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THE ARCTIC
UNIVERSITY
OF NORWAY

Center for Peace Studies

***Willkommenskultur* in Berlin: A critical discourse analysis of national identity construction in Germany.**

*How is the German public discourse about Willkommenskultur shaped
by and a contribution to national identity construction?*

Lisa Tobiassen

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To my dear family.

Mama, Pappa, Ragna.

Thank you for always believing in me.

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1.0 Introduction

After the tough persecutions that caused many families to flee to other countries, this edict born of justified empathy offers a safe haven to them, in all our countries, and determines the rights, liberties and prerogatives we mercifully extend to them in order to make their suffering all the more bearable...¹

70 years have passed since the atrocities of World War Two, and German citizens continue with a desire to distance themselves from radical sentiments and far-right movements. This was particularly visible in attitudes towards migrants during the summer of 2015. Since then, the term *Willkommenskultur* has become an increasingly politicized concept used to describe a positive attitude towards migrants.² In the late 1990's chancellor Gerhard Schröder's Green-Card initiative facilitated a political discussion on the government's role in immigration policies.³ In retrospect, when the term started appearing in the political discourse in the 2000's, the Green-Card initiative of 1998 was used to exemplify *Willkommenskultur*. At the same time, the term *Willkommenskultur* was compared to *Gastkultur*, which refers to the "temporary guestworker recruitment"⁴ of 1955.⁵ In the context of a post-World War Two setting, Germany greatly lacked labor power and therefore adopted a flexible immigration policy in order support the economy. By applying *Willkommenskultur* in this manner, German identity was used as an example to foster open and accepting attitudes towards migrants in the contemporary migration debate. This *Gastkultur*, which stood in immediate contrast to the ideologies of the Nazi party, was used to promote an image of positivity and openness in the aftermath of the Second World War. In recent years, the term has been specifically applied to the current so-called refugee crisis in Germany. In September 2015 Angela Merkel – who has been chancellor since 2005 – broke with the Dublin accord, which dictates that refugees arriving in an EU-country must register and apply for a residency in that country.⁶ Thousands of refugees were on their way

¹ Oliver Haardt, "In Vielfalt Geeint," Gastbeitrag, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/staat-und-recht/gastbeitrag-willkommenskultur-in-vielfalt-geeint-14102053.html>.

² Friedrich Heckmann, "Was Bedeutet "Willkommenskultur"?", in «*Vielfalt gefällt*» (Bamberg: Universität Bamberg, 2012), 2.

³ Felix Litschauer, "Archäologie Der Willkommenskultur . Zum Wandel Eines Politischen Konzepts," *neue ideengeschichtliche politikforschung*, no. 10 (2016): 11.

⁴ Friedrich Heckmann, "Understanding the Creation of Public Consensus - Migration and Integration in Germany, 2005 to 2015," (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute 2016).

⁵ Litschauer, 5.

⁶ Claus Christian Malzahn, "Merkel'S Flüchtlingskrise: Chronik Eines Staatsversagens," *Die Welt*, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article148588383/Herbst-der-Kanzlerin-Geschichte-eines-Staatsversagens.html>.

– on foot from Hungary to Germany.⁷ According to the Dublin accord, they would have had to return to Hungary if they wanted to apply for residency in the EU. Merkel instead made an executive decision and “opened the doors” to these refugees and made arrangements – along with the Austrian then-chancellor Werner Fayman – to have them picked up and brought to Germany.⁸ Over the course of and after these events, the term has frequently been suggested as being “Merkel’s *Willkommenskultur*”.⁹ In 2017 the term was defined for the first time in the acknowledged German dictionary, *Duden*.¹⁰ Even though the term is frequently used and has been defined, there exists a certain ambiguity surrounding *Willkommenskultur*.

⁷ Ingrid Brekke, "Ett År Etter at Merkel Åpnet Grensen: Slik Har Tyskland Endret Seg.," *Aftenposten*, <http://www.aftenposten.no/verden/Ett-ar-etter-at-Merkel-apnet-grensen-Slik-har-Tyskland-endret-seg-603235b.html>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Malzahn.

¹⁰ Deutsche Presse Agentur, "Willkommenskultur Landet Im Duden," *Die Zeit*, <http://www.zeit.de/kultur/2017-08/neuaufgabe-duden-neue-woerter-postfaktisch-fluechtlingskrise>.

Despite being seemingly highly relevant and resembling modern attitudes, the quote at the beginning of this chapter is actually an excerpt from the Potsdam Edict, administered by the elector of Brandenburg – Friedrich Wilhelm – over 333 years ago.¹¹ The quotation is used in the contemporary article *United in Diversity* by Oliver Haardt to demonstrate a potential relationship between the migration of the French Huguenots in 1685 and the current migration crisis. He describes *Willkommenskultur* as a product of German identity, which can be re-traced through history. Haardt's view is that German identity did not simply appear when Germany became a nation-state in the late eighteenth century, but rather has a long history and tradition of tolerance that can be traced back even to the German-States of the Holy Roman Empire. Haardt maintains that Germany's collective identity is founded in the country's multiculturalism and diversity. However, he does question the degree to which contemporary migration debates can be seen through a historical perspective.¹² A few other German authors have also suggested a link between *Willkommenskultur* and the Huguenots. Bernd Sternal, in his book *Die Harz-Geschichte*, mentions in passing that Friedrich Wilhelm's treatment of Huguenots can be seen today as an attempt to develop *Willkommenskultur*.¹³ A further analysis of this statement is not made, and remains an undeveloped idea. Another text suggesting a link between Huguenots and *Willkommenskultur* is an article by Andreas Austilat, where he thoroughly describes the Huguenots' settlement in Berlin. The term *Willkommenskultur* is only mentioned in the heading, and the relationship between the event and the term is not explained.¹⁴ In these texts, the indicative relationship between *Willkommenskultur* and Huguenots provide a context within which identity construction can be analyzed.

These two apparent separate components – *Willkommenskultur* and a past refugee crisis – are brought together through the context of the increasingly politicized German migration debate, as the aforementioned German authors and academics have indicated. However, the ideas are only partially developed, if at all. A more profound consideration of these implicit connections could reveal a significant insight into the construction of German identity and its influences. This potential knowledge thus is the focus of this essay, wherein *Willkommenskultur* either as

¹¹ Haardt.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Bernd Sternal, *Die Harz - Geschichte*, vol. 6 (Norderstedt: Verlag Sternal Media, 2017), 24.

¹⁴ Andreas Austilat, "Réfugiés Welcome: Was Die Hugenotten Nach Berlin Brachte," *Der Tagesspiegel*, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/weltspiegel/sonntag/migration-im-17-jahrhundert-refugiés-welcome-was-die-hugenotten-nach-berlin-brachte/20422990-all.html>.

a cultural product of a German national identity or contribution to the construction of a German national identity is explored.

1.1 Research Question

Within this context of German identity and history, the main research question of this thesis arises: *How is the German public discourse about Willkommenskultur shaped by and a contribution to the construction of national identity?*

This question will be answered with help of the following sub-questions:

1. How is *Willkommenskultur* used in the public discourse?
2. How do contributors to the public discourse relate their discussion (a) to a broader social and political context, and (b) specifically to the context of contemporary migrants?
3. How do contributors to the public discourse draw on ideas of a historically grounded German identity? In particular, what significance do they attribute to the local historical case of the Huguenot refugees from 17th century France?
4. How does *Willkommenskultur* potentially re-construct German national identity?

In order to answer the research question and the sub-questions I conducted two sets of analysis. The first is a content analysis conducted on forty-one articles from Germany, which is a quantitative research method that seeks to identify characteristics and uses of *Willkommenskultur* in broader populations. The second is a critical discourse analysis conducted on five articles from Germany, used specifically to identify key themes and arguments with regard to *Willkommenskultur* and the Huguenots of 1685. These articles were selected from a period between 01.01.2014 and 31.12.2017.

1.2 Relevance to Peace Studies

Peace Studies can be many interrelated things, and this interdisciplinary nature allows for perspectives from artists, economists, lawyers and anthropologists to create a profound and multi-layered understanding on a variety of topics. This thesis looks at a highly politicized and even polarized current event – namely migration in the West – and an iconic past event which possibly has influenced the construction of a national identity. Analyzing identity – the way

individuals and groups identify themselves in both smaller and larger contexts – can be one of the key components to understanding the fundamental roots of conflict and peace, particularly when those conflicts are between identity groups. In his book *Ethnicity and Nationalism* Thomas Hylland Eriksen explains how history can be used as a reflexive component in the construction of identity.¹⁵ Considering the academic gap identified in the previous section, this thesis will analyze ways in which the Huguenots of 1685 have been used “in the contemporary creation of identities” and how this demonstrates a relationship to the development of *Willkommenskultur* as a contemporary shape of and contribution to identity construction. By using history as a “response to the requirements of the present”¹⁶ the aforementioned German authors have shown that they believe in a link between *Willkommenskultur* and the Huguenots. This relationship is worth exploring because of its potential role in German identity construction, the significance of history to people, and the importance of societal and political structures during politicized events. Peace Studies would benefit from this research by viewing the broad concept of national identity construction in light of a specific debate and the effects this may have on identity groups.

1.3 Terminology

There are certain terms that require clarification before proceeding with the thesis. The terms *migrant*, *refugee* and *asylum-seeker* are often used interchangeably. In many cases the words are lumped together and polarize discussions on a migrant crisis between locals and foreigners. The danger in this is that people who engage in these discussions – whether they are politicians or academics – may often lose a sense of what they are actually talking about, and without clear definitions there is risk of creating a fear of “the other” develops. In this thesis, the terms are clarified the following: a migrant is “a person who changes their place of usual residence by moving across a political or administrative boundary.”¹⁷ A refugee is “a person forced from their home and seeking refuge, usually in another country.”¹⁸ An asylum seeker is “a refugee who requests a government grant them protection according to the provisions of international

¹⁵ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (London, United Kingdom: Pluto Press, 2010), 85.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Noel Castree, Rob Kitchin, and Alisdair Rogers, "Migrant," *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (2013), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199599868.001.0001/acref-9780199599868-e-1182?rskey=lw0pIX&result=1>.

¹⁸ "Refugee," *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (2013), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199599868.001.0001/acref-9780199599868-e-1531#>.

human rights law.”¹⁹ Not all migrants are refugees, not all refugees are asylum-seekers and not all asylum-seekers are refugees. Migration studies refers to all these sub-categories, and others as well. This could be discussion on its own, yet for the purpose of the scope of this thesis I use the terms migrant, refugees or asylum-seekers according to these definitions. In order to form thoughtful and constructive ideas around the subject the difference between these terms is important to acknowledge.

The term *refugee crisis* is frequently associated with the migration debate. Christiane Fröhlich from the University of Hamburg argues that refugee crisis is a negative-loaded term that implies that refugees somehow are at fault for being refugees and suggests that researchers utilize the term “political crisis” instead. The source of the issue would thereby be placed on the inadequate political infrastructure of a state when an influx in population occurs.²⁰ In Peace Studies, this adaptation seems relevant because the focus moves from the conflict and the people who have risked much to leave their country of origin and instead focuses on finding new solutions. Although the sentiments behind this reasoning is convincing, there are two identifiable issues. First, there are other types of political crisis that are not due to the inadequate political infrastructures of a state. Watergate – a scandal which ultimately led to President Nixon’s resignation in 1974 – is an example of a political crisis.²¹ Second, the negative implication of the term refugee crisis is not evident in all uses of the term and does not have an inherent negative nature. The negative implications reflect more about the individuals that use of refugee crisis than the meaning of the term. Although refugee crisis is the most frequently used term with regards to the summer of migration and the Huguenots, for the purpose of this thesis I will use the term migrant crisis. The term refugee crisis would exclude an entire category of migrants. In addition, since Willkommenskultur – defined as an open attitude towards migrants – is the focus of this thesis the adoption of “migrant crisis” offers a terminological consistency.

And lastly, when I simply state “Huguenots” in this thesis I specifically mean the Huguenots that fled from France in 1685 and settled in Berlin/Brandenburg as a result of the Potsdam Edict, which is further discussed in section 2.6. I may refer to Huguenots of other time periods,

¹⁹ "Asylum-Seeker," *A Dictionary of Human Geography* (2013), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199599868.001.0001/acref-9780199599868-e-90?rskey=Rgw94d&result=1>.

²⁰ Christiane Fröhlich, *Lecture: Understanding the Middle East: Conceptual Approaches to Migration* (Tromsø07.03.2017).

²¹ History.com Editors, "Watergate Scandal," <https://www.history.com/topics/1970s/watergate>.

for instance the descendants of those Huguenot refugees, but when I do so I will specify my usage.

1.4 A Roadmap

In the section above, I have identified a research area – the relationship between *Willkommenskultur* and Huguenots – with regard to the highly politicized migration debate in Germany. The main research question is: *how is the German public discourse about Willkommenskultur shaped by and a contribution to the construction of national identity?* I have provided a background within which the research is contextualized and specified the terminology of some controversial concepts. Now, I will provide a brief outline of my thesis.

In my theory chapter, I will address the theoretical framework required to assess how *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by and a contribution to the construction of national identity. The chapter starts with the broad elements – identity, migration and history– as the underlying concepts of my research. The research narrows to considerations and discussions concerning specific components of German identity, the effects of migration on identity groups, and the historical contextualization of Germany. The research is focused specifically at the history of Huguenots and the development of the term *Willkommenskultur*. A summary of the theories – broad, narrow and focused – is included at the end of the theory chapter.

In my methodology chapter, I will address the methodological framework required to assess how *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by and a contribution to German identity construction. The chapter first discusses the background and reasoning of my choices behind the methodological approach of this thesis. This is followed by a short account of my field work and an explanation on a shift in my research question. Later I discuss the background, techniques and uses of content analysis and critical discourse analysis, and how these research methods were employed for my research. The section on methodology is concluded with a discussion on challenges encountered over the course of the entire research.

Chapter 4.0 presents the findings of my research. There are two main sections to the data presentation. First, a statistical and empirical presentation of data collected from the content analysis demonstrates the quantifiable findings of this research. Second, a synopsis-style description of the articles used in the discourse analysis presents an overview of the qualitative

sources. The purpose of the data presentation is not to interpret the findings but demonstrate what these findings were in a clear and logical manner.

In chapter 5.0 the results of my findings will be analyzed with regard to German identity construction. The data analysis is thereby divided into four main sections, one for each sub-question identified in section 1.1. Within each section, I will interpret the data in order to ultimately determine how *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by or a contribution to German national identity. As the analysis is interrelated, which may cause confusion, each sub-section is summarized – when relevant – specifically with regard to the sub-question, and how the findings relate to the over-all research.

In chapter 6.0 I will summarize some of the major points and issues raised throughout the thesis in order to directly express the relevance the research has to Peace Studies. I will also explain how the research gap identified in the introduction has been answered. Throughout this thesis, related topics will be brought up, and concrete suggestions for future investigations will be developed on some of them. The concluding statements determine how the research has expanded on the topic of identity construction. The conclusion states that *Willkommenskultur* is used in the contemporary migration debate in order to construct a national identity, and it uses the history of the Huguenots as a reference of how the collective group acts.

2.0 Theory, Background and Context

*Human beings in all times are agents, decision makers, and culture-bearers, even when they are also faced by constraints of social and political structure.*²²

In this chapter, I will provide the theoretical framework necessary to understand how *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by and a contribution to national identity construction in the public discourse. First, I will briefly discuss the concept of identity, and the concept's relationship to elements of nations, migration and othering. This understanding is followed by the contextualization of the region Brandenburg in historic and contemporary terms, which discusses the geographical, political and social structures of Brandenburg in two different ages. With this groundwork laid out, more specific theoretical considerations of this research are regarded. The first specific topic is a short history of the Huguenots, which is presented in order

²² Caroline B. Brettel and James F. Hollifield, *Migration Theory. Talking across Disciplines*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 51.

to provide the reader with an understanding of who the Huguenots were, and how their story fits into German history. The second specific topic is a depiction of German identity, so that existing discussions of German identities can be acknowledged. Lastly, the development of the term *Willkommenskultur* will be addressed. A summary of the main points will be presented at the end of the theory chapter.

2.1. Identity in Nations, Othering and Migration

Identity is a relatively elusive concept and can be related to vast areas of study: from memory to migration, identity is the groundwork required to develop a profound understanding of many contemporary discussions. The same is true for this research on *Willkommenskultur*. There exist many interpretations of what identity is. Amongst the many interpretations of identity, Maria Caterina La Barbera, from the Center for Political and Constitutional Studies in Madrid, provides an explanation of identity, which will be used here as a guideline of the concept because of its clear and coherent nature:

“Identity is intended and best described as a relational and contextual process that refers to how individuals and groups consider, construct, and position themselves in relation to others according to social categories such as gender, sexuality, culture, race, nation, age, class and occupation. Identity encompasses multiple roles endorsed by individuals in social life that are externalized through the use of markers such as language, dress and occupation of space.”²³

In the description above, the contextual process of “how individuals and groups ... position themselves in relation to others”²⁴ prefaces the fact that identity is actually the result of two processes, namely self-representation and social categorization. La Barbera defines self-representation as “identification in terms of interpersonal differentiations”²⁵ and social categorization as “categories that establish boundaries between us’ and ‘them.”²⁶ Critically, as Kenneth Madsen and Ton van Naerssen state in an earlier article in the *Journal of Borderland*

²³ Maria Caterina LaBarbera, "Identity and Migration: An Introduction," in *International Perspectives on Migration* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 9.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 2.

²⁶ Ibid.

Studies, “people are not just passive receptors”²⁷ but rather contributors to the (de- and re-) construction of identity. Like La Barbera, they claim that “processes of identity construction require on-going processes of bordering and ‘othering’ of us/them”²⁸ confirming a reflexive characteristic. The individual possesses thus both self-awareness as well as the ability to conform to a group with the help of established boundaries.

In addition to the “dialectic interplay”²⁹ between self-representation and social categorization described above, there is the concept of collective identity. In *Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context*, J.B. Trim quotes Jacques le Goff stating that “memory is an essential element ... of collective identity.”³⁰ This would indicate that the ones doing the remembering are the ones establishing a collective identity. According to La Barbera collective identity emerges “when outsiders recognize individual’s belonging.”³¹ Although these two descriptions appear to contradict one another, they are in fact compatible because the group of the present act as an outsider to the group’s past, thereby establishing a collective identity through memory. For instance, Trim states that “the Huguenots had a powerful sense of the importance of remembrance and were shaped by their memories.”³² Huguenots remembered their ancestors as belonging to a single, collective group. By imagining their ancestors as belonging to the same collective group, the contemporary Huguenots in question themselves become the “outsider group” whilst the ancestors were the “insider group”. Remembrance shaped their individual and social identity according to their interpretations of their ancestor’s collective identity. Collective identity is thus another example of how identity is a relational, “not-static”³³ concept which is both influential and impressionable. Due to relational nature of identity construction, this thesis thus will discuss whether the term *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by or influences German identity.

2.1.1 Nations as Imagined Communities

²⁷ Kenneth D. Madsen and Ton vanNaerssen, "Migration, Identity and Belonging," *Journal of Borderland Studies* 18, no. 1 (2003): 62.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ LaBarbera, 2.

³⁰ David J. B. Trim, *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 16.

³¹ LaBarbera, 2.

³² Trim, 16.

³³ Madsen and vanNaerssen, 62.

Discussions about nations, states and nation-states are often confusing because they are not always treated as the entities they are. Since these concepts are used as important parts of this thesis, I will explain each in order to create clarity. Øyvind Østerud, author of *State Sciences. An Introduction in Political Analysis*, offers clear definitions of the nation, the state and the nation-state. A nation is a group of people with common cultural characteristics, independent from formal state-boundaries. A state is an officially independent political entity which is acknowledged by human rights conventions and diplomacy. A nation-state is an independent political entity which represents the culture of the people.³⁴ In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson proposes that the nation actually “is an imagined political community – and imagined both as inherently limited and sovereign.”³⁵ In the introduction, he stresses that fact that the term “imagined” does not imply that a nation is false, but simply constructed.³⁶ There are three imagined components in his definition – limitation, sovereignty and community – which require a closer look.

The first aspect of Anderson’s definition of the nation refers to limitations, which essentially means the physical manifestation of borders. The fixation of a territory is viewed as temporary because of the elasticity of borders. Despite this temporality, borders have an influence on people and groups of people. According Henk van Houtum and Ton van Naerssen in *Bordering, Ordering and Othering* “borders are erected to erase territorial ambiguity and ambivalent identities in order to shape a unique and cohesive order, but thereby create new or reproduce latently existing differences in space and identity.”³⁷ This is a paradoxical act which “rejects as well as erects othering”³⁸ and implies that emergent conflicts may occur. Emergent conflict is a theory developed by Hugh Miall in *Emergent Conflicts and Peaceful Change* and suggests that “an underlying change alters the relationships between people in such a way that groups may feel their interests to be damaged or threatened.”³⁹ If these underlying issues – in this case altered geographical borders – are not dealt with they can “proximate causes and trigger events” which leads to conflict.⁴⁰ One example of the effects of bordering is the Berlin Conference in

³⁴ Øyvind Østerud, *Statsvitenskap. Innføring I Politisk Analyse.*, 2 ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999), 199-200.

³⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1986), 6.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Henk vanHoutum and Ton vanNaerssen, "Bordering, Ordering and Othering," *Tidschrift voor Economische en Social Geografie* 93, no. 2 (2001): 126.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Hugh Miall, *Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change* (Hampshire: Palgrac MacMillian, 2007), 32.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 14.

1886, when European colonies divided land on Africa amongst themselves, thereby cutting directly through regions, separating tribes and families and forming territories within which the people living there had little in common. Madsen et.al provide a good explanation of the effects of nationalism on the African continent:

*The Western concept of 'national community' was imposed and new countries were created with territorial borders that were not perceived as such by many of the old identities that continued to persist, often across borders. On the other hand, specific social groups (or tribes, as invented by the West) who obtained power in the new states used this in order to gain access to resources that traditionally belonged to other groups.*⁴¹

Apart from introducing the concept of Westernization in social and political orders across the world, the above quote demonstrates how the establishment of national boundaries both erected imagined national African identities and overpowered old, local identities. This paradoxical nature of border erection show that borders not only “shape a unique and cohesive order”⁴² but can disregard the old structures that were in place. On an anecdotal level, this is probably why many people from different African countries refer to each other as brothers and sisters, regardless which citizenship they hold. This attitude demonstrates how nationhood is only one category, and that other ties, such as family ties, can be more important. Humans draw borders not only between states, but between people, delimiting different groups of outsiders and insiders. This and a more detailed account of othering will be discussed in section 2.1.4.

Secondly, nations are imagined as sovereign, or independent, because of their inherent “dream of being free.”⁴³ This sentimental reference is based on the notion that all nations are uniquely different, but at the same time that all are equally sovereign. The concept of collective memories is linked to the facilitation of a sovereign nation. In an article published in the European Journal of Cultural Studies, Anna Reading explores the concept of identity and the “right to memory”⁴⁴ and writes that “cultural and collective memories are part of the process of nation-building and citizenship.”⁴⁵ Thus, many governments today build on this dream in order to strengthen a collective idea of nationhood. The celebration of German (re-)unification on the 9th of

⁴¹ Madsen and vanNaerssen, 65.

⁴² vanHoutum and vanNaerssen, 126.

⁴³ Anderson, 7.

⁴⁴ Anna Reading, "Identity, Memory and Cosmopolitanism: The Otherness of the Past and a Right to Memory?," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 14, no. 4 (2011): 379.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 382.

November 2017 is a symbolic attempt to prove the strengthened ties between eastern/western Germany. Ghana's national flag symbolizes the gold found in the country (yellow), the nature of the land (green), and the blood spilt by their ancestors (red). France has the phrase "*Egalité, Fraternité, Liberté*" as their national motto since the French Revolution and are all part of the French constitution.⁴⁶ The examples of German (re-)unification, the Ghanaian flag and France's motto create a tie between the people and their emphasized history which perpetuates identity and nationality. All these examples of using history to tie people together as a nation demonstrate how collective identity accentuates certain aspects of a history and can distort the realities of an event for the benefit of collective identity. For instance, although the explanation of the Ghanaian flag is somewhat romantic, many Western African countries with colors yellow, green and red have the same connotations as Ghana. This flag-related similarity demonstrates the sovereign attitudes whilst the fact is that they also can resemble one another, and is an example of historic distortion for the benefit of a narrative.

Community, as the last imagined aspect of the nation, emphasizes the sheer size of a nation. Usually, a community is associated with a small, localized group which has face-to-face contact to one-another. In the context of a nation, this familiarity is experienced within an impossibly large representation of community where "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived in a deep, horizontal comradeship"⁴⁷ partially facilitated by collective memories. Comradeship not only facilitates a common nationhood wherein all – for example – Germans are equally German, but implies that all Germans have a special bond with each other. With the specific establishment of a nation-state, this comradeship is reflected in the concept of a citizenship. This element of comradeship – whether hereditary, obtained or adopted – is not limited to a nationality and can be extended to other forms of social categorization. According to Miall a social organization is a "system that is adapted to certain values on a set of variables representing its environment and its social and historical context."⁴⁸ These categorizations include examples such as the gay community, the academic community, really any system that attains a sense of belonging from individuals to groups.

⁴⁶ Bjørn Bredal, "Nu Er Der Franske Broderskab Fæstet Ved Lov," *Politiken*, <https://politiken.dk/debat/art6752176/Nu-er-det-franske-broderskab-f%C3%A6stet-ved-lov>.

⁴⁷ Anderson, 7.

⁴⁸ Miall, 34.

2.1.2 Borders and the Other

The concept of othering is the drawing of lines between groups, that inherently creates an “in-group” (“us”) and an “out-group” (“them”).⁴⁹ The section on identity determined that social categorization is one of the ways which determines belonging and is an inherent part of constructing an identity. The section on imagined communities also determined the paradoxical concept of geographical bordering as a way in which othering is both rejected and erected. Here, we will look at the concept of political and social othering within the concept of migration, as migration is the specified scope of this thesis.

Linguistic history shows that English speakers began “to label their own fear of foreigners by modernizing the Greek-origin term as xenophobia” in the beginning of the 1900s.⁵⁰ This does not mean that a fear of foreigners never existed before this period. In Kenneth D. Madsen’s and Ton van Naerssen’s article *Migration, Identity and Belonging*, they state that the “perception of what border countries are has changed considerably”⁵¹ and use Turkey and The Netherlands as an example. Their geographic locations indicate that the two countries are separate but that the changing dynamics of Europe have brought them closer together. With the establishment of the EU, The Netherlands now is a political neighbor to Turkey. With the discussion of Turkey becoming an EU-member, these boundaries would have dissolved and suddenly they would have the same political agenda. Since many Turkish immigrants had settled in the Netherlands in the last 70 years, Madsen and Van Naerssen at one point state that the EU has brought “Turkey even nearer to the Dutch people.”⁵² Although probably unintentional, they have managed to paint a picture which depicts Turkey as a larger, impersonal entity coming towards an individual group of Dutch people. This perpetuates a sense of othering where the two components – Turkey and Dutch people – are as different as oil and water and creates a clear division of “us” versus “them”. Had the statement been “the Turkish nearer the Dutch”, one may have imagined a mingling of different peoples; had the statement been “Turkey nearer The Netherlands” one may have seen a geographical re-location. The main point drawn from this observation is that the use of language demonstrates underlying sentiments, and although accidental, our ability to distinguish individuals as a member of “us” or “them” is an inherent

⁴⁹ LaBarbera, 4.

⁵⁰ Brettel and Hollifield, 40.

⁵¹ Madsen and vanNaerssen, 69.

⁵² Ibid.

part of identity, as explained in the previous section. However, just as identity is (de- and re-) constructed, so can these categories that make migrants appear to be fearful entities.

2.1.3 Identity Groups in Migration

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the “earliest efforts ... to study migration”⁵³ appeared, even though the entire phenomenon had existed for millennia.⁵⁴ The first migration studies were focused on the “melting pot”⁵⁵ of American history – which refers to the waves of immigration in the 18th century coming from various European countries –and now has merged into the study of political sciences.⁵⁶ Today, migration can be considered as the study of “mobility undertaken at spatial and temporally very large scales of analysis.”⁵⁷ In other words, migration studies look at the movement of peoples both geographically and over periods of time.

People socially or politically categorized under the umbrella term migration “undoubtedly adjust their lives to some degree to accommodate their new residence and/or reinforce aspects of their heritage in counterreaction to what is going on around them”⁵⁸ which indicates a parallel action between developing a new identity in relation the host environment as well as facilitating a connection – a collective memory not unlikely the example of Huguenots and their relationship to Huguenot ancestors – to their home. This counterreaction between the accommodation to a new residence versus the reinforcement of heritage happens when “migration policies problematize migration as a destabilizing force that must be kept under control.”⁵⁹ As migrants adjust their lives in order to fit into the new society they find themselves in, they have yet to be included in the identity of this new society. During this process, certain migrants simultaneously strengthen their collective identities to each other. This migrant identity in a foreign country may develop very differently from how the collective identity develops at home, and in some ways created a home away from home. This dynamic can contribute to marginalization in the new community. Modern societies see assimilation as an important component of integration. The discussion of which integration policy is better for

⁵³ Brettel and Hollifield, 39.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Eriksen, 25.

⁵⁶ Brettel and Hollifield, 40.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Madsen and vanNaerssen, 61.

⁵⁹ LaBarbera, 4.

which society is not within the scope of this thesis, but leads towards the concept of the fear of “the other”.

There are two different ways in which this thesis approaches the topic of migration. First is the specific case of the Huguenots, who represent an example of a migrant crisis in 17th century Europe. Their arrival and integration in Brandenburg – and other German-States of the time – is often discussed in relation to German history, which signifies the importance of their impact on the structures of local and regional life. Secondly, this thesis analyzes the public discourse surrounding the contemporary migration debate in Germany. Germany – and Europe generally – is still experiencing an influx of arriving migrants from different countries, meaning that the politicized current event is an on-going phenomenon. This particular section contextualized the topic of migration in this research, presenting the ways the topic will be addressed throughout this thesis.

2.2. Germany: Geography, Politics and Society

The geographical, political and social structures of “Mark” Brandenburg and modern-day Berlin/Brandenburg are relevant to understand in order to contextualize the regions in their respective times. The purpose is to account for the differing political and social structures of the two time periods, before drawing conclusions with regard to identity. Today, Germany is a federal republic composed of 16 German states, or *Bundesländer*. Berlin and Brandenburg are two such states, with Brandenburg enveloping Berlin.⁶⁰ The name Berlin/Brandenburg is used here in order to both reflect the contemporary division of boundaries, and to indicate the region’s historical ties to “Mark” Brandenburg.

2.2.1 The Geographical, Political and Social Structure of “Mark” Brandenburg

“Mark” Brandenburg was a border state founded for protection by the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages.⁶¹ The Golden Bull of 1356 recognized the Margrave of Brandenburg – along with six other princes – as an elector of the Holy Roman Empire’s emperor and was thereafter often referred to as the Elector of Brandenburg.⁶² After 1415, the electors of

⁶⁰ Michael Prokoph, "Bundesländer in Deutschland," *Bundesland 24*, <https://bundesland24.de/bundeslaender/>.

⁶¹ R.R. Palmer, Joel Colton, and Lloyd Kramer, *A History of Europe in the Modern World*, 11 ed. (New York: Mc-Graw-Hill Education 2004), 212.

⁶² Ibid. Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 2 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27.

Brandenburg were solely from the Hohenzollern dynasty.⁶³ The scope of this thesis starts with Thirty Years' War. These turbulent decades of European history, can be best presented through means of this quote:

It was a German civil war fought over the Catholic-Protestant issue. It was also a German civil war fought over constitutional issues, between the emperor striving to build up the central power of the empire and the member states struggling to maintain independence. These two civil wars by no means coincided, for Catholic and Protestant states were alike in objecting to imperial control. It was also an international war, between France and the Habsburgs, between Spain and the Dutch, with the kings of Denmark and Sweden and the prince of Transylvania becoming involved, and with all these outsiders finding allies within Germany, on whose soil most of the battles were fought.⁶⁴

This quotation is used to stress the intricacies of the 30 Years War in a very superficial and simplified manner, yet do not begin to uncover the atrocities that were the reality for the people at that time. Section 2.3 more directly addresses the background of the 30 Years War, discussing the role of religion and the effects on the Huguenots. Christopher Clark in *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Fall of Prussia*, explains that the destructive reality of the 30 Years War became deeply imbedded in the collective memory of the people.⁶⁵ Images of warfare in general are not necessarily unfamiliar, but the details of the 30 Years War in Brandenburg are intricate and appalling. There are accounts that are familiar today – such as starved populations, decreased fertility rates and increased mortality rates – whilst other accounts of devastation truly paint a shocking image. For example, cannibalism was documented alongside spit-roasted farmers tortured for the location of his life savings.⁶⁶ Demographically, population numbers were cut in half not only because of the violence civilians faced from soldiers – which soldiers is irrelevant in thesis as atrocities on all sides have been documented – but starvation and contagious diseases also affected these numbers.⁶⁷

For the Holy Roman Empire, the war ended in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia.⁶⁸ Germany was left fragmented, and “Mark” Brandenburg had been particularly devastated by the war, with the population in Berlin – for example – dwindling from around 14,000 to around 6,000 by

⁶³ Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: 1648-1840* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 52.

⁶⁴ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 140.

⁶⁵ Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom. The Rise and Fall of Prussia 1600-1947*, 5 ed. (München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt in der Verlagsgruppe Random House GmbH, 2006), 59.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 53; 56.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶⁸ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 143.

1640.⁶⁹ At this time, the Holy Roman Empire “lacked almost all of the resources of a functioning imperial system”⁷⁰ and yet continued “to be universal in principle, having no relation to nationality and theoretically being a form of government suitable for all people.”⁷¹ In exchange for their vote, the emperors would promise the electors that he would “safeguard all the privileges and immunities of the states”⁷² which they called “Germanic liberties.”⁷³

In 1640 Friedrich Wilhelm succeeded to the rule of Brandenburg at just 20 years old.⁷⁴ His contemporaries called him – and history knows him – as the “Great Elector” since he “almost overnight raised Brandenburg to the position of second importance among the German-States”⁷⁵ and “was the first of several influential leaders who shaped modern Prussia.”⁷⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm is both considered to be the founder of an absolutist government by historians such as Hoje Holborn as well as the “creator of an incipient system of centralization.”⁷⁷

As a ruler, Friedrich Wilhelm “was eager to live up to his Christian ideals”⁷⁸ which is well-reflected in his treatment of religious refugees. He settled Swiss and Frisians into Brandenburg; he welcomed Jews from Poland; and he provided the means to resettle 20,000 Huguenots.⁷⁹ Yet his religious convictions were not necessarily separate from his political motivations. He believed that a strong Protestant front in Northern Germany was essential to Brandenburg’s survival, making the “army the center of the new Brandenburg-Prussian state”⁸⁰ with numbers reaching up to 45,000 during his rule.⁸¹ Friedrich Wilhelm had direct power over both the army and state offices, retaining the right to “appoint both foreigners and commoners.”⁸² In fact, under his rule, “about 10 percent of all officers were foreigners.”⁸³ Granted, Germans from other German-States counted technically as foreign, but the number of Huguenot officers was

⁶⁹ Ibid. *ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 196.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 197.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 212.

⁷⁵ Holborn, 52.

⁷⁶ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 212.

⁷⁷ Holborn, 63.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁹ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 216.

⁸⁰ Holborn, 65.

⁸¹ Ibid. *ibid.*, 133.

⁸² Ibid., 60.

⁸³ Ibid., 66.

“considerable”⁸⁴ for a time.⁸⁵ Militarily and politically, the Great Elector had thus shown himself to be a strategic and opportunistic ruler, proving that Brandenburg was “a force in competition with European states.”⁸⁶ The general war commissariat became Brandenburg’s most important agency, as “it not only combined the functions of modern war and finance ministries but also became the chief agency for carrying through many of the mercantilist ventures, such as population settlement and building of factories.”⁸⁷ Economically, Brandenburg was very much self-sustained through the proceeds of crown domain, enterprises owned and administered by the state, and excise taxes on consumer’s goods government monopoly on salt. In order for the rural Brandenburg to “maintain an organized army” all taxes “were levied for the use of the army”⁸⁸ and “productive and technical skills had to be imported.”⁸⁹ Friedrich Wilhelm has both ethical, militaristic, political and economic ventures in mind, characterized by considering “himself the champion of a religious cause” and his “vision of a new state that had its existence and destiny in the secular order.”⁹⁰

The purpose of this section was to explain the geographical, political and social structure of “Mark” Brandenburg in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the context within which the construction of German identity will be discussed. In addition, the since Friedrich Wilhelm’s actions have been understood as an early example of *Willkommenskultur*, the context of this contemporary term in a past event is not only relevant, but can be indicative of German identity construction.

2.2.2 The Geographical, Political and Social Structure of Modern-Day Berlin/Brandenburg

*In an age of increasing globalisation, the new Germany itself was a land incorporating contrasts, seeking to overcome the internal legacies of the Cold War heritage, and taking up new pacifist and post-nationalist stances informed by its own part in a tortured but now increasingly distant past.*⁹¹

This quote is used to demonstrate the general national sentiment in order to indicate German context and thought. The context of this national sentiment will be explored briefly in this

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 58.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 65.

⁸⁸ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 216.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Holborn, 67.

⁹¹ Fulbrook, 257.

section. In particular, the contemporary geographical, political and social structures of Germany Berlin, Brandenburg and Germany will be explained.

In addition to the local government, Germany has a national government. The elected chancellor is not voted for directly by the people but is proposed by the president and comes to power if his/her party wins. Angela Merkel has been chancellor since 2005 and is from the *Christliche Demokratische Union* (CDU). Since her party did not retain the majority of the vote alone, Merkel leads a coalition party with the *Christliche Soziale Union* (CSU) and the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD). The sovereignty the *Bundesländer*, or German states, enjoy is limited, but ultimately executed by the *Ministerpräsident*, or minister president, of a German state. The *Ministerpräsident* is anonymously elected by the *Landtag*, a representative assembly with legislative authority, and chooses the ministers of different departments such as education, environment and transportation. Each minister is thus independently responsible for the ways in which they govern their respective departments. The *Ministerpräsident* presents the guidelines that the German government established, and his or her ministers implement them practically. Today, both the *Ministerpräsident* for Berlin and Brandenburg – Michael Müller and Dietmar Woidke respectively – are from the SPD.⁹²

Germany today is a regular, democratic, western country with regions that enjoy a certain autonomy. This makes the analysis of political and social sentiments unique for the individual *Bundesländer*.

⁹² Brandenburg Landesregierung, "Ministerpräsident Dietmar Woidke," Landesregierung Brandenburg, <https://www.brandenburg.de/de/ministerpraesident/bb1.c.476536.de>. Senatskanzlei, "Der Regierende Bürgermeister," Senatskanzlei, <https://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/en/the-governing-mayor/>.

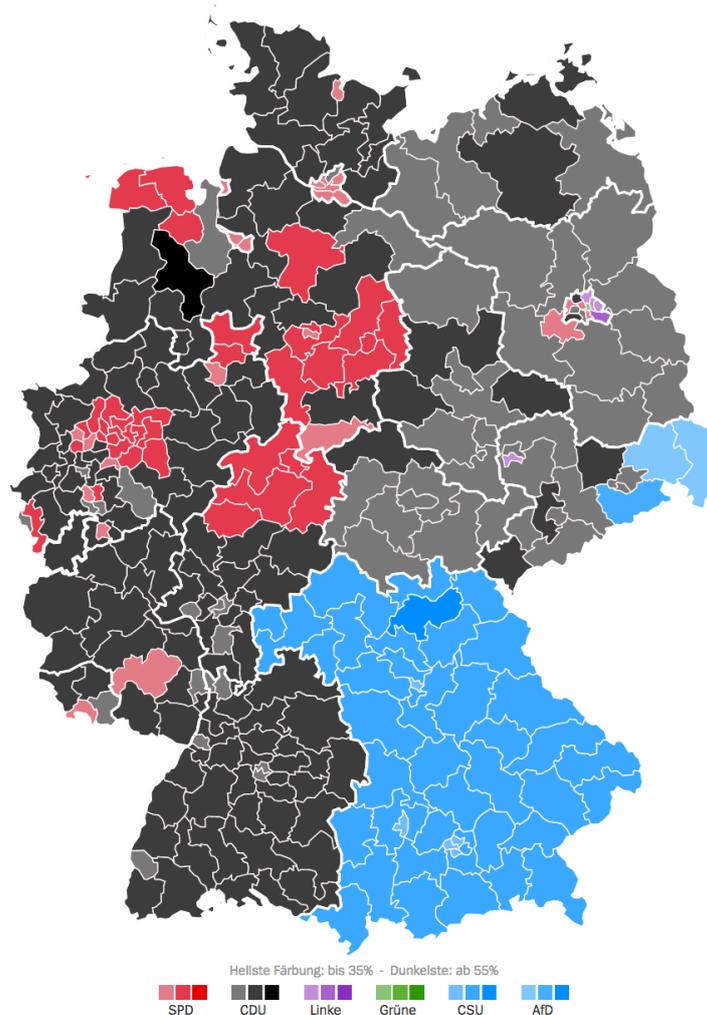


Figure 1: Nationwide results of Germany's 2017 election ⁹³

Figure 1 demonstrates the nationwide results in the different voting districts of Germany's election in 2017. The regional divide is apparent in the southern part of Germany, whilst *Bundesländer* Berlin/Brandenburg voted differently than the rest of northern Germany. Merkel's party – the CDU – suffered a major setback by receiving the least votes since the party's inception, and the AfD (*Alternative für Deutschland*) – the far-right party of Germany – gained seats in parliament. The issues the different parties faced at the time of election included petrol prices, a uniformed and equal school system across the *Bundesländer*, the growing poverty in larger cities like Berlin, and lastly migration.⁹⁴

⁹³ Unknown, "Wahl 2017," <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/bundestagswahl-2017-alle-ergebnisse-im-ueberblick-a-1167247.html>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

The purpose of this section was to explain the geographical, political and social structure of modern-day Berlin/Brandenburg in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the context within which the construction of German identity will be discussed. This section has specifically demonstrated the political structure in Germany and how it is built in such a way that a centralization of ideologies – as it occurred with the rise of the Nazi party in 1939 – is constitutionally difficult. At the same time, this section has demonstrated – with help of Figure 1 – the results of the democratic election through which the far-right party AfD gained seats in the parliament. This is significant to understand the intricacies of political and social contexts in a nation, especially in the wake of a polarizing debate, such as migration.

2.3 A Short History of Huguenots

“Mark” Brandenburg has a very special relationship with the history of the Huguenots in the sense that the region benefitted from the arrival of refugees and is used as an exemplary case of migrant inclusion today. In this section, I will detail the case of the Huguenots for a more profound understanding of the historical implications.

To begin, the Reformation is an indeed incomprehensible multi-faceted and immensely complication in its diverse aspect of history that must be briefly described for a profound understanding of the situation which would eventually force hundreds of thousands of Huguenots to flee France and take refuge in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, England and even South Africa. According to Palmer, there were three main streams that resulted in the Reformation. The first was that “religious ideas became mixed with a protest against the whole social order”⁹⁵ which was readily apparent with the laboring poor. Secondly, the growing, wealthy middle class desired to “manage their own religious affairs as they did their other businesses”⁹⁶, portraying a growing confidence in autonomous decision-making. Thirdly, the nobles had “long disputed with the church on matters of property, taxes, legal jurisdiction, and political influence”.⁹⁷ These three influences from different aspects of both social, political and economic background resulted in the development of Protestantism, who were considered as a “radical theological wing of the Reformation.”⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 77.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 134.

By the 1570s, about half of the French nobility had converted to Protestantism. By having the church service conducted in French instead of Latin, Protestantism also appealed to the peasants, few of whom spoke Latin.⁹⁹ The St. Bartholomew's massacre in 1572 – which originally was meant as a wedding celebration for the Protestant King of Navarre – started the civil and religious wars in France.¹⁰⁰ When Henry IV ascended to the throne as a Calvinist, his Catholic subjects refused to recognize him as king. As a result, he converted to Catholicism and in 1598 issued the Edict of Nantes which provided the Huguenots with “positive guarantee for their personal security as well as protection of their religious liberty.”¹⁰¹ In this manner he managed to please both his Catholic and Protestant subjects while remaining king. However, in October 1685 Louis XIV revoked this edict because he considered “religious unity necessary to the strength and dignity of his rule”.¹⁰² This ultimately led to the destruction of all reformed churches and persecution of nearly 200 000 Huguenots whereby they endured the “most cruel oppression and sufferings”¹⁰³.¹⁰⁴

This transgression “outraged”¹⁰⁵ the Protestant Frederick Wilhelm, who in response – as leader of a personal, unrestricted regiment – offered French Protestants a “safe and free retreat in his lands under the most favorable conditions of settlement”¹⁰⁶ through the Edict of Potsdam.¹⁰⁷ This was considered a bold political move as Huguenots were forbidden to emigrate from France, and if caught they could have faced heavy penalties.¹⁰⁸ This literal opposition was considered courageous, and Friedrich Wilhelm's officials feared this could have provoked Louis XIV to act violently against Friedrich Wilhelm's actions.¹⁰⁹

Upon the invitation to Brandenburg, 20,000 Huguenots moved to settle in the area, where they were offered free settlement, exemption from state taxes and support for state positions. Still feeling the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, “the Great Elector was keen to increase the

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe, 1300-1800* (Yale: Yale University, 2012), 133; *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 137.

¹⁰² Palmer 185

¹⁰³ Holborn, 88-89.

¹⁰⁴ Andreas Reinke, *Das Edikt Von Potsdam - Toleranz Hat Tradition* (Berlin: Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats, 1993).

¹⁰⁵ Holborn, 89.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Dr. P. Clauswik, *Berliner Verhältnisse Zur Zeit Der Einwanderung Der Réfugiés, Die Französische Colonie* (Berlin: Königlichen Hofbuchdruckerei von E.S. Mittler und Sohn, 1898).

¹⁰⁸ Holborn, 89.

¹⁰⁹ Dr. Ed. Muret, *Geschichte Der Französischen Kolonie in Brandeburg - Preussen* (Berlin: W. Bärenstein, 1885).

population of his territories ... and the Huguenots offered a ready source of new subjects.”¹¹⁰ In addition, Brandenburg depended on imports from the West – as stated earlier – and as the Huguenots were expert craftsmen, educated noblemen and skilled soldiers, the resettlement not only populated rural Brandenburg, but also populated the region with skill and culture. Given that Friedrich Wilhelm was an elitist ruler of what today is considered an absolutist state, these conditions were provided by him without much opposition from the people – the land was the state’s and thereby his to give; he could exempt who he wished from taxation; and his right to appoint foreigners as state officials was absolute.¹¹¹ The arrival of the Huguenots in Berlin is apparent even today. From architecture, schools and local dialect, the Huguenots have influenced and integrated the local Berliner population and remains an important part of its history.

This section has presented the history of the Huguenots with specific regards to the “Mark” Brandenburg. This background information is necessary in order to understand interpretations surrounding German identity in section 2.4, where the Potsdam Edict and the subsequent (yet slow) process of integration of Huguenots in Berlin is used as a possible example of *Willkommenskultur* and signifies a long-standing narrative of German history and identity.

2.4 A Depiction of German Identity

Discussions on the natures of the German nation, state and identity are often accompanied by “anomalies, fuzzy boundaries and ambiguous criteria for belongingness”¹¹² because of an array of complexities related to German history, people and regions. Mary Fulbrook’s *A Concise History of Germany* provides a good summary of these complexities:

*There is a geographical complexity, with a range of peoples speaking variants of the German language across a central European area, in which over the centuries there has been a great diversity of political forms, which have for most of ‘Germany’s’ history included also non-German-speaking peoples. There is a historical complexity, with as much contingency and accident as predetermined drive along any evolutionary path to a pre-ordained end. And there is complexity inherent in the nature of reconstructing and writing a history of a shifting entity, itself constituent in the light of current concerns and interests.*¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Trim, 221.

¹¹¹ Holborn, 66.

¹¹² Eriksen, 136.

¹¹³ Fulbrook, 2.

This quotation demonstrates three main complexities of Germany – geography, history and historiography – and implies an interrelated component between them. Geographically, Germany reflects a diversity of people, language and politics which exist independently of a nation. According to Østerud, the German concept of a nation is not a liberal idea about the sovereignty of people – as, for example, in France – but rather a cultural idea about the distinctive character and self-esteem.¹¹⁴ German history can be viewed according to different narratives: that of the nation and that of the nation-state. The German nation most frequently is associated with a long-standing narrative of German history, referring to the 300+ German-States (which were autonomous regions, not to be confused with the concept of a German state) in context of the Holy Roman Empire. This narrative is closely associated with the geographic aspect of Germany. Some of the regional boundaries still loosely exist within the contemporary German nation-state. Brandenburg is an example of a German-State becoming a *Bundesland*. This is a bridge to the second narrative of German history, namely that of the German nation-state. The German nation-state was established in 1871 and embodies the manifestation of the German nation under one political and judicial state structure. German historiography is a complicated matter, as the different narratives often contradict and even compete with each other. For instance, when R. R. Palmer, in the book *A History of Europe in the Modern World* addresses the 30 Years War as a “civil war” the assumption is that these were peoples belonging to the same nationality that waged war against each other. But Germany as a nation-state didn’t exist then, so it would be wrong to suggest that any two German-States – which were called margraves within the Holy Roman Empire – that fought against each other engaged in a civil war. Since Germany was not a single state at that time, the use of the term “civil war” erroneously associates the 300 existing German-States under the umbrella of the contemporary understanding of “state”. This example illustrates the confusion behind the concepts of a German nation, a German state and the German-States and demonstrates the importance of understanding the difference and connection between them.

Another example of German historiography concerns the unification of Germany. When the German nation-state was established in 1871, which is comparatively later than other Western European countries, there existed a discrepancy between the German nation and the German state. The infamous tales collected by the Brothers Grimm gained momentum in the 1870’s as

¹¹⁴ Østerud, 200.

a collective manifestation of cultural phenomena within the German state. The folklores were used as a method to connect the regional individualism as a national cultural phenomenon unifiable under the state.¹¹⁵ Under the parameters of a nation-state identity construction and historical implications are relatively simple to discuss. National territorial borders of the state should simplify discussions of migration, settlement, law, structure, etc. because of the clear parameters. However, making things easy does not equate making things true. In the case of Germany an understanding of the complex geography, the dualistic historical narratives and the historiographical considerations need to be understood or at least acknowledged in order to obtain a full picture behind the concept of German identity construction.

2.5 The Development of *Willkommenskultur*

The term *Willkommenskultur* was first conceptualized in the 2000's as "part of a debate around labor market shortages"¹¹⁶ and is therefore closely tied to the German market's reliance on foreign labor for a "healthy economy".¹¹⁷ In many ways, an accurate translation of the term is difficult – as it will be shown in this section – which is why I have chosen to use the original German version, given that I provide the reader with an adequate background and understanding of the term.

In an article in *Anthropology Today*, *Willkommenskultur* is quickly translated to "culture of hospitality".¹¹⁸ This would, however be a more accurate translation of the German word "Gastkultur", which refers to the guestworker recruitment from 1955 onwards. Several other sources, such as The Migration Policy Institute, have translated the term to "welcoming culture".¹¹⁹ This implies that the receiving country is engaged in active welcoming, which is not necessarily always the case. Even though refugees were welcomed in Munich in 2015 with signs that read "refugees welcome", other examples of *Willkommenskultur*, such as the conditional permission to await the response to a residency request in Germany, are not quite as active.

¹¹⁵ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 471.

¹¹⁶ Heckmann, "Understanding the Creation of Public Consensus - Migration and Integration in Germany, 2005 to 2015," 5.

¹¹⁷ Christopher Stehr and Benjamin E. Jakob, "Ursprung Der Willkommenskultur," Haufe, https://www.haufe.de/oeffentlicher-dienst/haushalt-finanzen/willkommenskultur-in-der-oeffentlichen-verwaltung/ursprung-der-willkommenskultur_146_304046.html.

¹¹⁸ Chris Hann, "The Fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur," *Anthropology Today* 31, no. 6 (2015).

¹¹⁹ Heckmann, "Understanding the Creation of Public Consensus - Migration and Integration in Germany, 2005 to 2015," 5.

In an essay from 2012, Friedrich Heckmann – from the University of Hamburg and amongst the most renowned researchers of migration political in Germany – sets out to elaborate on what *Willkommenskultur* means. His initial premise is that *Willkommenskultur* is an unclear and confusing term.¹²⁰ He acknowledges that *Willkommenskultur* generally represents an open and accepting attitude towards migrants.¹²¹ One interesting viewpoint he expresses is that *Willkommenskultur* differs from other terms by being characterized by a “meaningful blur”¹²² which enables the term to be used in different contexts. Heckmann does not believe that *Willkommenskultur* has to be defined like any other term. He suggests that the term means different things on four main levels. On the (1) individual level, *Willkommenskultur* means to combat and alter prejudices. On the level of (2) interpersonal relationships, the term means to adopt a principle of openness, duty, communication, equality, aid and non-discrimination. On the level of (3) organizations & institutions, *Willkommenskultur* means to adopt open regulations and practices for membership. And lastly, on the level of (4) society, *Willkommenskultur* can only exist if the host society wholly agrees that their nation is an “Einwanderungsland”, or a country of immigration.¹²³ This means that identities have to be determined in order for *Willkommenskultur* to exist. This implies a symbiotic relationship between the host identity and the migrant identity, and a common consensus thereof. Although his ideas here are very clear, they dispute his earlier claim that *Willkommenskultur* should be undefined. He has, in reality, made a very basic yet coherent definition of the term by not only applying it to different contexts, but developing *Willkommenskultur* unique role in each setting.

The reflections of Heckmann imply that *Willkommenskultur* exists in both top-down and bottom-up interpretations. This viewpoint is echoed in *The Archeology of Willkommenskultur* by Felix Litschauer, where two main narratives of the concept are identified: utilitarian versus altruistic. In the first narrative, the fear of falling behind in the world market has caused the German government to implement policies that are meant to stimulate the labor force. The government has, for example, increased the number of minimum hours in a work day, and had flexible laws regarding foreign labor.¹²⁴ During the summer of 2015, this rational-utilitarian perspective was utilized to indicate that the sudden influx of refugees was seen as an investment

¹²⁰ "Was Bedeutet "Willkommenskultur"?"

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Litschauer, 39.

opportunity for the German market under the condition that the migration is “controlled and steered”.¹²⁵ This control is only possible if the institution in question has the capacity and willingness to do so. The second, altruistic narrative originates, according to Litschauer, within the people, and is separate from “political motivation”.¹²⁶ Merkel’s open-door-policy, wherein she proved herself to be an “energetic humanist”¹²⁷, is one such example. Usually placed on the conservative right, the politicized migration debate united her with figures such as Wolf Bierman – an outspoken celebrity on the liberal left.

There is, however, more to the acknowledgment of *Willkommenskultur* in German politics and society than these two narratives. As indicated by the definition of identity, “practices of othering and cultural fragmentation are not merely practices of interstate affairs, but also take place within states.”¹²⁸ The example of Turkey and Dutch people showed interstate othering. The summer of 2015 shows othering within states. In reaction to acts of terrorism Germany has experienced in recent years, such as the attack on the Christmas market in Berlin, anti-immigration sentiments have risen in Germany. Such actions slowly stirred anti-immigration sentiments, which eventually resulted in the extreme manifestation of AfD’s victory in the elections of September 2017. La Barbera states that “politicizing identity is counterproductive to social change”¹²⁹ and as *Willkommenskultur* has been used frequently in the contemporary migration debate specific to Germany a valuable consideration is whether or not the normative term *Willkommenskultur* – if an example of politicized identity – will damage social change more than promote it. However, there are times in which a politicized identity did not have a negative impact on social change, like feminism. To take a concrete example, the Suffragette movement which “developed more rapidly in early nineteenth-century England and America”¹³⁰ and contributed to a new evaluation and way of thinking about gender identity. This movement was highly politicized and brought about social change. These two alternative stances towards politicized identity is a complicated matter but is mentioned here in order to demonstrate how differently identity in politics can have an outcome on social change.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 42.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 43.

¹²⁷ Wolf Bierman, "The Tragedy of Angela Merkel," Opinion, *The New York Times*.

¹²⁸ vanHoutum and vanNaerssen, 67.

¹²⁹ LaBarbera, 2.

¹³⁰ Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, 468.

The point of this section was to provide examples of the different uses of *Willkommenskultur*. As several German authors have already indicated, the range with which the term has seemingly influenced both political and social life in Germany is only increased by the fact that it also has been linked to being part of German identity. This section has thus provided the context within which the research explicitly explores the relationship between the term *Willkommenskultur* and the Huguenots, in order to identify the possible influences this relationship has on German identity construction.

2.6 Summary of the Theory Chapter

Over the course of this chapter, a range of interrelated and complex theoretical components were examined. In order to provide more clarity of this dynamic, this particular section will shortly summarize the main points of the theoretical background.

In section 2.1.0 the fundamental concept of identity was discussed. The three main modes of identity construction – individual, social, and collective – led into a discussion on nationality as an imagined community. Anderson’s theory was evaluated with regard to the concepts of limitations, sovereignty and comradeship. Some preliminary observations on the concept of migration before more immediate and relevant effects of identity on “othering” were discussed. Section 2.2.0 evaluated the historical contextualization of “Mark” Brandenburg and modern-day Brandenburg in order to establish a fundamental understanding of geographical, political and social structures which may influence manners in which identity is interpreted. The purpose of section 2.3 was to demonstrate the significance of the Huguenots in German history and lay the groundwork for how these historical implications could influence identity construction. German identity was depicted in section 2.4 in order to create a specific understanding of how Germany is a nation of culture, and what this tells us in terms of identity construction. In the section 2.5 the theories and controversies surrounding the term *Willkommenskultur* – such as its characteristics as an adaptable or a normative term – was discussed in order demonstrate an understanding of its theoretical and practical background. All of these sections aimed to establish a theoretical framework within which the research question: *to what extent is Willkommenskultur a construction of German identity?*

3.0 Methodology

This chapter will elaborate on the methodological framework required to assess *Willkommenskultur* as a concept that is shaped by and contributes to the construction of German identity. The chapter starts by explaining the methodological approach utilized in this research, discussing how qualitative and quantitative research methods can help answer the research question. This is followed by a section of chronology which provides an understanding of the research plan, execution and adaptation. Then, sections 3.3 and 3.4 will discuss the specific research methods used to conduct the research. The section 3.6 portrays the challenges identified during the planning, process and writing stages of the research. A brief summary of the methodology chapter is given in section 3.7.

3.1 Methodological Approach

In research there are two branches of methodological approach which are used with different emphasis dependent on the nature of the research. These approaches are qualitative and quantitative research methods, which, despite the fact that they inherently “contain internal contradictions and contestation”¹³¹, can be used in the same research. Since Peace Studies is an interdisciplinary field – indicating that fields of different methodological approaches are representative – both qualitative and quantitative research methods will be considered and discussed.

Qualitative research methods are employed with the purpose to “understand or explain behavior or beliefs, identify processes and understand the context of people’s experiences.”¹³² Such a research outline relies on researcher subjectivity, which can be a valuable component in research. At the same time as a qualitative approach offers a deeply analytical and profound understanding of a research field, the researcher must acknowledge his/her subjectivity as an underlying influence in the choices made, findings emphasized, and conclusions drawn. My own challenges – subjectivity included – will be discussed in section 3.6. In order to avoid confusion and strengthen a research reliant on qualitative methods, a clear consciousness and approach to one’s own subjectivity is valuable.¹³³ Quantitative research methods quantify a research by generalizing findings to a broader population. This method uses numbers and individual variables gathered through questionnaires or statistics in order to create an understanding of social trends, and is often represented as graphs, tables or charts. A research comprised of quantitative data requires interpretation, and thus the identification of generalizations.¹³⁴ Although these methodological approaches are often explained separately, they work best when they are used to complement each other in research.

Ultimately, the research for this thesis was conducted through a focus on qualitative methods supplemented by quantitative research. The qualitative research method was conducted through a critical discourse analysis, which examines how a phenomenon, event or person is discursively constructed. For the purpose of my research, I selected five articles from German newspapers (*Berliner Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Der Tagesspiegel*) which reflected different uses, contextualization and interpretations of the term Willkommenskultur. The

¹³¹ G. Goertz and J. Goertz, *A Tale of Two Cultures: Qualitative and Quantitative Research in the Social Sciences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1.

¹³² Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 33.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 32.

component of quantitative research methods was conducted through a content analysis, which quantifies categories of documents and reflects over-all statistical trends. In my research, I used forty-one articles from six German newspapers (*Berliner Morgenpost*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *Der Spiegel*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Zeit*).¹³⁵ Table 1 below attempts to clarify why the different research questions were answered using content or critical discourse analysis. The specific research methods I refer to – content analysis and critical discourse analysis – will be explained in sections 3.3 and 3.4.

Sub-Questions	Research Method	Reason
How is <i>Willkommenskultur</i> used in the public discourse?	Content Analysis and Critical discourse analysis	Content analysis is applied in order to determine trends and overall associations with the term <i>Willkommenskultur</i> in the media. Critical discourse analysis, as a type of content analysis, can identify ways in which <i>Willkommenskultur</i> is used in the context of the article, which is something the content analysis cannot determine.
How do contributors to the public discourse relate their discussion (a) to a broader social and political context, and (b) specifically to the context of contemporary migrants?	Critical discourse analysis	Critical discourse analysis is used to determine arguments and themes in the relationship between <i>Willkommenskultur</i> and social, political and migration contexts.

¹³⁵ Appendix 1

How do contributors to the public discourse draw on ideas of a historically grounded German identity? What significance do they attribute to the local historical case of the Huguenot refugees from 17 th century France?	Critical discourse analysis	Through critical discourse analysis historical narratives can be analyzed. Here we look specifically at the ideas and themes which connect the contemporary identity to a historical narrative that cluster around main themes.
How does <i>Willkommenskultur</i> a potential to re-construct German identity?	Critical discourse analysis	Critical discourse analysis is used to analyze the ways in which the public discourse has attempt to re-construct a national German identity.

Table 1: Sub-Questions, Applied Methods and Reasons

Table 1 is used in order to demonstrate the approaches taken to the different sub-questions and explain the reasoning behind the choices made. Since many of the questions are inter-related, this presentation hopes to clarify my thought-process and reasoning to the reader. A more detailed discussion on what the content and critical discourse analysis entail will follow in sections 3.3 and 3.4, respectively. So far, the nature of methodological approaches has been considered, as well as a preliminary introduction into how these approaches are relevant to this research.

3.2 Research Process

Before going into the detail of the specific research methods, I will here shortly portray a chronological order of how my research was conducted. This is relevant because my research question had to be altered according to the data I had collected.

In the fall of 2017, I travelled to Berlin with a grant from the Center for Peace Studies from the University of Tromsø in order to obtain access to the Huguenot archives and conduct a quantitative analysis on newspaper articles in Germany simultaneously. The main research question at this time was “to what extent are the Huguenots of 1685 and early example of German *Willkommenskultur*” and was a compare-and-contrast type of research, which is why I initially prepared for a mixed-method research. These sources would have been valuable for the project specifically because I speak, read and write both German and French fluently, and

would therefore have been able to understand primary sources without needing a translator. In addition, I can read sources written in the gothic style, which was common in 1685, thanks to course *HIS-2001: History in light of its sources* (own translation) at the University of Tromsø. With this academic background, the primary sources at the Huguenot archives could have been studied in a new manner.

The archives turn out to be closed for renovations until the fall of 2019, which was surprising due to phone calls, e-mails and internet searches I had administered before departing. I adapted to this set-back by obtaining a library card at the *Berliner Stadtmuseum*, which had a small collection of documents on the Huguenots in their restricted section. The oldest of these sources was from the mid-1800s, so nearly 200 years after the arrival of Huguenots in Berlin. In order to supplement my sources, I reviewed the collection of Huguenot material – also secondary sources – at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. in the winter of 2017. Despite the 200-year gap, I initially kept the comparative case study. When several historiographical and epistemological issues developed in my drafts during the summer of 2018, the lack of primary documents was identified as the challenge. With regard to this realization, I adapted my research question in relation to what my sources and data reflected and changed the underlying methodological approach. Even though the documents from the *Berliner Stadtmuseum* are no longer used as part of my analysis, the research provided me with a solid foundation of background information on the Huguenots, their influences on the politics, society and economy in Brandenburg, and their resounding effects on Berliner life lasting until today.

The necessary changes to my research reflects itself in my methodological approach. The significance of the content analysis was reduced, and the critical discourse analysis became the main focus of my exploration of German identity because of its value in determining and analyzing the public discourse surrounding *Willkommenskultur* and the Huguenots. Articles from German newspapers are central reflections and manifestations of regionally wide public opinions, which provide an insight into the contexts of history and identity in the contemporary migration debate.

3.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis “is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a (...) replicable manner.”¹³⁶ I chose this method because of its “objective, systematic and quantitative”¹³⁷ nature. The goal was to identify trends in the uses of *Willkommenskultur* within the public discourse.

The reason I selected articles as sources for my content analysis was because the representation of *Willkommenskultur* in media in many ways accurately reflects the contemporary migration debate, because of daily updates as well as local, regional and national representations. I collected the articles before choosing content analysis as my mode for analysis. During this process, I determined several criteria for the newspaper articles I collected with regard to content, selection, quantity and time frame. The very first criterion for my articles was that the article in question had to contain the term *Willkommenskultur* because the purpose of the content analysis is to quantify ways in which the term is used in the contemporary migration debate. For the selection itself, I opted for an inspired version of the “snowball-effect” which – usually referring to the manner in which a researcher finds an informant – is relevant here because of the random manner in which I found the articles. My aim was to obtain a selection that is a representation of German articles. Although I found the articles at random, I actively searched articles in specific newspapers that came from Berlin, other local regions and national origins (*Berliner Morgenpost*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *Der Spiegel*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Zeit*) and selected a couple from each, forty-one in total.¹³⁸ This process of selection allowed me to obtain a sample of articles which were relevant to the topic of German *Willkommenskultur* and geographically representative. I also had to determine a time frame and chose to look at articles between 01.01.2014 and 31.12.2017. This time frame represents a period before the so-called summer of migration – when *Willkommenskultur* really gained momentum as a term – and the years of politicized discussions that followed.

In order to facilitate the framework within which the collected articles were to be analyzed, there were two formalities of the content analysis that I had to complete. First, I devised the coding schedule¹³⁹, which is a “form unto which all the data relating to an item being coded will be entered.”¹⁴⁰ This coding schedule shows six categories which I used to analyze the

¹³⁶ Bryman, 288.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 284.

¹³⁸ Appendix 3

¹³⁹ Appendix 2

¹⁴⁰ Bryman, 293.

articles. Second, I designed a coding manual¹⁴¹, which is a “statement of instruction to coders that also includes all the possible categories for each dimension being coded”.¹⁴² This coding manual presents the categories from the coding schedule and provides alternative answers for each category. For instance, one category on the schedule is “definition” which refers to the question: is *Willkommenskultur* defined in the article? In the coding manual, there are two options regarding this question: (1) yes or (2) no. Depending on the answer, either number one or two is written down under the category “definition”, and in the row of the relevant article. This explanation of the system behind the coding schedule and manual has clarified the quantitative approach to the articles taken during this research.

Two of the “pitfalls”¹⁴³ in content analysis are an ambiguous interpretation on part of the coders, and the lack of mutually exclusive categories. In order to avoid these, I developed a multi-step process for the conduction of the content analysis.

- 1) Read the article and summarize the text in my own words.
- 2) Re-examine each article with respect to the different categories defined in the coding manual.
- 3) Re-read each article and be free to interpret the elements on a qualitative level.

In this way, I would be able to retain both qualitative and quantitative value from my content analysis. Since my qualitative sources were limited due to the fact that the archives were closed for renovations, qualitative component of newspaper articles supplemented my research. I adapted to the circumstances and made due with the materials at my disposal. In hindsight, this process familiarized me with my data and helped me transition over to critical discourse analysis when the time came.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Fran Tonkiss, in a chapter on critical discourse analysis in *Researching Society and Culture*, provides a thorough explanation of critical discourse analysis and its uses. According to Tonkiss, critical discourse analysis (CDA) examines “how ideologies are reproduced through

¹⁴¹ Appendix

¹⁴² Bryman, 295.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

language and texts”¹⁴⁴ and emphasizes the relationship between discourse and history.¹⁴⁵ In this context, *Willkommenskultur* as a product of German identity construction is the ideology reproduced through a text. Since CDA is an “interpretive process that relies on close study of specific texts”¹⁴⁶ and is inherently a subjective research method, it does not have a bound set of rules for a researcher to follow. CDA is particularly relevant in this thesis because the “analyst is concerned with examining the way that specific forms of text and speech produce their versions of a social issue, problem, event or context.”¹⁴⁷ This examination that can be directly applied to discussions of *Willkommenskultur* producing a new understanding of German identity and history. Even though there are no specific rules for a critical discourse analyst to follow, the researcher can “isolate certain core themes and useful techniques which may be adapted to different research contexts.”¹⁴⁸ In his chapter, Tonkiss identifies four tools to analyze a text. For the purpose of this research, I opted for the first tool: Identifying key themes and arguments. According to Tonkiss, there are three questions that can help a text be analyzed through this tool:

1. What ideas and representation cluster around themes?
2. Are particular meanings and images being mobilized?
3. What other discourses or arguments are drawn on to define or justify the approach taken in the text?

The articles for my CDA had to be selected more carefully than for the content analysis, because I was no longer looking for trends or quantifiable data. In addition to determining the origin, source, purpose value and limitations of the articles, I identified the key themes and arguments that helped me critically analyze the text. The content analysis I had conducted previously on a total of 41 articles can be seen as the preparation for my CDA, because I was familiar with the articles and could carefully consider articles that were most relevant to my new strand of research. Two articles from the “original” analysis were used in both the content and CDA. The

¹⁴⁴ Fran Tonkiss, "Discourse Analysis," in *Researching Society and Culture* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2012), 408.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 408.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 409.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

remaining three were chosen for specific reasons, which will be discussed in section 4.3.0. When I adapted my research to CDA, the methodology became mainly qualitative with a few aspects of quantitative data.

In my content analysis, I had decided not to use pictures as a coder because, although an article mentioned *Willkommenskultur*, this did not mean that the images were meant to reflect about *Willkommenskultur*. A direct correlation between a visual representation and *Willkommenskultur* would be purely speculative and misrepresentative. Now, with the CDA, a relationship between an image and *Willkommenskultur* could be more readily explored because the context could be more specifically explained.

The popular discussion on newspapers on the term *Willkommenskultur* reflects a general, national attitude towards the influx in migration as well as state-related attitudes. This draws upon German identity on both a national and state level. On a national level, the connections to history oscillate the historical accounts in relation to the migration debate, and can imply how history is used and how history influences. These two different – but interrelated – narratives of history are especially relevant in section 5.3.

3.6 Challenges

This section will consider the challenges of my research, which is largely based on my own role as a researcher. Considering the fact that this research is non-obtrusive, I did not have to consider ethical implications such as anonymity or researcher-informant power relations. This does not mean that I am free from addressing challenges in my research. Here follows an explanation of the challenges I had to consider.

My personal background has some influences on the way I address certain contemporary issues, especially with regards to migration. I am a Swiss/Norwegian citizen born in Stockholm who, during her childhood, lived in neither Switzerland nor Norway. My mother is a Swiss diplomat and my father is a historian. Our family, which includes my sister and dog, have been re-located to different places every three to four years. I have first-hand experience with integration in foreign cultures and human communication, speaking five languages fluently. I have become interested in concepts such as “home”, “identity”, “nationality” and “belonging”. The ideas that a sense of home is mobile or that identity is impressionable are not new to me because I’ve

experienced them myself. At the same time, I understand how important one's cultural ties to home can be, as well as the instinct to protect it. As a historian, academically speaking, I conceive history as one of the most vital elements in all fields study. History is also a relational concept, whose discourse changes depending on what story is told. Even though these are components which have inspired me to write this thesis, I have attempted to "abandon all preconceptions"¹⁴⁹ as Tonkiss suggests, and write an unbiased account and analysis of the research's findings. The unknown influences of my preconceptions, however, are more difficult to pinpoint. A qualitative methodological approach makes the research subject to interpretation. As subjectivity is one of the drawback of qualitative data – in the sense that subjectivity may be hard to identify – this characteristic also is a strength, through the provision of profound and meaningful insights into a topic, regardless of one's one influential background.

My background specifically as a Swiss person from the German region of Switzerland (there are four linguistic regions in total) influences the way I approach this topic. In certain categories, Swiss-German people are a German nation, but not part of the German state. Through these categorizations, I am both part of the "in-group" and part of the "out-group" of German identity. I will understand certain cultural implications based on language and history better than one who is fully "out"; whilst I also have a concrete connection to the concept of German identity which may color the manner in which I approach the research.

The sources I've collected for this research are all written in German. That German is (one of) my mother tongue(s) only enhances my interpretational skills and strengthens the over-all ability to argue confidently on the subject. However, there are two types of challenges to consider here. The first is that the use of German articles excludes any non-German speakers from viewing the sources. On the other hand, if a non-German speaker were interested in this subject, they could employ a translator for the field research and collect data in that manner. Secondly, as we have seen in the theoretical discussion on the term *Willkommenskultur*, translating cultural and political concepts are difficult because language carries cultural implications.

This brings us to another limitation of my research, namely difficulty in replicating a qualitative analysis. A researcher attempts to provide a methodological framework which – if copied and

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 412.

applied to the same or similar source – should ideally result in the same findings. Interpretations, however, are guided and presented by the researcher which, as we have seen above, creates the subjective nature of data analysis. Therefore, the replicability of – especially – qualitative researches is difficult to achieve. That being said, I endeavor to explain how I reached my conclusions, which provides a logical path for people to follow to determine whether or not they agree with my conclusions.

With specific regard to my content analysis, and knowing the full development of my thesis now, I would probably have made some changes regarding the categories of my coding schedule, and the available answers in the manual. For instance, I would have included a category entitled “Heckmann’s Levels of *Willkommenskultur*” in the coding schedule and had options 1-4 under this category in the coding manual correlate to the level of the individual, of interpersonal relationships, of organizations and institutions, and society. This would have more deeply rooted the theory into the methodology and subsequent analysis. At the same time, however, a direct adaptation of this theory would also have raised issues with regard to how I was letting myself be steered by determined definitions and understandings of the very phenomenon I was evaluating and introduce another element of subjectivity in my research. Another change I would have made is adding a category for the type of migrant *Willkommenskultur* is referring to. This content analysis has thus not been fully developed yet, but it opens up a new line of investigation in terms of *Willkommenskultur*.

On a more practical level, I also had to consider the fragility of old documents. Several of the documents I handled at the library were over 100 years old, and if I’m going to make at least part of my research replicable then I should make sure that I take good care of the sources. Fortunately, given the aforementioned His-2001, I know how to properly handle fragile documents. In order to limit the documents from the *Berliner Stadtmuseum*, I photocopied the relevant pages. Incidentally, this also made the documents easier to work with because I could use them actively and make them portable. In acknowledging the challenges of this research, I have contributed to creating a more well-rounded methodological understanding of the research.

The challenges above were identified as the following: subjectivity derived of my background; (lack of) replicability in qualitative research; cultural implications of the German language as a mother tongue; choices in the content analysis; and the preservation of fragile documents.

Hopefully this has also helped the reader – in some way – better understand my role as a researcher and consequently as my influences on this research.

3.6 Summary of Methodology Chapter

This chapter has discussed the broad elements of methodological approaches; presented my personal research process; provided a detailed account of both content analysis and CDA, before acknowledging and discussing various challenges of this research. One of the most important aspects to acknowledge in the methodology is the role of the researcher, wherein I have not only described the influences of my background on the research as a whole, but in what ways I can bring something new to this particular research.

4.0 Data Presentation

4.1 Overview

This section on the data presentation is two-fold: firstly, the section will show the main results of the content analysis. This quantifiable section is presented mainly through the form of graphs, charts and descriptions of findings. Secondly, I will present the sources used in my CDA. Here, I will provide a short review of each document on which I conducted the CDA. This review includes the origin of the source, the purpose the article serves, as well as its values and challenges. In both these components, I hope to establish an understanding of the data and documents before the interpretation commences.

4.2 Statistical Review of Content Analysis

The purpose of the content analysis in this thesis is to answer the following sub-question: how is *Willkommenskultur* used in the public discourse? The content analysis provides a quantifiable way to evaluate the different uses of the term in German media, which to a certain extent reflects the contemporary sentiments surrounding the debate.

Figure 2 is used to demonstrate the frequency with which *Willkommenskultur* was mentioned in the six newspapers of the content analysis. This graph is not a representation of the findings of my content analysis, and was instead created with the help of the digital archives of each newspaper article. The graph shows how the total amount of times *Willkommenskultur* was mentioned ever (in gray) is marginally – almost insignificantly – more than the total amount of times *Willkommenskultur* was mentioned within my specified time period (orange). This graph thus attempts to demonstrate how the term is a politicized concept.

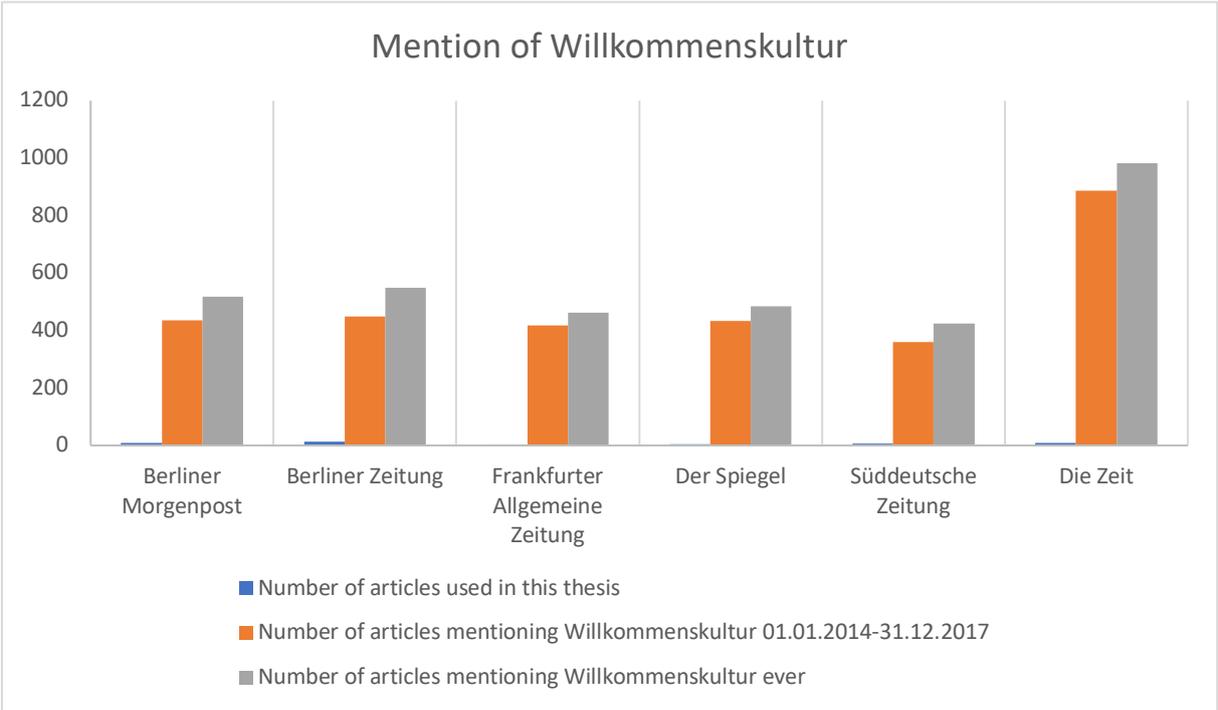


Figure 2. A possible correlation between the migrant crisis in Germany and the usage of the term *Willkommenskultur*.

My content analysis was divided into five quantifiable categories: frequency of the occurrence of the term *Willkommenskultur*; whether the term was defined or not; the topic of the newspaper article; the subject of the newspaper article; which newspaper the article was published in; and where in the text the term *Willkommenskultur* was found. Table 2 effectively demonstrates what these coders entail, and the most important results thereof.

Coder	Explanation	Findings
Frequency	When looking for frequency in an article, I counted the amount of times the term <i>Willkommenskultur</i> was mentioned. The purpose of this was to identify how significant the term itself was in a larger context.	73% of the articles mentioned <i>Willkommenskultur</i> only once.
Definition	In this category, I determined whether or not the term <i>Willkommenskultur</i> was defined. The result of this would possibly reflect the contextualization of the term.	Only one article vaguely defined <i>Willkommenskultur</i> 2.4%. All the other articles incorporated it into either the text or heading.
Topic	The topic – by which I categorized the articles by what topics they discussed – had 7 options: politics, society, culture, local, economics, digital and other. These topics were pre-determined by the article which published it.	The topics were distributed as follows: 53% politics, 12% society, 12/ culture And 24% other.
Source	Here I looked at which newspaper the article in question came from. The options were: Berliner Morgenpost, Berliner Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Der Spiegel,	Of the articles local in Berlin, 61% discussed political issues. Of the regional articles, 50% discussed political issues. Of the national (weekly) articles, 41% discussed

	Süddeutsche and Die Zeit. These are newspapers from Berliner, other local regions' and national perspectives.	political issues. In all cases, the topic “politics” was in the majority.
Context	The context of articles looked at where in the article <i>Willkommenskultur</i> was placed – in a heading, in the text, or in both.	The majority of articles mentioned <i>Willkommenskultur</i> both in the text and in a title or heading. Only two articles mentioned <i>Willkommenskultur</i> in their heading, and in both these cases the frequency of the term <i>Willkommenskultur</i> was.

Table 2: Overview of findings from content analysis.

4.3. Articles in Critical discourse analysis

The purpose of the qualitative CDA is to discuss various key themes and arguments identified in the five German newspaper articles and analyze them in accordance to the theoretical framework of identity, migration, regionality and *Willkommenskultur*. This section presents the articles used in the CDA, which will identify key themes and arguments to answer the following sub-research questions:

- How do contributors to the public discourse relate their discussion (a) to a broader social and political context, and (b) specifically to the context of contemporary migrants?
- How do contributors to the public discourse draw on ideas of a historically grounded German identity? What significance and meaning do they attribute to the local historical case of the Huguenot refugees from 17th century France?
- How does *Willkommenskultur* potentially re-construct German national identity?

Below follows a section for each description of the five articles. The **source** identifies – if possible – the author and their occupation. The **origin** refers to which article in question was originally published. The **purpose** attempts to interpret what the author’s goal was with the article, as well as determine the key themes and arguments which are relevant to my research. The **value** is determined by which sub-research questions the article can answer. Issues of the article are also discussed in order to demonstrate my understanding of their potential **limitations**. These sections are organized alphabetically, according the last name of the author.

4.3.1 Andreas Austilat

The **source** of the article is Andras Austilat, who currently is an editor of *Der Tagesspiegel*. The **origin** of this article is *Der Tagesspiegel*, the largest local newspaper in Berlin. The original title “Migration im 17. Jahrhundert: Réfugiés welcome: Was die Hugenotten nach Berlin brachte.”¹⁵⁰ translates to “migration in the 17th century: refugees welcome: what the Huguenots brought to Berlin.”¹⁵¹ The article was published on 13.10.2017.

The **purpose** of this article is to describe the characterizations of Huguenots in Berlin and how they ultimately affected Berliner identity. With regard to the CDA, there are four key themes and arguments: The first theme concerns language, where he mentions an assortment of words used in Berlin today that are derived from French. The second theme is a comparison to today, in the aftermath of the migrant crisis Germany experienced. He continues with the third theme by providing a statistical overview of the situation of Huguenots in Berlin after 1685, concluding with the words “the edict was a success.” The final section discusses the possible advantageous benefits a Huguenot refugee obtained by being in Berlin, and mentions the development of a segregated Huguenots community in the heart of Berlin. This article also contains a painting by Hugo Vogel of the Great Elector welcoming French refugees in Potsdam as well as a photograph of the French Dom, a landmark in Berlin. These images are found in Appendix 4 and 5.

The **value** of this article is its clear ties between Huguenots and the broader strokes of Berliner history. I chose this article because of the comparison between the Huguenots and today’s migration waves. The article specifically can help answer the sub-research questions 2 and 3. The **limitation** of this article is its idealized view of the arrival of Huguenots and the manner in which they were received. Yet, then again, this can also reflect on a Berliner’s personal attitude to his/her own history, which in turn can deepen the discussions on identity.

4.3.2 Ariane Bemmer

¹⁵⁰ Andreas Austilat, "Andreas Austilat," (2018), <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/austilat-andreas/5988502.html>.

¹⁵¹ "Réfugiés Welcome: Was Die Hugenotten Nach Berlin Brachte".

The **source** of the article is Ariane Bemmer, an editor of *Der Tagesspiegel*. The title “Die Hugenotten und das Heute Flüchtlingspolitik nach Kurfürsten-Art? Besser nicht!”¹⁵² translates to “Huguenots and the modern refugee policy in elector-style? Better not!” The **origin** of this article is *Der Tagesspiegel* which, as mentioned, is Berlin’s largest local newspaper. The article was published on 13.11.2015.

The **purpose** of the article is to demonstrate how leaders of the Prussian Kingdom – with the Great Elector as an example – were not motivated through humanitarian obligation but rather economic incentives. Bemmer acknowledges that several people have drawn parallels between the crisis in 1685 and 2015 but she disagrees with the comparison due to financial and religious differences in the two ages. The welcoming of refugees to her should not be a utilitarian concept, and the praises to the Great Elector are therefore misplaced. With regard to the CDA, the key themes and arguments of this article identify similarities between the migrants and the host country as the condition for a successful integration; the article also proposes that religion is the main difference between the migration crisis then and today; and suggests that economic incentives are the driving factors for the acceptance of migrants.

The **value** of this article is that it criticizes comparisons made between the acceptance of Huguenots and contemporary refugees. The key themes and arguments can help answer the sub-research questions 3. The **limitations** of this article is that neither the intricacies of the significance of religion, nor the origin of morality are mentioned or discussed.

4.3.3 Markus Decker

The **source** of the article is Markus Decker, an author of Politics and Society specific to Berlin.¹⁵³ The **origin** of this article is *Berliner Zeitung*, which is the second largest newspaper in Berlin. The title “Studie: Deutsche Zeitungen berichten nicht immer neutral über Flüchtlinge.”¹⁵⁴ translates to “study: German newspapers do not always report neutrally about refugees.” The article was published on 20.07.2017.

¹⁵² Ariane Bemmer, "Flüchtlingspolitik Nach Kurfürsten-Art? Besser Nicht!," *ibid.*, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/die-hugenotten-und-das-heute-fluechtlingspolitik-nach-kurfuersten-art-besser-nicht/12584838.html>.

¹⁵³ <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/--255724>
Markus Decker, "Studie: Deutsche Zeitungen Berichten Nicht Immer Neutral Über Flüchtlinge," *Berliner Zeitung*, <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik/studie-deutsche-zeitungen-berichteten-nicht-immer-neutral-ueber-fluechtlinge-28004530>.¹⁵⁴

The **purpose** of this article is to summarize key points of a study conducted by the *Otto-Brenner-Stiftung*. The *Otto-Brenner-Stiftung* is an organization that promotes projects of socio-political backgrounds that evaluate national, European and international issues.¹⁵⁵ There, they looked at 35000 articles to determine how the topic of refugees was being treated by German media outlets. The conclusion of the study is that German newspapers don't provide neutral reports on refugees, and that journalists are manipulated by the social conformity of the time. With regard to the CDA, the key themes and arguments are that *Willkommenskultur* is described as a "magic word". This description both suggests a connection to the cultural unification of history, and demonstrates ways in which the term is used.

The **value** of this article is that it is the only article out of the forty-one articles in the content analysis that in some way defined *Willkommenskultur*, which is why I chose to look at it more closely. The article answers sub-research question 1, 2 and 4. The **limitation** of this article is that it merely describes a study, and the author doesn't come with any personal observations, nor did he contribute to the findings. Given the fact that the article is about journalism neutrality, the neutral tone of the journalist is unsurprising.

4.3.4 DPA

The **source** of the article is the *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* (DPA), Germany's newspaper agency. The **origin** of this article is

Berliner Zeitung, which is the second largest newspaper in Berlin. The title "Studie: Willkommenskultur robust, aber erste Risse"¹⁵⁶ translates to: "Study: Willkommenskultur is robust, but shows the first cracks." The article was published on 07.04.2017.

The **purpose** of this article is to summarize key points of a study conducted by the *Bertelsmann-Stiftung*. The *Bertelsmann-Stiftung* is an organization that engages in projects concerning improved education, established democracy, societal development, increased health, promoted culture and economic growth.¹⁵⁷ The article discusses the "strength" of *Willkommenskultur*,

¹⁵⁵ "Die Otto-Brenner-Stiftung. Die Stiftung Auf Einen Blick," Otto-Brenner-Stiftung, <https://www.otto-brenner-stiftung.de/impressum/>.

¹⁵⁶ Deutsche Presse Agentur, "Studie: Willkommenskultur Robust, Aber Erste Risse," *Berliner Zeitung*, <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik/studie--willkommenskultur-rpbust--aber-erste-risse-26676732>.

¹⁵⁷ Bertelsmann Stiftung, "Über Uns: Wer Wir Sind " Bertelsmann Stiftung.

and how certain events in Germany have caused its power to dwindle. The article suggests a direct correlation between the stability of *Willkommenskultur* and the percentage of people claiming that refugees are very welcome. With regard to the CDA, the key themes and arguments are that *Willkommenskultur* is a quantifiable concept; that there exists regional divide (eastern vs. western Germany) in public opinion on immigrants/refugees; and that immigrants are generally more welcome than refugees, but the public acceptance rate is decreasing.

The **value** of this article is that it attempts to quantify *Willkommenskultur* by asking surveyors “how welcome are immigrants/refugees?” This is interesting as the term is relatively new and has different contextual connotations. The analysis can help answer sub-research questions 1 and 4. The **limitation** of this article is that it merely describes a study, and the author doesn’t come with any personal observations, nor did he/she contribute to the findings.

4.3.5 Oliver Haardt

The **source** of the article is Oliver Haardt, a historian at Cambridge University. His main fields of research are the history of the state from law, power and identity perspectives. The original title “In Vielfalt geeint.” translates to “United in diversity”.¹⁵⁸ The article was published as a guest-commentary. The **origin** of this article is Frankfurter Allgemeine, which is a national conservative daily newspaper. The article was published on 02.03.2016.

The **purpose** of this article is to discuss the idea that German identity did not simply appear when Germany became a nation-state in the late eighteenth century but has a long history of tradition in tolerance that can be traced back even to the German-States of the Holy Roman Empire. With regard to the CDA, the key themes and arguments contextualize the Potsdam Edict and modern *Willkommenskultur*; discuss the origin, development and changes in German collective identity; evaluate the foundation of the nation-state Germany and the consequences this has; and finally considers how the politics and society of Germany have the power to re-assert their identity separate from the premises of bordering.

The **value** of this article is its academic and thoughtful nature. The article discusses many of the topics I presented in the theory chapter on identity, migration and Germany. It can also help

¹⁵⁸ Haardt.

answer sub-questions 2, 3 and 4. The **limitation** of this article is its strong focus and reliance on theoretical concepts. Historic events are used to strengthen and color the article throughout, but the arguments themselves rely on interpretation and theory.

4.4 Summary of Data Presentation

This chapter was divided into two sections: one that presented a statistical review of the data collected from the content analysis, wherein forty-one articles were analyzed. The second section presented a sub-section for each of the five articles used in order to conduct the critical CDA. The source, origin, purpose, value and limitation were discussed for each article. Chapter 4 has thus shows the findings of my content and CDA.

5.0 Data Analysis

In this chapter, the findings of my content analysis and CDA will be analyzed. The chapter is divided into five main sections, one for each sub-question. The first section addresses the question: how is *Willkommenskultur* used in the public discourse in Germany? This section will discuss the findings of the content analysis, and as not all findings can be fully explained within the scope of this research, two articles will be analyzed through the CDA. The remaining three sections (which answer the sub-questions concerning the contributions of the *Willkommenskultur's* use in political, social and migration contexts; significance of the case of the Huguenots; and the potential re-construction of German identity) will focus on the key themes and arguments identified by the CDA and aim to answer: to what extent is *Willkommenskultur* used in the construction of German identity?

5.1. Uses of *Willkommenskultur* in Public Discourse

Over the course of this section, I will answer the sub-question: *how is Willkommenskultur used in the public discourse?* I determine the different uses of *Willkommenskultur*. In order to do this, I first analyze the findings of the content analysis – wherein forty-one articles were coded – and then determine the general trends which implicate the uses of *Willkommenskultur*. Secondly, I analyze two articles from the CDA which actively. The goal is to unravel the uses of the term on a quantitative and qualitative level and discuss the validity of the respective applications. The results of this analysis determine ways in which *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by the public discourse. Through understanding the uses, the groundwork for understanding political, social and migration implications is laid, which ultimately helps understanding how *Willkommenskultur* shapes by and is a contribution to the construction of national identity.

5.1.1 *Willkommenskultur* as an Adaptable Concept

One finding from the content analysis is that only one of the forty-one articles attempted to define – or in the very least describe – *Willkommenskultur*. The lack of description and definition of the term indicates that it is so frequently used, and thereby imbedded in the German language, that no further explanation is deemed necessary. Commonly using the term without definition in a debate as politicized as migration allows room for interpretation from the reader as well as the writer. The implicit presence of *Willkommenskultur* in the debate constructs a vagueness of the term and is therefore adaptable into a multitude of contexts with different intentions. For instance, within the content analysis, topics associated with *Willkommenskultur* were evaluated in order to provide an indication of the context within which the term is used. The result shows that one half of the articles discussed political issues whilst the majority of the remaining half was evenly dispersed across societal, cultural and local issues. These findings somewhat reflect Heckmann's categorization of *Willkommenskultur* as a “meaningful blur”, which means that the overall understanding of *Willkommenskultur* – an open understanding towards migrants – is in fact also open to different intentions and contexts. However, in many cases *Willkommenskultur* was only used in passing without direct relation to the topic. The quantitative findings, thus, do not necessarily reflect a direct cause-and-effect correlation between the term and the coders, which is why the supplement of a qualitative analysis will be used to further the ways in which *Willkommenskultur* is used.

Willkommenskultur has been used as a flexible and adaptable term in different contexts. The advantage of a term being used so widely is the potential for further reflections on why *Willkommenskultur* is used in such a manner, and what this reflection says about the people adapting the term into different contexts. The disadvantage is that *Willkommenskultur* is used in a highly polarized migration debate and reveals vastly different uses on a qualitative level. Furthermore, discussions of a polarized debate such as migration might result in contributors to have inherently different understandings of the term and other migrant categories, because they lack a common understanding. On a qualitative level, we observe stronger implication towards the term's Germany's history and identity. Thus, we can see that in light of the results from the content analysis that *Willkommenskultur* is used mainly as a political, but also interchangeable and adaptable, term in the contemporary migration debate.

5.1.2 *Willkommenskultur* as a Quantifiable Concept

As mentioned in the previous section the overall understanding of *Willkommenskultur* has been adapted into different contexts and discussion. This section looks more closely at the DPA-article presented in section 4.3.4 and will discuss what the use of *Willkommenskultur* as a quantifiable concept reveals.

The DPA-article is about a survey conducted by the *Bertelsmann-Stiftung* and uses *Willkommenskultur* as a way to measure public opinion on issues of migration. The question they asked was “how welcome are immigrants/refugees” and the possible answers were “very, somewhat or not at all.” In their study, they equate the answer “immigrants/refugees are very or somewhat welcome” to the very existence of *Willkommenskultur*. Two main conclusions are drawn from this article: that people are more welcoming of immigrants than migrants; and that people are more welcome in western Germany than eastern Germany.

There are several issues of clarity in this case. First the action of welcoming someone appears to be the same for the phenomenon *Willkommenskultur*. It is very likely that these two elements are related, however this study suggests that they are the same. Given the statistical representation of this correlation, the survey indicates that the term *Willkommenskultur* is quantifiable. This quantifiable component of the term is not discussed in Heckmann’s description of the four levels of *Willkommenskultur*, but this survey is not a particularly good reflection of how quantifiable methods can be used to understand to reveal societal and political opinions on the migration debate. The current structure of the survey does not account for the intricacies and the contexts within which *Willkommenskultur* is understood on a basic, overall level.

Second, using only two categories – immigrants and refugees – suggests a discrepancy between the overall understanding of *Willkommenskultur* as addressing “migrants”. The fact that immigrants are more welcome than refugees is an interesting finding but does not reflect directly on the existence on the understanding of *Willkommenskultur* because the definition of *Willkommenskultur* specifies migrants in general. The issue is not necessarily the questions and answers provided, but rather the conclusions that are drawn from the results. The reasons refugees are less welcome is – according to the survey – that Germans claim the country’s “load limit” has been reached. The load limit – although usually determined by the government

through political and economic factors – is here a reflection of a citizen’s personal relationship towards the influx of migrants. A possible explanation for the argument of the load limit likely refers to a strain refugees may put on the political and economic structure that other immigrants. This may be why the highly politicized debate is often referred to as a refugee crisis rather than a migration crisis. These implications, however, do not account for the personal strain with regard to safety a refugee may have endured in their country of origin and during their journey to Europe, particularly in regard to safety. In an altruistic narrative, the personal safety of the refugee is always paramount; however, the same altruistic argument can be used by members of certain political affiliations in order to cast doubt on the current state of national security. This narrative turns the security concerns inwards and asks what potential safety risks migrants might pose to locals. The attacks at New Year’s Eve in Cologne wherein a group of migrants sexually harassed celebrators and the terrorism felt at a Christmas market in Berlin are manifestations of this fear and used in arguments against refugees.¹⁵⁹ Recent trends in German politics have demonstrated the citizen’s attitudes towards migrants. For example, the results of the 2017 elections have shown that an increasing number of the German population supports parties that want to stop – and in some cases reverse – the migration to Germany.

Third, the reasons for looking at the divide between eastern/western Germany, and the reason western Germany is seen as “more welcoming” is a little unclear. This survey does specify the influences the Cold War had on the two geographical locations of Germany as a point of interest. The implicit explanation is to blame the years of communist rule for the rise of far-right movements in eastern Germany. In a sense, one extreme has replaced another. However, there are alternative explanations for the division. The divide could be explained by the percentage of immigrants/refugees having settled in the regions, the amount of urban or rural spaces in each region, the political affiliations of the regions and so on. A comprehensive analysis of these factors isn’t within the scope of the thesis, but I wanted to point out that these divisions can possibly be explained differently, and therefore the argument that *Willkommenskultur* varies in eastern and western Germany because of their location is not convincing.

¹⁵⁹ Tobias Blasius, "Was Die Silvesternacht Mit Der Willkommenskultur Gemacht Hat," *Berliner Morgenpost*, <https://www.morgenpost.de/politik/article209101881/Was-die-Silvesternacht-mit-der-Willkommenskultur-gemacht-hat.html>.

In short, the DPA-article article used *Willkommenskultur* as a quantifiable term in order to measure public opinion of migration, but doesn't contribute to a profound understanding of the term. All the issues with this usage described above demonstrates the importance of definitions, especially when – in a survey such as this – questions, answers and conclusions drastically simplify a vastly complex issue.

5.1.3 *Willkommenskultur* as a Normative Concept

As we have seen in the content analysis, the superficial understanding of *Willkommenskultur* has enabled it to be adapted into different contexts. Decker's article discusses the findings of a study undertaken by the Otto-Brenner-Stiftung, and demonstrates how this characteristic adaptation has managed to create opposing viewpoints through the use of *Willkommenskultur* as a normative argument. *Willkommenskultur* is, in this article, described as a magic word used to motivate people to be supportive and charitable towards migrants. This surge of positivity and acceptance is quickly overshadowed when followed by the argument: anyone who is skeptical of *Willkommenskultur* is automatically suspected of being a xenophobe. The use of *Willkommenskultur* started as an altruistic narrative reminiscent of what Litschauer proposes, which is that moral attitudes are reflective of a bottom-up perspective. However, the normative argument is describe as almost being used manipulatively against those that are skeptical towards migration. Almost as a counter-movement, far-right movements have adopted the term in certain cases as a derogatory term.¹⁶⁰ Here, *Willkommenskultur* is used to spur extreme sentiments against the arrival of foreigners. Both of these scenarios, although from different political specters, show how *Willkommenskultur* is used as a normative concept in order to further a political agenda that, one hand is engrained in German identity and on the other is a ramification of "othering". From certain viewpoints, the term is a positive attribution to the identity of Germany; from other viewpoints a xenophobic manifestation. This division of the use of the term signifies the thus dichotomous significance *Willkommenskultur* has in identity construction.

¹⁶⁰ Unknown, "Willkommenskultur, Das War Einmal," *Der Spiegel*, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-in-deutschland-willkommenskultur-war-einmal-a-1142147.html>.

5.1.4 Summary of the Uses of Willkommenskultur

Section 5.1 has taken a look at different ways *Willkommenskultur* has been used in the public discourse. The content analysis has demonstrated that there is no universally acknowledged definition of *Willkommenskultur*, since the term has been used in a wide array of different contexts, though they were mainly of a political nature. The quantitative component showed that the majority of the articles that mentioned *Willkommenskultur* also discussed politics. This does not directly imply that *Willkommenskultur* is a political term, which is why two articles were looked at specifically for the qualitative value and use of the term.

The two qualitative articles – by Decker and DPA – had two different approaches to the use of *Willkommenskultur*. These two different uses of *Willkommenskultur* in the contemporary migration debate not only demonstrates how polarized the topic really is, but also shows on a qualitative level how the term can be adapted into different contexts and utilized as an advantage in discussions of different political affiliations. In one scenario, *Willkommenskultur* is used as a quantifiable tool in order to measure public opinions. Although the method has some issues, it shows potential as long as the questions are precise and directly refer to *Willkommenskultur* instead of indicating possible relationships. In the other scenario, *Willkommenskultur* is actually used as arguments in groups that both support and reject migration. It is the very nature of the term as a “meaningful blur” which allows it to be inserted into these vastly different contexts.

In short, this section discussed the term *Willkommenskultur* in its different uses: as an adaptable, quantifiable and normative concept. These different uses reflect political and social ramifications of German identity in the contemporary migration debate. In the next section, we will take a closer look at the role of *Willkommenskultur* and what advantages (or disadvantages) the use of *Willkommenskultur* creates.

5.2 Contributions of Willkommenskultur to Social, Political and Migration Contexts

In this section, I will answer the sub-question: *how do contributions to the public discourse relate their discussion (a) to a broader social and political context, and (b) specifically to the context of contemporary migration?* This section addresses *Willkommenskultur* on a profound

level. With the different possible uses of *Willkommenskultur* determined the term's relational and influential characteristics will be analyzed.

5.2.1 Strengthened Historical Ties

Identity is a relational process, and German identity has likely been influenced by the establishment of the state-borders – like other nation-states. In addition, the case of Germany is particularly characterized by the anomalies discussed in section 2.4. Much of German history has been ignored in migration discussions because the historical narrative has commonly been restricted to starting in 1871. There is more to German identity than the statehood. The notion that history is ignored or altered, however, is not a new concept. Analysis, viewpoints and understanding all influence the manner in which *Willkommenskultur* has given the opportunity to consider German identity with regards to the *long-durée* of German history. Haardt uses the Potsdam Edict as an example of what German-ness was like prior to the nation-state. In his view, although the actions of 1685 cannot be directly transferred to today, the underlying fundamentals of Germany are recognizable and be more openly discussed. He attributes this discussion on German identity to *Willkommenskultur*. The role of *Willkommenskultur* has thus been to re-open discussions of German history and identity. Thus, because of the very nature of identity theory as a relational process, German individuals can regard their own identity to their history beyond 1871. Implications of German identity will be further discussed in section 5.5.

5.2.2 Strengthened Cultural Ties

As mentioned in the theory chapter, the Brothers Grimm story-collection was used in an attempt to unify the nation-state of Germany on a cultural level, given the geographical, linguistic and identity complexities. The magic word of *Willkommenskultur*, as described in the DPA-article, is not the only indication of a magical element in the migration debate. In her skeptical article, Bemmer calls the Great Elector's edict a "Prussian fable of tolerance" and argues that he has received too much attention from historians. Instead, she asserts that his edict was a utilitarian and economically motivated action to benefit his self-interest. This element of magic, no matter how *Willkommenskultur* is used, implies a cultural connection to the discussion. The idea of *Willkommenskultur* has become a type of fairytale to unify the German, to create cultural bridges between a complex population, just like the Brothers Grimm tales did.

Willkommenskultur as a phenomenon was thus meant to be shared as a culture of openness. Given all of Germany's complexities, the recurring theme of magic both in 1871 and in the contemporary migration evaluate the German nation-state as more unifiable on cultural premises. Whether the story of Prussian tolerance or the Brothers Grimm are presented as fables, they are narratives that help cultivate a unity between German people by presenting a concept – in this case the cultural narrative – that all Germans can, in some way, identify themselves with.

5.2.3 Summary of the Contributions of *Willkommenskultur*

Using CDA, this section has explored two specific roles of *Willkommenskultur* given its interchangeable nature identified in section 5.1. In the first specific role, the purpose of *Willkommenskultur* was to re-open discussions of German history and identity, where elements of origin and development were brought up. The opportunity Haardt seized in his article demonstrated that the openness to migrants has been a long-standing element of identity. In the second specific role, *Willkommenskultur* reflected a cultural connection to previous attempts of unifying Germany. The articles by Bemmer and DPA specifically introduce fable elements in contemporary migration debates that facilitate a national identity on the basis of cultural unity. Whether or not the magical element is necessarily central in explaining the German identity, it can be viewed as one of the many influences on identity. Exploring the various roles of *Willkommenskultur* have thus identified a connection to the past, and the Huguenots are often discussed in relation to the contemporary migration debate. Now that we have determined the use and subsequent role of *Willkommenskultur*, we can continue by looking for associations made between the contemporary migration debate and the Huguenots.

5.3 Significance and Meaning of the Local Historical Case of Huguenots

This section answers: *how do contributors to the public discourse draw on ideas of a historically grounded German identity? In particular, what significance do they attribute to the local historical case of the Huguenot refugees from the 17th century?* There are two main interpretations with regard to history and history's meaning. The first is that history is a closed book, where events and people are fixed manifestations of phenomena. In this scenario, history serves as a way to provide background information to the process of – for example – state formation. The second scenario – which incidentally is an example of the use of history – is

that history influenced contemporary developments such as migration, and also that the narrative of history is influenced by contemporary developments. In *History is not what is once was* Knut Kjellstadli's states that if history is to be considered as a social science, it has to give results that are experiences as relevant for the contemporary people and society, and that history is an interactive component of identity construction.¹⁶¹ This particular section will discuss the first scenario with regard to German history and its meaning. A discussion on the second scenario followed in 5.4, where the narrative of an influential and influences history is viewed in light of the local historical case of the Huguenot refugees from 17th century France.

5.3.1 Contentions of History of Huguenots

Bemmer writes a critical commentary about contemporary views of the Potsdam Edict. She argues that the Potsdam Edict cannot be viewed as exemplary in German history. Furthermore, she seems to indicate that there are religious and economic reasons as to why a similar edict wouldn't work today as in 1685. The purpose of Bemmer's article is to show that a policy of tolerance did not exist in 1685 for two reasons: that Huguenots and Brandenburgers were both Protestants; and that the Great Electors only invited Huguenots to his land for economic interests. For these reasons, she states, the Potsdam Edict should not be used as a role-model for today's migrant crisis.

The "largest difference" between today and 1685, Bemmer states, is the importance of religion in the lives of people. There are two main issues with this statement. First, Bemmer assumes that religious similarity was a prerequisite for acceptance in 1685. The problem with this assumption is that Huguenots were not the only refugees to be settled in Brandenburg, and of those refugees not all were Christian. Jews and Muslims were for instance also settled into Brandenburg. Although Bemmer states that the religious groups were tolerated differently – a statement which I have not observed in any other historical narrative – the fact remains that religious minorities were given the opportunity of a new life in Brandenburg regardless of their faith. Assuming that there indeed was a difference in the acceptance of different religious groups, it does not explain why Bemmer later claims that Huguenots were not as openly welcomed as it is presented by contemporary historians. An example she uses is that Swiss authorities payed Friedrich Wilhelm's for each refugee that passed from Switzerland to

¹⁶¹ Knut Kjelstadli, *Fortida Er Ikke Hva Den En Gang Var* (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 2000), 27.

Brandenburg. Disregarding the fact that this seems feasibly impossible, I have not found this supposed payment in other sources either. The second issue with Bemmer's statement on religion is the assumption that religion does not play as big a role today as it did in 1685. Although religion may not be as inherently dominating in political and social life today as 300 years prior, many fundamental religious values, such as Litschauer's altruistic narrative, are reminiscent of religious convictions. Furthermore, the two explanations for why the case of the Huguenots in Berlin isn't as open as we would believe contradict each other. If today's society weren't as religiously inclined as 1685, then her previous argument concerning religious similarity would be void. The point she is attempting to make, perhaps, is separate from the religious aspect, and rather is founded in the concept of bordering. Because the Huguenots were fellow Protestants, they could be more easily settled into Calvinist Brandenburg, meaning that they were not respective "others" that needed to be tolerated, but rather two sections of the same identity in-group.

The second argument against the existence of Prussian tolerance is that the Great Elector was driven by economic interests. However, this wouldn't be the last time in German history wherein a similar incentive supported the acceptance of migrants, such as the *Gastkultur* mentioned in the introduction. In addition, according to Litschauer, the rational-utilitarian perspective is a valid narrative of *Willkommenskultur* and is beneficial to both the migrant and the receiving country in question. As mentioned in the introduction, Germany's guestworker recruitment encouraged an open policy towards migrants, and ultimately achieved "phenomenal growth rates in the 1950"¹⁶² which in retrospect was called a *Wirtschaftswunder*, or economic miracle.¹⁶³ In other words, altruism and utilitarianism are not mutually exclusive. Here, an "influx in refugees"¹⁶⁴ was used, like in the case of the Huguenots in 1685, as an utilitarian benefit of Brandenburg and Germany, respectively. The re-population of Brandenburg after the devastations of the 30 Years War also allowed for quality craftsmanship and the prestigious French language to be incorporated into Brandenburger identity without the cost of import. Although refugees usually, and arguably, are not as ready to become productive citizens based on the fact that the majority wish to return home at some

¹⁶² Fulbrook, 230.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

point, the Huguenots proved a useful addition to the region, population and development of Brandenburg.¹⁶⁵

Bemmer suggests that the skill of the Huguenots, as well as the tolerance of their host community, has been vastly overstated and idealized. For instance, not all Huguenots were as skilled as their reputation would state; and Friedrich Wilhelm's openness was not as evident in the case of re-settling Jews, as only rich families were welcomed. These claims are disputed in other accounts of history, such as in the aforementioned book by Palmer as well as a book entitled *The Edict of Potsdam – Tolerance has Tradition* by Andreas Reinke. Bemmer's critique extends itself only as far as the motivation of the acceptance of refugees. In stating that the "largest difference" between 1685 and the summer of migration is religion, Bemmer indicates that the issue of identity is non-void here. In other words, she implicitly indicates that the identity of Germany is part of a long-standing narrative of history. The critique evaluates an example in which history has become distorted for the benefit of a contemporary discussion.

5.3.2 Huguenots as an Exemplary Case of Tolerance

An interesting analysis can be made of the images used in Austilat's article concerning the role the history of Huguenots has been given in the wake of the contemporary migration debate. The first image in the article is a painting by Hugo Vogel which shows the Great Elector welcoming French refugees in Potsdam (Appendix 4). Everyone around the Great Elector is wearing dark and discreet colors, whilst he stands out not only because of his posture, but because of his yellow attire. The second image is a contemporary photograph of the French Dom, a landmark in Berlin. There is an interesting composition to the photograph, wherein a typical Berliner street lamp is the focus of the picture, despite the fact that the French Dom is the subject of the picture – indicated by the description. A photograph is often composed according to the rule of thirds. This principle refers to 3 imagined horizontal lines and 3 imagined vertical lines which divide a photograph into 9 equal sections. The subject of the picture is typically placed along one of these lines in order to create a balanced and esthetically pleasing image. The principle of thirds also allowed the photographer to communicate with those who later look at the image.¹⁶⁶ In this particular photograph, the street lamp is placed along-side the vertical line on the left-hand side, whilst the French Dom is in the background and doesn't follow a specific reference

¹⁶⁵ LaBarbera, 3.

¹⁶⁶ Darren Rowse, "Rule of Thirds," (2018), <https://digital-photography-school.com/rule-of-thirds/>.

point. Given that a street lamp is used to shed light and provide comfort to people and is used as the focus with the subject in the background tells the viewer a symbolic story. Used in the same article, there is a strong sentimental symbol of goodness and security that emanates from these two images: Friedrich Wilhelm as a symbol of the Berliners welcoming refugees with open arms is parallel to the street lamp as a symbol of security to the Huguenot church go-ers. This – alongside the text which draws connections between Huguenots and current migration waves – demonstrates how the history of the Huguenots is being romanticized in order to invoke a sense of traditional purpose towards the current migration debate.

5.3.3 Huguenots as Linguistic Influencers

During nineteenth-century Europe, “the conception of nation-ness as linked to a private-property language”¹⁶⁷ can be further discussed because of the influence French has had on the Berliner dialect. As an example, Anderson brings up Finland’s annexation to the Russian Empire in 1809, when the territory’s official language became Russian.¹⁶⁸ In reality, the Russian Empire did not impose its own language on its people and let them continue using their own languages until the russification policy during the reign of Alexander III in the late 19th century.¹⁶⁹ This might be implied with Anderson’s use of the term “official language”, and although language clearly plays a role in the development of nationhood these anomalies like Russia should not be disregarded. The concept and significance of language still interesting to regard the significance of language in nations today. With Norway as an example, history shows that period from 1850-1960 was a brutal time for multi-cultural population in Northern Norway, and especially for the Sami.¹⁷⁰ Then, in the 1970s, there came a revitalization of Sami history and identity, and today Tromsø boasts street signs and the like in both Sami and Norwegian. Many families are re-discovering their Sami-identities, after having been buried for several decades.¹⁷¹ This brings us back to an interesting point on the relational dynamic of identity, as the example of Samis in Norway shows how families both can lose and gain their own proper identities with knowledge.

¹⁶⁷ Anderson, 68.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 74.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 87.

¹⁷⁰ Fredrik Fagertun, Jan Eivind Myhre, and Teemy Ryymin, *Det Farefulle Nord: Trusler Og Trusseloppfatninger Knyttet Til Nord-Norge Gjennom Tusen År* (Tromsø: Speculum Boreale, 2001), 92-93.

¹⁷¹ Ivar; Olsen Hansen, Bjørnar, *Samenes Historie Fram Til 1750* (Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, 2012), 13.

On that note, a more thorough look at Berliner language is warranted. The German dialect in Berlin stands out from other places in Germany because of the strong influences of the French language. This is not to imply that no other place has been influenced from their history or location. Austilat, for instance, mentions the “*Boulette*” – a meat-dumpling – which is a common dish in Berlin that has received a French name over the centuries. The strong integration of Huguenot influence in the local Berliner society is – although this took several decades – indicative of a particular Berliner identity. The significance of the presence of French influence indicates that the Huguenots are a much more integrated part of modern Berliner life, and not just a chapter in Prussian history. The contemporary significance is that Huguenots are a part of Berliner identity. Without the Great Elector’s liberal asylum politics – as Haardt calls it – Berlin would be a vastly different city compared to what it is today.

The entire chronology of the Huguenots – from their arrival, to their parallel existence and subsequent integration – poses questions to the contemporary migration debate. Where some see the arrival of refugees as threatening to the national identity, one could wonder how local life would look like in one hundred years if they were accepted openly, as they were in 1685. This, then, gives politicians and social influencers an opportunity to reinterpret and reconstruct the current migration wave as an opportunity, rather than a threat. Just as the Huguenots helped Berlin culture grow and gain its unique flavor, so too can these modern migrants add their own unique spice to a future Berlin. As Haardt says, diversity is an inherent part of German identity to be open to migrants and accepting of diversity. The nation-state – whether imagined or not – poses a challenge to the German identity, and not the arrival of foreigners. If identity is discursively constructed, the dominant views on the contemporary understanding of identity is challenged. This counter-intuitive idea that the nation-state is the threat, and not outsiders coming in, derives from the nation-state’s characteristic of bordering and othering. The borders which now define the German-state were established to unify the German people, but in doing so created a new in-group and consequently a new out-group which stood in contrast to the historical and long-standing element of German identity. Othering now occurs, amongst other social categories, according to nationality. In this way, the case of the Huguenots is used in the contemporary migration debate in order to illustrate the meaning of German identity, regardless of the nation-state-boundaries.

5.3.4 Summary of the Significance and Meaning of Huguenots

This section attempted to first clearly account for the contentions of the history of the Huguenots in Berlin, by first analyzing Bemmer's article and identifying how she doesn't believe that the Huguenots provide any more entail on the concept of German identity construction. Many conclusions are drawn based on assumptions – such as the role of religion – that reflect a logical inaccuracy. The remaining two sections mainly analyzed Austilat's and Haardt's articles in order to determine how they view German history as a long-standing and influential narrative for German identity construction. I have identified various elements that articles of the CDA used in order make connections between the past and today. This section has also shown how history is a dynamic subject which is present in the relational process of identity construction and consideration. These connections create a platform on which discussions of the broader concepts of identity, migration and nation can be discussed.

5.4 Potential Re-Construction of Identity

In this section, I answer the question: *how does Willkommenskultur potentially re-construct German national identity?* We will look closely at concepts proposed by various articles that discuss German identity. These concepts will be analyzed with regard to *Willkommenskultur* in order to identify ways in which the term may have re-invented German identity. The previous sections were all necessary steps that built up to this analysis. The use of *Willkommenskultur* determined the term's broad nature; the role of *Willkommenskultur* identified historical and cultural connections the term has with Germany today; these connections identified Huguenots as an example which is why their specific role with regard to the migration debate was discussed. With all of these separate yet partially overlapping research questions, we can now move on to discuss German identity on a more direct level.

5.4.1 Imagined Germany

Of the three ways in which Anderson argues that a nation is an imagined community – comradeship, borders and autonomy – Germany is an interesting representation. As demonstrated in section 5.2.1, *Willkommenskultur* has created the opportunity for German identity to be re-evaluated beyond the borders imposed by the characteristics of a nation-state. This particular section regards Germany as an imagined nation.

According, to Haardt, the main characteristic of the Germany was never its nationality, but its diversity: different people living in a diverse area; under the policies of different leaders; speaking different languages; and cultivating their identities in local circles. Instead of a homogenic nation-state, Haardt argues for a conscious culture-state wherein the individual can share his freedom. A comradeship, then, is not based on the fact that people are German in equal measure, as Anderson might argue, but on a shared value of individualism. Social categorization of identity construction is not limited to the common categories – such as gender, sexuality or nationality – but is relational and dynamic because it is defined by people. Germany, as a comparatively new nation-state, still struggles with the establishment of a cohesive state-identity. Part of what drove the rise of Nazism in the late 1930's was to cultivate the autonomy of the German nation-state.

The establishment of nationality has both universalized and restricted the social categories that described the individualism of the German-States. In the wake of the contemporary migration debate, Haardt has managed to discuss an aspect of German identity which has long been a part of German identity – but forgotten due to the very establishment of a German nation-state. He argues that *Willkommenskultur* is a cultural product of identity construction which exceeds 1871 and can be used to identify the most important aspect of German identity: diversity.

Bemmer presents an interesting alternative viewpoint, namely that politicians – the Great Elector and Merkel included – will always choose economic benefits over humanitarian aid. She adds that aid is easiest to give when there are categorical similarities. Her critique is that the politicians and society of all ages are xenophobic. In reality, different religions have co-existed in various German-States – in some states more than others. 18th century Brandenburg is an example of a German State where Protestants, Catholics, Jews and Muslims lived as neighbors.¹⁷² Her implications that people are accepted based on being “similar” to oneself is understandable, but has not been shown to be the case in German history: for the first thing the different religions co-existing in German-States tell a different story; and secondly if Haardt's views on the characteristics of German identity are to be accepted, then the fact that people are of different religions doesn't influence politics or opinions. As he states, the notion that other faiths threaten German identity is unfounded, because other faiths have always existed in

¹⁷² Haardt.

Germany. The comradeship, if such there be, is thus one based on the shared values of individualism, not of similarity.

Border-wise Germany can gesture to the geographic complexities of the country. The articles of Haardt, Bemmer and Austilat not only refer to German history as a whole but take it to more local levels. Berlin, Brandenburg, Potsdam, Prussia. As shown earlier, Bemmer argues that migrants cannot be accepted because of their alternative faiths, but Haardt would argue that this xenophobia is unfounded in German history. In fact, it appears as though it was only after 1871, with the erection of the German nation-state's borders, that sentiments of xenophobia began establishing themselves within the country. This is an example of how the erection of a border has simultaneously resulted in "othering" as suggested by Van Houtum and Van Naerssen.¹⁷³

Anderson states that the nation-state is seen as sovereign because it replaced monarchies in the countries in question. This is not the case in Germany, as it wasn't one kingdom that was replaced by one nation. Instead all of the German-States, which had had autonomous rulers, were unified under one system of government, one nation. Social categories such as common language, people and history were not applicable to unified Germany, which is why the Brother Grimm collections were used in an attempt to culturally unify the German people in a new nation-state. The concept of one people, one nation and one leader – as Haardt states – was an unknown concept at that time, but the cultural connection was used to the advantage of the Nazi-party under a single-party-state and helped create a sense of comradeship. In the aftermath of the atrocities of the genocide performed by a totalitarian Nazi Germany, the modern German government ensures that the *Bundesrepublik* is a de-centralized state, where the *Bundesländer* enjoy a certain extent of autonomy, and the similarity is not emphasized on a state level.

Germany as an imagined community has demonstrated an interesting interpretation of the German nation. For one, the comradeship which in most other countries is nationality, is historically based on individuality in Germany. Additionally, after over 130 years of the German nation-state, Germans cultivate a parallel identity to Germany as whole, and their regional history. In addition, the sovereignty and autonomy of the German state had already been challenged both under the different circumstances in which Germany became unified as well as the precautions taken after the Second World War. These findings stress Anderson's

¹⁷³ vanHoutum and vanNaerssen, 126.

point that “imagined” means constructed, and not false. For these reasons, Germany can be seen as a unique example which demonstrates how a region with several autonomous states and leaders, different people speaking different languages, and varying historic ties to the great empires of European history has been categorized under a single, constructed, imagined community.

This discussion, however, in addition to analyzing Germany’s historical take on the establishment and significance of the nation-state, has identified ways in which the nation-state poses a threat to German identity. Haardt suggests that it is the state, and not the arrival of “others” which is the underlying threat to the historical understanding of a German nation an identity. Anderson helps understand this notion of the values of the nation through the following quote:

In an age when it is so common for progressive, cosmopolitan intellectuals ... to insist on the near-pathological character of nationalism, its roots in fear and hatred of the Other, and its affinities with racism, it is useful to remind ourselves that nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love.¹⁷⁴

Part of the “near-pathological character of nationalism” could have taken root in the misconception that the nation and nation-state are one and the same. Germany demonstrates an example of a nation which, historically speaking, is characterized by diverse identity and unity. This coincides with Anderson’s remarks of the love nations can inspire, showing how a different understanding of the very concept of nation – namely that it can be separate from a state – can unveil very distinct characteristics of identity. The construction of a national identity can therefore be beneficial for citizens of a nation-state in order to connect to suppressed or forgotten values.

5.4.2 Collective Identity

In some cases, *Willkommenskultur* is used to re-evaluate German identity. Part of this narrative has been discussed in the previous section with regard to border-erection and how categories of German people were subsequently created. In this section, the focus will be on the collective identity of Germans.

¹⁷⁴ Anderson, 141.

The Potsdam Edict is used as a historic symbol to promote a German identity that exceeds the category of nationalism. The strength of the German nation is its diversity and individualism. As stated in the theory chapter, collective identity emerges when an outsider recognizes an individual's belonging to a group – such as a nation. The DPA-article, for instance, states that Germany “presents itself” as a country of immigration “despite” the influx of migrants. In section 2.5, Heckmann's so-called prerequisites for the existence of *Willkommenskultur* is that the host country agrees that they are a country of immigration. The DPA-article's implied hypothesis that this self-identification as a country of immigration will decrease with an influx of refugees seems somewhat paradoxical. The welcoming nature of the host country implicitly correlates oppositely of when an open attitude is needed by fellow humans. The DPA-article also suggests that this identification of Germany as a country of immigration is conditional because the people who have answered the survey believe that their “load limit” has been reached. This conditionality reflects the relational quality of identity construction.

In viewing their own history as being uniquely characterized by diversity, German authors like Haardt and Austilat construct a collective identity out of the normative argument used in relation to *Willkommenskultur*. In some ways, *Willkommenskultur* has become an aspect of identity, which is now identified from without by non-German's too.

5.4.3 Western Identity

The summer of migration and Merkel's *Willkommenskultur* positively portrayed Germany's image on an international level. Formally, immigration policies are regulated by the nation-state in question, whereas refugee and asylum rights are determined by international law, such as Article 51 of the Geneva Convention. From without, the German state has managed the parameters of international law and shown themselves to be a country of immigration. Nationally, the influx of migrants over a short period of time facilitated the growth of anti-immigration sentiments and led to Merkel's decline in popularity.

Oliver Haardt quite clearly states that the Potsdam Edict cannot simply be adopted into our modern society. Friedrich Wilhelm could ratify his edict because he was the head of an absolutist regime. A similar order could not be carried out in a democratic nation-state. The right to vote inherently also means the right to deny, and with 54% of the German population indicating in a study that the load limit has been reached, an increased rejection of migrants is

implied. Politically, the German government created a web-page initiative called “Rumours About Germany” which targets aspiring, travelling and arrived migrants and seeks to clarify certain misconceptions migrants may have about life in Germany.¹⁷⁵ In some ways, this initiative can be interpreted as an attempt to convince migrants that Germany is not always the wisest option. For example: within a box on the webpage stands the question “Will life in Europe be easy? True or false?” Upon clicking the box, the contents change to show a resounding “No”. A few sentences are added explaining the tedious process of seeking for asylum, and the quality of life while awaiting response. National actions against the illegal smuggling of migrants and aid in countries of conflict could more directly address a nation-states responsibility in relation to human rights. Although the webpage is informative in many ways – offering versions in English, French and Arabic –much of the tone on the website is of a somewhat discouraging nature.

Thus, we have seen how *Willkommenskultur* can be seen as an attempted to draw on concepts of Western identity. Through the democratic system, however, the preservation of German identity and cultivation of national sentiments was more important than humanitarian action. This relationship between national and international law is complex and reflects on the nature of individualism versus Western identity. The Western identity, with the West as the birthplace of democracy and a heavy presence in the form of humanitarian intervention, competes with the sense of individualism experienced on a national level.

5.3.4 Summary of German Identity Re-Construction

In this complex and dynamic section on the ways in which *Willkommenskultur* was used to re-invented German identity, we have de-constructed the German nation-state and considered its qualities beyond borders. It demonstrated that Germany had an identity before 1871. This de-struction of the nation-state was facilitated by the hyped-up term *Willkommenskultur*. Further, *Willkommenskultur* has been identified as a cultural product through its resemblance to the Brothers Grimm fables. In this perspective, the collective identity of Germany is explored through cultural implications. Lastly, this section discussed the concept of morality and humanitarian aid in the bigger picture of both German, European and international conditions. Collective identity – as a component of identity defined from without – shows that through the

¹⁷⁵ German Federal Foreign Office, "Rumours About Germany," German Federal Foreign Office, <https://rumoursaboutgermany.info/>.

development of *Willkommenskultur* positively influenced Germany's image. The changing dynamics of the contemporary migration debate demonstrate the discourse's polarization, and includes the changing implications of *Willkommenskultur* and the significance this ultimately has on the concept of national identity construction.

6.0 Conclusion

During this research, I have answered the research question: how is the German public discourse shaped by and a contribution of the construction of national identity? The research has been conducted through a reliance on qualitative data – the CDA of five articles – and was supplemented with the limited help of quantitative data – the content analysis of forty-one articles. Through these methods, my findings were interpreted according to key themes and arguments and trends and statistics, respectively. *Willkommenskultur* has presented an interesting case with regard to German identity construction and is, in conclusion, a reflexive component of national identity. The term has a dualistic quality, being both shaped by and a contribution to this process. This relativity demonstrated by *Willkommenskultur's* treatment in the public discourse in Germany, both on quantitative and qualitative levels. On qualitative levels especially, *Willkommenskultur* was used as a way to understand German national identity, exemplified by the local case of the Huguenots. The theoretical background of identity – which discussed specific concepts such as the definition identity, nations as an imagined community, the significance of migration studies, and the process of othering – has facilitated a discussion of the term *Willkommenskultur* as a possible attempt at re-constructing German national identity.

The fundamental characteristic of *Willkommenskultur* is its adaptability that develops alongside the migration debate. Since the migrant crisis is still an on-going contemporary reality, the full extent of how *Willkommenskultur* is shaped by the public discourse is challenging to pin down. In this research, I have identified two main ways that the term is shaped and used. The first is that *Willkommenskultur* can be used as quantifiable concept, as long as the definition of *Willkommenskultur* – however the researcher in question wishes to define it – correlates with the surveys/questionnaires and conclusions drawn. Secondly, *Willkommenskultur* can be used

as a normative concept. The example showed how a normative concept can also be misused and how, considering the term's adaptability, the concept can be skewed and used in opposing political spectrums.

Huguenots were used as an exemplification of German ideals, influenced the contemporary opinions of migration and evoke normative values of diversity and acceptance. This idealization has to some extent re-constructed German identity in an effort to combat the resounding aftermath of the Second World War. The adaptable *Willkommenskultur* has made it possible for the term to be tied to various topics such as politics and history. Thus, a very specific form of theorizing around German identity and history has emerged. On a level of the region Brandenburg, German authors are tying their identity to the tradition of tolerance evident in Prussian history. The articles addressing German history – Bemmer, Haardt and Austilat – all implicitly agree that cultural identity exists across ages, societies and politics. *Willkommenskultur* is just another attempt at creating a German cultural identity, like the Brother Grimm stories attempted and to a certain extent succeeded. The difference is that the Brother Grimm managed to unify German culture under nationalistic sentiment. *Willkommenskultur* is used to evaluate identity beyond nationality. *Willkommenskultur* hasn't really re-invented German identity – but has enabled forgotten aspects of German identity to come forth and re-examined.

Three ways in which *Willkommenskultur* is an attempt at re-constructing German national identity were analyzed. The first to understand how, despite the anomalies of Germany, Germany can be understood as a nation. This analysis uses Anderson's imagined communities as an example, since it provides an explanation of how nations are understood. The second way in which the term is an attempt at re-constructing German identity, which is to apply *Willkommenskultur* to a cultural and historical narrative. This strengthens the idea of a collective German identity. Third, in the contemporary debate and with *Willkommenskultur* as a normative argument, the term can be viewed as contextualizing German identity within the larger, Western European identity.

These ways of German national identity re-construction can, however, also be challenged. The contestation mainly lies in the dilemma between the uses and influences of history. In an example where history is used, history serves a more distant and fixed account that provides background information to aspects of – for instance – state formation, migration patterns and

so on. On the other hand, when history influenced and is influenced by contemporary understanding, history plays a more active role in processes such as identity construction, which is a prerequisite for the interpretations above. In the scenario where in history is a fixed phenomenon, an influential relationship to the contemporary issues is not possible. In the example of Bemmer, for instance, the case of the Huguenots was viewed as a romanticized symbol but one that does not affect today's migration crisis. The World Wars had a deep and lasting influence on Germany. The radical nationalism which started with Bismarck and culminated with Hitler's Germany is in many ways a history which Germans want to separate themselves from. *Willkommenskultur* can be seen as an attempt of this separation, since the adaptive and relational uses have made the term applicable – to a certain extent – to the context of history, and migration history more specifically.

As stated in the introduction, there were several works by German authors that indicated a connection between the contemporary migration debate and Huguenots through the use of the term *Willkommenskultur*, but none explicitly explored this relationship. This research gap has been addressed in this thesis. In addressing these issues, the broad and politicized topics of identity, migration, and history have been narrowly viewed in the cases of Germany, *Willkommenskultur* and Huguenots. This research has shown how the highly politicized term *Willkommenskultur* re-invents aspects of German identity, by creating a reference to the case of the Huguenots. It stresses the importance of history as an active part of identity construction rather than a fixation of events of the past.

6.1 Further Investigations

Willkommenskultur – which often was used in different contexts and to different purposes in vague and broad manners – had a specific use in identity construction through the public discourse. As is evident by the complexity and magnitude of the research questions, this research has shown that the topic of the contemporary migration debate in Germany is intricate and vast. Thus, many other interesting topics for further investigation can be identified. One approach regards other possible contexts of *Willkommenskultur*. Another contextualization of *Willkommenskultur* could be, for instance, how the use of the term has changed in the contemporary migration debate according to the changing political attitudes in Germany. Another independent suggestion for future investigation relates to the aforementioned public evaluation of a “load-limit” with regard to the number of refugees entering Germany. The

manner in which governments portray the political and economic factors of an influx of refugees could be analyzed and compared to how citizens form their understanding of a migrant crisis. This topic would offer a profound reflection on the relationship and discussion between government and people on politicized topics and how these dynamics are facilitated on a social and personal level.

6.2 Final Remarks

The idealization of the Potsdam Edict demonstrates contemporary reflections regarding social categorization, which in this case has been identified as *Willkommenskultur*. Whether or not the term is a concept that can be manifested in politics, or proven in society, the very fact that there exists a discourse around the relationship of Huguenots and *Willkommenskultur* indicates that a construction of German identity is on-going and rooted in the past. The dynamic quality of history means that the subject is not only a static method used to understand past event, but it is also a relational component of identity construction that changes contemporary perspectives on historical events. This relational element in turn creates symbol out of history, carrying different connotations and value over time. This analysis of identity construction has seen the interrelated components of history, identity and migration complement each other in order to achieve a profound understanding of how a social category is used to paint the bigger picture of the German nation.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Coding Manual

Date

- Date the article was published

Frequency

- Number of times WK was mentioned (in title, heading, text)

Defined

1. Yes.
2. No.

Topic

1. Politics
2. Society
3. Culture
4. Other

Source

1. Berliner Morgenpost
2. Berliner Zeitung
3. Süddeutsche
4. Die Zeit
5. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
6. Der Spiegel

In what context was WK mentioned

1. Only in title/subtitle
2. Only in text
3. Both

Appendix 2: Coding Schedule

Coding Case	Date	Frequency	Defined?	Topic	Source	Context
1	23.05.2014	3	2	2	4	3
2	09.11.2017	1	2	4	3	1
3	31.08.2016	1	2	1	1	2
4	28.12.2016	4	2	1	1	3
5	12.09.2016	1	2	4	3	2
6	14.12.2016	1	2	4	3	2
7	20.07.2017	1	1	1	2	2
8	07.07.2016	2	2	1	1	3
9	21.12.2016	1	2	1	2	2
10	07.09.2016	1	2	1	2	2
11	07.04.2017	4	2	1	2	3
12	04.11.2017	1	2	4	2	2
13	06.03.2015	1	2	2	4	2
14	04.01.2014	2	2	1	4	2
15	30.05.2017	2	2	4	2	2
16	07.04.2017	2	2	2	4	3
17	07.08.2017	2	2	3	4	3
18	27.09.2017	3	2	3	2	2
19	15.02.2017	1	2	4	1	2
20	22.09.2016	1	2	1	2	2
21	02.10.2016	1	2	1	2	2
22	02.03.2016	1	2	1	5	2
23	17.02.2017	1	2	4	2	1
24	28.01.2017	1	2	4	1	2
25	26.01.2016	1	2	1	3	2
26	23.07.2017	1	2	2	6	2
27	11.11.2017	1	2	3	6	2
28	06.06.2017	1	2	3	1	2
29	07.04.2017	1	2	1	2	2
30	26.10.2016	1	2	1	1	2
31	08.09.2016	1	2	1	3	2
32	29.12.2017	1	2	1	3	2
33	17.09.2017	1	2	3	3	2
34	02.12.2014	1	2	1	4	2
35	07.07.2016	4	2	1	6	3
36	05.02.2015	1	2	4	4	2
37	07.04.2017	3	2	1	6	3
38	15.09.2016	1	2	4	2	2
39	10.08.2015	1	2	1	1	2
40	23.07.2017	1	2	1	2	2
41	05.05.2017	1	2	2	4	2

Appendix 3: Article Titles and Case Numbers

Case Number	Article Title (my own translation) and Author's name
1	<i>Why Germany doesn't want me</i> by Mohamed Amjahid
2	<i>Willkommenskultur</i> by Felicitas Amler
3	<i>"We can do this" – Three Words, three surprising lessons</i> by Walter Bau
4	<i>What the New Year's Eve did with Willkommenskultur</i> by Tobias Blasius
5	<i>A year between welcome and rejection</i> by Elisa Britzelmeier
6	<i>Welcome</i> by Caspar Busse
7	<i>Study: German newspapers do not always report neutrally about refugees</i> by Markus Decker
8	<i>Enthusiasm for Willkommenskultur has decreased</i> by DPA
9	<i>A Black Year: Why many will remember 2016 negatively</i> by DPA
10	<i>Merkel: "Germany will remain Germany"</i> by DPA
11	<i>Willkommenskultur is robust, but shows the first cracks</i> by DPA
12	<i>Wikipedians: Don't trust every article in a lexicon</i> DPA
13	<i>Germans demonstrate themselves more openly towards migrants</i> by DPA
14	<i>The economy is annoyed by the immigration debate</i> by DPA
15	<i>Land supports prevention-projects with 300 000 Euros</i> by DPA
16	<i>Willkommenskultur lives, but with restrictions</i> by DPA
17	<i>Willkommenskultur lands in Duden</i> by DPA
18	<i>Johan Simons: "we need to be even more open"</i> by DPA
19	<i>Berlin turns against deportation plans</i> by Joachim Fahrur
20	<i>CSU and the church: The "C" in the party name is a shell</i> Joachim Frank
21	<i>Commentary to migration: it is a European problem</i> by Steven Geyer
22	<i>United in diversity</i> by Oliver Haardt
23	<i>Integration in Berlin: how Willkommenskultur and reality diverge</i> by Martin Klesman
24	<i>Refugees move into new apartment buildings in Mahrzahn</i> by Helga Labenski
25	<i>Welcome and farewell</i> by Kristina Ludwig
26	<i>A hard pavement, but no dead-end</i> by Peter Maxwill
27	<i>Events in Africa are a European policy</i> by Benjamin Moldenhauer
28	<i>When tolerance stands at your doorstep</i> by Katrin Pauly
29	<i>Bertelmann-Study: Refugees in Germany welcome within limits</i> by Melanie Reinsch
30	<i>What Germans want from chancellor Angela Merkel</i> by Miguel Sanches
31	<i>Burkas are a uniform of Islamism</i> by Lisa Schnell
32	<i>The graves are deep</i> Lisa Schnell
33	<i>Who is "we"?</i> by Ingo Schulze
34	<i>Welcome the refugees!</i> By Theo Sommer
35	<i>Willkommenskultur is taking farewell</i> Vanessa Steinmetz
36	<i>An existential denial</i> by Merlind Theile
37	<i>Once upon a Willkommenskultur</i> Christoph Tietz
38	<i>Party positions on the topic of refugees and integration</i> Thorakit Treichel
39	<i>Welcome in Germany</i> by Unknown
40	<i>Commentary to refugee policies: the topic is barely present in election campaigns</i> by Daniela Vates
41	<i>Cemile Giousouf: My parents would have helped a Leitkultur</i> by Vanessa Vu

Appendix 4: Hugo Vogel Painting



Appendix 5: French Dom Photograph

