

Glossary of Terms

<i>Abhauen</i>	escape over the border
<i>Ackersmann</i>	plowman; in Kella, the term denotes patron farmers who plowed villagers' fields
<i>Arbeiter</i>	worker
<i>Bauer, Bauern</i>	farmer; in Kella, the term denotes landholders
<i>Begrüßungsgeld</i>	"welcome money," 100 marks that were given to each East German citizen during his or her first visit to West Germany
<i>Beziehungen</i>	connections
<i>Braunrode</i>	hill on the western side of the border overlooking Kella, close to the hilltop "window to Kella"
<i>Bückwaren</i>	scarce goods for which the store clerk had to "bend" down
DFD	Demokratischer Frauenbund Deutschlands (Democratic Women's Federation)

<i>Dorfchronik</i>	village chronicle
<i>drüben</i>	"over there"—the other side of the border in both East and West
Eichsfeld	Catholic enclave in Protestant central Germany
<i>Eingaben</i>	legally sanctioned complaints under socialism
<i>Einwohnerversammlungen</i>	town meetings
<i>Elternhaus</i>	parent house
<i>Fasching</i>	annual pre-Lent carnival
FDJ	Freie Deutsche Jugend (Free German Youth), the youth organization of the East German SED (Communist) party
<i>Gemeinde</i>	community, municipality
<i>Gemeindehaus</i>	community (village) administration building
<i>Geschichtsverein</i>	voluntary association for the study and preservation of history
<i>Glauben</i>	religious faith
<i>Grenze</i>	border, most frequently used in referring to the border between East and West Germany
<i>Grenzer</i>	border guard
<i>Grenzhelfer</i>	border-guard helper
<i>Grenzordnung</i>	order of the border
<i>Großbauer</i>	large farmer/property holder; in Kella, the term alludes to families who farmed ten to twenty hectares
<i>Hamsterkauf</i>	"hamster," or hoarding purchase
<i>Heimat</i>	literally, <i>home</i> or <i>homeland</i> ; a discourse of belonging, place, and identity
<i>Heimatverein</i>	voluntary association dedicated to the cultivation of <i>Heimat</i>
Hülfensberg	the Eichsfeld's most sacred pilgrimage site, ten kilometers from Kella and within the highly restricted <i>Schutzstreifen</i>
<i>Jugendweihe</i>	socialist state initiation ceremony intended as a secular equivalent to the Catholic first communion and Protestant confirmation
<i>Kampfgruppe</i>	People's Militia

<i>Kirmes</i>	annual village festival commemorating the anniversary of the church's dedication in October 1854
<i>Kittel</i>	smock, a potent symbol of working women in the GDR
Konsum	state-owned retail chain that operated as Kella's only store
<i>Kreis</i>	administrative district, similar in function to a county in the United States
LPG	Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft, state-owned collective farm
<i>Männerballett</i>	men's ballet, a performance involving cross-dressing at the annual <i>Fasching</i> festivities
<i>Mittelbauer</i>	property holder/farmer who owned five to ten hectares
<i>Nachholungsbedarf</i>	"need to catch up," alluding to the perceived need of eastern Germans to "catch up" materially, politically, socially, culturally, and economically to the western Germans
Neues Forum	New Forum, one of the 1989 civic movements
NVA	Nationale Volksarmee, the GDR army
<i>Ordnung und Sicherheit der Grenze</i>	order and security of the border
<i>Ortschronik</i>	local chronicle written during the GDR period
<i>Ossi</i>	colloquial name for eastern Germans
<i>Republikflucht</i>	unlawful border crossing from the GDR to the FRG
<i>Schutzstreifen</i>	500-meter-wide security zone edging the border on the GDR side; only people with special passes were permitted to enter the zone
<i>Schutzstreifengemeinde</i>	village in the high-security zone
Schwesternhaus	church-owned facility in Kella that housed a Catholic kindergarten and a small nursing home staffed by three resident nuns
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei, the East German Communist Party

<i>Sperrgebiet</i>	five-kilometer-deep restricted zone along the East-West boundary; like the Schutzstreifen, only people with special passes were permitted to enter
Stasi	East German state security police
<i>streifenlaufen</i>	patrol of the sand strip along the alarm fence
Trabi	nickname for a Trabant, an East German automobile
Treuhand	federal organization in charge of privatizing former East German industry
VEB	Volkseigener Betrieb, publicly (state-) owned factory in the GDR
<i>Vergangenheitsbewältigung</i>	"overcoming the past," originally used in West Germany in relation to the Nazi period but now also used in referring to East Germany's socialist past
<i>Volksfest</i>	festival
<i>Volksfrömmigkeit</i>	popular faith
<i>Volkskirche</i>	people's church
Volkspolizei	People's Police, the East German police
<i>Volkspolizeihelfer</i>	People's Police helper
<i>Wende</i>	"turning point," the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of socialist rule
<i>Werbefahrt</i>	corporate-sponsored commercial trip
<i>Wessi</i>	colloquial name for western Germans
<i>Westpakete</i>	western packages
<i>Wossi</i>	Ossi who takes on exaggerated characteristics of Wessis
<i>Zivilverteidigung</i>	civil defense
<i>Zoni</i>	somewhat derogatory, colloquial term for eastern German, stemming from the Soviet zone of occupation during the early postwar period
<i>Zufluchtsort</i>	place of refuge
<i>Zwischenraum</i>	space between

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. I have chosen the hyphenated terms *re-unification* and *re-unified* to refer to the union of the FRG and the GDR on October 3, 1990. Although I am aware of the arguments that point to the teleological and ideological implications of the term *reunification*, as well as the fact that the territories united in 1990 do not represent Germany in an earlier state, I am also concerned that the omission of any term reflecting a previous union of this region as one country silences critical elements of Germany's past: the fact, for example, that Germany was divided in 1945 for a reason. Further, the area that I discuss in this book has experienced a resumption of earlier economic and social ties across regional, religious, and former national borders. My use of the hyphen is thus a compromise, an effort to avoid the naturalizing connotations of *reunification* while reflecting a sensitivity to certain histories of divisions and recent restorations. At times I do use the word *unity*, however, as a literal translation of the official German term *Einheit*.

2. In this sense, a study of boundaries relates to a long-term interest of anthropology in social classification and structure as reflected in the spatial organization of social groups (Durkheim and Mauss 1963; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Lévi-Strauss 1963).
3. For notable exceptions, see Cole and Wolf 1974; Donnan and Wilson 1994b; Flynn 1997; Frankenberg 1957; Kelleher 1994. Wilson and Donnan 1998, published as my book was in press, provides a rich collection of anthropological case studies of international borders as well as a lucid overview of an anthropology of borders in the context of nation and state formation.
4. A limited sample of this recent literature, some of which is discussed below, includes: Behar 1993, Gupta and Ferguson 1992, and Rosaldo 1989 in anthropology; a special issue of the German journal *Sowi* on boundaries (March 1991) in history; and Bhabha 1994, Calderón and Salvádar 1991, Castillo 1995, Hicks 1991, Michaelsen and Johnson 1997 in cultural and literary studies. Paralleling views of Chicana and Chicano poets and fiction writers like Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) or Federico Campbell (1995). Many of these studies on boundaries and borderlands are also closely linked to, and draw their insights from, other attempts to theorize interstitiality and hybridity: for example, in studies of postcolonialism (Bhabha 1994; Hannerz 1987) or of transnational diasporas (Rouse 1991). As part of this recent trend, the theme of the 1995 meetings of the American Ethnological Society was "Border Anthropologies."
5. Such writings include the classic *With His Pistol in His Hand*, by Américo Paredes (1958), as well as Alvarez 1995; Anzaldúa 1987; Bauman and Abrahams 1981; Campbell 1995; Kearney 1991; Limón 1992, 1994; Martínez 1994; Paredes 1993; Vélez-Ibáñez 1996.
6. For example, Bhabha 1994; Hicks 1991; Johnson and Michaelsen 1997. One could argue that a metaphorical or figurative borderland is foregrounded in the pioneering works of both Renato Rosaldo and Gloria Anzaldúa, as well.
7. My thanks to the participants in the panel on "Border Incidents" (annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, November 1996; Mary Steedly and Lindsay French, organizers) for illuminating and clarifying my thinking on these issues.
8. See also Michaelsen and Johnson 1997, particularly the essay by Alejandro Lugo.
9. Compare Borneman 1991, 1992.
10. See, for example, Hann 1980, 1985; Humphrey 1983; Kideckel 1993; Kligman 1988; Nagengast 1991; Verdery 1991, 1996. The work of John Borneman (1991, 1992, 1997) has provided an extremely valuable precedent for anthropological studies of socialism in the East German context.
11. On the "capitalist triumphalism" surrounding the collapse of socialism, see

- Borneman 1991; Hann 1993; Verdery 1996. For discussions of different trajectories of postsocialism, see, for example, Berdahl, Bunzl, and Lampland, 1999; De Soto and Anderson 1993; Kideckel 1995; Verdery 1996.
12. The exceptions include Kearney 1991 on the U.S.-Mexican border and Wilson 1994 on the Irish border.
 13. Of course, any focus on the particular resonates with a long-standing emphasis in anthropology on case studies and genealogical methods.
 14. See, for example, the village monographs by Anderson and Anderson 1966; Friedl 1962; Friedl 1974; Netting 1981; and Laurence Wylie's classic study, *Village in the Vaucuse* (1957). For some of the first village monographs in the German context, see Golde 1975 and Spindler 1973; see also De Soto 1989 for a more recent theoretical and ethnographic perspective. The wealth of scholarship in German, some of which more or less successfully transcends the "village study paradigm," includes Frahm and Hoops 1987; Ilien and Jeggle 1978; Kaschuba and Lipp 1982, as well as the innovative work of social historians on both sides of the Atlantic like Becker 1990; Medick 1997; Sabeian 1984, 1990, 1998.
 15. See, for example, Chirot 1976; Cole and Wolf 1974; Schneider and Schneider 1976.
 16. The term stems from Behar 1990.
 17. For particularly sophisticated justifications of the trivial and overviews of importance of "the everyday," see Comaroff and Comaroff 1997, esp. pp. 29-35; Lüdtke 1995.
 18. The question of experience has been the subject of much theoretical and political scrutiny both within and outside anthropology. For an especially illuminating and nuanced discussion of this issue, see Steedly 1993. See also Bruner 1986; Jackson 1989; Scott 1991.
 19. The relatively recent and rich literature on everyday life in the GDR includes Kaelble, Kocka, and Zwahr 1994; Kocka and Sabrow 1994; Lüdtke and Becker 1997; Niethammer, von Plato, and Wierling 1991.
 20. My positioning as an American, outsider, and non-Catholic undoubtedly affected certain aspects and trajectories of my research in Kella. A West German, for example, might have come away with very different materials and interpretations due to the nature of East-West tensions that dominated much of village experience and discourse at the time. Any attempt to assess the implications of my particular positioning would be difficult from my vantage point and would remain speculative without having available study of the village or similar village situations by investigators who were differently situated. However, I believe the point warrants brief mention in order to provide some perspective on my choice and weighting of informants and interpretations. I discuss in greater depth the issues surrounding my positioning in relation to dilemmas of fieldwork in postsocialist societies in Berdahl n.d.

CHAPTER 1

1. The Eschweger Klosterbräu is a local brewery. The restaurant closed a few years before the fall of the Wall.
2. Led by the reformer Thomas Müntzer in 1525, the Eichsfeld was briefly converted to Protestantism following the Reformation. Under the direction of the archbishop of Mainz, however, members of the newly founded Jesuit order succeeded in converting the region's population back to Catholicism during a sweeping Counter-Reformation.
3. The Eichsfeld dialect is an important aspect of local identity. Like other regional dialects in Germany, however, it is spoken primarily by people born before 1945. Local historical journals (*Eichsfelder Heimathefte* and, until it dissolved after the Wende, *Eichsfelder Heimatstimmen*) publish regular columns that include regional idiomatic expressions, jokes, vocabulary, and discussions of writing local dialect. Although younger people may understand the local dialect, they do not speak it together or with their elders. The cultivation of a threatened local dialect is thus perceived to be a primary function of the regional Heimatvereine. In Kella, for example, the newly founded Heimatverein Kella sponsors regular "dialect evenings," in which poems and stories are performed in the local dialect. On a methodological note, the local dialect presented few language problems for me during fieldwork because high German was spoken in most contexts.
4. This account, along with several other children's narratives of the Americans' arrival in Kella, is included in a church chronicle written in 1946 by I. Degenhardt, a priest who served in Kella during the war years. This chronicle is in the Kella church archives and is one of four "chronicles" referred to throughout this book. The others are: a village history published in honor of Kella's 825th anniversary (*Festschrift*, hereafter cited as Müller and others 1966); a local chronicle (*Ortschronik*) written during the GDR period, as required by the state; a village chronicle (*Dorfchronik*) started in the 1990s, which incorporates much of the information in the previous three chronicles. The latter *Dorfchronik*, carefully handwritten in a large, leather-bound volume, contrasts sharply with the loose, typed forms of the *Ortschronik*. All three chronicles are housed in the village archive.
5. On "GDR language," see, for example, Lüdtke 1997a.
6. In the Christian tradition, the fourteen Stations of the Cross depict the events leading up to and including Christ's crucifixion.
7. Twenty-eight villagers out of a working-age population of 163 are listed in the *Festschrift* as being involved in home textile production in 1765 (Müller and others 1966: 10).
8. For a more extensive overview and description of Eichsfeld migrant work-

ers, see Schnier and Schulz-Greve 1990. For a more thorough history of economic development in the Eichsfeld, see Riese 1980.

9. Village employment/occupations in 1985 (the last date before the Wende for which such figures were compiled) were:

EMPLOYMENT/OCCUPATION	NUMBER
VEB Spielwaren Pfaffs. (toy factory)	108
BT Solidor (Kella suspender-clips factory)	82
Construction workers in Heiligenstadt	28
Road-construction workers	10
Schoolteachers	7
Day-care workers	6
Village administration	5
Forestry (in Heiligenstadt)	5
Stockyard (in Heiligenstadt)	2
Catholic kindergarten	3
Konsum	3
Beauticians	2
Post-office workers	2
Pub	2
Nursery	4
Truck drivers	3
Independent craftsperson: carpenter	2 (total employees)
Independent craftsperson: smith	2 (total employees)
Independent craftsperson: mason	1
Independent craftsperson: folk artist	1
Other	12

Source: Kella village archives.

10. On the senses in fieldwork and anthropological practice, see Stoller 1989.
11. After the currency union on July 1, 1990, East German stores carried mostly western products. Some causes and consequences of this changeover are discussed in chapter 5. Although the local store came under private ownership in 1991, it was still called *Konsum* by village residents.
12. Between 1952 and 1989, Kella's population declined from approximately 800 to 600 inhabitants. Age groups, however, remained fairly evenly dispersed, as reflected in village demographics compiled in 1985:

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF RESIDENTS
1-3 years	41
3-6	28
6-16	69

16–25	105
24–40	98
40–55	145
55–65	58
over 65	75

Source: 1987 Report on Population Structure of Kreis Heiligenstadt, Kella village archives.

13. The church-sponsored kindergarten (described in chapters 2 and 3) was still in operation.

CHAPTER 2

1. For insightful ethnographic analyses of the mutually constitutive relationship between the state and its citizens in the context of the “modern” (western) nation-state, see Herzfeld 1992, 1997.
2. Michel de Certeau also employs the term *Zwischenraum*—“a middle place, composed of interactions and inter-views”—in his discussion of spatial practices and frontiers. His usage is thus similar to the borderland metaphor I employ throughout this book; it does not denote the interstitial spaces of state power in the way that I am using it here (de Certeau: 1984: 127).
3. For an overview of state organizations and popular participation in an urban context, see Rueschemeyer 1991.
4. For a sophisticated model of the political economy of socialism in relation to the organization and allocation of production and consumption, see Konrad and Szelenyi 1979; Kornai 1992; Verdery 1996.
5. For an interesting study in the Hungarian context of factory production rituals and the ways in which they counter-productively generated resentment and opposition to socialism, see Burawoy and Lukács 1992.
6. Although the presence of and infiltration by Stasi spies was common knowledge among GDR citizens, the extent of Stasi thoroughness was discovered only after the fall of the Wall. According to most estimates, the agency had more than 90,000 full-time employees, supplemented by another 500,000 official or occasional informants (Rosenberg 1995: 290). More than half of the adult population of the GDR reportedly had personal Stasi files. Following numerous debates surrounding the future of the Stasi files in 1990, they were placed in the independent hands of what is referred to as the “Gauck Authority” after Joachim Gauck, an East German dissident pastor from Rostock. One of the unique aspects of the German “lustration” law is that victims may have access to their own files. After the Stasi files were opened in January 1992, the Gauck Authority was flooded with requests; by November 1993 it had received more than 2 million re-

quests—more than 12 percent of the population of the former GDR. For an accessible discussion of the Stasi legacy see Rosenberg 1995. See also Gauck's own assessment (Gauck 1991). For an account of one of the most famous stories of this legacy, a case of a dissident married couple, see Wollenberger 1992.

The identity of Stasi informants in Kella will most likely not be revealed until residents obtain access to their individual Stasi files, which could take years. Rumor has it that there were between twelve and fifteen Stasi informants within the village, although no one was able to explain to me where that number came from.

7. According to GDR law, a member of the defendant's community must serve as a “social plaintiff” in such cases. Werner was asked by the village council to serve in this capacity and viewed his role as both plaintiff and defender.

8. At the time of the municipal elections in May 1990, communities in this region adopted West German municipal government rules. Members of the village council were elected first; the council then elected one of its members mayor.

9. On Eingaben in the GDR, see also Merkel 1997 and Mühlberg 1996.

10. “Black” refers to the Christian Democratic Union, part of the “multi-party facade” (Childs 1988: 127) in the GDR and a refuge for Christians.

11. Localities were required by the state to maintain a local chronicle (*Ortschronik*), which was regularly subject to state inspection.

12. As many scholars have pointed out (for example, Bakhtin 1984; Burke 1978; De Soto n.d.; Fernandez 1986; Gilmore 1987; Scott 1990), carnival has a long history in Europe as a means of and forum for mocking political authority. James Scott, for example, argues that carnival may be viewed as “an institutionalized form of political disguise” (1990: 173).

13. “Zone,” a reference to the zone of Soviet occupation, is a nickname for East Germany that derives from the immediate postwar period.

14. As with other rhymed songs and chants quoted throughout the book, I have taken some leeway in my translation here in order to capture the creativity of the original German rhyme. Original German:

Ich bin ein Mädchen aus der Zone, ich wohne in Kella—am Ende dieser Welt.
Ich hab' ein schönes Häuschen mit Garten, ein Auto und auch 'ne Menge Geld.
Trotz einem schönen Kneipchen, der Kirmes, dem Fasching fühl ich mich so allein.
Ich träume von den schönen Städten, von Dallas, von Denver, dort möchte ich
gern sein!!!

Ein Prinz muß kommen und meinen Traum erfüllen
und meine Sehnsucht stillen nach dieser großen Welt.
Holt er mich mit 'nem tollen Wagen, wird er mich leise fragen . . .
. . . Doch aber—ohne Schein—kommt er ja gar nicht rein!!!

15. German:

Da sah ich den Zaun, er war wie aus Watte
und es gab keinen, der gegen die Grenzer was hatte

Kein Mensch hatte das Braunrode im Sinn
denn jeder der wollte, kam über Eisenach nach Eschwege hin.

16. German: "Es gab keinen der einen anderen verpetzte; und damit das ganze Dorf in Bewegung versetzte."

17. After 1971 East Germans were permitted to enter West Germany (contingent on state approval) for "urgent family events," such as weddings, deaths, anniversaries, or birthdays. Before that, only retired persons had been permitted to visit West Germany once a year. Prior to 1964, however, travel had been restricted to prominent individuals who were deemed trustworthy by the state.

18. It is likely that the Stasi kept files on close to 100 percent of the adult population of Kella, owing to the village's location in the Schutzstreifen and the fact that most residents were in contact with western relatives. Emma, like many villagers, initially was intrigued by the possibility of applying for access to her Stasi file. Like most other villagers, she has since decided against it. The politics of decisions surrounding whether to file for access to these files is discussed in chapter 7.

19. For an informed and more detailed discussion of this resolution and Moscow's possible involvement in it, see Potratz 1993.

20. From Order No. 38/52 of the "Head of the Central Administration of the German People's Police" (Potratz 1993: 61; translation mine).

21. According to Potratz (1993: 61), local mayors were notified of the planned deportations shortly before they took place, so this scenario is entirely plausible. In Thuringia (of which Kella is a part) alone, 1,807 people slated for evacuation fled to West Germany before they could be deported (Potratz 1993: 64). For more on the evacuations of 1952 and 1961, see Bennewitz and Potratz 1994.

22. Access to these families' Stasi files might illuminate the state's rationale for these events, but for the purposes of my argument here that does not matter. What is important is the uncertainty and fear generated by the deportations. None of the family members has gained access to its file, however, and as far as I know, none has even applied for it.

23. As Verdery has pointed out, the categories of this "us" versus "them" chasm, which existed in every eastern European socialist country, could be quite elastic (1996: 94).

24. Based on my own reading of these documents, now in the village archives, the reports were primarily concerned with the general mood of the population: how people were responding to current events; their complaints about consumer goods; whether production goals were being met; the activities of the mass organizations and village council; and the progress of the village's own norms in the planned economy, including recycling and local agricultural production. In the reports of the 1960s and 1970s, individuals were mentioned by name, but only in

relation to events that were common knowledge (arrests for drunkenness, career changes, and the like). During the 1980s, few individual names appeared in these monthly reports. The contents of these reports are thus similar to the reported banality of the majority of the Stasi files, which were similarly imagined to contain important, damaging, and accurate information. On the contents and function of information reports generally, as well as in the context of 1950s factory life more specifically, see Lüdtke 1997b.

25. See also the important work of the proponents of *Alltagsgeschichte* ("the history of everyday life"), who have argued for reducing "the gaping distance between rulers and ruled" in the Nazi period through an examination of the ways in which authority is established and reproduced in the routinized and habitual practices of daily life (Lüdtke 1995).

CHAPTER 3

1. Traditionally, however, Catholics work until the afternoon church service on Good Friday.

2. According to Konrad Jarausch, thirty-five of these groups promoted peace, thirty-nine focused on ecology, twenty-three dealt with both, twenty-nine addressed Third World issues, ten promoted human rights, and a few dealt with draft resistance and feminism (1994: 38).

3. This was pointed out by Charles Maier during a GDR History Graduate Student Workshop, Harvard University, April 1993.

4. The exhibit was sponsored by the Institut für Europäische und Deutsche Politik.

5. According to local legend, the Hülfsberg is where the missionary St. Boniface converted the region to Christianity. Its name derives from the Hülfskreuz, a famous crucifix from the Middle Ages that is in its chapel. It has been a pilgrimage site since the fourteenth century (Linge and Schmidt 1967).

6. Plans to complete the "chapel at the Eichsfeld cross" were put on hold immediately after the fall of the Wall in favor of what were felt to be more pressing expenditures like renovations to the Hülfsberg itself. Construction was resumed in 1993.

7. Bohlman (1996) has similarly pointed out how pilgrimages perform and thereby ascribe meaning and legibility to the landscape. The literature on pilgrimage within and outside anthropology is voluminous: on Christian pilgrimage, for example, see Crain 1992; Dubisch 1995; Eade and Sallnow 1991; Nolan and Nolan 1989; and, of course, the seminal work of Victor Turner (1974, 1978, 1979).

8. This literature includes Bausinger and Köstlin 1980; Greverus 1979; Weigelt

1984. Regarding the idea of Heimat in film, see Kaes 1989; Kaschuba 1989. Edgar Reitz's nine-hour television series entitled *Heimat*, which appeared on German television in 1984, is one of the more recent and widely discussed treatments of Heimat in film. For discussions of critical reaction to this film, see the special issue of *New German Critique* 36 (1985). On the relation between the idea of Heimat, German nationalist discourses, and racist categories of exclusion, see Peck 1996. See also Linke 1995, 1997 for provocative discussions of race, violence, and nation in German political culture.

9. Many of the Heimatvereine were subsumed by the GDR Cultural Ministry and were thus subject to state control.

10. Poster in Heiligenstadt, GDR, July 1990.

11. During my fieldwork, I attempted to remain alert to the possible embellishment of "resistance" stories as memory of the events was remade in the telling. Despite new claims to victim status (see chapter 7), I believe that the practices of both popular and institutionalized religion provided a means of contesting state power. This argument is supported by Kubik 1994 and Nagengast 1991, among others.

12. Emma was denied a travel permit to attend a brother's birthday in the West, and the Hausers' oldest son was prohibited from attending high school in Heiligenstadt despite the fact that he was at the top of his elementary-school class.

13. According to the mayor and her assistants, one Stasi officer visited the mayor's office at least once a month. If they saw him coming, they told me, they would try to sneak out the back door. The mayor always tried to have one of her assistants present during the questioning, she explained, but occasionally the official would seek out one of the women at their homes for furthering questioning.

14. Many of the details, including much of the prose, from this 1946 church chronicle are reproduced both in the 1966 *Festschrift* (Müller and others 1966) and the recent *Dorfchronik*.

15. These 1933 voting statistics are cited in the recent *Dorfchronik*. The 1946 church chronicle mentions the arrest in October 1945 of village Nazi party members by the Soviets. All were released. A few days later, Kella's mayor, who reportedly had initially withheld information about his work as assistant regional superintendent for the Nazi party in order to retain his position as mayor, was re-arrested. According to reports passed on by a fellow prisoner several years later, he was imprisoned and died at Buchenwald. Descriptions of these arrests appear in older villagers' accounts of the immediate postwar period as well. Unlike the aura of mystery and uncertainty surrounding the 1952 deportations, however, the arrest of Nazi party members (with the obvious exception of the village mayor's imprisonment and death at Buchenwald) is generally perceived as justifiable action.

16. My understanding of the terms *symbol* and *image* recognizes the important dynamic and evolutionary relationship of the two within both cultural processes and individual experience (Fernandez 1965). Specifically, I use the *symbol* to denote those items "possessed of fully conceptualized and often articulated meanings" and the *image* to describe those "tokens of communication" that are "pregnant with felt but unconceptualized meanings" (Fernandez 1986: 31). As James Fernandez has argued, over time, images (like the Seventh Station) may become important symbols in cultural interaction; they may also be important elements of the "argument of images" in human interaction, in which "quite different domains are brought together in unexpected and creative ways" (Fernandez 1986: viii).

17. This is true of both the Catholic church and, especially, the Protestant church in the GDR. Protestant churches whose sanctuaries were packed at the time of the Wende now report dwindling attendance.

18. One of the principal reasons for confessing to other clergy, I was told, was that Father Münster had an unfortunate tendency to ignore the confessional oath of secrecy (a common sentiment behind anticlericalism [e.g., Herzfeld 1985; Mintz 1982]): items discussed in confession would occasionally be included in sermons. Although the identities of the persons involved were never revealed, in a small community like Kella, they did not have to be.

19. These include, above all, the end of Kella's geographical isolation. Under socialism, villagers were able to keep track of one another's comings and goings as well as the occasional visitors from outside Kella. Now, with the freedom to travel and receive visitors, keeping track of such details is impossible. This process was accelerated with the closing of local factories, where information was exchanged and shared.

20. Examples of this manipulation included Father Münster's testing the loyalty of his most dedicated followers (primarily women) by scheduling Bible-study groups on the evening of Kirmes. He also frequently attempted to be the center of social events involving visitors to Kella, often by scheduling them at his home. My husband and I were frequently challenged by this strategy. His actions toward us indicated that as a foreign and potentially disruptive presence in the village, we, too, needed to be monitored. For a more self-reflexive discussion of the personal dynamics surrounding the priest and his relationship to parishioners both during his tenure and surrounding his departure, see Berdahl n.d.

21. The Focolare movement, started in southern Italy in 1943 and officially sanctioned by Pope John Paul II, now exists in more than 180 countries. It has several million "adherents" and more than 80,000 core members (Urquhart 1995: 6).

22. Much to the chagrin of many villagers, for example, Father Münster never learned the lyrics to the "Eichsfeldlied." Furthermore, he often confessed to his devoted Focolare followers that he viewed many of the required duties of a

priest—presiding over mass and pilgrimages, for example—as distractions from his main goal of furthering the ideals of the ecumenical movement.

CHAPTER 4

1. Compare Barrett 1978, Brandes 1975, Gilmore 1982, and Pitt-Rivers 1977 on gossip, nicknames, and the politics of reputation in Spain.
2. On cross-cultural readings of *Dallas*, see Liebes and Katz 1990.
3. This statistic is drawn from oral histories of older villagers as well as property records kept in the GDR, now housed in the village archive. The Bauern of Kella were among the 41.5 percent of farmers in eastern Germany who owned between five and fifty hectares and were thus considered independent and economically viable. The majority of small farmers (56 percent) owned between one-half and five hectares, while a small minority of large landowners (2.5 percent) owned farms of more than fifty hectares, which accounted for nearly 40 percent of the agriculturally useful land in East Germany (Dornberg 1968: 183). The term *Großbauer* usually refers to the small minority of landholders with fifty hectares or more, but in Kella it is a relative term and is used interchangeably with *Bauer*.
4. One of these *Großbauer* was also the local pub owner, another category with a high rate of deportees in 1952. Because he owned more than seven hectares of land and, especially, because he served as an Ackersmann for several villagers, I have included him in the category of village *Großbauer*.
5. That is, questioned, harassed, counseled.
6. Of the thirteen individuals listed as currently or formerly employed by the LPG in a 1987 village census, for example, only four were members or descendants of one of the five remaining *Großbauern* families.
7. As part of a planned economy, each independent craftsman, as well as the village itself, was allotted a certain amount of materials every year under the state's centralized economic plan. These allotments corresponded to the appropriation of materials and/or building permits to community members, whose requests were integrated into the community's economic plan and often took years to grant.
8. See, for example, Carole Nagengast's (1991) study of Polish peasant-workers and Martha Lampland's (1995) historical ethnography of a Hungarian agricultural collective for more nuanced analyses of class and social differentiation under socialism. For a different context, see Katherine Verdery's (1991) analysis of the role of intellectual elites in national cultural production in Romania.
9. Katherine Verdery (1991), for example, rightly cautions against using Bourdieu's terms, like *investments* or *profits*, because of their inappropriateness for socialist societies. I would disagree with her avoidance of the term *capital*, however,

for reasons that my analysis of social differentiation in this chapter should reveal. Furthermore, the use of certain terms like *capital* may also highlight continuities between socialist and postsocialist societies. See also Carole Nagengast's (1991) analysis of class stratification in a Polish rural community, which draws on Bourdieu's forms of capital, although in a manner that is fairly different from my discussion here.

10. For a more thorough descriptions and analyses of the political economy of socialism, see, for example, Burawoy and Lukács 1992; Konrad and Szelenyi 1979; Kornai 1992; Stark and Nee 1989; Verdery 1996.
11. A small sample of the diverse writings on the "informal" or "second" economy in socialist societies includes Åslund 1985; Cole 1985; Grossman 1987; Hankiss 1990; Hann 1990; Pine 1993; Sampson 1986; Wedel 1986.
12. For a similar phenomenon in a different context, see writings on Quianxi in China (for example, Yan 1996).
13. This interconnection was perhaps most evident in Hungary's "mixed economy." See Hann 1990; Szelenyi 1989.
14. Gaus lived in the GDR from 1974 to 1981 as the FRG's first representative in East Germany.
15. Compare the literature on patronage and influence peddling in the Mediterranean (for example, Boissevain 1974; Campbell 1964; Gellner and Waterbury 1977).
16. For an excellent analysis of barter in a variety of contexts, see Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992. Barter may coexist with other forms of exchange, they argue, and may also create social relations. I would concur that there is no one definition of barter; instead, it is best understood in its social context.
17. At the time of the Wende in 1989, five independent master craftsmen were living in Kella: a smith, a mason, a carpenter, and two painters. Because so many local men were trained as craftsmen, however, exchanges of services were not limited to these craftsmen. The independent operations did have access to centrally allotted materials that were not available to workers employed in factories.
18. "GDR consumer culture" has become the subject of a rich and rapidly expanding body of literature. See, for example, Diesener and Gries 1992; Merkel 1995; Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst 1996; Pence 1997; Veenis 1997.
19. A similar argument is made by Steven Sampson, who, in pointing out the prestige of social connections, argues that "procuring scarce resources is itself a means of demonstrating 'social wealth', and East Europeans themselves have understood that it is social wealth rather than possession of cash that is important in these societies" (Sampson 1986: 60).
20. Most prices in Exquisit shops were prohibitively expensive in East German terms: one young woman from Kella, for example, recalled spending a month's salary on a western blouse.

21. The social prestige of western goods in socialist societies is by now a well-known fact. See, for example, Cole 1985; Sampson 1986. In the GDR context, see Diesener and Gries 1992; Merkel 1995; Veenis 1997.
22. My observations of such displays in Kella are confirmed as more widespread practices in the GDR by Merkel 1995 and Veenis 1997.
23. In contrast to the current FRG legal system, moonlighting work brigades were encouraged by the GDR as a way of fulfilling state plans and overcoming inadequate state resources in housing and construction. In Kella, such work brigades could provide substantial supplemental income, particularly for the crew leader.
24. Of the five remaining Großbauer families, only two, "J. R." and one other family, were able to perpetuate their status as village elites. The other three went to work alongside other villagers in local factories or the LPG and never accumulated unusual amounts of other forms of wealth and capital under socialism.
25. Kella's status as a Schutzstreifengemeinde that could be viewed from the West meant that its residents with house facades visible from the other side of the border had privileged access to building materials from the state.
26. In describing symbolic capital, Pierre Bourdieu notes that symbolic investments may take the form of ritual, aid to the needy, and so forth, and suggests that symbolic capital is a form of credit (Smart 1993: 391; Bourdieu 1977: 18).
27. Approximately two-thirds of working-age villagers were employed during my fieldwork, although the figure fluctuated constantly. One-quarter of the working-age population had found employment in the West. The vast majority of those working in the West were under the age of thirty-five, thus making the income differences a generational issue as well.
28. For a sensitive and incisive account of the history and complexities of production ideologies in relation to actual labor practices the GDR, see Lüdtke 1994.
29. Most former property owners are now leasing their land once held by the LPG to a recently formed agricultural cooperative. Only two small farmers, including "J. R.," have reclaimed their land and are attempting to farm it on the side.

CHAPTER 5

1. On the symbolic dimensions of the Berlin Wall and its aftermath, see Borneman 1998.
2. "Green Border" alludes to the relative permeability of the border during these years. The term *green* evokes the rural landscape of which the border was a part and contrasts its earlier porousness with the later impenetrability of the gray concrete and the metal fencing.

3. See also *Die Grenze im Eichsfeld* (Stadt Duderstadt 1991).
4. Archival sources and older villagers indicate that the population of Kella declined from approximately 800 to 600 residents during these years.
5. Cited in "Wir machen alles gründlich" 1991. According to this estimate, 123 of the 201 border fatalities occurred on the inter-German border and 78 died at the Berlin Wall.
6. Until it became legal to watch western television in 1971, East German schoolchildren were frequently subjected to the "Sandman test." Both East and West German television aired a brief children's show, *The Sandman*, before the evening news. Following the show, a clock would appear on the screen until the beginning of the news. The West German clock had small lines in place of numbers; the East German, clock small dots. Teachers would ask children if the clock after their *Sandman* had lines or dots, thus revealing whether parents were watching western or eastern television.
7. The extent of state control depended on a variety of factors, especially on local behavior. After an attempted or successful escape, for example, the state would tighten its control considerably, setting early curfews and increasing its border surveillance. Such regulations were also the results of party directives, themselves products of inter-German cold war relations. With the change in travel restrictions in the mid-1970s, for instance, areas in the Sperrgebiet and Schutzstreifen also experienced a slight relaxation in control. By the late 1980s, there were fewer controls at the barriers.
8. For a rich anthology of border stories (primarily from the West German side) and an analysis of their structure, see Hartmann and Künsting 1990, 1993.
9. For ethnographic accounts of the construction of localities and the mutually constitutive relationship between stories and places, see also Basso 1984; Feld and Basso 1996; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Stewart 1996.
10. Peter Sahlins (1989) makes a similar argument about the French-Spanish border in the Pyrenees. See also Celia Applegate (1990) on identity in the German Pfalz region.
11. There is already a very large scholarly and popular literature on the collapse of socialist rule in the GDR. See, for example, Fulbrook 1995; Jarausch 1994; Maier 1997. For oral history accounts, see Philipsen 1992.
12. Similar to the concept of Heimat, the Elternhaus symbolizes one's childhood roots, family, and belonging.
13. Thorsten was particularly close to his western cousin, now in her midforties, for she had lived with his family until she left the GDR illegally as a young adult. They kept in close contact after her departure through letters and annual visits. The family would meet her in Heiligenstadt because she was not permitted into the Sperrgebiet.
14. Katje, Thorsten's girlfriend at the time, was also in her midtwenties.

15. Christoph, Thorsten's brother, left via Hungary during the summer of 1989.
16. McDonald's was often one of the first stops for first-time border crossers from the GDR. For discussions and comparative analyses of McDonald's as symbol and practice, see Ritzer 1993; Watson 1997.
17. See also Borneman 1992: "In the days and weeks after the opening, East Germans gorged themselves on the symbolic goods of West German nationness. . . . They flocked to the shopping centers and stores in a consumptive orgy that kept West German businesses open long after the state-mandated (and sacred) closing hours, and they sought those items that most define the West German self: cars, indexing power and prosperity, pornography, symbolizing pleasure and free time, travel out of their country, jeans of the sort identifying one as *westlich* [western]" (p. 321).
18. Except for a few members of the younger generation who participated in the Monday demonstrations in Heiligenstadt, most villagers had been relatively quiet prior to the fall of the Wall. The Catholic Eichsfeld joined the wave of protests sweeping the GDR several months after the first demonstrations began in Leipzig. Hans-Gerd Adler (1990) gives a detailed account of the Wende in the Eichsfeld.
19. Werner Henning, whose parents still live in Kella, was elected head of the District Council on December 12, 1989. He was the first democratically elected district president in the GDR. He was reelected in 1994.
20. The phrase "the Wall in our heads" stems from Peter Schneider's novel *The Wall Jumper* (1983, first published in 1982 as *Der Mauerspringer*) and has entered popular discourse since the Wende. In the novel, published seven years before the fall of the Wall, Schneider accurately predicted that "it will take us longer to tear down the Wall in our heads than any wrecking company will need for the Wall we can see" (p. 119). For more general reports on East-West tensions throughout Germany, see Distanz, *Enttäuschung*, Haß 1992: 30-37; *Der neue Kalte Krieg* 1993. Numerous national surveys support the increasing East-West division as well. See, for example, *Erst vereint, nun entzweit* 1993; *Das Ost-Gefühl: Heimweh nach der alten Ordnung* 1995.
21. For a more detailed discussion of the Treuhand, see Maier 1997: 290-303; Christ and Neubauer 1991.
22. The restructuring of East German universities entailed the dissolution of departments and institutes, the dismissal of East German faculty members (20 percent of the professors and 60 percent of the midrank faculty [Maier 1997: 305]), the recruitment of West German academics, and the concomitant influx of West German research agendas.
23. More than half of the men and many of the younger women from Kella found employment in the West within two years of the Wende. Border crossings thus became largely one-sided as villagers began to shop and work in the west-

ern town of Eschwege. Only seven kilometers from Kella, Eschwege was much closer than Heiligenstadt, the nearest eastern town.

24. A typical joke stressed the ignorance and stupidity of eastern Germans: "What does DDR stand for?" "Der Doofe Rest" (the stupid rest—referring to eastern Germans who remained in the GDR after the exodus in 1989). For more on jokes during this period of transition, see Brednich 1990; Stein 1993.
25. Trabis contrast sharply with the West German Mercedes, BMWs, and Porsches and quickly became a symbol of socialist inefficiency, backwardness, and inferiority after the Wende. Although Trabi jokes were told in the GDR as well, they took on new meaning when reappropriated in the tellings of West Germans. The following jokes reflect a transformation in East-West relations:

"Why aren't Trabis painted yellow?" "So people don't confuse them with mailboxes."

"How do you double the value of a Trabi?" "Fill it up with gasoline."

"Why does the Trabi have two slits in the roof?" "So the idiots who drive them can stick their donkey ears out the top."

"The only reason to junk a Trabi is if the driver is still inside."

26. The colonial metaphor has frequently been employed to describe the asymmetrical power relations between eastern and western Germany after re-unification (see, for example, Dümcke and Vilmar 1996). However, I would concur here with John Borneman (1992) that, while there certainly have been elements of internal colonization following the Wende, the situation differs from most colonial contexts due to a long history of shared language, kinship ties, and cultural traditions.
27. One of the most pressing issues following re-unification involved questions of property ownership in the former GDR. Expropriations occurred not only during the Nazi regime but under socialism as well. Just before re-unification, the Bonn government ruled to return all properties lost on the grounds of "race, politics, religion or philosophical outlook" between 1933 and 1945. The Unification Treaty of 1990 adopted the policy of "return before compensation," giving the return of property to former owners priority over monetary compensation for it. As many opponents of the policy had predicted, it has both stalled investment in the former GDR and produced and aggravated mounting tensions between East and West. By the end of 1992, more than 2 million property claims had been filed in the former GDR. The majority of these, including those in Kella, remain unresolved.
28. This property dispute has since been resolved. Emma's half-brother, who had no legal claims to the garden because it had been bequeathed to Emma and her full siblings by their mother, accepted money in payment for the family house (inherited from their father's side). The other two siblings obtained their respective strips of the garden. Only three meters wide, even together the strips were

too narrow to build on, as her siblings reportedly intended. When I visited Kella in 1996, I learned that just before Emma's brother died, a few months earlier, he had bequeathed his portion of the garden to her. "I finally want to be able to sleep peacefully," he had told her. Realizing that she would not be able to do anything with her narrow strip, Emma's sister offered to sell it to the Hausers for 5,000 marks. Emma eventually obtained the remaining portion of the garden for a compromise sum of 3,000 marks.

29. I owe this term to William Kelleher (n.d.), whose work on the border in Northern Ireland has similarly pointed out how boundary maintenance may be sustained through the reading of bodies.

30. For a sympathetic and even-handed discussion of East-West German stereotypes in the context of different work enterprises, see Müller 1993; for an analysis of German-German relations as reflected in expressive culture, see Stein 1993; and for discussion of the public mood surrounding East-West relations following re-unification, see McFalls 1995.

31. This consumption metaphor was also used to describe the "sell out" of the East to the West. As one villager remarked, "They [the West Germans] conquered us through advertisements and products, but we wanted to be conquered that way."

32. I thank Janelle Taylor for the phrase "fluency in consumption."

33. Werbefahrten are not unique to the former GDR, but this marketing strategy proved to be particularly successful here because it provided unsuspecting easterners with an opportunity for inexpensive travel.

34. In *Entdecken, Erleben, Handeln* 1991. Even the title of the textbook conveys a subtle message of what eastern Germans had to learn in the new system. Although the first two words are fairly straightforward—*Entdecken* (discover) and *Erleben* (experience)—the third word, *Handeln*, means both "to proceed" and "to do business."

35. On legends and legend analysis specifically, see, for example, Bausinger 1980; Dégh and Vázsonyi 1978; Fine 1992. Brednich (1991: 15–28) addresses West German legends about the GDR after the fall of the Wall.

36. The depth and diversity of narrative scholarship in anthropology, folklore, history, literary studies, and performance theory (among other disciplines) obviously cannot be addressed in a single footnote. A few recent exemplary works in anthropology include Abu-Lughod 1993 on storytelling and "writing against culture"; Bauman 1986 on the analysis of storytelling and performance; Narayan 1989 on narrative in religious teachings; Steedly 1993 on narrative experience; and Stewart 1996 on cultural poetics and narrative space.

37. I thank Stefan Wolff for this anecdote from Leipzig. The Berlin examples stem from "Wir lieben die Heimat" 1995. Another particularly interesting manifestation of "Ostalgia" and eastern German identity in many areas of the former GDR is the revival of the Jugendweihe ceremony. See Wolbert 1995, n.d.

38. See, for example, Abu-Lughod 1990; Comaroff and Comaroff 1990; Hebdige 1988.

39. German:

Das Pokerspiel der Treuhand regt uns kleine Lichter auf
Die Wessis kommen, sahen ab, und wir gehn dabei drauf
Das Beste wär, wir teilen das Eigentum des Volkes auf
an uns, denn nur alleine wir haben Recht darauf

Das ganze Leben ist ein Quiz
Und wir sind nur die Kandidaten
Das ganze Leben ist ein Quiz
ja, und wir raten, raten, raten
Und wiederum, wir können's nicht fassen,
haben wir uns total verarschen lassen?

40. German:

Nun sehen wir es ein, wir passen nicht rein
in euere zivilisierte Welt
Bei uns regiert noch Kraft und Mut, wir sind noch
ehrlich, stark und gut,
bei euch regiert hingegen nur das Geld.

41. German: "Der Fuchs ist schlau und stellt sich dumm, beim Wessi ist es andersrum."

42. Here I differ with some of the conclusions drawn by Borneman (1992: 313–34; 1993). Although he is extremely effective in outlining the unidirectional nature of power involved in the politics of German re-unification, Borneman overlooks the complexities and subtleties with which western hegemony has been negotiated and contested in everyday life. I believe it is premature to argue, as he does, that "unification has served to confirm the values of West Germanness," that eastern Germans "began a process of self-dissolution" (1992: 322), and that "East Germans have remained speechless and have thus internalized these projections" of them as "inferior in space and behind in time" (1993: 5).

43. *Eigen-Sinn* is a multifaceted term that denotes self-will, self-affirmation, reappropriation, and playful autonomy. It is a central concept in Alf Lüdtke's analyses of workers' everyday life and shop-floor dynamics (Lüdtke 1993a; 1993b) but has far broader and very useful implications for theorizing the dynamics of power, alienated social relations, and the politics of everyday life more generally.

44. I am indebted to discussions with Andrew Bergerson, who has described notions of liminality through "walking the walls" in pre-World War II Althildesheim (Bergerson 1998). See also Flynn 1997 for an excellent discussion of the strategic manipulation of ambiguity in the context of transborder exchange along the Bénin-Nigeria border.

CHAPTER 6

1. In choosing gender as a category of analysis, as a border zone of social life around which certain lines may become salient, my focus on women here is admittedly one-sided. This is in part a product of the realities of fieldwork: I had more access to and interaction with women than with men. It is mostly the product, however, of the realities of life for women since re-unification: women have been disproportionately affected by rising unemployment, reductions in generous maternity and child-care benefits, the loss of access to free and legal first-trimester abortion, and the introduction of the West German legal system that directs women toward motherhood and part-time work (see De Soto 1994).
2. Several recent collections of interviews with women in the former GDR provide illuminating illustrations of this point. See Dodds and Allen-Thompson 1994; Fischer and Lux 1990.
3. I am primarily talking about the 1970s and 1980s here. Although these decades share similarities with the years that preceded them, it would be misleading to generalize about the entire forty years of socialist rule. Furthermore, the period I discuss is one that represents the experiences and memories of most of the women in Kella.
4. According to a 1987 village census, 78 out of the 146 working-age women in Kella (53 percent) were employed in the clips factory. Only two women were not employed outside the home: one worked as a bookkeeper for her self-employed husband; the other was a folk artist who sold her crafts to the state.
5. Built in 1911 by the local innkeeper and leased to a regional cigar-manufacturing company, for several decades the factory employed local women to roll cigars until production ceased during World War II. It was reopened in 1953 under the direction of a state-owned factory.
6. Doina Harsanyi has noted a similar function of a Romanian factory, which women she interviewed viewed as "as much a place to socialize as a means to make money" (1993: 45).
7. As in many socialist states, gender-equity laws in the GDR were the product of a demand for labor power as well as ideology (see Verdery 1996: 64).
8. Although there were never any women in the politburo and few in the upper echelons of the GDR political organization, the number of women involved in local politics was relatively high. In the early 1980s, for example, approximately one-quarter of city mayors were women (Dodds and Allen-Thompson 1994: 10).
9. "This personality follows the precepts of socialist morality, such as community spirit, feelings of duty and responsibility toward state and society, and an optimistic outlook on life and the aims of socialism" (Lemke 1989: 60).
10. For insightful discussions of the intersections of gender and nation in relation to socialist "parent" or "father" states, see Dölling 1991; Verdery 1996.

11. For an excellent brief overview of the history of the Cult of Mary and insightful critique of anthropological studies of Marian devotion, particularly in terms of challenging conventional interpretations of the relationship between the Cult of Mary and gender and family roles, see Dubisch 1995.
12. As Ute Gerhard points out, these suspicions that child care "undermines the family" are reflected in national statistics: in West Germany, only 5 percent of children under the age of three are in day-care facilities outside the home (1991-1992: 19). Following the Wende and especially after violence against foreigners perpetrated by eastern German youths, the GDR day-care system was used by conservatives in arguments against increased support for child care in general.
13. Most of these small enterprises petered out after their novelty wore off and budgets were tightened. The entrepreneurs' failure to cultivate clientele outside the small circle of the village also contributed to the brief life of their businesses.
14. *Frühshoppen* are the Sunday morning festivities during Kirmes, when the male participants traditionally consume many alcoholic beverages.
15. For a brief history of the Women's Equality Office (Gleichstellungsstelle), with its origins in 1980s West Germany, and an analysis of differences and conceptualizations of the office after re-unification as reflective of differences among feminist concerns in the old and new federal states, see Ferree 1991-1992.
16. Paralleling national statistics in the former GDR, the birthrate in Kella dropped by 70 percent in the first three years following the Wende, from an average of 10.6 births per year between 1969 and 1989 to an average of 3 between 1990 and 1992. Between 1992 and 1995, the birthrate rose again slightly in Kella, to 5.6 births per year (statistics compiled from village church records).
17. Motherhood also became a point of contention in East and West German feminist dialogues. See, for example, Streit 1991-1992.
18. On average, women in the GDR had their first child by the age of twenty-three, several years younger than their West German counterparts (Kolinsky 1993: 261).
19. *ABM*, or *Arbeitsbeschaffungsmassnahmen*, are government grants to create temporary jobs or retraining programs.
20. This ABM project, started in the spring of 1992, was intended to provide employment for one year. It came to an abrupt halt several months later but was resumed in 1994.

CHAPTER 7

1. I have hyphenated *re-presentations* to stress a dynamic of agency and performance involved in practices of historical representation. Re-presentations entail the act of presenting something *again* and are thus important elements in the construction of memories and identities. Or, as Edward Bruner has written, not

only does experience “structure expressions,” but “expressions structure experience” (1986: 6).

2. My account of Kella’s re-unification celebration is based on the recollections and photographs of numerous participants as well as on a videotape of the events filmed by the television network Thüringer Fernsehen. I watched the videotape several times with different groups of villagers, which enabled me to ask for clarifications and interpretations in a variety of contexts.

3. The phrase “definitional ceremony” stems from Barbara Myerhoff, whose insightful definition is worth quoting here for its relevance to the context in Kella: “Definitional ceremonies deal with problems of invisibility and marginality; they are strategies that provide opportunities for being seen and in one’s own terms, gathering witness to one’s worth, vitality, and being” (1986: 267).

4. To many villagers whose contact with western relatives had made them subject to certain harassments and scrutiny under socialism (being prohibited from using certain western goods in school or being questioned or placed under increased scrutiny due to western contacts, for example), this represented the ultimate hypocrisy.

5. Calls for a re-evaluation of the Nazi past stemmed largely from the contrasting constructions of memory in East and West Germany. On the one hand, West Germany went through a politicized process of “confronting” this past, particularly in the late 1970s and 1980s, which culminated in the Historians’ Debate of 1986, a heated controversy over the uniqueness of Nazi crimes. Initiated by historians on the political right and contested by critics on the left (led by Jürgen Habermas), the central issue in this dispute focused on whether Nazi genocide was comparable with other national atrocities. Underlying these debates were questions of German nationhood and the burdens of the past. See *Historikerstreit* 1988; Maier 1988. East Germany, on the other hand, implemented an official memory of National Socialist fascism as the outcome of capitalist and imperialist agendas. Nazi victims were labeled “antifascists,” thereby largely erasing from memory Jews and other victims of the Holocaust. The term *antifascism* figured prominently in socialist language and ideology throughout GDR history: The border was “protection” from the “fascists” in the West, for example, and good “antifascist” socialist citizens would continue the fight against fascism. The use of this term thus rhetorically linked GDR citizens to Nazi victims, an identification that was further inculcated through Jugendweihe and FDJ induction rituals at former concentration-camp sites. For a discussion of differences in memory construction in East and West Germany, see Herf 1997.

6. The Christa Wolf debate emerged after the publication of her story, *Was Bleibt* (What Remains) in June 1990. Written in 1979 and kept in a drawer until after the Wende, *Was Bleibt* describes a day in the life of the author under Stasi surveillance. Wolf was attacked on a variety of fronts, especially for the timing of the

book’s publication and for attempting to claim victim status when she had enjoyed numerous privileges as an intellectual and alleged GDR state laureate. She was also accused of failing to criticize the SED regime forcefully before its demise. The criticisms of Wolf not only raised questions of the role and responsibility of intellectuals under socialism, the apportioning of guilt, and the value of GDR culture but also forced leftist intellectuals in the West to consider their own responsibility for elevating Wolf and other East German writers with a “dissident bonus” while ignoring certain realities of the SED regime. For a thoughtful discussion and analysis of the Wolf debate, see Huyssen 1995: 49–66.

7. On memory and identity in the former GDR, see Ten Dyke n.d.; *One Nation, Which Past?* 1997, esp. Wierling 1997.

8. See also Borneman 1998 for a discussion of how the “GDR is often reduced, both colloquially and in formal legal discourse, to its *Grenzregime*, border regime—to the entire system of rules and regulations intended to demarcate East Germany from its West German counterpart, to enclose, bound and reconstitute its ‘people’” (p. 164).

9. I am indebted to David Cohen’s (1994) discussion of silences and commemorations, which has influenced my analysis of the Stasi issue here.

10. Several men from the village, including Mayor Karl Hartmann, were involved in an effort to promote regional tourism in the southern Eichsfeld. Driven by a pride in their Heimat as well as a belief in the potential economic benefits of tourism, these men were briefly involved in a regional Eichsfeld tourist organization and initiated community improvement projects to make the locale attractive to tourists. Such projects, often funded by the state and made possible by ABM labor, included the construction of hiking trails, lookout points, and picnic areas; the creation or renovation of public spaces like a village center and fountain; and the erection of signs and benches throughout the area. Many renovations followed models and/or suggestions of western specialists. As one western German planner who presented his ideas in a public lecture explained, “The most important thing is to bring out the authentic village character.” Among other things, the lack of a village infrastructure to support even a small tourist industry (guest accommodations, for example) has hindered the realization of these goals. Although most improvements were welcomed by the community, many did not go uncontested. As one young villager wrote me after the recent (1994) installation of a small fountain in the village center, “Maybe this will get us out of our identity crisis. But does preserving the ‘village character’ always mean it has to be old?”

11. After uttering his remark, this villager looked to me to substantiate his view: all American and West German visitors we received during our time in Kella were most interested in viewing the former border structure. Indeed, as mentioned in the book’s Introduction, despite my efforts to claim otherwise,

many villagers expressed a hope that publication of my study would help promote tourism in their community.

12. Letter from Gemeindevertretung Kella to Kreisverwaltung Amt für Umwelt und Natur, February 24, 1992.

13. Letter from the Federal Defense Ministry to Gemeindevertretung Kella, July 23, 1992. Karl's last-ditch efforts to use ecological arguments were similarly denied when authorities determined that there would be no damage to the environment (correspondence between the Federal Defense Ministry and Gemeindevertretung Kella, June 29, 1993).

14. The service road surrounding Kella was left standing pending further action, although the rest of this road has been removed along with the fencing. Much to many residents' chagrin, a small section of the fence was left standing near a neighboring village.

15. The border museum closest to Kella, Schiffllersgrund, is near the town of Bad Sooden-Allendorf, approximately twenty kilometers away.

16. Statement by Arbeitskreis Grenzinformation e.V. at the entrance to the Schiffllersgrund border museum.

17. In the first years after its opening in 1991, the Schiffllersgrund border museum received significantly more visitors from western Germany than from eastern Germany.

EPILOGUE

1. See especially Borneman 1992; Habermas 1991. For a discussion of the gendered dimensions of a national identity founded on the principal of economic prosperity, see Carter 1997.

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