

Memory, Identification and Urban Heritage: The Case of Chemnitz/Karl Marx Stadt¹**Hafıza, Özdeşleşme ve Kentsel Miras: Chemnitz/Karl Marx Şehri Örneği**

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Pınar KARABABA DEMİRCAN²**Abstract**

For heritage studies to evaluate the impact of the commoditized heritage on the identity development of collectivities, Chemnitz (former Karl Marx Stadt) in Germany poses an important example due to the transformations in the last three decades. This article reads the identity development of young people who were born around the fall of the Berlin Wall and lived their life in Re-unified Germany over their identification with the history and symbols narrated through the monumental structure. For young generations the identity construction is developed between belonging to an Eastern rule that they did not fully experience and not being able to find their equal place in Re-Unified Germany. The transformation of the city from a respectable industrial city of German Democratic Republic to a humbler city with unemployment problems followed recently with the increase in far-right gatherings, which also brought tensions with migrants. This article while not commenting on the political transformation of collectivities, analyzes the identity development over the impact of the re-construction of Eastern German space in Re-unified Germany.

Keywords: Re-Unification of Germany, Karl-Marx-Stadt/Chemnitz, Memory, Exhibitionary Dynamics, Identity Construction

Özet

Kültürel miras çalışmaları kapsamında metalaşmış mirasın kitle üzerindeki etkisini değerlendirmek için, Almanya’da bulunan Chemnitz (Eski Karl Marx Şehri) son otuz yılda geçirdiği dönüşümden ötürü vaka olarak önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu makale Berlin Duvarı yıkılmadan kısa bir süre önce doğan ve hayatlarının çoğunu yeniden birleşme sonrası Almanya’da geçiren gençlerin kimlik oluşturma sürecini

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kentin anıtsal yapıları üzerinden aktarılan tarih ve sembollerle özdeşleşmeleri üzerinden okumaktadır. Genç kuşaklar için kimlik kurulumu fazla deneyimlemedikleri bir Doğu yönetimi ve eşit parçası olmadıkları bir Federal Almanya hayatı arasında gelişmektedir. Kentin saygıdeğer bir Doğu Alman endüstriyel kentinden işsizlik problem olan daha mütevazı bir kente dönüşmesini son yıllarda göçmenlerle çatışmaları da içeren aşırı sağ eğilimler takip etti. Makale kitlenin siyasi dönüşümünü incelememekle birlikte, Doğu Alman mekânının yeniden birleşme sonrası Almanya’da yeniden inşasının etkilerini kimlik üzerinden analiz etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Almanya’nın birleşmesi, Karl-Marx-Şehri/Chemnitz, Hafıza, Sergileme Dinamikleri, Kimlik Kurulum

Introduction

General attitude, is still like either they say “okay... from the east” or they are really tolerant but there are still a lot of people who think it is still the East, you are lower. Last week one of my friends told me. He lives in Leipzig. He dressed himself really nice like jeans and a nice shirt and a nice coat and he was standing in front of the bus stop and a guy comes by and tells him “Oh no an Eastern guy with Western clothes”. There are some attitudes like that (K.A., personal communication, 09.05.2011).

The above paragraph is taken one of the interviews I made in Chemnitz, Germany. After the interviewee told me this story about her male friend, I asked her about the reasons why this division still exists, she told me:

I don’t know, there are some people like that. I guess it’s the same with foreigners. You know some people are so tolerant and others like “if you don’t speak German don’t come to this country” (K.A., personal communication, 09.05.2011).

When she said that this attitude is similar to the problems faced by foreigners in Germany, I asked her about the proximity between being a foreigner and a German from East Germany, she stopped and nodded her head: “Yes, we are German” (K.A., personal communication, 09.05.2011). Similar stories exist in each of the ten interviews I made with young people in 2011 in Chemnitz which depict depicting an in-between position.

While being a humbler city with a high unemployment rate and rising right-wing movements, Chemnitz back in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was re-named after Karl Marx and became the Karl Marx Stadt because of its industrial success. Contrary to this privileged position in GDR, during recent years the city started to be heard with crimes of hatred such as attacks on migrant settlements. In August 2018 attacks towards foreigners increased after the murder of a German citizen supposedly by a Syrian refugee which was followed by protests reported to include nearly 5000 far-right sympathizers (BBC 2018). The case of Chemnitz took its place in recent history with rising concerns about the far-right inclinations in Central and Eastern Europe. However, during the time of the research, in 2011, the city had a different climate. Then, Chemnitz was known as the city with the oldest population in Europe which used to keep some bonds with GDR. The reason for the high elderly population is related to the migration flow of young people from economic concerns. Yet, the understanding of the city as still an Eastern place is more related to exhibitionary dynamics than the reflection of pre-unification ideals of

the elderly population. The second highest population in the city was the students some of whom were also locals. During that time the city, among other nearby cities in Saxony was not part of the rising far-right. The change in the climate for Chemnitz whose transformation, as believed in this article, is related with the identification problem following economic concerns, depicts valuable cases for tracing the paths of re-unification in Germany and how identification processes were developed. Even though the political contribution of this article is not directly on the reasons of hostility it offers another path which is believed to be supportive to understand these dynamics.

The leading idea behind this research is the mutual relationship between the representation developed by the state and other institutions and the ways of identification of people developed from their life witnessing the complex identity developed within Chemnitz. This study analyzes a gap between the representation and its perception by people, which I believe, tells a minor story about how this place is located in the present culture and how people perceive their lives in it.

Chemnitz's importance for such kind of research is that her history passed as a space of representations. As an important city for industry, Chemnitz was re-named as Karl-Marx-Stadt in 1953 and the city is stigmatized by the giant Karl Marx head, by the renowned Russian sculptor Lev Kerbel, some of whose works are labeled after the break of USSR as the symbols of communist propaganda and destroyed. Yet, people in Chemnitz, even though they decided to take their old name (Chemnitz) back by voting in 1990, kept the Karl-Marx statue. The statue remained in the center of the city and became one of the symbols of changing world dynamics by its symbolic death. During the process of building a new city, the constructed space continued to be defined in different titles such as the 'Entrance to the Erzgebirge' or the 'Modern City' as well as the 'former Karl Marx Stadt'. While life in Chemnitz is described by the local authorities with the slogans of growth and development, it is on the other hand a city with a high senior population, with a high migration rate to the other states in Germany due to unemployment.

To analyze this path the research focuses on the changes in the signification of monumental structure after reunification and how it affected the lives of a specific group. This group is composed of young people who were born on the eve of the Re-unification and spent most of their life in the Re-Unified Germany. They are the witnesses of the symbolic death of their city as the former Karl-Marx Stadt and its resurrection once again as Chemnitz. In some cases, they are still considered as East-Germans but they do not have much experience of living in the actual East. This temporal gap in their experience is read together with the inconsistencies in their belonging processes which were developed simultaneously with the changes in the museal structure. As will be discussed below, their story in the smallest frame tells the story of staying in between two epochs and identities. I believe the points about the different positioning of East in the Re-unified Germany depicts a part of this recent change since it focuses on the impact of altered monumental significations on identity development.

To reach this group and understand how the city and their identity take place in their perspective, I used the method of mind mapping with ten university students studying at the Technical University of Chemnitz, while making a semi-structured interview with them. After making interviews and develop questions on how they reflect the city on their maps; I also compared their symbols and interviews with how the city is exhibited at different levels including the souvenir market and publicity. The analysis of exhibitionary dynamics in both dimensions' points to a gap in the identity construction in a city which signifies the earlier times more than actively being seen as a part of Re-unified Germany. By bringing the togetherness of space, spatial experience, and the symbolic structure of space to the discussion, the article aims to cover the interaction between the identity formulation and the symbolic and empirical

construction of space.

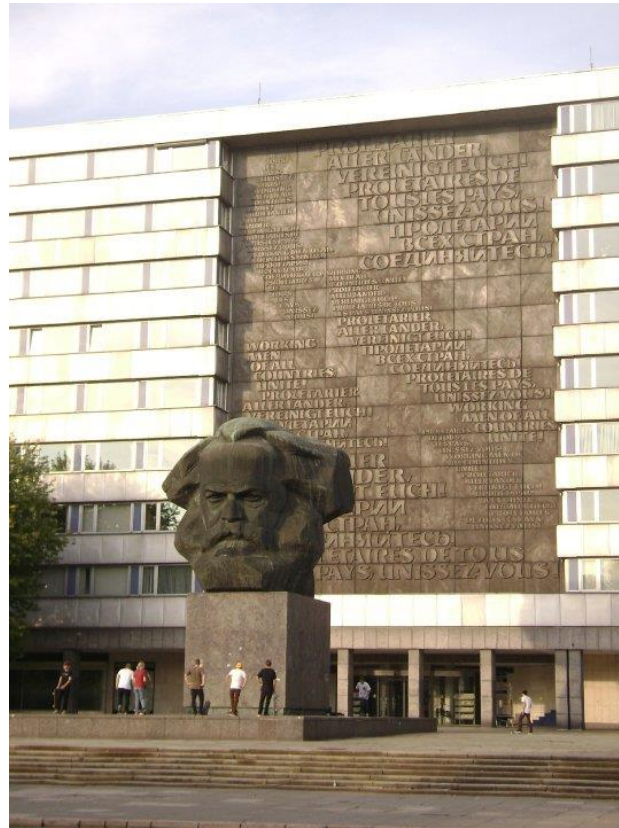


Figure 1. Karl Marx monument by Lev Kerbel, photography by author

Exhibition and its Borders: A Theoretical Overview

The present research is more related to symbols, affirmed meanings, and memories (experienced or built), which creates a difficulty in understanding the dynamics in an urban environment. This process involves different perceptions of space and physical use of the urban environment. The memorial structure, the monuments, and remnants surround the public and transcend a message. This message can both be inherited from earlier times as in the case of the Karl Marx Monument and be subjected to alterations in its meaning. Therefore, the public becomes also an eyewitness of change and receiver of messages while being at the same time the producer of the counter memories, spaces, and actions. Not all monumentality is constructed by authorities, there are also a lot of anonymous or later named monuments created by the public in the urban environment. However, since the city planning is mostly on the side of authorities, the power of monuments is also mainly constructed as a message transmitter for the people who are surrounded by them. This dual existence of the public in the spatial environment gets more complex when the memorial structures –despite their semantic shifts- address the public as the main and passive audience who would internalize any memorial message without personal or historical filtering.

In this sense the proximity between the stranger and the wanderer as discussed by Simmel (1950) melts under the frame audience when we focus on the memorial domination in cities which lack the co-

production of space; therefore, through a collaboration between planners and the public. Such lack of experience, as in the case of the stranger in Simmelian notion, places the individual to the border between not belonging to space and a spatial boundary that keeps him/her from leaving (p. 402). During the late modern times the necessity of adapting to the changing dynamics of the world, where the states no longer constitute the center of power, led to the emergence of competitive cities that take their share in the world economy by tourism and display of heritage rather than production. As commented by Michael Müller (1999) this situation leads to the increasing detachment of the “location (individuality of the place) and the space (hyperreal character of the space with its signs and symbols)” from each other (Müller, 1999, p. 362). The differentiation stated by Müller is seen in Chemnitz as the over-symbolization of the former times by the souvenir market and over-emphasis on the modernity brought by the architecture. The over-emphasized modernity continues even decades after Re-unification in times when the place is no longer related (temporally) with the former regime. In this sense, Chemnitz gives a clear example of the differentiation between its temporal presence in a united Germany and its discursive construction as still an Eastern City.

This stance adopted by the founders of the memorial structures rendering the public into audience bring being a stranger closer to the alienation of the local inhabitant from the space s/he produces. Yet, since the constructed space is not united but divided both by the different regulations and different stances taken by different groups; it is impossible for the structure to keep the initial meaning attributed to it. Yet, the domination of memorial structures on the public space leads the researcher to be more careful when deciphering the rather hidden language of power. Since “the social space is a social product” (Lefebvre 2009, p. 34), it is not possible that the hegemony could leave it untouched. Even though the appropriation of space is dependent on a process to be self-representative, due to the interaction between the “conceived, perceived and lived spaces”; the space is composed of spatial *practice* (the deciphering of the space by the society), the “representations of space” (the planned and organized space) and the “representational spaces” (the space experienced via the specific use of symbols and images) (Lefebvre, 1990, pp. 34-39).

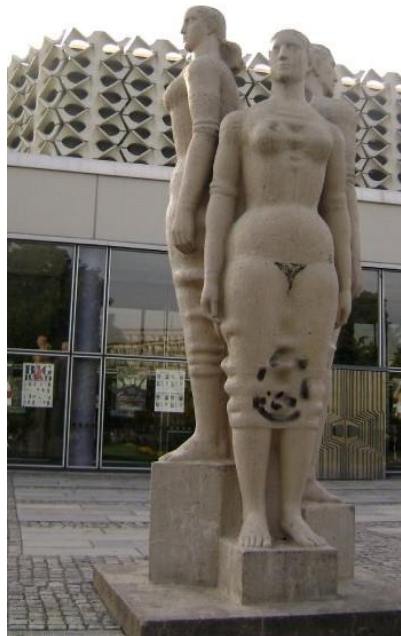


Figure 2. Paint on sculpture, Chemnitz, photography by author

The gap between the constructed space and the lived one includes a power play among the state and other powerful agents (such as private industry) in terms of creating a memory for the people to lead

them towards a specific ideological positioning to create an imagined homogenization among the citizens. This attempt can be used in some cases to veil the main differences that are created between people based on such as class and gender differences. In other cases, space and its representation can be solidly unified, which takes us to the point referred by Wacquant (2002) in his analysis of ghetto, which can easily turn into a prison, constructed by the power but internalized by the inhabitants (p. 51).

For the aforementioned veiling process, one of the important methods becomes the exhibition techniques on the structures and memory building related to them. By the exhibition techniques, rather than the closed environment of a museum and its official, the widely known purpose of exhibiting the past; what is mentioned here is the less visible methods of exhibiting. For Bennett (1994) the politics of the *exhibitionary complex* are defined by the exhibition's mode of operation over the visual control techniques. Exhibition pretends to democratize the gaze by positioning the visitor to the dominant condition in observing materials, but in actuality regulates the ideas and actions of collectivities (Bennett, 1994, pp. 123). The institutions comprising the "exhibitionary complex" by open and public display, form vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power to the public (Bennett, 1994, p. 124).

The present work focuses on these exhibitionary dynamics over their impact on identity construction and memory building. To be able to compare the symbolic and physical monumentality and people's experience I chose to apply the method of mental maps.

On Method: Mental Maps and Exhibitionary Dynamics

To achieve the gap between two representations –that of the institutions and that of the interviewees- ten interviews were made with university students studying at the Technical University of Chemnitz in different departments and one interview with the Tourism information office. The young people had individual differences in terms of their families' past in the history of Chemnitz and in terms of the class they belong to. While some of the students used to live with their parents on the workers' blocks at the time of the research, some others come from wealthier families. In sum, they constitute a variety that helps the research to gather different approaches, especially on the proximity to the socialist heritage on the city. The oldest of the interviewees was born five years before the reunification and the youngest is six months before, which makes them important witnesses not only for the birth or resurrection of a certain place and also the observer of death of the remnants of the old regime.

Even though the changing dynamics were rapid, still the remnants of the old regime –lifestyles, city planning, monumental structure- were kept up to a certain extent by losing a lot from their initial meanings. As will be discussed in the frame of this research, the interviews pose the ambiguity in this dual life of monuments in Chemnitz which also shows itself in the interviewee's will for change.

Another aspect to be mentioned is that as well as reflecting the perspective of a certain age group from the city, the research also includes a stranger's view considering the researcher's identity formation. The interviews were made in English with the aim of not deepening this distance created between the interviewer and the interviewees. The mentioned difference also required a special method that merges language with a personal sign system and therefore mental mapping developed by the urban planner Kevin Lynch (1960) is used to create fluent communication with the interviewees.

In my application of the method the interviewees were asked to draw a sketch map to understand how the urban dwellers perceive the spatial information and develop their own way within it. Each image as discussed by Lynch has a personal basis but also a public one that more or less shares the same features with the others. By those sketch maps, the passage of time can be understood clearly by the stress given to the new and old architectural forms within the city (Lynch, 1960, p. 45-46). As Lynch stresses the focus can be shifted from the form to the meaning or both, which widens the borders of the present research (Lynch, 1960, p. 46). Mental mapping in this sense enables the researcher to dwell into the changing images of the structures since it both includes a personal eye view and a public image. One supportive factor of the use of the mental maps appeared in this survey is that it turns the very position of being a stranger to a privileged position since it places the interviewee to the position of a narrator of his/her own city to someone (the interviewer) who comes from a stranger place, therefore in terms of the present research's goals, it enables the narration process to be fluent by making the gap of knowledge and experience between two parts positive as well as important. Mental mapping in this sense enables the researcher to dwell into the changing images of the structures since it both includes a personal eye view and a public image. The use mental maps become important to reveal the intersection of the daily life of people both with the city and with the representation of the city. An example for this dual existence –the meaning and the structure- can be seen in the differences between the figures 1 and 2.

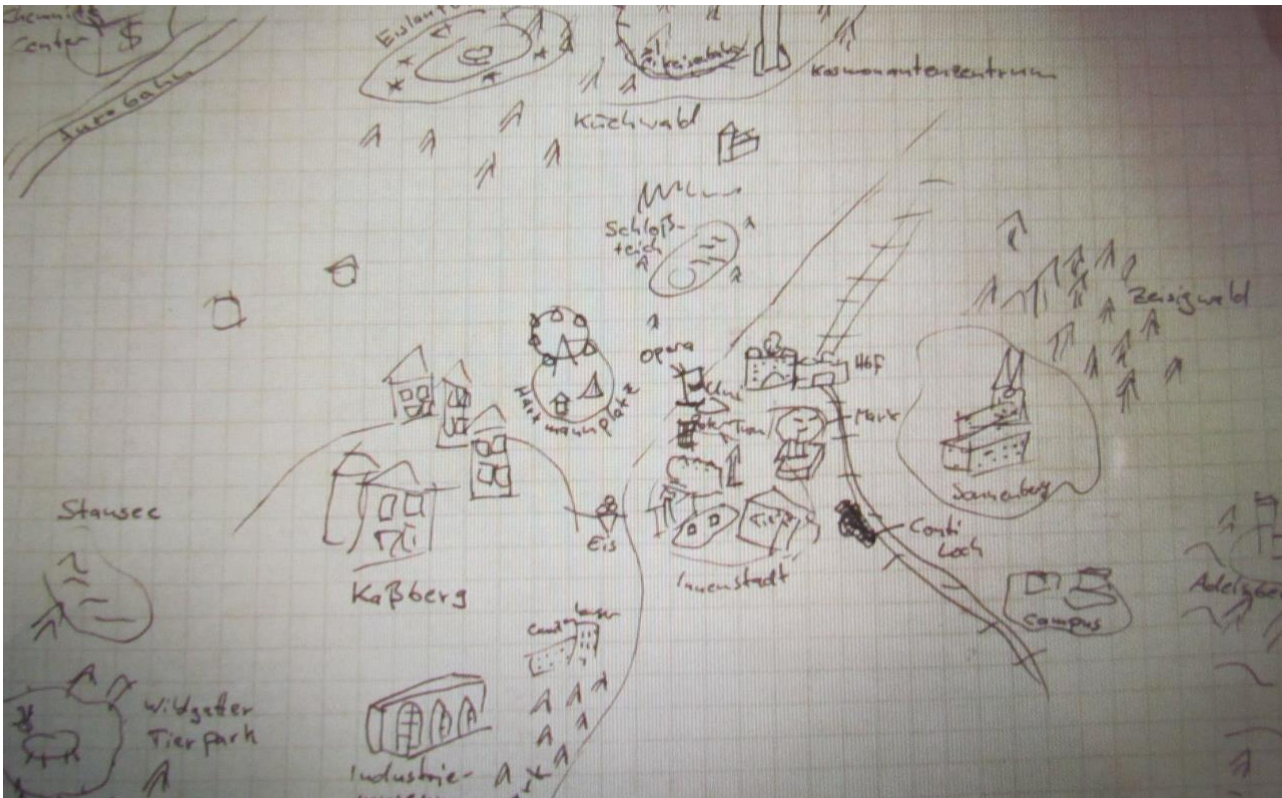


Figure 3. The sketch map of D.Z.

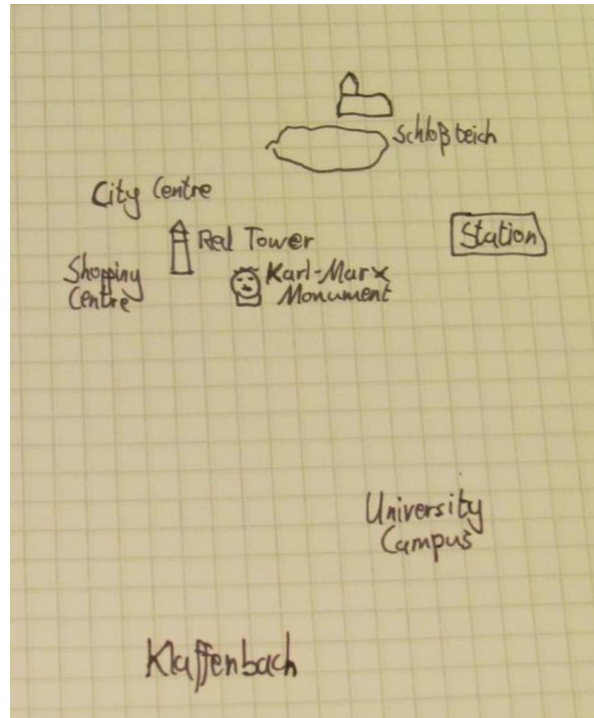


Figure 4. The sketch map of D.N.

From Karl Marx City to The City of Modernity

On making the distinction between the new exhibitionary dynamics and the old ones, it should also be considered that for such a city like Chemnitz the exhibition has started to be one of the major ideological choices before Re-unification. Yet, after space became stigmatized with the new world dynamics and a new Germany, what has changed in the city is not the existence of exhibition itself but the change in the form of it. Rather than being a proud city of industrialization in the GDR; due to its changed name but kept monument, the city's present condition is to become an open-air museum for East Germany. Most of the interviewees have a dual understanding of their time and place. On the one hand, they mostly claim themselves as only German –freed from any obligatory belonging to East and West- and on the other hand, they mention their excluded identity for the other states.

When the questions are directed to what they think about the slogan “the city of modernity” and their ideas about “The Modern Chemnitz”, the answers were on that the city's rapid “modernization” and adaptation to the new world does not coincide with the actuality of modernity:

Why it is called “City of Modernity”, nobody knows. (...) There is a word called “Rußchamtz” (Soot-Chemnitz), because we had all these factories, a lot of smoke, maybe they wanted to show that we have changed it (D.Z., personal communication, 09.05.2011).

Another interviewee comments on the aspect of change as the modernity in the slogan as the fading out of the old structures: “I don't know about the city of modernity, may be because of the modern buildings but I don't know, may be because there is nothing much old left” (L.I., personal communication, 18.05.2011).

When the interviewees question the modern and dynamic face of Chemnitz everyday problems about being a city with old people and unemployment appears in their comments:

Even you have a lot of companies they don't have so much working space. There are how many students I don't know but they will all need work after a while. I think Chemnitz doesn't offer enough work to those. I think the most important thing is that the offers in the Western part of Germany are still better, you earn much more money, you have more modern towns, if you just think the public transport... (E.Y., personal communication, 29.05.2011).

Except the discontent about the high average age and the lack of enough occasions to enjoy the student life, the main discontent about the city is the lack of employment opportunities and population flow to other states and countries as a result of the former situation. During the interview with L.I., I asked her to describe the city and her description was:

City... with many old people. I mean I think that's an important characteristic of the city, there are a lot of pensioners. The other part is students and some people in between. Because there is not that much events going on, especially in the center, because old people live there and complain. May be not very much advantages, kind of old city (L.I., personal communication, 18.05.2011).

Then, I asked her what is the reason behind the city's main population is composed of old people and she answered as: "Because all the young people left. Almost all the young people left. In some other cities there are better chances to get a job" (L.I., personal communication, 18.05.2011).

However, when the possible reasons are asked, she answered that she does not know the actual reason for that. Most of the interviewees while giving the same response of lack of knowledge, some mentioned the effects of the passage to the Reunification of Germany:

A lot of people lost their jobs after reunification, so, I think it brought a lot of problems, especially for some companies, changed a lot of stuff like music or the new things from I don't know... France. A lot of new music, books to read because in GDR you a lot of books you couldn't read because it wasn't allowed. I think people don't feel like in prison anymore, because they couldn't travel everywhere.

But also, a lot of people left the city. In the school we learned that Chemnitz had about 300.000 inhabitants and now it's like 220.000, so that's not good for the city and there are a lot of old people. There are not many jobs here so people go to the other states in Germany and it's a pity, but you can't change it, if you don't have any jobs you need to go somewhere else (B.H., personal communication, 11.05.2011).

The results of the privatization changed the life within the quickly in terms of personal histories:

A lot of areas they used to be industry and some of them are empty now. After we became part of the West Germany, a lot of Western companies fired a lot of people. Also, my father was fired and that had very deep impact on our life. Because my father searched for jobs, found a job and fired again, found a job and fired again, found a job and fired again. He is a construction engineer and after 3 or 4 jobs he went to school again on mechanical engineering and found some companies to work until he finally found a permanent job. About 15 years of getting a job

and becoming fired again. He was of course unsatisfied but never came out of his mouth that it was so much better before (B.H., personal communication, 11.05.2011).

The unemployment which affected some of the interviewee's life and that all of them are witnesses of the problems created for the people was one of the most severe and negative effects of reunification, yet even though all of the interviewees mention it as an outcome of reunification, mostly the answer given on the first hand to the questions about how this city ended up with a population made of old people, the answers given were not related with the results of reunification.

Among the immediate effects of the reunification, there was a huge population flow of approximately one million people. Saxony had an important migration rate mostly to Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg with a net loss of 11.654 people in 1990 (Wild and Jones, 1994, p. 7).

One of the reasons seen in the interviews for the general discontent about the city appears as possible unemployment and the population flow to other states. In addition to the massive renovation mentioned above, the parallel process was the privatization as exemplified by Wild and Jones (1994) on the privatization process in 1992: "an original stock of 11.400 industrial, agricultural and service enterprises on its books; 3000 enterprises already sold; 1200 closed down, and 2.6 million jobs lost or transferred" (p.4).

In 2011 the population flow and unemployment rates were still high. The migration deficit points to - 510 for February 2011 in the state of Saxony and the migration from the state to other states reach 4833 people within February (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder 2011). For 2010 Chemnitz had a migration flow of 5803 people to other states while the migration to Chemnitz points to 4381 people (Statistischer Bericht, 2010).

Re-construction of the Past and Identification

The complexity in identity formation is also an outcome of Re-unification which combines two different forms of attachment:

In the GDR, the difficulty was to reduce the spatial extent of its national identity conception to the confines of the GDR state territory, while in the FRG, the struggle was to keep the full spatial extent of its national identity conception in light of the restrictions of realpolitik (Guntram, 2004, p. 140).

In spite of the adaptation of a similar view of the *Heimat* (homeland that can be used for both the country, region, and place of birth), the GDR version included fewer Germanic values. For FDR the tone of the homeland shifted from a Germany some of whose parts were occupied by Soviets to a Western industrial heritage that had definite borders with other states including GDR (Guntram, 2004, pp. 156-158).

The GDR's aim was to construct the German Democratic identity as a separate nation despite some common bonds with the FDR. The strict propaganda about being a *socialist nation* supported the new type of community developed from a worker and peasant culture collaborating for a better land together with the authorities. *Heimat* in this sense used especially in two subjects: the increased stress on folklore opposing the "Americanization of FDR" and to show how the socialist reconstruction is in harmony with the already existing Germanness of GDR (Palmowski, 2009, pp.53-54). The use of folk art becomes

crucial for this symbolism in GDR which was taken “as part of the national culture struggling against a perceived American lack of culture” (Schramm 2004, p. 69).

In present culture this symbolism is very much faded out as symbolized in the change of the Karl Marx monument from the signifier of socialist architecture to a local “Nischel” who is more of a local from the city. The city is also called “Stadt mit Köpfchen” (City with the Little Head) referring the Karl Marx bust (Welt, 2001).



Figure 5. Part from the sketch map of K.A.

The Karl Marx head in Chemnitz is still used a lot in the visual narration of the city life. However, this narration, rather than keeping a balance between the past remains in the area of a blurred past neither symbolizing the past nor having a distinct identity in the present. One of the uses of the monument is in the souvenir market since it has a value for keeping the it is still recognized by the rest of Germany as answered in the interview with the Tourism Information Centre: “Chemnitz was Karl Marx City, because of that we have the monument so it is a good souvenir” (Tourism Information Center, personal interview, 03.05.2011). The Karl Marx Monument as the supporter of tourism in Chemnitz keeps Karl Marx physically in the city. However, it is also possible to see this figure on the credit cards of the local agency of the national banks (Welt, 2012). The second life of the monument overshadows the former life:

I think many people know it, that Karl Marx was a great... What was he actually? I don't think they think bad about it, I don't think he was a bad guy” (B.H., personal interview, 11.05.2011). Another example for this case is D.Z.'s answer on what would he buy for a foreigner to give something from the city: “Book because a book represents all different things. Of course, a Karl Marx head would be good but what do you do with that, except if you want to make a joke (D.Z. personal communication” 06.05.2011).



Figure 6. Credit card print from Sparkasse, Chemnitz



Figure 7. Anonymous poster on the wall, Chemntiz, photography by author.

When I raised questions to interviewees about the meaning of the monument the answers were not identifying with the symbol but they were thinking that it should remain there:

It is Chemnitz's symbol. I cannot even tell you biographical aspects, what happened in his history but he is a kind of symbol, the head is the symbol. (...)

It's a symbol without a name, it is a monument. Not that anyone is communist or procommunist, it was always there... Maybe it reflects how the GDR used to be, they were always very strict, you got to be careful about the spies, checking you past and everything... One time at Christmas they put a red hat on his head, it looked so cute, that was very cool they should do that all the time (K.A., personal communication, 09.5.2011).

The role of the souvenir market's commoditization of history changes the narration and blurs what is history and what is its representation. When I asked D.N. his thoughts about the East Germany's being

symbolized by the souvenirs like small cars and out of date cloths, his point draw a remarkable line which unites the history, souvenir market and today's identity: "It is really important to know something about it, GDR and how people lived here. It shouldn't be forgotten, because for the security some people even killed by the government, we should remember it" (D.N., personal communication, 31.05.2011).

The development of a souvenir market on the GDR reduces the entire past about a land divided by a socialist state and a federal state initially to a sole history of communism as if the other side of the border never appeared in the political arena between 1949-1990. The exhibitionary dynamics transform a certain historical period into a small part of the whole frame which excludes public experience. Additionally, they replace monuments or periods with replicas; the items sold in the souvenir market. During the interviews when I asked about the interviewees' opinions on those items, most of the answers were related that these souvenirs should be staying in their representative position because they are representing *the past* such as it is seen in I.T's words: "I don't feel bad about it, why not. It is part of our history, people think the car is cute"(I.T. personal communication, 10.05.2011).

As seen from the representation of the past with the commodities, it can be commented that there are blurred areas in the memory construction related to a certain space and the actuality of the past. The efficiency of the ideological discourses directed towards space and the life experienced can be traced over this consumerism later brought to the signifiers of the former regime.

When the questions are directed to memories or knowledge from elders is seen that the everyday life objects and structures have also a representative value, yet due to the element of experience, they combine to offer more distinct paths in identification. Most of the interviewees are still living in the workers' blocks remained from the socialist architecture either because the rents are fair or because their families never moved from their houses. In those blocks, as a result of the architecture families were more in touch when compared to present days. Sharing common facilities, which is still a positive memory for the interviewees:

The relationships between the people, personal relationships and friendships were really good. All the people were kind of a community and helping each other. That's what I also remember because we were going to holidays with them, I could always ask them for everything. We still see each other. It is not that someone foreigner lives next to you (L.I. personal communication, 18.05.2011).

At that time, these blocks were subjected to a certain change that the equality between each section was cancelled by the destruction of some floors in certain buildings. Yet, some of the common facilities like a playground for children in the middle of the structure are still protected:

Actually, not so much landmarks like a monument or certain buildings, sights which represent something. What I connect more on GDR and my own past are smaller details, so certain materials you find in old houses. We had huge settlements with the blogs, big houses with many small apartments, it is a certain kind of stone that is used, you just see it in that era they were built (N.F., personal communication, 18.05.2011).

After the first confrontation with the past and present in terms of memories, when the questions started to be directed to the identification with the place and the life created within that place, the responses given were getting gradually more focused on the distinctions between Chemnitz, Saxony and the West Germany. The unexpected outcome of this research was that the identity constructions, in spite of the

whole emphasis given to the modern Chemnitz as a city in the Re-unified Germany, is on the distinction made according to the former times, which is East and West:

It's always the young people who leave the city not the old ones. (...). It's just for the money or just for the work. You still are divided in East Germany and West Germany at least when you see how much money you get for your work. The same work you do but get more money in West Germany (D.Z., personal communication, 06.05.2011).

Parallel with the lack of relating the present situation with the outcomes of former systems or rapid changes during the transformation processes, the answers about why Germany is still divided between East and West point to a vague historicity. However, when the interviewees start to discuss the subject in terms of their identity and experiences, they find a more stable point of discussion for themselves. During one of the interviews, one memorable event happened when K.A. was telling her memories about the first years of the transformation process. My questions were mostly on how they were mentioning the former regime in the primary school years, and she remembered that they were being called as 'new states':

I remember we had still old maps divided, like a big line and they were teaching us those were the old states those are the new states. I was confused. Old states new states? It is a united country. People still saying it. There is no such thing anymore (K.A., personal communication, 09.05.2011).

After hearing that now figuratively this division still exists among people, I asked her what happens when you go to the Western States, she replied as below:

There is still especially in Sachsen Anhalt may be, they are still a little underdeveloped, they cannot develop so fast, you can tell that people are more dependent on social help. I went to Bavaria last week and I felt like being in a totally different country. Because it was so clean, people are dressing so nice. There was a huge difference being there and being here. It is said that... You can still tell that the old East German country is still so much behind. (K.A., personal communication, 09.05.2011).

Similar stories exist in each of the interviewees, which affected for some of them to change their future plans and stay in the states they are more welcomed:

They recognize you everywhere because of the dialect and still make fun of it and they are still talking about the East and the West part. A lot of people treat us like the bad part of Germany. Because Western Germany was very open to the world and very open and not the East, it wasn't very modern, there are a lot of old buildings. When I was applying for a job, I didn't choose the Western Germany because I wasn't sure how would they treat me (B.H., personal communication, 11.05.2011).

When, the identity question asked by giving some references to the past, they claim themselves as Germans as in the case of S.C.:

Nowadays nothing has to do with identity, especially for me as a young person. Many people never identified with Karl Marx when the city was Karl Marx City. Nowadays I just see myself as a German, so I don't have a real feeling, for me it's just history, especially because I am from

East Germany, I am quite thankful that it is nowadays how it is, especially for me as a more technical guy I wouldn't have such opportunities if the DDR would still exist, that's the only feeling I have (S.C., personal communication, 20.05.2011).

On the other hand, when the questions focus on the passage to the actual life in Re-unified Germany, the narration changes again to the division and the people whom S.C. sees himself among in the above paragraph, becomes "they", who have "their television" and insulting the Easterners:

At first, they see you as an Eastern German guy they don't care where from East you are and the Saxony area doesn't have a good reputation and because of our accent they are making fun of us in their television. Chemnitz, most people even doesn't know Chemnitz. Old people of course know the name of Karl-Marx Stadt, the young people may be doesn't know also that (S.C., personal communication, 20.05.2011).

Despite the main differences between the identity construction in both sides of the wall, the present situation as narrated by the interviews is more on the difficulties in the identification with the both sides –the earlier Eastern German identity and the present general identity that they are partially isolated. In general, some concerns appear stronger than the others offering a mixture such as seeing the past as a phase in the entire history of Germany but seeing the place still in terms of previous borders.

Conclusion

The two aspects seen in Chemnitz, its place after the Re-unification as the city with the little head (Stadt mit Köpfchen) and the city of modernity and dynamism, emphasizes the distinction from the old city. Yet, it also places the city in an ambivalent position in Germany, that is also reflected to the identification processes.

On the identity positions and how they are developed due to a power-play between identity and identification, Hetherington depicts the main point of clash as the identity's being about *bricolage* and identification's being about *homology* (Hetherington, 1998, p. 28) According to Hetherington, the different features gathered and the unificatory features necessitated (or affirmed by force in some cases) poses a play between *tactics of identity* and *ordering strategies of identification* (Hetherington, 1998, p. 28). Rather than seeing this play between a free identity development process and a forced development of identification, in this last analysis I will change the focus from bricolage to the complexity or confusion created in terms of identity building due to the structure of the space organized in Chemnitz. Rather than the usual development of identity, here there is the unusual part of this gathering process affected by the priorities of the era, which focuses more on erasing or blurring the memory on the second pole of the bipolar world. As mentioned by Müller, the increasing difference between the location and space is interrelated with the confusion in the identity formation by the detachment between identity and identification other (Müller, 1999, p. 362). The direct impact of this process on the space, which is highly related with the exhibitionary dynamics, is seen in Chemnitz's in-between position between the past and present where, contrary to the temporal presence in a Re-united Germany, the life is still constructed over the past binary oppositions between the East and West. At this limbo, the identity for the interviewees is constructed over being an Easterner, Saxonian and the member of the former Karl-Marx-Stadt even though they all never developed a belonging for the former regime.

The limbo position emphasized here points to a difficult transition period. The main presence of Chemnitz in the area is mostly related to its past as the Karl-Marx-Stadt and its political use depends on to display of how the former regime was keeping people away from West-. The later gained modernity of the city is emphasized to highlight the developed features of the Western states and therefore the entire narration of Re-unification remains limited by West's absorbing East. The exhibitionary dynamics are financed by tourism on the eastern features of the area –the East Germany-. However, this touristic re-introduction of the city to the Re-unified country keeps it also being an actual part of it mutually creating the every-day life since it is temporally distanced from the present life. When the developments during the following decade is considered, in this new adoption of walls the roots of this in-between position also seem to place the city to a different border than other parts of the country which are historically constructed as its opposite.

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¹Here it refers to gathering different identity features from various areas rather than uniting an identity on a structural basis that comes from the characteristics of the birth conditions such as class, race, ethnicity, gender.