Muslims in
Berlin

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

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Publishing page

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

AT HOME IN EUROPE PROJECT

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OSI Mission

The Open Society Institute works to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens.

Open societies are characterized by the rule of law; respect for human rights, minorities, and a diversity of opinions; democratically elected governments; market economies in which business and government are separate; and a civil society that helps keep government power in check.

To achieve our mission, we seek to shape public policies that assure greater fairness in political, legal, and economic systems and safeguard fundamental rights.

We implement initiatives to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media.

We build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as corruption and freedom of information. Working in every part of the world, the Open Society Institute places a high priority on protecting and improving the lives of people in marginalized communities.

Acknowledgements

Preface

A central belief of the Open Society Institute (OSI) is that all people in an open society count equally and should enjoy equal opportunities. OSI works to mitigate discrimination, in particular harm done to minorities through discriminatory treatment, and to ensure that access to equal opportunities for all is an integral part of social inclusion policies of governments.

The At Home in Europe project of the Open Society Institute focuses on monitoring and advocacy activities that examine the position of minorities in a changing Europe. Through its research and engagement with policymakers and communities, the project explores issues involving the political, social, and economic participation of Muslims and other marginalized groups at the local, national, and European levels.

Whether citizens or migrants, native born or newly arrived, Muslims are a growing and varied population that presents Europe with one of its greatest challenges: how to ensure equal rights in an environment of rapidly expanding diversity. Europe is no longer – if it ever was – a mono-cultural and mono-faith continent; its emerging minority groups and their identities as Europeans are an essential part of the political agenda and discourse.

Through its reports on Muslims in EU cities, the At Home in Europe project examines city and municipal policies that have actively sought to understand Muslim communities and their specific needs. Furthermore, the project aims to capture the type and degree of engagement policymakers have initiated with their Muslim and minority constituents by highlighting best practices in select western European cities. An underlying theme is how Muslim communities have themselves actively participated in tackling discrimination and whether the needs of specific groups warrant individual policy approaches in order to overcome barriers to equal opportunities.

The city reports build upon OSI's earlier work on minority protection, in particular the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program reports on the situation of Muslims in France, Italy, and the United Kingdom. All of these studies make it clear that further research is needed. The limited data currently available on Europe's Muslim populations are extrapolated from ethnic and country of origin background. This lack of precise data limits the possibilities for creating nuanced, specific polices on the most relevant issues for Muslims, and developing sensitive and integrated social inclusion policies.

The At Home in Europe report series includes an overview and individual reports on 11 cities in seven European countries. The project selected the cities on the basis of literature reviews conducted in 2006, taking into account population size, diversity, and the local political context. All 11 city reports were prepared by teams of local experts on the basis of the same methodology to allow for comparative analysis.

Each city report includes detailed recommendations for improving the opportunities for full participation and inclusion of Muslims in wider society while enabling them to preserve cultural, linguistic, religious, and other community characteristics important to their identities. These recommendations, directed primarily at specific local actors, will form the basis for OSI advocacy activities.

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List of Abbreviations

ADNB of the TBB	Das Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin. The Anti-Discrimination Network of the Turkish Federation Berlin
ADÜTDF	Föderation der Türkisch-Demokratischen Idealistenvereine in Deutschland (The Federation of Turkish Democratic Idealist Associations in Germany)
AGG	Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (The General Equal Treatment Act popularly known as the Anti-Discrimination Act)
BKRW	Der Beauftragte für Kirchen-, Religions- und Weltanschaungsgemeinschaften (Berlin Commissioner on Churches Religious and World Views)
CBP	Common Basic Principle (Gemeinsame Grundprinzipien)
DaZ	Deutsch als Zweitsprache (German as a Second Language)
DITIB	Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion (The Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs)
DIW	Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (German Institute for Economic Research)
ECCAR	European Coalition of Cities against Racism (Europäische Vereinigung der Städte gegen Rassismus)
ENAR	European Network Against Racism (Europäisches Netzwerk Gegen Rassismus)
EU	European Union (Europäische Union)
FRA	European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (Agentur der Europäischen Union für Grundrechte)
GDR	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic)
IBMUS	Initiative Berliner Muslime (Initiative of Berlin Muslims)
IGMG	Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs (The Islamic Community Milli Görüs)
IR	Islamrat für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (The Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany)

IRAB	Islamischer Rat der Ahl-ul-Bait Gemeinschaften in Deutschland (The Islamic Council of Ahl-ul-Bait Communities in Germany)
IRR	Institute of Race Relations
KRM	Koordinationsrat der Muslime in Deutschland (Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany)
LISUM	Landesinstitut für Schule und Medien (Federal State Institute for School and Media)
MJD	Muslimische Jugend in Deutschland (Muslim Youth Germany)
NDH	Nicht-Deutsche Herkunftssprache (Non German language of origin)
NGO	Nicht-Regierungsorganisation (Non-Governmental Organisation)
OSI	Open Society Institute
QM	Quartiersmanagement (District management)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
TBB	Türkischer Bund Berlin-Brandenburg (The Turkish Federation Berlin Brandenburg)
TDU	Türkisch-Deutscher Unternehmerverband (Turkish-German Business Assocation)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Die Organisation der Vereinten Nationen für Erziehung, Wissenschaft und Kultur)
VIKZ	Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren (Union of Islamic Cultural Centres)
ZfA	Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung (Centre for Research on Anti-Semitism)
ZMD	Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland (Central Council of Muslims in Germany)

DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

Discrimination: The term 'discrimination' is used throughout this report; it includes harassment and direct and indirect discrimination. Articles 1 and 2 of the EU Race Directive expressly prohibit both 'direct' and 'indirect' discrimination. Direct discrimination occurs "where one person has been treated less favourably than another person is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of racial or ethnic origin". According to the Directive, indirect discrimination occurs "where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage when compared with other persons unless that provision, criterion, or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary".

Ethnic or racial profiling: Describes the use by law enforcement officers of race, ethnicity, religion or national origin rather than individual behaviour as the basis for making decisions about who has been or may be involved in criminal activity.

Ethnicity: Membership of a group which may share language, cultural practices, religion or common identity based on a shared history.

Harassment is conduct which creates "an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment".

Integration: The definition used in this report is "A dynamic two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the European Union" as stated in the Common Basic Principles (CBPs). In the Explanation to the EU Common Basic Principles on Integration 2004 (CBPs), "Integration is a dynamic long-term and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident. The integration process involves adaptation by immigrants, both men and women, who all have rights and responsibilities in relation to their new country of residence. It also involves the receiving society, which should create opportunities for the immigrants' full economic, social, cultural and political participation. Accordingly, Member States are encouraged to consider and involve both immigrants and national citizens in integration policy, and to communicate clearly their mutual rights and responsibilities."

Islamophobia: Irrational hostility, fear and hatred of Islam, Muslims and Islamic culture, and active discrimination towards this group as individuals or collectively.

Marginalised: Marginalised groups can be part of an ethnic or racial minority and a sub-category of minority groups. They can also be characterised and distinguished from other groups by suffering socio-economic disadvantage and a powerless position in society or in a group. This report defines marginalised groups as those who experience social exclusion, be they part of a minority or majority group in society.

Migrant: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) definition refers to a: "person who has moved temporarily or permanently to a country where he or she was not born and has acquired significant social ties to this country". This includes students, children, as well as family dependents. A distinction is made in which this term does not include asylum seekers, refugees and stateless persons. However, in some countries 'migrant' also refers to those who are born in the country where their parents migrated to.

Minority: Under international law, there is no agreed definition of this term. Some countries define a minority as that which is recognised as such by national laws. In this report, the term refers to ethnic and religious groups who are not the dominant group in society.

Muslim: This group is diverse and although there is a common belief system and possibly experiences as Muslims, this report relies on its Muslim respondents' identification of themselves as Muslims. Furthermore, this term includes Muslims who view themselves in a cultural rather than a religious context.

Nationality: Country of citizenship.

Non-Muslim: For the purpose of this report, a non-Muslim is anyone who does not define himself or herself as belonging to the Islamic faith.

Race: The term 'race' is used in the content of discrimination on the grounds of race, which occurs where people face discrimination because of their presumed membership of groups identified by physical features such as skin colour, hair or physical appearance. References to race in this report should not be taken to suggest that there are distinct human races.

Racism: Where used in this report, 'racism' will be defined as 'racial discrimination' which according to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination "shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction of preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social or cultural or any other field of public life". Racial discrimination can also be based on markers of visible difference due to membership of a cultural group.

Social inclusion: The provision and promotion of equal rights and access in the field of education, employment and decision-making. Overcoming discrimination is implicit throughout policies and practices to realise inclusion.

Third-country national: An individual who is not a national of an EU Member State.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The inhabitants of Kreuzberg in Berlin perceive their neighbourhood as a place in which the people living there have very diverse sets of values. Yet it is also a place in which people get on well together, work to improve the neighbourhood, and help each other. This important finding runs counter to the dominant belief that shared values are necessary for successful integration. The Open Society Institute report *Muslims in Berlin* concludes that a diversity of values in a neighbourhood does not cause people and cultures to clash. The overwhelming majority of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents said that Kreuzberg is an enjoyable and safe place to live.

The study of the district of Kreuzberg highlights the success of an integrated structure and approach by citizens and policymakers to create a socially diverse environment. It is a part of Berlin in which individuals of differing ethnic and religious affiliations are able to successfully live together. The district's experiences offer lessons to European cities with large minority groups on how to meaningfully adapt and accommodate the needs and concerns of their inhabitants. For a long time, Kreuzberg has perceived its multicultural character as an asset, and has encouraged the participation in public life of all different social groups, including Muslims from various ethnic backgrounds and communities.

For many Muslim respondents, Kreuzberg offers not only safety, but also refuge from other parts of the city (as well as the country as a whole), where they often feel alienated and excluded. The attribute that gives their district this safe character is its highly diverse nature. This creates a more welcoming feeling of multiculturalism and belonging than monocultural environments elsewhere.

In Kreuzberg, unlike in other districts of Berlin, Muslim organisations have a strong presence within various political bodies. Local-government funding is distributed to Muslim groups, and district authorities and religious associations cooperate on local projects. This is particularly encouraging given the widely perceived stigmatisation and marginalisation of many religious Muslim associations in Germany.

At the city level, there are numerous measures of success, and the emergence of a progressive new approach to social inclusion. The new version of the *Integrationskonzept* (Integration Policy) is named *Vielfalt fördern – Zusammenhalt stärken* (Supporting Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion). In this new approach, the whole of society must adapt to the new demographic and social needs of an immigrant country. This challenges the traditional concept of integration in which minorities have had to adapt to the perceived majority culture. An important part of this new policy is the opening of a new administrative body (*Interkulturelle Öffnung der Verwaltung*) to shepherd the changing of important social institutions in response to a changing society. Its employment policies aim to ensure a diverse workforce and support for government institutions, meeting the needs of its non-ethnic German population.

Integration efforts on various levels of the administration, from the police to local job centres, have led to a heightened acceptance and inclusion of Muslims in Berlin society. One such initiative, the *Islamforum* (Islam Forum), consisting of representatives from Muslim communities and local politicians, has strengthened ties and built trust among its members.

Many challenges remain unaddressed. Among Muslims surveyed by this report, outright identification with Germany and their self-perception as being German was very low. The vast majority of Muslim respondents claimed that they are reluctant to define themselves as Germans not because they reject German society and its values, but because they continue to be viewed as 'foreigners' by the larger German society. Such attitudes make it almost impossible for non-ethnic Germans to feel like they are an integral part of German society.

This sense of exclusion, widely internalised by many Muslim respondents, has increased with the rise of hostility toward Islam. This growing discrimination and hostility toward Muslims,[1] a central concern for respondents, was especially felt in the fields of education and employment. The *Neutralitätsgesetz* (Law on Neutrality), passed in January 2005, excludes the wearing of all visibly religious signs, symbols and garments in public schools and justice sector employment. It has had a detrimental impact, especially among Muslim women who choose to wear the headscarf.

Muslim inhabitants of Kreuzberg are not immune from discrimination. Respondents report difficulties in finding housing outside the district, gaining meaningful employment and apprenticeships, and, at times, obtaining culturally sensitive health care. The perception of unequal treatment is by no means restricted to religious affiliation. Muslims often perceive the multicausal experience of exclusion as anti-Muslim. Being labelled a Muslim does not only affect those who identify with Islam and are visible Muslims. It also affects those who may be non-religious and non-Muslim, yet whose skin colour, ethnic background, and perceived origin are viewed as signs of belonging to the Islamic faith.

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[1] This supports the findings of Brettfeld and Wetzels within their quantitative survey on Muslims in Germany, where 80 per cent of young Muslim respondents had experienced some kind of exclusion or negative treatment because of their attributed trait of being a foreigner. Among the respondents, 26.9 per cent reported heavy or very heavy forms of discrimination. Katrin Brettfeld, & Peter Wetzels, *Muslime in Deutschland. Integration, Integrationsbarrieren, Religion sowie Einstellungen zu Demokratie, Rechtsstaat und politisch-religiös motivierter Gewalt; Ergebnisse von Befragungen im Rahmen einer multizentrischen Studie in städtischen Lebensräumen* (Muslims in Germany. Integration, Barriers to Integration, Religion and Attitudes towards Democracy, State and political-religiously motivated violence; Findings of Surveys in the context of a multi-centred research in urban spaces), Hamburg, 2. unveränd. Aufl. Berlin: Bundesministerium des Inneren (Texte zur inneren Sicherheit).*(2nd unchanged reprint. Berlin: Federal Ministry of the Interior (texts for homeland security).* Universität Hamburg, 2007, p. 241. English summary is available at http://www.en.bmi.bund.de/cln_012/nn_148138/Internet/Content/Broschueren/2008/Muslime __in__Deutschland__en.html (hereafter Brettfeld & Wetzels, *Muslims in Germany*).

Many European cities are facing contemporary social challenges and changes as their societies are transformed by immigrant populations. However, the struggle lies in shaping this transformation in an integrated manner that seeks to eliminate the different reasons for unequal opportunities for individual citizens and groups. The strategies and policies deployed in Kreuzberg offer an inspiring example that could help transform other cities even as Kreuzberg continues to learn from positive practices initiated elsewhere.

1. INTRODUCTION

This report sets out to understand the everyday experiences of ordinary Muslims living in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, with a particular focus on the impact of public policies aimed at improving integration and social inclusion. Integration here is understood as *a dynamic two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the European Union.*[2]

A report, which places its focus on Muslims as a group, faces the challenge that Muslims are not a fixed group with defined boundaries, but rather a diverse set of individuals with different religious practices and attachments. This group can include those who adhere to the religion of Islam, as well as those who, because of their cultural or ethnic background, are perceived as Muslims by others in society regardless of their personal and religious beliefs.

The identification of a person as a Muslim – whether by external or self-attribution – is not a neutral matter, as it can entail identification with a group that is at times stigmatised and demonised in public discourse. In social and public policy, Muslims are increasingly viewed as a potential security threat or a group that is unwilling or unable to integrate. Even where a government-commissioned report, examining the relationship between Islam and liberal democratic values, is careful to differentiate between diverse groups of German Muslims,[3] it can nevertheless find itself being used

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[2] European Commission, Common Basic Principles on Integration, November 2004 (hereinafter, CBPs). In the Explanation to the CBPs, "Integration is a dynamic long-term and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident. The integration process involves adaptation by immigrants, both men and women, who all have rights and responsibilities in relation to their new country of residence. It also involves the receiving society, which should create opportunities for the immigrants' full economic, social, cultural and political participation. Accordingly, Member States are encouraged to consider and involve both immigrants and national citizens in integration policy, and to communicate clearly their mutual rights and responsibilities.

[3] For a critique of the design of the survey and its categories of interpretation see Sarah Dornhof, "Germany: Constructing a sociology of Islamist radicalisation", in Institute of Race Relations (IRR) (Hg./ed.) Race and Class, Vol. 50, No.4, pp. 75–82, available at http://rac.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/50/4/75 (accessed April 2010).

for exactly this kind of argument in public discourse[4] and as a consequence, influence security policy.[5]

In the context of this report, the identification of a person as a 'Muslim' has been left to the self-perception of the interviewee and has not been associated with any predetermined religious or cultural definition. In part this is because the primary focus of this report is not on issues of religious practice or belief. It is instead on the everyday experiences of those that define themselves as Muslim in areas of life that are crucial for social integration: education, employment, health, and civic and political participation. This report examines the effects of marginalisation and discrimination, and explores the different ways in which local policies address issues of social inclusion and integration. Being Muslim is understood as a social category and a question of labelling rather than a religious category in this context.

Another consequence of focusing on the category of 'Muslim' is the interdependence of this supposedly religious marking of difference with social, ethnic, gender-based and other categories. The OSI research is cognizant of this issue and is therefore reluctant to draw any clear conclusions in terms of the ethnic, social or religious nature of the unequal treatment experienced by participants. At the same time, their self-perception of discriminatory experiences is in no way negated or minimised, but rather taken as serious and relevant information about the reality they have encountered. It can, however, be generally suggested that the real experience of unequal treatment is

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[4] Christine Schirrmacher, a scientist in Islamic Studies, who is often cited as an expert on Islam by politicians and the media, summarises the report done by Brettfeld&Wetzels and remarks that its findings are a prerequisite for identifying potential extremist threats and countermeasures. She cites the authors, saying that younger Muslims visit Koranic schools more frequently than their elders, and that the survey had found out that the longer a person visited such a school, the stronger they would hold a religious fundamentalist view. The survey is thus taken as evidence, that danger stemming from religious Muslims was much broader than if it were only certain violent individuals. Schirrmacher, Christine (2008) Muslime in Deutschland: Ergebnisse der Studie - Eine Zusammenfassung. *(Muslims in Germany: Findings of the Survey – a summary)* IfI – Institut für Islamfragen *(Institute for Questions about Islam)*. Available as pdf-document at http://www.islaminstitut.de/uploads/media/BMIMuslimeinD_02.pdf.

[5] Brettfeld and Wetzels found there was no difference in the attitudes towards democracy, authoritarian views or religious intolerance of young Muslims and comparable groups. However, they also mention that the main risk was among youngsters and young adults, as they were especially open to influence. Although the authors argue that no practical political measurements could be drawn from these findings, the Federal Minister of the Interior, Wolfgang Schäuble, in the preface, states that the research found "serious potential for Islamist radicalisation". Brettfeld and Wetzels, *Muslims in Germany*.

generally higher than is normally found through surveys.[6] Many incidents that would be defined as discriminatory are perceived as normal and everyday by the interviewees.

This interdependence of differences, which makes it almost impossible to distinguish between the varying reasons for unequal treatment, is often referred to as 'intersectionality'. This concept brings gender and class into the discussion and has also integrated other markers of difference such as ethnicity and/or religion.[7] Through the responses gleaned from this research, a broad range of different interdependencies can be indicated.

1.1   Islamophobia

Respondents to the OSI research claim that prior to the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 (9/11), discrimination and racism towards immigrants and ethnic Turks in particular, were grounded in the notion of *Ausländer* (foreigners). After 9/11, these very same groups became *Muslims*; as Islam was linked to the fight against terrorism on a global scale.[8] Thus, the perception of immigrants as being a 'problem' (and the alienation of immigrants), became linked to a particular religion, and the visibility of that religion.

The term 'Islamophobia' is not consistently defined, and is often used synonymously with the terms *Islamfeindlichkeit* (hostility towards Islam) or anti-Muslim racism. In

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[6]   Correspondingly, the FRA report on the discriminatory situation of European Muslims (FRA, May 2009) has found out that – not very different from other minority groups – most Muslim respondents of the survey (79 per cent) did not report discriminatory incidents or cases of racist crime to any organisation. FRA – Europan Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (ed.), EU-MIDIS – European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey, Focus Report 2., May 2009. Available at http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/attachments/EU-MIDIS_MUSLIMS_EN.pdf (hereafter FRA, EU-MIDIS). The online press release is available at http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/press/mr-280509_en.htm.

[7]   Brigit Rommelspacher, Dominanzkultur. Texte zu Fremdheit und Macht *(Culture of Dominance. Texts about foreignness and power)*, Orlanda, Berlin, 1995; Gudrun Axeli-Knapp, "Intersectionality" – ein neues Paradigm feministischer Theorie? Zur transatlantischen Reise von „Race, Class, Gender" ("Intersectionality" – a new paradigm of feminist theory? About the transatlantic journey of "Race, Class, Gender"), Feministische Studien *(Feminist Surveys)*, Benninghaus, Christina/ Schmidt, Pia (Hrsg./ed.), Jg. 23, Heft 1, 2005, pp. 68–81; Katharina Walgenbach, „Die weiße Frau als Trägerin deutscher Kultur" Koloniale Diskurse über Geschlecht, „Rasse" und Klasse im Kaiserreich. ("The white woman as carrier of German culture" Colonial discourses about gender, "race" and class in the empire), Frankfurt a.M./New York, 2005.

[8]   Riem Spielhaus, "Religion und Identität. Vom deutschen Versuch ‚Ausländer' zu ‚Muslimen' zu machen." (Religion and Identity. About the German attempt to turn 'Foreigners' into 'Muslims'), in Internationale Politik, March 2006, pp. 28–36.

1997 the Runnymede Trust in the UK offered the first definition of Islamophobia in its publication 'Islamophobia: A challenge to us all'[9] which includes the following:

1. Islam is seen as separate and 'other'. It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them.

2. Islam is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, and engaged in a clash of civilizations.

3. Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.

4. Anti-Muslim hostility is seen as natural and normal.

At the European Union (EU) level, the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)[10] and thinktanks such as the Institute for Race Relations (IRR) in the UK[11] have been monitoring the situation of Muslim minorities and discrimination in various EU countries, Germany among them. The European Network against Racism (ENAR), a network of European NGOs, produces yearly country specific Shadow Reports which compile grass roots information and data on racism and discrimination in EU Member States.

In Germany, the issue of Islamophobia has not been widely researched or discussed. The most prominent institutes and writers who have initiated studies on the issue include the German sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer and his team at Bielefeld University. They have published annual reports on G*ruppenbezogene Menschenfeind-lichkeit* (group-focused enmity) and right-wing extremism.[12] The *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung* (Centre for Research on anti-Semistism) or *ZfA*[13] in Berlin has

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[9] Gordon Conway, *Islamophobia: A challenge to us all*, Report of the RunnymedeTrust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 1997.

[10] FRA, EU-MIDIS.

[11] European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, "Muslims in the European Union; Discrimination and Islamophobia" (ed.), Vienna, 2006 (hereafter EUMC, Muslims in the EU); International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, "Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims in the EU – Developments since September 11th", Vienna, 2005. Available at http://www.ihf-hr.org/viewbinary/viewdocument.php?download=1&doc_id=6237; Liz Fekete, "Integration, Islamophobia and civil rights in Europe." IRR – Institute of Race Relations (ed.), London, 2008, available at http://www.irr.org.uk/2008/may/ha000012.html

[12] Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Deutsche Zustände (*German Conditions)*. Episode 6. Frankfurt am Main. Suhrkamp, 2007.

[13] The ZfA held a conference in December 2008 titled "Feindbild Muslim– Feindbild Jude" about the different antagonistic concepts of Muslims and Jews within German society. The different contributions to the conference can be reviewed in Wolfgang Benz, (Hg./ed.) "Islamfeindschaft und ihr Kontext: Dokumentation der Konferenz Feindbild Muslim Feindbild Jude" (Hostility towards Islam and its context: Documentation of the conference about concepts of the enemy concerning Muslims and Jews), Metropol Verlag, Berlin, 2009.

conducted research into Islamophobic Internet blogs.[14] Others include Iman Attia[15] at the Alice Salomon Hochschule in Berlin, who has published material on anti-Muslim racism,[16] and Sabine Schiffer[17] who has been studying Islamophobia in the media.

Hostility towards Muslims cannot be explained solely on religious grounds. Ethnic, gender-based and other factors must be considered, with these exclusive aspects, in the worst-case scenario, mutually reinforcing each other. The statements made by interviewees in the OSI research have to be viewed through this lens, where perceptions of grounds for discrimination can change from one situation to another.

A focus on action and social realities at the local level allows for a closer examination of the interaction between residents and policymakers in districts such as Kreuzberg, where Muslims form a higher proportion of the population than within the city or state as a whole. By monitoring at the local level, this report also examines whether these demographic circumstances at the district and neighbourhood levels have encouraged the development of practical solutions to social policies which respond to the needs and views of local Muslim populations.

While the research at the district level is meant to be comparable with other districts in German cities and in other countries, the specific context of Kreuzberg has nevertheless to be kept in mind. Care is therefore needed before findings can be transferred to different contexts.

1.2   Methodology

This report includes findings based on a representative – although small-scale – survey, that comprises 100 Muslims and a comparison group of 100 non-Muslims, as well as six focus groups with Muslims. It also includes 19 interviews with individuals from local government institutions in Berlin, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), members of Muslim communities, and other connected fields. This report also includes the feedback from a variety of participants from a roundtable held in March 2009 in Berlin.

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[14]   Yasemin Shooman, Riem Spielhaus, "The concept of the Muslim enemy in the public discourse", in Jocelyn Cesari (Hg./ed.), *Muslims in the West after 9/11. Religion, Politics and Law*, London/ New York, 2010, pp. 198–228.

[15]   Iman Attia, *Die „westliche Kultur" und ihr Anderes, Zur Dekonstruktion von Orientalismus und antimuslimischem Rassismus* (The Western Culture and its Other: The Deconstruction of Orientalism and anti-Muslim racism).Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, 2009.

[16]   The definition of Islamophobia as a specific kind of racism is in line with EU institutions against discrimination and racism, EUMC, Muslims in the EU.

[17]   Sabine Schiffer, *Die Darstellung des Islams in der Presse. Sprache, Bilder, Suggestionen; eine Auswahl von Techniken und Beispielen* (The Presentation of Islam in the Press. Language, Images, Suggestions. A Choice of Techniques and Examples), Ergon-Verlag, Würzburg, 2005. (hereafter Schiffer, *Presentation of Islam*).

The 200 respondents are a non-random cross-section of individuals chosen from specified sub groups of the population within the selected neighbourhood of the city. The characteristics (age, ethnicity and gender) of the selected respondents were extrapolated from the available national population figures for the cities. The categorisations of 'Muslim' and 'non-Muslim' relied on the interviewees' self-identification. Care was taken when selecting respondents, in order to incorporate differences in social or income level, regional dispersion and representation of different degrees of religious identification.

It is a challenge to research Muslims when national statistical data do not focus on ethnic or religious affiliation and have until recently only been counting German citizens and foreigners.[18] The exact number of Muslims in Berlin therefore cannot be determined, and obtaining approximate estimations (generally based on statistics about foreigners and naturalised German citizens originating from Muslim majority countries) are highly problematic. Some of those emigrating from countries with a Muslim majority are not Muslims, and second and third generations with German nationality are often not counted either. This makes the numbers available more than questionable.

Among the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents of the research, the age groups were represented in the following way:

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[18] For the difficulties and limitations of statistics about religious groups in Germany, see Nina Mühe. *Muslims in EU Cities Report: Preliminary Research and Literature Review – Germany.* Open Society Institute (OSI), Budapest, 2007 (hereafter OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany,* (Mühe), 2007) Available at http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home/articles_publications/publica tions/museucities_20080101/museucitiesger_20080101.pdf.

Table 1. Age of OSI interviewees (I1)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
< 20		9.0%	11.0%	10.0%
20 – 29		20.0%	19.0%	19.5%
30 – 39		28.0%	15.0%	21.5%
40 – 49		24.0%	29.0%	26.5%
50 – 59		7.0%	11.0%	9.0%
60 +		12.0%	15.0%	13.5%
Total	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Figure 1. Marital status of OSI interviewees (I9)
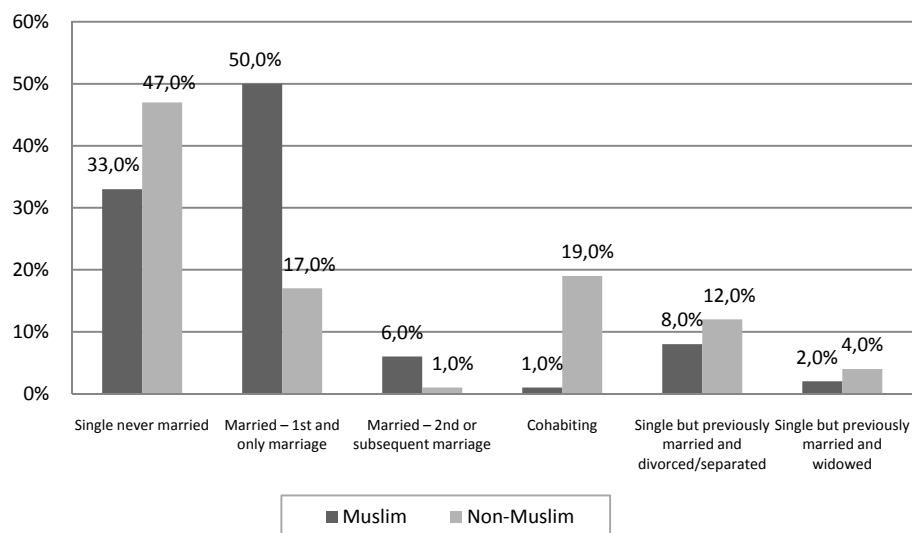
Source: Open Society Institute

From the graph it is apparent that Muslim respondents in Kreuzberg were to a much higher percentage married than their non-Muslim counterparts, while among Non-Muslims cohabitation was much stronger represented than among the Muslim group.

1.3   Religion

Forty nine per cent of all the respondents gave Islam as their religion, with a further 1.5 per cent declaring themselves as Alevis.[19] 24 per cent of respondents were of no religion, and a further 23.5 per cent were from a Christian denomination. Further analysis showed that 81 Muslim respondents said they actively practiced Islam, compared to 12 non-Muslims, who practiced their own religion.[20]

Table 2. OSI interviewees' religious affiliation (I6)

| | | Religion | | Total |
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Buddhism			2.0%	1.0%
Catholicism			22.0%	11.0%
Judaism			1.0%	0.5%
Islam		97.0%		48.5%
Protestant Christianity			26.0%	13.0%
Other		3.0%	8.0%	5.5%
No religion			41.0%	20.5%
Total	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

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[19]   Alevis are a religious group, which developed out of Shia Islam. Most of its members are of Turkish origin.

[20]   This high percentage of religious people among the Muslim interviewees supports the findings of the *Religionsmonitor* (Religion monitor) of the Bertelsmann-Foundation in 2008. The *monitor* had found out, that – contrary to general public debate – 90 per cent of Germany's Muslims were religious (compared to 70 per cent of the majority). Even 41 per cent were *hochreligiös* (highly religious) – compared to 18 per cent of the majority. At the same time, the *monitor* found that a high percentage of Muslims in Germany (86 per cent) were tolerant of other religions. This finding is, to a certain extent, also supported by the present survey, as interviewees showed a high frequency of contact with non-Muslims in the district, as well as considerable appreciation of the cultural diversity in the area, and in Berlin as a whole.

Table 3. OSI interviewees' religious affiliation (other) (I6)

	Religion		Total
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Not applicable	97.0%	92.0%	94.5%
Alevi	1.0%		0.5%
Baptists		1.0%	0.5%
Christian Community		1.0%	0.5%
Christian Orthodox		1.0%	0.5%
Declared atheism		1.0%	0.5%
Evangelical female		1.0%	0.5%
Hinduism and Protestantism		1.0%	0.5%
I don't want to answer this question.		1.0%	0.5%
I get relegated to Islam, but I belong to the Alevi Zaza group and I am without religion	1.0%		0.5%
Order of Christians (described as a sect or divergence of Catholicism)		1.0%	0.5%
Originally Islam Alevi origin	1.0%		0.5%
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 4. Do you actively practise your religion? (I7)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Yes		81.0%	12.0%	46.5%
No		19.0%	61.0%	40.0%
Did not answer			27.0%	13.5%
Total	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

1.4   Ethnic Background

The ethnic origin of respondents was not directly requested and can only be estimated in regards to the questions of nationality, place of birth and the ethnic and/or cultural background that the person belongs to. The nationalities of the Muslim interviewees were mirrored in the following way:

Table 5. What is your primary nationality? (I5)

	Religion		Total
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Did not answer	1.0%	2.0%	1.5%
American		3.0%	1.5%
Austrian		1.0%	0.5%
Belgium		1.0%	0.5%
Bosnian, Herzegovinian	1.0%		0.5%
British	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%
Dutch	1.0%		0.5%
Ethiopian		1.0%	0.5%
French		4.0%	2.0%
German	49.0%	80.0%	64.5%
Italian		1.0%	0.5%
Jamaican		1.0%	0.5%
Kurdish	2.0%		1.0%
Lebanese	1.0%		0.5%
Macedonian	1.0%		0.5%
Polish		2.0%	1.0%
Sierra Leonean	1.0%		0.5%
Swiss		2.0%	1.0%
Syrian	2.0%		1.0%
Turkish	39.0%		19.5%
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Eighty per cent of non-Muslims have a German nationality compared to less than half (49 per cent) of Muslim respondents. Further analysis showed that only 10 people in the whole sample had dual nationality.

The table below shows that out of the 44 respondents who were born in Turkey only 14 have German citizenship. Meanwhile, out of the 43 Muslim respondents who were born in Germany 12 have Turkish citizenship.

Table 6. OSI interviewees' country of birth (I2)

	Religion		Total
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Belgium		1.0%	0.5%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.0%		0.5%
Chile		1.0%	0.5%
Egypt	1.0%		0.5%
England		1.0%	0.5%
Ethiopia		1.0%	0.5%
France		2.0%	1.0%
Gambia	1.0%		0.5%
Germany	43.0%	80.0%	61.5%
Indonesia		1.0%	0.5%
Iraq	1.0%		0.5%
Italy		1.0%	0.5%
Jamaica		1.0%	0.5%
Jordan	1.0%		0.5%
Lebanon	1.0%		0.5%
Macedonia	1.0%		0.5%
Morocco	1.0%		0.5%
Nigeria		1.0%	0.5%
Palestine	1.0%		0.5%
Poland		2.0%	1.0%
Sierra Leone	1.0%		0.5%
Swaziland		1.0%	0.5%
Switzerland		2.0%	1.0%
Syria	3.0%		1.5%
Thailand		1.0%	0.5%
Turkey	44.0%		22.0%
United Kingdom		1.0%	0.5%
United States		3.0%	1.5%
Total — %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total — Count	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

The diversity in perceived ethnic background is shown in the following answers to a question concerning the ethnic or cultural belonging that Muslims expressed.

German-Arabic (**2**); Arab (**2**); Arab (with ambivalent feelings) (**1**); Palestinian (**1**); German with Palestinian roots (**1**); Lebanese (**1**); Bosnian (**1**); Arab by religion (**1**); (democratic) Turkish (**1**); Turkish (**22**); Muslim (**3**); bicultural/multi-ethnic (**1**); Afro-European (**1**); None at all (**1**); "Arabic regarding blood and heart, while German regarding actions" (**1**); Kurd (**1**); Alevi Kurd (**1**); Sunni Kurd (**1**); Turkish/Kurd (**2**); German/Turkish/Kurd (**3**); politically engaged (**1**); multicultural Circassian/Turkish/German (**1**); German/Turkish (**10**); Turkish/European/cosmopolitan (**1**); Muslim/Turkish (**16**); Muslim/Moroccan (**1**); German/Turkish/Muslim (**2**); Muslim/Osmanian (**1**); everywhere (**2**); Arab/Muslim/German (**1**); Arab–Muslim (**1**); free global citizen of Kreuzberg and Istanbul (**1**); oriental (**1**); German with Turkish origin (**1**); German with Pakistani origin (**1**); Pakistani (**1**); Arab with German/Czech influence (**1**); German/Nigerian (**1**); human being (**1**); African (**1**); world citizen (**1**); Berlin Turk (**1**); Islamic–oriental (**1**); Osmanic/Germanic (**1**); Zazaki/Alevi and multicultural (**1**); Muslim/Macedonian/Turkish (**1**)

This endless list of self-description shows the high level of diversity and the diverse identities among the Muslims of Kreuzberg. The answer to the question on belonging to some ethnic or cultural background revealed more about the perception of diversity than any real ethnic origin. Answers were similarly diverse among the non-Muslim respondents.

1.5   Social Background

The question on respondents' occupational professions offered some evidence about the social situation that respondents found themselves in. It was answered in the following way by Muslims and non-Muslims:

Table 7. OSI interviewees' occupations (I17)

	Religion		Total
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Did not answer	14.0%	12.0%	13.0%
Modern professional occupations	26.0%	33.0%	29.5%
Clerical and intermediate occupations	11.0%	13.0%	12.0%
Senior managers or administrators	5.0%	1.0%	3.0%
Technical and craft occupations	8.0%	4.0%	6.0%
Semi-routine manual and service occupations	11.0%	7.0%	9.0%
Routine manual and service occupations	15.0%	11.0%	13.0%
Middle or junior managers	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%
Traditional professional occupations	7.0%	16.0%	11.5%
Total — %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total — Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

1.6 Questionnaires and Focus Groups

The team of interviewers consisted of 10 people from Berlin, half of whom had a Muslim background. This facilitated the task of contacting Muslims from different age groups and backgrounds, and assisted in overcoming language barriers. The questionnaires contained sections on identity, neighbourhood, education, employment, political participation and discrimination and were available in different languages.

The focus groups concentrated on Muslim inhabitants of Kreuzberg according to age and gender. Three groups consisted of males and females aged between 18 and 45. These groups discussed one of the following fields in depth: 1) Education and

Employment; 2) Health and Social Services; and 3) Policing and Political Participation. The other three groups were composed of: 1) women under 35 years; 2) women older than 40 years; and 3) men older than 40 years. They discussed issues of relevance for their specific group.

The most significant findings of the questionnaires, as well as outstanding issues and concerns from the focus groups, will be outlined and summarised within the individual, theme-based chapters of this report.

2. POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Of the 3.34 million inhabitants of Berlin, 13.9 per cent are without German citizenship.[21] The statistical differentiation used to be made only between 'Germans' and 'foreigners', meaning people with German nationality and those without, which made it very difficult to obtain valuable data about the life circumstances of naturalised immigrants or children of immigrant families. Since 2005, however, the *Mikrozensus* (microcensus), through which every year one per cent of the German population are surveyed, has been integrating the category of *Migrationshintergrund*[22] (migration background). For Berlin, the *Mikrozensus* 2007 found, that 24 per cent of the population had a migrant background.[23]

While the 'ethnic German' population of Berlin is in slow decline, the 'non-ethnic German' population is increasing. Foreign nationals, as well as their families, are therefore cushioning Berlin from the challenges of a declining and ageing population.

There are no official statistics on the number of Muslims in Berlin, as data are not collected on the basis of religion.[24] Andreas Kapphan in the *Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Berlin* (Islamic Community Life in Berlin), finds that the number of Muslims in Berlin are estimated by the organisation *Islamische Religionsgemeinschaft* (Islamic Religious Community) on the basis of the number of immigrants from countries with a Muslim population majority. The number of Muslims with German origin is then

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[21] Counted on 30 June 2007. See Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (Statistical Office of Berlin Brandenburg), available at http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de.

[22] People with migration backgrounds are defined as "all who have been immigrating into the territory of the current Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, as well as all foreigners born in Germany, and all who were born in Germany as Germans, and had at least one parent who had immigrated after 1949 or was born in Germany as a foreigner." Statistisches Bundesamt, Bevölkerung und Erwebstätigkeit; Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2005 (*Population and Employment; Population with Migration Background – Findings of the Microcensus 2005)*; Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 6. Available at https://www-ec.destatis.de/csp/shop /sfg/bpm.html.cms.cBroker.cls?cmspath=struktur,vollanzeige.csp&ID=1020313.

[23] Press release 297 of the Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (Statistical Office of Berlin Brandenburg), 15 September 2009, available at http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/pms/2009/09-09-15c.pdf.

[24] During the completion phase of this report, the *Bundesministerium des Inneren* (Federal Ministry of Interior) published a new calculation of Muslims living in Germany in its survey *Muslimische Leben in Deutschland* (Muslim Life in Germany). The number of Muslims are estimated at between 3.8 and 4.3 million, almost half of whom (45 per cent) have German citizenship. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland* (Muslim Life in Germany by order of the German Islamkonferenz, Research Report 6, 2009, p. 80. (hereafter Bundesamt für Migration, *Muslim Life*) Available at http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de /cln_117/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/DIK/Downloads/Plenum/MLD-Vollversion,templateId=raw, property=publicationFile.pdf/MLD-Vollversion.pdf.

added to this.[25] Using this approach, the *Statistisches Landesamt Berlin* (Statistics Agency of Berlin) estimated the number of Muslims in Berlin to be 212,723 in January 2005. Looking then at the *Einwohnermelderegister* (register of residents), the ethnic and national groups can be determined as follows. The largest group (at approximately 170,000) is composed of people with an immigration history from Turkey (about 120,000 of which do not hold a German passport, according to information from the Statistics Agency). This is followed by approximately 34,000 people originating from Arab countries and another 12,000 people from other nations with a Muslim majority. The *Statistisches Landesamt Berlin* estimates more then 70,000 Muslims hold German nationality, the majority of whom are naturalised immigrants.

The figures are further complicated by the fact that not all of the immigrants from Muslim-majority countries are in fact Muslims. There are Christians hailing from Lebanon and Indonesia, as well as Buddhists and Hindus. Muslims have also emigrated from majority non-Muslim countries such as India.[26]

2.1 Muslims in Germany

Looking at national statistics, the largest group within the overall Muslim population of Germany are migrants from Turkey, who are estimated to make up one-third of all German Muslims.[27] The Afghan diaspora in Germany is the largest in Europe[28] and there are also a significant number of Pakistani immigrants to the country, as well as Indonesians and refugees from the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Most of the latter are Muslims arriving from Albania, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and predominantly from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 2002, the German-Arab population was approximately 290,000, of whom 60,000 were Palestinians according to estimates by the United Palestinian Committee of Berlin-Brandenburg. Beyond the group of labour migrants from Morocco and Tunisia, most of the Arab immigrants had arrived in Germany as refugees or asylum seekers.[29]

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[25] Andreas Kapphan, "Zugewanderte aus islamisch geprägten Ländern in Berlin" (Immigrants from Islamically shaped Countries in Berlin), in Reim Spielhaus, Alexa Färber (Hg./ed.) *Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Berlin* (Islamic Community Life in Berlin.), Der Beauftragte des Senats für Integration und Migration (The Commissioner of the Senate for Integration and Migration), Berlin, 2006, (hereafter Spielhaus, Färber, *Islamic Community Life in Berlin*), p. 19.

[26] Spielhaus, Färber, *Islamic Community Life in Berlin.*

[27] Jochen Blaschke, "Tolerated but Marginalised – Muslims in Germany", in Edition Parabolis Verlagsabteilung im Europäischen Migrationszentrum (EMZ) (Hg./ed.) *State Policies Towards Muslim Minorities. Sweden, Great Britain and Germany.* Kempten, 2004, (hereafter Blaschke, "Tolerated but Marginalised"), p. 78.

[28] Blaschke, "Tolerated but Marginalised", p. 88.

[29] Ekkehart Schmidt-Fink, "Schwerpunkt: Araber in Deutschland" (Focal Point: Arabs in Germany), *Ausländer in Deutschland* (Foreigners in Germany), Jg.17, Nr.2, 2001.

A survey by Wilamovitz-Moellendorf[30] determined that the different religious groups within the Turkish population in Germany are as follows: 63 per cent are Sunni Muslims; 12 per cent are Alevi (a religious group in its own right, which developed out of Shia Islam); two per cent are Shia Muslims; and seven per cent are Yezidi, Assyrian or Armenian Christians.

Examining Berlin at the local level, where Turks form the largest group of Muslim inhabitants, Sunnis can be estimated to be by far the largest group, followed by considerable numbers of Alevi and a smaller number of Shia Islam followers.

2.2   Community Structures in Berlin

Riem Spielhaus' study of Islamic community life in Berlin gives a detailed overview of Muslim communities in that city, as well as local and national umbrella organisations.[31] According to Spielhaus, slightly more than half of Berlin Muslim communities are organised within local and/or national umbrella organisations. The two central associations at the national level are *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* (ZMD) and *Islamrat* (IR). These, together with *Türkisch Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion* (DITIB), which is under the administration and control of the religious authority of the Turkish state, and the *Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren* (VIKZ), recently formed the *Koordinationsrat der Muslime* (KRM) (Coordinating Council of Muslims). This development was in respose to the need to appoint a representative for Muslims (Shia and Sunni) in Germany *vis-á-vis* the government. Most Muslim communities in Berlin under an umbrella body are organised along ethnic and/or national lines, pointing to the countries of origin. Only a few bodies, such as the umbrella organisation *Initiative Berliner Muslime* (IBMUS) and individual associations, explicitly bring together members from varying ethnic and national backgrounds.[32] The smaller associations, which are not members of bigger structures, make up almost half of Berlin Muslim communities, and are roughly subdivided by Spielhaus as follows:

> 1a) Sunni associations with members of Turkish, Arab, Bosnian or Pakistani origin, among which are Sufi groups;

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[30] Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Türken in Deutschland – Einstellungen zu Staat und Gesellschaft" (Turks in Germany – Attitudes towards State and Society), Working Paper, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Hg./ed.), Sankt Augustin, 2001, p. 3.

[31] Riem Spielhaus, "Organisationsstrukturen islamischer Gemeinden" (Organisational Structures of Islamic Communities), in Spielhaus, Färber, *Islamic Community Life in Berlin,* (hereafter Spielhaus, "Organisational Structures"), pp. 12–17.

[32] These are mainly *Muslimische Jugend Deutschland MJD – Berlin* (Muslim Youth Berlin), *Deutschsprachiger Muslimkreis – DMK* (the German-Speaking Muslim Circle), and the intercultural association *Inssan e.V.*

1b) Sunni German-speaking believers, among whom are converts to Islam and growing numbers of second-generation youth;

2) Shia associations, among which are Azerbaijanian Shia, Iranian and Lebanese Shia;

3) The Ahmadiyya-Lahori Group and the Qadiani Group;

4) Alevis.

Shia communities in Berlin are members of the national organisation *Islamischer Rat der Ahl-ul-Bait Gemeinschaften in Deutschland* (IRAB) (Islamic Council of the Ahl-ul-Bait Communities in Germany), which in turn is a member of the *Islamrat,* one of the two main German umbrella organisations.

The *Islamisches Kulturzentrum der Bosniaken* (Islamic Cultural Centre of Bosnians) is a member of the *Verein der Islamischen Gemeinden der Bosniaken in Deutschland* (Association of Islamic communities of Bosniaks in Germany). The Ahmadiyya are organised into two main groups: the *Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat Deutschland* and the *Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat-i-Islam Lahore.* The Alevi community is – apart from the *Verein zeitgenössischer Demokraten aus Tokat und Umgebung e.V.*[33] – mainly represented in Berlin by the *Kulturzentrum Anatolischer Aleviten,* which is a member of the national *Föderation der Aleviten-Gemeinden in Deutschland.*[34] Members of all these major affiliations come together at Berlin's *Islamforum,* as well as at the national *Islamkonferenz.*

2.3   History of Immigration

Immigration has always played an important role in shaping the face of Berlin. Before the building of the Berlin Wall, it was especially marked by internal German migration from the German Democratic Republic (GDR).[35] Immigration from other countries increased in the post-World War II period after labour recruitment contracts were signed with Italy (1955), Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964) and Tunisia (1965). This process of labour recruitment ended in 1973, after which migration largely comprised families joining workers.

During this period of labour migration, Berlin was at the symbolic centre of the Cold War in Europe. This also affected migration and settlement in the city. After the building of the Berlin Wall, many firms and their personnel migrated out of Berlin to

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[33]   e.V. stands for registered association/society.

[34]   For further details about the different Muslim communities see Spielhaus, "Organisational Structures".

[35]   Rainer Ohliger and Ulrich Raiser, "Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen-Daten-Fakten" (Integration and Migration in Berlin. Numbers-Dates-Facts), Beauftragter des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration (Hg./ed.). *(Commissioner on Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate)* Berlin, 2005, p. 10 (hereafter Ohliger, Ulrich, "Integration and Migration").

West Germany. The return of Berlin to being the capital of Germany after the fall of the Wall in 1989 did not lead to a reversal of this process. Efforts, made to create incentives for West-German inhabitants to move to Berlin, failed to stop the decline in population. Immigration was therefore needed to stabilise the city's population. In the 1990s, immigration was dominated by asylum seekers from Eastern Europe, especially from war-torn countries such as the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and the Palestinian Occupied Territories. There was also immigration from German resettlers from the former Soviet Union.[36] A combination of policies pursued by city planning, cheaper rents and the growing structures of ethnic economies (supplying specific food as well as religious and cultural infrastructure) facilitated the settlement of immigrants in West Berlin. This was particularly so in the inner-city districts of Kreuzberg, Wedding and Neukölln.[37]

In East Berlin, the recruitment of foreign workers (with then-socialist states such as Algeria, Hungary or Vietnam) was on a far smaller scale than in West Berlin. This could explain why only few people with an Italian, Greek or Turkish immigration history live in the eastern parts of the town today.[38]

In 2001, the redrawing of district boundaries of Berlin to merge western and eastern parts of the town led to the creation of the new districts of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Mitte. The latter has statistically high numbers of immigrants; the migrant populations in these areas are still almost exclusively found in the former western parts. The focus of this report is on Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. While it has an overall population of 147,804,[39] its Muslim population can only very roughly be estimated at around 35,000.[40] This includes non-German inhabitants who originated from countries with a Muslim majority population, as well as immigrants who had been naturalised within the last ten years and had originated from these countries.

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[36] For the different types of legal status of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, see Ohliger, Ulrich, Integration and Migration, p. 11.

[37] For a differentiated discussion of the advantages and challenges of ethnically segregated districts and quarters, see Andreas Kapphan, Migration und Stadtentwicklung. Die Entstehung ethnischer Konzentrationen und ihre Auswirkungen *(Migration and City Development. The Emergence of Ethnic Concentration and its Effects.)*, Migration und Integration in Berlin, 2001, pp. 89–108.

[38] Ohliger, Ulrich, Integration and Migration, p. 12.

[39] Statistical Office for Berlin Brendenburg, December 2007, available at www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de (hereafter Website of the Statistical Office for Berlin Brendenburg, accessed April 2010).

[40] Website of the Statistical Office for Berlin Brendenburg. People from countries with more than 40 per cent Muslim population. Most of the countries considered have a far higher Muslim percentage, but to also bear in mind the many immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the percentage was fixed at 40 per cent. This estimate is based on the number of non-German inhabitants originating from countries with a Muslim-majority population, as well as immigrants naturalised within the last ten years originating from these countries.

2.4   Citizenship and Access to Citizenship

Germany has in recent years made significant progress towards a more inclusive approach to citizenship. Since the year 2000, children of non-German citizens born in Germany have access to German citizenship, subject to fulfilling certain requirements.[41] This is, in part, recognition of the importance of citizenship for integration. For those born before 2000 however, access to citizenship remains more difficult.[42] In particular, this is because new rules and regulations increasingly stress the economic potential of those aspiring to immigration and naturalisation. For example, the latest change to the immigration law of 2004 (enacted in 2007) tied the naturalisation of young immigrants less than 23 years of age (mostly children of immigrant parents) to an income which enables them to provide for their own sustenance.[43] This requirement is, however, waived where applicants are able to prove that their missing income is due to the lack of employment trainee and apprenticeship positions.

2.5   Naturalisation Tests

Despite the introduction of a national test to acquire naturalisation in 2008, arbitrary local versions are still used, such as in the federal state of Baden-Württemburg. The state has been widely criticised for its discriminatory nature, which reportedly excluded Muslims.[44]

Germany has also introduced language proficiency tests for spouses wishing to join their partners. The difficulty of obtaining the necessary language skills in rural areas of Turkey, combined with the fact that such requirements were not applicable to citizens from, for example the USA or Japan, increased perceptions that this was targeted at preventing migration from Turkey. Such perceptions are reinforced by comments from politicians such as Uwe Schünemann, the Interior Minister for Lower Saxony, during the discussion of changes to immigration laws, where he stated that "Germany needs

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[41] A precondition for children's naturalisation by birth is a legal and unlimited residence permit of at least one of the parents for at least eight years. When aged 18–23, the person has to decide on German or another nationality. The latter is, however, challenged by several jurists, who doubt the compatibility with the constitution, which generally does not allow deprivation of citizenship in Art. 16 GG.

[42] Those born before 2000 had the possibility for one year to additionally choose German nationality if younger than ten years old.

[43] Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Umsetzung aufenthalts – und asylrechtlicher Richtlinien der Europäischen Union (*Draft Law for the Implementation of Guidelines from the European Union concerning the Rights of Residence and Asylum*), Drucksache 16/5065, (23 April 2007), available at http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/050/1605065.pdf.

[44] For a detailed critique of the naturalisation test, see Christian Joppke, "Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe", in *West European Politics*, Volume 30, Issue 1, Routledge, 2007, p. 15.

less people that abuse us and more that are useful for us."[45] This perception of exclusionary treatment is also one of several possible explanations for the decline since 2000 in the numbers of immigrants seeking naturalisation, particularly among those with Muslim background. This is explained in more detail in the chapter on *Participation and Citizenship*.

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[45] "... weniger, die uns ausnutzen, und mehr, die uns nutzen", in "Zuwanderungsgesetz beschlossen" *(Law on Immigration enacted)*, by Lukas Wallraff, available at http://www.taz.de/1/politik/deutschland/artikel/1/zuwanderungsgesetz-beschlossen (accessed July 2007).

3. BERLIN CITY POLICY

3.1 Perception of Muslims

Recent studies and surveys suggest deterioration in public attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in Germany. A comparison of the results from the German Allensbach Institute survey from 2004 and 2006[46] reveals a 10 per cent increase in the proportion of respondents who associated Islam with discrimination against women (91 per cent), fanaticism and radicalism (83 per cent) and a disposition towards violence and revenge (70 per cent). Studies of the representation of Muslims and Islam in the German media also show a high prevalence of stories linking Islam and Muslims to terrorism, violence and other social problems.[47] *The Zentrum für Türkeistudien* (Centre for Turkish Studies) in Essen evaluated the articles of the national weekly *Der Spiegel* and the biggest local daily *WAZ,* as well as records of the Bundestag between 2000 and 2004. Additionally, Kai Hafez and Carola Richter analysed the outputs of different talkshows, reports and documentaries on the major public TV channels ARD and ZDF between July 2005 and December 2006. They found that in only 11 out of 133 instances was there discussion about the everyday lives of and social issues concerning Muslims. In 40 per cent of instances, the broadcast items were concerned with issues of terrorism, extremism and international conflicts.

There has also been a significant change in the political discourse over the last few years. Whereas discrimination against Muslims on the basis of their religious affiliation was one of the major topics between 2000 and 2001, the main debates of 2003 and 2004 concerned security, strongly linking Islam with terrorism, with far less focus on issues of tolerance and anti-discrimination.[48]

The *Zentrum für Türkeistudien* has looked at the effect of this change in public discourse on Muslims in Germany.[49] The respondents of this survey revealed Germans had a relatively high acceptance and tolerance of Islam. Meanwhile, this positive feeling of trust towards their co-citizens was weaker in 2004 than 2000. The research also suggests that the heightened media coverage of Islam has led to greater examination of

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[46] Noelle, Elisabeth; Peterson, Thomas (17 May 2006) Eine fremde bedrohliche Welt *(A foreign and threatening world);* Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Nr. 114, p. 5.

[47] Kai Hafez and Carola Richter, Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF *(The Image of Islam at ARD and ZDF),* Wochenschau für politische Erziehung, Sozial- und Gemeinschaftskunde, Jg. 58, H. 6, 2007, pp. 239–240.

[48] Dirk Halm, Pauschale Islamfeindlichkeit? Zur Wahrnehmung des Islams und zur soziokulturellen Teilhabe der Muslime in Deutschland. (*Overall Hostility towards Islam? About the Perception of Islam and the socio-cultural participation of Muslims in Germany),* Siegfried Jäger & Dirk Halm, (Hg./ed.) Mediale Barrieren. Rassismus als Integrationshindernis *(Media Barriers. Racism as Barrier to Integration),* DISS / Unrast, 2006, (hereafter Halm, *Overall Hostility towards Islam?)* available at http://www.zft-online.de/UserFiles/File/Endbericht.pdf (accessed April 2010; hereafter Halm, *Overall Hostility towards Islam?)*

[49] Halm*, Overall Hostility towards Islam?*

the religious aspects of cultural heritage, and an increased religious commitment among some Turkish respondents

The perception of Islam and Muslims and its effects on the Muslim community within Berlin will probably not differ considerably from that of Germany as a whole, even if it differs according to a specific neighbourhood or district. Many participants of the OSI survey in Kreuzberg claimed to feel accepted in their district, whereas there were other areas of the city they would avoid. Further analysis on the perception of Muslims at the city and district levels would give more insight in this respect. The attitudes towards Muslims in Berlin may also be affected by the greater degree of secularism and neutrality towards religion found there compared to other parts of former West Germany. This is perhaps illustrated by the 2008 case of a young Muslim student who was successful in his legal claim for the right to pray within a school building. The court required the school to provide the boy with the opportunity to pray once a day in a small room. It rejected the school's claim that this violated the school's neutrality and the negative religious freedom of the other students. The media reaction suggested at best a misunderstanding of the implications of the case. On the *Die Zeit* online forum, this decision was called a first step towards the "Islamisation of the Berlin school system."[50] *Der Spiegel*,[51] perhaps not realising the timing of prayers over the course of the whole day, suggested that the student was seeking the right to pray "five times a day in the school". The *Berliner Zeitung* quoted the director of another school in Kreuzberg with a high proportion of Muslim students: the director shared "the horror of other school directors" in the face of the court decision. Özcan Mutlu, the educational-political spokesperson of that faction of *Bündnis 90/die Grünen* (the Green Party) with a Turkish background, called it a "poison for integration, which does not overcome disjunctures but creates new ones."[52] Even the teachers' union GEW and the Berlin Senate for Education spoke against the court decision. This case could, however, illustrate scepticism towards public religious expression in the city, rather than a general hostility towards Islam.

Outside the media and public discourse, the everyday contact between Muslims and non-Muslims in the city seems to be quite good and does not appear to give rise to significant conflicts. The OSI survey suggests that Muslims tend to feel safer and more comfortable in inner city districts such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding, where a high percentage of the inhabitants are immigrants and where the non-immigrant

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[50] Jörg Lau, "Gericht: Berliner Schulen müssen Gebetsräume für Muslime einrichten" (Court: Berlin Schools have to set up prayer rooms for Muslims), 2008, available at http://blog.zeit.de/jo erglau/2008/03/13/gericht-berliner-schulen-mussen-gebetsraume-fur-muslime-einrichten_1093 (accessed April 2010).

[51] "Muslimischer Junge darf in der Schule beten", *spiegel-online*, 11 March 2008, available at http://www.spiegel.de/schulspiegel/0,1518,540843,00.html (accessed April 2010).

[52] Tobias Miller, "Gebets-Urteil wird von Schulleitern kritisiert" (Prayer decision criticised by head teachers), *Berliner Zeitung*, 13 March 2008, available at http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/.bin/dump.fcgi/2008/0313/berlin/0060/index.html.

population is perceived to be tolerant. Fear of encountering far-right extremism and violence in general, and islamophobic attitudes in particular is much higher in other parts of the city, in particular the eastern ones.[53] These findings are explained in further detail within the section on *Identity, Interaction and Belonging* of this report.

3.2   Administrative Structures of Berlin

There are three levels of administrative structure in Germany: *Bund* (Federation), *Bundesländer* (Federal States) and *Gemeinden* (Communes).

The highest administrative level is represented by the *Bund*, containing 12 ministries (including the Minstry for Health and Family and the Ministry of the Interior); the *Bundespräsidialamt* (Office of the Federal President); *Bundeskanzleramt* (Office of the Federal Chancellor); *Bundespresseamt* (Federal Public Relation Office); and the *Bundesrechnungshof* (Federal Court of Auditors), which is independent from the government.

The federal states in Germany are organised parallel to the *Bund*. They have their own constitutions and federal organs and are governed by parliamentary governments. Thus, mirroring the Federal Chancellor, there is the *Ministerpräsident* (prime minister) for each federal state. In a city-state like Berlin, this function is fulfilled by the mayor. Alongside the *Ministerpräsident*, or mayor, the *Fachminister* (heads of respective departments), the Ministry for Bundesaffairs and the independent *Landesrechnungshof* (Court of Auditors) are the highest authorities of the federal state.

At the third level of the German administration system are the *Gemeinden* or communes. They form an independent political-administrative level but are associated with their *Länder* according to state law. Communes vary in size from large cities like Frankfurt or Berlin to small towns and cities with fewer inhabitants than some Berlin districts.

Berlin is the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany, and since German reunification on the 3rd of October 1990, it is also one of its 16 federal states – a so-called *Stadtstaat* (city state). It is simultaneously, therefore, a *Gemeinde* (Commune), a *Stadt* (town) and a *Bundesland* (Federal State).

The administration of Berlin is divided between the administrative centre and the 12 district administrations. The districts are not independent communes, but part of the main administration. Thus, the individual districts have less political power than, for example, a small town with the status of a commune. The administrative centre consists of the *Berliner Senat* (Berlin government), led by the mayor, who appoints senators for the eight different senate administrations. These are: *Stadtentwicklung* (Urban Development); *Wirtschaft, Technologie und Frauen* (Economy, Technology and

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[53] Findings from OSI held focus groups and questionnaires with Muslim participants in Berlin-Kreuzberg.

Women); *Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung* (Education, Science and Research); *Finanzen* (Finances); *Gesundheit, Umwelt und Verbraucherschutz* (Health, Environment and Consumer Protection); *Inneres und Sport* (Interior and Sports); *Integration, Arbeit und Soziales* (Integration, Labour and Social Issues); and *Justiz* (Law). Alongside the Senate is the elected *Berliner Abgeordnetenhaus* (House of Representatives) with responsibilities for passing legislation, election of the mayor, and scrutiny of the government, the *Berliner Senat.*

At the district level there is also an elected body, the *Bezirksverordnetenversammlung* (BVV), which is elected by German and EU-citizens over the age of 16 living in the district. This body then votes for the *Bezirksamt*, which is its administrative part. Those who are not German or EU nationals are not entitled to vote, an issue which has been repeatedly discussed and critiqued. In the latest Integration Policy the Berlin Senate states the intention to support a right for communal voting for non-EU nationals with long-term residence in Germany through a *Bundesratsinitiative* (Initiative of the Federal Council of Germany).[54] The realisation of this communal right to vote would have far-reaching effects, especially on large sections of Berlin's Muslim population, who are not yet entitled to participate in local politics through voting.

The BVV oversees the work of the *Bezirksamt*. It makes decisions about the district's budget, (which is then sent for approval to the *Abgeordnetenhaus*, the Berlin House of Representatives). The district administrations are thus strongly dependent on the Berlin Senate and its subordinated *Senatsverwaltungen* (Senatorial Administrations).

3.3   Education

The Senate department for Education, Science and Research is the highest-level educational policy body in Berlin. Each federal state is responsible for its own educational system. While education policy is supervised by the *Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister* (National Conference of the Cultural Ministers), federal and city states operate quite autonomously. Structural decisions about education are made by the Senate with limited power, or are the responsibility of individual districts. In Berlin, the senator for education is Prof. Dr. E. Jürgen Zöllner (SPD).

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[54] Senatsverwaltung für Integration, Arbeit und Soziales *(Senate Administration for Integration, Employment and Social Affairs)* Das Berliner Integrationskonzept, Vielfalt fördern – Zusammenhalt stärken *(The Berlin Integration Policy, Supporting, Promoting Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion)*, Drucksache 16/ 0715, July 2007, p. 73, available at http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/ content/lb-integration-migration/publikationen/berichte/integrationskonzept_2007_bf.pdf?star t&ts=1261580483&file=integrationskonzept_2007_bf.pdf (hereafter Berlin Integration Policy).

3.4   Employment

Employment policy comes under the Senate department of *Integration, Arbeit und Soziales* (Integration, Labour and Social Issues). The *Bundesagentur für Arbeit* (Federal Agency for Employment) is the national body, which is responsible for employment agencies, career counselling, observation of the employment market, the supply of work permits, as well as for the payment of *Arbeitslosengeld I* (unemployment benefits) and *Kindergeld* (family benefits). It is subordinate to the national Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs (*Ministerium für Arbeit und Soziales*). The current senator is Carola Bluhm (DIE LINKE).

3.5   Health

Health policy comes under the Senate department for *Gesundheit Umwelt und Verbraucherschutz* (Health, Environment and Consumerism). It is subordinate to the national Ministry of Health, which is responsible for issuing and developing laws, decrees und administrative instructions. The Senate administration has different subordinated institutes, like the *Berliner Betrieb für Zentrale Gesundheitliche Aufgaben* (Institute for Central Health Issues) or an institute for forensic doctors. However, public health and social care is generally delivered by non-governmental bodies such as doctors, pharmacists, welfare organisations and medical clinics. The system is financed largely through a system of health insurance. The current senator is Katrin Lompscher (DIE LINKE).

3.6   Policing

Policing and security policy comes within the Senate administration for *Inneres und Sport* (Interior and Sports). Among its most important subordinated institutions are the police and the *Verfassungsschutz* (German Intelligence Bureau). The roles of these two institutions are kept strictly separate. Federal states are responsible for their own police force and police code, while all police laws refer to a common national police law. Each federal state has a department responsible for political crimes, like terrorism and extremism, within its police force. In each federal state there is one agency for *Verfassungsschutz*, which is independent of the police. Its duty is to collect and evaluate information. The current senator of *Policing and Sport* is Dr. Ehrhart Körting (SPD).

4. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: IDENTITY, BELONGING AND INTERACTION

Identity and belonging are important elements of integration.[55] While an individual may be integrated into labour markets and social networks, they may not identify with the area, city or country in which they live. At the same time, the failure of public and social policy to acknowledge and respect important aspects of a person's identity and sense of self can hinder integration.[56] There is also a growing recognition of the importance of meaningful contact and interaction between people of different ethnic and cultural groups, as this helps to overcome prejudice, and challenge stereotypes.

This section explores how Muslims in Berlin-Kreuzberg feel about their neighbourhood and city. This includes their sense of belonging and the positive and negative aspects of their neighbourhood and city. It notes the places and spaces in which interactions take place with people from the same or different ethnic and religious groups. It also gives some evidence about the national identification of Muslims in Kreuzberg, about whether they perceive themselves as Germans and/or are perceived as such by others.

4.1 Advantages of Diverse Cultural Identification

The findings suggest that it is important for integration and identification to have opportunities and space for individuals to freely and positively identify with different cultural (religious and other) backgrounds. One of the young female focus group participants put it in the following way:

> "I feel German, because I speak the language and adopt the culture. I am Russian and Kazakh and Ukrainian and German and Muslim, and I feel good about it."[57]

Apart from the general positive effects of valuing the chances and skills of multilingual and multicultural competencies, the OSI research indicates that a monocultural atmosphere and the strong demand of adaptation may have negative consequences. Frequent discussion of integration, in ways that make it feel compulsory and forced may provoke resistence and closer identification with a cultural heritage, even though that heritage may not be well-known to the young people in question. This is because,

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[55] F. Heckman & W. Bosswick, Integration and Integration Policies, an INTPOL feasibility study for the IMISCOE Network of Excellence, 2005, available at http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/pdf/INTPOL%20Final%20Paper.pdf (accessed April 2010).

[56] M. Malik, "Equality and Discrimination", in T. Choudhury (ed.) *Muslims in the UK: Policies for Engaged Citizens*, Open Society Institute, Budapest, 2005.

[57] German original: "Ich fühle mich als Deutsche, weil ich die Sprache spreche und die Kultur annehme. Ich bin Russin und Kasachin und Ukrainerin und Deutsche und Muslima und fühle mich gut damit."

as one respondent put it, the discourse about integration makes them feel as if they are "pushed into a corner".[58]

Practitioners and experts participating in the roundtable discussion of the prelimnary draft of this report also noted young people with an immigration background, who were born and raised in Germany, mainly felt at home there, considering their linguistical and cultural identification. They felt quite equal and connected to all other people of their age. Organisations working with these young people were keen to identify new ways to name and address the youngsters, in order to avoid using traditional labels (e.g. immigrants), which, it was felt, no longer connected to their experience. Rather, they tried to find labels that showed how they felt just like any other German youngster. Suggestions for alternative labels included 'people with a migration history' or 'people of colour'. These suggestions were made while recognising that the mere fact of applying a name raises the danger of fixing them within identities that mark them as different.

The responses of two older male Muslims to the question of whether they wanted to be seen as Germans reveals some deeply rooted emotions concerning this issue:

> "If the Germans approach us a little bit, we're ready to run to them!"[59]

> "One would have the feeling then of living in his own country. That would be marvellous."[60]

4.2   Belonging to the District of Kreuzberg

Among the most important findings of the survey is the strong identification of Muslims with their district, which corresponds with the general importance of *Kiezdenken* (losely translated as identification with one's district) in Berlin: the strong connection to a district. Interestingly the *Kiezdenken* here does not refer to a culturally homogenous area, but to an ethnically and culturally diverse one, where the cohabitation with ethnic Germans is appreciated and separation is regretted.

All respondents of both groups appear to be quite rooted in their local area; in certain aspects Muslims are slightly more so than non-Muslims. The sense of belonging to the local area is slightly stronger among Muslims (84 per cent) than among non-Muslims (76 per cent), and all the respondents seem to be quite settled in Kreuzberg. However, fewer Muslim respondents were homeowners[61] compared to the group of non-Muslims

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[58]   German original: „….wie gegen die Wand gedrückt."

[59]   Turkish original: "Almanlar bize bir adim yaklasirlarsa, biz onlara üc adim yaklasmaya haziriz!".

[60]   German original: "Da hätte man das Gefühl, dass man in seinem eigenen Land lebt, das wäre schön".

[61]   Only one Muslim respondent was the owner of his apartment, and only with a running credit, compared to four such owners among the non-Muslims and three others, who owned their apartments unrestrained.

(having lived in the district longer than their non-Muslim counterparts).[62] Muslims had a slightly stronger identification with the district of Kreuzberg than non-Muslims, although this difference was small.[63]

Figure 2. Length of residence in area (C2)
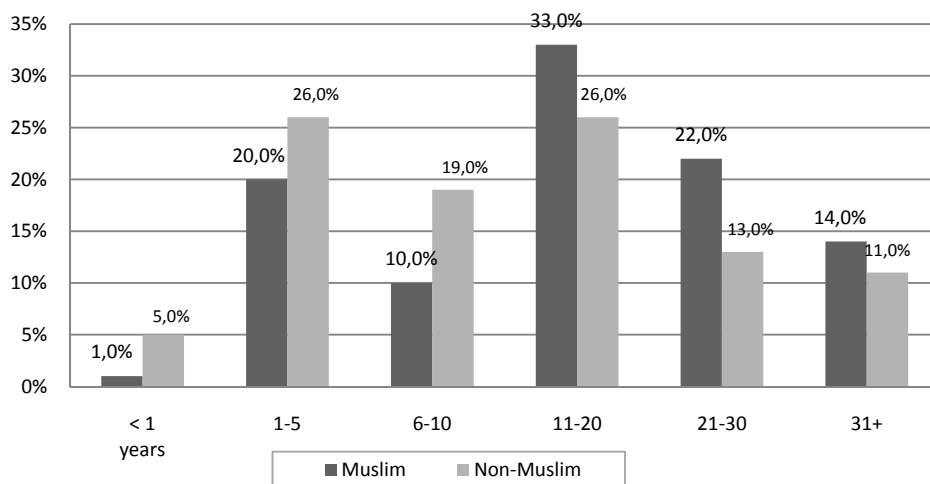
Source: Open Society Institute

Muslims and non-Muslims appear to have differing reasons for moving to the areas. The decisions of Muslims[64] to move into the neighbourhood relate mainly to family relationships.[65] Non-Muslim[66] interviewees were attracted to the area because of its charm, reputation and multicultural character.

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[62] Thirty-three Muslim interviewees had been living in the area for 11–20 years (non-Muslims: 27). Twenty-one had been there for 21–30 years (non-Muslims: 13). Another 14 people stated to have been living in the neighbourhood for more than 30 years (non-Muslims: 11).

[63] Forty-eight Muslims stated, they felt "very strongly" to belong to the district (non-Muslims: 27), the other 35 said they felt to belong there "quite strongly" (non-Muslims: 49).

[64] As stated above, the ethnic background was not directly requested and can only be estimated. Following the answers on nationality, place of birth and the expressed belonging to an ethnic group, about four Muslims had an all-German ethnic background. They showed no considerable differences to the other Muslims regarding the reasons for living in the district. Three had been born in the district, or lived there in their parents' flat, while the fourth said they lived there because of the central location of the area.

[65] Eighteen said it was their parents' decision (non-Muslims: 2). Another 11 said they were not far from their families (non-Muslims: 3). Four lived in the area because their spouse had his/her apartment there (non-Muslims: 3). Eight explained that they were born in the district and had always lived there (non-Muslims: 12).

Figure 3. Why did you move to this area? (Muslims) (C3)

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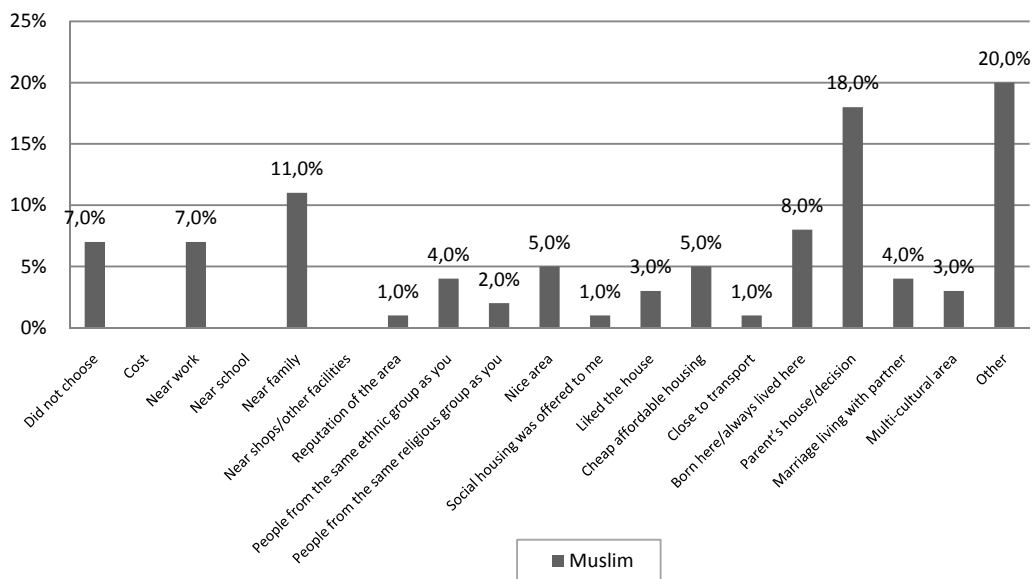
66 Concerning family-oriented reasons for living in the district, the findings show that there is also an ethnic component involved: of the three non-Muslim interviewees who gave closeness to family as their most important reason for living in the district, two had a non-German ethnic background. There was a considerable number of non-ethnic Germans among those who cited the area's charm as a reason for living in Kreuzberg, so no considerable ethnic component could be found there.

Figure 4. Why did you move to this area? (non-Muslims) (C3)
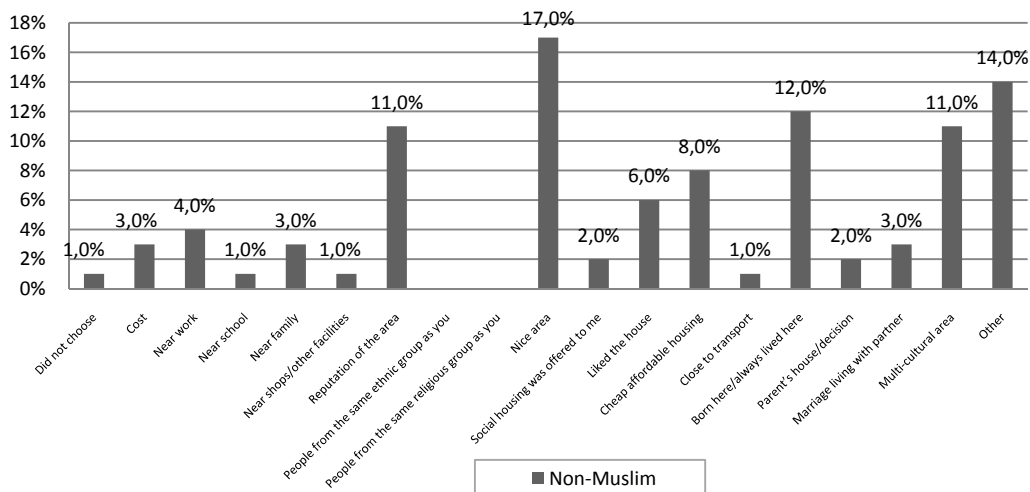
Source: Open Society Institute

Although the research was carried out in local areas with large Muslim populations, there were differences in the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhoods (that is, the streets immediately surrounding their home) in which they lived. The majority of both groups lived in a neighbourhood with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds (65 Muslims; 85 non-Muslims). A greater proportion of Muslim respondents (18) than non-Muslim respondents (six) lived in neighbourhoods with people sharing their ethnic and religious background. This is perhaps not surprising as the research focused on local areas with significant Muslim populations.

The majority of all respondents enjoyed living in Kreuzberg.[67] Muslims named the ethnic and religious familiarity and access to community facitilies among the factors that they valued. This was especially important to the elders. One older Muslim respondent emphasised the importance of living with neighbours with a similar history of labour migration and who shared and understood the experience of being outsiders in both their 'host' society and in Turkish society.

Many Muslim respondents valued the area for its multicultural character, where it was the presence of a diverse range of different ethnic and cultural groups (rather than the presence of those from their own group) that was valued. The preferences of those who appreciated the ethnic familiarity, as well as of those who valued cultural diversity, appears to be strongly shaped by concerns about safety and fears of being 'otherised' or

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[67] 94 per cent of Muslims "like" or "quite like" living in Kreuzberg; of non-Muslims, it is 96 per cent.

viewed as different in less ethnically mixed areas. Many Muslims feared that in other districts (namely Spandau, Tempelhof and the area of Potsdamer Platz), they could attract unwanted attention for being too loud, having too many children, or visiting each other too much with too many people, or simply by looking different. People in Kreuzberg are perceived as having a similar lifestyle, or have at least become familiar and comfortable with such differences. The sense of feeling secure because of living in areas with a mixed 'foreign' population was also expressed in focus group discussions. In the words of one male participant:

> "When you go out on the street, you don't run into trouble."

Only a small number of Muslim respondents said they did not like life in Kreuzberg. Some disliked the social surveillance and limits on their freedom because of neighbourly gossip. For others the concern centred on the sale and consumption of drugs in the area, and the inappropriate behaviour of Muslim youth. In focus groups, older Muslim women, while positive about the quality of life for themselves in the area, were concerned about the impact that the district's reputation as an area with social problems and poor education would have on their children's employment opportunities. They were also concerned about prejudice from local ethnic-German residents, as well as the local police towards their children. They noted that when groups of youths gathered together, they were often judged by others as a gang or possible trouble-makers, even if they were just meeting peacefully.

It is important to emphasise that Muslim respondents valued living in an ethnically mixed area, as this shielded them from the attention and anticipated alienation that would come from an area where they stood out for being ethnically or culturally different. The desire was not to live in an ethnically or religiously homogenous area.[68] The attraction of living in cultural diverse areas such as Kreuzberg mainly stems from a general fear of being rejected, or to draw adverse attention for being different, rather than a rejection of German culture or values.[69] This is reinforced by a number of Muslims who expressed sadness at the number of ethnic Germans who had recently left the area, which in their view left the area too ethnically homogenous, and reduced their chances of getting to know ethnic Germans.

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[68] See also Esin Bozkurt, Conceptualising 'Home', The Question of Belonging among Turkish Families in Germany, University of Chicago Press. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge: Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland (2009) Im Auftrag der Deutschen Islamkonferenz, (*Muslim Life in Germany, By order of the German Islamkonferenz*), Research Report 6, available online at http://www.bmi.bund.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/566008/publicationFile/31710/vollversion_stu die_muslim_leben_deutschland_.pdf;jsessionid=FA6576204794EE834F2AD8715B10E78D.

[69] On being asked for aspects of Kreuzberg they did not like, only one respondent said he did not like Germans. He said it was because they burnt down the houses of Turks, while another person said that a lot of young people had recently moved into the area, whose lifestyle did not fit his own.

4.3   Belonging to the City of Berlin

Alongside the strong sense of belonging to Kreuzberg,[70] all respondents also indicated a strong attachment to the city of Berlin,[71] with around 72 per cent of both Muslims and non-Muslims feeling a strong or fairly strong sense of belonging to the city. Issues of security, fear of racial attacks, as well as anxiety of being made to feel an outsider were commonly cited by Muslims as barriers to greater identification with Berlin. This was true of Muslims who had visible markers of their religious identity, as well as those who would be identified as Muslims because of their ethnic and cultural background. One interviewee explained that even when she told people that she was an atheist, it did not change their perception of her as a Muslim or her feeling of being subtly rejected and viewed as an outsider. Non-Muslims, on the other hand, have a variety of reasons for having a weak sense of belonging to Berlin. For some, the city was a place they expected to live in for a limited period of time. Others mentioned the lack of nature, or the unfriendliness of the people. A Nigerian-born non-Muslim revealed a common pattern of having a strong sense of belonging to the districts of Kreuzberg and Neukölln, but less of an attachment to Berlin, similar to the Muslim respondents. This might hint to the issue being concerned with ethnic as well as religious backgrounds. The respondent viewed the district as a place where a lot of 'foreigners' lived, while the rest of Berlin was where 'Germans' lived (and where they would never accept him because he had a different skin colour).

The findings generally suggest that the feeling of belonging to the city is hampered when a person views him- or herself as being perceived by others as a 'foreigner'. Such perceptions appear to be based on ethnic origin and reinforced by the religious perception of being a Muslim, regardless of whether the person considers him- or herself as such.

4.4   National Belonging

In comparison to feelings of belonging to Berlin, far fewer respondents claimed to have a strong or fairly strong sense of belonging to Germany.[72] Here there is also a stronger difference between the response of Muslims (40) and non-Muslims (54). The responses did not reveal significant differences between male and female interviewees.

The difficulties that arise from the history of German national identity and belonging meant that even among the non-Muslim respondents, there remained a significant proportion that did not have a strong sense of belonging to Germany. The complexity of national identity is also indicated by the fact that while 80 per cent thought they

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[70]   See figure 14.

[71]   See figure 15.

[72]   See figure 16.

would be perceived as Germans, which might indicate their German ethnic background,[73] only 66 saw themselves as Germans.

The major difference in the nature of this national identification (or non-identification) between Muslims and non-Muslims (or between ethnic German and non-ethnic German interviewees) lies especially in the way people are perceived by others, as this can have stronger consequences on feelings of inclusion/exclusion than their own self-perception.

As noted in the previous section, Germany made significant changes to its citizenship laws in the year 2000 and has moved towards a system of *ius solis*. Despite these positive changes in the law, the effect of the *ius sanguinis* system, which had strongly tied nationality to ethnic origin, and which was mainly applied previously, as well as resistance to policy change during the legislative process, has evoked strong feelings and memories among Muslim interviewees and focus group participants. This is reflected in the fact that while 40 per cent of Muslims reported a sense of belonging to Germany, only a quarter viewed themselves as German; an even smaller proportion (11 per cent) felt that they would be viewed as German by others. The question "Are you German?" is not always understood without explanation. This is especially so among the elder respondents, most of whom had come from Turkey some 50 or 60 years ago. For this group, the question provoked undisguised laughter when posed by the young German interviewer with Turkish origins. One of the elder respondents gave the following answer:

> "My child, our ethnic origin is obvious. We've never become like the Germans, and will never become. And I don't think that the Germans could see us as Germans."

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[73] No exact figures on ethnic backgrounds can be given, as the respondents were asked to which ethnic background they would allocate themselves. Thus, the findings give evidence more about subjective perceptions than about objective facts.

Figure 5. Perception of being German (D9–D11)
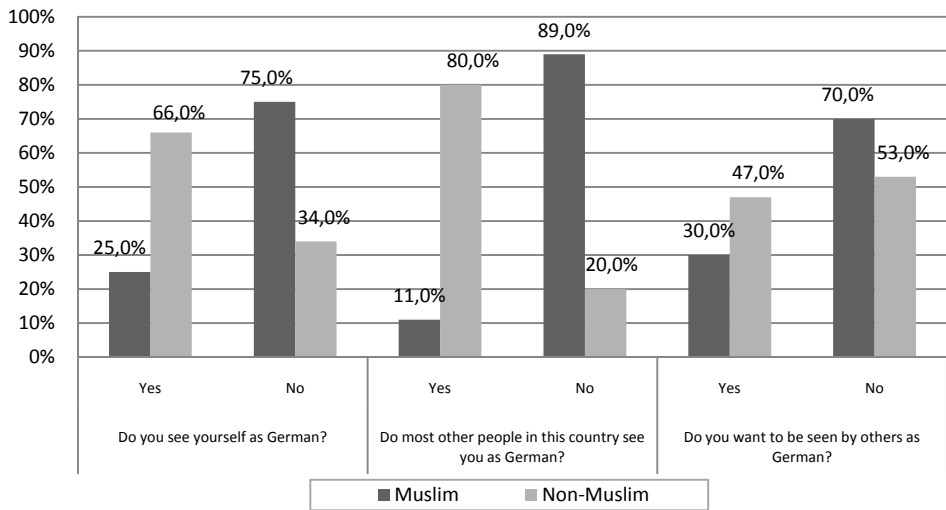
Source: Open Society Institute

The challenge of developing integration practices at the level of national identification is made clear by the findings from the survey on Muslims. The majority of the Muslim respondents (71) felt that they were not seen as German by others, nor did they perceive themselves as such. Not surprisingly, the majority of those Muslim interviewees, who did not feel German and did not think they were perceived as German by others (71), did not in fact want to be seen as Germans (together 59). More surprisingly perhaps, 12 per cent of those who did not feel German (and felt that they were not seen as German by others) still wanted to be perceived as German by others.

Among Muslim interviewees who did see themselves as German (but felt they were not seen as such by others) the majority (altogether 11 respondents) want to be perceived as German, even though this is not their everyday experience. This latter finding suggests a considerable determination by some to achieve integration in terms of national identification in the face of exterior rejection.

Looking at levels of education, no significant differences could be found between the national identification of those whose highest educational achievement was secondary education and those who had finished university. On the other hand, of those with no formal education or whose highest education was elementary school, none perceived themselves as Germans. It must, however, be taken into consideration, that most of those without formal education were elderly people, who had immigrated to Germany.

The role of employment for social integration is crucial. This is highlighted by the following findings. Self-perception as being German is extremely low among those

working in unskilled manual jobs (under 10 per cent) and quite high among those in lower, middle and higher management and higher administrational jobs (over 60 per cent). It should be noted that in the latter, there are too little data (eight interviewees altogether) to draw any clear conclusions.

A closer look at the nationality of the respondents, however, gives a clearer picture. The country of birth did seem to considerably influence the feeling of national belonging. Of those who had later acquired German nationality, almost half perceived themselves as German. At the same time, just below 10 per cent of those without German citizenship also perceived themselves as German, pointing at the importance of naturalisation for integration and national identification.[74]

The lack of identification as being German by first-generation migrants can be explained in part by the belief among many that they will eventually return to their country of origin. The point was illustrated by this response from two elder Muslim interviewees:[75]

> "We have always described this country as a foreign country, and we always will. Unfortunately, we still consider ourselves as guests here, and dream about going back to our homeland one day. It's hard to explain the reasons for that. First of all, we wouldn't have survived here so long if we didn't have friends and relatives here. I mean, the differences in culture and mentalities prevent us from feeling at home here."

Of greater concern for policymakers may be the experience of second- and third-generation children of immigrants. One young female focus group participant, who was born and raised in Berlin, had German nationality and spoke fluent German. Nevertheless, she said she was a Turk and would always be a Turk and wanted to be accepted as such.[76] A strong Turkish nationalism may be part of the reason for this. The construction of 'German' identity as something that excluded her religious and cultural heritage was however implicit in her fear of losing a cultural as well as a

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[74] Distinguishing different national backgrounds would not prove useful here, regarding the small numbers of people from various regions. This comparison will, however, be interesting when looking at the European level and comparing the samples of all the 11 European cities under study.

[75] The response of female Muslim respondents over 60 years when asked for obstacles to belonging to the city. Another female Muslim respondent between 50–59 years, asked the same question, answered as follows: "In fact, I stay here because of my illnesses and for the sake of my children and grandchildren. Otherwise, I'd like to live in my homeland. There's an expression which goes: 'Even in a golden cage, the nightingale wails for her homeland.' However, when I go to Turkey I can't stay there more than three months. When I'm in Turkey all my illnesses stay here in Germany, and I feel healthier there. When I'm back I feel ill again. When I am back here, I miss my mother and my sisters and brothers. Because, at the end of the day, I'm an immigrant, I don't feel I belong to Germany or Berlin."

[76] OSI focus group discussion with young female Muslims under the age of 35 in Berlin, 25 April 2008.

religious heritage through identification of herself as German. This was reinforced by her suspicion that integration policy, even though officially presented as tolerant and focused on increasing language skills, was really aimed at the assimilation of immigrants and removal of their cultural and religious particularities.[77] Another young woman said that she would be ashamed to call herself German, as she felt that this required negating and forgetting her origins and culture. This perception of 'German' and 'Muslim' culture and values being constructed in opposition to one another (and in consequence the felt pressure to claim to belong to one while excluding the other) has arisen several times during the research. It points to a growing polarisation of these two possible aspects of identity within public discourse, which tends to pressure people to publically claim their belonging or not-belonging to Islam, even if they had never thought about this issue.

In the focus groups, participants explored ideas of what it meant to say you were German. The discussion generated a diverse range of markers for German identity. These ranged from the way in which German youths treat their elders to receiving an education in Germany, speaking the language and supporting the German football team.[78] This suggests that even those who enthusiastically defend their Turkish or other background and culture are also able to find ways to positively identify with Germany. They feel the need to be able to relate to different cultures or cultural aspects of their life and family at the same time. Notwithstanding this, the perception that individuals would not be accepted as a 'real German' by 'ethnic Germans' re-emerged in the focus groups and questionnaires as a crucial obstacle to belonging. This was also expressed in one of the interviews with the representative of one Muslim organisation (who, despite being born in Gemany, found it difficult to be accepted as German, and in the end felt forced to identify himself as a Turk, going on to work for the integration and participation of Muslims and Turks within German society on this basis). Such experiences may lie behind findings that over two-thirds of Muslim respondents (70) did not want to be identified as Germans.

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[77] The perception of Muslims that German integration policy aims toward assimilation was also reported in the EUMC study on Muslim Perceptions of Islamophobia in Europe: See T. Choudhury, *et al.* (2006).

[78] During the 2006 Football World Cup, seemingly all the inhabitants of Kreuzberg – many of them with a Turkish background – supported the German team enthusiastically. This was widely documented in the German media and public debate, who were seemingly surprised about this sign of emotional identification and solidarity. Faruk Sen, former head of the *Zentrum für Türkeistudien* (Centre for Turkish Studies) in Essen even suggested that football might play a considerable role in the integration and positive national identification of German Turks or people from a Turkish background. In an interview with the Internet portal *qantara.de*, Sen explained that many young people from a Turkish family background were fans of German football teams. Some of the teams even had Turkish fanclubs, like Borussia Dortmund. He also suggests that this enthusiasm and positive national identification could easily be extended to many other parts of social life, if German national politics would give positive and inclusive signals to young people with an immigration history. Online interview available at http://de.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-469/_nr-527/i.html

There are significant differences in the main barriers to national belonging. Factors of ethnicity (being non-white) (36) and religion (not being Christian) (14) were primary reasons given by Muslim respondents as obstacles to being seen as German (together 50). The majority of non-Muslim respondents had a different perception regarding this issue. 48 non-Muslims said, a lack of German-language skills was the main reason, why a person was not perceived as German. A smaller number of Muslims (21) also recognise the importance of speaking the national language as a possible obstacle to being German. This reflects (to a certain extent) actual public discourse about integration, which identifies a lack of language skills as one of the biggest barriers to integration. However, while Muslims acknowledge the importance of the national language, they are also confronted with the issue of being from different ethnic background and experiencing discrimination on ethnic or religious grounds.[79]

Figure 6. What is the main barrier to being German? (Muslims) (D13)
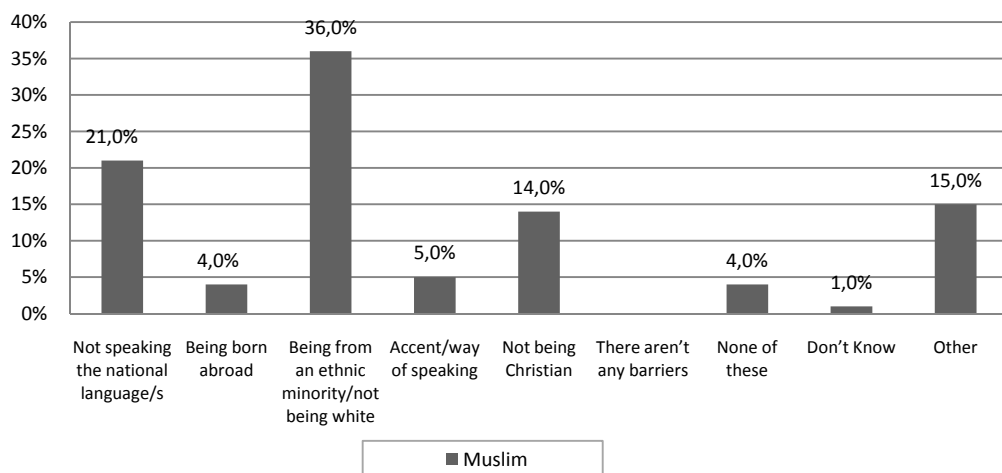
Source: Open Society Institute

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[79] See tables 25–29.

Figure 7. What is the main barrier to being German (non-Muslims) (D13)
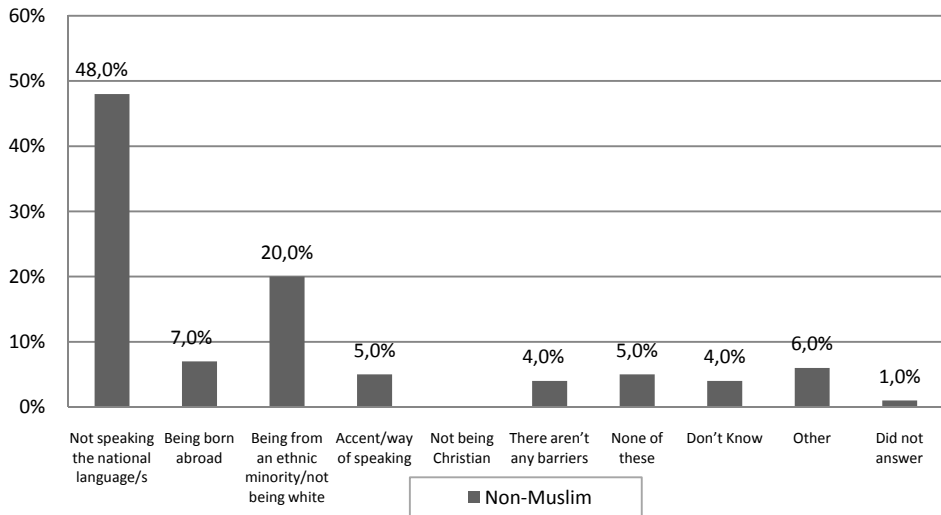
Source: Open Society Institute

4.5 Interaction and Social Cohesion in Kreuzberg

Attempts have been made to develop questions which can be used to measure levels of social cohesion in an area. Three possible indicators to gauge social cohesion are: levels of trust of neighbours; whether people believe that their neighbours are willing to help others in the area; and whether they think people in their area share the same values. With the first two measures, there appears to be a high level of social cohesion in Kreuzberg. Sixty-five per cent of Muslims and almost 90 per cent of non-Muslims said that people in their neighbourhood were trustworthy. Even higher proportions felt that people in their area were willing to help their neighbours (Muslims 80; non-Muslims: 88). By contrast, the response to the question of whether people in the neighbourhood had shared values was more polarised. Twice as many Muslims (37) as non-Muslims (19) agreed that their neighbours shared the same values. In both groups, those who thought that people in the neighbourhood did not share the same values were the majority (59 Muslims; 53 non-Muslims). A large number of non-Muslims said, however, that they did not know whether people in their area shared the same values (Muslims 3; non-Muslims 28).

Examining how people defined themselves, one might further explore the abovementioned differences in values.[80] It should be kept in mind though, that 'values'

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[80] See table 13.

was not further defined and, as such, could mean different things to different people, or even be seen as a problematic concept in itself.[81] When asked to rank those aspects which defined one's own identity, religion is named as being more significant to Muslims than by non-Muslims. All respondents identified family as the most important signifier of their identity[82] (Muslims: 45; non-Muslims: 29). However for Muslims, religion came second (27) while most non-Muslims mentioned their interests as the second most important signifier. Only one member of the non-Muslim group mentioned religion as the most important signifier; with 10 more giving it a lower ranking.[83]

Despite the perception that people in the area do not share the same values, the overwhelming majority of all respondents felt that neighbouring people from different backgrounds got on well together (Muslims: 79; non-Muslims: 87). This suggests that the ethnic and cultural diversity of the area, and the perception that people do not share the same values, is neither seen as a problem, nor a challenge to peaceful cohabitation by Kreuzberg's inhabitants.

The data for the interviews challenge the notion of a 'parallel society' within Kreuzberg. Only a few respondents in either group saw themselves as living in ethnically and religiously homogenous surroundings (although they referred to each other a great deal). The expressions of regret among Muslims about ethnic Germans leaving the district also suggest a disapproval of rather than desire for segregated structures (within which there might be a lack of development opportunities), as is often suggested.[84]

There appears to be a significant amount of interaction and contact by Muslims with people of a different faith or ethnicity.[85] Eighty per cent of Muslim respondents reported having meaningful regular contact (i.e. weekly or daily) with people of a

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[81] In German public and political discourse, the concept of 'values' is often used to demand adaptation by foreigners. However, it is hardly ever really defined, and is sometimes perceived as an excluding discourse. Mark Terkessidis, for example, argues that prejudice against the 'other' within a society is always constructed by using these values, of which these 'others', by definition represent the opposite. Mark Terkessidis, Die Banalität des Rassismus. Migranten zweiter Generation entwickeln eine neue Perspektive (*The Banality of Racism. Migrants of the second generation develop a new perspective)*, Bielefeld: Transcript-Verl, (Kultur und soziale Praxis), 2004, p. 105ff. (hereafter Terkessidis, Banality of Racism)

[82] No 'ethnic bias' could be found here, as of the 29 non-Muslims who ranked family first, only four were non-ethnic Germans.

[83] Only the signifiers of age and life-stage were slightly less represented among those non-Muslims from a non-German ethnic background. Meanwhile, other factors showed no ethnic bias. However, the numbers here are too small to draw any conclusions within these detailed questions concerning the ethnic background of respondents.

[84] On the processes of segregation and marginalisation of contemporary German cities (with the example of Berlin), see Häußermann, Hartmut and Andreas Kapphan, 2004, pp. 203–234.

[85] See tables 16 & 17.

different ethnic or religious group in school, university, the workplace or shops. Other important places for inter-ethnic contact were sports fields, cafés, childcare institutions, on public transport, and in parks. Even in religious centres, there was contact with people from a different ethnic (if not religious) background. The same holds true for non-Muslims, albeit generally to a slightly lower extent. This probably owes to the numeric distribution showing a majority of ethnic Germans and non-Muslims in the area, who in consequence have less contact with the minority groups than *vice-versa*.

5. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: EDUCATION

Education, especially in schools, is one of the most important pillars of integration. The education system provides individuals with the skills and qualifications for participation in the labour market. It also plays a formative role in the socialisation of young people with the unspoken rules and values of society.[86] It is also the first public institution that young Muslims have contact with. The ways in which schools respond to and respect the needs of Muslim pupils is therefore likely to shape their feelings of acceptance and belonging to the wider German society. Schools also contribute to integration by providing opportunities for interaction between pupils, parents and teachers of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

This section looks at the key issues that have emerged in relation to education. It begins by examining experiences of respondents in the education system, issues surrounding quality and resources, and barriers emanating from low expectations and cultural stereotyping from teaching personnel. This section also examines respondents' perceptions and experiences of discrimination and the impact of the public discourse on integration on educational aspirations and attainment.

5.1 The Educational System in Berlin

The primary education in Berlin, different from other federal states, encompasses six classes of *Grundschule*. Secondary education is divided into two levels: *Sekundarstufe* I and II. The first level (*Sekundarstufe* I) embraces all types of school up to the tenth form, excluding vocational schools. The school types of this level are mainly *Hauptschule* (Basic Education School), *Realschule* (Middle-tier school for (general education) and *Gymnasium* (High School) until the tenth form. This level can be finished after the ninth form with the certificate, *Hauptschule 9th form*, and after the tenth form with different certificates. These entitle the student to start an apprenticeship, a higher qualified education at a professional school, or to pass onto level II at a *Gymnasium* or *Gesamtschule* (comprehensive school). *Sekundarstufe* II generally embraces the years 11, 12 and 13 (this differs in other federal states) and finishes with the *Abitur* (university entrance diploma).[87]

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[86] Werner Schiffauer, Staat-Schule-Ethnizität *(State-School-Ethnicity),* Frank Gesemann (Hg./ed.), Migration und Integration in Berlin. Wissenschaftliche Analysen und politische Perspektiven, (*Migration and Integration in Berlin. Scientific Analyses and Political Perspectives.),* Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2001, (hereafter Schiffauer, *State-School-Ethnicity*) pp. 233–250.

[87] The actual reform of the educational system in Berlin, that abolishes *Hauptschulen* and creates a new two-fold system of *Sekundarschulen* and *Gymnasien* from the school year 2010/11 onwards is not taken into consideration within this report.

5.2   The Number of Muslim Pupils

There are no data on the number of Muslim pupils in German schools. Data only reveal the number of students in schools, who are either German or foreign nationals. The latter includes young people, who were born and brought up in Germany but have no German citizenship. Figures from 2001 show that there were almost 55,000 pupils with foreign citizenship, of which 33,375 were nationals of countries with large Muslim populations, including 26,319 Turkish nationals.[88]

In Berlin, a fifth of all school children (72,600) are thought to have a mother tongue other than German. *Nicht Deutsche Herkunftssprache* (NDH) (non-German language of origin)[89] is a term that is quite problematic in itself, as it also includes children who were born and raised in Germany and thus consider German their mother tongue. This number rises to 58 per cent of pupils in Kreuzberg.[90] An estimate suggests that between half and two-thirds of pupils without German citizenship have a Muslim background. One might infer that in districts like Kreuzberg, a third of all pupils have a Muslim background.

The OSI survey suggests that schools are an important place for interactions between people with different ethnic and religious backgrounds.[91,92] Analysis of the questionnaires reveals that many Muslim respondents favoured a greater ethnic mix within their district and regretted the decision of ethnic Germans to send their children to schools outside the district.

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[88] Senatsverwaltung für Schule, Jugend und Sport, *(Senate Administration for School, Youth and Sport)* (Hg./ed.), Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung. Handreichung für Lehrkräfte an Berliner Schulen. (*Intercultural Education. Handout for Teachers at Berlin Schools).* in cooperation with Moritz Felgner, Ulrike Grassau and Sabine Froese. Berlin, July 2001, p. 81. (hereafter Senatsverwaltung für Schule, Jugend und Sport) Available at
http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-bildung/politische_bildung/interkult.pdf.

[89] Senatsverwaltung für Schule, Jugend und Sport.

[90] Kreuzberg and Wedding are the Berlin districts with the highest percentage of pupils with a non-German original language.

[91] See tables 15 & 16.

[92] Almost 80 per cent of Muslim and 70 per cent of non-Muslim interviewees stated that they met people from different ethnic and/or religious backgrounds in school and/or at work daily or at least once a week, with only small differences between age groups. This is because among those under 29, school was the most important point of encounter; naturally, school was least important for the over 60s.

5.3 Educational Achievements of Interviewees

Table 8. Highest educational achievement (Muslim) (I11)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
No formal education	1	6	7
Primary education	4	4	**8**
Secondary education	24	27	**51**
University	22	12	**34**
Total	**51**	**49**	**100**

Source: Open Society Institute

Twice as many Muslim male OSI respondents held a university degree, (22 males/12 female), while more young Muslim women (five) than men (two) were actually studying at university at the time of the interview. The male graduates also tended to be older than the female graduates. In the non-Muslim sample, more women (25) than men (17) had a university degree, while about the same number of young people were actually studying at university at the time of the interview (four women, five men). All non-Muslim respondents had some kind of formal education; seven Muslims were without formal education, six of them women. Most of these women were older than 60 years; only one was just over 40 years.[93] Given the small size of the sub-samples, these can not be taken as indication of general tendencies.

5.4 Improving Educational Quality

The need to improve the quality of education and the attainment of pupils in schools emerges as *the* main educational concern for Kreuzberg residents. There is concern about the high proportion of Kreuzberg students attending *Hauptschule*. These offer the lowest educational qualification, with which further professional education is sometimes hard to find. As Doris Nahawandi (former Commissioner for Integration in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg) suggests, this high proportion of *Hauptschulen* in Kreuzberg (compared to Friedrichshain) constitutes a structural discrimination of children living in the neighbourhood. The perception of one young Muslim interviewee supports this analysis:

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[93] Similarly, all the Muslims who had only finished *Grundschule* (four men, four women) were over 40 years old. Of the two non-Muslims who had only finished *Grundschule*, one was under 20 (still going to school) and the other was over 50. Both were male.

"I would change the way in which only Hauptschulen are built here. I would also build a Gymnasium and generally do more for education – especially by creating places where the young people could learn instead of hanging out in the streets."[94]

Some respondents also believed that improving the quality of education would lead to an improvement in the ethnic mix in schools, with more ethnic-German parents willing to send their children to local schools.

Others felt that the absence of ethnic-German pupils, and the high proportion of pupils from migrant groups has led state agencies to show less interest in improving education services in the district. Among respondents there was greater dissatisfaction with secondary schools compared to *Grundschulen*.[95]

Figure 8. Satisfaction with local primary schools (G1.1)
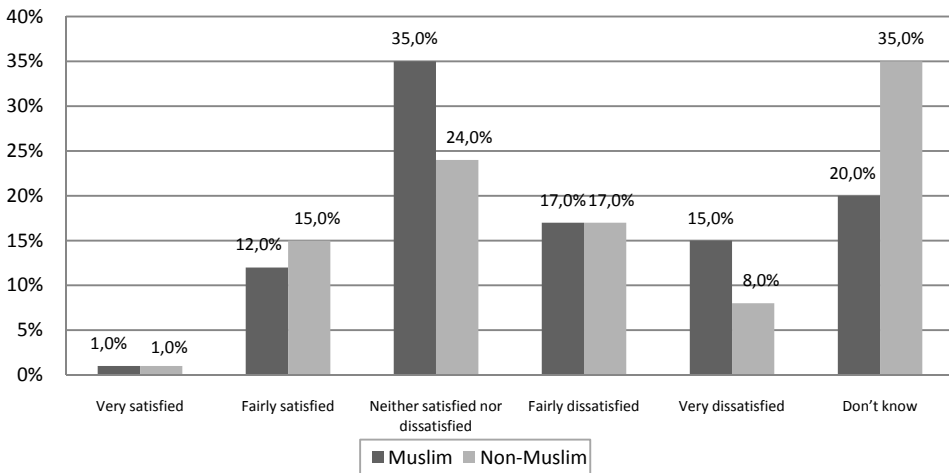
Source: Open Society Institute

Figure 9. Satisfaction with local high schools (G1.2)
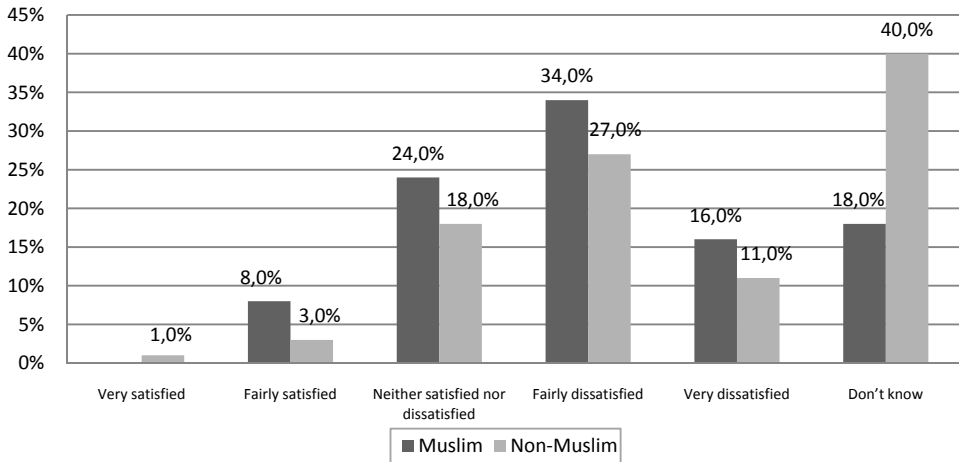
Source: Open Society Institute

The ideas of young Muslim respondents on how to improve educational quality show a great variety and also a sense of self-criticism. Those under 20 suggested:

"Teachers shall treat pupils equally."

"There should be more learning groups at schools, where everyone can learn according to his abilities."

"There should be a better mix between migrants and Germans in the classes, in order to avoid parallel societies."[96]

"The schools should demand more discipline: that means they have to be stricter with the pupils."

"The youngsters should change, so that the atmosphere at school improves, and also the teachers would have more fun again."[97]

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[96] This expression, used by a teenager, reveals a high level of internalisation of the problematic (and to a certain extent, anti-immigrant) discourse of parallel societies even among younger students.

[97] German translations: "Lehrer sollen Schüler gleich behandeln."; "An Schulen mehr Lerngruppen, wo jeder nach seinem Können lernt." "Es sollte einen besseren Mix zwischen Migranten und Deutschen in den Klassen geben, damit keine Parallelgesellschaften entstehen."; "Die Schulen müssten mehr Disziplin von den Schülern fordern, dass heißt man muss strenger mit den Schülern sein."; "Die Jugendlichen sollten sich ändern, damit die Atmosphäre an den Schulen sich bessert und somit auch die Lehrer wieder mehr Spaß haben."

For other respondents, the solution lay in part in increasing the number of teachers and employing younger teachers with good intercultural skills and an understanding of Islam.

The challange of teaching staff being old and ethnically homogenous was confirmed by Evelin Lubig-Fohsel, a teacher and anthropologist, who is also a member of the Senate's working group on Islam and School (*Arbeitskreis Islam und Schule*). Part of this problem, as Lubig-Fohsel explains, is caused by unsatisfactory employment conditions for young teachers and by the lack of teachers with an immigrant background.[98]

Discussion in the focus groups also indicated that the educational careers of young people were affected by having to work in part-time jobs during their school education, since the age of 13 or 14. This proves particularly difficult for immigrant children, partly due to poor family background.

All this background information is hard for teachers to gather, alongside their day-to-day duties. Lubig-Fohsel therefore prefers informal situations, where teachers and parents can meet each other and find ways of addressing possible conflicts. In many schools in Berlin, *Elterncafé* (parents' cafés) have been devised for exactly this purpose, and – as Lubig-Fohsel explains – those participating are generally very satisfied with the effects.

5.5   Political Initiatives to Support Integration in Schools

The Berlin Senate and the Kreuzberg district administration have made significant efforts to improve education on all levels and to develop new concepts for intercultural education. In July 2007 the Berlin Senate published the new Integration Policy[99] for Berlin. Early education, especially in *Kindergarten*, plays a crucial part in the new policy. An important goal of the Integration Policy is the extension of the provision of free kindergarten classes. By 2011 they should be free, from the beginning, for all children. In 2005, the Berlin Commissioner on Integration also published a booklet

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[98]   OSI interview with Evelyn Lubig-Fohsel, 29 May 2009.

[99]   Senatsverwaltung für Integration, Arbeit und Soziales (Senate Administration for Integration, Employment and Social Affairs) *Vielfalt fördern – Zusammenhalt stärken. Das am 23.8.2005 vom Senat beschlossene Integrationskonzept für Berlin* (Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion. The Integration Concept of Berlin, implemented 23 August 2005.); Abgeordneten-haus Berlin, Drucksache 15/4208 vom 23. Berlin, August 2005 (hereafter Senate Administration for Integration, Employment and Social Affairs, *Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion*).

that showcases best-practice in kindergartens in Kreuzberg and other districts, those which successfully use the methods of intercultural education.[100]

Another key element to the policy is the development of Scandinavian-style 'common' or 'comprehensive' schools (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*),[101] where pupils are kept together until they take the *Abitur* exam. The development of these new schools is a response to criticism of the German school system for its separation of children into different school types at an early age,[102] which is thought to have a particularly disadvantageous effect on immigrant children. The new schools ensure that different educational routes remain open for longer. They would provide an opportunity for disadvantaged children to overcome language difficulties before being locked into a certain type of educational career.

One important national project for integration within the educational system is FÖRMIG,[103] a programme for the support of children and youth with immigration backgrounds that places specific emphasis on the development of language skills. It is funded by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research in cooperation with different federal states, including Berlin. The specific local project of Berlin is called *Sprachförderung als gemeinsame Aufgabe von Kita, Schule, Eltern und außerschulischen Kooperationspartnern* (Language support as a common task of kindergartens, schools, parents and other cooperating partners). It is run and coordinated by the local network The Workshop on Integration through Education in Kreuzberg.

This network was built[104] in order to give teachers additional training in issues of integration and language support. One of its successful projects is the *Back Pack*

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[100] Among them the *Europakindertagesstätte,* which belongs to the *Aziz Nesin Grundschule,* where half of the children are supposed to have German as their mother tongue and the other half Turkish. All are educated in two languages and by employees from different cultural backgrounds (Senate Administration for Integration, Employment and Social Affairs, *Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion,* p. 12).

[101] The latest policy creates so called *Sekundarschulen* (secondary schools), where pupils with different learning capacities are educated together within the same class (not only within the same school) and teachers have to develop ways of individually supporting the different pupils.

[102] Also, the recent Europe-wide comparative survey of the TIES project (which evaluated the educational achievements of children with Turkish, Yugoslav and Moroccan backgrounds of a second generation in 15 cities) proved that the relatively late schooling in Germany, together with an early separation in different school types has had one of the most negative effects on the educational achievements of second-generation immigrant children. See www.tiesproject.eu.

[103] Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung (BLK) (Federal-Local Commission for Education Planning and Research Advancement), Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund (*Advancement of children and youth with migration background*). Expertise under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Ingrid Gogolin. Bonn, July 2003.

[104] Cooperation between the Senate administration for education, the youth agency of Kreuzberg, and the independent institute, Regionale Arbeitsstellen zur Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Zuwandererfamilien (RAA), available at http://www.raa.de.

Project, which was conducted in child-care institutes and *Grundschulen*. Parents with a mother tongue other than German receive information at home, which enables them to prepare their children in their own language for the next lessons in school. The lessons are taught in German. Some parents within this project are trained as *Elternbegleiter* (parents' companions). They receive skills which empower them to support their children (as well as other parents) and at the same time make it easier for teachers to get in contact with parents with an immigration background.

The Integration Policy indicates that there will be further finance and support for the abovementioned projects.

Another tool for improving language skills is the broad measure *German as a second languauge (DaZ)* for further education of teachers, enabling them to integrate the teaching of German as a second language in all regular classes. Intercultural training is also part of the optional further education.

Without negating the very positive aims and results of this measure, care should however be taken that no ethnic discrimination occurs in the way that pupils are grouped for participation. One young focus group member said that he had been required to take part in this course, despite having good German-language skills. The anti-discrimination NGO ADNB of the TBB also publicised a case of a young boy of Turkish origin who, because of his ethnic origin, had been required to take part in a DaZ course, even though he spoke very good German and his family spoke German at home.[105]

Looking at the city's Integration Policy, a more balanced approach to the issues raised by Islam and needs of Muslim pupils seems necessary. The Policy Paper on Integration for Berlin mentions the religion of Islam mainly in the context of problems, as faced by schools. Without explicitly naming Islam, it suggests, for example, that ethics classes in schools could be used to counter any hostility to democracy that may arise from religious education classes outside of school.[106] Discussion of Islam and Muslims is otherwise focused on examples of apparent conflicts that schools may be required to address, such as the withdrawal of children from sex education and sports classes, school trips and other activities. Even if these are important issues for teachers, the concept paper could be balanced with a positive acknowledgement of the presence of pupils of Islamic and other religions in Berlin schools.

The initiatives aimed at improving the language skills of pupils and their parents should thus be complemented by a greater acknowledgement of the problems (e.g.

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[105] Only through the intervention of the ADNB of the TBB and a disciplinary complaint, was the decision reversed. For details of this case, see Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin des Türkischen Bundes in Berlin-Brandenburg (Hg./ed.), Antidiskriminierungsreport Berlin 2006–2008, (*Anti-Discrimination Report Berlin 2006–2008)*, December 2008, (hereafter *Anti-Discrimination Report 2006-08*) p. 18.

[106] Berlin Integration Policy, p. 42.

discrimination and marginalisation) that Muslim parents and children face in the education system in particular and more broadly in society.[107] As the OSI findings suggest, the language barrier, which politicians and public discourse see as the main reason for the lack of integration, is also acknowledged by the Muslim respondents. They however attributed lack of integration more strongly to experiences and perception of discrimination and lack of participation by Muslims.

5.6   Respect for Religion in Education

Muslim and non-Muslim respondents differed significantly in their perception of whether schools respected the religious practices of people of different religions. The majority of Muslims (60 per cent) felt that different religious practices were not sufficiently respected, while only 22 per cent of non-Muslims shared this opinion. None of the Muslim respondents said that religious practices were given too much consideration in public schools, though not all perceived themselves as practising the religion.[108]

Figure 10. Do schools respect different religious customs? (G4)
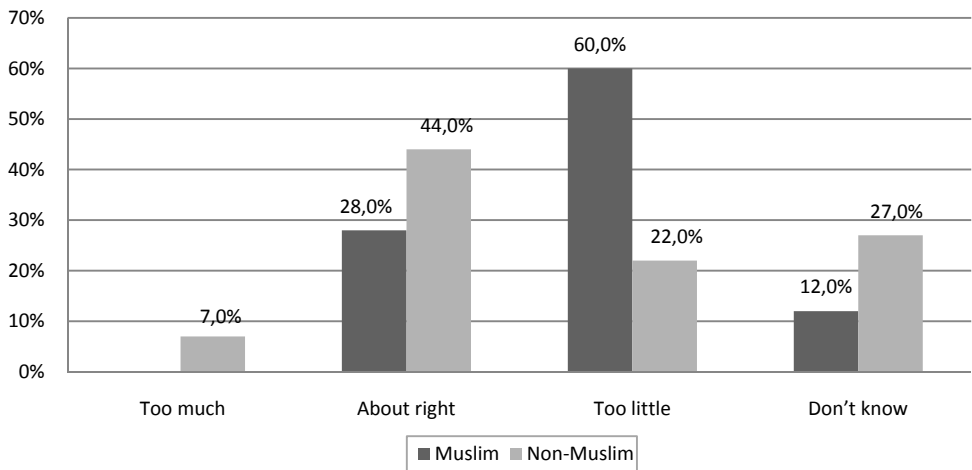
Source: Open Society Institute

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[107] These issues may be addressed within the *Arbeitskreis Islam und Schule* (Islam and School Working Group) of the Berlin Senate (where teachers, academics, politicans and representatives of Muslim organisations regularly meet and talk about Islamic issues in schools) but which has not come together since inner conflicts about a *Handreichung* on Islam in schools were left unresolved.

[108] With the Muslim respondents (among whom different affiliations could be found) 19 stated to not practise their religion. Among the other 81, a variation in the level of religious observance and practice.

The OSI survey findings suggest a lack of consensus about the extent to which schools should accommodate the needs of Muslim pupils. Changes to the school timetable to allow for Muslim students' religious holidays were cited by those non-Muslims who felt that there was too much accommodation of religious needs in the education system. They saw this as evidence of the failure of education policy to maintain state neutrality. The same practice was cited positively by Muslims, who felt that schools were being accommodating. The failure of some schools to recognise Muslim religious holidays was also cited by Muslim respondents as an example of schools failing to respect different religions. The experience of respondents confirms findings from other research that the practice of dealing with Islam varies from school to school, and is highly dependent on the individual decisions of teachers and school authorities.[109]

The autonomy and professional responsibility given to schools and head teachers is an important aspect of the German education system. The critical importance of head teachers, and the individual initiatives taken by schools for the quality of education was underlined with comments by the District Mayor of Kreuzberg Dr. Franz Schulz. He argues that this is more important than, for example, the proportion of pupils with immigrant backgrounds in a school.[110] While his comments may place an unfair burden on individual teachers to manage integration and improve school education, and though they may shift attention away from structural policy issues, they nevertheless question the perception that having a high proportion of Muslim pupils in schools lies at the heart of the schools' poor educational outcomes.

On the other hand, some young Muslim interviewees saw the structural problems of oversized classes and overburdened teachers as a core problem:

> "There is no discipline any more, the pupils are not being challenged and the teachers are overburdened."[111]

The issue of whether pupils or teachers should be allowed to wear a headscarf in school remains contentious. Of the 22 per cent of non-Muslims who wanted the education system to show greater tolerance towards different religions, particularly Islam, almost half identified the ban on female Muslim teachers wearing headscarves as sign of exclusion and stereotyping of Muslims. Similarly, 30 per cent of Muslims who felt that there was insufficient respect for religion in schools identified the ban on headscarves as the reason for their position. It was felt in particular that banning teachers from

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[109] See Schiffauer, *State-School-Ethnicity*, p. 234ff.

[110] He gave the example of the neighbouring *Grundschulen* (Fichtelgebirgs-grundschule and Kurt-Held-Grundschule) with a similar proportion of children with an immigration background, one of which completely failed, being almost without pupils in the end. The other succeeded because of the personal dedication and initiative of the teacher council.

[111] German original: "Es gibt da keine Disziplin mehr, die Schüler sind unterfordert und die Lehrer sind überfordert."

wearing headscarves also increased prejudice against pupils wearing it. One of the young Muslim interviewees explained:

> "In secondary school we had a teacher who was extremely xenophobic. The girls with headscarves he treated especially badly and told them they should dress as Germans and adapt."[112,113]

One of the non-Muslim respondents perceived the acceptance of other religions as superficial. He drew attention to residents who would distinguish between so-called *Türkenschulen* (Turks' schools), whose ethnic-German pupils had fled, and *Integrationsschulen* (Integration schools), which in the end had about 90 per cent of pupils with an ethnic German background. He thus saw a hidden lack of acceptance of religious diversity in the separation along religious and ethnic lines.

One young Muslim below 20 years old expressed the experience of segregation in the following way:

> "The German students in my school, who are in one level, are all put in one class, so that we are not (together) and don't have any contact with (them)."[114]

In this, as in many other cases, the perception of marginalisation for religious reasons on one side, and for ethnic reasons on the other is strongly interrelated and impossible to separate. In public discourse, the 'Islamisation' of social problems has become common and to some extent has replaced 'ethnicisation'. Similarly, in the perception of Turkish and/or Muslim people, these labels are mixed up and often mutually reinforce each other.

As Nahawandi, the former Commissioner for Integration in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, and other experts suggest, the acknowledgement in school education of the presence of Muslims within German society and their contribution to the development of the country is crucial. History classes about the role and contributions of Muslim societies to the development of Western culture, arts and sciences would be important steps towards enabling the positive self-identification of Germany's Muslim pupils. This would help counter negative stereotypes and one-sided images of Islam and Muslims among other members of the school community.

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[112] German original: "In der Oberschule hatten wir einen Lehrer, der extrem ausländerfeindlich war. Da wurden die Kopftuchträgerinnnen besonders schlecht behandelt und ihnen wurde gesagt, dass sie sich wie Deutsche anziehen sollten und sich anpassen sollen."

[113] Among other examples given of this were the opinions that: one couldn't hear so well with a headscarf; girls were forced to take it off during sport classes; they were asked to dress like Germans; they were stigmatised because of prejudiced media coverage of the issue; and were made fun of and not taken seriously.

[114] German original: "Die Deutschen Schüler meiner Schule einer Klassenstufe werden alle in eine Klasse gesteckt, so dass wir die nicht in dieser Klasse sind, keine Kontakt zu deutschen Mitschülern haben."

One example where such social and historical information could be added, are the Senate's teacher guidelines for intercultural education *Handreichung für Lehrkräfte an Berliner Schulen für Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung*, which already contains a discussion about what is and what is not 'German'.[115] While the discussion is aimed at supporting intercultural education by raising awareness of the 'foreign' sources of German words, food and other cultural achievements, it still lacks inclusion of the important contribution of the Arab language and Islamic civilisation, and of immigrant communities to contemporary European societies.

5.7   Muslim Schools

Experiences of stereotyping, discrimination and even racism may account for the growing number of Muslim parents seeking to enrol their children into the only Muslim *Grundschule* in Kreuzberg. The school has over 100 applicants a year for 25 places. It receives state funding to cover the salary of its teachers but charges parents a fee to cover other costs. The school argues that it is making efforts to support integration by its emphasis on teaching the German language and employing a range of teachers (including many non-Muslims). The education attainment in the school has improved over time. The percentage of pupils recommended for the *Gymnasium* has increased from 31 per cent in 1994/95 to 57 per cent in 2005/06.[116] Yet, Fereshta Ludin, one of the teachers, explained that the withdrawal of Muslims into Muslim private schools is not the way to achieve integration. Ludin believes that the school's contribution to integration into German society is not appreciated by policymakers and politicians. She acknowledges that the school in fact has a bad reputation among politicians, because it is said to be supported by Milli Görüs.

5.8   Discrimination

Reports from NGOs and interviewees suggest that structural discrimination is a significant problem in the German education system in general.[117] According to the Berlin anti-discrimination association ADNB of the TBB, a considerable number of

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[115]   Senatsverwaltung für Schule, Jugend und Sport, p. 51.

[116]   The recommendations for *Realschule*, the middle type of school, have stayed more or less the same in percentage terms throughout the years. Those for the lowest school type, the *Hauptschule*, have declined consistently from 25 per cent in 1994/95 to 4 per cent in 2005/06.

[117]   The PISA studies of 2003 provide evidence of certain German particularities concerning the educational achievements of immigrant pupils. In contrast to all other countries, in Germany those children who were born in the country (i.e. second-generation children) had even worse results than those who immigrated after starting school. Different authors hold the school system responsible for this underachievement, some of its structures discriminating against children with an immigration background (Gogolin, 2001; Diefenbach, 2005; Engin, 2003; Radtke, 2001, 2005; Boos-Nünning, 1998; Kornmann, 1996, 2001; Alba *et. al.*, 1994; and others). For further details, OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany*, (Mühe), 2007, p. 23ff.

complaints they receive concern discrimination in the education system.[118] Another interviewee, who works within the Berlin Senate (Centre against Discrimination) states that experiences of discrimination extend to the administration in general.

In the OSI survey, 11 of the Muslim questionnaire respondents reported religious discrimination in the public school system. Eight respondents spoke about discriminatory or racist treatment of Muslim children by their teachers. Examples of discrimination came mainly from parents. One mother was excluded from participating in a project for *Elternlotsen* (parent pilots) because of her headscarf; another parent reported being thrown out of a headmaster's office after asking for Islamic religious teaching to be given in the school. Several others reported experiences of prejudice directed towards Muslim children, such as blaming them for the poor quality of the schools. One interviewee expressed his frustration in the following way:

> "My grandchildren are already desperate about the future and they don't want to continue their studies. They say to their fathers, 'Look at you, what are you after so many years of work? What can we become anyway (in terms of a professional career)?' This isn't normal. The teachers must be doing something wrong. And I think the reason for that is religious prejudice."

Almost all participants of the focus group on education reported a culture of low aspirations and being discouraged by teachers. This culture is grounded in stereotypes or assumptions about students based on their ethnic and cultural background.[119] One woman retold the story of her discussion with her niece's teacher, as her niece had attained a law grade in German language, and wanted to improve this. The teacher, rather than encouraging the student, argued that this was a good grade for a Turkish girl. Apart from these openly racist statements, over half of the focus group participants reported examples of discouragement. Many explained that in one way or other they had been told by their teachers that they would never manage to progress to higher education. Some also recalled being told that they were unlikely to succeed in either higher education or in vocational employment training. For some, such experiences reinforced their determination to pursue their education even more enthusiastically and prove their teachers wrong. For example, one young woman who had been sent to the *Hauptschule* on the basis of her teachers´ recommendation nevertheless completed her high school diploma and a degree in sociology through evening classes. For most,

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[118] OSI interview with Florencio Chicote, Anti-Discrimination Network of the Turkish Alliance Berlin Brandenburg, 2008.

[119] Doris Nahawandi, the former Commissioner for Integration in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg mentioned that the PISA study had shown that no equal treatment of children with an immigration background existed in German schools. In part, this was caused by the prejudiced views of teaching professionals concerning the performance of these children. Also, the recent international OECD comparison proved the existence of unequal opportunities at German schools.

however, the lack of encouragement is more likely to reduce educational aspirations and attainment.

One young respondent witnessed this experience within her family:

> "I believe that normal, intelligent people are not motivated at all. You just get a recommendation for Hauptschule like my sister, even if she made her Abitur later on. She was just not recognised in school. You are easily seen as stupid. The teachers are not helping you at all and are not taking care of you."[120]

Some focus group participants felt that they had to struggle to disprove stereotypes and prejudices teachers held about them. In particular, girls who wore headscarves felt that assumptions were made about them that they were oppressed and lacked intelligence. Others believed that they had to conceal and suppress their religious identity and avoid being seen to practise their religion because of the negative assumptions that would be made about them. One participant said that he would not dare to pray at school or ask for the opportunity to do so. A university student explained that she concealed any awkward feelings she had when drawing naked male models in art classes, in order not to support stereotypes about Muslim women. This in itself is not an indicator of discrimination, but reflects the overall atmosphere and a certain pressure to hide religiously motivated practices and concerns. There were also reports of instances in which Muslims felt that teachers tried to manipulate the religious views and practices of pupils. One female respondent explained that girls who wore Islamic clothing were often asked by their female teachers to "*show her beauty*" and that she was asked to lift up her long tunic before sitting on the chair, because it hid too much of her. One young Muslim respondent said:

> "I put it like this: during school trips in the primary school the teacher still tries to make salami sandwiches palatable although she knows that you are not allowed to eat them."[121]

Parents who took part in the focus groups stated that schools did not respect their values and views on issues such as religious clothing or sexual abstinence before marriage. They reported feeling disempowered and forced to compromise on their moral values in order to secure a good education for their children:

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[120] German original: "Ich finde da werden eigentlich intelligente Menschen überhaupt nicht motiviert. Da hat man eine Hauptschulempfehlung, wie bei meiner Schwester, obwohl sie später Abi gemacht hat. Die wurde überhaupt nicht wahrgenommen in der Schule. Man ist dann gleich als Dummer abgestempelt. Die Lehrer helfen einem gar nicht und gehen auch nicht auf einen ein."

[121] German original: "Ich sag's mal so: Auf Klassenfahrten in der Grundschule versucht die Lehrerin noch, Dir das Salamibrötchen schmackhaft zu machen, obwohl sie weiß, dass Du das nicht darfst."

> "You have to choose between a good quality education (meaning a school outside of Kreuzberg) and an Islamic surrounding, or a situation where the religious difference poses no problems."

One mother in the focus group said that after one of her daughters had chosen to wear a headscarf, she had been completely ignored by her teacher, so that in the end she removed the scarf.

Some of the younger students who participated in the focus groups, gave a very different picture of their experiences in school. In their schools, only a very small percentage of teachers had any kind of prejudice against them and they were generally well-accepted and reported few of the problems mentioned by the others.

In addressing the experiences of the Muslim parents and pupils interviewed by OSI, the Berlin Senate and the Berlin Administration should consider explicitly referring to anti-Muslim prejudice when addressing anti-discrimination and intercultural learning. Until now, these issues have been addressed within the broader concepts of racism, discrimination and xenophobia, and hardly mentioned directly. Some officials might be reluctant to make explicit reference to anti-Muslim prejudice out of concern that identifying particular groups such as Muslims as victims of a certain form of hostility may reinforce bias and stereotypes. There is, however, a danger that this approach may overlook the way in which both anti-Semitism and Islamophobia differ from the prejudiced practices arising from general right-wing extremism.

A situation may also arise where the prejudice and discrimination faced by Muslims is actually overlooked and not addressed by policies against racism and intolerance. The *Handreichung für Lehrkräfte an Berliner Schulen für Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung* (Guidelines for teachers at Berlin Schools for Intercultural Education), for example, mentions the problem of xenophobia and how to deal with right-wing youngsters and their parents.[122] Hostility towards Islam and also Judaism is only mentioned once, and only very briefly. The guidelines, along with other official policy papers for integration, could provide an opportunity to discuss the specific aspects of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. They could also discuss the ways in which prejudice and discrimination against others, (in this case Muslims) arise not only from right-wing extremism, but is widespread across different sections of society, including teachers.

The ADNB of the TBB, a Berlin anti-discrimination NGO lists cases at state schools as a field of major concern in its report on discrimination in Berlin 2006–2008. Complaints by this NGO had only in a very few cases been answered sensitively and with a serious will for clarification. Instead, discrimination was, in the main, not seen, and the blame was generally placed on the students. The organisation complains that on neither the level of the school nor within the administration was there an independent contact person or institution to deal with cases of discrimination, to

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[122] Senatsverwaltung für Schule, Jugend und Sport, p. 50ff.

document them or monitor their outcome. The NGO therefore demands the establishment of such a body for complaints of discrimination with competencies for investigation. It furthermore demands the implementation of EU regulations and the AGG for the law of schools and universities (*Schul- und Hochschulgesetz*), which is not yet the case, in order to develop a non-discrimination rule, positive measurements, sanctions and a body for complaints.[123]

5.9   Overburdening of Teaching Personnel

Evelyn Lubig-Fohsel, teacher and educator of teachers explains that most of her colleagues are overburdened with their daily work in schools. She maintains that teachers are frequently confronted with school reforms and have to accomplish many additional tasks. They are rarely trained in intercultural or diversity education and are often confronted with the diversity of their Muslim pupils, who belong to different communities which are in a process of constant change. They lack help and information on how to deal with the situation. She identifies a range of issues that teachers face including Muslim students who refuse to participate in swimming classes and students absent from lessons on evolutionary theory without the teachers knowing whether their students have religious or other reasons for this absence. She notes that bad behaviour (or machismo) on the part of male pupils is often quickly culturalised or 'Muslimised' by teachers.

According to Lubig-Fohsel the lack of support for teachers when dealing with issues around Islam and Muslims lead the *Arbeitkreis Islam und Schule* (Islam and Schools Working Group) of the Berlin Senate to publish the *Handreichung* (guidelines) for teachers. These give broad information about the different Muslim communities and affiliations in Berlin, as well as first-hand information and voices of particular Muslims in Berlin. One of these voices was represented by a young Imam of a Berlin mosque who works with young people in particular, but had been described in ambivalent ways by the media in the past.[124] The inclusion of an interview with this Imam was among the reasons for an internal conflict within the working group, which prevented the publication of the leaflet. The work of the group then stagnated. As different interviewees explained, the leaflet (as well as the contribution of the young Imam) were used internally and welcomed by many teachers[125] despite the bad press. Official publication of the leaflet would ensure that it reached many more teachers and would

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[123]   *Anti-Discrimination Report 2006-08,* pp. 16–18.

[124]   See *Die Zeit*, 22 February 2007; Vieth-Entus in: der-tagesspiegel.de, 06 August 2008; bild.de, 8 August 2008.

[125]   Lubig-Fohsel, however, uses the unpublished information of the booklet with her own teacher training, and says that her colleagues were literally snatching it from her hands. Another interviewee, Nadia Nagie from the professional education advice organisation for immigrant children, Kumulus e.V., conducts teacher training as well. She explained that she was often accompanied by the young Imam, who shared his views and experiences with the teachers (who in turn appreciated his visits).

also be an important signal towards inclusion and the official participation of religious Muslims and Muslim communities.[126]

While the publication of the leaflet will fill an important knowledge gap, this should also be addressed by more systematic integration of intercultural skills within the professional training of teachers. Such training is currently optional.[127]

Optional teacher training has so far been supplied by the *Landesinstitut für Schule und Medien LISUM* (Federal State Institute for School and Media). It has recently been regionalised and is now under the responsibility of the schools. According to Lubig-Fohsel, this has led to a deterioration in the training situation, as fewer schools were interested in the additional training. Along with other interviewees she suggests intercultural and diversity skills should be a compulsory part of the regular teacher training at universities. She also suggests the need for greater participation of people with immigration (and especially a religious Muslim) background into the teacher training in order to provide ethnic-German teachers with experiences and first-hand knowledge. As one young focus group participant put it: *"They (teachers) have to do integration courses as well."*

A good example of fruitful mediation work in schools is the work of Abdul Razzaque, a Board Member of an Urdu-speaking mosque association and the loose Berlin umbrella organisation IBMUS, who has been employed by *trias*, an independent supporter[128] for one year, mediating at the Friedensburg-Oberschule, a local Gesamtschule in *Charlottenburg*. Razzaque has brought in his many years of mediating experience at the mosque association, along with years of school experience in India to his work with pupils of the 9th and 10th forms, many of whom originated from Muslim and non-Muslim countries. Teachers consult him on a variety of issues, from smoking cigarettes to physical attacks among pupils at school. His ability to resolve the latter often surprises teachers. Razzaque explains that his respect among the pupils stem not just from his age and Islamic knowledge – as non-Muslim pupils also trust him – but also from showing respect and interest in the pupils; constantly approaching them and asking them about their needs and concerns. His knowledge on Islamic teachings often proves useful (when telling Muslim pupils about the non-violence and mutual respect their religion demands) but this is not the main aspect of his work. He calls his

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[126] This case also demonstrates how a generally highly critical atmosphere towards many (religious) Muslims and Muslim organisations can destroy valuable work towards improving the school climate and education outcomes and hampering prejudice and stereotypes against Muslims, especially if it is – even before publication – also commented on critically by certain media sources (e.g. in this case by the Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel* and others). The accusation of being too pro-Muslim, or talking to the wrong (or too conservative) religious Muslims, quickly frightens policymakers away from the project or measure.

[127] OSI interview with Evelyn Lubig-Fohsel, 2009.

[128] *Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft für Arbeit, Gesundheit und Soziales mbH* available at http://www.trias-sozial.com/.

mediation the 'oriental method', where solutions are to be found within the pupils themselves. Public authorities, namely the police, are only to be contacted as the very last resort. Razzaque says that teachers respect his work, and that he also speaks to teachers when he thinks that they treat pupils inappropriately. He states that the atmosphere at the school has improved lately and that Muslim pupils have appreciated the headmaster giving them days off for Islamic holidays such as the celebration of Ramadan.

Examples like this provide important hints for the further development of school mediation and ways of improving the atmosphere in schools, for both pupils and teachers. The experiences of people like Abdul Razzaque could prove important for making substantial changes in this respect.

5.10 The Integration Debate and its Effects

According to Nahawandi, the positive initiatives aimed at addressing both individual and structural reasons for unequal opportunities experienced by immigrant (and especially Muslim) children, can only succeed if the public discourse about integration changes. There must be a move away from the focus on people with an immigration background, especially Muslims, being talked about as if they were the core problem of the society. In relation to schools for example, parents are accused of not caring about the education of their children and, more generally, for rejecting German values. This problem-focused discourse, which is reflected and reinforced in the media, also influences the views and opinions of teachers, employees of the school administration, parents of non-Muslim children,[129] and others within the school system.[130]

The concept of *Interkulturelle Öffnung der Verwaltung* (the intercultural opening of the administration) is an important step. It is fostered by the Berlin Senate and is meant to (among other things) open up official institutions to personnel, in order to reflect the ethnic diversity of society. This is different from the idea of integration as assimilation,

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[129] At the beginning of July 2008, parents of children who were about to start school gathered in Kreuzberg to speak about their problems. Certain schools were seen as very attractive, but with long waiting lists; others did not have enough children but were seen as qualitatively unattractive. One director of a less-attractive school offered to guarantee the (obviously understood but not openly named ethnic-German) parents that their children would be put into one class, thus ensuring worried parents that their children would not be educationally hindered by being in the same class as pupils with an immigration background (with their supposedly poor language skills). See Berliner Woche, a local circular in Kreuzberg, 4 July 2008.

[130] Doris Nahawandi, "Integration und Chancengleichheit in der Schule aus der Perspektive des Einwanderungsbezirks Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Deutsch-französisches Treffen von Bildungs-journalisten" (Integration and Equal Chances in School from the perspective of the immigration district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. German-French Meeting of Educational Journalists), 1 June 2006, available at http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/bafriedrichshain-kreuzberg/beauft ragtedesbezirks/deutsch_franz_sisches_treffen_bildungsjournalisten.pdf (accessed April 2010, hereafter Nahawandi, "Integration and Equal Chances in School").

and moves towards a concept of diversity, which allows Muslims and Muslim pupils to be perceived as a natural part of school classes and wider society. This concept of diversity remains rare in Germany, as it involves changing perceptions of 'majorities' and 'minorities', and implies shifts in power. The evidence from Berlin (and especially Kreuzberg) indicates that these ideas and concepts can be successfully introduced in a way that places emphasis on the equal participation of all members, while taking the focus away from specific groups (such as Muslim minorities).

6. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: EMPLOYMENT

Access to vocational training and participation in the labour market remain at the core of economic integration. Economic integration requires not only opportunities for employment, but employment in the mainstream labour market and in jobs that are commensurate to an individual's skills and qualifications.

This section highlights some initiatives underway by local authorities and civil society organisations which attempt to help migrant and Muslim job seekers find vocational training or by offering career guidance. It then examines the role of different barriers Muslims face in accessing and fully participating in the labour market. Some of these barriers relate specifically to Muslims, in particular visible manifesations of religion. Others stem from the position of most Muslims in Western Europe as migrants or descendants of migrants. Finally, it identifies some efforts to address disparities in Muslim participation in the labour market with an emphasis on the need for documentation on cases of discrimination.

6.1 Professional Orientation and Vocational Training

The responses to the OSI questionnaires and in focus groups suggest a need for better guidance and information about different employment and career opportunities. One focus group participant, who worked for an NGO to help young people from migrant groups find employment and apprenticeships, highlighted the limited employment aspirations that many young people have:

> "In Germany we have 455 official professions, but for the girls there are only
> five fixed ones, among them medical secretary, salesgirl and hairdresser. And for
> the boys it is equally fixed."[131]

Lack of understanding and information of vocational training and employment opportunities remains a significant barrier to improved labour market participation. Dr. Nadia Nagie, who works for KUMULUS,[132] a project founded in 1993 by the former Commissioner on Integration of Berlin, Prof. Barbara John, to advise young people with an immigration background about different employment and training opportunities, recognised that the educational and vocational training system in Germany is complex. According to Dr. Nagie there is little knowledge amongst

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[131] Following Alt & Granato, this reduction to only a few professions is not due to limited career aspirations of young immigrants or lack of enthusiasm searching for an apprenticeship, but is due to exclusion and discrimination (Alt & Granato, 2001). For more details about the general employment situation of young immigrants, see the background report on Muslims in Germany (OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany* (Mühe), 2007, p. 31.).

[132] KUMULUS is one of the oldest and best-known projects for education counselling (*Bildungs- beratungsprojekt*) of the association Arbeit&Bildung e.V.

immigrant parents and their children about the variety of procedures within the educational and vocational system in Germany. However, such knowledge may also be limited amongst parents and children in general. In fact, she recognises that many teachers do not know about all the possible paths within the system for an educational and/or vocational career.[133]

Few immigrants, for example, know that those without German citizenship but who have the legal status of a *Duldung* (exceptional leave to remain) can take up vocational training. Amongst the issues that KUMULUS faces is a lack of awareness among parents and children that a good vocational training qualification such as the *Facharbeiterbrief* (craft certificate), has a considerably higher reputation within the respective professional group than an average higher-education certificate.

In addition to supporting young individuals with an immigration history[134] in finding educational or professional opportunities, the organisation also engages in projects such as *Imamfortbildung* (the education of Imams), which is organised by the Muslim Academy and the Berlin Senate. The training aims to equip Imams with detailed understanding of the various institutions and agencies in Berlin in general, and about the different possibilities for educational careers for young people in particular. It is based on a recognition that in all these fields, religious leaders play an important part in disseminating information to members of their community.

The ADNB of the TBB, an NGO documenting and working on anti-discrimination, reports a high number of cases of discrimination in the labour market, particularly in the search for an apprenticeship. It cautions against becoming resigned to this situation, and the loss of perpective caused by several such experiences of discrimination and powerlessness. It calls for the creation of places and programmes that support and empower young people who face discrimination. One example is the creation of spaces where they can talk about their collective experiences and together develop strategies to combat discrimination.[135]

6.2 Role Models

The potential of information disseminators and/or role models from minority groups is used in order to reach out to the members of different communities. The *Kiezlotsen* project based in Kreuzberg aims to reach young people from migrant groups by employing outreach workers, who are from the same neighbourhood and background. These outreach workers have already contacted between 30 and 80 young people in the area, and have placed 15 within programmes for employment training. Seven were also

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[133] OSI interview with Dr. Nadia Nagie, KUMULUS.

[134] Instead of the widely used term 'migrational background', KUMULUS chose to call their clients people with 'migration history'. As this suggests, immigration only belongs to the history of their family and is not something that still differentiates them from the rest of German society.

[135] *Anti-Discrimination Report 2006-08,* p. 10.

encouraged to complete their school-leaving certificate.[136] Another example of the effects of role models comes from a young political scientist, Mohammed Ibrahim, who visits schools and talks with students, many of whom have a Muslim and/or refugee background, about their experiences there.[137] These official, as well as individual, projects reflect a new approach that recognises the need to actively reach out to marginalised groups, rather than expecting them to seek advice.[138]

Another example of a more proactive approach is the Senate's campaign *Berlin braucht Dich* (Berlin needs you), which aimed at raising the percentage of young people with a migration background in the public administration. The programme faced difficulties in reaching the target group. Through contact with religious leaders, mosque associations and other immigrant NGOs, they aim to maximise the impact of this campaign.

While the campaign is a positive development, it does not address one important barrier faced by young Muslim women who seek employment in public administration: the headscarf ban. The ban was introduced for many jobs in the public sector (*Öffentlicher Dienst*). The OSI survey suggests that many young Muslim women are affected in some way by this ban.

One focus group participant, who worked with young people in career counselling, explained that young women who wore headscarves, could not secure apprenticeships or even internships, and that they had to take off their headscarves to secure actual jobs.

One young female respondent between 30 and 39 years of age described her and her sister-in-law's difficulties in finding a vocational training place:[139]

"I often applied for vocational training before finishing my A-levels, but I always got weird excuses. A friend of mine who doesn't wear a headscarf, who had

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[136] *Die Kiezlotsen* (District Pilots) is a successful project of the *Quartiersmanagement* (social neighbourhood projects of the administration aimed at tackling challenges in deprived areas) within the Düttmannsiedlung neighbourhood of Kreuzberg. See http://www.quartiersmanag ement-berlin.de/nachrichten/archiv/friedrichshain-kreuzberg/2007/die-kiezlotsen-der-duettmann siedlung.

[137] Kerstin Krupp, "Debatte mit muslimischen Schülern" (Debate with Muslim pupils)*, Berliner Zeitung*, 9 August 2006, available at http://www.oszimt.de/0-schule/public/presse/2006-08-09.html (accessed April 2010).

[138] OSI interview with Dr. Franz Schulz, District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg.

[139] The vocational school qualification in Germany is generally organised as a dual system, where young people do the theoretical part in vocational schools and the practical part within a specific company that takes cares of their practical, professional training. However, the diminishing willingness and ability of companies to train these young people has caused a lack of places within this dual system, which have been partially filled by *Oberstufenzentren* (professional schools). In these, vocational training can be done, but with less practical experience than in the dual training system (OSI interview with Dr. Nadia Nagie, KUMULUS).

worse grades than me, was given a position at a place I had been rejected from. They are afraid that you are a loser. My sister-in-law was once told she should take off the scarf (for a medical assistant position). Even though the doctor was not against the scarf, he was afraid that his patients would think that he had hired a cleaning lady to operate the x-ray machine."[140]

A young, female focus group participant wearing a headscarf recounted her experiences during her internship at a local police station. During her training she was only given administrative work and was desk bound. Her fellow intern, however, who did not wear a headscarf, was fully integrated into everyday police work, including being taken on patrol.

6.3 The Headscarf Debate

The case of Fereshta Ludin has been of particular significance in the public debate on headscarves. Her claim of the right to wear her headscarf while employed as a teacher gained prominence as her case reached the highest court in Germany, the Constitutional Court. The Federal Constitutional Court accepted that headscarves cannot always be understood as a religious symbol and that there was no legal basis for the ban imposed on her. The Constitutional Court left it to individual *Länder* (Federal States) to create their own laws and regulations in this area. Berlin responded to this by passing the *Neutralitätsgesetz* (Law of Neutrality) in January 2005. This law prohibits the exposure of visible religious symbols for teachers in public schools as well as employees of the police and the judiciary. The ban also affects employees of nurseries, if there are complaints about the headscarf from parents. It was argued that the ban was needed to ensure state neutrality and the religious freedom of school children.

Among prominent critics of the law is Berlin's former Integration Commissioner, Prof. Barbara John. She notes the negative effects of the law on the treatment of Muslim women in the private sector. Following the example of the public administration, an increasing number of employers are refusing to hire women wearing headscarves.[141] John was one of 72 signatories of an open letter against the headscarf ban. The current Commissioner on Integration and Migration of Berlin, Günter Piening, has also criticised the law and its effects.[142] The Senator of the Interior of Berlin, Erhart

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[140] German original: "Ich hatte mich oft für eine Ausbildung beworben vor dem Abitur, da kamen immer so komische Ausreden, eine Freundin ohne Kopftuch mit schlechteren Noten wurde aber an einer Stelle genommen für die ich mich beworben habe und abgelehnt wurde. Die haben Angst dass man ein Versager ist. Meiner Schwägerin wurde mal gesagt sie soll das Kopftuch ausziehen (MTA), weil der Arzt zwar nichts dagegen hatte aber er meinte die Kundschaft würde dann denken er hätte eine Putzfrau zum Röntgen eingestellt."

[141] Interview with Professor Barbara John, 20th March 2008.

[142] Emmerich, Marlies (9 February 2008) Körting: Kopftuch-Verbot wird nicht auf Dauer bleiben *(Körting: Ban on Headscarves will not stay in the long run),* Berliner Zeitung, available online: http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/.bin/dump.fcgi/2008/0209/berlin/0043/in dex.html.

Körting, who had initially been a prominent supporter of the law, recently mentioned at the *Islamwoche* (Islam Week)[143] in Berlin that the ban would not be permanent. He later clarified his remarks, and made it clear that the ban should remain in professions which required uniform work clothes and which officially represented the state.[144]

Alongside the implementation of the *Neutralitätsgesetz* in 2005, a co-ordinating office against discrimination was established by the Integration Commissioner to tackle possible discrimination against Muslim women.[145]

The introduction of the General Equal Treatment Act in 2007 strengthened the legal basis for anti-discrimination work by public bodies at the local level. This includes the creation of a regional Equal Treatment and Anti-Discrimination Office (*Landesstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung*). The office works on a broad range of equality issues, with the discrimination faced by Muslims an important issue,[146] even though the precise grounds of the discrimination they face (ethnicity, religion and gender-based) may not be easy to identify. The office is also establishing a broad network of NGOs and other partners throughout the city to provide support and advice to victims of discrimination and racism.

6.4 The Labour Market

According to the 2003 *Sozialstrukturatlas* (Atlas of Social Structures), Kreuzberg is one of the poorest districts of Berlin.[147] In 2006 it had an overall unemployment rate of 41 per cent in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg as a whole. Nahawandi, the former Commissioner for Integration in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg suggests that Kreuzberg has a higher unemployment rate compared to Friedrichshain, and foreign nationals are more likely to be unemployed than German citizens.[148] She nevertheless argues that the district is rich in economic, cultural and social capital.[149]

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[143] Yearly event with speeches and discussions between Muslim and non-Muslim scholars and public officials, organised by IBMUS (*Initiative Berliner Muslime*), a loose co-operation of Muslim organisations from different ethnic backgrounds. Available at www.ibmus.de.

[144] Beikler, "Körting: Lockerung des Kopftuch-Verbots ist möglich" (Körting: Loosening of the headscarf-ban is possible), *Der Tagesspiegel*, 9 February 2008, available at http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/art270,2473093.

[145] OSI interview with Dr. Sabine Kroker-Stille, 10th June 2008.

[146] OSI interview with Monika Brodehl, 1st April 2008.

[147] Senatsverwaltung für Gesundheit Soziales und Verbraucherschutz *(Senate Administration for Health, Social Services and Protection of the Consumer)* (Hg./ed.),Sozialstrukturatlas Berlin 2003. Berlin, available at http://www.efb-berlin.de/download/berliner_sozialatlas_2003_kurz.pdf.

[148] Nahawandi, "Integration and Equal Chances in School", p. 2.

[149] Doris Nahawandi, "Mythos Kreuzberg – Oder Kreuzberg als gelungenes Integrationsbeispiel?" (Kreuzberg Myth – Or Kreuzberg as a Successful Example of Integration?), 6 June 2004, available at http://www.migration-boell.de/downloads/integration/DNahawandi_Kreuzberg.pdf (accessed April 2010; hereafter Nahawandi, "Kreuzberg Myth").

The OSI data seem to indicate a balanced situation regarding employment among Muslims and non-Muslims. It must, however, be kept in mind that the sample is not representative and cannot give evidence about the actual employment situation. A slightly higher percentage of Muslims who took part in the research are currently in full/part-time work or are self-employed (51 Muslims compared to 46 non-Muslims). A further six Muslims are on a government employment-training programme (compared with none of the non-Muslims). Though there are twice as many Muslim respondents at home looking after the family (eight Muslims vs. four non-Muslims), an equal number of Muslims and non-Muslims are either unemployed or unable to work because of a disability (nine each). A large proportion of respondents from both groups answered 'Other' as their employment status. On further analysis, almost all of these turned out to be students working part-time, or people on apprenticeship schemes.

Those with a visible Muslim identity (headscarves, longer beards, etc.), who made up about a third of all Muslim questionnaire respondents, were under-represented in full-time employment but not in part-time or self-employment. They were less present among those who took part in public employment programmes, but made up almost all (seven out of eight) of the Muslims working at home without payment (housewives). Again it must be emphasised that these small subsamples do not provide a basis for findings to be generalised, but show tendencies within the group under research in Kreuzberg.

About a quarter of Muslim respondents and a third of non-Muslim respondents are or were employed in jobs where an academic or vocational school qualification was required. These employees were more likely to be female and under 40 years old. On the other hand, the second-highest number of Muslim respondents[150] were working in unskilled jobs (trades and services), being of all ages and with an even higher percentage of women.

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[150] 15 Muslims, 11 of whom are women, compared to 11 non-Muslims.

Table 9. Employment type (current or past) (I17)

| | Religion | | Total |
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Not answered	14%	12%	13%
Modern professional occupations	26%	33%	30%
Clerical and intermediate occupations	11%	13%	12%
Senior managers or administrators	5%	1%	3%
Technical and craft occupations	8%	4%	6%
Semi-routine manual and service occupations	11%	7%	9%
Routine manual and service occupations	15%	11%	13%
Middle or junior managers	3%	3%	3%
Traditional professional occupations	7%	16%	12%
Total %	100%	100%	100%
Total Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Among Muslim respondents, there is therefore a polarisation between employment in high-skilled and unskilled jobs. This polarisation is more marked in the case of Muslim

women.[151] This reflects, in part, their relatively lower levels of education compared to men in this sample. There were also six Muslim women without formal education. All of them were over 40 years (four were over 60) of age. Similarly, all the Muslims with only elementary school education (4 male, 4 female) were over 40 years of age.

The way the respondents had found their last paid job did not differ considerably between Muslims and the non-Muslim comparison group. In both groups, personal networks such as friends, colleagues and other acquaintances played by far the biggest role within the job search, while speculative application and self-employment were the second-most mentioned strategies within both groups, the latter being mentioned slightly more frequently within the non-Muslim group.

6.5   Entrepreneurs and Self-employment

Data of the *Türkisch-Deutscher Unternehmerverband* TDU (Turkish-German Entrepreneur's Union) and the *Zentrum für Türkeistudien* (Centre for Turkey Studies) estimates that between 1985 and 2005 the number of self-employed Turks increased from 22,000 to 61,000. Furthermore, one in ten Turkish-owned businesses are to be found in Berlin.[152]

A survey about Turkish entrepreneurs in Berlin concludes that a comparatively high proportion has been through higher education (17 per cent university; 4 per cent *Fachhochschule* [advanced technical college]).[153] At the same time, a high proportion (36 per cent) has no higher or professional education. The former director of the *Zentrum für Türkeistudien*, Faruk Sen, argues that the large number of highly educated people found in self-employment is a result of the difficulties they face in securing mainstream employment. The survey also suggests that other factors are relevant to

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[151] Already, certain differences between the educational attainment of girls and boys with an immigration background may be observed by the PISA survey 2003 (among others). While gender differences in certain fields like mathematics (where girls have less success than boys) did not differ considerably from the differences among ethnic-German children, differences in other subjects (especially reading, where girls generally perform better than boys) show a stronger polarisation between immigrant girls and boys than ethnic Germans. The difference became even stronger in the second generation. See Gayle Christensen & Petra Stanat, Schulerfolge von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund im internationalen Vergleich *(Where Immigrant Students succeed: A Comparative Review of Performance and Engagement in PISA 2003),* OECD, 2003, available at http://www.bmbf.de/pub/bildungsforschung_band_neunzehn.pdf.

[152] Faruk Sen & Martina Sauer, Türkische Unternehmer in Berlin. Struktur – Wirtschaftskraft – Problemlagen *(Turkish Entrepreneurs in Berlin. Structure – Economical Situation – Problematic Issues)*, eine Analyse der Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien im Auftrag des Beauftragten des Senats von Berlin für Integration und Migration *(An analysis of the Foundation Centre for Studies on Turkey commissioned by the Commissioner of the Berlin Senate for Integration and Migration)*, Berlin: Berliner Beiträge zur Integration und Migration, 2005, p. 6 (hereafter Sen & Sauer, *Turkish Entrepreneurs in Berlin*).

[153] Sen & Sauer, *Turkish Entrepreneurs in Berlin,* p. 12.

explain the increasing number of self-employed. These include: a growing identification with Germany due to naturalisation; a rising acceptance of Turkish people within German society; and an emotional attachment to self-employment through the dream of former guest workers being carried out by younger generations. The need for the regeneration of deprived local areas, fewer regulations and better business support were among the many issues and demands of ethnic-minority-led businesses identified in the survey.[154]

Nahawandi sees the large number of people from migrant groups who run and own small and medium sized businesses as a positive development. She notes, for example, that a large proportion of businesses in the database of the business support association *Arbeit und Bildung e.V.*[155] (Work and Education) are owned by non-German nationals (1,064 compared to 2,500 'German businesses').[156] The association estimates that 16,000 businesses in Berlin are owned by immigrants, 20 per cent of which are situated in Kreuzberg. This is also noted in the Berlin Senate's Integration Policy.[157] The rising numbers of small- and medium-sized enterprises has created a significant number of new jobs in Berlin since the late 1990s, especially within the service sector.

The district office of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is presently running the project ReTra (*Regionale Transferstelle zur Förderung und Integration ausländischer Unternehmer* – Regional Contact Point for the Encouragement and Integration of Foreign Entrepreneurs). The Integration Policy of the Berlin Senate also aims to reduce business regulations for entrepreneurs with an immigration background as one of the targets of local policy.[158] The policy paper argues for a greater focus on support for entrepreneurs who have started their own businesses recently.

6.6   Respect for Other Religions at Workplaces

When asked for the employers' view on other religious practices, more than half of the Muslim respondents reported a lack of consideration, or even discrimination. A third of respondents in the comparison group shared this view, while a large number did not have any opinion about the issue.

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[154]   Sen & Sauer, *Turkish Entrepreneurs in Berlin,* p. 72.

[155]   See source at: http://www.aub-berlin.de/

[156]   Nahawandi, "Kreuzberg Myth", p. 1.

[157]   Berlin Integration Policy, p. 17.

[158]   Berlin Integration Policy, p. 18.

Figure 11. Do employers respect different religious customs? (G6)
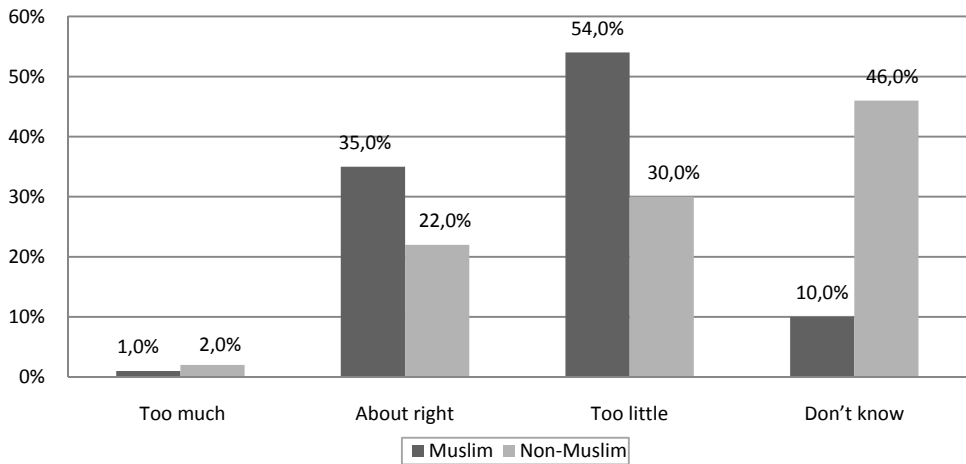
Source: Open Society Institute

Among Muslims, the main reasons for a negative judgement were the rejection of women wearing headscarves (16) as well as difficulties in securing time during the workday for daily prayer (15). Some respondents perceived a lack of knowledge about other religions as reasons for the lack of respect. One young male respondent between 20 and 29 stated:

"When Ramadan begins, the Muslim part of the employees starts behaving in a strange way from the point of view of the German, non-Muslim colleagues, without them being aware (…) that the Muslim colleague has a completely different life in this month, a completely different life rhythm. They then easily hold religion responsible or guilty and a strange image of the religion arises."[159]

Others suggested a general rejection of the religious rituals and practices of Islam among employers. As one female Muslim respondent in the 30–39 age group explained:

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[159] German original: "Wenn Ramadan kommt, dann benimmt sich der muslimische Anteil der Mitarbeiter sehr komisch für die deutsche, nichtmuslimische Seite; (...) ohne dass sie wissen, dass der muslimische Mitarbeiter in diesem Monat ein ganz anderes Leben hat, einen ganz anderen Lebensrhythmus; dann wird von nichtmuslimischer Seite einfach pauschal die Religion dafür verantwortlich oder schuldig gemacht und es entsteht ein komisches Bild der Religion."

"That we are praying is seen as unnecessary and unmodern. It is not liked at the workplace. I have also heard from many fellow students with headscarves that their job applications were refused."[160]

6.7   Ethnic and/or Religious Discrimination in the Labour Market

The headscarf is not the only problem that the Muslim youth face, and a certain sense of exclusion also seems to prevail with those who do not wear any religious manifestation, or do not identify strongly with a religion. For some, discrimination on grounds of religion is often combined with other markers of difference such as ethnicity and language. A female focus group participant explained:

"My parents came from Turkey, but they are not Muslims. My grandparents were made Muslims; I can say it like that, because we are another tribe. But because we are more dark-skinned, we are just mixed."[161]

In our survey, 38 of the Muslim respondents reported to have been denied a job within the last year, more than half of whom (20) cited ethnic and/or religious discrimination as a reason. About half of these (nine) identified multiple reasons for discrimination (religion, ethnicity, place of residence, skin colour). Four exclusively named ethnicity, and seven named religion, as the reason for being denied a job.

One of the respondents explained his perception of discrimination like this:

"I firstly applied via phone, and he agreed to employ me and was really enthusiastic. But when he then heard my name, there was a little break, he hesitated, and then I heard nothing any more except excuses."[162]

Fourteen interviewees explained to have been kept from a promotion within their job for reasons of discrimination, nine of whom saw their ethnicity and/or religion as the reason. Four of these exclusively named ethnicity as the main barrier for their promotion; two named their religion and three saw multiple reasons for their unequal treatment (ethnicity, skin colour, religion and gender).

Among the older focus-group participants, direct experiences of labour market discrimination did not emerge as a significant cause for concern. There was greater concern and anxiety about the prospects for the younger generation. One participant

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[160]   German original: "Dass wir beten, wird für unnötig gehalten und es wird mit etwas Unmodernem verbunden. Es wird nicht gerne gesehen am Arbeitsplatz. Ich höre auch, dass viele Kopftuch tragende Kommilitoninnen Absagen auf ihre Bewerbungen bekommen."

[161]   German original: "Meine Eltern kommen aus der Türkei. Sie sind aber keine Muslime. Meine Großeltern wurden Muslime gemacht. Also sage ich jetzt mal so, weil wir sind ein anderer Stamm. Aber weil wir jetzt dunkelhäutiger sind, werden wir gleich da reingeschmissen."

[162]   German original: "Ich hatte erst mich per Telefon beworben und der hatte mir schon zugesagt und war ganz begeistert. Aber als er dann meinen Namen gehört hatte, kam eine Pause, er stockte und dann kam nichts mehr, nur Ausreden."

contrasted the experience of the older generation in having their religious needs accommodated over their 40-year-long working lives, to the relatively weaker position of the younger generation.

This touches upon a phenomenon that Häußermann described as part of the present modernisation and marginalisation process within European cities. In this, society does not depend on manual workers, who as a consequence lack social recognition, as well as the power to enforce their concerns.[163] There was particular concern about the difficulty of securing apprenticeships and paid employment. The older men of the focus groups felt helpless, because they lacked the education and knowledge to help their children. They also feared that the lack of opportunities would increase the risk of young people turning to crime. One youth worker suggested that more focus was needed on broadening aspirations by means of increasing the knowledge and experiences of a wider range of careers and professions.

Looking at the findings of ADNB of the TBB, the anti-discrimination NGO, the cases of discrimination reported to them are highest by far in the field of employment. This in part can be attributed to the implementation of the AGG (General Equal Treatment Act) in 2006, which especially focuses on discrimination in the labour market. Most frequent are cases of discrimination in job advertisements, such as the demand for 'German as native language'.[164]

6.8   Experiences of Women Wearing Headscarves in the Labour Market

Among female Muslim respondents who wore headscarves, a quarter worked or had worked in higher skilled jobs, as medical/technical assistants or social workers. Other quarter worked or had worked as cleaning personnel. This suggests a polarisation among them in terms of their labour market participation. Female respondents wearing a headscarf were more likely than other Muslims to work for employers from the same ethnic and/or religious background than other Muslim respondents. The proportion, however, is not as high as one could have expected, and the majority works with employers from different ethnic or religious backgrounds. This finding appears to contrast with the prominence of the issues of discrimination against women wearing the veil in employment in qualitative responses within the questionnaires and in the focus groups. This may reflect the greater acceptance of visible religious diversity in Kreuzberg compared to other districts. In the words of one woman wearing a headscarf:

> "In Kreuzberg, girls wearing headscarves can find jobs, and that's an exception compared to other parts of Germany."

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[163]   Hartmut Häußermann & Andreas Kapphan, Berlin: Von der geteilten zur gespaltenen Stadt. Sozialräumlicher Wandel seit 1990 (*Berlin: From the separated to the segregated city. The Changing of Social Space since 1990*), Leske + Budrich, 2000, p. 210.

[164]   *Anti-Discrimination Report 2006-08,* pp. 8–12.

Within the different focus groups, both men and women talked about the difficulties faced by Muslim women wearing headscarves in finding employment. One woman expressed her frustration about discrimination within the labour market in the following terms:

> "German employers have never given me anything except cleaning jobs because I wear a scarf. Our daughters and sisters wearing headscarves are mostly housewives or they work for Turkish employers."

Another woman between 50 and 59 years of age said:

> "In Germany, things are getting worse for women wearing headscarves. They can find jobs only in service sectors (if they are lucky, that is). They can't work in sectors that require intellectual abilities. It's very hard for them to find good jobs."

Job centres in Berlin have made considerable efforts within the last few years to improve the intercultural diversity of their institutions. Initiatives include the appointing of *Migrationsbeauftragte* (officials with specific responsibility for addressing labour market challenges faced by migrants). Notwithstanding this example, reports persist of the obstacles faced by women who wear the headscarf in securing employment. Suraya Jammeh, who co-ordinates different youth projects for the neighbourhood project *Mehrgenerationenhaus,* described her own experience at a seminar at the local job centre: although there was acknowledgement and appreciation of her skills and experiences, she was advised to apply for a special sponsorship for people who are not easily integrated into the labour market. Within the respective job centre report, she was classified as 'handicapped for wearing a headscarf' with the additional remark that "only unprejudiced employers should be considered".[165]

The NGO ADNB of the TBB reports many cases of discrimination against Muslim women with headscarves in the labour market. It acknowledges in its 2006-2008 report that through a multi-dimensional set of reasons for discrimination (e.g. gender and religion), those women wearing headscarves were especially disadvantaged in the labour market, even if highly skilled.[166]

6.9   Public Projects Against Discrimination

The Berlin Regional Office recently published a leaflet[167] intended to raise awareness of the situation of discrimination against Muslim women wearing the headscarf. It highlighted the situation within the private sector and, among other suggestions, called

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[165]   OSI interview with Suraya Jammeh, April 2008. Help the Poor and the Needy e.V.

[166]   *Anti-Discrimination Report 2006-08,* p. 10.

[167]   Landesstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung, *(Equal Treatment and Anti-Discrimination Office)* (Hg./ed.), Mit Kopftuch außen vor? *(With Headscarf Outside?),* Berlin, 2008.

for a review of the *Neutralitätsgesetz* in the light of the new law against discrimination (AGG). The leaflet was heavily criticised by some for supporting women wearing headscarves. The critics felt there was insufficient evidence of discrimination to require the publication of an official leaflet against it.[168] The findings of the OSI survey, however, confirm other research in this field, showing the high relevance to Muslims in Berlin of the issue of discrimination against women wearing headscarves. Discrimination of any kind is a barrier to integration, especially when, as in this case, the withdrawal of women from the public sphere is a common reaction to discrimination rather than a case of civil resistance.[169] The organisation Human Rights Watch supports this perception in its recently published research report about the negative effects of the headscarf laws, which it has judged to violate human rights.[170]

The experiences reported in the OSI focus groups and questionnaires also suggest that the impact of the *Neutralitätsgesetz* is widely felt to be an important symbol of discrimination against Muslims in general. Reform of the law, therefore, has the potential to be a powerful signal that Berlin's new integration policy[171] is taking significant steps in seeking to achieve its goal of creating a more inclusive and participative society.[172]

There is also a need for more specific measures, within the anti-discrimination field to address Islamophobia. The OSI research suggests that Islamophobia is a significant problem for young people with an immigration background and/or Muslim affiliation, who, being the focus for a range of different forms of discrimination, have become heightened targets of anti-Muslim discrimination and racism in recent years. More than half of the Muslim respondents mentioned experiences of discrimination on ethnic and/or religious grounds in the year prior to the survey.

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[168] Interview with Seyran Ates in the Berlin newspaper *Jungle World*, 20 September 2008, available at http://jungle-world.com/artikel/2008/38/23464.html; Open letter from Terre des Femmes to the Berlin Senator for Integration, Employment and Social Issues, Dr. Heidi Knake-Werner, 18 September 2008, available at www.frauenrechte.de.

[169] OSI interview with Florencio Chicote, Anti-discrimination Network Berlin.

[170] Haleh Chahrokh, Diskriminierung im Namen der Neutralität (Discrimination in the Name of Neutrality), Human Rights Watch (ed.), 2009, available at http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/germany0209dewebwcover_1.pdf.

[171] Berlin Integration Policy, 2007.

[172] Many of the respondents of the questionnaires, as well as focus group participants who were not wearing headscarves (or one who did even not define herself as a Muslim) showed solidarity with the problems of veiled women. One focus group participant, being herself from a Muslim society but not from a Muslim family, complained about a colleague within the health sector who "had really lived for her profession, but was badly mobbed." (*Die hat ja für ihren Beruf wirklich gelebt und wurde richtig schikaniert.*)

Interviewees, as well as the experts who participated in the roundtable discussion[173] on the OSI survey, supported the opening of a specific *Beratungsstelle* (advice office) for victims of religious (and especially anti-Muslim) discrimination and racism that could be a suitable partner for the *Leitstelle für Gleichbehandlung gegen Diskriminierung* of the Berlin Senate. Experts from other anti-discrimination offices like the ADNB of the TBB [174] also mentioned this gap and called for the establishment of an office that could address the needs and concerns of this group more specifically.

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[173] OSI Roundtable discussion with experts from different thematic areas, held at the British Council in Berlin, 23 March 2009, hereafter OSI roundtable, 23 March, Berlin 2009.

[174] Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin des Türkischen Bund Berlin Brandenburg (Anti-Discrimination Network Berlin of the Turkish Federation Berlin Brandenburg).

7. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

This section examines experiences of health care. Access to adequate healthcare is important to social inclusion. Long-term illness impacts on peoples' opportunities for economic and social participation, reducing employment opportunities and income levels, which in turn affect opportunities for social and leisure activities. The section begins by outlining high levels of satisfaction felt by respondents' towards the health sector. It then examines experiences of respondents towards the health services including staff, hospitals and the level of respect for cultural and religious sensitivities. The focus groups and questionnaires are then used to understand emerging issues such as care and accommodation for elderly, unattached individuals. Finally, the section ends with the topic of public spaces for youth as part of the social protection agenda.

7.1   Respect for Other Religious Practices

The health services (especially the hospitals) emerge as one area where there is a great degree of satisfaction with the service people receive. It is an area where Muslim respondents indicate that their needs – especially those connected to religious practices and/or cultural sensitivities – are largely met.[175] In contrast to the survey findings for education and employment, the majority of both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents felt that hospitals showed sufficient respect towards other religious practices.

Figure 12. Do hospitals and medical clinics respect different religious customs? (G8)
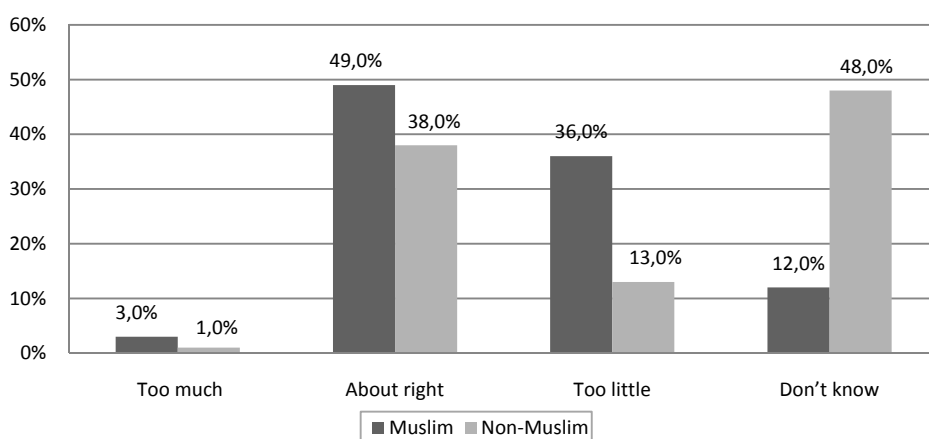
Source: Open Society Institute

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[175]   See also OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany*, (Mühe), 2007

This is consistent with other research into the experience of Muslim patients in German hospitals.[176] Two older respondents from Turkey expressed a positive opinion, comparing their experiences in Germany and Turkey:

> "Health services are excellent in Germany. May Allah bless them. We couldn't find these kinds of services in Turkey. I'm very satisfied with it."

Also:

> "I'm satisfied with the health services. I totally trust the welfare system here. I've never experienced any mistreatment so far."

7.2   Experiences in Hospitals and Doctor's Surgeries

Poor experiences, reported by several participants in the focus groups, were mainly related to incidents in the accident and emergency room of the *Urban-Krankenhaus* (City Hospital) in Kreuzberg. The events were related to instances where the real or supposed lack of German-language skills led to neglect or impatience on the part of the medical staff. The hospital, situated in the middle of a deprived area, often faces complex cases involving alcohol and drug abuse. The tensions this can create are most visible in the accident and emergency department, where staff work under intense pressure.

The feeling of powerlessness and vulnerability that patients experience in the context of a hospital accident and emergency room can both intensify the experiences of discrimination and also heighten perceptions of discrimination. One woman highlighted her last experience of discrimination in this hospital with the following example:

> "My mother was taken to hospital with a heart problem and first they laughed at her and then made her wait seven hours. (...) An old man, who had heart problems, had to wait for 12 hours. He was Arab."[177]

Another interviewee described an experience of perceived discrimination when she was required to wait for several hours and was told that there were more acute cases for them to deal with, even though she felt her case was an emergency. This left her feeling that "*Germans were always in and out before me*". The incident indicates how situations of powerlessness quickly escalate into feelings of discrimination which often build on

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[176]   See Ina Wunn, "Muslimische Patienten. Chancen und Grenzen religionsspezifischer Pflege" (Muslim Patients. Chances and Limitations of Religiously oriented Care), Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2006.

[177]   German original: "Meine Mutter wurde mit einem akuten Anfall eingeliefert (Urban) und dann erst mal ausgelacht und musste 7 Stunden warten – Ein älterer Herr hatte was mit dem Herzen (arabisch) und sie haben ihn 12 Stunden warten lassen."

other and more general experiences with racism and discrimination.[178] Another focus group participant, who works in a surgery, also referred to the vulnerability of patients in hospitals and doctors' surgeries, when retelling an incident about an old Arab man who was unable to communicate effectively in German. It led a nurse to complain to colleagues:

> "Why can't he speak German? He has been here for 30 years. He can make ten children but not learn the German language, which is a basic prerequisite."

While the participant retelling this story agreed that it was important for people to speak German, she felt that in the context of the health system, this should not be an issue.

> "They have to pick up people from where they are and help them, whether or not they speak the language."

These examples suggest that even though there are fewer reported experiences of discrimination in health service delivery than in other fields of social life, the vulnerability that arises from illness makes people more sensitive towards possible discrimination.

It should, however, be emphasised that many interviewees reported positive experiences of the steps taken by the *Urban-Krankenhaus* to respond to the different cultural and religious needs of its patients. One older female Turkish respondent explained:

> "There only used to be German nurses in the city hospital, but now there are some foreigners who work there. I had two operations there. Both the German and non-German nurses treated me kindly and took good care of me."

Another focus group participant recalled the experience of one of her relatives who had been a patient in the hospital:

> "She was on the fourth or fifth floor. The doctors and nurses there were very nice and said that we could always visit her, even at midnight. And when we had to pray, they even emptied a room for us."

The German Red Cross guide on issues of death and grief in relation to Muslim patients (published in 1998) may have contributed to the heightened sensitivity that appears to exist in dealing with Muslim patients.[179] The guide covers issues such as

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[178] An expert from the field of anti-discrimination reported during the OSI roundtable on 23 March 2009 in Berlin that the complaints about cases of discrimination which their organisation sent to hospitals were barely answered. The fact that neither the organisation nor the patients ever received reactions to the complaints made her believe that they were never even read.

[179] Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross), "'Du, oh beruhigte Seele…'. Zum Umgang mit Tod und Trauer bei Muslimen in Krankenhäusern" ("You, oh pacified soul…". About the handling of death and grief with Muslims in hospitals.), Berlin, Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, 1998.

gender-specific hygiene measures, the behaviour of both patients and visitors (e.g. the perception of pain, the number and frequency of visitors) and dietary needs.

There were also positive reports about the efforts being made by a Christian hospital in Kreuzberg to ensure that it was sensitive to the needs of Muslim patients. The medical staff had asked the family if their religion allowed patients to be attached to artificial respirators, and after a young girl had passed away, the family was asked, if they needed an Imam.

Many hospitals and health centres in Kreuzberg have taken measures to improve communication with the patients who do not speak German. In part, this may be aimed at attracting patients in a competitive market. The example is cited of a gynaecologist who hired medical secretaries able to speak Arabic and Turkish, as this helped attract more patients from the local area. However, there appears to remain a need for additional bilingual staff employed in hospitals and surgeries and for the workforce in hospitals to reflect the full diversity of the local communities where they are located. Similarly, while there is greater understanding of aspects of the dietary restrictions that Muslims face in relation to prohibitions on pork, more needs to be done to ensure the provision of halal meals. There may also need to be greater sensitivity to issues of privacy for female patients during medical examinations.

Further consideration may also be needed in respect to regulations regarding the handling and burial of deceased patients. Social security funds cover the costs arising from the ritual washing of bodies and burials. However, the requirement to use a coffin, and a waiting period of 48 hours prior to burial conflicts with the traditional Muslim practice of wrapping the deceased in linen and a burial within 24 hours. Doris Nahawandi, a former Commissioner for Integration of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg suggests that Berlin authorities should consider reviewing current regulations and examine the more flexible regulations found in the state of Brandenburg and the city of Hamburg. These appear to allow for the observation of Islamic traditions.[180]

7.3   Elderly Muslims

The focus groups also raised the issue of the isolation faced by some older immigrants. Although many former guest workers were able to bring their families to Germany, this was not possible in all cases, and some families returned to their home countries while the men stayed on to work. One focus group participant stated:

> "… there are some workers from the first generation, who could never bring their families here. They just die in a corner of a workers' lodging all alone. In fact, there are so many desolate Turkish people here who we are not even aware of. They can't even spend their money (…) There's a man who doesn't have any family or relatives here. He can't even use his money. Apparently, he has lost his

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[180]   OSI interview with Doris Nahawandi, May 2008.

memory. He has money, but he doesn't know how to use it. Although his family
in Turkey needs money, he can't even send it to them. I mean, there are people
who have gotten that bad. Many families have been shattered like this."

With growing numbers of first-generation guest workers entering old age, there is a
rising need for places in nursing homes for them. Kreuzberg has seen the building of
the first residential home for the elderly, which specialises in the needs of Turkish
(Muslim) pensioners. The homes include religious facilities like prayer rooms, as well
as culturally determined needs, including bilingual staff and a tea kitchen, where
smaller family celebrations can be held. In response to the poorer economic position of
elderly Turkish people in Germany, the cost of the services is 15 to 20 per cent less
than the regular price.[181]

As former guest workers, older Muslims are also at a disproportionate risk of poverty.
A report in 2006 by the *Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung* (German Institute
for Economic Research), or DIW, found that the risk of poverty in migrant households
where one or more people were over 50 years old (36 per cent) was three times higher
than found in comparable German households (11 per cent). The higher risk of
poverty was partially due to the higher age at which they entered the labour force and
the lower wages they were paid.[182] Higher unemployment rates also feed into long-
term pensioner poverty among migrant groups, as it limits the contributions
individuals are able to make. Furthermore, low levels of female employment means
that men use their pensions to meet the needs of their partners and, given the higher
unemployment rates, also support households where young adults are unemployed.
This concern about pensioner poverty was also found amongst the OSI respondents:

"They should increase our pensions. We can't survive with 500 Euros. The cost
of living has increased terribly. The prices are going up everywhere, both in the
Turkish stores and in the German ones."

The shift of Berlin's economic structure away from the industrial sector, together with
the new labour immigration from Western and Eastern Europe has increased tensions
around issues of employment. De-industrialisation had a disproportionate impact on
those communities that came as labour migrants. Developing the skills and knowledge
required to securing employment in new sectors was especially difficult for immigrants
recruited to Germany as unskilled workers.

At more than 11 per cent, the number of welfare recipients in Neukölln, Kreuzberg
and Mitte are by far the highest in Berlin. Neukölln 14.3 per cent; Mitte 13.2 per cent;

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[181] Thomas Loy, "Erstes Pflegeheim für türkische Senioren" (First nursing home for Turkish
seniors), *Der Tagesspiegel*, 14 January 2006, available at
http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/art270,2056808 (accessed April 2010).

[182] Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung *(German Institute for Economic Research)*, Berlin, 3
November 2006, available at http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news183128.

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg 13.0 per cent. However, the overall percentage is 8.1 per cent, with only 4.0 per cent in the district of Steglitz-Zehlendorf.[183]

The overall number of foreign welfare recipients in Berlin was 27.0 per cent at the end of 2004. The number of those receiving housing benefit comprised 14.6 per cent of all Berlin households. This also comprised the most in Neukölln (22.6 per cent) and Kreuzberg (18.9 per cent). The number of asylum seekers receiving welfare payments is 1,268 for Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg[184] (compared to a total 33,726 recipients of welfare benefits[185]) and 12,707 for Berlin as a whole.

Another symptom of the deteriorating social situation of immigrants – especially from a Turkish background – is a high percentage of overweight children,[186] which was detected by a survey among children in a Berlin inner-city district. Other illnesses that have been shown to be more frequent among residents with a Turkish background are chronic, non-transferable diseases (e.g. coronary heart conditions, diabetes, lipid metabolic disorders, infectious diseases such as hepatitis, and also psychosomatic illnesses).[187] In a recent survey, the Robert Koch Institut found out that certain groups, including children in poor communities or from migrant backgrounds, are at greater risk of conditions like obesity.[188]

7.4   Youth Services

The poor quality or lack of youth services was an important area of concern for Muslim respondents. Over half of the Muslim respondents (55 per cent) compared to a third of non-Muslims were very or quite dissatisfied with existing youth services. Non-Muslims were in fact more likely to have no opinion about youth services than a

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[183] Source: 4. Berliner Wohnungsmarktbericht der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, (*4th Report about the Berlin Housing Market by the Senate Administration for City Development*), 2005.

[184] Source available at http://www.statistik-berlin.de/statistiken/sozialleistungen/i-asyl-1.htm.

[185] Source available at http://www.statistik-berlin.de/statistiken/sozialleistungen/i-sozh-1.htm.

[186] 23 per cent of children from a Turkish background, compared to 14 per cent among others. See Jeffrey Butler, "Gesundheitliche und soziale Lage von Kindern nichtdeutscher Herkunft in einem Berliner Innenstadtbezirk" (Health and social situation of children of non-German origin in an inner-city district of Berlin) in Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (Hg./ed.) *Gesunde Integration, Dokumentation der Fachtagung am 20. und 21. Februar 2003 in Berlin* (Healthy Integration. Documentation of the Symposium, February 20–21 2003 in Berlin), Berlin, Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, available at http://www.kiggs.de/experten/downloads/dokumente/Gesunde_Integration_indd1.pdf.

[187] Yasar Bilgin, Medizinische Rehabilitation und Migration am Beispiel der Türken in Deutschland *(Medical Rehabilitation and Migration – the Example of Turks in Germany),* Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) *(Federal Ministry for Education and Research),* Berufsbildungsbericht *(Report on Professional Education),* Bonn, April 2001, pp. 73–77.

[188] Robert-Koch-Institut, KiGGS – Der Kinder- und Jugendgesundeitssurvey *(KiGGS – The survey on health of children and youth),* 2008, available at http://www.kiggs.de/experten/erste_ergebnisse/Berichte/index.4ml (accessed April 2010).

negative opinion. This may partially reflect the differing demographics of the two groups. Concern about quality centred on the perception of youth services as providing limited 'guidance' and the feeling that in most youth centres, young people were left alone to play table football or billiards. Respondents felt that youth services had limited impact on anti-social behaviour, which they had observed in their area. There appears to be an expectation for more structured and guided activities, even among the young people, as over half of the young Muslims under 20 demanded more youth centres and guidance. One expressed it like this:

> "The youth should be looked after much better, to reduce violence in the streets. This could happen through youth clubs, where young people would get guidance."[189]

One focus group participant, who had been active as a youth worker, suggested that a lack of resources and the privatisation of youth-service provision led to efforts towards economic efficiency to the detriment of the quality of service.

The District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Franz Schulz, recognises that the increase in the number of youth clubs has not been able to keep up with growing demand. He suggests that demand partly arises from the formerly more homogenous youth groups, becoming divided into different groups with different national backgrounds, ages or genders. He also acknowledges that certain services, which were under the responsibility of *Freie Träger* (independent institutions) unlike those run by the district administration, were constantly underfinanced. Thus they often resorted to those employees with welfare money, who were supported by the agencies but did not necessarily have the most appropriate qualification.[190] During the finalising of the OSI report, the Berlin daily *Berliner Morgenpost* reported that the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg wanted to relinquish all its remaining youth institutions unto the responsibility of independent institutes (*Freie Träger*) in order to save the personnel costs of 55 employees.[191]

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[189] German original: "Es müsste mehr auf die Jugendlichen eingegangen werden, damit sich die Gewalt auf den Straßen verringert. Dies kann z.B. durch Jugendclubs, in denen die Jugendlichen betreut werden geschehen."

[190] OSI interview with Dr. Franz Schulz, the District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 2008.

[191] Sabine Flatau & Dominik Ehrentraut, "Sparzwang: Bezirke geben Jugendtreffs ab" (Need to economise: Districts give up youth clubs), *Berliner Morgenpost*, 17 July 2009, available at http://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article1133264/Sparzwang_Bezirke_geben_Jugend treffs_ab.html (accessed April 2010).

8. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: HOUSING

The focus of this chapter is to examine respondents' perceptions and experiences of housing, and their identification with their neighbourhoods and areas. It highlights barriers to accessible housing, including discrimination, and efforts to address segregation. It also looks at some initiatives by residents to tackle anti-social and security-related problems, as well as civic efforts to address the improvement of neighbourhood quality.

Homelessness, either living on the streets or in temporary accommodation, is a barrier to social inclusion. Beyond this, living in poor housing conditions can exacerbate factors that undermine social inclusion. In particular, unfit housing conditions can increase ill health, while overcrowded housing can contribute to disadvantages in other areas. In overcrowded housing, there is less space for young children to study, complete homework or revise for exams, affecting educational attainment and subsequent employability. Teenagers are also more likely to be outside in the streets, and so are at an increased risk of involvement with drugs and gangs. Furthermore, the lack of privacy and space in overcrowded housing can increase stress and affect mental health and family relationships.

The housing situation of Muslims in Germany's urban areas is largely shaped by the inner-city locations of their dwellings. German cities have no belt-structures as in France or inner-city problem areas as in the United Kingdom. There is rather a concentration of immigrants in ethnic districts in central locations.[192] Furthermore, there is little movement of immigrants away from these areas once their socio-economic situation improves to the point that they can afford accommodation in wealthier districts. Instead, migrant communities have a strong tendency to stay and invest in these districts in order to improve their neighbourhoods. In many ways, this pattern corresponds with a general lack of mobility and a strong identification with the local districts, the Kiezkultur (neighbourhood culture), found mainly in northern German cities, but especially in Berlin. The OSI research suggests that in the case of migrant groups, this may, however, be reinforced by feelings of exclusion from the wider society and experiences of discrimination in accessing housing in wealthier districts.

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[192] Schiffauer, Werner (2005) "Turks in Germany." in Melvin Ember (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Diasporas, Volume II: Communities, New York: Springer.

Table 10. Housing status (C1)

	Religion		Total
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Own outright	1.0%	3.0%	2.0%
Own – with mortgage/loan	1.0%	4.0%	2.5%
Rent public/social housing	39.0%	10.0%	24.5%
Rent private landlord	43.0%	65.0%	54.0%
Living with parents/siblings	15.0%	8.0%	11.5%
Other	1.0%	10.0%	5.5%
Total — %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total — Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Among respondents to the OSI study, only a small number of both Muslims (2) and non-Muslims (7) were home-owners. However, a significantly greater proportion of the Muslim sample (39) than non-Muslims (10) lived in social housing. Muslims were also more likely than non-Muslims to live with their family. This may be explained by stronger family ties, as well as greater difficulty in finding rental accommodation.

8.1   Discrimination in Housing

Experiences of discrimination in the housing sector do arise as an important issue in the research. Berlin-born Burhan Kesici, Deputy Chairman of the Islamic Federation of Berlin,[193] retells his own experiences of discrimination from an experiment in which he contacted the same property management twice under different names.[194] When he gave his real name Kesici, he was told that the flat was not appropriate for him and his family. When he contacted the same organisation under the name Schneider, he was

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[193]   The Islamic Federation organises Islamic religious education in Berlin public schools.

[194]   OSI interview with Burhan Kesici, March 2008.

offered the flat.[195] Such experiences of discrimination is confirmed by research which suggests that discrimination leads immigrants and their families to live in housing which is in worse condition and at the same time more expensive than that available to ethnic Germans. The 2001 *Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung* (German Institute for Economical Research) report finds that migrants are more likely to live in overcrowded accommodation.[196]

Six Muslim respondents to the OSI survey reported discrimination from their landlord or letting agency. This is still less than the figures of the research by the Zentrum für Türkeistudien (Centre for Turkish Studies), where 15 per cent of Turkish people reported having experienced discrimination in housing.[197] The OSI evidence suggests that instances of discrimination are manifest in various ways, ranging from direct verbal comments to the lack of explanation for a refusal to provide accommodation, or more intense scrutiny of a person's creditworthiness or social status. One respondent noted how he was asked about his religion when he was looking for a flat. Others said:

> "The landlord saw me and made remarks about terrorism and violence."

> "I was (probably) denied a flat because of my wife's headscarf."

> "I was denied flats with flimsy excuses."

Participants in the focus groups reported the perception that the distribution of social housing is used by policymakers to restrict Muslims to certain districts and neighbourhoods. In part, this impression is grounded in earlier experiences of the official housing policies during the initial period of migration, when immigrants were

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[195] The ADNB of the TBB together with a network of other organisations is presently working on the general acceptance of these kinds of 'testings' (methods for detecting discrimination) at the juridical level in order to provide evidence for discrimination cases (OSI interview with Florencio Chicote, ADNB of the TBB, March 2008).

[196] See also Hartmut Häußermann & Walter Siebel, *Soziologie des Wohnens, Eine Einführung in Wandel und Ausdifferenzierung des Wohnens* (Sociology of Housing, an Introduction into Change and Differentiation of Housing), Weinheim, Juventa-Verl. (Grundlagentexte Soziologie), 1996 ; Martin Zwick, "Von der Baracke zum Eigenheim. Zur Veränderung der Wohnsituation von Ausländern in Deutschland" (From the Barrack to the Owned Home. About the changing Housing Situation of Foreigners in Germany), *Ausländer in Deutschland* (Foreigners in Germany), Jg. 19, H. 2, 2003, pp. 3–4.

[197] Andreas Goldberg & Martin Sauer, "Konstanz und Wandel der Lebenssituation türkischstämmiger Migranten. Ergebnisse der fünften Mehrthemenbefragung 2003. " (Constancy and Change of the living Condition of Migrants with Turkish Origin. Results of the fifth Multi-Topic-Survey 2003), in Ministeriums für Gesundheit, Soziales, Frauen und Familie des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (Hg./ed.), *Eine Studie des Zentrums für Türkeistudien im Auftrag des Ministeriums für Gesundheit, Soziales, Frauen und Familie des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* (A Survey of the Centre for Studies on Turkey by order of the Ministery for Health, Social Issues, Women and Family of the federal state of North Rhine Westphalia), Essen, 2003, p. 111.

restricted to particular areas of cities.[198] Thus, a woman who had emigrated from Turkey recalled how after being allocated accommodation in a district (such as Kreuzberg or Schöneberg), they were not allowed to move to another part of city. This woman retained the impression that the housing agencies continued to restrict movement of immigrants in this way, even though official policies had changed. Such policy measures may in the past have played a more significant role in the concentration of migrant communities in particular districts of cities than, for example, any normative desire on the part of Muslims to live in segregated communities. In fact, Eichener's research from the 1970s suggests that the majority of immigrants wished to live in ethnically mixed areas.[199] This is a view that can be reinforced by the OSI findings, as a great part of Muslim respondents valued the ethnically and socially diverse character of the district they lived in; many wished for ethnic Germans to stay and regretted them leaving Kreuzberg.

The introduction of the Anti-discrimination Law in 2005 sent a strong signal about the unacceptablity of discrimination on a range of grounds including religion and ethnicity. However, according to the ADNB of the TBB in Berlin and other anti-discrimination NGOs, there remains a gap in the law in relation to housing, and The General Equal Treatment Act –AGG does differ from the requirements of European law.[200] The AGG does not apply to the renting of rooms. Furthermore, property management companies can refuse to rent rooms to certain individuals for reasons of religion, world view, physical disability, age, sexual orientation or gender, where they perceive such discrimination necessary to ensure a balanced socio-cultural mix. They can not, however, discriminate on reasons of race and or ethnic origin. Members of the roundtable discussion in Berlin suggested the need for more transparency in this situation of unequal treatment. It was mentioned that certain housing companies used quotas in order to reach a more balanced neighbourhood. While it was well known among experts in the housing area that these quotas existed, it would be important to make them open and known to everybody involved. Even if this unequal treatment is lawful, it should it should be done with full transparency.[201]

8.2   Gentrification and Segregation

The policy response for addressing issues of segregation should perhaps focus on the reasons for 'white flight' (i.e. the movement of middle-class, ethnic-German inhabitants out of the neighbourhood and the reluctance of others to move into the district). In order to change this tendency, the district, and especially the district's infrastructure should be fundamentally improved in certain areas. Middle-class

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[198] For further details about housing policy during early labour migration, see the interview with political scientist Volker Eichener, *Islamische Zeitung*, October 2003, p. 2.

[199] Volker Eichener, *Islamische Zeitung*, October 2003.

[200] See also the OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany*, (Mühe), 2007

[201] OSI Roundtable, 23 March, Berlin, 2009.

Germans have criticised the lack of cleanliness in the streets, too much traffic and related noise, and a certain atmosphere of violence in the streets. Recommendations of the non-Muslim group for improving the district mainly concerned street cleaning, better investment in youth clubs and other places for young people, better care for green areas and parks and more routes for bicycles.

As mentioned in the previous section, the need for good-quality schools is a key demand for both Muslims and non-Muslims in Kreuzberg. This is supported by other research which suggests that the quality of schools plays a crucial role within the process of segregation between ethnic German inhabitants and people with a Turkish background in districts such as Kreuzberg.[202]

The condition of social housing is also an area of concern. A significant proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees (between 20 and 30 per cent) expressed dissatisfaction with social housing. This usually related to the state of the houses. There was a feeling that the area did not receive the attention of municipal services because the inhabitants were immigrants. Some also felt that the inhabitants failed to take responsibility for their own living conditions. There was particular concern about litter and the cleanliness of the streets; a third of respondents were very or quite dissatisfied with the quality and frequency of street cleaning, and with overfilled dustbins. Specific mention was made of the Kottbusser Tor (Berlin U-Bahn Station), where a lot of waste was left by drug addicts. Many respondents suggested the improvement of certain streets around the *Kottbusser Tor* into pedestrian areas.

There was also concern that the high and increasing rents were leading to gentrification and displacement of those in social housing. One of the respondents argued:

> "Because many people in this district are living in poor conditions it is important that public support through social housing is not reduced, but further extended in order to counter gentrification and prevent social marginalisation, segregation and exclusion."[203]

Some also desire better control of the social housing sector. This arises from the concern that public subsidies would not always be used in favour of the residents, and also from the need to prevent ethnic and social segregation through a better mixture of social and private housing. Others wanted an improvement of the parks. One respondent asked for streets with reduced traffic, more green areas and cycle paths, as well as heightened family-friendly policies and care for the environment.

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[202] Werner Schiffauer, "Turks in Germany.", Ember, Melvin (Hg./ed.) *Communities*. New York NY, Springer (Encyclopedia of diasporas, Vol. 2), Bd. 2, 2005, p. 1134.

[203] German original: "Dadurch dass in diesem Bezirk viele Menschen unter prekären Verhältnissen leben, ist es wichtig, dass die staatliche Förderung durch sozialen Wohnungsbau nicht gedrosselt sondern weiter ausgebaut wird um damit schleichenden Gentrifizierung (soziale marginalisierung/Segregation/Abdrängung) entgegengewirkt wird."

8.3   Neighbourhood Projects

There was significant concern – especially from parents – about the prevalence of drugs in the area and the risk this posed for young people and children.[204] It was reported that dealers used young children as couriers because they knew that they would not be prosecuted. In 2005, several mainly Turkish mothers gathered to fight the problem and patrolled the streets at night. The project *Mütter ohne Grenzen* (Mothers without Borders) was started by the women themselves. In an interview for the group's online magazine[205] they said that they loved their district, but felt that they had been left alone to address this problem. They had been told by the police that no action could be taken against the small dealers and that resources did not exist to tackle this problem. The initiative, therefore, highlights the potential for low-cost but effective action when there is a stronger networking between such public institutions as the police and the highly motivated initiatives of people in the neighbourhood.

Another successful project, involving local residents from the neighbourhood, is the *Stadtteilmütte*r (Mothers of the District) initiative that was originally established in Neukölln then extended to Kreuzberg. The project works quite efficiently and has become well-known within Berlin. The project provides education and training for ethnic-minority women from a particular neighbourhood. It enables them to advise other residents of that neighbourhood in relation to important aspects of everyday life in the district, explaining difficult procedures within institutions and agencies and helping them to find language courses. The project focuses on empowering women, providing them with jobs and using their outreach into the wider community, as well as motivating others to be active in the neighbourhood.

Two female focus-group participants of the OSI survey had been involved in this project and were satisfied both with the idea and with their involvement. One of them, however, mentioned that some trainers in the project had tried to go beyond providing the women with skills training and knowledge about the society, and had tried to use the opportunity to give a more normative message about liberty and freedom. The message was not necessarily one shared by the Muslim women, and was sometimes perceived by them as an inappropriate interference and an attempt to manipulate their way of life.

Such grassroots iniatives could be more effective if they were better linked to social institutions that can provide them with knowledge and support. It should be acknowledged, however, that they work in part because those involved use their cultural and social knowledge about their community and neighbourhoods as well as

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[204]   While in 1991 in Berlin, 932 people under 21 years of age were suspected of drug delinquency, the number rose to 3,584 in 2003. The involvement of children under 14 is growing even more rapidly. See Ferda Ataman, "Der Mut der Mütter" (The Courage of the Mothers), *Spiegel online*, 10 September 2005, available at
http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,373861,00.html.

[205]   Source available at http://www.muetter-ohne-grenzen.eu/html/uberuns.htm.

their contacts to build stronger links into the communities and neighbourhoods themselves. Initiatives that bring people together to work against problems faced by everyone in a community should be supported as they can play an important role in preventing the segregation of society into 'us the Germans' and 'them, the immigrants/Muslims'.

9. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: POLICING AND SECURITY

Feelings of safety and security are an important aspect of social inclusion and integration. While Muslims, like others, rely on the police for protection and maintaining order, the relationship between minorities and the police is not always easy. Since 11 September 2001, Muslims have come under increased police surveillance and at the same time have faced higher levels of hate crimes and violence directed at them. This chapter begins by examining levels of trust in the police and respondents' levels of satisfaction with policing as well as discrimination experienced at the hands of the police. It then looks at recruitment within the police force and ends by briefly examining respondents' views and experiences of the *Verfassungsschutz* (German Intelligence Bureau).

The issue of policing is quite central for Muslims in Kreuzberg. Over half of the male Muslim respondents (27) and one-third of female Muslims (17) reported having had some kind of (active or passive)[206] contact with the police in the previous 12 months.[207] Parents in the focus groups were worried about the effect on their children's future of the district's reputation as a high crime area. Many young people felt that they were targets of police attention and discriminatory treatment because of their ethnic and religious background.

9.1 Experiences with Police Contacts

A significant proportion of Muslim (40 per cent) and non-Muslim (35 per cent) respondents who had had some contact with the police were not satisfied with the police's handling of their case. Some Muslims reported experiences of unfriendly behaviour by the police, without drawing connections to their ethnic or religious background (5). Others (8) complained about unsuitable behaviour, suggesting ethnic discrimination. The behaviour described ranged from unfriendliness, not being taken seriously, or a lack of information through to verbal insults and in one case physical attack. The answers of the non-Muslim comparison group did not vary considerably, though no physical attack was mentioned. A few (4) Muslim respondents reported having been victims of religious discrimination. One interviewee who works within the police administration recounted examples of discussions by some colleagues, in which Muslims were seen as terrorists and a danger to society.

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[206] The encounters of Muslims with the police were very different in nature. Someone called the police because of disturbing neighbours, another was called as a witness, and another accused of an offence.

[207] The numbers among the non-Muslim group were about the same, although slightly higher: 29 male and 22 female respondents explained that they had had some kind of contact with the police within this period. No ethnic or national bias could be found within these figures.

The vivid recollection of bad incidents involving the police that were mentioned in the focus group, some of which happened over ten years ago, are an indication of the deep and lasting impression that a bad experience with the police can leave. The events recounted by participants indicate how the (self-) perception of being alienated and discriminated against because of one's ethnic or religious background often goes back to particular incidents in childhood or youth, which establishes fear or antagonism towards the police, remaining for many years afterwards. Personal experiences are also reinforced by the retelling of the experiences of others. It appears to be difficult for any subsequent positive contact with the police to eradicate the shared perception that these experiences have created of the police being discriminatory.

9.2   Trust in the Police

Levels of trust in the police were similar for Muslims and non-Muslims. In both groups, around half of respondents said they did not trust the police. Among Muslims, levels of trust appear to differ significantly with gender and age. Surprisingly perhaps, Muslim women (65 per cent) were more likely to distrust the police than Muslim men (56 per cent). Levels of trust were also higher for older age groups compared to young people. Levels of satisfaction with the service provided by the police were generally low. Among Muslim respondents, men (40 per cent) were more likely than women (22 per cent) to be satisfied by the service provided by the police; in fact, Muslim men over 50 were the most satisfied group and Muslim women under 30 the least satisfied. There was some demand for more community outreach by the police with identifiable police officers developing trust by building relationships with local residents.

A small number of non-Muslim respondents stated that there was too much of a visible police presence in the area (no Muslim reported this to be the case). It was suggested that police visibility increased the impression of distrust towards people from migrant groups, or also left-wing groups. Others, however, complained that the police were not taking action against drug dealing and other criminal offences in public places, and that there were not enough police officers, or that police stations were being closed down.

One participant in the focus group, who expressed an interest in joining the police, was told by others that he would not be allowed to progress in such a career and that working in the police force would affect his mental health. Those who cautioned the young man against joining the police recalled the story, told by another participant, of a young German of Turkish origin, who had advanced his career in the police but was never accepted as one of them, finally having to be treated by a therapist. Other participants argued that it was necessary to increase the number of police officers from minority groups to reduce discriminatory behaviour towards ethnic minorities. In fact, one interviewee, who works for an employment NGO, reported that there was a great deal of interest among young people from immigrant groups in joining the police, with such a career viewed as a way of helping people and spreading justice.

9.3   Police Officers from Migrant Groups

Respondents mentioned the growing presence of police officers from migrant groups as a positive factor. They wanted to see more people from minority groups in the police, and felt that there should be more training to ensure appropriate interaction between the police and local communities. It has been suggested by one key interviewee that the head of police and the Berlin senate for policing have sought to increase recruitment of employees from minority groups in the face of considerable protest from the police union, who saw this policy as a breach of neutrality. The *Neutralitätsgesetz* (Law on Neutrality), which prohibits Muslim women with headscarves from working within the police and other public services is viewed as a further barrier to integration. Focus group participants recalled the example of a school girl wearing a headscarf, who had been accepted for an internship with the police force. She was only entrusted with administrational work in the office, while her fellow intern (who did not wear the scarf) was permitted to go out on patrol with the police officers and experience "real police work".

The *Clearingstelle* of the Berlin police provides mediation between victims of police discrimination and the police officers. According to the experience of the police officer and leader of the *Clearingstelle* Mr. Schelske, officers with a migrant background were often seen by their colleges as representing their community. This perception can lead to situations where such officers are being told by their colleagues to "*Go and tell your people…*". While such statements might not be designed to deliberately cause offence or discriminate, they operate to reinforce the perception of such individuals as part of the 'other' – in this case the non-ethnic Germans – who are perceived as a homogenous and different group.

Mr. Schelske provides support to young people particularly from minority groups who want to join the police force, by assisting in the process of recruitment. He suggests that many of the young people who apply for a career within the police fail because they do not anticipate the amount of study needed to enter the police force. Some also lack the self-confidence needed to pursue a career within the police.

9.4   Cases of Police Discrimination

During an average week, the *Clearingstelle* receives around seven cases of complaints against the police in Berlin. Few cases involving discrimination or even violence by the police as discussed by OSI focus group participants were officially reported. There is a widespread feeling among the members of the focus group that nothing can or will be done and that it is better to keep quiet. In the words of one participant, people did not want "*to waken the sleeping lion*". There was a fear of counterclaims from the police against the complainant. This fear is also reported by the NGO *Kampagne für Opfer rassistisch motivierter Polizeigewalt-KOP* (Campaign for the Victims of Racially Motivated Police Violence), who argue that the low levels of reporting in cases of police discrimination or racist violence reflected the regularity of court cases brought

against the victims. A claimant filing a complaint against the police often fears further actions by the police, especially if they have an unclear residence status and thus have to fear deportation.[208] Mr. Schelske argues that courts would stand up against such strategic use of counter claims if it occurred. He argues that in some cases, the victim might assume that a police officer is making a strategic counter claim, when in fact the counter claim by the police officer has been running parallel to a complaint of discrimination but was not directly communicated to the accused person. It thus seems to be a response to the claim of the victim, despite having been initiated right at the beginning of the process.

Several examples of discrimination or even racist treatment by the police were given by the participants of the focus groups, but could not be verified in any way by the researcher. An elder man recounted his experience of being physically attacked by the police inside his home, while they were looking for his son. He had sued the respective officers, but had not succeeded with this claim for several years.

A young man with a Turkish background recounted an incident from 2002, in which he and his friends were chased and stopped by a police car only in his view because one of them had a longer beard. The possible explanation of the police officers being scared so shortly after 9/11 was viewed by the young man as an excuse for harrassment.

Another experience recalled by members of the group, was the delay in police arriving after being called by someone with a non-German-sounding name.

Many other incidents were discussed within this group. There was also the general impression that the police targeted young men with a Turkish or Arab background. Some members of the focus group, however, did not want to only blame the police officers for these incidents, but felt society as a whole bore some responsibility as society was allowing human rights to be endangered for greater security measures.

A young woman suggested that the increased employment of police officers of the Muslim religion and/or a Turkish or Arab ethnic background might improve the situation. This was because of her own experiences of the reduced discrimination of Muslims in the hospital, where she had worked since coming to Germany, which could possibly be transferred to the police and other places as well.

Another attempt to prevent discriminatory and even racist treatment by the police is embedding intercultural training as an integral part of the professional education of police officers. Where such training involves personal (positive) contact with ordinary residents of Kreuzberg, this would help establish better relations between police officers

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[208] See "KOP – Kampagne für Opfer rassistisch motivierter Polizeigewalt": Chronik für rassistisch motivierte Polizeivorfälle für Berlin in den Jahren 2000–2007" (KOP – Campaign for Victims of racist Police Violence: Chronicle for racially motivated police incidents for Berlin in the years 2000–2007), Stand, September 2007, p. 2, available at
http://kop-berlin.de/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/chronik.pdf.

and the local population. One of the respondents of the survey suggested that "the police are not present and this hinders trust". A focus group participant, a social worker in Kreuzberg for many years, explained that it would be very important for the young kids – especially with a Turkish or Arabic background – to get to know police officers during 'quiet times' (i.e. outside confrontational situations). Such contact would foster mutual respect.

Mr. Schelske acknowledges the importance of personal contact between the police and the population. He suggests that administrative reform, which merged small districts into larger units, changed the nature of police work and left little time for individual officers to get to know a neighbourhood and develop direct and personal contacts.[209]

9.5 Initiatives and Projects Fostering Contact between Muslims and the Police

The Berlin Senate Administration of the Interior has been supportive of integration and participation of Muslims and of people with an immigration background. A significant plank of its policy has been the support of and the participation in the *Islamforum,* an initiative that brings the key Muslim stakeholders of the city into contact with different city officials (discussed further in the *Participation and Citizenship* section below).

Serious consideration is now being given by police officials in Berlin to develop initiatives that utilise the skills and experiences of local Imams. Berlin officials have looked at developments in North-Rhine-Westphalia, where the police go on patrol with local Imams in districts with a high proportion of Muslim inhabitants.[210] Integration officials and security specialists in the Berlin House of Representatives are aware that the police would be benefitting from better relations with immigrants, but they were not fully convinced by the example of North-Rhine-Westphalia.

The police pointed to their existing strategies of establishing contacts with the immigrant and the Muslim community. In certain cases, like the Berlin *MyFest*, a celebration held on the first of May as an alternative to the annual riots on that day, they also cooperated with leaders of the Muslim communities in order to prevent violence. On this and other occasions, the mosques, in addition to non-religious

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[209] Gesemann cites the director of the AGA (*Arbeitsgebiet Ausländer*, or Foreigners Department) of one Berlin police station, that the percentage of the working time that can be dedicated to contacts went down from 50 to 10 per cent during the 1990s. Frank Gesemann, "'Wenn man den Polizisten nicht vertrauen kann, wem dann?', Zur gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung von Migranten und Polizisten" (If you cannot trust policemen – who can you trust? About the mutual Perception of Migrants and Policemen.), Frank Gesemann (Hg.), *Migration und Integration in Berlin. Wissenschaftliche Analysen und politische Perspektiven* (Migration and Integration in Berlin. Scientific Analyses and Political Perspectives), Leske + Budrich, 2001, p. 373.

[210] "Auf Streife mit Imamen" (On patrol with Imams), *Der Tagesspiegel*, 25 October 2007, available at http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/art270,2406390.

migrant organisations, are important partners for the police as they have a certain outreach into the community. One of their main issues is to try to keep young Muslims from street criminality.

In 1994, a module on 'Foreigners in Berlin' was introduced into the professional education of police employees. It provided knowledge about immigration and created opportunities for contact between NGOs and the police. In 1997, Berlin participated in the European Commission's NAPAP (Non-Governmental Organisations and Police against Prejudice) project, which fostered qualifications in intercultural communication and international exchange. New training modules were integrated into the curriculum of the police school after the NAPAP project had ended. In 2000, the follow-up project *Pavement* started, which aims at strengthening networks between the local administration, the police and organisations of ethnic or religious minorities. Today the *Clearingstelle* is taking part in the intercultural education of young police officers by bringing practical examples from its work as mediator between victims of police discrimination and the police officers themselves.

Contacts between the police and mosque associations have taken place through the development of 'co-operation agreements'. In 2003, the police of the Neukölln district started the *Transfer interkultureller Kompetenz (TiK)* (Transfer of Intercultural Competencies) project together with local mosque associations. This aimed to put mosques and police officers from different districts into contact with each other, and develop guidelines for the police about how to behave when in contact with mosque representatives and Muslims. The guidelines provided basic knowledge about Islam and Muslim cultural sensibilities. It was believed that this would help prevent conflicts arising from a lack of mutual understanding.

Even in cases involving raids[211] at mosques, increased contact between the police and different mosque associations has limited the damage caused to community relations. In 2005 two mosques in the districts of Kreuzberg and Neukölln were subject to raids by the police. The raid occurred in co-operation with a representative of one of the mosques, and was carried out in the morning in order not to cause a sensation.[212,213] However, not every raid could be carried out in such a co-operative manner. A stakeholder from a Muslim organisation suggested that in some cases the security agencies knew that the raid on a mosque had little to do with the fight against terrorism, but was instead part of a political controversy. Such an abuse of state power

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[211] Schnedelbach, Lutz, 24 March 2003, in: welt.de; Musharbash, 23 April 2008, in spiegel.de.

[212] In spite of the police authorities not finding any evidence against the mosque, the newspaper *Die Welt* spoke about a "nationwide coup against Islamists", *welt online*: "Razzia gegen Islamisten – Polizei durchsucht Moscheen und Wohnungen" (Raid against Islamists – Police searches mosques and flats), 15 April 2005, available at http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article665324/Razzia_g egen_Islamisten_Polizei_durchsucht_Moscheen_und_Wohnungen.html.

[213] OSI interview with Burhan Kesici, September 2009.

it was argued was only possible because of increasing Islamophobia that blinded society to legal transgressions by the security agencies.[214]

The increased co-operation between the police and Muslim and other immigrant organisations, may have contributed to a reduction in the mistreatment of foreigners by the police in the 1990s. This mistreatment had been the subject of a specific country report on Germany by Amnesty International.[215]

The head of the police, as well as the Senate of the Interior, have been commended for taking the lead in reducing discriminatory and racist attitudes within the police and fostering better contact between the police and immigrant groups, including Muslims. However, their success is obstructed by the perception among many police officers that such issues are not really central to their work. Such a widespread perception makes it hard for those police officers, who are engaged in attempts to improve contact with the Muslim and other minority communities, to be accepted among their colleagues, especially as the face-to-face contact is usually carried out by certain 'specialists' rather than by every single police officer.

9.6   The Role of the *Verfassungsschutz* (German Intelligence Bureau)

Since 9/11 and other international terror attacks, Muslims are widely perceived as a potential security threat by certain public officials and media institutions.[216] According to Schiffauer, secret service methods are increasingly used for the surveillance of Muslim citizens.[217] One of the outcomes of this development is the powerful role of national and local agencies of the intelligence service, the *Verfassungsschutz* (German

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[214]   OSI interview with Lydia Nofal, 24 September 2009.

[215]   In 1995, Amnesty International reported 70 cases of mistreatment by the police in Germany between January 1992 and March 1995, half of which concerned the Berlin police. According to Amnesty International, these cases were not isolated incidents, but part of a detectable pattern of mistreatment of foreigners and members of ethnic communities by the police. See Amnesty International, *Länderbericht Deutschland: Ausländer als Opfer: Polizeiliche Misshandlungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Country Report Germany: Foreigners as Victims: Police Mistreatment in the Federal Republic of Germany), International Secretary London,1995, available at http://www.amnesty.de/umleitung/1995/eur23/006?lang=de&mimetype=text/html &destination=node%2F2904%3Fcountry%3D77%26topic%3D%26node_type%3D%26from_ month%3D1%26from_year%3D1995%26to_month%3D12%26to_year%3D1995%26submit _x%3D96%26submit_y%3D3%26submit%3DAuswahl%2Banzeigen%26result_limit%3D10% 26form_id%3Dai_core_search_form.

[216]   Daniel Bosse & Vior J. Eduardo, "Politische Partizipation von Migranten mit muslimischem Hintergrund in Deutschland. Entwicklung und Probleme" (Political Participation of Migrants with Muslim Background in Germany. Development and Problems), Reihe Discussion papers, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Otto-von-Guericke-Universität, Magdeburg, 2005 (hereafter Boose, Vior, *Political Participation*)

[217]   Werner Schiffauer, "Vom Exil- zum Diaspora-Islam. Muslimische Identitäten in Europa" (From Exile- to Diaspora-Islam. Muslim Identities in Europe)*, Soziale Welt – Zeitschrift für Sozialwissen- schaftliche Forschung und Praxis*, Jg. 55, H. 4, 2004 pp. 347–368.

Intelligence Bureau). It now plays a leading role in shaping opportunities for the public participation of Muslim individuals and organisations. In his study of the Milli Görüs organisation, Schiffauer suggests that *Verfassungsschutz* actions result in many Muslim organisations turning away from participation and public debate. The Intelligence Service identifies Milli Görüs, Germany's largest Muslim-Turkish organisation, as an Islamist organisation, which should not be considered for public co-operation.[218] The definition of who is to be judged as an 'Islamist', however, is quite broad.[219] The statements of the *Verfassungsschutz* are generally accepted as *Behördenzeugnisse* (testimonies of state agencies) by journalists, politicians and even the courts. Due to this authoritative position, the *Verfassungsschutz* has in effect taken on the task of drawing the line between 'real' and 'misguided' Muslims, thus distinguishing the Muslim 'other' as good or bad.[220]

In the background report of the OSI survey, individual interviewees reported severe personal consequences due to membership of an organisation under surveillance.[221]

The problematic role and use of the reports of the *Verfassungsschutz* for Muslim organisations was emphasised during the roundtable discussion with different participants. In the roundtable discussion, Prof. Schiffauer highlighted the paradoxical situation in the aftermath of the experience of the Second World War of creating an intelligence service that was transparent. According to Schiffauer, the agency perceives its task as providing an early-warning system against problematic developments within individual communities. They do not see themselves as judging whether organisations or communities are hostile towards the constitution (hostility towards the constitution being the German definition of illegal and/or anti-democratic activities and views).

Thus, their statements should not be understood as advice against co-operating with particular communities or organisations, but as an indicator of the need to get a clearer

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[218] Werner Schiffauer,"The Strange Muslim. Staatsbürgerschaft und zivilgesellschaftliche Ängste" (The Strange Muslim. Citizenship and Fears of Civil Society) in Levent Tezcan & Monika Wohlrab-Sahr (Hg./eds.) *Konfliktfeld Islam in Europa* (Islam in Europe as Fields of Conflict) Nomos Verl.-Ges. (Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 17), Bd. Soziale Welt – Sonderheft 17, München, 2006 (hereafter Schiffauer, "The Strange Muslim").

[219] Besides violent groups and those supporting violent activities in their homelands, a third category also falls under this definition: *Organisationen, die unter Ausnutzung der rechtsstaatlichen Instrumentarien (= legalistisch) islamistische Positionen auch im gesellschaftlichen Leben Deutschlands durchsetzen, mindestens aber Freiräume für organisierte islamistische Betätigung in Deutschland erlangen wollen und so – desintegrativ – zur Bildung einer islamistischen Binnengesellschaft beitragen.* (... organisations that, by using instruments in accordance with the rule of the law (= legalistic), also want to enforce Islamist positions within the social life of Germany, but at least want to gain free spaces for organised Islamist activity in Germany and so – disintegratively – contribute to the formation of an Islamist society in the larger society.) Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, "Islamismus und islamistischer Terrorismus."

[220] Schiffauer, "The Strange Muslim".

[221] OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany,* (Mühe), 2007.

picture of the situation.[222] However, the identification of an organisation as 'under surveillance', has the effect of making public officials unwilling to cooperate with them. Thus, the social and political participation of many Muslim organisations as well as their members can be severely hampered; through the general suspicion towards them, even a part of the civil society was endangered. This suggests the need for greater clarification by the *Verfassungsschutz* agencies on how the statements within their reports should be understood.[223]

A varity of interviewees, from NGOs in the field of integration and participating immigrants and immigrant organisations emphasised the fact that even if organisations were willing to cooperate with the thus stigmatised Muslim associations, because they appreciated their work at the local level, withdrawals of public funding had become a common way to prevent these co-operations. This results in severe structural discrimination. The roundtable experts suggested international discussions on the official reports about Muslim organisations and their projects through comparing different European countries' handling of the issue.

Schiffauer suggested that not all the intelligence was openly communicated, as certain organisations faced great problems in establishing official co-operation or funding, even if they had not been mentioned in the *Verfassungsschutz* reports.[224]

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[222] OSI Roundtable discussion of At Home in Europe, Muslims in Berlin Draft Report, March 2009, Berlin.

[223] OSI Roundtable discussion of At Home in Europe, Muslims in Berlin Draft Report, March 2009, Berlin.

[224] Some evidence of this (otherwise not openly communicated) involved pressure exerted by public policy institutions on organisations and institutions receiving public funding to not cooperate with certain Muslim organisations can be indicated by an incident experienced by the Berlin association Inssan in 2006. A member of the Muslim organisation had been invited to take part in an event organised by the Catholic Academy in Berlin in cooperation with the United Religions Initiative (URI). Shortly after sending out the invitation, it was withdrawn because of pressure from the Ministery of the Interior, which was supposed to fund the event. For further details, see OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany*, (Mühe), 2007.

10. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Participation and Citizenship

Civic and political participation can be a further measure of social inclusion or exclusion. Participation in societal life and its institutions, as well the exercising of rights is to a considerable extent influenced by access to citizenship.

According to estimates of the Ministry of the Interior, 480,000 of the 3.2 million persons of Muslim background who were living in Germany by the end of 2000 (most of whom originated from Turkey) had German citizenship.[225] In a speech before parliament in Turkey on 4 February 2008, the German Minister of the Interior spoke of one million people of Turkish origin in Germany who held a German passport.[226]

This section focuses on participation in formal electoral processes, civic and political participation, feelings of belonging and local initiatives to improve engagement between Muslim organisations and city officials.

10.1 Immigration

Experiences of interaction with the Department dealing with immigration and related matters, the *Ausländerbehörde* (Aliens Department) are not always positive for immigrants, including Muslims. Several OSI respondents reported experiences of religious discrimination by the Berlin department. Negative experiences, such as unfriendliness or harassment occurred mainly when the individuals were obtaining a residence permit or German passport.

An elderly male focus group participant explained that his main anxiety arose from fear of losing his residence permit and/or pension, when staying for too long in Turkey or another foreign country.

Muslim foreign students who participated in the focus group discussion said that they felt pressured by the *Ausländerbehörde* and feared being denied the renewal of their residence permit before finishing their studies.

10.2 Development of Naturalisation Figures

The change in citizenship law in January 2000 was expected to support the integration of immigrants.[227] The introduction of the law led to the naturalisation of large

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[225] Blaschke, *Tolerated but Marginalised,* p. 74.

[226] Wolfgang Schäuble, Federal Minister of the Interior, speech in Ankara, 4 February 2008, available at http://www.kas.de/proj/home/events/44/1/veranstaltung_id-29262/index.html.

[227] Boose, Vior, *Political Participation,* p. 21.

numbers of people.[228] Recent statistics, however, suggest a steady decline in rates of naturalisation.

Figure 13. Naturalisation rates, 2001–2007
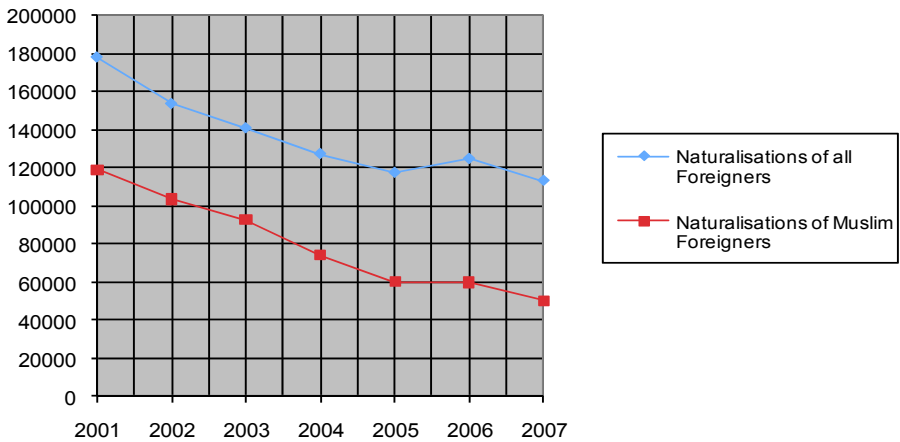
While the overall number of naturalisations has been declining since 2000, (although growing again slightly in 2006), this decline in naturalisation of Muslims, similar to non-Muslim immigrants, may originate from a combination of factors. These include a reaction to the time it has taken to provide access to citizenship, the reluctance of immigrants to apply for citizenship, from the stigma of betraying one's national background, the perception of growing hostility towards Muslims in Germany, and frequent and far-reaching feelings of discrimination.

The new citizenship law of 2000 did introduce an approach inspired by *ius solis*, as opposed to the earlier and much more exclusive *ius sanguinis* of ethnic descent. However (and crucially), it also explicitly forbade dual citizenship. Naturalisation dropped considerably after a number of cases demonstrated that Turks who retook their Turkish citizenship having received a German passport would lose their German citizenship once and for all. This is one of the major reasons why, despite supportive attitudes from Turkish consulates and legal arrangements that keep most citizenship

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[228] Silvester Stahl, "Deutschland: Anstieg der Einbürgerungen im Jahr 2000" (Germany: Rising of Naturalisation numbers in the year 2000), Humboldt-Universität Berlin, in Migration-info.de Migration und Bevölkerung (Migration and Population), available at http://www.migration-info.de/mub_artikel.php?Id=020102 (accessed April 2010).

rights for former passport holders, many Turks in Germany think twice about giving up their Turkish passports.

In Berlin, the naturalisation rates for immigrants show an extreme drop from over 12,000 naturalisations per year in 1998 and 1999 to 6,730 in the year 2000.[229,230] However, there has been an increase in the naturalisation rate since 2005. This may be a consequence of Berlin's naturalisation campaign led by the Commissioner on Integration and Migration, Günter Piening. However, the numbers of former Turkish nationals, becoming naturalised, have dropped from 7,398 in 1999 to 2,350 in 2006, which Piening mainly ascribes to the abolition of dual citizenship.[231]

Of all the 100 Muslim respondents to the OSI questionnaire, half held German citizenship (including seven with dual nationality). Of the 43 Muslims born in Germany, 15 did not hold German citizenship. Most of these (12) were Turks, and the majority of these (8) were below 30 years of age. The research here suggests that whether or not a person applies for German citizenship is closely linked to their feelings of belonging and acceptance by the wider society. Experiences of exclusion and discrimination mean that people are wary of taking on citizenship, because of the belief that they will not be accepted as 'real Germans'. A Turkish man in the 50–59 age group explained:

> "They offered me German nationality, but I didn't want it. Our nationality is Turkish. And we are Muslim, and can never become German. In fact, even if we had German passports, I'm afraid that we would always be foreigners for Germans."

A Turkish female interviewee of the same age stated:

> "I've lived here for 34 years. I have a right to German nationality, because I've worked here and done all kinds of work, heavy duty and light work. And if I pay my taxes, it's only natural that I use my right to vote. But the Germans insult us for not being able to speak very good German. In a way they're right. On the other hand, we first came here intending to go back to Turkey eventually. We didn't know that we'd stay and live here for such a long time. Of course, we are happier with our children and grandchildren. The Germans don't see us as German, because we're Turkish."

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[229] Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, see http://www.statistik-berlin.de.

[230] The large drop in the number of naturalisations can also be attributed to the fact, that from August 1999 onwards *Aussiedler* (resettlers) were no longer counted in these statistics but were automatically granted citizenship with their immigration and recognition as *Aussiedler*.

[231] Sandra Stalinski, "Nur wenige Türken wollen deutschen Pass – Piening erwartet weiter sinkende Einbürgerungen" (Only a few Turks want a German passport – Piening expects further drop in with dropping naturalisation numbers), *Der Tagespiegel*, 11 July 2007, available at http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/;art270,2337881 (accessed April 2010).

These two quotes refer to both ethnic and religious reasons for discrimination and alienation, and point to a multi-layered set of reasons for immigrants for not taking up the opportunity for German nationality.

10.3   Exclusionary Laws and Regulations

Recent legal regulations may further aggravate this sense of alienation. From September 2008, the naturalisation process requires the passing of a national naturalisation test, which entailes detailed knowledge about Germany's culture, history and society. The test, which will be applied throughout all the federal states, is an improvement in comparison to certain tests in Baden-Württemberg and other federal states, which specifically target Muslim immigrants and ask questions about private attitudes in a discriminatory manner. Some of these are however still in use even after the introduction of the national test. The new test is perceived by the TBB (*Türkischer Bund Berlin Brandenburg)* as proof, that:

> "…The Federal Government is not interested in fostering an efficient naturalisation process, and thereby to provide at least formal equality for people with an immigration background and more tightly connect them to this country."[232]

The Central Council of Muslims in Germany (*Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland – ZMD*) welcomed the test, however, and stated that an identity-fostering ritual of naturalisation could become *"an important part of a new habit of integration"*.[233]

The Muslim organisation Milli Görüs (IGMG) complained that the members of the National Conference on Integration were not even consulted in these important questions of integration, let alone involved in the decision-making process.[234]

Another legal change, which creates difficulties for young people with dual citizenship (which includes many Muslims), is the requirement to choose for one of the two passports when they reach the age of 18. Under the citizenship law of 2000, children born in Germany whose parents have lived there for at least eight years, receive a German passport, even if they possess another nationality. From the age of 18, however, they have to decide between the two citizenships. In 2008, this regulation affected 3,300 Turkish-Germans. Kerim Arpad, chairman of the European Assembly

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[232] German original: „...dass die Bundesregierung kein Interesse daran hat, durch eine zügige Einbürgerung zumindest die formale Gleichstellung der Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund zu gewährleisten und sie stärker an dieses Land zu binden"; Safter Cinar, spokesman of the TBB, press release (12 June 2008).

[233] Aiman Mazyek, Secretary General of the Central Council of Muslims, 20 June 2008,in: islam.de

[234] Ekrem Şenol, "Der Kniefall ein Reinfall" (Kneeling down led to being let down), 18 June 2008, available on the Islamic Community Milli Görüс website at http://www.igmg.de/nachrichten/artikel/2008/06/18/8051.html?L=.html.

of Turkish Academics is among those who have criticised the double standards, noting that EU nationals with two passports are not required to make this kind of choice.[235]

A further hurdle in obtaining German citizenship is the requirement for any applicant aged 16 or over to provide proof that they can sustain themselves with their own income. Given the socio-economic circumstances in which many Turks in Germany live, the regulation is perceived as a barrier to naturalisation for those who are not wealthy enough. Günter Piening, Commissioner on Integration and Migration of Berlin perceives this and other new regulations as sending a signal to certain groups of immigrants that they are not welcome.[236]

10.4   Elections and Local Political Participation

The right to vote is closely linked to citizenship. Even at the local level, people without an EU nationality are not entitled to vote. The District Major of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Franz Schulz, explained that attempts to introduce the right to vote in local elections for non-EU nationals have so far been hampered by strong political resistance.[237,238]

The Muslim respondents in the OSI survey identify to a great extent with the district they live in, and feel able to influence political decisions at the local level to a much greater extent than the city or national level. The level of participation in local elections is high. Of 51 Muslims holding the right to vote both at the national and the local level, 38 took part in the national, and 37 in the local elections, amounting to almost 75 per cent voter participation among the interviewees.[239] These figures are, however, not representative of the Muslim population of Kreuzberg, but show a high level of political participation among the interviewees of this survey.

The perception of one's own ability to influence political decisions was quite balanced among all respondents. Around half of all interviewees felt that they could influence decisions at the city level. While both Muslims and non-Muslims felt less able to

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[235] Sabine am Orde, "Türken fordern den Doppelpass" (Turks demand the double passport), *taz*, 8 July 2008, available at http://www.taz.de/1/politik/deutschland/artikel/1/tuerken-fordern-den-doppelpass (accessed April 2010).

[236] Alke Wierth, "Migranten geben Hoffnung auf" (Migrants give up hope)*, taz,* 15 June 2007, available at http://www.taz.de/index.php?id=berlin-aktuell&dig=2007/06/15/a0159&id=820&cHash=aae568f5f0 (accessed April 2010).

[237] OSI interview with Dr. Franz Schulz, District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 14 April 2008.

[238] In autumn 2008, the federal states of Berlin, Rheinland-Pfalz and Bremen started a new initiative at the Federal Council (*Bundesratsinitiative*) aiming for vote in local elections for non-EU nationals, in order to also keep democratic processes legitimate in areas where a lot of foreign nationals live. See: press release of the Berlin Senate: "*Kommunales Wahlrecht für Nicht-EU-Bürgerinnen und -Bürger"* (Communal Right to Vote for Non-EU-citizens), 30 September 2008, available at: http://www.berlin.de/landespressestelle/archiv/2008/09/30/110580/index.html

[239] See Tables 18–21.

influence decisions at the national level, a slightly greater proportion of Muslims (69) than non-Muslims (59) were likely to feel they could not influence decisions at the national level.[240] However, the difference in numbers is so small that it does not clearly show any general difference between the two groups.

Muslim interviewees were quite active at the local level; in certain fields even more than the comparison group. Thus, almost half of Muslim respondents (44) said they had taken part in a public gathering within the last year (non-Muslim group: 36); 12 of them as much as 10 times or more. Twenty-five Muslims had taken part in a public demonstration (non-Muslims: 33); 45 had signed a petition (non-Muslims: 63); and 22 had taken part in a survey or meeting about local services or problems in the district (non-Muslims: 15).[241] The content of the latter had been diverse, ranging from youth projects to the improvement of the housing quality and the economic and security situation of Berlin.

Amongst Muslim respondents, school, educational institutions and local youth projects, were the most likely area for civic particaption. Of 21 who had been active in the educational sector, four stated to have been a spokesperson of a parents' group.

10.5   Feelings of Belonging and Civic Participation

Hakan Tosuner, a member of the Board of *Muslimische Jugend Deutschland, MJD* (Muslim Youth Germany),[242] places particular emphasis on the importance of role models in giving direction to young people and encouraging their civic participation. He believes that issues of identity and belonging may hamper this civic participation. In that context, the MJD tries to help their young members by developing and fostering a hybrid German-Muslim identity, which overcomes the need to choose between being German and being Muslim. Tosuner also suggests different kinds of young, Muslim role models to be included into various local integration projects.

Even if the MJD is not representative in numbers when compared to other Muslim organisations, it provides an interesting example of a young Muslim organisation that not only fosters active integration by developing and strengthening German-Muslim identity and self-perception, but can also help to reach certain young people with a Muslim background for civic participation through religious discourse. Synnove Bendixsen's research[243] among the female members of the MJD finds that religiously

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[240] They felt there was hardly any or no possibility at all of influencing decisions at the national level. See also Tables 21 & 22.

[241] See Figure 19.

[242] OSI interview with Hakan Tosuner, Muslim Youth Germany, May 2008.

[243] Synnove Bendixsen, Der Islam als neuer Identifikationsfaktor? – Junge Musliminnen in Berlin. (*Islam as a new Factor for Identity? – Young female Muslims in Berlin),* in Muslimische-Stimmen.de, 2008, available at http://www.muslimische-stimmen.de/index.php?id=20&no_cach e=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=184&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=11.

active young Muslims are especially interested in participating in society. She found a determination among young women to counter the negative stereotypes about Muslim women in German society by being even more ambitious in education and social participation. A young Muslim girl, who took part in one of the OSI focus groups, expressed a similar attitude:

> "I want to give a signal to the German society, saying `Yes, I am Muslim, I wear a headscarf, I speak German, and I have this education, and achieved this in my life´. That has always been my aim, even when I was a child, and even more, when I experienced these weird things, when people stared at me strangely on the street or one elder woman almost hit me because of the sticker on my bag, that said `Islam is peace´. That was when I was still 13, and if you experience something like this, your ambition rises."[244]

The MJD argues that, despite its work in supporting civic participation and the integration of young Muslims, it is (like many Muslim organisations) unable to fully participate in society itself at a political level, as prejudice against them widely hinders co-operation with public partners. Although the organisation is not identified as extremist in the reports of the *Verfassungsschutz*, the fact of coming within the surveillance of the intelligence service makes public institutions and funders reluctant to work with them.[245]

10.6 Local Initiatives for Building Contact between Muslims and City Officials

Although national security policies also affect interactions in Berlin and Kreuzberg, a certain *rapprochement* between Muslim organisations and communities on the one hand, and public officials on the other can be observed within recent years. On the district level, a roundtable meeting between the district administration and representatives of Muslim organisations was established by former mayor, Cornelia Reinauer (Die Linkspartei/PDS). Reinauer visited most of the Muslim communities and organisations within the district of Kreuzberg herself and established channels of contact and exchange. This gave Muslim representatives an opportunity to engage with local politicians and communicate their needs and concerns to the local decision-

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[244] German original: "Ich wollte der deutschen Gesellschaft ein Zeichen setzen und sagen: 'Ja, ich bin Muslimin, ich trage ein Kopftuch, ich spreche deutsch und: ich habe diese Ausbildung, und habe das in meinem Leben erreicht…', das war immer, schon von Kind an mein Ziel, und erst recht, wenn ich solche Sachen gehört habe, oder mit erlebt habe, wenn auf der Straße komische Blicke kamen, oder eine Frau mich fast zusammenschlagen wollte, weil ich so einen Aufkleber auf der Tasche hatte, wo draufstand: 'Islam ist Frieden', die hat mich wirklich fast zusammengeschlagen; eine ältere Dame, ich war noch 13, und wenn man so was erlebt, dann steigert das den Ehrgeiz."

[245] The example of the Ta'ruf school project and rumour-spreading is described in the section on Media. Further details about the role the *Verfassungsschutz* plays in society is given within the section on Policing and Security.

makers. One of the most important outcomes of this roundtable meeting, according to Doris Nahawandi, a former Commissioner on Integration in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, was the contact, deeper knowledge and trust arising out of the exchanges between the different parties involved.[246] As the first step of communication was made, the development of other circles was probably facilitated. Lydia Nofal, board member of the Muslim organisation *Inssan*, welcomed the initiative of the administration, but felt the initial engagement with the Muslim organisations was weak.[247] Florencio Chicote of the ADNB of the TBB argued that such initial contacts need to be developed into a stronger process of engagement with Muslim organisations within the institutions of the district.

The creation of the advisory board on integration of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg provides further scope for engagement. The board meets once every month to discuss important integration issues of the district together with the administration. It includes representatives of two Muslim organisations DITIB and *Inssan*. Nofal indicates that there is a general atmosphere of mutual respect, openness and a lack of prejudice in the working relationships in Kreuzberg, which compares favourably with her experiences of working in other districts of Berlin. In particular, co-operation was marked by democratic decision-making in which every social actor was able to express their ideas and have them discussed with all participants. The openness within the district towards Muslim organisations, which are often shunned from public co-operation, has recently led to a co-operation with the mayor and different Muslim organisations within a European project against forced marriages, a project initiated by the organisation SPIOR based in the Netherlands.

Burhan Kesici, Deputy Chairman of the Islamic Federation of Berlin, welcomed Kreuzberg's initiatives to include Muslim organisations in political participation by creating the opportunity for citizens to take part in the decision-making process concerning the distribution of funds within the district: the *Bürgerbudget* (citizens' budget). While Kesici and others welcome the mayor's efforts to integrate Muslims into local political processes, he also admits low levels of participation and involvement from Muslim organisations themselves.

Muslim participants at the roundtable discussion of the OSI draft report in Berlin suggested awareness campaigns about civil rights and responsibilities, as many young Muslims had not grown up with this kind of awareness, and needed some guidance in this respect. The OSI findings of an already strong identification and involvement of Muslims at the local level suggest good chances for success for the proposed campaigns.

Frank Gesemann's research on the involvement of mosque associations in local politics in Berlin suggests that over two-thirds of them viewed the contact with the district

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[246] OSI interview with Doris Nahawandi, former Commissioner on Integration of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, May 2008.

[247] OSI interview with Lydia Nofal, board member of Inssan e.V.

administration as good or very good; 55 per cent wished for more and better contact. There was particular appreciation of the open nature of the discussions, where prejudice was hardly felt.[248]

At the city level, Berlin established the *Islamforum* in 2005. This forum is co-ordinated by the Commissioner on Integration of Berlin and the Muslim Academy, and provides an opportunity for representatives of most Muslim organisations to meet with city officials four times a year. These include the Senator of the Interior and the Commissioner on Integration and even representatives of the *Verfassungsschutz*. Participants from both Muslim organisations and public authorities who took part in the forum appreciated this opportunity for contact and communication.

A spokesperson for the NGO *Inssan* felt the *Islamforum* has allowed for greater contacts with city officials and have been beneficial in gaining support for plans to build a mosque in Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf. This support was given despite opposition to the project and the organisation from some local politicians and media. The Senator of the Interior even wrote to the district administration of Charlottenburg, arguing that the work of *Inssan* helped the integration of Muslim inhabitants, and should be supported. The letter was a significant political step, as the organisation had been monitored by the *Verfassungsschutz* in the past.[249]

Participants at the OSI roundtable discussion contrasted the approach taken in Berlin's *Islamforum* with the national *Islamkonferenz*. In particular, they noted that while critics of Islam were invited to Berlin's *Islamforum*, they were not viewed as representatives of the religion. This was in contrast to the practices of the national *Islamkonferenz*, where the Federal Minister of the Interior, Wolfgang Schäuble, invited critics of Islam to attend the conference as Muslim representatives.[250]

The *Islamforum* has also led a project involving the training of Imams for the different Berlin mosques, to give them greater knowledge of the institutional setup of the city and its districts. Since mosque organisations and individual Imams undertake social and counselling work, it was hoped that greater familiarity with German institutions would assist them in their pastoral and social work. Other outcomes of the *Islamforum* are a project for training members of Muslim communities and organisations about the implementation of new laws against discrimination,[251] as well as a handout which gives advice on how to work with Muslim organisations (which was sent to different public services in Berlin).

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[248] Frank Gesemann, Chancen und Schwierigkeiten der Kommunikation zwischen Moscheevereinen und Verwaltung. *(Chances and Difficulties of Communication between Mosque Associations and the Administration),* Spielhaus, Färber (Hg.) 2006 – Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Berlin *(Islamic Community Life in Berlin)*, 2006 pp. 25–31 (hereafter Gesemann, *Chances and Difficulties*).

[249] OSI interviews with Imran Sagir and Lydia Nofal of the NGO Inssan e.V.

[250] OSI roundtable, 23 March, 2009.

[251] Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (General Law for Equal Treatment).

Even though many participants felt that the *Islamforum* succeeded in creating a better understanding between the participants, some wished for more active intervention in actual problems and conflicts in the city. Burhan Kesici of the Islamic Federation of Berlin explained that the official outcome of another forum for discussion, the *Islam und Schule* (Islam and School) workshop, which is closely connected to the *Islamforum*, discussed diverse problematic issues prevalent in schools. However, it did not follow his suggestion to form a clearing office, which could directly and practically intervene in school conflicts.[252]

Guidelines for teachers of Muslim children have been developed by *Islam und Schule*, but have not yet been published due to internal conflicts. These are explained in detail within the section on education.

10.7   Muslim Communities within the District

Of the 17 mosque associations and prayer rooms that are present in Kreuzberg,[253] 14 are predominantly Turkish-speaking. Four belong to the Islamic Federation, which organises Islamic religious education in Berlin schools. Two are members of *Ditib*, the official religious service of the Turkish state. One is part of the mystically oriented head organisation *VIKZ*, and another belongs to *ADÜTDF*[254] One is associated with the Cultural Centre of Anatolian Alevis. The rest are independent. One mosque is part of *IBMUS*, a loose association of organisations of different ethnic backgrounds, and one is part of VIGB, the head organisation of Bosnian Muslims (their major language is Bosnian). There is one Arabic and one Kurdish-speaking mosque, both of which are independent.

Apart from this, four organisations without prayer rooms exist: the German office of the aid organisation Islamic Relief; the German-speaking organisation *Inssan*; the Muslim Youth Germany (MJD); and one women's group which runs four Muslim child-care centres. *The Islam-Kolleg*, a further education institution, operates the district's Muslim elementary school.

The representation of the different organisations in the public sphere is very different, mainly due to varying human resources and experiences. There are also differences in age structure, membership of different umbrella organisations versus independent associations, and varying attitudes towards the mosque's major tasks. These all create a wide range of levels of socio-political engagement.

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[252] A certain lack of practical conflict-solving measures was also observed by Prof. Barbara John.

[253] Spielhaus (2006a).

[254] Föderation der Türkisch-Demokratischen Idealistenvereine (*Federation of the Turkish-Democratic Idealist Unions*).

10.8   Major Challenges at the National Level

In spite of the positive developments concerning the political participation of Muslims at the local level, certain restrictive policies at the national level and their detrimental effect on participation and integration cannot be ignored. On the one hand, the Ministry of the Interior established a regular conference with Muslim representatives in 2006, the *Islamkonferenz,* thus acknowledging the presence of Islam as an integral part of German society. At the same time, the political participation of Muslims – and specific immigrant groups – is hindered in part by discriminative laws, such as certain aspects of the citizenship laws. These have been criticised by the Council of Europe's Commission Against Racism and Intolerance,[255] especially for the denial of dual citizenship for non-EU nationals.

The problematic role of the *Verfassungsschutz* in the formation of public discourse about Muslim organisations and their acceptance has a devastating effect on the representation of individual and group rights. Individual members of organisations under surveillance are denied citizenship,[256] and the organisations themselves are denied public co-operation and funding.[257]

Among some Muslims in Germany there remains an impression that the political will for effective participation of Muslims is sorely lacking. After the biggest Muslim umbrella organisations had gathered under the roof of the newly founded *Koordinierungsrat der Muslime in Deutschland (KRM)* (Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany) in order to provide the Federal government with a single Muslim partner to address, which had been demanded for a long time, the council was again not accepted as the appropriate representative of Muslims because scepticism was

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[255] ECRI – European Commission against Racism and Intolerance – Report on Germany 2009. Strasbourg, 2009, p. 14, (hereafter ECRI, Report on Germany) available at http://hudoc.e cri.coe.int/XMLEcri/ENGLISH/Cycle_04/04_CbC_eng/DEU-CbC-IV-2009-019-ENG.pdf.

[256] In December 2009 the *Bundesverwaltungsgericht* (Federal Administrative Court) in Leipzig ruled, that former functionaries of the Muslim organisation Milli Görüs may only be naturalised after they credibly showed, that they had turned away from an attitude that is hostile to the German constitution. See *Der Tagesspiegel,* 3 December 2009.

[257] OSI interview with Lydia Nofal, Board Member of *Inssan,* August 2008.

raised as to how many Muslims the organisations could actually represent.[258] Apart from the recognition as the official partner of the government and representative of the interests of religious Muslims the acceptance would play an important role in the process of achieving the status of a Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts (status of a statutory corporation), which again is important for giving religious education at public schools, to gather taxes through the tax agencies, and many other rights that are actually predominantly granted to the Christian churches.

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[258] A recent survey of the *Islamkonferenz* on Muslims in Germany seemingly documents the fact that the major Muslim organisations do not represent the majority of Muslims in Germany. It states that less than one-quarter of all interviewees felt represented by the organisations that they were asked about. The findings, however, are highly contested by interviewees such as Lydia Nofal, from the Berlin Muslim association Inssan. She called the presentation of the findings a systematic misguidance and falsification with the aim of supporting the political rejection and denial of the status of statutory corporation (*Körperschaftsstatus)* being given to Muslim organisations, as only certain umbrella organisations were asked about. Some of these are not well-known to the individual Muslims questioned, while large and well-known organisations (e.g. the Islamic Community Milli Görüs (IGMG)) were not even mentioned in the survey. The reason given for this was that they were not direct members of the *Islamkonferenz*. Bundesamt für Migration, *Muslim Life*, p. 179.

11. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The media has a major impact on integration, social inclusion and participation. Media consumption can be viewed as an act of citizenship, where it is used to develop an understanding of and information about issues and events that are occurring beyond a person's immediate surrounding of family and friends (i.e. at the level of the district, city nation, or the world). In German public discourse, a certain type of debate regularly occurs. It concerns migrant communities' exclusive reliance on 'country of origin' media for news and information, and how this hinders their integration into new local and national communities. The argument goes that the diversity and availability of global media sources is creating 'digital ghettoes'.

This section focuses on respondents' major sources of information, views and perceptions of the representation of Muslims in the media and their impact on inclusion. It highlights initiatives aimed at supporting Muslim engagement with the media, and increasing their involvement and visibility in media production.

11.1 Sources of Information

The OSI survey provides an indication of the sources people turn to for information in relation to their local area, city and the country they live in. Face-to-face communication with friends, family members and neighbours was the most important source of information for over half of Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees about events at the district and neighbourhood levels. Newspapers and magazines also emerged as important sources of information about events at the district level for almost half of all respondents. This included both free local papers and local newspapers such as *Der Tagesspiegel* and *Berliner Zeitung*, city magazines as *Zitty* or Turkish-speaking newspapers. Only a fifth of Muslim respondents cited the television and Internet as sources of local information, while non-Muslim respondents mentioned these even less (more often mentioning posters in the streets and in shops). Few members of the Muslim group identified sources like the radio, posters, the workplace or the local mosque as primary sources of information within the district.

Once the focus shifts from the district to the city level, a majority of Muslims and non-Muslims rely on newspapers for information, especially mentioning different weekly city magazines like *Zitty*, the dailies *Der Tagesspiegel*, *Berliner Zeitung*, the popular daily *BZ*, and the Turkish paper *Türkiye*.[259] The television, Internet, radio and personal communication with friends, family and neighbours were also mentioned as potential sources of information. By contrast, for information about national events, the television was the most important source for Muslim respondents, identified by over

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[259] The names mentioned are only examples and are in no way representative, as the interviewees were not asked for specific sources and names but rather general ones. Meanwhile, individual respondents named their favourite news sources.

80 per cent of the interviewees. Non-Muslims mentioned it a little less (66 times), relying on newspapers even more than for local information (74). Some older Muslim respondents said that they received their information about the world around them mainly from their children.

There are indications in the questionnaire and focus groups of reliance on non-German media in different circumstances. Some said that they received their news about Germany through Turkish or other non-German TV channels and newspapers. While language may be an important reason for this, other research indicates that the percentage of people consuming non-German media outweighs the number of those who are not sufficiently able to understand the German media.[260]

One key interviewee, Fakra Fatnassi, a social scientist who works for different NGOs in Berlin within the field of counselling and mentoring of young women from minority groups, suggested that the preference of some Muslims and minority groups for non-German media was a response to the lack of representation of Muslims and other minorities within the mainstream media.[261] Further research would have to be done in this area in order to draw clear conclusions. It can, however, be stated that the attraction of the German media for immigrants in general and Muslims in particular could be considerably strengthened by the media if it accomodated their interests, especially as Turkish and other private TV stations are very dynamic and widely watched globally, many having special German and European programmes.

One response to a lack of representation of minority groups in the mainstream media is probably the development of programmes that are bilingual or broadcast in Turkish or Arabic. In 1998, *Makaria* the first radio station broadcasting in Turkish was started in Berlin. Since 1999, the Turkish radio station *Metropol FM* has been broadcasting in Berlin and other areas of Germany, and calls itself the only media station that can reach Turkish-speaking residents. It enjoys a 91.5 per cent approval rating in Berlin.[262] Stations such as the Turkish TRT, which has branches in Berlin, provide opportunities for Berlin inhabitants to listen to the radio in Turkish. A multilingual radio station, *Radio Multikulti*, as part of the local radio and TV station *RBB (Radio Berlin Brandenburg)*, was on air from 1994 to 2008. It was established after the racist murders in Mölln and other German cities. The station broadcasted in 21 languages, reflecting the different languages spoken in Berlin. The length of programmes was meant to reflect the size of the respective communities. Thus, a Turkish programme broadcasted for one hour every day, while a Vietnamese programme only once a week for 45 minutes. *Radio Multikulti* also played an important role in the training and development of radio journalists from minority groups.

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[260] Brettfeld and Wetzels determined a percentage of about one-fifth of interviewees consuming only or mostly non-German media. Brettfeld, Wetzels: Muslims in Germany, p. 234.

[261] OSI interview with Fakra Fatnassi, June 2008.

[262] Source available at http://www.metropolfm.de/b2b.html.

Given its important role in the life of migrant communities in Berlin, the closure of *Radio Multikulti* at the end of 2008 without the development of alternatives is likely to have a detrimental impact on integration. A lack of listeners was cited as a key reason for the closure of the station. However, data on the number of listeners only counted German nationals. Given the nature of the station and its broadcasts, this is likely to lead to an underestimation of the size of its audience. While the size of its audience is therefore not exactly known, the protests within the Turkish media in Germany against the closure of the station indicate its significance for this community.[263] Federal Commissioner on Integration Böhmer is quoted as saying that the closure sent the wrong signal on integration policies.[264]

11.2   Media Coverage of Muslims and Muslim Organisations

The portrayal of Muslims in the media is identified by Muslims in Berlin as an important issue. The concern is both over the lack of representation of Muslims working in the media, as well as the negative portrayal of Muslims when they are discussed by the media. Responses from some interviewees indicate how their negative portrayal is taken as evidence of how Muslims are viewed by the wider population. The negative media representation therefore becomes a source for further alienation. It may also be a reason for the greater consumption of other non-German media.[265]

In the focus group, participants reported feeling a sense of powerlessness in the face of the media coverage – especially in TV reports – of Turks and Muslims. One young female expressed her anger and frustration about the way in which the media reports on integration issues. She felt that when discussing integration, they tended to show Muslim women with headscarves – mostly elderly women shopping in Turkish markets – thus giving the impression that on the one hand these women represented

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[263] The Germany-based Turkish newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* printed the protests of different Berlin residents as well as politicians with a Turkish background.

[264] Suzan Gülfirat, "Aufregung um Radio Multikulti" (Alarm around Radio Multikulti), *Der Tagesspiegel*, 19 May 2008, available at http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/;art270,2533542.

[265] Kai Hafez & Carola Richter, Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF. *(The Image of Islam at ARD and ZDF)*. Wochenschau für politische Erziehung, Sozial- und Gemeinschaftskunde, Jg. 58, H. 6, 2007, pp. 239–240.

Muslims, while simultaneously offering this as an image of failure by this group to integrate.[266]

Engagement with the media is an important way to counter negative media representation of Muslims. However, individuals who have given interviews to the media reported experiences in which their views and opinions were distorted through the editing process.

One of the interviewees, Fereshta Ludin, a teacher who campaigned for her right to teach wearing a headscarf, felt that the media coverage of her case drew an unrecognisable picture of her.[267] In particular, she felt that the media coverage focused on the details of her case and her remarks about the legal issues, while ignoring her statements on the rights of women and the importance of democracy. Coverage of these latter issues, however, was in her view needed in order to understand the full dimension of the legal case.

In 2003 the media played a significant role in a campaign against the Ta'ruf project run by the Muslim Youth organisation (*Muslimische Jugend Deutschland-MJD*). The project was funded by the Federal Ministry for Family and Youth and aimed at challenging misconceptions about Islam and the abuse of Islamic arguments for the justification of aggressive behaviour. Initially it had been supported by schools[268] and some media commentators.[269] Although the organisation has a record of co-operation with Christian and Jewish groups and has involved trainers from different faiths, the *MJD* became the target of a media campaign because of an anti-Semetic remark on the open forum of their website.[270] This was cited as general evidence of the anti-Semitism

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[266] The use and necessity of stereotypes for media images has been explained by various authors. Edward Said, for example, wrote about its effects on the representation of Muslims and Islam, in *Covering Islam*, 1997. For Germany, the media educationalist Sabine Schiffer published: Schiffer, *Presentation of Islam*. Others, such as the sociologists Irmgard Pinn and Marlies Wehner, especially explained the role of Muslim women and their representation in the media in *Europhantasien – Die islamische Frau aus westlicher Sicht* (Euro-Phantasies – The Muslim woman from a Western perspective), Duisburg, 1995. On the general perspective of TV, radio and the press, see Stefan Wellgraf , *Migration und Medien. Wie Fernsehen, Radio und Print auf die Anderen blicken.* (Migration and Media. How Television, Radio and Print look at the Others), 2008.

[267] OSI interview with Fereshta Ludin, 27 June 2008.

[268] OSI interview with Chaban Salih, project co-ordinator of the Ta'ruf school project, October 2006.

[269] Regina Köhler, "Projekt der Muslimischen Jugend soll Gewalt verhindern" (Project of the Muslim Youth shall Avoid Violence), *Berliner Morgenpost*, 5 January 2003, available at http://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article429941/Projekt_der_Muslimischen_Jugend _soll_Gewalt_verhindern.html (accessed April 2010).

[270] Schiffauer, "The Strange Muslim".

of the organisation and its connections to the Muslim Brotherhood.[271] It led to accusations that the organisation was attempting to spread Islamist ideas in Berlin schools. There was support from Catholic and other youth organisations, as well as a statement by the *MJD* board distancing the organisation from the forum article. Despite these measures, public funding of the project was cut and co-operation with the Ministry was aborted.[272]

According to Prof. Schiffauer, this incident is an example of the 'logic of rumours', which is driven in part by a fear of possible 'infection' of people from Islamist ideas through the slightest contact with any person or organisation that appeared in the reports of the *Verfassungsschutz*. It also shows a readiness to believe negative news and the uncritical acceptance by journalists of the arguments of the intelligence agency. Schiffauer is particularly critical of the failure of journalists to check the *Verfassungsschutz* statements or speak personally to those involved in the project.[273] Even though the office of the Commissioner of Foreigners, which administered the funds was said to regret the decision to abort the project, the Ministry could not withstand the public pressure after the article in *Der Tagesspiegel* had lead other journalists to follow its reporting.[274,275] No projects of the *MJD* in Berlin or at the national level have since been publicly funded.

The media analyst Sabine Schiffer argues that the representation of Islam varies across the German media with well-investigated articles and reports found alongside undifferentiated and suggestive ones composed of stereotypes and poor research.[276] In several interviews there was recognition of recent improvements in the media coverage of Muslims and Islam with attempts to integrate the issues in a more objective and differentiated way into the public media. The public TV channel *ZDF* has created the Internet programme *Forum am Freitag* (Forum on Friday), where different Muslim scholars and experts are interviewed on issues of public interest. The radio channel

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[271] The Berlin daily Der Tagesspiegel stated the following: "Für den Verfassungsschutz steht fest, dass es enge Verbindungen gibt. So sei der Verein im „Haus des Islam" gegründet worden, einer Organisation, die Mitglied im Zentralrat der Muslime ist. Der Zentralrat wiederum sei eine Dachorganisation, zu der auch die Islamische Gemeinschaft gehöre und die werde von Anhängern der fundamentalistischen Muslimbruderschaft beeinflusst." (The *Verfassungsschutz* sees it as proven that there are close connections. The association was founded in the 'House of Islam', which is a member of the Central Council of Muslims. The Central Council, again, is a head organisation, whose members include the Islamic Community (IGD), which again is influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood.), Susanne Vieth-Entus, 7 November 2003.

[272] OSI interview with Chaban Salih, October 2006.

[273] Schiffauer, "The Strange Muslim".

[274] See *Der Spiegel*, 07 November 2003.

[275] OSI interview with Chaban Salih, co-ordinator of the Ta'ruf school project, October 2006.

[276] Sabine Schiffer, "Medien als Spiegel und Konstrukteur gesellschaftlicher Vorstellungen. Der Islam in deutschen Medien" (Media as Mirror and Creator of social perceptions. Islam in German media), available at http://www.migration-boell.de/web/diversity/48_1231.asp.

SWR in Southern Germany broadcasts a programme on Islam the first Friday of every month. Nevertheless, media coverage of Islam is still widely perceived by Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees as a highly critical field, where the readiness of some journalists and media institutes to reproduce one-sided views on Muslims and Islam, is partially responsible for the negative opinion about Muslims in large parts of German society.

The Berlin Commissioner on Integration and Migration, and former journalist, Günter Piening, argues that the differences in the representation of Muslims in different sections of the media may reflect the differences in the nature of the audiences. He observes that the Berlin-based newspaper *BZ* often provides positive coverage of Muslim issues compared to the more upmarket and middle-class Berlin daily, *Der Tagesspiegel.*While the readership of *BZ* consists mainly of workers and those in the lower socio-economic classes (and includes large numbers of Muslims) the readership of *Der Tagesspiegel* is found among the middle classes. Piening suggests that its coverage therefore satisfies – and reproduces – a certain reservation towards Muslims and Muslim organisations that seems to be growing.[277] Piening sees a growing anti-Islamic discourse in society, also reflected during the debate about the mosque proposal of the Muslim organisation *Inssan* in the mainly middle-class district of Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf. The opposition to the mosque in this area was led by the middle classes and was ultimately successful. By contrast, the opposition to a proposal for another mosque in the outer-city district of Heinersdorf was led by the far right, and failed.

The psychologist Mark Terkessidis argues that a focus on right-wing extremism led to a failure to address racism and discrimination in mainstream society. He further argues that institutional racism needs to be addressed in order to address marginal racism.[278] Such a perspective makes it rather difficult to formulate simple strategies to counter the negative effects of a certain kind of one-sided media-coverage of Islam and Muslims in Germany and at the local level. On the one hand, large parts of the media reflect a certain atmosphere within society while reinforcing it at the same time. On the other hand, journalists are themselves sometimes under significant pressure. Not only do they lack the knowledge to make sense of the very diverse reality of Muslims and Muslim organisations, but they may also be criticised for positive coverage of an organisation or a person who has been under surveillance of the *Verfassungsschutz*, or has been exposed as Islamist by other journalists. In certain cases, this conjunction can create a highly critical atmosphere of suspicion, and a readiness to reproduce one-sided views, often not countered by proper investigative journalism. This frequently leads to a highly problematic reproduction of stereotypes, and at times wrong or distorted facts.

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[277] OSI interview with Günter Piening. Berlin Senate Commissioner on Integration and Migration, May 2008.

[278] Terkessidis, Banality of Racism.

These can then lead to rumours and opinions about certain Muslim individuals and organisations, which are rarely rectified afterwards.

11.3   Effects of Negative Media Coverage on Muslims

Meho Travljanin of the Bosnian Islamic Cultural Centre in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg[279] talked about the detrimental effects of negative media coverage on Muslims in Germany.[280] He feels that instead of looking for the solutions or the reasons for actual social problems, it is often easier for politicians to point to Muslims and talk about the oppression of women or a perceived reluctance to integrate. This kind of scapegoating has a detrimental impact. He describes a feeling of disorientation among Muslims in Germany, especially the younger generations, and the difficulty this creates for some to connect to, and have a sense of belonging to the wider society. He argues that those who actively practice their religion on a daily basis constantly question their religious life within German society and often conceal their religious convictions from German friends and colleagues. On the other hand, he points out his pride in the district of Kreuzberg, where multicultural life is not regarded as a deficit, and where solutions to these types of problems are more easily found.

11.4   Media Initiatives

There are some projects and initiatives that have been effective in the past, and should be further strengthened and expanded. There have been meetings between representatives of Muslim organisations and TV and press journalists for background discussions of relevant issues. The roundtables offered an opportunity for the two sides to get to know each other better outside the usual context of journalists responding to pressing issues. The initiative, which began as part of a research project,[281] continued to meet after the project was completed and a similar group was later organised by

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[279]   OSI interview with Meho Travljanin, Bosnian Islamic Cultural Centre, Berlin May 2008.

[280]   At the time of finalising this report, a murder at the court of Dresden, incited by Islamophobic racism, was covered by national and local newspapers as an incident of violence in the court. It ignited a discussion about court security, whereas the racist and Islamophobic aspect of the murderer having called the victim (a young Egyptian mother with a headscarf) an Islamist and terrorist was in the beginning hardly mentioned at all. Similar to the silence of the media, the German government condemned the murder, but stated that there was insufficient evidence on racist or Islamophobic grounds. The media expert Sabine Schiffer and others, however, suggested that years of negative media coverage on Muslim issues were showing their effects in hateful offences like this one. See, for example an interview with Sabine Schiffer in *Junge Welt*, 9 July 2009, by Bernhardt, Markus.

[281]   The discussions were part of the *Ethnobarometer* research project on *Europe's Muslim Communities: Security and Integration post 9/11*, carried out in Germany by Dr. Gerdien Jonker, project discription available at http://www.ethnobarometer.org/index.php?option=com_content &view=article&id=9:europes-muslim-communities-security-and-integration-post-911&catid=4:current-projects&Itemid=3.

Reinhard Fischer of the *QM* (*Quartiersmanagement*) of the Berlin-Wedding district. The roundtable allowed journalists, who were used to covering issues connected with Islam, to get in contact with many of the key Muslim organisations and individuals. One TV journalist, who had participated in the roundtables with Muslim organisations, had even suggested a prize for balanced news coverage.

It was mentioned by participants at the OSI Berlin roundtable conference – which included media representatives – that journalists were in need of support as they did not know how to address their lack of knowledge about Muslims and Islam as there was no professional education on these issues. It was recognised that journalists were more willing to listen to and learn from other journalists.

A more balanced coverage of issues relating to Muslim communities also requires greater participation of Muslims in media production. Increasing the number of people from minorities working in the media is part of the diversity mainstreaming project within the Federal Government's integration plan.[282] Nahawandi supports a quota that ensures the employment of representatives of ethnic and/or religious minorities in the media, and also a diverse combination of media boards in order to balance the coverage of different issues and to reflect a broader and more representative range of German society.[283] Increasing the diversity of those working in the media, particularly at the top levels could possibly be an important step against the 'privilege of interpretation' of what Piening describes as the liberal middle class (*bürgerliche Mittelschicht*). Even traditionally leftist movements like the women's movement or anti-racist organisations have come surprisingly close to the anti-Muslim position and argumentation of the extreme right.[284]

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[282] Die Bundesregierung (The Federal Government), Der Nationale Integrationsplan. Neue Wege – neue Chancen (The National Integration Plan. New Paths –New Chances) Unterrichtung durch die Bundesregierung (2007). Berlin: Dt. Bundestag (Verhandlungen des Deutschen BundestagesDrucksachen, 16/6281), July 2007.

[283] OSI interview with Doris Nahawandi, May 2008.

[284] OSI interview with Günter Piening, Berlin Senate Commissioner on Integration and Migration, May 2008. See also Liz Fekete, Enlightened Fundamentalism? Immigration, Feminism and the Right, Institute of Race Relations (Hg./ed.), Enlightened Fundamentalism?, Race & Class October 2006, 48, No 2, pp. 1–22, available at http://rac.sagepub.com/content/vol48/issue2/); and OSI, *Muslims in EU Cities – Germany*, (Mühe), 2007.

12. ADDRESSING THE NEEDS AND CONCERNS OF MUSLIMS

12.1 Interactions of Local Politics and Muslim Citizens

In Berlin, the greatest interaction of Muslims and in particular Muslim organisations with policymakers takes place at the district and neighbourhood level.[285] There are important differences in the way different districts interact with Muslim organisations and address the needs and concerns of Muslims. Thus, while in Neukölln there is relatively little participation of Muslims, and especially mosque associations, in local committees, the district of Kreuzberg has made a great effort in recent years to integrate Muslims and Muslim organisations into local decision-making.[286] The district has also included them in decision-making about the distribution of funds and has co-operated officially within local projects. The district of Wedding has a highly active and inclusive *Quartiersmanagement* (*QM*).[287] It has been particularly engaged with ensuring the participation of Muslims and developing co-operation with mosque associations in the *Soldiner Kiez* neighbourhood. The *QM* of Neukölln is also trying to ensure the inclusion of Muslims and Muslim organisations into their work, but faces more difficulties in ensuring co-operation with religious Muslim organisations because of greater resistance to such endeavours from the district administration. This became evident when funding for a diversity project for elementary schools, which involved partnership between the Muslim association *Neuköllner Begegnungsstätte* and the local *QM*, had to be suspended because the Muslim organisation had rented some of its offices to another Muslim organisation (*VIZ-Verband Islamischer Zentren*). This latter organisation was indirectly mentioned in the report of the Berlin *Verfassungsschutz*.[288] While the *QM* wanted to continue with the partnership, the Commissioner on Integration of Neukölln insisted on withdrawing project funding.[289]

Interestingly, there are indicators of individual cases of discrimination against Muslims during their interactions with specific *QMs*. In Kreuzberg, the *QM* is especially active in the neighbourhood *Wassertorplatz*, but so far, there have been no partnerships with Muslim organisations. During a discussion for funding application for a children's project, a Muslim co-ordinator of youth projects in the neighbourhood initiative

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[285] Gesemann, *Chances and Difficulties.*

[286] OSI interview with Lydia Nofal, Board Member of Inssan e.V., August 2008.

[287] The *Quartiersmanagement* is part of the "Soziale Stadt" programme, a co-operation between the *Bund* (Federation) and the individual *Länder* (Federal States). See http://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/startseite/.

[288] The VIZ (like other organisations such as Inssan in Kreuzberg) is not mentioned directly, but as a contact of the umbrella organisation IGD (*Islamische Gemeinschaft Deutschland*), which was directly cited in the report as being problematic.

[289] OSI interviews with members of the Muslim association *Neuköllner Begegnungsstätte* (Neukölln Meeting Place), July 2008.

Mehrgenerationenhaus in *Wassertorplatz* was asked by two members of the board how they could send their kids to her without being sure that she was not an Islamist.[290]

12.2   Policy Measures Against Discrimination

At the level of the Berlin Senate, there is growing co-operation and effort to meet the needs and concerns of Muslims in certain branches of the administration. Berlin was one of the first federal states to create a state office against discrimination (*Landesstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung*) within the Senate Administration of Integration and Migration. The predecessor of the *Landesstelle*, the Regional Co-ordinating Office for Equal Treatment and Anti-Discrimination of the Commissioner of Integration, had already started work on looking at experiences of discrimination especially of Muslim women wearing headscarves. The Former Head of the anti-discrimination office, Dr. Sabine Kroker-Stille, made an effort to visit many of the local mosques and Muslim organisations throughout Berlin and organised discussions with Muslim women with headscarves in order to gather knowledge about their experiences and to encourage them to report incidents of discrimination to her office.[291] The introduction of the anti-discrimination laws and the establishment of the state anti-discrimination office (*Landesstelle*) have led to increased help for victims of discrimination. Florencio Chicote of the anti-discrimination NGO, ADNB of the TBB, explained that his work had considerably changed after the implementation of the law, with greater discussion of issues of discrimination in civil society and public institutions. He commended the recent efforts of the local police, which dedicated the year 2008 to diversity issues, and implemented a central office for complaints at the level of the *Polizeipräsident* of Berlin (Police Chief). At the same time, he felt that more work was needed by other public agencies and administrations, especially the Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Sports. In its 2003 report,[292] the ADBN found that discrimination was felt most strongly within the field of education, both in schools and the administration.[293] Chicote criticised cases where actual discrimination had been downplayed, and implications that some children somehow deserve bias because of their 'irregularity' and are consequently recommended to visit a *Sonderschule* (special school).[294] The survey found that even Muslim mothers who engaged in the

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[290] OSI interview with Suraya Jammeh, July 2008.

[291] Florencio Chicote of the anti-discrimination NGO, ADNB of the TBB, called this a collectively learned helplessness. Experiences of discrimination led Muslims in Berlin (in his opinion) often to retreat and avoid certain places and situations instead of active opposition and claiming of rights, which he found especially prevalent among women.

[292] Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin des Türkischen Bundes in Berlin Brandenburg (Hg./ed.), Antsdiskriminierungsreport Berlin 2003–2005. Wie steht es mit Diskriminierung in Berlin? (Anti-Discrimination Report Berlin 2003–2005. What about Discrimination in Berlin?), Berlin, December 2005.

[293] OSI interview with Florencio Chicote, ADNB of the TBB Berlin, March 2008.

[294] OSI interview with Florencio Chicote, ADNB of the TBB Berlin, March 2008.

school affairs were discriminated against. Such findings led Chichote to call for better complaint management and an obligation to report cases of discrimination in schools. In its recent report about discrimination in Berlin, the ADNB of the TBB asks for an independent ombudsman with investigative authority in schools in order to support the complaints and requests of the people concerned.

While the creation of the state office against discrimination has been a significant positive step, there are further steps that can be taken to tackle discrimination faced by Muslims. The *Landesstelle* aims to reach specific target groups[295] which are potential victims of discrimination; it does not deal with individual cases, but establishes contact with respective NGOs. The discrimination faced by Muslims has so far not been addressed by the section dealing with religion and belief but by sections addressing discrimination on other grounds (focusing on gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age or physical disability). This may reflect the fact that religion is represented by the Berlin Commissioner on Churches and World Views (BKRW) which has limited access to non-Christian religious groups. As discrimination against Muslims on the grounds of their religious identity – even though it is often mixed with discrimination on other grounds – has been on the rise since 11 September 2001, special attention is important. Co-operation with Muslim religious organisations in this field might prove helpful, especially for reaching out to the victims of religious discrimination. The anti-discrimination NGO, ADNB of the TBB, which works on cases of ethnic discrimination has given support to cases of religious discrimination, but would nevertheless benefit from a specialised working partner. In addition, Muslim victims of religious discrimination would benefit from a specific counselling office, which has close ties with the Muslim community and thus makes trust and access easy for them.

12.3   Experiences of Discrimination and Racism

Over half of the OSI Muslim respondents reported personal experiences of racial or religious discrimination.[296] Skin colour, as well as gender, was mentioned as a cause of discrimination by 17 Muslim respondents, and 10 felt themselves to have been discriminated against because of their age. It becomes evident that the interviewees have felt discrimination for various overlapping reasons.

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[295] The following reasons for discrimination shall be given counselling opportunities from the state office: ethnic origin, religion or world view, gender, disability, sexual orientation, age, victim of violence, and others.

[296] Three Muslim interviewees experienced racial discrimination almost constantly within the last year; 20 often experienced it, and 34 sometimes. Four reported experiences of religious discrimination almost constantly, 21 often and 29 sometimes. Two said they had been discriminated against because of their skin colour, six often and nine sometimes. Concerning gender, four had been discriminated against almost constantly and 13 sometimes. See Table 28.

Table 11. Current level of racial prejudice in the country (H1)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
A lot		48.0%	47.0%	47.5%
A fair amount		41.0%	41.0%	41.0%
A little		11.0%	12.0%	11.5%
Total	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 12. Current level of religious prejudice in the country (H4)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
A lot		57.0%	40.0%	48.5%
A fair amount		32.0%	43.0%	37.5%
A little		10.0%	14.0%	12.0%
None		1.0%		0.5%
Don't know			3.0%	1.5%
Total	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

On perception of prejudice within society, Muslim and non-Muslim respondents do not differ considerably. They agree that ethnic/racist prejudice is widespread, but had a slightly different view on the situation regarding religious prejudices.

The vast majority of Muslim respondents (89 per cent) felt a large or rather large amount of racist and religious prejudice within the society. According to the opinion of two-thirds of respondents, this prejudice has been growing in the last five years. The

main targets of racist prejudice were Turks, Black people, Arabs and Muslims, according to the same survey.[297] Almost all respondents agreed that religious prejudice is directed towards Muslims; about one-third thought that prejudice targeted Jews.[298] A greater proportion of Muslim respondents (90 per cent) felt that religious prejudice has increased over the last five years, compared to those who felt that racial prejudice has increased. The identification of Muslims as victims in both groups points to a complex situation, where discrimination because of ethnic and/or religious or other reasons is not always seperable, is often interdependent, and mutually reinforces each other as described in the introduction to this report.

There is a need for greater contact between city officials and Muslim leaders and representatives, other than those dealing with integration and security. Until now, the contact is mainly with the Commissioner on Integration and the Senator of the Interior and local politicians, who have established ties with the Muslim community. Increased communication and contact between Muslims and other city officials and/or the mayor would form a good platform to create better conditions for Muslims to feel at home. Mosque associations, who often feel that they are only contacted in times of conflict would also benefit from such a platform. Furthermore, anti-Muslim racism and discrimination might hereby be addressed in a more comprehensive manner.

12.4   Discrimination in Education

Closer contact between the city administration for education and Muslim representatives could help address shortcomings. Measures have been taken by the Senate Administration on Education to foster the integration of children with an immigration background. This includes the development of the *Handreichung für Interkulturelles Lernen* (Handbook for Intercultural Learning), which provides teachers with ideas and methods for an intercultural approach within their work. Ulrike Grassau from the Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Sports identifies language courses for mothers, organised by the *Volkshochschule* (adult education centre), as a key project that addresses the needs of children and parents.[299] Grassau also acknowledges the problem of discrimination within schools, and points to the importance of teachers' attitudes towards minority children to their educational success. She emphasises the need for schools to address their shortcomings, and to empower teachers, improve the general atmosphere and also to co-operate with Muslim parents to facilitate their integration into school life. Current research confirms the findings of the ADNB of the TBB report as regards the need to place particular emphasis on discrimination in education.

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[297] 71 of the Muslim respondents named Turks as the main targets of racist prejudice; 64 named Black people; 59 Arabs; and 49 Muslims.

[298] See Tables 26 and 27.

[299] OSI interview with Ulrike Grassau, April 2008.

However, schools and district administration officials have said that the city administration is too removed from the everyday life of schools. The mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg[300] points to the failure of the central city administration to continue funding for a co-ordinator to support their acclaimed policies in the *Hauptschule* (Carl-Friedrich-Zelter-Oberschule) in his district, which as a result of the co-ordinator's work had been awarded with Berlin's *2007 Hauptschulpreis* (Secondary School Award). The mayor also points to the example of a *Grundschule* (primary school) in Kreuzberg, the Kurt-Held-Grundschule, which had to be run without a headteacher for almost three years, which had severe effects on the school's atmosphere and teaching quality. He challenges the link, which is often made in debates in Germany, between the presence of large numbers of pupils from minority communities and faltering education levels, and points to the different educational outcomes between schools with equal shares of Muslim and immigrant pupils in the same neighbourhood. He therefore places greater emphasis on the role of school management, teachers and their motivation and engagement, while acknowledging that the overburdening of many schools and individual teachers is a major problem. That the quality of a school depends on the personal engagement of individual teachers raises the question of whether schools should be left to themselves in addressing this major issue. One aspect, which Schulz pointed out, is the *Schulaufsichtsbehörde* (School Supervisory Board), which could always be impelled to intervene when teachers are overburdened or worn out.

One of the policies of integration measures that was positively regarded by the district mayor and other experts was the general effort of reaching *Interkulturelle Öffnung der Verwaltung* (an Intercultural Opening of the Administration), which included the acknowledgement of communication and other difficulties within the administration. One of its aims is the representation within public administration of all ethnic groups in society. Another one is the employment of 'commissioners on migration' within the job centre agencies, and a close co-operation between them and the commissioners on integration of the relevant disctrict administration. Some of the visible effects of this focus were mentioned by Florencio Chicote of the ADNB of the TBB. There are leaflets on different services of the agencies being translated into different languages, the re-structuring of the *Ausländerbehörde* (foreigner's agency) in order to improve the service and competence of its personnel, and different seminars and events for anti-discrimination and empowerment.

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[300] OSI interview with Dr. Franz Schulz, District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, April 2008.

13. CONCLUSION

Berlin, with its long history of immigration and cultural diversity, is today home to an equally diverse Muslim community. A comparatively high number of Muslim associations and organisations throughout the city – mainly the former Western parts – provide a broad range of religious facilities with a variety of different approaches, which may not be found in other German cities.

While important steps have been made in recent years, significant challenges remain to ensure that Muslims are an integral and equal part of German society.

Muslims in Berlin, the majority of whom are Turks or German nationals with Turkish origin, have long been perceived as foreigners, even if their families have been living there for two or three generations. The immigration and citizenship laws of Germany prioritised biological heritage and ethnicity as a condition for citizenship until quite recently. Political leaders, especially on the right, have long resisted the idea of Germany as a country of immigration. Finally, both first-generation immigrants and Germans have expected that they would ultimately return home. All this has deepened the differentiation between 'us', the (ethnic) Germans and 'them', the foreigners. It has created an environment that is deeply unwelcoming to immigrant communities in general, and Turks and Muslims in particular.

In recent years, immigration and citizenship laws have changed considerably – even though the prescription of dual citizenship slowed down the naturalisation especially of Turkish citizens. National as well as local interests have turned to the question of integration. On the other hand, international incidents (e.g. the terror attacks of September 11 and its aftermath) and local developments (e.g. the economic changes and the collapse of Berlin's industrial sector) have made the situation of Muslims more difficult.

Rising anti-Islamic and Islamophobic attitudes within society have further stigamtised many of the Muslim residents of the city. Those who had been widely stigmatised as foreigners were now marked as Muslims, often irrespective of their actual religious affiliation. Whereas racist discrimination against foreigners has been widely perceived to be on the fringes of German society, even if in fact this was never the case,[301] discrimination of Muslims has become socially acceptable. Visible expressions of

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[301] Several recent national and international publications are challenging this perception by locating racist attitudes in all parts and institutions of German society. See, for example, FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (ed.), Annual Report on Racism and Xenophobia in the Member States of the EU (01/08/2007), Vienna, August 2007, available at
http://www.fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/products/publications_reports/ar2007_part2_en.htm;
ECRI, Report on Germany; Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Deutsche Zustände (German Conditions – Annual Report on the Group-Focused Enmity Syndrome (GMF)), Episode 5. Frankfurt am Main. Suhrkamp, 2006.

religious affiliation such as women's headscarves, or prayers in public places such as schools or a mosque are generally not viewed with sympathy.

The absence of, especially religious, Muslim voices from many key public (political and media) debates on issues that affect Muslims increases the lack of adequate public information on crucial issues, such as the headscarf debate. Many Muslim organisations are deterred from participation in projects geared towards integration of immigrants. In official discourse, they are widely stigmatised through direct or indirect mention in the national or regional annual reports of the intelligence services *(Verfassungsschutz).* As this stigmatisation can have severe social and financial consequences, it creates a barrier to public funding, which would otherwise be available for social projects especially for Muslim organisations, which rely mainly on voluntary work. Political attitudes at the national level towards Muslim representatives also impacts on the local level and has prevented engagement at the city and state levels in the past. The latter trend, however, seems to have changed considerably in Berlin.

There is evidence of a high level of discrimination experienced among Muslims in the field of education, and on the grounds of their (perceived) religious affiliation. Discrimination on religious grounds, however, is aggravated by the pre-existing ethnic discrimination of 'Turks', 'Arabs' and to a lesser extent Bosniaks and Kosovars. Evidence from this report and other research confirms the need for intervention and intense anti-discrimination programmes especially in the field of education.

In developing contact and engagement with Muslim and minority communities, public authorities need to be aware of manifold tensions. These are between ethnic communities, within communities, and also between religious and secular Muslims. Co-operation is often obstructed by conflicts reaching back to countries of origin. The approach of officials in this complex and difficult terrain should be to ensure engagement with the full diversity of the community.

In Berlin,[302] significant efforts have been made on different administrative levels to include Muslims and Muslim organisations in policy debates and to support their participation in society and its institutions. The development of a new Integration Policy by the Berlin Senate Administration is a significant step with ambitious goals. Discrimination and a lack of social integration are among the central focus points of the policy.[303] The policy 'Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion' is a new approach in the public debate on integration. The reference to diversity indicates a move away from focusing exclusively on immigrant groups and their adaptation into

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[302] Until recently in Berlin, Muslim organisations had been widely shunned from public debates and political participation. The Berlin organisation *Islamische Föderation* had been struggling for about 20 years on the juridical way to attain recognition as a *Körperschaft öffentlichen Rechts* (Statutory corporation), and thus receive permission to teach Islamic religious education in public schools.

[303] Berlin Integration Policy.

the majority society, and towards society-at-large and how it changes according to the diversity of its members in ethnic and religious terms.[304]

Discrimination was hardly recognised by public bodies in Germany. In this regard, the Integration Policy of the Senate makes a significant departure by acknowledging the importance of tackling this issue. One important project within this field is the *Landesprogramm gegen Rechtsextremismus, Fremdenfeindlichkeit und Antisemitismus,*[305] a regional programme against right-wing extremism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. As of 2006, Berlin is also a partner of the initiative European Coalition of Cities against Racism (ECCAR), launched by UNESCO in 2004.[306]

Berlin also introduced systematic monitoring of its integration projects.[307] Other promising plans of the new policy are: a listing of major integration projects on all different levels; a further stress on the importance of the 'Intercultural Opening of the Administration'; integration of refugees as an explicit part of integration policies; plans to foster healthcare for people without residence permits, adapting statistical data collection for a better evaluation of factual equality through registering the immigration background instead of merely focusing on citizenship; and supporting a national initiative for the implementation of a communal right to vote for residents with a non-EU nationality.

In relation to Muslims in particular, different roundtables have been established where politicians and Muslim organisations meet. They are not yet an integral policy part of all Berlin's districts; however, they do constitute a step in the right direction. In particular, the *Islamforum*, with the participation of the Senator of the Interior, the Commissioner on Integration and representatives of the *Verfassungsschutz* has been praised by all participants as a fruitful basis for exchange and a good starting point for further understanding and cooperation. The *Islamforum* is hoping to broaden its membership to include other parts of the administration and to propose concrete and practical measures.

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[304] OSI interview with Barbara John, the former Commissioner on Integration of Berlin, March 2008.

[305] The title, however, still points at separate phenomena which are hostile towards 'strangers', instead of focusing on racist attitudes of society and its structures that are hostile even to German nationals. Also, Islamophobia has not yet been integrated as a specific discriminatory phenomenon.

[306] See http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3061&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

[307] The monitoring has recently been introduced on a national basis.

14. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are aimed at local and national policymakers, Muslim communities and civil society organisations. They reflect key findings from this report and address the need for further engagement by Berlin City Council with its myriad and growing communities. At the same time, responsibility lies with communities to initiate actions and efforts which bring about change in policy, practice and behaviour. While recognising that Berlin offers a number of very positive practices on inclusion of its diverse communities, this report calls for policies to tackle socio-economic disadvantage and minority inclusion, so as to ensure that the groups that make up the city's diverse population are consulted, and that their specific needs are understood and accommodated.

14.1 Identity

14.1.1 Nurturing Diversity

1. The Federal Commissioner for Migration and Integration (as well as the Berlin Senate, managed by the local office against discrimination,the *Landesstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung*) should consider broad national, as well as specific local campaigns for raising awareness about discrimination on grounds of gender, ethnicity and religion as an offence, and against German and European law. This campaign should consider strengthening the use of inclusive language which does not separate 'Germans', from 'people with migration history'.

2. The Senate Administration, in co-operation with academic institutions, should consider making funds available for research into understanding the role faith plays in forging identity, and understanding faith as a positive resource for policies and politics.

3. The Senate Administration for Education should take positive steps to support the notion of multiple identities, including religious identities, into teacher training and the educational system.

14.2 Education

14.2.1 Encouraging Aspirations and Confidence

4. In order to support teachers to encourage higher aspirations and confidence among pupils, the Berlin Senate Administration for Education, Science and Research, and the *Kultusministerkonferenz* at the national level, should incorporate and strengthen cultural diversity training into initial teacher training. Such training should be undertaken regularly and be offered as part of continuous professional development for both teachers and head teachers. The Berlin Senate Administration for Education, Science and Research,

should invite contributions from different faith communities to contribute to the content of this training.

5. The Senate of Berlin are urged to strongly consider publishing the *Leaflet for Berlin schools* (*Handreichung für Berliner Schulen*), which was created by the Senate Working Group 'Islam and School' (*Arbeitskreis Islam und Schule*); also to re-establish the fruitful co-operation with the Working Group. This informative leaflet, intended for teachers, contains material about Muslim communities and aims to spread knowledge about Muslims and ethnic minorities for educational purposes.

14.2.2   Addressing Perceptions

6. The Berlin Integration Policy should be utilised to establish partnerships between local schools and civil society organisations and Muslim community groups in order to address common misperceptions between teachers, parents, and pupils. Such partnerships, led by the Senate of Berlin, should be effective in creating a better mutual understanding between families with immigration history and education staff, and should explicitly consider the involvement of religious Muslim organisations. The Berlin Senate should follow the examples set by some of its districts, which have included religious Muslim organisations in consultation structures.

7. District schools in Berlin should consider intensifying personal contact with, and building mutual trust between, teachers and minority and Muslim parents by creating opportunities for informal contact. A successful example would be the parents' cafés (*Elterncafé*) that take place in different schools in Berlin outside of a formal school setting. The Berlin Senate, as well as individual district schools, should consider employing staff who can act as mediators between teachers, Muslim pupils, and parents. These mediators could include observant and/or scholarly Muslims with experience in conflict resolution, and who have the ability to contextualise religious arguments and their understanding.

14.2.3   Quality of Schools

8. The Berlin Senate for Education should consider increasing the budget for investing in schools with high immigrant populations. This would allow for smaller classrooms and improved quality of learning. The Senate should ensure that reducing funds does not affect the quality of schools in more socially deprived areas, and across the field of education generally. Cost-cutting in education can lead to far-reaching consequences for the future of any city's population.

14.3   Employment

14.3.1   Empowering young Muslims

9. The Berlin Senate should consider establishing a mentoring programme in all schools with a high percentage of pupils with immigration history. Former pupils of both immigrant and non-immigrant backgrounds should be used as role models. This can be undertaken in collaboration with organisations such as *Kumulus* and others, in turn improving knowledge for pupils about a variety of educational and professional possibilities.

10. Schools, district, city and national employment offices should explore seminars and events offering specific career guidance, including how to prepare curriculum vitaes and build and use social networks for improved labour market possibilities. The Berlin Senate and district authorities, as well as prospective employers (private and public), should consider apprenticeships and training for young Muslim and ethnic minority graduates who are under-represented in various professional sectors (including politics and the media). This would create opportunities for a better understanding of career openings within these areas, as well as simultaneously stimulating interest in these fields which are under-represented by minorities.

11. The Berlin Senate Administration for Integration, Employment and Social Affairs, and the Senate for Economy, Technology and Women, together with local employment agencies and employers, should explore the role of public-private partnerships. Such ventures should be designed to create strategic plans to raise employment prospects for job-seekers, including those from an ethnic-minority background.[308]

14.3.2   Addressing Religious and Ethnic Discrimination

12. The *Landesstelle für Gleichbehandlung und gegen Diskriminierung* (Anti-Discrimination Office) of the Berlin Senate, in co-operation with anti-discrimination NGOs and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, should offer greater advice and guidance to employers on how to ensure that they uphold national and European legal obligations on anti-discrimination on the grounds of religion and ethnicity. This could include further information about various legal instruments which prohibit discrimination, such as The General Equal Treatment Act (AGG), as well as compiling and disseminating good practices from employers who have recognised the need to have a diverse workforce reflecting the society in which it operates.

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[308] General Recommendation: FRA – European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (ed.), "Community Cohesion at the local level: addressing the needs and concerns of Muslim Communities. Examples of local initiatives." Vienna, March 2008, p. 51.

13. The OSI research indicates that discrimination on the grounds of visible manifestations of religion is a particular concern for women who wear the headscarf. The Berlin Senate's *Leitstelle für Gleichbehandlung und gegen Diskriminierung* should consider further evaluation of the effects that the Berlin 'Law of Neutrality' (*Neutralitätsgesetz*) has on the economic, social and civil participation of Muslim women wearing head coverings with a view to possible reform of this law.

14. Muslim organisations in Berlin should consider stronger engagement in combating discrimination by strengthening networks with local policymakers and relevant anti-discrimination NGOs, as well as raising awareness within their communities.

15. The Berlin Senate should consider the creation of a specific advice and support centre for victims of anti-Muslim discrimination and racism, in addition to the already existing centres for support against ethnic and other discrimination. This centre should gather and document such cases, as well as offer support (including access to legal advice) for those seeking redress against religious discrimination, with emphasis on anti-Muslim prejudice.The Senate Administration should consider supporting a Muslim organisation which in collaboration with an existing anti-discrimination organisation, would strengthen trust between the community, officials and the civil society partner. Any such effort should include the Senate's *Leitstelle für Gleichbehandlung und gegen Diskriminierung* and the Berlin Commissioner for Integration and Migration.

14.4 Housing

14.4.1 Preventing Segregation and Addressing Discrimination

16. The *Local District Administration* are urged to consider a stronger focus on a shared local identity and policies (including urban regeneration) which could centre on encouraging collective investment and the upkeep of local neighbourhoods. OSI respondents highlighted their concerns in the neighbourhood revolving around the need for improved cleanliness of the streets, developing traffic-reduction measures, and supporting retail trade in order to maintain the surroundings.

17. The *Federal Office for Anti-discrimination* should support equal access to housing, and monitor complaints of discrimination when attempting to access adequate housing. The Federal Office should offer information leaflets available in different languages, as well as establish an office within an institutional department which could collect complaints, monitor discrimination cases and make recommendations to tackle cases. Furthermore, the *Federal Office for Anti-Discrimination* should consider awareness-raising of

the commitments underpinning equality and non-discrimination laws such as The General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) in regards to housing.

14.5   Health and Social Services

14.5.1   Create a more Inclusive Environment

18. Health care is generally viewed by OSI respondents as satisfactory. However, the needs of elderly Muslim patients in hospitals and care homes are an emerging concern, especially for those who do not speak German. Recognising that the health sector is overwhelmingly viewed in a positive light, hospitals should consider ways to address the linguistic/cultural/religious needs of a growing elderly Muslim population and how to provide appropriate service to this group.

19. *Hospitals and doctors' surgeries* should provide information in different languages and where possible, reflect the diversity of its patients through the ethnic and religious composition of its medical and administrative staff.

14.5.2   Recognising the Needs of Vulnerable Groups

20. The OSI findings touch upon the health and social security needs of specific vulnerable groups, such as the elderly, women and refugees. The Berlin Senate for Integration, Labour and Social Affairs should undertake research into the increased risk of poverty faced by these and other specific groups and how to allow for their particular needs to be addressed by the health sector.

21. The Berlin Senate for Integration, Labour and Social Affairs should ensure that individuals without residence permits have their basic health needs met through the principle of the right of all to basic health care

22. As part of the effort to improve social-service delivery to youth, the Berlin Senate, together with specific district administrations, should strengthen investment in youth organisations. Emphasis should be placed on the employment of professional youth-workers from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Reducing funding and budgets should not affect the area of youth work, as this group is especially vulnerable and affected in terms of education and employment opportunities.

14.6   Policing and Security

14.6.1   Improving Relations between the Police and Muslim Communities

23. The Berlin Senate of the Interior, together with the Berlin *Polizeipräsident* should encourage local police stations to have a greater number of police officers in neighbourhoods and to increase their visibility. This will aid in

fostering greater trust between communities and police and demonstrate that the police are not only focused on Muslim communities as regards security-related incidents.

24. Local district police forces and Muslim and migrant organisations should work together to actively encourage Muslim-community involvement in the criminal justice system. Muslim organisations can also support the police by seeking new avenues for them to partner groups such as local mosque assocations.

25. The Berlin Senate of the Interior, the Berlin *Polizeipräsident*, and heads of local police stations should explore with local imams the possibility of joint patrols in Muslim majority neighbourhoods.

14.7 Participation and Citizenship

14.7.1 Promote Inclusive Civic Identity

26. In order to support Muslims in having a stronger sense of belonging within German society, the Berlin Senate should consider initiating an awareness campaign for and with Muslim and migrant organisations. This campaign should focus on the rights and responsibilities of all in society, and should emphasise a common and inclusive civic identity. The Berlin Senate should develop an award scheme that encourages and rewards creative contributions from the population.

14.7.2 Provide Clarity on Muslim Organisations Cited in National Intelligence Reports

27. The *Federal Government*, and especially the *Federal Ministry of the Interior*, should consider reviewing regulations that have the effect of excluding Muslim organisations from public funding. The role of the *Verfassungsschutz* needs to be critically reviewed, by examining the disruptive effects of its reports on the participation of Muslim organisations.

28. The *Senate Administration for the Interior*, as well as the National *Ministry of the Interior*, should ensure that local and national intelligence agencies add a preamble to security reports about how their findings should be understood. It has to be clear that the citation of certain organisations within these reports does not classify them as organisations with terrorist links, and should not disqualify them from seeking public funding.

14.8 Media

14.8.1 Promoting Ethnic-minority Representation in the Media

29. The respective *Landesmedienanstalten* (State Media Authorities) in Berlin, and other federal states, should increase the representation of Muslims as well as other minorities in media councils (*Medienräte)*. They should also build capacity within Muslim communities by supporting media scholarship awards in order to improve ethnic-minority representation in this field.

30. Journalism schools should consider including modules focusing on providing religious and cultural histories of various faith and ethnic-minority groups in Germany. Partnerships could be formed with migrant and Muslim organisations such as the umbrella organisation *Initiative Berliner Muslime IBMUS.*

14.8.2 Strengthen Mechanisms for Challenging Distorted Images of Muslims

31. Muslim organisations and various media institutes (*Medienanstalten*), such as the *Medienanstalt Berlin Brandenburg*, should consider strengthening existing networks and consultative mechanisms between media personnel and Muslim representatives, with the aim of challenging distorted images of Muslims and minorities. Such mechanisms should also seek to offer alternative Muslim voices to journalists as well as to strengthen mutual trust.

14.8.3 Building the Capacities of Muslims in the Media

32. Muslim organisations should develop/seek clear and effective media training for their staff and representatives in order to successfully promote their positive work and initiatives across local and national media.

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ANNEX 2. LIST OF EXPERTS INTERVIEWED

District and city politicians

Prof. Dr. Barbara John, First Commissioner on Integration of Berlin from 1981 until 2003 (CDU), Berlin

Günter Piening, Commissioner on Integration and Migration of Berlin since 2003, Senate Administration for Integration, Employment and Social Services, Berlin

Dr. Franz Schulz, District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (*Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen*), Berlin

Doris Nahawandi, Member of the Office for Integration and Migration of Berlin, Former Commissioner for Integration of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Berlin

Dr. Sabine Kroker-Stille, Former Head of *Landesleitstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung* (the Regional Co-Ordinating Office for Equal Treatment and Anti-discrimination), Berlin

Ulrike Grassau, Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Sport, Berlin

Monika Brodehl, *Landesleitstelle für Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung* (Regional Co-Ordinating Office for Equal Treatment and Anti-discrimination), Berlin

Muslim organisations

Burhan Kesici, Secretary General of the *Islamrat* (Islamic Council) of the Federal Republic, and Deputy Chairman of the Islamic Federation of Berlin, Berlin

Imran Sagir, Inssan e.V., Berlin

Lydia Nofal, Board Member of Inssan e.V, Berlin

Hakan Tosuner, Board Member of the Muslim youth organisation MJD (*Muslimische Jugend Deutschland*), Berlin

Meho Travljanin, *Bosnisches Islamisches Kulturzentrum* (Bosnian Islamic Cultural Centre), Berlin

Abdul Razzaque, member of *IBMUS* and the Urdu-speaking mosque association Bilal mosque, school mediator in Charlottenburg, Berlin

Other NGOs

Suraya Jammeh, "Help the poor and the needy e.V.", neighbourhood project *Bildungsoffensive Kiezkinder,* Berlin

Florencio Chicote, ADNB of the TBB – *Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk des Türkischen Bunds Berlin Brandenburg* (Anti-discrimination Network of the Turkish Alliance Berlin Brandenburg), Berlin

Fakra Fatnassi, social scientist, educationalist and youth worker in different local NGOs (*Vielfalt e.V., AKARSU e.V.*), Berlin

Dr. Nadia Nagie, education counselling project *KUMULUS* with the counselling NGO, *Arbeit&Bildung e.V.,* Berlin

Police

Klaus-Dieter Schelske, Clearingstelle, Zentrale Serviceeinheit, Abteilung Aus- und Fortbildung der Berliner Polizei (Clearing Office, Berlin Police Department of Education), Berlin

Education

Evelin Lubig-Fohsel, social anthropologist, teacher and teacher trainer for *LISUM – Landesinstitut für Schule und Medien*, and member of the Senate's working group 'Islam and School', Berlin

Participants at the OSI roundtable discussion on the first draft of this report: British Council, 23 March 2009[309]

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[309] This roundtable was held under Chatham House Rules in which participants are free to use the information received but the speakers(s) and participants' identities are not revealed.

ANNEX 3. ORGANISATIONS/INSTITUTIONS CONSULTED DURING RESEARCH PROCESS[310]

Arbeit und Bildung e.V.
  Bildungsberatung KUMULUS
  Contacts: Heidi Gellhardt, Nadia Nagie
  Potsdamer Str. 118, 10785 Berlin

Arbeiterwohlfahrt – AWO Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
  Karl-Marx Allee 93a, 10243 Berlin

Afrika-Rat
  Board Member: Deacon A.L.Sesay
  Georgenkirchstr. 70, 10249 Berlin

Antidiskriminierungsbüro Berlin e.V. (ADB)
  Haus der Demokratie und Menschenrechte
  Greifswalder Str. 410405 Berlin

Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin ADNB of the TBB
  Florencio Chicote und Nuran Yigit
  Tempelhofer Ufer 21, 10963 Berlin

Ausländerberatung des DGB Berlin-Brandenburg
  Keithstr. 1-3 (2. Etage, Zimmer: 210, 211, 213, 204), 10787 Berlin

Bosnisches Islamisches Kulturzentrum
  Contact: Meho Travljanin
  Adalberstr. 94, 10999 Berlin

Bund für Antidiskriminierungs- und Bildungsarbeit in der BRD e.V. (BDB)
  Pohlstraße 60/62, 10785 Berlin

Die Islamische Föderation in Berlin
  Vice-President: Burhan Kesici
  Boppstraße 4, 10967 Berlin

Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte
  Zimmerstr. 26/27, 10969 Berlin

DMK – Deutschsprachiger Muslimkreis Berlin e.V.
  Chairman: Imran Sagir
  Drontheimer Str. 16, 13359 Berlin

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[310] The listed organisations do not constitute all Muslim and non-discrimination organisations based in Berlin. The above have been chosen either due to their ongoing or previous work in the field of integration or because of their public profile. The omission of other, similar organisations does not point to an absence of relevance of their work.

Eine Welt der Vielfalt e.V.
  Chairperson: Dr. Czarina Wilpert
  Obentrautstr. 72, 10963 Berlin

Gangway e.V.
  Street Social Work in Berlin
  Schumannstr. 5, 10117 Berlin

Help the poor and the needy e.V.
  Bildungsoffensive Kiezkinder
  Spokesperson: Suraya Jammeh
  Büro im MehrGenerationenHaus
  Wassertorstrasse 48, 10969 Berlin

IBMUS – Initiative Berliner Muslime
  Im Büro von Inssan e.V.
  Gitschiner Str. 17, 10969 Berlin

INSSAN für kulturelle Interaktion e.V.
  Chairpersons: Imran Sagir, Lydia Nofal
  Gitschiner Str. 17, 10969 Berlin

Interkulturelles Zentrum für Dialog und Bildung e.V. (IZDB)
  Chairman: Faical Salhi
  Drontheimer Str. 32a, 13359 Berlin

Internationale Liga für Menschenrechte
  Haus der Demokratie und Menschenrechte
  Greifswalder Str. 4, 10405 Berlin

Islamisches Kultur- und Erziehungszentrum e.V.
  Spokesperson: Raed Zaloum
  Finowstr. 27, 12045 Berlin

LISUM – Landesinstitut für Schule und Medien Berlin Brandenburg
  Heike Haseloff

Muslimische Akademie in Deutschland
  Contact: Christian Hoffmann
  Kaiserdamm 100, 14057 Berlin-Charlottenburg

Muslimische Jugend in Deutschland e.V. (MJD)
  Contact: Hakan Tosuner
  Gitschiner Str. 16, 10969 Berlin

MÜSIAD Berlin e.V.
  Verband unabhängiger Industrieller und Unternehmer
  Delbrückstr. 58, 12051 Berlin

Naunyn Ritze
  Kinder-, Jugend- und Kulturzentrum
  Contact: Martin Kesting
  Naunynstr. 63, 10997 Berlin

Neuköllner Begegnungsstätte – Haus des Friedens
  Flughafenstr. 43, 12053 Berlin

Reach Out – Opferberatung und Bildung gegen Rechtsextremismus, Rassismus und
  Antisemitismus
  Oranienstr. 159, 10969 Berlin

Schule ohne Rassismus – Schule mit Courage
  Ahornstr. 5, 10787 Berlin

Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V. (DITIB)
  Sehitlik-Moschee
  Contact: Ender Cetin
  Columbiadamm 128, 10965 Berlin

Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland (TGD)
  Chairman: Kenan Kolat
  Tempelhofer Ufer 21, 10963 Berlin

Türkischer Bund Berlin-Brandenburg (TBB)
  Spokesperson: Safter Cinar
  Tempelhofer Ufer 21, 10963 Berlin

Türkiyemspor Berlin e.V.
  Chairman: Celal Bingöl
  Gitschinerstr. 48, 10969 Berlin

Vahdet Kulturverein/ Vahdet Kültür Cemiyeti
  Reichenbergerstr. 147, 10999 Berlin

ANNEX 4. TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 13. Important aspects about the self (Muslims and non-Muslims) (D1)

| | Religion | | Total |
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Your family	83.0%	69.0%	76%
The kind of work you do	44.0%	61.0%	52.5%
Your age and life stage	19.0%	74.0%	46.5%
Your interests	52.0%	80.0%	66%
Your level of education	57.0%	58.0%	57.5%
Your nationality	39.0%	16.0%	27.5%
Your gender	13.0%	41.0%	27%
Your level of income	19.0%	15.0%	17%
Your religion	73.0%	11.0%	42%
Your social class	24.0%	25.0%	24.5%
Your ethnic group or cultural background	67.0%	31.0%	49%
The colour of your skin	5.0%	6.0%	5.5%
Any disability you may have	1.0%	1.0%	1%
Total — %	100.0%	100.0%	100%
Total — Number	100	100	200

Table 14. What do you believe are the most important values in this country? (D8)

		Religion	
		Muslim	Non-Muslim
	Respect for the law	68.0%	71.0%
	Tolerance towards others	33.0%	43.0%
	Freedom of speech and expression	42.0%	59.0%
	Respect for all faiths	41.0%	14.0%
	Justice and fair play	33.0%	40.0%
Most important national values	Speaking the national language	55.0%	50.0%
	Respect for people from different ethnic groups	21.0%	23.0%
	Equal opportunities	20.0%	37.0%
	Pride in this country/patriotism	23.0%	17.0%
	Voting in elections	15.0%	20.0%
	Freedom from discrimination	22.0%	24.0%

Table 15. Meeting people from a different ethnic background (E1)

Location	Frequency	Religion	
		Muslim	Non-Muslim
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group in their home? (E1.1)	Daily	19.0%	20.0%
	At least weekly	33.0%	27.0%
	At least monthly	23.0%	32.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at school, work or college? (E1.2)	Daily	64.0%	43.0%
	At least weekly	13.0%	24.0%
	At least monthly	4.0%	12.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group in a bar/club? (E1.3)	Daily		3.0%
	At least weekly	13.0%	12.0%
	At least monthly	11.0%	31.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group in a café/restaurant? (E1.4)	Daily	5.0%	4.0%
	At least weekly	41.0%	20.0%
	At least monthly	26.0%	39.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group during a sport/leisure activity? (E1.5)	Daily	6.0%	1.0%
	At least weekly	36.0%	18.0%
	At least monthly	8.0%	11.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group socially outside work/school? (E1.6)	Daily	10.0%	7.1%
	At least weekly	27.0%	19.2%
	At least monthly	28.0%	20.2%

In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group in a child's crèche, school, nursery? (E1.7)	Daily	27.0%	9.0%
	At least weekly	12.0%	6.0%
	At least monthly	5.0%	9.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at the shops? (E1.8)	Daily	33.0%	13.0%
	At least weekly	49.0%	38.0%
	At least monthly	14.0%	29.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at a street market? (E1.9)	Daily	7.0%	2.0%
	At least weekly	34.0%	19.0%
	At least monthly	22.0%	15.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at a place of worship or other religious centre? (E1.10)	Daily	13.0%	
	At least weekly	31.0%	3.0%
	At least monthly	17.0%	2.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at a community centre? (E1.11)	Daily	1.0%	
	At least weekly	12.0%	1.0%
	At least monthly	14.0%	5.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at a health clinic, hospital? (E1.12)	Daily		3.0%
	At least weekly	7.0%	2.0%
	At least monthly	21.0%	4.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group on public transport? (E1.13)	Daily	25.0%	8.0%
	At least weekly	22.0%	17.0%
	At least monthly	17.0%	20.0%

In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group in a park, outdoor space? (E1.14)	Daily	16.0%	12.0%
	At least weekly	28.0%	17.0%
	At least monthly	21.0%	27.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group in a neighbourhood group? (E1.15)	Daily	10.0%	4.0%
	At least weekly	6.0%	4.0%
	At least monthly	8.0%	8.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at a youth group? (E1.16)	Daily	8.1%	2.0%
	At least weekly	12.1%	3.0%
	At least monthly	5.1%	4.0%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different ethnic group at an educational evening class? (E1.17)	Daily	1.0%	
	At least weekly	1.0%	2.0%
	At least monthly		1.0%

Table 16. Meeting people from a different religious group (E2)

Locations	Frequency	Religion	
		Muslim	Non-Muslim
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group in their home? (E2.1)	Daily	10%	19%
	At least weekly	24%	21%
	At least monthly	23%	27%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group at school, work or college? (E2.2)	Daily	59%	32%
	At least weekly	18%	25%
	At least monthly	4%	12%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group in a bar/club? (E2.3)	Daily		1%
	At least weekly	12%	9%
	At least monthly	10%	26%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group in a café/restaurant? (E2.4)	Daily	3%	4%
	At least weekly	29%	16%
	At least monthly	24%	38%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group during a sport/leisure activity? (E2.5)	Daily	8%	2%
	At least weekly	30%	21%
	At least monthly	8%	4%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group socially outside work/school? (E2.6)	Daily	9%	4%
	At least weekly	22%	13%
	At least monthly	29%	20%

In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group in a child's crèche, school, nursery? (E2.7)	Daily	23%	6%
	At least weekly	10%	10%
	At least monthly	5%	7%
In the past year, how often has interviewee met and spoken with a person from a different religious group at the shops? (E2.8)	Daily	27%	13%
	At least weekly	42%	33%
	At least monthly	19%	23%

Table 17. Is the interviewee eligible to vote in national elections? (F1)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Yes		51,0%	73,0%	62,0%
No		49,0%	27,0%	38,0%
Total	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Count	100	100	200

Table 18. Did the interviewee vote in the most recent national elections? (F2)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Yes		38,0%	63,0%	50,5%
No		13,0%	10,0%	11,5%
Did not answer		49,0%	27,0%	38,0%
Total	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Count	100	100	200

Table 19. Is the interviewee eligible to vote in local elections? (F3)

| | | Religion | | Total |
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Yes		51.0%	87.0%	69.0%
No		49.0%	13.0%	31.0%
Total	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Count	100	100	200

Table 20. Did the interviewee vote in the most recent council elections? (F4)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Yes		37,0%	68,0%	52,5%
No		14,0%	19,0%	16,5%
Did not answer		49,0%	13,0%	31,0%
Total	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Count	100	100	200

Table 21. In the past 12 months, has the interviewee participated in civic activities? (F10)*

	Religion	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Did not answer (No)	89.6%	90.5%
Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	2.5%	1.6%
Yes, in a mixed organisation	7.9%	7.9%
Total counts	1,400	1,400

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* Each interviewee answered the same fourteen questions. This table represents a summary of all responses. Please see Table 22. for list of detailed questions.

Table 22. Civic activities the interviewee has participated in during the past 12 months (F10)

		Religion	
		Muslim	Non-Muslim
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in running children's education/schools? (F10.1)	Did not answer (No)	79.0%	74.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	3.0%	1.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	18.0%	25.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in running youth activities? (F10.2)	Did not answer (No)	81.0%	88.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	5.0%	1.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	14.0%	11.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in running adult education activities? (F10.3)	Did not answer (No)	92.0%	87.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	1.0%	3.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	7.0%	10.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in running any religious activities? (F10.4)	Did not answer (No)	82.0%	99.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	14.0%	
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	4.0%	1.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in politics? (F10.5)	Did not answer (No)	91.0%	87.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	2.0%	2.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	7.0%	11.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in running any social welfare activities? (F10.6)	Did not answer (No)	88.0%	93.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	2.0%	2.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	10.0%	5.0%

In past 12 months, has interviewee been an office holder within a community organisation (F10.7)	Did not answer (No)	96.0%	99.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	3.0%	
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	1.0%	1.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in any criminal justice activities? (F10.8)	Did not answer (No)	100.0%	100.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in any human rights activities? (F10.9)	Did not answer (No)	94.0%	98.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	6.0%	2.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in any trade union activities? (F10.10)	Did not answer (No)	94.0%	97.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion		1.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	6.0%	2.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in a housing/neighbourhood group? (F10.11)	Did not answer (No)	92.0%	91.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion		4.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	8.0%	5.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee organised any recreation, sports or hobby? (F10.12)	Did not answer (No)	78.0%	83.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion	5.0%	2.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	17.0%	15.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee organised any arts, music, cultural organisation activities? (F10.13)	Did not answer (No)	88.0%	76.0%
	Yes, in an organisation based on own ethnicity or religion		6.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation	12.0%	18.0%
In past 12 months, has interviewee participated in any other activities? (F10.14)	Did not answer (No)	100.0%	95.0%
	Yes, in a mixed organisation		5.0%

Table 23. Does the interviewee have trust in public services? (F11)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Level of trust in the police (F11.1)	A lot	5.0%	6.0%	5.5%
	A fair amount	34.0%	43.0%	38.5%
	Not very much	44.0%	37.0%	40.5%
	Not at all	17.0%	12.0%	14.5%
	Don't know		2.0%	1.0%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
Level of trust in the courts (F11.2)	A lot	6.0%	8.0%	7.0%
	A fair amount	44.0%	53.0%	48.5%
	Not very much	37.0%	28.0%	32.5%
	Not at all	10.0%	5.0%	7.5%
	Don't know	3.0%	6.0%	4.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
Level of trust in the national Parliament (F11.3)	A lot	1.0%	2.0%	1.5%
	A fair amount	15.0%	28.0%	21.5%
	Not very much	61.0%	54.0%	57.5%
	Not at all	20.0%	10.0%	15.0%
	Don't know	3.0%	6.0%	4.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
Level of trust in the government (F11.4)	A lot	1.0%	2.0%	1.5%
	A fair amount	7.0%	22.0%	14.5%
	Not very much	55.0%	50.0%	52.5%
	Not at all	35.0%	20.0%	27.5%
	Don't know	2.0%	6.0%	4.0%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
Level of trust in the city council (F11.5)	A lot	2.0%	4.0%	3.0%
	A fair amount	21.0%	32.0%	26.5%
	Not very much	62.0%	41.0%	51.5%
	Not at all	9.0%	10.0%	9.5%
	Don't know	6.0%	13.0%	9.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**

Table 24. Is the interviewee satisfied with public services? (G1)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Level of satisfaction with local primary schools (G1.1)	Very satisfied	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
	Fairly satisfied	12.0%	15.0%	13.5%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	35.0%	24.0%	29.5%
	Fairly dissatisfied	17.0%	17.0%	17.0%
	Very dissatisfied	15.0%	8.0%	11.5%
	Don't know	20.0%	35.0%	27.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
Level of satisfaction with local High School (G1.2)	Very satisfied		1.0%	0.5%
	Fairly satisfied	8.0%	3.0%	5.5%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	24.0%	18.0%	21.0%
	Fairly dissatisfied	34.0%	27.0%	30.5%
	Very dissatisfied	16.0%	11.0%	13.5%
	Don't know	18.0%	40.0%	29.0%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
Level of satisfaction with social housing (G1.3)	Very satisfied	2.0%		1.0%
	Fairly satisfied	25.0%	18.0%	21.5%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	26.0%	11.0%	18.5%
	Fairly dissatisfied	17.0%	16.0%	16.5%
	Very dissatisfied	10.0%	5.0%	7.5%
	Don't know	20.0%	50.0%	35.0%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**

	Very satisfied	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
	Fairly satisfied	31.0%	35.0%	33.0%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	14.0%	25.0%	19.5%
Level of satisfaction with street cleaning (G1.4)	Fairly dissatisfied	30.0%	26.0%	28.0%
	Very dissatisfied	19.0%	9.0%	14.0%
	Don't know	1.0%		0.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
	Very satisfied	2.0%	1.0%	1.5%
	Fairly satisfied	29.0%	24.0%	26.5%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	18.0%	35.0%	26.5%
Level of satisfaction with policing (G1.5)	Fairly dissatisfied	26.0%	13.0%	19.5%
	Very dissatisfied	23.0%	14.0%	18.5%
	Don't know	2.0%	13.0%	7.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
	Very satisfied	8.0%	6.0%	7.0%
	Fairly satisfied	45.0%	51.0%	48.0%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	19.0%	17.0%	18.0%
Level of satisfaction with health services (G1.6)	Fairly dissatisfied	13.0%	14.0%	13.5%
	Very dissatisfied	12.0%	2.0%	7.0%
	Don't know	3.0%	10.0%	6.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**

	Very satisfied	1.0%		0.5%
	Fairly satisfied	10.0%	13.0%	11.5%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	20.0%	17.0%	18.5%
Level of satisfaction with services for young people (G1.7)	Fairly dissatisfied	27.0%	22.0%	24.5%
	Very dissatisfied	28.0%	10.0%	19.0%
	Don't know	14.0%	38.0%	26.0%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**
	Very satisfied	18.0%	18.0%	18.0%
	Fairly satisfied	54.0%	53.0%	53.5%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	11.0%	14.0%	12.5%
Level of satisfaction with public transport (G1.8)	Fairly dissatisfied	7.0%	10.0%	8.5%
	Very dissatisfied	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
	Don't know	4.0%		2.0%
	Did not answer	1.0%		0.5%
	Total count	**100**	**100**	**200**

Table 25. Groups racially prejudiced against (H2)

	Religion	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Arab people	59.0	35.0
South Asian people (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi)	21.0	10.0
Black people (Caribbean, African)	62.0	61.0
Chinese people	9.0	6.0
Turkish people	71.0	46.0
Mixed race people	5.0	2.0
Buddhists	2.0	1.0
Hindus	4.0	1.0
Jews	12.0	4.0
Muslims	49.0	27.0
Sikhs	2.0	1.0
Asylum seekers/Refugees	10.0	3.0
New immigrants	4.0	1.0
Eastern Europeans	7.0	12.0
Other	40.0	48.0
Total number of respondents (several answers possible)	**100**	**100**

Table 26. Groups religiously prejudiced against (H5)

	Religion	
	Muslim	**Non-Muslim**
Muslims	97	90
Jews	28	33
Hindus	3	1
Buddhists	1	2
Sikhs	1	1
Christians	6	4
Catholics	0	8
Protestants	0	4
Other	8	10
Total number of respondents (several answers possible)	**100**	**100**

Table 27. How often has the interviewee experienced discrimination? (H7)[*]

	Religion		Total
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	
Almost all of the time	10	1	**11**
	1.70%	0.20%	
A lot of the time	54	24	**78**
	9.00%	4.00%	
Sometimes	105	84	**189**
	17.50%	14.00%	
Rarely	94	122	**216**
	15.70%	20.30%	
Never	337	369	**706**
	56.20%	61.50%	
Total	**600**	**600**	**1,200**

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[*] Each interviewee answered the same six questions. This table represents a summary of all responses. Please see Table 28. for list of detailed questions.

Table 28. Types of discrimination the interviewee has experienced (H7)

		Religion		Total
		Muslim	Non-Muslim	
How often has interviewee experienced gender discrimination? (H7.1)	A lot of the time	4.0%	8.0%	6.0%
	Sometimes	13.0%	22.0%	17.5%
	Rarely	12.0%	24.0%	18.0%
	Never	71.0%	46.0%	58.5%
How often has interviewee experienced age discrimination? (H7.2)	A lot of the time		3.0%	1.5%
	Sometimes	10.0%	20.0%	15.0%
	Rarely	16.0%	28.0%	22.0%
	Never	74.0%	49.0%	61.5%
How often has interviewee experienced racial discrimination? (H7.3)	Almost all of the time	3.0%		1.5%
	A lot of the time	20.0%	2.0%	11.0%
	Sometimes	34.0%	17.0%	25.5%
	Rarely	22.0%	26.0%	24.0%
	Never	21.0%	55.0%	38.0%
How often has interviewee experienced religious discrimination? (H7.4)	Almost all of the time	4.0%		2.0%
	A lot of the time	21.0%	2.0%	11.5%
	Sometimes	29.0%	6.0%	17.5%
	Rarely	20.0%	17.0%	18.5%
	Never	26.0%	75.0%	50.5%
How often has interviewee experienced discrimination based on their skin colour? (H7.5)	Almost all of the time	2.0%	1.0%	1.5%
	A lot of the time	6.0%	1.0%	3.5%
	Sometimes	9.0%	4.0%	6.5%
	Rarely	10.0%	8.0%	9.0%
	Never	73.0%	86.0%	79.5%
How often has interviewee experienced discrimination based on their area of residence? (H7.6)	Almost all of the time	1.0%		0.5%
	A lot of the time	3.0%	8.0%	5.5%
	Sometimes	10.0%	15.0%	12.5%
	Rarely	14.0%	19.0%	16.5%
	Never	72.0%	58.0%	65.0%
Total	**%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
	Number	**100**	**100**	**200**

Table 29. From where has the interviewee experienced religious discrimination? (H8)

	Religion	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim
A local doctor's surgery	13.0%	1.0%
A local hospital	14.0%	1.0%
A local school	11.0%	1.0%
A local council	6.0%	0.0%
A landlord or letting agent	11.0%	1.0%
A local shop	10.0%	4.0%
Public transport	23.0%	0.0%
Airline/airport officials	10.0%	2.0%
The courts	4.0%	0.0%
The police	13.0%	1.0%
The immigration authorities	7.0%	0.0%
From a member of the public	38.0%	3.0%
None of the above	27.0%	89.0%
Total	**100**	**100**

Figure 14. How strongly does interviewee feel they belong to the district? (D4)
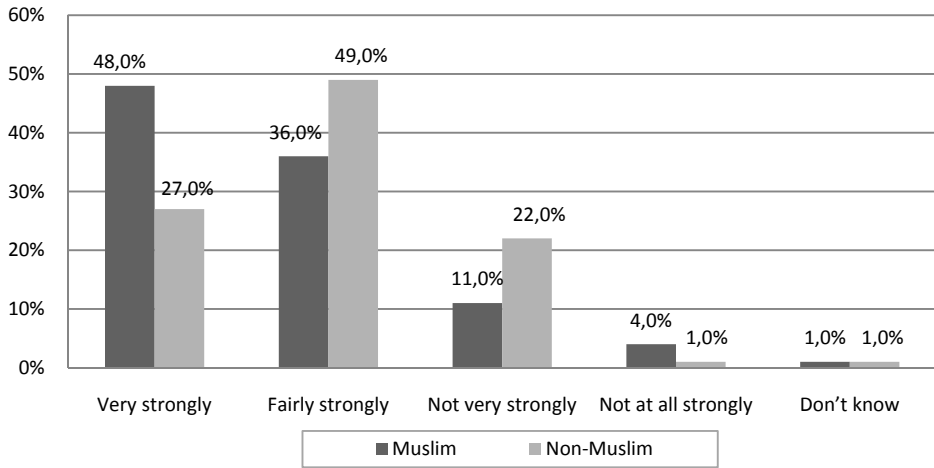
Figure 15. How strongly does interviewee feel they belong to city? (D5)
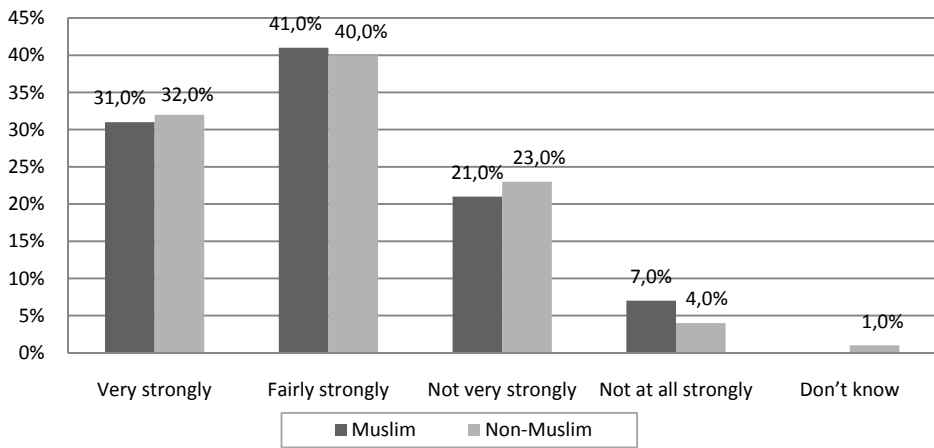
Figure 16. How strongly does interviewee feel they belong to country? (D6)
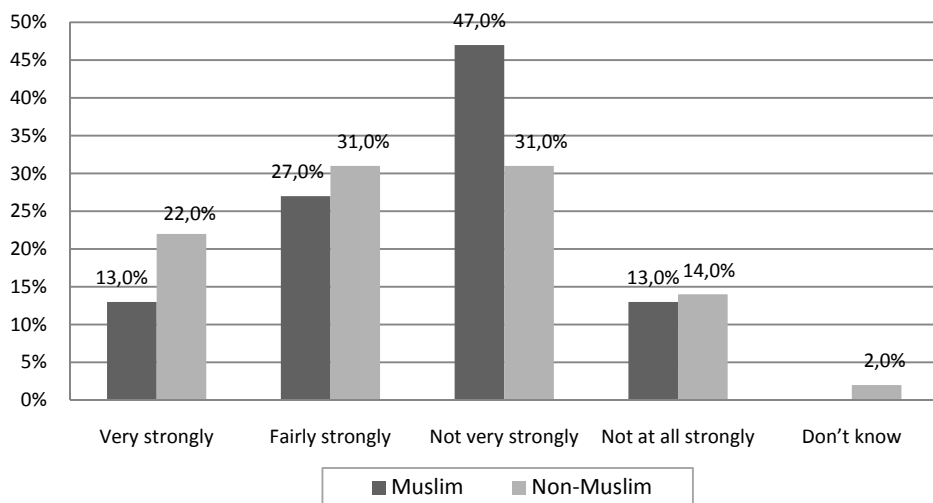
Figure 17. Can we do more to encourage people from different backgrounds to mix? (E3)
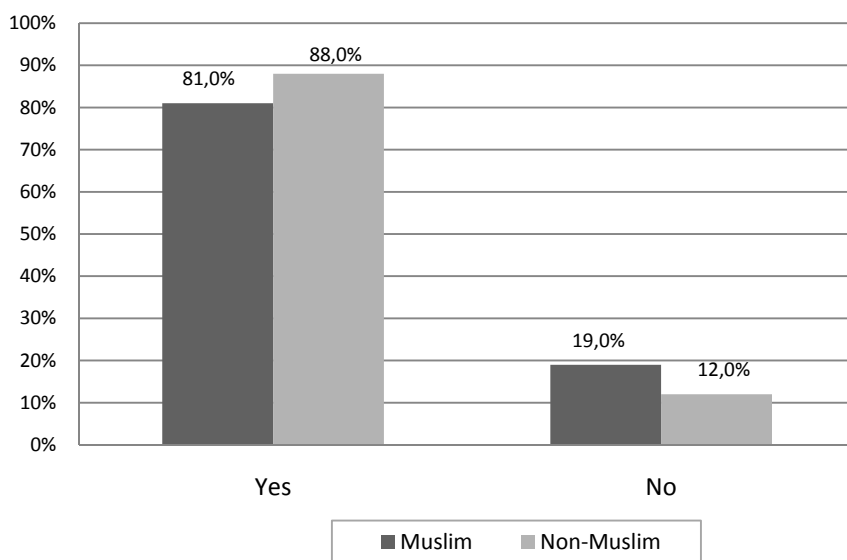
Figure 18. Does interviewee feel uncomfortable anywhere in the local area/city? (E4)
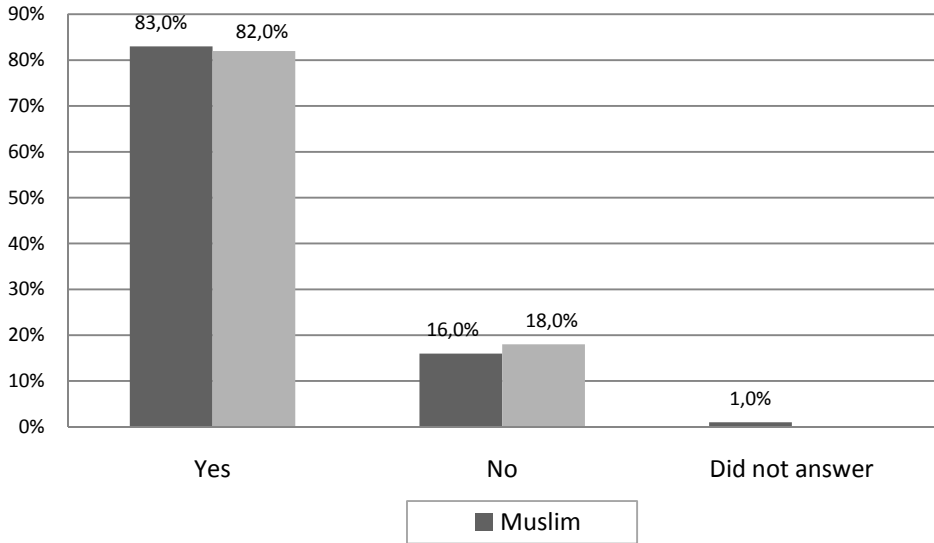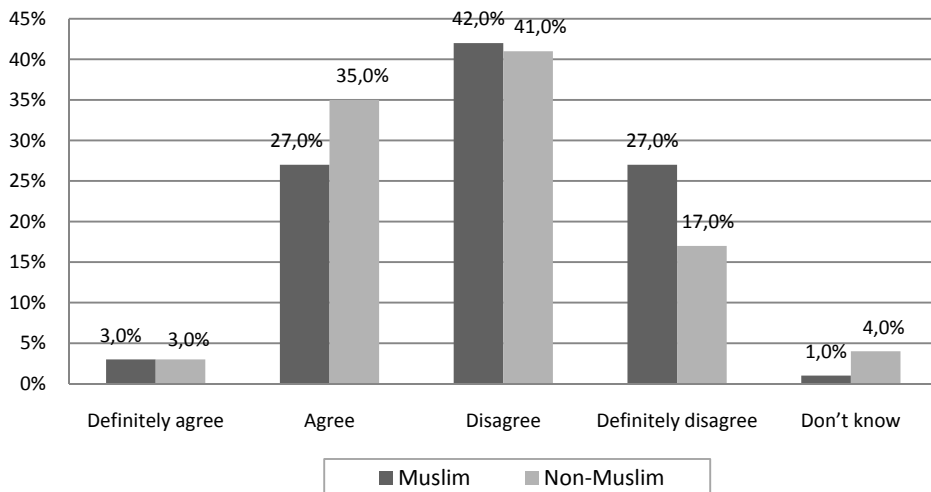

Figure 19. Activities in the district (F5)
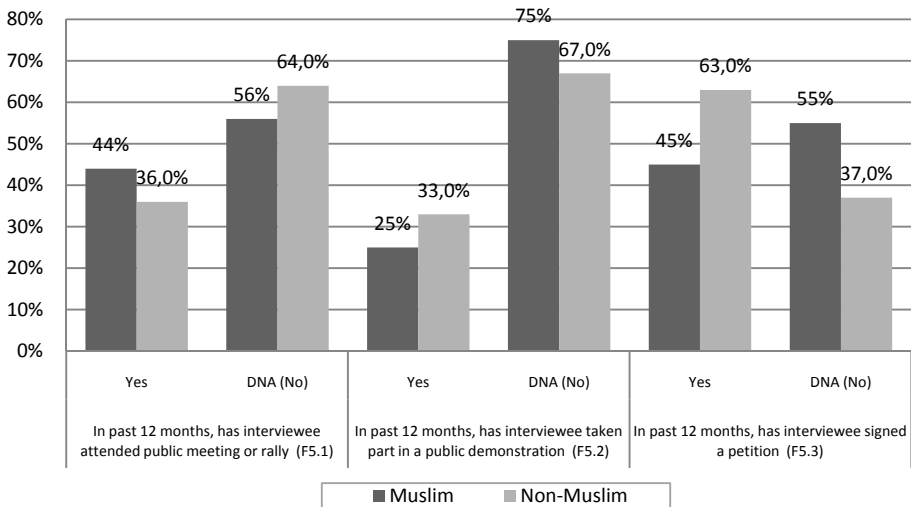
Figure 20. Does the interviewee feel able to influence decisions affecting the city? (F8)
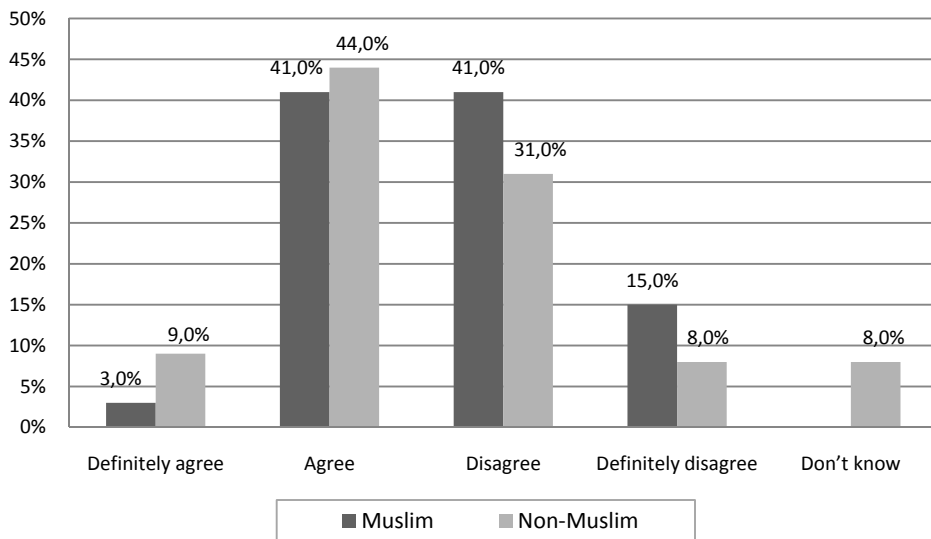
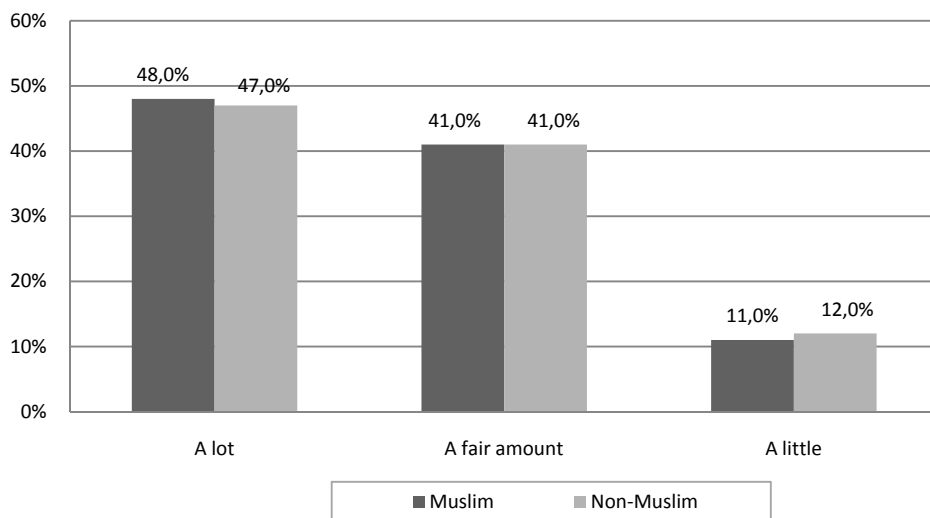**Figure 21. Does the interviewee feel able to influence decisions affecting the country? (F9)**
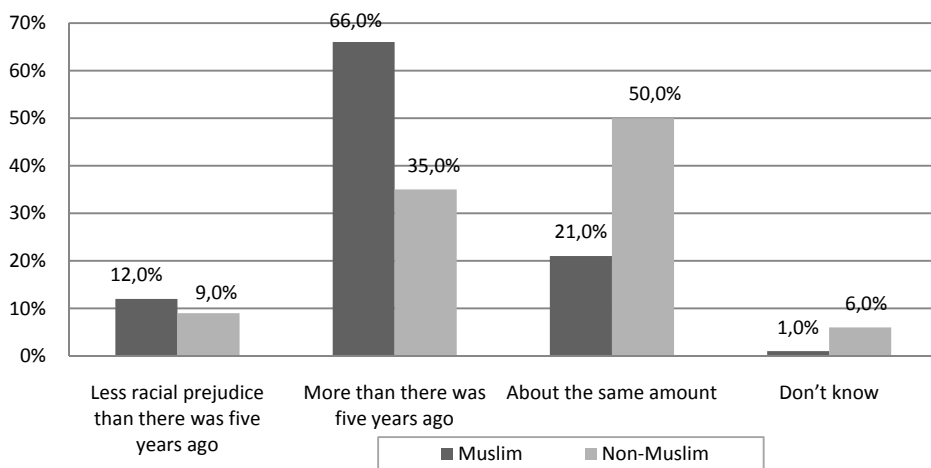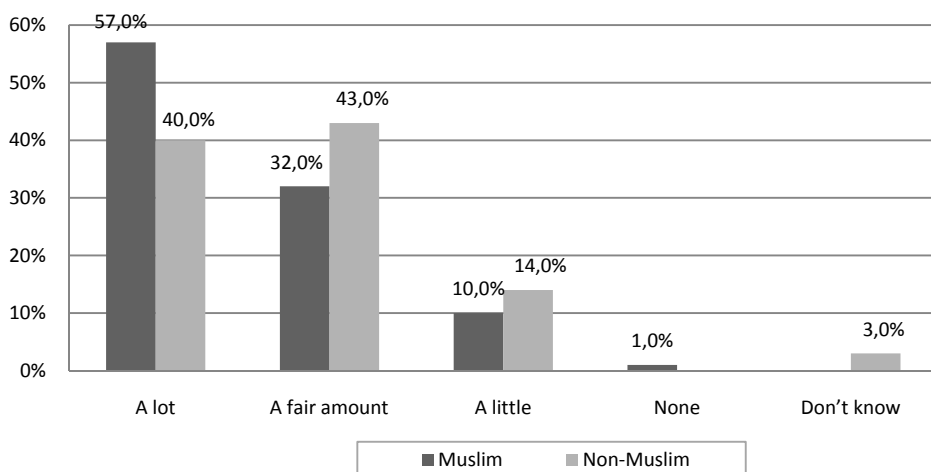
Figure 22. In the past 12 months, has the interviewee participated in civic activities? (F10)
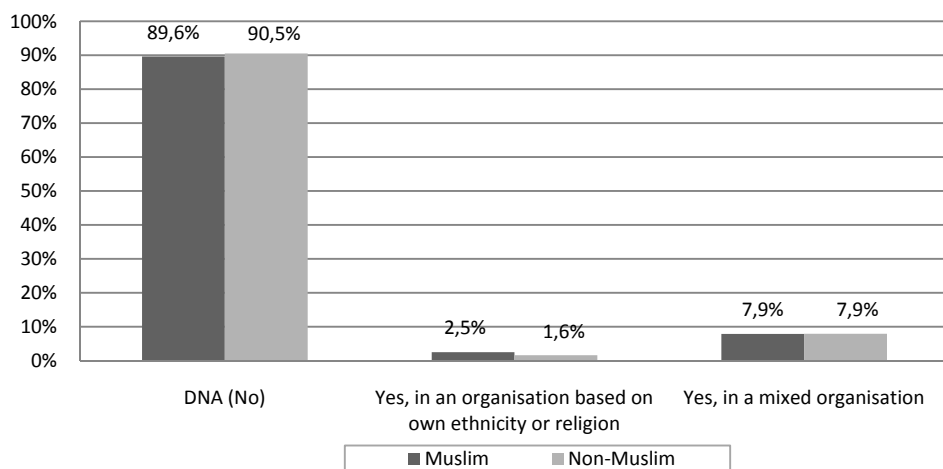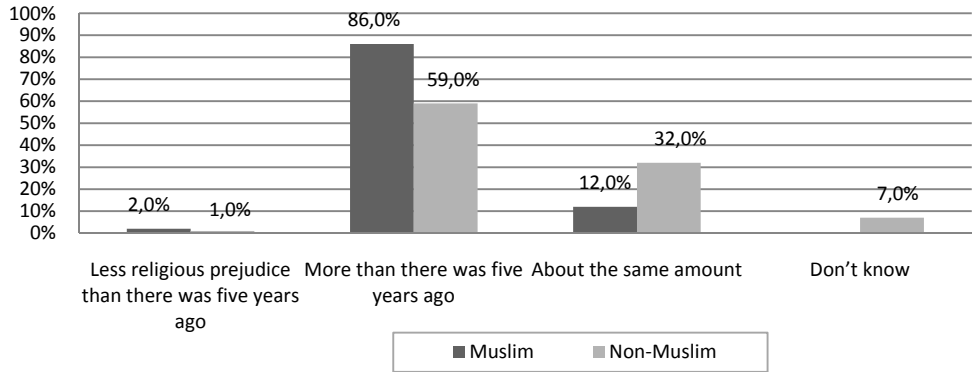

Figure 23. Current level of racial prejudice in the country (H1)

Figure 24. Comparison of past and current levels of racial prejudice (H3)

Figure 25. Current level of religious prejudice in the country (H4)

Figure 26. Comparison of past and current levels of religious prejudice (H6)

Whether citizens or migrants, native born or newly-arrived, Muslims are a growing and varied population that presents Europe with challenges and opportunities. The crucial tests facing Europe's commitment to open society will be how it treats minorities such as Muslims and ensures equal rights for all in a climate of rapidly expanding diversity.

The Open Society Institute's At Home in Europe project is working to address these issues through monitoring and advocacy activities that examine the position of Muslims and other minorities in Europe. One of the project's key efforts is this series of reports on Muslim communities in the 11 EU cities of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Berlin, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Leicester, London, Marseille, Paris, Rotterdam, and Stockholm. The reports aim to increase understanding of the needs and aspirations of diverse Muslim communities by examining how public policies in selected cities have helped or hindered the political, social, and economic participation of Muslims.

By fostering new dialogue and policy initiatives between Muslim communities, local officials, and international policymakers, the At Home in Europe project seeks to improve the participation and inclusion of Muslims in the wider society while enabling them to preserve the cultural, linguistic, and religious practices that are important to their identities.

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