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Traumatising violence and fear.

The failure to take account of real experience in cultural theory, migration research and concepts of immigration

Astonished by a debate on immigration in the culture section of a newspaper featuring the exchange of more or less well known points of view over an entire month, I asked myself why, once again, a central issue had been left largely out of account: namely, how one can mediate between religious or older cultural forms and those of a secular society derived from such (often still virulent) traditions.¹ My intention here is not to „debate values“, but to get to grips with actors' ‚inner world‘ and the problem of the „simultaneousness of the non-simultaneous“ whose impact is felt within as well as beyond the individual person. What compels people to omit this issue?

In *Afrique ambiguë* (1957), Georges Balandier wrote: „To explain unfamiliar peoples among whom one has lived and who one loves means interpreting oneself. Even if we uphold the strictest scientific methods, the insight gained from personal experience always finds its way into our analysis of such cultures.“² What Balandier addressed at a time when wars of liberation were raging is examined by Georges Devereux ten years later as a problem of the distortion of science brought about by fear of the „unknown object“ or „unspoken matter“.³ Hans Bosse expanded on this thesis in the 1990s, examining the regression triggered by otherness and its psychogenetic underpinnings.⁴ What is severely lacking, and the subject of this conference, is research on the consequences of an occurrence – suffering extreme violence, disregard and humiliation or fear of death – which has proved impossible to assimilate as an experience and (to simplify somewhat) ends up, for example, determining the work of a scholar.

Prologue: a spectacle of dissociation – and a contribution to integration

On 2 February 2006, an open letter by Mark Terkessidis and Yasemin Karakasoglu appeared in the *Zeit* newspaper signed by 60 immigration researchers. It accused politicians and bureaucrats of encouraging the cliché of the backwardness and Islamism of Turkish immigrants by, for instance, recommending non-fiction titles and novels in which Muslim girls

provide „real life‘ accounts describing how they were maltreated and violated“ – „sensational polemical pamphlets that inflate individual experiences and isolated cases into a social problem which seems all the more menacing the more data and empirical findings are left out of account.“⁶⁵ Necla Kelek’s report *Die Fremde Braut* (‘bride and stranger’) is mentioned as an example. While Kelek, the letter asserted, concluded in her dissertation⁷ (2002) that the „modernization of Islam is apparent in the conceptions of Islam held by the young people she interviewed – a process of adaptation to their current circumstances and subjectification of the traditional“ – she had now „wilfully twisted her own, scientifically grounded findings in order to sell her book and place herself in the limelight as a reliable commentator, with supposed scientific legitimacy, on everything connected with ‚the Turks‘ and ‚Islam‘.“⁶⁸

In her response to this „wake-up call“, Kelek suggested that her critics pay a visit to a gynaecologist, school or advice centre if they wished to satisfy themselves that „forced marriage, domestic violence, rape and even polygamy“ are in fact widespread in Germany. Her critics, she claimed, clearly did not see „preventing [such] criminal practices“, rather than „at most explaining [them] ‚in their context of origin““, as a „contribution to public education and integration“.⁹

Karakasoglu’s motive for writing an open letter was her observation that „emotionalism hampers the critical appraisal of reality with regard to the topics of immigration, integration and Islam“. People, she suggested, make do with „simple formulas“ such as „Islam is the problem because it is incompatible with democracy; immigrants are unwilling to integrate because they are allowed too much freedom to practise their own culture; they speak no German because they reject German culture and language“ and so on. „Arranged marriages are in part the consequence of ‚marriage markets‘ straddling countries of origin and immigration [...] we need to understand the context in which they arise: they are a result of Europe’s attempts to erect barriers rather than practising regulated immigration“.¹⁰ There are, moreover, she points out, as is ‚well known‘, laws against forced marriage and „honour killings“. Karakasoglu laments the lack of „analytical focus on the complex combined effect of low levels of education, the problems of a socioeconomic underclass and lack of opportunity to participate in politics.“¹¹

Alice Schwarzer carried the battle of the sexes into the arena and thus the „clash of civilisations“ as well, bringing the debate to a predictable peak of intensity. Schwarzer berates not just Karakasoglu, but recent immigration research in its entirety for „casting a veil over the realities on the ground“ and „doing a great deal of damage to the vast majority of non-fundamentalists in the Muslim cultural area“ by „denying their problems“.¹² Kelek was in fact by no means the first researcher to tackle the suffering of women immigrants. The book *Die*

verkauften Bräute,¹³ ('brides for sale') by Andrea Baumgartner-Karabak and Gisela Landesberger, which was written from a social education perspective and deals, among other things, with forced and arranged marriages and violence against Turkish women and girls, appeared in 1978 for instance. Karin König's paper *Tschador, Ehre und Kulturkonflikt*¹⁴ ('chador, honour and cultural conflict') from 1989 portrays forms of violence and mechanisms of repression of various types which Muslim women have to put up with at school and university.

Barbara John, one of those who signed up to the appeal in the *Zeit*, referred to the books of Necla Kelek and Seyran Ates as „important because they are so authentic“ in a report on her work in the field of integration. However, she asserted, we must guard against generalizing about honour killings and forced marriages as they are „the exception“. As Heinrich Wefing was acknowledging Barbara John's „dogged determination to bring out the nuances“, the press lost interest in this subject.¹⁵

What occurred in this controversy may be described as dissociation. Rather than interpreting the reality of the immigrants economically, culturally, historically, religiously, social psychologically or legally, the protagonists, as well as the other participants in the debate, in fact dissociate: Kelek culturalizes, Karakasoglu continues to hold onto socioeconomic patterns.¹⁶ Meanwhile, a complex subject is not merely sliced up and negotiated in line with a ‚division of labour‘: the problem is pushed aside. This produces, as it were, a gap.

I Role identification as a defence against fear

Example 1: familialization as a research method

In the late 1990s Necla Kelek investigated the significance of Islamic religiosity for Muslim youths in a Hamburg comprehensive school.¹⁷ Alongside participant observation and group discussions she interviewed 15 Sunni pupils and came to the conclusion that the ‚function‘ of being a Muslim ‚lies to a significant degree in the identificatory [sic] anchoring of their origins and provides orientation by means of the norms and values of the immigrant society [sic]. On the other hand, in terms of practical action, [sic] these youths find themselves more or less on the road to modernity, where they see their future prospects. At the same time as an identificatory classification as a Muslim is being made, a process of breaking away from the traditional portion of their life-world is also taking place, which is incapable of furnishing them with sufficient guidance on coping with life in Germany.¹⁸ She goes on to remark that, against Heitmeyer,¹⁹ she ‚found no evidence of such [fundamentalist tendencies]‘ on the part

of the youths she talked to. Often, ‘their self-image as Muslims [seems] to enable these immigrant youths to establish solid self-references between the different cultural systems in the first place and thus promotes their integration’.²⁰ She agrees with Karakasoglu that ‘being a Muslim and modernity are entirely compatible’.²¹

How did Kelek arrive at these results, which she was to distance herself from in 2005? She claims to interpret the interviews in line with Geertz’ ‘thick description’. In the chapter ‘approach and methodology’ she describes how she first made contact with the youths. ‘As I am Turkish myself, it was almost always possible to rapidly establish an intensive but trusting atmosphere for the interviews. The fact that they felt they could trust me, that I was not viewed as a stranger but was somehow placed within the interviewees’ conceptions of commonality certainly contributed to this. I was therefore generally addressed by the interviewees as “*abla*” (elder sister), a polite term which expresses both respect and closeness.’²² What Kelek allowed to occur here may be described as the familialization of the research situation: the transference of the norms that apply within the family to a scholarly endeavour. Kelek unquestioningly accepts the role of *abla* that the pupils assign to her. She ‘refrains’ from ‘clearing up possible inconsistencies in the replies and accounts given by the interviewees’.²³ She does not, for example, ask how the father of one pupil would react were he to refuse to obey him in the expected way. She also refrains from commenting when a girl tells her that her relatives have arranged her engagement. Why?

In her book *Die Fremde Braut* (‘bride and stranger’), she describes the radical break with her father which she had to make in order to live her own life. In doing so, she acquired more than just freedom. She felt afraid because now she had to fend for herself. She also felt rage: her father refused to acknowledge her. In her field research, Kelek was confronted with this conflict once again. The youths, so it appears, saw her as a member of their group. Had she refused to accept this closeness by posing critical questions, she would have risked ruining the interviews. Her fear that her status as researcher might not be acknowledged led her to tolerate the pupils’ embracing of her as *abla*. What took place here is what Parin has described as ‘identification with the ideology of a social role’.

In contrast to the descriptive and functional concept of role found in sociology, Parin understands the ego as part of the role. This role cannot therefore be discarded or ‘papered over’ at will without causing inner conflicts. It is true that conducting oneself in conformity with a role always mean repressing one’s drives. Yet, Parin suggests, one is compensated for this toll by certain gains: the social recognition which identification with a social role generally brings one, and the ‘narcissistic gratification’ which this produces. On the other hand, this means giving up some independence. ‘Abandonment and separation anxieties are quietened:

one belongs. Childlike dependent strivings, which are mollified by the institution, are less able to disturb “adult” behaviour. The pursuit of the ego ideal is frequently replaced by that of a role ideal that is often easier to achieve; even the demands and prohibitions of the superego may be replaced by the demands of a particular role, which are endorsed by the outside world.²⁴

This identification prevented Kelek from making full use of her potential as a researcher. To point to cultural or familial role assignments within the research process would have enabled the pupils participating in the research to become aware of their own role identifications. Kelek could have expressed to the pupils her pleasure at being treated as *abla* and the trust they had showed in her, but by the same token she could have made it clear that *abla* is always associated with control, whether in the family, community or urban district. As a researcher she would like to know how the youths feel within the field of tension between school, Muslim community, parental home and peer group; how they cope with the different demands these institutions make of them; what they would like to change, how they suffer, but also what they are happy about.

In her study ‘Muslim religiosity and conceptions of education’, Karakasoglu proves equally incapable of probing the fears of her female students.²⁵ Although *all* students try to avoid critical examination of their families at any cost, she fails to ask them about their motives. She might then have been confronted with the young women’s fear of being expelled from the family. Even those who describe themselves as atheists would under no circumstances reveal their lack of faith within the family. Instead of talking about fears she ignores them; she ‘renders [them] unconscious’.²⁶ Karakasoglu wishes to show that everybody is on the path of modernity whether or not she wears a headscarf. This applies to ‘atheists, spiritualists, laicists, pragmatic ritualists [and] idealistic ritualists’ alike, to cite Karakasoglu’s ideal typical categories. What all have in common is the notion that a ‘religious orientation’ is not necessarily opposed to the ‘basic ideas of “modernity” such as a pluralistic society, the democratic political system, individual freedom of choice and tolerance’. The religiosity of Muslim migrants is thought to have proved ‘highly changeable [...] and is not [necessarily] an obstacle to social integration [...]’.²⁷

Example 2: culturalization of violent conflicts

In *Die Fremde Braut*,²⁸ Kelek retracts the results of her dissertation.²⁹ She now analyses ‘forced marriages’ and ‘arranged marriages’ as ‘criminal practices’ anchored in the Islamic cultural heritage. Her own great grandfather had sold ‘beautiful Circassians’ to the Sultan in

Constantinople. Her grandmother, her mother, her eldest sister – none had any say in the choice of her husband. Anyone who dared contradict her father was likely to meet with a violent response. When she herself refused to obey him once as a young girl, he broke down her bedroom door with an axe and almost killed her. Her father later returned to Turkey where he eventually died. They had never talked about what happened.³⁰

Die fremde Braut is a fascinating read. Kelek ‘describes the forced marriages of her fellow Turkish women with tremendous vigour, her unwavering aim to prevent them from occurring in future [...]’³¹ What appears here as the expression of a rebellion is at the same time the preservation of old ties, which Kelek, so to speak, conjures away as she leaps forward into modernity – without mediation or ‘working through’ them. Kelek, who counts herself among the ‘very few [...] who are proud of having a German passport’,³² who praises the Germans for having ‘shown great commitment in coming to terms with their Nazi past and crimes against others’,³³ is able, as a ‘German constitutional patriot’, to identify with this process of ‘reappraisal’; she appears to have no need to tackle the massacre of the Armenians in Turkey and their expulsion in her books.

Kelek believes the integration of immigrants has failed because of flawed policies. She is especially critical of ‘left-wing and liberal “cheerleaders for multiculturalism”’, who, she claims, have done a ‘disservice’ to integration with their ‘generally ethnicizing view’ of foreigners. ‘With tolerance their rallying cry, they have defended the various “peculiarities” of Muslim Turkish society in Germany and thus frequently encouraged immigrants’ self-exclusion.’³⁴ On the other hand, she asserts, the causes lie in immigrants’ mentality. They persist, she claims, in clinging to the antiquated laws of Islam which she believes to lack any ‘awareness of guilt’.³⁵ She thus calls upon the politicians with responsibility for such matters to do something at last, to enact laws, to prohibit forced and arranged marriages. Thus, when Kelek talks of ‘the beginnings of a realistic integration policy’ that ‘no longer idealises away the very real problems that exist but attempts instead to tackle them’, it is entirely a matter of political order.³⁶ And given that, as Michael Naumann recently remarked, ‘the political order in our country is legal in nature’,³⁷ Kelek’s proposals have resonated widely. However, if we wish to grasp why people adhere to rigid ways of being, which are often counter to their own interests, binary classificatory schemata and dichotomous value systems are quite inadequate.

Within the context of the present discussion, it is especially interesting that Kelek, who self-identifies as a German constitutional patriot, abandons the Geertzian concept of culture (common sense as a cultural system)³⁸ and attempts to understand Muslim Turkish immigrants in Germany exclusively on the basis of the ‘traditional culture’ of Turkey. With this conception of culture, which goes back to Malinowski within the discipline of social

anthropology, Kelek 'achieves' a belated reconciliation with her father: his act of violence is 'culturalized' and he himself is now the 'victim' of a backward Muslim Turkish upbringing. Kelek tries to promote the reforms implemented by Atatürk, who her father supported, in contemporary Germany, expanding upon them in certain respects.

The culturalization of violent conflicts is nothing new in anthropology. Schiffauer's *Gewalt der Ehre* ('the violence of honour'; 1983), for example, which, strangely enough, Kelek fails to mention, takes a critical step. Schiffauer depicts a depressing case in which a young German woman was raped by a group of Turkish youths; this he attempts to explain from an anthropological perspective.³⁹ On the basis of his conversations with the young men, their parents and relatives, he gives us a sense of what it means to grow up in the charged borderlands where two cultures meet. It was the principle of honour which – however fractured – continues to hold sway in practically every Turkish family, that determined the young men's behaviour. Schiffauer interprets their act of violence as a 'cultural misunderstanding'.⁴⁰ According to him, rather than understanding and respecting the value system of the young German woman, the Turkish youths had classified her as a 'dishonourable' person.⁴¹ Because 'the individual has no meaning beyond honour',⁴² the youths lacked all sense of guilt. Schiffauer focuses with much sensitivity on the perpetrators' self-image and their concept of honour. He fails to consider the potential of this concept to function as an alibi even when one of the youths tells him that they would have been shot by the woman's relatives had this happened in Turkey. The fact that he nonetheless takes the perpetrators' interpretation for the cultural model of honour rather than investigating the cultural background shows that he is taken in by stereotypes. Empathy with the perpetrators causes the aggressive act and the victim to disappear from view.⁴³ The young woman was raped not because she was read as 'dishonourable', that is, as a prostitute, but because the young men could realize their sexual desires by 'classifying' her in this way without provoking unbearable moral conflicts. 'Aggressive impulses may be acted out on devalued, often dehumanized others without guilt; one spares oneself a conflict between drive and superego or drive and ego ideal'.⁴⁴

Although anthropologists have developed an awareness of how many-layered violent conflicts can be,⁴⁵ they still rarely inquire about the affective compulsions, identifications, the collective (rather than merely individual) repressions or hurt feelings, which often lead to the escalation of violence, wars, mass extermination and even genocide and make it significantly more difficult to settle conflicts and bring about peace. This incompetence characteristic of German ethnology is, as Fritz Kramer shows, in part a product of the repression of history. Ethnologists have done far less than scholars in many other disciplines to 'come to terms'

with the Nazi past. ‘Some of the schools that dominated German-speaking ethnology in the first third of the [20th] century even managed to extend their influence into the 1960s. This applies to the “Vienna school” of Father Wilhelm Schmidt, Leo Frobenius’ “cultural morphology” and the “ethnosociology” propagated by Thurnwald. Subsequently, most German ethnologists were too busy receiving British, French and American anthropology to find the time or courage to write the history of German *Völkerkunde*.’⁴⁶ Schiffauer and Kelek refer to Malinowski’s functionalist theory of culture for example, while Karakasoglu draws on the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss when she strives to attain a sophisticated analysis of culture in her study ‘Muslim religiosity and conceptions of education’. Here, she picks up the thread of anthropological research on migration that understands culture as ‘bricolage’. On this view, immigrants “craft culture” [in Lévi-Strauss’ sense]; they work with a variety of limited tools in order to get by with whatever is at hand. Like a *bricoleur*, they create new compositions out of the rubble of what used to be social discourse. [...] This they do with a “set of tools” unrelated to the task at hand – or to any specific task. They [the “compositions”] are instead the random outcome of all occasions that replenish and enrich the stocks or help maintain them with the remains of earlier constructions and destruction.’⁴⁷

The concepts mentioned here, however, are incapable of answering the question which must have been of key importance after 1945, particularly for Germans: which motive underlay the ‘genealogizing invocation of the power of origins apparent in the myth of the autochthonous people or members of a noble race, an invocation which has proved its aptness as a powerful political tool time and again in the history of the mundane and which continues to function as such to this day by activating a mentality anchored in the myth of origins through invocation of the sacred powers of blood and soil?’⁴⁸ Although ethnologists spend more time than most taking down genealogies, they are still failing to investigate their (social) psychological function. It was the religious studies scholar Klaus Heinrich who drew attention to the fact that ‘anyone who genealogizes is not merely satisfying an intellectual need. We still feel this [non-intellectual] need today to some extent. Distance from one’s origins, being torn away, for example, from the soil of home or the maternal bosom of the family or from the paternal protection guaranteed by the large social group of the tribe or nation; having to fend for oneself as one journeys through life; the very lack of prototypical models when one encroaches technologically on a superior natural environment – all these things may be the source of profound fear, and it is entirely possible that the genealogical bridging of the rupture dividing one’s origins and everything arising from those origins will have the quality of a message of salvation. The genealogical return to source is a response to the threat, so destructive of life, of being identical to nothing. By deriving the Self and the

world from divine original forms and occurrences, this reconnection takes the fear out of this threat'.⁴⁹

Kelek claims that the reason why freedom has not become as attractive as we would like to think is 'because the cultural barrier is too high. We forget that an enormous number of Muslim immigrants live in groups whose worldview is Islam. What we kindly refer to as the extended family lives according to different rules. There is no individual freedom, no choice about wearing a headscarf, importing brides or bridegrooms. Anyone who leaves this collective is committing an act of treachery'⁵⁰. This explanation, however, fails to probe deeply enough. The person who wishes to leave her family threatens the identity of the whole, because it is characterized by a 'mentality rooted in the myth of origins' and could not tolerate a 'dialectics of originating'. According to Klaus Heinrich, 'originating from the origin' means 'on the one hand coming from the origin, carrying on the power of the origin. On the other hand, it means breaking away from the origin, having escaped from the origin. The escapee attains independence from the origin – including the fear and powerlessness inherent in being abandoned by the origin that supports him. The loss of independence, meanwhile, is the price to be paid by anyone who remains in the origin – up to and including sacrificing the Self to the engulfing origin.'⁵¹

II 'Representation of the other' as intrapsychic condition for coming to terms with others

Should one wish to relate the 'dialectics of originating' to psychogenesis, Erdheim and Bosse's concept of a 'representation of the other' is an obvious tool. In their view, the experiences of early childhood and adolescence form the basis of the great variety of meanings that the other may take on over the course of one's life, but also of the process of coming to terms with others. The 'representation of the other' is by no means an anthropological constant. It arises, after all, through practices of socialization subject to historical change and is investigated by means of psychoanalytic and developmental psychological theories and preconceptions, which are equally temporal phenomena. According to these authors it becomes established psychogenetically through the interaction of the child or youth with his role models. What is new about these two approaches is not that disturbances to the psychogenetic development of the child are elaborated as motives for xenophobic conduct, but the introduction of a self-modifying institution.

At an early age the child has to give up its 'symbiosis' with the mother in order to gradually attain autonomy; in adolescence the young person then has to manage the separation from the family.⁵² The prohibition on incest and the rules of hospitality create the conditions

for this. 'The prohibition on incest, which prohibits one from engaging in sexual relations with members of one's family, directs love outwards and makes others desirable'.⁵³ The redirection of these desires is generally the result of 'painful processes: the threat of castration characterizes the violent aspect that drives the process of breaking away, and sadness over the loved persons who one will now have to leave is an expression of the suffering which is unavoidable if one is to turn to new people, who are of course strangers.'⁵⁴

The process of coming to terms with others is regulated by the right of hospitality: 'The incest taboo expresses the prohibitions which release the individual from her system of kinship and point her towards the formation of bonds with individuals who are not members of her family. The incest taboo thus drives the individual, so to speak, away from home, a realm which begins beyond the family. The rules of hospitality guarantee the other access to the culture of the indigenous population and thus express the fact that these indigenes, in order to survive, are dependent on relations with others'.⁵⁵ Here, the antagonism noted by Freud between family and culture⁵⁶ plays a significant role. Erdheim refers to this antagonism in incisive fashion: while culture tends 'to tie people to one another to an ever greater extent through the development of new economic, social and ideological structures, the family seals itself off from the outside world'.⁵⁷ Each individual must endure this antagonism, weather the conflict between various demands, develop mechanisms that allow her to perceive the various factors in the first place and subdue the tension between them. This takes some doing. Should a child or youth be traumatized, by violence, maltreatment or neglect, by sexual or emotional abuse, her ability to develop a representation of the other is disturbed; it stagnates. It retains the kind of 'archaic traits' we know so well from many conceptions of the other. The mechanism of dissociation and projection, which once enabled the mother image to be relieved of unpleasant elements, now provides relief once again. It is however not only the frowned upon aspects of one's own person, of the mother and of the family that are shifted to the outside. Now it is above all those of one's own ethnic group or one's own society. 'Should conflicts be projected outwards, the individual certainly experiences this as relief, but the areas of the personality involved are unable to develop'⁵⁸.

Another form of stagnation is exoticism. This occurs at a later stage of development than xenophobia. 'The other develops its (exotic) appeal, which is of course linked with the fantasy that the other is nicer, better. For this very reason, one wishes to remain with the other from the moment that the internal image of the family to which one belongs has stabilized, and this is in fact bound up with the constitution of the oedipal structures.'⁵⁹ Just as the parents were once idealized for developmental purposes, the others are now idealized; the adolescent endows them with qualities which he feels are lacking at home, in his own culture.

This hampers a realistic process of coming to terms with the other, because here too the ambivalence vis-à-vis the other is split and only the positive valencies are experienced.

We could interpret Ludger Volmer's recent justification for the visa-issuing procedure he ordered as exoticism. Prior to his decree, he claimed, arbitrariness and harassment had been the order of the day; 'security and freedom' had subsequently been achieved.⁶⁰ Here, a particular vision of a multicultural society continues to hold sway. It feeds on the desire to believe that the other is better. On this view, therefore, living together in the multicultural society can succeed more or less naturally and requires no political, social or legal framing.⁶¹ When the Council on Africa (*Afrikarat*) established in Berlin in 2005 distinguishes between 'brothers and sisters' (Africans) and 'friends and enemies' (Europeans) in its calls for 'action [to be taken] against xenophobia and racism', the 'antagonism between family and society' is abolished and the political group is reduced to the family.

The website of the Rwandan government gives us a sense of how the experience of extreme violence and destruction may affect political self-image: '[...] the relationship between the ordinary Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa was one of mutual benefit[...]. The relationship was symbiotic'.⁶² This was in fact a 'contract of service', also known as a 'cattle agreement' or 'cattle clientship' – thus a clearly regulated relationship of mutual dependence between Bahutu and Batutsis. The naturalization of their historically conflictual relationship or its projection at a very early stage of psychogenesis – dedifferentiation and the abandonment of historical awareness and reflection – seems to the Batutsi government essential to bringing about unity and reconciliation. As soon as the Bahutu, whose story has so far been ignored by historiography, press for recognition, the next conflict will loom. It is thus not solely 'destructive aggression', but also the regressions and fears mentioned above – frequently as a consequence of traumatizing violence – which hamper the recognition of human dignity, human rights and the formation of a democratic consciousness.

Future prospects: The search for „mediating figures“

Why did politicians fail to grasp long ago that their concepts, derived from „philosophies of consciousness“ are incapable of „guaranteeing civility“? Why do institutions such as the German Federal Department of Immigration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*, part of the Ministry of the Interior),⁶³ the „Centre for International Peace Initiatives“⁶⁴ (*Zentrum für internationale Friedenseinsätze*), which comes under the Foreign Ministry, or the Conference of Culture Ministers (*Kultusministerkonferenz*) in its programmes of political

education for schoolchildren,⁶⁵ continue to ignore the fact that it is impossible to educate without making allies of fear and regression?

The fact that religious, even archaic cultural forms have not vanished entirely, even from secular societies, and we should thus expect to have to deal with them, is paid equally little heed. „Abla“ is one example.⁶⁶ It reinforces or re-establishes genealogical belonging and ensures that a broad range of conflicts (or rivalries) between the sexes, generations and siblings are regulated. In the Old Testament we find the same thing in the Fourth Commandment: „Du sollst Vater und Mutter ehren“ (Exodus 20, 2-17; Deuteronomy 5, 6-21),⁶⁷ and in the Koran (Sure 17, 23 (24))⁶⁸ we read: „Und dein Herr hat befohlen: Verehrt keinen außer Ihm und (erweist) den Eltern Güte [...].“ This institution withstood even the reforms of Kemal Atatürk. One of the aims of political education thus asserts that: „[...] our national education will therefore emphasize the particular type of citizen that [...] is intimately bound up with our tradition of ‚honouring our parents and loving and protecting our younger siblings‘“. ⁶⁹ We have shown what kind of conflicts *abla* may lead to in local institutions when, for example, hierarchies of age end up competing with those of education, in a study on conflicts in a German-Turkish day nursery. The losers in this social microcosm were the young, doubly socialized educators.⁷⁰

The „simultaneity of the non-simultaneous“ exists, though this is not always understood, just as much in our own culture. When the Federal Constitutional Court recently had to clarify that „the provision in the air security law authorizing planes deployed as weapons to be shot down if necessary, [...] [violates] the constitution and [...] [is] void“, ⁷¹ for example, this is meant to be taken as evidence that in this country too there is no unchallenged consensus that the individual may be sacrificed for the good of the whole.

If „a liberal political culture“, to echo Habermas, „[...] [may] expect even the secularized citizens to contribute to efforts to translate relevant contributions from religious language into a publicly accessible language“⁷² – but „mediating figures“ anchored in people’s needs and desires are necessary to achieving this, then we are living in a developing country. Why, though, are knowledge resources, which are in fact available, not deployed and thus plans developed by means of which „tensions“ that exist in the individual, society, each culture, not merely between cultures, may be perceived and relieved? A programme of action is hunting down the other, whether in education or integration policies. We now place our trust in the „subject’s capacity to bring order to itself“. ⁷³ The stability achieved by many is due to the above-mentioned „identification with the ideology of a social role“ which certainly holds fear in check but which also leads to a loss of autonomy. Should such people come into contact with institutions, such as the press, which are often so successful precisely because they meet a

need for „simple solutions“, in line with an „either – or“ schema, and which therefore split problems, facts – reality – then a folding mechanism clicks into action. The structures of the institution and those of the individual dovetail. A prime example and the topic which kicked off our attempt to come to terms with trauma is the way the controversy outlined above was presented in the media, which centred on the repetition of binary classificatory models.

¹ See also Jürgen Habermas' acceptance speech upon receiving the Peace Price from the German book trade (Der Riß der Sprachlosigkeit. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 2001, October 16) and the „response“ by the then president of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Hubert Markl (Das Christentum darf die Gesellschaft nicht dominieren. *Der Tagesspiegel*, 2001, November 15), which lays bare the urgent need for Habermasian education in Germany.

² Balandier, Georges. *Zwielichtiges Afrika*. [Africa, the shady continent] Stuttgart 1959, 7-8.

³ Devereux, Georges. *Angst und Methode in den Verhaltenswissenschaften*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1967.

⁴ Bosse, Hans. *Der fremde Mann. Jugend, Männlichkeit, Macht. Eine Ethnoanalyse*. Unter Mitarb. von Werner Knauss. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1994.

⁵ Terkessidis, Mark, and Karakasoglu, Yasemin. 2006. Gerechtigkeit für die Muslime! Die deutsche Integrationspolitik stützt sich auf Vorurteile. So hat sie keine Zukunft. Ein Weckruf. *Die Zeit*, February 2.

⁶ Kelek, Necla. *Die fremde Braut. Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2005.

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