Rap as Resistance: German Rap Music as Anti-Racist and Pro-Immigrant Social Justice Work

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This summer I analyzed the relationship between political Hip Hop music and activism in Germany, especially how artists use their platforms to speak out against social justice issues relevant to them. I concentrated on current artists who are people of color and/or have a migrant background. I researched music released between 2001 and now. I learned about a few political musicians and groups through various German classes at Albion, and these provided me with inspiration for the project. I focused on rap music, although the four elements of Hip Hop include graffiti, breakdancing, and DJing in addition to rap. My goals were to read current secondary literature on the topic, identify 10-20 rappers who use their platforms as a social justice tool, find songs that contain politically charged lyrics, search for evidence of engagement on social media, read and conduct interviews, find signs of organizational involvement, and determine the impact of activist behavior on social and political movements in Germany. I wanted to find political music and behavior as well as the impact of that on German society. I also hoped to find any relevant legislation that might show the role rappers play in pushing for social change. I am writing a senior thesis, and I designed this project with the intention of providing me with a foundation for that work, including writing draft sections throughout the FURSCA period.

I achieved many of my goals. I read over 25 articles relevant to the topic, and I read sections of four published books. I now know some important academics to the field, such as Fatima El-Tayeb, Sascha Verlan, and Timothy Brown. I identified around 20 rappers who have done important work in this realm and analyzed much of their music. In the first week of my project, I realized that I needed to narrow my social justice issues, so I decided to focus on racism and xenophobia present within German society. I did this because I discovered that many artists found through this research, most of whom are of African and/or Middle Eastern descent, talk about these two topics more than others. Many of them have certain songs that address issues specifically as well as songs that mention racism or xenophobia but do not necessarily focus entirely on it. This summer I found over 50 songs that engage with anti-racist and pro-immigrant work. Some of these pieces were done in collaboration with other Hip Hop artists, and some even raised money for organizations through their music. Projects done with anti-racist and pro-immigrant intention have many positive comments from supporters on YouTube, especially from those praising them for addressing topics often considered difficult and taboo. I was also able to follow many of the artists on Instagram and Facebook, and several of them have posted or joined online campaigns in the fight against racism and/or xenophobia. One of these is N Wort Stoppen (Stop the N Word), which aims to remove use of the derogatory slur from the public, cultural, and private sectors in Germany. One artist, Roger Rekless, released videos on his Instagram advocating for the campaign. Artists’ social medias also indicate information about their audiences, as all of the artists that I have seen online have extremely positive comments from fans praising their work.

Along with the music and social media, I read interviews, discovered biographies, and found organizational involvement. Many artists have done interviews with various platforms, including famous news outlets such as Deutsche Welle and music-specific outlets like Puls. I also watched interviews on YouTube through accounts such as Hiphop.de, which focuses on current Hip Hop artists in Germany. A couple of the artists even wrote and published books that highlight their experiences in the industry and in German society, and these texts provide deep insight into their lives. These interviews and books are helpful for my work, as many artists opened up not only about their personal experiences with racism and xenophobia, but also how their experiences impact their music. Several artists are also involved with organizations that fight for anti-racist and pro-immigrant causes. Some of these organizations use art to engage, such as The Power of the Arts, which advocates for an open society and funds projects that use art in order to accomplish their goal. Other organizations take a more direct approach, such as the Amadeau Antonio Stiftung, which is one of the largest non-government organizations working to protect human rights in Germany. Artists mainly contribute through donations, advocacy, and participation.

I also spent some time researching the ways that racism and xenophobia occur in Germany. This is pertinent background information necessary to establish the reasons for protesting the issues in Germany. Some notable organizations that I read published information from are the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, Germany’s Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, and the European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance. These organizations fight discrimination and protect rights. They also work to identify areas of discrimination. I attached a drafted section of my work on this subtopic with this report.

Some aspects of my project did not work out the way I originally intended, but I still have time to pursue those elements through the thesis writing process. Although I contacted many rappers, I was not able to conduct any interviews on my own. I believe that the concert season of summer combined with the return of more live music events contributed to this, as artists are busy right now. I am going to continue to reach out and attempt interviews throughout the fall. I also was not able to find any evidence of legislation motivated by Hip Hop music in Germany, but I did find evidence of artists participating in and performing at demonstrations. An example of this took place in Frankfurt, where rapper Jalil gave a speech at a Black Lives Matter event in June 2020.

As aforementioned, this project will serve as the basis for my senior thesis. It was extremely important and gives me a great fall semester starting point. The opportunity to regularly meet with my main advisor, Dr. Perry Myers, proved incredibly useful, and he provided me with direction that I would not have received without FURSCA. It also allowed me to focus on my work without the pressure of juggling a summer job. Along with the thesis, I plan to present at Elkin Isaac in the Spring 2022 semester. I am also applying for a 2022-2023 English Teaching Assistant Fulbright and plan to pull from this work for my community involvement project proposal that the application requires. This project taught me so much about research in the humanities, and I know that I will use these new skills not only for this thesis, but in my career as well. I also learned about the importance of regular, efficient, and honest communication. I feel confident that I will be able to inform and use my thesis committee in an effective way because of the practice I had with Dr. Myers this summer. This was also my first experience with a full-time job, so this helped me learn how to effectively manage my time while maintaining a full workload.

This opportunity provided me with a foundation for life-long skills that I will continue to improve upon far beyond my experience at Albion College. I would like to thank FURSCA directors Dr. Vanessa McCaffrey and Reneé Kreger for their hard work in creating and organizing this opportunity for students, Dr. Perry Myers for his direction and support, and my fellow FURSCA students for building a true sense of community for this wonderful program. I would also like to thank the Robert M. Teeter Research Fellowship Endowment for their monetary support, as this endowment made my research project possible and I am so grateful that I could participate this summer.

**Historical Background**

Racism[[1]](#footnote-1) and xenophobia[[2]](#footnote-2) persist throughout the world. Many countries and regions grapple with legacies of exploitative and racialized actions, including colonization in Europe and the enslavement of African people in the United States.[[3]](#footnote-3) Because of these types of histories, people of color still experience mistreatment because of their races and ethnicities, even in modern societies. For example, the median value of family net worth of Black US families in 2016 was $17,150 compared to $171,000 for white families.[[4]](#footnote-4) This and statistics like it are the result of racialized policies and actions throughout US history. The United Kingdom deals with racism and xenophobia as well, as Brexit illustrates.[[5]](#footnote-5) One of the largest political issues proponents of the exit argued for was immigration, especially amongst those who are refugees.[[6]](#footnote-6) These proponents argued for tighter borders than the EU currently holds. Many ethnic minorities experienced increased attacks and hate crimes following the outcome as well, as xenophobic discourses rose.[[7]](#footnote-7) Immigration quickly became a vital point for Brexit and contributed to its passage. Similar narratives exist in France, and the French Senate decided in the Spring of 2021 to ban wearing a hijab for women under 18 in public spaces.[[8]](#footnote-8) Much backlash followed this, and many are citing it as a clear instance of discrimination. These issues are not inherent to any singular country, and they play out throughout the world and west in varying ways. Throughout this essay I will use Germany as a case study to analyze its modern Hip Hop movement as a form of resistance to Germany’s racism and xenophobia, however the existence of these social justice issues is not unique to this country.

The persistence of racism and xenophobia in Germany remains a major cause of discrimination at both the individual and institutional levels. While this is not a German-specific situation, German society harms people of color[[9]](#footnote-9) and those with migrant backgrounds because of this discrimination. Black people, Sinti and Roma, Muslims, and Asian people are particularly vulnerable as victims of racism.[[10]](#footnote-10) Germany’s history with the Nationalist Socialist regime of the 1930s-1940s and the extremely negative connotations with the German term for race, or *Rasse*,[[11]](#footnote-11) does account for part of the hesitation and difficulty in addressing racism within the country. However, the western world also tends to associate racism with morality, as though identifying racist situations automatically means that the perpetrator is inherently immoral.[[12]](#footnote-12) This not only puts the weight of confronting the problem onto people of color, but allows the majority society to become defensive and dismissive rather than listening to those most directly harmed by racism.[[13]](#footnote-13) This holds true in Germany, and much racism therefore goes ignored, as it is taboo to even raise discussion surrounding the problem.[[14]](#footnote-14) By not recognizing races, it becomes difficult for victims of racism to receive support or seek change regarding the racial disparities they experience. In addition, the effects of racism go unsolved and unacknowledged. Germany struggles to address and improve the impacts of institutional racism and xenophobia, and they cause racial and ethnic discrimination in multiple facets of its society; overt acts of racism are harmful as well, and the rise of right wing-extremism and hate crimes prove dangerous for vulnerable communities of color.

Several legal grounds prevent Germany from racial discrimination,[[15]](#footnote-15) both domestic and international. Germany is a signee of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), a 1948 document that promotes the fundamental human rights of all people. They are the rights necessary to fill a life with dignity.[[16]](#footnote-16) As a state actor, Germany must not only respect these rights, but it must also protect and fulfill them.[[17]](#footnote-17) Several of the articles in this document prevent discrimination on the grounds of race and other factors, and Article 2 explicitly states that everyone has the right to enjoy their human rights “without distinction of any kinds, such as race.”[[18]](#footnote-18) All states must ensure that this therefore ensues, actively protecting from and eliminating discriminations present within their societies. Germany also ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1969,[[19]](#footnote-19) meaning that it is under an obligation to prohibit and eliminate racial discrimination in all of its forms.[[20]](#footnote-20) Germany must not only avoid racially discriminating at the state level under this, but it must also prevent other actors, including individuals, from engaging in any sort of racial discrimination. It also requires the protection of certain groups when possible under given circumstances. Germany’s ratification of this treaty holds them internationally accountable of these requirements, as does the treaty for all other signatories. Many states do not follow the treaties as well as intended.

Germany’s domestic obligations aim to eliminate discrimination as well, and their Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*)calls for equality before the law, specifically noting race, homeland and origin under Article 3.[[21]](#footnote-21) Under German law, no person can be given favorable or disfavorable treatment because of these identity factors. In recent years, lawmakers have debated the inclusion of the word race in the constitution because of the past, but at this time it still remains. Cities like Bremen have amended its local Constitution to read “racial discrimination,” as opposed to “race.”[[22]](#footnote-22) Nevertheless, the German Basic Law does work to prevent discrimination based on race and calls for a governmental responsibility in order to accomplish this. The General Act on Equal Treatment (*Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetz)* is a 2006 adopted law that calls for the equality of opportunity and treatment.[[23]](#footnote-23) It echoes the earlier treaties and the Basic Law in that it aims to prevent and/or eliminate discrimination based on race, ethnicity, sex, religion, ability, age, or sexual identity. It covers aspects outside of the governmental sector, forbidding discrimination in the workplace and with regard to public good and service. In spite of Germany’s legal obligations, instances of racism still ensue.

Addressing race is often considered taboo, in part because of Germany’s history with the National Socialist regime, but also because it creates discomfort amongst the white majority. German society tends to see racism only as individual and intentional acts, which ignores the institutional discrimination present within the country.[[24]](#footnote-24) This creates difficulty in acting on or even talking about race, which hinders Germany’s ability to truly confront institutional racism and include it as a regular and impertinent part of the discourse.[[25]](#footnote-25) Instances of discriminatory behavior are often defined not as racism, but rather as a hostility towards strangers (*Fremdenfeindlichkeit*). This ignores the hierarchization in place based on race, which hinders the ability to understand and confront the ways in which structural and systemic discrimination function.[[26]](#footnote-26) Racism is generally mentioned in reference to right-wing extremism when it does move into the public discourse.[[27]](#footnote-27) Although outright right-wing extremism is a problem and relevant, focusing solely on overt racism ignores implicit racial discrimination.

Germany also does not gather racial data because of its past; they rather have a category within their census for those with a migrant background, and they do have statistics on the regions from which migrants arrive.[[28]](#footnote-28) The lack of data on race ignores the nuances that racial groups experience as a result of their identities and groups together people with vastly different experiences, as there are migrants who do not experience racial discrimination and there are native Germans who do experience racial discrimination.[[29]](#footnote-29) This system creates a mismatch between the collected data and those who experience highly unequal and inequitable treatment. According to the *Statistisches Bundesamt*, roughly 21,246,000 people living in Germany in 2019 had a migrant background.[[30]](#footnote-30) This is over 20% of the population, and the lack of concrete, specific data hurts Germany’s obligation to protect vulnerable groups.[[31]](#footnote-31) Instances in which people of color experience discrimination are lumped into that with a migrant background, which gives room for inaccuracy. This holds especially true for people of African and Middle Eastern descent, as many people in those groups experience racial discrimination that goes ignored because data is not collected on the basis of race.

This lack of data results in more harm than protection, as instances of racism must then rely heavily on anecdotal evidence because statistics are not available. Although there are statistics available that encompass those with a migrant background that help to reveal certain inequalities,[[32]](#footnote-32) there is less numerical evidence to reveal similar inequalities amongst specific racial groups. This creates a situation in which it is difficult for the government to identify areas of discrimination and for those directly impacted by racial discrimination to prove it. There is a group currently working to create a census for people of African descent living in Germany, and they collected data via a survey from July 2020-September 2020. This project, titled #Afrozensus, aims to provide comprehensive insight into the lives and experiences of those with African heritage living in Germany.[[33]](#footnote-33) The current estimation is that roughly one million people of African descent live in Germany,[[34]](#footnote-34) but this is based on migrant data and the regions in which those migrants are from,[[35]](#footnote-35) meaning that the actual number is likely higher. #Afrozensus attempts to give an accurate representation of the true number, but they have not yet publicly released their finished project.

Despite the lack of statistical data, several themes exist highlighting instances of racism in Germany. Some are much more overt, such as right-wing extremist hate crimes, while some prove more subtle, such as discrimination within the housing market. Regardless of the way it presents, implicit and explicit racism harm communities of color and account for discriminatory instances. The Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, which was developed in 2006 based on the General Act on Equal Treatment at the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, provides professional counselling to victims or observers of discrimination.[[36]](#footnote-36) They provide legal advice and general assistance to those individuals. They received 1,176 requests for counselling related to discrimination on the grounds of race and ethnicity in 2019.[[37]](#footnote-37) Many of these requests are supposedly covered by the General Act on Equal Treatment.

Injustices within Germany’s policing system constitute one effect of institutional racism, as people of color are disproportionately impacted by negative interactions with the police. This holds especially true for those of Middle Eastern and African descent. Because of a lack of quantitative data, most of the current evidence consists of individual case studies.[[38]](#footnote-38) A non-profit organization titled the KOP (*Kampagne für Opfer rassistischer Polizeigewalt;* Campaign for victims of racially motivated police brutality) compiled a recent study on German police violence. They created a 300+ page chronological document recording instances of racially motivated police incidents in Berlin from 2000-2021.[[39]](#footnote-39) They also have Bremen and Köln branches that conducted similar studies. These cases vary in severity, and they include instances of arbitrary and incorrect arrests, searches and bag checks, death at the hands of police weapons, and mistreatment of people while in police custody—all committed against people of color.

One entry details the story of Iraqui refugee Hussam Fadl, whom three policemen fatally shot in the back on September 27, 2016 during a police operation on the property of a Berlin refugee shelter. The police claimed self-defense by stating that Fadl held a knife, but no knife or other weapon was ever found on the scene.[[40]](#footnote-40) KOP considers this an act of racially motivated brutality, and it capitalizes on a racist stereotype that Arab people are aggressive and always armed with weapons.[[41]](#footnote-41) Another example that made nation-wide headlines is the case of Yaya Jabbi, who was a practicing Muslim from Gambia. He immigrated to Italy in 2013 and later to Germany, arriving in Hamburg in November 2014. Police arrested him on January 14th, 2016 at Hamburger Berg for the possession of 1.65 grams of Cannabis.[[42]](#footnote-42) He later died in his jail cell at the Hahnöfersand correctional facility on February 19th, 2016. The judiciary authority claimed a suicide, but no evidence of suicide was found, and his family and friends did not see any signs pointing to a risk of suicide in Jabbi.[[43]](#footnote-43) It is unclear exactly what happened inside of his cell, but the evidence suggests that Jabbi was another victim of racist police behavior, both in his arrest itself and once in the correctional facility. A final individual example is that of Oury Jalloh, as The Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent[[44]](#footnote-44) reported during their 2017 Germany visit. Jalloh was an African asylum seeker who died in a fire in a Dessau police cell in 2005. His hands and feet were cuffed, and there are major concerns regarding racial bias in his arrest, unjust police treatment, and the use of physical restraint.[[45]](#footnote-45) His death sparked debates surrounding policing, race, and evidence throughout the country, and a civilian commission even formed in 2018 to further investigate the case.[[46]](#footnote-46)

Inequalities within the education system prove an issue as well, and students with a migrant background experience a notable disadvantage. Children with migrant backgrounds, largely young students of color, are more than twice as likely to leave school without receiving a diploma.[[47]](#footnote-47) Many note the discrimination that they experience within schools as well, and a 2017 study found that 18% of people of Sub-Saharan African descent and 15% of people of Turkish origin felt that they experienced discrimination within German educational institutions as a student or parent.[[48]](#footnote-48) Many Muslim students of African descent have traumatic experiences in school, as they are victims of racism both because of their African descent, but also because of existing anti-Muslim racism.[[49]](#footnote-49) This harms students, as the discriminatory educational setting does not allow them an equal opportunity to earn an effective education. Studies also show that teachers often grade children worse if their names do not sound native German, showing a biased assumption (regardless of intention) that those students come from an educationally disadvantaged background.[[50]](#footnote-50)

The foundation of the German school system proves disadvantageous as well, as teachers decide following between the fourth and sixth grade (depending on the state and school) which school students will enter for their next level. Three options follow primary education: Hauptschule,[[51]](#footnote-51) Realschule,[[52]](#footnote-52) and Gymnasium.[[53]](#footnote-53) Successful completion of Gymnasium is necessary for university entry, so students who do not attend Gymnasium are much more limited in their career choices than those who do. Many children with migrant backgrounds are not given equal opportunity for Gymnasium for a variety of reasons. Students are often evaluated by their German skills, disadvantaging those who do not speak German as their native language.[[54]](#footnote-54) Students’ evaluations are then placed on their language abilities rather than their intellectual ability, creating situations in which students are placed into improperly fit secondary educational institutions. Students also experience institutional discrimination within their educational settings, as the system struggles to offer students with different backgrounds equal opportunities for success.[[55]](#footnote-55) This causes many of them to attend Hauptschule and Realschule, limiting their employment opportunities further down the road. Many consider the Gymnasium decision too early and extremely selective.[[56]](#footnote-56) Teachers also make the recommendations themselves, leaving room for intentional or unintentional bias to play a role in their decisions.[[57]](#footnote-57) Outside of the trajectory, many children with a migrant background live in segregated and underfunded neighborhoods that do not adequately prepare students for Gymnasium if they do have the opportunity to attend.[[58]](#footnote-58) This systemic inequality does not give these students a rightful opportunity in their schooling or later in their careers, causing many of them to take lower-paying jobs with little opportunity for career growth.

Systemic issues within the housing market also exist, and marginalized people of color experience more difficulty in finding housing due to the decisions that property owners make in regard to whom they provide housing. Heavy competition exists among low-earning and middle-income families, meaning that owners can be extremely selective in choosing their tenants.[[59]](#footnote-59) The law does not necessarily protect vulnerable groups in this situation either, as the General Equal Treatment Act allows owners to refuse apartment rental to those applying for accommodation.[[60]](#footnote-60) This gives room for bias to intentionally or unintentionally impact owners’ decisions. The 2019 report by the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency revealed that one of every three people with a migrant background looking for housing since 2009 said they experienced discrimination. 41% of respondents in a representative sample also indicated they had serious reservations about renting to an immigrant.[[61]](#footnote-61)

The rise of right-wing extremist and hate crimes are extremely prevalent in Germany, and it manifests as a form of both racism and xenophobia. 23,064 right-wing extremist crimes took place in 2020, which is a rise of 5.7% over 2019.[[62]](#footnote-62) This especially impacts marginalized groups, as they are targets of hate crimes and sometimes spoken of in aggressive and derogatory terms in public discourse, causing further motivation and justification of said crimes by those committing them.[[63]](#footnote-63) The police also recorded 1,651 hate crimes motivated by racism and xenophobia in 2019, and a higher count in actuality is likely as well.[[64]](#footnote-64) The Working Group found that people of African descent experience racist violence and are targeted for hate crimes.[[65]](#footnote-65) Hate crimes typically involve violence and are motivated specifically by prejudice, and race and ethnicity are major motivators of these committed crimes. People of color are especially vulnerable to these crimes.

The AFD, Alt*ernative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany) is 2013-founded political party that pushes an anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant narrative. It is far-right and nationalist, and its politicians advocate for tight borders and the deportation of rejected asylum seekers.[[66]](#footnote-66) It actively wishes to seal EU borders and achieve negative immigration. It opposes Islam as a religion present in Germany society and rather promotes traditional Christian values.[[67]](#footnote-67) They currently hold 88 of the 709 seats in German parliament, meaning it makes up roughly 12.4% of the federal political body.[[68]](#footnote-68) It is also under criticism for promoting neo-Nazi ideas and was placed under surveillance by the domestic intelligence agency in 2021, and is seen as a threat to democracy.[[69]](#footnote-69) The party proves dangerous, as members promote harmful ideologies towards immigrants and people of color and Germany as well as an exclusive environment not representative of the actual German population.

Germany has a current issue with racism and xenophobia. These vary in the direct ways in which they play out, but evidence of institutional and individual racial and ethnic discrimination exists within the state. Hip Hop draws attention to and speaks out about these issues, whose history is rooted in resistance and proves an effective voice for those most impacted by social injustices. It serves as a way to raise awareness surrounding racism and xenophobia in Germany, as well as give a voice to artists of color who do the work of rapping about these sensitive issues. Hip Hop is especially useful in that it addresses the taboo—things considered too uncomfortable or trivial to truly talk about in a critical way. As many Hip Hop artists, and those on whom I will particularly focus, are people of color, Hip Hop also serves as representation of the vulnerable and marginalized. The lyrics themselves give a specific way to address racism and xenophobia, but the platform artists receive as a result of their music also gives a way for them to engage with anti-racist and pro-immigrant work outside of their music alone.

1. Racism refers to a “marriage of racist policies and racist ideas that produces and normalizes racial inequities,” while a racist policy is “any measure that produces or sustains racial inequity between racial groups” and a racist idea is “any idea that suggests one racial group is inferior to or superior to another racial group in any way.” Ibram X. Kendi, *How to Be an Antiracist* (New York: Random House Large Print, 2020), 17-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Xenophobia refers to a fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners, so this term refers to migrant discrimination more directly. It can still be closely related to racism. “xenophobia.” *Merriam-Webster.com*. 2021. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/xenophobia. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Cheryl I. Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): pp. 1707-1791, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1341787>, 1715 [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The Federal Reserve Board, 2016 Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF), 2017. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Brexit is the UK’s decision to leave the European Union in 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Ipsos MORI. “Concern about Immigration Rises as EU Vote Approaches.” Accessed June 29, 2021. <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/concern-about-immigration-rises-eu-vote-approaches>. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Nikolay Mintchev, “The Cultural Politics of Racism in the Brexit Conjuncture,” *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 24, no. 1 (October 2020): pp. 123-140, https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877920935135, 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. “'Law against Islam': French Vote in Favour of Hijab Ban Condemned,” Politics News | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, April 9, 2021), https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/9/a-law-against-islam. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. People of color is an umbrella term used to describe people who are not white and therefore can first-handedly experience racism. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Katrin Elger, “Interview on Racism in Germany: ‘The Concept of Race Is Taboo,’” Der Spiegel (Der Spiegel, June 12, 2020), https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/how-structural-racism-works-in-germany-a-1fcf3584-94b5-48ad-82a1-24807766cc2a. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Joshua Kwesi Aikins et al., eds., “Racial Discrimination in Germany: Manifestations and Human Rights Obligations to Protect Individuals and Groups Against Racial Discrimination,” trans. Marianne Ballé Moudoumbou, ohchr.org (Federal Republic of Germany, March 2015), <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/DEU/INT_CERD_NGO_DEU_19968_E.pdf>, 8 [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Alana Lentin, *Why Race Still Matters* (Cambridge, UK: polity, 2020), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Emilia Roig, “Uttering ‘Race’ in Colorblind France and Post-Racial Germany,” *Rassismuskritik Und Widerstandsformen*, 2016, pp. 613-627, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14721-1_36>, 619 [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Racial discrimination is an expression of racism in which victims are subjected to differential or unequal treatment on the grounds of their race. “Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (HRW Statement - Introduction),” Human Rights Watch, accessed June 23, 2021, https://www.hrw.org/legacy/campaigns/race/hrw-statement0.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. “What Are Human Rights,” OHCHR, accessed June 23, 2021, https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/pages/whatarehumanrights.aspx. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. States have the obligation not only to avoiding infringing upon the rights of people within their territories, but also to ensure that others do not infringe upon them (respect) and to actively realize them (fulfill). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. “Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” United Nations (United Nations), accessed June 23, 2021, https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. “UN, United Nations, UN Treaties, Treaties,” United Nations (United Nations), accessed June 23, 2021, https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\_no=IV-2&chapter=4. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. This is specifically listed in Article 2. “International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,” OHCHR, December 21, 1965, https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cerd.aspx. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany in the revised version published in the Federal Law Gazette Part III, classification number 100-1, as last amended by Article 1 of the Act of 28 March 2019 (Federal Law Gazette I p. 404). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Volker Witting, “'Race' Has No Place in the German Constitution - or Does It?,” Deutsche Welle, June 13, 2020, https://www.dw.com/en/race-has-no-place-in-the-german-constitution-or-does-it/a-53790056. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. “General Act on Equal Treatment,” August 14, 2006, https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch\_agg/englisch\_agg.html. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Joshua Kwesi Aikins et al., eds., “Racial Discrimination in Germany: Manifestations and Human Rights Obligations to Protect Individuals and Groups Against Racial Discrimination,” trans. Marianne Ballé Moudoumbou, ohchr.org (Federal Republic of Germany, March 2015), 7 <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/DEU/INT_CERD_NGO_DEU_19968_E.pdf>, 6 [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Emilia Roig, “Uttering ‘Race’ in Colorblind France and Post-Racial Germany,” *Rassismuskritik Und Widerstandsformen*, 2016, pp. 613-627, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14721-1_36>, 619 [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Emilia Roig, “Uttering ‘Race’ in Colorblind France and Post-Racial Germany,” *Rassismuskritik Und Widerstandsformen*, 2016, pp. 613-627, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14721-1_36>, 623 [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Emilia Roig, “Uttering ‘Race’ in Colorblind France and Post-Racial Germany,” *Rassismuskritik Und Widerstandsformen*, 2016, pp. 613-627, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-14721-1_36>, 624 [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
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