



**TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
DRESDEN**

<http://tu-dresden.de/courage>

Courage
KNOW, SEE, ACT!

HEADING TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE UNIVERSITY
Reflections on Discrimination and Racist Tendencies

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Editorial Staff: Jacob Nuhn and Claudia Müller (Office of International Affairs at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at TU Dresden)

Contributors: Gabriele Hanig (Faculty of Linguistics, Literature and Cultural Studies, Institute of Romance Studies)
Stefan Fehser (Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science, Institute of Sociology)
Claudia Müller (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Office of International Affairs)
Michael Nattke (Kulturbüro Sachsen e. V.)
Jacob Nuhn (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Office of International Affairs)
Antje Odermann (Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science, Institute of Media and Communication)
Anna-Maria Schielicke (Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science, Institute of Media and Communication)

Layout: Jana Hönisch (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Public Relations)

Translation: Laura Park, 2017

Cover Picture: Matthew Wiebe, fancycrave.com

The quotes used in the page margins were taken from a survey conducted at the end of 2016 amongst international students at TU Dresden. Said survey is discussed at length in the chapter 'Structural and Everyday Racism'.

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INTRODUCTION

Technische Universität Dresden is a University of Excellence with international appeal, and as such is home to some 40,000 people who work and study here. They come from different parts of the world and have different skin colours, sexual orientations, religions and political views. Science thrives on this diversity: it needs the inherent exchange of ideas and the changes of perspective. And it needs an atmosphere in which this diversity can be lived out with mutual respect and without fear of discrimination. Over the past few years, TU Dresden has set up a whole host of initiatives aimed at creating a respectful, diversity-sensitive climate at the university, and has repeatedly taken a clear position in favour of openness and tolerance. At the same time, however, the number of racist attacks in Dresden, both of a physical and verbal nature, has increased, especially since the Pegida demonstrations began in 2014. Students and researchers at TU Dresden have also been affected by this, as – among other things – talks between the Rector and international university members have revealed. Saxony, and Dresden in particular, have meanwhile gained a reputation for being a stronghold of anti-democratic and racist attitudes.

In 2011, as part of the "Projekt für Weltoffenheit" (Project for openness to the world) organised by the International Office, the brochure "Die Uni als ‚rechtsfreier‘ Raum" (The University as 'legal vacuum') addressed the extent to which ideologies of inequality are represented at TU Dresden, the role of TU Dresden within Dresden's urban society and the experiences of international students living in Dresden. The developments of recent years provide ample grounds for a new edition: what has changed since 2011? The neo-Nazis mobilising in conjunction with February 13th, the day on which the bombing of Dresden during the Second World War is remembered, which then still shaped much of

*I found many good
friends here in
Dresden.*

the brochure, have now become a marginal phenomenon. However, as a consequence of Pegida, the so-called refugee crisis, and of the rise of right-wing populist parties across the whole of Europe, efforts towards being open and working and living together in a spirit of mutual respect are facing new challenges.

As a follow-up to the earlier publication, this brochure aims to provide an updated, self-critical examination of the status quo:

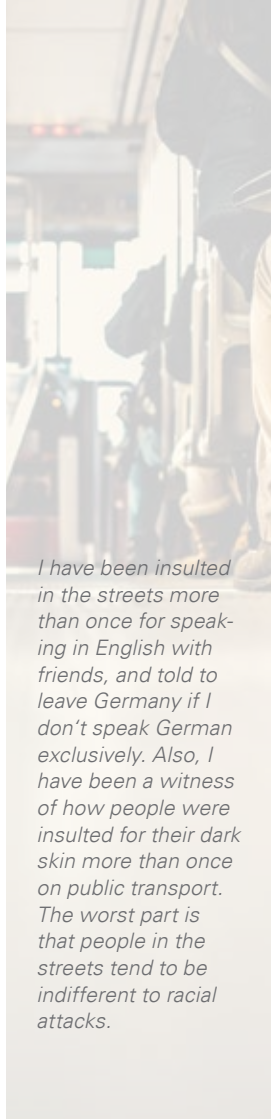
The introductory article "Taking a Stand Does Not Cost a Penny" traces how we at the University can counter discrimination even without any financial resources, by merely taking a personal stand.

This is followed by the short essay "TU Dresden as Part of Urban Society", which deals with initiatives for furthering diversity as well as with barriers that exist at the University. It also considers the role TU Dresden plays and the one it ought to play in creating a global, outward-looking climate in Dresden's urban society.

A further article deals with the "New Right Ideology in the University Context" and looks into the background of racial discrimination.

The way in which international students perceive TU Dresden and Dresden as a city is examined in a survey that was carried out at the end of 2016 by members of staff at TU Dresden's Institute of Media and Communication. A comparison with earlier surveys from 2009 and 2011 brings to light both differences and aspects that have remained the same.

Finally, a helping hand is provided in the form of an overview of contact points in Dresden and Saxony that offer support in the event of discrimination.



I have been insulted in the streets more than once for speaking in English with friends, and told to leave Germany if I don't speak German exclusively. Also, I have been a witness of how people were insulted for their dark skin more than once on public transport. The worst part is that people in the streets tend to be indifferent to racial attacks.



We want to encourage readers of this brochure to reflect on the opportunities and limitations in positioning the University against xenophobia and discrimination. At the same time, we would like to call on all employees and students of TU Dresden to play their part in creating a day-to-day atmosphere at the University that is open and focused on diversity, and in which all members of TU Dresden, regardless of where they come from, will feel safe and welcome.

*I am a Doktorandin
at a TU Institute,
my co-workers are
kind and friendly.
They make me feel
important and needed.
I can simply say
that they make my
everyday amazingly
better.*

TAKING A STAND DOES NOT COST A PENNY

In order to combat chauvinistic and racist attitudes, to identify and reduce institutional racism, and to establish a culture that prevents discrimination, universities have to put their money where their mouths are. Serious and sustained anti-racist approaches cost money. However, irrespective of the fact that the quality of anti-discrimination work can increase with a stable, long-term perspective that is fairly paid, some improvements are available completely free of charge.

Putting the focus on human rights is often a question of attitude. How are topics debated in public discourse? What is the attitude among employees and within the management of institutes? How well does the separation work between party-political neutrality^[1] on the one hand, and a clear and comprehensible human rights bias on the other? For one thing, this is a matter of knowing your own attitude and justifying it to the outside world. Anyone wishing to act in a way that respects human rights needs to know what this means for them and why they consider this stance to be important. But they must also be prepared to ask their counterpart to clarify their attitude. In particular, professors, those in positions of leadership, employees at public institutions and other individuals who are in the public eye and (are supposed to) convey political positions and values are more than ever called upon to do so unambiguously and to take up a clear position concerning issues of inequality. It goes without saying that this should include developing a perceptible sense of solidarity with those affected by discrimination and exclusion. No head of a university or professor is forced to remain silent when people are attacked at the university. No one should hold back with their objections when chauvinists question the principles of equality. To use one's own privileges to support those who do not enjoy the same privileges should come naturally at a university. Where else, if not here?

Replies to emails are only sent out in German and the website is not available in English for the most part.



Although there are several negative activities happening outside the university, most university administrators, professors, employees and students are doing a good job to try and maintain the reputation of TUD.

The norms of institutional culture at a university can be changed in a top-down process. Cultural barriers and institutional racism must be identified as such. This is not about accusing anybody of racism, but about using the term as a category of analysis in order to make problems visible and to change structures in a positive way. "Particularly in Germany, there seems to be a strong need for distancing oneself when it comes to using the term racism as a perspective for analysing current problems that cannot be subsumed under cultural-political extremism."^[2] When institutions such as universities recognise their role in (co-) causing social conditions, for instance discrimination, in order to reflect and refocus their own institutionalised actions, this can be read as a sign of a high degree of professionalism. Among other things, an independent complaints management with clear procedures and responsibilities in the event of discrimination is helpful. What is more, proactively opening up all areas of a university is necessary and must be encouraged in order to represent the true diversity of a society. However important and necessary a normative transformation of institutional culture is, though, it cannot be thought of as a detached process that works independently of social developments. The everyday culture of a society, and of a city in which a university is located, has a permanent influence on the culture of its institutions. On the one hand, students and staff are an important part of this everyday culture, having a decisive effect on it in their role as residents of a city; on the other hand, they themselves are influenced by this everyday culture, both as residents and as members of the university. In turn, their attitudes influence the culture at the university.


This means that a sustainable change in the institutional culture of a university is not conceivable without the appropriate environment and general conditions in the everyday culture of an urban society. In Dresden in particular, the institutions of higher education

find themselves presented with a considerable task. In the years since the beginnings of Pegida, everyday culture is more hostile towards and dismissive of people who are affected by racism. Arguments and discussions are more polarised than before the start of the Islamophobic, chauvinist protest movement. In such a climate, a university has a particular responsibility and can neither remain on the sidelines during political debates nor evade taking a clear position, as this would lead inevitably to diminishing solidarity with those who are discriminated against.

For these reasons, attitudes that are grounded in respect for human rights must be visible at the university, they must go beyond the auditorium, and be represented by the university in a manner that is perceptible to the public. It is only when universities exert an influence on effecting a positive change of everyday culture that they can also improve their institutional culture in a city such as Dresden.

[1] In accordance with § 60 BBG and § 33 of the "Beamtenstatusgesetz" (law governing the status of civil servants) for all civil servants of Germany's federal, regional and local authorities, "civil servants serve all the people, and not one party". This principle is generally applied to employees in public-service institutions, such as universities.

[2] Heinemann, Alisha M.B./Mecheril, Paul (2014): Institutioneller Rassismus als Analyseperspektive. Zwei Argumente. In: Weiterdenken-Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung Sachsen/Kulturbüro Sachsen/Antidiskriminierungsbüro Sachsen: Alles im weißen Bereich? Institutioneller Rassismus in Sachsen. p. 20.



Sometimes my colleagues say strange things about my nationality and language. They do not even know that I am speaking in another language and my country is a different one from the country and people that they are talking about!!!



TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT DRESDEN AS PART OF THE URBAN SOCIETY

As a centre of science with high standards of internationality and open-mindedness, the city of Dresden and Technische Universität Dresden (TU Dresden) have a special responsibility. This is all the more so since xenophobic and racist behaviour that excludes others and treats them as inferior can frequently be observed in Dresden when dealing with people who are perceived as foreign. People with a "different appearance" are often regarded as foreigners, as not belonging to the urban society, even if they are fellow German citizens. In the context of Pegida, this phenomenon has intensified considerably in recent years. People classified as "non-German" by the majority society report increasing discrimination and physical assaults. Students and employees of TU Dresden also experience discrimination and racism, as was revealed, for example, during talks between Rector Hans Müller-Steinhagen and international students and employees that took place during the first six months of 2016.^[1] Such experiences and the poor reputation of the city, which has now spread far beyond Germany, could jeopardise Dresden as an internationally renowned scientific location in the future.

However, those Dresden residents who declare themselves to be against migration continue to be in a clear minority, as a study from December 2015 carried out by the Saxon Cultural Office shows. Only 11% of the respondents agreed fully with the statement "There are too many immigrants in Germany", while almost 60% rejected the statement completely or to some degree. What is more, the overwhelming majority of Dresden's residents are of the opinion that immigrants enrich community life.^[2] This attitude is also reflected in the numerous initiatives against racism and in support of refugees that have

I feel unsafe due to the demonstrations by PEGIDA.

emerged in recent years – not infrequently initiated by students or employees of TU Dresden.

Regarding the topic of immigration and asylum, however, the study also makes reference to a large "undecided middle" who have not positioned themselves clearly.^[3] The xenophobic Pegida movement in particular, which has become increasingly radicalised, revealed a deep division within the population of Dresden. This raises the question of whether it is still possible to speak of an urban society, as to do so assumes cohesion of the city's population. Attempts to restore this cohesion are sometimes undertaken by apolitical initiatives, such as the Lord Mayor's "Bürgerfest" (city festival) on Neumarkt Square on the occasion of Pegida's second anniversary, during which the participating citizens were not expected to express any political messages.

In the context of the commemoration of the bombing of Dresden on February 13th, TU Dresden has for many years

UNSERE GEMEINSCHAFT. UNSERE EXZELLENZ.



**TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
DRESDEN**

Zu unserer Campusfamilie gehören 5.000 Menschen, die nicht in Deutschland geboren wurden. Sie tragen wesentlich zur Leistungsfähigkeit und zur kulturellen Vielfalt unserer Universität und der Stadt Dresden bei. Wir freuen uns, dass sie hier sind!

**45 000 MENSCHEN.
125 NATIONALITÄTEN.
EINE UNI.**



*Everyone is friendly,
and it is easy to find
like-minded people.
I enjoy my classes
and studies, and the
people at the univer-
sity are great.*


now publicly declared its commitment to open-mindedness, cosmopolitanism and diversity, and has taken a critical stand against Pegida from the outset. The University Rectorial Board promotes the international character of the University and cross-border collaboration in research and teaching. At the same time, it has set itself the goal of supporting its students in their development into open-minded members of society. Under the heading "45,000 people, 125 nationalities, ONE University", TU Dresden published an advertisement in the local press on 12 December 2015, which was awarded first place in the category "Best image campaign in the field of teaching and research" of an advertising competition held by the ZEIT publishing house. As early as 2008, the International Office at TU Dresden launched the "Projekt für Weltoffenheit" ("Project for openness to the world") and in so doing, promoted various university initiatives for dealing with everyday racism and for bolstering moral courage. A revival of this commitment seems necessary against the backdrop of the most recent developments in the city.

Also, in taking in a large number of refugees on campus, the willingness to help of the University's Rectorial Board, of students and of staff was and still remains considerable. In a variety of ways, they support a successful culture of welcome. This has found expression in the student-run "Initiative Deutschkurse für Asylsuchende" (German courses for asylum seekers initiative), the Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft (DPG) project "Physics for Refugees", the conference "Promoting German for refugees right from the start" in August 2016, the "Refugee Law Clinic" of the Faculty of Law, Christmas parcels and Christmas celebrations with refugees and fundraising activities, as well as the refugee outpatients department of the Kassenärztliche Vereinigung Sachsen (Association of statutory health insurance physicians Saxony), which is located at Dresden University Hospital. By way of support, TU Dresden has set up "Refugee", a university mai-

ling list, providing information on the initiatives and assisting in linking those dedicated to helping within and beyond the University. Opening up the University to asylum seekers wishing to study is still in its infancy. There is, however, a programme for guest students, and TU Dresden has taken further important steps: under the heading "We care", a dedicated point of contact has been set up for those affected by racial discrimination.

Researchers at TU Dresden have spoken out in the political and journalistic debates on the New Right, asylum and integration. They have produced studies and organised public discussions, such as the Public Sociology Forum "Pegida - Rechtspopulismus zwischen Fremdenangst und 'Wende'-Enttäuschung", (Pegida – right-wing populism between xenophobia and disappointment following the reunification of Germany) which took place in the autumn of 2015 in the Palace Chapel, and the series of events "Zwischen Drinnen und Draußen. Flucht und Migration als europäische Herausforderung" (Between inside and outside. Flight and migration as a European challenge) at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences in the 2015-16 winter semester. A permanent institution has been set up in the shape of the Center for Integration Research. From a scientific perspective, it aims to facilitate co-existence in a post-migration, inclusive society. TU Dresden is also part of the Research Network on Integration, Xenophobia and Right-Wing Extremism in Saxony (IFRiS), which has been pooling research activities in these areas since April 2016.

In addition to this scientific examination of the problem, TU Dresden is itself a player within the urban society and cannot avoid to take a political position. It is more important than ever that the university must not be an ivory tower: societal developments and problems do not stop at the gates of the university, and must also be discussed here. The task of TU Dresden as a major international educational institution is to convey the under-



I felt a little bit lost for the first weeks, the system is very different than in my country and I would have liked more support.



*Oh the bureaucracy...
Official stamps,
official proven copies
(which are pretty
impossible to get of
foreign documents
in Dresden, I always
need to load up on
proven copies of
my master's and
bachelor's certifi-
cates when I visit my
home university).*

standing that cultural diversity has become a social reality which needs to be reflected in an integrative urban society. The university should act as a driving force for the city, as a place that creates and enables food for thought and that puts into practice positive forms of co-existence, both internally and externally.

In this context, it is not enough to demand integration unilaterally from certain groups. Rather, the University as well as the city of Dresden have to ask themselves self-critically where standard, long-established routines exclude anyone and where these have to be adapted to individual needs, and not just those of migrants. In an increasingly heterogeneous and mobile immigration society, it cannot be about "us" integrating "them". Instead, basic rules of living together must be defined and implemented while including all university members as equal partners. In this sense, "integration" is to be understood as inclusion, as a permanent reflection of all parties concerned, with the aim of creating an environment that is free of discrimination, freely accessible to all, and that benefits everyone.^[4] To achieve this, people should be regarded as individuals and supported as such, and not as homogenized representatives of "cultures", "gender" or "class". At the same time, discrimination based on social classification should not be ignored. Prerequisites for this are trust and the creation of spaces to meet. Those affected by discrimination need competent complaints and advisory services. It should be borne in mind here that racial discrimination does not only affect international students and employees. Up to now, however, advisory services have primarily been targeted at them.

For this reason, services such as those of the International Office's Cultural Office, buddy programmes, the Welcome Center programme or the Tuesday After Work Mixer are not merely decorative accessories but central components of a new culture of living together at the University. By taking into account, to a larger extent than has been done up to

now, the complexities of gender, ethnicity, social background, etc., the Diversity Management Unit of TU Dresden focuses on important priorities. Diversity, however, must not be the task of a single authority, but should become the concern of all members of TU Dresden: problems must be addressed openly, they must be discussed and tackled. The University is called upon to provide opportunities for political (self-) education, such as with the series *Courage: Wissen, sehen, handeln!* (*Courage: know, see, act*), but also to open up discussion areas and to strengthen democratic participation in university life.


It is necessary to promote acceptance of living together in diversity within the urban society. In particular, TU Dresden should approach the undecided and passive citizens of Dresden, the "paralysed society"; it should also create discussion areas and spaces for contact and exchange. Only when sources of friction in scientific discourse are not avoided, when a rationally defined space is created for positioning and counter-positioning, when a culture of welcome is put into practice, only then is it possible to speak of having taken the first steps towards an inclusive university.

[1] TU Dresden gegen Fremdenhass, Focus, 02.05.2016. Available online at: http://www.focus.de/regional/dresden/rassismus-in-dresden-menschenverachtung-ist-normal-geworden-der-traurige-alltag-fuer-neu-dresdner_id_5492084.html

[2] Fehser, Stefan: Eine gespaltene Stadt: Positionen der Dresdner Bevölkerung zum Thema Asyl, Dresden 2015, p. 11. Available online at: http://www.kulturbuero-sachsen.de/images/PDF/Studie_Asyl_Dresden%202015.pdf (accessed on 4 October, 2016).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] Cf. Terkessidis, Marc: Mit Interkultur gegen Rassismus. In: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 2/2012, pp 63-71. Available online at: <https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/februar/mit-interkultur-gegen-rassismus> (accessed on 4 October, 2016).



In general I have had positive experiences at TU Dresden, I always have had a good interaction with the staff, lecturers and other students.



STRUCTURAL AND EVERYDAY RACISM

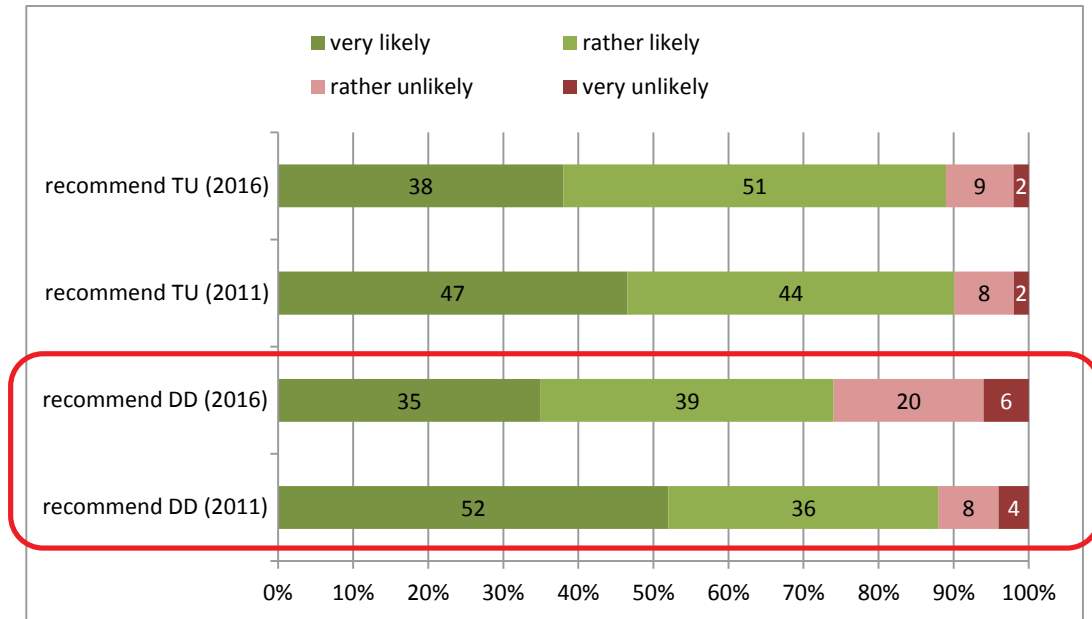
Tendencies at TU Dresden and in the urban society

"The University itself is very international and welcoming to people from other countries. But once you are outside the University, everything is uncertain."^[1] This statement from a student from Asia is characteristic of the results of a survey conducted at TU Dresden among students from abroad at the end of 2016. For what is by now the third time, we wanted to know from students how comfortable they felt at TU Dresden and in the city of Dresden, what their concerns were, and what positive, but also what negative experiences they had had.

A total of 4,320 students were invited by e-mail to participate in the online survey. Compared to the surveys of 2009 and 2011, the participation rate decreased once again, and it was only possible to include 193 completed interviews in the evaluation. Although there are no major changes compared to previous years in the make-up (origin, time spent at TU Dresden, Faculties, etc.) of the respondents, the analysis still focuses mainly on comparisons with the previous years. However, no statements can be made on the extent to which the concerns of the respondents reflect the concerns among all students from abroad.

Among the good news from the survey: the various activities on the part of TU Dresden to welcome students from abroad seem to be paying off. Not only has the proportion of respondents who feel very comfortable or fairly comfortable at TU Dresden increased in the seven years since the first survey (2009: 73%; 2011: 79%; 2016: 85%), but also, in the open questions about particularly positive experiences at TU Dresden, events such

as the international Christmas party, the work of the Welcome Center and the International Office, as well as the "regular and tireless actions for tolerance"^[1] are explicitly mentioned. Accordingly, the percentage of respondents who would recommend TU Dresden as a place to study remains stable (Fig. 1).



F2: TU, 2011 (n=320), 2016 (n=193), F4: DD, 2011 (n=230), 2016 (n=192)

Figure 1: (Questions 2 & 4) How likely is it that you will recommend TU Dresden [the city of Dresden] to a friend or acquaintance as a place to study [as a place of residence]?

Some German students refrain from talking to you if you don't speak German perfectly. You can feel like you're annoying them if you ask for help.



When asked to describe negative experiences, the majority gave accounts of problems in everyday university life, such as red tape or how to organise studies, or that it is difficult to make friends at the beginning. These are, of course, the sort of problems that German students can also encounter. A lack of bilingualism in documents and information pages is mentioned less frequently than in the previous years. A third of the open answers, however, relate to experiences which show at least reservations of individual TU employees or of fellow students towards students from abroad. This ranges from ignoring students from abroad to impatient behaviour and open rejection right through to derogatory statements about their country of origin. Looking at the overall increase in satisfaction and the stable likelihood of recommending the University further, however, such experiences appear to be perceived as annoying individual cases and not to carry too much weight in the overall assessment.

The less good news is that students from abroad do not seem to feel as comfortable outside TU Dresden as five years ago. In 2011, 87 per cent of respondents told us that they felt very comfortable or fairly comfortable in Dresden. Now, only 65 per cent still say this. Every fourth person states they would not recommend Dresden to friends and acquaintances as a place of residence (Fig. 1). The reasons lie mainly in the perceived lack of friendliness and safety. In 2009, Dresden was still perceived as a city that was safe and interesting, reasonably friendly and relaxed, if not particularly modern. Seven years later, however, the assessments regarding how interesting, relaxed and modern the city is may not have changed, but they certainly have in regard to friendliness and safety. Concerning safety, the figure^[2] fell by 20 percentage points to 28 per cent and the figure for friendliness fell from 31 per cent to 18 per cent. A lack of friendliness is predominantly identified in people on the street. In 2009, about one in five respondents

(17%) said that the people on the street were fairly dismissive or dismissive of them, and in 2016, this rose to more than one in four (27%). On the positive side is the finding that security services are perceived as being far more helpful than just seven years ago (fairly helpful / helpful: 2009: 25%, 2016: 43%).

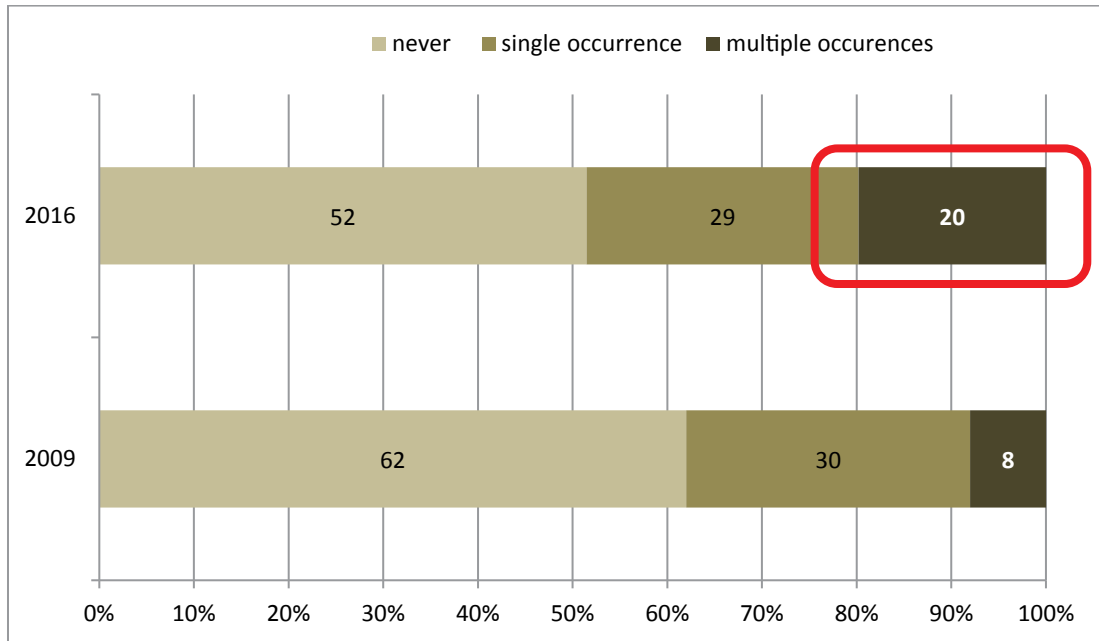
It is interesting that a certain degree of polarisation is revealed in the perception of either helpfulness or dismissiveness from some groups. In 2009, across all groups presented^[3], 42 per cent of respondents still said that members of these groups behaved neutrally towards them – that is, they were neither dismissive nor helpful. In 2016, this proportion had shrunk to 28 per cent. A statement by one of the students indicates a possible reason for this: "As many of the inhabitants of Dresden are afraid that foreigners will have a bad impression because of Pegida, some of them try to be mega-nice to foreigners." So, while mainly people on the street are perceived as being more dismissive, professors, staff of the University, and also the security services, neighbours and employees of public authorities are assessed as being much more helpful than just seven years ago.

A disturbing aspect is that every third respondent has already had negative experiences because of their nationality. Another third had no such experiences themselves, but knew friends and acquaintances who had such things happen to them. Although this figure shows no increase in comparison with 2009, it did not decrease either. In addition, the frequency (Fig. 2) of such incidents seems to be increasing. In 2009, 8 per cent of respondents said that such events were more likely to happen to them in certain places, while in 2016, it was every fifth respondent (20%). If negative experiences are reported, they mainly take place in the urban area of Dresden, on public transport, in clubs and bars, and outside Dresden. The campus, on the other hand, seems to be virtually a protected area. Asked about the actual occurrences, the majority of those affected cite





a range from obvious antipathy to verbal abuse; every fifth person has been threatened with physical violence; 5 per cent of people affected by negative experiences have been subjected to physical violence.



F8 2009 (n=130), 2016 (n=57)

Figure 2: (Question 8) Where and how often have these negative experiences happened to you?

We feel very alone during the courses, there is no contact with other German students.

In the overall evaluation of the results, despite every caution taken due to the low response rate, it can be concluded that when comparing the surveys of 2009 and 2016, a gap has opened up between the evaluation of the city of Dresden and of TU Dresden as a place to study. In the city of Dresden, students from abroad are confronted more frequently with rejection in public spaces particularly than was the case in 2009 or 2011. If Dresden is praised, then rather for its outer shell (beautiful architecture, abundance of history, beautiful landscape) and the many leisure activities it has to offer. People on the street whose treatment of students from abroad ranges from dismissive to hostile are a negative factor. While in 2011, Dresden as a place of residence and TU Dresden as a place to study were recommended equally, the city of Dresden is now sliding down the scale of recommendations when compared to TU Dresden. However, as regards the University, the efforts of the last few years seem to have paid off. The friendliness and willingness to help of professors, fellow students, staff members of the International Office and the Welcome Center, right through to staff in the canteens, is praised, as is the general atmosphere at TU Dresden.

[1] Statements from students in the open questions about positive / negative experiences at TU Dresden / in Dresden

[2] Four-point scale between safe / unsafe, friendly / unfriendly – the percentages refer to the highest scale point (safe, friendly)

[3] People on the street, landlords and landladies, authorities, neighbours, German students, security services (e.g. police), employees of TU Dresden, professors/lecturers, other students from abroad

Positive are the spontaneous conversations with strangers at Mensa.



NEW RIGHT IDEOLOGY IN UNIVERSITY DISCOURSE

Right-wing tendencies, right-wing ideology – for years, discussions on these issues were dealt with at a level that focused primarily on neo-Nazis and their activities: demonstrations related to February 13th, the NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) in the regional parliament, right-wing symbols and identification codes. Since the Sarrazin debate in particular, public arguments about right-wing content have become more complex. We are at a point where we no longer have to argue exclusively against race ideology and romanticisation of the Nazis. Culture is supposedly the new buzzword, when talk is now about there being too many foreigners, about integration and about German national culture as a guideline for foreigners. The matter of negotiation remains the same: who belongs to this country and who does not? Who is awarded what privileges? Whose affiliation is acknowledged unquestionably, and whose is constantly called into question? Who is actually meant when we are talking about a nebulous "us", and who, then, does not belong to it?

It is becoming all the more important to simultaneously ask ourselves what role TU Dresden and its teachers and students play in this conflict. To what extent does the University itself act as a place of negotiation? This is also a matter of casting a critical glance at oneself. It is correct to conclude that no openly neo-Nazi scene can be detected within TU Dresden, at least none that fits into the patterns of "comradeships" or the NPD as propagated by the media. But even without the stereotypical behaviour, telling attitudes, discourses and players can be found. In this context, New Right ideologies function as a hinge between conservatism and the extreme right. Old racist theorems are reprocessed and introduced into the discussions with an intellectual veneer: an emphasis on Western culture and ethnopluralistic concepts rather than blatant racism. This article is intended to

provide an insight into the players and ideological concepts that have gathered under the label of the New Right, and can also be found within Pegida. First, however, the importance of dealing with this subject in the university sphere will be emphasised once more.

Racist and xenophobic attitudes are found in all social strata – including at the University

Racism, hatred of those perceived as foreigners and other forms of group-focused enmity are not phenomena on the margins of society, and nor do they stop at the gates of the "Hörsaalzentrum" (TUD's central lecture theatre building). Various studies have been investigating, in some cases for decades, the extent to which stereotypical ideas and negative sweeping judgments can be found in people's minds. There is a long list of investigations attempting to measure – by means of surveys – right-wing extremist attitudes in German society ("Mitte" studies), group-focused enmity (GMF), or ethnocentrism (ALLBUS). In November 2016, the "Sachsen-Monitor" study was published, providing information on how the ideal of equality in the Free State of Saxony is faring. Even if the different studies pursue different concepts, they all come to the same conclusion: they demonstrate the existence of a constant, not insignificant proportion of the population, which, independently of political and media trends, holds attitudes of hatred towards various groups and views them as inferior.

No social class is immune to such ideas. Ethnocentric or right-wing extremist positions are found to a certain extent in all socio-demographic categories; in women as well as in men, in the young and the old, among doctors as well as the unemployed. Of course, viewing others as inferior, hatred and prejudice are also found within the context of the university. We find authoritarian right-wing positions both among students and at all





levels of academic employment. According to the above-mentioned studies, the readiness to view weaker social groups as inferior has increased significantly in the last few years, particularly among the better-off.^[1]

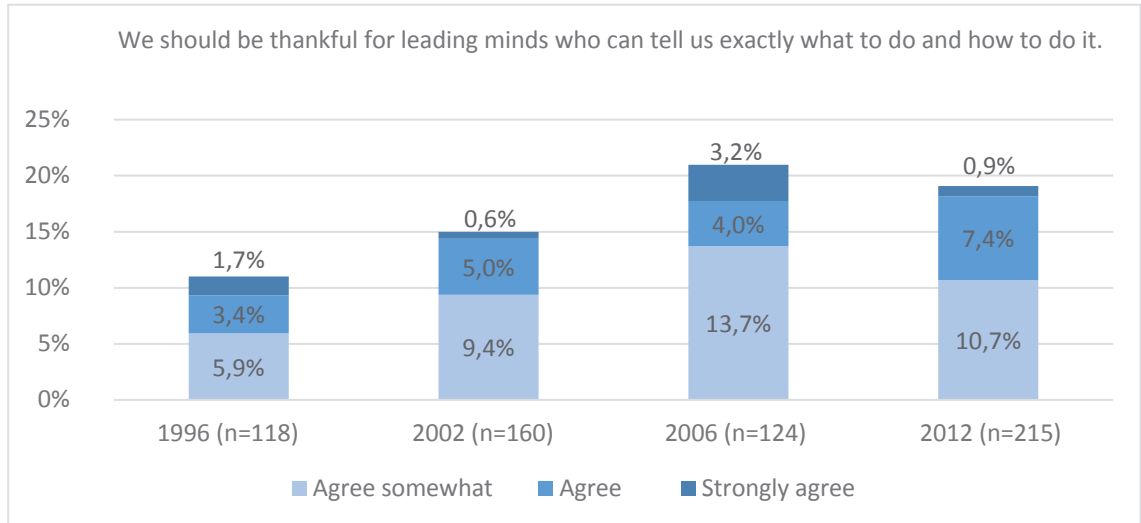


Figure 1: approval of authoritarian positions / students only (personalised east-west weighting)


In addition, past Shell youth studies have diagnosed a certain change towards conservatism in the opinions and attitudes of the under-26s. For many students, hard work, success and family have once again become important pillars of the way they live their lives. Attitudes related to performance, ambition as well as to power and security are experiencing a renaissance. This canon of values, rooted in tradition, can quickly become the breeding ground for all kinds of discrimination and viewing others as inferior. A poten-

tial for this is also found in the Shell study: about one-fifth of the students examined can be categorised as belonging to a type that is focused on order and holds authoritarian norms, such as the demand that "a strong hand should restore order to the country".^[2]

The renowned German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) paints a similar picture. The proportion of students who agree with authoritarian positions has almost doubled since the 1990s. A growing mental attitude of authoritarian subservience is apparent at German universities; an uncritical submission to the idealised authority of one's own group and the desire for a strong leader. This "underling" mentality is usually not content with "bowing and scraping to those above", but is quickly accompanied by "kicking out at those below".

The New Right

As already indicated, it is not the crude, racist slogans – which in today's discussions are tantamount to self-disqualification – that are the problem, but ethnic nationalist argumentation patterns that are creeping into university discourse. Karlheinz Weissmann, a visionary of the New Right, put this quite openly: "We are concerned with intellectual influence, not with intellectual air supremacy over pub meetings, but over lecture theatres and seminar rooms; we are concerned with influencing minds, and if the minds belong to those in power and to elected representatives, then so much the better."^[3] The New Right is to be understood here more as a collective term for a political spectrum, which formed in the 1960s as a counter-model to the 1968 movement. The ideological reference point is what is called the Conservative Revolution, a movement of right-wing conservative intellectuals who acted against parliamentarianism and liberalism during the Weimar Republic.



Dresden is a nice city, and in general I perceive it as safe and quiet.



People like to stare at me. I heard some people badmouth me on the tram. They think I don't understand German so they can insult me openly. Also, I don't feel safe going out on Monday night.

Conceptually, the strategy of the New Right is based on Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony and leads to the attempt to shift the democratic consensus by means of a "cultural revolution from the right".^[4] Here, we are talking about a grey area which cannot clearly be labelled as neo-Nazi. It ranges from the weekly magazine "Junge Freiheit" through to various fraternities to the AfD (Alternative for Germany), as well as to the right wings of the established parties and parts of Thilo Sarrazin's enthusiastic readership. The former federal chairman of the NPD, Holger Apfel, also saw this as promising, declaring himself in favour of a "respectable radicalism" when he assumed office. Pegida's choice of speakers shows that this strategy has already been something of a success in Dresden. Central players of the New Right, such as Götz Kubitschek or Jürgen Elsässer, are regarded as sources of inspiration for the movement and regularly appear as guest speakers at the demonstrations. The current nationalism that is on the offensive and acts under the cloak of patriotism is also the result of a process which players in Saxony's new right movement have been striving towards for years; for example Felix Menzel and his magazine "Blaue Narzisse" or the Cheruscia Burschenschaft in Dresden.^[5]


Ethnopluralism as ideological core

Categorising human beings into biologically inhomogeneous races has been thoroughly discredited, not least by modern genetic research. Anyone wishing to continue to hold the opinion that human beings are not equal will find an alternative to biologist racial concepts in ethnopluralism with its culturalist focus. According to the concept of ethnopluralism, human beings may be alike in terms of their "construction", but they are fundamentally different in their culture and character.

This ideology "hallucinates" people of a nation into a homogeneous collective sharing certain qualities. What otherwise turns out to be a stereotype or cliché (for example, German punctuality) is pronounced to be not learned or socialised, but fundamentally inscribed into a person and seen as an immutable component of their being. It also postulates a kind of "purity maintenance law" which prohibits the mixing of different cultures. Cultural identity is to be protected from foreign influences. According to this ideology, cultural homogeneity – and by extension the permanent preservation of a people's specifics – can only be ensured by excluding subjects that are alien to this culture. Following this logic, the multicultural society with its plurality of practices and life plans is seen as a serious threat, since it leads to the mixing of the original cultures of peoples.

If, therefore, neo-Nazis warn of the "death of a people" or Pegida demonstrations lament that the German nation is being replaced, then this may be absurd, but it is at least consistent in an ethnopluralist chain of thought. Any form of immigration is a threat in this sense. It follows that the patchwork-like adaptation of cultural practices in a globalised world, be it yoga or Pokémon Go, is a danger, a dilution of the original ethnic culture and a surrender of the autochthonous lifestyle – whatever that may mean in concrete terms.

In fact, this construction of homogeneous, immutable cultures of peoples is a pure fantasy product that collapses with the faintest puff of wind. Germany has always been characterised by migration, long before so-called guest workers and contract workers helped the country get back on its feet economically. For centuries, Germany, with its central location in Europe, has been both a country of destination and of transit for various immigrant groups. Significant groups that shaped the country and became part of it were, for example, the Huguenots in the 17th century and the "Ruhr Poles" in the 19th century^[6] The idea of having to fend off foreign cultures in order to protect one's own is a fabrica-



Neustadt has a very unique vibe.

tion. One's "own" culture is not forbidden to the individual. What is glorified as one's own origins is not something that has always existed, but instead has been shaped and transformed over the centuries – as a direct result of migration. If the people in Germany were to trace back their ancestry 100 years, almost every one of the supposedly native people would suddenly discover that they themselves have a migrant background.



Fig. 2: Ethnopluralist banner at the Pegida demonstration in Dresden on 05-01-2015

Source: Metropolico (cc by-sa)

People get frustrated with you for not knowing how to do something for the first time.

Short overview of ideologies^[7]:

Traditional Far Right	New Right and Right-Wing Populism
positive references to fascism	pronounced renunciation of fascism
proclaimed overthrow of system ("völkische Revolution" – ethno-nationalistic revolution)	occupying of a new political standpoint within the political system (shifting it to the right)
<i>Völkischer Rassismus</i> (ethno-nationalistic racism)	regionalised, culturalised and religiously codified racism (<i>Heimat</i> , faith and cultural identity)
Perceived enemies:	
Jews, foreigners, EU, the Left	Muslims, multiculturalism, intellectual hegemony of the left ("68ers")
Reference points:	
race, nation	tradition, <i>Heimat</i> , "the Western culture of Europe as influenced by Judeo-Christian values"

NOTES:

[1] Heitmeyer, Wilhelm (2011): Deutsche Zustände. Vol. 10. Berlin.

[2] Hurrelmann, Klaus et al. (2006): Jugend 2006. Frankfurt am Main.

[3] Rissmann, Hans (2001): Kriminelle Akte. In: Junge Freiheit 36/01.

[4] Bruns, Julian et al. (2015): Rechte Kulturrevolution. Wer und was ist die Neue Rechte von heute? Hamburg.

[5] You can find detailed information about fraternities and societies at TU Dresden in this brochure: Ein alter Hut. Kritik studentischer Verbindungen in Dresden.

[6] Bade, Klaus et al. (2007): Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Paderborn.

[7] Häusler, Alexander (2011): Rechtspopulistisches Entwicklungsland. In: Lotta 45.

Troublemakers like PEGIDA cause feelings of insecurity while traveling at night. People often stare just because of my non-white appearance.

CONTACTS AND ADVICE

Support in cases of discrimination

We Care@TU Dresden

TU Dresden's point of contact for victims of racial discrimination and abuse.

✉ we-care@tu-dresden.de

RAA Sachsen e.V.

Advice centre with many years of experience in supporting victims of racist and right-wing violence (verbal and physical). Online advice via chat is also possible.

Bautzner Straße 45, 01099 Dresden

Telephone: +49 351 88 9 41 74

✉ opferberatung.dresden@raa-sachsen.de

🌐 www.raa-sachsen.de

Anti-Discrimination Office Saxony

Advice centre for all forms of violations against non-discrimination policy.

Kochstraße 14, 04275 Leipzig

Telephone: +49 341 30 39 492

✉ beratung@adb-sachsen.de

🌐 www.adb-sachsen.de

Services for International Students and Researchers

International Office

The International Office supports international students in all matters relating to their stay.

Bürogebäude Strehleener Str. (BSS)

6th floor, Room 671, Strehleener Str. 22, 01069 Dresden

✉ studium.international@mailbox.tu-dresden.de

In general the people have been nice. The city is nice and there are a lot of places to go and also a lot of activities.

Cultural Office of the International Office

The Cultural Office supports students in getting to know the country, its people and each other. To this end, it offers numerous events and arranges language partnerships.

✉ kulturbuero_aaa@mailbox.tu-dresden.de

🌐 www.tu-dresden.de/studium/rund-ums-studium/kulturbuero

DRESDEN-concept Welcome Center @ TU Dresden

Service for all international visiting researchers and doctoral candidates at TU Dresden and its partner institutions within DRESDEN-concept. Advice, information and support before and during your stay in Dresden.

Nürnberg Str. 31a, 01187 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 463-34009

✉ welcome.center@tu-dresden.de

🌐 www.ddcwelcome.de

International Students Commissioner at TU Dresden

Support for international students and staff at TU Dresden.

Prof. Dr. Stefan Horlacher

Telephone: +49 351 463-33848

✉ auslaenderbeauftragter@tu-dresden.de

Studentenrat Dresden (Student Council)

Advisory service and organisation of events relating to the subject.

George-Bähr-Str. 1e, 01062 Dresden

✉ astud@stura.tu-dresden.de

🌐 www.stura.tu-dresden.de/beratung

The TU Welcome Center usually helps with anything if asked, so almost every experience with them is a positive experience.





Studentenwerk Dresden (Student Services Dresden)

The Family and International Friends programme is designed to help students make friends with people from Dresden and get to know the culture of this city. The International Coffee Hour takes place every Wednesday at 5pm.

Fritz-Löffler-Str. 18, 01069 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 4697-668
 [www.studentenwerk-dresden.de/
internat](http://www.studentenwerk-dresden.de/internat)


STUBE Sachsen e.V.

Supporting programme for students from Africa, Asia, Latin America and South-Eastern Europe.

Kreuzstraße 7, Room 408 (4th floor)
01067 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 492 33 65
 stube@infozentrum-dresden.de
 www.stube-sachsen.de



Ausländerrat e.V. (Migrant Council)

Advice centre for all Dresden residents without a German passport.

Heinrich-Zille-Straße 6, 01219 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 43637-0
 www.auslaenderrat-dresden.de

Welcome Centre of the City of Dresden

Information and advice on housing, right of residence, work and much more.

Schweriner Straße 1, 01067 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 4886050
 akzess@dresden.de
 www.welcome.dresden.de

The City of Dresden's Integration and Foreigners' Commissioner

First port of call for people with a migration background seeking advice on a case-by-case basis; support for intercultural events.

Tip: on the website given below, you can also find the detailed brochure "Arriving in Dresden from around the world" with many addresses and tips in several languages.

Dr.-Külz-Ring 19, 01067 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 4882131

✉ auslaenderbeauftragte@dresden.de
🌐 www.dresden.de/de/leben/gesellschaft/migration.php

Afeefa

Interactive and multilingual website for events supporting integration and projects to attend and participate in. You can also register your own events.

🌐 www.afeefa.de

Political education on the subjects of racism and right-wing ideologies

"Dresden für Alle" Network

Network of initiatives and institutions for an open and tolerant Dresden. Information about current events and support in planning and carrying out events.

Bautzner Str. 22, 01099 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 32015664

✉ info@dresdenfueralle.de
🌐 www.dresdenfueralle.de
🌐 www.fb.com/dresdenfueralle

Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V.

Background information and events relating to the issue; support for organising events.

Bautzner Str. 45, 01099 Dresden
Telephone: +49 351 272 14 90
✉ buero@kulturbuero-sachsen.de
🌐 www.kulturbuero-sachsen.de



Network for Democracy and Courage

Organises project days relating to the subject areas of prejudice, racism and democratic education.

Könneritzstr. 5, 01067 Dresden

Telephone: +49 351 4810060

✉ Info@netzwerk-courage.de

🌐 www.netzwerk-courage.de

Pokubi –State Co-operation for Political and Cultural Education

Organises project days relating to the subject areas of prejudice and racism, democracy training as well as empowerment training.

Wettiner Platz 9, 01067 Dresden

Telephone: +49 1575 18 54 090

✉ kontakt@pokubi-sachsen.de

🌐 www.pokubi-sachsen.de

Volkshochschule Dresden e.V. "Prof. Victor Klemperer" (Adult Education Centre)

Background information and events relating to the issue.

Annenstraße 10, 01067 Dresden

Telephone: +49 351 254 40 0

✉ post@vhs-dresden.de

🌐 <http://www.vhs-dresden.de>

Notes:



