

# CULTURE, SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN THE GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES- IRE214

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Fall 2018

**Session 5: German Minorities**

# German Multiculturalism



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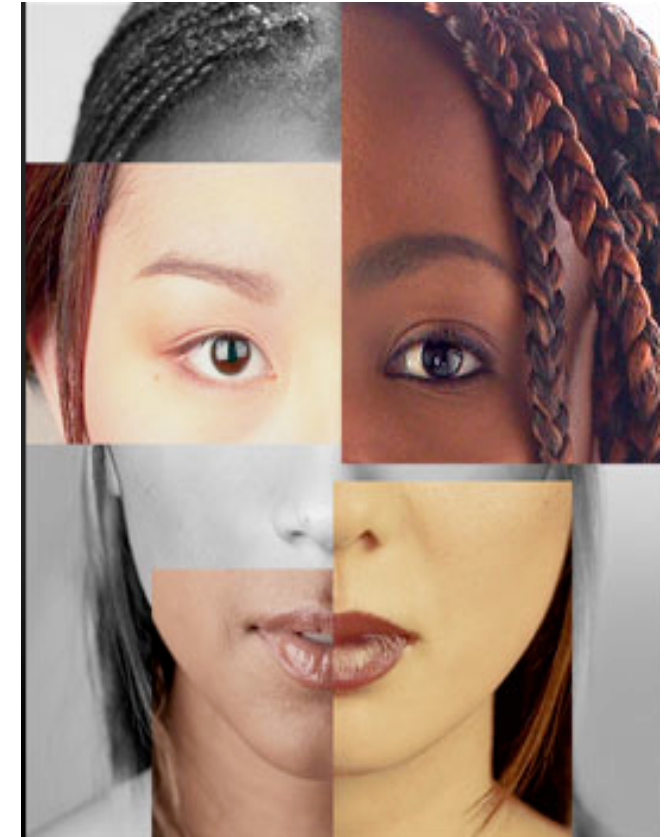
- Minority groups
- German Immigrants
  - Guest workers
- Asylum seeking in Germany
- Afro Germans
- Turkish Germans
- Anti-Semitism in Germany



# Minorities are ...



- ... disadvantaged ethnic, national, religious, linguistic or cultural groups who are smaller in number than the rest of the population and who may wish to maintain and develop their identity
- Groups who are classified according to obvious physical characteristics, e.g. skin colour (for example, US Racial Minority Groups are Blacks, American Indian, Asian Americans, Hawaiians)



# Types of Minority Groups



- **Ethnic (nationalities) minorities:**  
Groups who are differentiated on the basis of culture (language, customs etc.)
  - Swiss in Germany => ethnic minority
  - Afro-Americans => racial and ethnic minority
- **Religion minority:** Groups with a religious affiliation which is different than the dominant faith





# Types of Minority Groups

- Gender minority (women)
- Age minority (older people)
- Disabled people
- Sexual orientations minorities



# Minority Rights



- The term “**Minority rights**” embodies two separate concepts:
  - Normal individual rights as applied to members of racial, ethnic, class, religious, linguistic or sexual minorities
  - Collective rights accorded to minority groups. The term may also apply simply to individual rights of anyone who is not part of a majority decision



# Minority rights



- Defence of minority rights in International Law =>

## **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966): (PART II Article 2 part 1)**

‘Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status’.

# German Ethnic Diversity



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- Since the 1970s', the Turkish constituted the largest ethnic minority
- From the 1990s', more ethnic diversity appears
- Largest group used to be the „Aussiedler“ (2,3 million from 1990-2002), now immigrants from 'third countries'
- Germany received the most immigrants in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall
- Since civil war in Syria- 1 million refugees and migrants





# Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler

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- Largest group of immigrants to Germany in the 1990s and early 2000s was the „Aussiedler“ (2,3 million from 1990-2002)
- Article 116 (para 1) of the German Basic Law => German citizenship to anyone *“who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the boundaries of December 31, 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such person”*
  - These territories had a Polish minority who had German citizenships: Poland after World War II
  - These Poles also constituted “Aussiedler” / “Spätaussiedler” and came to Germany especially in the 1980s



# Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler

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- Article 116 (para 2) of the German Basic Law => *"Former German citizens who between 30 January 1933 and 8 May 1945 were deprived of their citizenship on political, racial or religious grounds, and their descendants, shall on application have their citizenship restored"*
  - Ethnic Germans expelled by the Soviets after WW2
- Historic context => Following World War II, about 18 million foreign ethnic Germans were expelled/evicted from Central and Eastern Europe + former Eastern German territories in 1945
- Expellees and refugees (*Heimatvertriebene*), were given refugee status and German citizenship as they resettled in Germany

# Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler



- September 1945 => the British military government built a camp in Friedland, south of Göttingen, near the American (Hesse) and Soviet occupation (Thuringia) zones
- The camp was designed as a first stop for refugees, evacuees, and returning soldiers
- During the period of mass expulsions (1944-1945), the camp offered services to large waves of refugees



Friedlund Refugee Camp (1976)

# Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler



- Functioned primarily as a way station for German (or ethnic German) returnees from Eastern bloc countries, especially from Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union
- Largest camp for the 1.4 million ethnic Germans who arrived from the East (1950-1987) more than 60% of these returnees came from Poland



Friedlund Refugee Camp (1976)

# Guest Workers

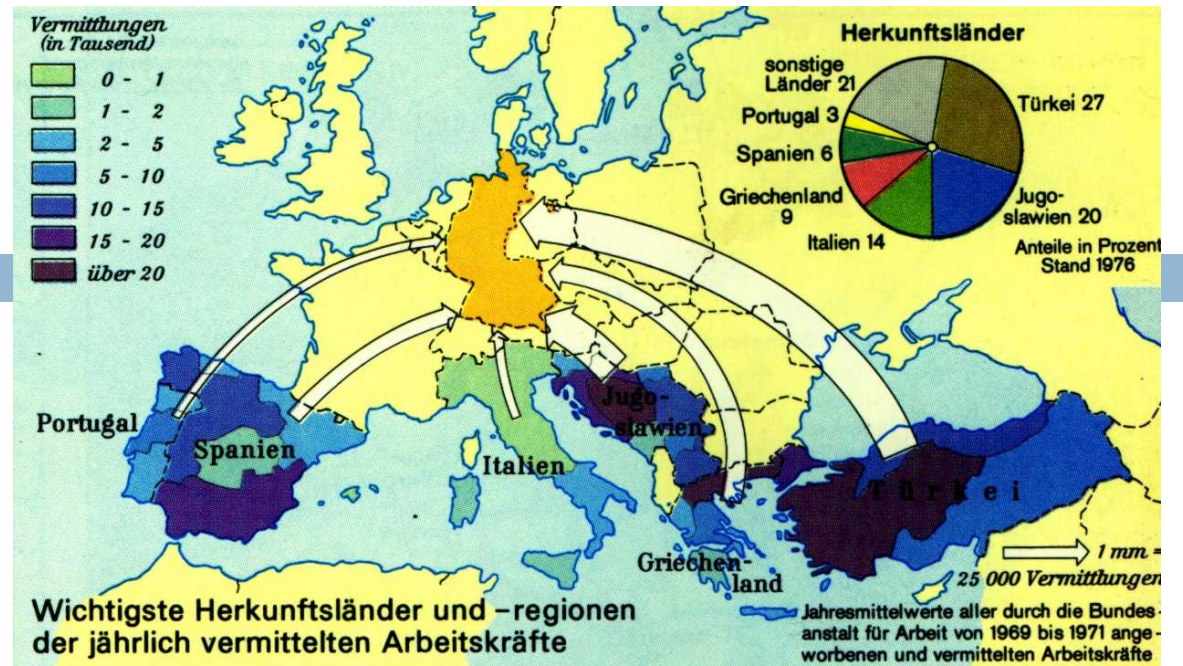


Italian Guest Workers arrive in Wolfsburg (Lower Saxony) in Spring 1962

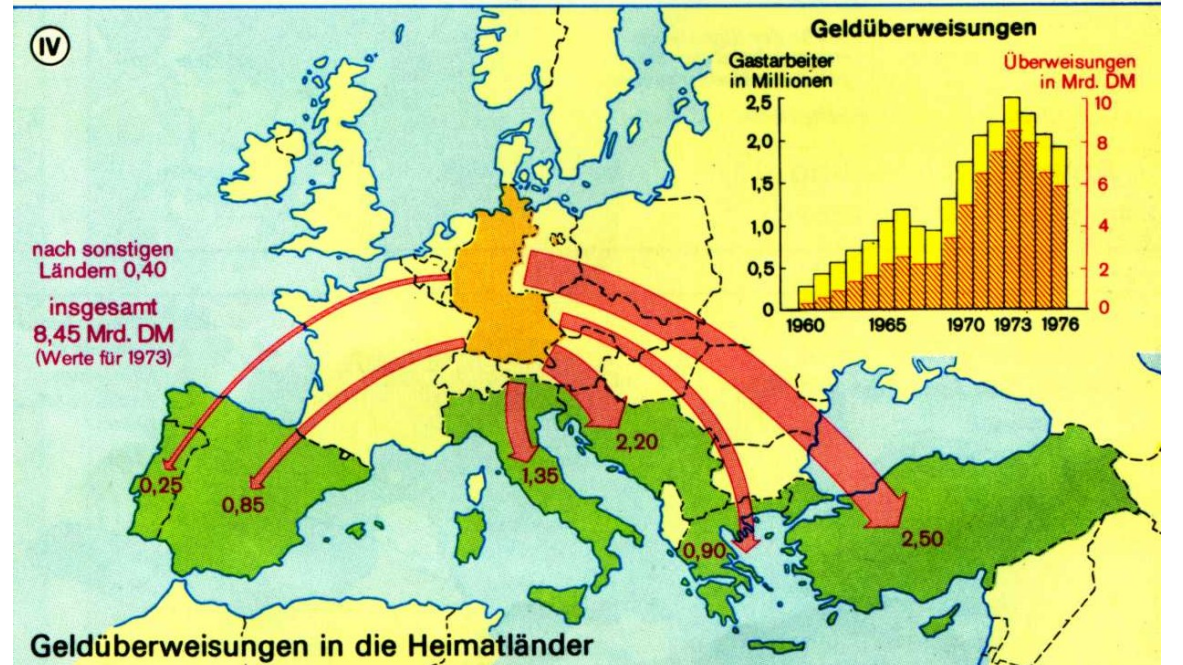
- After WW2 – Germany had a labour shortage in factories (Volkswagen, BMW etc.)
- Working conditions were amongst the best in Europe
- Guest worker program: the FRG signed labor recruitment agreements with:
  - Italy (1955), Greece (1960)
  - Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964)
  - Yugoslavia (1968)

# Guest Workers

- Seek employment, citizenship, and political asylum
- Invited to Germany to rebuild after the Berlin Wall was built (1960s)
- Replaced East German workers after the Wall was built
- Thought to be temporary immigrants but by 2002, two thirds of the guest workers had stayed in the country



## Gastarbeiter in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland



# Turkish immigrants



## Why Turkish?

- Saw the opportunities in Germany-
  - Turkey was relatively poor, little social services, job opportunities
- Migration of Turkish workers to Western European countries started in the beginning of 1960's
- Increased in the 1970s
- Families came later



**Foreign Worker – Guest  
Worker – Colleague?**  
Conference organized by the  
government & employers,  
1966

# Turkish immigrants



- Today, the majority of Turks living abroad have obtained the citizenships of the destination countries or are permanent residents
- At first, no integration (planned to leave)
- Content with their new lives
- Identify themselves as Turkish-Germans, not Turks
- Over 2 million in Germany



Turkish shops in Berlin-Kreuzberg, 1983



# Turkish immigrants



- First generation Turks who moved to Europe worked in industrial branches
  - Physical labor (construction, manufacturing etc.)
  - Most came from rural areas
  - Low educational backgrounds
  - Without professional qualifications
  - Lack of language & communication
- Feeling lonely and insecure, preferred to live among themselves => segregated community



# Turkish immigrants



- Turkish workers Lived in hostels
- Sent money back to their families ( 1975 – 1980 - \$900 million were sent to Turkey)



# Turkish immigrants



- Over the course of the 1960s, guest workers began staying for longer periods
- Many Turkish parents brought their children – who had been raised back home by their grandparents – to Germany
- German schools were unprepared for the challenges presented by the so-called second generation
  - Communication between teachers and students was very difficult
  - No assistance programs, language classes, or specialized lessons
  - Many students failed to meet requirements, and some had to leave even special-needs schools without a diploma

Special public school for Turkish children, Frankfurt, 1969



# Turkish immigrants



- Conflicts broke out with government authorities in many regions of the Federal Republic when Islamic fundamentalists insisted that their daughters won't go to school after the onset of puberty
- Many Turks came to Germany to flee secularism

An Islamic fundamentalist school based on study of the Koran in Gelsenkirchen, 1982

# Effects on Turkey



- Lower unemployment rate
- Money sent from Germany => more than what Turks normally earn => developed the economy
- Many males leaving => broken families
- Less workers in Turkey, especially in farming
- Most able left for Germany

# Ministry of National Education (MoNE)



Early 1970's => Turkish Ministry of National Education sends teachers of Turkish Language and Culture to different countries

- Can speak the language of the host countries to which they are sent, paid by Turkey
- Most have studied in the host country (children of immigrants)
- Capable of guiding students and their parents, besides instructing Turkish Language and Culture



# German Integration Policies



Old definition on the basis of cultural concepts of German nationality (*Jus sanguinis*)

Until 1990's=>

- Denial of being a country of immigration
- Politics of „dissuasion“
- ‘One suit fits all‘ model of social Integration (via the social security system and the broader welfare state)

Jus sanguinis is a principle of nationality law by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth but by having one or both parents who are citizens of the state

# German Integration Policies



End of 1990s =>

- Broader intellectual reflections on the North-American way of integration: Multiculturalism
  - A better way of ethnic diversity politics
  - Reform of the laws of German nationality
  - Discourse on relationships with ethnic minorities
  - New local initiatives to review ethnic diversity policies (Stuttgart, Berlin, Dresden)
- Integration policies were given a high status (resulting in growing racism within Germany)



# Foreigners Living in West Germany (thousands)



Year	Turkey	Yug.	Italy	Greece	Spain	Aust.	Poland	Total
1951	1	23	22	3	1	47	103	486
1961	7	16	197	42	44	57	.	686
1971	653	594	590	395	270	163	50	3439
1981	1546	637	625	299	177	176	83	4630
1991	1780	775	560	337	135	187	271	5882
2001	1948	628	616	363	129	189	310	7319

# German Ethnic Diversity



2005 =>

- Restrains on the regional level (Länder) against the implementation of the red-green reforms
- Linking integration and immigration issues to terrorism: Negative perception of foreigners
- Outspoken resistance from conservative politics to step back from the idea of a *Leitkultur*

*Leitkultur* is a German concept ('guiding/leading culture', 'common/basic culture') introduced in 1998 by the German-Arab sociologist Tibi. Prominent against the backdrop of a national debate in Germany about national identity and immigration. The term was associated with a mono-cultural vision of German society, ideas of European cultural superiority, and policies of compulsory cultural assimilation.

# The Far Right in West Germany



The growing immigration led to the growth of Right wing and racist groups (e.g neo Nazis)

## **The National Democratic Party (NPD)**

- Founded in 1964 by 4 ex-Nazis in order to demand
  - Return to the borders of 1937
  - Ban on immigration
  - Removal of leftists from government
- Won representation in 7 state legislatures in 1966-68, but only 4.3% of the national vote in 1969

# The Far Right in West Germany



## The National Democratic Party (NPD)

- 10% of the party's 30,000 members and 15% of its staff had formerly belonged to the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party/*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*)
- Called for a "People's Democracy" resembling the Weimar constitution



Security through Law and Order  
(September 1969)

# The Republikaner



- Founded in 1983, *the Republicans* is a national conservative political party
  - Represented right-wing extremist and xenophobic positions
  - Incited populist agitation against the European Community
- Attracted protest voters who think that the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU) are not sufficiently conservative

# The Republikaner



- Had seats in the European Parliament between (1989- 1994) and in the parliament of Baden-Württemberg (1991-2001)
- 2009 => 0.4%
- 2013 => 0.2%
- “The Boat is Full!”

# The Republikaner



- Won 7-11% of the vote in 1989/90 in state elections in Bavaria, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Hesse, and West Berlin, and cleared the 5% hurdle for the European parliament
- Campaign Poster for the European Elections (1989): “Yes to Europe, No to this European Community. German Interests Come First!”

# The Far Right in West Germany



- Racist groups started hate attacks on immigrants
- 1993 => Revulsion against the far right spread after extremist youths set this house in Solingen (North Rhine-Westphalia) on fire. Five Turkish women and children died in the fire



“Together, against hatred of foreigners”





# The Far Right in West Germany



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- **The *Deutsche Volks-Union***
  - Founded in 1971 by the millionaire Gerhard Frey
  - Merged with the NPD in 2011
  
- **Neo-Nazi youth groups**
  - Popular in the 1980s
  - Used to physically abuse and/or murder people with dark skin

# Asylum Seekers



- Article 16 of the Basic Law states, “Persons persecuted on political grounds enjoy the right of asylum”- allowed great leeway in granting asylum rights
- This was done consciously and with the experience of persecution during National Socialism in mind



Asylum Seekers in West Berlin wait for their checks (1982)

# Asylum Seekers



- Starting the 1970s => number of foreign citizens requesting asylum in the Federal Republic rose
- Reflected the country's lack of an immigration law
- In 1980, a record 107,818 persons applied for asylum
- Political discourse:
  - The political left, liberals, unions, and the church defended a broadly construed right to asylum and mostly opposed any sort of restriction on immigration
  - The political right and conservatives warned of an “abuse of asylum” and advocated restrictions on asylum rights

# 1993 => Constitutional Amendment



- Agreed upon by both the CDU and the SPD
- Article 16a: “The right of asylum cannot be claimed by anyone who enters [Germany] from a country of the European Community or from another country where the application of the Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees and the Convention to Protect Human Rights and Civil Liberties is ensured”
- Supported by the EU “Dublin Convention” (negotiated in 1990, took effect in 1997)- every country that signed took responsibility for judging whether new arrivals deserved asylum
- The vote for the *Republikaner* sank almost immediately after

# African migration to Europe



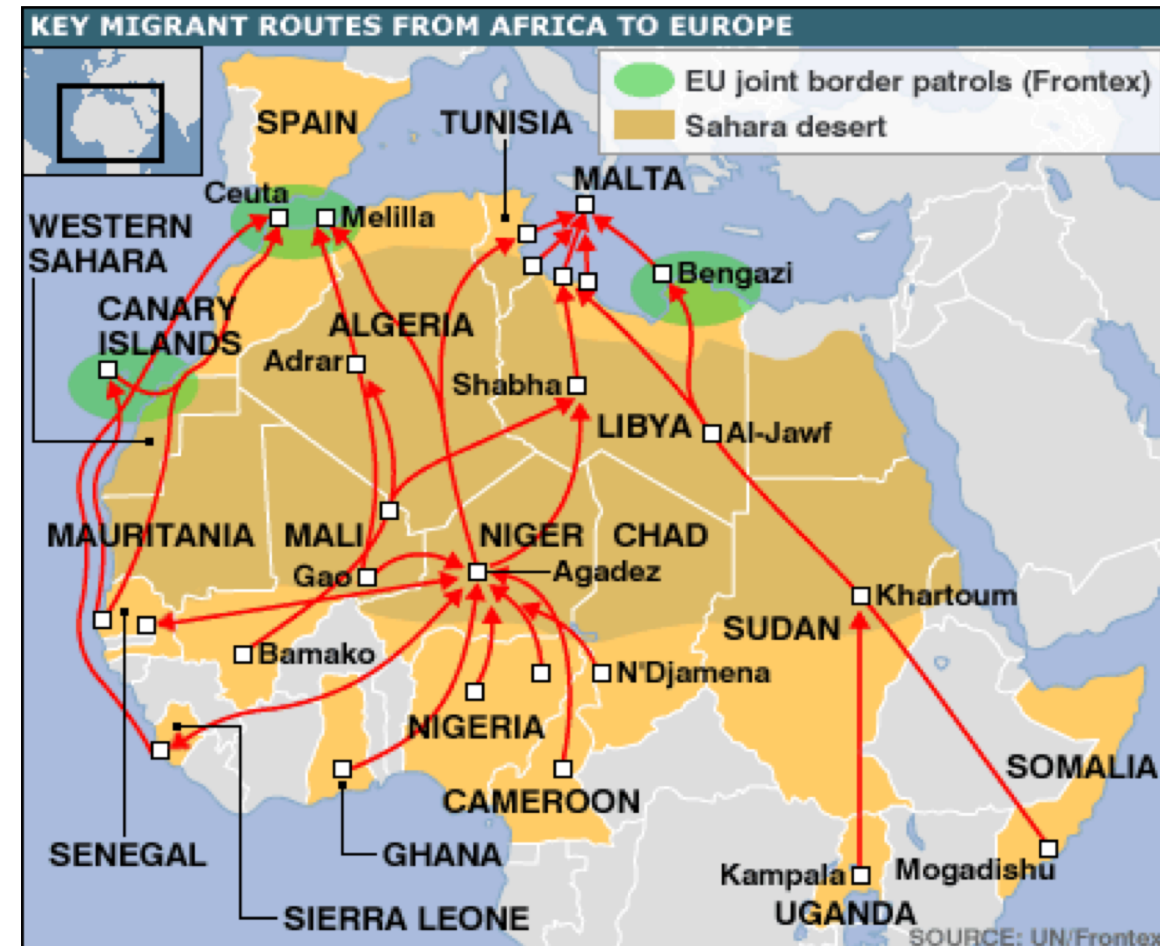
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- Migration trends from Africa are reflective of the socio-economic and political dynamics on the continent
- Conflict, political instability, poverty prompted cross-border migration within/from Africa
- Majority of trans-national African migrants remain in neighboring African states
  - Tendency to migrate towards West Africa
- 1990s' => Africa underwent an intense socio-political upheaval-democratisation process

# African migration to Europe

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- Africa consists of 53 nation states
  - 1993-2002: 27 were involved in violent conflicts
- Political transitions + violent conflicts resulted in many displaced/fled Africans
- African immigrants reside in the EU, mostly in the south (Spain, Italy)





# African Migration to Europe

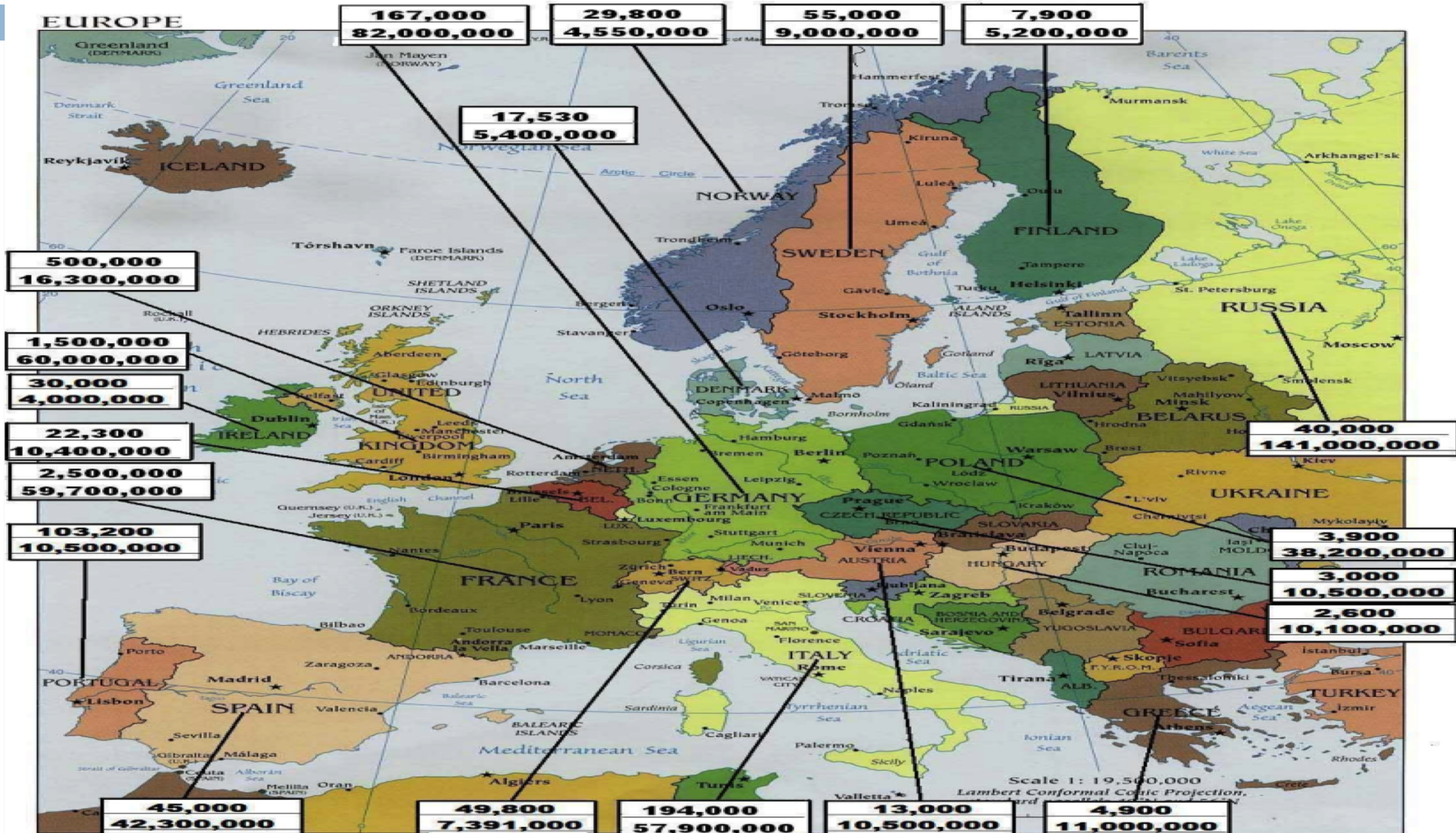


Fig. 1: Approximate Black Population of Europe/ Total Population

Source: Dr. Allison Blakely, Boston University; Harvard University WEB Dubois Institute

# African Migration to Germany



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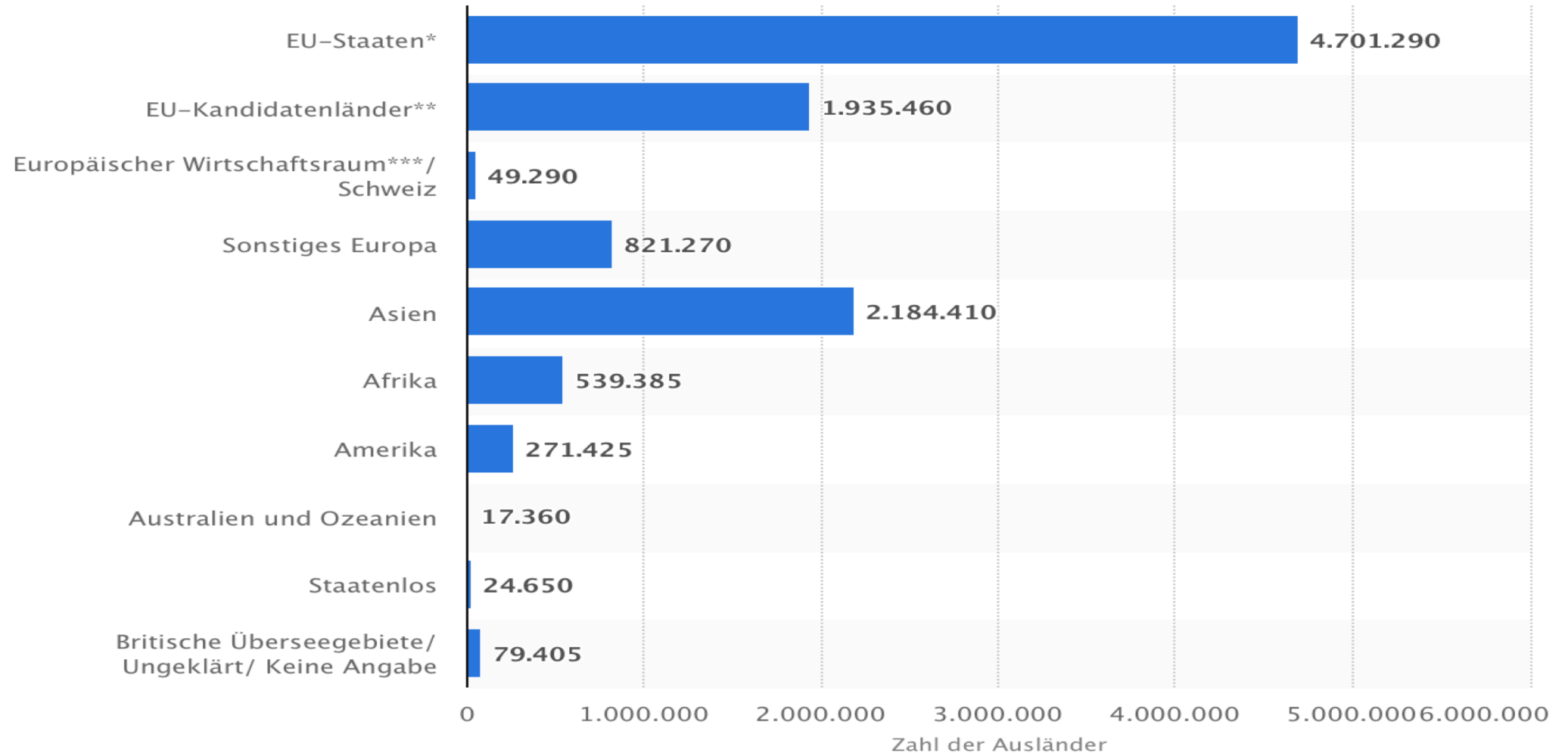
- Since the 1980s' a steady flow of Sub-Saharan African migrants to Germany, Austria + Switzerland
- Stringent immigration legislation and the reinforcement of EU borders made entry for Africans increasingly difficult
- 1990s' African conflicts => Modification in the characteristics of African migration to Germany- not only students from urban areas seeking tertiary education, but also persons from rural areas fleeing war, torture and poverty



# African Migration to Germany



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# Afro Germans

- Date back to the end of WWI as a distinct population
- 19<sup>th</sup> century - Germany and Africa involved in trade
- Blacks brought from Africa to show what blacks looked like and to prove Germans had really been to Africa.
  - Eventually to be slaves

# Afro Germans



- During third Reich:
  - Afro-Germans/Africans couldn't get or keep jobs
  - Many were sterilized
  - Citizenship and passports were taken away
- Even in post ww2 Europe =>
  - Anti-immigration legislation and racist positions from right wing parties
  - Black have continuously become the targets of hate crimes and racial profiling

# Afro German Communities



- Unlike urban metropolis of many former European colonial powers, larger local Black neighbourhoods in German-speaking countries are virtually non-existent
- Marginalisation, exclusion, and threat of racist attacks => African-descended individuals sought spaces of 'safety', provide retreat and refuge
- About 500,000 Afro-Germans today
- Many of the Afro-Germans today are of American G.I. heritage

# Afro German Identity



- Raised as Germans but not treated as such:
  - The Black experience within the German-speaking world is of “otherness” and “non-belonging”
  - Ostracized by Germans - “mulatto,” “moor,” “Negro”
  - German sense of nationality from Aryan purity  $\Rightarrow$  Afro-Germans left out

# Afro Germans



Pertinent issues and challenges faced by African/Black communities in Germany and Europe:

- Psychological/emotional/cognitive:
  - Dissatisfaction with negative media depictions of Africa and Africans/Blacks
  - Concern for the future of African/Black diasporic youth regarding education and equal access to employment opportunities
  - Feelings of rejections and marginalisation => Africans/ Blacks are often rendered invisible subjects across the European space

# Afro Germans



Pertinent issues and challenges faced by African/Black communities in Germany and Europe:

- Social:
  - Discrimination in the search for adequate and affordable housing
  - Experiences of racism and glass-ceiling phenomenon in the labour market
  - Increase in hate violence and random attacks (verbal and physical) since the fall of the Iron Curtain



# Afro Germans

Pertinent issues and challenges faced by African/Black communities in Germany and Europe:

- Political:
  - Lack of local and EU policies designed to deal with the collective fate and specific of African migrants
  - Lack of visibility and sufficient participation of African/Black diasporic individuals in local, national and EU level politics
  - Women of colour- under-represented group





# Contemporary Immigration

Jahr	Insgesamt	Veränderung gegenüber dem Vorjahr	Drittstaaten	Veränderung gegenüber dem Vorjahr	Neue EU28 Mitgliedsländer <sup>1</sup>	Veränderung gegenüber dem Vorjahr	Alte EU28 Mitgliedsländer	Veränderung gegenüber dem Vorjahr
	in 1000	%	in 1000	%	in 1000	%	in 1000	%
2017	10 624	+ 5,8	5 923	+ 2,8	2 627	+ 12,5	2 075	+ 6,6
2016 <sup>2</sup>	10 039	+ 10,2	5 759	+ 13,0	2 334	+ 10,4	1 946	+ 2,5
2015 <sup>2</sup>	9 108	+ 11,7	5 095	+ 13,7	2 114	+ 15,3	1 899	+ 3,3
2014	8 153	+ 6,8	4 481	+ 5,0	1 833	+ 15,6	1 839	+ 3,3
2013	7 634	+ 5,8	4 268	+ 2,5	1 586	+ 17,2	1 780	+ 4,9
2012	7 214	+ 4,1	4 164	+ 1,3	1 353	+ 15,3	1 696	+ 2,9
2011	6 931	+ 2,6	4 110	+ 0,5	1 174	+ 12,8	1 648	+ 1,5
2010	6 754	+ 0,9	4 090	- 0,4	1 040	+ 7,1	1 623	+ 0,3
2009	6 695	- 0,5	4 106	- 0,9	971	+ 2,6	1 618	- 1,2
2008	6 728	- 0,3	4 144	- 0,9	946	+ 3,0	1 637	- 0,3
2007	6 745	x	4 183	x	919	x	1 642	x

- Germany's foreign population reaches record 10.6 million



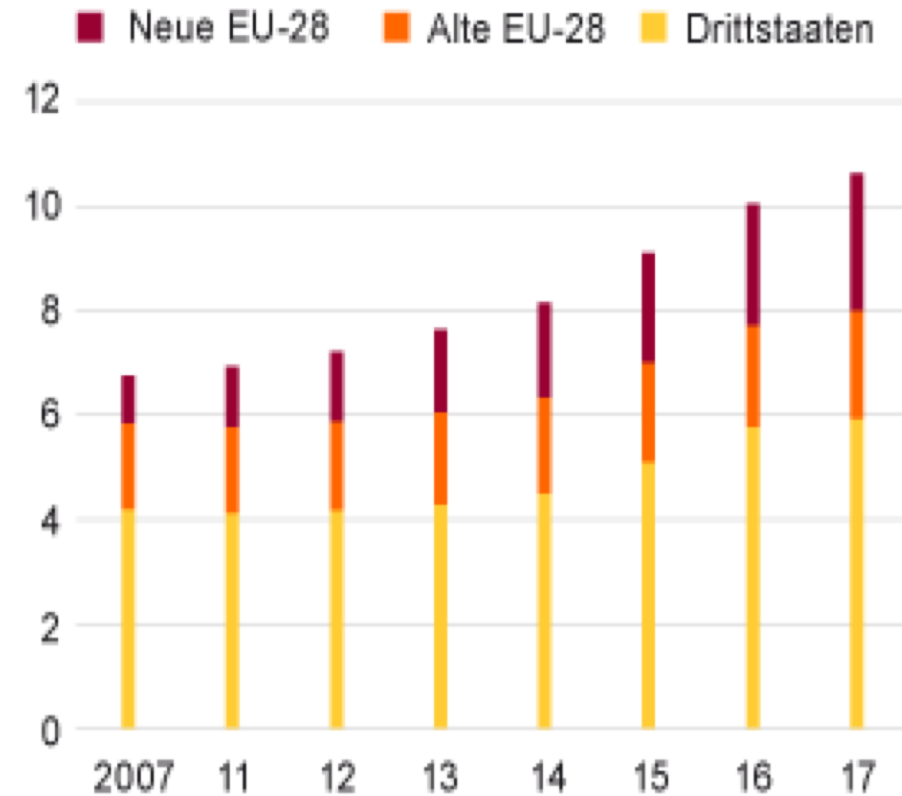
# Contemporary Immigration

2017 => number of foreigners in Germany grew by 5.8% (585k)

- **Refugee arrivals have levelled-off:**
  - 61k Syrians arrived in Germany last year, compared to 260k in 2016
  - 5k people from Afghanistan arriving in 2017, down from 119k the previous year

At the height of the 2015/2016 refugee crisis more than a million migrants (Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan) came to Germany

Ausländische Bevölkerung nach Staatsangehörigkeit in Mill.



Quelle: Ausländerzentralregister

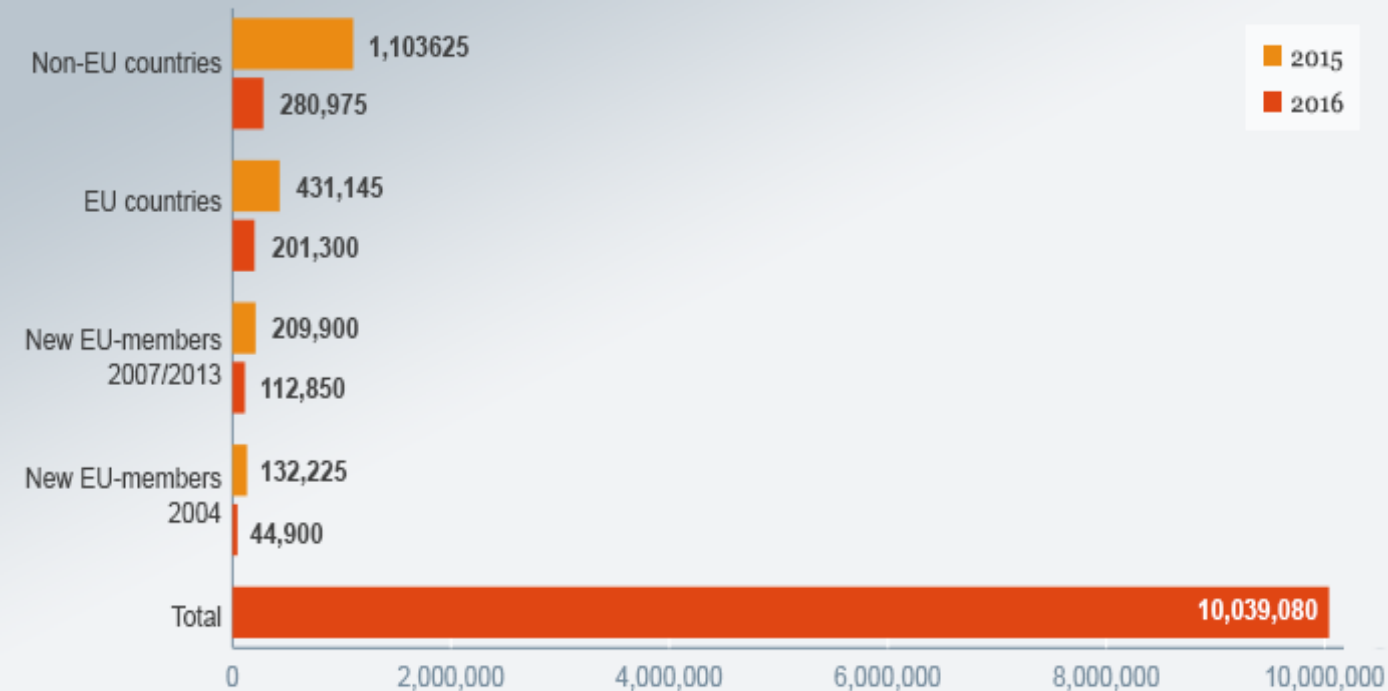
© Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), 2018



# Contemporary Immigration

- At the height of the 2015/2016 refugee crisis more than a million migrants (mainly from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan) came to Germany

Rise in foreign nationals living in Germany



Source: German Federal Statistics Office (Destatis)

© DW



# Contemporary Immigration

2017 => number of foreigners in Germany grew by 5.8% (585k)

- **Immigration from eastern EU countries is climbing at above-average rate:**
  - 2017 => 12.5% increase in people from eastern EU states (Poland, Romania Bulgaria)
  - 919k in 2007 (freedom of movement introduced) to 2.6 million at the end of last year
  - Foreigners in Germany => roughly 12.5%



# Demographics

- Two thirds live in the north
  - Hamburg, Berlin, and the Rhine River area
- Live in urban areas
- Few live in the former GDR
  - Few job opportunities
  - Foreigners who live there are mainly from the former Soviet bloc countries





# Demographics

- Demographic changes in foreigners => average age of foreigners decreased by more than two years
  - 2014 => average age almost 40
  - 2016 => average age 37 years and 7 months
- Male/female ration =>
  - 2014 => 51.5% males
  - 2016 => 54% males
- Largest portion of foreigners in Germany remained 1. Turkish, 2. Syrians, 3. Poles

# Next Session...

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- **Austria!**





**Thank You For Your Attention!**

**Questions???**



# Anti-Semitism in Germany



- Surveys after reunification of Germany => much more anti-Semitism in West Germany than in East Germany
  - Fallacy arising from the distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism
  - Since then, Eastern German "anti-Zionism" has merged with Western German "anti-Semitism"
- Since 2000 => German left voiced solidarity and support with the Palestinians
  - Left had an anti-Zionism policy already in the 1960s'
  - Trend of demonizing Israel
- Problem with the occupied territories, anti Israel is the new anti-Semitism?