Racism, Nationalism and Citizenship
Ethnic Minorities in Britain and Germany

Nicola Piper
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NICOLA PIPER
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List of Abbreviations

BNA  British Nationality Act
BNP  British National Party
BSA  British Social Attitudes
CDU  Christian Democratic Union
EC   European Community
ECSC European Coal and Steel Community
EEC  European Economic Community
EFTA European Free Trade Association
EP   European Parliament
EU   European Union
EURATOM European Atomic Energy Community
FDP  Liberal Democratic Party
FRG  Federal Republic of Germany
GDR  German Democratic Republic
IGC  Intergovernmental conference (due in July 1997)
IPOS Institut für praxis-orientierte Sozialforschung
OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OJ   Official Journal of the European Communities
PDS  Democratic Socialist Party
SEA  Single European Act
SED  United Socialist Party of Germany (informer GDR)
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<tr>
<td>SPD</td>
<td>German Social Democrat Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>TREVI</td>
<td>Terrorism, radicalism, extremism and violence (group of EC member-states' interior ministers)</td>
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1 Introduction

1.1 General introduction

1.1.1 Background

Virtually every advanced industrialized country has experienced international labour migration in the form of legally admitted foreign workers, undocumented aliens, political refugees or permanent immigrants. There are an estimated thirty million foreign workers and unauthorized aliens in all parts of the world, with an additional fifteen million political refugees (Castles 1993:18). The movement of people across national borders has undoubtedly become a global issue and will likely become an even more salient one in the future as the economic inequalities and the global knowledge about the existence of these inequalities increase.

Of the world's approximately thirty million foreign workers and undocumented aliens, almost half are to be found in western Europe. These migrants originally came during the post-war period as workers to meet the growing demand for labour. Despite a general tendency in Europe towards restrictive immigration policies in the early 1970s, intensified family reunification as well as 'family formation' (Menski 1994) have resulted in a continuous or even higher proportion of immigrants, and meanwhile the permanent settlement of some fifteen million foreigners in western European countries has become the new reality (Layton-Henry 1990). Among European Community member-states, Germany has the highest number of foreign residents with currently around seven million. The largest group in 1991 was the Turks (1.9 million) (OECD 1995). Germany is followed by France with a foreign population of 3.6 million (Castles 1995:298) and Britain where the number of foreign citizens was two million in 1990 (OECD 1995). In the latter case, however, when British-born persons of Afro-Caribbean and Asian origin are included, the overall population of immigrant origin is estimated at 4.5 million (Castles 1995:300).

Set against a general trend towards restrictive policies dealing with future immigration in western Europe are various differing socio-political responses of each individual state to the situation of newly settled ethnic minorities (Hammar 1985b). In the German context, the dominant aspect of the government's 'foreigners' policy' (Ausländerpolitik) was a double strategy of integration and 'assistance to return' (Rückkehrförderung). In contrast to the de facto permanence of the immigrants' settlement, the immigration status of former 'guest-workers' is still officially denied as reflected in the absence of a governmental immigration policy and the continuous official claim that Germany is not a country of immigration (Layton-Henry 1990:8; Martin & Miller 1990:9; Schönwälder 1995:423).
Britain, as opposed to Germany, solved its manpower shortage partly through recruitment from its former colonies in the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent (the highest number of labour migrants came in actual fact from Ireland) and granted members of the Commonwealth a privileged status as citizens until the introduction of the first Immigrants Act in 1962. In sharp contrast to Germany, legal equality of the ex-colonial immigrants bound up with paternalistic colonial traditions of British society led, as early as the 1960s, to developments of various ideas about integration (Bahringhorst 1991). However, similar to Germany, a double strategy was implemented, although of different character: On the one hand, harsher immigration legislation, and on the other, measures of inclusion such as the introduction of the 'Race Relation Acts' began to be introduced in the early 1960s (Layton-Henry 1992). The final aim was the same in both countries: to limit primary labour migration. With increased secondary immigration (i.e. family reunification and formation) and fairly unsuccessful 'return policies', immigrant or ethnic minority communities of a considerable size developed as permanent parts of both societies.

1.1.2 The topic of this book

Given this very brief portrait of immigration in Germany and Britain, this book examines the question of whether citizenship functions, or could function, as a mechanism for inclusion and participation for settled, post-war labour migrants of non-European origin and their descendants. This means that in the German context, the focus will be on the experience of the Turks, who are by far the largest non-European minority, and on the experiences of the diverse ethnic minorities from the Indian sub-continent and the West Indies in the British context (see Appendix I for figures).

The presence of settled non-European immigrant populations of an unprecedented size and diversity 'constitutes a major challenge to the concept of citizenship in modern industrial democracies' (Layton-Henry 1990:vi). Large communities of foreign residents have been established in western Europe and high proportions of these 'as yet,....show little sign of following the path of previous immigrants by integrating, assimilating and becoming naturalised citizens of their new countries of work and residence' (Layton-Henry 1991:107).

This book is an investigation of the ways in which, and the reasons why, these settled immigrants do not enjoy a fully equal status as citizens, despite their long periods of residence and the emergence of subsequent generations raised and/or born in German or British society. Although these migrants generally enjoy secure rights of abode, their political and social participation in the countries of residence is challenged in many ways, such as by right-wing extremist parties and neo-nazi movements (usually in a crude and open way) as well as by members of mainstream parties, supporting a general climate of restrictive immigration/inclusion policies.
Rights to citizenship are central to the issue of who should be included in the national society as a participating member with full access to civil, political and social rights - the three main elements of citizenship, according to Marshall (1950) - and who should be treated as an outsider with lesser rights. However, exclusion from socio-national membership is also reflected in the mingling of nationality and citizenship laws, whereby the notion of 'descent' impedes the acquisition of citizenship. Furthermore, not only the dimension of rights and laws is central to the issue of inclusion, but also the wider dimension of social participation and recognition within civil society. Hence, in addition to citizenship/nationality as a legal status, the aspects of identifying a national/citizen and recognizing a 'newcomer' as belonging (or not belonging) to a socio-national community are also highly relevant.

1.2 Integration into the research context

1.2.1 The particular cases of Germany and Britain - a comparative perspective

This book is mainly a comparison of the socio-political responses to post-war labour migration in Germany and Britain. The primary purpose of discussing these two 'nation-states' is to show that, despite particular historical circumstances, there have been similar trends with regard to the citizenship status of permanent non-European immigrants and their descendants in both societies. As Britain and Germany are members of the European Community, an investigation will follow of how this trend is dealt with, or reflected, on the European level, i.e. whether the European Community has made any difference to national policies of immigration and inclusion.

Generally speaking, the benefits of comparison are that such an analysis helps to illustrate, firstly, the complex issues involved in different historical and cultural contexts of immigrant-receiving countries and, secondly, an understanding of the dissimilarities and similarities of immigrant peoples' socio-political status in Britain and Germany. In terms of broad characteristics, the comparative analysis of Germany and Britain involves two less divergent societies rather than highly divergent ones. This can be shown with regard to their 'societal frameworks' (for instance, such features as being highly advanced industrial societies based on democratic political systems within the framework of a nation-state and as being de facto multi-ethnic societies).

Apart from sharing similar societal frameworks, there are differences with regard to their histories of developing national membership (based on national identity) and their histories of immigration. A detailed comparison of Britain and Germany, however, will show that despite these different histories, different concepts of membership to the
nation-state have become more similar when approached from the point of view of immigrants. Although these different histories have resulted in different statuses of formal citizenship (i.e. in legal terms) for immigrants in these two countries, there have been similar processes of 'ethnicization' (Bös 1993) or 'racialization' (Small 1994) of the concept of membership. Citizenship and nationality tend to be coterminous.

Existing comparative studies which contextualize citizenship and immigration have not emphasized the latter point strongly enough. Brubaker, for example, presents Germany and Britain in the introduction to his edited book *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America* (1989) - a historical account of nation-formation processes - as rather opposing examples by emphasizing the early periods of these processes. Thus, he neglects the post-war developments during which unprecedentedly large-scale immigration of non-Europeans took place resulting, as suggested by Bös (1993), in similar 'ethnicization' processes of the concept of membership in both countries.

Comparative studies of societal responses to immigration, such as by Layton-Henry (1990) and Hammar (1985b), rightly point out the liberal position of Britain with regard to naturalization procedures, dual nationality and the granting of voting rights to its ethnic minorities, as opposed to Germany's illiberalism in this respect. However, these studies, which are in places somewhat descriptive, fail to emphasize the particular British historical circumstances which resulted in a more liberal position vis-à-vis its labour migrants, i.e. the peculiarity of the Empire with regard to Britain's concept of common subjecthood and the colonial link between Britain and most of its post-war immigrants. Moreover, they fail to show post-war tendencies of the British and German position approaching each other (i.e. from liberal to less liberal in the former case and from extremely exclusionary to less exclusionary in the latter case) with similar exclusionary implications for ethnic minorities.

In the post-war period, Germany and Britain have accommodated comparatively large numbers of labour migrants from non-European backgrounds with non-Christian religions. They both stopped immigration of workers during the early 1970s and since then implemented harsher and harsher immigration legislation or other types of control. In both countries the 'ethnic' or 'racial' issues have been major components of daily politics (van Dijk 1993) which have been recently characterized by a certain revival of nationalistic and anti-immigrant tendencies. The restrictive immigration policies are, however, not confined to the right-wing/conservative discourse, but it has been suggested that all of the governments elected to office in Germany and Britain took a strong stand on immigration as well as asylum (Small 1994; Faist 1994a and b; Layton-Henry 1991). This has certain implications for settled immigrants in that they are pictured as undesired or even criminalized in the context of immigration control and repatriation (Castles 1993:24). Nonetheless, it
seems to be in particular the New Right’s discourse\(^9\) which revived a form of 'racially based theory of nationalism' (Cohen 1994:202) where ‘the process of national decline is often presented as 'coinciding with the dilution of one homogeneous stock by alien strains' (Sarup 1991; as quoted by Cohen, ibid.). This sort of discourse also involves the question of 'scapegoating' of immigrant populations in times of socio-economic crises. Statements put forward in both countries which centre upon the 'scrounging of welfare service' or defending a narrow nationalism - for whichever reason - do much harm by rendering respectability to intolerant ideas.

Ethno-centric or racist views as to who should qualify as a full member of the national community are either enshrined in constitutional form, as in the German case, or in immigration legislation, as in the British case. Discourses around 'repatriation' of immigrants have played an important role in both countries (Small 1994; Bahringhorst 1991), although a clear policy, by which immigrants were offered financial support for returning to their countries of origin, existed only in Germany. Thus, despite ideals of freedom, equality and democracy, both countries have systematically excluded a significant portion of their population from the benefits of such ideals.

Another aspect of common ground shared by Germany and Britain with regard to their socio-political structure can be found in their membership of the European Community. It has to be noted, however, that Germany was among the founding countries and Britain did not enter until 1973 - a fact which partly explains the different levels of commitment to the European idea\(^10\) and the differing perceptions of the role of the Community. This is also likely to have an impact on the understanding of European citizenship. Therefore, although with the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty both countries are equally involved in the process of European integration and in the materialization and development of European citizenship, the actual ideas behind these processes might not be the same. The latter is of crucial interest here regarding the issue of granting European citizenship to peoples of non-European background living permanently in EC territory. Moreover, a comparative analysis of Britain and Germany should enable the assessment of the likelihood that the European Community could harmonize the various policies of inclusion (e.g. nationality laws, anti-discrimination legislation) that already exist in the individual member-states.

With regard to academic discourse, in both countries a considerable amount of literature has been produced on historical and ideological aspects of nationhood, citizenship and/or nationality. However, in Britain there has been an emphasis on research into what Banton has called the 'race relations problematic' (Banton 1991; see also Wrench & Solomos 1993:157; Wilpert 1993:67). A comparative analysis of Germany and Britain is useful to explain why there is a lack of such theorizing of racism in contemporary German society and why there is a difference in
Racism, Nationalism and Citizenship

corcepts, as reflected in the terminology of racism versus Ausländerfeindlichkeit (hostility towards foreigners).

Furthermore, there seems to be a new trend among 'British' academics towards a greater interest in ethnicity and nationalism rather than 'race relations' (Anthias 1995). Authors such as Barker (1981), Gilroy (1987) and Miles (1993) argue that racist discourse now revolves more around cultural identity and national boundaries rather than biological concepts. This line of argument has, however, so far not been contextualized with the issue of citizenship - neither in Germany nor in Britain.

It will be emphasized throughout this book that, despite historical differences and quite different policies of inclusion, the effects of nationalism and racism have had similar results in Germany and Britain viz. racialized 'new' ethnic minorities who are excluded from citizenship and whose social and cultural position is mostly below that of the majority.

There is, among others (which are mainly the subject of the chapter on racism), one terminological issue which needs clarifying when employing a comparative analysis of Britain and Germany. This comparison is that of two nation-states. However, in the British case, the overwhelming concentration of ethnic minorities from former colonies are resident in England and all the sources of the empirical data (groups and organizations interviewed) are located in England (in fact in London). In addition, there is this complex issue of Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English identity incorporated in the whole of the United Kingdom. It seems, therefore, almost more appropriate to refer to England. However, all legal provisions (the national as well as the EC legislation) regarding citizenship hold for the entire United Kingdom. Also, contemporary attitudes and conduct towards outsiders seem to have their larger British manifestation. Ireland is viewed in this respect as a special case, as its historical attachment to Great Britain has not been as long as that of Wales and Scotland. More importantly, its attachment to Britain has always been violently contested by certain parts of the Irish people so that it is preferred here to exclude Ireland (in particular from the discussion of racism and its history). Thus, this analysis will be mostly confined to Great Britain (which is referred to here as Britain out of mere convenience), and only in sections dealing with historical developments will a clear differentiation be made between England, Scotland and Wales.

In the case of Germany, only post-war labour migration into the western part will be discussed. The situation of labour migrants in the ex-GDR was different and will be ignored here. However, the country has been reunited since 1990 and the new socio-economic problems - having resulted in rising anti-foreigners sentiments - affect former guest workers' social position in the East and West (Rathzel 1995). Therefore, reference will always be made to the whole of Germany, unless stated differently.
1.2.2 The analytical framework

Inclusion and exclusion  The perception of long-term residents of non-European background as permanent settlers and an integral part of the resident population requires their inclusion into the socio-national community to achieve social justice and to maintain social peace. Thus, only those issues which have an impact on the socio-legal inclusion of immigrant minorities and which test their legitimate membership are considered. The outcome of insufficient inclusion would be exclusion which may be based on legal mechanisms (such as sharp distinctions between the rights of citizens and non-citizens, complicated naturalization procedures) or on informal practices (based on, e.g., racism and nationalism within civil society).

Citizenship and the effects of nationalism and racism  The main argument established here is that there exists a link between racism and nationalism, both of which are understood as ideologies (or discourses) and practices. The relationship between nationalism and racism - which is regarded as symbiotic whereby neither can be given an absolute priority over the other - is reflected on the state level within the intermingling of nationality and citizenship laws as well as within the perception of civil society. Thus, it is argued that this relationship has exclusionary implications for 'new' ethnic minorities' citizenship status.

As the majority of modern states established a link between citizenship and nationality, 'nationality is considered as a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for the exercise of citizenship' (Leca, in: Mouffe 1992:21). Thus, in the context of inclusion of immigrants, citizenship raises a number of issues, 'in one case concerning national identity and the historical role of nation-states as the pre-eminent modern form of organization of a political community' (Bottomore, in: Marshall & Bottomore 1992:85), and in the other case, concerning rights and 'liberties' (Held 1991) of individuals living in a state. Immigrant peoples' membership of a state might be accorded formal recognition in law, while their presence and participation as full citizens is still questioned within civil society.

Nationalism is here understood as the ideological or discursive articulation of national identity, i.e. as ideologies or 'discourses in which [collective, N.P.] identities and counter-identities are conceived and through which they are sustained' (Bauman 1992:678). In other words, the construct of the 'nation' tends to depict 'the people' with the notion of descent and blood-relatedness, or - as suggested by Arendt - as "one super-human family that we call 'society' and its political form of organization called 'nation-state'" (1958:29). As a result, clear boundaries (or lines) are drawn between those who belong and those who do not belong to the socio-national community. These lines are essentially established within the laws of nationality, but they are not at all restricted to these formal
The distinction between belonging and non-belonging is, however, not only one of the main purposes of nationalism, but also of racism. Therefore, it is argued here that national identity and identity as a 'race' are intermingled.

Identity There are many forms of identity but only one is of interest here, collective identity. It is described by Passerin d'Entreves as a 'we' identity which is not given but which must be constantly negotiated. '[T]he creation of a 'we' with which we are able to identify both ourselves and our actions...[is a] process of identity-construction [which] is never given once and for all, and [which] is never unproblematic. Rather, it is a process of constant renegotiation and struggle, a process in which actors articulate and defend competing conceptions of cultural and political identity.' (in: Mouffe 1992:157).

One form of collective identity is nationality (as distinct from nationality as a legal status). As a feeling of cultural togetherness, nationality is suggested by Heater (1990) to be a mental construct which does not necessarily have to correspond with a sense (or the perception) of being a citizen.

National identity should not be confused with other types of identity. The aspect which distinguishes nationality from other types of identity derives from the fact that it is a source of individual identity within a 'people' which is seen as the basis of collective solidarity. The 'people' is the mass of a population whose boundaries and nature are defined in various ways, but which is usually perceived as larger than any concrete community (Greenfeld 1992:3). Since the emergence of European nation-states, universalistic and particularistic notions of the 'nation' have tended to co-exist (Räthzel 1995; Bauman 1992) and thus, national identity frequently utilizes ethnic or 'racial' characteristics for self-identification as well as for establishing 'a natural division of the world's population into discrete categories' (Miles 1993:62; original emphasis).

The second form of collective identity is citizenship. One of the particular features of an 'identity-as-citizen' is 'the way in which it overlays the other social identities the individual inevitably feels.' (Heater 1990:183). These other social identities based on, for instance, class, ethnic or gender divisions, can create intense antagonisms. Citizenship as a political identity, however, can help to generate an awareness of responsibility for conciliating conflicting interests and thus, help to appease social antagonisms. However, 'as nationality became associated in the ideology of nationalism with the doctrine of popular sovereignty, it became important that cultural nationality and legal citizenship should correspond.' (ibid.:185). Hence, the two sources of collective identity, citizenship and nationality, tend to be enmeshed and thus, counteract the conciliatory function of citizenship by involving exclusionary effects for immigrant minorities. I will argue here, however, that not only the identity as a citizen tends to be equated with national identity, but also that the identity as a
'national' is linked to the identity as a 'race'. Therefore, the drawing of boundaries between insiders and outsiders of a socio-national community also involves processes of racialization. This is reflecting in German and British law as well as within civil society.

To sum up, the following questions will be dealt with in this book: How does the relationship between nationalism and racism affect immigrants' citizenship status? Can citizenship diminish the power of this relationship? To what extent does citizenship function as a mechanism for inclusion? To find answers to these questions, the conceptual link between citizenship and nationality with its racializing effects on ethnic minorities will be shown in the historical and legal contexts of Germany and Britain as well as in the wider perception of civil society in both countries.

1.3 Chapter guide

The next chapter contains a discussion of the methods of research employed as well as the nature and sources of the empirical data which derive from pressure or lobby groups working in the 'race relations' field in Germany and Britain and which are about views on racism, national/European identity, and citizenship.

The chapter following the explanations on methodology and empirical data, Chapter Three, will provide a full account of policies of immigration or inclusion and measures established by the European Community and their possible consequences for the position of non-European immigrants in the European context. It will be shown that, from the perspective of post-war labour migration, the EC has minimal influence on matters of inclusion and is rather preoccupied with immigration issues revolving around border controls and visa requirements. To illustrate this point, the creation of 'Fortress Europe' and its implications on third country nationals' position, both within the single member-states and within the whole Community as a whole, are investigated.

Chapter Four deals with the issue of racism and, first of all, explains the conceptual divergence in Britain and Germany as reflected in the different terminologies employed in both countries (racism versus Ausländerfeind-lichkeit). It further outlines existing theories on racism relevant in the context of national identity/nationalism and citizenship. These theories will be combined or elaborated to approach the issue of racism from the perspective of national and supranational (European) citizenship.

Chapter Five briefly presents the relevant theories behind the formation of nation-states and national identity. It will be shown how national identity is closely linked to identity as a 'race', internally (identity as superior 'race') as well as externally (vis-à-vis the Other, i.e. the inferior 'race'). In the context of post-war immigration, the new situation that unprecedentedly large, settled ethnic minority populations pose to the issue
of national identity will be investigated with the help of the notion of 'identity crisis'. It will be suggested that racializing and thus exclusionary effects of national identity still exist. The possibility of a new form of identity, i.e. post-national or post-conventional, will be discussed.

Chapter Six outlines the relevant theories on citizenship and describes their shortcomings when approached from the point of view of non-European immigrants and their descendants. The development of a conception of citizenship in this context is attempted. The aspect of citizenship is then looked at in more detail in both British and German contexts. In a further section, citizenship is approached from the post-national, i.e. European Union, level and European citizenship for non-European immigrants will be assessed. A final section on future developments explores the potential of local citizenship as a possible result of the establishment of the Committee of the Regions by the Maastricht Treaty and the principle of subsidiarity.

Chapter Seven includes material on 'mass discourse' in both countries. It looks into the viewpoints held by civil society (i.e. the 'indigenous' population) on the racism/nationalism/citizenship issues central to this book as generated by studies on social attitudes and opinion surveys. The findings will show a high degree of polarization of 'the public's opinion', but will nonetheless enable a broad generalization about the general public's attitudes on the relevant issues.

Chapter Eight covers an elite perspective on the three main issues in form of political discourse. Reports of parliamentary debates topicalizing issues of immigration and issues related to ethnic minorities have been selected to show the language and definitions being used and the connections being made between the relevant elements in this thesis. Both chapters (Seven and Eight) will illustrate the inter-relatedness of public opinion and politicians' discourse and its effects on ethnic minorities' citizenship status.

Chapter Nine deals with the data obtained in the interviews structured in sections on the same main topics as above: racism, national identity and, finally, citizenship. Each section is subdivided into the data obtained from 'British' and 'German' sources and the EU source. Similarities and dissimilarities in the findings will be specially pointed out and references to the arguments developed in the 'theory' chapters will be made.

The final chapter contains the conclusion and future perspectives on a more inclusive concept of citizenship.
Notes

1 The term 'industrialized' instead of 'capitalist' is used here to acknowledge that the phenomenon of 'migrant labour' also existed in socialist countries (such as the former GDR). However, the focus will be here on western European countries with capitalist economies.

2 Family formation' refers to the situation in which, for instance, a Turkish or Asian person who is a permanent resident in Europe, marries a person from the country of origin who is then allowed - more or less easily depending on the host country's regulations - to join the spouse in Europe (Menski 1994).

3 More precisely, it should be people of 'non-western European origin' as Turkey is usually listed (e.g. in statistics on migration 'flows') under 'Europe'. In other words, the focus will be here on people who come from countries which are not members of the European Union.

4 Today, 2.5% of the European Community's population are legal migrants from non-European countries (Garcia 1992:14).

5 The term 'civil society' is meant here to refer to the 'indigenous' majority.

6 This is done by Brubaker in more detail in his book Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (1992) in which the British situation is not discussed.

7 Ethnicization' in the context of the acquisition of citizenship refers to the shift from the territorial principle to the principle of blood-relatedness or, in other words, from ius soli to ius sanguinis.

8 For right-wing/conservative British political discourse see Gilroy (1987), Barker (1981), CCCS (1982); for German right-wing/conservative political discourse see Faist (1994a+b).

9 For a brief over-view of New Right's schools of thought see Grant (1993).

10 For more details on the British re-orientation from the Empire/Commonwealth towards Europe see George (1990 and 1991).

11 It might be useful at this point to explain the difference between inclusion and integration as suggested by Soysal (1994). Inclusion means legal and organizational incorporation by state-policies and refers to a macro-level process whereby the migrant becomes part of the host polity. Integration involves the adjustment by the migrant to the host society under the assumption of an individual, micro-level process.

12 Exclusion is not understood here as total exclusion which would mean preventing the entry of all immigrants and the total refusal of naturalization etc.

13 For a brief explanation of the difference between 'ideology' and 'discourse' see Hall (1992b:291-295). The author of this thesis is aware of these differences, but decided not to settle on one of them as in the material cited here either one of these terms is employed depending on the respective author's perspective.
References


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