MASTER'S DEGREE

FINAL DISSERTATION

Unveiling the Frames of German Identity:
A Sociohistorical Analysis of In-group/Out-group Relations

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Abstract

This thesis argues that the *German* identity was constructed on the foundation of a rigid and modern worldview that characterizes identity as fixed and exclusive and thus helped perpetuate in-group/out-group relationships as binary oppositions such as *white German* and *different* Other. It explores how key sociohistorical events are related to the construction of the *German* in-group identity and how uneven power dynamics affect belonging. The author identifies whiteness as identity privilege and as characteristic of a racialized *German* identity, which reinforces the in-group/out-group binary. Furthermore, bridging the analysis to Europe´s current refugee situation that challenges the *German* identity, this thesis argues there is a potential for a transformative shift from an exclusive to a more inclusive identity. It explores a process of de-centering and reframing of the *German* in-group identity in order to embrace the negotiation of difference in Germany.

Keywords

German identity, in-group/out-group, whiteness, binary, difference,

Abstract in Spanish

Esta tesis argumenta que la identidad alemana fue construida sobre la base de una visión del mundo rígida y moderna que caracteriza identidad como algo fijo y exclusivo y de este modo ayudó a perpetuar las relaciones *in-group/out-group* como oposiciones binarias de blanc@ Alemán@ y diferente Otr@. Se explora la relación de acontecimientos socio histórico claves con la construcción de la identidad alemana como *in-group* y cómo dinámicas de poder desiguales afectan la pertenencia. La autora identifica blancura como privilegio identitario y como característica de una identidad alemana racial que refuerza el binario de *in-group/out-group*. Además, conectando el análisis con la situación actual de los refugiados en Europa que desafía la identidad alemana, esta tesis argumenta que hay un potencial de transformación de una identidad exclusiva hacia una identidad más inclusiva. Se explora un proceso de descentramiento y replanteamiento de la identidad alemana como *in-group* con el fin de abarcar la negociación de diferencia en Alemania.

Abstract in German

Die vorliegende Arbeit argumentiert, dass die deutsche Identität auf einer starren und modernen Weltansicht begründet ist, welche die Identität als etwas Feststehendes und Exklusives definiert und somit dazu beiträgt, dass *in-group/out-group* Beziehungen, wie weiße Deutsche und andere, als binäre Gegensätze weiterbestehen bleiben. Die Arbeit analysiert, inwiefern sozialhistorische Schlüsselereignisse mit der Begründung der deutschen *in-group* Identität zusammenhängen und wie ungleich verteilte Machtverhältnisse sich auf die Zugehörigkeit auswirken. Die Autorin identifiziert Weiß-sein als Identitätsprivileg und als Charakteristik für eine rassifizierte deutsche Identität, welche die Binarität der *in-group/out-group* weiter unterstützt. Unter Bezugnahme auf die aktuelle Flüchtlingssituation in Europa, welche die deutsche Identität derzeit vor Herausforderungen stellt, sieht die Autorin das Potenzial für die Wandlung weg von einem exkludierenden und hin zu einem mehr inkludierenden Identitätsverständnis. Die Arbeit untersucht den Prozess der Dezentrierung und Neuausrichtung der deutschen *in-group* Identität um einer Verständigung von Verschiedenheit offen begegnen zu können.

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Glossary of Terms

Alldeutscher Verband: Pan-German-Leage

Ausländer: Foreigner/alien

Ausländerfeindlichkeit: Xenophobia

Ausländergesetz: Aliens Act

Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft: German colonial society

Deutschtum: German-ness

Farbig: Colored

Fremd: foreign

Fremdenfeindlichkeit: Hostility towards strangers

Gastarbeiter: Guest workers

Geist: Spirit

Herrenmenschen: Master race

Inländer: natives

Ius Sanguinis: Blood Law (Latin)

Kollektivschuld: Collective Guilt

Kulturmission: Cultural mission

Kulturnation: Cultural nation

Kulturtat: Cultural act

Leitkultur: Mainstream culture

Mischehe: Intermarriage

Nachkriegsmigration: Postwar migration

Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgestz: Blood Law

Reinrassig: Thoroughbred

Selbstkolonialisierung: Self-colonization

Staatsbürgerschaftsrecht: Birthright

Stinktier: Skunk

Volk: People

Volksgeist: Spirit of the People

Volkstum: Folklore

Völkerschau: Exhibition of people

Weltanschauung: Worldview

Westdeutschland: West Germany

Wirtschaftswunder: Economic miracle

General Introduction

[…] peace is the quality and nature of people´s relationships.

(Lederach, 2005: 76)

Personal Connections to this Research

The motivation for this investigation and the questions I want to explore are rooted in personal relations and theory studied during the International Master in Peace, Conflict, and Development Master at Jaume I. Within this framework, the relation between me as subject, my perceptions, and experiences, and the topic and concerns will guide my research. I discover more and more how these components complement each other and how my personal self transforms within the process of reflecting, questioning, learning, sharing, and living. My lived experiences, my way of being and perceiving the world around me, other people and relationships, influence my concern and excitement for this research.

My personal background, my family origin, and the place I grew up in, take another influential part in my interest and motivation for this thesis. I was born and raised in Germany where I spent the first 18 years of my life before I started to travel and live abroad. Despite of this origin, I hold an Austrian passport. My father was born in Austria from Austrian parents, but his family migrated to Germany when he was a child. When my parents got married, my German born mother changed her citizenship to Austrian. Due to German citizenship regulations, my sister and I became Austrian passport holders as well.

As part of people´s identity formation, my national and cultural background provides a prominent part of my identity. With that said, Germany and German culture have had a significant influence in who I am today. I identify as German rather than Austrian, though my Austrian passport is one form of objective identification. My personal case of nationality and identification stands in opposition to fixed definitions of identity based on the legal passport you hold, thereby challenging the dominant concept of identity as something fixed based on

nationality. But what does it mean to be German? What is German-ness? How is a German defined? What factors define one´s identity?

At the age of 19, after finishing high school, I started living what I was interested in, meaning that I started to travel and getting to know different cultures by living in other countries and interacting and learning with people of different cultural and ethnic origins. I first moved to Peru to work as a volunteer in a social, not for profit project for six months. This experience brought me to study *Latin American Studies and Social Sciences* in my home city back in Germany. In the fourth Semester I received a scholarship to study a semester in Argentina. Besides my classes, I was involved in a nonprofit project and interacted with many locals that lead me towards a deeper understanding of inequality.

During these years of studying in Germany and living in Latin America, I increased my interest in cultural richness, based on my relations and friendships with people from different cultural backgrounds. The fact that even after living in Latin America I studied and communicated in class partially in Spanish also shaped me; my thinking and being. My privileged experiences allow me to better reflect on my own position in the world, my own culture and environment, because it is through the relationship to others that our being is formed and constantly influenced.

During my Studies, I got involved with an intercultural meeting center that consists of multiple projects and working groups focusing on problems related to racism and policies that cause social exclusion. The project I got involved in, called *Recall and Action for Human Rights,* organizes lectures, workshops, and other activities related to educational work aimed at intercultural exchanges and education. I was part of the core team which organized and carried out the first Human Rights Festival in Cologne, Germany. Collaborating with an array of people from diverse backgrounds, while pursuing the same goal was a precious experience.

The moment I am located in life right now and the place where I lived up until recently forms a big part of my inspiration and shaped my thinking. In the context of the Peace Master, the mix of intercultural exchange, cohabitation, and academic studies all contributed to my understanding and positioning in Peace and Conflict Studies. All these experiences and the time living abroad also enabled me to critically reflect how interconnected the world is in relation to growing inequality. I started reflecting on where I come from and my experiences in Germany. Especially the intercultural exchange with friends in the program, sharing experiences, and learning together, strengthened my view on the need for interculturality and its recognition.

As response to a few experiences with racism towards some of my friends, we organized an Intercultural March in Castellón in February 2015. The intention was to celebrate interculturality and the beauty of diversity, at the same time denouncing discrimination and racism. We wanted to live and share ideas and objectives of the Master's program and take the theory outside of the classroom. The positive and valuable relationships of students within the Program made me want to focus my research on the lack of mutual belonging and relating in Germany. Together with the studied theories, Germany´s identity politics and historic relations provided a starting point to explore my concerns.

Contextualizing Research

My research interest is a result of experiences, studied theories, and personal connections to my concerns. The starting point for this thesis is the present situation in Germany and my observations and perceptions. I see the German nation-state producing and reproducing fixed notions of identity that create binaries of German vs. Un-German. These binaries are carried out through exclusion, discrimination, and racism towards the Un-German Others. The

differentiation, or more specifically who is German and who is Un-German, is being explored throughout this thesis as I identify several characteristics of the mainstream In-group identity.

Apart from discriminatory and habitual racist treatment, the current influx of refugees in some cases polarizes the in-group/out-group relation and has brought me to my concerns of exploring the historical roots of mainstream notions of what it means to be German. The research therefore gains relevance through recent developments of Germany´s and Europe´s refugee and immigration regulations formed by a reaction to thousands of refugees entering the European Union. In the specific case of Germany, historic experiences with immigration waves and guest workers had certain impacts on the German identity and belonging within the German nation-state. The current situation of refugees arriving to Germany, among other European countries, is a good example to look at how my analysis of exclusive and rigid identities is played out in the light of the current context. In addition, it allows to explore factors that facilitate a potentially shift in German identity and beyond binary terms of in-group/out-group.

My growing concern regards the unequal power dynamics that create hierarchies and Germany´s exclusive policies for fringe identities. It is therefore that I set out to research Germany´s identity norms and a historically created German-ness based on whiteness, which Others those who do not fit this norm. Past practices, including colonialism, National Socialism, and national immigration policies were influenced by and contributed to the present German nation that often categorizes people into an Us and Them binary. An idea of a homogenous society in Germany was violently implemented during colonialism and the Holocaust using the distinction from the different Other as a means to identity formation.

History has consequences, but the relation to Germany´s colonial past as well as the Holocaust has been mainly missed to reprocess. The construction of hierarchies based on skin color and ethnicity is a result of Germany´s past and can be traced back to the colonial project

before the turn of the 18th century where the separation of the colonized peoples were seen as the inferior Others.

The German nation-state as well as other nation-states consists of borders that form an exclusive space. Identity is mostly perceived as a fixed and static product determined through nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, and culture. The growing multiplicity of cultures and origins of people that inhabit the country today have been ignored for a long time and Germany does still not acknowledge the permanently transforming society due to Globalization and immigration. This transformation means that Germany´s reality shows a plural and hybrid nation with diverse and many unheard voices and stories that stand in the shade of the white, heterosexual, patriarchal, elite German norm.

Identity is a lot more complex and diverse than the part of German identity I look at. I am primarily concerned with the particular aspects of German identity that create a German-ness based on Othering fringe identities. However, one must keep in mind that German Identity is a lot more complex and diverse than what I refer to here.

Although racism and Othering takes place at many other relationships I am focusing on Germany specifically. This studiy is a door into a larger picture that affects billions of people around the world. Immigration and identity is a global phenomenon and I focus on Germany as an example. Although immigrants holding German passports may receive political and legal recognition from the state, they are still categorized in other ways as the foreign Other.

This thesis is situated within the interdisciplinary field of Peace Studies and guides my analysis. Calling on Austrian peace practitioner and philosopher from Innsbruck University, Wolfgang Dietrich, Peace Studies is a postmodern field by its very nature and therefore aims to break with essentialist and normative modern views and philosophies (Dietrich, 2013: 7). Postmodern philosophy, like Peace Studies, arose through the second half of the 20th century and is critical of the universalizing tendency of Western modern philosophy. Postmodern

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thinking stresses the analysis of power relations and moves away from a simplified emphasis on objectivity and reductionist thinking. My understanding of peace and conflict is rooted in the theory and practice studied during the two years of the Master, as well as experiences and relationships with my study colleagues and friends. Vincent Martinez Guzmán, who is the founder of the International Master in Peace, Conflict, and Development Studies, introduced a Philosophy for peace, with a core contribution of the epistemological turn (*el giro epistemológico*). This change in paradigm positions human beings as center of science and understands them interconnected within their environment. Diversity and plurality play a significant role as well as the subjectivity of human beings. This view of human beings and human relations is significant for the exploration of German identity and the in-group/out-group binary. An exclusive German-ness that is based on white, Christian, rigid norms, which does not embrace diversity and therefore reproduces racist and discriminatory practices towards the foreign Other.

Diversity goes along with plural understandings of peace that is not a final product, but rather a dynamic process. Mahatma Gandhi claimed "there is no way to peace; peace is the way" (Ghandi quoted in Refspace, 2015). In this sense, peace is never accomplished or perfect. Francisco Muñoz developed the concept of imperfect peace, arguing that peace is everywhere and always a part of human beings, yet never completed (Muñoz, 2001). Johan Galtung is called the pioneer of Peace Studies, being the first one who made the distinction between negative and positive peace and the shift from conflict and war as a main field of study to peace as a field of its own. It is not enough to achieve the absence of war and direct violence, especially if it is on the expense of injustice. Rather should the focus lie on a peaceful transformation of conflict based on dialogue, empathy, mutual respect, and a peaceful engagement with each other.

The acknowledgement of a plurality of peace(s) is as necessary as the acknowledgement of plural identities and cultures, in short an embracement of interculturalism, hybridity, and

thereby many peace(s). According to the idea of imperfect peace(s), peace always goes along with conflict as natural part of people´s relationships. In the current context of refugees arriving in Germany, numerous interactions between in-group and out-group take place that can lead to conflict, because conflict is an inherent part of human relations. Conflict holds the potential for change and since, according to my view, identity formation is fluid and dynamic, the present situation might have a big influence on Germany´s identity. The intercultural contact challenges the exclusive German-ness and requires a negotiation of different identities among the involved groups.

Research questions

Throughout this thesis I take a social constructionist understanding of identity formation which is connected to a postmodern philosophy. The postmodern concept calls for openness, change, potentiality, and radical awareness. This means that I question a rather primordial understanding of identity as linked to nation-states, culture, and ethnicity, among others, and instead argue for a fluid, situational, and constantly transforming identity formation. From this understanding I set out to explore the following questions.

How does a rigid view of identity reinforce in-group/out-group dichotomies? How is belonging affected by uneven power dynamics? How is the identity of the German in-group linked to the historical and political projects of colonialism, National Socialism, and the immigration policy after World War II? How can Germany move from an exclusive to a more inclusive identity, which is conducive for moments of peace, and what factors facilitate the necessary transformation of beliefs, values, and identities?

With this research I aim to explore how rigid and essentialist views of identity produce and reproduce a system of superiority and inferiority thereby reinforcing in-group/out-group

relationships. Drawing on the case of Germany, I look at how such dichotomies are rooted in Germany´s colonial past, National Socialism and the immigration policy after World War II. I explore how the German in-group identity plays out through power dynamics in present day Germany. Lastly, in light of the current refugee situation in Germany, I am interested in how the exclusive German identity is challenged.

My Perspective and Position as Author

As author of this thesis, I am a participant of the research; I take a position and am part of the process of transformation. This transformation refers to a personal transformation, as well as a contribution to everyone´s transformation addressed by or being part of this research. My position as author is somehow determined through certain identities. Starting from my personal background, I acknowledge my privileged background as a white, heterosexual, middle class, German woman. Acknowledging my privileges means being aware of where I position myself within research, aiming at my personal transformation through research, negotiating my identities and finding my belonging with others. In a first place, this is important for the process of my research, given that my privileges are not exclusively affecting myself, but that privileges need a counterpart, the one(s) who do not enjoy these privileges. Being in a privileged position gives me the responsibility to visualize racist structures and practices in present-day Germany and deconstruct historical and political imaginaries and representations that create them.

I also understand the exploration of privileges, intersections of systems of oppression, domination, and discrimination as a possibility to better understand and identify blind spots and ignorance to how power functions in an uneven manner and understand its reproduction even if it is with good intentions. I do not mean to link privileges to hierarchies of victimhood, but rather use it to de-center and listen actively.

Within the German context, as a white, middle-class woman I fulfill the general norms of being German and enjoying the plurality of privileges that are provided through discourses and nation-state structures. My personal connection to the research refers furthermore to the fact that my background as an Austrian passport holder is a counter discourse to the essentialist claim of identities based on people´s nationality. My lived experience as an Austrian passport holder but recognized and identified as German affect my reflections and concerns. In addition, Austria is a neighboring Western country with very similar cultural practices and language. Since I explore these German identity norms and a constructed German-ness, my position is automatically related to my research. In order to avoid talking from the dominant `we´ of the German nation-state, which I am inevitably part of, my intention is to put this dominant subject into the focus of my analysis. This means that the relationship and belonging with each other in Germany is looked at by deconstructing unequal power dynamics.

Besides my experiences and identification with *German* because I grew up, lived, and studied there, I also recognize my privileged experiences as white European woman traveling and living in other countries. My temporal residence in Peru, Argentina and Spain form part of my experiences as recognized by fulfilling the European identity norms. It is exactly these privileges that allow me to see the injustice and inequality and which form my concern for this research.

Throughout my thesis I make use of terms that may reproduce the same binary model I am trying to break from by using the same terminology in the writing. Repeating dichotomies like in-group and out-group is a very much modern view of one or the other. Nevertheless, in order to deconstruct the nature of these binaries and in order to present their effects, I make use of certain words and terms in a conscious way by capitalizing or italicizing them.

By using *German* I refer to all those people who fit the dominant norm of German identity and are therefore part of the German in-group. The nationality in this context is not signif-

icant, since it is invisible, contrary to the white skin color for example that I identify to be a main character for being part of the German in-group. To show this constructionist character of *German*, I italicize it in necessary contexts.

Race is another example, since it is being used in a double meaning throughout this thesis. This is why I make use of the italicized form of *race* whenever it refers to the symbolic and constructionist character of *race* as in colonial rhetoric. This means that race in this sense is often simplified into a white or black dichotomy and hierarchy. In the German case, I explore race and racism in the (post)colonial and post National Socialism context, while arguing that a predominance of color blindness, or more specifically invisible whiteness influences an exclusive German identity.

As Germany is in the focus of my research I use literature in the German language. Throughout my thesis I refer to some key concepts, policies, or terms in German while translating them into English in footnotes. The reason for keeping some terms in German is my personal understanding and relation to the language. A translation sometimes changes the expression or exact meaning, which is why I stick with the original terms or concepts. Whenever there is an official translation for the word or term I use, I provide the translation in parentheses. If I translate terms or used quotes myself, I provide the translation in a footnote.

Methodology

With the objective of keeping in line with my research questions, I base my analysis on an interdisciplinary approach. My personal relation with the topic, identifying myself as German, as well as the fact that I am the daughter of an Immigrant and holding a non-German passport, will form part of or influence a more critical and reflective approach.

I draw on feminist methodologies as a main guide in my research, by understanding them not only as methodology focusing on gender relations and the liberalization from patri-

archal relations, but rather in a way that positions the reflection on the study of power as fundamental concern (Ackerly and True, 2010; Luker, 2008). In addition, feminist research allows many answers, calling for a plural epistemological, political, and self-reflective, critical engagement. To explore silence and difference is what feminist theory encourages, which in the context of identity is indispensably necessary to avoid perpetuating the obscurity of gendered absences and differences.

Feminist methodology is also the guiding research ethic in this work. An ethic that characterizes the relationship between me as researcher and my environment, and leads the way I handle my understandings and questions. It furthermore leads me to use a theory-seeking approach of methodology (Ackerly and True, 2010). Through a dynamic and non-linear process, I aim to explore gaps in theory and getting surprised through investigation.

I mainly use secondary sources within a theoretical approach which consist of books and journal articles. Positioned within the interdisciplinary field of Peace and Conflict Studies I draw on a variety of areas such as Philosophy, Identity Research, Cultural Studies, (Post)colonial Studies, Critical Race Studies, Decolonial Studies, and Postcolonial Feminist Studies.

Primary sources including newspaper articles and institutional documents support my aim of analyzing discourses on *German* identity, among others. My use of stories and other pieces of literature reflect a call for plural identities and epistemologies and breaks with modern essentialist views on academic knowledge. As Audre Lorde states, "Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought. The farthest horizons of our hopes and fears are cobbled by our poems, carved from the rock experiences of our daily lives" (Lorde, 1993: 37).

My question seeking research is influenced by postmodern and postcolonial literature that embraces plurality and is based on deconstructive perspectives. These lenses push me to search for blind spots in practices and unveil ideologies. In order to uncover silenced

knowledge and engage with transformation, Peace Studies lenses furthermore allow me to critically reflect on human relations and conflicts.

Literature Review

The literature used in this thesis draws on a variety of disciplines and directions, including Cultural Studies, Philosophy, Feminism, Critical Race Studies, Critical Whiteness Studies, Peace and Conflict Studies, and History, among others.

Following, I situate the state of research in the context of my study. Identity research in the German context is usually limited to questions of post-World War II and Germany´s collective guilt and/or responsibility, as well as Germany´s post-World War division and reunification. Germany´s colonialism and colonial racist continuities are mainly hidden and avoided to talk about. Consequently, the lack of a critical analysis of colonial foundations in relation to a national identity reflects a continuity of power relations in present day Germany. The consequences are a broken relationship between past and present and external and internal forces that show a residual actuality of German colonial culture (Nghi Ha, 2009). A critical analysis of whiteness in Germany was only introduced into academia about 10 years ago and developed on the foundation of Critical Whiteness Studies as originated mainly rooted in critical voices of People of Color in the United States. It is important to note that People of Color accompanied the white hegemony since the beginning of the Europeanization of the world with critical counterviews, yet the recognition in academia was and is partially still missing. The implementation of Critical Whiteness Studies as discipline in the German context is therefore an achievement in regards to the need of unveiling the sociohistorical roots of racist hierarchical relations (Eggers et al., 2009). Postcolonial and Decolonial Studies were also introduced into German academia in recent years, which offer an approach that linked to Critical Whiteness Studies allows a more inclusive analysis of the German sociohistorical frame

of national identity formation. Race as socially and socio-politically constructed concept remains an unseen area in European thought and knowledge with devastating consequences for human relationships. Not discussing race prevents dealing with racism and hinders the unveiling of deep frames that perpetuate the hierarchization of people. A decolonial perspective that analyzes the continuities of colonial imaginary is therefore very much needed in the German context in order to unveil the frames of *German* identity.

The general evaluation among the majority of scholars writing on identity comes to the consensus that identity is not fixed and not static. It is permanently transforming and susceptible to change (Bhabha, 1994; Dietrich, 2013; Hall and Du Gay, 1996; Martínez Guzmán, 2001). Cognitive science discovered that narratives play a significant role in shaping people´s identity by telling us who we are and how to act (Hogan, 2009; Lakoff, 2004).

With regard to a non-fixed notion of identity, Wolfgang Dietrich claims that identity is never complete or consistent, effective for both the individual as well as the collective (Dietrich, 2013). I draw on Zygmund Bauman and his explanations on identity in relation to cultural belonging and people´s behavioral patterns (Bauman, 1999). An understanding of identity formation as a process that is carried through relationships to others in order to belong in a certain place and with others stands against essentialist and idealized fixed identities (Bauman, 1999; Bhabha, 1994; Hall and Du Gay, 1996).

Stuart Hall, a Jamaican author from Cultural Studies, who lived and wrote most of his life in Great Britton, contextualizes a positional and never completed concept of identity within processes of globalization and modernity that produce segregation and hierarchies (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). It is also Hall´s understanding of cultural identity, which bridges the concept to colonial racialized knowledge about the Other and race construction through power and representation (Hall, 1997).

Within research on identity, hybridity is a main part especially in postmodern and post-colonial studies. It is the claim of rights of belonging within society by immigrant descendants that puts into critique the constructed essentialist identities in postcolonial societies. The concept was developed by postcolonial author Homo Bhabha who understands hybridity as a third space that enables other positions to emerge and allows plurality and difference of identities. Sidi Omar indicates a lack of recognition of hybrid identities that ignores the interaction of culture and groups, while creating hybrid identities (Omar, 2006). His understanding of culture and identity as dynamic and hybrid processes opens space for a critical analysis of identity norms as well as for creating a different set of variables of identification (Bhabha, 1994; Omar, 2006).

The Lebanese-born French author Amin Maalouf explores the forced suppression of multiple identities through emphasizing only one aspect of identity which goes back to essentialist views that negate plural identities (Maalouf, 2003). This enforcement is embedded within the concept of nation-state and culture, often in the context of nationalism that more often demands loyalty to the nation-state. The construction of nation-states and its identity also create a fixed concept of culture, not acknowledging the dynamic character of cultures. Cultural differences and cultural plurality as well as growing differently territorialized identities are related to my concern of Germany´s exclusive identity norms, that is an example of a natural association of culture, people, and place (Ferguson and Gupta, 1992).

The negation of hybrid or plural identities through the enforcement of loyalty with the nation´s culture and identity are a form of cultural violence, as introduced by the Norwegian sociologist and professor of peace Studies, Johan Galtung (Galtung & Fischer, 2013; Galtung, 2003).

Benedict Anderson defines nation-states as imagined communities constructed in its many characteristics in order to limit and separate them from others. Through the different

boundaries, national identities are produced around a shared past and interconnected historical conceptions that influence nationalism (Anderson, 1991).

The negation of plural identities is embedded within a modern view that does not leave space for multiplicity. Edward Said explores the hegemonic power of the West and the related social classification of the world population based on the concept of race. In his famous work *Orientalism* published in 1979 and influenced by Foucault, he demonstrates how colonial relations continued after independence in a way that the colonized peoples are constructed as Other (Said, 1979).

With regard to power dynamics, Foucault defines power as relational, rather than a one-sided repression. Therefore it is productive and operates mainly at an everyday level of people´s relationships. Power reproduces itself through strategies and leaves room for resistance based on the relational character of power (Foucault and Gordon, 1980).

In this line of power dynamics and with regard to identities, feminist philosopher Judith Butler sees discourses as a main influence involved in establishing identities. She describes identities as categories classified through discourse and embedded in cultural practices (Butler, 1999). Butler introduces the concept of intelligible genders that follow and sustain connections of continuity without allowing disruptions with gender norms. Her work shaped my understanding of constructed identity categories.

Arising from the Latin American context, Decolonial Studies emerged only about 15 years ago with Peruvian Anibal Quijano as a main representative. He connects modern and Eurocentric power dynamics with a social classification of human beings based on the constructed idea of race (Quijano, 2000). Germany as part of Europe is likewise part of the world center as determined by modern views. Positioning Europe in the center of world history and present is closely linked to the process of Othering of all non-European people and cultures.

In the German context, the Portuguese writer, theorist, and interdisciplinary artist Grada Kilomba introduced the idea of decolonization. Through her co-editor work of *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte* (Eggers et al, 2009), [1] her print publications and staged readings, and performance in Germany, she is a significant voice in the context of postcolonial studies and decolonization. She also holds a position as Guest Professor for Gender Studies at the University Berlin, Germany, where her main lecturing fields included Decolonial Feminism and Decolonizing and Performing Knowledge (Kilomba, 2015).

The interrelated conceptions of gender and race combined determine intersectional forms of discrimination, which Maria Lugones puts into a linked framework of analysis called "the modern/colonial gender system" (Lugones, 2008). Intersectionality was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw within Critical Race Theory through her article "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color" in 1991 (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality defined as concept to catch intertwining categories that affect women of color is further described as "gendered racism" (Kilomba, 2010). In sum, several authors provide for my understanding of the interrelation of identity categories and support my use of an intersectional lens to understand and angle operating power dynamics (Anzaldúa, 2012; Crenshaw, 1991; hooks, et al: 2004; hooks, 2000; Loomba, 1998; Lugones, 2008).

While exploring identity categories, a postcolonial view on racial identities is a main part of my analysis. As postcolonial author, Indian professor Ania Loomba shares a broad view on colonialist effects on postcolonial societies, understood in a global picture. She explores racial, colonial and postcolonial relations from a feminist perspective (Loomba, 1998).

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[1] My translation: "Myths, masks, and subjects"

Identity construction further takes place through the relation to others and through difference, which is why I refer to it as co-construction (Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Martínez Guzmán, 2001).

Exploring Germany´s three key historical and political projects, I draw on the work of several authors who provide a historical analysis (Ames et al., 2005; Conrad, 2012; Langbehn and Salama, 2011; Nathan, 2004; Nghi Ha, 2009; Perraudin and Zimmerer, 2011; Williams, 2014). As German born political theorist, Jewish Hannah Arendt who escaped the Holocaust focused her work on the operations of power. Her first major book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Arendt, 1973), cannot be viewed separated from her Jewish refugee background and addresses the roots of the German National Socialist project and the Holocaust.

As I analyze German identity, I draw on several authors who give insight to the German in-group/out-group relations from their background of rather being positioned outside of the German in-group (Demirkan, 2015; Kilomba, 2010; Sow, 2009). Critical Whiteness Studies are adequate lenses to view the racialized German identity and how whiteness affects and is affected by social interaction (Arndt, 2009a, 2009b; Eggers at al., 2009; Walgenbach, 2009). Critical Whiteness Studies is further a bridge to analyze everyday racism in Germany and the frame of Postcolonial Studies (El Tayeb, 2011; Nghi Ha, 2009; Sow, 2009).

Identity privileges create inequality and discrimination and are not only personal, but also political as they are related to other people (Carbado, 2005). Whiteness as identity privilege is a prevailing hierarchical aspect and character of the German in-group thereby creating racism and discrimination. Drawing on Critical Whiteness Studies, I aim at unveiling whiteness in the German context and analyzing the social structures that form the frames (Arndt, 2009a; Crenshaw, 1991; Flagg, 1993).

Several aspects are crucial for exploring a potential shift in German identity. As I bridge my analysis to the current situation of refugees, I make use of several newspaper articles and discourses as reported in the media. With the aim of a shift to a more inclusive German identity, inclusive policies and actions are necessary (Butterwegge, 2015).

Peace and Conflict Studies understands conflict as a natural part of people´s relationships which further is not negative, in fact, conflict can be an opportunity for change (Dietrich, 2013; Lederach, 1995, 2003, 2005; Martínez Guzmán, 2001). The Peace and Conflict lenses guide how I understand and look at human relationships. As I explore factors that facilitate a change in beliefs, values, and essentialist identity views, I turn to the human capacity of empathy which is a key force in social change. Empathy is the product of people´s experiences, yet has to be practiced like a muscle. In the case of in-group/out-group relationships, empathy has the potential to bridge divides and connect people (Olson, 2013; Rogers, 1975; Rosenberg, 2003). People´s awareness is an important factor to acknowledge privileges and dominant structures, knowledge, and imaginations that need to be de-centered in order to move towards a more inclusive German identity (Bhabha, 1990; hooks, 1990; Omar, 2006; Soja, 1996).

Structuring research

I have designed my thesis in three main Chapters. They follow a clear thematic and successive order, each with a separated goal of responding to the relative research questions.

In Chapter One, I explore the numerous ways people view identity and the different facets of identity. I use a postmodern philosophy and a social constructionist definition, which looks at identity as fluid, evolving, always changing, dynamic, relational, and malleable. Throughout Chapter One, I demonstrate how in contrast an essentialist and modern view of identities often determines a fixed identity thereby excluding pluralities and difference as well

as classifying categories of identity. By exploring the significant influence of power dynamics on identity formation and embodiment, I draw on the work of Foucault as fundamental understanding. I further explore how the project of modernity as Eurocentric concept with a focus on the nation-state as strong identity category and rooted in colonialism, reproduces binary thinking and in-group/out-group hierarchies among people. Chapter One serves as a theoretical framework of identity, which next I apply to the case study of Germany and a mainstream national identity.

In Chapter Two, I explore how *German* identity was constructed and likewise shaped the construction by several key events in Germany´s sociohistorical past. I start by looking at Germany´s often unknown and less talked about colonial project and show how colonial ideology and policy aimed at maintaining a white homogenous society. I demonstrate the continuities of the desire and implementation of an exclusive ethnic community throughout the colonial project and World War I and II as well as the connections to Germany´s National Socialism. I further highlight the consolidation of an exclusive German identity by explaining the restrictive immigration policies that followed the guest worker program starting after World War II. I show how the in-group/out-group binary was reflected in hostile opinions and discrimination towards the foreign workers. Through Critical Whiteness lenses, I shine light on a racialized *German* identity that characterized German as white and non-white as Other.

In my third Chapter, I bridge my analysis to the current refugee situation that challenges the identified exclusive German-ness as well as addresses a dialectical tension between exclusiveness and inclusiveness. In this light, the last Chapter argues for the need of inclusiveness in order to receive the big number of refugees as well as the inevitable affect the many interactions will have on the German identity, as identity is relational and constantly changing. I explore factors that could facilitate a shift from exclusiveness to inclusiveness and argue for the need of creating awareness and of de-centering the dominant German in-group. By drawing on cognitive psychology, I explain how values and beliefs are physical neuro networks

and hard to change as they are framed and normalized over time. I understand a transformative process as a reflective and de-centering project that requires a rethinking of knowledge and imaginaries, the recognition of privileges, and the negotiation of identities through difference, among others.

I aim at encouraging using different lenses to view identity in order to understand the frames that create in-group/out-group relations in Germany and thereby finding new ways to negotiate difference and transform relations.

Chapter 1: Being is becoming: Co-constructing identity

[...] identity is never a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality.

(Bhabha, 1994: 51)

Introduction

After having established the foundations of my research, I can now introduce the main ideas in form of a theoretical framework. The goal of Chapter One is to set the stage to better understand different facets of identity. A person`s identity is difficult to define because, like a gestalt, it is made up of many faces, yet is viewed as singular. Identity is often perceived as a static product that is determined through nationality, culture, ethnicity, race, and gender (to name a few). This assumption of fixed identities can be viewed as a very modernist and essentialist point of view that may not leave adequate space for diversity and hybridity. In contrast to a fixed notion of identity I take the view that identity is always in a state of becoming and therefore being is becoming. Identity construction as a product of or through difference is taking place through the relationships with others. As I explore different types and factors that shape our identities I aim to create an understanding of the process of identity formation and belonging in order to set the framework, which I apply to Germany´s sociohistorical context in Chapter Two.

I use a postmodern and constructionist view of identity in this thesis. This means both subjective and objective criterion. No single definition of identity is sufficient without introducing how power dynamics shape and exist between people. For this reason, I draw on the work of Michel Foucault, Anibal Quijano, and Ania Loomba to explore the relationship between power and knowledge and how it acts on the co-construction of identity.

Then, I explore how the Eurocentric idea of modernity recreates inequality through Capitalism, nation-states, and colonialism thereby facilitating binary thinking among people.

The rise of the nation-state reframed how people identify. I explain Benedict Anderson´s view that the nation-state is an imagined community.

Belonging and status function within the value laden hierarchy of in-groups and out-groups thereby heightening difference and the uneven power dynamics which are associated. This is followed by several more salient examples of identity categories such as cultural, racial, and gender identities and how they result in layers of oppression. I use an intersectional lens, which views the uniqueness of a person and oppression by the intersection of identity categories.

Using the work of the founding father of Peace Studies, Johan Galtung, I make the connection to his concept of cultural violence and how one often is pressured to make a choice among the many components which comprise a person's identity. People´s identities are further co-created through the interaction with others and through difference.

In Chapter One, I explore my first two questions `How does a rigid view of identity reinforce in-group/out-group dichotomies?´ and `How is belonging affected by uneven power dynamics?´ In addition, I provide the theoretical framework that leads the way to answer my third question in Chapter Two.

1.1 Identity

I haven't got several identities: I've got just one, made up of many components in a mixture that is unique to me, just as other people's identity is unique to them as individuals.
(Maalouf, 2003: 7)

Identity is an abstract multifaceted concept and subject to a continual relational process which can be messy, conscious, unconscious, contradictory, flexible, and influenceable at the same time. Identity is real in the sense that it can lead to an array of consequences and outcomes, yet constructed in the sense that the individual, along with other people, play an active role in how we are defined and redefined. This co-creation takes place through a wide range

of factors while relating to other people and includes, viewing or carrying out performed acts, experiences, observations, influences, and knowledge among other variables. Identities are formed through external and internal factors, as well as perceptions based on stereotypes and norms. Although, stereotypes, prejudices, beliefs, and values as part of our identities are not fixed, this does not mean they are easily changed. In Chapter Three, I draw on the work of cognitive psychologist and neuro scientist George Lakoff to better explain how these variables are physical patterns of neuro networks in people´s brains.

In order to better grasp how the concept of identity can be used it is necessary to clearly define it- within the limits of complexity. The Lebanese-born French author Amin Maalouf in his book *In the name of Identity* defines identity as follows: "Identity isn`t given once and for all: it is built up and changes throughout a person`s lifetime" (Maalouf, 2003: 23). The abstract and complicated concept of identity as I use in this thesis is a postmodern view and a social constructionist understanding. This views identity as both subjective and objective constructions, which are "fluid, multidimensional, personalized social constructions that reflect sociohistorical contexts" (Howards, 2000: 367). The objective view of identity looks at facts and statements that can be proven. For example, if a person is the legal holder of a German passport then they have a German Nationality and could be referred to, as German. This political belonging validates a person through the power of the nation-state and is one way to view someone´s position in or outside the national borders. However, holding the German passport does not necessarily mean one identifies as German. In my case, although I hold an Austrian passport I identify as German and am identified as German. This shows some of the complexities when discussing limits of identity.

The subjective view of identity takes into account "I am…" expressions such as, "I am a Muslim". The subjective identity of a person can also be a projection of how another person sees or identifies someone else and contradict how you would actually self-identify. For example, stereotypes and projected identities in the case of racial profiling can cause real life

consequences to someone who is classified in an identity other than the person being labeled actually agrees with. The constructionist view takes both the subjectivist and objectivist view of identity into account in addition to a personal choice of construction.

In this thesis I use the term categorical identities to refer to characteristics of identity, such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, age, region, nationality, among others. In the German case I look at the sociohistorical context going back to Germany´s colonial project and concluding with the current refugee crisis. Using these sociohistorical events I set out to paint a picture of defining characteristics that influenced the construction of the mainstream German national identity. This can be problematic, because the German national identity like identity itself is difficult to define. In this case, I understand the complexities, diversities, and pluralities the concept encompasses. In this light, the German national identity as I use in this thesis is a theoretical understanding positioned as the dominant hegemonic block that ex-cludes peripheries, yet is influenced by them. This theoretical view is also characterized as the in-group, exclusive, and normalized.

I view identity as a relational process co-created by interacting with others, ideas, and one's environment. From my understanding, identity is imbedded in a process, which is con-tinuously becoming something different, because there is no such thing as a fixed notion of identity. In his second book of the Many Peaces Series, Dietrich states "[t]here is no complete and consistent identity, neither for the individual nor for the collective" (Dietrich, 2013: 26). Social theorist Zygmund Bauman provides the following explanation of identity in relation to others:

> One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioral styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other´s presence (Bauman, 1996: 19).

Belonging in a certain place and with others is one of the main parts of the identity con-struction processes. Jamaican-British author Stuart Hall understands the presence and rela-

tional importance to others when he says it creates our placement, position, and belonging in society (Hall and Du Gay, 1996).

Due to the complex nature of identity I see the inherent risk when a person's identity is denied, simplified into one or a few particular aspects of it, or when a person is pushed to choose one or another. The essentialist and modernist view of identity as fixed and valued in a hierarchical order can more easily lead to rigidity in relating to those that are different. The term modernist in this sense is a philosophical project characterized by an oversimplified view of life that functions in mechanical, linear, and binary ways and an obsession with empirical ways of knowing how life works while sacrificing the arts, plurality, diversity, perception, and the metaphysical world. Hegemonic modern discourses create neat and homogeneous identities and a separation of groups that differ from them. How do more fixed notions of identity affect people situated on the fringe of society when they do not fit into the dominant in-group or a neat and simple definition as defined by the norm? Postcolonial author Homi Bhabha states that the construction of identities of difference often takes place through binaries of black and white and self and other (Bhabha, 1994: 3). That means that discourses, in this case in Germany, while politicizing and idealizing certain identities (German = white), they automatically exclude others (non-white or foreign). This is a naturalization of the hegemony of a collective that creates minorities, which do not fit the norm and thereby are excluded of belonging culturally and intelligibly with society. The connection between racism and nationalism is based in this naturalization. The denial of diversity and plurality as is often the case in more rigid ways of thinking carries with it an unbalanced power structure and can lead to inequality. The nation-state is a particularly complex case that relies heavily on nationalism as a unified ideology and reinforces the national identity. This coupled with modernity's project of neo-liberal Capitalism has successfully increased the gap between the rich and poor thereby escalating immigration and conflicts between nations. Next, I shortly introduce how conflict is related to identity as from the understanding in Peace and Conflict Studies.

1.1.1 Identity Conflicts

Conflict is normal in human relationships, and conflict is a motor of change.

<div align="right">(Lederach, 2003: 4)</div>

Conflict arises when an individual or collective identity is excluded, denied, or threatened as in the case of societal and political pressures to conform. One example is the national policy to forfeit one´s original citizenship.

Within the field of Peace and Conflict Studies, conflict is seen as a natural part of life and a motor for change. The inherent character of conflicts to human nature can be seen in a positive glance, although not ignoring the complex and clashing character (Paris Albert, 2013). Francisco Muñoz from the university of Granada coined the concept of imperfect peace with the understanding that conflict is everywhere, coexisting with peace as well as violence (Muñoz, 2001). Therefore, it is not positive or negative, rather an opportunity for transformation (Dietrich, 2013; Lederach, 2003; Martínez Guzmán, 2001).

According to Lederach, "social conflict emerges and develops on the basis of the meaning and interpretation people involved attach to action and events" (Lederach, 1995: 8). Conflict is a basic component of people´s relationships and therefore manifests through people´s actions, perceptions, opinions, and choices which lead them to be active participants in conflicts. Lederach furthermore perceives conflict as an opportunity for people to grow in one´s understanding of self, others, and the social structures people are in (Lederach, 2003: 18). Lederach presents seven basic assumptions of a so called constructionist view of conflict listed below:

1. I understand social conflict to be a natural, common experience present in all relationships and cultures

2. I understand conflict to be a socially constructed cultural event. Conflicts do not "just happen" to people, people are active participants in creating situations and interactions they experience as conflict. This is the essential dialectic experienced in the

construction of any social reality, as was well articulated by Schutz (1971) and Berger and Luckman (1967).

3. Conflict emerges through an interactive process based on the search for and creation of shared meaning.

4. The interactive process is accomplished through and rooted in people's perceptions, interpretations, expressions, and intentions, each of which grows from and cycles back to their common sense knowledge.

5. Meaning occurs as people locate themselves and social "things" such as situations, events, and actions in their accumulated knowledge. Meaning emerges by connecting one thing to another, by an act of comparison (Schutz 1971). Thus an important working assumption from this perspective is the idea that a person's common sense and accumulated experience and knowledge are the primary basis of how they create, understand, and respond to conflict.

6. I understand culture to be rooted in the shared knowledge and schemes created and used by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to social realities around them.

7. I therefore assume that understanding the connection of social conflict and culture is not merely a question of sensitivity or of awareness, but a far more profound adventure of discovering and digging in the archeology of accumulated shared knowledge common to a set of people.

(Lederach, 1995: 9-10)

Lederach´s encouragement to recognize conflict as a positive gift in life and helping tool, is summarized in the following claim:

Conflict also creates life: through conflict we respond, innovate, and change. Conflict can be understood as the motor of change, that which keeps relationships and social structures honest, alive, and dynamically responsive to human needs, aspirations, and growth (Lederach, 2003: 18).

In light of the current refugee crisis Germany´s national identity as well as the individual citizens are constantly negotiated as people interact with each other. Germany estimates one million refugees will have entered the country by the end of 2015. This opens the door for billions of human interactions to exist and the inevitable conflicts to arise. These interactions

also have the potential to change values, beliefs, and identities as I will explore more in Chapter Three.

All relationships and interactions, as well as conflicts, are further accompanied by power dynamics, which simultaneously are related to identity formation and negotiation.

1.2 Power dynamics and Identities

Both personal and community or national identities are formed and transformed in a constant process of different types of relations. These relations are influenced by knowledge and power. French philosopher, Michel Foucault, describes the concept of power as strategic, abstract, relational, dynamic, and productive rather than owned, held, a repressive action, or fixed state (Foucault and Gordon, 1980). This understanding can be linked to a structural form of violence, which can also be described as a relational process that can be reproduced. Power is not only carried out by the State and government, but also through the social body, operating more at the micro levels of society "on a much more minute and everyday level" (Foucault and Gordon, 1980: 60). Due to its strategic and intelligible character Foucault refers to power as a model of "war and battle" (Foucault and Gordon, 1980: 114). Power reproduces itself in different locations, through different ways and strategies, which regularly leave room for resistance. In Foucault´s understanding, there are margins, gaps, and locations to find agency (Foucault and Gordon, 1980). One example of how agency works, as a form of power, is in the relationship between colonizers and colonized. The dominant colonizers are constantly striving to maintain their presence and dominating position, which creates resistance through various forms from implicit to explicit.

Peruvian Decolonial Studies author Anibal Quijano draws a connection between a new modern and Eurocentric model of power and the social classification of the world population according to the constructed idea of race. He thereby situates his reflections in the colonial

dominations, in Quijano's case the Latin American experience, and claims this social classification as the leading factor for colonialism and for Eurocentrism (Quijano, 2000). An important detail of this relation is the duration of the colonial impact, or as Quijano refers to it, colonial roots and character, which consequently established a hegemonic model of power.

1.2.1 Power and Knowledge

The imaginaries and representations of identities and belonging stand in close relationship with knowledge, which concomitantly is connected to operations of power. This relationship refers to the way in which knowledge is produced and reproduced, in this case knowledge about the Other and their places in the non-Western world. This knowledge has been produced through discourse and in various disciplines, including history, philosophy, anthropology, literature, and cultural studies (Loomba, 1998). Knowledge includes language, and language reproduces knowledge in a cyclical fashion. The colonizers continued to establish their dominance through the implementation of their language on the colonies. The process of cultural genocide continues today as knowledge, meaning, and other aspects related to their cultural practices were forgotten or cleansed with each new generation. Language is the means in which knowledge and history are passed on from generation to generation. Through language in literature knowledge was produced and reproduced often in academic circles, which excluded many indigenous epistemologies. This knowledge-power relationship still continues to have an effect, not only through existing literature, but also through the constructed human knowledge about race formed within the colonial projects. For example, in cases where colonial observers, such as anthropologists or journalists, recorded their subjective observations of colonized people it was often taken as an artifact of knowledge. I further explain Germany's colonial project in Chapter Two. The process of Othering did not only exist with race in terms of black Africans and white Europeans, but also indigenous people in the Americas and Muslims, among others. These groups of Others were also constructed

through colonial knowledge and even go back to the twelfth- and thirteenth- century as part of imaginaries that still have an impact today (Loomba, 1998).

In his important work *Orientalism*, the postcolonial author Edward Said who is highly influenced by Foucault´s arguments on power-knowledge, analyzes the dominant discourse of the colonizers. "Said´s project is to show how ´knowledge` about non-Europeans was part of the process of maintaining power over them" (Loomba, 1998: 44-45). Said´s work is especially important to understand the functioning of colonialist discourse and the construction of the Other after independence. This analysis is helpful and crucial to explore the process of Othering in the German context. It is likewise important to deconstruct identity norms and German identity, because just as our individual identities are formed through the relation to others and through difference, "Western-ness" or more specifically European identity is formed through the "binary opposition between the familiar (Europe, the West, `us´) and the strange (the Orient, the East, `them´)" (Loomba, 1998: 47).

In the introduction to *Orientalism*, Said accurately defines the relation between the Orient and Europe (the West):

> The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe´s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other (Said, 1979: 1).

One of the main focuses in Said's work is the internal ideas of the Orient and the consistency of these. In other words, the created and reproduced knowledge through the power relation between the West and the Orient, which Said refers to as "Orientalized" (Said, 1979: 5). Said defines Orientalism as

> […] above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do) (Said, 1979: 12).

This "Orientalization" is closely linked to the Eurocentrism Quijano puts into focus. It is the Eurocentric power that creates knowledge (coloniality of knowledge), which likewise reproduces the unequal power dynamics in the relationship. Modernity plays an important role in this Eurocentrism. Modernity in wide terms is considered a European phenomenon placing Europe in the center of both, world history and world present. This view is closely linked to the process of Othering of people and cultures because the positioning of Europe as center excludes and negates fringe epistemologies, cultures, and identities. Again I want to situate my personal position in modernity, myself being a representation of modernity within my German/European context. I acknowledge my background and how it plays an influence on my thinking by shining critical light on this concept in order to deconstruct its impact on identity.

The colonial and capitalistic project as perceived by the West as a civilizing project brought the thinking of being the "*modernos de la humanidad y de su historia*" (Quijano, 2000: 13). [2] The manufactured idea that the colonized people were *unmodern* and *inferior races* and thereby fit into a category characterized as being from the past, behind, and the Others in relation to the West. Meanwhile, the Europeans are the creators and protagonists of modernity. Modernity frames the concept of *development* and *underdevelopment* and the duty to develop and rescue (Westernize) the underdeveloped, and not suiting the concept of being modern. Modernity in this context primarily refers to an over emphasis on rational, scientific, innovation progress, in short, Capitalism, which is why it is perceived as to be only European or occidental, erasing thereby the experience of various high crops that can be understood as systems with "señales de esa modernidad" (Quijano, 2000: 13). [3] Quijano argues that the occidentals support their position of being the creator of modernity by referring to the cultural history of old Greek-Roman times and the Mediterranean world before other non-Western

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[2] My translation: "moderns of humanity and their history"
[3] My translation: "Signals of this modernity"

high crops. Also, many cultural and historic temples, palaces, and other monuments, as well as philosophies, fonts, and types of calendars are categorized as mythic mentality and opposite to scientific rational occidental modernity (Quijano, 2000).

1.2.2 National Identities and Nation-state

Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time

(Anderson, 1991: 3)

As I stated before, people´s national identities are often assumed and claimed as the part of our identity that dominates and informs other parts. One's nationality does not necessarily reflect or define ancestral or cultural roots since migration and intercultural bonding have existed since the beginning of humankind and constantly changes one's biological ethnicity; hence the notion of a pure ethnicity does not exist. In addition, borders and nationalities change through wars and natural disasters. People might keep their parents nationality, but still identify more with the nationality of the country they live in. This is why I see a danger in viewing nationality as a fixed part of people´s identities; it is a constructed part of identity, yet at the same time real and powerful. For example in the case of obtaining a work visa, health care benefits, social security, and scholarships for school. My personal case of being born and raised in Germany but holding the Austrian passport can serve as a counter-discourse here. Objectively I could be considered Austrian, however I identify as German.

In his book *Imagined Communities* Benedict Anderson proposes to define nation as "an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991:6). He argues that the communion of a nation's members is only a constructed image in peoples mind, because in reality they will never meet, talk, or know the other members. At the same time, this constructed communion of a nation´s members is real, as members of social communities develop and transform through the relation with others and

through the identity-formation processes as well as through the potential to access and be exposed to more similar influences. In this case the domestic policies, channels of communication, institutions, and benefits. Shared experiences and the collective memory of any particular group have the potential to reinforce a collective identity and influence how it is perceived by its members, for example in the case of Germany and people who were affected by the Nazi regime.

All nations are conceived as limited due to their boundaries that separate them from other nations, even if as history shows, these boundaries are alterable. Sovereignty as characteristic of nation-states refers to the nation´s desire for freedom and authority. The concept of the nation-state as community with profound fellowship is the characteristic or construction that enables the imagined nation-state as a collective society (Anderson, 1991). National identities are constructed around the production and institutionalization of a shared past and collective memory. The Us/Them binary and the related power dynamics are often inherent within nation-state discourses about citizenship and identity norms that tend to exclude all these peoples that do not hold the states nationality, share the dominant culture, or follow the nation´s identity norms. (El Tayeb, 2011).

According to Anderson, nationalism has its roots and origins in the unbalanced decline of the interconnected historical cultural conceptions religion, dynastic realms, and an understanding of temporality (Anderson, 1991).

> What, in a positive sense, made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (Capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity (Anderson, 1991:43).

This fatality of human linguistic diversity Anderson speaks of refers to the aspect of nationalist ideologies of associating specific languages with specific regional units. This comes back to the complex process of identity construction as associated to someone´s nationality.

Rajagopalan Radhakrishnan makes an interesting link between hybridity, postcoloniality and nationalism. He argues that

> […] heterogeneity or even hybridity is written into the postcolonial experience and that there is a relationship of historical experience and that there is a historical continuity, however problematic, between colonialism and nationalism and between nationalism and its significant Other, the diaspora (Radhakrishnan, 2003: 314 as quoted in Alcoff and Mendieta, 2003).

This argument is crucial for the question of the relation between Germany's history of colonialism and the National Socialist past versus present day identity norms. Ross Poole claims that our individual identity is framed within our national identity and being a member of a nation means to have certain responsibilities just as a member of a community or family. These responsibilities refer to a moral involvement in history, both past and future of the nation. In the case of Germany for example it is common to refer to the generations after World War II as not guilty for what happened, but responsible for what will be happening in the future, meaning a commemorative culture and at the same time a continuity in government commitment (Poole, 2003: 274). This is part of educational curriculums and taught to students in high school. Personally, I remember being told several times in class during High School as well as having read about it.

Following, I explore belonging in relation to identity. Belonging is personal as well as collective and political and need to be understood in relation to power dynamics since it is a relational aspect of identity. As stated earlier, power dynamics are relational and continuously present in people´s interactions, thereby affecting identity and belonging.

1.2.3 Belonging

It is not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counter stance locks one into a duel of oppressor and oppressed; locked in mortal combat, like the cop and the criminal, both are reduced to a common denominator of violence. The counterstance refutes the dominant culture´s views and beliefs, and, for this, it is proudly defiant…But it is not a way of life. At some point on our way to a new consciousness, we will have to leave the opposite bank, the split between the two mortal combatants somehow healed so that we are on both shores at once and, at once, see through serpent and eagle eyes…The possibilities are numerous once we decide to act and not react

(Anzaldúa, 2012: 100-101)

It is important to explore the concept of belonging from various perspectives, since literate translations may vary from one understanding to another. According to the Oxford English Dictionary the definition of the verb 'belong to' is to "be the property or rightful possession of" (Brown, 1973: 211). This ascribed passive position of the "property" indicates that there is a power dynamic of one that is owned and dominated by the other party or character involved. Another meaning defines to belong to as to "be a member or part of (a particular group, organization, or class)" (Brown, 1973: 211). According to the German *Duden*, the definition of the term belonging and the verb belong to are similar to English. *Zugehörigkeit* (belonging) also refers to a membership with a certain group, party, or family. Another association in German is a relatedness and connectivity to someone, which indicates more a feeling than a bound through a membership (Duden, 2015).

Within the word belonging there remain two words with interesting meanings and interpretations for the understanding of the concept. Belonging is compound by the verb to be and the verb to long (for). To be is closely related to identity and the question people ask related to identity: who am I? To long for something means to desire, in this sense, a certain stage of being, so to speak, a need for affiliation, if people compound to be and to long again.

It is easy to fall into the idea of a passive and power dominated belonging to something, which indicates something one-sided. This is why I use the expression of belonging that

means a mutual feeling of belonging with each other rather than the dominant group deciding to include or not include the other.

A critical analysis in regards to the term belonging is not complete without exploring how power works. Belonging is a form of validation. Who can permit an outsider to enter the in-group? This validation or acceptance of the Other comes with an unequal power relation built into it. Furthermore, does the Outsider even want to belong? Maybe it is just a case of survival as in refugees fleeing their home-land without a choice while leaving behind their home. If the roles were reversed, would the *Germans* ask the Outsider for belonging? This demonstrates the uneven balance of power. In addition, I am coming from a certain position of power myself as I am *German*. This tension and often contradictory place carries with it a biased weight how I view the case. Belonging can easily resemble the Modernist dichotomy or "duel of oppressor and oppressed" perpetuating the same power relations as a "cop and the criminal" as an analogy of German and un-German (Anzaldúa, 2012: 100-101). As I write this thesis I also contemplate my intent and desire to facilitate a more just world based on equality and solidarity, but as hooks and Lorde bring up the "charity" gaze I am cautious not to reproduce other forms of violence even within my good intentions (hooks, 2001; Lorde, 1993). In this light belonging might be better understood as solidarity among people regardless of nation-state, race, religion, or other defining factor.

After all, to get back to the question of 'who we are' and in order to forming our identity (process), this stage of belonging with someone (and to a place) is fundamental. In fact, it is rather reciprocity than a condition- result, because if the identity process is disturbed due to other causes, it might be hard to develop a sense of belonging with someone. In this case, the belonging with one self needs to be rebuilt or rebalanced, since in a holistic understanding, all the different parts and relations are interconnected and their balance dependent on each other.

To summarize, an essential condition of a feeling of belonging is the mutuality of the related sides in order to move away from the power dynamic I mentioned before. Bell hooks

brings up the dominant gaze that divides *Us* and *Them*, the phallocentric gaze, white gaze, and the gaze of power and oppression. The gaze is political, too, like the body, a space to battle, to negotiate these complex power dynamics. The "oppositional black gaze" takes therefore part in this battle, as response to the dominant gaze, a confrontational and challenging gaze (hooks, 2001). As Anzaldúa says we have to leave the "the opposite river bank" in order to "decide to act and not react" in order to find that new consciousness and break from Modernistic binaries like oppressor and oppressed (Anzaldúa, 2012: 100-101).

1.2.4 Status

Status is another element that is based on relations, which means that one person´s status stands in a hierarchical relation to someone else´s status. There are different cultural norms and perceptions of status giving it an abstract understanding of how it functions. Status is not fixed, much like power, though they are not the same. However, much like Foucault's definition of power, status is also dynamic and relational. Part of identity is also comprised by one's social status, yet still understood as flexible and in constant transformation depending on the relationships with others. The answer to the question `Who am I´ is always in relation to how I relate to others, and how the others relate to oneself since all relationships between people are based on different status (Johnstone, 1989).

There is a difference between social status and a played status, being flexible depending on the situation and the relationship involved. It is important to understand status not only as fixed and dependent on our social position, but rather as something one does (Johnstone, 1989). With that said, the flexible performance of status allows people to play high status, even if they are low in social status, and vice versa. In relation to peace studies, this is an important aspect since it is a helpful characteristic for conflict mediators to react and perform a flexible position in a conflict dependent on the involved parts. Keith Johnstone gives an accurate example of flexible status in the context of teacher-student relationships. Teachers with

flexible status skills are more likely to cope with conflictive situations by changing the status. Johnstone refers to this status skill as "see-saw principle" (Johnstone, 1989: 38).

The concept of status is closely related to stereotypes, since the imagined status of People of Color and immigrants is mainly perceived as low. At the same time the white counterpart understands himself with a high status in relation to the Othered person. This brings up the related power dynamics as both social and played status are tied to power.

Since status is perceived in a subjective way by the receiver, awareness does not transform the power dynamics of the relationship. Yet, being aware of the environment and the involved characters is crucial to deal with these power dynamics. In the in-group/out-group scenario, the in-group is often perceived to have a higher social status and potentially a more easily able to play high status in social interaction. This exploration does not account for all relationships, but is explained to more easily understand the social context when a refugee crisis and high immigration takes place.

In the next part, I explore several identity categories that are part of people´s identities, including cultural identities, gender, and race identities. They are constructed and real at the same time and define people´s position in the world.

1.3 Identity Categories

Based on a constructionist view of identity, different aspects or components of people´s identities are classified into several categorizations, thereby simplifying and determining its meaning or characteristic. This contains a potential for a result in layers of oppression, while affecting someone´s identity formation.

1.3.1 Cultural Identities

One of the multiple fragments that comprise the formation of one's identity is culture. Culture like identity is constructed, yet at the same time a real part of everyone´s identity and the space people reside in. There are various understandings and definitions of culture. Many social constructionists and sociologists view culture as a repetition of behavioral patterns in any given network of people. In addition, one's culture also holds values, signs, language, products, relationships, and common knowledge. All these elements and more are reproduced and are constantly changing like a meme and so contribute to the abstract concept known as culture.

The etymologic definition of the term culture originates from the Latin word colere which means cultivate. In this sense, culture is the way people cultivate multiple forms of relations, relations with each other, with nature, with oneself (Martínez Guzmán, 2001: 256). I will readopt this idea of planting or cultivating relations in my contribution to the co-creation of the other.

The simple etymological definition of the concept of culture does not suffice to situate an approachable understanding for this research. Again, culture is a multiple and flexible concept, meaning that there is no single definition to capture it or a single correct answer when questioning its meaning (Omar, 2006: 245). In this light another way to understand the concept could be by not focusing on the question of its theoretical and academic significance, but rather in its use and its implication. Martínez Guzmán in his considerations about culture states that it depends on human beings what to do with culture, it is our responsibility to behave, act and relate to it (Martínez Guzmán, 2001: 256).

The implication of culture consists of a dichotomy regarding natural and artificial orders. Human cultural praxis transforms natural chaos into structure by patterns of behavior and routine. From this understanding, chaos is the natural state of a society and cultural praxis eventually turns this state into a structural system (Bauman, 1999: 96). My understanding of

the way human beings relate to each other is closely linked to this system, which bares another dichotomy. Human relations are natural and they are imposed by nature. It is also natural for certain states of chaos to be transformed into structural states. At the same time it is important to analyze power dynamics that guide and construct certain structures and social systems, thereby causing uneven structures for society. This argument destroys the naturalness of social systems. Every society has cultural norms, social systems, ideals, and spirits that represent the cultural identity of a nation or community. The operative point is the question whether they are natural or constructed formations. Human relations and human alliances are natural and indispensable phenomena. Yet, as I stated earlier, nation-states which are tied to culture, are constructed in various regards according to political, social and economic interests.

Another important component of cultural praxis is the way it is performed and acted. The norms and ideals are not only theoretical constructs, but also being performed by the nation-states marionettes. I use this cynical and maybe exaggerated expression to underline the power dynamics within cultural systems. It refers to a system where human beings reconstruct and perpetuate social constructions. Though, I dislike this passive perception that does not leave space for agency.

Culture is widely defined and considered as fixed localized to a closed space, a nation, though in my understanding they should rather be considered as hybrid cultures that are permanently developing and transforming, because there are several problems of an assumed equalization of culture with place and space. The nation-state is constructed politically, geographically, culturally, socially, militarily and judicially. Following the laws and structures of many nation-states inhabitants of borderland countries such as migrant workers, nomads, members of transnational business as well as permanent border crossers like immigrants and refugees are located on the fringe, though still make choices as to how they relate to the nations norms. Even if immigrants often do not have the same legal rights as granted by the state

they are still performing acts and living in communities that contribute to the nation´s culture. The interaction of all people in a system is co-constructing new cultures comprised of their previous history and the culture of the new host country. This is a simplified example however, and does not grasp the complexities or whole picture of how culture is constructed. There are too many variables to list them all, but for extent of this exploration my aim is to point out the constant production and reproduction of culture, as is the case with identity and vice versa. This happens constantly in complex, multiple, and overlapping networks of people creating difference as well as similarity. Hence, the uniqueness of an individual taking into account one's lived experiences, knowledge, behaviors, beliefs, and values among other variables are recognized when viewed from an intersectional lens. There are many cultural differences within a locality and the different forms of subcultures bring up the question of how to approach cultural difference and the idea of localized culture (Ferguson and Gupta, 1992: 7).

Identities become more and more differently territorialized, the world of diaspora and mass movements of populations influence the transnational culture flow. And this relation to place does not only change for the displaced people, but for everybody residing in that place (Ferguson and Gupta, 1992: 8) Concerning people and places, according to Ferguson and Gupta, there are two naturalisms. First, the ethnological habit of naturalizing culturally unitary groups and their territory and second the national habit of naturalizing citizens of states and their territories. Exemplary, that means a natural association of a culture (German culture), a people (Germans), and a place (Germany), and all this as firm and agreed upon (Ferguson and Gupta, 1992: 11). Germany is a good example of complicated state constructions in regards to its national territory through displacement of the territorial division and reformation of Germany after World War II. There were no claims to a home territory and culturally delineated nation and the identity construction was difficult because of forged national identities estranged from territory and culture (Ferguson & Gupta, 1992: 12). This also brings up the

question of how (post)coloniality, which is often ignored in the German context, fits into the picture.

Ferguson and Gupta further problematize terms of opposition like here and there, Us and Them, our own and other societies, which brings up the question of identity when the pronoun Us is used. Who is meant by the first person plural pronoun Us? Who is included and who is excluded? An alternative way of thinking about cultural difference would be problematizing the union of the Us and the Other and questioning the separation, exploring how the difference is produced in a context of cultural, social, and economical interconnectedness and interdependent spaces (Ferguson & Gupta, 1992: 14).

It is an essentialist position to oversimplify or reduce one´s cultural identity as merely an ethnic, racial, or national understanding. A simplified view such as this is often reflected in the nation's political programs of identity and linked to location. But, the concept of identity understood in this thesis is not an essentialist one, but rather a positional and never completed one, constructive through relationships (Hall and Du Gay, 1996).

Identity stands in a close relation to globalization and modernity, since identity formation is consistently in a process of change and transformation, fragmented and multiple constructed through intersecting discourses and positions. Power relations and discourse play an important role in the understanding and course of identity construction. Through these power processes, identity is the product of characterizing of difference and segregation. According to Hall, discursive practices construct our subject positions and determine a temporary attachment of identity to those positions. That means a representation of a constructed position and identification and causes automatically a division from the other (Hall & Gay, 1996: 4-6).

Stuart Hall refers to cultural identity with an understanding of two different forms. The first understanding refers to cultural identity as the culture a certain collective shares. It means an oneness of a group that shares stable cultural codes and historical experiences excluding and hiding other individual and personal identities and selves (Hall, 1990: 223). The stableness that is linked to this understanding is what calls my critical attention, because just as history changes and transforms, cultural codes and experiences transform as well. This transformation also opens the door for a more positive, empathic, and inclusive culture based on respect for humankind while celebrating difference. The other understanding of cultural identity introduces the recognition of difference. The recognition of interruptions and changes in a cultural experience and identity represents the understanding of identity construction as a way of becoming rather than being. Therefore, the past of cultural identities is just as influential as the present and the future, because they go through continuous transformation and are disposed to an act of history and power. This understanding of cultural identity makes it easier to comprehend the impact colonialism plays because, "identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (Hall, 1990: 225). Colonized peoples were and still are constructed as the Other by the colonizers. People who experienced a form of colonization were co-constructed by experiencing themselves as the Other and thereby excluded by the dominant cultural identity as understood in the first concept of cultural identity. Only by recognizing the difference of identities it is possible to grasp this traumatic nature of colonialism (Hall, 1990: 225). The mentally classification of a group as Other, different to the norm and even to subject this group to that position and knowledge is a step further and indicative for colonialism. This awareness and reasoning is supportive to explore the relation between identity norms in Germany and the nation´s past. Colonialism, National Socialism and the history and regulations of immigration are important to further analyze the process of Othering and discrimination in an intersectional reality.

Reflecting on these understandings of cultural identity, it is crucial to realize that it is not a fixed characteristic and neither origin nor final or absolute. Cultural identities are made within politics and discourses on identity, history, and culture and the response of identification and positioning towards them (Hall, 1990: 226).

Previously stated, communities are imagined and constructed belonging to modern nation-states. At the same time they are real and have real consequences on people´s lives, as they agree to terms as a collective society. In this sense, it is very real that a German citizen has several rights, for example to social security and other benefits while a person without citizenship does not. The constructed character of nation-states and their communities at the same time affects these communities in a very real way. Belonging being an important object of interest in this research, the question of bonding people according to their race, heritage, and language is crucial. Just as this bonding can be significant to create nationalism and thereby exclusion, some relational bondings are important for a feeling of belonging. As Mike Featherstone proposes, "Communities are to be distinguished not by their false-ness/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Featherstone, 1995: 108). It is the recognition of the imagination that matters, in order to deconstruct the falseness or problematic bonding of ideologies and stereotypes that create exclusive identities affective as the norm.

Furthermore, the concept of identity is often perceived in binary terms, people can be either this or the other. People born of a father and a mother from two different countries or having more than one cultural background are usually pressured to identify themselves as half and half or more one than the other part of identity. Maalouf claimed, "Identity can't be compartmentalized. You can't divide it up into halves or thirds or any other separate segments" (Maalouf, 2003: 2). Aspects of a person's identity can be more or less salient depending on the relationships and the context at any given time.

I focus on the negation of aspects or parts of people´s identity further on in this thesis and look at the effects. Following, I introduce the concept of cultural violence.

1.3.1.1 Cultural Violence

Cultural violence is closely linked to the construction of nationalism and the exclusion of groups that make feelings of belonging difficult for people who are positioned on the fringe. In this case a national identity.

The concept of cultural violence goes back to Norwegian sociologist and founding father of peace studies, Johan Galtung. Galtung founded the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo in 1959, which was the first academic research center that focuses on peace studies (Galtung and Fischer, 2013). The concept of cultural violence can be easier understood as part of Galtung's Triangle and in context to the other two classifications of violence; direct and structural violence.

Galtung defined violence towards human beings as a harmful avoidable insult to the interconnected parts of body, mind, and spirit. These acts of violence can be in the form of direct physical violence (though with effects and wounds also for mind and spirit), structural violence in the form of depriving humans of basic needs, or cultural violence, which means the legitimation of both, direct and structural violence. Structural and cultural violence are forms of indirect violence (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 35).

To situate the concept of cultural violence in this research, according to Galtung, identity is one of four classes of basic needs that can be affected by direct or structural violence. If identities are negated it can cause alienation, desocialization, and the creation of a 2nd class citizenship. Prejudice is an act of cultural violence that is rooted in colonialism where light skin is viewed as superior and dark skin as inferior. This assigned-value leads to direct and structural violence (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 36-47).

Another widely spread example of cultural violence, which is applicable and relevant to the case of Germany, is the occidental belief and custom of dualism and Manicheanism creating dichotomies. These dichotomies in a general religious understanding refer to good and evil (God and Satan) both choosing their groups for heaven or hell and thereby create separations of classes (e.g. Human species vs. Nature, Men vs. Women, Whites vs. Non-white). The dominant distinction between the self and other (as Chosen and Unchosen), in ideological terms, allow a paradigm of nationalism to form. In Nazi Germany, the cultural violence escalated into structural violence and lead to dehumanizing and killing of Jewish people and minorities. This is referred to as direct violence (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 51).

As mentioned before, cultural violence is also related to stereotypes and prejudices as they are part of people´s beliefs and values and can also be an essential part of a nation´s culture.

1.3.1.2 Stereotypes/Prejudices

The Othering of people is constructed through various stereotypes and prejudices that go back to colonial structures and practices, racialization, and classification. Stereotypes, the process of Othering, discrimination, and exclusion are perpetuated and conveyed through discourses, media, knowledge, and practices. The power of stereotyping means reducing ideas and images to a really elementary form or watered down truth. Loomba says stereotyping, "is a method of processing information" (Loomba 1998: 60). Stereotypes aim at an artificial maintenance of difference amongst the self and other. Often stereotypes and prejudices are unconscious. Research in cognitive psychology estimates that 98 percent of human thought takes place in the cognitive unconscious (Lakoff, 2009). This means beliefs held about other races and identity categories most likely hold biased thinking people are not always aware of. As people are a product of the environment they are in and influenced by the people and their ideologies they interact with, the "brain makes decisions for you that you are not consciously aware of" (Lakoff, 2009: 9).

But racial stereotyping is not only the result of colonialism; it goes back to earlier times of the Greek and Roman era. At that time the dominating imaginaries of Others such as the barbarians when viewed from the dominate Greeks and Romans were later reproduced in modern Christian Europe. In fact, these earlier stereotypes about color and nakedness of Africans for example helped to justify certain submissions and exploitations in the colonial project including the civilizing initiatives. Not only racial, but also religious prejudices against Islam arose. According to Loomba, both were understood as a creation of the devil, which is why their connection intensified, even though being Muslim does not necessarily mean to have dark skin (Loomba, 1998). In the German context, Islamophobia is a widespread prejudice and one of the most dominant forms of Othering towards a big group that does not fulfil the German identity norms. Islamophobia has exacerbated since the attack on the World Trade Towers on September 11, 2001. Difference was dichotomized, generalized, and intensified in mainstream ideology.

Often it is simply ignorance and not knowing that creates prejudices and splits groups of people (Anzaldúa, 2012). In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon, a Martinique philosopher, revolutionist, and writer frames his notions and experiences as "the fact of blackness" in a range of color prejudices providing the base for rejection (Fanon, 2008). These prejudices and stereotypes are inherent with all the different constructed identity categories of race, gender, sexuality, class, among others and reflect the power dynamic of the superior white Western male and the inferior People of Color from the non-West.

Stereotypes are imagined just as communities are imagined. In addition there often exist stereotypes linked to certain nations and cultures, such as Germans being structured and serious. Stereotypes reproduce themselves through the construction itself and through social and political relations. The need to deconstruct and decolonize those constructed prejudices is crucial to follow the goal of a transformative process aiming at embracing diversity without foregoing prejudices and stereotypes.

Even though I have been mentioning the concept of race and racialization through and by colonialism, in the following section I deepen race as an ascribed part of identity formation, its relation to class, and capitalistic structures.

1.3.2 Racial Identities

Race is the modality in which class is lived. It is also the medium in which relations are experienced.

(Loomba 1998: 131)

In general perceptions of racial identities, color is adopted as a primary signifier, followed by ethnic, religious, national, linguistic, and class differences. Race also plays into knowledge and identity construction, ascribing People of Color the role of the colonized, inferior, irrational, and uncivilized among other stereotypes associated with idea of colonial superiority.

The significance of what it means to be white and the privileges realized is again dependent on this relation and plays into identity norms in Germany that are closely linked to racialization and the concept of whiteness. Critical Whiteness Studies play an important role for approaching race and identity. Critical Whiteness Studies seeks to problematize whiteness as a social norm and thereby introduce the necessity to talk about race and racial identities not only by referring to blackness and racism, but also by naming the rather unnamed. The process of problematizing whiteness brings critical issues into awareness for dialogue to ensue and hopefully leading toward positive social change. Because whiteness is dominant it is less frequently mentioned. "*Whiteness ist normal, durchschnittlich, alltäglich und- zumindest diskursiv- unsichtbar*" (Wollrad, 2005: 31). [4] The analysis and focus on whiteness instead of blackness does not mean that it leaves behind the relationship; rather it is exactly the relationship that defines and established this science, because the roots of Critical Whiteness Studies

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[4] My translation: "Whiteness is normal, ordinary, trivial and- at least discourse wise- invisible".

are based on lived experiences of People of Color, originally in the US context. The experiences refer to the relationship with the construction of whiteness and race from the perspective of People of Color. In general, and highly important for this research, the main focus of Critical Whiteness Studies, often in relation to feminist studies, lies on the critical exposure of one´s own whiteness in an intersectional relation with sexism, racism, and other variables. It is the awareness and the appeal to approach the construction and reproduction of race, racism, and ethnicity from a perspective of intertwining and dynamic categories, blackness and whiteness, that Critical Whiteness Studies puts into focus.

Constructed racial identities, over decades have fueled the suppression of others and developed into real relations of inequality within colonialism, racist regimes, and other ideologies, which divide societies. This is why not only the real colonial practices of racialization and discrimination need to be analyzed, but also the root of construction that lies behind the concept.

Racialization and racial superiority are constructed by power dynamics, like the categorization of class, and in the case of colonialism "the means through which Capitalism achieved its global expansion" (Loomba 1998: 124). Racism was one of the facilitating means for this process and the justification and medium for labor appropriation to ensue. In this sense, People of Color in the various colonies were determined and racially identified as slaves and the "natural working class" (Loomba 1998: 126). This constructed image serves as a bridge to the analysis of Capitalism, economic structures, and racial hierarchies. Capitalism in this context is defined by an unfettered neoliberal form of Capitalism, which is characterized by greed, deregulation, and putting profit over the lives of the people. Capitalism is also one of the projects of modernity. Because these race differences continue to have an effect long after colonialist practices ended, for example in form of stereotypes and hindered opportunities for migrants from previously colonized states. Quijano ascribes all the different forms

of new structures in order to control labor, labor exploitation, production, and privatization of product to the roots of racial identities in the colonial projects, which thereby established the system of Capitalism on the historic experience (Quijano, 2000).

The link running through racial hierarchies reinforces the capitalist model and the Western *development* project. The connection between inequality and race as connected to Colonialism supports the argument that the structures of the colonial past still have their effects in the present-day Western world. This is not only in the global sense of unequal *development* and dependency, but also within the Western nation-states, where racial difference determines class and labor difference. Loomba claims that this is why "it is in the interest of Capitalism that certain older social structures *not* be totally transformed, and certain older forms of exploitation based on racial and ethnic hierarchies continue to make available cheap labour" (Loomba, 1998: 131). This is the crucial bridge to the context of present-day Germany and the question of immigration, *German* identity, and belonging with other identities and cultural diversity. The specific case of labor and the workforce in a historic investigation, and the relation to constructed social classification of superior and inferior within the capitalistic system is to be deconstructed and put into a (post)colonial context.

1.3.3 Gender Identities

Woman is the stranger, the other.

(Anzaldúa, 2012: 17)

Patriarchal structures are violent components of culture and part of the mentioned dichotomies that classify (white) men and women in superior and inferior. US Feminist, bell hooks claims "[i]n white supremacist capitalist patriarchal Western culture neocolonial thinking sets the tone for many cultural practices" (hooks, 2000: 27).

Berkley University Professor and Feminist Philosopher Judith Butler questions the descriptive aspect of our experiences as identity and contrasts it with the rather normative and ideal character of identity (Butler, 1999: 23). I understand gender identity to be co-constructed within society and reproduced.

Within the category of gender identity the subtopics of biological sex, sexual orientation, and gender roles are often maintained in relation to the norm through history. The co-creation of these subcategories is supported by discourses and cultural practices as is true with the fringe as well as any system of influence. Cultural practices are different world over which is why gender roles and identity profiles may vary from one context to the next. For example, the *third sex* is common in Thailand. Butler introduces the understanding of intelligible genders that follow the gender norms according to "coherence" and "continuity" (Butler, 1999: 23). In other words, these intelligible genders sustain certain connections of coherence and continuity and do not allow any disruption or break with the gender norms, laws, and regulatory practices. Following this line, it is a similar process of Othering to discriminate, exclude and marginalize those who do not follow these gender norms and do not correspond to the notion of persons with cultural intelligibility.

Butler argues that identity is not vital until discourse plays its part because identities are classifications constructed through discourse. She furthermore understands these categories as a performance through discourse (Butler, 1999). Both Butler and Foucault understand the body as something political, a political arena for the performance of constructed identities. Foucault calls the body a "political reality", it is the place where power is in action (Foucault and Gordon, 1980: 55). Butler as well makes the connection between power and political agency, arguing that power is a condition for our performativity and a possibility for agency (Butler, 1999).

The colonial project ascribed a specific role to women and their bodies, varying in regards to certain colonial contexts. The female body as "conquered land" is one main symbol of the colonial era which brought its impact beyond this period (Loomba 1998: 152). Conquered also refers in times to the liberation of the black slave by the white European male. Foucault understands a certain position of power towards sex and sexuality, setting laws, norms, and prohibitions in order to restrict pleasure as the nature of sex, which goes back to moral positions (Foucault and Gordon, 1980).

In general, sexual relations with non-Western women of color meant and means something exotic, new, and often less repressive than in the Christian European context. Though, at the same time, sexual relations with other *races* meant a danger for *racial* stability, because the sexuality of women (and men) of color was seen as overall deviant. Black women are ascribed characteristics and qualities like prostitutes and lesbians, and in general equated with primitive, promiscuous, and wild, while tempting white men. Furthermore, an analogy between gender and race was created; "racial as well as sexual ´others`'" are based on an equivalent organization (Loomba 1998: 162). I do not go into depth on the topic of the body and sexuality; however, I recognize the close link between the political body, identity formation, and power dynamics. Among the many different categories to describe aspects of identity the uniqueness of an individual in terms of their lived experience in the world is the combination of each category. Where each variable intersects is a unique position in which a person sees the world and experiences it.

It is meaningful, that despite these ascriptions over history an analogy of oppression of women and black men refers to white women and not only excludes women of color, but rather discharge the reality that women of color suffer gender and racial suppression.

1.3.4 Connecting identity categories through Intersectionality

In the Western Eurocentric context, feminist literature usually ignored to recognize the different way gender affects Women of Color compared to white women or women not of color and thereby making women of color invisible within feminism. The discourse within Western feminist studies changed the prevailing idea of the ´white male heterosexual˙ to ´white female heterosexual˙ (Kilomba, 2010). In addition, in discourses and discussions on racism with a black male subject, on gender, with a white female subject, and on class where People of Color are not included at all, women of color are misrepresented generally. Intersectionality takes into account any combination of identity categories such as race, age, class, religion, sexual orientation, and ability among others. The cross roads where any of these meet carry with it a unique identity and lived experience. Portuguese postcolonial and decolonial writer Grada Kilomba speaks of "gendered racism" in order to catch the intertwining categories that affect women of color (Kilomba 2010: 57). Class and homophobia could then be added to the categories of race and gender providing more layers of experienced discrimination, yet refer more to cumulative than intersecting forms of oppression.

Intersectionality reacts to some narratives and tendencies that try to equalize and make analogies with the discrimination of white women and Women of Color, forgetting thereby that white women have white privileges and that Women of Color are female and experience racism. The equalization is based on the idea of women´s sisterhood, which among Western feminists tries to universalize the shared experience of discrimination against women, longing for a female link of all women within a patriarchal world. There lay several inconsistencies and problems with a non-intersectional model. First, because it ignores colonialism and racism and thereby the discrimination suffered by Women of Color. Second, because black men do not profit from a male dominated world (or white patriarchy). Third, because Women of Color experience gender constructions in a different way than white women and the implication of universalism of sisterhood makes racism and thereby Women of Color invisible

(Kilomba, 2010). Women of Color should not have to choose between solidarity with white women about gender and solidarity with black men about race. In addition, the separate consideration of race and gender is another way of relegating identities, because they both are identity "categories", constructed and located to certain spaces and places (Crenshaw, 1991).

This is why the interconnection of gendering and racialization, as approached by the concept and study of intersectionality is so important, because it shows what and who has been leaving out when race and gender are problematized separately. Intersectionality looks at the accumulative whole rather than only the individual parts. Argentinian feminist philosopher Maria Lugones understands the importance of using an intersectional lens when she says, "[i]t is only when we perceive gender and race as intermeshed or fused that we actually see women of color" (Lugones, 2008: 4). Lugones makes an adequate connection between two frameworks of analysis to better understand the problematic point of interest/concern in my research. She places together Women of Color feminism, incorporating critical race theory, and the concept of the coloniality of power by Anibal Quijano. This combined approach is what she calls "the modern/colonial gender system" (Lugones, 2008: 1). The connection is adequate, because according to Quijano, the disputes over authority of gender are structures around the centers of coloniality and modernity, which Lugones aims to expand by going beyond his way of accepting the hegemonic meaning of gender.

The intersectional view of belonging of women of color in Germany on the one hand and critical race analysis and the questioning of German identity on the other is placed well in this proposed framework.

Exclusion and marginalization as forms of negating selected identities while trying to ascribe to them the national and ethnic identification, can turn out in different forms of transformative resistance; for example Comen of Color feminism (El Tayeb, 2011). Bell hooks, in *The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators*, brings up the oppositional gaze as a way of

resistance and agency against white supremacy. She claims that under certain power structures, there is some room and spaces for agency for People of Color, that is questioning the others gaze or returning it and asserting what they see (hooks, 2001). Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci provides insight as to the dynamics of power in relation to hegemonic norms. Gramsci refers to the hegemonic block as the majority or masses that form the established norm. The hegemonic block always creates resistance and various forms of opposition known as the fringe (Gramsci, 1992).

1.4 Otherness; Diversity; Difference

The distinction among the terms diversity, difference, and Otherness is crucial and inalienable for analyzing identity construction. All three terms reside within a space of interpretation, yet are captured inside the mentioned power dynamics that construct and dominate both their theoretical meaning and implemented reality.

The first problem with the word cultural diversity is that the diversity of identities, cultures, and belief systems are supposed to be or are assumed to be equal and interact in an equal way. However, in reality the host culture of a nation is the established norm to be followed and thereby dominates the location of other cultures within the norm´s grid. The terms of adjustment between the host culture and the minority culture are negotiated among people during interaction. It should be pointed out that I used the term host culture while understanding that one homogeneous culture does not exist; rather it is made up of complex and dynamic characteristics that are always changing. The theoretical norm however is what I refer to. Another problem is multiple forms of racism that exist regardless of the encouraged interculturalism in the dominant society. Because universalism conceals ethnocentric values and norms while pretending to allow diversity (Bhabha, 1990: 208) That means that "hegemonic power universalizes and *contains* difference in real and imagined spaces and places" (Soja, 1996:

87). This is because power, knowledge, and space are linked to each other and cultural politics have the power to "produce and reproduce" difference and either oppress or enable spaces of change (Soja, 1996: 87). This is why Bhabha proposes to use the term cultural difference instead of cultural diversity in order to recognize the limits of the West´s relativism and liberalism and the constructed cultural judgments. The term cultural difference better represents the existence of alterity and Otherness. Another argument Bhabha uses to support his position is his approach towards the dangerous and limiting acceptance that the various forms of cultural diversity underlie a universal concept despite the very different ways of social organization and cultural practices (Bhabha, 1990: 209).

This idea of difference comes back to identity construction in relation to what it is not and can be referred to as negative identity (Berman, 2010) For example, in the patriarchal view a woman is a non-man. Through the lack of something or the difference to another culture or identity, there is the possibility to articulate and live the unique cultural practices that are not commensurable with others. This is also where the problem of alterity and Otherness lies. Difference and alienation cause fear and rejection and often do not leave space for accepting the difference and the positive benefits. It is frequently harder to go against the grain than it is to conform. Rather alterity is used to create and perpetuate hierarchical separations and structures, because "[i]n the hierarchical language of the West, what is alien represents Otherness, the site of difference and the repository of our fears and anxieties" (Rutherford, 1990: 10).

Returning to the context of belonging in Germany and a constructed German identity, I focus on the processes of Othering within identity formation in the European context. The contradiction between this construction of national identities limited to an unmixed and pure population and the reality of ethnic and cultural multiplicity is a phenomenon that is indicative for Europe´s history (El Tayeb, 2011: 3). Immigrants, especially non-white non-European

immigrants, are largely perceived as the foreigners, strangers, recently arrived, and being only part of the present. But, "they live with the national past as much as the native population, while frequently simultaneously functioning as its Other" (El Tayeb, 2011: 4). Several key factors that influence the process of Othering in the German context including historical influences are the focus in Chapter 2.

1.5 Relational: Co-creation of the other

[...] fundamentalmente el sujeto no deja de ser una manifestación relacional, y es esta dimensión la que explica la idea de intersubjetividad según la que el sujeto se considera como producto de relaciones sociales y cuya identidad se va formando y transformando en diálogo con los otros y las otras. Lo que sigue de esto es la necesidad de que haya una relación de reconocimiento mutuo en la que el otro y la otra se hacen reconocer y se reconocen como constituyentes de nuestra identidad, llevando así a la validación mutua de las identidades. [5]

(Omar, 2006: 276)

Respekt überwindet Fremdheit, denn ein Ich wird man nicht allein. Ein Ich braucht ein Gegenüber, das antwortet. [6]

(Demirkan, 2011: 61)

Culture plays a crucial role in identity formation. The constant evolution of culture simultaneously transforms identities and vice versa and are nourished by relationships of interconnected individuals and groups. We learn with and from each other, about ourselves, about others, and about how to relate to each other. Through relating to others we learn about our own patterns, emotions, feelings, and how we situate ourselves in the world. This is also how power dynamics are negotiated. Belonging and identity are interdependent and the way we relate to each other can determine our feeling of belonging among people and the recognition one may have towards another.

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[5] My translation: "primarily the subject continues to be a relational expression and it is this dimension that explains the idea of intersubjectivity by which the subject is seen as a product of social relations and whose identity is formed and transformed into dialogue with others and other. What follows from this is the need for a relationship of mutual recognition in which both recognize each other as constituents of our identity thereby leading to mutual validation of our identities".

[6] My translation: "Respect overcomes alienation because nobody becomes a person alone. An I needs an opposite that answers".

In Lederach's works in peacebuilding, he states that "peace is the quality and nature of people´s relationships" (Lederach, 2005: 76). Lederach conceptualizes interdependent and social intersections by using the spider web as a metaphor, which he refers to as "the web of relationships" (Lederach, 2005: 78). Lederach ascribes "the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemies" to be an important part of the moral imagination (Lederach, 2005: 5). He points out that the moral imagination has as its two admissions to take responsibility and to acknowledge the relational mutuality. According to Lederach´s argumentation, peacebuilding is not possible without the recognition of mutual relationships and without situating oneself in the web of relationships, which includes also our enemy.

> The centrality of relationships provides the context and potential for breaking violence, for it brings people into the pregnant moments of the moral imagination: the space of recognition that ultimately the equality of our life is dependent on the quality of life of others (Lederach 2005: 6).

The understanding of the co-creation of the other as natural part of people´s identity formation and a way of relating is linked to the Nguni Bantu idea of *Ubuntu*. The philosophy of *Ubuntu* is defined as "a person is a person through other people" since one becomes who she is through others (Chibba, 2015).

Coming back to the etymological definition of the term culture, the cultivation of relationships with others, nature and the relationship to self, Martínez Guzmán relates this cultivation to human's responsibility about the way people cultivate these relationships (Martínez Guzmán, 2001). He describes the relationship between culture and responsibility, claiming that culture is the human cult of people´s relationships, with nature and with others, and the multiplicity of cultures is the plurality of conceptions of these relations.

This is the contradiction of relationships that can be messy and conflictive. Even if identity is based on relationships and the co-creation with others, one is still an individuals with own interest and objectives. The point being is that these relationships can be traumatic and painful and are often part of unequal systems and power dynamics.

Amilcar Cabral, a Guinea-Bissauan and Cape Verdean political theorist and significant actor in struggles against colonialism in Africa, also asserts that the meaning in relationships is important to one's identity (Cabral, 2003: 58). To continue the thoughts about identity formation through difference, he emphasizes the relation to different individuals or groups as only possible with the condition of a similarity to other groups. In my understanding, this argument would explain or even legitimize the Othering of people. In Chapter Two, I focus on characteristics of a homogeneous mainstream *German* identity in a sociohistorical context thereby also demonstrating a process of Othering. The condition of similarity is an important question when talking about homogeneity and what factors define homogeneity, especially in relation to the strange Other.

Conclusions

This Chapter set out to introduce different ways identity can be viewed. In contrast to an essentialist or modernist view, I take the view that identity is co-created, always evolving, and comprised of many different identities.

Identity is hard to define, contradictory, malleable, it can be hidden or salient depending on the situation, it is contradictory, and it can be rigid or flexible. It can be assigned or chosen. There are individual or collective identities. It is relational in the sense that it is constantly shaped through interactions with others, in this sense identity is a co-creation through relating to others. Maalouf says "[i]dentity isn´t given once and for all: it is built up and changes throughout a person`s lifetime" (Maalouf 2003: 23).

The modernist philosophy instead is characterized by an oversimplified view of life that functions mechanically and can always be understood, follows a linear progression, over emphasizes empiricism, and simplifies life in binary opposites. Furthermore, it encompasses the projects of capitalism, colonialism, and universalism among others. The danger of the mod-

ernist philosophy is it denies plurality, devalues the metaphysical, and does not leave space for difference or diversity. Of course, when discussing the modernist philosophy it is important to acknowledge it is a Western concept. This means Europe is positioned as the center thereby excluding many other views.

Another integral factor in identity formation is the role power dynamics play in the co-construction. I have drawn on the work of Foucault who views power as relational, dynamic, and productive. This force is always present and a key concern when discussing belonging and identity categories because it is relational. Belonging when viewed in terms of power dynamics positions the relationship in a one way track, whereby the more powerful in the relationship accepts or validates the Other into the in-group. In the case of Germany, the conversation often evolves around *Germans* accepting foreigners rather than foreigner accepting *Germans*. This small reversal in the relationship points out the imbalance of power and reinforces the in-group/out-group dichotomy instead of mutual belonging. This answers the question `How is belonging affected by power dynamics? This also paves the way for Chapter Three where I look at identity privileges and de-centering of what it means to be German. Furthermore, Foucault´s view of power has a direct relationship with knowledge and plays a major role in the colonial project. This is important to better understand how the *German* identity evolved from the colonial project onwards.

The modernist ideology and subsequent projects including colonialism positioned Europe and thereby Germany as the center and the different Others on the periphery. This categorized everything in relation to the European norm, which produced an Us-Them dichotomy; modern-unmodern, civilized-uncivilized, good-bad, black-white, in-group/out-group. This answers my first question `How does the rigid view of identity create in-group/out-group dichotomies? ´.

In Chapter Two, I explore the historical roots of *German* identity and my second question `How is the identity of the German in-group linked to the historical and political projects of colonialism, National Socialism, and the immigration policy after World War II?`

Chapter Two: Sociohistorical Influence on German Identity

Noch immer sind wir mit einer historischen Situation konfrontiert, die durch diskriminierende Praktiken und einer fehlenden Erfahrung der inneren Dekolonialisierung gekennzeichnet ist.[7]

(Nghi Ha, 2009: 107)

Introduction

Building off the theoretical framework of Chapter One, I now explore the creation of the German nation-state and *German* identity looking at the colonial project starting in 1884, the two World Wars including the rise of National Socialism, and the following guest worker program with subsequent immigration policy established post World War II. These major historical and political events were a part of the German nation building process and the desire for a homogenous national identity. As I explore the rise of an exclusive German-ness, I introduce notions of German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder.

I start by explaining Germany´s colonial project within the European context set in a modernist ideology as the general *Weltanschauung* (worldview). Germany´s colonial project was characterized by a civilizing mission of the *inferior* Other while *modernizing* the society. Next, I review the colonial ideology and policy of the time which included safe guards against intermarriage and mixing of races or "going native" in order to maintain a white homogenous German society. The implementation of the Blood Law approached identity in biological terms in order to ensure an exclusive ethnic community. This same thinking continued into what became known as the horrific Holocaust of World War II. I further analyze the connections between Germany´s colonial project and National Socialism including *race* as a hierarchical categorization.

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[7] My translation: "We still face a historical situation which is characterized by discriminatory practices and a lack of experience of internal decolonization".

Following World War II, I continue this investigation with the guest worker program and immigration policies demonstrating a similar continuity in the creation of the national identity. A clear separation of in-group and out-group was reflected in hostilities towards the foreign workers and the desire and policy for them to return to their home countries after the work contract was completed.

I turn to the case of Turkish guest workers in Germany as they represented the largest group of foreign labor. In addition, I highlight the connection to present day Islamophobia and prejudices towards Germans of Turkish descent living in Germany. Maalouf points out the danger of having to choose aspects of one´s identity, such as the case of renouncing citizenship from your home country rather than having the right to dual citizenship. This adds to the discussion of how the nation-state and nationalism shape a person´s identity, both politically and socially.

Finally, in order to look at a racialized *German* identity I turn to Critical Whiteness Studies to unveil whiteness. In this case German-ness equates to whiteness and non-white equates to foreigner. Within the hierarchical values of identity categories as viewed by white supremacists, whiteness is posited as superior.

In this Chapter, I address my second question ´How is the identity of the German in-group linked to the historical and political projects of colonialism, National Socialism, and the immigration policy after World War II?´.

2.1 Colonial Relationships: (Post)colonial Framework

The establishment of Germany as a nation-state with clearly defined borders paved the way for further dividing the abstract population living inside with those outside. The German case of colonialism is significant both in relation to other European colonial powers and particularly in relation to Germany´s nation-state building. This includes the rise of Germany's

National Socialism and the Holocaust. The legacy of the Holocaust which Germany has carried with it since 1945 takes a central role in the nation´s commemorative culture and thereby pushed colonialism in the background over time.

The historic developments in Germany cannot be analyzed in isolation from the general processes in Europe. Although Germany started its colonial projects quite late (in 1884) compared to other European countries it already had engaged in the slave trade in the middle of the 17th century. After the legitimation of European imperialism through the Catholic Church decreased with the end of feudalism, sciences such as biology and philosophy became significant to legitimize social inequality and domination. The scientific invention of uneven races was an overall European project in the 18th and 19th century (Walgenbach, 2009). As I explored in Chapter One in the context of racial identities, the scientific invention of race categories is the foundation for over decades of reproduced knowledge with uneven power dynamics. In addition, to the justification of suppression, racialization, and other related categorizations such as class.

In order to comprehend the evolution of the idea of a homogenous Germen-ness from the colonial context onwards it is important to look at the role German nation building plays. In contrast to nations like France and Great Britain, Germany was a fragmented imperium until far into the 19th century. Germany was lacking geographical borders and a political consolidation over centuries, and against later claims of homogeneity, refugees, migrants, and traders have been living among and with the German society as well as impacted the German nation building process for a long time (Kuhrten, 1995).

German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) was an influential figure in developing the idea of the *Volksgeist*. In the German language *Volk* means people and *Geist* means spirit, together the spirit of the people. In this context, people also represent a nation, more specifically the *Volk* is the nation (Hamilton, 2011). Following Herder´s ideology, he

believed each ethnicity should have its own political representation or nation. A journal article

in the North American New Right further explains Herder´s idea of *Volksgeist*.

> Every human group is, as an empirical matter, different from every other group,
> each nationality (or Volk) is characterized by its own unique spirit. Each people
> possesses its own cultural traits shaped by ancestral history and the experience of
> a particular physical environment, and mentally constructs its social life through
> language, literature, religion, the arts, customs, and folklore inherited from earlier
> generations. The Volk is the family writ large (Hamilton, 2011: 5).

Herder´s concept of the German nation further included a clear differentiation from the

philosophy of the French revolution as he rejected that

> […] man [sic] is everywhere the same, whether he [sic] lives in Africa or Eng-
> land, or that every nation is fundamentally identical with every other nation, and
> thereby should be made homogenous with them (Hamilton, 2011: 5).

The desire for a united nation against political terms created the vision of a constructed

unified *Volk* (people) focusing on a common language, cultural community, and the idea of a

shared blood line. Together this established a greater unity and a more homogeneous profile.

This idea was later labored through developments in the German citizenship rights based on

the Blood Law (1913) instead of the *ius soli* or territorial principle which already dominated

in many other European countries. Political theorist Hannah Arendt argues that the national

ideology was rooted in the political abashment, due to historical involvements and a lack of

clearly defined geographical borders. A biologically constituted origin was therefore supposed

to secure an internal cohesion and assert the nation against France (Arendt, 1973). The corner

stone for a racialized national identity was laid down. Once a national border is established

the country can define who is geographically located in the German nation-state. The future

identity of Germany is more easily molded into the in-group. This opens the door for the crea-

tion of a colonial project, which is based off of dominating an out-group.

2.1.1 Germany´s Colonial Project

Die Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus war mehr als nur die Geschichte der «Schutzge-biete». [8]

(Conrad, 2012: 16)

In order to grasp the effects of colonial relations, not only in the colonial territories, but also within Germany, it is important to look beyond a narrow understanding of colonial history. Through a wider approach I want to analyze how Germany´s colonialism also effected and transformed the nation´s society and a homogeneous *German* identity, and how colonial practices are linked to structures in present day Germany.

Germany had its main colonies in Africa, some smaller colonies in Northeastern China and a few locations in the Pacific Ocean. It acquired its colonies between 1884 and 1899 and became the fourth biggest colonial empire at that time; after Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Germany´s colonialism was part of a territorial rearrangement of the world since 1880. The context of this rearrangement and colonialism at that time included economical rivalry, competing political and economic groups, discussions on global integration of labor and merchandise markets, and conceptions on race (Conrad, 2012). Despite a lacking homogeneous position towards colonial politics in Germany there was a general acceptance and support of expansion in Germany´s population. Critics and opinions against Germany´s colonial activities were usually not against the project in general, but rather claimed alternative strategies, such as a stronger focus on cultural education. Parts of the Social Democrats perceived the establishment of colonies as necessary civilizing *"Kulturtat"* (cultural act) (Nghi Ha, 2009: 108) and besides a pleased self-image as *"Herrenmenschen"* (master race) (Nghi

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[8] My translation: "The history of German colonialism was more than only the history of the German protected areas".

Ha, 2009: 108) they presented themselves as *"Helfer in der Not"* [9] (Conrad, 2012: 28). These tendencies reflect a prevailing attitude of superior status and position towards the colonized.

Germany´s concept of colonialism accordingly focused on a *"Kulturmission"* (cultural mission) with a strong aim at civilizing, modernizing society, and improving personal living conditions (Conrad, 2012: 47; Nghi Ha, 2009). This intention was closely linked to a general *Weltanschauung* (worldview) that was formed in terms of development and progress. The main belief of this *Weltanschauung* was the superiority of Western civilization and the state of *underdevelopment* of African societies. As I claimed in Chapter one referring to Said and his understanding of Orientalism, the image of Western societies and the Western identity is formed through a binary opposition. The unfamiliar Other on the one hand includes the East comprised of the colonies and the West comprised of the familiar European norm. These are the roots of how knowledge was created and reproduced through unequal power relations between the West and the Orient, a coloniality of knowledge that determines the process of Othering. This philosophy is rooted in modernity where the *developed* nations of the West began a new project *developing* their *uncivilized* colonies.

In addition to this *Weltanschauung*, German colonizers were convinced and confident that their effort and accomplishments created willingness among the colonized to follow and collaborate. Contrary to this confidence and their expectations, there was a lot of resistance and movements against the colonial regime from parts of the colonized people. Hence, the colonial regime resorted to means of coercion and violence to maintain their rule. (Conrad, 2012). Furthermore, starting in the beginning of the late 1880s, the German colonial movement gathered in mass organizations such as the *"Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft"* (German colonial society) and the *"Alldeutschen Verband"* (Pan-German League) (Nghi Ha, 2009: 108). After extensive lobbying and propaganda programs these organizations intended to promote a Germanization of the colonies through settlement migration.

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[9] My translation: "Helpers in trouble".

2.1.2 Colonial Ideologies

A main component of colonial politics was the "*rassistisch-kulturmissionarische Diskurs*" on "*Erziehung zur Arbeit*" (Conrad, 2012: 58). [10] Within the German colonial project tensions between different forms of colonial politics and ideologies arose. In more concrete terms, there constantly existed a contradictory combination of difference and convergence regarding the differentiation of colonial rulers and colonized. This differentiation was expressed in terms of race and stood in tension to the "*kulturmissionarischen*" ideology of enhancement (Conrad, 2012: 62).

The policy of difference was ideologically supported by the racial discourse that classified the colonized as inferior and as objects subordinated to the colonizers. Accordingly, a separation of living environments reflected the policy. In urban areas the architecture mirrored the dichotomy of white colonizers and native People of Color. Using the example of *Tsingtau* in *Kiatutschou*, the aspired social organization and straightness was integrated into a model of segregation with constructed peripheries around the European core (Conrad, 2012: 66). Furthermore,

> [...] an increasingly essentialist understanding of identity developed, with concomitant effects in the political arena, such as arbitrary rule and the excessive use of force. Media and politicians essentialized race and culture in biological terms and consolidated exclusive, dual-structured views of whites and blacks, civilized and barbarians, modernity and despotism (Langbehn & Salama, 2011: 32).

A dual legal system was another characteristic of colonial regime that goes along with the policy of difference. All native populations were classified into one legal category; the colonizers however were treated by the legal regulations of the German empire. Within the dual legal system traditional law was a component integrated into civil law for the colonized, yet some practices and traditions caused debates and were seen as unsavory by the Germans, such as polygamy (Conrad, 2012). In opposition to a German view of an organized colonial society and system the native populations were very much heterogeneous and plural. They

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[10] My translation: "Racially-cultural missionary discourse" and "Education for labor".

were divided, on the basis of alterity, into ethnical groups and clans and were assigned certain entitlements according to their appointed traditions which sometimes were invented by the colonizers (Conrad, 2012: 68).

Coming back to the tension of segregation and the ideology of enhancement, the civilizing mission was the ideological core of the German colonial project. At the basis of this ideology laid the opinion to reside at the top of a universal movement of progress. The project contained two interlocking intentions: an extensive improvement in the sense of development, including technological progress, societal order, and emancipation, among others; and at the same time a rejection of native rooted traditions. These were meant to be replaced through Christianity and a secularized education. This civilizing mission was also aimed at peasant and urban lower classes within Germany itself (Ames et al., 2005). This continuously neutralizes diversity as society is constantly compared to the dominant block; in this case the white male colonizers.

The program of enhancement included several different interventions, such as alphabetization and procuration of German culture in new developed schools, the procuration of a western-medicine supply, the education for labor with its exploitative character, and the call for a numerous number of virtues such as honor, respect, efficiency, honesty and discipline. In the eyes of the colonial rulers these variables were all necessary in order to educate the "*faulen Eingeborenen*" into responsible individuals (Conrad, 2012: 71). [11]

In any society the question of integration or assimilation can be controversial. In the case of present day Germany and the immigration crisis conflicts such as language, education, and other means of conforming to the host country are important to explore. I focus more on integration and assimilation in 2.3.1.

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[11] My translation: "Lazy natives".

Within the colonial order and structure resided several fears and threats with a focus on key aspects in the context of the African colonies. One is the debate on interethnic sexuality and the so called *Mischehe* (intermarriage). This is why for example in German- Southwest Africa in 1905 the marriage between German men and native women was forbidden. This decision had legal consequences since it precluded both the women and the children conceived in the marriage to receive or keep the German nationality. In addition, the effected men lost their right to vote and other parts of their civil rights (Ames et al., 2005; Conrad, 2012).

As an answer to the fear of crossbreeds, the related worries of cultural defects, and aberration through sexual transmissions a program of prohibitive steps was created. German women were brought to the colonies in order to transmit values of *Deutschtum* (German-ness) and feminine domesticity. The aim was to keep the mainly masculine German colonial society from "going native" (Ames et al., 2005; Conrad, 2012). White women served as a guarantor of culture (Langbehn and Salama, 2011).

In the process of white identity formation, white German women took an important role. They were meant to reproduce the white collective biologically, socially, and culturally. Whiteness was not only a characteristic of skin color, but was also a product of identification and lifestyle. Colonizers who temporarily were close to a transformation to the colonized Others, for example through a *Mischehe*, were able to reintegrate into the white collective (Walgenbach, 2009). These colonial ideologies and practices indicate characteristics of a racialized identity formation in the German nation state. In the course of this Chapter, I want to specify these characteristics and identify other historic relations that supported and reproduced them. In the next step, I therefore focus on the colonial impact on the German nation state during and after colonialism.

2.1.3 Colonial Impact on the German Nation-State

[…] Germany´s colonial past should be viewed as an important historical presence in debates over German identity and history.

<div align="right">(Langbehn and Salama, 2011: xxiii)</div>

Besides devastating consequences for the people and societies in the colonies, Germany´s colonial project, which Nghi Ha called *Selbstkolonialisierung* (self-colonization), had profound cultural, political, ideological, and economical effects on German society (Nghi Ha, 2009: 107). This relationship and the effects in both places (the colonies and in Germany) are connected over time, in colonial times and in present day Germany. I focus on the developing impact it had on Germany´s political culture at the time to analyze the colonial traces in present day Germany´s culture and identity. The connection between Germany and it´s colonies was continuously coercive not only due to its economic trade and power interests, but also due to a cultural, social, and knowledge dependency.

It is important to underline the general use of Germany´s colonies which was designed to test, experiment, or prove which projects worked and could later be implemented as reforms in the German state. In some aspects, the colonies appeared as perfect places to realize social interventions that in Europe seemed to be impossible to implement, such as urban planning or gender hierarchies. Conrad calls these processes "colonial modernity" (Conrad, 2012: 90). Nghi Ha states, "[d]*ie Kolonien wurden nicht nur als Rohstofflieferanten, Siedlungsräume, Absatz- und Kapitalmärkte, sondern auch als «Laboratorien der Moderne» und «Schule der Nation» genutzt*" (Nghi Ha, 2009: 107). [12]

The civilizing mission is a good example of a coherence of the colonies and its repercussions to the motherland. Vagabonds and the unemployed were held at a similar status to that of the indigenous colonies. They were also called wild, treated with similar elocution, and

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[12] My translation: "The colonies were not only used as raw material suppliers, settlements, sales and capital markets, but also as "laboratories of modernity" and "School of the Nation ".

forced to participate in enhancement projects. This disregard for anyone that does not fit the ruling image is doomed to the fringe. The important connection with the emerging nationalism is partly rooted in these colonial experiences and the ethnic categorization (Conrad, 2012: 94). Another threat towards colonial order represented economically poor Europeans whose presence in the colonies endangered the hierarchy between European superiority and indigenous inferiority. These white sub alternatives included white unemployed, vagabonds, and beggars among others. Although the number of the impoverished and fringe whites was not big in number their presence marked a significant disturbing factor in the colonial policy of difference with clear classifications. White marginalized and economically poor people did not fit the image and picture of this system (Conrad, 2012).

The concept of a colonial self-conception through colonizing the imagination was naturalized, since the colonizers constructed a worldview impossible to elude from due to its hegemonic character. "In other words, colonialism found its way into the thoughts and experience of German society" (Langbehn and Salama, 2011: 31). The German image of the colonies, in terms of Edward Said, was very much orientalist and supported the construction and control of colonialism. It dominated the presentation of the colonial Other and normalized unequal power dynamics. This colonial Other was displayed in a big colonial exhibition in Berlin in 1896 which more than seven million people visited in order to see more than 100 African people from the German colonies. The whole exhibition was characterized by its stereotypical presentation of foreignness and exotic flair (Conrad, 2012: 88-89).

In opposition to the arising women´s movements in Germany, debates on education, and the right to vote for women, the German colonies aimed at maintaining patriarchal structures. Here the layers of oppression, within the white, patriarchal, heterosexual, economically privileged, and Western model illustrates what will be coined as intersectionality in the future as

feminism takes roots showing the contradiction between women´s rights versus the rights of Women of Color.

Given the situation that a numerous number of men emigrated and endangered traditional gender relations, women who were willing to immigrate to the German colonies were educated in colonial schools. They were taught values such as subordination, docility, and the restriction to the domestic areas. Women were supposed to care for housekeeping and shepherd the man when he came home from work (Conrad, 2012).

Within the patriarchal system, colonialism also created a "new [white] woman" characterized through two main aspects (Perraudin and Zimmerer, 2011: 140). They refer to their changing position as a constructed inferior gender within patriarchal Germany and their status and different power structures in the German colonies. A special new characteristic of traditional femininity was the categorized contact with black employees and their new superior position towards men and women. This new superior position referred to German women´s responsibility to supervise black people´s work, to educate them, and to maintain the power structure of racial identities and their unequal relationships. In the context of hierarchies and gender identities, this was a new position and status given to white women, who in Germany typically represented an inferior status to men. This does not mean that this status disappeared rather the roles were redefined in relation to the more salient racial command between the colonizers and colonized. The relative hierarchy repositioned white women above People of Color. This is a good example for intersectional discrimination of Women of Color and support the need for a transformation of feminist contexts.

The common opinion of racial based identities and the German white superiority was also found in German women´s attitude and identity (Perraudin & Zimmerer, 2011). This new identity was surely also represented in the German nation-state and caused discussions on emancipation, especially after Germany´s colonialization. An argument for the acceptance of a rising emancipation referred to the representation of colonial ideology. Hence, "[w]omen

who spoke the «language» of colonial revisionism and racism were allowed to continue their independent and emancipated activities throughout the 1930s" (Perraudin and Zimmerer, 2011: 155). The reason was mainly their "representation of a healthy, energetic German race" (Perraudin & Zimmerer, 2011: 155). In short, the women´s position in society was changing, such that she had a higher position above the colonized, yet remained below the dominant white male. The emancipation of white women was less a threat to the white patriarchal power dynamics than out-siders to the homogenous society.

Germany´s colonialism carried over into the German society. The living environments and institutions had to adapt to the modern requirements of a colonial state. With the new position as imperial power Germany had to develop a colonial apparatus. Berlin became the capital of the Reich of "Imperial Germany" and a new center of power emerged, with several governmental organs such as the Reichstag and the Imperial Colonial Office to rule over the colonies and their inhabitants (Nghi Ha, 2009: 108).

Colonial migration caused the fear of a settlement of black people whose acculturation seemed impossible in Germany´s eyes. Furthermore, also different material cultural and consumer products were brought to Germany as result of a new economic cycle. Hence, factories, trading houses, and other scenes of the colonial economy became visible and part of Germany´s urban spaces. Economic interests favored the development of a German colonial culture and colonial industry, characterized by an interest in exotic strangeness and racist stereotyping. Colonial fantasies were attended by travel reports, photographs, newspaper articles, and movies, advertisements, and *Völkerschauen* (exhibition of peoples) (Nghi Ha, 2009: 108-109).

This representation of others made the colonial encounter into a hierarchical production. This representation was determined by the white subject´s gaze and with still circulating images shaped the construction of whiteness and Otherness in German society. A direct contact was rarely possible due to racist processes of unequal power dynamics and colonial attribu-

tion, involving the formation of racist self- and external- perception. In addition, it created a rigid relation of belonging, foreignness, and superiority and inferiority, which continued after colonialism and throughout the 1900s (Nghi Ha, 2009).

2.2 Colonial Continuities after World War I

[…] Deutschland ist für immer gezeichnet. Weil es auf perverse Art rein bleiben wollte, rein arisch: In Gesinnung und Gestalt sollte es eine Insel der Gleichen werden, eine Anstalt von kontrollierten Systemkonformisten.[13]

(Demirkan, 2015: 106).

With colonial continuities I refer to the reproduction of racist ideologies, hierarchies, and related practices that have been continued after the ending of Germany´s colonial phase. Especially in matters of the racial perception of the Nazis, previous colonial thinking about race highly influenced and supported what will later be known as German purity law.

Before German colonialism and prior to the formation of the German nation-state, it was the *Kulturnation* (cultural nation) that cared for the nation´s cohesion. At this time, Germany consisted of small principalities and provinces, but already then arose the idea of an exclusive ethnic community, called *Volkstum* (folklore) [14], and characterized by a shared culture (Müller, 2011). It is significant in this analysis of contemporary *German* identity to explore the concept of *Volkstum*, which emphasizes the idea of German-ness and whiteness. Apart from cultural aspects like language, literature, and musical artistry, a political system was implemented to support the exclusive ethnic community. One of the main establishments was the *Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz ius sanguinis* (Blood Law) in 1913. Through this law, citizenship was organized based on descent, meaning that emigrants were included while immigrants were excluded, indicating the ethnicization of German citizenship (Müller,

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[13] My translation: "Germany is marked forever. Because it wanted to remain pure in a perverse way, pure Aryan: In disposition and shape it was meant to be an island of equals, an institution of controlled systemconformity".

[14] The literal translation of *Volkstum* (folklore) does not represent what it actually means. I therefore try to explain it in more analogous terms.

2011). According to § 1, *"Deutscher ist, wer die Staatsangehörigkeit in einem Bundesstaat (§ 3 bis 32) oder die unmittelbare Reichsangehörigkeit (§§ 3 bis 35) besitzt"*[15] (Reichs-Gesetzblatt, 1913) Alsace- Lorraine, for example, was a federal state and the protectorates counted as inland. Within the federal states, the nationality was gained through birth, legitimation, and marriage or for foreigners through naturalization (Reichs- Gesetzblatt, 1913: §3). These paragraphs and their prescriptions self-evidently had numerous conditions and stanzas controlling the ethnicization of German citizenship. More than 30 years after the commencement of the law, Article 16 was added in 1949 to offer the right to repatriate eligible Germans for citizenship within the German Empire. Also included were refugees and expellees of German ancestry, as well as their children. This article stressed the importance of blood (i.e., race) as a defining element in German citizenship construction (Müller, 2011: 622). Only in 2000, half a century later, the blood law was complemented through the new *Staatsbürger-schaftsrecht* (birthright) which amends the principle of descent with the birthright. I focus on this law later on in the context of more current immigration in Germany and discussions on Immigration Acts and citizenship.

Germany lost their colonies against their will with the ending of World War I. A peace treaty was signed in Versailles in 1919 that transferred the colonies to France and Great Briton. This formal treaty was meant to seal the colonial era in Germany. However, colonial policies were factual transferred to a new phase. Nghi Ha speaks of colonialism without colonies that characterized a space of virtual reality. The wish to reestablish colonial property and to regain the past power for the German state was widely spread and planned. This revisionist position was reflected in demonstrations and protests against the *"Raub der Kolonien"* (Nghi Ha, 2009: 110). [16]

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[15] My translation: "German is who holds the nationality in a German federal state (§§ 3 to 32) or the direct German Reich citizenship (§§ 3 to 35)".
[16] My translation: "Robbery of colonies".

In 1920, an association called «*Deutsche Notbund gegen die Schwarze Schmach*»[17] was founded in Munich, a smear campaign against the French occupation army and their afro- and Asian-German children who were positioned in Germany after World War I. They were portrayed as wild beasts who rape white women, thereby diffusing venereal diseases and leaving mixed-blood children. The main argument for the campaign was the associated threat for the German nation and the white race in general, "because «white blood» would be «polluted» by «black blood»" (Perraudin and Zimmerer, 2011: 175).

In the years to come, several measures were implemented in Germany to reduce the quality of life and the quantity of non-white people. In 1924, a Colonial Department in the Department for Foreign Affairs was established to account and register the non-white residents living in the country. Furthermore, people from the former colonies living in Germany were now only allowed to apply for a French or British passport or became stateless which worsen their labor chances (Sow, 2009: 93). Colonial racism in terms of movies, images, advertisements, and literature among others, was reinforced in pop culture (Langbehn & Salama, 2011). Later in this Chapter I focus on racism in Germany and how it is reproduced through language.

As Germany´s national identity continually becomes more defined, rigid, and exclusive, the risk for conflicts to arise increased due to the inflexible core. With each step of the way the country was headed towards the atrocities that took place during Germany´s National Socialist era.

2.2.1 Colonialist and National Socialist Relations

The short time laps between Germany's colonial era and the rise of National Socialism had a great influence on the ideological and political profile of the country. Franz Fanon attempted to understand fascism as an introverted European Imperialism (Conrad, 2012: 100).

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[17] My translation: "Emergency League against the Black Shame".

Eugen Fischer was an influential anthropologist and ethnogency representative for Adolf Hitler´s concepts on race. In Fischer's inaugural speech as rector of the University of Berlin he claimed the accession to power of the Nazis as "*biologisch notwendige Erb- und Rassenpflege*" of the German people (Sow, 2009: 90). [18] During Germany´s National Socialism era, to belong to a certain race determined one's societal position and more importantly could determine life or death. The differentiation of Arians and Semites became the primary differentiation of national socialist policies. The Nordic Race was glorified and established the criterions to classify people. The criterion looked at the skull shape, body height, and eye and hair color to determine a person´s classification and position. This criterion was reinforced and supported by the regimes attempt to produce the results they wanted based on scientific racism. This glorification and racialized categorization represents a connection to a central position and status of whiteness. All those who represented the described characteristics were designated *reinrassig* (thoroughbred) and thereby part of the Nordic Race or the Arians (Walgenbach, 2009). Arians were meant to form the German people. All the Others who belonged to an *inferior race* as determined by the categories were sentenced to manual labor, killed, or both. This is known as the Holocaust. "*Die Konstruktion eines >deutschen Volkskörpers< implizierte dabei sowohl Ausgrenzungen und Vernichtung als auch pronatale Praktiken*" (Walgenbach, 2009: 384). [19]

Racial belonging was decided simply by decree just as it was done during colonialism. In "*Mein Kampf*" [20], Adolf Hitler puts the Jewish race explicitly in contrast to the white race. This was done in a similar fashion as it was done with the colonized peoples and with a clear intention to exterminate the Jewish peoples (Walgenbach, 2009: 384). With the aim of creating an exclusive white race, a general policy of extermination was implemented and also in-

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[18] My translation: "biologically necessary genetic and racial hygiene".
[19] My translation: "The construction of a "German body politic < implied thereby both exclusion and destruction as well as prenatal practices".
[20] Hitler´s *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) is an autobiographical manifest by Adolf Hitler outlining his ideology and political plans for Germany, first published in 1925.

volved a selection of Germans that were identified as white, but did not meet Hitler's ideals, including disabled people, alcoholics, and homosexuals, among others.

After the National Socialists came into power, naturalized African people from former colonies were denied their German nationality and received an alien´s passport. From 1937 onwards People of Color were secretly sterilized and deported to undergo forced labor in concentration camps, together with millions of Jewish people, Sinti, Roma, and other racial groups categorized as inferior (Sow, 2009: 93-94).

The Holocaust genocide and the Herero War in German South-West Africa, which took place between 1904 and 1907 shared many similarities and current views see the Herero War as also genocide. For a long time, the Herero War was merely considered a violent response to rebellions. There are some structural similarities, such as the implementation of concentration camps, mass executions, and a racial charge, among others. Also causal correlations indicate a relation, such as discursive coherency and colonial imaginaries as cultural reservoir (Ames et al., 2005; Conrad, 2012; Langbehn and Salama, 2011).

Famous colonial era leader, Carl Peters, later became an influential person during Third Reich. Peters pioneered many of the projects of this time and he became an important character in German literature and films. His name and portrait was used on stamps, in schools, and streets were named after him by National Socialists for propaganda. Hence, the continuation of certain ideologies through time contributes in some way to the formation of current day beliefs and identities.

Arendt was an author who made a connection between ideologies and practices of colonialism and the racist ideologies of the Nazis. She established a causal connection between imperialism and Third Reich racism.

> The full impact of the African experience was first realized by leaders of the mob, like Carl Peters, who decided that they too had to belong to a master race. African colonial possessions became the most fertile soil for the flowering of what later

was to become the Nazi elite. Here they had seen with their own eyes how peoples could be converted into races and how, simply by taking the initiative in this process, one might push one´s own people into the position of the master race (Arendt, 1973: 206).

Nonetheless, the correlation has also been criticized and questioned regarding ideology and the range and influence of colonial discourses, among others. The genocidal characteristics of the Herero War for example were not part of the colonial program in general, but rather go back to particular individuals. The population during the Herero War was not supposed to be exterminated, since they were held as a resource and used in the labor force. However, the intentions of the National Socialist policy were primarily designed to maintain the German nation of Arians and therefore the extermination of the Jewish people (Conrad, 2012). There are many more aspects to include in discussing the question of continuity adequately. I focus on the question of interrelation with present day German identity norms later on.

After the fall of Germany at the end of World War II, a domestic labor shortage prompted a guest worker program in the 1950s. This policy was designed to import foreign labor but without sacrificing Germany´s desired homogenous identity. In order to answer my questions about the link between Germany´s historical and political projects and identity formation of the nation-state, I now turn to the third project I discuss, which is immigration policy post World War II. At this time, a famous slogan known throughout the country was "*Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*" (*The Federal Republic of Germany is not a country of immigration).

2.3 "*Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*"[21]

A conscious attempt to push forward a homogenous German identity was contextualized in identity politics and reinforced in concrete regulations on immigration and citizenship

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[21] My translation: Germany is not a country of immigration

after the Second World War. A refusal to recognize Germany as a country of immigration was commonly supported in society and especially among politicians.

The mentioned Blood Law kept being the law that regulated citizenship for immigrants. In the years of Germany´s post World War II division, immigrants from German Diaspora in Eastern Europe who were able to escape the atrocities of the war fled to *Westdeutschland* (West Germany) where they successfully claimed citizenship thanks to the Blood Law. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, a big number of ethnic Germans followed suit, but because many did not speak the German language hostility and discontentment increased over time. This social unrest led to a re-evaluation of German-ness and a debate about Germany's widely held belief that immigrants were not wanted in the German State. The debate in particular goes back to the policy of *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) which in my eyes represents a significant characteristic in Germany´s identity politics and labor exploitation on the basis of uneven power dynamics, with the aim of maintaining a nation with ethnic pure Germans (Williams, 2014).

2.3.1 Guest Worker Others

In Chapter one, I draw on Quijano in the context of Eurocentric power and a coloniality of knowledge, which reproduces uneven power dynamics. This coloniality of knowledge is linked to forms of labor exploitation and a privatization of products while rooted in racial identity constructions of inequality. The colonial relationship was one factor that lead to the present day labor exploitation under the guise of capitalism. Regardless if it was mutual bene-ficial, my point is the underlying value assigned to the foreign workers coming to Germany.

After the Second World War, starting from the middle of the 1950s and during the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle), the German federal government established a guest worker program to cover the labor demand. The first recruitment agreement was negotiated with Italy in 1955, followed by Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963),

Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) (Keim, 2003). The intention was to recruit workers on a temporal base and to send them back to their countries after a few years. The foreign workers should fill the gap of the labor market and function as a buffer when the demand for labor was high. This intention precisely represents a clear and exclusive interest to benefit from other people´s labor until the need disappears. The guest worker migration is also called *Nachkriegsmigration* (postwar migration) and is marked through the temporal propinquity to the NS-state. The migrants arrived to an ethnically cleansed nation and met a reality of dehumanization through the reduction of their function as merely a flexible industrialized reserve army. Swiss novelist Max Frisch described the reality of the migrant workers dehumanized treatment as follows: *"Wir riefen Arbeitskräfte, es kamen Menschen"* (Nghi Ha, 2009: 20). [22]

The following presentation and analysis of Germany´s guest worker and immigration history unveils a clear example of categorization and treatment of people according to racialized identities and uneven power dynamics. I want to go back to one of my earlier questions, `how is belonging affected by uneven power dynamics?´ In this sense, unequal power dynamics through class, race, and nationality as well as the guest worker temporary status might inhibit a sense of belonging while working in the host country. This is not to say whether they want(ed) to belong or not.

During the recession in 1966/67 there was a recruitment stop and many migrant workers left, approximately 410.000. In the following years when the economic recovery started again, many more people came. Agreements with the previously mentioned countries were also implemented as foreign pressure from other countries towards Germany increased. Especially Southern European countries pressed West Germany to welcome their citizens as migrant workers. Despite the pressure, there was a need for a source of labor after the flood of refugees from East Germany stopped due to the building of the Berlin Wall (Nathan, 2004). As

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[22] My translation: "We called for a workforce, but we got humans".

mentioned, the common intention and hope was the returning of the guest workers after the need of labor resided. The argued advantage for the guest workers was the higher payment in Germany to make it possible to send money to their families in the home country. Some of the migrant worker's home countries became more prosperous in the 1960s and 1970s, which in some cases affirmed the expected (and hoped for) return of the workers after their temporary work contract expired. There were also countries that remained economically much poorer than Germany and the relation between the countries did not ensure the workers could return or would want to return. Turkey and Yugoslavia were most affected in this context (Nathan, 2004). The political and economic situation of the postwar period in the whole European context is significant, also for Germany´s contemporary position, yet makes a detailed analysis in this context impossible.

The policy on immigrants/foreigners was restricted to a labor market policy. An integration/assimilation of the foreign workers into the German society did not take place nor was it wanted by most Germans. Accordingly, no language classes or other integrative support was offered to guest workers. Since the guest workers also assumed not to stay in Germany for longer than it took to save up enough money to return to their families, they were willing to take all kinds of jobs, even dangerous and undignified jobs (Nathan, 2004).

The general idea of integration is a debatable theory. Renan Demirkan from her background of a daughter of Turkish guest worker immigrants, defines integration as *"sich unterordnen unter das Ganze bei Aufgabe des Eigenen"* [23] (Demirkan, 2015: 41). She furthermore ascribes the politics of immigration being the main instrument of authoritarian thinking. Giving up one's own cultural practices and traditions refers to all those who do not fit the profile of the whole, including economically poor people as well as foreigners. Consequently, from the powerful position of the norm, integration represents an inequality of the other. It is a

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[23] My translation: "subordination to the whole by abandonment of the self".

form of suppression that creates even more exclusion and retreat and splits society, depending on the context in economically rich and poor or in natives and foreigners (Demirkan, 2015: 41-44). Therefore, Demirkan refers to assimilation as a mean to achieve belonging with each other with the argument of assimilation being the opposite of integration. I believe this is closer to Anzaldúa´s view of moving away from the oppressed/oppressor relationship "on our way to a new consciousness" where "we are on both shores at once" (Anzaldúa, 2012: 100-101).

Assimilation originates from the Latin word *similis* which means similar (or become similar). It therefore means the step by step transformation of people´s experiences with the related result of learning or adopting strange habits. However, these learned habits do not re-place or eliminate old traditions and habits, but rather adds to them. This is the main differ-ence to integration, which necessarily means the disappearance of the old traditions. Bhabha captures a more postmodern view of culture when he talks about hybridity and breaks away from the one way track of assimilation:

> If […] the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me, the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace to original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is that ´third space` which enables other positions to emerge (Bhabha, 1990: 211).

I focus more on the concept of third space in Chapter Three when exploring a potential shift towards a more inclusive *German* identity.

Assimilation is a more voluntary process; integration is pressured and forced through decree. As a simple example, Demirkan mentions the adaption of cultural festivities such as Christmas or the coloring of Easter eggs, yet at the same time maintaining other traditions like fasting during the month of Ramadan (Demirkan, 2015: 42-43). I argue that even a process of assimilation requires a mutual process, since interactions between people affect and shape both sides. As I mentioned earlier, identity formation is a never ending process, including a

collective identity of a country. Therefore assimilation, or any other way to call a process like this, requires the negotiation of different identities. In fact, discussions on integration contain the same danger as belonging. The unequal power relations between in-group and out-group prevent more inclusive behaviors and policies as framed in the rather exclusive *German* identity. This was only a short excurse in order to situate thoughts on integration, assimilation, and integration policies as part of regulations regarding immigrants and identity politics.

The general situation of the guest workers in West Germany was dominated by a widely-spread attitude of distance, skepticism, and hostility towards foreign workers. The term immigrants was rejected since they were seen as transients and not as a permanent part of society (Michaels, 2010: 186-188). According to polls mentioned in the book, *The Politics of Citizenship in Germany*, "80 percent of West Germans [favoring] requiring foreign workers eventually to leave the country", reflects political discourses, general fear, and hostility from the main part of the population (Nathan, 2004: 244).

The treatment of guest workers was disgraceful, discriminating, and mistreating in many ways, from parts of the employers, the German government, and the German people. Günther Wallraff, a German writer and undercover journalist, for two years masqueraded successfully as a Turkish guest worker and documented his experiences in his book *Ganz unten* (Lowest of the Low) (Wallraff, 1985). The book gives a precise insight and understanding of the guest workers precarious situation and the need of having employment, even if it was an unworthy and even dangerous job. Most of the guest workers were employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in construction companies, the iron and metal industry, mining industry, chemical plants, Mc Donald´s stores, and other jobs that have the image of being low class jobs, but good enough for foreigners. The employment occurred mainly without proper registration or any form of security for the workers, so that there was no guarantee for them not getting laid off any moment. In the construction industry approximately 200.000 Turkish,

Yugoslavian, and Greek people were employed without the legal protection and official requirements. This also meant a loss of taxes and social security contribution of 10 billion of German Mark (Wallraff, 1985). The working conditions were not only unpleasant due to dirt and dust, but also unacceptable to the safety of one's physical health. Early signs of spine and joint wear were often the results, as well as bronchitis and other diseases due to hazardous environments.

Since the guest workers were doing jobs most Germans did not want to do, it allowed many Germans to move up to fill positions that demanded higher qualifications and were more enjoyable. At the same time, a sub-proletariat of the guest workers developed (Keim, 2003: 48- 57). Most of them lived in run-down and cheap accommodations, mainly worker residences and shared accommodations were provided. Due to their economically poor situation and the desire to send a portion of their earnings back to their home land, the guest workers lived in separate accommodations apart from the German population (Keim, 2003: 51-52). The guest workers were merely treated as "*reine Kosten-Nutzen-Faktoren einer Wirtschaftsbilanz*" (Demirkan, 2015: 103) [24] which is an incomprehensible phenomenon with regard to the nation´s cruel *Leitkultur* (mainstream culture). Yet, at the same time it supports my attempt to show a correlation between colonial Germany and its National Socialist practices which contribute to present-day colonial racism and Germany's identity norms.

With the recruitment stop in 1973 and new restrictions on work permits for family members arriving after 1977, the number of foreign employees decreased, while the number of foreign residents increased. Due to the risk of not being able to enter the country again after leaving once, many guest workers decided to stay and quickly brought their families with them. Thereby, the demographic composition changed from mainly men ages 20-40 years to also a big number of women, with up to 71% of the guest worker population in 1981 (Keim

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[24] My translation: "pure cost-benefit factors of an economic balance".

2003: 51). Many guest workers now moved with their families from the former shared accommodations to areas with inexpensive apartments with poor conditions. Many Germans living in these areas felt threatened and disturbed by the new foreign renters and moved away. This could be looked at as fear of the unknown Other which divides societies and cause ingroup/out-group relationships. Though the foreign families appreciated having neighbors of the same background and stores with familiar products imported from their home countries. As a result, ghettos of guest worker immigrants emerged, which in the eyes of many politicians and the general public was considered a concern and regarded as a problem due to the lack of *integration* into German society (Keim, 2003: 51-52).

The case of Turkish guest workers and their families is a special case. Turkey is not part of the European Union as of the writing of this thesis. There was an ongoing debate as to the cultural differences between the two countries being too big to create collaborations, especially within conservative parties and voices. Theodor Blank, the National minister of Labor and Social Affairs, refused the signing of the recruitment agreement with Turkey saying "[s]*ie passen nicht zu uns*" [25] (Demirkan, 2015: 15). The reason why the agreement was signed against this refusal was an economic interest of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) due to the strategic position of Turkey. They therefore put pressure on the foreign ministry in Germany to sign the agreement. Discourses on Turkey´s entry into the European Union have hardly changed over time. Still today politicians publicly claim their reluctance against the immigration of Muslim cultures (Demirkan, 2015:15-16).

This can be a strategic attempt to win votes but it can also be based on fears such as Islamophobia. Hungary´s Prime Minister Victor Orban in response to the flood of refugees entering the European Union from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria closed his borders and said:

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[25] My translation: "They do not fit with us".

> We don't want to, and I think we have a right to decide that we do not want a large number of Muslim people in our country," Orban said. "We do not like the consequences of having a large number of Muslim communities that we see in other countries, and I do not see any reason for anyone else to force us to create ways of living together in Hungary that we do not want to see. That is a historical experience for us (Aljazeera, 2015).

This example of Islamophobia is based on stereotypes and further divides societies.

Turkish guest workers (and guest workers in general) were exposed to many forms of offenses, especially by the employees and German colleagues who believed in and reproduced stigmas. Turkish workers were called "*Kümmeltürke*" [26] (Wallraff, 1985: 38), "*Stinktier*" (skunk) (Wallraff, 1985: 43), and "*Wir Deutschen sind klug. Ihr vermehrt euch doch wie Karnickel auf unsere Kosten*"[27] (Wallraff, 1985: 46). Hostile graffiti on factory walls read "*Türken raus. Deutschland bleibt Deutsch*" and "*Tod allen Türken*"[28] (Wallraff, 1985: 107). Furthermore, a common form of discrimination referred to the language. When Turkish people had conversations in Turkish, Germans claimed "[s]*precht gefälligst deutsch, wenn ihr was zu sagen habt. In Deutschland wird immer noch anständiges Deutsch gesprochen* […]"(Wallraff, 1985: 92). [29] This is a clear division of rigid laws or guidelines that must be followed within the in-group´s territory leaving little room for mutual cultural hybridity. The list of other examples that expressed hostility towards Turkish people as well as other guest workers and a strong sentiment for them all to return to their home country is long. Discrimination and altering were also reflected through institutional practices and strict regulations on citizenship and immigration that prevented people from the political right to belong in Germany.

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[26] An ethnic hate work referring to a person of Middle Eastern, especially Turkish, origin.
[27] My translation: "We Germans are clever. Yet you (the Turks) multiply like rabbits at our expense".
[28] My translation: "Turks out. Germany remains German, and: Death to all Turks".
[29] My translation: "Speak German, if you have something to say. In Germany decent German is still spoken".

2.3.2 Political Belonging

The intention to maintain a homogenous German society without immigrants was also enforced by strict regulations on citizenship and immigration

Overall, a difference in political regulations concerning guest workers can be identified with a change of government. After in 1982 the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) replaced the Social Democrats (SPD) and governed together with the Free Democratic Party (FDP), the effort to repatriate guest workers increased including financial incentives to return to their own countries. Helmut Kohl from the CDU, the new Chancellor since 1983, claimed that "the number of foreign fellow citizens must be reduced" (Nathan, 2004: 245). He was also the main representative of the phrase "*Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*" (The Federal Republic of Germany is not a country of immigration) what he openly declared to the German parliament in 1989 (Williams, 2014: 56). Other phrases like "Germany first", "Germany for the Germans, foreigners out", and "The boat is full" provided many parliamentary debates (Williams, 2014: 56). These phrases remind of current debates on refugees in Germany and hostilities from both, politicians and also German citizens. Due to the current refugee crisis in Germany a more positive acceptance of out-siders has opened new conversations. I talk more about present-day Germany and the refugee crisis in Chapter Three.

The restrictions and measures of the federal states to deny residence permissions to guest workers and other immigrants became more difficult in the 1980s, because domestic court decisions and European laws limited their power regarding the residence of foreigners (Nathan, 2004: 244-246). These regulations though did not hinder West Germany´s citizens to spread hostility toward strangers and "to pressure migrant workers and their families to leave Germany" (Nathan, 2004: 245). The push for a homogeneous society was still very much present and a part of German identity.

Naturalization requirements until the year 2000 were strict and reflect a form of racialized structural violence. The applicants must have lived in the country for at least ten years, "except if they were ethnic Germans, married to a German citizen, or if there was a «clear public interest» in a rapid naturalization" (Nathan, 2004: 246). Furthermore, any criminal record or regulatory offense, or the abuse of drugs and alcohol were ample reasons to deny applications. As to be expected, applicants from non-Western countries faced even stricter rules, including the abandonment of their previous citizenship. This could be considered a form of objective identity as the political decision to abandon citizenship from your homeland in order to be granted citizenship from a new country is a clear negation of hybrid identities. The consequences of losing access to the homeland, communities, and other connections that are a part of people has a real implication on identity and belonging. Maalouf´s diverse cultural and personal experiences allow him to treat the dedicate questions on identity and belonging. He writes:

> The status of migrant itself is the first victim of a "tribal" notion of identity. If only one affiliation matters, if a choice absolutely has to be made, a migrant finds himself [sic] split and torn, condemned to betray either his [sic] country of origin or his [sic] country of adoption, and whichever course he [sic] follows the consequent betrayal is bound to cause him [sic] lasting bitterness and anger (Maalouf, 2003: 38).

High fees were charged already for the application process, even if the application was denied, which inhibits many immigrants from even starting the application process. In addition, the application for citizenship was a risk, since it indicates a wish not to return to the home country, which could be a reason not to renew residence permits and deny applications (Nathan, 2004: 247-249). Within Peace Studies this matched the criterion for Galtung´s notion of structural violence.

Apart from the Blood Law, the *Ausländergesetz* (Aliens Act) from 1965 was the main Act for Foreigner´s legislations, newly adopted in 1990. New amendments supported the pos-

sibility of exclusion of new immigrants. The *Ausländergesetz* also restricted the asylum seek-er process and generally represented the wish for a homogeneous German nation. The reasons and justifications for the regulations of German citizenship also went in line with the racial-ized character of German identity, including a fear of conflict and a thread to social security inside German society. Interior Minister Wolfgang Schäuble (CDU) called for the need of "domestic peace" (Nathan, 2004: 253). His justification for restricting immigration was to focus on the integration of the ones already being part of society instead of accepting more, which could cause conflict. What is the difference if a conflict comes from an immigrant ver-sus a bloodline German citizen? Is this a cultural bias or a politically motivated fear?

Germany once promoted and desired the guest worker migration, in fact Chancellor Gerhard Schröder (SPD), acknowledged this when he said "we invited the people who came to us" (Nathan, 2004: 253). He also appealed to the democratic, social, and political rights of the permanent residents who therefore deserved citizenship and related rights.

Schröder (SPD) together with the Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Joschka Fisch-er (Green Party) ended the Blood Law and shifted the dominant discourses on Germany´s identity and recognizing the diversity of ethnicities within Germany´s borders, claiming that "Germany became a country of immigration long ago" (Williams, 2014: 59).

I often refer to the power block that desires a homogenous citizenry in Germany. How-ever, it should be clearly noted other voices and views existed throughout this discussion. The scope of this thesis does not permit the multitude of counter views that develop on the fringe but they exist and they also play a part on the formation of the German nation-state as well as the individuals within it. This is in line with Foucault and Gramsci when they talk about the flow of power.

The Nationality Act of January 1, 2000, expanded the requirements for naturalization from the Blood Law to also include birth right. From now on, children of immigrants with permanent settlement status were allowed to be born into German citizenship, and even hold

dual nationality in several reciprocity cases. Dual citizenship had been a debate for many years, since many of the guest workers who applied for citizenship did not want to give up their original nationality, a requirement demanded by the German state. The rejection of dual nationality arguing that people are only able to be loyal and to belong politically to one country reflects an essentialist and fixed notion of identity and belonging and returns to the question of Identity formation processes discussed in Chapter One. Immigrants in Germany over time faced and continue to face these essentialist identity norms as the presented regulations demonstrate. Demirkan claims that nobody is defined through the passport, but that the passport is a judicial expression of belonging. This sense of belonging is in the category of objective identity whereby a person belongs to a group based on holding a particular passport. I would argue that people´s passport does define people because it restricts them to specific geographical areas which also influences the cultures, economies, and environments they are potentially exposed to. The environments and relationships one is exposed to then play a role in the co-creation of people´s values, beliefs, and identity. I agree with Demirkan when a sense of belonging is negated it restricts democratic human rights, since dual citizenship respects and protects the complexity of people´s identity (Demirkan, 2015: 112-114).

Thanks to the European Union, citizens with a European passport since the realization of the Schengen Zone do not confront the same identity based restrictions. The passport within the Schengen Zone does not have the same significance since a German nationality is not needed in order to remain in Germany. This fact also reveals the racialized foundation of Germany´s immigration and citizenship regulations, whereby all those who do not comply with the European identity norms are treated through a process of Othering. With the implementation of the Schengen Zone, borders are more open and make travel within the member states easier. This also makes it easier for non-Germans to relocate and harder to maintain a homogenous in-group.

The guest workers and other immigrants were predominantly perceived as a burden, problem, and threat and rarely welcomed or treated equally as part of the German society. The widespread fear of Otherness caused a greater perception of foreignness. Furthermore, Other-ing was reinforced when guest workers were seen as recently arrived, temporarily residing in the present, and not being part of society.

The predominant attitude towards immigrants and asylum seekers can be demonstrated in a series of horrific and disconcerting examples of racist and xenophobic pogrom in Germa-ny that took place in the early 1990s. There were attacks against the homes of people seeking asylum. The most noted arson attacks took place in Rostock-Lichtenhagen, in Hoyerswerda, and in Mannheim. In Rostock-Lichtenhagen for several days the mainly Vietnamese residents of the attacked house were exposed to the racist mob of several thousand offenders who threw incendiary devices and entered the house with baseball bats. The state and it´s police turned a blind eye and left the asylum seekers alone, including the applauding observers who cheered the attackers on with chants like "*Wir kriegen Euch alle, jetzt werdet ihr* geröstet" (Zeit-online, 2012). [30] The confined people were able to leave the burning house through a roof hatch and later were brought to a different accommodation.

A later analysis of the attacks by journalist Jochen Schmidt, one of the people locked in the house in Rostock, resulted in speculations about the attack being a planned and controlled "*Eskalation des Volkszornes*" (ZEIT- online, 2012). [31] He noted that politicians could have initiated the escalation in order to change the SPDs mind on the asylum regulations. Taking into account the reactions of SPD and the changing foreign policy on top of the restrictions placed on asylum seekers, Schmidt's accusations are not unimaginable. In light of the attack the German constitution restricted asylum seekers entry into the country rather than tightening the penalties of those who participate in hate crimes. The argument was that too many refu-gees entering the country made it necessary to change current regulations. Politicians were

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[30] My translation: "We will get you all, now you will be roasted".
[31] My translation: "Escalation of the peoples anger".

mainly concerned about Germany´s prestige and violent internal conflicts, but not about the migrant´s and refugee´s wellbeing. Both, the practices and the following reactions reflect a racist and xenophobic tenor. The current situation of refugees in Germany and anti-immigration reactions to asylum seekers by physical violence in the case of the arson attacks bring back discussions I discuss in Chapter Three.

25 years after the German reunification, the chairmain of the left party parliamentary group, Gregor Gysi, notes that reunification is not the right term, since it was more an admission of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to West Germany. He states *"Natürlich wurde der Osten vereinnahmt, vor allem die Wirtschaft"* (dpa, 2015). [32] Instead of forming a new state through a referendum and a new constitution, the wish and demand that East Germany adapts to West Germany caused that West Germany set the rules. Gysi argues that chances were missed when no aspects of East Germany were integrated into the federal republic, for example the well-known and successful system of childcare. In addition, even after 25 years the reunification is not completed, since the East is economically way behind the West and the same salary is not provided for the same labor compared to West Germany (dpa, 2015). This unequal situation and the dominant position of the West contrary to the East reminds me of the relationships West/East in global terms and the relationship Us/Them, whereas the Others should become like the West. This also brings up the question of `how a national identity is possible if it was only 25 years ago that a country was divided and still faces the mentioned differences´.

The Berlin Wall further showed how, even within the national borders of Germany, a division can take place. A prime example of exclusion was East-West Germany and the construction of the physical Berlin Wall that was symbolic of the hegemonic Western block and prevailing aspects of Germany´s identity, which is linked to the capitalist project, globaliza-

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[32] My translation: "Of course, the East was engrossed, especially the economy".

tion, and colonialism. Whereas an in-group/out-group divide is a mental construct, the Berlin Wall was the physical realization of rigid and clearly defined exclusionary practices. The key point here is that dividing societies, rather than embracing and fostering, exacerbates in-group/out-group thinking.

2.3.3 "Deutschland Will Immer Noch kein Einwanderungsland mit Moslems Sein"[33]

(Demirkan, 2015: 53)

Turkish immigrants comprise the largest group of minorities in Germany. They also make up the biggest number of Muslims. According to statistics from 2007, about 2.5 million foreign Muslims out of 3.5 million Muslims live in Germany (Al-Hamarneh and Thielmann, 2008). Turkish people are seen as foreign and Others more particularly than other minorities in Germany. This is in part due to the mainstream image associated with Islam by many German's. A growing divide among perceived cultural differences continues to grow. In the years following the guest worker recruitments of the 1960s and 70s, Islam was seen as an *integration* barrier. As a result, Turkish immigrants faced social pressure to give up their religious orientations and practices. The ideology of creating a pure state also aimed at maintaining the German norm of Christianity as their dominant religion. This is analogous to the Blood Law as a tool to filter out anything that does not fit the hegemonic profile of German-ness. As I stated in the first Chapter, modernity is considered a European and Western phenomenon that positions Europe as center while excluding and negating fringe epistemologies, cultures, and identities. Islam as a non-European religion is in the first place perceived and treated as strange and Other. It is a common belief in Germany that Turkish people, equated as Muslims, and other Muslims, are disintegrative and anti-democratic and therefore represent a threat to German culture. Turkish or Germans of Turkish decent are stigmatized due to the

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[33] My translation: "Germany still does not want to be an immigration country with Muslims".

aforementioned reasons. Children of the second or third generation born in Germany and with German passports are still classified as *Ausländer*. Men are often classified as criminals or Islamic extremists while girls and women are classified as suppressed (Keim, 2003). The events of 9-11 and the related War on Terror have had a big impact on the prevailing negative image of Islam and Muslims. The image is often related to singular cases of Islam extremism practiced in fundamentalist forms thereby reinforcing the generalized image to all Muslims in addition to stereotyped characteristics which reproduce Islamophobia.

According to what Stuart Hall (1996) stated as the "internalist" narrative regarding European identity, a widespread image of a homogeneous unit has developed and is, according to my analysis so far, also accurate in the German context. Besides the racialized identity of German-ness, another aspect is Christianity as the dominant religion that determines identity norms. As El Tayeb states, this Christianity together with whiteness, "seems to be the smallest common denominator to which debates on European identity are reduced, and anyone not fitting this description remains an eternal newcomer not entitled to the rights of those who truly belong" (El Tayeb, 2011: xx).

2.4 Racialized German Identity

The analysis of present day German identity, the relation with Germany´s colonial and Social Nationalist past, and the generated construction of the foreign Other, requires a focus on the "inextricable link between race and nation" that constitutes the main notion of German-ness- the construction of whiteness (Müller, 2011: 621).

With the presented framework of Germany´s colonialism as part of a European context that laid the corner stone for the construction of racial hierarchies and white supremacy, a racial fanaticism developed and nourished the ground for future practices. This ideology con-

tinued and expanded during Germany's era of National Socialism and was carried through the postwar labor migration project (1950s onward). The conception of German-ness as white and Christian has been established and is acted out even to this day.

2.4.1 German Whiteness as Invisible Normalcy

Weißsein ist zu befreien aus seiner <unmarkierten Normalität>[34]

(Arndt, 2009a: 28)

With German whiteness I do not refer exclusively to only white skin color, but rather to an extensive concept of white supremacy. This category of *white* is a construction of racism that constituted a collective pattern of knowledges, perceptions, and behaviors. With that said, whiteness represents a historical, cultural, social, and symbolically shaped position which carries with it power dynamics and privileges (Arndt, 2009a). I want to clarify that although I refer to the Modernist dichotomy of skin colors falling into a rigid classification of white or black I acknowledge this is not the case in reality. Skin colors fall on an enormous continuum of different hues, although are often reduced to light or dark. I refer to these concepts at times as are used in general narratives.

The danger of a norm is that it can more easily go unnoticed compared to the fringe or an interruption of the norm, for example the idea of whiteness in Germany. The invisibility of whiteness has an impact on the construction of the racialized German identity and is crucial to understand in this analysis. Another critical analysis of interest is to look beneath the surface of the skin and explore the underlying power dynamics that often operate in the subconscious level. "*Das Potential der Critical Whiteness Studies liegt dabei in dem Perspektivenwechsel,*

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[34] My translation: "Whiteness needs to be freed of its unmarked normality".

der die Norm in das Zentrum der Analyse stellt" (Walgenbach, 2009: 377). [35] In this sense, the change of perspective in Critical Whiteness Studies moves whiteness to the center of analysis.

In Germany there is a main distinction of the German norm and the Other which is expressed through the terms *Inländer* (natives) and *Ausländer* (foreigners). These terms often produce and reproduce acts of racism and are present when acts of violence are carried out. Therefore, these terms are often related to *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* (xenophobia) or *Fremdenfeindlichkeit* (hostility towards strangers). People exposed to racist acts are typically not people that appear as white. According to its actual meaning the term *Ausländer* labels a person who does not hold the German passport. However, typically the term is used toward people who do not fit the perception of a white identity or the normative view of what it means to be *German* because one cannot know if a person does or does not actually have the physical German passport. In this case, the term is misused and aimed at targeting people who do not fit the German profile including a white skinned appearance (Walgenbach, 2009: 377-379). This indicates precisely that holding the German passport (like for example many *Turkish* citizens do) does not protect from racist discrimination based on ethnic differences. Perceptions of a person´s objective and subjective identity, as being from the out-group, influence how they are treated and hence their belonging in the general sense. This act of relating encompasses belonging with each other.

One of the most salient characteristics of the German identity is the norm of being white, which excludes those who are not white, placing them outside the theoretical nation. This norm reflects "the colonial fantasy that ´German` means white and Black means stranger (Fremd/er) or foreigner (Ausländer)" (Kilomba, 2010: 64). It constructs nationality as defined by race and within country borders through naturalization. A construction of German white identity was reinforced in the Blood Law that restricted the ability of foreigners to acquire

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[35] My translation: "The potential of critical whiteness studies lays in the change of perspective that shifts the norm in the center of analysis".

German citizenship until the year 2000. This new form of racism does not ostensibly refer to inferiority based on race alone, but rather makes reference to differences based on culture, religion, the irreconcilability with the dominant national culture, and other identity norms. Racism is thus linked to an explanation of territoriality in natural criteria.

Perceptions of identity and therefore perceived belonging within the nation´s borders can be seen in phrases like "Oh! No, no! But you cannot be German. You don´t look German" (Kilomba, 2010: 66). Even if it is only a fantasy of only whites being able to be Germans, it is "a fantasy that rules their [Germans] reality" (Kilomba, 2010: 67). Another typical response in situations where non-white German speakers are engaging in a conversation with native fluency is to ask, "Why do you speak German that well" or "Where do you come from?" The underlying question is based off a narrow view of the *German* identity and carries with it a sense of in-group out-group categorizing. Though this does not necessarily mean racism is present, the curiosity in itself is coming from a worldview of what is normal. The curiosity demonstrates some of the complexities involved in human cognition.

In *Plantation Memories*, Kilomba addresses knowledge, academics, and whiteness in the German context (Kilomba, 2010). She argues that the academic center is reserved for white scholars, rather than being a neutral space. Her personal background as a black scholar reflects this lack of representation. Often on her academic assignments she received feedback stating she was not being scientific enough. Kilomba brought into her work a personal, subjective, and emotional approach that takes into account her lived experience as a viable form of knowledge. She notes "they [the whites] have knowledge, we have experiences" (Kilomba, 2010: 28). Kilomba ascribes the constructed system of knowledge as controlled by white scholars being a result of unequal race and power relations that controls and decides which knowledge or academic work counts as valid and true. This epistemology indicates a neutral,

Universalist, objective, and rational approach for scholars, thereby controlling hierarchical power relations of white supremacy. Though Kilomba´s intention is not to deny a total agency to black writers and scholars, she points out that what is considered academic or not is restricted due to the validation of what is knowledge and does not recognize alternative epistemologies as scientific. This is the Modernist view that over emphasized science and empiricism over personal experience and other more qualitative forms of knowledge.

By stating various discriminating experiences within the academic sphere, Kilomba formulates the stigmatization of blackness in this context as incompetent, different, and immobilized and

> […] therefore call[s] for an epistemology that includes the personal and the subjective as part of academic discourse, for we all speak from a specific time and place, from a specific history and reality- there are no neutral discourses. When white scholars claim to have a neutral and objective discourse, they are not acknowledging the fact that they too write from a specific place, which, of course, is neither neutral nor objective or universal, but dominant. It is a place of power (Kilomba, 2010: 31).

This lacking acknowledgment of the predominant power dynamics is what causes a main problem in this context. It also represents a bridge to identity privileges as I explore in Chapter Three.

2.4.2 Racism

Racism is white supremacy.

(Kilomba, 2010: 42)

Tying up to the understandings of whiteness in the German context, based on a constructed norm-setting of the white self, the Other was invented. Susan Arndt formulates a comprehensive definition of racism:

> *Rassismus begreife ich als Komplex von Gefühlen, Vorurteilen, Vorstellungen, Ängsten, Phantasien und Handlungen, mit denen Weiße aus einer weißen hegemonialen Position heraus Schwarze und People of Color strukturell und diskursiv*

positionieren und einem breiten Spektrum ihrer Gewalt aussetzen (Arndt, 2009b: 341). [36]

Racism is a widespread phenomenon that is part of everyday life actions, vocabulary, images, and an institutionalized and structural phenomenon that goes beyond an ideological appearance. According to Kilomba, three concurrent characteristics constitute racism: the construction of difference; the link of these differences to a hierarchical appraisal, and power (Kilomba, 2010: 42). The white norm constructs everyone who is not white as different and as Other, it is a process that takes place through discrimination. The inextricable connection to hierarchy reflects a development of naturalization and produces attached values. The constructed difference thereby carries stigmas and is determined as inferior. The naturalization of hierarchy implicates stigmas such as "the problematic", "the difficult", or "the dangerous" and can be realized as a form of prejudice (Kilomba, 2010: 42). The last compound of racism is power in the form of social, political, economic, and historical power. Prejudice and power together compose racism (Kilomba, 2010: 42-43). This construct stands in close relation to my explanations on power dynamics and identities in Chapter One. In the context of hierarchies, racism is also linked to patriarchy since racism positions men of color on a lower hierarchy level than dominant white men who hold power and privilege (Crenshaw, 1991: 6).

Racism can be understood not only from a perspective putting the Others, the non-white people in focus, but rather in a critical way which puts white people in the foreground in a position of power that allows them to perform racism in different ways. This power is necessary to carry and perform racist acts, meaning that other racial groups cannot be racist or be performers of racism, since "racism is white supremacy" (Kilomba, 2010: 42).

The German context has particular problematic relation to race and racism. As part of a prevalent atmosphere of refusal of race and the demand that the Nazi past does never happen

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[36] My translation: "I understand racism as a complex of emotions, prejudices, ideas, fears, fantasies, and actions with which Whites from a white hegemonic stance structurally and discursively position black people and People of Color and expose them to a wide range of violence".

again, public discourses about race were avoided. This avoidance contributed to Germany´s amnesia of their colonial past (Müller, 2011: 622-623).

As Germany dealt with their past conflicts through the course of time evolved a new way of thinking about race and racism. Since the 1980s, a new racism is traced back to an insuperableness of cultural differences and thereby legitimizes the exclusion of the Other. This focus on cultural difference brought up a link with national identity based on ethnic identity in a cultural understanding. Racism was thereby veiled behind German-ness (Müller, 2011: 622). Nonetheless, racism did not disappear from public discourse, but the understanding and context shifted towards an equation with right-wing acts of violence and discrimination. This sets the course for a widespread-every day racism and Othering of Non-Europeans.

Returning to my original question of, `How is the identity of the German in-group linked to the historical and political projects of colonialism, National Socialism, and the immigration policy after World War II?´ there are key characteristics that run through the historical and political projects, which are rooted in a modernist thinking such as rigidity in identity, binary oppositions, singular, and a linear progression towards an end goal. To contextualize and understand racism in Germany in the light of the explored historic circumstances, racialized practices with regard to German identity formation shine light on the relation to the nation´s colonial experiences, National Socialism, and the controlled postwar work migration. Nghi Ha claims, *„[a]uch ist anzuerkennen, dass das heutige Ausmaß und die spezifische Ausrichtung rassistischer Gewaltverhältnisse nicht von der kolonialen Erfahrung abgetrennt werden kann"* (Nghi Ha, 2009: 107). [37]

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[37] My translation: "It also needs to be recognized that today´s scale and specific orientation of racist violence cannot be separated from the colonial experience".

2.4.3 Whiteness, Racism and Language

The historical context in which language originated can be lost in new generations. Also the context and value of a word evolves or changes over time. As part of everyday racism, there are many words and expressions in the German language that are still used by the majority of the population in present day Germany, without being aware of the harm they may cause. When these words are commonly used they are not questioned or looked at for their closer meaning. Lakoff´s work in language and politics understands this when he says "[s]uch repetition makes [people´s] language normal, everyday language and their frames normal, everyday ways to think about issues" (Lakoff, 2004: 50). A commonly used term in Germany to describe People of Color is the word *farbig* (colored). It is a term chosen by white people and its frequency shows how many people are not aware of its discriminating and racist meaning. The main reason why the term *farbig* indicates racism is the output of white being the norm and a *farbige* person is a painted or colored white person. In other words *farbig* is the construct of a deviation of white (Sow, 2009: 20-24). Furthermore, the use of this term indicates the classification people perform, distinguishing between the degrees of darkness. Sow says that by saying someone is not really black, indirectly means the concerning person should take it as a compliment, very much saying darker is worse as if on a continuum (Sow, 2009: 20-24). At the same time it is important to keep in mind that in some countries there are still official distinctions and gradations with regard to blackness. These distinctions are a product of apartheid and racial segregation politics that divided people according to different value-categories. The term *farbig* is the attempt to use a polite and fainter form of black in order to soften the fact that someone is black which can be identified as a euphemism. The fact that someone uses the term shows the reality of people´s opinion on the need to palliate the facts of existence (Sow, 2009: 23-24).

Instead of using the word *farbig*, the designation `People of Color´ is a good alternative and self-determined by people who are not white. The difference is that primarily People of Color are ´People` and not only the colored. In the academic spheres this term is widely used and established, as well as in many English speaking countries. Unfortunately, it is not yet implemented in German daily life and journalism, which might be due to the fact that it is an English term and there is no German translation used. It is also again an indication for the ignorance of different realities of people and a reality often determined by white people. Who has the power to name an individual or collective reality? In the case of knowledge production, which includes language, when a group is referred to a derogatory term as defined by another group, it designates them as inferior. It categorizes them into a value and a hierarchy. The language used in present day Germany reproduces aspects of the past, including colonialism, National Socialism, and immigration policy. This is another link to see how the present day fixed notion of identity is rooted in the past and contributes to the questions explored in this chapter.

In general terms, it is important to understand the constructive character of words when we describe discriminating actions. Consequently, words like *fremd* (foreign) or *Ausländer* (aliens) can be used subjectively or objectively depending on how a person is viewing the other person, for example objectively in the case of a German passport holder or racially to whiteness as the norm. Many assaults towards Othered people in Germany are against those who indeed hold citizenship and live in Germany, thus are not foreigners (Sow, 2009). This highlights some of the complexities of identity and how they are negotiated in society.

Conclusions

In Chapter Two, I lay out key historical events that shaped and were shaped by a modernist philosophy of in-group/out-group domination and answer my third question, `How is the identity of the German in-group linked to the historical and political projects of colonialism, National Socialism, and the immigration policy after World War II?´

Starting with Germany´s colonial project of 1884, I show how the norm is constructed by white, male, heterosexual, middle socio-economic-class and European categorical identities as the center; thus, establishing a dominant in-group in which to reference everything in the periphery. This simple line of thinking assigned value and hierarchy to identity categories and provided a framework to shape the *German* national identity. This operates under both conscious and unconscious thinking.

The desire of a homogenous national identity continued through the 1900s and was perpetuated by policies at the state level. During colonialism, the policy of difference was implemented. In order to keep the white German men from reproducing with the native women, white German women were brought to the colonies to serve this purpose. In addition, gender roles were maintained with the white male above the white woman. In the colonial context the hierarchy of identity categories when seen through an intersectional lens was renegotiated. In other words, white women were positioned above the indigenous people thus taking on more responsibility. In addition, the colonies were social experiments with the aim to improve the nation-state back in Europe.

In order to continue social engineering and an exclusive ethnic community, the German nation-state implemented the Blood Law in 1913. Thus, creating another filter to limit who belongs to the in-group. The Blood Law was in effect until the year 2000.

From the colonial project to the rise of National Socialism the difference between in-group/out-group binary became more explicit and racialized. The in-group identity became

more defined, rigid, and proactive in the Second World War climaxing in genocide in the Holocaust.

Post World War II, Germany experienced a labor shortage and brought in foreign workers from countries like the Former Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey. To safeguard against foreign workers remaining in the country the policy stated that guest workers were to return to their home country at the completion of each contract, however, many stayed in the country. Throughout the guest worker program acts of discrimination and inequality was the norm. This is another example of unequal power dynamics in regard to belonging. During this era the slogan "Germany is no country of immigration" reflected many dominant views in society. Several attempts to repatriate out-siders were implemented including using financial incentives as a form of persuasion.

The dual citizenship restriction commanded that a choice be made as to only hold one passport and have allegiance to one country. In this case, a hybrid identity for example, living in one country over time different than one`s home country, presents a dilemma and choice. Diversity and plurality are sacrificed while the national identity is prioritized thereby demonstrating the power the nation-state wields on its citizens.

The Turkish population was the largest among other countries who participated in the German guest worker program. As the largest group of guest workers and due to Turkey's status outside the European Union, I focused on this group of German-Turkish individuals in many examples of discrimination including stereotyping and Islamophobia. The perception of Germans of Turkish decent demonstrates a certain degree of in-group/out-group thinking based off German as being white. Whether conscious or unconscious, the German identity is racialized and carries with it underlying associations. For example, German equals white and German equals Christian.

My analysis of the *German* identity is furthered by introducing Critical Whiteness Studies, thus putting the focus on whiteness as an often hidden and normalized in-group identity.

In order to see how power plays out in relationships, I introduce how awareness of one`s priv-
ileges is just as important as countering discrimination. I explore this more in Chapter Three.

By introducing the discussion and occurrence around the refugee crisis, I illuminate how
this, in the German case, challenges the mainstream identity and arises tensions with the exclusive
character of German-ness.

Chapter Three: Notes Towards an Inclusive German Identity

[…] by taking a fresh look at the idea of identity we might help find a way that leads out of the present impasse and towards human liberty.

(Maalouf, 2003: 91)

Postmodern culture with its de-centered subject can be the space where ties are severed or it can provide the occasion for new and varied forms of bonding. To some extent, ruptures, surfaces, contextuality, and a host of other happenings create gaps that make space for oppositional practices which no longer require intellectuals to be confined to narrow separate spheres with no meaningful connection to the world of the everyday […]a space is there for critical exchange[…][and] this may very well be "the" central future location of resistance struggle, a meeting place where new and radical happenings can occur

(hooks, 1990: 31)

Introduction

In Chapter One, I explored some of the different ways identity is affected, through categorization, exclusion, and normalization. I framed how identity norms are created within a Eurocentric world system, including the modernist project of colonialism. In Chapter Two, I applied my research to the case study of Germany, analyzing how key historical and political projects shaped a *German* identity that reinforces in-group/out-group relationships with the *different* Other. This theoretical and real Other is everyone who does not fit the German norm - including whiteness as a distinguishing characteristic.

In this Chapter, I continue to explore German identity while examining how its exclusive character, as identified as in-group, is challenged through the current refugee situation. I identify factors that may affect a transition from a rather exclusive German identity to a more inclusive relationship and reframing values, beliefs, and identity categories while acknowledging power dynamics and the need to de-center from the German ideal as white, Christian frame.

After some personal reflections on identity privileges, I explore how prevailing identity privileges ascribe certain characteristics and a constructed value system within societies. I look at how one´s privileges perpetuate discrimination and systems of inequality.

Next, I examine the refugee crisis in Europe, more specifically in Germany; as it presents many moments of interaction, which inevitably brings conflict as an inherent aspect of human relationships. How do these multicultural interactions affect the exclusive concept of German identity, regardless of motives, may they be guilt, empathy, sympathy, labor, or others? In light of the movement from German residents/citizens to welcome over 800.000 refugees in 2015 alone, how do power dynamics produce and reproduce discrimination, even when done with good intentions?

The influx of refugees means a challenge for every individual involved and is often influenced by one´s categorical identities or intersections, beliefs, and values. Drawing on Maalouf, I explain the danger of excluding the plural identities the refugees hold as well as the demand for them to change or assimilate into the dominant block. Through this challenge, the notion of what it means to be German is brought into consciousness as questions arise of how the dominant German in-group relates to the refugee Other in a process of negotiating identities.

I explore a potential shift in mainstream *German* identity and argue that a transformation as well as the receiving of refugees requires inclusive acts and policies. There exists a dialectical tension between an exclusive German-ness as identified in Chapter Two and Germany´s current *acceptance* of thousands of refugees. I explore aspects of necessary policy regarding inclusiveness towards refugees and other out-groups that I argue are conducive for moments of peace to occur. Pointing to rather exclusive policies or practices, I briefly present the German education system as one example that categorizes and labels students, thereby producing and reproducing hierarchical separation especially in minorities. This is a call for a change from exclusive segregation to a more inclusive policy.

With the aim of transforming *German* identity and moving towards inclusiveness, a re-framing of existing identities is necessary. To better understand what I mean by saying identity is not fixed, rather it is a fluid, multidimensional, and a multifaceted construction, I draw on cognitive Psychologist George Lakoff and his work. Beliefs and values, which shape people´s identity, are physical neuro networks in the brain and thus can be slow to change over time, yet possible. Drawing on cognitive psychology and Germany´s sociohistorical past, I make a connection to a worldview in which the majority of society operates. These deep frames have been normalized over time and are often a blind spot in people´s consciousness.

I continue to draw on cognitive psychology and identify empathy as a human capacity that holds the potential of breaking with in-group/out-group binaries as a different way of relating to each other. Empathy can further facilitate a change in beliefs, values, and identities and thereby potentially transform people´s relationships. According to world-renowned neuro psychologist Nick Olson, the world is suffering from an empathy deficit, which has exacerbated differences and divides societies. I argue that just as empathy is a key factor in relationships and bridging divides, a radical awareness is also important for social change.

In order to move from a modernist oppressor and oppressed dichotomy situated in a white-Christian, male framework, I argue for a radical awareness which aims at de-centering the German identity from epicenter of the world. Apart from inclusive policies, the German in-group identity needs to go through a transformative process of de-centering while recognizing the tendency to defend and protect the idea of the German identity as homogenous, one´s self-position including identity privileges, and illuminating the exclusive character of the norm.

Finally, I explore the idea of third space as the opportunity for creating a space for new positions, understandings, and political dynamics to grow. I draw on Bhabha, Omar, and Soja as I explore hybridity and the negotiation of difference. This breaks from modernist binary

opposites and introduces a philosophy of creating new ways of seeing, living, and being through relationships.

In this Chapter, I explore my last research question, `How can Germany move from an exclusive to a more inclusive identity, which is conducive for moments of peace, and what factors facilitate the necessary transformation of beliefs, values and identities?´

I want to specify what I mean when I say inclusiveness is conducive for moments of peace. To start with, in my Introduction to this thesis I have situated this research in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies and have referred to Dietrich when contextualizing my post-modern approach, as he states that "[…] the field of peace studies […] is postmodern per se […]" (Dietrich, 2013: 7). This post-modern approach calls for plurality and difference of and within societies, cultures, and identities. I argue that embracing difference and plurality is necessary to move away from an in-group/out-group binary in the German context rooted in the desire of a homogenous society as I have explained in Chapter Two. In line with my understanding of identity, as fluid and constantly changing, peace also is neither a final product nor perfect. Rather it is a part of human beings and goes along with conflict as natural part of people´s relationships. As I have presented the various discriminating consequences and every-day racist practices in Germany that are perpetuated by a rigid adherence to mainstream identity norms, which play out in in-group/out-group binaries, the chance for moments of peace as in equal terms is poor under these circumstances. This understanding leads me to argue for a shift towards inclusiveness that is conducive for moments of peace.

Personal Reflections on Identity Privileges and Disadvantages

The discussion of identity takes place within a complex, contradictory, individual, and collective sphere of negotiation, marked by tensions, relationships, questions, definitions, hopes, and challenges. Since being is becoming, this negotiation is a never ending process that transforms with any internal or external change or new relationships. The complexity of identity brings up many personal as well as general questions that both affect and stem from this research. For example, what is my motivation, intention, or goal? One factor that motivates my research is my personal connection to Germany and how I identity with it, in addition to my observations of the discriminating reality it reproduces. Throughout the thesis I talk about a *German* identity thereby reproducing in a way the view there is such thing as a fixed identity, yet deconstructing and unmaking it at the same time. A difficult aspect is my personal position as part of the German in-group. Power dynamics are always present and a part of people´s relationships. Belonging is relational and is affected by power dynamics that often favor one side over the other. Who gets to decide or validate acceptance in the theoretical in-group? Just as in the case of the German nation-state inviting the Others in or keeping them outside. How can belonging be redefined? How can a person decide upon her/his own sense of belonging? How can we move from an exclusive to a more inclusive society?

From my personal privileged position of belonging within Germany, recognized as German, and feeling a sense of belonging based on my family background, culture, and traditions among others, I still see myself confronted with contradicting questions in regard to belonging.

As I reflect on identity, I cannot help but to explore how I fit into this world and what I identify with. Throughout the thesis I often referred to what it means to be German or what is German-ness as if it was this abstract identity separate from me, when in fact I am a part of it. I consider myself German, because I was born in Cologne, Germany in 1989, I speak German, and I went to school and graduated College in Germany. In other words, I identify as a Ger-

man, yet a lot of my family holds Austrian passports. In the bigger picture it really does not make much difference, because of the close proximity of the countries, the similar culture, they both speak the same language, we are part of the European Union and hence are in the Schengen Zone, which has open borders. I probably would not have thought much of this except for several minor issues it has caused in my family.

German nationals or German passport holders who work in public positions are granted a certain degree of job security called civil servant status. In the case of my father, who works in the field of education as a principal of a school, he does not receive this privilege, even though he performs the same duties and has the same responsibilities. Also, because he does not hold the German passport/nationality he receives a significant reduction in pay. The same is true for my sister who is beginning her career in education as a special education teacher. She has decided to apply for the German passport in order to obtain the same rights as German nationals. As I explored in Chapter Two, in order to have the German passport, she must renounce her Austrian passport. In this case it is not a big issue, but my mind returns to the example of the Turkish Germans or more specifically Germans of Turkish descent whose families still reside in Turkey. Having to make the choice between locations is also a part of what constitutes your identity, as our identity can be rooted in land, relationships, culture, in short the nation-state. The nation-state plays a major role in identity formation and maintains a high amount of institutional power. Maalouf, who is of Lebanese descent, but has lived in France for many years, understands how trying to neatly package identities into simple nation-state borders can marginalize a person.

> I'm thinking of the case of a Turk who might have been born near Frankfurt 30 years ago and who has always lived in Germany. He speaks and writes German better than the language of his ancestors. Yet for the society of his adopted country he isn't a German, while for that of his origins he is no longer completely a Turk. Common sense dictates that he should be able to claim both allegiances. But at present neither the law nor people's attitudes allows him to accept his composite identity tranquilly. (Maalouf, 2003: 3).

Another issue I see is that my right to vote in presidential elections does not exist. I am permitted to vote in local elections only. This is an exclusion of democratic participation. Though I can still vote in Austria my identity is rooted in the political and social life of Germany. The place I identify with does not grant me voting rights.

I can go on with other minor differences I see because I do not hold the German passport; however, the reason I refer to these is more to acknowledge my privileges and to understand my motivation and concern for this research.

Looking through an intersectional lens, every person is coming from a unique place in the world and from that place encounters certain privileges and disadvantages, often framed in opposition to the norm. Looking back on the historical events I claimed helped shape the German identity, it positions the white, heterosexual, middle socio-economic, occidental male as center. This norm makes it hard to be aware of one´s privileges.

My categorical identities are no different. My position as a white, heterosexual, middle socio-economic class female, among other identities, positions me in a certain place as well. My reflections while writing this thesis on the construction of the *German* identity lead me to see I am also a product of the *German* identity and located in the center. It is not enough to only look at disadvantages, but one must also look at their advantages- in this case, identity privileges.

In short, the different ways in which exclusion operates affects everyone differently, depending on objective identities such as the passport someone holds, or more complex identity categories such as race, gender, and class. In my case, holding the Austrian passport presents certain exclusions I have in my particular situation, whereas on a social level my intersectional position provides other identity privileges that include me in the norm. My Austrian passport can also be viewed as a privilege as it allows me to travel to many of the world's countries and therefore is a type of identity privilege when viewed in the larger picture.

3.1 Identity privileges

Certain privileges are not acknowledged as such from the majority of the people in the world. A common understanding of privilege is related to wealth and accumulated material or financial prosperity, though privilege can also be in the form of status, respect, favoritism, and many other less obvious forms. It is a word with mainly positive connotation, despite the fact that it is something that is given only to a certain group of people. The Oxford Dictionary defines privilege as "a special right, advantage, or immunity granted or available only to a particular person or group" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015). To some extent, everybody enjoys privileges, because privileges have both personal and collective advantages. Prevailing identity privileges ascribes certain characteristics, perceived positions of power, importance, or value-laden superiority in the social structure of a system. I am essentially referring to racial, gender, and heterosexual privileges; white versus black, male versus female, and heterosexual versus homosexual.

These privileges also create inequality and discrimination, excluding certain groups and benefiting others. Privileges can be built into the structure of society and realized as structural or cultural violence. It is important to distinguish (discrimination creating) privileges from guilt, because it depends on how we position ourselves to these privileges and what we do with them. In *Black queer studies: a critical anthology* Devon W. Carbado in his Chapter "Privilege", points out our choices regarding our privileges are not only personal but also political, this means that on the one hand our personal identity privileges are related to how we negotiate them and on the other hand related to discrimination (disadvantage). Specifically speaking, white privilege determines racism, male privilege determines sexism, and heterosexual privileges determine homophobia (Carbado, 2005: 191). This is because the majority of the world is framed placing the white, male, heterosexual, and middle socio-economic class person as the center.

Identity privileges cause "bi-directional effects of discrimination" asserting both, burdens and advantages (Carbado, 2005: 191). Thereby, these effects underline the relational aspect for the identity formation of others. This is why the negotiation of our privileges is crucial in order to counteract the perpetuation of discriminative structures, knowledge, and practices. The specific case of in-group privileges in the context of Germany are closely linked to identity formation and belonging within the German nation-state.

Racial privileges are part of the larger identity privilege family; hence whiteness represents this racial privilege in the first place and is reproduced in society tipping the scale in favor of the dominant in-group.

3.1.1 Whiteness and Privileges

To be white is not to think about it.

(Flagg, 1993: 969)

Flagg's quote shown above highlights the reality of whiteness in normative German society. Not having to think about being white is also reflected in a tendency to focus on non-whites when discussing race. This is possible since whiteness is the racial norm and therefore less visible (Flagg, 1993).

Sow identifies a number of privileges white people enjoy in comparison to non-white people. The focus hereby lays on the perspective on white privileges instead of focusing on the discrimination and racism non-white people experience. In the German context, according to Sow, white Germans naturally, by birth, have significant privileges, mostly without being conscious about it. A white German is considered naturally a member of society and has the privilege not to be viewed as a foreign Other. There is no need to justify why she or he lives in this country, contrary to non-white people who permanently are asked to explain their place of origin. It is also part of the *normal* reality to keep publicly anonymous if desired and to travel unhindered and uncontrolled to many places. Furthermore, white *Germans* are assigned

to have the right to name all those peoples who are not white, who therefore do not fit the norm, and to divide up and categorize into groups (Sow, 2009: 42-43).

Now, within these privileges for white Germans there are privilege differences regarding gender, class, and sexual orientation, among others; I have referred to this as intersectionality in previous chapters. I refer to Carbado and the relationship between privileges and identity construction and argue for the need of negotiate privileges in order to counteract discriminative structures, practices, and knowledge. As Carbado claims, "[a] white heterosexual man lives on the white side of race, the male side of gender, and the straight side of sexual orientation. He is, in this sense, the norm. […] We are the same as or different from him" (Carbado, 2005: 192). This statement approaches the process of Othering people with different characteristics which diverge from the norm. In the case of Women of Color the intersection of race and gender are analyzed. In this sense, the privileges of white people are always in relation to non-white people, since the norm can only be constructed to what it is not or the negative identity. This is also valid for gender and sexual orientation norms, among others.

In the context of white women´s gender subordination, they still hold racial privileges. White privileges enabled white women to lead feminism as visible proponents and to "set the agenda of feminist theory and praxis" (Rowe, 2000: 64). Since white women do not experience race-based subordination or discrimination, they do not necessarily recognize how white privilege is reproduced at the expense of racism and colonial histories and produces a source of alienation and exclusion between the perceived in-group and the out-group.

Acknowledging identity privileges plays an important role as part of a de-centering process of Germany. As I aim at bridging my analysis of an exclusive German identity with possibilities of moving towards a more inclusive identity, the current refugee situation is a good example to show the need for inclusiveness and explore the possibility of a shift in German identity.

3.2 Challenging German identity through the Refugee Others

The possibilities are numerous once we decide to act and not react.

(Anzaldúa, 2012: 101)

Compared to the picture of the homogenous *German* national identity I painted in Chapter Two, beginning with the colonial project and ending with the immigration policies, there could be a shift in *German* identity as Germany has opened its borders to large numbers of refugees. Though my aim is not to determine any individual or collective motive, I do explore how it challenges an exclusive German national identity.

The current refugee situation in Europe is growing to unprecedented levels. Thousands of refugees arrive daily to different European countries, predominantly by boat, train, or on foot. Germany is the European country with the highest refugee numbers since beginning of the Syrian Civil War starting in 2011 as well as other contributing conflicts in parts of the Middle East and Africa. In contrast to Hungary who closed its borders to refugees, Germany has lead the way in accepting refugees into the country. Of course there are pockets of resistance in Germany as well, people and groups who want to keep foreigners out of the country and not jeopardize an individual´s understanding of what it means to be German or live in Germany.

This crisis is relevant to this conversation on the German national identity because it marks a potential shift from Germany´s last 100 years. How might an event of this caliber change a nation? By nation I refer to the individual citizens, groups, and the government apparatus, which I acknowledge represent an array of diverse views. And how is the act of receiving and welcoming refugees possible with the character of a German-ness that tends to be exclusive in the Herderian sense of one land-one people, as I explored earlier? The act of receiving refugees demands a certain degree of inclusivity, which automatically creates tensions within an exclusive German-ness ideology. The identities of the refugees may not comple-

ment German-ness and therefore generate new conflicts - conflicts which can lead to violence or positive social change.

In Chapter One, I have characterized identity as a co-constructed and relational process. How can one million refugees entering the German state renegotiate and influence individual, collective, and the national identity as well as equality? With every conflict brings a moment for change to take place.

German´s citizens have been showed on the news holding signs and banners welcoming refugees into the country. Food, language classes, clothes donations, and even soccer camps from the Bayern Munich soccer team, have been provided in an overwhelming show of support. Also, the German government temporarily modified the policy of the Dublin Regulations due to necessity. [38] Syrian refugees were not to be sent back to the countries of arrival, the reason for this change in policy was due to humanitarian and logistic problems. Several critical voices recently acknowledged the European asylum policy had failed, whilst the vice president of the European Parliament further declared the Dublin Regulation dead and evaluated it as a positive change. In addition, Angela Merkel recently requested to divide asylum seekers equally to all 28 European countries and implemented in a new European asylum policy; though it has not passed yet (Misik, 2015).

Relating this back to the *German* identity as discussed in Chapter Two, what motivates this shift in overwhelming positive response toward foreigners entering the country? This shift is in stark contrast to the past 100 plus years. Is it empathy? Maybe guilt? At face value, these acts of kindness are a positive response to the arrival of refugees, but for the case of this thesis I want to look a little deeper and problematize the situation. These acts of kindness still need to be understood within the colonial power structures embedded in the social sphere. Sympathy and pity for example is similar to what hooks calls the "charity gaze" (hooks, 2001; Lorde, 1993). My intention is not to take away from acts of kindness or what I see as a posi-

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[38] The Dublin Regulation determines which European country is responsible for testing an asylum application. The idea is to ensure that each person seeking asylum is only examined in one Member State (FOFMAR, 2015).

tive movement, rather I want to use this as an example in which to apply theories related to the German identity and context.

One project implemented in November 2014 by four young people in Berlin was a website called *Refugees welcome* which aims to match displaced people with citizens who are willing to host them. After the initiative successfully matched over 100 people in Germany since January 2015, other countries like Austria followed their example (Refugees welcome, 2015). Through a registration on the website people can offer their apartment and *Refugees-welcome* through a refugee organization help to match them with a person who has fled to the same city. In addition, *Refugees-welcome* supports the host by finding finances to pay the rent. Through the flat sharing project refugees are able to find housing with *German* residents. This social interaction has the potential for cultural exchange and fostering relationships. How do these social interactions including conflicts influence individual and collective notions of what it means to be German as well as further widen the in-group/out-group gap? Returning to the term conflict as understood in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies, how these conflicts and interactions are dealt with determine which direction each individual relationship will go. This also influences the collective identity. This cultural interaction challenges the white-Cristian-German-ness, in short the notion of a homogeneous *German* identity. In an article in the Washington Post, Anthony Faiola comments on what it means to be German and how the refugee situation challenges previously held beliefs and values. this negotiation of identities and the events I have described over the past 100 years as characterizing the *German* identity.

> Chancellor Angela Merkel, meanwhile, is preparing her public for a period of transformation that may alter the very definition of what it means to be a German. Some leaders in the region are sounding the alarm over the threat to national identities posed by the mostly Muslim newcomers. But Merkel is cajoling Germans to embrace a new vision of their country that, in the future, may not be as white or Christian as it is today. "As the asylum seekers are fairly well qualified, there is a good chance they will become valuable parts of our workforce in the coming

years," said Reiner Klingholz, director of the Berlin Institute for Population and Development. "We won't reverse our population loss, but we could shrink less" (Faiola, 2015).

Whereas the immigration policy of the guest worker program starting in the 1950s sought to ensure foreign guest workers did not remain in Germany or become part of German society, present day Germany in general seems to be less rigid in terms of homogenous in-group exclusion. Regardless of the motive, whether it fulfills Germany´s need for labor and a declining population, a humanitarian response to an international crisis or other motives, my interest is on "the very definition of what it means to be a German" (Faiola, 2015).

It is important to note that just because over 800.000 refugees are permitted to enter the geographical border that defines in one way the nation-state, by no means makes the German identity inclusive. In fact, using the Other or the theoretical out-group as laborers among other professions has the potential to further reinforce vertical separation in regards to intersectional identity categories. In addition, the deep cognitive frame, German as white Christian, is often blind to the mainstream eye. Stereotypes, prejudices, and other subconscious mental constructs such as Islamophobia add another layer to be aware of in order to not produce and reproduce discrimination inherent in unequal power dynamics, which are present in all human interactions.

Along with welcoming acts and initiatives showing support towards the many displaced people, the debate on refugee policies is a predominating topic in Germany and Europe. I argue that accepting refugees requires inclusiveness, which brings up tensions with a predominant exclusive *German* identity. In order to shift from a rigid exclusive German identity inclusive acts and policies are needed in order to move away from an in-group/out-group binary.

3.2.1 A Call for Inclusive Policies and Actions

It is important to state that I do not intend to downplay the challenges Germany and other countries are facing during the refugee crisis. Some would argue it might be easier to call for an unlimited admission and appeal based on human necessity, yet the high numbers of refugees entail a full engagement of society and policy at all levels. Up to ten-thousand people arrived daily in the last few weeks alone and caused many demands of political, social, and community support.

German political scientist Christoph Butterwegge demands Germany needs to face the reality of immigration and calls for a reform of immigration and refugee policy (Butterwegge, 2015). He explains that although immigration means a challenge, it is not a new phenomenon and only needs to be approached differently. He identifies Germany´s immigration policy as based on economic benefit, where immigrants (or refugees in this case) pose as increase for economic wealth or as a demographic stopgap. This means that there exists a division in "beneficial" and "unprofitable" immigrants/refugees (Butterwegge, 2015). Although, a consideration of economic and demographic benefit may be understandable, Butterwegge claims caution against classification and appraisal of humans according to their value-benefit, which can lead to racist prejudices and selective disadvantages and discrimination. This is a common phenomenon and applicable also to the case of the guest workers and their families as I explored in Chapter Two. I have argued this classification Butterwegge speaks of, is rooted in imaginaries of racial differences and the constructed white European norm that positions everyone else on the periphery.

Butterwegge further identifies a change in Germany´s climate as well as in the consciousness regarding the reality of immigration in the country and the need to confront this reality, after decades of being the "*weltgrößtes Einwanderungsland wider Willen*"

(Butterwegge, 2015). [39] Many welcoming and solidary acts in part reflect this change in climate when compared to the more hostile climate in the 1990s for example. The growing awareness and empathy with the refugees might be an important influence in the need for a fundamental reform of policy. Thousands of projects and initiatives throughout the country show a widespread solidarity with the displaced peoples. According to hooks et al, solidarity is

> (…) un compromiso basado en la empatía, en una imagen de justicia para todas las personas. Después de todo, es esto lo que se encuentra en el núcleo de la construcción de una solidaridad a través de fronteras sociales, económicas y psíquicas, siempre debilitadoras (hooks et al., 2004: 183). [40]

Apart from a humanitarian duty, another argument, according to Butterwegge, is the historical obligation for Germany to receive refugees. A common reminder in the current situation is Germany´s past of the holocaust, which caused the highest numbers of refugees in the 20th century. Butterwegge argues that this burden should be enough reason and motivation for an immigration policy that receives more refugees than Germany did until now (Butterwegge, 2015). Guilt and responsibility are often discussed in relation to *German* identity. As I stated in Chapter One, the generations after the holocaust are given the collective responsibility for not repeating the past. This means a difference to the term *Kollektivschuld* (collective guilt) that continued to haunt the nation´s past after the end of Wold War II. In general terms, "[c]ollective guilt stems from the distress that group members experience when they accept their in-group is responsible for immoral actions that harmed another group" (Branscombe and Doosje, 2004: 3).

This more psychological explanation does not mean an actual legal responsibility, but rather a sense of categorization as members of the same group. In the German case, the "national guilt has deeply affected both collective memory and national identity since the end of

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[39] My translation: "world´s largest reluctant immigration country"
[40] My translation: "(…) an ethical commitment based on empathy, on an image of justice for all people. After all, this is what is at the core of building solidarity across social, economic and psychological boundaries, always debilitating".

the war" (Rensmann, 2004: 169). It would be interesting to explore if the feeling of guilt is in effect in the current situation and if there is a relationship between guilt and solidarity. Hannah Arendt stated already in 1964, that the conception of collective guilt is "senseless", because it "only serves as an effective whitewash for guilty individuals to hide behind" (The Harvard Crimson, 1964).

Coming back to my argument of the need for transforming the exclusive German-ness, Butterwegge claims "*[d]ie große Herausforderung der Migration muss inklusiv gestaltet werden*" (Butterwegge, 2015). [41] In this sense, he brings up the term inclusion, which he understands as a sociopolitical paradigm. An inclusive composition requires the opening of the host society and enabling the horizontal creation of a commonwealth (Butterwegge, 2015).

Butterwegge ascribes a significant role to the education system and public schools. In this context, it is important to mention that the German education system classifies students into one of three hierarchically structured levels of intelligence, thereby indirectly reinforcing class and subsequently race. This separation of children at an early age into three different schools is a clear hierarchical categorization, which can leave them with a stigma and internal belief about their ability to succeed. In this view, social standards are more likely to be reproduced and creating self-fulfilling prophecies among the students. The social status a child takes with them into their later years also plays an important role in society. The educational system in this view is an institutional apparatus that reinforces the normative view of German-ness and others who are on a lower hierarchical level. The *PISA-Studie* (PISA report) from 2012 also reflects big differences in *success* rates regarding class, gender, and race (OECD, 2013). [42]

Butterwegge states migration and poverty show many intersections and calls for an institutional reform of the education system. He argues it operates extremely socially selective

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[41]My translation: "The major challenge of migration needs to be made inclusive".

[42] PISA: The Programme for International Student Assessment is a worldwide study by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that investigates the quality, equal opportunities, and efficiency in school education.

due to its early tracking system (Butterwegge, 2015). Corresponding with the PISA report, he further explains how most children from immigration contexts are sent to the lower category of schools, while mostly socio-economic middle class *German* children go to the higher of the three called the Gymnasium. Language and cultural differences also play a huge factor in learning and comprehension. The current situation with many refugee children arriving, who are to be included in schools as soon as possible, represents a big challenge and calls for an urgent reformation of the education system to avoid more future exclusionary practices.

After having explored the current situation of refugees and the challenge it means for Germany, in the following section I propose a number of factors that are paramount in my understanding for a shift towards a more inclusive *German* identity. I argue that a transformation towards inclusive policies and actions does not happen from one day to another, it rather requires the necessary shift away from an exclusive identity. Identities come with certain ideologies, beliefs, and values that are not easy to change, as I explore further in this Chapter.

3.3 Negotiating Identities

In the Borderlands
you are the battleground where enemies are kin to each other;
you are at home, a stranger,
the border disputes have been settled
the volley of shots have shattered the truce
you are wounded, lost in action
dead, fighting back
[…]
To survive the Borderlands
you must live sin *fronteras*
be a crossroads.

(Anzaldúa, 2012: 216-217)

There are inevitable tensions that arise when an exclusive in-group is confronted with a situation where difference challenges the status quo. In the context of refugees entering Germany, a negotiation of maintaining personal traditions, cultures, and beliefs versus learning new ways of being can be a positive experience as well as a bridge to new relationships for all parties involved. Maalouf asks the questions:

> «How can we modernise ourselves without losing our identity?»; «How can we assimilate Western culture without denying our own?»; «How can we acquire the West's knowledge without leaving ourselves at its mercy?» (Maalouf, 2003: 79).

Universalism is a key component of modernity and includes globalization which has spread in some way to every corner of the globe. Universalism by definition reduces the diverse ways of living and thinking to a more homogenous package, predominately of Western origin (Quijano, 2000; Said, 1979). What happens to different epistemologies, indigenous ways of living, religions, and community structures when they are swallowed by the dominant norm? What happens when an integral part of what comprises a person is excluded? The danger of embracing singularity in ways of living and thinking "encourages people to adopt an attitude that is partial, sectarian, intolerant, domineering, sometimes suicidal, and frequently even changes them into killers or supporters of killers" (Maalouf, 2003: 3).

An example can be found in the *faz* (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) in an article entitled "*Umgang mit Flüchtlingen. Es gilt das Grundgesetz*" by Michael Martens in response to the influx of refugees. Marten's view clearly states his belief that out-siders should change in order to enter the country so they are in-line with the *correct* way of living. [43] Essentially he is saying, 'Welcome to Germany, but please leave aspects of your identity at the door'. Addressing the refugees directly he states:

> *Die meisten von Ihnen teilen solche Auffassungen vom Zusammenleben der Menschen gewiss ohnehin, denn Sie sind ja zu uns gekommen, um endlich in Frieden und Freiheit zu leben. Sollten Sie diese Ansichten jedoch ablehnen, ist es besser, wenn Sie unser Land rasch wieder verlassen – denn Deutschland kann und will keine Heimat sein für*

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[43] My translation: "Dealing with refugees. The basic law counts".

Menschen, die sich diesen Regeln nicht beugen. Da können wir leider null Toleranz zeigen. Mit herzlichem Gruß, Ihr Deutschland (Martens, 2015). [44]

His comment brings to the forefront the question of what it means to be German and in the territorial borders of Germany. Subjective and objective aspects of identity are currently challenged and brought to consciousness. "People often see themselves in terms of whichever one of their allegiances is most under attack" (Maalouf, 2003: 26). When a person is confronted with a singular definition of what it means to be *German* and there is little room for plurality the identity challenged may go into defense. This defense mechanism is a part of all of humanity.

As I mentioned in Chapter One, people´s identities are highly influenced by their environment and interactions with others. Beliefs and values are formed and influenced within the identity formation process and determine people´s actions, often unconsciously.

3.3.1 On Reframing Identities

When a person is in any system such as the nation-state, a community, a particular school, or a family, there are certain patterns of behavior, philosophies, and memes that are reproduced. In other words, humans are products of their environment and have certain characteristics in common. These characteristics may define a particular subsystem or group which differentiates belonging in one network to another. Often these categories of belonging are recognized as aspects of our identity. In the singular case a person may use expressions such as `I am´. In the plural sense these are collective identities and follow expressions such as `We are´. In regards to the nation-state, a certain in-group ideology has been constructed over time for example, through marketing, the government body, and individuals.

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[44] My translation: "Most of you share these views of how people should live together anyway, because you come to us to finally live in peace and freedom. However, if you reject these views, it is better if you leave our country soon, because Germany cannot and will not be a home for people who do not bow to these rules; since we are unable to show zero tolerance. With kind regards, your Germany".

Cognitive Psychologists George Lakoff says "[e]verything we know is physically instantiated in the neural systems of our brains" (Lakoff, 2004: 52). In other words, to relearn something requires an actual physical rewiring of neuro networks in our brain.

Returning back to Anderson´s notion of imagined communities as I explained in Chapter One, the communion of a nation´s member is a constructed image. Many people will never interact, yet there are still uniting categories. Hixon states "a nation constitutes a named community within a unified territory, with a history and culture, collective memories, a sense of ancestry, customs, sacred texts, language, religion, economy, mass education, and legal structure" (Hixon, 2008: 7). The more exposure one has to a certain system such as its culture, ideology, and traditions, it reinforces those physical neuro networks in your brain. At the same time it does not create the frames for other ways of living and thinking. This has a major influence on the formation of one´s identity.

The nation-state is one such system where a sense of shared community is constructed even though it contains conflicting beliefs, values, and identities among other variables.

Identities form around beliefs such as religion, politics, and imagined communities, which are fixed neuro networks or path ways in the brain. This represents quite a challenge when a person holds dogmatic beliefs that divide society. The longer someone holds a belief the harder it might be to change (Lakoff, 2004). Why do some people celebrate diversity and bridge divides while others do not? It is then due to people´s environment, education, experience, relationships and their particular situation.

Returning to Chapter One, I mentioned how stereotypes and prejudices are based on beliefs people hold. These fixed neuro networks are often subconscious and influence biased thinking as well as how people relate to others. This is specifically the case in regards to in-group and out-group relationships. To change people´s beliefs is to reframe them. Lakoff talks about how frames shape how people see the world.

Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. As a result, they shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. In politics our frames shape our social policies and the institutions we form to carry out policies. To change our frames is to change all of this. Reframing is social change. You can't see or hear frames. They are part of what cognitive scientists call the "cognitive unconscious"- structures in our brains that we cannot consciously access, but know by their consequences: the way we reason and what counts as common sense. We also know frames through language. All words are defined relative to conceptual frames. When you hear a word, its frame (or collection of frames) is activated in your brain (Lakoff, 2004: xv).

Awareness then is the first step in changing how we think and relate to others and it takes adequate time and commitment. My last research question addresses the factors that could facilitate a change in beliefs, identities, and values. I explore empathy as a human capacity to see life from the other person´s point of view and break down divides.

3.3.2 Empathy

Empathy is a respectful understanding of what others are experiencing
(Rosenberg, 2003: 91)

Empathy is a human capacity that allows people to relate to others and further holds the potential for a transformation of human relations. Neuro psychologists point to mirror neurons as the scientific explanation to why humans have this capacity in relating to others. When the empathic feeling is present the mirror neurons are activated (Olson, 2013). US humanistic Psychologist Carl Rogers, as part of his definition of empathy and empathic engagement with another person, states that empathy

[…] means temporarily living in his/her life, moving about in it delicately without making judgments, sensing meaning of which he/she is scarcely aware, but not trying to uncover feelings of which the person is totally unaware, since this would be threatening. It includes communicating your sensings of his/her world as you look with fresh and unfrightened eyes at elements of which the individual is fearful. It means frequently checking with him/her as to the accuracy of your sensings, and being guided by the responses you receive […] To be with another in this way means that for the time being you lay aside the views and values you hold for yourself in order to enter another´s world without prejudice (Rogers, 1975: 3-4).

The relating character of human empathy goes back to a neuroscientific explanation regarding people´s aspiration of having emotional relationships. This explanation supports the idea of the interconnectedness of people. Empathy can be activated and practiced, meaning that the more empathic people are, the more they engage in relations with others and their emotions (Olson, 2013: 1). In this understanding, Roger's claim about empathy being a process, rather than a "state of empathy" supports the natural possibility for practice, a process of constant engagement and preparing for change (Rogers, 1975: 3). Empathic engagement is characterized through dialogue, understanding, and being open to change. It has the potential to transform the Us/Them binary into only Us. According to Rogers, empathy "dissolves alienation", meaning that "the recipient [of empathy] finds himself/herself a connected part of the human race" (Rogers, 1975:8). Empathy can create a certain oneness between people, overcoming barriers of difference and not knowing each other, which are often related to the Othering of people. The biased judgement of people who are different to oneself needs to be overcome through an empathic relationship or common denominator. This is one example of a collective identity as in we are all humans.

According to Marshal Rosenberg, the founder and director of The Center for Nonviolent Communication, the technique of Nonviolent Communication (NVC) "fosters deep listening, respect, and empathy" (Rosenberg, 2003: 12). Rosenberg´s concept presents four steps or components of NVC, however the important part is a focus on empathic listening and understanding where the other person is coming from. The Othering of people is embedded in a life-alienating, modernist communication that judges, classifies, and dichotomizes people, their ideas, and actions. Thereby an exclusion of plural and hybrid identities, as determined by political and cultural norms, is reproduced through a judgmental language of life on the relational level of people. Rosenberg defines the objective of NVC as "to establish a relationship

based on honesty and empathy" (Rosenberg, 2003: 81). In order to achieve this objective, preconceived opinions and judgmental conceptions have to be overcome.

Furthermore, honest, empathic relations require a willingness to listen actively. An emphasis on listening in the communication process was prioritized by Rogers. For Rogers, active listening requires that listeners empathize with the speaking person to better understand the subtext of what is communicated in order to see from the other person´s point of view. He provides three guiding rules for a communication based on active listening.

1. Listen for total meaning: Listen both for content and also for the underlying emotions.

2. Respond to feelings: Sometimes the real message is in the emotion rather than the surface content. In such cases, you should respond to the emotional message.

3. Note all the cues: Not all communication is verbal, so watch for the non-verbal messages

(Rogers and Farson, 1987)

By constantly listening, people transmit the idea of respect and value towards the speaker and show that they are interested. Active listening can thereby change the quality of the relationship. The ability to actively listen to others is a fundamental skill needed to foster empathy.

Lederach understands listening as a skill of paraphrasing what the speaker has said, rather than a technical character. To bridge the gap between in-group and out-group divisions, dialogue, and empathic listening is a skill and art that requires practice. Lederach views listening as "[…] the discipline and art of capturing the complexity of history in the simplicity of deep intuition. It is attending to a sharp sense of what things mean" (Lederach, 2005: 70).

Though engaging in empathic dialogue is only the start towards breaking down social divides, it does not get rid of unequal power dynamics. According to Lederach, "a recognition

of mutual dependence increasing the voice of the less powerful and a legitimation of their concerns" is a tool to establish a balance of power (Lederach, 1995: 13).

As Olson says, people "are products of a deeply flawed, empathy-denying culture" (Olson, 2013: 7). If this is true and empathy is like a muscle that must be practiced, then this is one factor that can facilitate change in beliefs, values, and identities as well as has the potential to break down social constructs of difference and bring people closer together.

3.4 Awareness

Every extension of knowledge arises from making conscious the unconscious.

—Friedrich Nietzsche

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, awareness is defined by "knowing that something (such as a situation, condition, or problem) exists", "feeling, experiencing, or noticing something (such as a sound, sensation, or emotion)", and "knowing and understanding a lot about what is happening in the world or around you" (Merriam-Webster, 2015). I see awareness as pertaining to many different levels or towards a specific context or thing. Awareness is similar to what Lakoff refers to as cognitive consciousness where a person brings into their conscious something that was previous in the unconscious. But awareness alone is not enough. A person´s belief structure, values, and position is also important in being aware, for example a person can discriminate or oppress another person and can be aware of it. In this sense, a desire or goal for equality and to facilitate moments of peace is also necessary in addition to techniques. It is not enough to have idealistic and altruistic motives if kind intentions perpetuate an invisible system of inequality.

In Chapter One, I introduced how power dynamics are relations, dynamic, strategic, and often invisible, yet always present. This is similar to whiteness. In term of whiteness, Critical

Whiteness Studies developed in order to shift how to study *race* and identity. Critical White-
ness Studies introduces a new lens to magnify and problematize whiteness and naming the
unnamed by bringing critical issues in focus. As I mentioned in Chapter One, whiteness is
dominant and less frequently mentioned.

In regards to belonging it is not enough for one to accept or validate another person, be-
cause the hierarchical power dynamics are still present. This acceptance if not in a horizontal
power relationship can still perpetuate an in-group/out-group or hierarchical act of domi-
nance. A part of belonging entails a certain degree of recognition and acknowledgement of the
other person. In the case of unequal power relations may resemble a one way track, where one
group in a dominant position recognizes the Other (the oppressed), which creates and perpet-
uates the binary of Us and Them. Gloria Anzaldúa refers to the danger of a one way track
with the metaphor of a river and two river banks, because "it is not enough to stand on the
opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions"
(Anzaldúa, 2012: 78). This counterstance represents the danger of an uneven recognition,
which needs to be transformed to a reciprocal recognition. Recognition in this work refers
also to a way of awareness, acknowledging for example certain privileges we hold, being
open to listen, while also to de-center ourselves in necessary situations in order to understand
complex power structures, positions, and privileges.

Returning to the refugee crisis, these power dynamics should be brought into awareness.
Drawing on the field of Decolonial Studies, a new light is shined on the refugee crisis. This
lens is important considering the German national identity as I lay out in Chapter Two when I
explain key events that shaped the consolidation of an exclusive German-ness.

The German nation-state, as well as much of the world, views life through the frame of
the white male as center which further categorizes people´s identities into a hierarchical value.
One level of awareness important to addressing a homogenous *German* identity is to be con-
scious of the very framework in which we view life in the social sphere. Lakoff explains that

"'common sense´ can differ widely from person to person" and is nothing more than a repetition of frames often at the unconscious level (Lakoff, 2006: 37).

As much of the world has been affected by the modernist projects of colonialism, capitalism, universalism, and globalization it is hard to break from this worldview or *Weltanschauung*. Deep frames in people´s minds shape their values, beliefs, and how they identify with others. Although I define identity as a fluid, multidimensional, and constantly evolving construction, cognitive psychology shows these physical neuro networks "don´t change overnight" (Lakoff, 2006: 37). The deeper the frame or belief, value, or behavior the harder it is to change, but to change takes awareness to start. This level of awareness concerning the patriarchal-white-Christian as the center is not a part of most education systems and therefore not addressed in German society at the level needed for a transformation. More specifically, the German nation-state has not gone through a process of Decolonization and Denazification. In earlier notes on the state of research in the field of sociohistorical connections with identity in Germany, I stated that colonialism is mainly hidden behind National Socialism. In addition, interrelatedness between the two events in German history is lacking. I therefore argue for the need of analyzing the continuities of German colonial imaginary, since it runs through the nation´s sociopolitical projects and perpetuates the hierarchical distinction between people. In Chapter Two, I clearly demonstrated how the desire for a homogenous German society was implemented since colonialism and climaxed in the Holocaust. The Blood Law, as well as other political regulations helped enforce this homogenous society and left a significant mark in the national *German* identity. In order to unmake or move away from this mainstream identity, decolonization indicates a radical shift in the epistemological, political, and social way many people in Germany see. So, drawing from Decolonial Studies, a radical awareness of one´s position including disadvantages and privileges must be taken into account if one is to address inequality as its deeper causes. This is the process of de-centering.

3.4.1 De-centering the German In-Group

With the aim of transforming a rigid, essentialist, and exclusive view of identity that re-inforces the in-group/out-group dichotomy in Germany, a critical unmaking of the roots and influences is necessary. I refer to a process that goes beyond a deconstruction of uneven pow-er dynamics and unveiling binaries. As part of de-centering Germany and the German identi-ty, the structures, practices, knowledge, and dominant imaginations that create in-group/out-group relations in Germany need to be brought into awareness. As presented in Chapter One and Two, German-ness as an in-group is institutionalized, normalized, and rooted in colonial rhetoric. In order to unmake the mentioned structures and imaginations, it appears necessary to de-center this German essentialist and exclusive identity. This requires recognizing what I call the frames of German identity that I intend to unveil throughout this thesis.

Although I do not want to approach history in a linear way, thereby homogenizing peo-ple´s individual experiences with postcolonialism and post National Socialism, the identity marker it ascribes to the country needs to be recognized and considered as moment of depar-ture. Nevertheless, de-centering means starting with the now and here. The present situation in Germany might be a chance for pausing, embracing the present, and moving beyond the norm.

De-centering the German in-group also means illuminating the dominant norm. The lack of putting the dominant majority into perspective reflects an invisible normalcy including whiteness as discussed in Chapter Two. Since identity construction is co-created with others, an approach to racialized hierarchies relevant for the structures of present day *German* identi-ty is necessary. De-centering in this sense means an analysis of one´s self position and away from an identification with or through the *oppressed* Other (El-Tayeb, 2009). In the German case, this specifically means the numerous relations between being *German* and being white. For a long time, a critical perspective only originated from non-whites, mainly Women of

Color. Only recently are Critical Whiteness Studies being introduced and recognized in German academics.

Identity privileges, including whiteness, as explored earlier in this Chapter, matter for the sake of awareness and transformation. Unmaking the norms that determine the German in-group identity means undoing privilege, especially white male privilege, as it is the white male that is placed in the center and thereby determining the norm (Carbado, 2005). In Chapter Two, I argued *German* identity is racialized as being German is predominantly associated with being white (and Christian). Undoing privilege coercively means undoing *race*.

De-centering also means to shift the established center of modernist Western conceptions and knowledges of history. In the German context that means a break with essentialist notions of identity that constructed an exclusive German identity with the goal of homogeneity that in present day leads to a hierarchical binary of in-group/out-group. A Euro-centered philosophy is deep-seated in Germany, thereby not leaving space for plural and different voices and knowledge. This goes back to the example of Kilomba´s experience in German academics that represents an epistemological blindness thereby reproducing ontological racism (Kilomba, 2010). The binary relationship also relates to what I stated about status in Chapter One. Since status is not fixed and relative in the sense that one´s status is determined by the relationship with someone else, the status can be negotiated, yet holds power dynamics. In the in-group/out-group scenario, the in-group usually is perceived to have a higher status, which is where the flexible status in the context of de-centering comes into play, as a flexible status more easily can cope with conflict.

In relation to the current refugee situation, unmaking Eurocentric Universalist and modernist notions is needed for a critical awareness of intersecting relations of power dynamics that perpetuate hierarchical binaries of in-group/out-group relations. Furthermore, with regard to discussions on how to approach the refugee crisis, also the historical, political, and eco-

nomical causes need to be addressed and not only the questions of how to accommodate and *integrate* the refugees, which is needed for a shift in notions of *German* identity.

De-centering is the attempt to look beyond dichotomies, being conscious of privileges, and moving towards a space that allows new positions, identities, and the negotiation of difference.

3.4.2 Notions Towards a Third Space

In contemporary Germany, cultural, ethnic, and other differences are often seen as a threat to Germany´s culture, society, politics, and more specifically German identity. In Chapter One, referring to Bhabha, I discussed the difference between cultural diversity and cultural difference. He claims that

> […] although there is always an entertainment and encouragement of cultural diversity, there is always also a corresponding containment of it. A transparent norm is constituted, a norm given by the host society or dominant culture, which says that `these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid´. This is what I mean by a creation of cultural diversity and a containment of cultural difference (Bhabha, 1990: 208).

Bhabha's quote is a prime example of the current day refugee situation as the unequal power relations are still present. This problem goes back to the case where Germany *accepts* refugees into the German nation-state borders, but asks them to basically 'leave their identity at the door', as I stated in reference to the earlier mentioned article. It is not enough to *accept* refugees into the country, if there is no inclusive intention and if Germany "doesn´t generally recognise the Universalist and normative stance from which it constructs its cultural and political judgements" (Bhabha, 1990: 209).

Bhabha argues that a Universalist and modern framework cannot understand or accommodate the difference of cultures and positions himself in a space of liminality, a "productive space of the construction of culture as difference" (Bhabha, 1990). With that said, de-centering and unmaking the sociohistorical rooted exclusive *German* identity is needed in

order to reframe and transform what it means to be *German* as well as embracing difference as part of a personal and collective identity.

Different cultures then can be articulated "because all cultures are symbol-forming and subject-constituting, interpellative practices", meaning that they are constantly forming, changing, and their understanding is also a subjective process. In short, cultures are being translated as if they were a language, just like a translator interprets a language and then relays the message to someone else (Bhabha, 1990: 210). Bhabha argues that from his two understandings of the genealogy of difference and the notion of translation stems hybridity, since they deny an essentialism of an originary culture. He describes hybridity as a `third space´ that creates the potential to build new positions, identities, and understandings, removing historical structures and enabling new political dynamics. More precisely, he defines cultural hybridity as a process that "gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (Bhabha, 1990: 211). Bhabha's notion of hybridity also runs parallel to the concept of conflict, which is seen in Peace and Conflict Studies as a motor for change, where something new emerges from the interaction.

Hybridity and hybrid cultures have been part of debates about all types of identities for a long time, in postcolonial as well as postmodern studies. Mainly in postcolonial studies the term hybridity and others like mestizo or creoles refer to the multiple mixtures of cultural, racial, linguistic, religious, and other differences. In the context of modernity, the nation-state and cultural identity, the phenomenon of globalization has a big influence in questions of transformation within different cultures, structures, and social institutions. Migrant movements are included mechanisms in these transformations, connecting more diverse ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups. Diverse groups are interacting more and more with each other, resulting in a growing number of hybrid identities and multicultural societies (Omar, 2006).

The concept of hybrid identities is often connected to postcolonial societies, their colonial past, and the need to approach the out coming societies. Because, the claim of rights of belonging and being part of society by immigrant descendants illustrates and questions the constructed identities of the postcolonial societies and the lack of recognizing the hybridity of identities (Omar, 2006).

Hybridity, in the reality of constructed nation-states with an "imagined community" and cultural identity, goes along with unequal power relations and inequality. The constructed and imagined identity process prevailing by the norm of the dominant identity, generates political, social, and economic exclusion as a function of their religious, cultural, and gender identities (Omar, 2006). In no way that means that hybridity and multiculturalism are not constitutive for most of the societies, but the state of power dynamics are real and significant. They persist despite numerous assaults of constructing homogenous and monolithic cultures, performances, beliefs, and identities that suppress diversity and hybridity, while potentially leading to conflict.

Sidi Omar´s understanding of culture and identity as negotiable and hybrid processes, interactive and dynamic, opens up spaces to question the rigid limits of hegemonic discourses about culture and identity and to furthermore create new forms of identification and belonging with each other on a relational level (Omar, 2006: 241). This approach is not only valuable for each of our individual identity and cultural reality, but also for a less violent cooperation and a peaceful social and cultural transformation. Given that there does not only exist one concept of hybridity including all the different aspects, Omar proposes to establish a framework to introduce and analyze the nature and aspects from a postcolonial perspective (Omar, 2006: 292). Hybridity should not only be a theoretical perspective for individual identity formation, but rather a normative core for political, social, and cultural implications (Omar, 2006: 303). Concepts such as hybridity are topics, which could be included in school curriculum and other

educational content in order to provide new concepts to label an ever growing and globalized world.

A significant claim for an epistemology and new cultural politics of difference and identity is also addressed by human geographer Edward W. Soja and his notions on *Thirdspace*. The claim arose mainly in the USA and from African-American- mainly Women of Color-voices struggling for "the right to be different" (Soja, 1996: 84). Drawing on black feminist bell hooks, Soja emphasizes her creative and radical postmodern contribution to the concept of *Thirdspace* that,

> […] calls attention to those shared sensibilities which cross the boundaries of class, race, gender, etc., that could be fertile ground for the construction of empathy- ties that would promote recognition of common commitments, and serve as a base for solidarity and coalition (hooks, 1990: 27).

For hooks, the place from which to explore the *Thirdspace* is the marginality. She understands this as a chosen place rather than an imposition by the suppressor. It is a form of identity, a subaltern identity that embraces communities of resistance and means a "Thirdspace of political choice" (Soja, 1996: 97).

With the aim of breaking with modernist dichotomies that create in-group/out-group relationships, the dynamics of power need to be explored in order to understand and get to the intersection of power, knowledge, and space (E. W. Soja, 1996). Soja argues that these power dynamics need to be seen as relative and not only oppressive, but rather enabling and flexible as explained by Foucault. This gives space for possible changes from within community and resistance.

An important notion of both Bhabha and Soja is the negotiation and interaction of difference in which a new third space is formed. In the case of the current situation in Germany, a negotiation of difference and the many interactions between in-group and refugees appear to be present. These moments and spaces could be a chance for such third space. Third space allows a renewed and a counter-hegemonic position and attitude, it creates opportunities for

transformation while challenging modern binaries of either/or and Us/Them (Soja, 1996). Third space enables to see from different perspectives in a fluid way thereby allowing identity to be multiple and diverse.

As identity formation is relational and a process of constant co-creation, unmaking and remaking of German identity means a transformative process of individuals that make and shape the nation-state. A de-centering vision is a vision that includes awareness, that is, the conscious of one´s privileges. As people are connected, a person´s privileges affect someone else´s disadvantages. As I argue for a shift in Germany´s identity in order to move away from in-group/out-group relations and towards an inclusive German identity, de-centering means taking a different view that enables a space for new identities through negotiation.

There are many open questions, speculations, fears, and challenges for every person involved in relation to the current refugee situation and *German* identity, German politics, and a possible shift in *German* identity. What will the new regulations on refugees and immigration be? How will the regulations represent a shift for German identity? It is almost impossible not to talk about policies when talking about identity, though I am aware of the complexity and continuously changing discourses on the topic.

The German national identity is socially constructed as well as a reflection of the individuals associated with it. In this sense, different individual interactions as well as political interactions contribute to the national identity. Even if many of the refugees left, the many current synergies will influence in some way, both individuals and consequently the national identity. This means that a shift from a homogenous national identity will take place to whatever is coming out of today´s situation, including conflicts, negotiations, and interactions, yet this opportunity could be a motor for change.

Conclusions

In this final Chapter, I have attempted to approach my last question by bridging the analysis of *German* identity to the current refugee situation using Germany as an example. I have explored factors that could facilitate a shift from an exclusive to a more inclusive identity as conducive for moments of peace.

Germany´s national identity as has evolved from history maintains the framework and unequal power dynamics that perpetuate and reproduce an all too common in-group/out-group relationship. During the current refugee situation Germany and the greater region face a challenging opportunity for unmaking and remaking German identity from exclusive and rigid towards embracing a third space where new ways of relating spring up. Identities are changing as people relate to each other; the current refugee situation challenges the negotiation of plural identities, brings numerous interactions, and might support a shift in Germany´s exclusive identity. However, the opposite is possible as well- potentially exacerbating extremism and violence.

As author of this thesis I am conscious of my privileged position in the German context as I perceive my identity as included socially in the in-group based on particular identity categories. As my analysis of sociohistorical influences on the German identity shows, the white occidental male is positioned as the center and determines the norm in an often invisible way. Identity privileges are also political as they are influenced by policy and related to discrimination, this is why being aware of and acknowledging them is crucial for de-centering.

Events reported on the refugee situation have accounted a range of reactions from negative and fear driven to supportive and welcoming; with a growing trend of outreach and acts of kindness. Although I do not deepen the constantly present discourses around the *threat* of refugees as well as some people´s wish to keep foreigners out of the country, I am aware of them and furthermore build on these representations of radical in-group understanding of what it means to be German. I argue that the current crisis is relevant to the national identity

as it marks a potential shift from a rather exclusive German-ness. By explaining the arising tensions with this exclusiveness when accepting and welcoming refugees, I call for inclusive acts and policies that are necessary for the aim of moving beyond an in-group/out-group relationship. At least, the acts of welcoming refugees into the country and organizing support for transition are a step towards inclusion. As thousands of refugees interact with the *German* population, according to my understanding of the co-creation of the other, these interactions will affect and influence the constantly changing German identity, potentially towards a more inclusive identity.

On the other hand, in the light of Germany receiving refugees, one motivation seems to be its declining population and the need for labor, which reminds of the labor program and has the potential to reinforce vertical separations between people. Acceptance in this case goes back to the critical analysis of how power works as in an oppressor/oppressed relationship. In this context and the German nation-state, acceptance does not mean equality and carries with it the potential to further the divide as was the case in the German guest worker program post World War II.

A shift towards a more inclusive identity further would not happen from one day to another and not without facilitating factors. Inclusive policies and actions need to be implemented and regulations reformed, not to mention one´s *Weltanschauung*. A general shift in the view of immigration as natural phenomenon is required and further need to be approached in a reformative way. This means acknowledging that Germany very well is a country of immigration, just as other countries as well. The prevailing solidary acts and empathic engagement from parts of the German population might be an influence in the need for a fundamental reformation of policy. Calling back on the sociohistorical events in Germany, a collective guilt of the Germans is recently back in general discourses of Germany´s responsibility to receive refugees. This brings up the question of Germany´s motivation for a majoritarian openness and support of displaced people.

As interactions require a negotiation of different identities, the question of what it means to be *German* is specifically present and challenged in the moment when juxtaposed next to foreign Others. Media discourses show how claims become dominant that demand the foreign Others to change to the *correct German way* of living, thereby excluding plural identities and viewing identity as a fixed, rigid, and correct way of being. This view parallels modernist characteristics.

Values and beliefs are inherent in people´s identities and often unconsciously guide people´s actions. This is true for individual identities as well as national identities and one way it can be explained is through neuro networks in people´s brains. Lakoff says deep frames in the brain are difficult to change, but in order to transform people´s beliefs and thereby part of the identity, a reframing of how people see the world is necessary.

I argue that empathy is a human capacity that holds the potential to transform human relations. According to Olson, empathy is a muscle that can be practiced. A more empathic society brings a feeling of oneness and the factors one uses to see difference melt like ice. Through empathy people are more open to engage in dialogue and relate to each other at a deeper level. Empathy has the potential to move beyond an in-group/out-group separation and create oneness among people.

Though the oneness does not come without a radical awareness of one´s position and of the unseen factors that reproduces inequality. Being aware of one´s privileges is an important part of de-centering the German in-group that in various forms reproduces an exclusive identity. A process of de-centering structures, knowledges, and imaginaries rooted in colonial and sociohistorical rhetoric is necessary in order to recognize the frames of a German exclusive identity. Unveiling the white identity privilege matters for the sake of awareness and for unmaking the norms of the German in-group identity.

As a potential for building new political dynamics and understandings, cultural hybridity as understood by Homi Bhabha represents a process that in a third space allows a new way

of negotiating difference and has the potential for transformations. It is a space for questioning rigid limits of culture and identity and creating new forms of identification and relating to one another. Third space allows new counter-hegemonic ways of being, seeing, and living to unfold and the potential for new relations to form in a never ending process.

General Conclusions

This study on *German* identity was influenced by and gains relevance through the current refugee situation and related discussions in Germany around asylum, immigration, and human solidarity.

I have explored how modern and rigid views of identity create binary relationships such as in-group/out-group separations. The German nation-state, I have demonstrated, is an example of such separation as the mainstream *German* identity determines certain identity norms thereby excluding the non-German Other. This is problematic as a homogeneous view of what it means to 'be German' does not include or recognize the diverse array of people who actually comprise the German nation-state.

I have explored how key sociohistorical events are related to the construction of the *German* identity and have analyzed characteristics of the mainstream *German* identity or German-ness, which I refer to as the German in-group that creates the binary relationships. These relationships in Germany are carried out through exclusive, discriminatory, and racist structures and actions towards the different non-German Other. In the light of the current refugee situation that challenges the rather exclusive *German* identity, I have argued for a necessary shift towards a more inclusive national identity and have attempted to encourage new ways to see and negotiate identity.

In the light of a Philosophy for Peace that proposes new ways to understand, view, and live life in relation to others, my intention has been to rethink German identity while unveiling its modernist and rigid frames rooted in sociohistorical key events. I have tried to encourage a different way to perceive identity and instead embrace plurality and difference as natural beauty of the world.

In Chapter One, I have provided a philosophical framework by exploring various ways to view identity in order to gain a theoretical understanding and to situate my personal stand-

point. Identity is an abstract and complex concept, which is difficult to define as it consists of many facets. Although a person can have many identities or wear many masks it is often referred to in a singular term, as in one's identity. Throughout the thesis I have taken a constructionist and postmodernist view that understands identity as non-fixed, always changing, malleable, plural, contradictory, and relational among other aspects. As human beings encounter interactions with others, identity is relational and constantly co-created, therefore being is becoming. Relying on a constructionist understanding, identity is viewed as both subjective and objective social constructions. While the objective view of identity looks at facts such as the passport someone holds, the subjective view can be both, a self-identifying or a projective view. This projection can be expressed in form of stereotypes and prejudices and has significant consequences for the in-group/out-group separation. In addition, how a person is treated or related to by others plays a role in one's self-image and consequently could lead to self-fulfilling prophecies in one's identity formation.

In a constructionist point of view and concurrent with Benedict Anderson´s view, a nation-state is only an imagined community, whose bonding is created on the base of a socially, politically, geographically, and culturally construction among others. Since shared experiences, collective memories, and institutional systems have a big impact on the national identity, it is, however, a very real tie.

With a better idea of how identity is viewed in this thesis, I have explored some of the more common ways to describe identities, including class, nationality, gender, and race (to name a few). To better situate these identity categories, I have used an intersectional lens to take into account different combinations of identity categories that are exposed to discrimination in various ways.

I have argued, when exploring identity formation, another integral factor is the dynamic of power. Drawing on the concept of power as introduced by Foucault, the relative and dynamic character of power shines light on the negotiation of belonging, which I problematized

throughout the thesis. Belonging is a form of validation, which goes along with unequal pow-er relations in the sense of in-group/out-group classification. I have identified a constantly tension of who permits whom to belong. This also includes the power laden term accept, which appears in the context of refugees coming to Germany, where the dominant in-group of the country *accepts* the refugee Others into the country, thereby perpetuating binary Us/Them relationships.

The exploration of rigid and essentialist views of identity addressed my problematiza-tion of binary differentiation of *German* versus Un-German based on fixed identities. I have identified this view as rooted in a modernist philosophy that holds an essentialist point of view with little space for plurality. This understanding further defines identity as a fixed, giv-en, and static characteristic with a close relationship to the nation-state one is situated in. De-fining one´s identity based on the nationality contains various dangers, limitations, and politi-cal implications. J

My personal situation opens the discussion of disadvantage and privilege then introduc-es other examples including people who actually immigrated and therefore have a relation to two or more different countries. The nationality(s) do not necessarily coincide with the sub-jective identity of a person. This identity marker often means a negation of parts of someone´s identity and can have extensive consequences, not only for the individual, but also for a group´s collective identity. In agreement with Maalouf, denying people´s identity or forcing someone to emphasize or choose only one aspect of identity, while oppressing the multiple components of identity, can lead to conflict and violence. Nationalism basically has this effect as it demands people to be loyal to a particular identity marker. This phenomenon is particu-larly noticeable in the German case, as in the sense of negating dual citizenship. Denying parts of someone´s identity or making people choose for one or the other, while simultaneous-ly demanding to adopt to the mainstream national identity is dangerous and violent. In addi-

tion, I have argued that certain identity norms, such as whiteness, automatically Others non-white people and thereby actually deny them to ever be part of the in-group.

The differentiation of people, I have argued, has its roots in sociohistorical events, evolving from colonialism and its racial hierarchies. Through the rise of globalization, capitalism, and the far reaching effects of the modern concept, most of the social world views life with a modernist lens. The modernist *Weltanschauung* or worldview is defined by an over-simplified way to view life in binary relations that creates neat and homogenous identities and a separation of group as different from the norm. This is problematic because identity categories are simplified and assigned hierarchical value in relation to the White-male center as the norm. This modernist view produces essentialist and binary thinking with a significant influence on identity.

The modernist view is further an Occidental concept, which concomitantly positions the West as the center and as reference point for what is the norm. This laid the corner stone for racial hierarchies as the colonial projects of European countries determined the colonized people as inferior and the white colonizers as superior. The hegemonic Eurocentric model of power as introduced by Decolonial author Anibal Quijano, plays out in Said´s concept of Orientalism, whose internalized ideas of the Orient as Other represents the Us/Them relationships between West and non-West.

After having laid out the larger picture of identity, in Chapter Two I have applied the theory to Germany as case study with the objective to explore how a mainstream *German* identity is linked to sociohistorical key events. As I have analyzed how colonialism, National Socialism, and Post World War II immigration policies shaped and were shaped by *German* identity, I recognized a continuous process of consolidation of an exclusive German-ness.

Building on the foundation of my theoretical framework, I recognized the construction of the *German* identity as based on a Western universalism that legitimates its centrality in

determining identity norms and politics rooted in colonial relations. The desire of a homogenous society and national identity runs like a thread through German history of the 20th century. Due to the scope of this thesis, the sociohistorical events I include begin from colonialism and go to present day. As the desire for homogeneity was accompanied by political implications to secure a correspondingly society, the exclusiveness of *German* identity climaxed in the German Holocaust with the eradication of many people who were not wanted to be included in the in-group.

The guest worker program represented an irruption or *threat* to the homogenous society, which, although desired, did not mean a change in the intentions of an exclusive *German* identity. I have shown how the acquaintance with the immigration situation as well as with the guest workers themselves reflected the continuing desire of a homogenous society as well as the clear separation of the foreign Other. This desire went along with fear and prejudices towards the immigrants, clearly rooted in racial hierarchies and a concept of Orientalism, which defined the Others. I have demonstrated a shift in regards to explanations or justifications for the fear and perceived threat. Germany´s faulted relationship to racism as grounded in the Holocaust shifted towards cultural differences as explanation, thereby mantling the constructed racial differences. In this sense, whiteness represents one main characteristic of *German* identity, thereby equalizing non-white with non-German. By introducing Critical Whiteness Studies, I have argued whiteness in Germany is invisible by determining the normalized in-group identity. Plurality and difference in Germany are sacrificed while the mainstream identity is prioritized. In cases like the Guest Worker Program or the current day refugee crisis I have argued that foreigners permitted into the German nation-state are still located on a grid with the dominant white, Western Christian, male positioned in the center.

Finally in Chapter Three, I have brought the current refugee situation into my analysis as I argue it has an impact on Germany´s national identity. With the admission of thousands

of refugees that requires extensive support, my presented problematization of in-group/out-group separations in Germany lead me to argue for the need to shift from a rather exclusive to a more inclusive *German* identity.

I have demonstrated how Germany´s identity is challenged, although I recognize there are too many factors which influence identity to adequately paint a holistic or clearly defined model. Based on my understanding that identity is co-created, the many interactions between *Germans* and refugee Other will naturally impact the always evolving identity both individually and collectively. I have raised the potential shift in *German* identity relying on the widespread solidarity with the refugees. At the same time, I have argued a shift requires inclusive policies and actions that simultaneously depend on a radical awareness of the deep rooted frames of Germany´s exclusive identity. Acknowledging power dynamics as well as identity privileges are therefore a necessary part of de-centering the *German* in-group. Whiteness as identity privilege has played a significant role in my argumentation for the need of decentering, while recognizing the invisible value laden hierarchies and norms in order to relate on more equal terms. This awareness is needed to create new ways of seeing, being, and acting based on the negotiation and interaction of people in order to move to a third space where hybrid identities and difference are embraced.

As a change or shift in *German* identity would not happen from one day to another, there are many accompanying factors, such as for example the reformation of policies towards more inclusiveness as I have mentioned. The motivation for the many solidary acts among the German population may include different ambitions, including empathy, guilt, or other. However, I argue, empathy is a human capacity, which holds the potential to transform human divides and to move beyond an in-group/out-group separation. It is a human capacity to relate to each other and thereby changing the deep frames including one´s values and beliefs that are necessary for a transformative shift. As Germany´s past of the Holocaust maintains the concept of a collective guilt in German society, recent discussions ascribe Germany a particular

responsibility to receive refugees and raises the question of the actual motivation behind certain acts.

Values and beliefs as inherent in neuro networks in people´s brain and simultaneously in German identity are challenged by the interactions with the refugee Others and are difficult to change, yet not impossible. In order to transform such part of someone´s identity it requires a reframing of people´s *Weltanschauung* which simultaneously means the awareness and recognition of the hierarchization of people within Germany. I therefore argue for a process of de-centering structures, knowledges, and imaginaries that produce and reproduce these hierarchies that influence the frames of *German* exclusive identity.

I have turned to Homi Bhabha and his understanding of cultural hybridity as third space. Embracing cultural hybridity brings up the potential for new ways of negotiating difference, new ways of thinking, acting, and relating to each other. It allows a space for questioning rigid views of culture and identity, while creating new forms of identity and relating to others. In the light of my call for a shift in mainstream *German* identity, enabling new ways of being, seeing, and living through the negotiation of difference while embracing cultural hybridity brings the potential for moments of peace.

Through this research, I personally have gone through an extensive process of transformation. This transformation consists of an extension of comprehension that lead to a better ability to label my thoughts and concerns. It also includes a better understanding of my position in Germany and in the world, my relation to others, to myself, and to my research. I have gained a deeper understanding of the relatedness and dependency of humans and their identities. I have challenged, questioned, and embraced my identity process with all its contradictions and doubts.

Limitations

Throughout the process of my thesis I faced numerous challenges, some of them being limitations and others perhaps valid opportunities for a personal transformation through research. My personal relation to the topic was and is a challenge, for research is not possible to be objective. My research is a question seeking approach, meaning that it is guided by uncertainty. This uncertainty is also part of personal doubts and contradictions, likewise reflected in research.

Language is part of people´s identity. The German language being my native language had a specific role in my research, since I often approached discourses on German identity, the foreign Other, and the current refugee crisis in German. Language is a powerful medium of understanding and labeling. Language transmits knowledge, beliefs, and values. The fact that I am writing in English and also reading mainly in English was a personal challenge in various regards. First, I see permanent restrictions in expressing and labeling in a language that is not my native language. At the same I acknowledge it is a privilege and a valuable part of my identity that widens my horizon of understanding and supports a more diverse and plural view. And maybe writing in English did provide a certain degree of distance to the topic and thereby balanced my personal relation to it. I saw a restriction in talking to and discussing questions and aspects of my thesis with friends and family in Germany, for not writing and thereby *thinking* in German.

A general limitation is the broad topic of identity. While exploring identity formation processes there are many ways of how to approach them. As I choose to focus on German identity as constructed in sociohistorical relations, I touched another complex and broad topic with many different directions it could go. A broad topic bears the danger of hiding or excluding important aspects while strengthening the chosen key elements. By formulating more than

one broad research question I tried to name the specific group(s) excluded, yet thereby still excluding other groups. For example, how do rigid views of identity affect and exclude other fringe, yet not *foreign* groups such as homeless or disabled people?

Including a current event brings up a series of uncertainties and questions that are not possible to approach. At the same time it provides a certain relevance that opens the door for further research as well as bringing up many interesting questions such as how does the current challenge affect Germany´s national identity in a larger picture? How will Germany approach asylum policies in the future? As I am finishing my thesis, new discussions and changes in the welcoming mood within Germany arise, including overwhelming disillusion and concern about the ongoing big numbers of refugees arriving. But my thesis does not aim at giving a *correct* answer, solution, or final opinion; rather do my research questions guide the process of analysis. The process has only started and involves the aim of providing one view of the analyzed sociohistorical relations of German identity, yet identity is fluid and constantly changing.

Further Research

Due to the limitation of time, I have chosen not to conduct interviews or other forms of field research, yet I do argue that it would enrich my research and provide a more diverse insight to what it means to be *German* or the *German* identity. It would support unveiling dominant aspects of *German* exclusive identity and hopefully likewise show gaps of awareness and consciousness.

As identity is fluid, flexible, diverse, and relational, a further exploration of *German* identity will be an interesting research viewing foreseeable changes and dynamics regarding the current challenges. Millions of social and political interactions take and will take place and shape the individual as well as the national identity of both, the German in-group and out-

group. A comparison of present and future perceptions of *German* identity would further allow a mentioned analysis of how the current situation affects and shapes *German* identity.

Analyzing sociohistorical events and projects and their influence on *German* identity construction, I had to focus on certain relevant aspects, while both political and social relations of all of the projects are extensive and bring up more questions. My intention has been to focus on those aspects of *German* identity formation that produce and reproduce norms that exclude the foreign Other thereby forming clear in-group/out-group relations. Yet, part of the out-group is not only the foreign Other, but rather all those fringe groups that do not fit the created norm. An interesting analysis in this sense would be how the identity category class is part of the German in-group identity. In this sense, a study of the German education system as institutional support for an exclusive German in-group identity might also unveil a long tradition of structural violence that needs to be transformed in order to move towards an inclusive *German* identity as mentioned in Chapter Three.

This journey has been the beginning of a personal transformation through research. It has raised many more questions and the desire to further engage in related research. The developments around the in-group/out-group relationship in Germany are specifically interesting in the light of the current challenge through the refugee situation. My unchangeable and naturally personal connection to Germany as part of my identity will continue to support my interest and concern as well as a consciousness of my position.

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