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Towards Measuring the Level of Identification with Multicultural Practices and
Values in German National Culture

A Critical Discourse Analytic Study on Multicultural Representations in the German
National Integration Plan

Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT**UNIVERSITY OF VAASA****Faculty of Humanities**

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ABSTARCT:

This study assesses the extend to which multicultural values and practices are held to be important in German cultural identity.

The basic theoretical assumption is that cultural identity is shaped discursively in the mode of narration – text in particular. Therefore, a discourse analytic study is conducted that searches for references relating to ideal forms of multicultural values and practices in order to evaluate the current form of German multicultural identity. The study is based on the German National Integration Plan (Die Bundesregierung 2007) – a core document of German efforts towards building a multicultural society and introducing an active integration policy. The findings will be compared to reflections on German multiculturalism in Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]). The material is analyzed under an analytic grid combining Fairclough's (2002) framework for critical discourse analysis and a set of analytical categories (ideal multicultural values and practices).

Based on the material under analysis, the study shows that German cultural identity draws little on ideal forms of multicultural practices and values. Rather, the *NIP* (Die Bundesregierung 2007) attempts to introduce a multicultural discourse in the debate around integration policy and has to be understood as a communicative effort in negotiating and shaping a paradigm shift towards the incorporation of multicultural values in German cultural identity – a development that, based on the analysis of social practices, has not yet taken place. Critical discourse analysis suggests that a number of multicultural practices and values are in fact held important in German cultural identity but yet remain on a rather superficial level of language.

KEYWORDS: Fairclough, Der Nationale Integrationsplan, multiculturalism, cultural identity, discourse analysis

1 INTRODUCTION

The integration of immigrants has been a major focus of German politics in the past five years. In 2006, Angela Merkel initiated an integration summit that set out to introduce an active immigration policy in Germany. During a press conference on October 16th, 2010 she declared all efforts towards building a multicultural society to have “failed completely” (own translation). In context, this assessment is the result of an ongoing criticism of German integration policy and the perspective that immigrant integration remained unsuccessful despite all efforts. The chancellor claimed that too little has been demanded from immigrants in the past and that the immigrant society should be more active. In contrast, German integration law and practice have been claimed to be hostile towards immigrants – even racist in nature – and critics repeatedly asked for more integrative efforts to be taken by the host society and federal government. The debate remains strongly controversial. The discrepancy, however, casts light on one of the major administrative challenges of today: how to build and organize a modern nation state with a multicultural society. So far the problem has been tackled by legal reform and the introduction of new policies. One important question was not raised in the process: what kind of multicultural society do immigrants find when they come to Germany and to what extent does this host society hold multicultural values to be important?

Practices of social integration¹ were in the focus of the public debate – as it appears, considerations of cultural identity² were not. There is, however, a striking link between the two and researchers claim identity plays a crucial role for the organization of the public sphere. Sackmann (2003: 2,3) explains, a growing number of immigrants - who are widely perceived as culturally different - has an implication on processes of social integration. The recognition of migration by a host society constitutes a social process

¹For the frame of this thesis I understand and define the concept of (social) integration in sociological terms as follows: Integration is a social, cultural and structural process aimed at providing social, cultural, economical, and political equality to all in an unified society. Equal access to rights, education, public and private facilities, employment, or ownership of property are granted regardless of race, religion, national origin, gender, social class, or any other form of discrimination. (MSN Encarta 2009; Petendra 2005; Wikipedia 2010)

²For definition see Chapter 2.1. In addition, the term 'culture' will be understood as defined by Hofstede & Hofstede (2005) for the frame of this study.

which eventually results in the determination of a new social self-conception of that host society. Where there is immigration there is also pressure for change – e.g. the adaptation of public institutions. Consequently, Sackmann (2003) believes a new view on integration practices can be gained by taking a differentiated look at social groups on one side and social identities on the other. This research is taking up on Sackmann's (2003) idea and attempts to widen the debate on integration policy in Germany. By introducing a cultural analytic view point, this thesis aims to contribute to the issue by assessing levels of multiculturalism predominant in German cultural identity today.

Unfortunately, when discussing the relation between social integration and social identity Sackmann's (2003) focus lies mainly on ethnic identities³ held by immigrants. But identity is negotiated in a discursive environment⁴ which makes the study of cultural identity of the host society a crucial part in the discussion on practices of social integration. With respect to the national debate on German integration policy, I believe, reflections of German cultural identity – and the issue of multicultural practices and values as part of that identity in particular – have been widely neglected but they are, pursuing Sackmann's (2003) idea, essential to evaluate practices of an active integration policy as well as to respond to needs of both host and immigrant society.

Therefore, this work shall take account of that shortcoming and attempt a qualitative analysis of multiculturalism as presented by the German federal government. Considering the latest developments⁵ of the German immigration law (Einwanderungsgesetz) and the publication of the *German National Integration Plan (Der Nationale Integrationsplan – NIP; Die Bundesregierung 2007)*⁶, which can be seen as one of the core documents outlining Germany's integrative approach, Germany is aiming to become a more multicultural society. These developments, however, have been very recent and the official shift towards a multicultural society is very young – assessments of the level of multiculturalism of German national culture are yet missing.

³“a set of ideas about one’s own ethnic group membership, including self-identification and knowledge about ethnic culture (traditions, customs, values, and behaviors), and feelings about belonging to a particular ethnic group” (Martin & Nakayama 1997 in Abrams et al. 2002: 225)

⁴See Chapter 2.2

⁵See Chapter 1.2

⁶In order to reduce the volume of text all references to this document will be marked by “NIP” only.

My hypothesis is that there is a relation between a multicultural reality in Germany and the official text issued by the federal government. If there is, references to multicultural values and practices should be traceable in official texts that can be compared with an ideal form of multicultural practices and values. In other words, this work attempts to assess and measure a level of multiculturalism in Germany today based on the analysis of official discourse and its comparison to reflections on German multiculturalism from the immigrant society. This qualitative research will focus on representations of multicultural identity in the *NIP*, and reflections on multicultural practices and values of it within the wider discourse on multiculturalism in Germany found in Feridun Zaimoglu's (2007 [1995]) *Kanak Sprak* and an article by Kien Nghi Ha (2009) *The White German's Burden: Multikulturalismus und Migrationspolitik aus postkolonialer Perspektive* (*Multiculturalism and Migration policy in a postcolonial perspective*, own translation).

1.1 Research goal and outline

The goal of this research is to measure the level of multiculturalism present in Germany today by analyzing representations of multicultural values and practices in the *NIP* and reflections on the same in Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) and Ha (2009). For this purpose a number of concepts need to be established and the German socio-historic context of immigration and integration policy explained.

At first a common understanding of the socio-historic background of immigration and integration policy needs to be established. Chapter 1.2 will therefore summarize five phases of political and social developments that took place in Germany between 1945 until today. The chapter will close with an overview over the immigrant situation in Germany today and summarize the biggest groups of immigrants.

Chapter 2 will present the theoretical scope of this work. First, this study is fundamentally based on the assumption that discursive practices reveal and reflect upon social identity. Therefore the concept of cultural identity will be defined and the

interrelation between identity and communication explained. Chapter 2.3 will continue with a theoretical discussion of text, discourse, and discourse analysis. Essentially, this study aims to capture the multicultural 'Zeitgeist' in Germany today. Discourse analysis sees texts in their social contexts and understands them as expressions of social practice. It is therefore considered an appropriate analytic tool for this study. Finally, Chapter 2.4 establishes a set of categories that help determine ideal multicultural values and practices which can be used as basis for comparison for all three texts under analysis.

After that, chapter 3 will introduce the underlying methodology of this work. A textual analysis is equally important as considerations of the wider social and discursive context in which the example text is to be found. Critical discourse analysis takes most account of these requirements and Fairclough's (2002) framework will be applied to this study. His work will be presented in chapter 3.1 and 3.2. The chapter closes with the amalgamation of analytic categories established in chapter 2.4 and Fairclough's (2002) framework for discourse analysis discussed in chapter 3.2. The result is an analytic grid that ties each step of discourse analysis to all analytic categories established for the scope of this work. Each of the three texts taken into consideration for this study will be assessed according to that grid.

The main chapter 4 of this thesis will present the results of the analysis of the *NIP*, Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]), and Ha (2009). The main focus lies on the analysis of a level of multicultural identity as presented by the federal government. The three texts constitute examples from different genres and discourses in order to achieve a wider frame of perspective and different view points on the issue of multiculturalism as well as to illuminate properties of different levels of the discourse on multiculturalism in Germany. The first text, the *NIP*, represents the core text of this study. As established above, the text is a central document of current German efforts towards an active immigration and integration policy and is therefore most likely to comprise a number of representations of multicultural identity in German national culture as portrayed the federal government. Its analysis will allow conclusions on the extent to which the German government has incorporated multicultural practices and values in its official discourse and policy practices.

The analysis will furthermore take a comparative perspective. A comparison of different texts from different discourses will unravel discrepancies and similarities in the general perception of German multiculturalism, show thematic emphases in the debate on multiculturalism and help to assess whether or not the federal government manages to communicate multicultural values to the general public – in other words the quality of the discourse on multiculturalism in Germany will be assessed. For this comparison two works appear to be suitable. Zaimoglu's (2007 [1995]) *Kanak Sprak* represents an informal voice from the German-Turkish community. The author is one of the major artists of this group, he has been very active in the media, and he engaged in political discussion around German integration policy (see chapter 4.2). *Kanak Sprak*, his first book, originally published in 1995, focuses particularly on a second generation of immigrants that struggles with its Turkish heritage as much as with the German society. It will therefore serve as a reflection on the extend to which German multicultural values and practices are perceived to be perceived by the immigrant society and allow conclusions to what extend multicultural values are present among the general public. Ha's (2009) article *The White German's Burden: Multikulturalismus und Migrationspolitik aus postkolonialer Perspektive* on the other hand represents a political critique in the form of a scientific article. His work offers direct reflections on German immigration policy and evaluations of its multicultural qualities. Ha has a Vietnamese background and is a highly regarded scientist in the field of cultural studies in Germany and engaged actively in the political discussion around the German National Integration Plan. His work represents an scientific immigrant perspective (see chapter 4.3). Both Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) were chosen for their significance in their fields and their immigrant background. They are less likely to reproduce an official German discourse on multiculturalism. Furthermore the concept of multiculturalism itself requires a variety of cultural perspectives in order to assess its quality and meaning for society as a whole. All three texts will be analyzed and compared to the analytic grid established in chapter 3.3.

The final chapter 5 will present conclusions on the level of multiculturalism presented in the *NIP* and evaluate the results of the comparison to Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) and Ha (2009) in the respective context. Furthermore, the material and application of method to

the research goal will be discussed and an outlook for future studies presented.

1.2 History of Immigration and Integration Policy in Germany and the Multicultural Paradigm Shift

In order to establish a common understanding of the wider socio-historical context of German integration and immigration history it is crucial to present a short historical overview. The following chapter will provide a brief introduction to German migration history⁷, take a look at different phases of development between 1945 and today, and will draw particular attention to the history of Turkish immigration in Germany.

The history of migration and integration in Germany can be divided into five phases. In the first phase from the end of the war until 1973, the systematic recruitment of guest workers was foregrounded. In the early 1950ies the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) grew fast economically which resulted in the need for foreign workforce. Between 1955 and 1968 the FRG signed guest worker agreements with Italy, Spain, Greece, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia , and Yugoslavia – the Turkish-German guest worker agreement was signed in 1961. In addition, the new Federal Refugees Act (1953) and Aliens Act (1965) were issued. However, regulations for immigration were not included yet, but in 1971 the conditions for prolonging residence in the FRG were alleviated (Reißlandt 2005, BpB 2009). By 1973 3,9 million immigrants came to the FRG of which 2,6 million were guest-workers. In the same year Turkish immigrants

⁷Considering the material used for this study it is more useful to focus merely on the history of migration and integration of Western Germany and Germany after the reunification in 1989. In order to clearly mark the historic separation of the country I will use the abbreviation 'FRG' until 1989 and refer to the country as 'Germany' after the reunification (although still technically the abbreviation FRG would apply). For the sake of completeness it is crucial to point out that also the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) was occupied with immigration law and integration. Massive emigration from the country to the FRG between 1945 and 1961 (2.7 million) led to the need for foreign workforce. The immigration of guest-workers was temporary. They were legally bound to go back to their home countries after a fixed period of time and it was not possible for their families to immigrate to the GDR. Bilateral agreements with other countries regulated work and private life conditions and assured the guest workers equal civil rights apart from those connected to citizenship. To gain citizenship was not possible at the time but guest-workers were given the option to seek asylum for reasons of religious, cultural, or scientific prosecution. Social integration policy in the GDR was marked by governmentally enforced segregation and social distance – guest-workers lived in separate facilities and close social contact required official permission; an official debate on the situation of the foreign workforce in the GDR did not take place. (Bade & Oltmar 2004.)

became the biggest immigration-group in Germany (Woellert et al. 2009: 12,13).

The second phase, between 1973 and 1979, was marked mainly by a recruitment ban on guest-workers and the consolidation of guest-worker employment. An economic crisis beginning in the early 1970ies brought the guest-worker contracts to a complete halt in 1973. At that time the only possible way of immigrating to the country was for family members to reunite. For the fear to not be able to return to the FRG lots of foreign workers decided to stay and invite their families to join them. Social problems started to grow for foreigners as they were the first to be made redundant. Due to growing illiteracy (especially among Turkish women from Anatolia) among the immigrant community and a growing number of children the issue of educational integration was given some attention for the first time – separate classes for immigrant children were formed. However, The FRG's foreigner policy can be described as restrictive. (Reißlandt 2005, Woellert et al. 2009: 13.)

Between 1979 and 1981 the first tentative steps were taken towards a rethinking of integration policy. For the first time from political officials demanded an official recognition of the immigration situation of the FRG and called for equal rights. In 1978/79 the new 'office for integration of the foreign workforce and their family members' (Beauftragten für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen) – a position filled by Heinz Kühn. He was the first to call the FRG an 'Einwanderungsland' (immigration country). However, extensive concepts to fortify integration were not introduced. (BpB 2009; Reißlandt 2005.)

The official paradigm of the FRG concerning immigration started to change due to the end of the cold war and the foundation of the EU between 1981 and 1999. Family reunion still constituted a big force in migration along with a growing number of asylum-seekers and refugees towards the end of the cold war in the 1980ies. Compensating for the lack of concepts of the FRG's foreigner policy in 1983 the 'Rückkehrförderungsgesetz' (law to aid the return of the foreign work-force) was issued offering financial aid to stimulate the worker's return to their home countries. However, the law did not have the desired effect and, therefore, the administration of Helmut Kohl

(1982 –1998) gave the Aliens Act a new importance. After the end of the cold war and the reunification of Germany, the Schengen Agreement (1990) equalized visa-regulations of the European Community (EC) which offered more opportunities for citizenship and civil rights for immigrants. In Germany a new Aliens Act was issued in 1991 which facilitated the naturalization of immigrants on the one hand but was very complicated and controversial on the other. When the EU was founded eventually in 1993 asylum and immigration policy were declared as a common cause in Europe. However, Germany's integration policy remained pragmatic for a long time – the immigration situation was still denied from the official side and central problems of integration remained untouched, but smaller actions in migration policy were taken and in 1994 the 'Manifest of the 60' (Manifest der 60) demanded a change of paradigm of immigration policy in Germany. (BpB 2009; Reißlandt 2005.)

Eventually Germany's immigration policy changed drastically starting with the reform of citizenship regulations in 1999. Following EU norms citizenship could now be granted on the basis of place of birth rather than inheritance which especially benefited the second generation of immigrants. Immigration and integration are more and more foregrounded in political debates where the issues have been ignored before and a growing need for specialized workforce led to the 'Green-Card-Regulation' in 2000 facilitating the immigration to Germany for highly qualified non-EU citizens. In practice, this development put an end to the halted guest-worker recruitment and caused a shift in political discourse towards regulated immigration, extensive integrative support in the form of integration and language courses, and a new political principle: 'Fördern und fordern' (Assistance and demand; BpB 2009; Reißlandt 2005). The Süßmuth-Commission declared in the year 2000:

“[Die] normative Festlegung ‚Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland ist [...] als Maxime fuer eine deutsche Zuwanderungs- und Integrationspolitik unhaltbar geworden. [...] Die Kommission stellt fest, dass Deutschland [...] ein Einwanderungsland geworden ist“ (Reißlandt 2005; “The normative predefinition that Germany is not an immigration country has become untenable as a dictum for German immigration and integration policy. The commission acknowledges, Germany has become an immigration country”, own translation)

The final shift from a passive to an active design of migration and integration policy in Germany came about with the introduction of the new 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' (immigration law) in 2004. Additionally the first German Integration Summit took place in 2006 together with the new 'Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz' (law for equal treatment) to fight discrimination of all kinds. In 2007 the new immigration law was reformed turning EU regulations into national law. On July 12th of the same year the second German Integration Summit took place under the supervision of chancellor Angela Merkel presenting the National Integration Plan (NIP) in order to create a common basis for integrative actions for the federal government, the federal states and organizations on the community level. Since 2005 the Hague-Programme sets common guidelines for all members of the EU to regulate migration and integration policy. (BpB 2009; Reißlandt 2005.)

Today about 15 million people in Germany (about 20% of the whole population) have an immigrant background. After 1945 a total of 36 million people came to Germany of who about 27 million stayed. A number of about 2,8 million people with a migration background are Turks, half of who were born in Germany. Their group is the biggest (3,4% of the whole population and 17,7% of all immigrants) and youngest (about one half is younger than 27 and about 28% is younger than 15) immigrant group in Germany today. (Woellert 2009: 12–26.)

2 IDENTITY, DISCOURSE, AND MULTICULTURALISM

This chapter aims to lay out the theoretical basis of this study. The present work is situated in the field of intercultural communication studies focussing on identity negotiation. In order to refine the analytical categories that will be applied in my analysis, firstly, it is crucial to define identity from a social constructionist⁸ perspective and to discuss the characteristics of cultural identity in particular. Secondly, the following will define intercultural communication for the scope of this work and establish the relationship between communication and identity. Thirdly, as the construction of identity takes place in a discursive context, the concepts of text and discourse will be introduced. Lastly, this chapter will introduce ideal multicultural practices and values.

2.1 Cultural Identity

Identity, on the most general level, can be defined as a process of the construction of meaning on the basis of cultural attributes. A given individual can have a plurality of identities to organize the meaning and purpose of individual action (Castells 1997: 6). Identity is furthermore a form of context rather than an individual trait. The 'I' always stands in a relation to the 'Alter' – the others –, and they stand in a relation to the 'I' (Keupp 2002: 95).

Therefore an interactionist approach and social identity theory (SIT) is applied to identity in this study. Identity is understood to emphasize the subjective and social construction of meaning. In this respect identity can be seen as a form of social reality constantly produced through experiences and interactions with others – that is in between the anticipated expectations of the 'Alter' and the individual responses to these

⁸Social constructionism follows the idea that a certain concept, practice or phenomenon is created by a group and dependent on the historical and cultural context. The concept views social phenomena in a non-essentialist manner refusing to search for a single, definable and natural state of a given society. Reality is seen as a subjective result created by a society on the basis of historical and cultural concerns and experiences. Essential to the social constructionist approach is language. It is seen as a performance of construction of reality as it reproduces our knowledge of the world. ((Burr 2003: 4–9.)

expectations of the 'I'. It is within this very discourse where identity is constructed. As a result the interactionist approach concludes that humans are dependent on dialogue and their personalities are constituted and renewed discursively through the conversation with others. (Keupp 2002: 95–100.)

SIT, as presented by Abrams et al. (2002: 225f) draws on the idea that identity is composed of social and personal identities. Personal identity is hereby understood as a unique individual characteristic irrespective of a cultural group. Social identity, on the other hand, refers to “one's knowledge of membership in certain social groups and the social meanings attached to the group” (Abrams et al. 2002: 226). Symbols and symbolic contents of that social system are shared by the majority of that group and used for orientation, communication, and interaction (Sackmann 2003: 3).

Social identification follows certain motivations and functions. On the one hand “self-insight and understanding; downward social comparison; collective self-esteem; ingroup cooperation; intergroups comparison and competition; social interaction; romantic involvement” (Deaux 2000: 12) broaden the range of the individual's possibilities – identity organizes life. On the other hand identity becomes a source of motivation itself as it serves the function to take on a group agenda in a social context. (Deaux 2000: 11–13; Giesen 1999: 12.)

The central idea of SIT is that groups determine their own identities in a social context and that these identities are multidimensional. Age, gender, profession, nationality, region, religion, and so forth serve as foundations of social identities. All of them share cultural components of values, habits, and history. These identities are 1) perceived as self typical – “perceived typicality of the self as a group member” (Abrams et al. 2002: 226) - and 2) enforced through group identification – “affective-evaluative response to group membership” (Abrams et al. 2002: 226).

The concept of social identity, more specifically, refers to collective identities and the relation between society and identity. Collective identities are formed on the basis of ideas of nation, religion, region, ethnicity, culture, etc. and shaped between cultural

symbols and practical needs, religious symbols, power hierarchy and status, rituals, and ideological sympathy - society as collective identity in turn forms the basis for personal identity. Therefore collective identities are considered to have a double vision: language refers to the signified world and identity presupposes a difference to others as well as the dependence on situational variables of interest. (Giesen 1999: 11–12, 21–22.)

Consequently, if culture plays a significant role for social identities it can be said to shape a form of cultural identity of individuals or groups. A certain system of symbols and symbolic content is considered to be important and shared by a majority of a given group and used for orientation, communication, and interaction (Sackmann 2003: 3, 4). Cultural components such as history, language, religion, or ideas of nation and environment help form cultural communes and can become a source for the construction of social identity. Such communes are organized primarily around sets of values marked by codes of identification like religion, nationalism or locality, as well as they are understood to be a reflexion of reaction to prevailing social trends (Castells 1997: 65). These values and reflexions, when studied, will shape a picture of cultural identity: “the extent to which individuals hold their larger culture to be important” (Abrams et al. 2002: 225).

In order to grasp my material in analytical terms I will consider the German government, represented in the *NIP*, to be such a cultural commune. To analyze cultural identity, as Deaux (2000: 1) emphasizes, can serve to describe cultural communes according to categorical group membership and find hints to its perceived relationship to the social structure. In order to study cultural identity to gain a new view on integration, Sackmann (2003: 2) suggests taking into consideration processes of positioning⁹ and self-localization¹⁰. It is particularly the latter my work will be interested in.

⁹Processes of how members of a group gain their place in society through structural conditions and practices (Sackmann 2003: 2).

¹⁰Processes of “identification, patterns of orientation and self-conceptualizations, feelings of belonging and perceptions of symbolic boundaries” (Sackmann 2003: 2).

2.2 The Interrelation of Identity and Communication

How is identity constructed? As suggested above, identity is a process of the construction of meaning in a social context. Much work has been done concerning the study of the construction of identity and a detailed discussion would exceed the framework of this study. It is important, however, to mention a few crucial works that form the basis to my study. Castells (1997: 7–10) claims identities are constructed through considerations of history, nature, and culture as well as marked by power relations. He suggest three different forms of identity building: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, project identity. The question of who creates what type of identity and how this is done is dependent on the socio-historical context. Giesen (1999: 24–42, 69–105) contributes a distinction of two types of construction of identity. One way of constructing identity is using codes of collective identity – in other words drawing upon differences by constructing borders between an inside and an outside group. These codes can be distinguished in primordial codes (gender, generation, ancestry, ethnicity), traditional codes (familiarity with traditions, routines, implicit rules of behavior), and universal codes (ideas of salvation, redemption). Another type of construction is the focus on social conditions (elements of the situation, rituals of drawing borders, social relationships). Deaux (2000: 3–7) emphasizes how people vary their identities in importance and priority and the idiosyncratic variations in meaning that make values and emotional significance key terms in studying social identity. In his work he argues, firstly, for the existence of definable types of identities that vary to the individual in centrality, desirability, and quality. Secondly he claims individuals identify with a certain category up to a certain and level. Together these idiosyncrasies in social identification present a differential relevance to social identity. Lastly Keupp (2002: 101–107) underlines the importance of language and sees conversation as a reflexion of the nature of the individual or group. Self, in his perspective, is constructed discursively in the mode of narration. He also emphasizes the two-sidedness of social identity and stresses the greater multileveled experiences in which social identity is constructed, the individual circumstances of the individual or group as well as the macro-social changes that can be linked to micro-social realities.

In essence, the above indicates that identity is constructed narratively in a given socio-historic context. In other words, communicative processes are tightly linked to the creation and manifestation of cultural identity. My work is therefore situated in the larger field of intercultural communication studies. Gudykunst (2002a) defines intercultural communication as “communication between people from different national cultures, and some scholars limit it to face-to-face communication” (Gudykunst 2002a: 179). The definition recognizes the communication between culturally diverse groups and individuals but limits it to the interaction between national cultures. In my work I will expand the use of the term and also include the communication between ethnic cultures and subcultures within national cultures as I see intercultural encounters to occur also detached from political boundaries such as nation.

Furthermore, Gudykunst (2002a: 179) sees intercultural communication as one type of intergroup communication – the communication between members of different social groups. Other rubrics such as intergeneration, social class or able/disabled bodied people for example may or may not be included and depends largely on the research conducted. The central focus, however, remains culture and the communication between members of different cultures.

Within the field of intercultural communication there is a number of different schools and theories. A very comprehensive overview over different schools of intercultural communication is offered by Gudykunst (2002b). He categorizes 15 different theories on intercultural communication in five different schools¹¹. Of particular interest to my study is an intercultural communications study perspective on identity establishing a relational link between identity and acts of communication. It is especially the possibility to study identity through acts of communication this research is interested in. The linkage shall be established in more detail below.

Theories of intercultural communication studies focussing on identity negotiation or management – and more specifically the adaption of identities and non specific

¹¹These five schools focus on: effective outcomes, accommodation and adaptation, identity negotiation or management, communication networks, and acculturation or adjustment (see Gudykunst 2002b: 185–200)

communication behavior – form the basis to that interest. Firstly, Identity Management Theory¹² (IMT) views identity as “an interpretative frame for experience” (Gudykunst 2002b: 191). In other words, a person's relational and cultural identity are particularly central to intercultural communication. The theory proposes that an intercultural relationship goes through three phases: trial and error, identity enmeshment, identity renegotiation. Identity Negotiation Theory¹³ attempts to determine the factors for an effective identity negotiation between two interactants. The prediction is that the more secure an individual's self-identification, the more resourceful in negotiating identity, and the more motivated to communicate with strangers that individual is the more effective negotiating identity will be. Thirdly, Cultural Identity Theory¹⁴ aims to learn how identities are managed in intercultural contact situations. It focuses on the discursive context in which identities are negotiated and validated as well as vary as a function of scope, salience and intensity of communication. (Gudykunst 2002b: 191–194.)

In sum, intercultural communication studies of identity focus on how identity is negotiated in a social discursive context. Particularly, Abrams et al. (2002) discuss this transactional relationship between identity and communication in their work and provide a circular model that shows how “identity and communication are mutually reinforcing” (Abrams et al. 2002: 237). In order to do so, the authors combine a number of theories and emphasize at first the subjective nature of identity and how it influences communication. Secondly Abrams et. al (2002) switch the perspective and explain the ways in which communication influences identity. Before I present their findings some preliminary concepts underlying the study need to be discussed.

Abrams et al. (2002: 225) view identity as particularly important in intercultural research. They refer to cultural and more importantly ethnic identity in their work.

¹²See Cupach, W. R., & T. Imahori (1993). Identity Management Theory. In: *Intercultural Communication Competence*, 112-131. Ed. R. L. Wiseman & J. Koester. New York: Free Press.

¹³See Ting-Toomey, S. (1993). Communicative Resourcefulness: An Identity negotiation Theory. In: *Intercultural Communication Competence*, 72-111. Ed. R. L. Wiseman & J. Koester. California: Sage Publications.

¹⁴See Collier, M. J. & M. Thomas (1988). Cultural Identity. In: *Theories in Intercultural Communication*, 99-120. Ed. Y. Y. Kim & W. B. Gudykunst. California: Sage Publications.

Within the frame of the study cultural identity is understood as the “extent to which individuals hold their larger culture to be important” (Abrams et al. 2002: 225). Ethnic identity represents a set of ideas about one's own ethnic group membership, knowledge about culture, and self-identification with a particular ethnic group. The researchers prefer to look at ethnic identity as they see it as more salient as the distinctions between ethnic groups tend to be evoked more often in events of intercultural communication.

In their study Abrams et al. (2002: 225f) draw upon a multidimensional view on identity¹⁵, which they see as particularly important when talking about ethnic identity. Behavioral components of ethnic identity appear to be of prime importance and Abrams et al. (2002) look at the degree to which individuals engage in ethnic group activities such as “eating ethnic food, engaging in ethnic behavioral patterns, speaking or writing the languages of the ethnic group, sharing networks with ethnic group members, and demonstrating common communicative styles” (Abrams et al. 2002: 226). These components and conceptions may in turn show communicatively in various ways.

Identity as subjective

Identity must be seen as a subjective concept that stands in relation to social stratification. In order to assess identity it is hence crucial to engage in social comparison (Abrams et al. 2002: 230). Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory¹⁶ (ELIT) accounts for the sociopsychological climate in which intergroup relations occur. In other words, EIT places subjective perceptions of identity in a sociopsychological context. This context is mainly determined by three aspects: Ingroup identification, group vitality, and social boundaries. (Abrams et al. 2002: 230)

Ingroup identification is a measure of an individual's pride taken from group membership which influences intergroup relations. A high level of dependence on the ingroup, a high level of solidarity with it, and a sense of a threatened social identity are likely to cause a higher perception of intergroup encounters. On the other hand, an

¹⁵See under SIT in Chapter 2.1

¹⁶See Giles, H., & P. Johnson (1981). The Role of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In: *Intergroup Behavior*, 199-243. Ed. J. Turner & H. Giles. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

individual's low dependence on an ingroup, the feeling an ingroup is not central for the individual's being, a little amount of solidarity for the ingroup, and an open social identity are less likely to create a perception of intergroup encounters. (Abrams et al. 2002: 230.)

The concept of group vitality refers to the extent to which a community is a viable group. The sense of vitality is firstly composed of issues such as status, demography and institutional support as well as subjective intergroup matters such as group status, size, and power. In the latter language plays a particular role as it is a means to exercise and create power. The expression of ingroup attraction is therefore typical for high vitality groups, positive intergroup perception, and the strategic use of language to maintain a positive and distinct social identity. Fewer expressions of ingroup attraction, negative intergroup perceptions, and the absence of a strategic use of language hint towards a low group vitality. Secondly, vitality is shaped by the perception and interpretation of history. When political climates change ethnic identities are considered to change accordingly. Interpretations of history are shaped by group-based efforts at vitality, which will cause identity shifts along the lines of a predominant sociohistorical and sociopolitical context. (Abrams et al. 2002: 231–233.)

Lastly, the concept of social boundaries concerns a group's ability to take on characteristics of a dominant group. Abrams et al. (2002: 233) present two views on the matter. If 1) character is seen as a fixed attribute it lies in human nature to have hard and closed intergroup boundaries. This perception supports the idea that group distinctions are consistent with cultural values and create a positive sense of distinctiveness. But if 2) human nature is seen as malleable there will be permeable boundaries which creates circumstances less well suited to produce a positive sense of distinctiveness.

In summary, SIT and ELIT are of great value to understand intergroup behavior and the active construction of identity by the individual. The authors emphasize: “identity is a vibrant phenomenon subject to societal, situational and communicative forces” (Abrams et al. 2002: 233). How identity shapes communication and vice versa will be assessed in the following.

The influence of identity on communication behaviors

Abrams' et al. (2002: 226f) suggestion is that identities are co-created and emerge only in contact with others – when messages are exchanged with other people. Therefore communication is a means to negotiate, reinforce and challenge ethnic identities. In an interpersonal context that happens through avowal¹⁷ and ascription¹⁸ processes, core symbols, norms, and labels. They conclude: “The property of ethnic identities being dynamic and context related [...] underscores that they are emphasized depending on whom we are communicating with and the topic of conversation” (Abrams et al. 2002: 227).

The authors see a number of problems when studying the influence of identity on communication. On a more general level, they 1) miss a focus on the transactional relationship between identity and communication. Furthermore, they 2) criticize that intercultural interactions are viewed as rather smooth. This optimism in studying intercultural communication ignores the fact that people rather “take bold measures to highlight their distinct identities” (Abrams et al. 2002: 228). Additionally, has so far been seen as 3) peripheral to theoretical boundaries of intercultural communication. (Abrams et al. 2002: 227–229.)

In order to challenge these problems the authors apply Communication Accommodation Theory¹⁹ (CAT) to their work. CAT views language and speech as particularly important elements of personal and social identity. The theory explains how identity shapes communication in the way that individuals use language in different ways to create levels of social distance or closeness between them and their interlocutors. Individuals tend to manifest positive and negative feelings in their behavior which will either lead towards levels of convergence (a strategy to adapt to communication partner) or levels of divergence (a strategy of accentuating communicative differences to interlocutor). In summary, CAT underlines the fact that identities are asserted through communicative

¹⁷ The individual portrays him or her self (Abrams et al. 2002: 226f).

¹⁸ Others attribute identities to an individual (Abrams et al. 2002: 227).

¹⁹See Gallois, C., H. Giles, E. Jones, A. Cargile, & H. Ota (1995). Accommodating Intercultural Encounters. In: *Intercultural Communication Theory*, 115-147. Ed. R.L. Wiseman. California: Sage Publications.

patters. (Abrams et al. 2002: 229.)

The influence of communication on identity

Abrams et al. (2002: 234) argue that communication is critical to identity construction because the root of identity lies in the contextual processes of interaction. The communicative context is shaped by three parameters. First, the communicative network defines an individual's interpersonal context and identity referents. The speech community serves in this respect to “create, expand, preserve, validate, and perpetuate language and identity” (Abrams et al. 2002: 234). Secondly, shared meaning is negotiated within a group. A debate about positive and negative aspects of given issue will split the group hence creating identity. In other words, the level of consensus contributes to shaping identity. And thirdly, the use of labels to describe others constructs relational meaning within the communicative event.

The authors are using two theories here to explain the linkage between communication and identity. At first, Social Dominance Theory²⁰ (SDT) shows that people have a predisposition to group based hierarchies between social groups. Social dominance is defined by levels of group status, sex/gender, socialization, and so forth. But these levels are not self evident but need to be communicated. Hence, language serves as a means to legitimize status and justifies social hierarchy. (Abrams et al. 2002: 235f.)

But even though SDT implicitly puts communication into the center it does not explicitly refer to it. CAT, however, does and emphasizes the transactional relationship between communication and identity. Processes of convergence and divergence are driven by group identity. Different ways of communicative expressions such as non-verbal language, language, and paralanguage shape and reveal identity. Furthermore, the level to which a group acquires an outgroup language and/or its rhetorical elements reveals something about group membership. Here CAT presents processes of accommodation as a primary form of identity expression. (Abrams et al. 2002: 236f.)

²⁰ See Sidanius, J., & F. Pratto (1999). *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

In summary, Abrams et al. (2002) show how closely identity and communication are connected. They draw a circular model in which subjective identity influenced by measures of vitality, in-group identification, and social boundaries shapes communication (processes of divergence and convergence), which in turn shapes subjective identity and so forth.

Narratives and Identity

How does this relate to text in particular? An act of communication, a conversation for instance, can be seen as a reflexion of the nature of an individual and his/her relation to society. Identity, therefore, does not only reveal itself in beliefs but implicitly also in social practices such as the use of language (Keupp 2002: 101; Shotter & Gergen 1990: x; Harré 1989: 22). Language can hence be seen as a mode of action being socially constitutive. Any text, as Fairclough (2002: 55) argues, contributes to shaping aspects of society and culture such as social identities, social relations, systems of knowledge, and belief. More specifically, text can help maintain existing social identities or constitute creative ways to change them.

Theoretical foundations for this have been laid out by several researchers and have in common the emphasis on the socio-historic context and the interrelation of narratives in a wider discourse²¹. Keupp (2002: 58, 59) centers on narrative identity theory and the idea that coherence is central to the construction of identity. Coherence is built and made available to all members of a group through the telling (or writing) of stories which serve to organize and understand human experiences as they put event in a sequential order. In this context an individual is not so much an entity of awareness, emotion, and action but a social and historical construction in order to fit into ongoing social structures of society (Sampson 1989: 1, 2; Kitzinger 1989: 83). In addition, places and relations of people are constructed in a discourse reality – different ways of speaking propose “different forms of social relationship, different statuses, different ways of ‘positioning’ ourselves in relation to others, different patterns of rights and privileges, duties and obligations” (Shotter 1989:149).

²¹For definitions of narrative and discourse see Chapter 3

The discursive construction of identity, essentially, takes place in the mode of narration, giving any form of narration a fundamental role in constructing self in a social context (Keupp 2002: 101; Murray 1989: 178, 201; Andrews et al. 2004: 112). Identity, however, is not fixed but an open unfinished process which makes narration an ongoing negotiation process and a product of social exchange – narratives are sensitively interdependent on reciprocal negotiation. As a result, in order to use narratives for identity analysis one has to consider the wider discourse of a given social context (Keupp 2002: 102 – 105; Shotter & Gergen 1990: ix, x).

In summary, intercultural communication theory presupposes that identity is constructed in a discursive context. The relation to others serves as basis for negotiating identity. This process is conducted in the mode of narration and crucially depended on a given socio-historic context. As the basis for this research is text, a tool is required that takes account of this issues allows to reveal identity through the analysis of text. Discourse analysis appears to be a suitable tool and shall be introduced in the following

2.3 Text, Discourse, and Discourse Analysis

Studying cultural identity using discourse analysis means studying identity as it is presented at a certain point in time by a certain group or individual – its 'Zeitgeist'. Identity is an ever-changing process and analyzing it can only serve to see a picture of what it is today (Keupp 2002: 8). Similarly culture cannot be considered stable but a subject to change affecting all institutions and processes absorbing and producing culture. Thus, it is vital to take an anti-fundamental view on social institutions and processes, take interests of institutions into consideration, and take account of rituals and social realities of a given collective identity that is shaped between cultural symbols and practices (Giesen 1999: 19–21).

Discourse analysis and narrative analysis stand in a long tradition of linguistic analysis. The focus of this type of analysis lies on the use of vocabulary and grammar in texts and what meaning is created by it (Harré 1989: 20, 23; Ryan & Bernard 2000: 769). To

focus on narratives means to study subjective truths of a particular group under research rather than objective facts:

“[Narrative analysis] is to understand the participants’ categories and to see how these are used in concrete activities such as telling stories [...] The theoretical orientation of these qualitative researchers makes them more concerned with the processes through which texts depict ‘reality’ than with whether such texts contain true or false statements” (Silverman 2000: 826)

However closely related, discourse analysis and narrative analysis are somewhat different. The difference between the two lies in the focus: Narrative analysis focuses on how people use cultural resources in their narratives (Silverman 2000: 26). But this study takes a comparative approach in order to unravel different representations of a perceived reality – a particular stress the concept of discourse analysis draws more attention to: it “focuses on how different versions of the world are produced through the use of interpretative repertoires, claims to ‘stakes’ in an account [...], and constructions of knowing subjects” (Silverman 2000: 826). This study will therefore apply discourse analysis rather than narrative analysis.

This particular shift in focus has terminological consequences. As the previous chapter indicated, identity research focuses on narratives as subject of study. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, rather speaks of text. In a discourse analytic context, text is a somewhat physical expression – an act of speech – of a line of thought in the formal appearance of a text in order to make thoughts and ideas available for others and one self. Text is furthermore produced on the basis of knowledge that resulted out of processes of socialization. It is produced on the basis of structural convention and motivated by personal agenda. Traditional textual analysis is essential to discourse analysis because it offers the opportunity to evaluate intention, impact, and underlying interest of a text. Texts are therefore understood as part of an overall discourse that is shaped through socio-cultural processes. (Jäger 1993: 144, 145; Hartmann 1972: 3, 6.)

Furthermore, Jäger (1993: 146, 148, 149) believes that the world we live in is constituted by a universe of discourses. Discourse, than, is the entity of all expressions exchanged by individuals and represents a linguistic dimension of discourse practice.

The latter is understood as an ensemble of everything that produces knowledge (institutions, rules, authors, etc.) - in other words, discourse practice is an instrument for producing sociohistoric reality. Discourse is therefore strongly tied to social practices and consists of an open number of expressions enclosed in texts.

Similarly, Fairclough (2002: 54, 55) defines discourse as any use of spoken or written language as well as visual image and nonverbal communication. If language is seen as a form of social practice, discourse is a way of constructing social practice. As argued earlier, language is a mode of action that is shaped by society and shapes it in turn. Text and discourse are therefore a strong constitutive force in maintaining or changing culture, society, and therefore cultural identity. Consequently, Jäger (1993: 152, 153) draws the following definition: discourse is an institutionalized way of speech that is governed by a set of rules specific to a certain kind of discourse, that is tied to social practices, and that exerts pressure on a given social context.

Jäger (1993: 181, 184) offers a structure to the concept of discourse. An overall discourse carried by a given society as a whole (*gesellschaftlicher Gesamtdiskurs*) is a strongly branched network of strings of discourses (*Diskursstrang*). Each string of discourse represents a certain topic of discourse that is shaped by a number of levels (science, politics, media, etc) – such a string of discourse can be the discourse on multiculturalism. Strings of discourse are strongly entwined and it is possible that one discourse makes use of fragments of another discourse – for example the discourse on multiculturalism draws regularly upon fragments of the discourse on economics. Every discourse is built from those fragments. Fragments of discourse are texts or parts of texts. Together they form an entity of thematically consistent fragments and thus constitute a string of discourse. Discourse analysis essentially aims at disentangling this tight network by focussing on single strings of discourse which, in the case of the present study, is the discourse on multiculturalism within the overall discourse carried by German society.

In Fairclough's (2002) perspective, strings of discourse are shaped mainly from two categories – the concept of discourse and genre. Discourse as a concept, here, refers to a

kind of knowledge production – “the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view” (Fairclough 2002: 56). Genre, on the other hand, “is a use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice” (Fairclough 2002: 56) and can be described on the basis of organizational properties. In other words, genre is shaped by constitutional conventions and purpose. It makes roles available that either confirm or resist these conventions. Discourse, on the other hand, has a particular individual and ideological dimension and choices made for the production of texts reflect individual or group interests (Ivanič 1998: 46).

Fairclough (2002) applies a fairly different terminology to the structure of discourse which needs to be clarified. According to Fairclough (2002: 55), discursive practices of a community take place in a network of discourses – orders of discourse. When thinking of a particular institution, its order of discourse is constituted by all types of discourses within that social institution or domain. Orders of discourse highlight the relationship between certain types of discourses – show whether there is a mixture or strong boundaries between them. The drawing and redrawing of such boundaries within and between orders of discourse can be seen as a manifestation of social and cultural changes. In other words, what Fairclough (2002) describes as 'discourse practice' or specifically 'type of discourse' corresponds to Jäger's (1993) 'string of discourse'. The 'order of discourse', on the other hand, resembles Jäger's (1993) overall discourse of a given society. Fairclough, furthermore, seems to use the term 'discourse' as a subcategory of type of discourse. In that context the term 'discourse' merely refers to the concept of individual and ideological choices of text production. For the reason that Fairclough's (2002) framework for critical discourse analysis is applied to this thesis, his terminology will be used in the analysis.

Even though discourse analysis takes a holistic approach and is culturally and socio-historically sensitive it is not without limitations. There is no definite types of discourse and the classification is an interpretive work to be conducted by the researcher. Problematic is furthermore that there is no one single method to approaching a set of material. While interdisciplinary research is particularly useful to open new views in

social studies, it means also that a study is very dependent on how a researcher chooses to interpret a given text. Not only is research often based on arbitrary categories that are hard to escape from in order to offer a complete unbiased picture but also the researcher is influenced by his/her own position towards the material and ideology. The qualitative approach furthermore only allows a glimpse at a small and specific group of reference and cannot be used to explain social organization. In other words, discourse analysis cannot be fully objective or value free as well as it is not representative of a larger society but only applies to the material in question (Riessman 1993: 5, 22; Silverman 2000: 825; Janesick 2000: 385).

For Fairclough (2002: 54) the researchers subjectivity due to his/her own use of language and social practices – he/she may not be aware of the fact – and the subconscious conventions under which a conversation takes place, is of particular interest. Only a critical analysis, in his opinion, can account for that shortcoming. His desiderata for critical analysis shall be introduced as basis for this study in chapter three. Before this, an understanding of ideal multicultural practices and values shall be developed in order to establish an analytic grid under which the material will be analyzed.

2.4 Liberal Multiculturalism and the State

Analyzing multicultural identity as represented in the *NIP* requires a definition of multiculturalism from a political perspective on the one hand, and the establishment of ideal-type analytical categories to measure the level of sympathy a state holds towards multicultural policies on the other. That is because ideological considerations of multiculturalism will define a particular quality of integration policy hence revealing something about its identity. In accordance with Persson (2008: 106) my assumption is that the degree of multiculturalism beyond the mere implication of policies will become visible in administrative actions and the types of discourses the German federal government engages in.

Multiculturalism, as defined by Kymlicka (2002: 327; 2007: 16, 17), is the attention to cultural pluralism in order to protect, promote, recognize, accommodate, and strengthen national, ethnic, religious, linguistic and other social minorities:

“[Multiculturalism is an] umbrella term to cover a wide range of policies designed to provide some level of public recognition, support or accommodation to non-dominant ethnocultural groups, whether those are 'new' minorities (e.g. immigrant or refugee) or 'old' minorities (e.g. historically settled national minorities and indigenous peoples)” (Kymlicka 2007: 16).

Kymlicka (2007) sees the form of liberal multiculturalism as an ideal type. Liberal multiculturalism does not only allow immigrants access to all social privileges but puts particular emphasis on accommodating to specific needs on a more microscopic level:

“We could say, for example, that liberal multiculturalism is the view that states should not only uphold the familiar set of common civil, political, and social rights of citizenship that are protected in all constitutional liberal democracies, but also to adopt various group-specific rights or policies that are intended to recognize and accommodate the distinctive identities and aspirations of ethnocultural groups” (Kymlicka 2007: 61).

In this respect the multicultural state follows a certain set of principles. Firstly it repudiates the idea that a state belongs to a single group (e.g. defined by identity, culture, language, religion, class, etc.). Secondly it refuses processes of nation-building²² that aim at assimilation²³ and exclusion of minority groups. And thirdly, it rectifies injustice done to minority groups (Kymlicka 2007: 65,66). Two²⁴ key features

²²Nation-building is considered to be a process of expressing nationhood. A dominant national group defines its group identity by the idea of national cultural homogeneity. Outgroup members are subject to assimilation and exclusion. Concepts such as culture, language, religion, etc, become defining factors for an imperative ingroup identity (Kymlicka 2007: 61–64). In this context and to a considerable extend Kymlicka's work is based on the ideas of Ernst Gellner on nation, nationalism, cultural diversity and 'entropy resistance'. For further reading see: Gellner (1983; 1999)

²³Assimilation, in the frame of this study, is understood as a process of cultural, social and structural elimination of differences of one group/individual to adapt to another - in the context of migration, often to the effect that ethnic minority groups discard, to some extent, their cultural customs and practices and fuse into a dominant society. (Leibold 2006: 9; Persson: 110; Wikipedia 2009)

²⁴In his book, Kymlicka (2007: 83) mentions a third key feature: liberal multiculturalism as highly group differentiated. However, this feature is left out here for it is inapplicable to the analysis. It focuses on targeted minority rights that have to be specific for special groups and speaks against a set of generic minority rights. The *NIP*, however, is not so much a law as it is an assessment of problematic areas in the field of social integration and a self-commitment to take action towards the improvement of social integration of immigrants. Hence minority rights do not play a role in the *NIP* as they are associated with constitutional law. In Germany the language, cultural heritage, and traditions of the minority groups of the Danish, Sinti and Romanies, and Frisian are protected under specific minority rights. (Die Bundesregierung 2010a.)

of liberal multiculturalism can be summarized: The first is the content of minority rights. That entails not only the recognition²⁵ of the minority but also the distribution of power to that minority. Models aimed at redistributing resources fitted to interests of minority groups enhance access to state power, public services and economic opportunities. The second key feature is the distinction between nation-building and multiculturalism. Multiculturalism does not reject processes of nation-building but aims to transform and supplement them. The goal is to make nation-building a pluralistic movement that prevents the exclusion, marginalization, and stigmatization of minorities Kymlicka (2007: 80–83).

Kymlicka's (2002; 2007) and Persson's (2008) work offer a form of ideal-type categorical definition of multiculturalism and a simple analytical approach. I argue, the defining categories for this ideal-type can also be used as analytic categories for analyzing multicultural identity in the NIP against which its contents will be tested. For the purpose of this work I extracted the following categories:

- statements of recognition
 - recognizing claims of all ethnocultural groups (and injustice they may have experienced)
 - recognizing language, culture, traditions, historical heritage, religion (explicit and implicit accounts of specific interests and ethnic identities and cultural membership)
- statements of redistribution
 - social empowerment of minorities (affirmative action policies²⁶, political

²⁵Here, Kymlicka (2007) draws upon Charles Taylor's (1994) work on the 'Politics of Recognition. Taylor's (1994) focus lies on the importance of identity in the public sphere and argues for the need and demand of the recognition of minority identities. Even though Taylor's work represents a major contribution to the issue of multiculturalism his work is mostly concerned with issues of recognition. In order to establish a wider range of analytical categories specific to politics Kymlicka's (2002) and Persson's (2008) work was chosen to outline analytical categories.

²⁶Affirmative action is not an entirely uncontested concept in public administration. Thomas Jr. (1990) argues that the idea of affirmative action is based on outdated assumptions of a predominantly white and western society. Mainly designed to simply correct imbalance and injustice, affirmative action represents a tool unnaturally focusing to favor one group (Thomas Jr. 1990: 494, 495). However, when speaking of affirmative action in this work, an ideal type of human resource management is referred to that Thomas

- participation and consultation, healthcare and social service delivery)
- promotion of the idea of the state belonging to all citizens equally
- emphasis of pluralistic values
 - promotion of coexistence of culturally unique groups
 - integrative approach to immigration policy
 - adaption to interests/needs

For the analysis a high level of identification with multicultural values will be considered if the categories above can be found in the material. On the contrary a low level of identification with multicultural values will be assumed if little of the criteria is met. As a result multicultural identity can be described as the extent to which individuals recognize different cultural groups, show sympathy to the redistribution of resources and hold pluralistic values to be important.

However, for reasons that the above categories were drawn from a political perspective, it can be argued that they can only be used for analyzing the *NIP* but are not applicable to Zaimoglu's (2007 [1995]) literary text and Ha's (2009) academic article. For two reasons I maintain the contrary: 1) the central point of this study is analyzing German multicultural identity as depicted in the *NIP*, which dictates a political perspective on multiculturalism and 2) studying Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) and Ha (2009) will serve to find reflections on the very same issue rather than evaluating the level of multicultural identity by those authors and the content of their works. In other words, they serve as mirrors rather than subjects of analysis in themselves.

Further critique may arise from Taylor's (1994) question to what extent a state can in fact recognize and accommodate individual needs of ethnic groups and respond to them in the form of minority rights – in other words the question may be how liberal a state can be in its multicultural approach without harming its functional integrity. This

Jr. (1990: 495) calls diversity management. In the scope of this work affirmative action means: “no person's competence and character would ever be overlooked or undervalued on account of race, sex, ethnicity, origins, or physical disability.” (Thomas Jr. 1990: 495). Affirmative action on an administrative basis is therefore two-sided, it recognizes diversity on the one hand and enables people on the other.

particular problem refers to an administrative issue regarding the application of multicultural politics in a given state. For this research is concerned with the question to what extent the German government identifies with multicultural practices and values rather than assessing to what extent the application of a particular type of multiculturalism is beneficial or harmful to society as a whole, the question becomes obsolete.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter I have introduced socio-historic context and text as fundamental elements in creating identity. Furthermore I presented a theoretical background on identity and defined social and cultural identity. For the purpose of this study cultural identity is considered a process of the construction of meaning based on culture and crucially dependent on human interaction. In addition I have presented categories that define multiculturalism in terms of recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values. This provides the research with ideal types of multicultural values and practices which findings from the material can be tested against and will allow me to draw conclusions on the level of multicultural identity presented by the *NIP* and how it is perceived by Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) and Ha (2009).

Most essentially this chapter has established the crucial relationship between text and cultural identity. Identity is constructed discursively in the mode of narration. Text is a constitutive and reflective element of social identity. More specifically for the present material this means, if the *NIP* is seen as a text in the wider discourse on multiculturalism in Germany, it can be used as a source of information about representations on German multicultural identity. Furthermore, Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) and Ha (2008) stand in discursive relation to the German *NIP* for they are expected to draw upon a discourse on multiculturalism.

The research goal of this paper requires a tool that allows the analysis of text and places it in a wider social and discursive context in order to interpret its meaning with respect

to representations of multicultural identity. Such tool is offered by Fairclough (2002). The following chapter will introduce the concept of discourse and present Fairclough's (2002) framework for critical discourse analysis. As this thesis has a specific scope of vision, Fairclough's (2002) work will be adjusted to the specific requirements of this research and combined with multicultural analytic categories. The following will introduce Fairclough's (2002) approach and framework of critical discourse analysis and present an analytic grid that combines Fairclough's (2002) work with the analytic categories for ideal multicultural practices and values.

3 FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

In order to answer the question what is said about German multicultural identity and how it is depicted in the material, a qualitative, exploratory analytical approach is required. Fairclough (2002) offers such an approach taking account of several traditions of linguistic and social analysis. This chapter will introduce Fairclough's (2002) approach to discourse analysis, and present a framework of critical discourse analysis in combination with the analytic categories established in the previous chapter as the methodological basis for this study.

3.1 Fairclough's Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis and Desiderata

Fairclough (2002) composes his framework for critical discourse analysis out of various approaches²⁷ from the field of media discourse, linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis. Separately, however, Fairclough (2002) feels they are an inadequate tool to approach discourse for they are limited in scope, ignore ideological meaning linguistic choices can carry, disregard interpersonal aspects of text production and consumption, do not provide an intertextual view, or give too little attention to social relations. (Fairclough 2002: 22 –29)

In order to tackle these shortcomings Fairclough (2002: 33, 34) establishes desiderata for critical discourse analysis: 1) selection of data should reflect areas of variability, instability and stability to achieve a wider scope of social changes; 2) detailed attention to the texture of the text and use of language should be drawn; 3) the analysis should entail considerations of practices of text production and consumption and how texts are transformed in terms of linguistic properties or content; 4) the analysis of the text should be tied to the wider social and cultural context, including considerations of power differences and ideology; 5) the researcher should pay some attention to intertextual analysis and the recognition of hybrid texts including heterogeneous

²⁷Namely conversation analysis, semiotic analysis, critical linguistics and social semiotics, social cognitive analysis, and cultural generic analysis (Fairclough 2002: 21–31).

linguistic features; 6) text should be viewed as multifunctional, simultaneously representing and constituting relations and identities; 7) the linguistic analysis should take place on phonetic, lexical, grammatical, macrostructural, and schematic levels; 8) and the relationship between texts, society, and culture should be seen dialectically because texts are not only socioculturally shaped, but also are they constitutive of society and culture in transformative or reproductive ways.

3.2 Fairclough's (2002) Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (2002) combines his desiderata and formulates a framework for critical discourse analysis²⁸. His model is built on two, complementary focuses that shall be examined in the following. The first is the analysis of the communicative event – the particular and specific communicative action²⁹. This step is concerned with questions of continuity and change as well as the text's normative or creative quality. The second step of the analysis focuses on the order of discourse, foregrounding the over all structure of the order of discourse and configurations of genre and discourse.

The analysis of what Fairclough (2002) refers to as 'the communicative event' is primarily an analysis of relationship between three dimensions of a given communicative effort: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. At the core of the communicative event lies the text itself. Its analysis should cover traditional and

²⁸It is important to point out that his model is designed particularly for media discourse. However, Fairclough (2002: 62) points out that his framework can serve and be adjusted to different focus points – as I attempt with a rather selective sociocultural analysis. In my study I will apply his framework to a political discourse of integration policy and analysis of multicultural identity. Fairclough (2003) himself has applied his framework to political discourse. He describes political discourse as an order of discourse constantly changing due to social and cultural change. He explains: „by political order of discourse, I mean the structured configuration of genres and discourses which constitutes political discourse , the system [...] which defines and delimits political discourse, at a given point in time” (Fairclough 2003:143). Particularly problematic is to define the political. Fairclough (2003: 146) views the political as a interaction of political system, social system, and civic society with ever-changing parameters. Today, political discourse “articulates together the orders of discourse of the political system (conventional, official politics), of the media, of science and technology, of grassroots sociopolitical movements, of ordinary private life“ (Fairclough 2003: 146).

²⁹Fairclough's “communicative event' has to be understood as the narrative, the actual communicative product. However, as was indicated above, in order to highlight the comparative perspective and the focus on discourse this study will use Fairclough's terminology.

descriptive forms of linguistic analysis of the vocabulary, grammar of sentences and smaller units, semantics, writing system and textual organization. In addition the researcher is concerned with the meaning the particular form of text creates. (Fairclough 2002: 57, 58.)

When analyzing text it is crucial to keep in mind the multifunctional character of text. Fairclough (2002: 58) points out that text is never purely textual but has an ideational function (constitution of knowledge and belief) and an interpersonal function (constitution of social relationships and identities) as well. Therefore special attention must be drawn to particular representations of social practice, constructions of reader/writer identities, the establishment of relationship between the two, and the analysis must be sensitive to explicit as well as implicit expressions or absences in the text. Lastly, the analysis of text requires a multisemiotic viewpoint. That means to take the use of photographs and their visual organization into consideration and examine how their interaction with the text produce meaning.

Discourse practice represents an intermediate step between text and sociocultural context. Analyzing discourse practice means looking for genres and discourses that were used for text production and what traces of them are left. Sociocultural practices shape text through discourse practices and vice versa. Thus “discourse practice straddles the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language, and text on the other” (Fairclough 2002: 60). The analysis is mostly concerned with the search for creative or conventional processes of text production and consumption. If a discourse practice is broadly conventional in nature, a relatively homogeneous text in form and meaning can be expected, drawing upon normative types of discourse. It can point towards a rather fixed and stable social context. Creative forms of discourse practice, however, are expected to be relatively heterogeneous in form and meaning. Creative mixtures of genre and discourse are characteristic for this type, possibly pointing towards a more fluid, unstable and changing social context³⁰ (Fairclough 2002: 58–60). The analytic focus lies on the interpretative work of linking discourse practice

³⁰Fairclough (2002: 60) refers to this type as being particularly interesting for social sciences, as he sees textual heterogeneity as evidence for and a materialization of social and cultural contradictions within a given society.

to linguistic features in order to bridge the gap between text and society. At this point the analysis of the communicative event and the analysis of the order of discourse intersect by showing how the communicative event influences the reproduction or restructuring of boundaries and relationships of different types of discourse. (Fairclough 2002: 60–62.)

Lastly, the sociocultural practice frames the larger social and cultural context of the communicative event which it is a part of. The analysis focuses on the situational context of the event, institutional practices and the wider frame of society and culture. Useful focus points are politics and economics (power and ideology), and culture (value and identity). (Fairclough 2002: 62.)

Fairclough's (2002) framework for critical discourse analysis suggests the analysis of the order of discourse in a second step. Here, the focus lies on how different genres and discourses are organized internally (the function of a chosen discourse practice) and how the respective type of discourse relates to other available discourses. Texts, in that respect, stand in a chain of events that influence each other on a time line. This consideration of chain together with the choices made along the way are crucial considerations in order to place the text in the larger order of discourse. (Fairclough 2002: 65.)

Eventually, the main analytical question would be how a type of discourse is placed within the order of discourse and the possible meaning that changes to it can carry. Important considerations for discourse practices are differences between public and private, information centered and market oriented, fiction and non-fiction, as well as stable and changeable. These changes can carry sociological meaning and hint towards processes of change or reproduction of , in my case, social identity. An important influencing factor is, furthermore, institutional pressure. When looking at orders of discourse the researcher should consider centripetal (unitary, stable) and centrifugal (variable, changeable) processes that delimit accessibility and alternatives of choice for a certain type of output. Depending on genre, social institution or target group a given communicative event can be professional or artistic, cater a certain niche audience or

needs to speak to a greater mass, as well as political and ideological factors contribute to types of discourse. (Fairclough 2002: 65, 66.)

3.3 Summary: Analytic Grid and Outline of the Analysis

With special reference to the material, the analysis will follow Fairclough's (2002) suggested framework of discourse analysis. In the first step, the communicative event – in other words the example text- is analyzed. At first its body of text, followed by a definition of type of discourse focusing on discourse practice and its sociocultural context. In a second step the analysis will look at the wider order of discourse in which the text is situated. All together, the main material of this work, the *NIP* along with the publications of Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007), will be analyzed in this manner and the findings will be compared afterwards.

The material presents a big body of text, which forces the amount of text to be limited in different ways. Basically, Zaimoglu's (2007) *Kanak Sprach* and Ha's (2009) article *The white German's Burden* will be considered as a whole, but the analysis of the *NIP* will, in most parts, focus on the introductory chapters 1, 2, and 3 along with the prefaces by Angela Merkel and Maria Böhmer. Furthermore, Chapter 4 consists of ten work-group presentations of which only the introductions titled “Bestandsaufnahme” (literal translation: “stock-check”) were used. However, the titling is not consistent in each of the ten parts and in addition the following segments were used for analysis: chapter 4.2. general introduction (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 47) and introductions to sub-chapter 1, 2, and 3 (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 48, 49, 52, 53 55, 56); chapter 4.3: “Auftrag” (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 61, 62); chapter 4.4. general introduction (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 87, 88); chapter 4.6. general introduction (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 127); chapter 4.10. “der Auftrag” (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 183), and subchapters “Ausgangslage” (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 185, 186, 189, 190, 192, 193, 196, 197; “initial position” own translation)

In the context of my work, Fairclough's (2002) framework for critical discourse analysis requires two additional tools. The first is an automated word-count. That is because the framework was designed for smaller pieces of media like news articles (Fairclough 2002: 68). However, the material used in this work represents a big body of text making it indispensable to have an automated way of conducting a reliable lexical analysis. An automated word-count is created by running a digital version of the text through a computer-algorithm designed to create a list of words, numbers, and symbols found in the text and to sort them by the amount of times found in the text (Thiel 2010). The result is a chart which presents the raw data for the lexical analysis³¹. The algorithm requires a PDF-file of each text. For the *NIP* the file was used that is free for download on the internet. In the case of Ha's (2007) article, the publisher Transcript provided a PDF version of the book for the purpose of this study. A digital version of Zaimoglu's (2007) *Kanak Sprak* was not available in digital form. The book was therefore scanned by hand and a PDF created manually.

It is the basic assumption for this part of the analysis that the amount of times a word is used carries meaning. The more often a word is used the more significance it has in the text. However, not every word or word-class carries meaning in terms of the underlying research question. For the purpose of this study only verbs and their participles, nouns, adjectives and adverbs were used for the reason that grammatical units such as articles, pronouns, prepositions, etc. are not considered to carry meaning with respect to the research topic. In order to create a corpus of words that is similar for all three texts and that is reasonable for the course of this research the words under analysis are limited to a minimum number of hits. Depending on the size of text, this minimum number of hits will vary for each text.

While the word count proved indispensable in order to make the large amount of text small enough to conduct lexical research, this quantitative tool essentially contradicts the basic assumptions of qualitative discourse analysis. Rather than to determine meaning by the amount of times a word is used discourse analysis takes a look at word

³¹ Extracts of the original files were attached to this work. See Appendix 1–3 for a list of the 100 most frequently used words of all three texts under analysis.

clusters and recognizes the contexts in which single words appear. In order balance out that problem and to test to what extent the word count produces feasible information the analysis will briefly asses a random sample from each text in more detail.

Secondly, Fairclough's (2002) framework has a holistic approach enabling a free impartial analysis of texts. In the context of this work, however, I attempt to use the tool in order to search the material for representations and reflexions on levels of German multicultural identity. Therefore the analysis strictly focuses on relating every analytic step to an analytic category. The approach defines an analytic grid allowing a simple correlation in order to evaluate the results of the analysis:

				multicultural ideal type categories		
				statements of recognition	statements of redistribution	emphasis of pluralistic values
Discourse analysis	communicative event	text	vocabulary, grammar, writing system	+	-	/
			meaning of form			
			multifunctionality			
			multisemiotic			
		discourse practice	type of discourse			
			creative vs conventional			
	boundaries					
	sociocultural practice	sociocultural context				
		power/ideology				
		culture				
		Order of Discourse				

Illustration 1: Analytic Grid, Example

Each stage of the analysis focuses on finding relations or statements with respect to redistribution, recognition and pluralistic values. As done in the showcase above, '+' signifies a positive relation, '-' represents a negative relation, '/' is used when ambiguous statements could be found, and the check-box will remain empty if the text does not relate to the category neither explicitly nor implicitly. For the course of this thesis, the categories above outline the rule by which a discourse on multiculturalism is constituted. If the categories find references in the texts they can be concluded to be part of that particular discourse. The quality of the references will give a picture of how the issue of multiculturalism is perceived in the material under analysis. A chart presenting the findings of the analysis will be included in a summary at the end of each part. The analysis will close with a comparison of the three texts.

4 ANALYSIS

4.1 Der Nationale Integrationsplan (The National Integration Plan, *NIP*)

The *NIP* is the result of the first German integration summit July 14th, 2006 which centered on the topic and related problems of social integration of immigrants in Germany and aimed at introducing an active integration policy in Germany. The *NIP* was first introduced during the second German integration summit July 12th, 2000 and represents a program for administrative self-commitment rather than a law. The integration summit of 2008 attested success for the *NIP* (Die Bundesregierung 2008: 7), but was harshly criticized by the general press for its lack of detail, the lack of funding, and an unchanged situation for immigrants (Preuß 2008; Wundenberg 2008; Am Orde 2008). Today only a German version of the *NIP* is freely available online in PDF form³². The English version *National Integration Plan: New paths – new Opportunities* is available online only after registering online or mail-order for free. A Turkish version is also available through free mail-order. Flyers summarizing the crucial issues in the *NIP* are available as PDF download³³ in German, English, French, Russian and Turkish.

As mentioned above, the *NIP* is essentially an administrative self commitment to take on an active integration policy in Germany. The plan contains about 400 measures to be taken by the federal government (mostly financing), the federal states (mostly coordination and organization), and different organizations and institutions on the local level (mostly individual adjustment of measures to local and individual needs) focussing on educational programs, social networks, economic and social equality. Representatives from these three levels were organized in six workgroups attending to ten topic fields, the results of which are presented in the *NIP*:

³²Download at: http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/IB/Artikel/Nationaler_20_Integrationsplan/2007-07-1-der-nationaler-integrationsplan.html

³³Download at: <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/nationaler-integrationsplan-flyer-mehrsprachig.html>

“1) improving integration courses, 2) early child education: conveying German language from the beginning, 3) assuring good standards of education and job-training, enhancing employment-outlooks, 4) improving the situation for women and girls, fostering equality, 4) support integration on a local level, 6) strengthening integration through civic action and equal opportunities, 7) living cultural plurality – boost intercultural competences, 8) sports and integration – making use of potentials, to increase offers, to expand the network, 9) the media – making use of plurality and diversity, and 10) Cosmopolitan science” (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 11; own translation).

The workgroups were coordinated by minister of state Maria Böhmer between October 2006 and March 2007 when the results were presented for the first time. On each of the ten topic fields a team of between 24 and 45 experts worked who were supervised by a respective federal ministry. In addition to an introduction from the federal government, the federal states and the confederation of the municipal organizations, the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, opens the NIP in the preface.

The *NIP*'s 199 pages are divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 to 3 represent introductions and the main chapter 4 presents the results of the groups' work and suggests measures for each topic field. Each topic field is divided into several sub-topics. Each one is introduced with what the *NIP* calls 'Bestandsaufnahme' ('stock-check'), an assertion of the status quo as seen by the work-group, followed by the presentation of the measures to be introduced, by the government, the states and organizations. Each topic field ends with a chart of the contributing experts and a photograph. In my study I will focus on the 'stock-checks' as well as introductions by Merkel and Böhmer for they represent an evaluation of the perceived German situation from an institutional viewpoint today.

4.1.1 Analysis of the Communicative Event

Text

The first feature of the *NIP* that becomes obvious is how well structured it is. The 199

page policy paper presents itself in a simple design, structured by prefaces by chancellor Angela Merkel and minister of state Maria Böhmer. Three chapters introduce the main goals and different branches of the German government. The fourth chapter is the main body of the *NIP*, presenting the results and measures to be introduced from ten different work-groups. Each chapter is divided into clearly titled subchapters, paragraphs are separated by empty lines, pastel background colors help make a clear distinction between segments, and headlines are presented clearly in either bold or bigger font along with different colors. The *NIP* is inviting to read and easy to navigate.

The *NIP* is written in standard German, it does not address the reader directly and the federal government only indirectly appears as the narrator (7). More frequently the *NIP* uses “wir” (e.g.: 7, 9, 11, 13; “we”, own translation) to create an inclusive language making the reader part of the text. In addition, it uses a minimum of complex sentences as well as foreign or technical terms. One of the few technical terms is, in fact, 'Integration' – one of the most important words in the *NIP* after the word-classes were filtered. As opposed to its German synonym 'Eingliederung', 'Integration' is the second most often used word in the *NIP* with with 585 counts. However, the term is defined in different ways throughout the *NIP* in different ways. Even though the last chapter of the *NIP* recognizes that the term is hard to grasp and more research work is required – “Eine allgemein akzeptierte Theorie der Integration zu entwickeln dürfte kaum möglich sein” (196; “To develop a generally accepted theory of integration is close to impossible”, own translation) – the *NIP* presents its own very clear understanding of the term. Integration is said to be modern, cooperative, mutual as well as individual effort (87, 121). It has the goal of bringing people of different cultural backgrounds in contact with each other and promoting collaboration between different groups (110, 116, 120, 127, 140, 173, 180). Integration policy in Germany furthermore promotes recognition of cultural differences and diversity as well as acceptance and tolerance (127, 180). Explicitly the *NIP* brings an integrative approach to Immigration policy and recognizes cultural diversity:

“Integration bedeutet eine Einbindung in das gesellschaftliche, wirtschaftliche, geistig-kulturelle und rechtliche Gefüge des Aufnahmelandes ohne Aufgabe der eigenen

kulturellen Identität” (127; “Integration refers to the involvement in the host-society's social, economic, mental, cultural, and judicial order without giving up one's own cultural identity”, own translation)

The language used in the *NIP* is culturally sensitive. It recognizes the heterogeneity of German society and the different groups of foreigners (14). The neutral term 'Personen mit Migrationshintergrund' (people with an immigrant background) refers to the bigger group of “Ausländer, Zugewanderte, Eingebürgerte und deren Nachkommen” (121; “foreigners, immigrants, naturalized persons and their descendants”, own translation).

Lastly, it is important to understand the *NIP* as a textual creation of a great number of people and is therefore the result of a collaborative agreement rather than individual effort. Despite that fact, the language used and cultural sensitivity applied appears grammatically and lexically consistent. The *NIP* can therefore be understood as a collective stand towards a shared understanding of integration and collaboration of the official body of government – its unity contributes to its inclusive and integrative impression hence implicitly adding to the promotion of pluralistic values of coexistence.

The latter is a sense that is carried also in the vocabulary and amount of specific terms used in the *NIP*. Together the *NIP* counts 199 pages and 12492 different words in a total of 85249. For the purpose of a lexical analysis only words with 10 occurrences and above were considered. After the word-classes were filtered a total number of 866 different words remained.

On first glance, the word-count confirms topic (immigrant integration), goal (implement measures of active integration policy and support for immigrants), target group (immigrants), and frame of reference (Germany). Starting with verbs, the future form of 'sein' (to be), 'werden' (will be), was used most often in the *NIP* and counts 753. Together, conjugated forms of 'to be' were used 2120 times. The process and development oriented approach along with the importance of sustainability in the *NIP* becomes clear as over a half of that number is used in its future form – only 90 times the past tense of the word was used. The second strongest verb is 'können' (145 counts; 'to can', 'to be able to', they/you are able', they/you can'). Together with its conjugated form

'kann' (84 counts) this shows references to possibilities, affirmative statements, options, and abilities of governmental institutions, host society and immigrants – an affirmative language becomes visible. Other strong verbs are conjugated forms of 'sollen' (together 226 counts; 'ought', 'should') and 'müssen' (80 counts; 'must', also referencing the future as well as obligation), 'unterstützen' (including synonym 'fördern' together 248 counts; 'support'), and 'to have' ('haben', together 270 counts). The latter, as well as 'sein' and 'haben', constitutes an auxiliary verb which are considered not to carry any meaning for this research. As a result, the verbs second strongest in the word count are of more interest and appear to confirm considerations of affirmative action, collaboration and empowerment.

As far as nouns go, 'Integration', as mentioned and discussed above, is the most often used noun in the *NIP*. Secondly 'Migrationshintergrund' ('immigrant background'; 425 counts) along with 'Migrantinnen' and 'Migranten' ('immigrants'; together 609 counts) confirm the target group in a culturally sensitive and gender sensitive fashion. Other strong nouns are 'Maßnahmen' (283 counts; 'measures'), 'Deutschland' (242 counts; 'Germany'), 'Kulturen' ('cultures') as well as 'Entwicklung' ('development'; 100 counts) and 'Verbesserung' ('improvement'; 76 counts). Together these nouns confirm the *NIP*'s target group, frame of reference and future goal of improvement. In addition, the strong reference to a 'better' future found in verbs and nouns implicitly seems to account for deficits existing in Germany concerning integration policy – a realization that also finds explicit statements in the *NIP* (see below).

However, there is a finding that indicates a selective view of scope concerning integration efforts. It is striking how often the words 'Bildung' and 'Ausbildung' (together 331 counts; both 'education' but latter also '(job-)training') and 'Sprachförderung' (86 counts, 'language training') along with 'Sprache' (73 counts; 'language') were used in the *NIP*. The apparent significance of these terms reveals a selected range of target issues and imbalanced prioritizing. While language training and education are crucial parts of social integration the word count suggests they are almost exclusively so. For comparison, the *NIP* scores relatively low on nouns expressing pluralistic values such as diversity ('Vielfalt' 55 counts), participation ('Beteiligung' 34

counts, 'Partizipation' 32 counts), acceptance ('Akzeptanz' 12 counts), tolerance ('Toleranz' 13 counts) and pluralism ('Pluralismus' including 'Pluralisierung' (pluralizing) and 'Pluralität' (plurality) 6 counts). Compared to an ideal type liberal multiculturalism a shift away from the promotion of pluralistic values creates a sense of shift towards culturally assimilative efforts.

Lastly, there are very few adjectives and adverbs among the 100 most often used words in the *NIP*. One adjective that stands out is 'deutsch' ('German'; including versions with different grammatical endings 309 counts). Besides this strong relation to the frame of reference set out by the *NIP*, other strong adjectives are 'interkulturell' (in all forms 183 counts; 'intercultural'), 'kulturell' (in all forms 171 counts; 'cultural'), as well as 'international' (in all forms 85 counts; 'international'). Thus, adjectives ad strongly to a sense of cultural recognition found in the lexical analysis.

One of the main problems assessing a word-count is that words are taken out of context and the number of appearances leads to false assumptions with respect to importance and implication. A good example of that is the reference to turkish people. While the *NIP* mostly avoids naming countries to make clear the goal is to support all groups of immigrants equally, one group of immigrants are repeatedly named: Turks. References to Turkey, Turks or Turkish of origin are made 55 times in the *NIP*. The word-count therefore suggests a selectivity in target group as other countries are not named at all or at least very little³⁴. But the number of hits with reference to 'Turkish' is deceptive and the word-contexts needed to be checked. Over half of the hits are with reference to Turkish immigrant organizations that have contributed to the work groups presented in chapter 4 of the *NIP* (51, 58, 93, 105, 123, 129, 137, 170, 181). Other references are made in connection with 'participation' and 'recognition' showing efforts to establish an extended collaboration with the biggest immigrant group (92, 97, 160–164). It is therefore important to look at statements of social practice and constructions of social relations in order to interpret the implication of the finding.

³⁴e.g.: Africa (2 counts), Russia (11 counts), Italy (12 counts)

When a sample from the text, such as the first 'Bestandsaufnahme' in the *NIP* (37), is looked at in more detail similar terms emerge as crucially important but do not entirely carry identical meaning. Striking is first of all the strong emphasis on education of foreigners. The sample mentions "Integrationskurse" (37; "integration courses", own translation) with respect to the foreigners' education on language, language competence, legal structure, history and culture – a result to which the word count has hinted before. Particularly, however, the example "Kultur" (37) is interesting because rather than referring to culture in general or different cultures, the term culture here refers particularly to German culture: "Dieser [der Orientierungskurs] dient der Vermittlung von Grundkenntnissen der Rechtsordnung, der Kultur und der Geschichte Deutschlands" (37; "This course serves the basic education in legal structure, culture and history of Germany", own translation). As a result, the test sample shows that terms like 'culture' may not in fact point toward such high standards of recognition as the word count previously suggested but may in fact hint toward a slightly stronger emphasis of German national values and practices. A largely positive language and affirmation remains, however, as the sample also talks about "Förderung" (37; "aid", own translation) and the final goal to help foreigners to be able to act independently in their daily lives hence reflecting on affirmative action policies: "dass sie ohne Hilfe [...] in allen Angelegenheiten des täglichen Lebens selbstständig handeln können" (37).

To a big extent the *NIP* consists of introductions and so called 'stock-checks', evaluations of a perceived reality and mirror to social practice. They are presented to the reader as the current social 'status-quo' and all introduced measures are based on them. They represent a common ground of understanding between reader and writer and propose therefore a mutual reality for both. Starting with statements of recognition the *NIP* offers a critical view on the German society and accounts for injustice in treating immigrants. Xenophobia among the general public and administration is mentioned (70, 77, 87, 88) as well as discrimination on the basis of gender and age and ethnicity (100, 158), under-representation of immigrants in the media (158), and especially a lack of cultural awareness among the host society is claimed (19, 21, 88, 99, 132, 134). Examples for these issues from the text are:

“Migranten sehen sich in allen Bereichen des täglichen Lebens mit Vorurteilen konfrontiert, die ihnen gleichberechtigte Teilhabe [...] erschweren” (87, 88; “Immigrants face prejudices towards them in every part of their life, which hinders their equal participation”, own translation)

“Interkulturelle Kulturpolitik und -arbeit lässt jedoch zu wünschen übrig” (134; “the intercultural approach towards policies concerning other cultures is yet unsatisfying”, own translation)

“[Der] konsequenten Umsetzung von Kultursensibilität kommt in allen Bereichen besondere Bedeutung zu” (88; “consequent implementation cultural awareness is crucial in all areas”, own translation)

Furthermore, the *NIP* takes the recognition of ethnic identities explicitly into account. Generally the *NIP* promotes a culture of recognizing cultural groups in Germany (20, 27, 29), such as: “Die Länder fördern eine Kultur der Anerkennung” (29; “the federal states support a culture of recognition”, own translation). Furthermore the *NIP* presents specific accounts for recognizing the big heterogeneity of immigrants in Germany (14, 49, 61, 140, 157, 159, 173): “Migrantinnen und Migranten sind keine homogene Gruppe” (14; “immigrants are not a homogeneous group”, own translation)

The *NIP* promotes affirmative action policies as well as political participation and consultation. General support offered by the *NIP* focuses on support for participation in the social sphere (20), assistance with language courses as a main focus (37) as well as endorse for immigrants to bring out their full potential: “Potentiale der Menschen aus Zuwandererfamilien gezielt fördern” (7; “to systematically encourage the potential of people from immigration families” own translation)

Affirmative action policies, equal participation, and reciprocal efforts are promoted on a wide scale. The *NIP*, in this respect, speaks of an integration policy that takes active measures in supporting and empowering immigrants (13, 23, 63, 110, 174), e.g.: “einer aktivierenden und nachhaltigen Integrationspolitik, die die Potentiale der Zugewanderten erkennt und stärkt” (13; “an activating and sustainable integration policy that recognized and strengthens the immigrant's potential”, own translation). In addition the *NIP* explicitly promotes the idea of the state belonging to all citizens equally – “gleichberechtigte Teilhabe” (11, 21, 29, 94, 95, 110, 113, 173, 176, 180;

“equal participation”, own translation) – and particular emphasis is furthermore put on the fact that integration in Germany is based on efforts taken by both immigrant society and host society (24, 127, 140, 173), as the following examples show:

“Alle Teile der Gesellschaft sind gefordert, größere Bereitschaft zu kultureller Offenheit zu entwickeln. Voraussetzung dafür ist ein klares gesellschaftliches Leitbild, das die Bereitschaft zur Integration, Selbstvergewisserung über die eigene kulturelle Identität, aber auch Respekt vor kultureller Vielfalt verankert” (127; “It is essential for all parts of society to develop a strong disposition towards cultural openness. That requires a clear social ideal, which assures the will to integrate, guarantee assurance over one's own cultural identity, and also offers respect for cultural plurality”, own translation)

“Bei der einheimischen (deutschen) Bevölkerung gilt es, Vorurteile und Fremdenfeindlichkeit abzubauen. Gleichzeitig müssen auch die Migrantinnen und Migranten bereit sein, sich für die Gesellschaft zu öffnen” (140; “It is the responsibility of the host society (Germans) to reduce prejudices. At the same time immigrants have to be open towards that host society”, own translation)

The text offers a great number of explicit promotions of pluralistic values such as coexistence and collaboration of different ethnic groups (7, 9, 13, 23, 61, 112, 113), tolerance (7, 9, 127, 157, 183), and equality (55). Examples from the text are:

“zusammenarbeiten und die gemeinsame Zukunft gestalten” (9; “to work together and design our common future”)

“unsere Gesellschaft wird reicher und menschlicher durch Toleranz und Offenheit” (7; “our society will become richer and more humane through tolerance and openness in our coexistence” own translation)

“auf gleicher Augenhöhe” (55; “on the basis of equality”, own translation)

In addition, the *NIP* uses a broader semiotic palette for furthering its aims. In the introductions are portraits of chancellor Merkel (7) and minister of state Böhmer (9). Both are smiling and give a kind impression. While the reader is not in fact addressed directly in the *NIP*, the portraits create an atmosphere of dialogue with the two women and add a personal dimension to who is talking to the reader. The portraits give a face to the otherwise obscure and impersonal idea of the federal government speaking. This appears to add to a feeling of personal contact, closeness and coexistence.

Photographs are also used at the end of each topic field presented in chapter 4 – with the exception of chapter 4.10. Even though the photos are obviously images from professional advertising, they all appear natural, spontaneous, and taken out of random private and work life experiences. They have in common that they mostly show a cheerful ethnically mixed group of people representing all age groups and sexes. They show different examples of private life and work life. Cultural plurality is not only represented through the depiction of ethnically diverse groups of people but also by drawing upon cultural symbolism – immigrants are mixed with strong cultural symbols such as a bakery (108), business life or political career (156), and science (182). The images present a welcoming atmosphere and a natural mix of host society and immigrants. Accounts for the recognition of ethnic identities can be found in a picture showing a woman with a head-scarf (86), coexistence is advertised by, e.g., showing young cheering adults (138), as well as social empowerment is promoted generally through collaboration in work life (156, 182). A good example from the text is a picture showing a worker who is supposedly an immigrant in the capacity of a firefighter talking to a, supposedly, German boy about his equipment. The photograph promotes cultural diversity, friendly coexistence, trustworthiness and professionalism of immigrants, as well as intercultural learning:



Illustration 2: Photo Example (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 172)

As a result the multisemiotic quality of the text underlines the general message of the *NIP* focussing on the promotion of cultural plurality. Multisemiotic features recognize cultural diversity, promote social empowerment of immigrants with special respect to

work-life and depict a natural sense of mutual respect and coexistence. The pictures cover a wide range of social life and confirm positively all categories of the ideal-type liberal multiculturalism established above.

In summary, the textual analysis shows a vastly positive confirmation of multicultural categories. References to all three major categories could be found in all stages of the analysis. On a more specific level, social empowerment and the promotion of coexistence was confirmed in all stages while the recognition of cultural groups, claims of injustice and accounts for specific groups interest were only touched partially. Statements of redistribution focusing on the state belonging to all groups and the pluralistic value to adopt to specific needs and interests of ethnic groups was only found when analyzing statements of social practice and confirmed positively in most cases. Explicit accounts seem to positively confirm that the *NIP* promotes an integrative approach to integration policy.

Discourse Practice

The *NIP* is essentially a summary of official reports produced by workgroups that have been assembled by the official government and consist of government officials, experts and representatives of immigrant organizations. After the reports were produced, they were sorted and presented separately in the *NIP* in addition to introductions to the topic and goals of the *NIP*. Also, there are explanations of different responsibilities of branches of government and public organizations. Not only the single reports, but also the body of text of the *NIP* is a collaborative work. Therefore, the text is very likely to have gone through a number of changes and is to be understood as a compromise between the different contributors.

The basic genre of the text is 'policy paper' but shows traces of political speech (the personal introductions by the chancellor and minister of state as well as the promotion of a political program) and advertisement (photographs). While the genre of 'political speech' is expected to show features of advertisement strategies in order to convince a certain, preferably large, target-group of a given political program, a policy paper is not

expected to be in direct connection or similar in style with the two aforementioned genres. This mixture has consequences for the intended text consumption. In the *NIP* the introduction of a new political legal action as well as the ideological presentation of a political program takes place at the same time. As a result the contents of the *NIP* become more easily accessible for consumers.

Multiple references to multiculturalism that have been discovered during the textual analysis, the availability of the *NIP* in several languages and its accessible design indicate that the *NIP* is in fact a type of multicultural discourse. But it is not exclusively so and draws strongly upon a multitude of types of discourse such as education, law, and economics. The mixture of discourses has to be seen as rather common for the discourse on multiculturalism. The mixture of genres, however, is not. The *NIP* uses combination of policy paper, political speech and advertisement which is unexpected and can be concluded to be creative. Rather than separating the introduction and promotion of a political program on the one hand and only referring to a detached policy paper on the other, the *NIP* combines the two. This creative combination indicates that the contents and ideological ideas are considered new and require explanation as well as promotion rather than they are trusted to be understood by the consumers based on previous knowledge. Text consumption is therefore not only assisted in the *NIP* and thus carries a sense of social empowerment it also appears to be designed to introduce multicultural values to the general public.

The creative mix of genres reshapes the borders of multicultural discourse. By drawing upon the genre of advertisement the *NIP* draws upon media discourse. While advertisements and political speech tend to avoid lengthy and detailed explanations of a given course of action on one side and policy papers tend to ignore explanations to their political backgrounds and multisemiotic features on the other, the *NIP* offers a combination of both. The *NIP* blurs the borders between expected genres and type of discourse and thus creates a sense of transparency and comprehensiveness as well as it lifts the policy paper on a level of media event.

In conclusion, considerations of discourse practice appear to confirm positively an emphasis on social empowerment. The creative use of a heterogeneous type of discourse reshapes the borders of multicultural discourse and confirms positively the promotion of coexistence and integrative approach to immigration policy.

Sociocultural Practice

As described in Chapter 1.2., immigrant integration has been widely disregarded on an official level in Germany until the reform of citizenship regulations in 2000 and the new 'Zuwanderungsgesetz' of 2004. This adaption to European regulations brought about a drastic change towards the application of an active integration policy and a changed political discussion recognizing and affirming cultural plurality along with the promotion of coexistence on an institutionalized level. The *NIP* is the most recent result of that development and a concrete expression of a multicultural paradigm shift towards recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values.

The *NIP* is momentarily available as hard-copy, which can be ordered for free, or as PDF-download in German, English, and Turkish (Die Bundesregierung 2010b). In addition and as established above, the *NIP* uses a culturally sensitive language to address a broad readership. The *NIP* is furthermore the result of a collaborative effort between the official government, and immigrant organizations. Members of both the host society and various immigrant communities have produced the text (45, 58, 84, 85, . Taking immigrant voices into account does not only account for the recognition of ethnic identity and adoption to cultural needs, it also promotes collaboration and coexistence on the highest political level.

However clear the expressions are concerning the recognition of a culturally heterogeneous society and the promoted participation, implicitly the *NIP* assigns integrative tasks to immigrants as a prerequisite (7, 12). Integration and participation is made dependent on the fulfillment of conditions, that focus primarily on the acceptance of German values and the legal system. While the German government presents itself as merely the financier of immigrant integration and emphasizes only marginally that the

German public should become more culturally aware, it is the immigrants that are mainly responsible for taking action. This division moves the responsibility of social and cultural integration away from the host society towards immigrants and thus enforces assimilative processes:

“Selbstverständlich gehört dazu die Anerkennung der Rechtsordnung Deutschlands und der grundgesetzlich geschützten Werte. Wer dauerhaft bei uns leben und vielfältige Chancen ergreifen will, die sich in unserem Land bieten, kommt nicht umhin, die deutsche Sprache hinreichend zu beherrschen” (7; “Self evidently that includes the recognition of the German legal system and the values protected by the constitution. Who wants to live with us permanently and make use of the many chances that present themselves in our country cannot help but master the German language sufficiently”),

“Grundlage [für Integration] ist neben unseren Wertvorstellungen und unserem kulturellen Selbstverständnis unsere freiheitliche und demokratische Ordnung, wie sie sich aus der deutschen und europäischen Geschichte entwickelt hat” (12; “The basis [for integration], besides our values and our cultural identity, is our liberal and democratic system, which has developed out of the German and European history” own translation),

and on the learning of the German language and participation in the integration courses³⁵:

“unser Grundgesetz und unsere Rechtsordnung vorbehaltlos zu akzeptieren und insbesondere durch das Erlernen der deutschen Sprache ein sichtbares Zeichen der Zugehörigkeit zu setzen” (13; “to accept our constitution and rule of law without any reservation and to give a clear sign of belonging by learning the German language” own translation)

“Sprache ist Voraussetzung von Integration” (16; “language is the prerequisite for integration”, own translation)

The use of 'our values' and 'our cultural identity' is striking in the examples above. Not only do 'German values and identity' remain undefined, but at this point the *NIP* draws a clear distinction between host and immigrant society, as 'our' refers to German society only. This emphasis points strongly towards an assimilative approach to integration and the significance of civic values. It represents a rejection of ethnic identities and language.

³⁵The integration course consists of 600 hours of language training and 30 hours of cultural orientation on German culture, history and system of law (Die Bundesregierung 2007: 37)

Considerations of social practice shape the image of a closed society that requires cultural assimilation first before offering suggested equal participation. In this context the *NIP* even exerts political power and threatens to enforce the integration of immigrants into German society:

Diejenigen Migrantinnen und Migranten, die sich einer Integration dauerhaft verweigern, müssen auch mit Sanktionen rechnen” (13; “Those immigrants who persistently refuse to integrate will have to anticipate penalties”, own translation)

As a result, the impression is given that integration in Germany is conditional. Therefore, when looking at statements of political power, an ambiguous picture of social empowerment arises – on the one hand the *NIP* essentially offers affirmative actions but, on the other hand, does not grant them until a set of given tasks is fulfilled on the part of the immigrants. At this point it must be concluded that expressions of multicultural values and practices remain on a level of language but have not transcended to and been adopted by social practices. The unconditional value of a state belonging to all groups does not appear to be desired and the evidence above suggests that German values are prioritized over those of immigrants.

4.1.2 Analysis of the Order of Discourse

As the analysis of discourse practice pointed out earlier, the *NIP* draws upon a type of multicultural discourse. After the new immigration law of 2004 the *NIP* can be aligned with a chain of action implementing an active immigration policy promoting pluralistic values and active collaboration with the immigrant society. The *NIP* is therefore not a reflection of a social reality but the official expression of a government about a desired future. The type of discourse chosen when producing the *NIP* has the function of expanding the discourse on multiculturalism – the implementation of an active immigration policy – and steer it in a new direction. With this type of discourse in connection with immigrant integration carries meaning as it not only recognizes a culturally diverse society but also consciously affirms it.

The *NIP* represents a policy paper and official paper issued by the German government. Therefore, the authors had limited alternatives regarding choice and it becomes clear that the text was produced under strong institutional pressure. Confirming general expectations of an official text, the *NIP* is professional, conveys a desired liberal European ideology and is produced for a big audience. As a result the text is publicly available, information centered and non-fictional. Within these limitations the authors have chosen to draw upon expected types of discourses but decided for a creative mix of genre for the purpose to carry a particular message to the public. The comprehensive nature of the *NIP* and its easy, open, and multilingual availability contribute to a sense of promotion of coexistence and social empowerment.

The actual target group of the *NIP* remains unclear, however. By default the official text aims at all citizens and residents but its size and complex contents is likely to limit the actual readership to a small number of individuals and professionals despite its clear structure and language. The *NIP* does not carry a particular meaning for the host society as it mostly speaks of the tasks different branches of the government rather than the general public will put into action. On the other hand, the *NIP* does not get specific when it comes to accounts of and the adaption to particular needs and interests of ethnic groups. Neither group can use it for references or claims. It is therefore questionable if the *NIP* in fact achieves in introducing pluralistic values and an integrative approach to immigration policy to the greater public.

4.1.3 Summary

The discourse analysis of the *NIP* resulted in the following chart:

The analysis of the *NIP* seen as a communicative event vastly confirms multicultural categories with the exception of considerations of sociocultural practice. Especially when analyzing text and discourse practice a strong emphasis on social empowerment and the promotion of coexistence emerges. Accounts for an integrative approach to immigration policy as well as the recognition of ethnic identities were confirmed positively by both analytic stages. Considerations of sociocultural practices resulted in ambiguous that showed a number of positive confirmations of all three analytic categories. On the other hand, statements of power exertion as well as the emphasis on German identity, values, and language gave an oppositional picture and pointed towards a non-recognition of ethnic identities, an assimilative approach to immigration policy and the lack of promotion of a state belonging to all. A strong sense of ambiguity emerged furthermore with respect to social empowerment as affirmative action policies are tied to what appear to be obligatory conditions.

When the *NIP* is looked at within the greater order of discourse it becomes obvious that its chosen type of discourse can be concluded to function as a statement of recognition and redistribution. However, its size and unspecific contents obscure its use in representing a statement of pluralistic values and is likely to fail to speak to the greater audience it is aimed for.

Generally, the results of the discourse analysis indicate that the *NIP* is mainly concerned with promoting affirmative action policies and promote collaboration and coexistence and the vast majority of analytic categories have been confirmed positively. Very little accounts could be found for the adoption to needs and interests of ethnic groups and claims of ethnic groups or claims of injustice. A strong sense of ambiguity towards all analytic categories arises when sociocultural practice with respect to power exertion, cultural values, and identity are looked at. The latter categories offered evidence for an assimilative approach to immigration policy, rejected the idea of the state belonging to all citizens and did not account for group specific interest. Besides an otherwise strong emphasis on social empowerment, considerations of power-exertion created a sense of ambiguity for the analytic category of social empowerment.

As a result, discourse analysis applied to the *NIP* leads to the conclusion that the discourse used in the *NIP* is representative of a high level of liberal multiculturalism especially with regards to its body of text, discourse practice and when observed in the larger order of discourse – a social identity that values social equality and coexistence takes shape which is reflected in the the number of references for social empowerment and the coexistence as pluralistic value. Less attention was paid to matters of recognition of claims of ethnic groups or injustice on the side of the host society, the state belonging to all, or the adoption to needs and interests of ethnic groups. A strong sense of ambiguity was detected when taking account for interests and ethnic identities as well as an integrative approach to immigration policy. The analysis of the order of discourse, sociocultural practice, and textual analysis resulted in negative confirmations of these categories. The latter finding indicates that multicultural identity in Germany does only partially fulfill ideal multicultural characteristics and presents tendencies towards assimilative practices, social empowerment as conditional benefit, and recognition of ethnic identity relative to homogeneous cultural values of the host society. Striking is the discrepancy between findings of the textual analysis, which vastly confirmed ideal multicultural values and practices, and considerations of sociocultural practices, which appear to be in opposition to these findings.

4.2 Feridun Zaimoglu – *Kanak Sprak*

Feridun Zaimoglu is a German-Turkish author. He was born in Anatolia, Turkey in 1964. He has lived in Germany for over 35 years and worked as an author, director, and journalist. His first book, *Kanak Sprak* originally published in 1995. Along with other works such as *Abschaum* (1997), *Koppstoff* (1999), and *German Amok* (2002) he repeatedly talked about the social realities of the German-Turk, social differences and a divided German society. In Newspaper articles for DIE ZEIT or press conferences Zaimoglu furthermore addressed issues such as hatred towards immigrants and xenophobia in Germany. (Zaimoglu 2007 [1995]); Zaimoglu 2006; Kaube 2007.)

The book *Kanak Sprak* (Zaimoglu 2007 [1995]) consists of 24 monologues of second generation Turkish immigrants. The short texts are based on interviews Zaimoglu conducted with the exclusively male aim-group between 13 and 32 years of age. According to the author the interviews consisted of only one question: “Wie lebt es sich hier in deiner Haut” (Zaimolgu 2007 [1995]: 15); “How does it feel to live here and to be in your shoes”, own translation). Zaimolgu's (2007 [1995]: 18) focus lies on the Turkish and socially challenged part of society as he sees interculturality not to be a problem for intellectuals and the higher social class. The goal of the book is to show the dilemma of a generation that is trapped between its Turkish roots and the German host society; a people who's live is dominated by desperation, powerlessness, and inferiority (Zaimoglu 2007 [1995]: 11).

The monologues are not printed in their original form. Zaimolgu (2007 [1995]) edited the reports and presents selective versions of the interviews, that have been approved by the interviewees. In doing so Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) mainly achieves two things: firstly he creates a literary form of German, a written form of a spoken version of German that uses German vocabulary in combination with group specific forms of expression. This language creates a sense of authenticity. In combination with a rather rude and unvarnished language the book is endowed with a very original and unique style. Secondly, the book represents a manifestation of Zaimoglu's critical standpoint towards German integration policy and “dem Märchen der Multikulturalität” (Zaimoglu 2007 [1995]:11; “the fairytale of multiculturalism”, own translation). In the introduction of the book, Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]: 10, 11) claims Germany forces immigrants to assimilate, that it applies policies threatening to immigrants in nature, and puts the blame for the failure of integration policy on the immigrants. These sentiments are reproduced and underlined throughout the book³⁶.

Zaimoglu's work has generated scientific interest previously. Cheesman and Göktürk (1999) focus especially on Zaimoglu's creation of a literary German that is

³⁶In one exception a monologue views the behavior of turks critically. The interviewee, a sociologist, criticizes the prejudiced and separatist behavior of Turkish people in Germany (100–103). However, this monologue only reflects upon the Turkish society in Germany but does not refer to the host society. Even though the text resembles a remarkable exception in the book, it does not deliver reflections on German multiculturalism and cannot serve for the present study.

characterized by code-switching. Cheesman and Göktürk (1999) see the concept of cultural hybridity as a form of hidden racism and segregation. Zaimoglu's code-switching becomes a symbol of that issue. Zaimoglu's work, therefore, is considered to attack liberal multiculturalism in its realm of application and raises questions about the social place of those who are discriminated against and are stigmatized as a minority.

As far as the analysis of Zaimoglu's (2007 [1995]) work in the following goes, it is important to point out that a precise translation of the examples from the text is practically impossible. The language used in *Kanak Sprak* is not only playing with the idea of 'native language' itself and includes very aggressive and vulgar expressions, but it is directly tied to a certain style of expression of an ethnic group and in itself a German sociological phenomenon. It is therefore impossible to find an English translation that carries the same meaning in English, as the translation would require cultural adaptation. Thus, I decided for a translation that merely reflects the content of information rather than style of expression.

4.2.1 Analysis of the Communicative Event³⁷

Text

Kanak Sprak is introduced by a short preface by Feridun Zaimoglu and later separated into 24 short texts. Each monologue is given a headline – usually an expression or quote from the monologue itself – and shows the interviewee's (fictional) name, age, and (in most cases) professional occupation. The book invites the reader to freely browse through the interviews. The texts are not arranged in a certain order that needs to be followed, nor is it necessary to read the book from beginning to end. It remains the readers choice which part he or she likes to pick out, focus on or ignore without the risk of missing a predefined plot-line.

As mentioned earlier, *Kanak Sprak* is written in an invented literary form of German. It

³⁷In this chapter as well as Chapter as well as 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 all references refer to *Kanak Sprak* (Zaimoglu: 2007 [1995]). In order to reduce the volume of text all references will only include the respective page numbers in brackets.

does not, however, use Turkish words but rather embraces a pictographic language full of comparisons, aggressive and vulgar expressions that creates a literary German-Turkish slang. An example of this feature is the following:

„Ne zornige macht von straighten türkenseelen is wie tausend rechte haken ins bleiche wabbelfleisch des deutschen oberteufels“ (86; “The angry power of smart Turks is like a thousand hooks to the chin into the pale and floppy meat of the biggest of all devils, the German”, own translation)

In all 24 texts grammar and punctuation are significantly simplified, capital letters are entirely ignored apart from the beginning of a sentence, and certain word-endings are reduced to how they are used in spoken language. To give an example, in the following a quote from the book will be presented on the left and converted the into a standard German spelling on the right:

„Pop is ne fatale orgie, ein ding ohne höhre weihen, und es macht aus jeder göre aus'm vorort'n verdammten zappler“ (19)	„Pop ist eine fatale Orgie, ein Ding ohne höhere Weihen, und es macht aus jeder Göre aus dem Vorort einen verdammten Zappler“ (19)
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In addition, all 24 texts have a narrator in the first person and address the reader directly: “Bruder, den pop hab ich gefressen” (19; “Brother, I cannot stand popular music”, own translation), “Mir ist nicht klar” (84; “I do not understand”, own translation), “Bruder, das meiste, was ich sehe” (117; “Brother, what I see mostly”, own translation). This creates a very personal atmosphere and gives the impression the individual speaking considers the reader as one of them and trusts them with their most personal stories. The reader, therefore, becomes part of the immigrant society, becomes a silent listener and is invited to learn something about an individual's life.

As a result, in form and use of language *Kanak Sprach* does not reflect upon a level of German multiculturalism directly. However, the refusal of standard German grammar and spelling appears to be a conscious rejection of a German mainstream style of discourse on the one hand and intentional separation from the general society on the other. A sense of a generally divided society marked by non-collaboration arises.

Implicitly this phenomenon can be interpreted as denial of the pluralistic values of coexistence in the German society.

The word-count undertaken for this text confirms this finding and especially foregrounds the issue of social stigmatization. *Kanak Sprak* is built from 8100 different words. A total of 29108 words is used in the body of text. Most often the conjugation 'und' ('and'; 1356 counts) was used. Its huge number is representative of the long sentences used in the text that create a continuous flow of speech. The articles 'die' (f. 'the'; 827 counts) and 'der' (m. 'the'; 566 counts) are second and third most frequently used words. Significant is the use of personal pronoun 'ich' ('I'; 500 counts) and 'du' (second person singular 'you'; 261 counts) representative for the first person narrator and direct address of the reader.

For the word-count analysis the word classes were filtered and only words with three hits and above taken into consideration, which left a total of 871 different words. Starting with verbs, the most striking feature is the importance of forms of 'to be' found in the text. Among the 24 most frequently used words an overall number of 790 counts were detected for the following forms of 'to be': the most important form and most often used word after the filter was applied is 'is' ('he/she/it is', 241 counts). It represents a consciously misspelled form of 'ist', which by itself is the second most frequently used word with 186 counts. Together the two forms were used 427 times. Other forms such as 'sind' (they are; 82 counts), 'sein' (to be; 67 counts), 'war' (he/she/it was; 65 counts), 'bin' (I am, 61 counts), 'wird' (he/she/it will; 47 counts), and 'bist' (you are; 41 counts) also appeared in the text. Striking is the strong focus on the present. Future and past tense forms of 'to be' play a minor role in the text. Other frequently used verbs are: 'hat' (he/she/it has; 108 counts), 'haben' ('to have' or 'they have'; 106 counts), 'kann' ('he/she/it can'; 72 counts), and 'will' ('I want' or 'he/she/it wants'; 69 counts). Yet again auxiliary verbs were used most often. In general, verbs built the vast majority of the 50 most frequently used words. In response to the interview question, the monologues are built on a strong emphasis on the description of being as well as a strong emphasis on actions on general. The analysis of verbs underlines the general topic and approach of the text but does not offer reflections on German multicultural

identity.

The most frequently used nouns in *Kanak Sprak* are 'Bruder', 'Kanake', and 'Alemanne' along with a number of vulgar expressions. 'Bruder' ('brother'; 64 counts) mostly appears as a form of address of the reader. This is further evidence of a strong personal relation that is drawn towards the reader who him/herself thus becomes a member of the respective in-group. As a strong distinction is drawn between the interviewees and the host-society, the reader is somewhat forced to detach him/herself from the host society and choose a different side – if he/she is part of the host society or another group. The books perception of a rather exclusive, non-collaborative social atmosphere becomes part of the reading experience and is representative of a perceived lack of coexistence on a larger social scale. The second most often used word is the derogative description 'Kanake' (32 counts) for people of Turkish origin in Germany. This sense of disdain for oneself as well as reproduction of social stigmatization is reflected in a rather aggressive response to social pressure for which the number of swearwords used in the text serves as evidence: 'Arsch' (vulg. 'arse'; 24 counts), 'Macker' (coll. 'guy', 19 counts), 'Scheisse' (vulg. 'excrement', most commonly used as an expression of dissatisfaction; 17 counts). Furthermore, a partial³⁸ use of a rather demeaning term to refer to Germans is also applied: 'Alemanne', 'Alemannen'(coll. 'German'; a total of 24 counts). The applied terminology does not offer reflections on German multiculturalism directly but underlines the previous point of a general sense of social separatism and stigmatization prevailing in Germany on the one hand and self-disdain and rejection of the German host-society on the other

An analysis of adjectives cannot offer reflections on perceived levels of German multicultural identity. A very small number of adjectives are among the most frequently used words in the text such as 'mehr' ('more'; 29 counts), 'alten' ('old'; 19 counts), 'gut' ('good'; 19 counts), and 'voll' ('full'; 19 counts). The lack of frequency of a few examples does not however point towards a rather neutral style circumventing evaluation and description. It rather points towards a diversified use of language which results in lower counts and places adjectives scattered all over the word-count in an

³⁸The word-count showed, that in 22 cases the text refers to Germans in the official term 'Deutsche/n'.

inversely proportional manner: the lower the counts per word, the more frequently adjectives can be found in the list.

In summary, the word-count underlines the general approach and content of the text, such as the first person narrator directly addressing the reader and the references to a present life in Germany. While, on a broader level, the word-count cannot be linked directly to reflections on German multiculturalism, the use of the demeaning term 'Kanake' as well as a strong sense of social separation hint towards a social environment defined by stigmatization and a lack of coexistence between immigrant and host society.

Page 25 was chosen as a test sample because the speaker put himself in relation to the German society. At first glance a strong sense of discontent with German society becomes obvious – the same discontent that the word count detected: “n' eigenes volk von spinnern” (25; “a people of nut cases”, own translation), “die alemannen hassen sich und jeden” (25; “the Germans hate themselves and everybody”, own translation). The same strong negative context in which German society is presented is also applied in self descriptions that reflect anger about being stigmatized and marginalized as “nigger” (25) or “kanake” (25), terms that are not said to be used by the German society but applied by the interviewees to themselves – a strong sense of a perceived marginalization emerges. Apart from a first person narrator and the repeated direct address of the reader, the sample also confirms an angry language and a general sense of dissatisfaction. Similarly to the results of the word count the sample exhibits only indirect relations to German multiculturalism and underlines previously made conclusions.

The analysis concentrated furthermore on particular multifunctional statements reflecting on recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values in Germany. While the text claims that German society does in fact recognize plurality and ethnic identities, Germans are described as doing so in a stigmatizing and generalizing manner. Firstly *Kanak Sprak* points out that the official rhetoric is aware of different cultures but does not in fact act upon this awareness. German society is therefore described to be phony

and deceitful:

“Diese scheiße mit den zwei kulturen steht mir bis hier, was soll das, was bringt mir’n kluger schnack mit zwei fellen, auf denen mein arsch kein platz hat” (96; “I have had it with this talk about the two cultures, what is that about, what does it help me to have a smart talk about two chairs if I cannot sit on them”, own translation)

And secondly, the German society is described as stigmatizing foreigners with no reflection or reconsideration. Stigmatization, according to 'Kanak Sprak' is selectively based on physical traits and nationality:

“Die [Deutschen] haben schon unsre heimat prächtig erfunden: kanake da, kanake dort, wo du auch hingerätst [...]. Den fremdländer kannst du dir nimmer aus der fresse wischen” (25, 26; “They [Germans] invented a fine home for us: *kanake* here and *kanake* there, wherever you go [...]. You cannot change the fact that you look foreign”, own translation)

Kanak Sprak also offers negative confirmations for statements of redistribution. Affirmation and social empowerment is described as be dependent on conditions. Not only does a foreigner have to fulfill a valued standard – such as a given level of education – but also has to provide the host society in substance, which is shown in the following metaphorical examples:

“Schlauwerden is grund zum immensen halleluja, und alles andre irgendwie klinischer fall” (21; “to become bright is celebrated, everything else is considered dead”, own translation)

“Wenn die dich zum frühstück einladen, sagen sie dir, du sollst bitteschön brötchen mitbringen und vielleicht auch noch kaffeesahne. Da bist du also nur zum drittel oder viertel willkommen, wenn du mit leeren händen antanzt” (22; “If they [the Germans] invite you for breakfast they tell you to bring buns and perhaps even cream for coffee. Eventually you are only welcome to a percentage if you come with empty hands”, own translation)

A particularly negative image is drawn with respect to pluralistic values. The German society is described to be xenophobic and assimilative. The perception that Germans hate everything foreign, reject and even curse it appears to be the general canon of *Kanak Sprak* (25, 46, 85, 118). In connection to that stands a seemingly obligatory expectation to assimilate culturally:

“Man [Deutsche] sagt dem bastard, er fühle sich unwohl, weil zwei seelen bzw. zwei kulturen in ihm wohnen. Das ist eine Lüge. Man will dem bastard einreden, er müsse sich nur für eine einzige seele entscheiden” (110; “They (Germans) tell the bastard that he/she must feel unwell because there live two souls [cultures] in his/her chest. That is a lie. They want to convince the bastard that he/she must choose of either one of the souls”, own translation)

Kanak Sprak does not draw upon multisemiotic features within the body of text. The cover, however, appears to be symbolic of the general contents of the book and underlines its areas of focus:

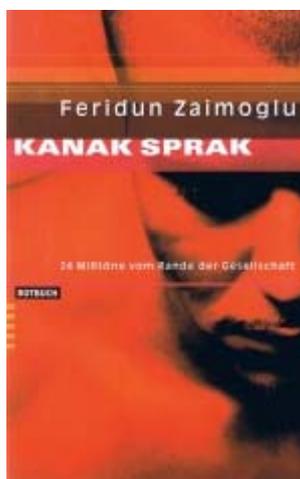


Illustration 4: Cover Illustration (Zaimoglu 2007 [1995])

The reader sees a red cover showing the portrait of a young (supposedly Turkish) man looking down. The red color, in a German context, symbolizes danger and anger. The young man's head-down posture gives an impression of depression and sadness. As far as the portrait allows the observer to see, the man is naked which can be interpreted as both, to be without possessions and to be without protection. Lastly the man is alone in the picture and cannot be seen with either peers nor members of the German host society. His obvious depression, unprotectedness, and solitude can be seen as a reflection on non-recognition, the lack of social empowerment and separation from society.

In summary, the textual analysis confirms a number of analytic categories negatively. Most attention appears to be drawn on a lack of sense of coexistence with the German

host society. Furthermore a lack of social empowerment and assimilative approach to cultural integration was foregrounded in the material. Lastly, an ambiguous sense of recognition of ethnic identities was presented in the material. On the one hand the material acknowledges that different cultures are recognized in Germany but describes on the other that this recognition does not have practical applications.

Discourse practice

Zaimoglu collected the raw data for *Kanak Sprak* with the help of journalistic and investigative work. On the basis of interviews he conducted with the target-group he transformed the gathered material into single monologues and edited their language, contents and presumably structure. The original texts underwent extensive editing and appear now as fictional texts unified by the selection of contents and a literary language invented by the author. It is likely that the contents and sentiments of the interviews were more diverse and different in language and style before they were edited by Zaimoglu. What is left of the interviews represents a mutual sentiment about the quality of life among the interviewees.

Kanak Sprak's genre can be summarized as short-stories. Those stories appear in the form of monologues that are based on actual biographies and interviews along with group specific styles of expression to create a sense of authenticity. Noteworthy is the striking similarity in general sentiment of each of the presented short stories. The collection and process of editing of the stories appears to support the political view of the author and gives them an argument-like character. Individual voices are not included in the text to speak for themselves but to underline the author's general point of criticism towards social and political practices.

The relative unity of genre stands in contrast to the multitude of discourses *Kanak Sprak* touches. A colloquial and complex type of multicultural discourse underlies the text. The number of references to multicultural practices and values show that the text is in fact a multicultural discourse however implicitly. The monologues draw upon a number of different discourses such as education, every day life, economics, sexuality,

education, or work life. Due to the fact that the interviewees put themselves in relation to the host society a multicultural discourse emerges by necessity of topic. The genre allows this kind of mixture and the discourse on multiculturalism appears to be embedded purposefully in several types of discourse.

As a result *Kanak Sprak* represents a creative yet conventional mix of genre and discourse. On a generic surface the short-story simply tells of single individual experiences. However, their organization and application reveal a sense of selectivity and polarization that resembles features of political debates in order to emphasize differences and frontiers to be found in the wider social context. *Kanak Sprak* is an expression of dissatisfaction with a current social reality and in its heterogeneous style rather conventional as an artistic expression. Under this assumption, discourse practice appears to point towards a fixed and unchangeable German society marked by a general lack of multicultural characteristics.

This point of the analysis does not, however, allow a direct connection to analytic categories in terms of reflexions on perceived levels of German multiculturalism and grants merely a speculative interpretation that only hints towards a negative confirmation of all three main analytical categories (statements of recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values) when the contents are considered. However, a strong sense of social separation appears to be reflected in the alignment of several monologues that refer to similar discourses in a similar way. The discourse on multiculturalism, throughout all monologues, is governed by negative evaluations. Discursive practice appears to reaffirm findings of the textual analysis.

Sociocultural practices

Kanak Sprak was originally published in 1995 and is currently available in its seventh edition. Despite the developments in immigration policy over the last 15 years (see Chapter 1.2.) the book still seems to be up to date. The continued interest in the book indicates that its contents are not just representative of a social reality of the past but still hold true today.

Today, German-Turkish literature is very diversified and touches different subjects and issues – a trend away from the rather limited topic of migration is visible towards the end of the 20th century. However, as Cheesman and Göktürk (1999) explain Zaimoglu's *Kanak Sprak* stands in a long history of literature that focuses on the Turk as a victim of German exploitation and nonobservance. While from the first generation of Turkish immigrants on writers talked about their mostly negative experiences as immigrants, the most recognized works on the situation of Turkish immigrants in Germany until 1990 were not in fact written by Germans: Günther Wallraff's novel *Ganz Unten* (1985) and Sten Nadolny's novel *Selim oder die Gabe der Rede* (1990). Later German-Turkish authors dominated a literature that is searching identity and offers a critical viewpoint on migration, integration and multiculturalism in Germany. Along with Zaimoglu, Zafer Senocak, Zehra Çirak, Dilek Zaptçioğlus, Osman Engin and Emine Sevgi Özdamar they speak of experiences with racism and struggles of German-Turks in Germany. Zaimoglu, therefore, continued to raise preexisting issues. His particular contribution is the sense of authenticity that arises from the language applied to the book. His work, at essence, presents every day life experiences of immigrants in Germany. Implicitly, however, his work underlines a strong political standpoint that, among other things, attacks and criticizes German multiculturalism with respect to social segregation, nonrecognition and xenophobia.

With regards to considerations of culture and power, the text reveals further implicit reflexions on multiculturalism in Germany – mostly in the way that the interviewees present themselves as powerless social outcasts. While the texts are not related to each other directly what combines them is a similar depiction of writer identity. Common features of all texts are hopelessness, powerlessness, fear, depression, loneliness and survival at a high cost. Examples from the text representative for those sentiments are:

“n toter männeken hat nix kapiert” 47; “the dead guy did not get it”, own translation),

“Also mach ich bei diesem hirn fickspiel des alemannen ne weile mit, und stell mich dumm, damit's keine querelen gibt” (73; “I will play along for a while in this sick game of the German, and play dumb, this way I wont get in trouble”, own translation)

A particularly striking feature is a repeated self-degradation of the interviewees. The majority uses the demeaning German expression 'Kanake' to describe a person of Turkish origin for themselves along with other descriptions such as “müllkümmel“ (124, „garbage Turk“, own translation), or „türkenhund“ (136; “Turkish dog”, own translation). A sense of worthlessness seems to have been adopted as part of the interviewees identity in *Kanak Sprak* that originated from the German society. This phenomenon can be linked to a lack of recognition and lack of social empowerment among the general public.

Another striking argument for the idea of a lack of support and affirmation for immigrants lies in the general rejection of and contempt for the German society expressed in *Kanak Sprak*. This is foregrounded on the one hand through emphasizing a large cultural gap between host and immigrant society combined with a sense of distrust:

“Den deutschen traust du nich übern weg, weil sie, die haben durchblick in ne andere richtung, und da willst du ums verrecken nich hin” (45; “You do not trust the Germans, because they understand only their own world, a world you definitely do not want to be a part of”, own translation)

On the other hand, rejection is expressed through derogatory descriptions of the Germans. The host society is generally described as narrow minded, evil, dangerous, and full of hatred (24, 80, 83, 84, 85, 134, 135). The following examples imply that negative experiences were made with Germans and any connection to them should be avoided – coexistence appears to be impossible:

“da herrscht ‘n dämon mit’ m fiesen grinsen inner visage” (80; “a demon rules with a mean smile on his face”, own translation),

“so verdammt und zugenagelt wie der ochsige alemanne kann ich aber bei gott nicht sein. So tief rutscht bei mir die würde nicht in die hose” (84; “I cannot be as doomed and braindead as the stupid Germans. I will not sink so low”, own translation).

Strongly contributing to the sense of being social outcasts is the rejection of the German education system, which appears symptomatic for *Kanak Sprak* (63, 64, 95, 15). Mostly, it is rendered ineffective and failing in preparing for work life. The usefulness of

education is questioned, education itself rejected, and personal knowledge gained through experience favored. As a result, the German education system in its practice is presented as unfit to meet the needs of immigrants and is rather excluding in nature and effect. Examples from the text are:

“Wo du man auf Kindesbeinen wankst, biegen die dir’s kümmerliche Alphabet bei, [...] doch’s gibt null Werk und null Burg, und kein Ausweg weit und breit [...]. Auch’n Klassenbester wußte später eher weniger als mehr” (63, 64; “when you are a child they teach you this puny alphabet, but there is neither jobs nor a home. Even the best in school will learn they did not learn much eventually”, own translation),

“In der Schule lehrt der Oberdeutsche was, daß ich null vorankomm, wenn ich’s Wissen nich hab. Ich hab mein Wissen” (95; “In school the German teaches you that you won’t make anything out of yourself if you do not have knowledge. I have my knowledge”, own translation)

4.2.2 Analysis of the Order of Discourse

Zaimoglu's (2007) chosen genre appears to create cultural and political opposition to a German multicultural society on several levels of discourse within a larger overall discourse of society. As pointed out above, *Kanak Sprak* reproduces a pre-existing theme of the oppressed immigrant, hence reinforcing the boundaries and general characteristics of multicultural discourse of this particular group. The goal of the book is not to present a wholesome social reality but focuses on the perceptions of a particular group in society. With regards to the larger order of discourse, however, *Kanak Sprak* widens the discourse by drawing on different discourses such as private life, sexuality, family, and work life with the chosen type of discourse hence adding a personal dimension to the discourse on multiculturalism.

The overall message and argument of the book rests upon a microscopic sample and is presented in an artistic, ideological manner that privately addresses everyone interested in reading the book. However, the choices made along the production of the text indicate, that the target group of text consumption is not in fact society as a whole but an intellectual part of the host society. That is because, as mentioned above, the text does not include Turkish words or idioms which would be expected in an actual creole.

In addition the monologues appear rather cryptic and metaphorical, they are complex in content, which makes it difficult to follow and understand them. It can therefore be concluded that the text is in fact aimed at an elite of the host society and engages in a direct dialogue with ongoing political events within the frames of multicultural discourse.

A direct link to the underlying analytical categories of this work cannot be drawn from considerations of orders of discourse. However, a strong and seemingly deliberate design of the text to contribute with a negative picture of German multiculturalism to discourse on multiculturalism suggests a perceived impossibility of coexistence.

4.2.3 Summary

The discourse analysis of Zaimoglu's *Kanak Sprak* resulted in the following chart:

Analytic results for: *Kanak Sprak*, Zaimoglu (2007)

Multicultural ideal type categories									
statements of recognition		statements or redistribution			pluralistic values		adoption to needs and interest of ethnic groups		
claims/injustice	accounts for interests and ethnic identity	social empowerment	state belonging to all	promotion of coexistence	integrative approach to immigration policy				
Discourse analysis	communicative event	vocabulary, grammar, writing system	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		meaning of form	/	-	-	-	-	-	-
		multifunctionality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
discourse practice	type of discourse	creative vs conventional	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		boundaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sociocultural practice	sociocultural context	power/ideology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Order of Discourse									

Illustration 5: Analytic Results for: *Kanak Sprak* (Zaimoglu 2007 [1995])

The analysis of the communicative event shows that the issues raised by Zaimoglu (2007) with regards to multicultural values and practices are rather selective in nature. Only four out of seven analytic categories were touched. Overwhelming is the sense of segregation reflected in an overall negative confirmation of the pluralistic value of coexistence throughout all steps of the analysis of the communicative event. It is furthermore remarkable that none of the analytic categories were confirmed positively. Only at one instant Germany's recognition of ethnic identities was acknowledged but contrasted with a strong sense of stigmatization. Considerations of discourse practice appear to solely focus on a lack of coexistence in German society. Both textual analysis and considerations of sociocultural practice partially offered negative confirmations of the categories of accounts for ethnic identities, social empowerment and an integrative approach to immigration policy.

Considerations of order of discourse revealed a rather oppositional nature of the function of the chosen discourse. That is on the basis of choices made to reproduce preexisting boundaries and, however implicitly, engage directly in a political discussion.

The results lead to the conclusion that the text does not present Germany to be a multicultural society. With regards to the artistic genre of the text this opposition is not entirely surprising and has to be considered normative. However, rather than rejecting a sense of German multiculturalism on all accounts, the analysis revealed that the text is very selective with regards to issues of multiculturalism in Germany and focusses primarily on a feeling of worthlessness and social segregation. Issues, such as claims of injustice by the host society, political empowerment of immigrants and the adoption to needs of ethnic groups were ignored entirely.

4.3 Ha – The White German's Burden

Kien Nghi Ha was born in 1972 in Hanoi, Vietnam and came to Germany as a refugee in 1979. Ha works as a political and cultural scientist specializing in the fields of postcolonial critique, migration, racism and cultural studies. A special focus of his work

lies on cultural hybridity and the criticism of migration policy in Germany (Ha 2004; Ha 2005; Wikipedia 2010d). In one of his most recent works, *Re/vision* (Ha, al-Samarai & Mysorekar 2007), he and his colleagues offer a platform for immigrant academics to comment on racism and culture policies in Germany. Ha is regarded as a specialist in his field and published, among other publications of articles on the matter, an evaluation of the German National Integration Plan with the Heinrich Böll Stiftung (Ha 2007).

In his article, *The White German's Burden*, Ha (2009) focuses particularly on social integration in Germany in the context of multiculturalism. In doing so, Ha (2009: 68, 69) argues for a dynamic cultural landscape as social normality (cultural hybridity) and rejects the idea of Europe as a cultural and economic entity (transnationalization). He furthermore puts dimensions of multiculturalism in a relationship of dependence. In his perspective, social recognition can only be gained through the redistribution of power in order to pursue the final goal of a pluralistic culture that resents social hierarchies and privileges. In terms of analytical dimensions, Ha (2009) applies a similar scope of analysis and ideal type multiculturalism as is applied to this work. Furthermore, Ha (2009) rejects the general idea of national borders: “Das Ausbrechen aus dem Käfig nationaler Mythen wäre gewiss mit einem Gewinn an Freiheit verbunden” (Ha 2009: 70: “To break out of cages of national myths surely allows a greater deal of freedom”, own translation). His direct examination of German multiculturalism and immigration policies promise to deliver a number of reflections on the level of German multicultural identity as perceived by the author and wider field of cultural studies in Germany.

Ha's (2009) article is one of many published in the collection *NoIntegration?!: Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Integrationsdebatte* (Hess, Binder & Moser 2009). The book intends to critically discuss integration and immigration policy in Germany and is concerned mostly with processes of social exclusion. The articles are meant to take the immigrant's perspective, and in Ha's (2009) special case, a postcolonial study perspective. They cover issues of multiculturalism, a critical perspective on the integrative paradigm, anti-islamic tendencies and racism, as well as postcolonial perspectives on Europe's future.

4.3.1 Analysis of the Communicative Event³⁹

Text

Ha's article is organized in six subchapters. Each one has an unnumbered headline marked by bigger and bold font in order to develop his argument. The first subchapters “Die Konjunktur des Multikulturalismus” (51; “The boom of multiculturalism”, own translation) and “Die Ambivalenz des Multiculturalismus” (52; “The ambivalence of multiculturalism”, own translation) put the main issue of multiculturalism in a socio-historic context and problematize its, in the authors view, ambivalent and inadequate application in Germany. The third chapter “Postkoloniale Lesearten kolonialer Präsenzen” (57; “Postcolonial interpretations of colonial states of being”, own translation) outlines a postcolonial perspective on the matter and presents colonial characteristics of Germany today. In the following the text centers postcolonial critique on anti-islamic tendencies of German integration policy in the chapter “Islamophobe Integrationspolitik im Präventivstaat” (60; “Islamophobic integration policy in the state of prevention”, own translation) and discrimination in chapter “Keine Kultur der Diskriminierungsfreiheit” (65; “A culture not free from discrimination”, own translation). Ha (2009) closes his article by suggesting a solution to the multicultural crisis in Germany: cultural “hybridity and transnationalization as way out” (68; own translation). The structure already reveals a line of argument designed to reveal an inadequacy of German multiculturalism. A discussion of ambivalent multicultural applications, a culture of discrimination and anti-islamic tendencies hint towards a generally negative confirmation of pluralistic values to be present in German politics as well as a negative confirmation of the analytical category of recognition on the basis of stigmatization and discrimination.

Ha (2009) uses standard German in his article, a very complex and formal style of writing and a number of technical terms as well as word-creations. Analogue to his scientific style of writing, Ha (2009) uses technical terms and loan-words such as

³⁹In this chapter as well as Chapter as well as 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 all references refer to *The White German's Burden* (Ha 2009). In order to reduce the volume of text all references will only include the respective page numbers in brackets.

“Diskurse” (53; “discourse”, own translation), “Hybridität” (68; “hybridity”, own translation), or “Chimäre” (66; “illusion”, own translation) without further defining or explaining them. This indicates that the target-group of the article is in fact a German native-speaking, well educated and intellectual audience. An example of grammatical and linguistic complexity is the following sentence:

In der BRD entstanden, wie auch in anderen westlichen Staaten, multikulturelle Diskurse als zivilgesellschaftliche Reaktionen auf das anhaltend diskriminierende Gesellschaftsklima gegenüber eingewanderten beziehungsweise rassifizierten Minderheiten” (52; “In Germany as well as in other western countries multicultural discourses emerged as a public social reaction to a continuously discriminating social climate towards immigrated or, as the case may be, stigmatized minorities on the basis of race”, own translation)

The example above also serves as an example for Ha's (2009) creation of words. He uses a participle form of the verb 'rassifizieren' (“rassifizierten” 52; “racialize”, own translation). The verb is derived from the German noun 'Rasse' (race) but is not part of the standard dictionary (Duden 2010). A similar example makes this particular creativity of the text become even more apparent: “Guantanomisierung” (64; “the process of turning something into a state comparable to the idea of the American prison in Guantanamo, Cuba”, own translation) serves the author as a rather metaphorical term. This kind of creativity is likely have an effect on how the text is consumed.

Similar to the way text-structure, -creation and grammatical considerations of the text can serve little as reflections on levels of German multiculturalism at this point, a lexical analysis of the text offers misleading evidence for a positive or negative confirmation of analytic categories. A word-count was conducted for the article. A total of 6798 words and 3060 different words were counted. The most frequently used word was 'und' ('and'; 295 counts) along with 'der' (m. 'the' or 'that'; 251 counts) and 'die' (f. 'the' or 'that'; 239 counts). The top 17 most frequently used words consist of prepositions, articles, pronouns and conjunctions. After the word classes were filtered and only words with more than 2 hits considered, a total of 484 different words was left for consideration and revealed the following findings.

After the filtering, the verb 'ist' ('he/she/it is'; 36 counts) is the most frequently used word. Together, the present forms of 'to be' used in the text count 56. The past tense of 'to be' ('wurden, wurde, war') was used in a total of 36 cases. The future tense 'will' ('werden, wird') was also frequently used in a total of 53 count. However, this count is misleading. A check of the individual word contexts revealed that 'werden' was used to build the passive voice, gerund structures, or in its other meaning 'become' in all except two cases (56). In conclusion the text is strongly related to the past and assertion of the present without discussing possible future developments. The usage of verbs, particularly the amount of auxiliary verbs, does not reveal reflections on the perceived level of German multiculturalism by the author.

As far as nouns are concerned, they reflect on the general topic of the text and confirm its focus on multiculturalism in Germany. The noun 'Gesellschaft' (here 'society') and its plural form 'Gesellschaften' have 23 hits all together. The noun 'Kultur' ('culture') is the second strongest noun with 17 counts. If all references throughout different word-classes are counted, 'culture' has a total of 48 counts turning it into one of the most important concepts in the text together with 'Multikulturalismus' ('multiculturalism') for which the word-count showed 19 counts for the noun and a total of 35 counts for the concept when all word-classes under analysis are considered. Other important nouns in the text are 'Politik' ('politics'; 14 counts), 'Deutschland' ('Germany'; 13 counts), 'Anerkennung' ('recognition'; 6 counts) and 'Rassismus' ('racism'; 5 counts). But the mere evidence of presence of concepts such as 'multiculturalism', 'recognition', or 'racism' cannot serve to positively or negatively confirm analytic categories without considering the content they appear in.

Similarly, an observation of adjectives can only confirm the larger topic of the article. The strongest adjective in the text is 'deutsch' ('German'). Considering all its variations of grammatical word-endings (-en, -er, -e) that occurred in the text, it was used in a total of 38 cases. In the same manner the word-count detected 'politisch' ('political'; 21 counts), 'kulturell' ('cultural'; 17 counts), 'multikulturell' ('multicultural'; 16 counts), and 'rassistisch' ('racist'; 9 counts). Noteworthy at this point is the generally frequent usage of certain adjectives in the text. This would indicate a rather descriptive or evaluative

quality of the text as well as a small frame of focus, but cannot serve to confirm or disprove analytical categories of this research.

Rather than looking at single words and their frequency of use in the text, a consideration and comparison of word-clusters that can be connected to the underlying analytic categories of this research proved to be more fruitful. Considering the discussion of the topic of multiculturalism in the article, it can be assumed that the concepts discussed stand in a direct relation to the general topic. What becomes visible when going through the word-count is the comparatively high number of terms (concepts) that can be linked to a negation of pluralistic values, recognition and redistribution: 'Abgrenzung' ('delimitation'; 2 counts), 'Ablehnung' ('rejection'; 2 counts), 'Abwertung' ('degradation'; 2 counts), 'Ausgrenzung' ('exclusion'; 3 counts), 'Diskriminierung' ('discrimination'; in singular and plural form together 5 counts), references to homogeneous social and cultural dominance (total of 6 counts including 'Dominanzkultur , - gesellschaft', 'Leitkultur'), and 'islamophobe' ('anti-islamic'; 2 counts) form a total of 22 counts. On the other hand, concepts directly related to a positive confirmation of an ideal-type's analytic categories were found only in a total of 10 cases: 'Akzeptanz' ('acceptance'; 2 counts), 'Hybridität' ('hybridity'; 3 counts), 'Liberalismus' ('liberalism' 3 counts), and 'Toleranz' ('tolerance'; 2 counts). Due to the fact that the majority of concepts relate to forms of negations of pluralistic values and multiculturalism in general the conclusion is drawn that Ha's (2009) work presents a lack of pluralistic values on a larger scale with respect to missing accounts for ethnic identity (on the basis of references to anti-islamism, cultural dominance, and discrimination) and a tendency towards a negating social empowerment (on the basis of the number of references to concepts of rejection, exclusion, degradation and delimitation).

It is the negative context in which Ha (2009) presents certain concepts that is striking for the analysis of a text sample. While the word count indicated a negative perception of German multiculturalism merely relative to the numbers of concepts mentioned the sample suggests a more absolute negation of German multiculturalism as terms like 'tolerance', 'heterogeneity', 'multiculturalism', or 'recognition' are found in negative

contexts and are apparently not representative of a German reality. Page 53 serves as evidence where Ha (2009) talks about how tolerance in Germany is apparently staged: “Inszenierung der deutschen Toleranz” (53). Furthermore, cultural heterogeneity and diversified perspectives are being ignored: “ihre komplexe Heterogenität und Perspektiven ignoriert werden” (25). And lastly Ha (2009) explains how multicultural values, particularly politics of recognition, are opposed by national myths the German “Leitkultur” (25) still applies to reassure and create a dominant German culture: “nationale Mythen, die [...] nach wie vor vital für die Selbstvergewisserungsstrategien und Selbstfindungsprozesse der deutschen Dominanz-kultur sind” (25). As a result the sample showed that the negation of German multicultural practices and values may take place on an even broader level than the word count has suggested. While several concepts were found that seem to confirm research categories of recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values, the sample analysis discovered a negative context in which they are placed in order to underline the overarching sentiment of the text.

Ha's (2009) article furthermore functions to present representations of social practice and constructions of social reality. The following will assess reflections on recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values as perceived to be present in German multiculturalism. Beginning with reflections on recognition, Ha's (2009) article reveals a rather negative perception of German multiculturalism and a quality marked by stigmatization of the foreign, separatism and selectivity. In Ha's (2009: 59) perspective immigrants are not recognized for their cultural and ethnic identities but “objectified” (56; own translation) for economic gain by using racist descriptions such as „brain-drain“ (56) and „Computer-Indianer“ (56; “the computer-indian”). The social reality of German conduct that Ha (2009) presents is shaped by discrimination and cultural dominance:

“Diese bis in die Gegenwart andauernde Benachteiligung [von Gastarbeitern] resultiert aus dem Zusammenspiel verschiedener Faktoren, zu denen ökonomische Verwertung und politische Entrechtung ebenso gehören wie hierarchisierende Rassifizierungsprozesse und die Durchsetzung einer homogenen Nationalkultur und –identität” (59; “An ongoing discrimination [of guest workers] is the result of the interplay of different factors, such as economic utilization and a politically induced legal disempowerment as well as social hierarchies based on the idea of race and the implementation of a homogeneous national

culture and identity”, own translation)

Ha (2009: 54, 55, 62) draws the image of divided German society marked by selective racism. As evidence, he points to the prevailing misconception that cultures are homogeneous entities focussing on distance and difference – thus cultural coexistence becomes impossible in Germany. In addition the author claims that immigrants from Western metropolitan societies are welcome to the country but additional hurdles are put up for people from islamic backgrounds, which refers not only to the perception of selective racism but conscious administrative disempowerment.

The lack of redistribution of power and institutionalized discrimination is one of Ha's (2009) major concerns. Common social practice in the way he presents it is shaped by the nonrecognition of unconditional rights of foreigners (55), the provision of only a minimum of political rights (59), disadvantages for immigrants in the job market and education (62), the lack of encouragement of cultural diversity (66), as well as a general lack of a policy of equal rights:

“Trotz der massiven Probleme ist in Deutschland gegenwärtig eine ernsthafte Diskussion über eine fortgeschrittene anti-rassistische und sozial ausgleichende Förderpolitik, die mit dem US-amerikanischen Modell der affirmative action vergleichbar wäre und die durch die Berücksichtigung sozialer Hintergründe darüber hinausginge, nicht einmal ansatzweise vorstellbar” (67; “Despite all the extensive problems, a wholehearted discussion of an advanced, anti-racist, and socially balancing policy of encouragement which would be comparable to the US-american model of affirmative action and goes beyond it by accounting for social backgrounds is currently not even remotely thinkable”, own translation)

In terms of pluralistic values the presentations of social practices in Ha's (2009) work predominantly draws an anti-multicultural picture of the German society, which is generally described to be in opposition of a multicultural society:

“In weiten Teilen der [deutschen] Gesellschaft wie ihrer Eliten [hat sich] immer noch keine anti-rassistische Kultur etabliert [...] und Deskriminierungsfreiheit [ist] in der vermeintlich liberalen und weltoffenen BRD alles andere als konsensfähig” (67; “In big parts of the [German] society as well as among its elites an anti-racist culture has not emerged as well as a state of freedom of discrimination is not close to finding a general consensus in the supposedly liberal and cosmopolitan FRG”, own translation)

In Ha's (2009) representations of social practices concerning German integration policy does not positively confirm any of the criteria with respect to pluralistic values – neither does the state promote an equal coexistence of different cultures and ethnicities, nor does it adopt to special interests and needs of certain ethnicities or bring an integrative approach to immigration policy. Rather than presenting examples from different perspectives, Ha (2009) presents evidence against a multicultural society exclusively. For example, the German society is marked as xenophobic and separatistic on an institutional level. A general dominance of xenophobia among the general public as well as a lack of debate about racist structures in society is presented along with a tendency towards a selective and anti-islamic integration policy (54, 57, 60, 66) – coexistence is therefore concluded not to be possible as “a dialogue between equal partners is not possible” (68; own translation). Ha (2009: 53, 54, 58, 59, 64, 68) furthermore presents a culturally homogeneous and assimilative picture of social practice. Culturally homogenous interests are, according to the author, manifested in all parts of the German society such as the state, civil institutions, the economy, culture, the media, and ideological traditions as well as a homogeneous national culture is actively implemented in politics today. They become visible in German “ideological constructs of self and national identity [that] are based strongly on a sense of cultural and social homogeneity” (53; own translation). Lastly, Ha (2009: 62, 63) reports on a reduction of minority rights, which does not only harm immigrants in general but to which especially women fall victim. In that and especially in outlawing arranged marriages the author sees a hidden manifestation of racist thinking and a symbol of a perceived cultural separation and sense of German superiority:

“Orientalisch-islamophob aufgeladene Überzeugungen [leisten] unter anderem dem Abbau von Frauen- und Minderheitenrechten Vorschub, obwohl sie offiziell ihren Schutz vorgeben” (62; “oriental and islamophobic thinking pushes forward the reduction of women-rights and minority-rights even though, officially, they pretend to offer protection”, own translation)

While Ha's (2009) article itself does not draw upon multisemiotic features, the composite work in which it is published does hence affect text-consumption. Each of the five chapters of *NoIntegration?!* is introduced by a colored poster advertising a

discussion-forum that took place at the Münchner Kammerspiele theater in the seasons of 2007 and 2008 in cooperation with (among others) the authors, the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München and the Goethe Institute (Hess, Binder & Moser 2009). All of them are titled “Da kann ja jeder kommen” (literally: “Everybody can come”, own translation), but differ in a small addition to it depending on the chapter: “Hiob” (8), “Illegal” (34), “Mamma Meda” (92), “Der Sturm” (168), and “Tanger Unplugged” (204). All of them place rather odd looking, apparently foreign characters in situations of private life or work life. Particularly interesting is the example 'illegal' introducing the chapter “Krisen des Multikulturalismus” (35; “Crises of multiculturalism”, own translation). It puts an obviously foreign, strange-looking character alone in a scene of stereotypically German cultural symbols such as a camping site, a camping trailer and a grill. Together with the title the picture gives an ironic impression, that seems to focus on the idea that the foreigner does not fit in, and is somewhat out of place. The title “Da kann ja jeder kommen” is also a German idiom generally used to express distrust. The combination can be seen as a reflection on the German society. The poster suggests, that immigrants live separated from the rest of society in a setting that is neither suited for them nor tries to communicate with them. The subtitle 'Illegal' underlines this sense and explicitly refers to the unwanted presence of foreigners. On the other hand, the immigrant him/herself is presented in strong stereotypical and, to some extent, demeaning features therefore referring to a climate of stigmatization. Thus, the multisemiotic features of the text offer an evaluative reflection on German multicultural society. The example below, similar to the other four examples in the book, can be interpreted to negatively confirm accounts for ethnic identities on the basis of stigmatization and furthermore negatively confirm the pluralistic values of identity and an integrative approach to immigration policy:

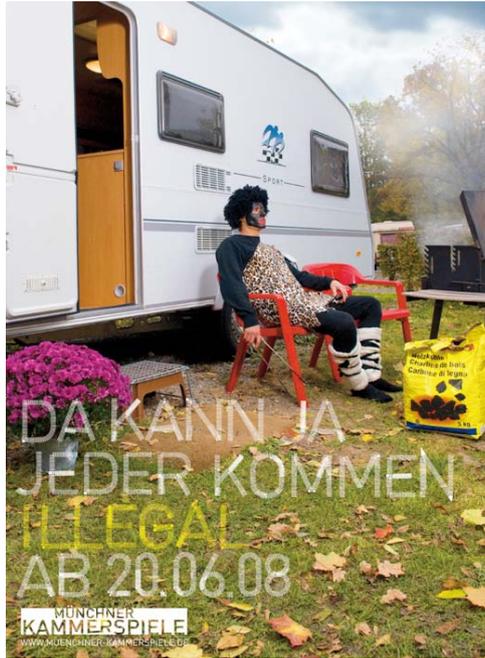


Illustration 6: Example Advertisement (Hess, Binder & Moser 2009: 34)

Discourse practice

Ha's (2009) text is not the result of a consensus of different contributors – the text is an individual's work and represents an individual's opinion. In accordance with recommendations for scientific work, information was gathered from different sources, summarized, referenced in the text, and organized to follow the desired line of argument. Furthermore the text does not have a first-person narrator but is presented in the passive voice. In addition, as the textual analysis indicated, the language is rather formal and makes use of technical terms. With respect to text-creation, Ha's (2009) article can therefore be considered normative for its genre: scientific article. However, the text production does not purely reproduce the genre as a bilateral discussion of concepts and a presentation of critique or counterexamples does not take place – a sense of political bias emerges and therefore leans towards characteristics of political speech.

The discourse type is formal and complex – a very explicit part of multicultural discourse. As indicated above, the text uses a technical and complex language, presents itself as well structured and it shows a commonly recognized scientific style of text

production. Besides the explicit issue of multiculturalism in the text, the author furthermore draws upon discourses of politics and history. On the other hand the relatively homogenous discourse is combined with a creative mix of genre. Generically, the 'scientific article' shows traces of political speech due to its one-sided argument and the article is introduced with poster-advertisements that refer to political events outside the frames of the presented work. While scientific work and political agenda are expected in multicultural discourse, the introduction of advertisements and references to public events around the text reshape common boundaries. The text does not stand only for itself in a chain of events in time but works also as a door to further networking.

The language and genre used in the article follow conventional ways of multicultural discourse. In addition, the creativity in mix of genre does apply more to the composite work than to Ha's (2009) article in particular, which remains rather consistent in itself. As a result, the interaction of the features outside Ha's work has an effect on text consumption – an image of a rather populist style of writing emerges along with an instability of discourse practice.

The article was produced as a scientific article and in that followed a certain structure in order to create meaning through scientific proof. The text does not leave evidence as to what the authors initial intentions were. If the text was produced to be consumed as populist writing the one sided argument of the contents speak for a consistent and conventional style and the text would indicate a rather stable social context. If, on the other hand, a populist reading of the text occurs where another was intended, the text shows an inconsistency and instability of multicultural discourse. In that case the type of discourse applied may point towards a sense of social unrest based on the idea of opposition. In fact, the use of language in the text (complexity and creative terminology) along with a one-sided string of arguments appears to be almost emotional and vigorous, which leads to the conclusion that the discourse applied exceeds and reshapes conventional forms of multicultural discourse. The emotionality and strong sense of opposition may point towards a generally negative confirmation of analytical categories. However, both interpretations do not allow a direct connection to the analytical categories applied to this analysis and therefore remain unmarked.

Sociocultural practice

Ha's (2009) article falls in line with a German cultural study perspective on integration policy in Germany and Europe. This critique is based historically on the view that it was not until the 1980s that Germany changed its politically nationalist view on immigration policy. Slowly a more positive attitude arose towards cultural diversity but the first response to it was an assimilative approach to preserve an elite culture. This resulted in mechanisms of sociocultural exclusion and to what is argued to be colonial missionary practices (Hess & Moser 2009: 18, 19). Central arguments to this perspective are: a strong distinction between host and immigrant society in Germany, immigrants are seen as a homogeneous collective, integrative efforts are demanded primarily from the immigrant society, no equal opportunities and social participation for immigrants in Germany (Hess & Moser 2009: 12–14). Ha's work is consistent with this perspective but focuses primarily on issues of hybridity as a response to a prevailing assimilative approach to integration policies in Germany as well as racism and stigmatization on the basis of ethnicity.

In his work, Ha (2009) particularly refers to a prevailing German culture unfit for multiculturalism and the use of political power to oppress diversity. The roots, he argues, lie in the imperial efforts and values that are still existing today. German elite culture is seen as normative and western values are applied as politically universal. As a result Germany views people from outside Europe as dangerous and culturally inferior, which becomes visible in forced integration courses and culturally assimilative efforts of the government. The author furthermore speaks of a prevailing culture of discrimination, racist language, and colonial categories of power and social class (56–58, 65, 66). Thus, both ideological and cultural considerations hint towards the sociocultural practice of assimilation, ethnic recognition in terms of racist stigmatization, and a deficit in social empowerment of ethnic minorities.

4.3.2 Analysis of the Order of Discourse

At first, Ha's work follows the type of discourse and genre he applied in earlier works. It can be assumed that the type of discourse was chosen to advance a preexisting debate and argument. The content and production of the text reproduced a critical view and sense of dissatisfaction with German multiculturalism. However clear the topical contents of the text may be, considerations of events in time do not reflect on German multiculturalism themselves but are reflective only for the text – it is a continuation of an established discourse. The chosen type of discourse creates meaning in so far as it draws upon discourses of science and politics apart from the discourse on multiculturalism in order to increase the potential impact the text has on a given consumer by seemingly increasing its credibility.

Secondly, the chosen genre of scientific article delimits choices of text production. This institutional pressure is most like responsible for common textual features of that genre such as its info-centered, non-fictitious, professional qualities that are aimed at a presumably small audience. However, the discourse here appears changeable and deviates from conventional forms of multicultural discourse. The creativity of type of discourse is also reflected in the texts artistic and emotional qualities. In addition, the text shows a strong ideological character that is not forced through institutional pressure but a reaction to perceived governmental institutional pressure in the form of an unsatisfying multicultural policy.

In conclusion, considerations of the order of discourse does not permit to distract reflections of German multiculturalism outside from apparent content. The meaning that lies in the chosen type of discourse merely has an effect on text consumption. The texts creative features are likely to increase the mark on the consumer and thus serves as a form of persuasion of the reader.

4.3.3 Summary

The discourse analysis of Ha's (2007) *The White German's Burden* resulted in the

following chart:

Analytic results for: *The White German's Burden*, Ha (2009)

		Multicultural ideal type categories						
		statements of recognition		statements or redistribution		pluralistic values		
		claims/injustice	accounts for interests and ethnic identity	social empowerment	state belonging to all	promotion of coexistence	integrative approach to immigration policy	adoption to needs and interest of ethnic groups
Discourse analysis	communicative event	text	vocabulary, grammar, writing system	-	-	-	-	-
			meaning of form	-	-	-	-	-
			multifunctionality	-	-	-	-	-
	discourse practice	multisemiotic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		type of discourse						
		creative vs conventional boundaries						
	sociocultural practice	culture	sociocultural context	-	-	-	-	-
			power/ideology	-	-	-	-	-
				-	-	-	-	-
				-	-	-	-	-
Order of Discourse								

Illustration 7: Analytic Results for: *The White German's Burden* (Ha 2007)

The analysis revealed negations of analytic categories without exception where they could be deduced from the text. While the analysis of discourse practice and the order of discourse could not reveal references to analytic categories, textual analysis and the analysis of references on sociocultural practice show a rather broad coverage. Six out of seven analytical categories were touched by the text. Mostly Ha's (2009) article focused on the lack of recognition based on accounts for interests and ethnic identity as well as a predominantly assimilative approach to immigration policy. A strong focus became visible also on a general lack of social empowerment and promotion of coexistence in Germany. Peripherally, multifunctional references of the text revealed a sense of a missing political empowerment. The issue of recognition of claims of groups or claims of injustice were not raised in the text⁴⁰.

The results indicate that the text emphatically denies the existence of an ideal type multicultural society in Germany. The text appears to be designed to oppose which seems rather normative for genre and thematic outset. The broad coverage of analytic categories which is representative for the detailed critique presented by Ha is striking. However, a clear center of interest of the author revolves around a perceived lack of recognition of ethnic identities on the basis of racist stigmatization and the application of a vastly assimilative immigration policy in Germany.

4.4 Comparison

When the analytic results are compared, the three texts do not seem to have much in common on first glance. Nevertheless, they show a number of similarities. All texts participate in a vital negotiation of German multicultural identity as well as all draw upon a strong sense of in-groups and the social boundaries between them that shape the texts and the identity revealed. Furthermore, all of the three texts confirmed at least one subcategory concerning statements of recognition, redistribution and pluralistic values. The wide coverage of categories suggests that each text engages in a rather detailed

⁴⁰The absence of them may also indicate a perceived absence of them in the general society and on the institutional level. In that case their absence would determine a negative confirmation of the analytic category in question. However, The connection is speculative and remained therefor unmarked.

discussion and reflexion on issues of multiculturalism. Thus it can be concluded that all texts participate in a discourse around German multiculturalism and engage in a vital discursive negotiation.

The quality of the confirmation of analytic categories, however, varied greatly. On a general level, the analysis showed that the *NIP* confirmed analytic categories in a predominantly positive fashion but proved inconsistent with respect to concerns of social practice. Ha's (2009) and Zaimoglu's (2007 [1995]) work, on the other hand, stand in strong opposition to these findings and present an almost exclusive negative confirmation of analytic categories. Both authors appear to reject the idea an ideal multicultural identity is predominant in Germany entirely.

While the quality of the outcomes varies greatly, the coverage of categories shows similarities of focus. All texts have in common the focus on recognizing interests and social identities, social empowerment, the promotion of coexistence, and an integrative approach to immigration policy. Other categories such as the recognition of claims of ethnic groups or claims of injustice on account of the host society, the promotion of a state belonging to all, and the adoption to needs and interests of ethnic groups are scarcely touched. Because of the striking differences in the quality of confirmation but the apparent similarities in coverage of analytic categories the following comparison will look at each main analytical category separately, compare the findings and discuss the meaning of similarity in coverage.

Concerning statements of recognition, a similar coverage in all three texts was revealed while the quality of confirmation varies greatly. Accounts for claims of ethnic groups and injustice experienced by them was touched by neither Ha (2009) nor Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]), which indicates that, explicitly, no apparent importance was given to the issue. On the contrary, the textual analysis offered positive confirmations on the category in the form of critical self-assessment. But also here little explicit attention was drawn to this category. To a much bigger extent all three texts focused on issues of the recognition of ethnic identities and their interests. Textual analysis, the analysis of the order of discourse and considerations of social context for the *NIP* indicate that cultural

recognition is valued greatly in Germany. However, the *NIP* presents controversial values as far as social practices of power and culture are concerned. The analysis revealed a tendency towards a strong emphasis on homogeneous German cultural values and the exertion of power over immigrants. It is this latter issue, that seems to lead both Ha and Zaimoglu to a negative confirmation of this category. Textual and social practice analysis for both texts revealed that Germany is perceived not to recognize ethnic identities and their interests. The strong coverage of this category suggest a primary concern and discontent with an unsatisfying level of practical application of what seems to be merely rhetorical in the *NIP*. If the texts are seen on a timeline, the *NIP* represents a response to issues raised, among others, by Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]), but did not succeed in changing the social reality as Ha (2009) argues in his work.

The promotion of social empowerment, as part of the redistribution of power in the state, proved to be one of the major concerns of the *NIP* during the analysis. A predominantly positive confirmation of this category was found in all steps of the analysis. Ambiguity, however, arose with respect to affirmative action bound to conditions as the analysis of social practice revealed. Both Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007) show similar results in their strong negative confirmation and the perception that efforts towards social empowerment are not taken in Germany. Social equality appears to be a primary concern in all three texts, as political equality and the promotion of the state belonging to all finds little and controversial confirmation in the *NIP*, no explicit references by Zaimoglu (2007) and only little reference to unfulfilled political equality in Germany by Ha (2009). While the official discourse appears to be affirmative of immigrants finding an equal place in the German society, both writers with an immigrant background reviewed in this research strongly reject this notion.

With regards to pluralistic values also a similar coverage of categories becomes visible. In contrast to statements of recognition and redistribution, here the texts by Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007) reveal a different focus point. The latter shows the highest number of references with respect to the pluralistic value of coexistence. The analysis of the communicative event showed a negation of this category without exception. This result is representative for the strong sense of social segregation found in *Kanak Sprak*. To

live separated from the general society proved to be one of the strongest individually raised problems in the book and reflects on a rather exclusive society. Ha (2009) on the other hand, focuses much more strongly on an assimilative quality of German immigration policy. This shift of main focus appears self evident as Ha is a political scientist and the critical analysis of policies are in the center of his focus. Zaimoglu (2007) on the other hand focuses on the individual for whom the immediate experience of coexistence is likely to be a primary focus. The analysis of the *NIP* showed broad coverage on both categories. In opposition to the other texts the *NIP* promotes coexistence rather consistently with the exception of ambiguity on the account of a likelihood to fail in reaching a bigger audience. With regards to an integrative approach to immigration policy the *NIP* presents controversial statements. On one hand the text promotes social integration as was shown in the textual and discourse practice analysis. On the other a strong focus on German cultural values, language, and education represent a clear assimilative approach. On a time line, it can be assumed that the *NIP* constitutes a response to a perceived lack of coexistence as it becomes clear in Zaimoglu's (2007) work. However, a controversial and inconsistent approach to social integration appears to be reflected in Ha's (2009) strong argument for an assimilative approach towards immigration in Germany. The last category, the pluralistic value of adopting to needs and interests of ethnic groups could only be confirmed partially in all texts. While Zaimoglu (2007) does not explicitly raise the issue, Ha's (2009) text showed negative confirmations throughout the textual analysis. The *NIP* delivered a positive confirmation of the category on account of a policy design in collaboration and consultation with immigrant organizations. All together a controversial picture of German multicultural identity with respect to pluralistic values emerges. While the official discourse appears to be in favor of the coexistence of different cultures, the German society does not seem to embrace the incorporation of different cultural values and languages but rather emphasizes German values and traditions.

In conclusion, the similarity of coverage of categories indicates that the discourse on German multicultural identity revolves around a set of specific issues. This leads to the assumption that in the early stage of the introduction of an active immigration and integration policy in Germany multicultural values of recognition of ethnic identities,

social equality, coexistence and a socially integrative approach are a primary concern over accounts for claims of ethnic groups, political equality and the adoption of minority rights. The strong qualitative opposition between the *NIP* and the texts by Zaimoglu (2007) and Ha (2009) points toward a vital, controversial, and seemingly emotional social negotiation on the quality of multiculturalism in Germany and indicates that German efforts in introducing multicultural values to the general public are as yet merely rhetorical but are not yet part of a social practice.

As a result, the sharp differences between official discourse on one hand and perceived social reality on the other lead to the conclusion that the *NIP* represents a strong communicative effort in shifting social identity towards multicultural values but does not indicate the fact that social multicultural change has in fact already taken place on a level of social practice or the adoption of pluralistic values by the greater public.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to assess the extent to which multicultural values and practices are held to be important in German cultural identity. The basic theoretical assumption was that cultural identity is shaped discursively in the mode of narration – text in particular. Therefore, a discourse analytic study was conducted that searched for references to ideal forms of multicultural values and practices in order to evaluate current level of German multicultural identity. In this context, this study assumed that a relation exists between official policy paper and a multicultural reality. A core document of Germany's most recent efforts towards building a multicultural society and applying an active integration policy was chosen as basis for this study: the *NIP*. The text was analyzed following an analytic grid that has been established to search specifically for references to multicultural values and practices.

Even though the analysis of the text resulted in a predominantly positive confirmation of all analytic categories, the results cannot stand by themselves. Critical discourse analysis takes into account personal interests and agenda behind text production as well as biases of the researcher himself/herself. Therefore the results were compared with reflections on German multiculturalism in two other texts that were produced by authors with an immigrant background and write from the perspective of every day live experience and scientific analysis: Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) and Ha (2009). The comparison achieved twofold: on the one hand the comparison helped shape a better picture of the issues around which the German discourse on multiculturalism revolves; on the other hand the comparison offered a more conclusive picture to what extend social practice in Germany is believed to be multicultural.

The following will summarize the conclusions drawn from the analysis in three steps. First, the *NIP* is observed separately. Secondly, conclusions will be drawn from the comparison of all three texts and, thirdly, the approach and results of this study will be discussed and possible future study on the matter suggested.

5.1 Multicultural Identity and the *NIP*

On the most general level, the analysis has shown that there is in fact a relation between cultural identity and official text. A multitude of references to multicultural values and practices were discovered during the analysis. Therefore, the *NIP* was not only proved to be a discourse fragment of multicultural discourse but also to play a constitutive role in representing and therefore constructing cultural identity. Furthermore, as the historical assessment of German immigration policy has shown, Germany has recently witnessed a change of political climate towards multiculturalism. As a result an according change in social identity is expected. The *NIP* appears perfectly suitable for measuring multiculturalism as it is a direct result and product of this particular change in paradigm. Thus, the text has to be seen as an attempt to position the federal government in relation to multicultural practices and values.

Particularly the textual analysis and the analysis of discourse practice has resulted in predominantly positive confirmations of analytic categories. In this context, special attention was drawn on issues of social empowerment and the promotion of coexistence. Even though the latter two received most attention in the *NIP* all of the analytic categories found references in the text. This suggests a very strong incorporation of multicultural practices and values in German cultural identity but also indicates that some of the categories are considered more important than others. Apparently, less attention is drawn to the political empowerment of immigrants as well as the adoption to needs and interests of immigrants. In addition, injustice experienced by immigrants was recognized in only a few occasions.

The analysis of social practices and the order of discourse resulted in a number of positive, negative and biased confirmations of analytic categories. While considerations of the sociocultural context of the *NIP* suggested the text holds components of all three major categories to be important considerations of power, ideology and culture resulted in negative confirmations of research categories. It appears as though the text strongly draws upon German cultural values, the German language and national standards of education rather than recognizing those of other ethnicities. Furthermore, even though

the *NIP* appears to draw upon a number of discourses and genres in order to increase accessibility the actual target groups remained unclear and doubt arose whether the chosen type of discourse will achieve in introducing multicultural values and practices to the general public on a larger scale – in other words, due to the unclarity of target group the text may not in fact reach a large part of society and is therefore expected to have little impact on the processes of negotiating cultural identity.

In sum, the analysis has shown that the *NIP* only partially holds multicultural values and practices to be important. While a sense of social empowerment and coexistence appear to be a strong part of German multicultural identity an explicit emphasis on national cultural practices and values remains. The sheer number of positive confirmations of analytic categories suggests a rather high importance of multicultural values and practices in the text. However, since the text may not accomplish in reaching a larger audience it may have little weight in introducing multicultural values and practices in German cultural identity.

The results the analysis of the *NIP* delivered have to be seen critically. The text appears to have been carefully designed and its goal is most likely to underline the proclaimed shift of paradigm on German integration policy of 2000. Its strong association with multicultural values and practices on a level of language and discourse practice as well as the controversial findings in other stages of the analysis need to be evaluated in comparison to reflections on German multiculturalism.

5.2 Representations of Multicultural Identity in Comparison

Similarly to the *NIP*, the analysis of both Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) have resulted in a high number of references to multicultural values and practices. The texts were also considered fragments of a multicultural discourse in Germany and hence contribute to the social negotiation of multicultural identity. In other words, it can be concluded that all three texts engage actively in a lively negotiation of multicultural practices and values within the discourse on multiculturalism. They are therefore part of

a communicative effort in which the quality of German multicultural identity is shaped.

The analysis of Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) resulted in the observation that the authors generally denied any multicultural quality of German cultural identity and stand in sharp contrast to what is presented in the *NIP*. The qualitative opposition of the findings, however, reveals an interesting analogy of thematic emphases in the discourse on multiculturalism as well as a strongly oppositional, almost emotional, character of the discourse on multiculturalism in Germany. With regard to the latter, that character reveals a sharp contrast in the extent to which German cultural identity is believed to be multicultural by different groups. This points towards a strongly emotional negotiation of multicultural identity. The issue of multiculturalism appears to be rather new and a common understanding of its shape and features has not been institutionalized in society. The discrepancy furthermore indicates that multicultural practices and values are not believed to be part of social practice even though a number of positive confirmations appear on the level of language in the *NIP*.

The comparison furthermore revealed a number of thematic similarities. Despite the oppositional character of the discourse on multiculturalism all three texts center on similar multicultural practices and values. The issues of recognizing ethnic identity, social empowerment, coexistence, and an integrative approach to immigration policy were discovered to be central focus points throughout the entire analysis. This is further evidence to the fact that multiculturalism is still a new and unresolved topic. The issues centered appear somewhat fundamental – like first steps in introducing multiculturalism. Issues that were given little or no attention in the three texts appear to be secondary considerations in the negotiation of multicultural identity. These are: accounts for claims of ethnic groups or the recognition of injustice these groups may have experienced, political empowerment and the adoption to needs and interests of ethnic groups.

But how oppositional are the representations of German multiculturalism in the texts really? The analysis of social practices of the *NIP* indicated that ethnic identities are insufficiently recognized, that social and political empowerment is made conditional

and that an assimilative approach to immigration policy was chosen. Essentially it is these precise issues that are raised and criticized by Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]). In this respect, the work of the latter two has to be seen as a response to social practices that are marked by anti-multicultural features, which is particularly true in the case of Ha (2009) for his text was produced significantly after the *NIP* was published. In turn, when seen on a time line, the *NIP* appears to show the precise lack of multicultural values and practices Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]) has addressed as early as 1995.

This leads to the conclusion that – on a level of social practice – hardly any multicultural values and practices can be found as part of German cultural identity today but quite the opposite must be said for the discourse level of politics and official language. The overall positive confirmation of analytic categories in the textual analysis of the *NIP* along with the strong future oriented use of language suggest that the federal government aims to introduce multicultural values and practices in the debate on integration policy. Thus, considering Abrams et al.'s (2002) circular model of the interrelation between communication and identity, the *NIP* represents a communicative effort potentially introducing social change.

In summary, critical discourse analysis suggests that a number of multicultural practices and values are in fact held to be important in German cultural identity but find references on a rather superficial level of official political discourse and language only. Multicultural identity in Germany does not cover all components of ideal multicultural values and practices but focuses predominantly on issues of recognizing ethnic identity, social empowerment, coexistence, and an integrative approach to immigration policy. The study furthermore suggests that a paradigm shift towards multiculturalism has not in fact taken place in Germany yet. Multicultural values are reproduced on a discourse level of politics and official language, not on the discourse level of political science and every day life experiences or social practices. The federal government appears to struggle between incorporating multicultural values and practices in the *NIP* on the one hand and the strong emphasis on national values and culturally assimilative social practices on the other. When Abrams et al.'s (2002) circular model is considered, it has

to be concluded that the *NIP* is merely an official communicative effort in constructing multicultural identity but hardly reflects any preexisting incorporation of multicultural practices and values in German cultural identity.

Eventually, this study has to come back to the original and underlying definition that was used to define multiculturalism: a multicultural state repudiates the idea that a state belongs to a single group (e.g. defined by identity, culture, language, religion, class, etc.), it refuses processes of nation-building that aim at assimilation and exclusion of minority groups, and it rectifies injustice done to minority groups. The analysis has shown that characteristics of German multiculturalism do not fully confirm any of these principles but rather seem to negate them. The *NIP* does not allow to draw a clear definition of what the German government understands to be multicultural. Particularly under the current developments, in which chancellor Merkel sees multiculturalism to have failed, more research appears to be necessary to understand what definitions of multiculturalism the German government is in fact applying to its own multicultural policies.

5.3 Discussion

This study has attempted to introduce a new perspective on integration policy by applying a cultural studies approach and critical discourse analysis to measure the extent to which multicultural values and practices are held to be important in Germany. The study has shown the relation between official text and cultural identity. However, the qualitative study at hand can only be representative for the material used and the findings are highly dependent on the chosen material as well as the applied methodology

The material of this work was chosen in order to gain different perspectives on German multiculturalism. All of the texts represent ideologically influenced views on the matter and the abstraction of research result was aimed at reaching coherent conclusions. However, the strong political views represented in the texts as well as the researchers

personal perceptions may have affected the results. For this study embodies an initial attempt in using comparative critical discourse analysis in order to assess levels of multiculturalism future research on the matter is indispensable for more representative results. Thinkable is a comparison of several official papers among each other in order to compare representations of German multiculturalism in order to research what particular approach towards multiculturalism Germany is currently taking. On the contrary, a comparative research on a number of texts from the immigrant society in order to compare reflections on German multiculturalism appears fruitful in order to get a clearer picture of how multicultural Germany is perceived to be. It is furthermore worthwhile taking a diachronic approach and outlining developments and changes of multicultural identity in Germany over time on the basis of official texts.

The results are also dependent on the method applied. In the case of this research critical discourse analysis was combined with analytical categories representing ideal multicultural values and practices. This attempt proved problematic in three ways. 1) Fairclough's (2002) framework for critical discourse analysis is not designed for texts of the size used in this study. An automated word-count had to be applied in order to make textual analysis possible and reduce, by additional filtering, the amount of text to a manageable size. The computer algorithm as well as the researcher's filtering of the data may be a source of imperfection in creating the raw-data. Additionally problematic proved the research of reflections on German multiculturalism in Ha (2009) and Zaimoglu (2007 [1995]). No or only vague results for the order of discourse and discursive practices could be extracted from the texts. Textual analysis and the analysis of socio-historic context delivered a number of results but they are crucially dependent on the interests and agenda underlying the text production. Critical discourse analysis is proved more useful for studying texts for themselves but served less as tool to extract reflections on multiculturalism. 2) All the three texts were concluded to be fragments of multicultural discourse. This assumption is arbitrary to the extend that the analytic categories were established on the basis of Kymlicka's (2007) and Persson's (2008) work and all conclusions of this study are crucially dependent on their theoretical foundation. Future studies may also take different theories on multiculturalism into consideration and take a comparative approach. 3) The study focuses primarily on how

multiculturalism is talked about in Germany and attempts to draw conclusions on a multicultural reality from those findings. The analysis has resulted in the fact that there is an apparent difference between how multiculturalism is talked about and how it is applied. The gap between what is said and what is done strikes as a common problem but discourse analysis is little suited to attend to matters of practical applications of policies and may therefore not be entirely able to draw a complete picture of German multicultural identity. Future studies may contribute to the findings at hand by adding evidence from a political analytic perspective in which the legal solutions to multiculturalism in Germany are observed.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Top 100 Occurrences of Word Count for the *NIP*

Word	Occurrence
und	4688
der	3315
die	2536
in	1620
von	1426
für	1180
mit	1088
zu	1039
den	950
Die	775
werden	753
im	712
des	700
Integration	585
zur	518
eine	516
auch	491
auf	489
ist	487
sich	461
das	434
Migrationshintergrund	425
als	422
wird	401
durch	399
sind	389
an	386
Migrantinnen	346
–	335
ein	331
bei	292
Maßnahmen	283
dem	283
Migranten	263
Deutschland	242
sowie	241
dass	235
Länder	226
über	219
Der	214
Bildung	209
nicht	205
einer	201
aus	196
Rahmen	181
Förderung	180
zum	179
Menschen	177
Frauen	172
ihre	168
um	165
es	164

Bundesregierung	161
Kinder	159
vor	158
Das	155
ihrer	155
oder	152
insbesondere	148
einen	147
wie	146
können	145
Sie	144
haben	144
sie	142
Jugendlichen	130
Dr	127
hat	126
soll	126
z	123
Ausbildung	122
Kommunen	121
B	119
noch	116
Bund	113
Sport	111
unter	111
deutschen	110
nach	110
sollen	110
In	108
Prozent	107
bis	105
2007	104
unterstützen	103
Kindern	102
Migration	102
Arbeit	100
Entwicklung	100
ihren	100
Schulen	99
allen	98
Angebote	97
bzw	97
nur	96
Ziel	94
Eltern	93
Medien	92
muss	91
V	89

Appendix 2: Top 100 Occurrences of Word Count for Zaimoglu (2007 [1995])

Word	Occurrence
und	1356
die	827
der	566
ich	500
in	363
das	315
ne	306
man	290
du	261
den	249
daß	227
wie	219
is	218
mit	206
zu	196
da	195
so	194
nicht	192
was	190
ist	186
sie	170
sich	169
mir	165
im	163
von	160
auf	159
n	146
wo	132
dir	130
als	127
wenn	124
es	117
an	113
er	112
mich	111
aus	110
hat	108
haben	106
weil	106
denn	105
nich	105
oder	99
auch	97
aber	91
dem	91
für	91
ein	90
dich	85
sind	82
Ich	78
zum	75
ja	73
hier	72
kann	72

mann	69
will	69
wir	68
doch	67
sein	67
Die	65
war	65
mal	64
nur	63
olle	62
bin	61
vor	61
schon	60
ner	59
also	56
um	56
bruder	55
hab	54
nach	54
vom	54
des	53
bei	52
ihr	51
mein	51
ins	50
eine	49
noch	49
uns	49
wird	47
nix	46
muß	45
einen	43
gibt	43
mit'm	43
nischt	42
bist	41
wie'n	40
ollen	38
halt	37
nem	37
Der	36
macht	35
tut	35
Und	34
geht	34
über	34

Appendix 3: Top 100 Occurrences of Word Count for Ha (2009)

Word	Occurrence
und	295
der	251
die	239
in	132
zu	73
als	68
von	66
des	61
den	54
auf	53
eine	53
sich	46
im	44
mit	41
das	39
für	38
ist	36
auch	34
Die	31
zur	31
durch	29
einer	29
nicht	29
wie	29
werden	28
dass	25
wird	25
deutschen	23
zum	23
vor	22
ein	20
sind	20
-	20
aus	19
dem	19
Gesellschaft	17
Multikulturalismus	17
einen	17
hat	17
In	16
einem	16
wurde	16
bis	15
etwa	15
nach	15
oder	15
Politik	14
Deutschland	13
Eine	13
Kultur	13
diesem	13
dieser	13
ihre	13
nur	13

um	13
an	12
bei	12
so	12
wurden	12
allem	11
diese	11
eines	11
gesellschaftliche	11
politischen	11
vom	11
bereits	10
es	10
ihrer	10
multikulturelle	10
noch	10
ohne	10
politische	10
2006	9
Im	9
Obwohl	9
am	9
deutsche	9
kulturellen	9
sie	9
über	9
Formen	8
Migrantinnen	8
anderen	8
ihren	8
immer	8
kulturelle	8
war	8
wäre	8
2005	7
2007	7
Jahren	7
Menschen	7
Migranten	7
So	7
kann	7
kaum	7
keine	7
kolonialer	7
letztlich	7
solche	7

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El Esbeng
Espoo, Dezember 2010