Multilingualism in Hamburg
LUCIDE city report

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Abstract

Germany, like many other northern and western European countries, is a multilingual country as a result of migration since the Second World War. Globally, the primary destinations of migrants are cities and urban areas. Hamburg, Germany's second largest city with about 1.7 million inhabitants, is emblematic of urban multilingualism in Germany.

It is a matter of course that German is the dominant language here, including in city life. English plays the familiar role of the global lingua franca. Although other languages are not wholly visible in Hamburg, this report shows that diversity has a considerable impact on the linguistic texture of the city as a whole. We present well-established data and research findings, as well as impressions and material that we collected through interviews. Our informants are experts in their fields and familiar with issues of linguistic diversity. We take this opportunity to thank all our dialogue partners who inform this project from their personal practices and/or from their professional fields.
1. Introduction

This report focuses on multilingualism in the Freie and Hansestadt Hamburg. In Germany, as in many other northern and western European countries, multilingualism is largely a consequence of migration since the Second World War. The primary destinations of migrants are cities and urban areas. Germany recognises its autochthonous minorities who mostly reside in rural areas. For instance, the Sorbian language receives protection in the federal states of Saxony and Brandenburg, as does Danish in Schleswig Holstein. A number of migrants, too, inhabit sparsely populated regions in the countryside on account of certain political decisions (e.g. the building of reception centres for refugees there). The vast majority of migrants, however, live in big cities or urban areas. Hamburg, Germany's second largest city with about 1.7 million inhabitants, is emblematic of urban multilingualism in Germany.

In Hamburg we find a concentration of migrants and their many languages. Although the German constitution does not explicitly refer to any language, it is a matter of course that German is the dominant language here, including in city life. Other languages are more or less valued in Hamburg, although this depends on the context of usage and speaker status. English plays the familiar role of the global lingua franca: it is present in city public life, it is the first foreign language taught in schools, and appears on public signage and in transport announcements. Other languages are much less visible in Hamburg. Nevertheless, indicators suggest that diversity has a considerable impact on the linguistic texture of the city as a whole.

This report on Hamburg's linguistic fabric relies on different types different types of information. On the one hand, we utilise established data and findings, such as population and school statistics, or on previous and ongoing academic research, such as the LiMA ('Linguistic Diversity Management in Urban Area') project at the University of Hamburg (see www.lima.uni-hamburg.de). On the other hand, our report also relies on a collection of eclectic impressions and material. This is due to the fact that there is very little solid information on linguistic diversity in the city. We scanned all kinds of publicly accessible sources, such as websites, official brochures and other publications. We interviewed a number of informants from the different spheres that have been identified by the LUCIDE network for research (see Section 2 below). Our informants are experts in their respective fields and are familiar with issues of linguistic diversity. They are dialogue partners who inform this project from their personal practices and/or from their professional fields.

We make no claim that our findings are in any way representative or exhaustive. Moreover, we acknowledge that our interviewees’ points of view sometimes contradict state-of-the-art research findings. We feel it is nonetheless important to include contradictory input from informants as this points to the Janus-type character of linguistic diversity: it is seen to have both advantages and disadvantages and research findings do not necessarily display popular impressions of or attitudes to it. By providing a snapshot of multilingual Hamburg, we aim to support the development of ideas and strategies for the successful management of linguistic diversity in urban communities. This will be a continuing task for individuals and stakeholders who are responsible for the development of socially coherent, culturally dynamic, likeable and liveable future cities.

Acknowledgements

We owe gratitude to a number of people who supported us in the preparation of this report. We would like to thank our interview partners who showed us patience and trust. We also wish to thank Karen Vinke, Vanessa Wiechmann and Mareike Springer for their very helpful support as assistants.
2. Background information: The LUCIDE network

The LUCIDE network is composed of university and civic partners from thirteen European cities1, along with research teams from Ottawa and Melbourne. The aims of our network are to depict how communication occurs in multilingual cities and to develop ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities. In LUCIDE’s research activities, we are therefore interested in the real-life complexities faced by individuals in various spheres and aspects of city life.

Five key spheres were delineated in order to provide for comprehensive and systematic exploration of how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life. These spheres included the public sphere, economic life, the private lives of citizens, and urban spaces or the ‘cityscape’.

The **public sphere** includes:

- Local government/municipality/city council
- Public services (health, transport, tourism)
- Media (television, newspapers, digital media)
- Civic events and festivals paid from public funds

The **educational sphere** includes:

- The public school system (from day nursery to adult education)
- Vocational education
- Lifelong learning
- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) involved in formal or informal education
- Independent/private schools (including bilingual schools)
- Complementary education (‘Saturday’ schools, language academies)
- Cultural organisations/societies/associations

The **economic sphere** includes:

- Large local/national companies and multinationals
- Industries and manufacturing
- SMEs
- Service providers (professional services)
- Financial transactions

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The **private sphere** includes:

- Activities related to family, friends and social networks
- Local or city-wide activities (such as festivals) that are not initiated by the public sphere (although they may receive public funding) but organized instead by local community groups
- Services that are offered by local communities (including volunteer activities)
- Local support networks
- Religious activities and organisations/structures

**Urban spaces** encompass all publically visible and audible aspects of a city, and include:

- Public signage (shops, offices, public buildings, street signs)
- Advertising (billboards, leaflets, in public transport etc.)
- Graffiti and unofficial street art
- Monuments, art, sculptures (public art)
- Instructions on vending machines, noticeboards, other publically visible interfaces
- Announcements delivered via loudspeaker/other types of ‘audio’ announcements

In defining what our network understands to be ‘multilingualism’, the distinction drawn by the work of the Council of Europe (Beacco, 2007) is helpful. We therefore employ the terms ‘multilingualism’ and ‘plurilingualism’ to distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism refers to societal multilingualism: the coexistence of many languages, for the purposes of this study, within a city. Plurilingualism refers to an individual’s repertoire of languages, or “the capacity of individuals to use more than one language in social communication whatever their command of those languages” (Beacco, 2007, p. 19).
3. Methodological remarks

Our network is involved in secondary data collection and primary data collection. These two phases of data collection were designed to feed into this city report.

During the secondary data collection, we conducted meta-surveys of recent secondary data on multilingualism and plurilingualism in Hamburg. The aim of this phase was to help create a multiplicity of up-to-date narratives on the multi- and plurilingual realities of Hamburg, referring to data related to multilingual practices, processes and products in local contexts such as websites, advertising campaigns, public or private documents (biographies, diaries, official correspondence).

In collecting secondary data, we distinguished between:

(a) data on/about multilingualism or plurilingualism (censuses, academic reports, civic studies, etc., employing a wide variety of methodologies). These tended to be narrative documents, although are not necessarily official or academic.

(b) manifestations and examples of multilingualism or plurilingualism present in (or available from) the city. These visual examples were found in printed images and graphic design, TV/film, computer/software design, Internet, digital multimedia, advertising in all media, fine art and photography, fashion, architecture, design, and urban design.

During the primary data collection, we interviewed citizens on the reality of multi- and plurilingualism in Hamburg, in particular about language policy and practice, visibility of linguistic diversity, affordances and challenges. We interviewed 11 selected representatives from the five different spheres (public, private, education, economic, urban). Each interview lasted about one hour. The remarks and claims of our dialogue partners are fed into the information on respective spheres. We are aware of the fact that those claims do not represent Hamburg’s citizens. Nevertheless they give an insight into prevailing opinions concerning linguistic diversity in Hamburg.

The 11 interviewees were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person No.</th>
<th>Belongs to sphere</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (1 PUB)</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Head of the City of Hamburg’s training department for new employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (2 EDU)</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Bilingual teacher and organiser of teacher training programmes on languages at Hamburg’s Institute for In-service Teacher Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (3 EDU)</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Director of Hamburg’s Institute for Education Monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (4 EDU)</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Researcher on linguistic diversity, University of Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (5 URB)</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Managing Director of NGO on racism and migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (6 ECON)</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Migrant counsellor at the Chamber of Crafts in Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (7 PRIV)</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Project Manager of ‘Dialog in Deutsch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (8 PRIV)</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Group Leader of ‘Dialog in Deutsch’, works in public authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (9 PRIV)</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Student of Polish origin who grew up in Hamburg, now living in international student dormitory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (10 PRIV)</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Head of the Turkish Community in Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (11 PRIV)</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Director of a private theatre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statements from our interviews are integrated into each chapter in this report. As previously mentioned, our interviewees are by no means representative, but a selection of stakeholders who deal with linguistic diversity in Hamburg in different ways. Interviewees’ statements reflect the range of attitudes to linguistic diversity that are deeply embedded in traditions and myths about ‘linguistic normality’ (or a ‘monolingual habitus’, Gogolin, 1994). Yet we also observe a lot of interest in the topics of multi- and plurilingualism and many of our interviewees attempt to deal adequately with ‘new linguistic realities’.
4. History of language diversity in Hamburg

Like all big(ger) cities throughout history, Hamburg has experienced all types of migration: emigration, immigration and transitory migration. Hamburg's distinctive feature as a centre of migration is the harbour. The city was a member of the Hanseatic League (the Hanse) – a network of flourishing port cities in Northern Germany, England, Flanders, France, Sweden and Norway that benefited from mutual privileges in trade and diplomacy.

Today, Hamburg is still identified by the red and white Hanse colours, seen in the city code of arms and flag (image 1). In 1616, the status of ‘Free Imperial City’ was conferred on Hamburg by the German Reich, and Hamburg continues to be known as ‘the Free and Hanseatic City’. Hamburg is one of Germany’s so-called city-states; it is a city and a federal state of Germany.²

The significance of the harbour meant that the city's public sphere was always dominated by merchants and traders who ensured a comfortable economic situation and liberal atmosphere. Hamburg has therefore always been quite open to migrants, the sinister period of National Socialism being a clear and significant exception. Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal came as religious refugees to build new communities in the 1620s, and refugees from the Netherlands sought refuge in Hamburg from the repressive measures of the Counter Reformation in their country. Most immigrants to Hamburg, however, have been labour migrants – traders, craftsmen, mechanics – often attracted by recruitment campaigns. One such example were the Italian flooring traders who were encouraged to come in the nineteenth century when the city was expanding residence areas for workers in the harbour and harbour-related industries. Another example was the recruitment of Chinese boiler men and launderers during the period of increasing steamship traffic in the nineteenth century. Ship owners were apparently convinced that workers from China were better able than Europeans to stand the heat of the engines (Gogolin and Krüger-Potratz, 2010, p.51).

² Germany consists of 16 Federal States; three of them – Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin – are not area states, but cities.
Another distinctive feature of Hamburg’s history is its function as a transit area. Over seven million people migrated via Hamburg to North America. From the foundation of the Hamburger Linienschifffahrts Gesellschaft (Hamburg Shipping Company) in 1836, emigration and transit migration were economically important for the city up to the early 1900s. The city developed a number of services such as lodging houses, emigration agencies, health services and information services – not least in order to control the flow of transit passengers. The picture below (image 2) shows some of the barracks and other infrastructure that were built in the harbour to accommodate people who were waiting to cross the ocean. Even a special inner-city railway line was built for the transport of people from the city centre and main station to the transit passengers’ estates in the harbour.

Hamburg lost its privilege as a ‘Free’ city during the National Socialist era and was placed under the political responsibility of a National Socialist governor. This was the period of forced evictions and the expulsion of Jewish citizens and other groups, such as the Romany, who were deemed undesirable under the regime. In 1933, the city counted around 22,000 Jewish inhabitants. In 1945, roughly 600 remained. There is no reliable data on the number of Jewish inhabitants in Hamburg today, but a number of indicators signify that the Jewish community has regained vitality. One example is the re-establishment of a Jewish School: “On August 28th 2007, the Joseph Carlebach School in Hamburg has been re-established. The school’s name goes back to the chief rabbi Dr. Joseph Carlebach (1883-1942). For more than five years he has lead the school and formed it through his principles of education. He was a very spontaneous and loving teacher who helped pupils not only to enjoy learning but also to work and detect independently. We have the goal to follow Joseph Carlebach’s tradition and to create a place at this school which combines modern teaching and Jewish religious education” (from the school’s website; see http://www.jcsh.de/eng/Welcome.html). English and Hebrew, as well as Russian and French, are the languages taught in this school.

Hamburg became a ‘Free’ city after the Second World War when it was awarded the status of a Federal City and State of the Federal Republic of Germany (then West Germany).

Germany faced severe labour shortages as it entered a period of extensive redevelopment after the Second World War. In the early 1950s another period of labour recruitment began in the Federal Republic of Germany. The recruitment of so-called Gastarbeiter (guest workers) was carried out by bilateral agreements between Germany and sending states. The first agreement was concluded with Italy in 1955. It was followed by agreements with Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). Notably, after the erection of the Berlin Wall (1961), the efforts to recruit workers abroad were reinforced, because the possibility to gain workers from the GDR was cut off. In 1964, the country celebrated the arrival of the millionth Gastarbeiter who was given a moped by the Federal German government.

The recruitment of guest workers was based on a principle of ‘rotation’ whereby the recruited workers would stay in Germany for a limited number of years, but were then expected to return ‘home’. In reality, the vast majority strove to stay in Germany. Whereas the first guest workers – male as well as female – had come alone, the possibility of family unification meant that they gradually brought their families to Germany (image 3).

It must be pointed out that the eastern part of Germany, the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR), also recruited foreign workers and students who were known as ‘contractors’. The recruitment areas were restricted to other Socialist countries. Most of the contractors came from Vietnam; other countries of origin included Cuba, Algeria, Mozambique, Poland and Hungary. Around 90,000 contractors stayed in the DDR before 1989. No effort was made to integrate these workers or students, as they were obliged by contract to return after five years to their country of origin. They were not allowed to bring their family to the DDR or to start a family there. Our portrayal here thus concentrates on the western part of Germany, the then Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD).
The number of ‘foreigners’ living in the Federal Republic of Germany rose from roughly one per cent in the late 1950s to more than 10 per cent in the late 1960s. Due to economic decline in the early 1970s that climaxed in the oil crisis of 1973, the Federal Government enacted a recruitment ban. This, however, did not lead to a decrease in immigration. On the contrary, Germany faced a massive increase in immigration due to family unification, the arrival of “Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler” and asylum applications, which were by then the only legal possibilities to enter Germany.

As poverty, unemployment, conflict, religious and political persecution, and gross inequality continue to exist all around the world, big cities like Hamburg remain a key destination for migrants. A recent and high-profile case of asylum seekers were the roughly 300 African refugees who were stranded on the Italian island of Lampedusa. In accordance with legal arrangements in Europe, they were obliged to remain in Italy – the country where they first entered Europe. Due to unsatisfactory treatment there, they made their way to Hamburg and applied for residency here.

Such incidents illustrate that migration is likely to continue – not only in Hamburg – and can only be partly controlled by the authorities. Today, Hamburg is one of the few German areas where the population continues to expand while most other regions experience decreasing birth rates and increasing outward mobility. Accompanying this, linguistic diversity is a constant reality in big cities. It is a challenge for Hamburg to support migrants’ participation in cultural, social and economic life and to benefit positively from a multilingual constellation.

Contemporary Perspectives – Hamburg today

Statistics from 2012 reveal that around 30 per cent of the inhabitants of Hamburg have a migrant background. For those under the age of 18, that figure rises to 46 per cent according to the Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig Holstein in 2012. It is now estimated that 50 per cent of newborn babies in Hamburg have at least one parent with a migrant background.

The vast majority of young people of foreign heritage are second or third generation migrants (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig Holstein). The largest migrant groups come from Turkey and Poland (Table 1). In 2012 those groups made up 18 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively, of Hamburg’s population with a migrant background. Other significant groups come from Russia, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Iran, Serbia, Portugal, Vietnam and China (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2012). Overall, the statistics show that people from more than 190 different countries live in Hamburg. It is important to point out that those who make up a single ‘national’ group do not necessarily speak a common language. Ethnologue, for example, provides data showing how many different living languages exist within one state (http://www.ethnologue.com/). There is no reliable data on how many languages are actually present in Hamburg, however the table below illustrates how many languages could theoretically co-exist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamburg’s residents represent more than 190 countries of origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens in Hamburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages spoken in respective country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Compendium of statistics to indicate the linguistic diversity that potentially exists in Hamburg

We see that the number of languages that are spoken in Hamburg could exceed 1,000. We do not take this to be a realistic estimate, but have to admit that a high degree of linguistic diversity is the reality in Hamburg, despite the dearth in hard data.

4 These terms refer to people with German citizenship but who were born in east and south-east European countries (countries east of the Oder-Neisse line). Those people are descendants of emigrants from the German empire from the 18th century. Under certain conditions, these ‘Germans’ have the right to ‘remigrate’ to the country of their ancestors’ origin; this points to the ‘ius sanguinis’ which is inherent in Germany’s nationality law. From 1950 to 1987, around 1.4 million ‘Aussiedler’ or ‘Spätaussiedler’ migrated to Germany, mainly from Poland, Romania and the former Soviet Union. Since then their numbers have decreased due to demographic development and changes in the legal provisions for their immigration.

5 Figures from Statistical Office North for 2011 and from Ethnologue, see www.ethnologue.com
4.1 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in education

Germany is a Federal Republic, composed of 16 Länder (federal states) of which Hamburg is one. The German Grundgesetz (Constitution) defines the range of the Federal Government’s responsibilities within the fields of politics and legislation. Some areas are centrally governed (e.g. foreign affairs and defense), while others either come under the joint responsibility of central government and the Länder, or are the sole responsibility of the respective Länder. Education is strongly decentralized. That is to say, the respective Länder are responsible for all political decisions when it comes to general education. While the Federal Government has responsibility for vocational training, it can only give financial assistance in other areas of education if the Länder agree. For the coordination of education systems and standards throughout the Länder, a “Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder” (Kultusministerkonferenz; abbr.: KMK, see www.kmk.org) was founded in 1948.

Another specific feature of the German education system is the fact that elementary education – institutions for toddlers and children up to six years – is part of the public social system. The Federal Ministry of Family and Social Affairs (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend) is assigned responsibility here. Public agencies oversee pre-school operations which are partly economically driven and partly subsidised by local, regional or supraregional bodies, such as religious bodies, social welfare services or the Federal Ministry itself.

Most German Länder have established a tri- or multipartite system in secondary education, which begins at around the age of 10 years in 5th grade. In recent years, however, there has been a reduction in the number of secondary school types, mainly on account of demographic change due to the declining birth rate. Some Länder, including Hamburg, have started to establish a bipartite system with the ‘Gymnasium’ – the general upper secondary school that leads to university entry – and the ‘Stadtteilschule’, where at least a lower secondary certificate can be achieved. It is also possible to take the upper secondary exam at a ‘Stadtteilschule’, however an extra year of schooling is required.

The German general education system is highly differentiated and complex as a result of decentralization. Pre-school education and life-long learning are even more complex as they are determined by the principle of subsidiarity. Due to longstanding conventions between various bodies in the German education system, we have established reporting mechanisms that provide consistent data on education. Unfortunately, no such data on linguistic diversity in education exists.

Some facts and figures

Official statistics in Germany are not very informative when it comes to migration and linguistic diversity. Traditionally, they just record the category of ‘foreign nationals’, i.e. those with a foreign passport, which does not tell us very much about the
nature of linguistic diversity. In international monitoring studies on education – namely the TIMSS, PISA and PIRLS studies – the category of ‘migrant background’ was introduced to allow for better estimates in the education system. This indicator is used differently in various surveys and in the education statistics from each of the Länder. It comprises information on country of birth (of the child and/or the parents, sometimes also the grandparents) and language spoken in the family, mostly in a bivariate sense where the particular question reads ‘Which language do you primarily speak at home – German or another language?’ This data does not usually relay information on the actual language/s which is/are spoken at home. Furthermore, it overlooks the fact that there may not be a singular ‘primary’ language in a family, but the actual use of different languages, according to context, constellation of speakers and so forth.

In Hamburg, roughly 30 per cent of the population has a migrant background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012), yet just 14 per cent have foreign citizenship. There appears to be a correlation between age and background: the younger the children are, the more likely they are to come from immigrant families. According to a recent comparative survey on primary schools in the different German Länder, around 44 per cent of children in 1st-4th grades in Hamburg have a migrant background (Stanat et al, 2012). This is the highest percentage of migrant children in primary education in Germany.

In comparison with other German Länder, we are equipped with at least some data on the languages that are spoken by children in Hamburg’s schools. This derives from two sources that focus on primary schools: Firstly, a survey that was carried out across several European cities claims that around 100 different family languages were present among primary school children in 2002 (Fürstenau et al., 2003). Secondly, when enrolling their child in primary school in 2010, parents were asked for the language spoken in the home. These official statistics from parent responses record around 120 languages. The following graph illustrates the data.

Figure 1: Hamburg pupils’ predominant family languages (1st Graders)
This illustration suggests that roughly 75 per cent of primary school children in Hamburg speak only German at home. We can question, however, just how accurate this figure is. Firstly, the families are asked for the language that is primarily spoken at home. Thus, many families who actually live bi- or multilingual practices may have opted for German. What is more, families who do not indicate a language other than German are automatically counted as German speaking. Consequently, it is most probable that the share of families who practice German and (an)other language(s) at home is higher than indicated in the graph.

While more than one third of the children in Hamburg’s schools have a migrant background, fewer than 5 per cent of their teachers are in this category. Linguistic diversity is therefore unevenly distributed in schools; we assume that a lot of other personnel – janitors, cleaners etc. – have a migrant background, but teachers and other pedagogical personnel are predominantly German monolingual.

With respect to language education, we can present a differentiated picture. On the one hand, Hamburg developed an extensive and well-equipped system of foreign language teaching. English is a compulsory foreign language for all pupils and in most schools is now taught from grade one. Moreover, there are a number of bilingual kindergartens that provide education and some subjects in English. Some also offer French and Spanish and one bilingual kindergarten now offers Chinese. As most kindergartens are private, we do not have reliable data on the number of institutions that offer bilingual programmes or the number of languages taught there. In general, the German school system offers a number of foreign languages in secondary schools. In Hamburg, more than 20 different languages are offered, some of them (e.g. French, Spanish) in almost all schools and some (e.g., Chinese, Turkish) only in some schools. In accordance with Germany’s ‘classical education’ tradition, most Gymnasium schools offer Latin or Ancient Greek. Hamburg also has numerous international schools, such as the International School Hamburg, the Lycée Français de Hambourg, and Greek and Scandinavian schools. Foreign language education in Hamburg’s schools is appreciable.

However this picture changes when we turn to support for migrant languages. The linguistic needs of migrant children in Hamburg are usually taken into account in the context of German as a Second Language. In light of the highly diverse school population, the educational administration adopted a special programme for languages (Hamburger Sprachförder-konzept) in 2006. Based on the results of international and national school achievement studies, this programme consists of various measures to foster children’s competence in German as the language of schooling. The objective is that German-language support is offered to all pupils who may need it. This programme is supported by the University of Hamburg’s FÖRMIG-Kompetenzzentrum (Centre of expertise in supporting migrant children and youth) – a project that aims to transfer research findings on diversity in education to educational practice (see www.foermig.uni-hamburg.de). The effectiveness of these measures is checked by the city’s school monitoring system. From 2014, this programme will be followed up by BISS – Bildung in Sprache und Schrift (Education in Language and Literacy) which is supported by the Federal Government (see http://www.bmbf.de/press/3506.php).

With respect to migrants’ heritage languages, the situation is much less encouraging. There are support measures, such as the development of a Bildungsplan Grundschule – Herkunftssprachen (Educational Plan for Primary Schools – Heritage Languages). This plan is equivalent to a curriculum that serves as a framework for so-called heritage language education (herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht) and is offered in a number of schools, most of which are primary schools. In 2010, herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht was provided in Albanian, Arabic, Bosnian, Dari, Farsi, Greek, Italian, Kurdish, Polish, Portuguese, Russian and Turkish. Children could opt for either a second foreign language or an additional subject. Heritage language skills can compensate for a bad grade in other subjects. The inclusion of languages in this programme can change from year to year, however. All in all, fewer than 30 schools actually provide this programme. Of those who do, the majority offer Turkish.

Six of Hamburg’s primary schools offer bilingual classes for German with Italian, Turkish, Spanish or Portuguese. Many secondary schools, i.e. from fifth grade on, provide bilingual classes in mostly English or French. In two schools, the children can continue classes in Spanish and Turkish if they took part in the corresponding bilingual primary school programme.
Additionally, some of the ethnic or language communities in Hamburg provide support for language learning and maintenance for kindergarteners and school children, such as the German-Russian Bilingual Kindergarten Hamburg (www.russischer-kindergarten.de) or the German-Turkish day nursery Mottenkiste-Koza (image 5; www.moki-koza.de). Because these are community or parental initiatives, official data is lacking. It would be worth conducting a research project on these initiatives in order to explore this aspect of linguistic diversity.

Heritage-language teachers who serve in the public school system in Hamburg are assigned two functions. As well as teaching the language and culture they are also Kulturmittler (cultural mediators), functioning as a bridge between migrant parents and the school. They counsel parents with regard to the German school system, the vocational system, how to support their children's learning, the importance of heritage language lessons and how parents can participate in school committees. They translate school letters and attend parent evenings or parent days. They organise parent cafes, intercultural evenings or other festivities. They also assist in language planning in schools. They receive training at Hamburg's Institute for In-service Training. According to a bilingual teacher and organiser of teacher training at this institute (henceforth 2 EDU), the appointment of Kulturmittler denotes an appreciation of multilingualism in Hamburg.

Monitoring of language improvement measures

Monitoring and evaluation is crucial to improve language education, whether it concerns German or other languages. The Hamburg Ministry of Education has put a number of measures in place for the improvement of language education, such as extra hours for schools with a high number of migrant pupils. The government is thus interested in the effects and effectiveness of this investment and has tasked the Hamburger Institut für Bildungsmonitoring (Hamburg Institute for Educational Monitoring) with monitoring. In our interview, the head of this institute (henceforth 3 EDU) points out that "we have too little differentiated knowledge about the effects of our various measures. We work out comprehensive, citywide programmes but care far too little for their evaluation because, in the end, there is no money for evaluation."

Parental participation in schools

Many migrant organisations – such as the Turkish Community Hamburg, the Polish-German Union Hamburg, the Missão Católica de Língua Portuguesa de Hamburgo – cooperate with schools. A number of projects have resulted from such co-operation. One example is Merhaba – sag Hallo zum Lehrer deines Kindes (Merhaba [Turkish for hello] – say hello to your child’s teacher), a project which fosters contact between parents and schools and aims to reduce possible fear of contact. Such programmes include German-language lessons for parents in the afternoon, which are increasingly popular.

Hamburg developed a number of consulting services for parents in different social service institutions. The Employment, Health and Social Affairs Authority (Behörde für Arbeit, Soziales, Familie und Integration), for example, provides brochures or personal advice in many different languages to assist parents in participating in their children's schools (image 6). There is also advice for parents on how to support their children in the transition from school to work. Many migrant parents require additional information on how to access the very complicated system of vocational education in Germany. Non-governmental organisations often stand in here, for example the advisory organisation for the education and training of migrant youth in Hamburg (BQM Beratung Qualifizierung Migration). This organisation provides courses for parents to help them support young people in their transition from school to work (image 7).
Many of these support activities for migrant children and youth strive to reduce educational inequality. Most of them concentrate on social problems as there is no doubt that unfavourable socio-economic living conditions have a considerable impact on educational attainment. The role and function of linguistic diversity or plurilingual competences, however, is less pronounced in activities to support migrant children in Hamburg. Moreover, many of the provisions are based on a deficit perspective, i.e., they are solely directed towards the improvement of German. The idea that linguistic diversity can serve as an asset for the individual as well as for society is hardly present in educational discourse and practice in Hamburg.

Multilingualism at the University

Linguistic diversity has a rich historical tradition in the tertiary sector. Roughly 100 foreign languages are taught at the University of Hamburg, which was founded in 1919. The ‘Institute of Colonial Studies’, opened in 1908 as the first ‘public scientific academy’ in the Freie und Hansestadt, was a predecessor of the University. Today, the University of Hamburg presents itself as a cosmopolitan and international university that strives to attract students and scientists from abroad, as well as to foster international collaborations. The picture opposite shows part of the carpet that decorates the entrance of our International Guest House at the university (image 8).

Interviewees’ points of view: Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in Education

Given the reality of the multilingual classroom, a researcher on linguistic diversity at the University of Hamburg (henceforth 4 EDU) notes that plurilingualism is generally a requirement for teaching and learning and has thus to be taken into account by all teachers. One facet of this is specified by the Director of Hamburg’s Institute for Education Monitoring (3 EDU). He points out that knowledge of academic German is crucial: “Only this makes it possible for students to participate in different discourses. So if I had to make a hierarchy, it would be most important to have a proper command of the academic language (Bildungssprache). I have seen students with a migrant background having problems with understanding exercises and tasks.” This perspective is shared by the Counsellor for migrants at the Chamber of Crafts (6 ECON) in reference to vocational education and lifelong learning: “German is needed for vocational education, be it in the workplace or at the vocational school. In order to acquire the specialist knowledge that your profession asks of you, you have to be able to speak German. Without proper German you cannot acquire the necessary specialist knowledge”.

2 EDU points out the importance of making the language of schooling (academic language) explicit in any subject and in any language. This teacher appreciates the concept of durchgängige Sprachbildung (integrated continuous language education, as developed by the FörMig Programme). She points out that this principle does not mean avoiding...
multilingual practices in classrooms. From her own experience, ‘throwing in’ Turkish phrases in her German lessons is a successful teaching strategy, even for those children in the classroom who do not have any command of Turkish: “My students like that. They laugh and even integrate those phrases into their everyday language. They realize that their teacher is bilingual. In the beginning I was concerned about the reaction of the German parents, but they don’t mind. At least they haven’t complained. They tell me that they now hear Turkish words at home.”

Other interviewees emphasize the human right to heritage language education in schools: “All children who are plurilingual should have the opportunity to get tuition in their heritage language in an institutionalized context. They should be given the opportunity to learn to write their heritage language” (4 EDU). “Everyone should have the right to cultivate their heritage language in all school grades and forms. There should be no bureaucratic obstacles by the city administration if students want to study it” (2 EDU).

Our interviewees expressed a range of opinions on heritage languages. Some parents are concerned about their children learning to speak a ‘proper’ version of the heritage language. 6 ECON reported on parents bursting into tears because they felt they could not communicate with their children anymore. She concluded that “there is a loss of the heritage language in the second generation. The children who grew up here speak German. The parents’ German is not that good. But the children don’t speak the heritage language well. They lose the connection to their parental home.”

The ambivalent position of heritage languages was also mentioned with respect to the implementation of heritage language teaching in mainstream schools. 2 EDU complained that she faces a range of obstacles in this regard. For instance, there are administrative obstacles, such as a minimum requirement of 15 participants in a class. If this minimum is not reached, classes will either not go ahead or will conclude at the end of term. This obstacle is particularly critical when parents show little interest in speaking up for heritage language teaching: “You offer bilingual classes and the demand will be low. We have difficulties reaching the minimum requirements of participation for bilingual classes. Turkish parents have to be convinced to send their children to heritage language courses, but they say ‘my children know Turkish already.’ They prefer them to learn another second language” (2 EDU). Despite these experiences, this interviewee makes the case for promoting heritage language teaching in mainstream schools: “German students learn German during the entire school period. It’s not just about knowing a language, it’s about caring for and cultivating a language and being able to understand subject matter terminology”.

According to our informants, another obstacle for heritage language teaching is the low esteem attributed to its actual worth. 2 EDU reports that multilingual abilities are not equally valued: “Some of my teacher colleagues applaud a pupil who speaks French well or was raised bilingually with French. But they don’t acknowledge that, at the same time, they have 14 more pupils who are also bilingual, but with other languages.” This unequal appreciation by teachers was raised as a problem by several of our interviewees. They pointed out that prejudices have to be eradicated – such as “the belief that someone is an impolite person just because he speaks another language” or the feeling of being excluded if a language other than German is used. In order to solve at least some of these problems, 2 EDU suggested that heritage language teaching be offered to all students. This would lead to heterogeneous class composition, but this problem could be solved via differentiation: “Heritage language lessons are supposed to be designed in such a way that the teacher differentiates and offers specific content in accordance with the specific levels of knowledge that are present in the classroom. This is already the reality in heritage language lessons because students with very diverse backgrounds come there. Theoretically it would even be possible for German students to learn Turkish as a second language within the heritage language lessons. […] We have to use their motivation and offer them learning opportunities corresponding to their abilities. We have to open up Turkish courses for German students by means of differentiation.”

3 EDU also criticises the education system for granting low esteem to good command of student’s heritage languages. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that “heritage language teaching to these kids is a normative decision, but it is not essential for them to understand academic German which is necessary for educational success.”

Our interviewees acknowledge that learning a new language is made easier when one already has command of more than one language: “I am always astonished how many similarities exist among languages” (German-Turkish group Leader of ‘Dialog in Deutsch’, hence-forth 7 PRIV). “I have a little command of other languages (Slovenian, Slovakian, Czech, Ukrainian) through intercomprehension” (Student of Polish origin who grew up in Hamburg, henceforth 8 PRIV). These interviewees thus claim that “intercomprehensive learning” should be used as a teaching method. “This is an
approach from multilingual didactics: teachers refer to the existing language potential of the students when teaching a new language. [...] You can transfer the vocabulary and the rules. You can use and practice respective strategies. Teachers could show students how to self-organize and to recognize patterns. Even if the languages are not closely related you could use foreign words and compare them” (8 PRIV).

Another topic raised by our interviewees concerned learning environments and methods. They referred to possibilities outside of the traditional classroom for language learning, especially with respect to adult learners. Furthermore, they addressed the role of English in a multilingual world and 3 EDU posed the question whether the current curricula adequately reflect the constellation of language diversity.

Some ideas for fostering multilingualism and plurilingual abilities in education were presented by our interviewees. Such ideas included an obligatory term abroad during school time, which in fact a considerable number of secondary school pupils in Hamburg actually do. Another suggestion was to increase the amount of teachers with a migrant background in mainstream schools. This idea was already taken up by the City of Hamburg. As a means of affirmative action, the Educational Administration of the City of Hamburg has determined that 20 per cent of the student teachers who are recruited for internship have a migrant background.

Although our interviewees were not satisfied with the responses of the education system to linguistic diversity, most of them conceded that some progress was made in recent years. In reviewing such achievements, one informant stated: “The language offer in school today is much better than ten years ago. We started learning English late, only in 5th grade, while today it’s 1st grade. As for the second language, Latin, French and Russian were the only choices when I was at school. We didn’t have the opportunity to specialize in languages and learn more languages, for example ‘exotic’ languages like Chinese and Turkish.”

Moreover, almost all interviewees regretted that they hadn’t used the opportunities they were given in school to learn languages. “If I were in school again, I would have a much greater motivation to learn languages. [...] Back then I didn’t realize the value of foreign languages” – this tenor can be found in various statements from our interview partners.

To conclude, the statements of our interview partners illustrate the fairly fragile status of immigrant languages in the Hamburg education system. Whereas the learning of ‘foreign languages’ including English is highly appreciated, the immigrants’ heritage languages receive only desultory support. Here, we can observe the traces of a ‘monolingual habitus’ in a multilingual society – a habitus that is likely to be shared by representatives of the multilingual groups themselves, such as parents who seem to be uncertain about their desires for the language education of their children.

4.2 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the public sphere

In this section we investigate how local government and municipality initiatives foster multilingualism. This includes public services, transport, civic events and festivals paid from public funds. Public measures often concern the integration of migrants or the encouragement of cultural diversity, without focusing on multilingualism per se. It can be assumed that multilingualism often accompanies cultural diversity, however this is not always reflected in public events that are exclusively in German.

The Federal ‘Beauftragte für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration’ (Commissary for the Support and Integration of Migrants) developed, together with NGOs and a number of public stakeholders, the Charta der Vielfalt (Charter of Diversity, see http://www.charta-der-vielfalt.de/; image 9) which includes supportive measures for linguistic diversity. Any public body or private organisation is invited to adopt the charter as a mission statement. The City of Hamburg itself and a number of its public institutions, among them the University of Hamburg and the Employment Agency, have done so. This indicates an increasing awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity in the city and the understanding that diversity can be an asset for the urban community.

In the German teacher education system a 12-month internship which is followed by an examination is part of teacher education. Teacher education comprises a BA and an MA, followed by this internship, and lasts at least five years.
City administration – measures to support multilingualism

The municipality of Hamburg supports the notion that Hamburg is a multicultural city. An umbrella initiative is the action programme for the Integration of Migrants (Hamburger Handlungskonzept zur Integration von Zuwanderern) which contains the city’s measures and concrete, statistical targets for the integration of the population with a migrant background. The preamble states that cultural diversity is considered to be enriching and that integration is not to be equated with assimilation.

The action programme supports an integration policy in five dimensions: language, education and occupational training; integration into employment; social integration; living together; migration-friendly Hamburg (image 10). Various measures then relate to each dimension, including language support from early childhood to lower secondary school for German as a second language, and also for heritage language education (see multilingualism in the educational sphere). Counselling and information brochures in different languages on topics like education and the school system are offered to parents. The City also aims to increase the number of teachers with a migrant background. Elderly people with a migration background can also get information about healthcare services and social networking in languages other than German.

The municipality of Hamburg itself has opened its administration to linguistic and cultural diversity. Initiated by public agencies and political parties, Hamburg’s Senate announced the campaign ‘Wir sind Hamburg – bist du dabei?’ (‘We are Hamburg – are you with us?’) in 2006 (image 11). This campaign was conceived to increase the amount of trainees with a migrant background working in public authorities to 20 per cent by 2011. This target has not been fully achieved, yet the campaign remains ongoing.

By 2012, 17.3 per cent (98 out of 565) of trainee recruits had a migrant background. In 2006, this figure was just 5.2 per cent. Trainees are hired for the intermediate and higher services of the police, fire brigade, justice, correctional staff, general and tax administration. This targeted recruitment now continues without any specific time limit. It is promoted in various ways to make young people and their parents aware that the City of Hamburg has a special interest in employing people with a migrant background. Campaign advertising should also raise awareness of the city’s promising job opportunities as, once the application process is passed, the city hires as many people as it trains. Advertising is made via the city website, flyers (also in different languages addressing parents) and information days in schools. The application process comprises an intercultural questionnaire and role-plays on cultural conflict. The City thus recognises that cultural conflicts may occur in the everyday working life of public authorities and certain competences are required to solve them.

The head of the city of Hamburg’s training department for new employees (henceforth 1 PUB) has observed that more and more applicants do not enter professional education or the job market directly after finishing school, but
take some time to travel abroad. Especially pupils who complete the Abitur (higher education certificate) take several months or even a whole year to travel. He considers this to be good preparation for a professional career: “It’s a big step towards independence; one has to be creative, to improvise, to solve conflicts – all things needed in the job as well.” According to his observations, another notable feature of applicants today is “that two to three languages seem to be the norm among young people. The global working sphere has impacted students’ thinking that without good language competences – including English, but not restricted to it – one cannot survive in the job market”.

As well as targeted recruitment of trainees with a migrant background, the City also includes passages on diversity in job advertisements:

_Hamburg ist eine weltoffene und vielfältige Stadt. Diese Vielfalt soll sich in der hamburgischen Verwaltung widerspiegeln, um diese Dienstleistungen für unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger optimal erbringen zu können._

_Wir begrüßen ausdrücklich die Bewerbungen von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund._

According to 1 PUB the City wants to “use the language and intercultural competences” of employees with a migrant background and to reflect the distribution of society in public administration. He considers linguistic and intercultural skills to be especially necessary at centres for immigration and asylum offices. Due to the linguistic composition of Hamburg’s population, a multitude of languages would be needed in these offices. For our interviewee, this poses a big challenge to the administration: “The city cannot prepare itself for all these languages, only for the ones that are most present”. The respective authorities therefore maintain internal lists of the language competences of employees who could potentially act as ‘nonofficial’ interpreters when needed. In order to support this strategy, employees are encouraged to take language courses, in groups, as whole departments or on an individual basis. Some departments in the City’s administration, such as public transport, report special advantages for employees who speak several languages and where English is required as a minimum. Similar advantages are reported by 6 ECON who was hired to counsel people with a migrant background and to help with accreditation of skills: “Whenever we have a trainee at the Chamber of Crafts who has a migrant background, say with Polish as mother tongue, we find that extraordinarily handy and really acknowledge it. We ask them, for example, to look at translated texts or to join meetings with visitors who speak their language.”

**Measures to increase the command of German**

Although the city administration invests in language diversity, far more attention is paid to increasing migrants’ command of German. In 2011, an information campaign on the possibilities and requirements for attaining German citizenship was started. In this framework, the City of Hamburg cooperated with migrant organisations such as the Turkish Community which now coordinates a project called ‘Einbürgerungsloten’ (guide to naturalisation). Migrants who are interested in naturalisation are allocated a counsellor who speaks the same language and guides them through the process.

Many of the nationwide measures that aim to support migrants’ access to learning German are implemented at the local level – such as the so-called Integrationskurse (integration courses). Since 2005, all persons from non-EU-countries who apply for residency in Germany are obliged to take part in such a course. The programme particularly focuses on applicants for family unification. All other foreign citizens with a German residence permit, however, and other persons with a migrant background may also participate. The courses involve 600 hours of language teaching, as well as information on the legal system, culture and history of Germany. Participation, whether necessary of voluntary, is not free of charge: Each lesson costs one euro. People in need, however, can receive subsidies.
As well as such official programmes, there are a lot of private or semi-private initiatives that support migrants’ use and command of German. A lot of them work with supporters who are recruited on a voluntary basis. Many of these initiatives receive public subventions and assistance from the City in other ways, such as the use of rooms and other facilities.

One very successful example is a project called ‘Dialog in Deutsch’ (Dialogue in German), which organises German conversation groups at the city’s public libraries. The central library hosts the main project office. The City of Hamburg pays the salary of the project manager. Childcare is also provided while the conversation groups take place. The volunteers who lead the groups are supported by handbooks and other materials and are offered qualification courses. Rather than ‘teaching’ German, the conversation groups aim to create a trustful atmosphere in which the participants feel comfortable enough to speak and practice the German language. Another aim of the groups is to support networking. The project manager of ‘Dialog in Deutsch’ (henceforth PRIV) reports growing demand for groups; roughly 60 were organised were offered in 2013, supported by about 140 group leaders.

**Culture in the public sphere**

Comparable with Germany as a whole, the Turkish group is the largest migrant group in Hamburg, consisting of roughly 55,000 persons. Turkish culture and language(s) are thus visible virtually everywhere in the city, most frequently in the public cultural scene. There are 42 mosques in Hamburg with more than 4,000 Muslims attending the Friday prayer. Most of these mosques were established by Turkish immigrants.8

A number of initiatives that deal with linguistic diversity began their work with the Turkish community here. One such example is the Hamburger Tulpe (Hamburg Tulip) – an annual award supported by the Körber Foundation until 2012 (image 13). This award honored projects in Hamburg that shared their commitment to building bridges between cultures and languages. It acknowledged those with and without a migrant background and the central aim was to show that a modern society needs the engagement and talent of everybody in the community. The award was initially just for Turkish-German initiatives but later opened to all kinds of expressions of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Linguistic and cultural diversity is also present in Hamburg’s theatres. A number of small, mostly privately owned theatres9 produce programmes in German and other languages. The MUT Theatre is one example – a private theatre which primarily produces plays for children and young people, many of them with young people as actors (image 12). Mut is the German word for courage or spirit. The repertoire includes adaptations of classical plays to reflect actual cultural and linguistic diversity, such as Romeo and Juliet. The plays are performed multilingually, while ensuring that the audience understands everything.

Larger theatres also acknowledge and contribute to the city’s diversity. Hamburg’s famous Thalia Theatre is one example (image 14). Under the motto ‘Thalia welcomes Migration’, the theatre created a production series called ‘Thalia Migration’. The aim is to encourage young migrants in particular to visit and take part in theatre. Topics concerning migration are addressed in the productions.

8  http://www.moscheesuche.de/moschee/stadt/Hamburg/1488

9  Big theatres are state financed in Germany. A number of theatres are privately owned, but most of them receive some public subsidies.
There is also public funding for cultural projects that are organised by migrants. The money is provided by the Hamburg Senator of Cultural Affairs. The aim of this funding is “to preserve the cultural diversity of Hamburg, to create a platform on which cultural identities can be publicly expressed in a playful manner and to foster dialogue between cultures”. Migrants’ heritage languages do play a role here, for example through music or theatre festivals.

**Media**

The dominance of Turkish as an immigrant language is also visible in the public media. Hamburg 1 – one of Hamburg’s regional private TV stations – broadcasts a Turkish-German life-style programme every Saturday. An example of a Turkish-German radio show is ‘Merhaba Hamburg – die deutsch-türkische Morningshow’ (‘Hello, Hamburg – the German-Turkish Morning Show’; note that the theme of the programme covers three languages). It is broadcast every morning on Hamburg’s independent radio station TIDE. The presenters switch between German and Turkish – sometimes they translate, sometimes they do not. German and Turkish audiences have a voice in the show and topics concern the Turkish-German community, as well as current events in Turkey.

Print media in many languages is available throughout the city, including newspapers, illustrated papers and books. Again, Turkish is the most visible migrant language. The largest Turkish daily newspaper, Hürriyet, opened an office in Hamburg in 1999. A number of bookshops exclusively offer printed products in languages other than German. Retailers at public train and metro stations offer ‘print on demand’ – newspapers or books that are online can be printed and bought there in a wide array of languages.

**Public Transport**

Most information on public transport is provided in German only. In some cases, such as airport services, it is also provided in English. Some information leaflets are also available in other languages, such as Turkish. Overall the public transport system is not very open to linguistic diversity in a broader sense. However, regional linguistic diversity has recently appeared in advertising: HVV, Hamburg’s public transport company, used a local variant of Low German called Missingsch – a mix of standard German and local dialect – on its posters. Wenn nix mehr löppt, löppt de HVV – When nothing else works, the public transport system works (image 15).

**Interviewees’ points of view: Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in the Public Sphere**

Our ten interviewees generally appreciate the City’s efforts to value and foster multilingualism, especially when compared with experiences they have had in other cities. The director of a private theatre (henceforth 11 PRIV), a migrant from Turkey, feels accepted through the City’s integration measures: “Hamburg offers courses where foreigners can practice their mother tongue. I like this concept. I feel accepted. Hamburg is offering me something. I will integrate myself better because Hamburg is doing something for me!”

Our interviewees generally appreciate that Hamburg presents itself as a multilingual city. The claim was made that the public authorities have to be multilingual. When it comes to the realization of such claims, however, the city administration is rather limited in view of the range of languages now present in the city. Our interview partners called for ‘realistic’ options to solve the problem. ECON made the suggestion
that at least Turkish and Polish should be present in public administration, as speakers of these languages form the largest migrant communities in Hamburg.

Despite the apparent openness to multilingualism, our interview partners also pointed out ambiguous experiences. They expressed their doubts that the public appreciation of linguistic diversity leads to a systematic practice of supporting it or even accepting the usage of different languages. One of our interview partners, a member of the Turkish community, explained that according to his experience language diversity in public discussion is more often regarded as a threat than an advantage. The interviewees were well aware of the different social status of languages and their speakers. Whereas languages such as English are welcomed as such, the acceptance of migrant languages such as Turkish is often connected to a specific purpose or function. Interviewees pointed out that the campaign ‘Wir sind Hamburg – bist du dabei?’ seeks to hire representatives from specific migrant groups as their language skills are considered functionally useful, for instance in accessing delinquent youth. The languages as such and the migrants’ multilingual competences are not necessarily appreciated, and the desire of multilingual employees to cultivate their heritage language in speaking and writing as an end in itself is hardly accepted.

On the other hand, our interviewees pointed out that it takes time to change the ‘culture’ of a huge public administration. Traditionally, the monolingual concept of the civil services was not questioned. We interviewed a civil servant who wears a headscarf and who reported that she felt like “the new animal in the zoo” when she started her work in a public authority. “In the beginning they didn’t know how to deal with me. Then they realised that I speak German… they even told me; ‘Ah you speak German, we were afraid we wouldn’t understand anything.’ But I didn’t take this as an insult. I was thinking it’s a pity that such prejudices still prevail”. In the meantime she feels accepted, all the more because she is not only fluent in German and Turkish but also in English and has some command of other languages. She is an example of a positive role model.

4.3 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces

Linguistic diversity is visible and audible throughout the urban space in the city of Hamburg. English can be found in public transport services and in street signage for places of interest. Whereas this points to the city’s ‘international flair’, the heritage language tend to be visible only in districts where many migrants live or where they trade. Ambiguous attitudes to linguistic diversity are thus also present in the urban space where some languages are more appreciated than others.

A number of research projects at the University of Hamburg have examined languages in St Georg, a part of Hamburg’s inner city in which linguistic and cultural diversity is obvious in the urban space. A research group from LiMA sought to gain a deeper understanding of the ambiguities associated with language through a dense ethnographic study (Redder et al. in Duarte/ Gogolin2013). The project sought to capture actual language practices by means of linguistic landscaping and soundscaping, the latter method being developed by the research group itself. The study focused on occurrences of oral and written language use in two major streets: Lange Reihe and Steindamm. The project showed that that the two streets are emblematic of different types of diversity. On Lange Reihe, diversity has been driven by a process of gentrification. Consequently, languages such as English, Italian or Spanish play a major role here. Just a few metres away, Steindamm’s growing linguistic diversity is due to migration. Enterprises that specifically address a migrant clientele are present in Steindamm. Grocers advertise produce in Arabic, Turkish or Farsi; travel agents offer flights all around the world in many languages; hairdressers cater to Turkish weddings; small restaurants and snack stands offer dishes from all over the world, mostly presented in German with one or more other language(s). Scarvaglieri et al. (2013) uncovered that about 50% of the signage showed German and at least one more language. On Steindamm, Turkish, Arabic, Farsi and Portuguese were the most visible or audible, aside from German.

The area around Steindamm is dominated by the image of a Mosque which is painted on the wall of a building which actually hosts the biggest Mosque in Hamburg. Another project entitled ‘The Architecture of Contemporary Religious Transmission’ explored this area in order to unveil religious sites and local forms of religious representation and to examine the attitudes that young people have towards them (see www.norface.uni-hamburg.de). Here, a high density of religious spaces was identified – some publicly visible, some rather hidden – which are also venues for the active use of migrants’ heritage languages (Gogolin and Hintze, 2008, p.375-385).
Linguistic diversity on Steindamm is shaped by labour migration. In Lange Reihe, by contrast, linguistic diversity is concentrated on ‘international’ languages with a high symbolic value. The LiMA project shows that linguistic diversity in urban spaces is in itself a matter of diversity. The different kinds of presence of languages reflect historical developments and the current urban population. Different types of diversity can occur in close vicinity, and they mirror the different lifestyles of the population. The occurrence of linguistic diversity in the urban space seems to be less influenced by official politics or planning, but a bottom up response to population development in urban areas.

Interviewees’ points of view: Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in Urban Space

In general, our interviewees expressed the wish for more visibility of language diversity in urban spaces. They would appreciate more public information being given in different languages. Our interview partner 7 PRIV suggested that information on important sights or places could be given via an electronic information pad or audio device in different languages. Although our interview partners felt that multilingualism is generally accepted in urban spaces, some pointed out that hearing different languages can make people feel uneasy – especially people with a monolingual self-conception. It was suggested that measures be taken to facilitate encounters between monolingual and multilingual speakers in order to create curiosity and relaxed feelings towards the images and sounds of unfamiliar languages.

4.4 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in economic life

There is little research or documentation on multilingualism in the economic sphere, be it in Germany as a whole or in Hamburg as a local example. Just as in previous sections, the notion of multilingualism is also ambivalent in the economic sphere. On the one hand, linguistic diversity in economic life is often discussed as a ‘risk’. Multilingualism is often connected with a ‘lack of German’, which consequently leads to unemployment. Indeed, migrants in Germany are 2.35 times more likely to be unemployed than Germans. Although the overall unemployment rate is decreasing, unemployment among migrants remains at a high level.

Table 2: Unemployment rates of German (“Deutsche”) and Foreign citizens in Germany (“Ausländer/innen”).

Source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit in BAMF 06/2012, page 244

On the other hand, German employers increasingly need multilingual competences. According to the European CILT Study (CILT 2006), German employers take the lead in Europe with respect to hiring personnel with multilingual skills. A German survey revealed that good command of English is no longer considered to be a distinctive feature of an applicant, but the ability to speak a third or fourth language is (Kameyama/Meyer 2007). Moreover, it was found that linguistic diversity is a “key driver for social and economic success” not only in cases of internationally operating companies, but also with respect to the advancement of creativity and innovation of a work force (Marsh et al. 2009, 23; see also Berthoud et al., 2013).
Figure 2: Self-Employed migrants according to countries of origin, 2009
Source: Microcensus 2009 in BAMF 02/2012
With respect to the situation in Hamburg, Hamburg’s Chambers of Commerce and Craft are active in supporting ‘diversity management’ in their member associations. A number of initiatives seek to place young migrants in adequate apprenticeships and occupations.

A serious impediment for migrants in the past was lack of official recognition of their qualifications (image 17). Many well-educated and qualified migrants thus worked in positions for which they were overqualified and for low remuneration. It was only in April 2012 that a new law improved this situation. As a result of this legislation, the position of counsellor for accreditation of foreign qualifications was appointed at the Chamber of Crafts. The Chamber of Commerce offers advice for applicants in a number of languages.

Many well-educated migrants managed to circumvent this situation through self-employment and freelance work. In 2011, 16 per cent of the migrant work force had developed their own business (BAMF 02/2012).

![Figure 3: Origin of foreign self-employed people in Hamburg](Source: Microcensus 2006, calculations of the HWWI. See HWWI 2010)
The largest groups of self-employed migrants in Hamburg were of Turkish and Polish origin, i.e. the two largest groups of migrants in Hamburg. Most businesses can be found in the gastronomy, wholesale and retail sectors. Here, the barriers to market entry are notably low.

Although linguistic diversity appears to be of increasing relevance in the economic sector in Hamburg, there is little reliable information on this. How multilingualism affects the Hamburg economy, whether positively or negatively, requires further research.

**Interviewees' points of view: Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in the Economic Sphere**

Our interviewees acknowledge that the plurilingual competences of employees are a competitive advantage for companies, not only in the global market. 2 EDU underlines the fact that not only the large ‘international languages’ such as English or Spanish are valuable for international trade, but also Germany’s migrant languages. One example is Turkish which is not only spoken in Turkey (Germany is the greatest export country for Turkey), but also a relevant migrant language in other European countries. Thus, it could be a competitive advantage for a company to address Turkish migrants all over Europe in their heritage language. Moreover, variants of Turkish are spoken in a number of emerging markets in Eastern European countries.

Our interview partners pointed to examples from a number of economic sectors that increasingly require plurilingual competence. One example is the health system, especially with regard to elderly care as many first generation migrants live in Hamburg. 6 ECON notes that English is not the main foreign language at the Chamber of Crafts English, but that the heritage languages of migrants come to the fore: “Turkish, Polish and Russian are very present. In the sector of crafts these are the largest language communities.” As mentioned in the section on multilingualism in the public sphere, Hamburg’s city administration is looking for multilingual trainees to reflect the composition of Hamburg’s population in the delivery of city services.

Plurilingual staff often act as translators, but this is not the only advantage that they bring to the workplace. Interviewees highlight other qualities that accompany plurilingualism, such as openness and tolerance or being able to perceive things from different perspectives. 7 PRIV describes multilinguals as being especially sensitive to expressions of linguistic diversity. She also maintains that multilingual colleagues seem to be especially effective in conflict resolution: “They find arguments for both sides.” However, interviewees also point out that plurilingualism is not automatically an advantage but has to be accompanied by other competences and qualifications in order to be useful in the economic field: “Language is only a medium to transport content. First you have to have content with which to fill the language. There’s no use in saying nothing in ten different languages. You have to have something to say. It needs a basic qualification and then the languages are very important to apply this basic qualification on several levels” (8 PRIV). 6 ECON addresses the importance that plurilingual staff has a good command of German and the job-specific terminology: “Still the most important factor is expertise in the German language. In job advertisements it is stated that good German skills are necessary. […] The person who grew up in Germany, who speaks perfect German and English and is also able to communicate fluently in their heritage language, has the biggest advantage of all.”

**4.5. Multilingualism and plurilingualism in**
Some 420 migrant associations exist in Hamburg. As previously noted, many of these associations relate to migrants from Turkey. The Turkish Community of Hamburg (TGH) was founded in 1995 and is the largest migrant association in the city (image 18; http://tghamburg.de/). As an umbrella organisation it unites 20 different partners. The TGH is engaged in many political discussions that concern migration and migrant issues, such as violence against foreigners, circumcision and the educational opportunities of Turkish children. But the TGH does not restrict itself to just migrant topics – it also offers statements on general political issues, such as the current financial crisis. The organisation also offers support to migrants from Turkey, enabling them to get by in many areas, from healthcare to legal support and school. TGH offers advice on integration and German-language courses. It also organises an extensive programme of cultural events and opportunities for people from different cultural backgrounds to meet each other. And TGH promotes the use and cultivation of the Turkish language. 10 PRIV emphasizes that cultivating the heritage language is about supporting educational attainment, experiencing the heritage culture ("reading literature is a different thing in the original language"), keeping up with friends and family from the heritage culture, as well as opportunities to access the job market in Germany.
Linguistic diversity through private initiatives is usually reduced to a bilingual perspective. Virtually every immigrant community in Hamburg founded a kind of association for the purpose of fostering and promoting their linguistic and cultural heritage. Many of these associations maintain language schools or classes for children, mostly at weekends. Hard data is lacking on such activities, where they take place and what languages are offered. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that a broad range of languages is offered through private initiatives. For some groups, churches play an important role here. The Polish and Portuguese Catholic communities, for example, offer weekend language classes for their parishioners, often connected with other recreational activities. The same can be reported from Greek orthodox communities. Members of the Russian-speaking migrant communities have founded private Kindergartens or afternoon schools where they offer language courses for children and adults. Some of these activities do not only address migrant communities, but are open to everyone in Hamburg.

Whereas such initiatives usually contain a ‘bilingual’ perspective, some privately organized events explicitly aim at celebrating linguistic diversity in a broader sense. Some prominent examples are events called the ‘Altonale’ and ‘Carnival of Cultures’ – a privately organised annual festival for the celebration of diversity of any kind (image 19). Such events are designed to showcase the languages and cultures that are present in Hamburg, aiming at creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and enjoyment. They possibly contribute to the public acceptance of diversity in the city, although their ‘exception from the rule’ character may not lead to a sustainable change in negative perceptions of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Interviewees’ points of view: Multilingualism and Plurilingualism in the Private Sphere

We gained a variety of feedback from our interviewees on multilingualism in the private sphere. Our dialogue partners stressed that English is an important language for them. Nobody doubts the role of English as the lingua franca, not only for work, but also in leisure time.

The heritage languages also play an important role for all of our bilingual interviewees, especially so in emotional moments: “Turkish is my language of feelings, meaning that when I cuddle with my children or in emotional moments such as birthdays, celebrations or sadness (funerals), I realise that I stick with Turkish” (2 EDU). Although after living in Germany for decades, our bilingual interviewees emphasize that they feel more comfortable when speaking their heritage language. Another advantage of multilingualism is the direct access to cultural goods and traditions: “Imagine you can read Yasar Kemal in Turkish, it’s a very different feeling. The author expresses his feelings in the book. In German you would have to accept this loss of feelings. Or theatre, songs, music – that’s an advantage” (10 PRIV).

All our bilingual interview partners reported that they actively support their children’s bilingualism – or maintain that they would do so if they had children. Nevertheless, they also noted that “it’s very difficult to grow up bilingually and be able to speak both languages well” (8 PRIV). Although exposed to both languages, constant efforts have to be made in order to develop both languages. The bilingual interviewees stressed the importance of support for the heritage language not only in the family, but also in the peer group and the media and, most importantly, in education. When thinking of their own childhood and the efforts made by their parents, respondents reported both successful and unsuccessful support strategies for the heritage language. 3 EDU for example remembered that his parents’ support strategies had different effects on him and on his siblings: “I was always interested in languages. […] I always had an interest in literature and was reading books in German and French from early childhood onwards. My Dad enforced a special reading programme for us. This worked only with me, not with my siblings.”

All of our interview partners – be they mono- or multilingual – stressed the opinion that caring for the heritage languages of migrants is relevant and a self-evident element of private life in a multilingual city. This, however, was not perceived as an opposition to learning and mastering German. It was indisputable for our partners that a good command of German is necessary for every member of the society, and especially for children and youth, as it is a necessary prerequisite for success in the education system and the working world.

An indicator for the growing acceptance of multilingual realities is the importance of migrant languages for members of the monolingual majority. This development was already detected by Auer and Dirim with respect to Turkish (ibid.,2004). In their empirical study the authors found that the Turkish language is learnt in many different ways and for different purposes. Also, two of our ‘German’ interviewees reported a connection with the Turkish language. 4 EDU told us that
“Turkish is very prominent for me in my private life. I have a special interest in it. I have fun learning it and it somehow touches me, unlike English”. Both these interview partners have studied or spent time in Turkey.

It is likely that other migrant languages are learned by members of the majority, yet no research has as yet been carried out on this. Turkish may well play a particular role in this context due to a rich offer of courses in Hamburg, be they organized by public bodies like the ‘Volkshochschule’ (adult education centres), by the language centre of the University or by private providers such as the Turkish communities. Due to the fact that the Turkish group has been the largest immigrant group in Hamburg since the 1970s, opportunities to learn the language increased as a means for the majority to deal with this ‘new clientele’, such as offers for teachers or social workers. This development was reinforced by co-occurrences such as the growing importance of Turkey as a holiday destination for Germans. Moreover, the amount of German Erasmus students in Istanbul (but also other Turkish cities) is growing. Living in the buzzing metropolis of Istanbul and experiencing the Turkish culture seems to attract more and more foreign students and other German residents. For a considerable number of people, Turkish and Turkey have gained an ‘exotic’ status in a positive sense of the word. Other migrant languages have also gained in popularity, but the respective offerings are much less visible. For now, Turkish is leading the market in this area. However, as mentioned throughout this report, ambiguous attitudes persist towards migrant languages. Our interviewees stressed the existence of language hierarchies and reported hostile reactions on the use of ‘exotic’ languages (like Turkish) – even in the private sphere.

10 This subject is the matter of investigation in Dr Sarah Mc Monagle’s post-doc researcher at the University of Hamburg project “Sustaining Linguistic Diversity in the Information Age: A Survey of Minority Language Vitality on the Internet”. http://www.nachhaltige.uni-hamburg.de/de/Postdoc-Kolleg___Sustainable_Future_/fellow/Dr___Sarah_McMonagle.html
5. Analysis of key themes / Discussion

The portrait of multilingual Hamburg highlights a situation full of ambiguities. On the one hand, a lot of incidents and activities point to the growing ‘normalization’ of linguistic diversity. With people from around 190 different states living in Hamburg, a high degree of linguistic diversity exists in the city, although there is no reliable statistical data on the precise number of languages or their speakers in Hamburg. Recent research and observations lead us to conclude that migrants’ heritages are now much more stable than they were in historical periods of migration. There are a number of reasons for this development, such as the new dynamics of migration in globalisation and the development of new communication technologies and techniques. Today, migration is conceptualised as an open process. Transmigrant communities emerge for whom the heritage languages are the main, if not the only, means of communication (Gogolin and Pries 2004). The rapid pace of technological developments adds to the vitality of heritage languages in migrant communities.

In Hamburg, manifold traces of these trends are visible and audible. Many of the observations we compiled in this report point to a positive change of climate. Linguistic diversity is not only accepted as the reality, but a number of measures have been taken in order to support its further development. Multilingualism is presented as an asset of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg in public announcements; visitors are welcomed in many languages at the airport or on the city’s official ‘Welcome’ portal; multilingual competences are sought by employers in the public and private sectors; in public media we find many languages from all over the world. We can report of a kind of affirmative action concerning the employment of young people with a migrant background in Hamburg’s administration. A number of migrants’ heritage languages are taught in the general school system, and many semi-private or private initiatives are also engaged in the fostering of these languages. It may be taken as an indicator of growing acceptance of language diversity that migrants’ heritage languages are also learned by members of the majority community. This development is supported by the general school system which offers bilingual education programmes, and moreover by a lot of semi-private or private initiatives. At least some of the migrants’ heritage languages are taught as foreign languages at schools, ascribing them the status of ‘legitimate languages’ in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu (2005) as their mastery is testified by a school certificate.

The list of indicators for a change of climate towards a multilingual self-understanding of the city of Hamburg could be continued here. Yet our observations and the experiences of our interviewees have also shown that all that glitters is not gold. The public acceptance and appreciation of linguistic diversity in the city and of individual multilingual practice seems to be bound to conditions. One of these conditions seems to be the ‘usefulness’ of languages. None of our observations reveal any objection to English whose viability in public and private contexts is unanimously accepted. Similarly, the elevated position of German is beyond dispute. One example is the nationwide campaign ‘Raus mit der Sprache, rein ins Leben’, supported by the ‘Deutschlandstiftung Integration’ – a foundation which was initiated by the umbrella organisation of German Magazine Publishers (Verband der Zeitungsverleger) and which is supported by the Federal Government. The slogan of this campaign translates to ‘Speak up (or ‘Spit it out’) and enter life’. The implicit and explicit message of this campaign is thus that languages other than German may prevent active participation in German society.

With respect to German in combination with heritage languages, the shared vision which we encountered during our research seems to be one of peaceful coexistence. It should be mentioned here, however, that the scope of our approach is heavily biased in this respect: Embedded in the philosophy of the LUCIDE project, we did not make any efforts to include measures or access informants that explicitly campaign against the development of at least an acceptance of linguistic diversity.

Nevertheless, the ambiguity of many of our observations is obvious. On the individual and societal levels, experiences of rejection or even hostility towards languages and their usage have to be reported. The acceptance and fostering of heritage languages seems to be bound to their utility for certain purposes, for example in solving problems in administrative contexts or for accessing delinquent youth with a migrant background. The provision of public services in different languages is a major challenge; if at all, support such as interpreters or translated information are only available in the languages that have large numbers of speakers in Hamburg. The development of flexible arrangements, for example the establishment of telephone-based interpreter systems for the lesser-used languages, is as yet not envisaged. The social hierarchy of languages which is based on their perceived utility as well the social status and reputation of their speakers obviously plays an important role here (Bourdieu, 2005). Still, some measures that are taken
in favour of linguistic diversity also indicate that there is still some way to go in terms of acceptance – the organisation of festivals (such as the Carnival of Cultures) create an open and joyful atmosphere, yet one-day events may not have any sustained effects on changing negative perceptions of other languages and cultures.

6. Conclusion

Hamburg is a rich multicultural and multilingual city. The city’s history is characterized by international relations, trading and exchange. Migrations of all kinds are an element of this history, which is discernible in many ways. Today, migrants from all over the world are resident in the city. They influence the public visage and private activities. Hamburg has taken great strides in supporting its linguistic diversity, e.g. by sponsoring language learning initiatives or intercultural events and networks. On the other hand, there are challenges facing Hamburg and problems which still have to be solved. The complexity and dynamic of change which is brought to the city by its many migrant communities is a challenge which multilingual and multicultural cities have in common – this is shown by the LUCIDE project’s city reports.
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Multilingualism in Dublin: LUCIDE city report (AUGUST 2013)

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