first at their general approach to immigrant integration and then at their approach to education as an integration tool. I explore whether the conceptual framework described in Chapter Two is suitable for mapping these policies. Guided by the framework, I argue that over the last 40 years these policies have shifted, not always linearly, from assimilationist policies to positive-diversity policies. This chapter concludes with a discussion of how these shifts have occurred differently in the two countries.

3.2 The intersections of German immigration, integration, and education policies

3.2.1 Integration of immigrants

Historically Germany considered itself "not a country of immigration" (Faas, 2008). However sometime between the strict 1990 Act on Foreigners, which intensified expulsion laws (Gesley, 2017), and the more liberal 2005 Residence Act, Germany acknowledged that immigration was already part of the country's identity and endeavored to create structures for integration. From 2005, young people who had immigrated with their parents were allowed to stay if one could assume "on the basis of the child's education and way of life to date, that he or she will be able to integrate into the way of life which prevails in... Germany" (Residence Act, 2005, pp. 26–27). While not specifying the requirements for a "well integrated" young person, the legislation required adult immigrants to take an integration course, which would "successfully impart the German language, legal system, culture and history to foreigners" (Residence Act, 2005, p. 39). Young people schooled in Germany were exempted from this course, implying that schools teach the skills and knowledge necessary for integration (Residence Act, 2005). Subsequently, the Integration

Act of 2016 updated the 2005 Residence Act with a specific focus on refugees (Gesley, 2017).

Nonbinding documents such as the 2007 National Integration Plan and the National Action Plans on Integration in 2012 and 2021 provide insight into how Germany's conceptualization of facilitating integration has shifted from relying on various organizations to outlining specific needs at various stages of immigration (Leise, 2007; Die Bundesregierung, 2021). For instance, the 2007 National Integration Plan highlights that "the socio-political objective of improving the integration of migrants and their families" can be pursued only if migrants, their families, educational organizations, and the job market are "involved and won over" (Die Bundesregierung, 2007, p. 61). The 2021 National Action Plan on Integration is framed as "making integration easier for immigrants" (Die Bundesregierung, 2021); before migration, for instance, the federal government recommends providing migrants with information about the German job market and offering pre-departure language courses to provide realistic expectations of life in Germany. Notably, since 2021 integration is defined as an "obligation" for immigrants and non-immigrants (Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit, 2021, p. 376), although there have been no significant changes to government structures or the labor market to facilitate inclusion (Lawton, 2021).

3.2.2 Education

As Germany's immigrant population has changed, the education system's influence on integration has moved from tolerating diversity to attempting to celebrate diversity. Hoff (1995) identified three approaches to teaching immigrant children in the 1980s and early 1990s: (1) separation, which involved children of guest workers having their own schools; (2) assimilation, which provided extra support to address language "problems" before quickly entering German-speaking classrooms; and (3) cooperation, which involved curriculum modified to represent multicultural values and "locally represented religions" (pp. 825–826). Assimilationist policies, or *Ausländerpädagogik* (education for foreigners), were dominant throughout this time and carried the connotation of "special-needs education" (Hoff, 1995, p. 827).

With increasing migration from Eastern Europe in the late 1990s, multicultural education became a focus, as progressive academics argued that the burden of integration should not be on immigrants (Hoff, 1995). While unclear whether this conception of integration was adopted within classrooms, this discourse gave rise to an interest in intercultural education (*interkulturelle Bildung*), which aims to teach children how to live in a culturally diverse society (Faas, 2008). For example, the *Kultusministerkonferenz*'s (Conference of Ministers of Education, KMK) 1996 guidance incorporated intercultural education in all subjects and required that textbooks do not marginalize or discriminate (KMK, 1996). The KMK's guidelines marked an important shift from just including immigrant children in classrooms, to attempting to facilitate intercultural understanding through the curriculum.

In 2013, no longer merely focusing on identifying diversity and proclaiming equality, the KMK moved their policy from a "deficit-orientation" towards the "appreciation and use of existing potential" of cultural diversity; their goals of integration became multilingualism and intercultural competence for immigrant and non-immigrant students (KMK, 2017, p. 2). In terms of teaching students about Germany, teaching the importance of democracy is considered essential (Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit, 2021). Still, in the wake of the refugee influx, the KMK acknowledged that schools' capacities often cannot extend beyond finding places for students and teaching German (KMK, 2017).

With the 2010 Berlin School Act, intercultural education was mandated in curriculum (KMK, 2017, p. 10). Teacher training in Berlin since 2014 includes lessons on how to manage student heterogeneity in the classroom and optional seminars on intercultural education. Moreover, bilingual schools are becoming increasingly popular in the city-state. Most relevant to new immigrants is the provision of welcome classes (*Willkommensklassen*) for secondary school students who cannot speak German; these classes are supposed to provide "initial linguistic integration" and support the transition to a regular class (KMK, 2017, p. 14). All students new to Germany are to spend one to two years in the welcome class. There are also state-level efforts to inform parents of their rights in the school; specifically, the Berlin Senate provides schools with information on how to better interact with parents "with migration backgrounds" (KMK, 2017, p. 15).

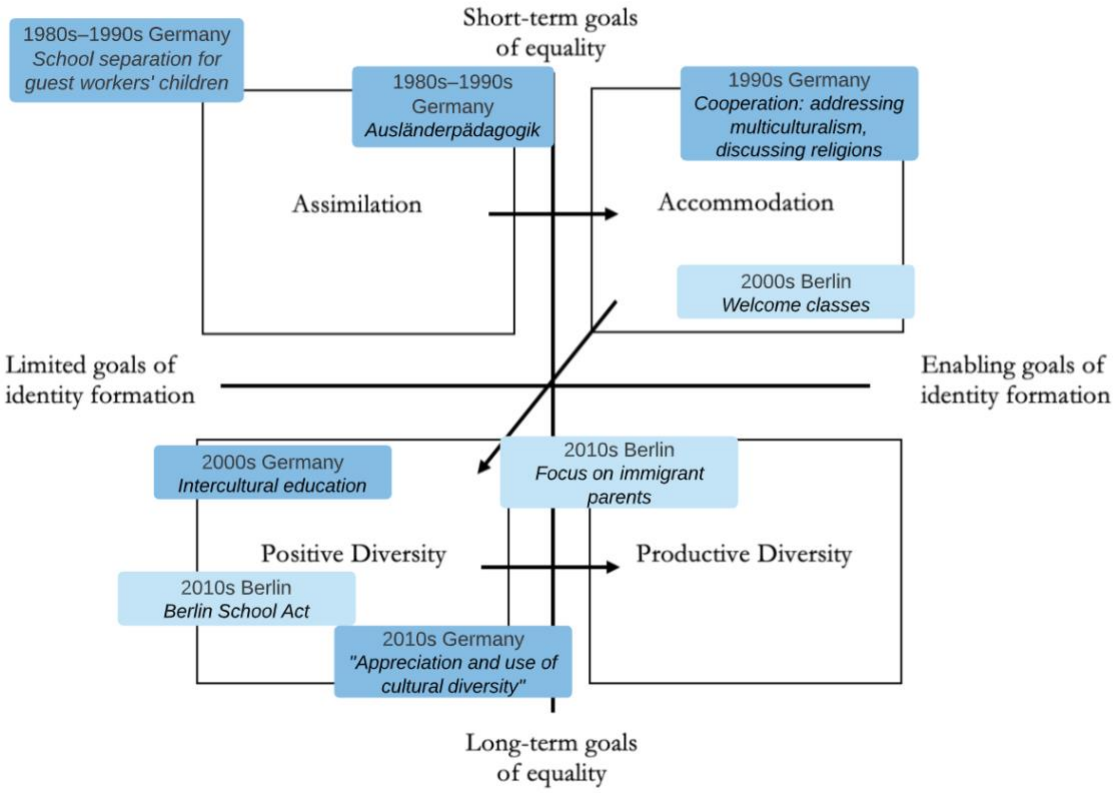


Figure 2: German integration-related policies mapped onto the conceptual framework

3.3 The intersections of U.S. immigration, integration, and education policies

3.3.1 Integration of immigrants

The United States' robust immigration framework governs who may enter the country and from where, but, in contrast to Germany, it has no formal integration policy once immigrants arrive. Immigration laws loosened with the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, ending national-origin quotas and beginning a new wave of mass immigration (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011); however, the Immigration Act of 1990 and the USA-Patriot Act of 2001, among others, have since sought to limit immigration, especially unauthorized immigration (Davy et al., 2005; National Academy of Sciences, 2015). In contrast to Germany's stable position on immigration, U.S. immigration policy changes significantly with each administration; for example, Barack Obama sponsored the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, while Donald Trump ended DACA and lowered the refugee cap (Pierce & Selee, 2017, p. 2). Although the federal government is responsible for

immigration policy, individual states have significant discretion in enforcing federal policies and addressing unauthorized immigrants.

California was historically an anti-immigrant state, though during the early 2000s, attitudes and policies towards immigration changed markedly. In 1994 California passed Proposition 187, which barred unauthorized immigrants from many public services and attempted to create a state-level "immigration enforcement scheme," later ruled unconstitutional (Colbern, 2017, p. 8). In the late 1990s, as more Latino voters entered the electorate and California became a Democratic Party bastion, California immigrant policy became more accepting (Colbern & Ramakrishnan, 2018). Since then California has changed the legal code to welcome unauthorized immigrants, including removing most barriers to education and employment, protecting unauthorized immigrants from federal removal efforts, and making all students eligible for financial aid (National Academy of Sciences, 2015).

Even without a national immigrant-integration system, the U.S. federal government plays a role in integration, particularly in refugee integration (Fix et al., 2017). While the 1980 Refugee Act provides for refugees to receive a cultural orientation prior to arrival, connects them with agencies that support them with basic assistance for the first month, and offers English language classes (Fix et al., 2017), this model is not used with other immigrants. Some recent presidents have established task forces to address immigrant integration; however, these reports, including the one from Obama's White House Task Force on New Americans (2015), have been criticized as being "long on recommendation and short on implementation" (de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2017, p. 116).

The lack of a defined integration plan has led to a laissez-faire approach to immigrant integration in which immigrants are "expected" to draw on their own resources and personal networks to integrate (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011, p. 1). In this way, integration is more about joining the workforce than social integration (Martin, 2010). In contrast to Germany's federal immigrant-integration apparatus, in the United States ignoring immigrant-integration policy and volatile immigration laws have resulted in a piecemeal immigrant-integration effort.

3.3.2 Education

With education integral to immigrant integration, education policies have both constrained and enabled immigrant integration in recent years. Debates exist over whether unauthorized immigrants are eligible to attend U.S. public schools and whether unauthorized immigrant children who have been through U.S. schools should be able to legalize their status by attending university or enlisting in the military. These policy proposals have mixed results: while the 1982 *Plyer v. Doe* Supreme Court decision ruled that unauthorized immigrant children have the right to public education and the Migrant Education Program has provided targeted supports for children of migrant farmworkers since 1965, the DREAM Act—a pathway to legal residency for unauthorized immigrant students—has never passed through Congress (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011; Perry, 1997). For authorized immigrant children, laws ensure that they are not discriminated against, with independent research showing that the United States has one of the most robust anti-discrimination infrastructures for immigrants worldwide (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011).

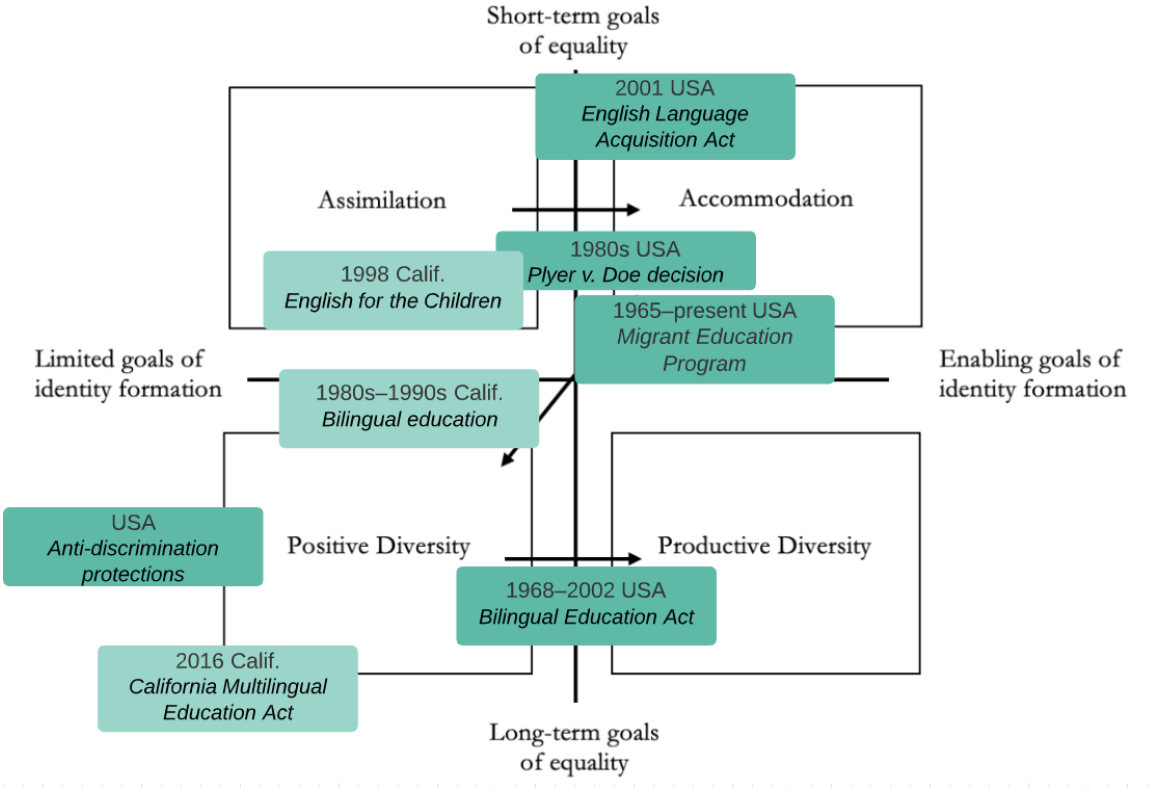


Figure 3: U.S. integration-related policies mapped onto the conceptual framework

Language education is a topic of serious debate and highly politicized. From 1968 until 2002, the federal Bilingual Education Act provided funds for programs taught in languages other than English, with major controversy surrounding whether these language supports should be "remedial or transitional English instruction" or should also help to "support the maintenance of minority languages and cultures" (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011, p. 20). Under George W. Bush, the English Language Acquisition Act significantly constrained language policies, making no reference to bilingual education and prioritizing English-only instruction (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011, p. 21).

Historically California's language policies have been both constraining and enabling. For instance, in the 1980s and 1990s bilingual education was mostly used to teach English language learners (ELLs). However, with the 1998 Proposition 227 English for the Children initiative, sheltered English lessons for ELLs were approved for a maximum of one year, after which ELLs were expected to enter regular classrooms; this effectively outlawed bilingual education except in special cases (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2011; Hopkinson, 2017; Martin, 2010). In 2016, Proposition 227 was repealed and replaced with Proposition 58, the California Multilingual Education Act. This new law, while not mandating that schools offer bilingual education, requires that schools base their programs on their communities' needs and listen to parents' preferences "to the extent possible," signaling that bilingual education and dual-immersion programs have state-level support (Hopkinson, 2017).

3.4 German and U.S. policies in relationship to the conceptual framework

As has been shown, policies on immigrant integration and education in the United States and Germany have developed significantly over the last 40 years. Using the conceptual framework from Chapter Two, I have mapped where these policies might stand in order to show temporal trends and compare development. For instance, while Germany's policy development moves "forward" over time, U.S. policies seem to move around the framework, which can partially be explained by the difference in policy consistency between the countries. From this delineation, we can also see that most of the policies can be grouped under accommodation or positive diversity, showing that both Germany and

the United States have moved away from assimilationist policies of the 1900s and are now concerned with how to address and support immigrant populations. It seems, from this framing, that the move from positive diversity to productive diversity may be the most challenging hurdle, as the move from recognizing diversity in identity to helping students not only retain their identity, but also engage with larger society is hard to facilitate and legislate.

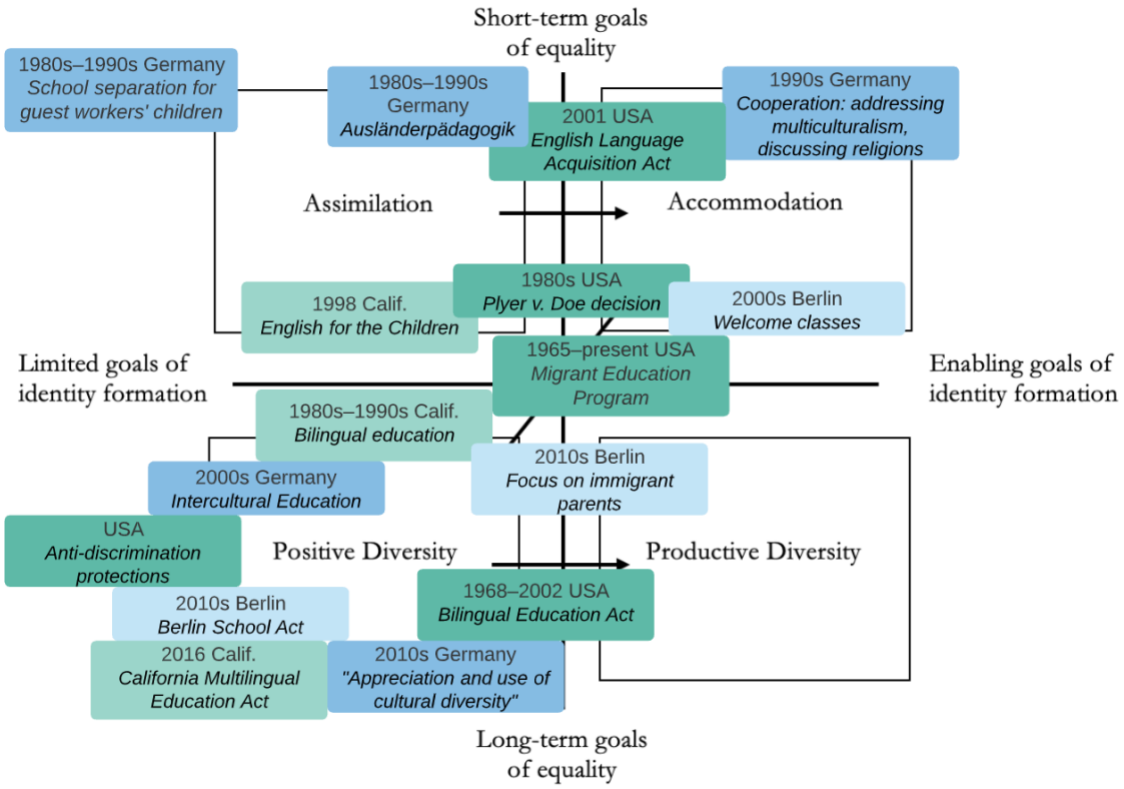


Figure 4: U.S. and German integration-related policies in comparison

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of the intersection of immigration, integration, and educational policies in the United States and Germany, with a specific focus on intercultural education in Berlin and bilingual education in California. Mapping the policies onto the conceptual framework demonstrated that Germany and the United States have largely left behind assimilationist policies, opting instead for accommodationist and positive-diversity policies. This conceptual framework has proven useful in classifying and comparing policies over this period. An analysis of policies, however, does not include

how teachers conceptualize integration; analyzing how teachers conceive of integration-related goals will be a major contribution of this study. Whether this framework is also helpful in understanding how teachers and schools in these two contexts conceptualize integration and whether schools' actions correspond with governmental policies will be examined in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the techniques used to answer the research questions posed in this study and offers justifications for why I have made certain procedural and epistemological choices. To answer questions of how schools in Berlin and California presently engage with the topic of integration of immigrant students, I carried out a comparative study using qualitative, semi-structured interviews. In this chapter, I will explain this study's research design, provide an overview of the data analysis, and conclude with a discussion of ethics and challenges in undertaking this research.

4.2 Methodology

Comparative methodology has been defined as the study of "the classroom process in different countries" (Halls, 1989, p. 23). However, it is less a concrete set of methods and more the use of comparison "to understand and modify our own educational policies and practices based upon lessons learned from... other systems" (Hayhoe et al., 2017, p. 1), allowing for the broadening of "perspective" and sharpening of "focus" (Kubow and Fossum, 2007, p. 5). Using a comparative frame to investigate the education systems across countries acknowledges that "the educational concerns of one nation are the concerns of others as well" (Kubow & Fossum, 2007, p. 26); therefore, I endeavor to treat the sites as distinct situations tackling similar dilemmas. With these definitions and limitations in mind, the methodology used is a comparative international study carried out through qualitative interviews.

The strength of qualitative research is that it can provide rich, culturally specific, and intriguing data (Mack et al., 2005). For many researchers, qualitative interviews serve as an introduction to a research subject, allowing the researcher to go in depth with a limited number of participants, identifying larger themes and tracing patterns that can be honed in on in later iterations of the research. The primary benefit is that such in-depth interviews "provide us access to social worlds," both in terms of explanations of what is occurring and reflections of individuals' experiences (Miller & Glassner, 2021, p. 54).

4.3 Research Design

In spring 2021, following two pilot interviews, I conducted 16 interviews with teachers in Berlin (n = 8) and California (n = 8). There were eight participants from each state (see Appendix B for specifics). The interviews lasted between 30 and 75 minutes. To respect participants' time, I endeavored to keep interviews to an hour; however a few participants wished to continue speaking. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews occurred virtually. With participants' consent, audio of the interviews was recorded. The interviews were conducted in English (n = 11) and German (n = 5), with a translator present for the German interviews.

All interviews were guided by the same interview schedule (see Appendices D and E). The interview schedule was designed to elicit basic information from participants at the start, which could be used to tailor follow-up questions. As the conceptual model focuses on goals of integration and identity formation, I included questions on the school's goals for immigrant students and school efforts to celebrate and accept diverse populations. The German interview schedule was translated from the English, with changes made in regards to policies. The pilot interviews helped in refining the questions and ensuring that the questions in German made sense to a native speaker.

For the interviews, a semi-structured format was chosen as it includes guiding questions while allowing for flexibility to adapt subsequent questions to the participant's responses (May, 2011). The number of questions asked varied greatly. In one case, I posed only five questions and the participant talked on those points for an hour. In another case, we covered over 20 questions within 40 minutes. Being able to ask questions more specific to participants and their experiences helped to close the gap created by conducting virtual interviews, which often do not facilitate "small talk" that may be beneficial in building rapport between researcher and participant. By design, participants were not given access to questions beforehand; however, in one case the participant requested example questions prior to the interview.

To make the interviews more dynamic and combat "Zoom fatigue," for 13 of the 16 interviews, I showed a series of statements on the screen and asked for the participant's

reactions. This section of the interview served as a way for me to present beliefs that were not necessarily my own and have the participant respond to these sometimes extreme beliefs. For some participants, this method of responding to quotes from other researchers or politicians resulted in an opening up of the discussion, whereas others indicated their agreement or disagreement and moved on to the next slide. The use of this technique came out of the first iteration of my research design, which was a questionnaire. Upon deciding to use qualitative interviews instead, I retained some quotes in order to diversify the interview experience. This technique is similar to those suggested by Gray et al. (2020), who mention displaying images or documents to "launch a conversation" (p. 1294) and Salmons (2011), who emphasizes the benefits of sharing and reflecting on images over online interviews. While this technique does not yet seem widespread, as more interviews for data collection move online due to low cost and flexibility, sharing images or statements may become an important tool in virtual interviews.

4.3.1 Site Selection

Two sites were chosen for this research in order to facilitate comparisons around how discussions of immigrants, integration, and schools have occurred and developed. The states of California and Berlin were chosen due to my own background and the nature of the sites. As a former student of a California public school that had a high proportion of students who are first-, second-, or third-generation immigrants, I was particularly interested in the debates within California. I selected Berlin as a second site, as it is the international environment that I feel most comfortable in and I could use my German-language skills. Moreover, the comparison of Berlin and California is relevant for historical and political reasons, as one (Germany) has only recently become a country with a high proportion of immigrants while the other (the United States) has grappled with immigration for centuries. Furthermore, Berlin and California are both left-leaning politically and generally known for being areas welcoming of immigrants and currently experiencing high rates of immigration.

4.3.2 Participant Selection

All participants are teachers in Berlin or California who have taught for at least two years in classrooms where at least 25% of students have migrant backgrounds or are immigrants themselves.[3] The participants in Berlin come from a range of boroughs and all teach at state-recognized schools, two of which are religiously affiliated. The participants in California come from rural, suburban, and urban districts in Northern California and teach at public schools, with one teaching at a charter school. To reach participants, both snowball sampling and cold-emailing were used. Snowball sampling is particularly useful for gaining access to groups with which the researcher does not have extensive contacts, but also presents challenges in collecting data that only "reflect[s] particular perspectives" while omitting other voices "who are not part of a network of friends" (May, 2011, p. 145). I did observe this phenomenon in terms of location, as for California all of my participants ended up being from Northern California, something I had not planned. Yet, despite the geographic proximity, I found that even among the participants who knew one another, there were substantial differences in opinions and beliefs. While most of the Berlin teachers were identified through personal contacts, others came from emails I sent to schools around Berlin. I used a Berlin website that lists schools based on location and percentage of students with a migration background and found emails for as many school secretaries as I could. From over 75 emails, I received two participants.

A major point of contention between qualitative and quantitative research is whether qualitative research, which is often not randomly sampled nor representative, can ever be generalizable or representative. Small (2009) argues that the goal of small-scale qualitative research should not falsely claim that it is generalizable or representative, yet such research can still make "meaningful contributions to knowledge" (p. 15). For instance, the relatively small number of participants in this research cannot be used to speak to the experiences of

---

[3] The question of what percentage of students fall under the category "immigrant" as well as the data available to measure this is complicated. The United States collects data on the percentage of students who are classified as English language learners and on ethnicity/race. In Germany data collection on ethnicity and race is illegal, however Berlin does collect data on the percent of students with a migration background. These two measurements do not easily facilitate comparisons. Moreover, one teacher pointed out that the data on migration background in Berlin is often inflated in order to qualify for more funding, showing further weaknesses in these numerical statistics.

all teachers in California and Berlin; however, these 16 individual cases can contribute to theory on the school's role in integration, as is often the case with studies conducted with small samples (Boddy, 2016). Further, as no statistical inferences about causality or statistical generalizability will be drawn, the aim is to use the data from these interviews to make "logical" inferences, to produce "logically sensible hypotheses" (Small, 2009, p. 28), and to contribute "analytical generalization," similar to case study research (Yin, 2003, p. 21).

4.4 Analysis

Following interview transcription, I performed a content analysis of the transcripts and coded them using NVivo. According to Blair (2015), content analysis is performed when data are labeled to facilitate "meaningful categories that can be analyzed and interpreted" (p. 16). My method of labeling closely resembles the two methods of content analysis that Blair (2015) delineates as open coding and template coding. Open coding facilitates content analysis by letting the codes come about as the researcher is reading the text (i.e. emergent coding), while template coding is a form of "*a priori*" coding, wherein the codes are decided on before a reading of the data (Stemler, 2001).

I first performed an open coding, creating codes based on each transcript as I went through. With this method, many lines of data could be coded with multiple labels. With open coding, as with all qualitative data analysis, my own beliefs and assumptions likely colored the way in which I coded. These codes guided the construction of the findings chapters. For instance, the sections on "roadblocks to integration" were created from the codes: acceptance, pandemic, religion, school administration, language, and teachers (see Appendix I for selected codes and examples). In the second round of coding, I used the conceptual framework as a template; in this iteration the four main categories for coding were assimilation, accommodation, positive diversity, and productive diversity. Policies and initiatives that teachers described were coded according to these four concepts; however, teachers' opinions towards schools' role in integration were not (see Appendix I for examples). Blair (2015) holds that template coding allows the researcher to acknowledge their own presence in the construction of the findings. As my conceptual

model guided my thinking in the creation of the research questions and design of the study, I believe it is necessary to include them in the coding. With these two methods, I allowed myself to be surprised by the data as well as organize the data around my conceptual understanding of the issue. Furthermore, throughout the coding process, I considered Walford's (2001) arguments: I acknowledged that wording is important, but interpretations and reflections on how and why people say what they do in the interviews are perhaps even more significant. For that reason, while I was coding I did not take every statement as fact, rather I endeavored to take it in the context of the situation and conversation.

4.5 Ethics

As with any human-subject research, ethical issues arise in the use of interviews. In this study, I have followed the British Educational Research Association's Ethical Guidelines, as well as the University of Oxford's best practices (BERA, 2018). In that regard, all participants were asked to give consent prior to taking part in the study and were made aware that they could withdraw consent at any point (See Appendices F and G for English and German versions of consent and information forms).

Following submission and approval of CUREC (ED-CIA-21-112) to the University of Oxford's review team, interviews took place over encrypted Microsoft Teams software, except for one that took place over encrypted video calling using WhatsApp, as the participant did not have access to a computer. With the participants' consent, interviews were audio recorded and all data stored on a password-protected computer. Furthermore, in the presentation of the findings, participants have been given a pseudonym. If participants are interested, I will share my completed dissertation with them. As the research was conducted in two languages, I paid particular attention to the differences that may arise. However, as the participants are all adults and any German-speaking participants had access to a native speaker during the interviews, I did not feel they were participating at any disadvantage. As this research involves the discussion of sensitive issues such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, and politics, I ensured to the best of my ability that the interviews were conducted in a private space and gave participants the opportunity to opt for synchronous or asynchronous interviews.

4.6 Challenges

4.6.1 Position of the researcher

In this comparative study my positionality in the research varied based on the sites. My personal experiences with the California school system likely affected how I was able to engage with the participants during the interview. While I do not believe that my extensive experiences in one state and more limited experience in the other significantly affected the quality of the interviews, there were minor differences. For instance, the Berlin teachers assumed I knew little about the German education system and therefore spent time explaining the complex system, while the California teachers did not. Moreover, I found a wide range in participants' comfort in expressing frustration with their school system or administration, which may reflect Walford's (2001) point that participants may limit talking about anything that they perceive may harm them. Still, the Californian participants were overall more comfortable expressing their discontent, which could be because the German teachers felt as though they were representatives of the German education system and did not want to continue the narrative in the media that Germany is struggling with integrating recent immigrants (e.g. Boffey, 2020; Smale, 2016; Takenaga, 2019). In short, though speaking proficient German and having spent nearly a year in Berlin, I was largely considered an insider during the California interviews and an outsider during the Berlin interviews. Further, in conducting and analyzing interviews, it is important to acknowledge that my interpretations are highly dependent on my background and experiences. From the construction of the conceptual framework to my analysis of the findings, my research is laden with my values and beliefs, even when I have endeavored to present it in an objective manner. Finally, in both contexts, I am neither considered an immigrant nor culturally or phenotypically a member of the large population of recent immigrants that the school systems in Berlin and California see.

4.6.2 Epistemological choices and concerns

Relying on qualitative data is a choice that must be supported by the researcher's conceptualization of rigorous research. As Angen (2000) states, validity is determined by the research community and whether the research can be useful. For instance, to some a

semi-structured interview may inhibit goals of standardization and comparability, as it is hard to corroborate data and, with such a small sample size, to know whether respondents had outlier opinions or experiences (Robson & McCartan, 2016). To others, the semi-structured interview allows for "an opening up of the interview" and focuses on "how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life" (May, 2011, p. 135). I have concluded that because my research is exploratory in nature, interviews are overall beneficial to address my research questions.

I also consider Walford's (2001) critique that researchers too often take what interviewees say as the data, rarely considering that interviews are "artificial situations" or that "interviewees may also lie" (pp. 89–90). To mitigate this propensity to conceal the truth or evade questions, I did not ask participants to report on their beliefs, which may have put them on the defensive; rather, I asked them to report on what they see occurring at their schools. Nevertheless, human nature and interactions between interviewer and participant is something that the researcher and readers must keep in mind.

Finally, the question of what I hoped to learn from these interviews dictates how I am analyzing the data. The overarching research question—Are schools capable of being places of integration?—is rather positivist in its epistemology, as I am not asking, as I would perhaps from an interpretivist angle, Do teachers experience schools as places of integration? On the one hand, in this research I am interested in teachers' views on integration and how they have constructed them, but through my interviews I am also looking for a more positivist understanding of what is occurring in schools. In essence, the primary ontological question of this research is: Can talking to teachers about their experiences of schools as places of integration tell us about whether schools are places of integration? In looking for an answer to that question, I have turned towards a relativist approach to ontology, as in certain instances, when a participant would explain the bilingual language offerings at the school where they have worked for over 15 years, I accept their answer as fact. However, when a participant reports that their school's administration is not supportive of immigrant students, I have to take that as an interpretation of their reality, especially when two teachers from the same school reported very contradictory views to similar questions. Thus, I recognize that the question I am

hoping to answer seems at times antithetical to the data I have collected; however, this examination of teacher experiences, I believe, can go a long way towards answering a rather positivist question. These considerations were taken into account as I analyzed the data.

4.6.3 Limitations

The primary limitations are in scope and representativeness. First, this study collected data from just 16 participants in two states due to time constraints. However, as discussed above, the benefits of a small sample size allowed me to go in-depth during the interviews. Moreover, since these data are used to understand how integration is being talked about and dealt with in schools in personal and individual experiences, the methodology did not accommodate for generalizability. Second, this study has looked at one moment in time. As the relationship between immigrants, integration, and education is continually being shaped and redefined, the opinions and experiences expressed in the interviews cannot be seen as explanations or the full truth.

4.7 Conclusion

Through this comparative method, which is based on qualitative interviews, I aim to understand how schools in California and Berlin are dealing with large immigrant populations and begin to address a larger question of whether schools are capable of facilitating integration of immigrants. In the following two chapters, I present the findings from this methodology.

Chapter Five: Findings from Berlin

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide context about the various schools in which the participants work. I then discuss school-level and teacher-based policies and initiatives that touch on integration, how the participants reflected on integration, and barriers to integration that they identified. Through the presentation of these findings, I offer answers to the first research question: How do school-level policies and initiatives in Berlin presently engage with the project of immigrant students' integration?

5.2 Context

5.2.1 Teachers and their schools

The teachers came from a variety of schools that serve various communities around Berlin (see Figure 5 and a full chart in Appendix B). All eight teachers from Berlin worked at state-recognized schools, two of which have religious affiliations. In total, three teachers identified themselves as working in *Brennpunktschulen*;[4] one push factor for working at *Brennpunktschulen* is a higher salary. Four teachers worked at *Gemeinschaftsschulen*, comprehensive schools for students from year 1 to 10, sometimes with the option of extension to year 13. Three teachers taught at integrated secondary schools, through which students can earn a variety of school-leaving certificates, including an *Abitur*, the highest. One teacher worked at a *Gymnasium*, the highest level of secondary school. (For an overview of the German school system, see Appendix B.)

[4] Socially disadvantaged schools, see definitions for explanation.

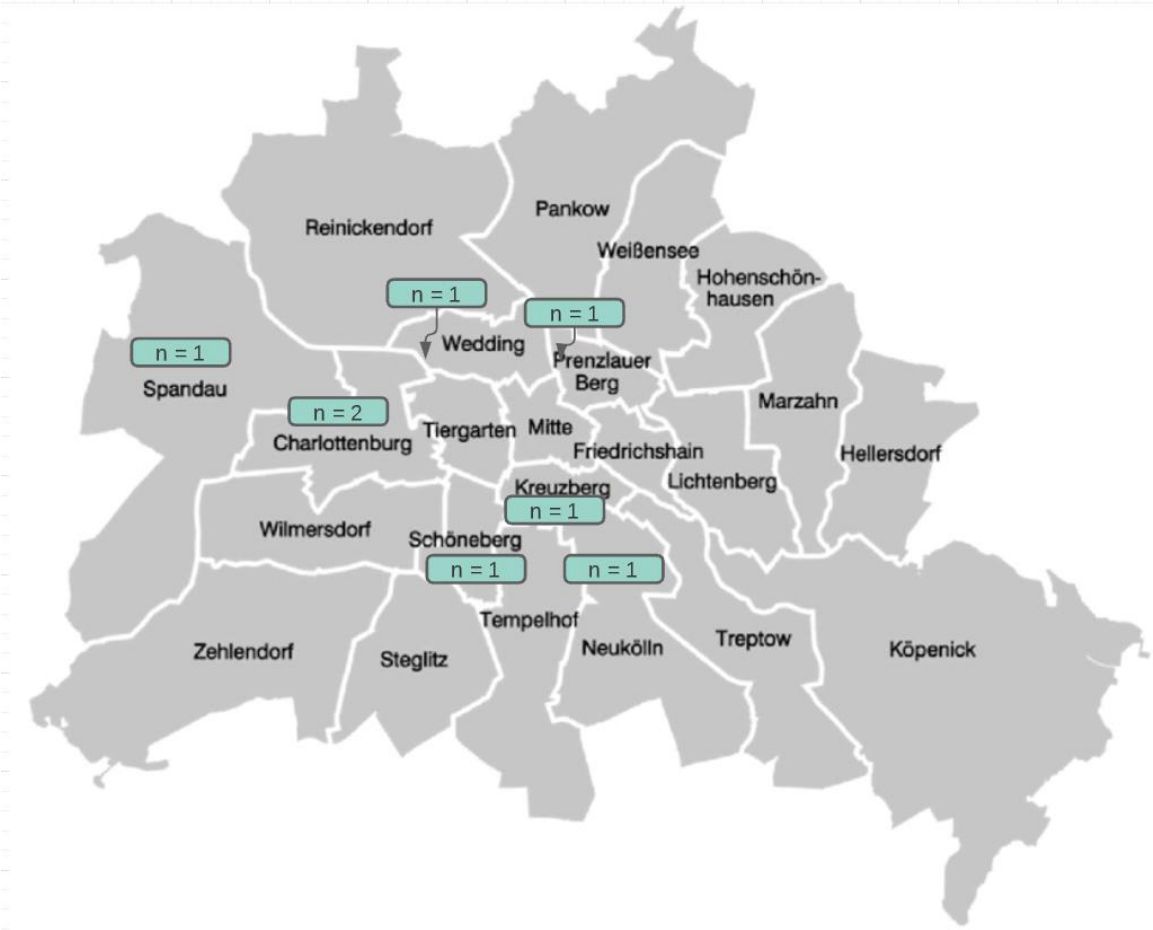


Figure 5: Map of Berlin's neighborhoods. Wedding, Neukölln, and Kreuzberg would traditionally be considered socially disadvantaged areas, while Prenzlauer Berg and Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf are considered more affluent neighborhoods.

5.2.2 School population

When describing the student body at their respective schools, Berlin teachers primarily focused on migration diversity. In Kreuzberg and Wedding, Susanne and Katrin worked at schools where over 95% of the students are immigrants or have immigrant backgrounds (primarily from Turkey, Arab countries, and Eastern Europe). Susanne reflected that most of her students, even second- and third-generation immigrants, had below-average German-speaking abilities. On the other end of the spectrum, Andreas and Peter both worked in affluent Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf; Andreas' secondary school saw significantly more migration and economic diversity than Peter's *Gymnasium*, likely due to the former's variety of school-leaving certificates and the latter's stringent course requirements (Peter's school required ancient Greek and/or Latin). Peter's students with

migration backgrounds were primarily from Russia, East Asia, and North America, many the children of diplomats. Andreas' school adopted a Europe school model, giving students the option to study in German and another European language and drawing in multilingual students from around the city. Finally, Michal and Marion worked at religiously affiliated schools, with about 50% of Michal's special education classroom having migration backgrounds and about 95% of Marion's Jewish student body having migration backgrounds with the majority having dual citizenship.

5.3 Teacher reflections on school and classroom integration policies

5.3.1 *Willkommensklassen*

Welcome classes (*Willkommensklassen*), the two-year transitionary period to facilitate integration, was mentioned by most Berlin teachers. Teachers mentioned that newly arrived younger children were put directly in the regular classrooms, as the general consensus is that young children will quickly learn the language and do not need the separated adjustment period. Teachers identified the primary goals of welcome classes as providing tailored language instruction and a transitional environment for new immigrants, in order to facilitate their integration. Some teachers felt that welcome classes were important not just for language needs, but also for socio-emotional needs.

There was some debate over whether welcome classes should be entirely isolated or not. In some schools and especially in the early years of the policy, welcome classes were completely separate from the rest of the school. Two teachers reported their schools trying to counteract the isolation of welcome classes by including newcomer students in extracurricular classes or sports and other activities. One teacher spoke of an "arena" program, in which students from across the school, including welcome class students, were involved in special themed courses, such as culinary arts, media, theater, and environmental workshops. One difficulty of welcome classes was that there was no set curriculum, leaving teachers to create the curriculum on their own. Moreover, one participant reported that she could not get through the entire language plan in just two years. While the welcome class is considered a hallmark of Germany's integration plan,

the responses from the teachers suggest that there were significant debates over what should be taught and how the welcome class should be integrated into the rest of the school.

5.3.2 German as a second language (DaZ)

Almost all participants spoke of German as a second language (*Deutsch als Zweitsprache*, DaZ) instruction as a tool of integration. The Berlin Senate mandated dedicated DaZ hours per week; primary school teachers reported spending three to five hours per week on DaZ. Some teachers spoke of having hours carved out of their week to teach DaZ specifically, while two mentioned that they and their co-teachers were supposed to provide individualized DaZ lessons and support to students during regular class time. Additionally, one teacher spoke about language training funded by the state of Berlin, which offered classes on multicultural communities and working specifically with students who do not speak German fluently, classes she took when she was studying to become a teacher trainer. Another teacher directed me towards DaZ curricula on the Berlin Senate website, which provided detailed instructions on the goals of DaZ for every age level. After the transition out of the welcome class, one participant reported that these students were still offered German lessons, but at the end of the day as an additional class, which she argued was a time of day when students could no longer concentrate. At the *Gymnasium* level, in which all students must speak fluent German, the school provided non-native German speakers with tailored help so that they can fully grasp the "subtleties" of the language and progress with greater ease.

5.3.3 Partnerships and organizations

In addition to the state-mandated DaZ and welcome classes, teachers spoke about certain organizations their schools have partnered with or created to facilitate integration. For instance, in Wedding and Neukölln, two teachers reported that their schools partnered with the *Quartiersmanagement*, a neighborhood program and national social cohesion initiative. The school in Wedding also had regular guests from an NGO who train their students in violence prevention and discuss topics like Islamophobia. One school in Neukölln had afterschool workshops on football, theater, circus, and Turkish language and culture, with the teacher reporting that many non-Turkish students attend the Turkish club as well. Some

of these clubs focused significantly on language and improvisation for students who are still working on their German language abilities. One teacher mentioned his school's work with the Schwarzkopf Foundation, which encourages active European citizenship and a democratic society. One school hosted Diversity Days, which entailed sessions on religious, cultural, sexual, and political diversity. Moreover, the Jewish school prioritizes class excursions to German democratic institutions, like the Bundestag, to help its largely immigrant and religiously sheltered population understand how democracy in Germany functions. Schools' efforts to partner with these various institutions all represent ways in which the schools are trying to grapple with integration outside of the governmental framework.

5.4 Teacher reflections on integration

5.4.1 Diversity

> "Diversity is an asset." (Andreas)

Teachers spoke about diversity along the lines of national origin, religion, and economics. All teachers expressed in one way or another a similar sentiment to Andreas: the diversity in their schools and student backgrounds was special and unique. Katrin referred to her class as "a nice mixture," Anna to hers as "a perfect Berlin mix," and Stefanie "a really beautiful mix, somehow." Susanne spoke of many of her students coming from low-socioeconomic backgrounds, including some families who receive *Hartz-IV* funding, which includes long-term unemployment payments and social services.[5] Anna noted that although her neighborhood historically served students from immigrant backgrounds, recently more ethnic Germans have been moving into the area, resulting in gentrification and more diverse classrooms. Peter spoke of his school having historically a relatively large Jewish population, mostly due to Russian Jewish immigrants, and a small Muslim population.

5.4.2 Definitions of integration

[5] See definitions for further explanation.

While sharing this view of diversity as a positive, teachers differed on how they defined integration and where they saw integration occurring. For instance, when Susanne spoke about integration, she referred to the integration of newcomers from the welcome class into the regular school, the population of which was primarily students with immigration backgrounds. When Marion spoke of integration, however, integration referred to her wish that her Jewish students would make connections with the larger Berlin community. Katrin acknowledged the limitations of trying to achieve integration in a school with very few non-immigrant students:

> I think we have a whole social problem in Berlin that is segregating the city and that will have an impact on schools. And my school, we are doing a good job, but because of the building and because of the surrounding, I'm not very optimistic of having more mixture in our school, in regards to the background of our students.

Stefanie saw integration as impossible in schools that are nearly 100% immigrant students:

> Because of that, integration in Wedding isn't possible, because there is no one else at the school that others can be integrated into.

Peter's thoughts on integration of new immigrants mirrored much of gray literature, which defines integration as a two-way process. Speaking of early waves of immigration that led to segregation within the city, despite Berliners generally being positive about the prospect of immigration, Peter acknowledged that positivity is not enough to achieve integration:

> There is also a fear among many migrants that they are expected to be assimilated. And that is why it is important to show that—in Germany—you are accepted as people, even though there are differences. But we also have to tell them that they also have to accept the others.

5.4.3 Role of teachers in integration

The role of teachers and schools in integration was also conceived of differently by the teachers. Some teachers like Peter and Anna see a teacher as integral to creating the open atmosphere necessary for culture exchange:

> The class teachers at our schools are all prepared from the beginning to create an open class atmosphere. (Peter)

> At my old school, where I had the Berlin mix, I didn't see [segregation], but it was also because that's the ethics that we established in the class and if you start a class from first grade on, it's you as a teacher who defines respect, who defines integration. (Anna)

However, other teachers like Stefanie and Andreas seemed to view the societal factors of segregation as too much for a school or a teacher to truly change:

> [When dealing with immigrant students, especially after Corona] we cannot fix all of these gaps in their knowledge. (Stefanie)

> The question is how much of an impact do we have as teachers? ...I think often [we have] 15%, the rest is peer group and family, [but] it's something that society expects us to do 80%. (Andreas)

Anna's response to questions about what the school could do to combat segregation was particularly notable, as she believed that her school, in comparison to other Berlin schools she has worked at, is "really used to" immigrant students and that "there's no need for [teaching] tolerance because there's no intolerance." Instead of focusing on acceptance and belonging, she saw the school's present focus as creating a "new culture" and ensuring that there is "room for both." For Anna, integration must start on an individual level. Anna's views about her own classroom, her role in creating an open classroom, and in just accepting students for who they are is one example of how individual teachers define their role in integration and their centrality in facilitating intercultural relationships.

5.5 Roadblocks to integration

5.5.1 Teachers

As the participants discussed the role of teachers in integrating new immigrants, a duality arose: while some participants reported that educational quality and integration ability were due to there not being enough teachers, others focused on the stressors that arise when teachers are not supported by the school administration. For instance, Susanne, a welcome class teacher, felt it was necessary for teachers at all schools to be more open and supportive of their immigrant students:

> I believe in such schools—I don't know what one can do—but more must be done, so that the staff is more open and can see that the students bring something with them.

Susanne found that because there is no requirement that all teachers be accepting and open, the work of being open and welcoming often falls on the shoulders of a select few.

Teachers are given little to no specific training or lesson plans when they are assigned to teach in welcome classes. Moreover, Susanne felt as though her administration puts the welcome class on the back burner, not providing students with enough resources or teachers, likely because there are relatively low numbers of students in welcome classes. Additionally, Stefanie observed a disconnect between the policies that require specific supports for immigrant students and the supports given to teachers to make such individualized attention feasible:

> Generally I find that teachers at *Brennpunktschulen* are pretty much left alone. The support is always beautifully laid out on paper, but in the end, you find yourself alone dealing with very difficult cases.

Beyond working with welcome classes, one teacher who worked in Wedding spoke about how unprepared she feels at times to teach certain historical atrocities to her students with immigrant backgrounds. Teaching French to a class of majority Black students from Francophone countries, she reflects:

> I asked them what they want to do in history and they said they want to talk about colonialism…. [When] I'm talking about the Congo Conference in Berlin, and all the atrocities… I really need to learn more. And I am learning. (Katrin)

Even though Katrin has previously taken the initiative to enroll in professional development courses on intercultural education and teacher training, she still felt unprepared for some of the conversations she must lead as a teacher.

5.5.2 Lack of will among parents

The teachers also identified school relationships with immigrant and non-immigrant parents as being a significant barrier to integration. For instance, holding an *Elterncafe* (Parents Cafe), which endeavors to give parents a place to get to know each other one morning a week, seemed relatively common at schools across Berlin. However, the teachers believed that the *Elterncafe* did not have the desired outcome. Due to little support from the school or lagging interest from parents, Susanne and Anna both concluded that

the *Elterncafe* did not have the desired effect of bringing parents together. Katrin spoke highly of a small-group learning program at her school, which brought parents in regularly to discuss their children's education and had the positive effect of keeping some students in school for a longer period. Although Stefanie spoke positively of a trend of more parents with Turkish and Arab backgrounds attending her school's parents' meeting, she still has observed that among parents who could not speak or understand German, there was fear and hesitancy around school participation. Stefanie has also felt like many of the Muslim families in her classrooms do not want to integrate with the Germans.

On the other hand, some teachers spoke of non-immigrant parents also presenting a barrier to integration. Peter, for example, found his *Gymnasium* to be apprehensive about holding multicultural festivals or festivals on intercultural tolerance, due to non-immigrant parents, who may see it as a bad label on the school. Moreover, he found that many families reject his school outright, due to "studies that allegedly show that when the percent [of students with migration backgrounds] rises, the level of education falls." Stefanie also said that her school struggles to maintain a mix between focusing on immigrant students who may need special support and non-immigrant students, as parents of non-immigrant students may withdraw their children if they feel that the school is not concerned about their children's education as well.

5.5.3 Navigating geopolitics and religion within the classroom

Teachers reported grappling with immigrant students' transplanted political identities and religious backgrounds, as they have a major impact on how students from different backgrounds interact with one another in Berlin classrooms. For instance, Anna, living and working in Neukölln, experienced the effects of organized crime clans in her classroom, creating divisions among Kurds and Turks or Romanians and Albanians, more so than among immigrant and non-immigrants. Stefanie also remembered her school having to deal with parents who were clan members and the hostilities that arose due to that. Katrin found herself in situations in which she had to mediate intergroup conflicts:

> They mix, and they do link, but there are words like "You're not Palestinian!" or "But I'm Turkish and you're not Turkish!" These things

> happen, but these kids, they only started school in August, and then there was Corona and all the team building we are doing normally was very low. And so we haven't had a chance… to form an integrated group, to have a group identity—we're saying we're one family, we're one class, we're one family, but it takes time.

Notably, Katrin seemed to believe that throughout the school year the class could succeed in coming together, but due to the pandemic, the usual progression of intergroup integration has been slow.

All teachers in Berlin spoke about religious diversity in their schools, some just in regards to holidays, but others in regards to segregation. Peter observed segregation by religious identity to be natural:

> There are certain tendencies—they are still quite minimal and result more from the fact that students with a certain religious or cultural context, quite logically, connect more easily.

Acknowledging that segregation was the default did not necessarily make it easier for teachers to negotiate intergroup interactions around religion. Peter's school, for instance, identified as a secular humanistic school, prioritized engaging in critical thinking. Therefore, he believed his school found it very challenging to comprehend how a couple of Muslim students a few years ago said they "will not play with disbelievers." However, he spoke positively of how the school worked over many years to deal with this rift among students. The issue of international and geopolitical tensions within the classroom was a recurrent theme throughout the interviews, and while not directly related to the purpose of this research, is something that should be explored in the future.

5.6 Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter show how Berlin teachers' engagement with the topic of integration varies, indicating that their micro-interactions in their schools give them specific definitions of integration. When considered together, it becomes clear that their ideas of integration are even more conflicting than state policies. In Berlin, teachers encounter the issue of integration in formal and informal ways. In Chapter Six I present

findings from California and in Chapter Seven I reflect on the data in light of the conceptual framework and compare the states' experiences with integration of immigrant students.

Chapter Six: Findings from California

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide context about the schools in which the California participants worked. Similar to Chapter Five, I discuss school policies that touch on integration, how the teachers discuss school integration, and participant-reported barriers to integration. This chapter seeks to answer: How do school-level policies and initiatives in California presently engage with the project of immigrant students' integration? By discussing similar and divergent themes to the Berlin findings chapter, I prepare for a comparison of the two cases in Chapter Seven.

6.2 Context

6.2.1 Teachers and their schools

The eight teachers interviewed for this study came from six public schools in Northern California (see Figure 6) in rural, suburban, and urban areas (see Appendix B for a full delineation). The teachers taught at the elementary, middle, and high school levels. Six of the teachers taught at schools that are classified as Title I schools, indicating a high concentration of poverty.[6] The teachers taught a variety of subjects, with a few teachers specializing in teaching immigrant students and others having limited experiences with teaching English as a second language (ESL). Most participants mentioned their language abilities: Elena identified herself as a native Spanish speaker; Luis spoke about Spanish being his first language; and Heather learned Spanish as a second language and used it often in her classroom. Two teachers mentioned they spoke no Spanish; two others reported having limited Spanish knowledge.

6.2.2 School population

While the vast majority of immigrant students in California come from Spanish-speaking countries, almost all teachers spoke about having students in their classrooms that had

[6] See definitions for further explanation of Title I schools.

immigrated from other areas, such as the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Moreover, teachers reported that some students from Latin American countries arrived in California speaking indigenous dialects like Mayan. In almost all cases, these students were all placed in the same ESL classrooms. In addition to linguistic diversity, the schools represented a range of economic backgrounds as well, with one teacher commenting that her students ranged from "food bank" to "gated-community" kids.

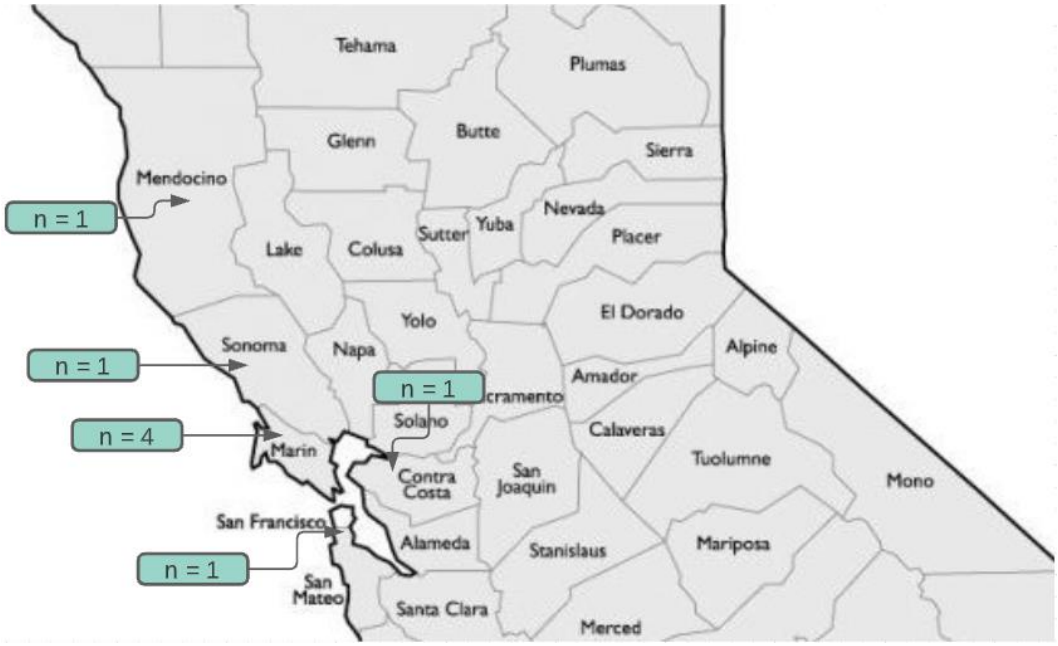


Figure 6: Map of Northern California's counties

Most schools served diverse populations due to their zoning. However, at Kathleen's elementary school, located in a predominantly White neighborhood, many of the Spanish-speaking children were bussed in because their own neighborhood schools had filled up. Many teachers differentiated between their newcomer populations—students who had arrived in California within the last six months—and first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants.

6.3 School and classroom integration policies

6.3.1 Language learning

California teachers elaborated on a variety of English language learning programs, such as ESL programs, bilingual classes, and dual-language programs. A few teachers mentioned state-mandated ESL hours, such as Kathleen who had to provide 30 minutes of targeted ESL to her fifth graders every day. However, the majority of teachers spoke of the offerings as school-specific initiatives. Other state-supported or mandated initiatives included certifications for ESL teachers and funding for English language development (ELD) courses.

Three teachers spoke of dual-language immersion programs, which start in elementary school and ideally have 50% English speakers and 50% Spanish speakers and half of the instruction in each language. The teachers reported mixed results: one school was hindered due to a lack of Spanish-speaking teachers and English-speaking students, but a similar program in another school district functioned so well that by high school one could never assume which students knew Spanish. Elena found that her school's dual-language program enabled the incorporation of Latin American traditions into the classroom, as the dual-language program students hosted cultural events for the whole school. Such programs seem to fall in line with ideas of creating a new, shared culture at a school, rather than relying on a monoculture to endure, best typified as a productive diversity initiative.

Teachers reported schools in California having significant freedom in designing tailored programs. One school-specific program was Luis' Bridge program, which supported students who arrived at the high school too late to take the courses necessary for a diploma. It provided them with targeted language support to ease the transition to a GED program at a local community college.[7] Schools also played around with the structure of ESL programs, sometimes keeping newcomer students in the same classrooms to give them a space where "they will be free to be" and other times integrating them into regular classrooms to stimulate their English development and meet other students. Erin noted that in her classroom, she seats newcomers with other immigrant students who speak the same language and allows the use of Google Translate.

---

[7] See definitions for explanation of GED program.

Across interviews, the topic of bilingual education arose. Bilingual education in California was illegal between 2001–2016. However, many participants seemed to believe bilingual education was still illegal in California, demonstrating a misalignment between policy and practice. The only explicitly bilingual class mentioned was Heather's social studies class, which had the goal of teaching students content knowledge while they were still learning English, so that they would not be so far behind in required courses once their English improved.

For many teachers, the language learning aspect of integration seemed to be a continued effort to find ways to teach content and language, which included speaking immigrant students' native languages when possible. While both Berlin and California had similar end goals of immigrant students learning the language of instruction, California's efforts seemed to be more patchwork, while Berlin's had a clearer progression, with less native-language support.

6.3.2 Testing

The state government's efforts towards compelling integration seemed to come most predominantly in the testing arena. California's testing system is designed to reclassify English learners as proficient and move them out of the ESL program. Before being reclassified, the students are eligible for certain support. Often the school's goal is to reclassify students as quickly as possible. Some teachers saw this testing as a failed effort to hold teachers accountable for teaching immigrant students and an overreliance on often-meaningless statistics:

> [There] is this societal pressure to produce statistics that can show your progress and the matriculation of students who arrive... There is this big push that everyone should be in the same place at the same time. (Dave)

Heather similarly lamented the focus on statistics, which comes at the expense of the well-being of immigrant students:

> Everyone's so concerned with data and how it looks. And they're willing to manipulate programs and systems in order to make the data look good.... If

> you're an English language learner you're not supposed to speak English [perfectly] yet—that's why you're a learner!

Moreover, some teachers were frustrated with the idea that the state wants everyone, regardless of background, to reach "exceeds" on tests, especially because test scores determine a school's funding. Heather pointed out that these scores do not tell students' true stories:

> [Say] a student has crossed the desert and before that they had a horrible experience with coyotes.[8] And that student in order to do well actually needs mental health support and needs to have a home and not be going from couch to couch of distant relatives that they know. On paper that student will show up as someone who's "messing up our data."

California's language testing is one way the state sets goals for integration, namely that all immigrant students will reach the language level of non-immigrant students. However, as the majority of the teachers interviewed argued, these tests can have negative consequences on immigrant students.

6.3.3 Support services

Outside of ESL and testing, schools had various initiatives to support immigrant students, each of which touched on aspects of the integration process. Wendy and Luis both spoke of AVID programs, which provided targeted academic support to students from low-income backgrounds, first-generation college students, and immigrant students, improving their chances of attending higher education.[9] Teachers mentioned outside programs that help prepare immigrant students for higher education as well:

> They are trying to do their part in bringing in the immigrants... and the newcomers to the community and giving them an education, a leg up, on getting in [to university], you know, and being accepted in society. (Luis)

Teachers also highlighted parent-school relationships as key to engaging students and immigrant communities. Wendy discussed how her school assemblies, career nights, and

---

[8] A term used for people who smuggle immigrants across the Mexican-U.S. border.
[9] See definitions for further explanation of AVID.

parent events were held in both English and Spanish and the school offered evening ESL classes for parents. Erin spoke of her school's Family Association, which connected families with one another, especially when one family was struggling.

Support services also included an outdoor education program in Kathleen's district, which brought together students from all of the neighborhood schools for one week during fifth grade. The schools in Kathleen's district were heavily segregated, the populations of some being almost 100% Latino students and others being majority White students. The goal was for students to form some connections before they entered the same middle school together in the fall; however, Kathleen was skeptical:

> So the administrators thought, if they sent fifth graders to Outdoor Education with a different demographic, different school, they would all hold hands and sing Kumbaya. And by the time they got to middle school, they would all be a big happy family… [Outdoor Education] was just kind of a tool to fulfill that end goal, and I'm not even sure it was researched based: A bunch of 12-year-olds spend four days together—do they become friends, six months later when they're all at the same middle school? Probably not!

Wendy's school had a 40-hour project requirement for their high school students, which required that students gain experience in jobs around the community. With the support of their teachers, students spent two years building communication and presentation skills and learning how to represent themselves. Wendy found this requirement to be especially beneficial for immigrant students.

By providing students with targeted help, devising programs that have them interact with their community and students outside their segregated schools, and connecting with parents, California schools create a variety of school-based support services to aid integration.

6.4 Teacher reflections on integration

6.4.1 The use of the word integration

The majority of California participants were uncomfortable with the term "integration." Likely due to U.S. history, teachers interpreted "integration" as "assimilation" when I asked questions about integration. Luis, speaking from personal experience, reflected on immigrant integration:

> To integrate them into the United States... it's like they need to be assimilated…. My first language was Spanish. And I remember how the teachers would react if you had an accent. All the way up through college, I concentrated, unfortunately, on getting rid of my accent. [Because I thought] if I go the "White" route, I'll have better job opportunities down the line.

Elena, also speaking from personal experience, identified a divide in conceptualization of integration between her generation and that of her son. While she, a Latina and first-generation immigrant, had grown up with the belief that she had to integrate and did not view it negatively, her son conflated integration with brainwashing. Seeking a middle ground between the traditional definition and brainwashing, Heather's argued for a reframing of integration:

> You can integrate in a way that creates a practice of assimilation. You know, "getting rid of the Indian and saving the man"[10] kind of thing. So, do I think students should be integrated? Yes, I think they should be integrated, but I think we also need to pay attention to how that happens and how we honor students and their culture and their experiences.

Holding similar beliefs to other teachers' qualms with using the term integration, Isaac elaborated on the conflicting ideas around integration:

> [The term integration] reminds me of some of the older theologies and realities of public education in America—we need to integrate students and they need to be accepted—and I think this is kind of problematic. Now, while I say that, students being able to read and write in English is the most correlated to their ability to achieve later in life. So in that sense, it's really important that our students learn that.

---

[10] A motto used in the 1800s by White people who ran boarding schools for Native Americans. The goal was to forcibly assimilate Native Americans into "White culture" trough education. These schools ostracized young children from their communities and land.

Isaac's comments, along with Heather's, raise a question of how the United States may have to redefine integration to align with new beliefs about immigrants.

6.4.2 Self-segregation and comfort

Participants discussed the tension between downsides to student self-segregation and the comfort that self-segregation may bring. As a whole, the teachers generally believed that self-segregation was normal and that while teachers could take some actions to facilitate intergroup interactions, it was not their place to force socialization.

> I think kids have the right to hang out with whoever they want to hang out with. It's just that they feel more comfortable with one group of people and I think that is just normal for everyone. (Elena)

Inherent in this argument is the idea of comfort. Immigrants, new to a country and its culture, are looking for comfort, and within self-segregated school communities they can find that. Kathleen argued that "people naturally need a refuge." Luis felt similarly about his newcomer students and believes the school should do more to help them feel comfortable:

> [The newcomers] all kind of travel in a pack because they feel secure together. I think that's something that we need to pay attention to—letting them feel comfortable, maybe not forcing them to mix because they're going to be intimidated.

While on one hand the goal of helping newcomers feel more comfortable is much needed, Luis also reflected on a time when an immigrant student asked that teachers create seating charts that would "force the mixing" and therefore facilitate integration. Other students, however, may not have seen the necessity of "mixing" in the same way. Heather discussed some of her students who would argue that it did not matter that the school was segregated along ethnic and linguistic lines:

> I have students that are like "What's wrong? I don't see a problem with that, we are just comfortable with who we are comfortable with." ...I'm sorry, but that is a problem. The fact that you're basing all of who's comfortable with each other on perhaps economics (would be a stretch), but really ethnicity

> and race.... we're all limiting ourselves if we're going to honor that as a perspective in our school.

The topic of self-segregation on the basis of comfort raises a tension surrounding the benefits of making sure students are comfortable and feel like they belong and making schools a place where students can interact with others who are different from themselves. How schools navigate these tensions likely has a large impact on stances surrounding integration.

6.5 Barriers to integration

6.5.1 Lack of support from administration

> I firmly believe in my ability to impact change, but I do view it as a one-man show, to be honest with you here. We are a rudderless ship. (Dave)

More so than their German counterparts, participants from California felt as though integration efforts through education were highly dependent on individuals within the system. Some teachers, such as Heather, felt that the school administration was committed to integration efforts and that considerable progress had been made in recent years towards helping students "feel honored and seen and supported." However, Dave and Luis felt as though the school administration and district offices were highly political and unconcerned with student experiences, especially immigrant students.

> And it's not because people aren't trying. I just don't feel like we have a direction and the guidance that we need. The decision makers don't have a vision—they don't understand what needs to be done. (Luis)

These three teachers agreed on the fact that their teacher colleagues are really who determine the value of the school's offerings for immigrant students. Dave phrased this frustration most succinctly:

> All of [the bilingual program] crashes when [my colleague] leaves. And I think some of that is reflective of the unsustainable workload that is carried by the select individuals who are willing to essentially do what they always believe is right, even though they realize that they're not going to receive anything other than lip service from the people [above them].

While more of the integration efforts and support systems were ingrained in the schools in Berlin, whether by legislation or culture, in California the teachers felt that the quality of their support for immigrant students was highly dependent on individuals.

6.5.2 Housing segregation

One structural roadblock to integration throughout California was the effect housing segregation has on school populations and integration. The four teachers from Marin County all discussed their county's housing segregation and resultant school segregation. In their district the elementary schools are zoned by neighborhood, while the middle and high schools take in students from across the district. The teachers concurred that White parents in the district, often despite self-identifying as left-leaning politically and perhaps vocally being in support of "integration," would send their kids to private schools to avoid the comprehensive middle and high schools, thereby playing a major role in keeping their district segregated along ethnic lines.

> So I do think that the [White] community, if you ask them, would say, "Absolutely we are all about integration, we are all about lifting others up." But if you ask them, "Should your daughter go [to the local middle school]?" The answer would be: "Don't be ridiculous." It is a very NIMBY[11] approach where they say, "Well you know I voted for that parcel tax," but then they completely white-flighted the hell out of [the middle school]. (Dave)

In San Francisco, Erin tried to use the extreme housing segregation as a teaching moment and to explain the injustices of how land that has been misused is often where the low-SES and minority populations live. She argued that San Francisco's history of environmental injustice, which now affects her students' health, is counter to the general image of California being "liberal and progressive and accepting of everything." Further north, Elena agreed that her town is divided ethnically and economically, thereby impacting who attended her school and influencing whether her immigrant students felt they belong in their school and city.

---

[11] Not in my backyard.

6.5.3 Tracking system

In comparison to the German education system, U.S. schools are known as comprehensive schools, as all students graduate with the same degree (see Appendix A). However, when looking at the academic tracks within the high school, it becomes clear that schools can be academically segregated.[12] When schools have immigrant populations, the result is often that classes are divided along ethnic/linguistic lines, resulting in entire school populations that rarely interact. For instance, Heather said her ESL students are on a different track from non-ESL students, which had the outcome of immigrant and non-immigrant populations rarely being in the same classrooms. Dave spoke of the effects of this academic segregation as students self-segregating outside of class because they have made friends only with students in their classrooms. He argued that the school administration needs to ask: "How did those classes come to be the way those classes are?"

As many immigrants are placed in lower-level classes and experienced teachers in most schools have the option to choose which levels they teach, both Elena and Luis pointed out that experienced teachers rarely choose to teach the lowest-level classes. This results in immigrant students having some of the least-experienced teachers. The academic tracking system and who teaches students at the various levels affects the content knowledge that immigrant students can be exposed to. While arguably more permeable than the German system, the U.S. tracking system still impacts student achievement and integration.

6.6 Conclusion

This section has outlined how Californian teachers conceptualize integration, noting the tensions involved in even using the word integration and examining the barriers to integrating diverse student populations through schools. While this chapter has made initial comparisons between Berlin and California, Chapter Seven includes a detailed comparison of the two states, using the conceptual framework.

---

[12] This phenomenon has been well documented, see: Chmielewski et al. (2013); LeTendre et al. (2003); Oakes (1985).

Chapter Seven: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I use the conceptual framework to compare the findings from Berlin and California before reflecting on the contribution of these findings to the literature on education and immigrant integration. This chapter seeks to answer the remaining two research questions:

1. Can school-level policies and initiatives be classified as assimilationist, accommodationist, positive diversity, or productive diversity?
2. How do teachers in Berlin and California reflect on school-level policies and initiatives in thinking about the potential of the school as a site for integration?

I conclude this chapter with reflections on the conceptual framework and its use in answering the research questions posed in this study.

7.2 Comparison of school-level policies and initiatives in Berlin and California

The conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two is used to analyze and map some of the policies and initiatives that teachers in Berlin and California mentioned. Using the teachers' characterizations, discussions, and evaluations of the policies and initiatives, Figure 7 compares integration-related policies and initiatives in Berlin and California according to categories of assimilation, accommodation, positive diversity, and productive diversity.

7.2.1 Overview and explanations

Mapping these school policies, I relied on the characterizations of each quadrant, as presented in Chapter Two. The model assumes that policies and school culture that most closely resemble an orientation towards "productive diversity" will be best equipped to help facilitate integration. Thus, schools with enabling goals of identity formation and long-term goals of equality are most capable of reducing inequality along ethnic or cultural lines and enabling immigrants to identify with the receiving country (RC) as well as their own. In most cases, the teachers interviewed for this study expressed beliefs and actions that can best be characterized as positive or productive diversity orientations.

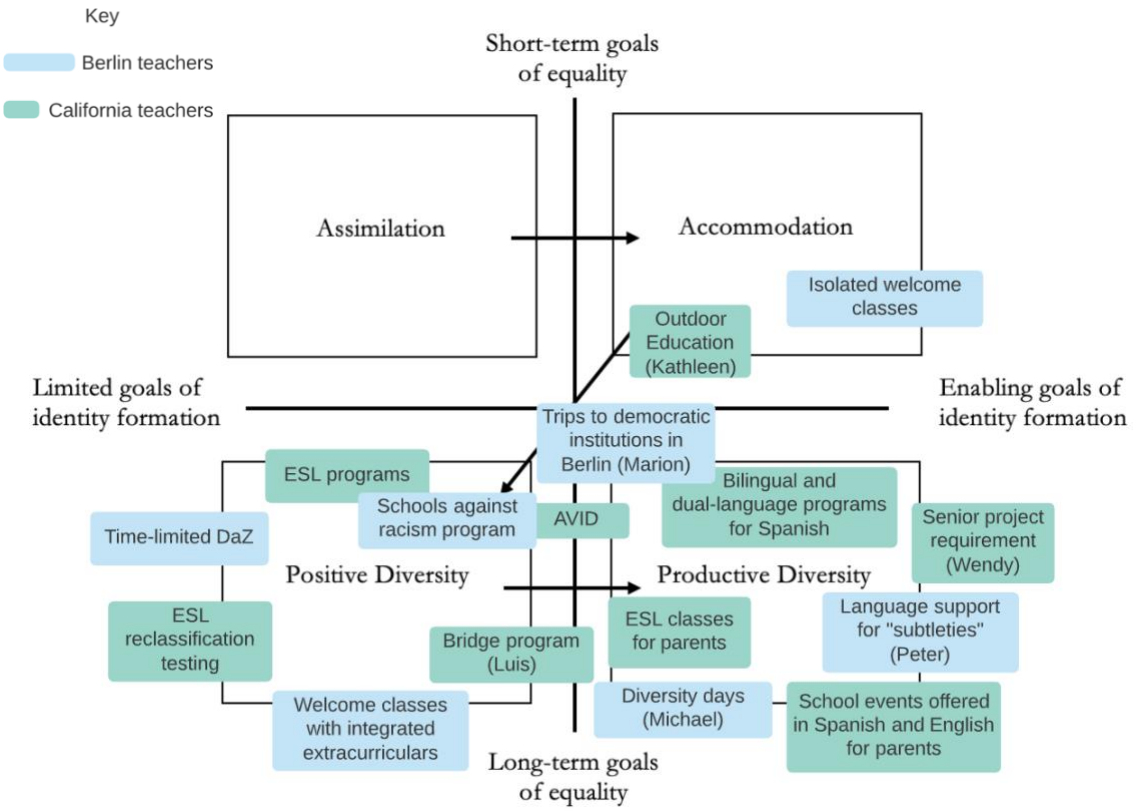


Figure 7: Policies and initiatives discussed by interview participants

7.2.1.1 Assimilation In terms of assimilationist policies, none of the policies or initiatives presented by participants seemed to ignore the existence of immigrant students or reject the idea that immigrant students may need specialized support. All participants seemed to acknowledge that due to immigrant populations, their schools had adapted their policies, practices, or curriculum in some way. Berry's (1997) definition of the expectation of assimilation—that all immigrants become like the dominant society—was not present in any policies or opinions presented by participants.

7.2.1.2 Accommodation Using this conceptual framework, I consider the outdoor education program discussed by Kathleen and Germany's isolated welcome classes, discussed in most detail by Andreas and Susanne, to be best labeled as accommodationist policies. Kalantzis and Cope (1993) characterize such policies as ones that believe that "cultural difference" can be "solved" through schools, an unrealistic and likely undesirable outcome (p. 47). Moreover, accommodationist policies expect integration to occur without proper

support. In Kathleen's example, the district administration seemed to postulate that by having students from different backgrounds sharing cabins and hiking over a five-day period, the effects of housing segregation and poverty could be ameliorated; however, Kathleen did not believe the outdoor-education program would have lasting effects. Thus, this district's outdoor-education program can best be described as an accommodationist policy, given the unrealistic expectations about how integration could be achieved and the limited support of immigrant students in this instance. Meanwhile, teacher's descriptions of Germany's isolated welcome classes, which have no contact with other students for two years and no defined curriculum, are also best defined as accommodationist. According to teachers in this study, welcome classes without partial integration ensure equality of survival, but without the necessary support to help immigrant students make social contacts and sufficiently improve their German. Teachers in both cases seemed to categorize these initiatives as wishful thinking.

7.2.1.3 Positive diversity The language policies—ESL programs, time-limited DaZ, and ESL reclassification testing—are all typified as positive-diversity policies: they seek to support immigrant students through programs tailored to their needs, but expect an identical "equality of output." While the policies are helpful in teaching English and German, this study finds that their success is limited by the number of ESL and DaZ teachers available and the lack of support from the school administration. This finding confirms those of Stromquist (2008) and the OECD (2015). California's ESL reclassification testing aims to bring California immigrant students to the same level as all California students as rapidly as possible, and schools are penalized if their reclassification numbers are too low, indicating that school policies cannot be categorized as productive diversity. Similarly, by only offering DaZ for the first two years and no support after that transitionary period, Berlin officials are acknowledging that newly immigrated students are operating at a social-capital deficit in their new community (Bourdieu, 2002). However, the Berlin system is operating under the assumption that two years of tailored support will solve the social-capital deficit. The Bridge program discussed by Luis seems to be a better example of acknowledging that newly arrived students have this social-capital deficit; however, as this program seems to be almost entirely dependent on Luis (his Spanish skills

and initiative), institutional support for these students is missing. Finally, taking part in such programs as Schools against Racism could be critiqued as a performative action: schools receive a plaque and medals for agreeing to certain conditions. Teachers who work at these awarded schools find that the partnership is more of an indicator, rather than effecting tangible change.

7.2.1.4 Productive diversity The policies and initiatives classified as productive diversity are those that understand that while an equality of outcomes is not necessarily attainable, the educational stakeholders operate with a goal of teaching the culture of power so students may have as equal a footing as possible when entering wider society. Marion's discussions of taking her students to German democratic institutions to teach them about the world outside their religious community, as well as the senior project requirement at Wendy's school, are both examples of teaching about the RC, without unrealistic expectations. Furthermore, in the productive-diversity quadrant, both the system and newcomers place value on maintaining identity and forging relationships with larger society. Thus, by providing dual-language programs and language education for immigrant parents, some of the schools are enabling this "two-way process" of integration to occur. Such programs do not ask for immigrants to give up their identity, but rather facilitate shifts from both immigrants and non-immigrants into a new, multicultural society. Moreover, language support for already fluent students who may be missing out on the intricacies of the German language gives such students an advantage, as the culture (or language) of power is demystified. Similarly, the Diversity Days at Andreas' school give all students and staff the opportunity to directly address the challenges that come with a multicultural society.

7.2.2 Reflections on comparison

Underpinning comparative educational research is the idea that "the educational concerns of one nation are the concerns of others as well" (Kubow & Fossum, 2007, p. 26). Thus, building on other research that investigates how Western countries facilitate integration through schools (Damaschke-Deitrick & Bruce, 2020), this study has compared Berlin and California to better understand how left-leaning states conceptualize integration. Notably,

this study reflects on the policy in the two contexts and furthers understanding of the intersection between integration policy and practice.

This study finds that school-level policies and initiatives, while different in California and Berlin, are spread evenly across the conceptual framework, perhaps indicating that there is no great chasm between the two cases. Moreover, in terms of the unique conceptual framework used in this research, neither California's nor Berlin's policies can be characterized as purely positive diversity or productive diversity. In contrast to the state- and federal-level integration policies, school-level micro-interactions are further along the conceptual framework, with some efforts that can best be categorized as productive diversity, something the federal- and state-level policies did not achieve. This differentiation indicates that policy on immigrant integration can be conceptually quite different from the practice of immigrant integration.

This study contributes to literature on how Western countries prioritize different types of integration (Damaschke-Deitrick & Bruce, 2020; Van Tubergen, 2001) and finds that California schools seem to have more linguistic support for immigrant students, while Berlin schools pay more attention to engaging in conversations about Germany with immigrant students. Issues with time-limited ESL and DaZ exist in both states, and policies and initiatives being school- and context-specific are characteristic of both states. From this comparison we gain a better understanding of California's and Berlin's conceptualizations of integration and can begin to postulate why integration through schooling seems unsatisfactory. This section has mapped a selection of policies and initiatives discussed in the findings; still, individual teachers' opinions on integration through education and the barriers to integration are missing from this mapping. This limitation will be discussed in the final section.

7.3 Teacher conceptualizations of schools as sites of integration

While researchers have studied and theorized about schools as sites of immigrant integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, Damaschke-Deitrick & Bruce, 2020; Heynemann, 2000; OECD, 2015), this study adds to this literature by paying particular attention to teachers' conceptualizations of schools as sites of integration. This is a crucial perspective, given

teachers' importance in facilitating social interactions and educational achievement. To elicit such information, this study asks: Given school-level policies and initiatives in California and Berlin, how do the teachers in this study think about schools as sites of integration? In line with previous studies, the teachers interviewed expressed three primary ways that schools can impact integration: facilitating interactions with students from different backgrounds, exacerbating segregation, and promoting language development.

In regards to promoting interactions among students with different backgrounds, many teachers expressed sentiments similar to Pica-Smith (2009) on intergroup friendships, identifying a link between interethnic childhood friendships and positive interethnic relations and attitudes later on. Dave spoke on this point in regards to non-immigrant students at his school:

> One of the things that allows for stereotypes and fear and ignorance about others, xenophobia, etc. to thrive, is that you have to have an absence of humanity…. But I think that for the students here, that all that kind of goes out the window when you play a sports team with them or have class with them.

These teachers' observations strengthen an argument that other scholars have made about social integration decreasing intergroup bias and ignorance (Cappella et al., 2017; Aboud et al., 2003; Allen & Kern, 2017; Goodenow, 1993; McGlothlin & Killen, 2010). However, this study does challenge the dominant position in the literature on student socialization in the classroom, which suggests that teachers can facilitate "cross-race friendships" in the classrooms (Cappella et al., 2017, p. 1095). The findings from this study indicate that teachers do not believe they have a responsibility to facilitate or force such interactions. Rather, the majority of the teachers believe they have a role in creating a welcoming and accepting environment, but view students forming friends along ethnic and linguistic lines as natural. Still, this research does support Goodenow's (1993) study indicating that teachers facilitate a sense of belonging among primary students, as this study confirms that a school's culture can have a role in making immigrant and non-immigrant students feel as though they belong in a new environment. This discrepancy between the literature and practice suggests that teachers should be consulted when creating sweeping recommendations for how integration should take place through schools. Additionally, as

there is no consensus on what role teachers should play in social integration, expecting teachers to fulfill this role without consensus is detrimental to integration efforts.

Another primary finding from this study is that schools' abilities to facilitate intergroup interaction are limited due to a variety of factors: who attends the school, the school's tracking structures, and teachers' attitudes and abilities to facilitate a positive and open classroom and engage in difficult discussions in a productive manner. Overall, these findings are in accordance with those reported by the OECD (2015). California teachers mentioned frequently the segregating effect that within-school tracking has, particularly for Latino students, which confirms Stromquist's (2012) findings. When comparing my results to those of Davoli and Entorf (2018), it must be pointed out that Berlin teachers discussed to a lesser extent how Germany's between-school tracking system also segregates students, perhaps indicating that this tracking system is supported by teachers. Both groups of participants raised the issue that housing segregation has a large impact on who actually attends schools and whether or not integration can logistically occur. These basic findings are consistent with research showing that housing and school segregation in the United States are inextricably linked (Bhargava, 2018) and residential segregation in Berlin is highly correlated with school segregation (Dill et al., 2011). Thus, this study confirms prior research that largely argues that schools' ability to facilitate integration is complicated by systemic segregation and inequalities.

Teachers interviewed supported the OECD's (2015) finding that learning the language of instruction fluently is perhaps the best tool for supporting integration. This study considers Johnson's (2007) discussion of enabling language policies in an international context and shows that California schools were largely more focused on supporting immigrant students' heritage languages, whereas Berlin schools focused more on the rapid transition to a German-speaking classroom. This conclusion contradicts Damaschke-Detrick and Bruce's (2020) finding in regards to immigrant-integration-related policy goals in the United States and Germany, as this study argues that California is the case more concerned with supporting English language learning through various measures. This difference could exist for both cultural and logistical reasons: while the German integration goals may be more focused on rapid German acquisition and the push for dual-language structures is not

as strong, Berlin's immigrant population may also be more linguistically diverse than California's, making it difficult for teachers to choose one language to learn.

This study's unique contribution is teacher opinions on whether schools are places that can facilitate integration. Many teachers, while maintaining that schools could have this function, were of the opinion that schools as they are designed cannot currently achieve their desired effect. The primary reasons teachers gave for this were that schools' desired integrated state had no defined goal and that there was no explicit plan for how to achieve "integration." Moreover, the fact that 16 teachers had at times quite divergent views of the role of schooling in facilitating integration demonstrates what a challenging task schools face. The sentiment expressed by Isaac perhaps best reveals the role of schooling on integration in California:

> In many ways [integration of immigrants] is the school's responsibility because no one else is going to do it.

The overarching consensus presented by the teachers interviewed was that integration is a societal task, one that schools could help to mitigate but cannot solve alone or efficiently with the tools currently at their disposal. Thus, this research reaches the conclusion that before integration through schooling can be set as a goal, policies outside of schools must change. Additionally, federal and state governments should attempt to reach a consensus with teachers regarding the goals of integration, something academia could do more to help facilitate.

7.4 Reflections on the conceptual framework

This conceptual framework has proven useful in analyzing federal-, state-, and local-level policies as well as categorizing school-level policies and initiatives. Through this categorization, the conceptual framework facilitates a picture of the reality of schooling in Berlin and California for immigrant and non-immigrant students. In a comparative sense, this conceptual framework is also helpful in contrasting policies from Berlin and California. Moreover, this conceptual framework enables comparisons between school-level and governmental policies, showing whether the school policies align with governmental goals. Qureshi and Janmaat (2014), studying education policies for

immigrants, call for more research on the development of educational policies over an extended time period and on whether national educational policies are actually positively affecting ethnic minority children. This study demonstrates that the conceptual framework I have developed can support these gaps in policy analysis, allowing for temporal comparisons as well as understanding the disconnect between governmental and local policies.

However, this study also demonstrated that this conceptual framework does not work as well in typifying teachers' beliefs about education or understanding school culture. This is primarily because immigrant students' interactions with the integration project are unique. While policies can be compared, how teachers frame their understanding of their schools' role in integration is highly dependent on the individual. In addition, policies are rather static; once written and adopted, the policies can be critiqued either on face value or through implementation. In contrast, teachers' understandings of their schools' role in integration vary from school to school and often do not simply align with higher-level policies. Using Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological model, the role of schools in integration is part of the microsystem affecting a child's development; face-to-face interactions with individuals, like teachers, are highly dependent on the individuals in the system, making each student's interaction with the project of integration unique.

This study builds upon Johnson's (2007) conceptual framework by applying it in an international and comparative context, furthering our understanding of the role of education in integration across borders. Through this adaptation, this study has shown that this model can be adapted to support gaps in policy analysis. Furthermore, insofar that school policies regarding immigrants show the school's values regarding integration, this model is beneficial in terms of categorizing schools' goals. However, using this model merely for policies leaves out how individual teachers interact with the subject of integration and with their immigrant and non-immigrant students. While this model makes strides in categorizing integration and analyzing the processes necessary, this model is still stymied by the issue of how to "measure" integration, as children's experiences and how they construct their identities are absent. More research on how to categorize school culture in terms of facilitating integration is necessary.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings in light of the conceptual framework and reflected on the findings in regards to the second and third research questions. This study finds that many of the school policies and teacher initiatives in Berlin and California can be categorized, using the conceptual model, as policies of positive and productive diversity. Adapting the conceptual model to teachers' views on integration proved more challenging, however, resulting in the conclusion that this conceptual framework is best for analyzing policies and initiatives. Teachers' opinions on schools as sites for integration further show that policies and initiatives are not always equivalent with attitude and practice and that teachers can find school-level initiatives unhelpful in achieving integration. Moreover, teachers' views on schools' role in integration show that teachers view schools as lacking the means necessary to facilitate integration but are working to mitigate segregation. Finally, the teachers interviewed for this study presented no consensus on the precise role that schools should play in achieving integration between immigrants and non-immigrants in California and Berlin.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This study investigated how schools in Berlin and California conceive of their role in integrating immigrant students. Responding to the popular belief often espoused in grey literature and government policies, this study questioned the assumption that schools are a place where integration of young immigrants will inevitably take place. To investigate this question, this study interviewed 16 teachers in Berlin and California, as teachers often have the closest contact with immigrant students and are entrusted by governmental policies to carry out the project of integration. Focusing on Berlin and California enabled a comparative analysis of how schools in two states that are generally accepting of immigration view the potential of integration through schooling. Teachers' beliefs and programs regarding integration were contrasted with state-level policies regarding immigrants and education.

To perform the comparative analysis and critically examine policies, programs, and initiatives, this study adapted Johnson's (2007) conceptual model to examine school integration in post-apartheid South Africa. The model incorporated theoretical frameworks that Johnson used, such as Kalantzis and Cope's (1993) discussion of pedagogies and Delpit's (1988) culture of power, and added Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies, Farrell's (2007) understanding of types of equality, and Bourdieu's (2002) conception of social capital. This study considers integration to be the process by which immigrants begin to identify with the receiving country (RC) as well as their own, provided that the RC offers acceptance and support to facilitate this process. Thus, the productive-diversity quadrant on the conceptual model is characterized by enabling goals of identity formation and long-term goals of equality. This study has found the conceptual model to be beneficial in terms of analyzing governmental policies and school-level policies and initiatives, but lacks in its ability to sort teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards schools as sites of integration.

This study reaches three primary conclusions: (1) school-level policies and initiatives consider diversity a positive, but do not extend so far as to facilitating a new culture that productively operationalizes the diversity of immigrant and non-immigrant students; (2) California and Berlin do not differ substantially in their goals for integration, as

characterized by the conceptual framework; and (3) the integration process in schools is highly dependent on micro-interactions among teachers, school culture, and students, which are often not in alignment with state-level integration efforts.

These findings enable a preliminary answer to this study's larger question: Can integration be achieved through schools? This research has shown that there are many structural issues that inhibit integration through schools. These structural issues include housing segregation that often results in schools being as segregated as neighborhoods. Moreover, school tracking systems limit how often students from different backgrounds come into contact with one another. Still, schools provide significant support for students and parents to learn the language of instruction and thereby enable immigrant students to find jobs and participate more fully in the RC. While schools are not always diverse, they can be places that allow for immigrant and non-immigrant populations to create a new community together. For this to be achieved on a sustainable basis, however, the project of integration cannot rely solely on the initiative of individual teachers.

This study has not begun to address the question of how to move from integration initiatives being in the hands of individual teachers and schools to creating a cohesive goal for integration and developing a sustainable method for how to achieve this goal. Thus, future research should tackle such questions as how to develop more language diversity among teachers and school staff. Furthermore, this study showed that there is no agreed-upon definition of integration, nor a common goal for what an integrated society might look like. Agreeing on a goal is a vital step for policymakers, if they are to continue assuming that schools will handle the project of integration.

References

Abah, O. S. (2009). German public opinion on immigration and integration. In Bertelsmann Stiftung & Migration Policy Institute (Eds.), *Migration, Public Opinion and Politics,* pp. 29–51. Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Aboud, F.E., Mendelson, M.J., & Purdy, K.T. (2003). Cross-race peer relations and friendship quality. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 27*, 165–173.

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2), 166–191. doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016

Allen, K., & Kern, M.L. (2017). School belonging in adolescents: Theory, research and practise. *Springer Briefs in Psychology.* link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-981-10-5996-4.pdf

Angen, M. J. (2000). Pearls, pith and provocation: Evaluating interpretive inquiry: Reviewing the validity debate and opening the dialogue. *Qualitative Health Research*, *10*(3), 378–395.

Apple, L., & Debs, M. (2021). "I am not a guinea pig": Parental opportunity hoarding and tracking reform in Germany. *Research in Comparative and International Education, 16*(1), 64–82. doi.org/10.1177/1745499921995786

Berry, J. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *46*(1), 5–68.

Bhargava, A. (2018). The interdependence of housing and school segregation. *A Shared Future: Fostering Communities of Inclusion in an Era of Inequality,* pp. 1–10.

Blair, E. (2015). A reflexive exploration of two qualitative data coding techniques. *Journal of Methods and Measurement in the Social Sciences*, *6*(1), Article 1. doi.org/10.2458/v6i1.18772

Bloemraad, I., & de Graauw, E. (2011). Immigrant integration and policy in the United States: A loosely stitched patchwork. *UC Berkeley Working Paper Series*, *41*.

Boddy, C. R. (2016). Sample size for qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal, 19*(4), 426–432. doi.org/10.1108/QMR-06-2016-0053

Bodewig, C. (2015). Education is the key to integrating refugees in Europe. *World Bank Blogs*. blogs.worldbank.org/education/education-key-integrating-refugees-europe

Boffey, D. (2020). Violent extremism linked to failure of migrants to integrate, EU says. *The Guardian*. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/13/violent-extremism-migrants-failure-to-integrate-eu

Bourdieu, P. (2002). "The forms of capital." In N. W. Biggart (Ed.), *Readings in Economic Sociology*, pp. 280–291. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. doi.org/10.1002/9780470755679.ch15

Brind, T., Harper, C., & Moore, K. (2008). *Education for migrant, minority and marginalised children in Europe*. Open Society Foundations.

British Educational Research Association [BERA]. (2018). *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (fourth edition). www.bera.ac.uk/researchers-resources/publications/ethicalguidelines-for-educational-research-2018

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist, 32*(7), 513–531.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In *International encyclopedia of education,* Vol. 3 (second edition). Elsevier. Reprinted in: M. Gauvain & M. Cole (Eds.), *Readings on the Development of Children* (second edition), pp. 37–43. Freeman.

Brücker, H., Jaschke, P., & Kosyakova, Y. (2019). *Integrating refugees and asylum seekers into the German economy and society: Empirical evidence and policy objectives* (Transatlantic Council on Migration). Migration Policy Institute.

Cappella, E., Hughes, D., & McCormick, M. (2017). The hidden role of teachers: Child and classroom predictors of change in interracial friendships. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *37*(8), 1093–1124. doi.org/10.1177/0272431616648454

Carey, D. (2008). Improving education outcomes in Germany (OECD Economics Department Working Papers No. 611). doi.org/10.1787/241675712618

Cerna, L. (2019). *Refugee education: Integration models and practices in OECD countries* (OECD Education Working Papers, Vol. 203). doi.org/10.1787/a3251a00-en

Chmielewski, A. K., Dumont, H., & Trautwein, U. (2013). Tracking effects depend on tracking type: An international comparison of students' mathematics self-concept.

American Educational Research Journal, *50*(5), 925–957. doi.org/10.3102/0002831213489843

Colbern, A. (2017). California's dark past and bright future on immigration policy (CIRI Research Brief Series). *California Immigration Research Initiative*.

Colbern, A., & Ramakrishnan, S. K. (2018). Citizens of California: How the Golden State went from worst to first on immigrant rights. *New Political Science*, *40*(2), 353–367. doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2018.1449065

Cope, B. & Kalantzis, M. (1993). The power of literacy and the literacy of power. In Cope, B. & Kalantzis, M. (Eds.) *The Powers of Literacy: A Genre Approach to Teaching Writing*, 63–89. The Falmer Press.

Damaschke-Deitrick, L., & Bruce, E. (2020). Education as a panacea for refugee integration? Evidence from Germany and the United States. In A. W. Wiseman, E. L. Galegher, M. F. Park, & L. Damaschke-Deitrick (Eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Refugee Youth Education: Dreams and Realities in Educational Systems Worldwide*. Routledge.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). Teacher quality and student achievement: A review of state policy and evidence. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *8*(1) epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v8n1

Davoli, M., & Entorf, H. (2018). *The PISA Shock, Socioeconomic Inequality, and School Reforms in Germany* (Policy Paper Series). IZA Institute of Labor Economics.

Davy, M., Meyers, D., & Batalova, J. (2005). Who does what in U.S. immigration. Migrationpolicy.Org. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/who-does-what-us-immigration

de Graauw, E., & Bloemraad, I. (2017). Working together: Building successful policy and program partnerships for immigrant integration. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, *5*(1), 105–123. doi.org/10.1177/233150241700500106

De Paola, M., & Brunello, G. (2016). *Education as a tool for the economic integration of migrants*. Social Science Research Network. papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2757926

Delpit, L. (1988). The silenced dialogue: Power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. *Harvard Educational Review*, *58*(3), 280–299. doi.org/10.17763/haer.58.3.c43481778r528qw4

Devere, H., McDermott, K., & Verbitsky, J. (2006). Just a refugee: Rights and status of refugees in New Zealand. In F. Crepeau et al. (Eds). *Forced Migration and Global Processes*, pp. 343–367. Lanham, Boulder: Lexington Books.

Die Bundesregierung. (2007). *Der Nationale Integrationsplan: Neue Wege – Neue Chancen [The national integration plan: New paths—new chances]*. www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975226/482772/e2b48a67044a094a65216eaa0e1d9ab0/2007-10-18-nationaler-integrationsplan-data.pdf?download=1

Die Bundesregierung. (2021). *Nationaler Aktionsplan stärkt die Integration [National Action Plan Strengthens Integration]*. Website of the German Federal Government. www.bundesregierung.de/breg-en/federal-government/aktionsplan-integration-1772728

Dill, V., Jirjahn, U., & Tsertsvadze, G. (2011). Residential segregation and immigrants' satisfaction with the neighborhood in Germany (No. 410; *German Socio-Economic Panel Study*).

Driessen, G. (2005), From cure to curse: The rise and fall of bilingual education programs in the Netherlands. In J. Sohn (Ed.), *The Effectiveness of Bilingual School Programs for Immigrant Children*, Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration, Social Science Research Center Berlin.

Engel, L. C., Kington, A., & Mleczko, A. (2013). The influence of education on community cohesion: Adaptation of policy to practice. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *106*(5), 408–418. doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2012.753862

Eurobarometer (2019). Integration of immigrants in the European Union. Special Eurobarometer 469. *Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs: European Commission*. publications.europa.eu/publication/manifestation_identifier/PUB_DR0218307ENN

European Commission. (2016). *Action plan on the integration of third-country nationals*. ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/20160607/factsheet_action_plan_integration_third-country_nationals_en.pdf

European Commission. (2019). *The future of cities: Opportunities, challenges and the way forward.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. data.europa.eu/doi/10.2760/375209

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice. (2019). *Integrating students from migrant backgrounds into schools in Europe: National policies and measures.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Faas, D. (2007). The Europeanisation of German ethnic identities: The case of German and Turkish students in two Stuttgart secondary schools. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *17*(1–2), 45–62. doi.org/10.1080/09620210701433738

Faas, D. (2008). From foreigner pedagogy to intercultural education: An analysis of the German responses to diversity and its impact on schools and students. *European Educational Research Journal*, *7*(1), 108–123. doi.org/10.2304/eerj.2008.7.1.108

Faas, D., Hajisoteriou, C., & Angelides, P. (2014). Intercultural education in Europe: Policies, practices and trends. *British Educational Research Journal*, *40*(2), 300–318. doi.org/10.1002/berj.3080

Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit. (2021). *Shaping our immigration society together: Report of the Federal Government Expert Commission on the framework for sustainable integration* (pp. 1–488). Expert Commission on the Framework Conditions for Integration Capability at the Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration. www.fachkommission-integrationsfaehigkeit.de/resource/blob/1786706/1827694/dd7c2bab863af691c0227d9145fa63bd/englisch-data.pdf?download=1

Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, *13*(1), 1–22. doi.org/10.1023/A:1009048817385

Farrell, J. (2007). Equality of education: Six decades of comparative evidence seen from a new millennium. In R. F. Arnove & C. A. Torres (Eds.), *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* (third edition). Rowman & Littlefield.

Fix, M. (2009). *Immigrant children, urban schools, and the No Child Left Behind Act.* Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Fix, M., Hopper, K., & Zong, J. (2017). *How are refugees faring? Integration at U.S. and state levels* (Transatlantic Council on Migration). Migration Policy Institute.

Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet (Aufenthaltsgesetz - AufenthG) [Residence Act], in the version promulgated on Feb. 25, 2008, BGBL. I at 162, as amended, www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bundesrecht/aufenthg_2004/gesamt.pdf, archived at perma.cc/4J2Z-A4PA, unofficial English translation available at www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_aufenthg/englisch_aufenthg.pdf, archived at perma.cc/QTR3-SWEJ (English version updated through Sept. 6, 2013).

Gesley, J. (2017). *Germany: The development of migration and citizenship law in postwar Germany*. The Law Library of Congress, Global Legal Research Center.

Goodenow, C. (1993). Classroom belonging among early adolescent students: Relationships to motivation and achievement. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *13*(1), 21–43. doi.org/10.1177/0272431693013001002

Gray, L., Wong-Wylie, G., Rempel, G., & Cook, K. (2020). Expanding qualitative research interviewing strategies: Zoom video communications. *The Qualitative Report*. doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2020.4212

Green, A., Janmaat, J. G., & Christine, H. (2009). *Regimes of social cohesion* [LLAKES Research Paper 1]. Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies. doi.org/10.1057/9780230308633

Grüneberg, S. (2015). Mangelware Deutschlehrer. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. www.sueddeutsche.de/karriere/fluechtlingsklassen-mangelware-deutschlehrer-1.2762406

Halls, W.D. (Ed.) (1989) *Comparative education: contemporary issues and trends*. London: UNESCO.

Hayhoe, R., Manion, C., & Mundy, K. E. (2017) Why study comparative education? In Hayhoe, R., Mundy, K. E., Read, R., Bickmore, K., Manion, C., & Farrell, J. P. (Eds.). *Comparative and International Education: Issues for Teachers* (second edition). Canadian Scholars.

Heckmann, F. (2003). From ethnic nation to universalistic immigrant integration: Germany. In F. Heckmann & D. Schnapper (Eds.), *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*. De Gruyter Oldenbourg. doi.org/10.1515/9783110507324

Heyneman, S. P. (2000). From the party/state to multiethnic democracy: Education and social cohesion in Europe and Central Asia. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *22*(2), 173–191. doi.org/10.3102/01623737022002173

Heyneman, S. P. (2003). Education, social cohesion, and the future role of international organizations. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *78*(3), 25–38.

Hill, K. (2011). Possibilities for social cohesion in education: Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *86*(2), 155–170. doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2011.561179

Hochschild, J. L., & Cropper, P. (2010). Immigration regimes and schooling regimes: Which countries promote successful immigrant incorporation? *Theory and Research in Education*, *8*(1), 21–61. doi.org/10.1177/1477878509356342

Hoff, G. R. (1995). Multicultural education in Germany: Historical development and current status. In Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. A. M. (Eds.). *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*. Macmillan Pub.; Prentice Hall International.

Hopkinson, A. (2017). *California proposition 58, non-English languages allowed in public education*. EdSource. ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_58,_Non-English_Languages_Allowed_in_Public_Education_(2016)

Hyndman, J. (2011). *Research summary on resettled refugee integration in Canada*. York University. www.unhcr.org/4e4123d19.pdf

Jansen, T., Chioncel, N., & Dekkers, H. (2006). Social cohesion and integration: Learning active citizenship. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *27*(2), 189–205. doi.org/10.1080/01425690600556305

Jeynes, W. H. (2007). The relationship between parental involvement and urban secondary school student academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Urban Education*, *42*(1), 82–110. doi.org/10.1177/0042085906293818

Jiménez, T. R. (2011). *Immigrants in the United States: How well are they integrating into society?* Migration Policy Institute.

Johnson, D. (2007). Building citizenship in fragmented societies: The challenges of deracialising and integrating schools in post-Apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *27*(3), 306–317. doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2006.10.012

Kalantzis, M. & Cope, B. (1993). Histories of pedagogy, cultures of schooling. In Cope, B. & Kalantzis, M. (Eds.) *The Powers of Literacy: A Genre Approach to Teaching Writing*, 38–62. The Falmer Press.

Kubow, P. K., & Fossum, P. R. (2007). *Comparative education: Exploring issues in international context*. Pearson/Merrill/Prentice Hall.

Kultusministerkonferenz [KMK]. (1996). Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule: Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 25.10.1996 i. d. F. vom 05.12.2013 [Intercultural education and upbringing in the school: Resolution of the Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of October 25, 1996 in the version of December 5, 2013]. www.bebis.cidsnet.de/faecher/feld/interkultur/rechtindex.html

Kultusministerkonferenz [KMK]. (2017). Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule: Berichte der Länder über die Umsetzung des Beschlusses [Intercultural education and upbringing in schools: Reports from the federal states on the implementation of the resolution]. www.kmk.org/fileadmin/Dateien/pdf/Bildung/AllgBildung/2017-05-11-Berichte_Interkulturelle_Bildung.pdf

Lawton, S. (2021). Germany revisits integration policy as critics demand "paradigm shift." *Euractiv*. www.euractiv.com/section/non-discrimination/news/german-integration-policy-needs-a-paradigm-shift-opposition-migrant-organisations-say/

Leise, E. (2007). Germany strives to integrate immigrants with new policies. *Migrationpolicy.org*. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/germany-strives-integrate-immigrants-new-policies

LeTendre, G. K., Hofer, B. K., & Shimizu, H. (2003). What is tracking? Cultural expectations in the United States, Germany, and Japan. *American Educational Research Journal*, *40*(1), 43–89. doi.org/10.3102/00028312040001043

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide*. Family Health International. www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/Qualitative%20Research%20Methods%20-%20A%20Data%20Collector's%20Field%20Guide.pdf

Martin, P. (2010). *Immigration and integration: The US experience and lessons for Europe* (No. 16; KMI Working Paper Series). Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

May, T. (2011). *Social research: Issues, methods and process* (third edition). Open University Press.

McBrien, J. L. (2005). Educational needs and barriers for refugee students in the United States: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, *75*(3), 329–364.

McGlothlin, H., & Killen, M. (2010). How social experience is related to children's intergroup attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 625–634. doi:10.1002/ejsp.733

Mena, J. A. (2011). Latino parent home-based practices that bolster student academic persistence. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *33*(4), 490–506. doi.org/10.1177/0739986311422897

Miller, J., & Glassner, B. (2021). "The 'inside' and the 'outside': Finding realities in interviews." In Silverman, D. (Ed.). *Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Moody, J. (2001). Race, school integration, and friendship segregation in America. *American Journal of Sociology*, *107*(3), 679–716. doi.org/10.1086/338954

National Academy of Sciences. (2015). *The integration of immigrants into American society*. National Academies Press.

Nusche, D. (2009). *What works in migrant education?: A review of evidence and policy options* (OECD Education Working Papers No. 22; OECD Education Working Papers, Vol. 22). doi.org/10.1787/227131784531

Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality*. Yale University Press.

OECD. (2015). *Immigrant students at school: Easing the journey towards integration*. OECD.

Pastoor, L. de W. (2015). The mediational role of schools in supporting psychosocial transitions among unaccompanied young refugees upon resettlement in Norway. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *41*, 245–254. doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.10.009

Perry, J. D. (1997). *Success, but challenges remain* (Opinion Papers No. 120). New England Desegregation Assistance Center.

Pica-Smith, C. (2009). Children speak about interethnic and interracial friendships in the classroom. *Multicultural Education*, *17*(1), 38–47.

Pierce, S., & Selee, A. (2017). *Immigration under Trump: A review of policy shifts in the year since the election.* Migration Policy Institute.

Pritchard, P., Maehler, D., Pötzschke, S., & Ramos, H. (2019). Integrating refugee children and youth: A scoping review of English and German literature. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *32*(1), i194–i208.

Qureshi, Y. F., & Janmaat, J. G. (2014). Diverging or converging trends: An investigation of education policies concerning the incorporation of ethnic minority children in England, France and Germany. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *44*(5), 710–731. doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2013.800782

Robson, C., & McCartan, K. (2016). *Real world research: A resource for users of social research methods in applied settings* (fourth edition). Wiley.

Rotte, R., & Rotte, U. (2007). Recent education policy and school reform in Bavaria: A critical overview. *German Politics*, *16*(2), 292–313. doi.org/10.1080/09644000701358890

Salmons, J. (2011). Designing and conducting research with online interviews. In *Cases in Online Interview Research*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Schweisfurth, M. (2006). Global and cross-national influences on education in post-genocide Rwanda. *Oxford Review of Education*, *32*(5), 697–709. doi.org/10.1080/03054980600976510

Sibley, E., & Brabeck, K. (2017). Latino immigrant students' school experiences in the United States: The importance of family-school-community collaborations. *School Community Journal*, *27*(1), 137–157.

Smale, A. (2016). Flooded with migrants, Germany struggles to integrate them. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/world/europe/germany-migrants-struggles-to-integrate.html

Small, M. L. (2009). "How many cases do I need?": On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, *10*(1), 5–38. doi.org/10.1177/1466138108099586

Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation, 7*. 137–146.

Stromquist, N. P. (2012). The educational experience of Hispanic immigrants in the United States: Integration through marginalization. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *15*(2), 195–221. doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2011.578125

Takenaga, L. (2019). "I will never be German": Immigrants and mixed-race families in Germany on the struggle to belong. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/2019/11/08/reader-center/german-identity.html

Taylor, S., & Sidhu, R. K. (2012). Supporting refugee students in schools: What constitutes inclusive education? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *16*(1), 39–56. doi.org/10.1080/13603110903560085

U.S. Department of Education. (2017). Educational resources for immigrants, refugees, Aaylees and other new Americans. *U.S. Department of Education*. www2.ed.gov/about/overview/focus/immigration-resources.html

UNHCR Nicosia. (2014). *The integration of refugees: A discussion paper*. UNHCR. www.unhcr.org/cy/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2018/02/integration_discussion_paper_July_2014_EN.pdf

Van Tubergen, F. (2006). *Immigrant integration: A cross-national study*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing.

Volkens, A., Burst, T., Krause, W., Lehmann, P., Matthieß, T., Merz, N., Regel, S., Weßels, B., Zehnter, L. (2020). *The Manifesto data collection*. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2020b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). doi.org/10.25522/manifesto.mpds.2020b

Walford, G. (2001). *Doing qualitative educational research: A personal guide to the research process* (Reprinted). Continuum.

Wells, A. S. (2014). *Seeing past the "Colorblind" myth of education policy: Addressing racial and ethnic inequality and supporting culturally diverse schools* (pp. 1–30). National Education Policy Center. nepc.colorado.edu/publication/seeing-past-the-colorblind-myth

White House Task Force on New Americans. (2015). *Strengthening communities by welcoming all residents: A federal strategic action plan on immigrant & refugee integration*. The White House. obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/final_tf_newamericans_report_4-14-15_clean.pdf

Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods.* SAGE.

Zirkel, S. (2008). The influence of multicultural educational practices on student outcomes and intergroup relations. *Teachers College Record, 110*(6), www.tcrecord.org.

Appendices

Appendix A: Overview of German and U.S. school tracking systems

Germany: The German school system is federalized and each state has jurisdiction over their tracking system. Historically, all students attend primary school until age 10, at which point they are divided into three school types (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule,* and *Gymnasium*). Because these three school types are usually in different buildings, this type of tracking is known as between-school tracking. The school types determine a student's school leaving degree and whether they can attend university. Only students who attend *Gymnasium* and receive an *Abitur* are eligible for university. In recent years, the tripartite system has been condensed to two tracks, especially in former East Germany, and *Gemeinschaftsschulen* (comprehensive schools) have become more popular. *Gemeinschaftsschulen* allow for students to switch tracks at a later starting point. The Berlin tracking system is shown below.



Figure 8: Berlin school tracking system (Apple & Debs, 2021, p. 68)

Berlin is unique in that students have until Year 7 to choose which track they will join and also have the option to enroll in the integrated secondary school, which allows students to take a variety of school-leaving exams, including the *Abitur*.

United States: In the United States, students attend comprehensive schools, meaning that all students are working towards an equivalent school-leaving diploma. Due to desires to differentiate students, however, most high schools operate within-school tracking systems. Within schools, students have the option to take a variety of levels of classes, usually known as college prep, honors, and advanced placement (AP). Schools also offer tracks for students who do not speak English as a first language (often known as ELD classes) and remedial classes. Track offerings differ from school to school.

In California, schools offer classes that fulfil the "A-G requirements" and therefore prepare students for university. A-G requirements include a specific number of math, foreign language, science, English, social studies, and physical education requirements, among others.

Appendix B: Table of participants

Pseudonym	Years teaching (approx.)	Gender	School Type	Location	School Size	Migration Background/non-White	Title I School
Dave	15	M	High school	Marin County	1000+	72.8%	Yes
Luis	15	M	High school	Marin County	1000+	72.8%	Yes
Wendy	20	W	High school	Sonoma County	1000+	53.8%	No
Erin	2	W	Charter middle school	San Francisco	250–500	99.0%	Yes
Kathleen	25	W	Elementary school	Contra Costa County	250–500	35.0%	No
Isaac	10	M	Elementary school	Marin County	500–750	92.4%	Yes
Heather	15	W	High school	Marin County	1000+	72.8%	Yes
Elena	15	W	Middle school	Mendocino County	750-1000	63.5%	Yes
Michal	5	M	Comprehensive school (Christian)	Spandau	100ish	N/A	N/A
Andreas	10	M	Integrated secondary school	Wilmersdorf-Charlottenburg	1000+	66.4%	N/A
Susanne	15	W	Integrated secondary school	Kreuzberg	250–500	68.4%	N/A
Anna	10	W	Comprehensive school	Neukölln	1000+	89.0%	N/A
Marion	25	W	Comprehensive school (Jewish)	Prenzlauer Berg	100-250	95.0%	N/A
Stefanie	15	W	Comprehensive school	Schöneberg	750-1000	71.4%	N/A
Katrin	15	W	Secondary school	Wedding	1000+	87.4%	N/A
Peter	20	M	Gymnasium	Wilmersdorf-Charlottenburg	500–750	41.0%	N/A

Appendix C: CUREC approval

25 March 2021

Dear [redacted]

Policies and Opinions of Immigrant Integration in California and Berlin Schools - approval reference ED-CIA-21-112 (please see caveats below regarding approval)

Thank you for submitting your amendments.

I have considered your revisions very carefully and I do still have some worries about the use of email, I'm afraid. You will be asking respondents to give their views about immigration, integration and segregation and it is possible that they may be sharing some strong views - some of which might differ from the official policy of their school and/or not be very 'politically correct'. I think it's unlikely, given that these are all people who work to educate young children, but it is possible. If they use their work emails to message you, these might feasibly be read or monitored by others in their work organisation (unlikely, but again possible). If they use something like gmail, this is not very secure - even if the emails you send to them will be encrypted. If a particular strong view somehow was read or seen by someone else, known to derive from a teacher at a particular school, and somehow entered the public domain, this could be very damaging.

Given that you have already waited a long time, I think that what I can do is to grant you approval to proceed with your research **on the basis of conducting interviews via Teams** but **NOT** yet with the asynchronous interview option. This is quite unusual - usually we approve applications in full or withhold approval until all issues have been resolved - but I do not want you to be delayed further in beginning your research. I would be grateful if you could give some more thought to the concerns I have raised, and let me know as soon as possible how you might mitigate these risks.

In the meantime, I can confirm that the above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants. On the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted for your work **on the basis that you proceed with Teams interviews only for now.** I will need to separately approve use of asynchronous interviewing once we have further considered the risks and possible solutions (or until you have provided me with further reassurance).

Please continue to follow all current guidance issued by CUREC during the pandemic, notably COVID-19: CUREC guidance on research involving human participants, researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/coronavirus

If relevant please also check the CUREC website for their best practice research guides, researchsupport.admin.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics/resources/bpg

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

With kind regards,

Dr. Sandra Mathers

Senior Researcher
Department of Education
University of Oxford

Researcher Reply:

26 March 2021

Dear Sandra,
Thank you very much for your flexibility! I've spoken with my supervisor, and I wonder whether addressing these concerns in the participant information sheets and the consent form might help. I have attached these two documents with updated language, which is as follows:

#10 of the consent form says: "I am aware that if I submit any written answers to the interview questions via email, there may be a minor security risk. I am comfortable taking this risk."

#5 of the information sheet now says: "If you opt for the written interview, there is the possibility that your written answers submitted over email could be read or monitored by someone else at your work organization. Other email accounts you may use may not be entirely secure. If you opt for the written interview, we want you to be comfortable with and aware of these risks."

Please let me know if this works for you or if you'd like me to rethink the option. In the meantime, I will get started with the video interviews.

Best wishes,
[redacted]

Final Approval:

27 March 2021

Dear [redacted]

Yes, I think this seems fine to me, as the participants are all adults and able to make decisions about the risk now that you have flagged them up.

Please take this email as confirmation that I am happy to approve on this basis.

Good luck with your research.

Sandra

Appendix D: Interview protocol questions (California)

Introduction: Review consent and introduce myself.

1) Ask the teacher to introduce themselves and their work.
    a) What part of the state do you work in?
    b) How long have you worked as a teacher? At how many schools?
    c) How much of your population is either immigrants or students from a migrant background?
    d) Do you have an idea of approximately how many languages are spoken at your school?
    e) In your role do you work specifically with newcomers or do you teach multiple groups of students?
2) School specifics: How does your school discuss or address newcomer students?
    a) For example: Does your school have separate classes for newcomer students? What is the reason for these classes?
    b) Does your school provide any targeted classes for newcomer students outside of language learning?
    c) From what you know, do these classes function well?
    d) Does your school celebrate the holidays of newcomers at your school?
3) Segregation: Do you observe segregation of newcomers taking place within your city/county?
    a) Do you observe segregation of newcomers taking place within your school? Your classrooms?
    b) Do you agree with the following statement: "It is the role of schools to combat segregation in the school and/or in the classroom"?
    c) Please elaborate on any such practices that you and/or your school has implemented to combat segregation.
4) For this part I would like to put quotations up on the screen and get your reactions to them.
    a) *According to a 2015 report, over 80% of first-generation, second-generation and non-immigrant students reported feeling that they belong at their schools. According to the report: "This may occur because schools are environments where immigrant students are given opportunities – and dedicated support – for socialization and integration in a new community and because they see schools as bearing the fruits of the sacrifices they and their families made."*
        i) Do you believe that these results reflect the population you work with?
        ii) Once your students graduate/leave your school, do you believe they will feel as though they belong in their community outside of the school?
        iii) What does your school do to prepare your newcomer students for life after primary and secondary schooling?
    b) *"Our education system, while equipping individuals with subject-specific skills, is not doing enough to promote the types of skills needed to facilitate the acceptance and integration of immigrants into the United States."*
        i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?

c) *"Our education system is focusing too much on integrating immigrants into the United States and not enough on working on non-immigrant and immigrant students being accepting of one another."*
   i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?
d) *"Our education system is focusing too much on integrating immigrants into the United States, which comes at the expense of us schooling non-immigrant students."*
   i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?

5) I'd like to look at some things the government has said on the purpose of integrating immigrants and get your reaction:
   a) *From the US Department of Education website: "As a nation of immigrants, America has benefited from the vitality and enthusiasm brought to its shores by those seeking a better life. Successful immigrant and refugee integration efforts build the capacity of schools and early learning programs, communities, organizations, and other stakeholders to support the civic, linguistic, and economic integration of immigrants."*
      i) To what extent do you agree with the statement: It is the role of schools "to support the civic/linguistic/economic integration of immigrants"?
   b) *In Gov. Newsom's 2018 victory speech he said: "And to those who wonder whether polarization is permanent, who think today's big dreams are tomorrow's broken promises, who question whether a 40-million-person melting pot of different faiths, different families and futures can live and prosper together, California is your answer."*
      i) To what extent do you agree with Gov. Newsom's conceptualization of California as a "melting pot"?
      ii) Should California be a "melting pot"?
      iii) Does schooling have a role to play in creating this "melting pot"?
6) Does your school talk about issues of integration?
   a) What is the language they use around these issues?
   b) Can you think of any federal, state or local policies around integrating newcomers?
   c) What goals does your school have for newcomer students?

Appendix E: Interview protocol questions (Berlin)

Introduction: Review consent and introduce myself and translators.

1) Ask the teacher to introduce themselves and their work.
   a) What part of the state do you work in?
   b) How long have you worked as a teacher? At how many schools?
   c) How much of your population is either immigrants or students from a migrant background?
   d) Do you have an idea of approximately how many languages are spoken at your school?
   e) In your role do you work specifically with newcomers or do you teach multiple groups of students?
2) School specifics: How does your school discuss or address newcomer students?
   a) For example: Does your school have separate classes for newcomer students? What is the reason for these classes?
   b) Does your school provide any targeted classes for newcomer students outside of language learning?
   c) From what you know, do these classes function well?
   d) Does your school celebrate the holidays of newcomers at your school?
3) Segregation: Are there Germany-wide or Berlin specific plans for the integration of students?
   a) Do you observe segregation of newcomers taking place within your school? Your classrooms?
   b) Do you agree with the following statement: "It is the role of schools to combat segregation in the school and/or in the classroom"?
   c) Please elaborate on any such practices that you and/or your school has implemented to combat segregation.
4) For this part I would like to put quotations up on the screen and get your reactions to them.
   a) *According to a 2015 report, over 80% of first-generation, second-generation and non-immigrant students reported feeling that they belong at their schools. According to the report: "This may occur because schools are environments where immigrant students are given opportunities – and dedicated support – for socialization and integration in a new community and because they see schools as bearing the fruits of the sacrifices they and their families made."*
      i) Do you believe that these results reflect the population you work with?
      ii) Once your students graduate/leave your school, do you believe they will feel as though they belong in their community outside of the school?
      iii) What does your school do to prepare your newcomer students for life after primary and secondary schooling?
   b) *According to the same 2015 report, 59% of students with migration backgrounds are concentrated in schools, where more than half of the students have a migration background.*
      i) Have you experienced this phenomenon? How does the situation look in Berlin?

c) *"Our education system, while equipping individuals with subject-specific skills, is not doing enough to promote the types of skills needed to facilitate the acceptance and integration of immigrants into the United States."*
   i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?
d) *"Our education system is focusing too much on integrating immigrants into the United States and not enough on working on non-immigrant and immigrant students being accepting of one another."*
   i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?
e) *"Our education system is focusing too much on integrating immigrants into the United States, which comes at the expense of us schooling non-immigrant students."*
   i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?

5) I'd like to look at some things the government has said on the purpose of integrating immigrants and get your reactions:
   a) *"Germany is not a country of immigration."*
      i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?
      ii) How has this changed in the last few years?
   b) *"This country's attempt to create a multicultural society has completely failed."*
      i) To what extent do you agree with the statement?
      ii) Do you see the schools having a role in creating this multicultural society?
   c) *KMK (1996): "The school sees itself as a place of learning and living for everyone, it treats all students with appreciation and develops an interculturally sensitive culture of dialogue and conflict, including the negotiation of common foundations for school life, so that all members of the school community feel included."*
      i) extent do you agree that it is the role of schools to support students in this way?
6) Does your school talk about issues of integration?
   a) What is the language they use around these issues?
   b) Can you think of any federal, state or local policies around integrating newcomers?
   c) What goals does your school have for newcomer students?

Appendix F: Participant Sample Email and Information Sheet

University of Oxford
Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
Supervisor [redacted]
[redacted], MSc Comparative and International Education
Oxford University e-mail: [redacted]

Dear [redacted],

I am [redacted], a graduate student at the University of Oxford's Department of Education. I am contacting you because I am researching, for my master's thesis, how teachers in California/Berlin view role of schools in integrating immigrant students into the classroom, school, and wider society.

In this context, I would like to interview teachers who currently or have previously worked at schools with a high proportion of students who are immigrants or come from migrant backgrounds.

As you have been identified to me as a teacher who works with students from migrant backgrounds, your experiences and opinions would be invaluable for this research project. I am particularly interested in, for example, how your school discusses and implements programs that focus on integrating immigrant students into classrooms and your views on specific state and federal policies. The goal of this project is to better understand the relationship between state and federal policies and teacher opinions the role of schooling in integration.

This would be an opportunity to share your valuable personal and professional experiences and views about the topic of integration of immigrant students into your community. I hope that my completed thesis that I would share with you may be valuable to you as well.

All names of participants would be pseudonymized, and all other personal data, including the school's name, would be anonymized, as your confidentiality is of the utmost importance in this study. Attached to this email are information sheets with more details about the research project in English [and German].

I will be available [redacted] over video conferencing software in order to conduct an interview, which would be a maximum of 1 hour. Alternatively, I would like to offer participants the option to take the interview asynchronously in a written format. More information on this can be found in the attached participant information sheets.

Thank you for taking the time to read this and I do hope you will consider taking part in this research project.

Best wishes,

[redacted]

University of Oxford
Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
Supervisor: [redacted]
[redacted], MSc Comparative and International Education
Oxford University e-mail: [redacted]

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) Approval Reference: ED-CIA-21-112

1. *Why is this research being conducted?*

As the number of refugees around the world has increased significantly over the last decades, Western societies have begun (in the case of Germany) and reignited (in the United States) debates over how societies will adapt following the influx of new residents. Many politicians and scholars at international organizations see schools as the place where the changing population dynamics will be sorted out. This study asks, broadly, whether schools are actually a place where these goals can be achieved. One part of this study will focus on how policies regarding immigration and schooling in the United States and Germany have developed over the last decades. The second part will seek to include teachers' voices and opinions on this project of social cohesion, which is often put on their shoulders. This study focuses on the states of Berlin and California, as two areas that have seen very high levels of immigration.

2. *Why have I been invited to take part?*

You have been invited because you are a teacher in a school in California that serves a population with a high proportion of students who have an immigrant background.

3. *Do I have to take part?*

Participation is entirely voluntary. You can ask questions about the research before deciding whether or not to take part. If you do agree to take part, you may withdraw yourself from the study, without giving a reason, and without negative consequences, by advising me of this decision. If you decide to withdraw during or soon after the interview, before the thesis is drafted, your data will be discarded immediately.

4. *What will happen if I take part in the research?*

This research asks its participants to take part in one, semi-structured interview. If you agree to an interview, you will be invited to a meeting over video conferencing software (Microsoft Teams) at a time that is convenient for you. Before we begin I will send a consent form to you by email and ask for you to sign and return it. Once we log onto the interview, I will walk you through the interview procedures and give you the chance to ask questions. Once the interview begins you can also ask to pause or stop the interview at any time. You may also withdraw your consent at any time. With your consent, I

would like to audio record you so that I can have an accurate record of your thoughts. If you do not consent to an audio recording, then I can take notes as we speak. The interview will last for a maximum of one hour.

5. ***Are there any potential risks in taking part?***

While I do not expect there to be any major risks to you in taking part, as is the case for participating in any research there is always the risk of a breach of confidentiality. To reduce any potential risks, we will use encrypted video conferencing software, the data will be stored on a password-protected computer and/or hard drive, and your personal data will be anonymized and pseudonymized as appropriate.

6. ***What happens to the data provided?***

The information you provide during the study is the **research data**. Any research data from which you can be identified (name, place of work, email address, gender, audio recording, etc.) is known as **personal data**.

Personal / sensitive data will be stored on a secure file hosting system on a password-protected computer. Once the study is complete (approx. Aug 2021), any personal data will be destroyed.

Other research data (including consent forms) will be stored for at least 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

Your personal data may be transferred to, and stored at, a destination outside the UK and the European Economic Area. Identifiable data will be removed whenever possible and any data transfer will be done securely and with a similar level of data protection as required under UK law.

The researcher, supervisor, and translator (in specific cases) will have access to the research data. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may be given access to data for monitoring and/or audit of the research.

I would like your permission to use direct quotes anonymously and pseudonymized in any research outputs. This will be highlighted in the consent form.

7. ***Will the research be published?***

The research will be written up as my dissertation. On successful submission of the dissertation, it may be deposited both in print and online in the University archives to facilitate its use in future research. The research may be published in academic publications and/or on an online student publication website.

The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research.

8. Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (reference number: ED-CIA-21-112).

9. Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please contact me or my supervisor and we will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible:

> Chair, **Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee**; Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD

10. Data Protection

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data, and as such will determine how your personal data is used in the study. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that is performed in the public interest.
Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/.

11. Further Information and Contact Details

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

[redacted]
Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
University email: [redacted]

Appendix G: Consent form

University of Oxford
Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
Supervisor: [redacted]
[redacted], MSc Comparative and International Education
Oxford University e-mail: [redacted]

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) Approval Reference: ED-CIA-21-112

Can Integration Be Achieved Through Schools?: School Approaches to Managing Student Diversity in the United States and Germany

As the number of refugees around the world has increased significantly over the last decades, Western societies have begun (in the case of Germany) and reignited (in the United States) debates over how societies will adapt following the influx of new residents. Many politicians and scholars at international organizations see schools as the place where the changing population dynamics will be sorted out. This study asks, broadly, whether schools are actually a place where these goals can be achieved. One part of this study will focus on how policies regarding immigration and schooling in the United States and Germany have developed over the last decades. The second part will seek to include teachers' voices and opinions on this project of social cohesion, which is often put on their shoulders. This study focuses on the states of Berlin and California, as two areas that have seen very high levels of immigration.

		Please initial each box
1	I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	☐
2	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or penalty.	☐
3	I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.	☐
4	I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.	☐
5	I understand how this research will be written up and published.	☐
6	I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.	☐
7	I consent to being audio recorded	☐
8	I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs	☐

9	I agree to the use of pseudonymized quotes in research outputs	☐
10	I am comfortable being quoted directly	☐
11	I am aware that if I submit any written answers to the interview questions via email, there may be a minor security risk. I am comfortable taking this risk.	☐
12	I agree to take part in the study	☐

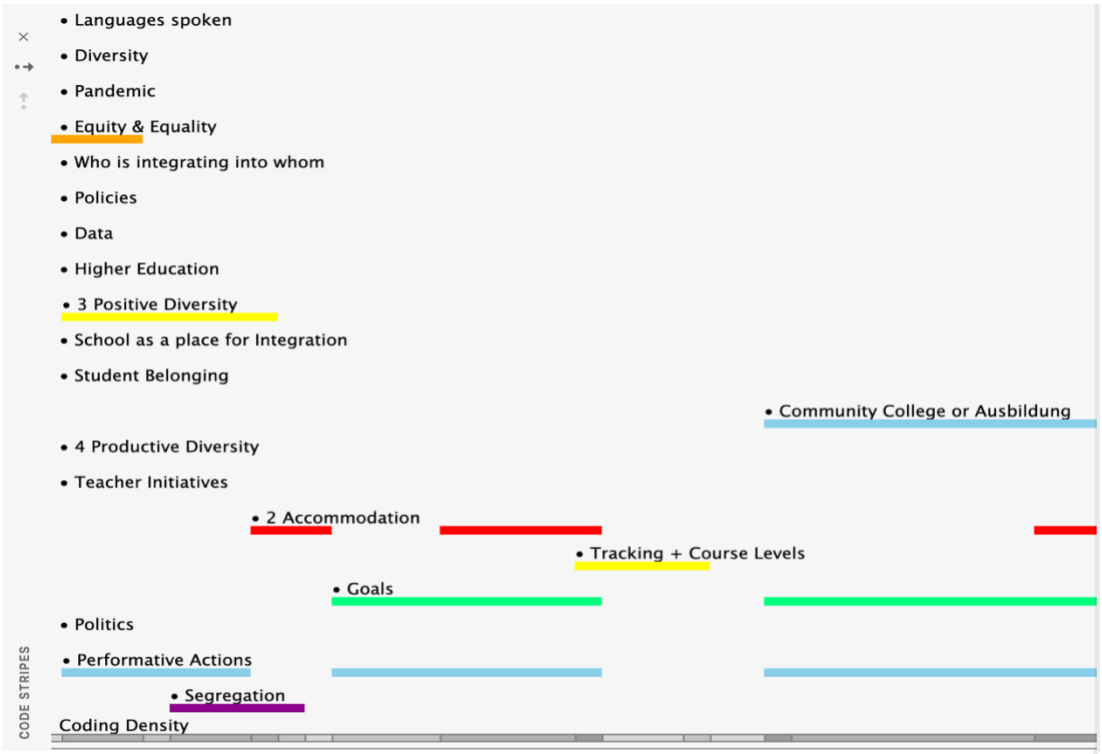
_____	dd / mm / yyyy	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Appendix H: Example participant interview transcript

Interviewer 00:01
Okay, so I would like to start with just getting a little bit of background about the school you work at how long you've worked there, what populations you work with what you teach, etc.
Participant 00:17
So, I am the college prep or just on level [redacted] History teacher, and Advanced Placement [redacted] History teacher at [redacted] High School. It is a comprehensive public high school located in [redacted], it is as far as I know, the only high school in [redacted] that is designated as a title one school, meaning that the majority of our population qualifies for free and reduced lunches. The last time that I checked here this is pre pandemic. It was 67-68% of our students qualified for either free or reduced lunches. I have no idea when it's going to be, actually I have no idea what it is now nor what it will be when we return. I can't imagine it getting better. The school itself serves a rather diverse cross section of LatinX students I would not say that our school itself is diverse, I think that the school itself is quite segregated and just segregated in poverty, more than anything else,

[FULL TRANSCRIPT INCLUDED IN GRADED COPY.]

Appendix I: Example of NVivo coding for participant interview



Participant 42:34
Yeah, sometimes I would say, Yeah, but I think that they mostly refer to it as the quality, we need to —that's their buzzword, everything's equality. Equality! We need to provide, you know, equality of education we need to provide educational opportunity for our most disadvantaged and vulnerable, they love that one too. I mean, basically they want to come in and take a picture, that's, that's legitimately it. That's how I feel about that all the way from the top all the way to here. 100%, that everybody wants a result. But, you know, nobody really wants to address the realities of the educational system, you know, starting from the very beginning, which is, you know that we do have rather segregated elementary schools, those that are segregated by design, that the students that come here... You know as a 15 year old the idea that, that, that, you know, they should be placed in an AP class because we can chart it on some damn graph is idiotic. That's not saying that they can't. But the notion that that should be the norm. I mean is, but I also again I have a unique I mean I don't care if my daughter takes any AP classes, that's irrelevant. Um, so again I think it's it's how you define success. And I think that's just one of the ways you know they always look for things that they can quantify. And they do so without ever really knowing any of the people that are there. And I think that yeah there's tremendous pressure for grade inflation, so they can make the world as they wish it. I think there's a lot of opportunity lost. And a lot of probably vital skills that are lost, as we're sprinting to have everybody be whatever it is we want them to be A-G eligible or, you know, "studies show" this our big one now "studies show that if you take an AP class you are likely to succeed in college." Well everyone needs to take an AP class, it's just like, I don't think you're reading that study right, also the study came from College Board, who charges $100 to take the test, so I'm also, I think you might want to check who's actually doing the studies. But I mean over and over, over and over again—and, yeah, I just I think that, rightfully so—we all deal with the specter of, of, you know formalized tracking that that really did kind of permeate schools, still does, but it was formalized before and in a lack of educational access and opportunity for, you know, students of color and women, and female students. I think those are realities and I think we should take those into account but I think all we've done is replace them with you know some other bean counter that is looking for some other way to provide a study and get a raise to be truthful with you. I don't think that there's a lot of, there's definitely not a lot of honesty, I think it's just, you know, and I think a lot of that, if you look at the real refusal of this institution since I've been here to talk about the opportunities offered by a junior college, I have to find holy staggering—staggering, it's taboo. I was actually told when I first started working here to not talk about junior colleges, don't tell students that.

Interviewer 46:07
Because they want their numbers of students going to colleges?

Participant 46:11
Because they want the "four year number of students" who went straight from here to a four year number we always talk about number of Latino students who are A-G eligible number of students...

Appendix J: Selected codes and examples of data

Name	Description	Example
Assimilation	Equal treatment is considered enough; goal of providing schooling (equality of access); immediate complete immersion in RC's society; Minority identity is not acknowledged	N/A
Accommodation	Goal of continuing schooling (equality of survival); There is one goal that all students should strive towards; Immigrants are seen as a separate group, sometimes positively	"And a lot of probably vital skills that are lost, as we're sprinting to have everybody be—whatever it is—we want them to be A-G eligible." (Dave)
Positive Diversity	Goal of reaching graduation and having further educational opportunities (equality of output); Schools believe they shouldn't impose a culture on students	"Well, we have to talk about micro or macro on the on the on the macro level like from above, only so much as [administrators] can take a picture. You know what I'm saying, I think they would very rapidly attend a program that was thought of, created, implemented by an educator, and they will go there and take their selfie and shake hands and probably try to get them at docket to give a talk. Now what type of support have they provided? I would say none whatsoever." (Dave)
Performative Actions	School performatively addresses and celebrates all identities	"Just like it's not a sincere effort sometimes. I think it's they're just, you know, checking boxes. It's like okay we talked about integrating, okay we talked about SDAIE, Oh we talked, you know, it's like okay, but what are we going to do really? Do we believe in it, and if they don't believe in it, and us teaching community, you know, it's like, it's just another it's just another policy another guideline that we're supposed to follow." (Luis)
Productive Diversity	Goal of teaching culture of power so students may have as equal a footing as possible when entering wider society; Values maintaining identity and forging relationships with larger society; RC is open and inclusive to cultural diversity	"We have courses in social studies that are taught bilingually." (Dave)

Acceptance	How the school/teachers indicate acceptance	"There's Ramadan there's Christmas, there's this there's that, and it's kind of there, it's there and it's being celebrated if the class wants it and if they don't want it, it's not being celebrated. It's kind of, you know what I mean there's, there's no need for tolerance because there is no intolerance." (Anna)
Goals	What goals do schools set for immigrants	"For me, I want the kids to be able to choose what they want to become. I want the kids to be able to after I have said goodbye to them or after they've left elementary school, for example, when they leave, elementary school I want them to be able to choose whether they want go here or there." (Anna)
Higher Education	Goals related to higher education	"I think that that is kind of an underlying assumption or driving factor that we want students to go to college, I think that we've tried to shift that knowledge that narrative to we want students, when it comes time to make that decision to have the option to go to college, and to have an option to go to any college that they want to and not be limited because of their, you know, personal or you know academic performance or anything." (Erin)
Pandemic	Pandemic effects on integration	"Then there was Corona and all the team building we are doing normally was very low. And so we haven't had a chance to really get them together, to form an integrated group, to have a group identity—we're saying we're one family, we're one class, we're one family, but takes time and these kids will need more time to get together." (Katrin)
Data	Data-driven policies/data collection	"A lot of it I think really is just there's this societal pressure to produce statistics, that you know can show your progress and this matriculation of students who arrive and this big push for what they're calling equality which is really just equity which is everyone should get the same place at the same time." (Dave)

Language learning	Language related policies	"And so it says how schools from 1-10 have to integrate kids that speak German as a second language. And every school has, I have for example, about three hours a year of my 28 that I teach, I have three as DaZ hours, and that basically means, I join another teacher who teaches his stuff and then I can work individually on the same thing with someone else, or I could take him out or, you know I can kind of be his language support." (Anna)
Religion	Relationship between religion and integration	"There are certain tendencies—they are still quite minimal and result more from the fact that students with a certain religious or cultural context, quite logically, connect more easily." (Peter)
School Administration	Role of school administrators	"Unfortunately my school headmaster's team is a very young team that has pros and cons, and the con is that they are not planning in a steady, durable, sustainable way, in my eyes. So we're doing that too quickly, and they want to change quite a lot of things at the same time, but it's needed—you need to address the different learning types, and the different levels of competencies." (Andreas)
School as a place for Integration	Can schools serve as a place of integration?	"The big question [is] how much of an impact do we have as teachers? I think teachers have] 15%, the rest is peer group and family, [but] it's something that society expects us to do 80%. That's the dilemma in every respect. ...We can't really combat [segregation], but we try to do everything to be a role model for tolerance and… being open and seeing people coming from all over the world as something positive." (Andreas)
Segregation	Are schools segregated? What is the benefit/disadvantage of segregation?	"I think like kids have the right to hang out with whoever they want to hang out with. I think after a while they talk to each other, it's just that they feel more comfortable with the group of people and I think that is just normal for everyone." (Elena)

Student Belonging	Do students feel they belong in their schools?	"I think for them our school is something special, because being international is so much of a positive in our school that they have actually going through a kind of phase in their life, the formative phase where, where they have actually seen being tolerant as something positive, more than they would have had they not been to our school." (Andreas)
Teachers: lack of training	Sentiments regarding participant preparation for dealing with integration	"So you have one year of Willkommensklasse, it's a small group, it's not always very effective, because there is no material, we don't have a real curriculum, we have to do all of it on our own. And so it was more—It's interesting that in Germany some of these things are not really—there's not much help in that respect, from the Berlin Senate. We always have to find our own ideas." (Andreas)
Terms used re Integration	What terms are used to discuss integration? Why do they use/not use "integration"	"I think I agree with it, to a certain extent, I think that it is the role of schools to support the integration but I think integration quickly becomes assimilation in the way that schools do it." (Erin)