

AT HOME IN  
**EUROPE**



# Muslims in Hamburg



OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

# Muslims in Hamburg

At Home in Europe Project

 Open Society Institute

New York – London – Budapest

Publishing page

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

Október 6. Street 12.  
H-1051 Budapest  
Hungary

400 West 59th Street  
New York, NY 10019  
USA

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION

100 Cambridge Grove  
W6 0LE London  
UK



TM a Copyright © 2010 Open Society Institute  
All rights reserved

AT HOME IN EUROPE PROJECT

ISBN Number: 978-1-936133-11-6

*Website*

*[www.soros.org/initiatives/home](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home)*

*Cover Photograph by Andrea Diefenbach/Panos Pictures for the Open Society Institute*

*Cover design by Ahlgrim Design Group*

*Layout by Q.E.D. Publishing*

*Printed in Hungary*

*Printed on CyclusOffset paper that was produced from 100% recycled fibres.*

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	5
Preface .....	7
Muslims in Hamburg .....	9
List of Abbreviations .....	15
Definitions and Terminology .....	17
Executive Summary .....	19
1. Introduction .....	24
2. Population and Demographics .....	32
3. City Policy .....	43
4. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Identity, Belonging and Interaction .....	51
5. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Education .....	82
6. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Employment .....	107
7. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Housing .....	125
8. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Health .....	144
9. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Policing and Security .....	156
10. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Participation and Citizenship .....	168
11. Experiences of Muslim Communities: The Role of the Media .....	184
12. Conclusion .....	193
13. Recommendations .....	195
Annex 1. Bibliography and Websites .....	207
Annex 2. List of Experts Interviewed .....	214
Annex 3. Organisations/Institutions Consulted During Research Process .....	216

## 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

This city report was prepared as part of a series of monitoring reports titled ‘Muslims in EU cities’. The series focuses on eleven cities in the European Union with significant Muslim populations. Within the reports, select neighbourhoods in the cities were chosen for more in-depth study which are: Slotervaart, Amsterdam; Borgerhout, Antwerp; Kreuzberg, Berlin; Nørrebro, Copenhagen; Hamburg-Mitte, Hamburg; Evington, Spinney Hills, Stonegate, Leicester; 3<sup>rd</sup> Arrondissement, Marseille; 18<sup>th</sup> Arrondissement, Paris; Feijenoord, Rotterdam; Järvafältet, Stockholm; the London Borough of Waltham Forest.

The reports have been prepared by the At Home in Europe Project of the Open Society Institute (OSI) in cooperation with local/national based experts. The At Home in Europe Project would like to acknowledge and thank the following individual who has been engaged with the research for three years and wrote the report:

### Researcher

Andreas Hieronymus

*Researcher; Interview and Focus Group  
Coordinator, Institute for Research on  
Migration and Racism (iMiR), Hamburg,  
Germany*

Under the supervision of the Interview and Focus Group Coordinator, the interviews were conducted by a team based in Hamburg. These individuals are: Angelika Friedrichs, Ines Fögen, Tatiana La Mura Flores, Volker Schneider, Yesim Fadia, Goran Rakic, Max Stempel, Ali Özgür Özdil, Demet Coban, Dounya Jaoudat, Esra Polat, Hilal Külünk, Rabia Yildiz, Sueheda Polat, Tamer Coban, Dona Al-Hardan, Erdogan Arabaci, Ines Brinsi.

Prof. Werner Schiffauer reviewed the draft versions of this report for which we are appreciative.

In June 2009, OSI held a roundtable meeting in Hamburg in order to invite expert critique and commentary on the draft report. We are grateful to the many participants who generously offered their time and expertise. These included representatives of minority groups, civil society organizations and relevant experts. We would also like to thank the team at the Institute for Research on Migration and Racism for organising and hosting the roundtable meeting. Particular thanks are offered to Tatiana La Mura, Nina Mühe, Carla La Mura, Ali Özgür Özdil, Ines Fögen, Dona Al-Hardan, Bettina Kleiner, Özlem Nas and Jenny Eschweiler.

We would also like to acknowledge the following people and institutions for their contribution to the reports by being available for interviews, providing information or research, or reviewing and critiquing drafts of the report: Doris Kersten, Ejdar Tartar,

Fernanda Gil, Filiz Topal, Halima Krausen, Hasan Erkan, Heike Weider, Hülya Eralp, Hüseyin Yllmaz, Imke Nicolaisen, Irmgard Schrand, Karin Robben, Karin Robben, Kathrin Erdmann, Knut Henkel, Kübra Yücel, Liubov Kuchenbecker, Maren Gag, Masumeh Saadat, Melek Korkmaz, Metin Harmanci, Nebahat Güclü, Oksan Karakus, Perihan Zeran, Rita Pansear, Rolf-Barnim Foth, Sabine Weiss, Ulf Schröder, Ülkü Güney, Ünal Zeran, Ute Hempelmann, Yvonne Nische, Dr Kerem Oktem.

A number of individuals also agreed to be interviewed by the OSI Communications team to whom we offer thanks.

The At Home in Europe Project has final responsibility for the content of the reports including any errors or misrepresentations.

### **OSI Team**

Nazia Hussain (At Home in Europe Project)	<i>Director</i>
Tufyal Choudhury (At Home in Europe Project)	<i>Senior Policy Advisor</i>
Klaus Dik Nielsen (At Home in Europe Project)	<i>Advocacy Officer</i>
Hélène Irving (At Home in Europe Project)	<i>Programme Coordinator</i>
Andrea Gurubi Watterson (At Home in Europe Project)	<i>Programme Officer</i>
Csilla Tóth (At Home in Europe Project)	<i>Programme Assistant</i>
Katy Negrin	<i>Consultant Editor</i>



## 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 policies 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.

# Muslims in Hamburg

## Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations .....	15
Definitions and Terminology .....	17
Executive Summary .....	19
1. Introduction .....	24
1.1 Methodology .....	25
2. Population and Demographics .....	32
2.1 Migration History .....	36
2.2 Citizenship and Access to Citizenship .....	40
3. City Policy .....	43
3.1 Key Principles of Integration and Equality .....	43
3.2 Actors in the Integration Policies and the HHAP .....	44
3.3 Administrative Structure .....	46
4. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Identity, Belonging and Interaction .....	51
4.1 Muslim and Non-Muslim Identities .....	51
4.2 Belonging .....	60
4.3 Interaction .....	76
5. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Education .....	82
5.1 Pre-school Education .....	82
5.2 Primary and Secondary Education .....	83
5.3 Educational Achievement .....	84
5.4 Language and Educational Achievement .....	87
5.5 Muslim Experiences in Hamburg Schools .....	88
5.6 Religion in School .....	96
5.7 Initiatives to Improve Education .....	104
6. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Employment .....	107
6.1 Labour Market Position of Muslims in Hamburg ...	107
6.2 Religion, Discrimination and Barriers to Employment .....	112
6.3 Initiatives to Improve Access to Employment .....	120
7. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Housing .....	125
7.1 Perspectives on the Local Community .....	125
7.2 Efforts to Improve Housing .....	142
8. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Health .....	144

8.1 Perspectives on the Local Area: Health Care .....	144
8.2 Social Welfare .....	151
8.3 Measures to Improve Access to Health Services and Social Protection .....	153
9. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Policing and Security .....	156
9.1 Perspectives on Policing and Security .....	157
9.2 Muslim Interactions with the Police .....	161
9.3 Minority Recruitment in the Police Force .....	165
10. Experiences of Muslim Communities: Participation and Citizenship .....	168
10.1 Muslims and Elections .....	168
10.2 Trust in Political Institutions .....	174
10.3 Muslims and Active Citizenship .....	176
10.4 Participation in Voluntary Activities and Sports .....	181
10.5 Naturalisation .....	182
11. Experiences of Muslim Communities: The Role of the Media .....	184
11.1 Media Use by Muslims .....	186
11.2 Images of Muslims in the Media .....	190
12. Conclusion .....	193
13. Recommendations .....	195
13.1 Education .....	195
13.2 Employment .....	197
13.3 Housing .....	198
13.4 Health and Social Services .....	199
13.5 Policing .....	200
13.6 Media .....	202
13.7 Muslim and migrant organisations .....	202
13.8 District administration .....	203
13.9 Senate and Citizenry .....	204
13.10 National Politics .....	206
Annex 1. Bibliography and Websites .....	207
Annex 2. List of Experts Interviewed .....	214
Annex 3. Organisations/Institutions Consulted During Research Process .....	216

## Index of Tables

Table 1.	Data sample for OSI research questionnaires .....	26
Table 2.	Nationalities of Muslim interviewees .....	26
Table 3.	Nationalities of non-Muslim interviewees .....	27
Table 4.	Birthplace of Muslim interviewees .....	27
Table 5.	Birthplace of non-Muslim interviewees .....	28
Table 6.	Ethnic and cultural belonging among Muslim interviewees .....	29
Table 7.	Urban or rural upbringing of interviewees .....	30
Table 8.	Marital status of interviewees .....	30
Table 9.	Hamburg population according to migrant background and German citizenship .....	33
Figure 1.	Distribution of migrant population in Hamburg originating in Turkey or Islamic countries .....	36
Table 10.	Naturalisations in Hamburg by legal basis, 2003 .....	40
Table 11.	How strongly do you feel you belong to your local area? .....	53
Table 12.	Is your local area a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together? .....	53
Table 13.	How strongly do you feel you belong to Hamburg? .....	54
Table 14.	How strongly do you feel you belong to Germany? .....	55
Table 15.	Do you see yourself as German? .....	55
Table 16.	German, European and other identities .....	57
Table 17a.	Visibility, values and religious identities .....	59
Table 17b.	Practising religion .....	59
Table 18.	What do you think is the main barrier to being German? .....	61
Table 19.	Most important national values of living in Germany (all interviewees) .....	62
Table 20.	Most important national values of living in Germany (breakdown by religion) .....	63
Table 21.	What says the most about identity .....	64
Table 22.	Do you see yourself as German? .....	67
Table 23.	Experience of discrimination .....	71
Table 24a.	Current level of racial prejudice in the country .....	72
Table 24b.	Comparison of past and current levels of racial prejudice .....	72
Table 24c.	Current level of religious prejudice in the country .....	73
Table 24d.	Comparison of past and current levels of religious prejudice .....	73
Table 25.	Interactions in Hamburg .....	76
Table 26.	Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction at home .....	77
Table 27.	Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction in shops .....	77
Table 28.	Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction in bars or clubs .....	78

Table 29.	Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction in places of worship .....	79
Table 30.	Highest level of education completed .....	85
Table 31.	Country of schooling .....	86
Table 32.	Years of formal education .....	86
Table 33.	Satisfaction with primary schools .....	91
Table 34.	Satisfaction with high schools .....	92
Table 35.	Do schools respect different religious customs? .....	97
Table 36.	Inter-religious and inter-ethnic contacts in school, work or college .....	99
Table 37.	Parents' involvement in children's education .....	100
Table 38.	Participation in adult education .....	104
Table 39.	Unemployment rate in Hamburg, September 2007 .....	108
Table 40.	Are you working for pay these days? .....	109
Table 41.	Have you ever previously worked for pay? .....	110
Table 42.	Occupational status .....	110
Table 43.	Religious and ethnic background of the workplace .....	112
Table 44.	Co-workers' religious and ethnic backgrounds .....	113
Table 45.	Employers' respect for diverse religious customs .....	114
Table 46.	In the last five years, have you been refused or turned down for a job in this country? .....	115
Table 47.	Perceived reasons for not getting a job .....	116
Table 48.	In the last five years, do you think you have been discriminated against at work with regard to promotion or a move to a better position? .....	117
Table 49.	Perceived reasons for failure to get a promotion .....	118
Table 50.	Available living space, social housing, young people and Muslims .....	126
Table 51.	Do you own or rent your home or have some other arrangement? .....	127
Table 52.	Years living in the area .....	128
Table 53.	What is your main reason for moving to this area? .....	130
Table 54.	Ethnic and religious composition of neighbourhoods .....	131
Table 55.	Is this a neighbourhood you enjoy living in? .....	131
Table 56.	Trustworthiness of people in your neighbourhood .....	132
Table 57.	Is this a close-knit neighbourhood? .....	132
Table 58.	Do people in this neighbourhood share the same values? .....	133
Table 59.	Are people in this neighbourhood willing to help their neighbours? ...	134
Table 60.	Satisfaction with social housing .....	134
Table 61.	Satisfaction with services for young people .....	136
Table 62.	Satisfaction with street cleaning .....	137
Table 63.	Satisfaction with public transport .....	138
Table 64.	Do people in this neighbourhood work together to improve the neighbourhood? .....	139

---

Table 65a.	Area 1 interviews by neighbourhood .....	140
Table 65b.	Area 2 interviews by neighbourhood .....	141
Table 65c.	Area 3 interviews by neighbourhood .....	141
Table 66.	Satisfaction with health services .....	144
Table 67.	Doctors and pharmacies per inhabitant in the research areas, 2006 ....	146
Table 68.	Respect for religious customs in medical facilities .....	150
Table 69.	Social welfare recipients and available kindergartens (Kita), 2006 .....	151
Table 70.	Activity in social welfare .....	153
Table 71.	Crime rates in OSI research areas, 2006 .....	156
Table 72.	Level of trust and satisfaction with police and courts .....	157
Table 73.	Right-wing crime in Hamburg .....	165
Table 74.	Voting eligibility for national elections .....	170
Table 75.	Voting eligibility for local elections .....	170
Table 76.	Voting results in research areas for elections to the Hamburg Citizenry, 2008 .....	171
Table 77.	Can you influence decisions affecting Hamburg? .....	173
Table 78.	Can you influence decisions affecting Germany? .....	174
Table 79.	Level of trust in the government .....	174
Table 80.	Level of trust in the national Parliament .....	175
Table 81.	Level of trust in the city council .....	175



## List of Abbreviations

AGG	Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (General Equal Treatment Act, popularly known as the Anti-Discrimination Act)
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BSB	Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung (Department of Education and Vocational Training)
BIG	Bündnis der islamischen Gemeinden (Alliance of Islamic Communities)
BQM	Beratungs- und Koordinierungsstelle zur beruflichen Qualifizierung von jungen Migrantinnen und Migranten (Advisory and coordinating body for vocational training for young migrants)
BSG	Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit, Verbraucherschutz (Department of Social, Family, Public Health, Consumer Protection)
BUNABE	Bürger naher Beamter (Local policeman, “Bobby”)
BWA	Behörde für Wirtschaft und Arbeit (Department of Economics and Labour)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union)
DITIB	Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion (The Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs)
DTF	Deutsch-Türkisches Forum (German-Turkish Forum)
GAL	Grün-Alternative Liste (Greens Alternative List – Hamburg Green Party)
GEW	Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (Union for Education and Science)
HHAP	Hamburger Handlungskonzept zur Integration von Zuwanderern (Hamburg Action Plan on Integration)
IBA	Internationale Bauausstellung (International Building Exhibition)
IQ	Integration durch Qualifikation (Integration through Qualification)
IWB	Islamisches Wissenschafts- und Bildungsinstitut (Islamic Science and Education Centre)

KESS	Kompetenzen und Einstellungen von Schülerinnen und Schülern (Study on the Skills and Attitudes of Students)
LI	Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung (Institute for Teacher Education and School Development)
MSO	Migrantenselbstorganisation (Migrant self-organisation, synonym for minority organisation)
NGO	Nicht Regierungsorganisation (Non-governmental Organisation)
NOBI	Norddeutsches Netzwerk zur beruflichen Integration von Migrantinnen und Migranten (Northern German Network for the Professional Integration of Migrants)
SCHURA	Rat der islamischen Gemeinschaften in Hamburg (Council of Muslim Communities in Hamburg)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
WAZ	Westdeutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung (Newspaper for Western Germany, Ruhr valley)
ZfT	Zentrum für Türkei Studien (Centre for Studies on Turkey)

## 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. 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 National 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 and family dependants. 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 to which their parents migrated.

**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 which are not the dominant group in society.

**Muslim:** This group is diverse and although there are 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

Hamburg, with its long history of immigration, is home to diverse minority communities. The city has a population of 1,720,632 originating in more than 180 countries,<sup>1</sup> with 14.3 per cent having a foreign passport and 26.8 per cent having a migrant background.<sup>2</sup> A substantial majority of the non-ethnic German population (70 per cent) is from Europe and over a quarter from Member States of the European Union (EU). Of the remaining foreign population, 6 per cent are from Africa, 19 per cent from Asia and 4 per cent from the Americas.<sup>3</sup> Hamburg's historical familiarity with diversity has created an environment where inter-religious dialogue and inclusion of its Muslim residents are a visible part of the political and civic landscape.

The exact number of Muslim inhabitants of Hamburg cannot be determined as direct data on grounds of ethnic or religious affiliation are not collected.<sup>4</sup> However, the estimated number of Muslims in Hamburg is approximately 90,000, with at least 71,000 of them living in the newly created administrative district of Hamburg-Mitte.<sup>5</sup>

This report sets out to explore the everyday experiences of ordinary Muslims living in the district of Hamburg-Mitte, with a particular focus on the impact of public policies aimed at improving integration and social inclusion.<sup>6</sup> Integration is understood as a

---

<sup>1</sup> Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit, Verbraucherschutz, "Hamburger Handlungskonzept zur Integration von Zuwanderern" (Hamburg Action Plan on Integration, HHAP), Hamburg, 2007, p. 10, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/128792/data/konzept.pdf> (accessed January 2010) (hereafter HHAP). For basic information about Hamburg see the website of the Statistical Office of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, [http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx\\_standdocuments/Stadtporrait\\_2009\\_Englisch\\_01.pdf](http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx_standdocuments/Stadtporrait_2009_Englisch_01.pdf) (accessed 11 March 2010).

<sup>2</sup> "Hamburg hat den bundesweit höchsten Ausländeranteil" (Hamburg has the highest percentage of foreigners at the federal level), *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 2 July 2008, available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/daten/2008/07/02/901676.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit, Verbraucherschutz, *Hamburger Handlungskonzept zur Integration von Zuwanderern* (Hamburg Action Plan on Integration, HHAP), Hamburg, 2007, p. 75, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/128792/data/konzept.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>4</sup> The absence of statistical data based on ethnic and religious affiliation also has historical reasons primarily dating back to the Second World War, the Nazi regime and treatment of the Jewish population. See Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldmann, *Hannah Arendt. The Jewish Writings*, Schocken Books, New York, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Defining Muslim communities by religious affiliation or country of origin is not an accurate reflection of their identity as it can be centred on ethno-national and/or ethno-religious aspects rather than overt faith. Religious affiliation is only one part of a complex identity construction. Estimates are made on the basis of residents from Muslim countries living in Hamburg. More than 30 per cent of the population in Hamburg-Mitte (240,000) originates in Muslim countries.

<sup>6</sup> In the context of this report the identification of an individual as a Muslim has been left to the self-perception of the interviewee and has not been associated with any previously fixed religious or cultural definition.

two-way process that requires both engagement by individuals and opportunities for participation. Emphasis is placed on the local area, in this case three neighbourhoods of the district of Hamburg-Mitte. Focus on the locality offers new insights and possibly for the first time portrays the city from the perspective of its Muslim population.

The Open Society Institute (OSI) research reveals a range of attitudes, experiences and opinions. There is a developed sense of belonging to the city, especially at the local and neighbourhood level among Muslims and non-Muslims. For many Muslim participants, a feeling of alienation and exclusion from other parts of the town and even more at the national level has strengthened the connection with their own neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods like Veddel or Wilhelmsburg attract people because of their ethnic diversity. The neighbourhoods in the district convey a feeling of heterogeneity and belonging which is viewed as different from the homogeneous population in other parts of the city.

Findings from the OSI data suggest Muslims feel a closer tie to the city of Hamburg than to Germany. A large majority of those interviewed felt there was a pervasive perception of them as foreigners and that their refusal to see themselves as German was not an assumed renunciation of German society and its values but rather their perception that the German majority still defines being German as an ethno-national (German) and ethno-religious (German-Christian) identity. This sense of exclusion, widely shared by many Muslim respondents, has been further heightened as hostility towards Islam and Muslims is felt to have risen nationally. Racist discrimination against foreigners is perceived by the majority of the population to take place on the fringes of German society and is considered to be an expression of right-wing extremism, but there is a widespread belief among Muslims that discrimination and prejudice against Muslims have to a certain extent become socially acceptable, adding to pre-existing ethnic discrimination, particularly towards Turks.<sup>7</sup> The murder of Marwa al-Scherbini, a pregnant Muslim pharmacist, in a court in Dresden in July 2009 after taking legal steps against Islamophobic insults, highlights the fact that this perception is based on real everyday experiences.<sup>8</sup> Even if their mother tongue is German, Muslims are identified as “other”. This was felt to be especially prevalent in

---

<sup>7</sup> This supports the findings of Brettfeld and Wetzels in their quantitative survey on Muslims in Germany, where 80 per cent of the young Muslim respondents had experienced some kind of exclusion or negative treatment because of their attributed trait of being a foreigner. Almost 30 percent of the respondents had even reported heavy or very heavy forms of discrimination. See Kathrin Brettfeld and Peter Wetzels, *Muslims in Deutschland. Integration, Integrationsbarrieren, Religion und Einstellungen zu Demokratie, Rechtsstaat und politisch-religiös motivierter Gewalt (Muslims in Germany. Integration, Barriers to Integration, Religion and Attitudes Toward Democracy, the Constitutional State, and Politically and Religiously Motivated Violence)*, Publikationsversand der Bundesregierung, Hamburg, 2007, p. 241 (hereafter Brettfeld and Wetzels, *Muslims in Germany*).

<sup>8</sup> “Mordprozess am Tatort” (Murder trail at the crime scene), available at <http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/marwaprozess108.html> (accessed January 2010).

expressions of religious identity and affiliation such as wearing headscarves, prayers at public places like schools or the building of mosques.

Education is crucial to integration and highly valued by the Muslim respondents in this report. The experiences and concerns of Muslims towards the educational sector suggest that obstacles stemming from real and perceived discrimination, which are hampering academic achievement, are directly related to their experiences as Muslims and their ethnic group. Alongside reported questionable quality and selection processes within the educational sector, the impact includes low educational attainment levels among Muslim pupils, the effects of racism on self-esteem and aspirations, and the role that a lack of recognition of a person's faith can play in ensuring that an individual cannot fully participate in society. Low academic achievement can also be directly linked to challenges and barriers in finding employment, both skilled and unskilled, in the labour market.

Although there are no legal provisions prohibiting the wearing of headscarves in Hamburg, there are indications that visible forms of faith can be a barrier to employment in public professional careers, including teaching and policing. Current concerns expressed include the feeling that Muslim women with headscarves are not excluded when employed in administrative and low-skilled jobs but are under-represented in leading positions and positions which require higher qualifications and visibility. The research suggests that policies are needed that address issues arising in the educational sector and that link to initiatives to improve Muslim engagement in the labour market in a holistic manner.

The majority of Muslims in the OSI study live in social housing, while the majority of non-Muslims live in houses belonging to private landlords. Rents have increased following the redevelopment of central areas of the district. This has led to a movement of poorer and larger families into the more affordable outer fringes of the district, where larger flats are still available.<sup>9</sup>

The health sector in Hamburg has been successful in offering a culturally-sensitive service to the specific needs of Muslims. Reforms in the public-health sector, including government spending, appear to be leading to reduced consultation time with doctors and poorer delivery of service for specific groups. The different health reforms in recent years were reported to be generally affecting people living in poorer areas, but specifically older Muslim men and women.

Although there is a recognition that the public sphere, including public institutions and leaders, are responsible for creating and maintaining the prevailing and often stereotyped view of Muslims and Islam, trust in the criminal justice system among

---

<sup>9</sup> Bernd Hallenberg, "Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt. Ein Beitrag zum vhw-Verbandstag 2007" (Migrants and the Hamburg housing market. A report for the vhw-association meeting 2007), vhw FW 5, Oct.–Nov. 2007 (hereafter Hallenberg, "Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt").



Muslims in Hamburg was strong. One explanation is the view that key political institutions such as the government and parliament can change policies and sway opinions but that the police and law courts have to act according to rules and evidence, and despite the conduct of individual police officers general trust is not undermined.

The media play a vital role in creating and sustaining perceptions in the wider society. The OSI research indicates a certain criticism by surveyed Muslims towards the media for what are perceived to be sensationalist and hostile attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. There was, however, an acknowledgement that recent portrayals of and stories about Muslims have taken a more balanced and less polarising slant in Hamburg. Muslim voices, though, remain largely absent among both media workers and commentators.

In recent years, immigration and citizenship laws in Germany have changed considerably and national as well as local integration policies have increased in effort, design and implementation. The city administration in Hamburg has made significant efforts to include Muslims and Muslim organisations in policy debates and to support their participation in society and its institutions. The 2006 Hamburg Action Plan on Integration (HHAP) emphasises the positive contribution of migrant communities to city life and the importance of policies which are mutually inclusive and reinforcing. Indicators for action include education, employment, housing and security. However, the HHAP is not a directive but more a call for better practice and policies. It does not adequately address the role of discrimination as an obstacle to integration and instead promotes language acquisition as the key means to greater integration and cohesion. Although Muslims recognise the importance of learning German, it is not necessarily seen as the major barrier to successful integration.

The above are some of the chief concerns and views expressed by Muslims residing in parts of Hamburg, but there is a heightened acceptance and inclusion of Muslims in key political and public institutions. The Senate of Hamburg has fostered dialogue with the chief Muslim representatives from the council of Muslim communities (known as SCHURA) on the creation of a legal instrument which gives Islam equal status to Christianity. The SCHURA has established an annual *Iftar* reception where representatives of the city council, civil society, senior politicians and Muslim leaders and organisations meet and dine together during the fasting month of Ramadan.<sup>10</sup> An equally positive step is the participation of government employment agency staff at the Friday prayers in mosques in a bid to recruit young Muslims for vocational training and apprenticeships. At the same time, there is an absence of Muslim voices from many important public debates on issues that affect Muslims, thus increasing the lack of public information on crucial issues.

This study of Hamburg offers a snapshot of the diverse Muslim population and its concerns. The needs and priorities of Hamburg's Muslim communities are similar to

---

<sup>10</sup> *Iftar* is the evening meal eaten after sunset for breaking the fast in the month of Ramadan.

those of other residents, but there are also specific issues which must be understood and addressed. The local administration's efforts to enhance integration are having a positive effect, but attention to a more nuanced perception on the social relationships in the city would complement the work of the city council. The extent to which the national political discourse on religion and minorities is played out is also crucial, as municipal policies are not created as stand-alone efforts. This debate is an area where a common understanding is vital, as a struggle continues in which Muslims must not be forced to choose between religious expression and integration. As one OSI respondent explained: "We have integrated into society very well, but now it is the time when society has to incorporate us."<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> OSI held six focus groups in Hamburg composed of Muslim residents from the three areas under focus in Hamburg- Mitte. Participants included males and females aged between 18-65 years of age. For more information, see Section 1.1 Methodology.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This report sets out to analyse the everyday experiences of Muslims living in the district of Hamburg-Mitte, with a particular focus on public policies aimed at improving integration and social inclusion. Integration in this report is understood as a two-way process that requires both engagement by individuals and opportunities for participation.

A report that 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, ethnic attachments, and linguistic and cultural backgrounds, who are currently defined and marked as such mainly from the outside.<sup>12</sup> It 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, even if they are, in fact, adherents of other religions. In the context of this report the identification of a person as Muslim has been left to the self-perception of the interviewee and has not been associated with any prefixed religious or cultural definition.

The identification of a person, whether by self- or external ascription, as Muslim is not a neutral matter, as it can entail identification with a group that is at times stigmatised 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.<sup>13</sup>

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 Hamburg-Mitte. In contrast to other recently published studies<sup>14</sup> on migrants and Muslims, this study focuses on policy implications and looks in depth into a wide range of aspects of Muslims' everyday life in Hamburg-Mitte, a district which has undergone fundamental change and is home to the majority of Muslims in Hamburg. It looks into Muslim identities and their feeling of belonging, of interactions between groups in Hamburg and their situation in relation to education, employment, housing, health and social protection, policing and security concerns, their level and medium for participation as citizens and the role the media plays in shaping perceptions and opinions.

---

<sup>12</sup> The word "background" and "migrant background" is used consistently throughout this report. It refers to a person's cultural, ethnic and religious heritage and is used in the context of migration of parents to Germany at some point over the last fifty years.

<sup>13</sup> Brettfeld and Wetzels, *Muslims in Germany*.

<sup>14</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung (ed.), *Religion Monitor 2008, Muslim Religiousness in Germany, Overview of Religious Attitudes and Practices*, Gütersloh, 2008 (hereafter Bertelsmann, *Religion Monitor 2008*); Sebastian Beck and Thomas Perry, "Migranten-Milieus. Erste Erkenntnisse über Lebenswelten und wohnungsmarktspezifische Präferenzen von Personen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland" (Migrants' milieus. Initial findings on specific lifestyles and housing preferences of persons with migrant backgrounds in Germany), *vhw FW 4*, July–Sept. 2007 (hereafter Beck and Perry, "Migranten-Milieus").

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 Hamburg-Mitte has nevertheless to be kept in mind. Care is therefore needed before findings can be transferred to different contexts.

## 1.1 Methodology

This report provides an analysis of findings based on fieldwork and existing literature on research and policy in three areas of the district of Hamburg-Mitte undertaken in 2008 and 2009.

- Area 1 included the city centre and surrounding areas such as parts of Altona, St Pauli and St Georg.
- Area 2 included the southern part of the district, Veddel and Wilhelmsburg.
- Area 3 included the eastern part of the district, Hamm, Horn and Billstedt.

The fieldwork consisted of 200 in-depth, face-to-face interviews with local residents in the three areas (100 Muslims and 100 non-Muslims). Each group was evenly split between male and female respondents from differing social and religious backgrounds. The questionnaires were then expanded in six focus groups with approximately 50 Muslim residents. There was a further range of in-depth interviews conducted with local politicians, members of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), practitioners such as teachers and health workers, community representatives, and anti-discrimination and integration experts. This report also includes feedback from a roundtable held in Hamburg in June 2009 attended by 50 participants, representing a diversity of organisations and institutions (faith-based organisations, civil society and the city administration).

The 200 interview respondents were a non-random cross-section of individuals chosen from specified subgroups of the population in Hamburg-Mitte (see Table 1.). The characteristics (age, ethnicity and gender) of the selected respondents were extrapolated from the available national population figures for the city. Recognising that national statistics do not include data on ethnic or religious affiliation, the exact numbers of Muslims in each of the cities cannot be determined.

**Table 1. Data sample for OSI research questionnaires**

Age	Muslim male %	Muslim female %	Non-Muslim male %	Non-Muslim female %	Total %
<20	13.7	6.1	6.1	2.0	7.0
20–29	21.6	51.0	24.5	21.6	29.5
30–39	21.6	22.4	16.3	27.5	22.0
40–49	25.5	6.1	24.5	25.5	20.5
50–59	5.9	8.2	12.2	13.7	10.0
60+	11.8	6.1	16.3	9.8	11.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The ethnic origin of respondents was obtained through interview questions on nationality, place of birth and self-identification of ethnic and/or cultural background.

The nationalities among the Muslim interviewees are shown as follows.

**Table 2. Nationalities of Muslim interviewees**

	Male %	Female %	Total %
Germany	54.9	59.2	57.0
Turkey	33.3	24.5	29.0
Afghanistan	2.0	2.0	2.0
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2.0	2.0	2.0
Other	8.0	12.0	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The nationality of non-Muslim interviewees is presented below.

**Table 3. Nationalities of non-Muslim interviewees**

		Male %	Female %	Total %
Germany		89.8	86.3	88.0
Serbia, Montenegro		2.0	2.0	2.0
Spain		0.0	3.9	2.0
Other		8.0	8.0	8.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 4. gives details of the place of birth of the Muslim interviewees.

**Table 4. Birthplace of Muslim interviewees**

		Male %	Female %	Total %
Afghanistan		5.9	6.1	6.0
Germany		27.5	46.9	37.0
Turkey		54.9	36.7	46.0
Other		12.0	10.0	11.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 5. gives the place of birth of non-Muslims.

**Table 5. Birthplace of non-Muslim interviewees**

		Male %	Female %	Total %
Chile		4.1	3.9	4.0
Germany		79.6	72.5	76.0
Poland		0.0	3.9	2.0
Russia		2.0	2.0	2.0
Spain		0.0	3.9	2.0
Other		14.3	13.8	14.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 6. shows the diverse identities among Muslim respondents in Hamburg-Mitte. It also shows, however, that almost 60 per cent of all respondents referred to Turkey or a Turkish identity.



**Table 6. Ethnic and cultural belonging among Muslim interviewees**

Turkish	41
Turkish-Anatolian	1
Turkish-Kurdish	2
Afghan	5
Albanian	2
Algerian	1
Arab-Palestinian	1
Bosnian	1
Moroccan	3
Persian	1
German	4
German-Afghan	1
German-Gambian	1
German-Serbian	2
German-Turkish	2
Hamburger	3
Mankind	1
World citizen	1
Turkish-Ottoman	2
African	2
Arabian	1
Muslim	5
Muslim-Afghan	1
Muslim-Bosnian	1
Muslim-German	1
Muslim-Turkish	11
<b>Total<sup>15</sup></b>	<b>97</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

<sup>15</sup> Three respondents did not give an answer to this question.

Non-Muslim respondents were found to be similarly diverse, which is further explored in Chapter 4. A similar number of Muslims and non-Muslims were brought up in a rural and/or urban setting in Germany or their country of birth.

**Table 7. Urban or rural upbringing of interviewees**

		Male %	Female %	Total %
Urban		69.0	65.0	67.0
Rural		24.0	33.0	28.5
Did not answer		7.0	2.0	4.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 8. shows the marital status of surveyed respondents.

**Table 8. Marital status of interviewees**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Single never married		30.0	49.0	39.5
Married, 1st and only marriage		55.0	16.0	35.5
Married, 2nd or subsequent marriage		3.0	9.0	6.0
Cohabiting		2.0	15.0	8.5
Single but previously married and now divorced/separated		6.0	10.0	8.0
Single but previously married and now widowed		4.0	1.0	2.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

In order to have access to the variety of ethnic and faith communities in the area of research, 19 interviewers, both male and female, were recruited. This included people

with origins or links in Africa, Asia, the Balkans, Turkey, Europe, North Africa and the Middle East.

The focus groups were convened with Muslim residents from Hamburg-Mitte district according to age and gender. Three groups consisted of male and female participants between the ages of 18 and 45. Each of the focus groups discussed one of the following areas in depth: education and employment, health and social services, and policing and political participation. The remaining three groups were composed of: women under 35 years of age; women older than 40 years of age; and men older than 40 years of age. Three of the four focus groups were conducted and facilitated in German; the group with women older than 40 was held in German and Turkish. The discussion with women under 35 was held by a female Turkish-speaking facilitator and the discussion with men older than 40 by a male Turkish speaker. The most significant findings of the questionnaires as well as issues of concern from the focus groups will be outlined and summarised within the thematic chapters of this report.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> The full data of the questionnaires as well as the full-length transcriptions of the focus groups are on file with the authors and originators of the research.

## 2. POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Hamburg has a population of 1,720,632 originating in more than 180 countries,<sup>17</sup> with 14.3 per cent holding a foreign passport.<sup>18</sup> Compared with other cities like Frankfurt am Main (21.1 per cent), Stuttgart (23.4 per cent) and Munich (23.6 per cent), Hamburg has a medium-sized foreign population;<sup>19</sup> but 26.8 per cent of the Hamburg population have a migrant background.<sup>20</sup> A substantial majority, 70 per cent of the non-native population of Hamburg, is from European countries, including Turkey, of which more than 25 per cent is from EU Member States. People from Africa constitute 6 per cent of all foreigners, 19 per cent are from South Asian states and 4 per cent from the Americas.<sup>21</sup>

Public data only distinguish between those with German citizenship (Germans) and those without German citizenship (foreigners). In 2005 the Federal Statistical Office changed the method of counting the population in the micro-census.<sup>22</sup> This meant changes to the methodology, introducing the concept of people having a migrant background. For the definition of this new concept, available official statistical information on the time of immigration, citizenship and naturalisation of the interviewee and his or her parents is used.<sup>23</sup> According to the Federal Statistical Office, the definition needed to be as broad as necessary to answer legitimate questions and it needed to be as narrow as possible to target those in need of integration measures as defined by politics.<sup>24</sup> Excluded from the definition are those who migrated to Germany before 1950, because most of them are considered refugees (*Vertriebene*), ethnic

<sup>17</sup> HHAP, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> HHAP, p. 10. For more basic information about Hamburg see the website of the Statistical Office of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, see [http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx\\_standocuments/Stadtporrait\\_2009\\_Englisch\\_01.pdf](http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx_standocuments/Stadtporrait_2009_Englisch_01.pdf) (accessed 11 March 2010).

<sup>19</sup> *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 2 July 2008. When comparing cities in Germany, the German Federal structure has to be taken into consideration. Hamburg is a Federal state. Compared with other Federal States the percentage of foreigners is high. If you compare it with cities in other states (*Länder*), it is low.

<sup>20</sup> HHAP, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Statistisches Landesamt der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (ed.), “Trends und Strukturen Hamburg 1950–2015” (Trends and structures, Hamburg 1950–2015), *Statistik Magazin Hamburg*, Vol. 3 (Statistics.Magazine.Hamburg), Hamburg, 2000.

<sup>22</sup> In comparison with a full census the micro-census surveys only a representative sample of 1 per cent of the households in Germany, covering 390,000 households with 830,000 people. Available at <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikrozensus> (in German) (accessed January 2009).

<sup>23</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2005* (Population and Employment. Population with migration background – Results of the microcensus 2005) – Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2 (Specialist Series 1 Series 2.2), p. 5 (hereafter Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Mikrozensus*).

<sup>24</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Mikrozensus*, p. 5.

Germans (*Aussiedler*) expelled from eastern Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War. Children of migrants, who are now third generation, are included in the category, according to the authors, because migration research apparently shows that they face the severest integration problems.<sup>25</sup> These severe integration problems may also be intertwined with experiences of discrimination. Statistically there is only a distinction between the first and second generations.<sup>26</sup> Lastly, the Federal Statistical Office assumes that all foreigners and all those who are naturalised have a migrant background.<sup>27</sup>

With these new definitions it is possible to describe the population since 2005 according to its migration background, migration experience or foreign nationality. From 2009 the Federal Statistical Office differentiates between a “migrant background in the narrow sense”, where clear distinguishable data will be available and a “migrant background in a wider sense”, which covers all those who received their status of migrant background through their parents, but had already left home.<sup>28</sup> According to this new methodology, 26.8 per cent of the population of Hamburg have a migrant background, 12.6 per cent of whom are German citizens and 14.3 per cent are foreigners.<sup>29</sup> This differs very much within age groups. (See Table 9.)

**Table 9. Hamburg population according to migrant background and German citizenship**

Age	Migrant background %	Among whom, German citizens %
<6	48.0	36.8
6–<18	44.8	26.1
18–<30	33.8	15.7
30–60	26.9	9.9
>60	11.1	5.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>12.6</b>

Source: HHAP, Appendix 1

There are no official statistics on the number of Muslims in Hamburg, as data are not collected on the basis of religion. Taking the largest groups of migrants from Muslim

<sup>25</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Mikrozensus*, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Mikrozensus*, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Mikrozensus*, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Mikrozensus*, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> HHAP, Appendix 1.

countries, the population of the old Hamburg-Mitte<sup>30</sup> district is approximately 30 per cent Muslim, with migrants from Turkey (25 per cent), Afghanistan (5.2 per cent) and Bosnia (2 per cent). Non-Muslim migrants come from Poland (8.5 per cent), Serbia and Montenegro (7 per cent), Philippines (6.2 per cent) and Portugal (4.1 per cent). Migrants from Ghana, Greece, Croatia, Russia, Macedonia, Iran and Ukraine each constitute a community of around 2 per cent of the total.<sup>31</sup> The estimated Muslim population in the new district of Hamburg-Mitte is likely to be even higher than 30 per cent of the total, due to the incorporation of the Wilhelmsburg area and its large Muslim population.

A 2009 published survey on Muslim life in Germany, commissioned by the German Islam Conference and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) comes to the conclusion that looking only at countries of origin might be misleading.<sup>32</sup> It compared the numbers given by the CIA *World Factbook*,<sup>33</sup> which takes the national religious composition of Muslim countries to calculate the size of the Muslim population, with the figures of its own study and concluded that the religious composition in the country of origin does not reflect the religious composition in Germany because the migration pattern of the religious groups is often very different.<sup>34</sup>

According to the same study, the composition of the total of Muslim households consists of 74.1 per cent Sunnis, 12.7 per cent Alevis,<sup>35</sup> 7.1 per cent Shias and other smaller religious groups (Ahmadi, Sufi, Ibadi).<sup>36</sup>

Muslims in Hamburg are a diverse religious minority and include Sunni and Shiite Muslims, as well as German converts. Mosque associations are very common and include the Council for Islam, the Turkish-Islamic Union of the Office for Religious

<sup>30</sup> Without Wilhelmsburg.

<sup>31</sup> Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, *Statistischer Bericht A I 4 – j/07 H, Ausländische Bevölkerung in Hamburg* (Statistical report: foreign population in Hamburg). Hamburg: Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2007 (hereafter Statistisches Amt, “*Ausländische Bevölkerung*”).

<sup>32</sup> Sonja Haug, Anja Sticks and Stephanie Müssig, “Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland”, in *Auftrag der Deutschen Islam Konferenz. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, Nürnberg, 2009, p. 85 (hereafter Haug et al., “Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland”).

<sup>33</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), *The 2008 World Factbook*, CIA, Langley, VA, 2008, available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/download-2008/index.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Haug et al., “Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland”, p. 86.

<sup>35</sup> Alevis are a cultural and religious minority in Turkey who because of their heterodox tenets were severely persecuted during Ottoman rule. Therefore Alevis practised *taqiya* (dissimulation) and did not outwardly identify as Alevi. Since the 1960s, Alevis have been coming as working migrants to Germany, like other Turks. After an era of dissimulation, Alevis started a revival of their identity in both Turkey and Germany.

<sup>36</sup> Haug et al., “Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland”, p. 97.

Affairs (DITIB) in Turkey or the Islamic community, Milli Görüs. The Alevi community, with an estimated 30,000 members in Hamburg, is currently seeking recognition as a religious community, which includes the right to teach the Alevi faith in schools.<sup>37</sup> Alevis do not always self-identify as Muslims.

There are no reliable figures about the settlement pattern of Muslims in Hamburg either. The micro-census only gives the data that are gathered at the level of housing blocks in a given city.

Currently these data cover nationality, but will cover migrant background in the future. These data are only available on the city district level, due to data protection laws.<sup>38</sup>

A commercial consumer study carried out in 2007 by Microm GmbH provides the settlement pattern of the migrant population in Hamburg.<sup>39</sup> First and surnames of the tenants of the largest housing company in Hamburg were clustered according to ten (national) cultures of origin and were then subject to linguistic analysis. Names from Turkey and from non-European Islamic countries were identified as Muslim. The result is an “ethno-variable”,<sup>40</sup> which is spatially projected on a map.

---

<sup>37</sup> See <http://www.aabk.info/alevitischelehre.html> (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>38</sup> Hallenberg, “Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt”.

<sup>39</sup> Hallenberg, “Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt”.

<sup>40</sup> See microm, MOSAIC-Ethno. Migrationshintergründe und deren Konsumeinfluss (Migration backgrounds and their influence on consumption. [http://www.microm-online.de/Deutsch/Microm/Aktuelles/Aktuelle\\_Meldungen/Archiv\\_2007/2007-03-05\\_Ethno.jsp](http://www.microm-online.de/Deutsch/Microm/Aktuelles/Aktuelle_Meldungen/Archiv_2007/2007-03-05_Ethno.jsp), (accessed 13 March 2010).



**Figure 1. Distribution of migrant population in Hamburg originating in Turkey or Islamic countries**



Source: Hallenberg, “Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt”

## 2.1 Migration History

The city of Hamburg and its evolution over time is, like every urban space, inseparably connected to migration movements long before guest worker recruitment started at the end of the 1950s. At the end of the world-famous Reeperbahn a road called “Great Freedom” begins, which at its farthest end is called “Small Freedom”. This road, famous because the Beatles started their career there, was for 200 years the border between the Danish city of Altona and the no-man’s-land of St Pauli, which was outside the walls of the Hanseatic merchant city of Hamburg. In the 19th century the nearby harbour was a main point of emigration from Europe: Germans fleeing political persecution and economic hardship after the end of the Napoleonic wars and in the second half of the century, and eastern European Jews escaping rising anti-Semitism and pogroms in eastern Europe. Until the establishment of a tight system of migration

control<sup>41</sup> in 1892, 20 years after the establishment of the German Reich, the inner city areas were the centre of migration-related business, settled by would-be emigrants who did not reach the New World. It is estimated that around 5 million people from Russia or the Habsburg Empire left from Hamburg or Bremerhaven for America between 1871 and the First World War.<sup>42</sup>

After a new order was established at the end of the First World War, the mass migration from eastern Europe declined, but after 1921 the emigration of Germans increased again, due to the unstable German economy and the effects of the international economic crisis. After the National Socialist Party (popularly known as the Nazi Party) seized power in 1933, emigration of mainly German Jews accelerated. In 1961, the year the Berlin Wall was constructed, emigration declined again.

A forgotten history of forced immigration during the Second World War has recently been rediscovered through research.<sup>43</sup> After the Second World War, forced labourers and the survivors of the concentration camps often did not return to their home country and instead were resettled in America and other regions of the world. Some preferred to stay in Hamburg.

Another group of migrants, which had deeply reshaped the religious landscape of Germany since the Reformation, were the *Vertriebene*, mainly ethnic Germans, who were forced out of central Europe after the end of the Second World War.<sup>44</sup> It is estimated that around 12 million people had to be accommodated.

At the end of the 1940s, the period of reconstruction and the German economic miracle, the *Vertriebene* were integrated quickly and the population of Hamburg increased sharply up until 1964. Combined with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the growing economy and the lack of availability of skilled workers from the German Democratic Republic (GDR, often known as East Germany), there was a shortage of labour in Hamburg and all over the Federal Republic (often known as West Germany). As a reaction to this shortage, recruitment treaties for so-called guest

---

<sup>41</sup> Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, *Hamburg Portrait Heft 19: Hamburg als Auswandererstadt. Hamburg* (Museum of Hamburg History, Portrait booklet 19: Hamburg as city of emigration), Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Hamburg, 1984, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Just, *Transitland Kaiserreich: Ost-und südosteuropäische Massenauswanderung über deutsche Häfen* (Kaiserreich, country of transit: eastern and southeastern mass emigration through German ports), in Klaus Bade, *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Germans abroad – foreigners in Germany. Historical and contemporary migration), C.H. Beck, Munich, 1992, pp. 295–302.

<sup>43</sup> Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Hintergrundinformationen zur Publikation “Zwangsarbeit in der Hamburger Kriegswirtschaft 1939–1945” (Background information to the publication “Forced Labour in the Hamburg war economy 1939–45”), available at [http://www.zwangsarbeit-in-hamburg.de/booklet\\_print.pdf](http://www.zwangsarbeit-in-hamburg.de/booklet_print.pdf) (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>44</sup> Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat. Die Geschichte der Deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Cold Home. The history of German dispersed people after 1945), Siedler-Verlag, Munich, 2008.

workers were signed with Italy (1955), Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). From this point on a significant Muslim population began to appear in Hamburg.

From the 1960s the population of Hamburg continuously decreased to the point that its size in the middle of the 1980s was similar to the 1950s. Between 1987 and 1993 the population numbers increased due to the influx of ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) arriving from countries from the Soviet Union, asylum seekers and East Germans. Hamburg's Muslim population grew largely as a result of the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia, mainly Bosnia, and Afghanistan.

There are two distinct aspects of the perception of Muslims in Hamburg today. On the one hand there is the image of events on 11 September 2001 (9/11) and the Hamburg cells around Mohammed Atta, one of the terrorists involved in 9/11. On the other is a liberal image of Hamburg, containing one of the oldest mosques in Germany, the Imam Ali Mosque, and its reputation as a refuge for religious minorities. In 1953, before regular guest worker recruitment from Turkey began, there was an initiative from Hamburg-based merchants of Iranian descent to build a mosque in Hamburg. This led to the founding of one of the oldest Muslim organisations in Germany, the Islamic Centre of Hamburg (*Islamisches Zentrum Hamburg*). In 1961, construction work started in the affluent area of Uhlenhorst, on the shores of Lake Alster, which due to political and internal wrangling in the organisation was not finished until 1992.<sup>45</sup>

Currently there are 43 registered mosques in Hamburg, with around 12,000 registered worshippers for the Friday prayers.<sup>46</sup> Sermons and facilities attract a wide variety of ethnic groups, including Turks, Pakistanis, Africans, Bosnians, Albanians, Afghans and Bengali Muslims.<sup>47</sup> Most of the mosques in Hamburg are located in the areas which are being studied by this report, with the majority in St Georg.

A series of studies about different aspects of migrant and Muslim life was recently published and show that there is an interest in evidence-based knowledge about the way migrants and Muslims are living. These studies are mainly commissioned by state authorities such as the Federal Ministry of the Interior or the Federal anti-discrimination body, in cooperation with university departments or private research organisations.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> See the Wikipedia entry on the mosque at [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam-Ali-Moschee\\_\(Hamburg\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam-Ali-Moschee_(Hamburg)) (accessed 17 October 2008).

<sup>46</sup> The website <http://www.moscheesuche.de> (accessed January 2010) gives detailed information about mosques in Germany (accessed January 2010).

<sup>47</sup> Available at <http://www.moscheesuche.de> (accessed 1 May 2010).

<sup>48</sup> Beck and Perry, "Migranten-Milieus"; Brettfeld and Wetzels, *Muslims in Germany*; Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes (Federal anti-discrimination body), "Band 4: Forschungsprojekt: Diskriminierung im Alltag – Wahrnehmung von Diskriminierung und Antidiskriminierungspolitik in unserer Gesellschaft" (Vol. 4, Research Project – Discrimination in everyday life. Perceptions of discrimination and anti-discrimination policy in our society), Nomos Verlagsges. Mbh + Co, Baden-Baden, 2009; Haug *et al.*, "Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland".

The study “Muslim Life in Germany” gives for the first time a scientific estimate of the size of the Muslim population in Germany, which is not derived by referring to the religious composition of the countries of origin. It provides socio-demographic data, histories of migration and data on religious practices, and looks at different aspects of Muslim integration; it also contains short profiles of Muslim and non-Muslim migrant groups as well as of other religious and non-religious migrants.<sup>49</sup>

A study of migrant milieus and their consumer habits, focusing partly on a Muslim milieu, was conducted by Socio-Sinus-Vision in 2007.<sup>50</sup> Using multilingual interviews, focus groups and photo documentation of interior furniture and style and a sample frame covering age, gender, education, citizenship and migrant generation, they targeted the largest migrant groups along ethnic lines.<sup>51</sup> This study covers religion implicitly, as ethnic groups were separated along religious lines.<sup>52</sup> The research concludes that, although ethnic belonging, religion and the migration history influence the subjects’ everyday life and their cultural background, they are not central in their milieus and identity.<sup>53</sup>

In 2007 the study “Muslims in Germany” was published by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior.<sup>54</sup> Criminologists in Hamburg enquired into the attitudes of Muslims in Germany on integration and democracy, the rule of law, and of course politically and religiously motivated violence. The mainly quantitative study was enriched with qualitative interviews with 60 members of Islamic associations, organisations and mosques in Hamburg.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Haug et al., “Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland”.

<sup>50</sup> Beck and Perry, “Migranten-Milieus”.

<sup>51</sup> Southern Europeans (Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, Portuguese), Turks (without Kurds), Kurds (from Turkey), Poles and Russians (without ethnic Germans), ethnic Germans (from Poland and the former Soviet Union) and ex-Yugoslavs coming to Germany after 1992 as refugees of the civil war.

<sup>52</sup> While southern Europeans include non-Muslim Yugoslavs, the majority of refugees after 1992 coming from war-torn Bosnia were Muslims. The same can be said for the distinction between Turks, who are mostly Sunni and Kurds, who often have another religious background (e.g. Alevi).

<sup>53</sup> Beck and Perry, “Migranten-Milieus”.

<sup>54</sup> Brettfeld and Wetzels, *Muslims in Germany*.

<sup>55</sup> The study reached 970 Muslim migrants by means of a standardised telephone survey. The results of this survey were compared with the answers from 500 students in the ninth and tenth grades between ages 14 and 18, and 150 Muslim university students. The level of education of those surveyed ranged from secondary-school level to university level; the range in ages included the entire spectrum from 14 years onward, and the geographic area of the study was composed of the cities of Hamburg, Berlin, Cologne and Augsburg. The majority of those surveyed were of Turkish origin.

## 2.2 Citizenship and Access to Citizenship

To understand the naturalisation procedure in Hamburg a brief look at the numbers offers insight into the complexity of Germany's aliens legislation. In 2003, 6,734 naturalisations took place in Hamburg under nine separate laws, as shown in Table 10.<sup>56</sup>

**Table 10. Naturalisations in Hamburg by legal basis, 2003**

No. of naturalisations	Laws and criteria <sup>57</sup>
4,937	§ 85 Abs.1 AuslG (Aliens Act): Residence for more than eight years in Germany
924	§ 85 Abs.2 AuslG (Aliens Act): Possession of residence or other leave-to-remain permit
274	§ 9 StAG (Citizenship law): Basis of marriage <sup>58</sup>
263	§ 8 StAG (Citizenship law): Discretionary naturalisation <sup>59</sup>
131	§ 86 Abs.1 AuslG (Aliens Act) old version: Speaking the language
112	§ 86 Abs.2 AuslG (Aliens Act) old version: not being anti-constitutional
27	§ 40 b StAG (Citizenship law)
3	§ 21 HAG (Home Work Act), 61 § 85 AuslG (=Aliens Act) old version: foreigners having no citizenship <sup>60</sup>
2	Directly from a foreign country

**Source:** Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2004

About half of the migrant population are not German citizens. EU citizens have the right to live, study or work in Germany and receive a special EU residency permit,

<sup>56</sup> Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, *Statistischer Bericht A I 9 – j/03* (Statistical Report), 1 June, 2004.

<sup>57</sup> For legal details in German see <http://www.aufenthaltstitel.de/auslg.htm> (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>58</sup> For legal details in German see <http://www.info4alien.de/einbuergerung/gesetze/9stag.htm> (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>59</sup> For legal details in German see <http://www.info4alien.de/einbuergerung/themen/ermessen.htm> (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>60</sup> For legal details in German see [http://www.info4alien.de/vwv/vwv\\_2.htm](http://www.info4alien.de/vwv/vwv_2.htm) (accessed 13 March 2010).

normally valid for a period of five years (two years for students).<sup>61</sup> Non-EU citizens are governed by the Aliens Act (*Ausländergesetz*) and are accorded different status depending on the reason for residence. Third-country nationals always require a residence permit (*Aufenthaltstitel*). The new Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz*) of 2004 reduced the number of different types of residence permits that were allowed under the Alien Act of 1990. It essentially distinguishes between two different residence permits: the unlimited settlement permit (*Niederlassungserlaubnis*) and the limited resident permit (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis*).<sup>62</sup>

The limited resident permit may become the basis for a long-term stay in Germany. After certain periods of residence in Germany, and if particular conditions are met, holders have the right to apply for an indefinite settlement permit. The rights that are granted with this permit (e.g. entitlement to employment, subsequent immigration of dependants) depend in many cases on the purpose for which the residence permit was issued (e.g. employment, training, recognition of refugee status, temporary protection).<sup>63</sup>

The *Niederlassungserlaubnis* secures permanent residence in Germany. It has no time or spatial restrictions and gives the right to take up employment without having to undergo further approval by the Federal Employment Agency (exceptions apply only to a few professions, in particular the medical profession, e.g. doctors, and for receiving civil service status).<sup>64</sup>

In 2006 there were 7,053 people living in Hamburg who were granted temporary protection. These were individuals in need of international protection, who were not granted full refugee status and who could not be returned to their country of origin. Of these, 3,859 came from Muslim-majority countries and 2,985 from non-Muslim-majority countries. And 209 persons were not identified. The largest group of people, in total 2,320, living under temporary protection is from Afghanistan.<sup>65</sup>

The HHAP<sup>66</sup> states that comprehensive legal and political equality can only be achieved through naturalisation. It sees naturalisation as a meaningful step in the process of integration. It is in the interest not only of the individual migrant but also of the state to achieve a high congruence between people (*Staatsvolk*) and the population according to

---

<sup>61</sup> See the Just Landed website guide to German residency permits at <http://www.justlanded.com/english/Germany/Germany-Guide/Visas-Permits/Residency-permits> (accessed January 2010) (hereafter Just Landed website).

<sup>62</sup> Just Landed website.

<sup>63</sup> Just Landed website.

<sup>64</sup> Just Landed website.

<sup>65</sup> Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, Drucksache (Printed Matter) 18/4120, 16 May 2006.

<sup>66</sup> HHAP, p. 42.



the German constitution.<sup>67</sup> The number of naturalisations declined since 2002 after peaking at the end of Hamburg's first Red-Green government comprised of Social Democrats (SPD – Social Democratic Party of Germany) and the Hamburg Green Party (GAL – Green Alternative List) in 2000, which had run a naturalisation campaign at that time. In 2006 naturalisations increased slightly to 3,845 in comparison with the same period in 2005.<sup>68</sup> In 2005, the largest number of people naturalised were from Turkey (969 persons), Afghanistan (624), Iran (555) and Poland (287).

Prerequisites for naturalisation are a set of “integration achievements”, which are defined in a Federal law.<sup>69</sup> This includes allegiance (*Bekanntnis*) to the German constitution, which itself requires basic knowledge of constitutional values as well as of recent German history, sufficient knowledge of the German language and an income not based on social welfare.

The construction of the interview guidelines for examining citizenship applicants was heavily debated. The guidelines produced by the government of Baden-Württemberg were criticised as targeting the exclusion of Muslims. The government has also introduced language tests for immigrating marriage partners. The difficulty of obtaining the necessary language skills in rural areas of Turkey, combined with the fact that such requirements have not been applied, for example, to nationals of the US or Japan, increased perceptions that this measure was aimed at preventing migration from Turkey. This sense of exclusionary treatment is also one of several possible explanations for the decline in the numbers of immigrants seeking naturalisation since 2000, particularly among those with Muslim backgrounds.

Since July 2008 Hamburg has had its own naturalisation test, implementing Federal law. The test consists of 300 multiple-choice questions, which are used throughout Germany, extended by questions that address regional knowledge. The questions and their answers are viewed as reflecting certain preconceived attitudes towards Muslims (see section 10.6 below).

---

<sup>67</sup> Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (German Constitution), Art. 20 Abs. 2, [http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/rechtsgrundlagen/grundgesetz/gg\\_02.html](http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/rechtsgrundlagen/grundgesetz/gg_02.html) (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>68</sup> HHAP, p. 42.

<sup>69</sup> See § 10 Abs. 1 Nr. 1 and 3, § 11 Satz 1 Nr. Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz, available at <http://www.aufenthaltstitel.de> (accessed January 2010).

### 3. CITY POLICY

#### 3.1 Key Principles of Integration and Equality

Five key principles are outlined in the HHAP, the central document on integration and equality:<sup>70</sup>

1. Diversity is considered enriching for Hamburg.
2. Successful integration is achieved when immigrants live legally and permanently in Germany, master the German language, participate equally in the economic, social, political, cultural and social life of Hamburg and see themselves as part of society.
3. Integration is a process of mutual recognition of all members of society, who jointly take responsibility for society.
4. Integration is a duty intersecting all society and all social groups. Cultural diversity and the differences between men and women in all social realms, structures and organisations, including public administration, needs to be taken into account.
5. For successful integration, the principle of give and take is essential. Immigrants have an obligation to participate in integration initiatives and the receiving society should offer them solidarity and support in order for them to fully participate.

The HHAP was developed with the participation of Hamburg civil society and based on the results of a number of integration conferences and meetings held in August–September 2006. A wide range of stakeholders in the field of migration were given the opportunity to contribute their views on general requirements for successful integration and on concrete objectives and measures in central fields of activity such as language, education, training, professional and social integration, housing, culture, religion and sports.<sup>71</sup> The recommendations of the integration conferences were then reviewed by the administrative bodies in charge and were taken into consideration for the first draft of the HHAP. Following consultation and discussion of the draft with the Advisory Council on Integration and a range of organisations active in integration, the HHAP was adopted by the Senate at the end of 2006.<sup>72</sup> A steering committee was established, which takes decisions on the implementation and improvement of the HHAP. A wide range of actors are also part of the implementation and improvement process.

---

<sup>70</sup> HHAP, p. 9.

<sup>71</sup> Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz, “Hamburger Integrationskongress 2006 – Dokumentation” (Hamburg Congress on Integration), 2006, p. 6, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/128800/data/doku-integrationskongress-datei.pdf> (accessed January 2010) (hereafter Hamburger Integrationskongress 2006).

<sup>72</sup> Hamburger Integrationskongress 2006, p. 6.



Although the HHAP defines successful integration when migrants live in Germany on a permanent and legal basis, are fluent in German, see themselves as part of society, and are participating on an equal footing in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the country,<sup>73</sup> the OSI research indicates that there are barriers for Muslims and non-Muslims seeing themselves as part of this society.

### 3.2 Actors in the Integration Policies and the HHAP

The Department of Social, Family, Public Health, Consumer Protection (*Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit, Verbraucherschutz*, BSG) leads the implementation process of the HHAP and the integration policies for migrants and Muslims generally in Hamburg. To do this the BSG established the Central Office for Integration and Civil Society in July 2008.<sup>74</sup> The Senate's Chancellery and other specialised administrative bodies and the offices of the districts cooperate closely with the BSG. The Advisory Board on Integration advises the administration and its members relay information back to the communities.

The Senate's Chancellery Political Planning Division works with the BSG and took special responsibilities for integration in the past. They took the initiative in 2002 of securing 1,000 extra places for migrant trainees in local businesses, and in 2006 of increasing the percentage of trainees with a migrant background in the administration of Hamburg by up to 20 per cent. They are responsible for the draft agreement or treaty under negotiation between the Muslim community and the city of Hamburg.<sup>75</sup>

The establishment of the Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition in the Office for the District in 2008 was an important development. These agencies bring together the different actors (local, city and Federal administration bodies, citizens, other local actors) in the districts to address the specific needs of each locality. They are responsible for bringing together the different strands of integration policy on a district level, and are responsible for oversight in their respective areas. They report back to their superior administrative unit and feed in to the improvement of the HHAP.

The Advisory Board on Integration was reorganised and its mandate enlarged in 2008 after the new Conservative–Green coalition agreement. In the past, it was strongly

---

<sup>73</sup> HHAP, p. 9.

<sup>74</sup> Press release of Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz, “Neue Leitstelle für Integration und Zivilgesellschaft. Sozialbehörde bündelt erfolgreiche Arbeit in neuer Organisationsstruktur” (New control centre for integration and civil society. Social authority bundles successful work in a new organizational structure), 15 July 2008.

<sup>75</sup> No agreement has been reached yet; negotiations are continuing. See “Staatsvertrag mit Muslimen: Gespräche verlaufen positive” (Treaty with Muslims: Talks are positive), *Hamburg Abendblatt*, 14 August 2007, available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article874250/Staatsvertrag-mit-Muslimen-Gespraech-verlaufen-positiv.html> (accessed January 2010).

criticised by civil society for its non-transparent appointment procedure: migrants could not elect representatives and there was limited space for participation. Now migrant organisations can appoint elected representatives and for the first time in 2008 Muslim communities were represented. The rights of the Advisory Board on Integration have been improved, and it can nominate people for committees in the Hamburg administration.<sup>76</sup>

At the city level an administrative steering group to oversee the process was established and produces annual status reports on the improvements. A monitoring and controlling system is currently being put in place at the LIZ (control centre for integration and civil society), which is part of the ministry of health and social affairs, coordinates integration policies in Hamburg and is responsible for the monitoring of the HHAP. It will guide the implementation process, help to achieve the envisaged objectives and report on the use of resources and the output. This monitoring will be connected to the new budgeting methodology Hamburg is introducing.<sup>77</sup> Currently, quantifiable indicators are under development to measure progress and a first round of reporting was expected to be finished. The second round of reporting is said to be currently on the way.<sup>78</sup>

In the Department of Justice an anti-discrimination body (*Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt*) was established and has been active since 1 August 2009. It holds responsibility in the following areas:<sup>79</sup>

- Central body for issues related to:
  - equal opportunity and gender equality, including the participation in the conference of ministers for gender equality (*Konferenz der Gleichstellungs- und Frauenminister/-innen, -minister,- senatorinnen und -senatoren der Länder – GFMK*);
  - intercultural affairs;
  - demographic change.
- Overseeing implementation of the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG).
- Coordination of measures fighting racism and right-wing extremism.

---

<sup>76</sup> Press release of GAL-Bürgerschaftsfraktion, 16 September 2008.

<sup>77</sup> Senatsdrucksache No. 2006/463, 5 April 2006.

<sup>78</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2009. At the time of the drafting of the OSI report no progress reports were publicly available.

<sup>79</sup> *Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt*, Grundsatzaufgaben der Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt, typescript (Principal tasks of the Centre for Diversity), 2009 (hereafter *Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt*, Grundsatzaufgaben der Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt).

- Examining draft proposals of laws, decrees, regulations and measures of the Senate of Hamburg relating to equal opportunity and gender equality.
- Cooperation with organisations and associations working in the field of equal opportunities.
- Exchange of experiences with Federal and other state bodies.
- Public relations work on equal opportunity issues.
- Coordination, support and assistance of equal opportunity ombudsmen and ombudswomen in the administration.

### 3.3 Administrative Structure

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

The highest administrative level is represented by the *Bund*, containing 12 ministries (including the Ministry for Health and Family and the Ministry of the Interior), the Office of the Federal President (*Bundespräsidialamt*), the Office of the Federal Chancellor (*Bundeskanzleramt*), the Federal Public Relations Office (*Bundespresseamt*) and the Federal Court of Auditors (*Bundesrechnungshof*), 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 a Prime Minister (*Ministerpräsident*) for each Federal state. In city states like Hamburg, this function is fulfilled by the First Mayor. Alongside the *Ministerpräsident* or mayor, the department minister (*Fachminister*), the Ministry for Federal Affairs and also the independent Court of Auditors (*Landesrechnungshof*) are the highest authorities of the state.

At the third level of the German administrative system are the communes. They form an independent political and administrative level but their relationship to the state is according to the individual state laws. Communes vary in size from those in the large cities of Frankfurt or Cologne to those in small towns and cities with fewer inhabitants than some districts in Hamburg.

Hamburg is the centre of one of Germany's most important regions. The metropolitan region of Hamburg is the crossing point of Europe's most important traffic axis between Scandinavia and western, eastern and southern Europe, and has a population of more than 4.3 million people. The Hamburg Citizenry is one of the 16 elected German Federal parliaments and has 121 deputies. They have legislative and budgeting power, control the Senate, which is the government of Hamburg, and elect the First Mayor as chief of government.

The Senate is the government and at the same time the highest organ for municipal services, since in Hamburg there is no distinction between state-related and community-related duties, as in other German states. The First Mayor and the Senators make up the Senate, which sets political guidelines and monitors the administration. Currently the Senate is made up of the first Conservative–Green coalition in Germany. The Senate represents Hamburg to the Federal Republic, to other German states and foreign countries. The First Mayor appoints and dismisses the Senators. Each Senator presides over one administrative body.

The courts are independent of parliament and government. All branches of the judiciary are represented in Hamburg.<sup>80</sup> The Public Prosecutor's offices are state organs of criminal jurisdiction. Currently there are five penal institutions in Hamburg, including the institute for custody and an institute for youth detention. The judicial authority monitors normal courts, administrative courts, courts of auditors, the labour and social court, the public prosecutor and penal institutions.

Since March 2008 Hamburg has had seven districts (Altona, Bergedorf, Eimsbüttel, Hamburg-Mitte, Hamburg-Nord, Harburg and Wandsbek) and 105 quarters (*Stadtteile*). The quarters are lower administrative units. Each district comprises several quarters. This regional reorganisation assigned Wilhelmsburg to the district of Hamburg-Mitte and two new quarters (Sternschanze, Hafencity) were created. Wilhelmsburg, which previously belonged to the district of Harburg, is seen by the city as having the largest inner city development potential besides Veddel. The new district borders are intended to support the “Leap across the Elbe” redevelopment plan.<sup>81</sup> Hafencity is a new, more expensive quarter, built directly on the River Elbe in an old harbour area. It is positioned between the old city centre and Wilhelmsburg. Sternschanze was redeveloped in the beginning of the 1990s and is now a single administrative district to avoid problems in future redevelopment.

At the district level there is also an elected body, the district assembly, elected by the residents of the district.<sup>82</sup> The district assembly of Hamburg-Mitte has 53 members, who are elected for four years. The Office for the District informs the district assembly and the deputies can initiate input and give recommendations, which the administration must implement. The district population to a certain extent can

---

<sup>80</sup> Constitutional Court: Hamburgisches Verfassungsgericht; Court of Appeal: Hanseatisches Oberlandesgericht; District Court: Landgericht Hamburg; County Court: Amtsgerichte in Hamburg; Court of auditors: Finanzgericht Hamburg; Labour Court: Arbeitsgerichte in Hamburg; District Social Court: Landessozialgericht Hamburg; Social Court: Sozialgericht Hamburg; High Court: Hamburgisches Obergericht; Administrative Court: Verwaltungsgericht Hamburg.

<sup>81</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt (ed.), “Sprung über die Elbe”, Hamburg auf dem Weg zur Internationalen Bauausstellung (“Leap across the Elbe”, Hamburg on its way to the International Building Exhibition), IBA Hamburg 2013, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/135218/data/sprung.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>82</sup> Residents who are EU citizens may also vote in this election.

influence what happens in the neighbourhood. In the district assembly of Hamburg-Mitte SPD and GAL built a Red–Green coalition after the local elections in 2008. The SPD has two deputies with Turkish backgrounds (Bayram Inan and Aytakin Peker), the only party to include deputies with non-ethnic German affiliation.

The main committee has a general coordination function. It prepares meetings of the district assembly, communicates with the special committees and in urgent cases it can take decisions on behalf of the district assembly. Normally the main committee consists of 11 deputies.

The district assembly can create regional committees to address the needs of local areas; each area has a subcommittee for building and construction issues. Currently there are three regional committees, one for Billstedt (in OSI research area 3), one for Finkenwerder (in research area 2) and one for Wilhelmsburg/Veddel (also in research area 2).

Each district has an Office of the District, which provides the services of the Hamburg administration. Since 1 February 2007 the offices have been reorganised to ensure uniformity. Three of 20 customer service centres are located in Hamburg-Mitte and additionally a social service centre and a centre for promoting economic development, construction and the environment have been established. The customer service centres provide services for resident registration services (ID card, passports, registration) and the social service centres provide transfer and support services (social welfare, integration assistance, services for asylum seekers).

## Education

Each Federal state is responsible for its own educational system and the Department for School and Vocational Training is the highest-level educational policy body in Hamburg. Thus, while education policy is supervised by the National Conference of Cultural Ministers, Federal and city states operate quite autonomously in other areas of administration. Structural decisions about education are made by the Senate; individual districts have no role in this process. The Chamber of Parents, consisting of 38 parents in total from each district elected for three years,<sup>83</sup> represents all parents in Hamburg in accordance with the Hamburg education act. The chamber gives advice to the Department for School and Vocational Training. The department must inform the chamber about fundamental decisions. If the chamber rejects a decision the department will be informed. The institute for teacher education and school development with its advice centre for intercultural education is responsible for the advanced education of teachers.

---

<sup>83</sup> Elternkammer Hamburg (Hamburg Chamber of Parents): see <http://www.elternkammer-hamburg.de/index.php?id=472&type=1> (accessed 17 August 2009).

## Employment

Employment policy comes under the state Department of Economy and Labour (*Behörde für Wirtschaft und Arbeit*). The Federal Agency for Employment (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*) is the national body responsible for the placement of trainees, career counselling, the employment market and the supply of work permits, as well as the payment of unemployment benefits and family benefits. Team.arbeit.hamburg is the local agency responsible for covering the basic social needs of those not covered by the Federal unemployment system, but able to work (Hartz IV, social welfare).<sup>84</sup> Team.arbeit.hamburg is a joint initiative between the city of Hamburg (Department of Economy and Labour) and the Federal Agency for Employment. The Federal Agency for Employment is subordinate to the national Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs.

## Housing

Both public and private housing is available in Hamburg. There are several large housing companies and cooperatives that cover social housing schemes. The STEG Urban Development Company is responsible for redevelopment in the OSI research area. The overall responsibility is with the Department for Urban Planning and Environment (*Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt*).

## Health

Health policy comes under the largest state administrative body, BSG. It is organised into four offices: central services, social affairs, family affairs, and health and consumer protection. BSG is the headquarters for integration and civil society; it coordinates integration policies in Hamburg and is responsible for the monitoring of the HHAP. BSG cooperates with the national Ministry of Health, which is responsible for issuing and developing laws, decrees and administrative instructions at the Federal level.<sup>85</sup> Public health and social care itself is delivered by non-governmental bodies like doctors, pharmacists, welfare organisations and medical clinics, a system financed largely through health insurance.

## Policing

In Hamburg policing and security policy come within the remit of the Department of the Interior (*Innenbehörde*), which oversees both the police and the German Intelligence Bureau (*Verfassungsschutz*), of which there is one in each Federal state and

---

<sup>84</sup> See the website of team.arbeit.hamburg, <http://www.team-arbeit-hamburg.de/deutsch/home/index.php> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>85</sup> NursingWiki is a multilingual wiki-project for health-care and nursing information: see <http://www.pflegewiki.de/wiki/Gesundheitsministerium#Landesgesundheitsbeh.C3.B6rden> (accessed January 2010).

which is independent of the police. Its duty is to collect and evaluate information about anti-constitutional activities. The Federal states are responsible for their police and police codes and laws, although all police laws are based on the common national police law. Each Federal state has a department responsible for political crimes, like terrorism, and extremism in its police force.



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

Identity and belonging are important elements of integration.<sup>86</sup> While individuals may be integrated into the labour market 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.<sup>87</sup> There is also growing recognition of the importance of meaningful contact and interaction between people of different ethnic and cultural groups in creating social cohesion, as this helps overcome prejudice and challenge stereotypes.

This chapter, using data from the OSI survey, begins by examining levels of cohesion in Hamburg. It explores respondents' sense of personal identity and belonging to the neighbourhood, city and country. It notes the places and spaces in which interactions take place with people from the same and different ethnic and religious groups as well as perceptions and experiences of discrimination and unfair treatment. Differences are explored between Muslim and non-Muslim responses as well as male and female. In asking the questions, a distinction was made between a person's "neighbourhood", that is the few streets immediately round where they live, and their "local area", the area within 15–20 minutes' walking distance of their home.

### 4.1 Muslim and Non-Muslim Identities

The concept of a Muslim identity is very polarising.<sup>88</sup> A Muslim participant in an OSI-organised focus group described the situation as follows:

Look, there are 3.5 million Muslims, that makes 4 per cent of the population. We know from experience, that not more than 25 per cent are really practising people. "Practising" means that they go to Friday prayers. That means that approximately 1 per cent of the population lives Islamically. Let's take 70 million Germans and leave those 10 million people with migrant backgrounds aside, 70 million are afraid of 1 per cent of the population.<sup>89</sup>

These remarks can be seen as quite commonplace in terms of identity and its construction in Germany. The ethnic German population is pitted against the ethnic

---

<sup>86</sup> F. Heckmann and W. Bosswick, "Integration and Integration Policies, an INTPOL feasibility study for the IMESCO Network of Excellence", 2005, available at <http://www.imiscoe.org> (accessed November 2009).

<sup>87</sup> M. Malik, "British Muslims – Discrimination, Equality and Community Cohesion", in T. Choudhury (ed.), *Muslims in the UK: Policies for Engaged Citizens*, Open Society Institute, Budapest, 2005.

<sup>88</sup> OSI focus group and questionnaire respondents, Hamburg, 2008.

<sup>89</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.



“other”, in its majority Turks, who in turn are seen predominantly as Muslims. Ethnicity, nationality and religious identity merge to create a dichotomising construct of “German” and “non-German” identities. This view is currently changing and is reflected in the intercultural approach of the HHAP. It recognises that there is a profound lack of data<sup>90</sup> for the diverse identities of the Hamburg population. Available data often still show only the uniform differentiation between “German” and “foreigner”. A positive and a negative form of cultural identity is described in the HHAP. There is the culture of origin, which is positively valued and maintained as an aspect of identity that is publicly presented to enrich the cultural life of Hamburg. Identity is seen as negative when there is a withdrawal into the culture of origin on one side and if the cultural institutions of the host country do not adapt to the needs of a diverse society.<sup>91</sup> Religious identities are positively valued in the HHAP. Around 100 different religious communities exist in Hamburg, but a trend towards secularisation in all religious groups is reported: 40 per cent of the schoolchildren in Hamburg do not belong to any religious community.<sup>92</sup>

In the OSI research, 141 of the 200 interviewees had a German passport and 47 had a Turkish passport. This roughly matches the proportion of “German” and “foreigner” residents in Hamburg. More than half (56) of the Muslim interviewees had a German passport and 85 non-Muslims 85 had one; 29 Muslims had Turkish passports. Thirty-one Muslims with German citizenship and 37 of all Muslims were born in Germany. Eighteen Muslims with German citizenship and 46 of all Muslims were born in Turkey and six in Afghanistan.<sup>93</sup> These numbers show that there is a considerable German-born Muslim population with German passports, who can be considered “German Muslims”, even if the same individual might self-identify as Turkish.

The data show that there is a strong sense of belonging among Muslim and non-Muslims in Hamburg, most closely tied to personal experience. The sense of local belonging as being someone from Wilhelmsburg or St Pauli is shared by Muslims and non-Muslims (see Table 11.).

---

<sup>90</sup> HHAP, pp. 17, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30.

<sup>91</sup> HHAP, p. 38.

<sup>92</sup> HHAP, p. 39.

<sup>93</sup> The vast majority of non-Muslims (76) were born in Germany and 75 of them had German citizenship. Ten non-Muslim Germans were born outside Germany (Argentina, Eritrea, Finland, Guyana, Kazakhstan, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, and Trinidad and Tobago).

**Table 11. How strongly do you feel you belong to your local area?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very strongly	23.0	21.0	22.0
Fairly strongly	45.0	48.0	46.5
Not very strongly	19.0	23.0	21.0
Not at all strongly	11.0	4.0	7.5
Don't know	2.0	4.0	3.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>200</b>	

Source: Open Society Institute

While almost twice as many non-Muslims as Muslims strongly agree that their local area is well-integrated, the majority of both groups agreed that their local area is a place where people from different ethnic backgrounds get along well (see Table 12.).

**Table 12. Is your local area a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Strongly agree	9.0	17.0	13.0
Agree	66.0	66.0	66.0
Disagree	12.0	10.0	11.0
Strongly disagree	6.0	1.0	3.5
Don't know	5.0	6.0	5.5
Too few people in this local area	1.0	0.0	0.5
People in this area are all from the same background	1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>200</b>	

Source: Open Society Institute

While over a third of both Muslims and non-Muslims fairly strongly felt a sense of belonging to the city of Hamburg, more Muslims than non-Muslims felt a sense of belonging very strongly to the city. The sense of belonging decreased towards the national level. This decrease of the sense of belonging from the local area towards the city or the national level was described by one non-Muslim interviewee as a loss of belonging as soon as he leaves the local area. A majority of both groups, 56 Muslims and 71 non-Muslims, also reported that there are places in their local area or in the city where they feel uncomfortable. (See Table 13.)

**Table 13. How strongly do you feel you belong to Hamburg?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very strongly	26.0	18.0	22.0
Fairly strongly	40.0	45.0	42.5
Not very strongly	24.0	31.0	27.5
Not at all strongly	9.0	6.0	7.5
Don't know	1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

A regional belonging, like being eastern, southern or northern German, was only articulated by non-Muslims. A strong national belonging to Germany was felt by 52 Muslims and 36 non-Muslims. (See Table 14.)

**Table 14. How strongly do you feel you belong to Germany?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very strongly	16.0	11.0	13.5
Fairly strongly	36.0	25.0	30.5
Not very strongly	32.0	46.0	39.0
Not at all strongly	11.0	15.0	13.0
Don't know	5.0	3.0	4.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

But there is a very significant difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in their self-perception as German. Sixty-three non-Muslims saw themselves as Germans, but only 22 Muslims did, although 56 had a German passport. Although the majority of them were ethnic German and therefore the results are not surprising, five out of the 63 had a non-German ethnic background.<sup>94</sup> (See Table 15.)

**Table 15. Do you see yourself as German?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes	22.0	63.0	42.5
No	78.0	37.0	57.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

A European or supranational belonging was also articulated by non-Muslim interviewees. It takes regional forms, like belonging to central, western or northern Europe. Similarly, some Muslim interviewees indicated that they belonged to the Turkish-Ottoman culture and explicitly stated that they did not identify with the secular, Kemalist culture. The reference to the Ottoman Empire as a supranational unit

<sup>94</sup> German-Russian (two), African-German, African (Ghana), Portuguese-German.

looks like the Muslim counterpart of Christian Europe.<sup>95</sup> Some Muslims reported seeing themselves as Turkish-Kurdish, referring to a regional and ethnic belonging.

Responses to the question of how interviewees would describe their ethnicity reveal a wide range of identities among Muslim and non-Muslim participants. The answers can be clustered around three types of identity formations, which often overlap.

### Ethno-national identities

Forty-four Muslims said they had a Turkish or mixed Turkish identity and 14 Muslims indicated other national identities. Four of the non-Muslims described themselves as Serbian (1), Indonesian (1), Italian-Spanish (1) and Franco-Senegalese (1). Muslim respondents of this cluster indicated that they did not want to deny or lose their identity. “Everybody else should know that I am a Turk.”<sup>96</sup>

Others reported disliking German culture or having a greater sense of belonging to Bosnian culture than German.<sup>97</sup> These respondents sought to be seen as, for instance, genuine Moroccans, some described themselves as Kurds originating from Turkey, while others expressed pride at being Turkish.<sup>98</sup> Interviewees were seeking acceptance and indicated readiness to conform to the majority society, because they perceived it as the appropriate approach, but also rejected dissembling.

Those ethno-national identities must be seen in the context of the German identity, which also historically has perceived itself as an ethno-national identity. Among non-Muslims the ethno-national identification seemed to be less important, although these respondents had also lived a long time in Germany and acknowledged that they had become a mixture, but were proud to have their roots in their country of origin. Some non-Muslims mentioned that people cannot choose their own birthplace and did not want to be defined on the basis of their nationality. A feeling of wanting to be seen as equal not as similar was also articulated.

German, European and other identities were articulated as well (Table 16.).

---

<sup>95</sup> Halil Inalcik, *Turkey and Europe in History*, Eren, Istanbul, 2006

<sup>96</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>97</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>98</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

**Table 16. German, European and other identities**

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
German or mixed German <sup>99</sup>	13	25
<i>Bildungsbürger</i> <sup>100</sup>	0	3
Supranational identities <sup>101</sup>	7	11
European <sup>102</sup>	0	15
Belonging to subcultures <sup>103</sup>	0	17
Do not belong to any culture <sup>104</sup>	0	13
Social groups	3	0
Local identity <sup>105</sup>	0	2
Humanist identity <sup>106</sup>	0	7
Having no culture	2	0

Source: Open Society Institute

While ethno-national identities were often proudly presented by non-Germans, Germans were more reluctant to define themselves along this line. Interviewees explained that to be perceived as German carries the stigma of the Nazi era, and furthermore, Germans are seen as humourless and bureaucratic. This historical stigma is most noticeable when travelling in European countries, where Germans are edged

<sup>99</sup> German (12), German (south) (1), German (white) (1), German (without religion, felt belonged to other ethnic groups) (1), German-*Bildungsbürger* (1), German-Bosnian (1), German-East (1), German-Latino (2), German-north (2), German-Portuguese (1), German-Russian (2).

<sup>100</sup> Describes an idealised self-perception of the German middle class, which is centred on *Bildung* (education in the sense of the formation as human being).

<sup>101</sup> Non-Muslims: African (1), African (because of children) (1), Latino (2), Mediterranean-Slavic (1), Multi-ethnic (1), World citizen (5).

<sup>102</sup> European (5), European (white, middle class) (1), European-East (1), European-middle class (2), European-northern (1), European-West (5).

<sup>103</sup> Subculture (anti-globalisation) (2), alternative culture (6), artist (1), leftist (3), libertarian communist (1), social movement (1), class (lower-middle) (1), working class (2).

<sup>104</sup> No culture (7), no culture (Caribbean) (1), neither German nor Eritrean (1), not defining along national identity (3), Polynesian (1).

<sup>105</sup> Non-Muslims: Hamburger (1), St Paulian (1).

<sup>106</sup> Human (5), Human, women, Bavarian (1), Humanist-German (northern European) (1).

into a political corner because of their past, without reference to their actual political opinions.<sup>107</sup> Among this group of interviewees, an ethno-national identity was rejected, and an identity as a European or world citizen was often preferred. This identity was found among non-Muslims with migrant backgrounds as well. They identified themselves as EU citizens or Afro-European and hoped for a world without frontiers and nationalities.<sup>108</sup>

Non-Muslim interviewees frequently responded that belonging to Germany was not important. They did not want to be identified by their German nationality, but as individuals. For them other identities, like gender, regional belonging or political attitude were seen as more important. Differences between migrants and Germans were also perceived on the local level as differences between rich and poor and the different levels of education.

### Ethno-religious identities

Another set of identity constructions centred on religion and often merged with ethnic or cultural differences and differences in lifestyle. A religious or ethno-religious identity was expressed by 19 Muslims and 6 non-Muslims.<sup>109</sup> Muslim interviewees summarised their identities as differences in lifestyle, religion and physical appearance. It is the skin colour and Islamic appearance that convey this identity, which signals difference to the majority community.<sup>110</sup> But for some, appearance on its own was not the indicator, but a combination of originating in Turkey, along with following Turkish traditions, customs and religious practices, which is perceived as clashing with the majority culture.

Ethno-religious identities are often viewed in opposition to German identity.<sup>111</sup> As long as there is this cultural and religious difference, one is not accepted as German. But those articulated cultural differences do not necessarily mark a withdrawal from German society; on the contrary, those expressing their identity in this way may seek acceptance.<sup>112</sup> Such contrary sentiments are widely expressed by responding Muslims. Statements such as “I’m Muslim. I am Turkish by birth, and it’s not good to deny one’s own ethnic origin,”<sup>113</sup> articulating a specific ethno-religious belonging, can be contrasted with one Muslim interviewee’s argument that “Everybody should self-

---

<sup>107</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>108</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>109</sup> Six non-Muslims defined themselves as Christian (1), Christian (social) (1), Christian-German (2), Christian-German (northern European) (1), Christian-Protestant (1).

<sup>110</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>111</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>112</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>113</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

determinate, if they see themselves as Germans or not. I would say that I am in fact a German.”<sup>114</sup>

### Visibility, values and religious identities

**Table 17a. Visibility, values and religious identities**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes		53.0	1.0	27.0
No		47.0	99.0	73.0
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	100	100	200

**Table 17b. Practising religion**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes		83.0	12.0	47.5
No		17.0	45.0	31.0
Did not answer		0.0	43.0	21.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

Among the 100 Muslims participating in the OSI study, 53 were carrying visible signs and 83 said they were actively practising (see Table 17b.). Those numbers are in line with findings of the *Religion Monitor 2008*, which states: “Muslims in Germany are characterised by high religiousness. 90 per cent of Muslims in Germany above the age of 18 are religious; including 41 per cent highly religious. For comparison: for the German society as a whole, the *Religion Monitor 2008* revealed that 70 per cent of the German-speaking population is religious, including 18 per cent highly religious.”<sup>115</sup>

<sup>114</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>115</sup> Bertelsmann, *Religion Monitor 2008*, p. 7.



Although 12 non-Muslims said they did actively practise their religion, there was only one non-Muslim who displayed a religious symbol,<sup>116</sup> while more than half the Muslims interviewed expressed their religion through their clothing or other types of appearance.<sup>117</sup>

Those Muslims actively practising demonstrated a diversity of practices and observances. The *Religion Monitor 2008* reports 86 per cent of Muslims strictly complying with the prohibition on eating pork, and 58 per cent claiming never to drink alcohol.<sup>118</sup> This report also mentioned reading the Qur'an or books in general and religious education as an important aspect of religious practice. Childhood education or working with Muslim youths was mentioned, as well as discussing religious questions with others or giving general knowledge to others, going to Islamic events and meetings, educating the self and being intellectually rigorous.<sup>119</sup> In the *Religion Monitor 2008* education was reported as a core aspect in the lives of 94 per cent of Muslims in Germany as well.<sup>120</sup> Interestingly, some of those Muslims who said that they did not actively practise their religion nevertheless indicated they did adhere to some of the practices, such as praying, fasting, believing, eating halal, going to mosque, being involved in social activities in the community, defending the religion verbally, respecting others and having humanistic values independent of religion.

The religious practices of non-Muslims included similar elements. Attending mass and worship, adhering to Christian values and tenets, celebrating religious festivals and holy days, displaying characteristics such as tolerance, participation at religious lectures and congregations, attendance at weekly youth community gatherings and openly stating an opinion are considered to be actively practising. The one element non-Muslims mentioned that Muslims did not indicate as part of their religious practice was singing in church or in a church choir.

## 4.2 Belonging

### Perceptions, appearance and lifestyles

While in the OSI sample most Muslims and non-Muslims agreed on the inability to speak the national language as a large barrier to being German, only Muslims perceived adherence to religion as an obstacle to being accepted as German. By non-Muslims this is perceived as “Muslims hold[ing] on too much to their beliefs”,<sup>121</sup> as one interviewee

---

<sup>116</sup> A picture of the Virgin Mary was displayed on the wall.

<sup>117</sup> A headscarf, a full beard, Muslim dress, etc.

<sup>118</sup> Bertelsmann, *Religion Monitor 2008*, p. 8.

<sup>119</sup> Someone able to refer to a broad range of religious arguments is considered intellectually rigorous.

<sup>120</sup> Bertelsmann, *Religion Monitor 2008*, p. 8.

<sup>121</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

said. For Muslims, such preconceived notions about people from Muslim countries or what people think about Islam more generally are seen as barriers to acceptance. (See Table 18.)

**Table 18. What do you think is the main barrier to being German?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Not speaking the national language/s	21.0	33.0	27.0
Being born abroad	11.0	2.0	6.5
Being from an ethnic minority/not being white	15.0	11.0	13.0
Accent/way of speaking	3.0	6.0	4.5
Not being Christian	19.0	0.0	8.5
There aren't any barriers	9.0	5.0	7.0
None of these	5.0	15.0	10.0
Don't know	1.0	4.0	2.5
Other	14.0	18.0	16.0
Did not answer	2.0	6.0	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

While Muslims are often visible, non-Muslim religions are in general invisible in the public sphere and in day-to-day interaction, reinforcing the view that religion does not play a significant role in public and private practices. Nevertheless, 19 Muslims considered not being Christian as the main barrier to being German: cultural life is perceived as being dominated by Christianity, along with historical hostility against Muslims, such as the Crusades, the reconquest of Andalusia, colonialism and imperialism.<sup>122</sup> In this view Christianity is merged with Western expansion to form a mentality that is still dominant.

<sup>122</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

Many interviewees emphasised the difference between “our” values and “theirs” and relied on stereotypes. Muslims and non-Muslims alike failed to see common values and expressed concerns that their own values were not respected. One Muslim participant explained that family relations are important for Muslims, but not for Germans, for example.<sup>123</sup>

Alleged differences in values go hand in hand with an experience that their own appearance is not considered as German. The experience of not being considered as German because of one’s own appearance is shared by non-Muslims of migrant affiliation.<sup>124</sup>

Muslim and non-Muslim migrants saw the way Germans deal with other people and their lives as mirroring another mentality as well. Even some non-Muslim ethnic Germans disassociated themselves from a certain type of German identification, which is described as “German values and virtue”.<sup>125</sup> They have experienced little tolerance and respectful contact among such people and do not identify with a mentality which sees status achievements through formal qualifications at its core and is said to be important for Germans.<sup>126</sup>

When asked to rank the four most important values, Muslims and non-Muslims answered in the following way (Table 19.).

**Table 19. Most important national values of living in Germany (all interviewees)**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Respect for the law	56.0	34.0	45.0
Freedom of speech and expression	27.0	33.0	30.0
Speaking the national language	22.0	18.0	20.0
Freedom from discrimination	25.0	40.0	32.5

Source: Open Society Institute

Looking at the ranking in each group, it appears that for the majority of Muslims respect for law and faith and the freedom from discrimination is most important. This result is supported by the *Religion Monitor 2008* as well, where a high level of tolerance towards other creeds is found: “86 per cent think one should be open to all religions.

<sup>123</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>124</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>125</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>126</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

This value is the same for all examined groups, no matter which gender, age, confession or origin.<sup>127</sup>

**Table 20. Most important national values of living in Germany (breakdown by religion)<sup>128</sup>**

	Muslim %		Non- Muslim %
1. Respect for the law	56.0	Tolerance towards others	45.0
2. Respect for all faiths	30.0	Freedom of speech and expression	33.0
3. Respect for all faiths	23.0	Equality of opportunities	26.0
4. Freedom from discrimination	25.0	Freedom from discrimination	40.0

Source: Open Society Institute

The HHAP reflects a similar understanding, placing a high value on cultural diversity and making clear that integration is not understood as assimilation. It defines the limits of diversity as the values of the German constitution, civil rights and liberties, respect for human rights, the principle of democracy, equal rights for men and women, respect for law and the founding values of the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>129</sup> Freedom from discrimination, which is valued highly by both groups, is part of European and German law, but is not reflected in the HHAP, which might be due to the fact that the German anti-discrimination law was put in place in August 2006, just at the time the HHAP was developed.

While for 51 Muslims religion says the most about who they are, it does not play any role for non-Muslims, who instead ranked family, their interests, their level of education or the kind of work they are doing as most important.

<sup>127</sup> Bertelsmann, *Religion Monitor 2008*, p. 8.

<sup>128</sup> The figures in numbers 2 and 3 reflect the second and third choices of Muslim respondents.

<sup>129</sup> HHAP, p. 9.

**Table 21. What says the most about identity**<sup>130</sup>

Rank		Muslim %		Non-Muslim %		Total %
1.	Religion	51.0	Family	32.0	Family	33.5
2.	Family	41.0	Interests	30.0	Family	24.5
3.	Level of education	22.0	Level of education	25.0	Level of education	23.5
4.	Ethnic/cultural background	21.0	Kind of work	21.0	Kind of work	15.0
5	Interests	21.0	Gender	14.0	Ethnic/cultural background	14.0

Source: Open Society Institute

### Language and communication skills

Speaking the national language was seen as one of the most important values by Muslims and non-Muslims. Language in general and communication skills in particular are considered to be essentially important in the local, city and national arena. A wish for a common language (German or another language) was articulated especially by older interviewees and recent immigrants. Some Muslims highlighted the need to speak the national language to make contact with others.<sup>131</sup> Other Muslim interviewees demanded that the number of German language courses should be increased and that conversation groups should be organised by the associations. Non-Muslims also saw knowledge of the national language as the most important prerequisite for self-confident participation in society. The support of language courses, not only in German but in other languages as well, was stressed. Such courses should be available for all people as a basis for a common language of communication. Support for multilingualism, combined with early childhood language support not only in German, but in the languages of the migrants as well, accompanied by language courses for mothers in schools and kindergartens is regarded as helpful by Muslims and non-Muslims. But the acquisition of German is only one aspect of how language functions in society. The interviewees reported multilayered problems, which cannot be solely solved through language and integration courses.

Non-Muslims emphasised the fact that their way of speaking German fluently with an accent is often an obstacle: “I look different and speak German with a Spanish

<sup>130</sup> The figures in numbers 1 and 2 in the total category reflect the first and second choices of respondents

<sup>131</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008, and OSI focus group, June 2008.

accent.”<sup>132</sup> Language and appearance are barriers to perception as a Hamburger even for native German non-Muslims: “Because of the way I look and my accent people tell me that I am not from Hamburg.”<sup>133</sup>

The lack of communication skills is sometimes described as a fear of communication: foreigners are afraid to approach people, because they do not know how they will be treated and Germans perceive foreigners as not opening themselves up. This is seen as a continuous stalemate on both sides.

The capacity of language to exclude people and make power relations visible was recognised, as some Muslims in the focus groups explained:

We met on a train at an excursion with 20 children. When we then spoke Turkish, we all were Turkish, somebody came and asked why do you speak Turkish. One parent who fluently spoke German started a discussion with him and said that we can talk the way we like.<sup>134</sup>

Another described a situation in the schoolyard. When pupils were speaking among themselves, a teacher came and warned them not to speak Turkish. Young people may not differentiate between German and Turkish as two languages when they speak, but to outsiders it sounds like speaking “false” German or Turkish.<sup>135</sup> This further highlights a lack of awareness on how to teach German in a multilingual environment and where German is neither a second language nor a single mother tongue. To address this problem the HHAP suggests a novel perspective by promoting a multilingual approach for the educational system (see section 5.7 below).

Language also bolsters self-confidence and participation. Talking to neighbours, street talk and discussing events are one of the main sources for Muslims and non-Muslims to get information about events which happen locally or in Hamburg. (See section 11 below).

The language issue goes beyond pure language skills and teaching. Although 33 non-Muslims and 21 Muslims consider that not speaking German is the main barrier to being German, it goes hand in hand with the specific perception of a foreign accent, looking different, being black or being of another ethnicity.

However, the reduction of integration to a language problem is a further difficulty for Muslims. The language problem is multilayered and related to the role of German in a multilingual environment. Language itself becomes an instrument of inclusion and

---

<sup>132</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>133</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>134</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>135</sup> Andreas Hieronymus, “Fashion, Brands, and Money: Cultural Styles and Social Positions”, in Nora Raethzel (ed.), *Finding the Way Home. Young People's Stories of Gender, Ethnicity, Class, and Places in Hamburg and London*, Göttingen, V&R Unipress, 2008.

exclusion. Speaking “correct” German does not prevent discrimination, if the accent is not “correct” either. Discrimination, although not mentioned in the HHAP, is shown to be a problem in some of the fields the OSI study covered, like education, while in other fields like health care, where traditionally a high number of Muslim and migrants are present as patients, nurses or doctors, discrimination seems more marginal. Indirect effects of discrimination are seen in the education system, the housing sector and the labour market.

The HHAP clearly states that integration is a two-way process, which needs openness, tolerance and dialogue on all sides.<sup>136</sup> Research suggests that this is not always the case. A dynamic of being perceived as a foreigner by society and the natives, which reinforces the feeling of being foreign, was frequently reported by the interviewees. A Muslim said:

I have lived here 20 years and still have the feeling that they see me as foreigner.<sup>137</sup>

People do not feel welcome here, because physical appearance is valued very highly.<sup>138</sup> Muslims said that they are perceived differently; it is not accepted that there are German Muslims. A native German young female Muslim said that Muslims must get away from the immigration discourse; they are a part of society and they have integrated themselves, so now it is time for them to be incorporated into society by the majority.<sup>139</sup>

This dynamic of being perceived by the gaze of the others and the emotional resonance it has for self-perception and the self-image are illuminated by the fact that 75 non-Muslim interviewees thought that they were seen as Germans by other people, but only 44 of them actually wanted to be seen as Germans. Among Muslims, this is exactly the other way around: only 13 believed that they were seen as Germans by other people, but 31 wanted to be seen as Germans. Additionally the majority of Muslims had a very or fairly strong sense of belonging to Germany, while among non-Muslims this was weaker (see Table 22.).

---

<sup>136</sup> HHAP, p. 9.

<sup>137</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>138</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008, and OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>139</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

**Table 22. Do you see yourself as German?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Do you see yourself as German?	22.0	63.0	42.5
Do most other people in Germany see you as German?	13.0	75.0	44.0
Do you want to be seen by others as German?	31.0	44.0	37.5
Do you have a very or fairly strong sense of belonging to Germany	52.0	36.0	44.0
Do you feel not very strongly or not at all strongly belonging to Germany	43.0	61.0	52.0

Source: Open Society Institute

Although these figures show a strong sense of belonging to Germany, Muslim interviewees reported that the perception as non-German and as strangers is an obstacle to belonging to Germany. From this experience, some Muslims drew the conclusion that it was not important to be seen as German, it was more important to be understood as human, as inhabitants of this world, not necessarily as German.<sup>140</sup> Muslims want to live as they are and want to be seen as such, expressing a high degree of individuality.

Examining the experiences of those who are perceived as Germans, but do not define themselves as such, gives a specific image of a German. A young Muslim girl said:

I am not a German, I just look like one of them for the Germans, because I am fair and large and I dress in a modern style.<sup>141</sup>

The counter-image held by a German is wearing a headscarf or having dark eyes or hair. Being German is limited to physical appearance:

Even if I had ten German passports, they would not see me as a German.<sup>142</sup>

This affects even Muslim women who are German, but are not seen as such because they wear a headscarf. Skin colour also marks this difference, as a black Muslim man reported:

It doesn't matter where I come from. As long as I am black I am an African.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>141</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>142</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>143</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.



Visible signs like dark skin, black hair, Islamic dress or headscarves function as markers of difference. Many non-Muslims read these markers as signs that certain people do not belong to Germany. Those markers are not only related to appearance, but to lifestyle as well. A young Muslim girl reported:

I am living differently than the Germans do. I have a totally different idea of how to enjoy life, for example. For the Germans in my environment, having fun means to party every weekend, this is nothing that I can do.<sup>144</sup>

On the other hand, there are also prejudices against Germans. A German non-Muslim said:

You are either fussy or a racist.<sup>145</sup>

Although there is a big difference between somebody who is stereotyped by a member of the dominant group and a member of a subordinated group stereotyping a member of the dominant group, a mutual production of stereotyped images exists. This was reflected in one of the OSI focus groups. A young Muslim woman expressed it as follows:

If we as migrants betake us to victimhood, which easily and quickly happens, then we experience problems as well, we discuss solutions, but you don't get active. This way one easily withdraws from society.<sup>146</sup>

Another respondent reflected upon the heightened sensibility of minorities about certain things, which might not be necessarily true:

Perhaps we filter in the same way as the ordinary German does?<sup>147</sup>

It was said that Germans often have the feeling that foreigners live a better life than they do and perceive discrimination. Migrants, it was said, have the same feeling, that Germans live a better life.<sup>148</sup>

A different sort of being German was articulated in the focus groups by some Muslims. It is a quest for citizenship:

Each human has the same rights, it doesn't matter where he comes from. Being German means ethnicity, that's why I can't be German, but I can be a German citizen.<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>145</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>146</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>147</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>148</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>149</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

This positive definition of being German is often undermined by experiences of being excluded:

I felt German, until I felt exclusion in all phases of life.<sup>150</sup>

Those stereotyped perceptions of ethnic Germans produce outsiders, aliens, not coming from this country.

Although a strong sense of belonging to the neighbourhoods was articulated in the questionnaire responses, not everybody is at home in Hamburg. A sense of alienation was apparent with some of the respondents, mainly older migrants, who see themselves as lacking a biographical point of reference in Hamburg and role model to relate to. Some said that they had nobody with whom they share their past or who understands their experience, when they came as political refugees, despite the presence of tens of thousands of political refugees from Turkey after the military coup in 1980. Such alienation is maintained by other people reminding them that they do not belong here. Interviewees, even Hamburg-born Muslims, reported feeling like nomads, having no roots in the city. Migrant Muslims and non-Muslims perceived the “W-Questions” (Where do you come from? What do you do here? When do you leave?) as irritating and feel that they are treated as newly arrived migrants. One Muslim respondent summarised it as things which are seen as normal for a German have to be explained and justified if undertaken by a Muslim.<sup>151</sup>

At the local level, people must cope with cultural differences, different nationalities and diverse mentalities. Problems arise around conflicting cultural practices, as when Roma grill pork meat, the smell is offensive for Muslims, or when they (migrants) are slaughtering chicken on the balcony it upsets middle-class children.

A fear of reaching out to other ethnicities was expressed, and people perceived a hardening of ethnic boundaries.<sup>152</sup> It was said that there is only contact within ethnic groups and fears of a loss of identity. Interviewees reported too little mixing of ethnicities, and the growth of rivalries and jealousy especially among young “potatoes” (Germans) and “*Kanacken*” (migrants) and among Alevis, Sunnis, Turks and Kurds. People do not show a readiness to get along with other people in the St Pauli area. Youths in particular in public spaces are at the centre of local ethnic rivalries. Older people feel that young people misbehave in the public space and that a bad social climate has been created. Some interviewees expressed the feeling that there is no respect, especially not for women and for people with other origins and culture.

The diversity of identities needs a much broader approach to addressing the needs of Muslims more widely than on a cultural or religious level only. The Ministry of Culture (*Kulturbehörde*) is very active in working to promote intercultural activities.

---

<sup>150</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>151</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>152</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

For example, local celebrities, acting as ambassadors and contact persons for various intercultural events are planned for each of the activities. Theatres, museums, schools and kindergartens are used as platforms for intercultural events, with the aim of giving young people the opportunity to learn something about their own and other cultures and traditions. The reduction of the existing diversity of identities to folkloric cultural and religious traditions is seen by some Muslims as a reinforcement of cultural and religious stereotypes, hampering the process of integration.<sup>153</sup> The annual intercultural week tries to circumvent this by promoting new cultural events.

There were some reports about right-wing extremists, but people said that they do not appear much in public. The HHAP portrays the situation in local areas, where there are concentrations of ethnic groups.<sup>154</sup> These groups are impermeable, there is little contact with the host society and Germans living there are themselves suffering from social decline. The HHAP sees in this mixture a source of conflict and a decreasing desire to integrate.<sup>155</sup>

Although there was a strong sense of belonging in neighbourhoods reported in the OSI sample, discrimination and xenophobia were said to be barriers both to local belonging and to the city. Frustrations about Germans who cannot handle foreigners or who behave inappropriately were common. Interviewees perceived demonstrations of ethnic superiority among all ethnic groups. For some, Germans are bad people and they reported discrimination from Germans. This stalemate seems to be the effect of an alienation which transforms social conflicts into ethno-religious rivalries where youths of other ethnic groups insult German youths and think they have a better religion, as reported by one non-Muslim.<sup>156</sup> On one side, the German ethnic group becomes one of many ethnic groups and represents the ethnic diversity of the area; on the other, German ethnicity is the hegemonic group with a massive differential in power relations among the diverse ethnic groups. Even if there is an attempt to communicate, there is always a point where people say, “He is only an Albanian, Kurd, etc”, a young non-Muslim pointed out.<sup>157</sup> Some think that parents are also responsible for heating up prejudices.

### Turning points for the feeling of belonging

The majority of the interviewees never experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity, their religion, the place they are living in, their gender, their age or their colour (see Table 23.).

---

<sup>153</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>154</sup> HHAP, p. 33.

<sup>155</sup> HHAP, p. 33.

<sup>156</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>157</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

**Table 23. Experience of discrimination**

Never discriminated against because of: <sup>158</sup>	Muslim male %	Muslim female %	Non-Muslim male %	Non-Muslim female %	Total (Average) %
Ethnicity	52.9	40.8	61.2	66.7	55.5
Religion <sup>159</sup>	41.2	20.4	81.6	90.2	58.5
Where you live	66.7	61.2	59.2	56.9	61.0
Gender <sup>160</sup>	92.2	75.5	67.3	29.4	66.0
Age	84.0	85.7	61.2	54.9	71.4
Colour	76.5	85.7	81.6	86.3	82.5

Source: Open Society Institute

The picture changes when the experience of discrimination according to different groups is analysed. While for the majority of Muslim women (79.6 per cent) discrimination because of religion is the main experience, discrimination based on gender is the main discrimination experience for the majority of non-Muslim women (70.6 per cent). The headscarf issue combines the different aspects of gender, ethnic and religious discrimination. This is highlighted by the Human Rights Watch Report on Germany.<sup>161</sup>

A majority of 175 interviewees felt that there is a lot or a fair amount of prejudice in Germany. Among Muslims there is a feeling that the situation has worsened in the last five years. Table 24. shows that a higher percentage of Muslims perceive a worsening of the situation than non-Muslims do.

<sup>158</sup> The table includes respondents from each group who claim to not have experienced discrimination. In order to ascertain how many people stated that they had been discriminated against, the percentage must be deducted from 100.

<sup>159</sup> These figures represent the percentage of interviewees not having experienced discrimination on religious grounds. Those who have experienced discrimination can be found by deducting the percentage from 100.

<sup>160</sup> These figures represent the percentage of interviewees not having experienced discrimination on grounds of gender. In order to ascertain how many people have been discriminated against on grounds of gender, the percentage must be deducted from 100.

<sup>161</sup> Human Rights Watch, "Discrimination in the Name of Neutrality: Headscarf Bans for Teachers and Civil Servants in Germany", Human Rights Watch, New York, February 2009, available at [http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/germany0209\\_web.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/germany0209_web.pdf) (accessed January 2010).

**Table 24a. Current level of racial prejudice in the country**<sup>162</sup>

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
A lot		41.0	51.0	46.0
A fair amount		42.0	40.0	41.0
A little		13.0	7.0	10.0
None		0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know		3.0	2.0	2.5
Did not answer		1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

**Table 24b. Comparison of past and current levels of racial prejudice**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Less racial prejudice than there was five years ago		8.0	7.0	7.5
More than there was five years ago		60.0	34.0	47.0
About the same amount		19.0	56.0	37.5
Don't know		10.0	2.0	6.0
Did not answer		3.0	1.0	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

<sup>162</sup> The first two columns present the responses from the two groups (100 each) interviewed. The total column offers the percentage of the 200 interviewees.

**Table 24c. Current level of religious prejudice in the country**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
A lot		43.0	38.0	40.5
A fair amount		44.0	41.0	42.5
A little		11.0	17.0	14.0
None		0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know		2.0	4.0	3.0
Did not answer		0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

**Table 24d. Comparison of past and current levels of religious prejudice**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Less religious prejudice than there was five years ago		4.0	3.0	3.5
More than there was five years ago		72.0	57.0	64.5
About the same amount		15.0	30.0	22.5
Don't know		9.0	6.0	7.5
Did not answer		0.0	4.0	2.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The widespread feeling of prejudice among nearly all the interviewees and the increase of religious prejudice in Germany in the eyes of the vast majority of Muslim interviewees highlight a widespread unease with the current situation. During the OSI roundtable in Hamburg this was confirmed by several participants saying that discrimination against Muslims has become increasingly acceptable, especially where

visible expressions of religious affiliation are concerned, like women's headscarves.<sup>163</sup> The author of this report was approached by three Muslim women after the murder of a pregnant, 31-year-old Egyptian pharmacist, Marwa El-Sherbini, in July 2009 in a courtroom in Dresden after she took legal action against a Russian-German man who had insulted her at a playground. The three Muslim women were looking for a means to express their fears and anger about their own experiences of Islamophobia publicly. The fact that it was almost a week before this murder was reported in the mainstream media as a minor event was a sign that discrimination against Muslims had become socially acceptable.<sup>164</sup>

There are many cases where Muslims perceive discrimination, but there is a one-sided, generalised view about them and their voice is not heard. The introduction of anti-discrimination laws has slightly increased the sensitivity in Hamburg that something needs to be done about discrimination. The establishment of an anti-discrimination body (*Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt*) was announced in the Conservative–Green coalition agreement and is part of the administrative body of justice. It started its work on 1 August 2009. Whether this body increases the support available for victims of discrimination, as in Berlin where there is an institutionalised structure of state and NGO bodies to tackle discrimination, is not yet clear. The concept of discrimination is not used in public discourse in Hamburg, nor in the HHAP. It is hoped that an anti-discrimination body in the city will make discrimination visible, give advice and monitor the situation in the city, as in Berlin or in North-Rhine Westphalia, where discrimination is exposed by the work of the police force.

In Hamburg, discrimination is not publicly articulated and the majority considers the barriers and bad performances of Muslims and migrants as individual failures rather than as forms of structural discrimination. A sign for this is the absence of the term “discrimination” in the HHAP. It appears only once in the context of housing, where it is stated that no discrimination related to the standard of housing is occurring.<sup>165</sup> Other signs were the comments made by the participants of the OSI roundtable, who welcomed the opportunity to articulate experiences of discrimination for the first time.<sup>166</sup> There is no part of the Muslim community which deals with religious or other forms of discrimination, although there are social counselling services in some of the mosques. The Centre Mosque takes up cases of discrimination, but they have not

<sup>163</sup> OSI held a roundtable meeting in Hamburg in June 2009 to invite stakeholders to critique and comment on a draft version of this report (hereafter OSI roundtable, June 2009).

<sup>164</sup> Karin Schädler, “Mord mit islamfeindlichem Hintergrund?” (Murder with Islamophobic background?), *die Tageszeitung*, 6 July 2009, available at <http://www.taz.de/1/politik/deutschland/artikel/1/mord-mit-islamfeindlichem-hintergrund/> (accessed January 2010); see also readers' comments on the article, available at <http://www.taz.de/1/politik/deutschland/artikel/kommentarseite/1/mord-mit-islamfeindlichem-hintergrund/kommentare/1/1/> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>165</sup> HHAP, p. 73.

<sup>166</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

advanced through the courts, because from the state side there is no counterpart yet.<sup>167</sup> Muslim social workers report that issues of discrimination frequently come up when talking about school, housing or the labour market, but they have not yet been trained to recognise discrimination related to the AGG and how to bring forward cases which might be suitable for litigation and advocacy. However, one case of a Muslim woman who applied for a job at the Christian welfare organisation Diakonie in Hamburg and was rejected because she was not a member of the Christian church has been brought to court.<sup>168</sup> Discrimination should not be reduced to an issue only concerning Muslims, but should be treated as something which hurts everyone. Victims of discrimination need the influence of the solidarity of the whole society.

Turning points are described in the questionnaires and focus groups as the period before 9/11 and the reunification of Germany. Two older Muslims in a focus group were discussing the reunification of Germany in negative terms:

One shouldn't have taken up the citizens, if you cannot keep them. That's how my rights are taken away. We are 5 million foreigners; we did not get anything of the money going to the GDR in return. With the GDR 20 million new citizens were taken in. That shouldn't have been done. They let me work and they get the money.<sup>169</sup>

Unification brought the whole population of one state into the Federal Republic of Germany, but ethnicity is now a key focus in debates and discussions on identity.<sup>170</sup> One of the stakeholders put it as follows:

We have lived through several integration eras. At the beginning there were the guest workers, then the foreigner problem, a couple of years later it was a Turk problem and nowadays it is a Muslim problem.<sup>171</sup>

The racist and discriminatory attitudes remained the same; the enemy was just defined differently because of the Islamic issue.<sup>172</sup>

The events of 11 September 2001 are frequently mentioned in the data as the other turning point. Even young Muslims in the OSI focus groups remembered that day

<sup>167</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009. At the time of the roundtable the *Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt* was not yet operational. It was fully in operation in December 2009.

<sup>168</sup> Ülkü Güney and Andreas Hieronymus, *ENAR Shadow Report 2007. Racism in Germany*, ENAR, Brussels, 2007, available at <http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/national/Germany%20-%20SR%202007.pdf> (accessed 1 May 2010).

<sup>169</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>170</sup> Nevim Cil, "Türkische Migranten und der Mauerfall" (Turkish migrants and the fall of the Wall), *APuZ – Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Vols 21–22/2009, 18 May 2009, pp. 40–46.

<sup>171</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>172</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.



vividly. One girl described the change of atmosphere: people reacted either more aggressively or more fearfully.<sup>173</sup> Another young Muslim man described a bus trip with his mother at that time.

I took out my Qur'an to study a bit. It was an ordinary public service bus. Suddenly a German frantically leaves. The bus continues and stops again and the bus driver approaches us. I was wondering, what is happening now. The bus driver said to us: "Calm down, don't panic if a police unit is coming. This man, who just left said that you and your mother are planning a terrorist attack." My mother doesn't even wear a headscarf, just because I took out my Qur'an.<sup>174</sup>

Muslims reported not only aggression and fear, but also the fact that since 9/11 many people had engaged with Islam and the rate of conversion had increased. People started asking questions on their own about what Islam is. At present Muslims have more opportunities to speak out and say what Islam really is, one Muslim girl reported.<sup>175</sup> Another Muslim explained that the more talk there was against Muslims, the stronger the solidarity and the communication in the Muslim community became, with the side-effect of sealing it off from the rest of society.<sup>176</sup>

### 4.3 Interaction

The extent of interactions with other ethnicities and religions in neighbourhood groups, in hospitals, evening classes or in sports activities, is similar among Muslims and non-Muslims (Table 25.).

**Table 25. Interactions in Hamburg**

Interactions with other ethnicities and religions	Muslims	Non-Muslims
In neighbourhoods	27 (weekly)	25 (monthly)
In neighbourhood groups	13 (weekly/monthly)	13 (weekly/monthly)
In youth groups	21 (weekly)	10 (weekly)
In health clinics, hospitals	10 (yearly)	10 (yearly)
In educational evening classes	3 (yearly)	4 (yearly)
In sport and leisure activities	30 (weekly/monthly)	30 (weekly/monthly)

Source: Open Society Institute

<sup>173</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>174</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>175</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>176</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

Muslims have a higher level of interaction with other ethnicities and religions in youth groups, interacting in mixed groups weekly as opposed to monthly. There is nearly the same level of interaction in neighbourhoods and in neighbourhood groups. Although some of the mainly younger interviewees characterised their local area as dull and described a hardening of ethnic identity borders in the qualitative part of the questionnaire, the interaction between different ethnic and religious groups appeared quite active in the quantitative part, with non-Muslims showing a higher rate of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction at home than Muslims. Both groups interact more on a weekly than on a daily basis.

**Table 26. Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction at home**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
Daily (religion)	11.0	28.0
Daily (ethnicity)	11.0	23.0
Weekly / monthly (religion)	26.0	51.0
Weekly / monthly (ethnicity)	51.0	66.0

Source: Open Society Institute

Non-Muslims as the majority social group naturally have more interaction with people of other ethnicities and religions, while Muslims tend to have contact with people of other ethnicities but of the same religion. Non-Muslims appear to invite people of different religions or ethnicity into their homes slightly more often than Muslims, although the rate of ethnic interaction of both groups is fairly high (see Table 26.).

**Table 27. Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction in shops**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %
Daily (religion)	21.0	12.0
Daily (ethnicity)	24.0	19.0
Weekly (religion)	23.0	27.0
Weekly (ethnicity)	28.0	36.0

Source: Open Society Institute

The number of Muslims interacting with other ethnicities and religions in shops is fairly stable on a daily and weekly basis, while non-Muslims have more interactions on

a weekly than on a daily basis. This might reflect the different shopping habits of the two groups, Muslims meeting others in shops daily and weekly, while more non-Muslims usually go shopping once a week (Table 27.).

Inter-ethnic and inter-religious contacts in bars, clubs, community centres or places of worship follow totally different patterns among Muslims and non-Muslims. While there is only a very low number of interactions reported by Muslims, the rate of interaction is very high among non-Muslims in bars and clubs.

**Table 28. Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction in bars or clubs**

Non-Muslims	Other ethnicity %	Other religion %
Daily	2.0	2.0
At least weekly	15.0	10.0
At least monthly	30.0	21.0
At least once a year	25.0	18.0
Not at all	23.0	39.0
Don't know	5.0	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The responses (Table 28.) on interaction in bars and clubs takes on special meaning due to the fact that in the research area several mosques are located in the same area as a red-light district, in the Steindamm in St George near the main station. The gay area of Hamburg is also nearby, with a variety of bars and restaurants.

This picture is reversed when it comes to community centres and places of worship. There the interaction is very low among non-Muslims, but very high among Muslims (Table 29.).

**Table 29. Frequency of inter-religious and inter-ethnic interaction in places of worship**

	Muslims	Other ethnicity %
Daily		16.0
At least weekly		37.0
At least monthly		14.0
At least once a year		8.0
Not at all		25.0
Don't know		0.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Certain entertainment places, like discos, bars or clubs, are often seen as places which exclude the poor and people of colour, as one Muslim reported.<sup>177</sup> If young Muslims decide to socialise in bars and clubs, they may have difficulties in getting in. In 2008 the *Hamburg Abendblatt* conducted a test with two young high-school students of Ethiopian and Iranian descent. In eight out of nine bars and discos they were stopped by bouncers and denied entrance.<sup>178</sup> The conclusion of a roundtable organised by the head of the district to discuss the issue was that it is difficult to talk about discrimination, because the majority of the bouncers were of Turkish origin, which was understood to mean they could not discriminate between other migrants.<sup>179</sup> This episode makes clear that there is a lack of understanding as to what discrimination is, what the regulations of the AGG are and how they affect victims.

In the qualitative data of the questionnaire it was found that both Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees saw streets and pubs as places where people drink alcohol and are

<sup>177</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>178</sup> Thomas Andre, “Die Toleranz endet beim Türsteher” (Tolerance ends at the bouncers) *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 8 September 2008, available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article937604/Die-Toleranz-endet-beim-Tuersteher.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>179</sup> Rebecca Kresse and Thomas Andre, “Türsteher, Die Debatte geht weiter” (Bouncers, the debate continues), *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 28 October 2008, available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article571813/Tuersteher-Die-Debatte-geht-weiter.html> (accessed January 2010).

more aggressive. Aggression stimulated by alcohol is frequently experienced as disturbing and dangerous by Muslims, and from a Muslim perspective it takes on an additional, religious dimension.

Hamburg is characterised by some Muslims and non-Muslims as a more formal environment, and interviewees mentioned experiencing disorientation in social situations because people are distant and reserved. Often the description of Hamburg and its population merges with stereotypes about Germans and Germany in general. Interviewees indicated that they do not share the general attitude of Germans towards life, which is perceived as negativity. Respondents reported missing social interaction, where people help each other and have an optimistic outlook. The local people were perceived as not being spontaneous and not very communicative. The attitude towards migrants was criticised and interviewees expressed fears of nationalism and chauvinism. Non-Muslim interviewees described this as a strong emphasis on roots, with an intense local patriotism. The closed-off character of people and communities, which stick together, was frequently mentioned, which Muslims and non-Muslims observed not only among migrant populations, but among non-migrants as well. Among German non-Muslims, this may be an observation of regional differences, like being from the Rhineland or East Germany.

Although Muslims trust police and courts, authorities and public institutions were experienced as dangerous by some Muslims, because they feel belittled. They reported an atmosphere where it is made clear that they are not German. Muslims complained about civil servants who speak to them as if they had just arrived from a foreign country. It was noted that foreigners could be scolded as though they were little children.<sup>180</sup> Social welfare offices, labour offices and police were perceived as too bureaucratic and businesslike, and for some Muslims and non-Muslims this was experienced as a discriminatory attitude towards migrants.<sup>181</sup> This does not really contradict the finding that Muslims trust police and courts; although Muslims experience discrimination from individual representatives of those institutions, it does not undermine the trust in those institutions as a whole, because they are seen as following rules that they did not make.<sup>182</sup>

Hamburg politics was characterised by some interviewees as following the interests of the well-off, without any representation for the disadvantaged. The city was portrayed as a capitalist enterprise producing large social differences and a big gap between rich and poor, due to the uneven distribution of income and employment. Interviewees also noted increased tensions not only because of ethnicity, but between social classes.

Interviewees reported that Muslim women wearing headscarves attracted stares when walking in wealthy neighbourhoods, the city centre or shopping malls. Many Muslims

---

<sup>180</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>181</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>182</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

therefore feel uncomfortable and unwelcome.<sup>183</sup> Commercial spaces do not promote a sense of belonging in Hamburg. This might be the reason why other spaces are appropriated much more easily by migrants. The marketplace is often the best forum in which newcomers can work. The HHAP reflects a new system of active urban development, where problem areas are upgraded and stabilised through the modernisation of old buildings and new buildings, with an allocation policy in public housing aimed at preventing segregation and a polarised city.<sup>184</sup>

From the perspective of the interviewees, the cityscape is very much polarised and exclusion is experienced as an everyday reality, especially by young people. Some Muslims regarded areas that are not culturally diverse as problematic, as it is hard for non-native Germans or immigrants to feel they belong. In those areas immigrants are more noticeable, racism is common and shops cater to ethnic Germans. Those areas are located at the fringes but also in some pockets in the centre of Hamburg, where there is no cultural diversity and religion is seen as something negative. In places where there are only Germans, some Muslims described not being accepted because of their appearance, being ignored, insulted or even violently attacked.<sup>185</sup> In small villages outside Hamburg a Muslim reported similar experiences.<sup>186</sup>

Some interviewees also regarded places with a high percentage of foreigners as ghettos. These are inner-city areas, like Alsenplatz or Lutherostraße, or suburbs with social housing in Steilshoop, Osdorf (Born), Mümmelmannsberg, Billstedt or Wilhelmsburg, where the numbers of non-ethnic Germans are high and residents cannot feel German. There is generally a strong sense of belonging to the local area, and some Muslims shared this feeling in a positive way, noting that it is like living in a Turkish city. Other conclude more negatively: “We live too much among ourselves.”<sup>187</sup> The effect is that it restricts their scope in the city. Some Muslims reported that they only know their neighbourhood well, but they do not know other social settings in other parts of the city.

---

<sup>183</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>184</sup> HHAP, p. 34.

<sup>185</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>186</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>187</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

## 5. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: EDUCATION

This chapter looks at the chief issues in education. It looks at the interviewees' experiences in the educational system, the challenges to educational achievement, language, the role of religion and finally the initiatives by Hamburg City Council to improve achievement and quality and address resources.

Education is highly controversial in Germany. The issues are the role of pre-schools in preparing children for primary school and whether the existing three-track school system is still adequate.

Since the OECD Pisa<sup>188</sup> studies in 2000, where the achievements of schools were internationally compared for the first time, it became obvious that the educational system in Germany is expensive, inefficient and highly selective. This was a catalyst for numerous changes and approaches. Since then the educational system in Hamburg has undergone several reforms, often going hand in hand with cuts in financial and human resources.

The HHAP takes a more holistic approach to the central questions of education. The chapter on education focuses on pre-schools, public schools, transition to vocational training, universities and adult education. It does not cover the reforms agreed by the new Conservative–Green government in 2008, which implemented important recommendations of the HHAP and promised a radical change of the Hamburg school system.

### 5.1 Pre-school Education

KESS<sup>189</sup> is a social indicator compiled from 30 variables measuring the social conditions of primary-school students in Hamburg in 2006. The indicators show that the three OSI research areas belong to a cluster of 32 underprivileged areas in Hamburg where students are disadvantaged.<sup>190</sup>

The HHAP reports that 18.3 per cent of monolingual German pre-school children needed special language support in the screening for the school year 2005–2006; 55 per cent of bilingual pre-school children were also in need.<sup>191</sup> To improve the situation, the HHAP focuses on educational standards and language support. Since

---

<sup>188</sup> PISA is the Programme for International Student Assessment, available at <http://www.pisa.oecd.org> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>189</sup> Survey on competencies and attitudes of students in 2006.

<sup>190</sup> "Die soziale Spaltung Hamburgs. Analyse der GAL-Bürgerschaftsfraktion" (The social divide in Hamburg. Analysis of the GAL), available at <http://www.hamburg-kreativestadt.de> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>191</sup> HHAP, p. 13.

2004, one year before registering for primary school the child's linguistic development is assessed (in *Sprachstandstests*) in German and the language of origin. If children do not have the necessary skills, since 2006 they have been obliged to participate in special language-support measures in day-care facilities, if necessary with one-to-one support.<sup>192</sup> Since 2005, all children in Hamburg over the age of three have a right to five hours per day in a day-care facility (Kita) until they enter school, but this is not necessarily free.<sup>193</sup> In 2007–2008 1,653 children participated in pre-school language support programmes.<sup>194</sup> Figures on the number of Muslim children attending day care are not available. In 2007 the Federal government and the *Länder* agreed on a massive extension of day-care facilities for children less than three years of age. To achieve the agreed quota of covering 35 per cent of the children, Hamburg must create 5,900 new child-care places by 2013.<sup>195</sup>

## 5.2 Primary and Secondary Education

There are a variety of schools in Hamburg-Mitte: 58 are public and 12 private.<sup>196</sup> There are 25 public and six private primary and secondary schools (*Grund-, Haupt- and Realschulen*), five public and three private grammar schools (*Gymnasium*); five public integrated comprehensive schools (*Integrierte Gesamtschulen*), six public special schools (*Sonderschule*); three public and one private night schools (*Abendschule, Kolleg*) and 16 public vocational schools (*Berufliche Schule*).

The differences between these schools can be difficult for an immigrant to understand, as one Muslim woman expressed:

When we came at that time we didn't know the school systems. We thought it is like in Turkey. We didn't know what a "Realschule" and what a "Gymnasium" is. Although my oldest daughter was really intelligent and her teachers insisted that she should go to the "Gymnasium", I thought like in Turkey, that she will

<sup>192</sup> §§42 Abs.1, 28a Abs. 2, Hamburg School Law (HmbSG).

<sup>193</sup> Hamburger Kinderbetreuungsgesetz (KibeG), 27 April 2004, available at [http://hh.juris.de/hh/KiBetrG\\_HA\\_rahmen.htm](http://hh.juris.de/hh/KiBetrG_HA_rahmen.htm) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>194</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, *Behörde für Bildung und Sport. Hamburg Schulstatistik im Überblick: Schulen, Klassen, Schülerinnen und Schüler in Hamburg* (Hamburg school statistics at a glance: schools, classes, students in Hamburg), 2007/2008, hereafter Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport 2007/2008.

<sup>195</sup> Richtlinie der Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz (BSG), Investitionsprogramm Krippenausbau 2008–2013 (November 2008) (Directive of the Ministry for Social Affairs, Family, Health and Consumer Protection for the investment programme for the expansion of early child care 2008–2013), available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/118866/data/foerderrichtlinie-2008-2013.doc> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>196</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport 2007/2008.



be working anyway and sent her to “Realschule” ... she is now working for 15–20 years as a clerk with AOK (health insurance).<sup>197</sup>

Another Muslim girl told a story about her Algerian neighbour:

He was an only child and he was not that good in school and they told the parents that he needed to go to a special school. The parents understood unfortunately that it was a really special school and were happy and pleased. Somebody must have recognised that they misunderstood something. No parent is happy when his child goes to “special school”. I got really angry because nobody really explained anything to them.<sup>198</sup>

The existing data do not show the distribution of students with migrant histories in the different school types. This is recognised in the HHAP, which suggests including ethnic affiliation and the family language in new statistics.<sup>199</sup>

There are data on the number of foreign students in each of the school forms, which indicate that the lower the profile of the school the higher number of foreign students who enrol; notably, 30 per cent of students in special schools are foreign.<sup>200</sup>

### 5.3 Educational Achievement

This trend continues in the numbers of school drop-outs, those who leave school without a *Hauptschule* certificate. In 2006–2007, an average of 10.3 per cent of students dropped out. Of German citizens, 8.5 per cent dropped out, among ethnic Germans (from Eastern Europe, Russia or Kazakhstan) the drop-out rate was 9.8 per cent and among students without German citizenship the figure was 18.4 per cent. In the same year, 22.5 per cent of students got a *Hauptschule* certificate, of which 20 per cent were German citizens, 27.6 per cent ethnic Germans and 33 per cent did not have a German passport.

This picture completely turns around with the 36 per cent of students who achieved an A-level (*Abitur*) in 2006–2007: 40.2 per cent of them held German citizenship, 26.6 per cent were ethnic Germans and 18.8 per cent did not have German citizenship.<sup>201</sup>

---

<sup>197</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>198</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>199</sup> The available data in Hamburg note that 15.2 per cent of students have a foreign passport, of which 33.5 per cent are Turks, 12.2 per cent Afghan and 4.6 per cent Polish. Students with passports from Iran, Russia, Serbia, Macedonia, Portugal, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ghana, Greece, Albania and Croatia comprise 2–3 per cent. Calculating the number of students with a passport from a Muslim country, approximately 50 per cent of them have a Muslim background. Data about the gender distribution among foreign students were not available.

<sup>200</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport 2007/2008.

<sup>201</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport 2007/2008.

This situation is seen as critical and is addressed in three objectives for schools in the HHAP:

1. Increase the language skills of all students, but especially of students with migrant backgrounds.
2. Decrease the number of students with migrant backgrounds leaving the school without any leaving certificates.
3. Increase the percentage of students with migrant backgrounds obtaining an A-level.<sup>202</sup>

The research data support the general view of other studies, that Muslims have a lower level of education (see Table 30.).

**Table 30. Highest level of education completed**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
No formal education	4.0	0.0	2.0
Primary education	15.0	0.0	7.5
Secondary education	68.0	62.0	65.0
University	13.0	38.0	25.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Table 31. shows the country of schooling and makes clear that the outcome of the education process is mainly an effect of the German educational system and only to a small extent that of foreign educational systems.

<sup>202</sup> HHAP, p. 16.

**Table 31. Country of schooling**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Germany		54.0	86.0	70.0
EU country		1.0	6.0	3.5
Non-EU country		39.0	8.0	23.5
Did not answer		6.0	0.0	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The vast majority, 69 Muslims and 88 non-Muslims, had more than ten years of formal education (see Table 32.), but 12 Muslims attended school between the ages of seven and nine years and 13 attended school who were less than seven years old. There is no correlation in the sample showing that those Muslims born in rural areas have a lower formal education than those born in urban areas. The same is true for those who obtained their education in a non-EU state.

**Table 32. Years of formal education**

	Age	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
	3-4	1.0	0.0	0.5
	5-6	12.0	0.0	6.0
	7-9	12.0	11.0	11.5
	10+	69.0	88.0	78.5
	Did not answer	6.0	1.0	3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

## 5.4 Language and Educational Achievement

The actions proposed by the HHAP focus on language acquisition and language support. Multilingualism is valued positively.<sup>203</sup> Classes in the languages of origin are provided by some schools in Hamburg. These classes are mother-tongue classes in some schools; other schools offer, for example, Turkish as a second language at the beginning of secondary school.<sup>204</sup> Each school decides which languages to do. The consulates of the guest worker recruiting countries and the Administration for School and Vocational Training (*Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung*) are responsible for these language classes. There are several promising moves which may improve the general language competencies of all students:

1. The marks in these language classes are counted towards graduation requirements, although this needs to be revisited in the light of the general changes in the educational system.
2. Exams to document the proficiency in the languages of origin are provided;
3. Exams in the language of origin can be taken instead of in a first or second foreign language.
4. Classes in German as a second language are provided.

To support language acquisition and learning, the system of assessing language proficiency is continued, additionally supported by an assessment of the starting points of learning (*Lernausgangslagen*). Those assessments take place every year. The results for 2009 are available to teachers in Hamburg, but not to the general public.<sup>205</sup> In 2009 assessments in the third grade in German and Mathematics, in the sixth grade in German, English and Mathematics and in the eighth grade in German, first choice of second language and Mathematics were made.<sup>206</sup> Coordinators of language learning in each school, who are responsible for the implementation and evaluation of the support programme, have been established. Language support is integrated into mainstream teaching and if necessary reinforced with additional specialised support on the basis of

---

<sup>203</sup> HHAP, p. 15. For general discussions about multilingualism see <http://www.bildungserver.de/zeigen.html?seite=3478> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>204</sup> Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen, “Mehrsprachigkeit an deutschen Schulen: ein Länderüberblick” (Federal Government Commissioner for Foreigners’ Affairs, multilingualism in German schools: a Länder overview), August 2001, available at <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/Anlagen/mehrsprachigkeit-an-schulen,property=publicationFile.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>205</sup> See official website on learning indicators in Hamburg <http://www.lernstand.hamburg.de/index.php> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>206</sup> Indicator for different school levels: see [http://www.lernstand.hamburg.de/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=74&Itemid=55](http://www.lernstand.hamburg.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=74&Itemid=55) (accessed 13 March 2010).

the policy each school is developing.<sup>207</sup> A continuous language programme based on individual support plans guided and evaluated by the Institute for Teacher Education and School Development (LI) is the target. Students have the legal obligation to take part in additional language teaching when weaknesses are assessed. Because Hamburg's educational system, in cooperation with the well-established university department for multilingualism, was already very active in previous years, most of the measures the HHAP calls for have already been implemented in the educational system and documented in the first report on education for Hamburg.<sup>208</sup>

Closer contact between the Department for School and Vocational Training (*Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung*), local schools and Muslim representatives could help to improve problems that currently exist in that area. Important and useful measures have been initiated by the school reforms, which can be seen as the most significant measures to fight indirect discrimination in the educational system in Hamburg and to foster the integration of children with a migrant background. The HHAP already documents a wide range of new approaches to deal with multilingual schools and to increase intercultural competencies. There is still a need for schools to work on themselves, the teachers and the general atmosphere, and also to confront Muslim parents and integrate them into school life.<sup>209</sup>

## 5.5 Muslim Experiences in Hamburg Schools

Muslim parents may be anxious about the complexity of the German school system and some children take advantage of their parents' ignorance for their own purposes, as a focus group participant reported: "I know a lot of students who tell their parents that they are going to have an A-level (*Abitur*), even though they don't have a *Hauptschule* certificate."<sup>210</sup>

A Muslim participant of one focus group further emphasised:

The level of education of the parents plays a big role. That already starts with parents' involvement in school. Fathers and mothers barely speak German, because they are working hard and therefore have no time to develop themselves. They don't come to such gatherings. The teacher then gets the impression that

---

<sup>207</sup> HHAP, p. 16.

<sup>208</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung, Institut für Bildungsmonitoring (eds), *Bildungsbericht Hamburg 2009* (Education Report Hamburg 2009), 2009, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/bsb-publikationen/nofl/1601636/hr-bildungsbericht-langfassung.html> (accessed January 2010) (hereafter *Bildungsbericht Hamburg 2009*).

<sup>209</sup> Sara Fürstenau and Mechtild Gomolla (eds), *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Elternbeteiligung* (Migration and educational transformation: parental involvement), VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, 2009.

<sup>210</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

they are not at all interested in school. This has the effect of a less good relation between teachers and students.<sup>211</sup>

Another Muslim interviewee highlighted an additional difficulty of some Muslim parents:

They cannot check homework that well, because they do not have the level of education of the German parents ... Then immediately comes up the question of private lessons for 10€ per hour, the average is around 20€. This is really expensive. Especially for those people who live off Hartz IV (social welfare), they do not have the money and do not get the necessary support of the state.<sup>212</sup>

Advice for parents and students is clearly needed: 47 Muslims in the OSI study indicated they needed advice about education, and likewise 55 non-Muslims are in need of advice in this area.

The HHAP recognises the important role of parents and their needs. Migrant parents are encouraged to get involved in the schools, and information will be provided for them in neighbourhood or community centres in their local areas.<sup>213</sup> “Mothers’ courses” to increase the literacy of migrant mothers are to be made available. Such courses are organised by local association like the *Billenetz*, which provides services in the east of the OSI research area.<sup>214</sup> Hamburg is providing 500 additional places for asylum seekers in 2009. Other funding is coming from the Federal ministry for migration and refugees and is related to the general integration courses the Federal government is providing.<sup>215</sup> Close cooperation between the different actors, including the involvement of migrant self-organisations (MSOs<sup>216</sup>), is also envisioned by the HHAP.

At the roundtable workshop on education it was stressed that the participation of Muslim parents is little and that religiously active parents play a key role in learning. They can bridge the gap between teachers and students. It was said that barriers, like the very formal parental representation, too little dialogue with Muslim parents and the social gap between teachers and families, need to be identified, and new forms of

---

<sup>211</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>212</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>213</sup> HHAP, p. 16.

<sup>214</sup> Bildungsblätter Hamburger Osten, “Verstehen, was die anderen reden! Informationen über Sprachförderung und interkulturelle Bildungsangebote in Billstedt und Horn” (Education papers Hamburg East, “Understanding what others say! Information about language learning and intercultural education in Billstedt and Horn”), June 2009, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/1658860/data/bildungsblaetter-200908.pdf> (accessed January 2010) (hereafter Bildungsblätter Hamburger Osten, “Verstehen, was die anderen reden!”).

<sup>215</sup> Bildungsblätter Hamburger Osten, “Verstehen, was die anderen reden!”.

<sup>216</sup> A migrant self-organisation established and run by migrants themselves.

working with parents to increase their participation need to be found.<sup>217</sup> Best practices like training parents as mediators or translators are a move in the right direction, according to the participants.<sup>218</sup> Often teachers do not know anything about the parents' background and there is a lack of social workers who can work with the parents. It was stressed that in the current structure Muslim and migrant parents can barely enforce their demands or get their rights. Therefore Muslim and migrant parents depend on independent bodies and neighbourhood centres. Such independent projects of Muslim and migrant parents need regular funding.<sup>219</sup>

The HHAP sees poor skills in speaking and reading German as the main barrier for the integration of students with migrant backgrounds. Migrants are behind their fellow students of German origin when it comes to learning performance (*Lernrückstand*).

From a Muslim perspective, this being left behind is experienced as a more systematic downgrading of migrants by the educational system and was widely reported in different focus groups. One participant reported that teachers have sent children without disabilities to the special school (*Sonderschule*), where they were tested and found to be highly intelligent. The teacher then asked, "Are our teachers suppose to be unemployed?" implying that migrant students are there to guarantee the jobs of special schoolteachers. Another young Muslim wondered why a friend, who was 13 years old, was sent to a special school, but was able to learn the Qur'an by heart in 45 days. An older Muslim father talked about his experiences:

When my child was [in Germany], they said that he is not doing well in school. They said he is mentally not capable. We then brought him to Turkey and there they took him into the 3rd grade. Now he has finished university. He went right from the first to third grade.<sup>220</sup>

These experiences suggest that Muslim children may be placed in special schools and the *Hauptschule* not necessarily because of disabilities. Some research has posited that this is a result of a downward dynamic of the educational system, which has not yet adapted to dealing with diversity and the needs of a varied learning environment.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>217</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>218</sup> Electronic handbook for teachers: see <http://www.bqm-handbuch.de/site/html/cms.php?cont=144> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>219</sup> Prerequisites for participation: see <http://www.bqm-handbuch.de/site/html/cms.php?cont=228&PHPSESSID=ef2b354e51a06c94cbacfd8359bf00ee> (accessed 13 March 2010).

<sup>220</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>221</sup> Gomolla Mechthild, "Ethnisch-kulturelle Zuschreibungen und Mechanismen institutionalisierter Diskriminierung in der Schule" (Ethno-cultural attributions and mechanisms of institutionalised discrimination in school), in I. Attia and H. Marburger (eds), *Alltag und Lebenswelten von Migrantenjugendlichen* (Everyday life and life worlds of migrant youth), IKO-Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2000.

The standard way of dealing with different capabilities in the existing educational system is to single out such students and transfer them to the next lower level.

The school system is viewed by Muslims and non-Muslims alike as highly selective and not good, although 29 Muslims and 22 non-Muslims were satisfied with the local primary school (Table 33.).

**Table 33. Satisfaction with primary schools**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very or fairly satisfied	29.0	22.0	25.5
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	24.0	17.0	20.5
Very or fairly dissatisfied	23.0	15.0	19.0
Did not answer	24.0	46.0	35.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Complaints about primary schools are related to the reproduction of spatial segregation (or ghetto) in the classroom, because children attend neighbourhood schools. The school climate was criticised as aggressive and the pre-school services were considered inadequate. Non-Muslims expressed concern about a lack of attention being paid to improving social competencies. An interviewee reported that underprivileged, non-German children were being excluded from their neighbourhood school as the area gentrified. Local primary schools, but other schools as well, demand too little from the children in the eyes of Muslims. The educational level is too low and interviewees expressed concerns that Muslim children do not get support and xenophobia is prevailing. In overcrowded classes children only learn what is most necessary.

Even fewer people were happy with their local high school (Table 34.).



**Table 34. Satisfaction with high schools**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very or fairly satisfied	23.0	18.0	20.5
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	19.0	13.0	16.0
Very or fairly dissatisfied	27.0	26.0	26.5
Did not answer	31.0	43.0	37.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

There are perceptions that large numbers of migrants reduce the quality of education offered. A Muslim complained about the low standard of his school, because there were too many migrants. Another Muslim reported that all foreigners were usually put into one class with the effect that the level of education was not desirable. A non-Muslim explained that education policies in the schools cannot integrate existing cultural differences nor organise exchanges among each other. It is felt that there are too few schools like *Gesamtschule*, which integrate those differences.

The HHAP suggests a range of measures to improve teaching in an immigrant society and to meet the criticisms. Intercultural education will be a legal requirement in the curriculum;<sup>222</sup> it needs to be included in the planning and conceptualisation of all subjects (language teaching, and social and natural sciences). Space and time must be given to multilingualism, plurality of religions and social interaction with different norms. Students need to be enabled to find a space for cultural interactions to reflect their viewpoints.<sup>223</sup>

In addition, the Conservative–Green government has put education at the centre of their political agenda. A whole range of often controversial educational reforms have been triggered since the conservative–populist CDU–Schill government came into power in 2001.

<sup>222</sup> Hamburg school law, 16 April 1997, last amended 6 July 2006.

<sup>223</sup> HHAP, p. 15.

## Resource allocation and teaching quality

The interviewees reported discontent about the way resources are allocated and how this affects the quality of teaching. For some Muslims, there are not enough local schools: those that do exist are bad, too small or do not teach basic knowledge. One interviewee reported in the area where he is living that there is neither a *Realschule* nor a *Gymnasium* anymore, because they were closed down. Another parent complained that there is a lack of educational materials despite school fees.

It was further suggested that courses are dropped and an atmosphere of violence and ignorance exists due to a lack of teachers. Some Muslims indicated that schools need more human resources and open spaces; others say that there must be more policing and surveillance and more human resources to improve security in schools. Because there are too many students, sometimes up to 30 in one class were reported, and students do not get enough support. In particular, a non-Muslim observed there are more and more children with psychological problems and there are not enough resources.

Muslims and non-Muslims are aware of the fact that teachers are over-extended. One Muslim thought that the new working time model, introduced in one of the many reforms in Hamburg, had adverse effects on the quality of teaching. Some non-Muslims described teachers as overwhelmed by the social problems of the students, unmotivated, lackadaisical and resigned.<sup>224</sup> In primary schools, a Muslim said, teachers are not trained to teach foreign students. Another Muslim stated that in primary schools in other districts, the teachers take better care of their students, like in the *Gymnasium* in Kirchdorf-Wilhelmsburg.

A shortage of teachers was cited as a serious problem in Hamburg. This reflects a national problem, as an overview about the prognosis on the supply of teachers in all Federal states shows.<sup>225</sup> The current school reforms require even more teachers, and changes to the teachers' schedules mean that teachers in Hamburg have the highest working hours compared with teachers in other Federal states, which makes Hamburg a less attractive place to teach in.<sup>226</sup> There is no information available at the moment on how the Senate of Hamburg is addressing this, but the trade union GEW in Hamburg has proposed an increase in university places for teacher training, better

---

<sup>224</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>225</sup> See <http://www.bildungserver.de/zeigen.html?seite=5530> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>226</sup> GEW press release 17 June 2009, "Versorgungslücke im Unterricht: Bildungsforscher Prof. Klemm warnt vor dramatischem Lehrermangel" (Supply gap in the classroom: education researcher Professor Klemm warns of a dramatic shortage of teachers), available at [http://www.gew-hamburg.de/Binaries/Binary2034/Klemm-Gutachten\\_20GEW\\_20Hamburg\\_20Spezifika.pdf](http://www.gew-hamburg.de/Binaries/Binary2034/Klemm-Gutachten_20GEW_20Hamburg_20Spezifika.pdf) (accessed January 2010) (hereafter GEW press release).

resourcing of existing courses to decrease a drop-out rate of 40 per cent, and increases in recruitment to decrease the workload and to improve the quality of teaching.<sup>227</sup>

Teachers are the centre of interaction between Muslim students and the school system and face significant criticism. Teachers bring their personal opinions too much into the foreground and improperly influence the students, a Muslim reported.<sup>228</sup> In secondary school, according to a young Muslim,

They have an opinion of you and you can't change it, you can do what you want. The teachers don't treat everybody the same. For the same offence like drinking alcohol at a school outing, the students get punished differently. I have the feeling that there are lot of right-wing teachers, e.g. they make jokes about foreigners.<sup>229</sup>

A variety of such discriminatory incidents were reported in the survey and focus groups. Muslims described situations like being put in the corner for not knowing the language or being the subject of unfair grading.<sup>230</sup> Some Muslims reported that teachers systematically give bad grades to Muslim students.<sup>231</sup> Muslims observed a degrading of Islam by teachers, who ridicule Islam through ironic questions, and laugh about Muslim customs, like fasting in the month of Ramadan.<sup>232</sup> Muslim students reported being offended by hate speech, teasing and devaluation. Non-Muslims were concerned about a lack of basic knowledge of other religions, while noting some improvements like teachers trying to explain commonalities and differences in religions. Schools encompass many different religions and teachers have started in recent years to learn and to understand what it means to believe in another religion and how to teach this to students, according to interviewees. But Muslims also reported intolerant teachers who do not accept students of other cultures. Other non-Muslims took the view that the attitude of teachers depends on their generation: younger teachers are seen to be more open than older ones. A non-Muslim noted that there are very few teachers with migrant backgrounds and most are recruited from the majority society.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims perceive the educational system as flawed and based on incorrect premises, with a lot of theory and little practice. According to interviewees, the prevailing teacher-centred lecture style does not respond to the needs of individual students and the school administrations do not help teachers develop or support them in modernising their approach. The lack of investment in education was

---

<sup>227</sup> GEW press release.

<sup>228</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>229</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>230</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>231</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>232</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

regarded as the problem.<sup>233</sup> One Muslim raised the topic of the lack of discipline and complained that students had too much freedom and the teachers did not emphasise discipline; there were too many holidays and girls attended school wearing too much makeup and too little clothing, which distracts from learning.<sup>234</sup>

The HHAP considers increasing the number of teachers with migrant backgrounds themselves as necessary and aims to look into measures that are appropriate to achieve this.<sup>235</sup> In light of the shortage of teachers, however, this becomes more difficult to achieve. Even the trade union for education and science, although addressing the need for more teachers, does not demand more teachers with migrant backgrounds.<sup>236</sup> The increase of the budget for teaching personnel should allow the establishment of an equal opportunity approach in recruiting teaching staff,<sup>237</sup> but there appears to be a need to improve the policy and legal framework for dealing with a multicultural educational system in general. Teachers are constrained by the laws and regulations of the schools, as one Muslim interviewee recalled, and so if there are laws or regulations regarding headscarves or mandatory swimming lessons, teachers must comply with them.<sup>238</sup>

## Prejudices in school

A non-Muslim emphasised that unsubstantiated prejudices against people from Turkey or students with headscarves are common in schools. Muslim students experience this sort of thing on the school buses:

They don't sit next to us in the buses; they would rather stand up, even though there is room to sit next to a Muslim.<sup>239</sup>

It was indicated that there was no acceptance or respect and students have to justify themselves because of their religion, as a Muslim mother reported:

They pretend that they respect different religious customs, but they make us upset by expressing some insulting comments and prejudices. I know this from my four children who go to school.<sup>240</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> GEW press release.

<sup>234</sup> GEW press release.

<sup>235</sup> HHAP, p. 17.

<sup>236</sup> GEW press release.

<sup>237</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Finanzbehörde, "Der Hamburger Haushalt 2009 auf einen Blick" (The Hamburg 2009 budget at a glance), available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/1546152/data/haushalt-auf-einen-blick.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>238</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>239</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>240</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

Another Muslim agreed that children are not treated equally: there are prejudices against Afghans and Muslims, despite respect for other religious customs. Several interviewees, both Muslim and non-Muslim, suggested that the principle of non-discrimination needs to be better implemented in schools, particularly regarding the conduct of children themselves. The problem of discrimination in schools has not yet been openly articulated in the HHAP or other policy documents, and the importance of the teachers' attitudes towards the educational success of minority children needs to be addressed. Participants of the working group on education at the roundtable stressed that they see a correlation between language competencies and ethnicity as problematic, reinforcing prejudices, and called for more studies on discrimination and language. The workshop recommended drawing up a checklist for schools that needed improvement by the Institute for Teacher Education and School Development (LI), which would show them how far they were on the way to opening up an intercultural environment.<sup>241</sup>

Other Muslim parents were more optimistic, remarking that intolerance is the exception and everybody learns to handle religious questions better over time.<sup>242</sup> Few major conflicts were reported, and a non-Muslim parent noted that many foreign children went on to finish school and have successful careers.<sup>243</sup>

## 5.6 Religion in School

A large majority of Muslims expressed the opinion that schools respect the religious customs of the people belonging to different religion too little, although the majority of non-Muslims found the level of respect appropriate (Table 35.).

---

<sup>241</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>242</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>243</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

**Table 35. Do schools respect different religious customs?**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Too little		61.0	29.0	45.0
About right		19.0	34.0	26.5
Too much		3.0	5.0	4.0
Don't know		17.0	32.0	24.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Many Muslims interviewed had positive experiences to report from the schools. These stemmed from the schools' respectful approach to the religion of their students. Muslim students are allowed to pray and fast in school and when Ramadan starts, teachers treat the children carefully, ask how they feel and if they are tired. Classmates are told to treat fasting children carefully during that time, Muslims reported.<sup>244</sup> A non-Muslim indicated that schools have become more open towards other religions and their customs, due to the high number of foreigners in Germany.<sup>245</sup>

There seems to be no uniform approach to the use of headscarves in the schools of Hamburg-Mitte. Muslims and non-Muslims report from schools where the headscarf is allowed and respected and others report of schools where there is hostility against veiling and Muslim children have been harassed in school and hassled by teachers.<sup>246</sup> There is also a wide range of practices on how to deal with religious holidays. Some schools have no problems giving leave of absence on religious holidays, others celebrate together and the teachers offer congratulations on Muslim holidays or at Chinese New Year, a non-Muslim reported. But both groups report that there are schools where rites are ignored.<sup>247</sup>

Some schools provide prayer rooms for students. If there are no separate rooms available, dressing rooms are provided by some schools for prayers. A non-Muslim sees this as a reaction of German politics, media and population, which has enhanced the

<sup>244</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>245</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>246</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008, and OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>247</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

role of religion in school.<sup>248</sup> Other schools do not provide praying rooms. Some Muslims still pray in the common rooms without the school management knowing.

There was little agreement about the role of religion in schools among those interviewed. While some non-Muslims see the school's role as a neutral place where children learn about the similarities and differences between religions, some Muslims found this approach pushes religion into the background and does not promote acceptance.<sup>249</sup> Daily customs and obligations that must be practised during school hours do not receive enough attention, according to some Muslims.<sup>250</sup> Other areas where interviewees expressed concern included swimming classes and class outings. Some Muslims took the view that students should not be forced to attend swimming courses, while others considered that gender separation in sports is a good thing. Non-Muslims reported that on class outings the wishes of the parents are respected, and that solutions can be found for other issues, like girls' swimming classes. Often the Islamic Education and Science Institute (Islamisches Wissenschafts- und Bildungsinstitut, IWB, see note 446)) is asked for advice on religious matters.<sup>251</sup>

### The Hamburg model of religious education

The Federal Minister of the Interior announced at the Third Islam Conference (13 March 2008) that Islamic religious classes in German were to be introduced. There is religious education in all Federal states in different forms and Islamic religious classes already existed in some Federal states.<sup>252</sup>

In 1994 a joint commission of schools and churches was established to work on the modernisation of the Hamburg religious education in a "school for all" model.<sup>253</sup> This model is accepted by the Muslim community as a third way, beyond denominational religious education and ethics. The Muslim community was involved at an early stage in this discussion through their participation in the inter-religious education forum,

---

<sup>248</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>249</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008

<sup>250</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>251</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

<sup>252</sup> Most commonly, this takes the form of denominational education, where each denomination is responsible for its own religious education. The other model, focusing on ethics and religion, only plays a minor role. See Jurblog. Topics are the rights of foreigners, integration and the politics around foreigners. <http://www.jurblog.de/2008/03/16/umfrage-islamkonferenz-beschliesst-islamunterricht-an-deutschen-schulen/> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>253</sup> "School for all" was promoted mainly by the Green Party and is supposed to replace the old model of the three-track school system. It is part of the Conservative–Green coalition agreement. Its manner of implementation is currently being debated within the coalition.

which was established in 1995. In 1999 the Hamburg inter-religious forum, closely following the British model of inter-faith dialogue, was established.<sup>254</sup>

Some Muslims welcomed Islamic classes in German for their children, and complained about the lack of Muslim teaching.<sup>255</sup> Muslims indicated they would accept an alternative to religious classes, when the existing lectures were extended to cover all religions. This reflects the Hamburg model.

The HHAP supports the idea of a dialogue between religions in the school classrooms, school projects and the teachers' education. Schools and day-care centres are being encouraged to invite representatives of other religions into their religious classes to help children get to know different religious traditions.

The OSI data show a high rate of inter-religious and inter-ethnic contacts in school (see Table 36.).

**Table 36. Inter-religious and inter-ethnic contacts in school, work or college**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Meeting people of another ethnicity (daily)	51.0	53.0	52.0
Meeting people of another religion (daily)	42.0	49.0	45.5
Not meeting people of another ethnicity at all	29.0	9.0	19.0
Not meeting people of another religion at all	30.0	12.0	21.0
<b>Total</b>	%	N.A.	N.A.
	Number	100	100
		100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

The HHAP mentions an assessment of the educational qualifications of German-speaking Muslim scientists and imams at the universities of Hamburg (or elsewhere in Germany with the cooperation of other *Länder*).<sup>256</sup>

The Conservative–Green government went even further in their coalition agreement, in which the founding of an Academy of World Religions at the university, building

<sup>254</sup> Ali Özgür Özdiç, "Gesprächskreis interreligiöser Religionsunterricht in Hamburg seit 1995" (Roundtable on interfaith religious education in Hamburg since 1995), available at [http://islam-experte.de/dialog/foren\\_dialogs\\_hamburg.htm](http://islam-experte.de/dialog/foren_dialogs_hamburg.htm) (accessed 2 September 2008).

<sup>255</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>256</sup> HHAP, p. 40.



on the interdisciplinary centre, the World Religions in Dialogue, was agreed. This academy was due to be officially opened and equipped with its own professorship in Islamic theology in June 2010.<sup>257</sup> The guiding idea is to support the development of a European Islam, like the European Enlightenment.

The vice-president of the Hamburg Citizenry has stressed that there is a need to train and qualify not only imams, but clergymen of other religions as well. There should be people who are socialised, educated and qualified in Germany and understand the way of life. Such people will be better qualified to work in the area of integration. Imams have previously been brought in from other countries.<sup>258</sup>

The role of the Muslim community in the integration process is also detailed in the HHAP, where development of projects and dialogue structures is envisaged.<sup>259</sup> In this context it was a positive sign that on 3 October 2008, Germany's 18th national commemoration day, hosted by Hamburg, remembered the formal unification of the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic in 1990, and put the Day of the Open Mosque at the centre of their activities.

The OSI research shows that Muslims play quite an active role in their children's education (Table 37.).

**Table 37. Parents' involvement in children's education**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Based on own ethnicity or religion	5.0	2.0	3.5
Mixed	18.0	24.0	21.0
No / Did not answer	77.0	74.0	75.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

<sup>257</sup> Vertrag über die Zusammenarbeit in der 19. Wahlperiode der Hamburgischen Bürgerschaft zwischen der Christlich Demokratischen Union, Landesverband Hamburg und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Landesverband Hamburg, GAL, 2008 (Treaty on Cooperation in the 19th Term of the Hamburg Parliament between the Christian Democratic Union, Hamburg branch and Alliance 90/The Greens, Hamburg branch, GAL, 2008). Available at <http://www.hamburg.gruene.de/cms/default/dokbin/229/229457.koalitionsvertrag.pdf> (accessed 1 May 2010).

<sup>258</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2009.

<sup>259</sup> HHAP, p. 40.

The majority of Muslims (18) and non-Muslims (24) who were active in their children's education did so in an ethnically and religiously mixed environment and only a minority did this because of their own ethnicity and religion.

### Transition to the labour market

Schools do a poor job in preparing students for the transition from school to professional life, according to a Muslim interviewee.<sup>260</sup> A non-Muslim had a different outlook and explained that young people should not only be educated in school as human resources for industry, but they should be enabled to live a satisfying independent life. There were several remarks that more could be done for migrant children, to give them more job opportunities. The second generation has fewer problems with language or religious belonging, but still lacks employment options. Family conflicts because of the lack of opportunities for the children were reported.

The percentage of trainees with a foreign passport participating in a vocational training course was 6.4 per cent in 2005 and in the Hamburg administration only 5.2 per cent of the trainees had a foreign passport in 2006.<sup>261</sup> After the declaration of the First Mayor of Hamburg that he would increase the percentage of trainees with migrant backgrounds in the Hamburg administration to 20 per cent by 2011, a rise to 12.4 per cent in 2008 was achieved.<sup>262</sup> In a survey among its members the chamber of crafts for the first time asked about the migrant background of trainees working in the enterprises of their members. The survey revealed that 5 per cent of the trainees had a foreign passport, but 21.1 per cent had a German passport and a migrant background, meaning that themselves or one of their parents were born abroad.<sup>263</sup>

The HHAP attributes employment problems to the lack of or low-grade school-leaving certificates, inadequate language competencies of young people and the lack of information of the parents about the "dual vocational training system" (*Duales Ausbildungssystem*), where training is done in businesses and vocational schools. It is observed in the HHAP that migrant youths with the same school-leaving certificate as native-born Germans have many more difficulties finding an enterprise where they can

---

<sup>260</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>261</sup> Personalamt Hamburg, Personalbericht 2009, Vielfalt als Programm – interkulturelle Öffnung der hamburgischen Verwaltung (Hamburg Office of Personnel, Personnel Report, 2009, Diversity as a programme – intercultural (equal) opportunities in the Hamburg administration), accepted by the Senate of Hamburg during the 30 June 2009 session.

<sup>262</sup> Zentrum für Aus- und Fortbildung (ZAF), 6 February 2009, "Integration von Nachwuchskräften mit Migrationshintergrund" (Centre for Education and Training (ZAF), 6 February 2009, "Integration of young professionals with an immigrant background"), available at <http://www.diakonie-hamburg.de/fix/files/doc/WS-4-Kommunikation-intern-extern-Mueller.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>263</sup> HHAP, p. 18.

do vocational training.<sup>264</sup> This indicates that there may be discriminatory practices in recruitment.

A system of an overall competency assessment for *Hauptschule* students (e.g. KomLern<sup>265</sup>) has been established to help students access the labour market even when their school-leaving certificates are not good. An expert opinion about if and how those assessments consider intercultural competencies and avoid discrimination was finished in 2008.<sup>266</sup> It concluded that there is a neutral and colour-blind approach in the applied testing theory, which might miss indirect discrimination, but the practitioners are aware of intercultural differences due to the fact that the vast majority of their target group has a migrant background.

The HHAP suggests giving additional certificates on intercultural competencies to the students, which would balance their school-leaving certificates. Practical learning days in participating firms are organised by the schools in order to integrate corporate operations training into school studies, and a summer camp for 300 students of migrant backgrounds was organised in 2007 to improve German proficiency.<sup>267</sup>

The HHAP also suggests that the whole process of recruiting trainees should be examined. This involves not only the question in which region a firm or an administration advertises the available vocational training opportunities, but also what the selection criteria are. To enable the labour agencies (Agentur für Arbeit, team.arbeit.hamburg<sup>268</sup>) and the Hamburg administration to recognise, promote and consider intercultural competencies in their daily work, employees get voluntary training opportunities themselves (which has not been evaluated), but a systematic training approach has not been established yet.<sup>269</sup>

---

<sup>264</sup> HHAP, p. 18.

<sup>265</sup> For more about Projekt KomLern, see the website of the Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung at <http://www.li-hamburg.de/abt.lif/bf.2300/bf.2300.mup/bf.2300.mup.more.2/index.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>266</sup> Andreas Hieronymus, *Expertise: Interkulturelle Kompetenzen in Kompetenzfeststellungsverfahren*, (Expertise: Intercultural competence in competence assessment procedures) BQM-Hamburg, Hamburg, 2008.

<sup>267</sup> HHAP, p. 17.

<sup>268</sup> "Mit den Menschen arbeiten" (Working with people), [http://www.team-arbeit-hamburg.de/deutsch/media/dokumente/publikationen/broschuere\\_team.arbeit.hamburg200801.pdf](http://www.team-arbeit-hamburg.de/deutsch/media/dokumente/publikationen/broschuere_team.arbeit.hamburg200801.pdf) (accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>269</sup> Training is offered by NOBI (North German network for the professional integration of migrants), available at [http://www.ep-nobi.de/front\\_content.php?client=1&lang=1&parent=57&subid=57&idcat=75&idart=273](http://www.ep-nobi.de/front_content.php?client=1&lang=1&parent=57&subid=57&idcat=75&idart=273) (accessed 14 March 2010); Basis and Woge provides training in tackling discriminatory aspects of counselling as well.

Foreign students from 140 countries made up 13 per cent of all students in 2006–07 in the University of Hamburg.<sup>270</sup> As there is a high number of foreign students who come to Hamburg for studies and have obtained their secondary education outside Germany, the number of those who achieve an A-level in Germany before studying at university is much lower. The HHAP refers to 3,055 students with foreign passports and German high-school certificates for 2004–2005.

The tuition fees for universities introduced in 2004 prevent disadvantaged students from going to university, although these were changed by the new coalition.<sup>271</sup> They now have to be repaid after the studies are finished and a certain amount of money has been earned. Focus group participants stressed that the university fee of €500 per semester is a significant obstacle, and that the costs of university limit equal access to higher education.

The objective of the HHAP is to increase the percentage of students as well as of scientists and teaching personnel with migrant backgrounds. To achieve this, the HHAP discusses the general reform of the university system, including shorter study times, increasing numbers of students attaining graduate qualifications, part-time studies and e-learning. To decrease the number of students with migrant backgrounds who drop out of university, the HHAP suggests mentoring programmes to individually support students.<sup>272</sup> Ideas to take intercultural competencies and other qualifications into consideration to increase access to university have been put forward as well. Such mentoring programmes would be mainly privately funded, either by foundations or public–private partnerships.<sup>273</sup>

In adult education the HHAP meets some of the needs already mentioned in the section on language identity (see section 4.2 above), such as language courses for mothers of pre-school children or connecting up family and parent support.<sup>274</sup> It has been a real improvement that every migrant is entitled to 600 hours of German classes in the integration course, which are financed by the Federal government. These language courses are providing basic everyday knowledge of German. Hamburg provides additional classes for those with learning disabilities or those not entitled to the Federal integration classes, such as ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union

---

<sup>270</sup> Figures for the winter semester 2006/2007 are available at <http://bildungsklick.de/pm/58023/immer-mehr-internationale-studierende-bereichern-hamburgs-hochschulen/> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>271</sup> See the Wikipedia entry at [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Studiengeb%C3\\_BChren\\_in\\_Deutschland#Hamburg](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Studiengeb%C3_BChren_in_Deutschland#Hamburg) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>272</sup> HHAP, p. 21.

<sup>273</sup> See for example Vodafone Foundation: Scholarship Program for Migrants, available at <http://www.einstieg.com/infos/studium/finanzierung/key/d2741eb80f/artikel/stipendien-programm-fuer-migranten-2706/> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>274</sup> HHAP, p. 21.

who have German citizenship.<sup>275</sup> Funding for additional language-support classes has been provided since 2005 by the BSG.<sup>276</sup> Specialised German classes for those entering the labour market are provided through the cooperation of different administrative bodies in Hamburg, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the Federal Agency for Labour, the local agency for labour and other actors in this field.<sup>277</sup> Although a multilingual approach is stressed in other areas of the HHAP, adult language education does not commit itself to this approach.

**Table 38. Participation in adult education**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Based on own ethnicity or religion	2.0	3.0	2.5
Mixed	1.0	23.0	12.0
No / Did not answer	97.0	74.0	85.5
	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Participation in adult education is limited in both groups (see Table 38.), but only three Muslims reported taking part in adult education activities. Of the 26 non-Muslims who were active, the vast majority took part in activities such as counselling, neighbourhood exchanges, German as second language classes, city tours, students' organisations, women's groups, courses for refugee women or musical events. Two Muslims gave courses, one on morality, in their own religious group, and one Muslim was active in a students' organisation at university and organised summer and Christmas festivals in mixed groups.

## 5.7 Initiatives to Improve Education

The HHAP addresses concerns about decreasing resources and increasing demands on teachers by articulating the plan to increase the allocation of resources to schools according to social indicators, beginning with the school year 2007–08.<sup>278</sup> In the

<sup>275</sup> HHAP, p. 21.

<sup>276</sup> HHAP, p. 21.

<sup>277</sup> HHAP, p. 22.

<sup>278</sup> HHAP, p. 16.

HHAP no concrete targets are given, but the first report on education for Hamburg provides figures for “social capital”, which is used as a social indicator, for each of the postcode areas in the city.<sup>279</sup> The OSI research areas are among those areas with the lowest available social capital.<sup>280</sup> The number of students in one class will also then be limited to 18 in such low-performing areas, which will decrease the pressure on teachers. How this will be achieved in light of the already existing shortage of teachers is not mentioned and no information is currently publicly available. The budget of Hamburg for 2009 and 2010 itself provides €165 million more for teaching personnel.<sup>281</sup> The allocation of resources is said to be part of the upcoming general monitoring system.<sup>282</sup>

The education of teachers at university will be reformed as well. Due to the implementation of the Bologna process, which aims at creating comparability in EU educational systems, master and bachelor studies had to be introduced by 2007. The new subjects of intercultural education and German as a second language are essential components. The Institute for Teacher Education and School Development (LI) also provides training in intercultural education and German as a second language for practising teachers.<sup>283</sup>

To improve the quality of teaching, there has been a move to increase teachers’ capacity to provide individual support. Teachers are trained to develop individual support for students, and teaching is oriented towards individual competencies. Smaller classes, more schools covering a full day (*Ganztagsschulen*), providing language support and more integration are envisaged. The new structures are expected to provide flexible entry into primary school (learning groups of overlapping years); primary school will run until the sixth grade; district schools will offer A-levels after 12 or 13 years; grammar schools A-levels after 12 years.

To implement these reforms, the authorities started a dialogue with regional school development conferences between September 2008 and May 2009. These conferences comprised 15–18 schools in each of the 22 school regions.<sup>284</sup> The participants were the school managers, teachers, representatives of parents and students of the region, and representatives of the district administration. Those conferences were a preliminary stage of a regional education conference starting in 2010 to involve other institutions

---

<sup>279</sup> *Bildungsbericht Hamburg 2009*.

<sup>280</sup> *Bildungsbericht Hamburg 2009*.

<sup>281</sup> “Haushalt 2009/2010: Ausgaben steigen um 800 Millionen Euro” (Budget 2009/2010: expenditure will increase by 800 million Euros), NDR-online, 3 September 2008, available at <http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/hamburg/steuererhoehung106.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>282</sup> HHAP, p. 16.

<sup>283</sup> HHAP, p. 17.

<sup>284</sup> Information about school regions is available at <http://www.hamburg.de/rsk-empfehlungen/> (accessed 14 March 2010).

of education. In 108 meetings with the participation of approximately 2,000 people, these conferences generated recommendations for suitable school locations with optimal services in the 22 school regions.<sup>285</sup> The recommendations are available on the internet for each of the regions.<sup>286</sup> They include proposals for 57 new-type district schools, the continuation of the existing grammar schools and 66 new locations for full-day schools.<sup>287</sup> Those recommendations are the basis for further planning and decisions of the authorities.<sup>288</sup>

---

<sup>285</sup> “Regionale Schulentwicklungskonferenzen geben Empfehlungen ab” (Regional Schools Recommendations), 15 May 2009, available at <http://www.lehrerportal.info/news+article.storyid+5507.htm> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>286</sup> Recommendations can be found at <http://www.hamburg.de/rsk-empfehlungen>. For recommendations for OSI research area 1 see <http://www.hamburg.de/rsk-empfehlungen/1455102/empfehlung-rsk-01.html>; for recommendations for OSI research area 2 see <http://www.hamburg.de/rsk-empfehlungen/1403784/empfehlung-rsk-02.html>; and for recommendations for OSI research area 3 see <http://www.hamburg.de/rsk-empfehlungen/1455092/empfehlung-rsk-03.html> (all accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>287</sup> “Regionale Schulentwicklungskonferenzen geben Empfehlungen ab”, 15 May 2009, available at <http://www.lehrerportal.info/news+article.storyid+5507.htm> (accessed 14 March 2010)..

<sup>288</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung, *Eine kluge Stadt braucht alle Talente. Die Hamburger Schulreform 2008–2012* (A wise city needs all the talent. Hamburg school reform 2008–2012), 30 June 2008.



## **6. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: EMPLOYMENT**

### **6.1 Labour Market Position of Muslims in Hamburg**

The areas under study in this report form part of the cluster of the most disadvantaged areas in Hamburg. Indicators include unemployment and social welfare recipients, children in households receiving social welfare, youth unemployment and school drop-outs.<sup>289</sup> The higher unemployment rates in these areas show that they correlate with areas where Muslims make up a large proportion of the population.

This chapter looks at the employment situation of Muslims and examines the role of different barriers Muslims face in accessing and fully participating in the labour market. Some of these barriers relate to the position of Muslims as migrants while others relate specifically to Muslims as a group. Experiences of unfair treatment highlight the need for data to be collected on ethnic and religious affiliations in order to understand the extent of discrimination. This chapter examines efforts by the Hamburg administration to tackle inequality in the labour market.

---

<sup>289</sup> “Die soziale Spaltung Hamburgs. Analyse der GAL-Bürgerschaftsfraktion“ (The social divide in Hamburg. Analysis of the GAL), available at [http://www.hamburg-kreativstadt.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/dokumente/Broschueren/nicht\\_im\\_print/Die\\_soziale\\_Spaltung\\_Hamburgs.pdf](http://www.hamburg-kreativstadt.de/fileadmin/user_upload/dokumente/Broschueren/nicht_im_print/Die_soziale_Spaltung_Hamburgs.pdf) (accessed 14 March 2010).



**Table 39. Unemployment rate in Hamburg, September 2007**

	Area	Unemployment rate %
Area 1	Altona-Altstadt	9.5
	Altona-Nord	8.6
	St Pauli	9.4
	St Georg	6.2
Area 2	Veddel	11.2
	Wilhelmsburg	13.2
Area 3	Billbrook	18.0
	Billstedt	11.5
	Hamm-Nord	5.6
	Hamm-Süd	9.4
	Horn	11.0
	Jenfeld	9.8
	Steilshoop	8.9
	<b>Hamburg average</b>	<b>6.5</b>

Source: Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, Drucksache 18/7178, 9 November 2007.

Muslims face a range of problems related to employment. The data indicate that Muslims are more threatened by unemployment and are less likely to be employed as full or part-time staff. The majority of Muslims work in unskilled or skilled service professions, and a minority in academic professions. Muslims without German citizenship tend to be third-country nationals, who face a disadvantage on the German labour market, because German and EU citizens are prioritised for jobs. The labour market is not open to non-EU citizens. During the workshop on the labour market at the OSI roundtable, participants drew attention to the difficult situation of Muslims and migrants with no legal status or a very weak legal status (*Duldung*), like asylum seekers or refugees. For them the labour market is not accessible at all. They have no work permit and cannot find employment legally because of the legal restrictions. Participants emphasised that their situation needs to be considered as well.<sup>290</sup> Until the

<sup>290</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

end of 2009 people who had a *Duldung* could get a permit to stay (*Bleiberecht*) if they were able to get a job.<sup>291</sup>

This difference in the unemployment rate is reflected in the OSI sample (Table 40.).

**Table 40. Are you working for pay these days?**

Response	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes, full-time employee	12.0	18.0	15.0
Yes, part-time employee	14.0	25.0	19.5
Yes, self-employed	2.0	18.0	10.0
No, working unpaid in family business	1.0	0.0	0.5
No, retired	7.0	6.0	6.5
No, on government employment or training programme	3.0	3.0	3.0
No, unemployed and looking for work	17.0	4.0	10.5
No, student	11.0	5.0	8.0
No, looking after home or family	10.0	2.0	6.0
No, permanently sick or disabled	2.0	0.0	1.0
Other	21.0	19.0	20.0
	%	100.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

<sup>291</sup> Fluchtort Hamburg, "Ausbildung und Beschäftigung von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern mit einer Duldung" (Hamburg refuge, "Training and employment of foreigners with temporary leave to remain available at [http://www.equal-asyl.de/fileadmin/dokumente/EP\\_Fluchtort\\_Hamburg\\_flyer\\_bleiberechtsregelung\\_arbeitgeber.pdf](http://www.equal-asyl.de/fileadmin/dokumente/EP_Fluchtort_Hamburg_flyer_bleiberechtsregelung_arbeitgeber.pdf) (accessed 14 March 2010).

**Table 41. Have you ever previously worked for pay?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes, in the last five years	30.0	22.0	26.0
Yes, over five years ago	22.0	8.0	15.0
No	18.0	1.0	9.5
Did not answer	30.0	69.0	49.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

**Table 42. Occupational status**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Modern professional occupations	6.0	46.0	26.0
Clerical and intermediate occupations	16.0	16.0	16.0
Senior managers or administrators	1.0	1.0	1.0
Technical and craft occupations	8.0	5.0	6.5
Semi-routine manual and service occupations	9.0	5.0	7.0
Routine manual and service occupations	36.0	15.0	25.5
Middle or junior managers	4.0	1.0	2.5
Traditional professional occupations	3.0	9.0	6.0
Did not answer	17.0	2.0	9.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

There is a hierarchy in the interviewees' occupations. Only Muslims reported working in professions which include cleaning, security services, warehouse workers and tailoring. The percentage of Muslims drops the more the professions need social and communication skills, as this list shows.

1. Services (such as food service, service in mail/post-office) (83 per cent Muslims)<sup>292</sup>
2. Shop assistant (80 per cent Muslims)
3. Industrial (75 per cent Muslims)
4. Merchandising (63.7 per cent Muslims)
5. Health (60 per cent Muslims)
6. Construction, driving (40 per cent Muslims)
7. Nursing, teaching (33 per cent Muslims)
8. Temp (30.8 per cent Muslims)
9. Call centre, marketing (20 per cent Muslims)
10. Public/private administration (15.4 per cent Muslims)
11. Freelance/self-employed (12.5 per cent Muslims)
12. Social worker (11.8 per cent Muslims)

In the survey it became clear that most of the interviewees got their jobs through acquaintances and relatives. The list below shows the ranking of the ways all the interviewees got their jobs and the number of Muslims in each rank.

- Acquaintance/relative (69, among whom 34 Muslims)
- Newspapers/advertisements (17, among whom 10 Muslims)
- Own initiative (informal application) (16, among whom 4 Muslims)
- Own initiative (formal application) (15, among whom 6 Muslims)
- Recommendation (11, among whom 6 Muslims)
- Public/private labour office (10, among whom 4 Muslims)
- Traineeships/substituting/apprenticeship (10, among whom 5 Muslims)

---

<sup>292</sup> Jobs in this field were mentioned the most; 83 per cent of those working in this field were Muslims, 17 per cent non-Muslims. Source: Open Society Institute questionnaire, February–April 2008.

- Internet (8, among whom 6 Muslims)
- Army, personally asked (8, among whom no Muslim)
- Self-employed (6, among whom 1 Muslims)

Participants of the roundtable emphasised that the different ways of finding employment do not mean that Muslims are less active in looking for jobs, but their way of actively looking for jobs is different and relies more on personal contacts.

The HHAP attributes the poor labour market position of migrants to structural changes in the labour market itself. There are fewer and fewer low-qualified jobs available and migrants are disproportionately affected by this change.

## 6.2 Religion, Discrimination and Barriers to Employment

In a European city such as Hamburg, it is not surprising that more non-Muslims (40) than Muslims (13) work in a company that has the same religious and ethnic background, because the number of Muslim enterprises is limited. The fact that 59 Muslims and only 14 non-Muslims work in one which has a different ethnic or religious background reflects the dominantly non-Muslim corporate environment (Table 43.).

**Table 43. Religious and ethnic background of the workplace**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Same religious and ethnic background as you	13.0	40.0	26.5
Same religious but not same ethnic background	2.0	5.0	3.5
Same ethnic but different religious background	5.0	10.0	7.5
Different ethnic and religious background	59.0	14.0	36.5
Other	3.0	9.0	6.0
Not applicable	0.0	19.0	9.5
Did not answer	18.0	3.0	10.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Only five Muslims and ten non-Muslims worked in a company which had the same ethnic but different religious background (Table 44.).

**Table 44. Co-workers' religious and ethnic backgrounds**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
More than a half	15.0	45.0	30.0
About a half	11.0	11.0	11.0
Less than a half	33.0	15.0	24.0
Other	21.0	18.0	19.5
Not applicable – working by myself	3.0	9.0	6.0
Did not answer	17.0	2.0	9.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

These figures show that Muslim interviewees are confronted with religious and ethnic diversity in the workplace to a greater extent than non-Muslims. Nearly half of the non-Muslim interviewees work in an environment where they are part of a majority sharing the same religious background. Most Muslim interviewees are in a minority position where less than half of their colleagues share the same religious background. Thus Muslims experience religious diversity at the workplace from a minority perspective and therefore must develop strategies to cope with it, whereas non-Muslims, due to their majority position, have to deal with it to a lesser extent and can encourage the integration of the minority.

**Table 45. Employers' respect for diverse religious customs**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Too much	3.0	1.0	2.0
About right	22.0	19.0	20.5
Too little	53.0	34.0	43.5
Don't know	22.0	46.0	34.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Less than a quarter of Muslim interviewees (22) reported that their religion was appropriately respected in the workplace (Table 46.). Almost half the non-Muslims surveyed had no opinion on the question, which may suggest that the role of religion in the workplace has not been given much attention.

There is a general feeling among those interviewed that the labour market is not open to migrants and that the current social and economic system is also an obstacle to feeling as if one belongs in Hamburg. Muslim women reported that they have no job opportunities because of their appearance, specifically when they wear the hijab, cover their face or wear Islamic clothes. A majority of Muslim women in the OSI study experienced discrimination based on religion, while the majority of non-Muslim women experienced gender-based discrimination. The headscarf issue combines different aspects of gender, ethnic and religious discrimination. Dealing with discrimination on the basis of the AGG is not yet a common approach. The anti-discrimination body (*Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt*) is going to formulate the different grounds of discrimination. In its paper describing its mission, which is to act against discrimination, grounds of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age and disabilities are named, but there is no mention of religion, neglecting the specific discrimination experience of Muslim women.<sup>293</sup>

While Muslims focused on a lack of jobs and indicated that more job opportunities should be created, non-Muslims perceived inequality in accessing the labour market as the major problem.

<sup>293</sup> Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt, Grundsatzaufgaben der Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt, 2009, typescript.

The HHAP states that foreigners fare disproportionately badly in the job market in comparison with Germans.<sup>294</sup> The effect is that the unemployment rate among foreigners is more than twice as high as among Germans. But it is not only unemployed Muslims or migrants who are affected, but also youths, because they cannot get a job, self-employed people with migrant backgrounds, short-time workers (*Kurzarbeiter*) and people with a job that might be cut. About one-third of all interviewees (34 Muslims and 38 non-Muslims) had experienced being turned down for a job in Germany (see Table 46.).

**Table 46. In the last five years, have you been refused or turned down for a job in this country?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim%	Total %
Yes	34.0	38.0	36.0
No	39.0	54.0	46.5
Don't know	1.0	1.0	1.0
Not applicable	26.0	7.0	16.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The HHAP lists the reasons for migrants' lack of competitiveness in the job market: social origin; poor school-leaving certificates and/or the lack of any qualifying certificate; the lack of language skills; the lack of information; and the legal restrictions on employment of migrants without a German passport.<sup>295</sup> The interviewees' own opinions on why they were turned down focused on religion for Muslims and age for non-Muslims, although over half of each group did not respond to the question (see Table 47.).

<sup>294</sup> HHAP, p. 23.

<sup>295</sup> HHAP, p. 23.



**Table 47. Perceived reasons for not getting a job**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Your gender	2.0	1.0	1.5
Your age	4.0	13.0	8.5
Your ethnicity	4.0	1.0	2.5
Your religion	12.0	0.0	6.0
Your colour	1.0	1.0	1.0
Where you live	1.0	0.0	0.5
Other	8.0	17.0	12.5
Don't know	2.0	5.0	3.5
Did not answer	66.0	62.0	64.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Several Muslims named other factors related to ethnicity and religion in their responses, including wearing the hijab or being a foreigner. This was backed up during the workshop on the labour market at the roundtable. A migrant labour market professional confirmed that 99 per cent of women with headscarves get a job refusal, but the explanations always use different arguments. A Muslim social worker said that young Muslims are often openly confronted with a rejection, especially when they are wearing headscarves or say that they are Muslim.<sup>296</sup>

Both Muslims and non-Muslims reported discrimination in the promotion process in the last five years (Table 48.).

<sup>296</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

**Table 48. In the last five years, do you think you have been discriminated against at work with regard to promotion or a move to a better position?**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes		11.0	8.0	9.5
No		39.0	62.0	50.5
Don't know		2.0	5.0	3.5
Not applicable		22.0	16.0	19.0
Did not answer		26.0	9.0	17.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

While religion and age were identified as the main barriers to accessing the labour market, ethnicity was the main reason cited by Muslims (6) for lack of promotion in the workplace.

**Table 49. Perceived reasons for failure to get a promotion**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Your gender	0.0	1.0	0.5
Your age	0.0	2.0	1.0
Your ethnicity	6.0	0.0	3.0
Your religion	2.0	0.0	1.0
Your colour	2.0	0.0	1.0
Other	1.0	4.0	2.5
Don't know	0.0	1.0	0.5
Did not answer	89.0	92.0	90.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

There was a range of comments by Muslims that there were no serious problems and conflicts and that employers did not prevent Muslims from meeting their religious obligations. There seems to be an unspoken agreement, as one Muslim reported: "I think that most employers do have respect, but you should not exaggerate by claiming too much as a Muslim."<sup>297</sup>

Another reported the need to speak openly: "As soon as you are not reserved, but declare your needs, they are respected."<sup>298</sup> A non-Muslim said that many people of other religions are employed in Germany and they do not have problems, while another had not heard of anybody who had lost a job because of religion.

Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees emphasised that employers handle diversity in different ways. A Muslim said that it depends on where one works and how much one follows religious practice. Much depends on the attitude of the employer, because not every employer allows prayer in the workplace, Muslims and non-Muslims agreed. This was also noted during the workshop on the labour market at the roundtable, where participants reported that the labour market may be a subjective perception. The

<sup>297</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>298</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

practice at the Swedish fashion discounter H & M, for example, shows that a company that wants to have a different approach can do so for example by implementing a human resource policy inspired by diversity management strategies. Many doctors look for Muslim assistants because they have Muslim patients and understand that it helps them keep their patients.<sup>299</sup>

In large firms where there is a workers' council, religions and customs are more often respected. Dealing with discrimination in these enterprises is the function of the council, where migrants are often the only ones actively fighting discrimination.<sup>300</sup> The strong position of these councils is due to long-standing anti-discrimination clauses in the industrial relations act (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*). In Hamburg, NGOs like Basis and Woge are one of the few organisations counselling on discrimination in the workplace and takes up cases outside industrial relations.

There is a common understanding among quite a few non-Muslims and some Muslims that religion is not significant and that employers are not interested in the religion of their employees, especially in crafts and industry. The employers' sole interest is getting as much profit as possible and it is easier for them not to be interested in religion, a Muslim said.<sup>301</sup> This often goes hand in hand with time pressures, which do not allow for religious rituals. A non-Muslim reflected on the effects a bad economic situation has for religious practices at the workplace:

The workers must be happy to have work and they cannot go praying during working hours.<sup>302</sup>

Another non-Muslim said that the acceptance of religious symbols depends on the firm and its activities, but generally that religion is private and religious symbols should not enter work life:

The police shouldn't wear religious symbols, but in an office or supermarket it doesn't matter.<sup>303</sup>

It is difficult for somebody who wants to pray five times a day, a non-Muslim remarked, as this is not possible on certain days and in certain jobs, because employers cannot integrate some religious practices into some operational and organisational structures.<sup>304</sup> From a Muslim perspective not taking religious holidays into account in planning can create problems. This is more keenly felt when employers take Christian holidays into consideration, but not those of other religious communities.

---

<sup>299</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>300</sup> For industrial relations law see <http://www.betriebsverfassungsgesetz.de> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>301</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>302</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>303</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>304</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

While in some workplaces employees may wear a headscarf, beard or Islamic dress and can observe religious practices and holidays, this is not always the case. When there are problems, a religious appearance such as the headscarf or beard can be an obstacle to recruitment, particularly for positions requiring contact with the public.

The respect for praying hours is seen as a question of equal opportunity. One Muslim reported that he was fired because he prayed during working hours.<sup>305</sup> A retired Muslim reported that he could not pray, because he was not permitted to take a break to go to the mosque for the Friday prayer.<sup>306</sup> A lack of sensitivity to religious needs led some Muslims to indicate that their religion was not taken seriously in the workplace.

In some professions, diet and eating habits can become another source of problems, for example during Ramadan. A Muslim reported being denied an opportunity to break the fast in the evening during working hours.<sup>307</sup> Office canteens can be a problem if they do not provide food conforming to a Muslim diet.

Only about a quarter of Muslims (27) indicated they needed advice about employment, but half of non-Muslims (50) did. There are several migrant self-organisations (MSOs) in the labour market, including Entrepreneurs without Frontiers (*Unternehmer ohne Grenzen*), which supports migrants becoming entrepreneurs, or ATU (*Arbeitskreis Türkischer Unternehmer*), which specialises in getting migrant enterprises to take trainees for vocational training.

Participants of the working group on the labour market highlighted the need for non-discriminatory procedures for the award of public works public supply and public service contracts, as well as for measures which might bring about transparency in the way banks give credit to Muslims and migrants. This was said to be very important to strengthen the migrant economy in Hamburg.<sup>308</sup>

Although trade unions and labour councils play an important role in struggling for equal opportunities at the workplace, no Muslims and only eight non-Muslim interviewees reported being active in trade unions in an ethnically mixed environment.

### 6.3 Initiatives to Improve Access to Employment

The HHAP aims to decrease the number of unemployed migrants and to increase participation in further education and German professions. To achieve this, the activities of the administrative body for economics and labour (BWA), the national labour office (*Agentur für Arbeit*) and the local labour office (team.arbeit.hamburg) are being improved and expanded. The integration courses provided by the Federal

---

<sup>305</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>306</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>307</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>308</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009, referring to EU directives 2004-18-EG, 2004-17-EG.

government are supplemented by local services in Hamburg (language support, professional qualifications, counselling and assistance). NOBI (northern German network for the professional integration of migrants) is another example of an organisation bringing together economic actors, the labour administration, welfare organisations and MSOs. NOBI is the northern German partner in the Federal network “Integration through Qualification (IQ)”. IQ was initiated by the Federal Ministry of Labour in 2005 in the context of the National Integration Plan; it finds new ways of integrating migrants into the labour market in cooperation with NGOs.

The HHAP also aims to improve the intercultural competencies of the local labour office, to increase the percentage of migrants in public administration in general and to solve the problem of certificates obtained outside Germany, because they often are not recognised as equal to certificates obtained in Germany. In neighbouring Schleswig-Holstein the council of refugees has developed guidelines for the recognition of school-leaving certificates, professional qualifications and academic titles earned outside Germany, which could be used and adapted for Hamburg.<sup>309</sup> The Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Issues has drafted a law for the recognition of foreign certificates.<sup>310</sup>

The HHAP also plans public campaigns by the city of Hamburg to show the economic role migrants are playing in increasing the city’s wealth. The amount of money Hamburg has allocated to such campaigns is not known. But most money in integration is coming from Federal or EU funds, with some co-funding by the city of Hamburg. Although smaller campaigns related to specific projects are taking place, a public city campaign to publicise the economic role of migrants has not been undertaken.

The Hamburg chamber of crafts (*Handwerkskammer*) takes its own approach. It is targeting the lack of qualified labour in Hamburg through specific measures to integrate migrants into the Hamburg craft industry, by giving migrant enterprises more visibility and supporting their sustainability or by supporting migrant women to work

---

<sup>309</sup> Flüchtlingsrat Schleswig-Holstein e.V., Projekt access – Agentur zur Förderung der Bildungs- und Berufszugänge für Flüchtlinge und Migrant/innen in Schleswig-Holstein (Refugee Council Schleswig-Holstein eV, project access – Agency for the promotion of educational and employment access for refugees and migrants in Schleswig-Holstein): Leitfaden zur Anerkennung ausländischer Schul- und Berufsabschlüsse in Schleswig-Holstein (Guidelines for the recognition of foreign educational and professional qualifications in Schleswig-Holstein), 2008, available at [http://ep-nobi.de/upload/pdf/Publikationen\\_2008/Leitfaden\\_\\_Anerkennung\\_Abschluesse\\_2\\_Auflage\\_0809.pdf](http://ep-nobi.de/upload/pdf/Publikationen_2008/Leitfaden__Anerkennung_Abschluesse_2_Auflage_0809.pdf) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>310</sup> Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, Berlin, Kompetenzen wahrnehmen, anerkennen und fördern. Vorschläge des BMAS für ein Gesetz zur Anerkennung ausländischer Qualifikationen (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Berlin, exercise skills, recognise and promote. BMAS proposals for a law for the recognition of foreign qualifications), 28 May 2009, available at [http://www.bmas.de/coremedia/generator/33838/property=pdf/2009\\_\\_06\\_\\_18\\_\\_eckpunkte\\_papier\\_\\_auslaendische\\_\\_arbeitskraefte.pdf](http://www.bmas.de/coremedia/generator/33838/property=pdf/2009__06__18__eckpunkte_papier__auslaendische__arbeitskraefte.pdf) (accessed January 2010).

in handicrafts. It supports enterprise networks to include migrant enterprises and it is going to open up all craft institutions for migrant participation.<sup>311</sup>

Two MSOs provide information for migrants about self-employment, traineeships, how to set up a company, how to contact banks, chambers or other economic organisations. They offer support in getting micro credit and give further education for self-employed people on how to employ trainees or how to make a budget.<sup>312</sup> Participants of the working group on the labour market at the OSI roundtable reiterated that the migrant economy has to be strengthened and supported. It was reported that Muslims and migrants face discrimination over getting credit and that there is no mechanism for reporting and investigating this.<sup>313</sup>

It is acknowledged in the HHAP that migrant youth with the same school-leaving certificates as their German peers have many more difficulties finding an enterprise for vocational training. The current First Mayor, who was first elected in 2001, made the integration of young migrants into the labour market an issue of top priority at an early stage. He established a working group including large enterprises in Hamburg in 2002. An initiative for the additional employment of 1,000 trainees with migrant backgrounds each year is under way, and a prize honouring enterprises with best practices in employing migrant trainees is given out each year as well. BQM<sup>314</sup> is in charge of operational decisions. There are 15 criteria for how to select the winning enterprise. (These need to be made transparent in other competitions as well.) Such competitions are considered as good political means to exert pressure, participants of the working group on the labour market at the roundtable said.<sup>315</sup> BQM has developed a wide range of activities, including intercultural assessment tests, guides for migrant parents to help their children choose the right training and professions, and an agency specialising in bringing migrant youths into jobs. But stakeholders reported that young Muslim women, although often qualified, are restricted in the choice of jobs, because employers rarely accept headscarves. Therefore, a participant in the working group

---

<sup>311</sup> Handwerkskammer Hamburg, "Integration von MigrantInnen im Hamburger Handwerk" (Hamburg Chamber of Crafts, "Integration of migrants in Hamburg crafts"), typescript, 2009 (hereafter Handwerkskammer Hamburg, "Integration von MigrantInnen im Hamburger Handwerk").

<sup>312</sup> Handwerkskammer Hamburg, "Integration von MigrantInnen im Hamburger Handwerk".

<sup>313</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009; the Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt was not yet established; it became fully operational in December 2009.

<sup>314</sup> The Counselling and Coordination Body for the Qualification of Young Migrants for Professional Life (*Beratungs- und Koordinierungsstelle zur beruflichen Qualifizierung von jungen Migrantinnen und Migranten*) coordinates the selection process. See <http://www.kwb.de/bqm.html> (accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>315</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

concluded assessment tests and recruitment procedures need monitoring to control their implementation so as to ensure equal treatment.<sup>316</sup>

There has been increased recruitment of migrant trainees into the city administration and police department of Hamburg. In 2005 a reorganisation of the Hamburg administration was started and one of the aims was to increase the number of trainees with migrant backgrounds by up to 20 per cent. The human resources office (*Personalamt*) started a voluntary survey among its employees, to find out how many people in the administration already had a migrant background. With this survey Hamburg became one of the first city administrations in Germany to map their employees according to migrant background. In total 20,081 employees participated in the survey, which represented a return rate of 28 per cent; 8.9 per cent of the employees had a migrant background, 2.1 per cent had a foreign passport and 6.8 per cent German citizenship. Among the trainees 58 out of 469 had a migrant background, representing 12.4 per cent (2006: 5.2 per cent; 2007: 10.9 per cent).<sup>317</sup> According to the German constitution (Art. 33 Abs. 2 GG) and the laws of Hamburg (§ 7 HmbBG, § 2 HmbLVO) selection and promotion must be carried out without referring to gender, sexual identity and orientation, origin, race,<sup>318</sup> belief, religion or world view, home country, descent or relationship. In the recruitment handbook of the Hamburg administration it is made clear that it is unacceptable to ask questions about religious affiliation. That means that in the future, even if the composition of the Hamburg administration can be described along the lines of migrant backgrounds, there will be no primary data available to give information about the number of Muslims employed in the administration.<sup>319</sup> The need for data related to ethnicity and religion is important so as to provide an evidence-based picture of the extent of discrimination in the labour market.<sup>320</sup> The German Institute for Human Rights started a discussion on how such information can be collected in the light of data

---

<sup>316</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>317</sup> Pressestelle des Senat, Ergebnisse der Beschäftigungsbefragung in der hamburgischen Verwaltung zur Erhebung eines Migrationshintergrundes (Press Office of the Senate, the results of employment survey in the Hamburg administration for imposing an immigrant background), 10 March 2009.

<sup>318</sup> Although the German term for “race” (*Rasse*) is used in legal documents and even in the AGG, the term is very controversial, because it has connotations of German Nazi ideology. See Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte, *Zum Gebrauch des Begriffs “Rasse”* (The use of the term “race”), Berlin, 2007.

<sup>319</sup> Senat der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg Personalamt, Auswahlverfahren in der hamburgischen Verwaltung: Planung, Auswahlprozess, Entscheidung (Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, human resource management, assessment procedures in the Hamburg administration: planning, selection process, decision), 2007.

<sup>320</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.



protection and the German experience.<sup>321</sup> On the basis of the results of the survey of the human resource office, the administration of the city of Hamburg started a campaign for recruiting young people with migrant backgrounds as trainees with the slogan, “We are Hamburg! Are you with us?”<sup>322</sup>

---

<sup>321</sup> Protokoll: Fachgespräch des Deutschen Instituts für Menschenrechte. Datenerhebung zum Erweis ethnischer Diskriminierung (Minutes: expert meeting at the German Institute for Human Rights. Data collection for a demonstration of ethnic discrimination), typescript, 12 June 2008.

<sup>322</sup> <http://www.hamburg.de/bist-du-dabei/62924/bist-du-dabei.html> (accessed 18 August 2009).

## **7. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: HOUSING**

### **7.1 Perspectives on the Local Community**

This focus of this chapter is the examination of interviewees' perceptions and experiences of housing and their neighbourhoods. It begins with an outline of the reasons for settlement in the areas, their experiences and perceptions of the neighbourhoods and their residents, and the features they like and dislike about their area. It examines efforts under way to improve access to and quality of housing, both of which are inextricably linked to identity and belonging. This chapter draws on data from the OSI questionnaires, focus groups and stakeholder interviews, as well as referring to other policy and research literature.

Table 50. summarises some structural data about the three local areas.

**Table 50. Available living space, social housing, young people and Muslims**

	Area	% in relation to the living space in all Hamburg (2006)	% social housing (2006)	% young people under 18 (2006)	Ethno Index Turkey/Islamic Countries <sup>323</sup>
Area 1	Altona-Altstadt	87.1	21.1	13.7	239.9
	Altona-Nord	89.9	12.6	15.1	227.5
	St Pauli	84.4	17.4	11.9	209.4
	St Georg	86.0	16.7	9.2	154.3
Area 2	Veddel	68.2	21.5	22.9	701.2
	Wilhelmsburg	77.8	36.7	22.6	382.0
	Billbrook	76.2	6.7	26.5	194.0
Area 3	Billstedt	84.9	41.5	19.8	212.7
	Hamm-Nord	100.3	1.1	9.3	72.4
	Hamm-Süd	91.0	12.7	15.3	137.5
	Horn	86.0	13.9	15.6	194.8
	Jenfeld	82.2	40.1	19.6	148.7
	Steilshoop	88.0	66.7	19.2	147.1
<b>Hamburg average</b>	<b>36.5 m<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>15.7</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Bürgerschaft der freien und hansestadt Hamburg, 18. Wahlperiode, Drucksache 18/7178, 9 November 2007.

The majority of the Muslims interviewed (53) lived in public or social housing, while the majority of non-Muslims (51) lived in houses with private landlords. Social housing (*sozialer Wohnungsbau*) is publicly financed housing, where rent increases are restricted. Private landlords have fewer restrictions, but they have to watch the local average rents.

<sup>323</sup> Hallenberg, "Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt", original dataset provided by the author.

**Table 51. Do you own or rent your home or have some other arrangement?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Own outright	1.0	2.0	1.5
Own, with mortgage/loan	5.0	1.0	3.0
Part rent, part mortgage (shared equity)	2.0	0.0	1.0
Rent public/social housing	53.0	36.0	44.5
Rent private landlord	18.0	51.0	34.5
Living with parents/siblings	19.0	5.0	12.0
Living rent-free	1.0	0.0	0.5
Squatting	0.0	1.0	0.5
Other	1.0	4.0	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Muslims had lived in their local areas longer than non-Muslims; the majority (65) had lived there more than 11 years.

**Table 52. Years living in the area**

No. of years	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
<1	5.0	4.0	4.5
1–5	17.0	32.0	24.5
6–10	13.0	17.0	15.0
11–20	36.0	26.0	31.0
21–30	25.0	13.0	19.0
31+	4.0	8.0	6.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

More Muslim interviewees lived with or close to their families than non-Muslim interviewees. The data suggest that Muslims have less individual freedom to choose where they live because their decision depends on the settling pattern of the family, while non-Muslims decide where they live based on more personal criteria. While non-Muslim interviewees most frequently responded that they chose to live in the area because it was nice, only three Muslims chose this option. One Muslim participant in the roundtable working group on housing argued for a quota in social housing, because large families with a migrant background did not have a wide selection of housing, so they grouped in certain areas. The housing companies, his argument continued, should use a quota to reduce the concentration of certain migrant groups.<sup>324</sup> Other Muslim participants insisted that for them it was important to live in a multicultural area, because they wanted their children to grow up in areas which were “really” multicultural.<sup>325</sup> This discussion highlights the sensitive issue of discrimination in the search for housing and if quotas are discriminatory or not. A lawyer attending the OSI roundtable in June 2009 pointed to a lack of complaints by Muslims and the general paucity of available data, which in turn makes it difficult to form an opinion and to combat discrimination in housing.<sup>326</sup> The first case of discrimination due to colour and

<sup>324</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>325</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>326</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

ethnicity in housing has been brought to court in Aachen.<sup>327</sup> It was suggested by participants at the OSI discussion that a roundtable should be set up to look into solving problems involving the housing economy and Muslim and migrant tenants and creating a detailed catalogue of Muslim and migrant accommodation needs, like the size and distribution of rooms in a flat or collective rooms for family gatherings.<sup>328</sup>

---

<sup>327</sup> See the website of the Antidiskriminierungsverband Deutschland at <http://www.antidiskriminierung.org/?q=node/283> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>328</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

**Table 53. What is your main reason for moving to this area?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Did not choose	10.0	2.0	6.0
Cost	6.0	5.0	5.5
Near work	8.0	5.0	6.5
Near family	12.0	2.0	7.0
Near shops/other facilities	3.0	0.0	1.5
Reputation of the area	0.0	3.0	1.5
People from the same ethnic group as you	1.0	0.0	0.5
People from the same religious group as you	2.0	0.0	1.0
Nice area	3.0	16.0	9.5
Social housing was offered to me	4.0	5.0	4.5
Liked the house	3.0	10.0	6.5
Cheap affordable housing	5.0	11.0	8.0
Close to transport	1.0	0.0	0.5
Born here/always lived here	1.0	4.0	2.5
Lived here before	2.0	0.0	1.0
Parents' house/decision	17.0	4.0	10.5
Marriage living with partner	4.0	3.0	3.5
Close to place of worship	1.0	0.0	0.5
Multicultural area	6.0	10.0	8.0
Other	11.0	19.0	15.0
Don't know	0.0	1.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Fewer Muslims live in an ethnically and religiously mixed environment than non-Muslims do, which again may be due in part to families living near one another. (See Tables 54. and 55.)

**Table 54. Ethnic and religious composition of neighbourhoods**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Relatives	5.0	0.0	2.5
Same ethnic and religious background	20.0	6.0	13.0
Same religion, different ethnic background	4.0	0.0	2.0
Same ethnicity, different religion	2.0	1.0	1.5
Different ethnicity and religion	12.0	3.0	7.5
Mixture of different backgrounds, ethnicities and religions	57.0	90.0	73.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Both groups indicated that they enjoyed living in their neighbourhood, with almost three-quarters of non-Muslims expressing strong appreciation compared with 39 Muslims (Table 55.).

**Table 55. Is this a neighbourhood you enjoy living in?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes, definitely	39.0	71.0	55.0
Yes, to some extent	52.0	27.0	39.5
No	9.0	2.0	5.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute



Similarly, Muslims were less likely to respond that they trusted the people in their neighbourhood (Table 56.).

**Table 56. Trustworthiness of people in your neighbourhood**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Many of the people in your neighbourhood can be trusted	16.0	34.0	25.0
Some can be trusted	43.0	51.0	47.0
A few can be trusted	29.0	12.0	20.5
None of the people in your neighbourhood can be trusted	9.0	1.0	5.0
Did not answer	3.0	2.0	2.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

In both groups more than a third (38 Muslims; 37 non-Muslims) agreed or strongly agreed that the neighbourhood where they lived was closely knit, but 50 Muslims disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement (31 non-Muslims) (Table 57.).

**Table 57. Is this a close-knit neighbourhood?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Strongly agree	6.0	4.0	5.0
Agree	32.0	33.0	32.5
Disagree	34.0	28.0	31.0
Strongly disagree	16.0	3.0	9.5
Don't know	12.0	32.0	22.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Although a fairly high proportion of Muslim interviewees (12) said they moved to the area because of their family, a high proportion of both Muslims and non-Muslims indicated that they did not share the same values as their neighbours (Table 58.). This surprising result might highlight the fact that the shared values might differ within the families themselves, between the younger and the older generation. Of the 44 Muslims (18 of them were under 29), who disagreed with the statement that people in the neighbourhood share the same values, 12 (9 of them under 29) said they were living in their parents' house or they did not choose where to live.<sup>329</sup>

**Table 58. Do people in this neighbourhood share the same values?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Strongly agree	3.0	1.0	2.0
Agree	16.0	26.0	21.0
Disagree	44.0	44.0	44.0
Strongly disagree	23.0	9.0	16.0
Don't know	14.0	19.0	16.5
Did not answer	0.0	1.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Despite this rather negative assessment of their neighbourhood, the majority of Muslims and non-Muslims found their neighbours willing to help each other (Table 59.).

<sup>329</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

**Table 59. Are people in this neighbourhood willing to help their neighbours?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Strongly agree	9.0	10.0	9.5
Agree	55.0	64.0	59.5
Disagree	18.0	12.0	15.0
Strongly disagree	9.0	1.0	5.0
Don't know	9.0	13.0	11.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Dissatisfaction with social housing was widespread among both Muslims and non-Muslims (Table 60.).

**Table 60. Satisfaction with social housing**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very satisfied	3.0	3.0	3.0
Fairly satisfied	22.0	19.0	20.5
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	22.0	21.0	21.5
Fairly dissatisfied	29.0	31.0	30.0
Very dissatisfied	6.0	9.0	7.5
Don't know	18.0	17.0	17.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Interviewees were dissatisfied with the way that public housing companies like SAGA deal with complaints and treat their tenants: "Nobody listens to our complaints, nor

does anybody do anything to solve our problems,” according to one Muslim interviewee.<sup>330</sup>

Another Muslim suggested that tenants and SAGA should be business partners.<sup>331</sup> The NGO Tenants helping Tenants (*Mieter helfen Mieter*) helps tenants to bring complaints forward. It has established counselling for conflict resolution in neighbourhoods and follows up discrimination complaints in the housing sector. The working group on housing at the roundtable called for the active involvement of the housing economy, by providing guidelines for the contracts for Muslim and migrant tenants and increasing the numbers of personnel with Muslim and migrant backgrounds in their own enterprises and organisations.<sup>332</sup>

Interviewees reported rising rents, neglected houses and incorrect billing of additional expenses. Some Muslims suggested that the state was engineering the rent increases in order to price migrants out of social housing and bring in German families who can afford them, so as to improve the quality of the areas.

A non-Muslim reported there was too little attractive social housing in all areas. Many non-Muslims stressed the fact that there were no new social housing schemes, so the demand for public housing is higher than the actual supply.<sup>333</sup> This reflects the view of a tenants’ organisation as well. In 2008 only there were only 119,000 flats in the social housing scheme; for the district of Hamburg-Mitte this amounted to approximately 25,000 flats.<sup>334</sup> Between 6,000 and 8,000 flats should be built annually in the social housing scheme in order to meet current needs.<sup>335</sup> At the roundtable it was stressed that an expansion of the social housing scheme should meet the needs of larger Muslim families for flats with four or five rooms.<sup>336</sup>

Some Muslims complained about existing restrictions, like the impossibility of flat-sharing or that with a §5 paper<sup>337</sup> only flats on the outskirts of Hamburg are available, and foreigners are immediately transferred to those areas.<sup>338</sup>

Many of those interviewed expressed concern about aggressive young people in all areas of Hamburg. At the same time they expressed their dissatisfaction with services provided for those young people. Only 14 Muslims and 11 non-Muslims were very or

<sup>330</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>331</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>332</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>333</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>334</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>335</sup> See [http://www.mhmburg.de/Hamburger\\_Wohnungsmarkt\\_2009/seiten--1225552118/index.html](http://www.mhmburg.de/Hamburger_Wohnungsmarkt_2009/seiten--1225552118/index.html) (accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>336</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>337</sup> Official paper which entitles tenants to apply for social housing.

<sup>338</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

fairly satisfied with the services for young people, but 42 Muslims and 44 non-Muslims were fairly or very dissatisfied (Table 61.).

**Table 61. Satisfaction with services for young people**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very satisfied	2.0	1.0	1.5
Fairly satisfied	12.0	10.0	11.0
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	16.0	13.0	14.5
Fairly dissatisfied	24.0	32.0	28.0
Very dissatisfied	18.0	12.0	15.0
Don't know	27.0	32.0	29.5
Did not answer	1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Muslims complained about the fact that there are no facilities specifically for young people. Interviewees mentioned that young people loiter in the streets and there are no services for them, so they are idle and without perspective in life. This type of inactivity leads to the growth of gangs and nationalism, according to some Muslims.<sup>339</sup> Some Muslims proposed stronger police measures, and that young people should be prohibited from drinking alcohol in public.<sup>340</sup>

Non-Muslims suggested that sports could be an outlet for young people who otherwise lack a place for themselves. In the OSI survey sport and leisure activities showed a high rate of weekly and monthly interaction with other ethnicities and religions (30 Muslims, 30 non-Muslims).<sup>341</sup>

Muslims and non-Muslims also agreed that the available services were insufficient and that there are not enough youth centres where young people of different origins and religion can meet. Existing facilities are in disrepair and there is a shortage of qualified personnel; funding for social work targeting youth hanging around in streets has been

<sup>339</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>340</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>341</sup> See Table 26, p. 63, OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

discontinued by the Senate, Muslims reported. There are no special services for young people with no school-leaving certificate or *Hauptschule* certificate in youth clubs, and there are few leisure activities that do not require club membership.

**Table 62. Satisfaction with street cleaning**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very satisfied	10.0	9.0	9.5
Fairly satisfied	50.0	41.0	45.5
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	9.0	20.0	14.5
Fairly dissatisfied	16.0	18.0	17.0
Very dissatisfied	14.0	11.0	12.5
Don't know	0.0	1.0	0.5
Did not answer	1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Although the majority of people surveyed, both Muslims (60 interviewees) and non-Muslims (50), are satisfied with street cleaning, comments about the cleanliness of their housing areas frequently were made. The comments reached from a general lack of cleaning in some areas, to specific lack of cleaning in wintertime. Overfilled dustbins and garbage containers were reported, and problems with people failing to clean up after their dogs. (See Table 62.)

A vast majority, 76 Muslims and 66 non-Muslims, were very or fairly satisfied with the local public transport (Table 63.). Only 19 of the non-Muslims (and 6 Muslims) were fairly or very dissatisfied. Inadequate bus services and high fares were among the problems mentioned.

**Table 63. Satisfaction with public transport**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very satisfied	29.0	21.0	25.0
Fairly satisfied	47.0	45.0	46.0
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12.0	14.0	13.0
Fairly dissatisfied	6.0	15.0	10.5
Very dissatisfied	0.0	4.0	2.0
Don't know	5.0	1.0	3.0
Did not answer	1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Muslims also voiced concern over the atmosphere around stations, where homeless people, addicts, or mentally ill people congregate.

*Interaction and cooperation in the neighbourhoods*

The fact that Muslims enjoy living in their neighbourhoods less and have limited trust is reflected in responses to the question about cooperation and solidarity in the neighbourhood, as shown in Table 64.

**Table 64. Do people in this neighbourhood work together to improve the neighbourhood?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Strongly agree	2.0	4.0	3.0
Agree	12.0	22.0	17.0
Disagree	39.0	45.0	42.0
Strongly disagree	32.0	14.0	23.0
Don't know	15.0	14.0	14.5
Did not answer	0.0	1.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

About a quarter of the interviewees (23 Muslims and 29 non-Muslims) indicated they were looking for advice about housing. Although the need for advice was articulated by both groups, neither Muslims nor non-Muslims are very active in housing or neighbourhood groups where they could get involved in housing questions. One Muslim woman participated in a planning process for a playground in her neighbourhood, and one non-Muslim was active in his own ethnically German group and organised a street festival. The other non-Muslims were discussing housing projects, were active in tenants' groups or organised street festivals in a mixed group.

Muslims do feel the need for more social mixing in general. In the survey they presented a range of ideas of how to achieve this in their local areas and in schools. Muslims, for example, stressed the need for common spaces in their neighbourhood, where people can meet and get to know each other. They suggested neighbourhood activities, like street events, local festivities, events for inhabitants of multi-storey buildings, barbecues, neighbourhood meetings or sports activities. Increased communication and contact between Muslims and other actors in the district would be a good opportunity to raise both the sense of belonging among Muslims and their associations, which sometimes feel they are only addressed in times of need or conflict, and to tackle anti-Muslim racism and discrimination.

Hardly any of the interviewees (two non-Muslims and five Muslims) held an office in a community organisation. Those who were active tended to join organisations based on their own ethnicity or religion. Muslims served as accountants, set up youth clubs,



worked actively in their associations, were responsible for child education in their organisations and represented Germans with Arab migrant backgrounds in integration debates. One non-Muslim was chair of the *Plattdeutschen Pastoralkolleg* (a church organisation based on the local dialect) and one was chair of a mixed youth and cultural centre.

Although respondents indicated they felt a sense of local belonging and recognised their neighbourhood as a place where people of different backgrounds get along well, this is not reflected in the way people cooperate locally and the solidarity they develop among each other.

In research area 1, the living space per person is 10–15 per cent below the Hamburg average. Social housing in this area ranges from 0.6 per cent below Hamburg average to nearly 7 per cent above average. The number of young people under 18 living there is under the Hamburg average. Between 1.5 and 2.4 times more Muslims live in area 1 than the Hamburg average. Most of the non-Muslim interviews (76) were conducted here (Table 65a.).

**Table 65a. Area 1 interviews by neighbourhood**<sup>342</sup>

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Altona	5.0	22.0	13.5
Karo–Viertel	5.0	13.0	9.0
Schanze	3.0	4.0	3.5
St Pauli	1.0	33.0	17.0
Hamburg Centrum	4.0	2.0	3.0
St Georg	3.0	1.0	2.0
Neustadt	0.0	1.0	0.5
<b>Total % area 1</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>76.0</b>	<b>48.5</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Altona, neighbouring St Pauli, Schanze and Karo are historically closely interacting quarters. The borders were redrawn in a district reform in March 2008. Schanze is now a new subdistrict of Altona, while Karo and St Pauli still belong to Hamburg-Mitte.

<sup>342</sup> Five interviews were conducted outside the district of Hamburg-Mitte, bordering area 1.

**Table 65b. Area 2 interviews by neighbourhood**

Area 2	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Veddel	1.0	2.0	1.5
Wilhelmsburg	45.0	10.0	27.5
<b>Total % area 2</b>	<b>46.0</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>29.0</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

In area 2, living space is 22–31 per cent below average. Social housing in this area is 8.3–23.5 per cent over average. The number of young people living in this area is around 7 per cent over the average. Between 3.8 and 7 times as many Muslims are living here than the Hamburg average. The majority of Muslims (23 per cent) were interviewed here (Table 65b.).

**Table 65c. Area 3 interviews by neighbourhood**

Area 3	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Horn	10.0	4.0	7.0
Rothenburgsort	1.0	0.0	0.5
Billstedt	12.0	6.0	9.0
Hamm	2.0	1.0	1.5
Mümmelmannsberg	4.0	0.0	2.0
<b>Total % area 3</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>20.0</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Area 3 (see Table 65c.) has the widest range in living space, ranging from the Hamburg average to 24 per cent below average. The distribution of social housing is even more extreme, ranging from 12.1 per cent below to 53.5 per cent above the Hamburg average, while the same goes for the range of young people. It ranges from 6.4 per cent under the Hamburg average to 10.8 per cent over the average. The range of the Muslim population is again the widest, from 0.7 times to 2.1 times the Hamburg average. In area 3 more Muslims (14.5 per cent) than non-Muslims (5.5 per cent) were interviewed.

Area 3, east of the city centre, covers a wide range of different neighbourhoods, like Rothenburgsort, Hamm, Horn, Billstedt and Mümmelmannsberg.

## 7.2 Efforts to Improve Housing

Urban planning strategies in Hamburg aim to counteract urban polarisation through upgrading problem areas. The HHAP states that a high number of migrants living in one area does not create a problem in itself. It is the insularity of ethnic groups and low inter-ethnic and inter-religious interaction which is seen as problematic and labelled as a parallel society.<sup>343</sup> To avoid segregation, the HHAP calls for improving the quality of houses and the image of the area.<sup>344</sup> More affluent households are settled in the area and the housing companies recruit tenants according to a concept of a balanced neighbourhood, to create the right mixture, a focus group discussant observed.<sup>345</sup> Another part of the urban development strategy in the HHAP is the encouragement of civil participation, joint local activities and the strengthening of local networks of different groups. The HHAP suggests a diversity strategy for the housing companies themselves to increase their migrant employees. This includes the raising of awareness about the importance of recognising intercultural competencies in the interaction with Muslim and migrant tenants.<sup>346</sup>

In survey responses, housing was closely related to questions of identity and belonging. The housing market has the effect of creating residential segregation. Foreign and Muslim residents are being replaced by a new middle class. From the perspective of the interviewees, neighbourhoods evolve to the benefit of the more affluent, destroying existing diversity and tolerance. At the beginning of the redevelopment in the early 1990s, there was a discussion about establishing effective legal protection of milieus in the area to be redeveloped,<sup>347</sup> which was never implemented by the urban planning department. In the Conservative–Green government of Hamburg there are two different approaches. The Conservatives favour the intensified use of urban space to stimulate economic growth.<sup>348</sup> The Greens seek to activate the potential of the population and give more participatory rights to the local population in the

---

<sup>343</sup> HHAP, p. 33.

<sup>344</sup> HHAP, p. 33.

<sup>345</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>346</sup> HHAP, p. 33.

<sup>347</sup> Monika Alisch and Jens S. Dangschat, *Die solidarische Stadt. Ursachen von Armut und Strategien für einen sozialen Ausgleich* (Solidarity in our cities. Causes of poverty and strategies for social justice), Verlag für wissenschaftliche Publikationen, Darmstadt, 1993.

<sup>348</sup> Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, *Monitor Wachsende Stadt 2007* (Monitor of the growing city 2007), available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/263100/data/monitor-wachsende-stadt-2007.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2010).

neighbourhoods in order to increase economic growth.<sup>349</sup> Both parties recognise the importance of a diverse population for creativity, which is seen as one of the key factors for future economic growth, but still stress the needs of the new middle classes.<sup>350</sup>

---

<sup>349</sup> See <http://www.hamburg-kreivestadt.de> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>350</sup> Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life*, Basic Books, New York, 2002.

## 8. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: HEALTH

This chapter examines Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees' experiences of health care and social protection. Access to adequate health care is important for social inclusion. Long-term illness affects people's opportunities for economic and social participation and employment, thus reducing income, which in turn has the effect of hindering people's opportunities for social and leisure activities. This chapter begins with OSI respondents' perspectives on the health care they receive; the questionnaires and focus group findings are used to understand levels of satisfaction with health-care services. Satisfaction is generally high when the dietary and worship requirements of Muslim patients are accommodated. The chapter also briefly examines good practice in ensuring health services are effectively accessed by Muslims.

### 8.1 Perspectives on the Local Area: Health Care

The differences in the level of satisfaction with health services between Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees were small. See Table 66.

**Table 66. Satisfaction with health services**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Very satisfied	10.0	6.0	8.0
Fairly satisfied	49.0	42.0	45.5
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	16.0	21.0	18.5
Fairly dissatisfied	15.0	21.0	18.0
Very dissatisfied	7.0	3.0	5.0
Don't know	3.0	7.0	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>200</b>	

Source: Open Society Institute

Although there is a fair amount of satisfaction with the health services, a quarter of Muslims (23) and non-Muslims (24) are not satisfied with the health services.<sup>351</sup> Some Muslims called for free and equal access to the health system and more funding for

<sup>351</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

health. Discussion of health care was a significant discussion topic in the focus group with older Muslim women. One woman said,

Health is important for us ... and it became a problem now. Health is connected to poverty. Those who are poor, can't afford proper treatment.<sup>352</sup>

This is especially true of Muslims and migrants having no legal status, because they have difficulty getting medical treatment in a conventional way. The working group on health at the OSI roundtable stressed the situation of HIV-infected or chronically ill Muslims and migrants and called for a generous residence permit for them.<sup>353</sup> Another woman of Turkish background, who characterised herself as a feminist rather than as a Muslim, said:

I know a lot of migrants, especially from Turkey, who want to continue to stay here ... because in Turkey the health provisions are so bad. But I see that it is getting worse in Germany. I always say, it always had been bad in Turkey, we knew that and we developed strategies to cope with that. In Germany, when I came I thought as well, ah, there is social welfare, there are unemployment benefits, and this and that. But this is getting less and less, more and more is dismantled. I pity the German population, because we are familiar with that, but the Germans don't know it. In Turkey there is a saying "to change from a horse to a donkey".<sup>354</sup>

In an answer to a parliamentary enquiry by the Green Party in 2007, the Senate answered that there were no specific data about the health situation available for the OSI research areas.<sup>355</sup> Table 67. gives an overview of the percentage of foreigners living in the areas, the ratio between medical doctors and inhabitants of the areas and the ratio between pharmacies and inhabitants.

---

<sup>352</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>353</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>354</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>355</sup> Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, *Drucksache 18/7178* (Publication 18/7178), 9 November 2007, p. 30.

**Table 67. Doctors and pharmacies per inhabitant in the research areas, 2006**

Area	Foreigners as % of population	Inhabitants per doctor	Inhabitants per pharmacy
HAMBURG	15	451	3,750
District Hamburg-Mitte	25	435	3,238
Area 1	26	193	1,772
Altona-Altstadt	24	185	1,849
Altona-Nord	23	931	5,351,5
St Pauli	28	394.5	3,068
Hamburg-Altstadt	25	23	162
Neustadt	23	92	1,468
St Georg	31	157.5	1,172
Area 2	43	1,001	4,505
Veddel	52	2,463,5	4,927
Wilhelmsburg	34	945	4,467
Area 3	23.5	909	5,306
Billbrook	60	N/A <sup>356</sup>	N/A
Billstedt	22	826	5,714
Billwerder	8.5	N/A	N/A
Hamm-Mitte	24	1,190	5,357
Hamm-Nord	14	892,5	3,570
Hamm-Süd	20	N/A	N/A
Horn	22	793	4,561
Jenfeld	19.5	762	5,029
Rothenburgsort	26	1,177	8,241
Steilshoop	18	1383	6,453

Source: <http://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/regional/regional.php>  
(accessed 10 September 2008)

According to a Green Party report, these figures show that in the Mitte district there is no decentralised medical supply resource, close to the living area.<sup>357</sup>

The report also says: “General practitioners have problems to find successors so they begin plans to give up their medical practice. This would lead to even worse coverage

<sup>356</sup> No data are available.

<sup>357</sup> See [http://www.hamburg.gruene.de/cms/default/dok/169/169643.aerztliche\\_versorgung\\_im\\_be\\_zirk\\_mitte.htm](http://www.hamburg.gruene.de/cms/default/dok/169/169643.aerztliche_versorgung_im_be_zirk_mitte.htm) (accessed January 2010).

of doctors in large areas of the district. Numbers and prognosis show that for the district Mitte, the medical supply is in imbalance.”<sup>358</sup>

Muslims and non-Muslims alike suffer from the effects of the current changes in the German health system, which has been continuously reformed in recent years. Among Muslim interviewees, there were particular concerns about the competence of medical practitioners, and poor or perfunctory treatment. According to a Muslim woman in one of the focus groups,

My eyes have been giving me problems. I told this to the doctor and he just said, “Go to an eye specialist.” But he is a doctor, he wanted to send me away and didn't care. He didn't want to spend more time on me. In the first place you, as a human being, you are a problem, the doctor doesn't see you as a human being. You are a commodity, nothing else. A thing!

Some Muslims also complained about the increasing number of private doctors and the better treatment of people who are privately insured. Another Muslim woman in the focus group explained the effects the changes have had:

The doctors in the public health insurance have no time for the patient, no budget and cannot give prescriptions for expensive medication any more. If the doctor gave you a prescription for a medicine and you go to the pharmacy, then you don't get this medicine. They say there is something similar, but it's another product and the health insurance doesn't pay for it. That is really chaotic. A normal person cannot understand this.

Non-Muslims agree that these are problems, but explained that the doctors are under pressure themselves. Respondents alleged that the current health policy, with its strong fixation on finances, has caused specialised medical practitioners to leave the district. An older Muslim woman in a focus group session described the change in the health system.

First, the doctors have no time for the patient. It doesn't matter if you just go there or if you have an appointment, you can wait for two hours. When you go in, they say, “Quickly explain what is wrong.” The health insurance doesn't pay everything. You cannot get an injection, you cannot get ointment, you cannot get medicine, you don't get a massage. We then said, why do we come here? Only to tell what we have and then we go home. Sometimes they don't even have five minutes.

Muslim interviewees experienced a lack of doctors in this district, especially dermatologists, paediatricians and family doctors. Non-Muslims said that there is no exhaustive supply of medical care in the area secured. Privatisation and downsizing

---

<sup>358</sup> See [http://www.hamburg.gruene.de/cms/default/dok/169/169643.aerztliche\\_versorgung\\_im\\_be\\_zirk\\_mitte.htm](http://www.hamburg.gruene.de/cms/default/dok/169/169643.aerztliche_versorgung_im_be_zirk_mitte.htm) (accessed January 2010).



overloads the employees in the hospitals, affects medical counselling and creates a two-class society, as one Muslim put it. Health insurance does not cover the cost of medicines any more. The supply of health services depends more and more on the income and the economic opportunities the people have, a non-Muslim said. The treatment is not any more oriented towards what is best for the patient, but what is affordable. One older Muslim woman described the effects the changes in the health system have had on chronically ill people, especially on Muslim and migrant women of the guest worker generation:

Chronically ill people don't get medicine. They don't get treatment. That means they have to die or live and suffer. There is nothing else. I don't know if this is something specific for women or that Islamic women suffer in a special way. Nobody notices if I am a believing woman, I don't get categorised this way, only sometimes because of my name. As a woman I have the feeling that doctors cut more services for women, because they cannot get their way. They cannot put their fist on the table. They cannot be direct. They beg and plead, "Give me this, give me that."<sup>359</sup>

Some Muslims reported a feeling of being treated as stupid by doctors, and that there is less care for foreigners. In one of the focus groups an older Muslim woman highlighted the interdependence between restricted, budgeted time and the need for intercultural communication to achieve an appropriate diagnosis and treatment.

There is an additional problem for foreigners. I realise that with my husband. They have language difficulties and the doctor doesn't have the time nor the patience to explain, because he doesn't understand the language very well. They explain five or two minutes, the patient does not understand anything, it doesn't really matter, nothing is explained any more. Even in the past doctors didn't take a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. The people sometimes wrote things on a paper and said, if you don't understand, bring in a translator. Yes, the doctors are right too, they don't have much time.<sup>360</sup>

Another Muslim woman of the same focus group described her interaction with a doctor and how she felt after a doctor became openly hostile, because according to him, she could not speak enough German:

He said he is doing this and that, but he didn't do it. He just sent us away. He wanted to get rid of us, because according to him my German was not sufficient ... Even if my German is not that good, I have been going to the doctors on my own now for eight years. Whom shall I take with me as translator? I never experienced something like that before.<sup>361</sup>

---

<sup>359</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>360</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>361</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

A non-Muslim suggested the provision of translators could avoid language or culture-related misunderstandings. Another Muslim participant related his own experience with doctors:

I have been at the doctor today. I am new to him. He is my family doctor. He is older. I talk with him and he always has a surprised look on his face. This is the second time I have been there. This time I especially noticed this. In the first meeting I give people a chance and think, that I might have said something wrong. I mentioned that I take antibiotics, for example. I think that I should take additional vitamin B and told him what I eat. He looked strange ... My interpretation is that he didn't expect it. They have this image in front of their eye, Turks don't know anything. They come from Anatolia. How can that be that a person comes and knows such things? I read this question in his eyes.<sup>362</sup>

Other Muslims agreed and perceived doctors as often uninformed about other cultures. Some Muslims experienced doctors who were inflexible and unused to seeing other perspectives. One Muslim interviewed suggested that contact people to give intercultural advice could be useful.<sup>363</sup> A Muslim participant at the working group on health at the roundtable described her experience as religious counsellor, which she compared with psychoanalytical therapy. Language and the cultural context is said to be extremely important and there is definitely a need for more psycho-social counselling for Muslims and migrants in a diversity of languages. Muslim organisations often have such expertise and they need to be incorporated into a system of HIV/AIDS prevention, for example, especially African Muslims.<sup>364</sup>

In hospitals few problems arise because many staff members have migrant backgrounds and the hospital personnel is multi-ethnic and has long experience in dealing with a diverse group of patients. A fairly small number of Muslims and non-Muslims indicated that there is insufficient respect for religious customs.

---

<sup>362</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>363</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>364</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

**Table 68. Respect for religious customs in medical facilities**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Too much	6.0	2.0	4.0
About right	51.0	27.0	39.0
Too little	16.0	14.0	15.0
Don't know	27.0	57.0	42.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Many Muslims noted that all patients are treated equally, no matter what religion they have or what ethnicity they are. Some Muslims also reported that doctors have received extra training on cultural issues, such as avoiding unnecessary contact with Muslim women (Table 68.).<sup>365</sup>

For the most part Muslims report that religious rites are generally respected; Muslims may conduct their religious obligations and doctors respect religious views and customs. Men are able to go to male doctors and prayer rooms for Muslims are available. The negative reports relate to the lack of prayer rooms and lack of cultural and religious knowledge, which is often based on misunderstandings.

Hospital kitchens generally have adapted to vegetarian meals and some even respect diets for Muslim patients, offering an alternative to pork, although this is not always the case. This might sometimes be also because of costs, because pork is cheaper, a Muslim suggested.<sup>366</sup>

There is no common practice for prayer in hospitals. A Muslim reported that a place of worship for Muslims was created in his area hospital, while another lacks psychological support under the supervision of imams for the terminally ill. Other Muslims complained about Christian symbols in places of worship for people belonging to different religious groups.<sup>367</sup>

A new topic arising in the field of health care is related to gender-specific questions. Interviewees suggested that gender-specific care should be provided for Muslims, with

<sup>365</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>366</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>367</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

men treating men and women treating women. Doctors reportedly are sometimes not aware that they should examine patients in the presence of others, which does not respect Muslims' sense of modesty. Other Muslims said that hospital staff is often not trained to recognise the needs of the non-German population respecting nudity, certain treatments or cultural shame.

## 8.2 Social Welfare

An older Muslim woman, working all her life in Germany, related her available monthly budget.

I have to spend my whole pension for rent, electricity, gas, telephone and television. There is not a penny left ... They have made the conditions to get social welfare more difficult and have limited social welfare.<sup>368</sup>

Her experience suggests that the social welfare system does not protect against poverty, even after a working life. Table 69. shows the distribution of social welfare recipients in the three OSI research areas and the availability of Kita<sup>369</sup> for the population under age 18.

**Table 69. Social welfare recipients and available kindergartens (Kita), 2006<sup>370</sup>**

Areas	Social welfare recipients (SGB II/Hartz IV) as % of total population	No. of children under 18/Kita
HAMBURG	11.9	255.8
District Hamburg-Mitte	18.4	277.7
Area 1	14.45	176.4
Area 2	27.95	408.3
Area 3	18.02	328.9

Source: <http://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/regional/regional.php>

These figures reaffirm the picture of the unequal distribution of resources in the research area. Area 2, with the largest Muslim population, has the highest number of people receiving additional financial help and at the same time the kindergartens provide services for nearly 50 per cent more people than the district average. Muslim women reported that there had been a time when social welfare somehow gave some

<sup>368</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>369</sup> Kita is a kindergarten which provides services for the whole day.

<sup>370</sup> See <http://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/regional/regional.php> (accessed January 2010).

protection. A middle-aged Muslim woman described the changes of recent years as follows:

With the Euro everything became twice as expensive ... The difference between the 1980s and now is applicable to social welfare as well. When I came here in 1988 the social welfare service was really good ... In the last years social welfare has been cut very much. But the problem is not that you get less social welfare, but that the prices increased dramatically. Inflation is very high in Germany. There is a big gap between the money you earn and the money you spend. While the prices are increasing continuously, the income is still at the same level. They don't really increase the wages ... For a cleaning woman it became really difficult to survive in the meantime.<sup>371</sup>

The perception of the focus group participants about rising prices and decreasing wages reflects partially the inflation rate of 2.6 per cent in 2008, which was due to the extremely high increases in raw material prices.<sup>372</sup>

Another focus group participant commented on the difficulty for a single parent maintaining a family:

At home I have my son, I go cleaning at 3 a.m., then I go picking strawberries. After that I go cleaning again. But still I hardly can survive with my son, my daughters married last year. The money is just not enough. For ten years I clean, pick strawberries and clean, I didn't have a single free day. I work a lot, but I hardly can support us. I only do that, that my son can study, that he will be a well educated citizen.<sup>373</sup>

The working poor articulated a vision of how to change the situation, as one Muslim woman put it:

You work in different jobs, but the money you earn is not enough. They have to make sure, that the money is sufficient. You call this basic protection (*Grundsicherung*). They have to increase the child allowance. You need that and that much money that the basic needs of those people are protected. That's why they have to increase money and create this basic protection, no matter if you work in a factory or get social welfare money, there must be a minimum wage.

---

<sup>371</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>372</sup> Stefan Linz, Karsten Sandhop, Nadya Konrad, Hubert Vorholt, Ute Egner, Manuel Wirsing and Andreas Martin (2009), "Preisentwicklung im Jahr 2008" (Development of prices in 2008), available at <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Content/Publikationen/Querschnittsveroeffentlichungen/WirtschaftStatistik/Preise/EntwicklungJahr2008,property=file.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>373</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

This is not a poor country, it is a rich country. The money is there, but you have to ask the question, where does the money go?<sup>374</sup>

Very few respondents mentioned being active in the field of social welfare, as shown in Table 70.

**Table 70. Activity in social welfare**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
No / Did not answer	95.0	88.0	91.5
Yes, in an organization based on own ethnicity or religion	4.0	3.0	3.5
Yes, in a mixed organization	1.0	9.0	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
		<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Muslim-organised projects, including a dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims, collected donations for Islamic Relief, organised sports events for girls for the SCHURA Hamburg, or were active in an association for village rehabilitation, which is linked to Turkey. One Muslim organised a sports day for the youth council of the SCHURA Hamburg in a mixed environment. Non-Muslims cared for elderly or dying people or counselled addicted people of their own group. In a mixed environment non-Muslims were active as counsellors, in welfare associations or working with elderly.

### 8.3 Measures to Improve Access to Health Services and Social Protection

Since 2004 the city of Hamburg has been supporting health projects in their redevelopment programme for areas in need.<sup>375</sup> The programme “A city worth living in” (*Lebenswerte Stadt*) emphasises the need for education in physical exercise and sports for health and as protection against violence. Playhouses have been set up for

<sup>374</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>375</sup> Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, Drucksache 18/7178 (Publication 18/7178), 9 November 2007.

morning sessions. Playhouses work with children from three years of age to fourteen. They can spend their leisure time there and play what they want.<sup>376</sup>

In area 1 a model project called “Family Midwife”, a parent and child centre and a cultural kitchen have been organised, to improve public health from an early age. The programme “Families in Action – Healthy and Moving in Altona” is also ongoing. Sports and leisure facilities are being redeveloped, new playgrounds and playhouses are being established and green areas are being improved.

In area 2 a coliseum, a multi-sports facility, a production kitchen in the school, a pontoon for canoeing, a sports hall and a parent and child centre have been established. In Wilhelmsburg, which is the focus of the next “IBA” (Urban redevelopment exhibition<sup>377</sup>), a variety of activities take place. One of the three topics in the centre of IBA is “Cosmopolis”, on how diversity can be transformed into strength.<sup>378</sup>

In area 3 a coliseum and a parent and child centre have been set up and measures to improve physical exercise are planned. In the project area of Steilshoop cooperation between schools and day-care facilities have been established, called “Support exercise – shape the environment”. In Billstedt, youth and leisure facilities, including the extension of the public baths, are planned.

The HHAP targets the access of migrants to health services very specifically. It wants to increase the health knowledge and health competencies of migrants and their families. The prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS and addiction are planned to be improved through campaigns in German and Turkish. Key approaches are: first, developing health education material in various languages and putting in place intercultural and mother-tongue health mediators (MiMi-Project); second, finding key persons to work with addicts (*Landesstelle Suchtprävention*). Currently in only two areas of Hamburg (Schnelsen and Wandsbek) are there projects for which mother-tongue health mediators can be booked.<sup>379</sup> In 2008, €112,000 was dedicated for AIDS prevention and for looking for new ways to approach migrants.<sup>380</sup> The administrative bodies of health (BGS), education (BSB) and the Institute for Teacher Education and School Development (LI) have joined together in a cooperative approach. Since 2004

---

<sup>376</sup> For information about playhouses in Hamburg see <http://www.spielhaus.info/index.htm> (accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>377</sup> The IBA website is available in English at [http://www.iba-hamburg.de/en/00\\_start/start.php](http://www.iba-hamburg.de/en/00_start/start.php) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>378</sup> “Turning Diversity into Strength”, available at [http://www.iba-hamburg.de/en/01\\_entwuerfe/4\\_leitthemen/leitthemen\\_kosmopolis.php](http://www.iba-hamburg.de/en/01_entwuerfe/4_leitthemen/leitthemen_kosmopolis.php) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>379</sup> See <http://www.hamburg.de/migrantinnen-migranten/123190/mimi.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>380</sup> See <http://www.hamburg.de/pressearchiv/921748/2008-11-28-bsg-hiv.html> (accessed January 2010).

the Hamburg Association for Health Promotion (*Hamburgischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Gesundheitsförderung e.V. – HAG*) has been coordinating and linking actors and activities for the underprivileged in the fields of health promotion and sickness prevention.<sup>381</sup>

A chapter in the HHAP covers the situation of older migrants;<sup>382</sup> 11 per cent of all elderly people in Hamburg are migrants and it is estimated that in 2015 this proportion will have risen to 16 per cent. The HHAP sees access to health-care services for older migrants as the main problem, because of language barriers and a lack of information. Since often older people are cared for in the family, their cultural specifics are not taken into consideration and a diverse range of services needs to be developed to meet those needs. Some of these services are provided by NGOs, which have started to open up their services for older migrants. The Hamburg Advisory Board of Seniors in parallel with the Advisory Board on Integration has established a specialised group for older migrants. Their objectives are the increased participation of older migrants; expanding the accessibility of existing meeting places for senior citizens: supporting language and social competencies; and providing better information.<sup>383</sup> A participant in the working group on health at the roundtable stressed the role of social work in the interaction with Muslim families. She highlighted the fact that in Muslim countries problems and conflicts are mostly handled within the family. There is a lack of mediators in Germany, who would function as door openers to those families. There are a lot of active people in the communities who work voluntarily, but who are themselves in a financially precarious situation. They are often overloaded and their work is not valued socially. This participant stressed that new models need to be developed which support those particular people by coming into the families.<sup>384</sup>

---

<sup>381</sup> For further information about the regional nodal point of Hamburg see <http://www.gesundheitliche-chancengleichheit.de/?uid=c1690b88dd16f0347c4c40fb5dfd947c&id=Seite3185> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>382</sup> HHAP, p. 28.

<sup>383</sup> See <http://www.lsb-hamburg.de/cms/index.php?id=38> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>384</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.



## 9. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: POLICING AND SECURITY

A frequent statement from Muslims and non-Muslims was that the crime rate is too high or crime is steadily increasing in their local areas. This chapter begins by looking at trust and satisfaction levels in the police overall. It then examines interaction and experiences of discrimination at the hands of the police. It ends by highlighting some issues relating to recruitment and better engagement of minorities by and with the police.

**Table 71. Crime rates in OSI research areas, 2006**

Area	Crime per 1,000 inhabitants	Violent crime per 1,000 inhabitants	Theft per 1,000 inhabitants
<b>HAMBURG</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>63</b>
District Hamburg-Mitte	307	15	133
<b>Area 1</b>	<b>1,082.5</b>	<b>32.5</b>	<b>580.33</b>
Altona-Altstadt	185	8	88
Altona-Nord	155	6	79
Hamburg-Altstadt	3,559	55	2,414
St Georg	1,541	63	379
St Pauli	627	47	270
Neustadt	428	16	252
<b>Area 2</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>62.5</b>
Veddel	187	11	68
Wilhelmsburg	147	7	57
<b>Area 3</b>	<b>214.89</b>	<b>7.56</b>	<b>105.11</b>
Billbrook	702	22	366
Billstedt	143	7	70
Billwerder	323	8	161
Hamm-Mitte	148	7	67
Hamm-Nord	81	3	32
Hamm-Süd	137	4	68
Horn	110	6	47
Jenfeld	121	6	55
Rothenburgsort	169	5	80

**Source:** Data of the Statistical Office of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, see <http://www.statistik-nord.de/fileadmin/regional/regional.php> (accessed January 2010)

## 9.1 Perspectives on Policing and Security

The crime rate in Hamburg-Mitte is more than twice as high as the Hamburg average, the violent crime rate is three times as high and theft more than twice as high. However, there is no correlation between a high proportion of Muslim residents and a high crime rate: in research areas 2 and 3 the crime rate is much lower than the Hamburg-Mitte average, and in area 2, where the largest Muslim population is living, it is close to the overall Hamburg average.

The OSI survey results show that the majority of Muslims are satisfied with policing and trust police and courts. Non-Muslims are more dissatisfied and do not trust police and courts.

**Table 72. Level of trust and satisfaction with police and courts**

		Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Satisfaction with the police	Fairly or very satisfied	46.0	29.0	37.5
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	21.0	31.0	26.0
	Fairly or very dissatisfied	27.0	38.0	32.0
	Don't know	6.0	2.0	4.0
Trust in the police	A lot or a fair amount	57.0	33.0	45.0
	Not very much or not at all	41.0	63.0	52.0
	Don't know	2.0	4.0	3.0
Trust in the courts	A lot or a fair amount	54.0	41.0	47.5
	Not very much or not at all	28.0	54.0	41.0
	Don't know	18.0	5.0	11.5
Total	%	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number	100	100	200

Source: Open Society Institute

This surprising result was thoroughly discussed in one of the focus groups where the participants explored possible explanations for this high trust of Muslims. Young Muslims, men and women, said:

Most have a migrant background and in their home country you cannot really trust the police. They formed a positive opinion of German police officers.<sup>385</sup>

Another participant brought up the contradiction of having had “rather bad experience with the police. But still I trust them down to the ground.” This contradiction was heavily debated and the young Muslims concluded that there is an image of Germans as punctual, tidy, law-abiding and doing their work properly. It was said that if Germans make mistakes as humans, they still do their work and are trustworthy.<sup>386</sup> Another Muslim father had an experience with a police officer when he was taking his son to school:

I took [my son] on the back of my bike. I know, you are not allowed to do that. But I really went at a walking pace and the police officer was already standing in front of the school and he saw me ... He said: “You know that it is not all right,” I said yes, he replied: “So why do you do it?” I said, “I drove slowly”, he said, “Doesn't matter. It is too dangerous for the boy, in case he jams his foot.” I said, “You are right”, he got off the bike, then we said goodbye. That wasn't anything dramatic. He just did his job and he was right, why should I have an argument with him?<sup>387</sup>

Another participant stated that it is in fact a trust in the system, rather than in the person himself, and all other participants agreed. Some of the participants compared the police in Germany with their home countries, where the police stop people to get bribes or *baksheesh*. People did not generally expect that in Germany. A young Muslim woman described her parents, who came from Turkey 30 years ago and still respected police and uniforms.

When a police officer comes, then you are immediately intimidated and they say: “A police officer always is sort of right,” even if you think that he is not. But they respect and that they are the symbol of the state, those who carry the state and we as citizens have the duty to obey the state. This is the trust in the system, but as well that policemen never would make something wrong.<sup>388</sup>

Another discussant agreed:

With my father it is as well always the same, “Yes, Mr Policeman,” of course very friendly, extremely polite, doesn't matter if you are wrong or right, if you meet a policeman you are always extremely polite.<sup>389</sup>

---

<sup>385</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>386</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>387</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>388</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>389</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

This authoritarian attitude is based less on respect than on fear. For many migrants, the image of a police officer is not somebody who will discuss problems, but an authority figure who may even use physical force. This attitude of the parents affects young Muslims, as a young Muslim man in one of the focus groups illustrated with the following story:

We drove back from a visit, it was a around one o'clock at night and my uncle passed the traffic light perhaps half a second after it turned red. Immediately the police came and said, "Oh, this will be expensive. You ran a red light." My uncle, he is still young, around 25 I think, immediately starts to argue: "That was not even a second, it was half a second." My father instantly slapped him and told him in Turkish to shut up. Later he then said, "Yes, they are right and if you say something they will give us more punishment. It's better to shut up, continue driving and accept the punishment."<sup>390</sup>

It is this fear that police officers can do whatever they like that creates respect, an older discussant added.<sup>391</sup> Some of the young Muslims described different experiences with and attitudes towards police.

At my workplace, there is a police inspector (*Oberkommissar*) who passes this way nearly daily and every half a year he comes to visit me. "Hello I am Mr. O. and I don't have a lot of time," he says and he has never time to drink tea, but every time I offer something. He then continues, "I just wanted to know if everything is ok?" A really very friendly person, who even gave me his card and said "If there is something happening, if some people smash the window, because people here are very iffy about Islamic organisations, then immediately call me." They offered help out of their own initiative.<sup>392</sup>

Muslim participants in the working group on policing at the OSI roundtable also reported positive experiences with visible neighbourhood police, who are called *Bürger naher Beamter* (BUNABE),<sup>393</sup> in areas with a high proportion of Muslim and migrant residents, such as Wilhelmsburg, Steilshoop and Billstedt. But currently there are not enough well-trained multilingual BUNABE available.<sup>394</sup> A representative of the Hamburg police stressed that the lack of visible police officers of Muslim or migrant backgrounds is a problem for Muslims, especially women.

Such positive interpersonal experiences are discouraged by the Agency for the Protection of the Constitution,<sup>395</sup> whose annual reports on anti-constitutional practices

<sup>390</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>391</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>392</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008

<sup>393</sup> Short for *Bürger naher Beamter*, officer close to citizen.

<sup>394</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>395</sup> For the role of the German Intelligence Bureau, see chapter on Policing, p. 49.

have alleged to have led to stigmatisation of certain Muslim institutions. A participant of the working group on police at the roundtable who worked for the police in Hamburg confirmed that the annual reports of the Agency for the Protection of the Constitution had an effect on the relations between police and Muslims. Muslim participants stressed that they considered those reports to be state discrimination, because the effect is the exclusion of whole institutions. It was mentioned that before 9/11 the police were obliged to keep in contact with mosques and Muslims, but this was, according to a Muslim representative, abandoned after 9/11.<sup>396</sup> The representative of the police argued that the agency now has closer contacts with Muslim communities, because it is important for the police to understand what happens in the communities. A committee of imams is counselling the police and they work together with a network of Muslim organisations to prevent crime and Islamic extremism.<sup>397</sup>

In general it is problematic for Muslim communities, a Muslim representative recalled, that the police is the only institution dealing with them. He stressed that Muslim institutions cover a whole range of social and individual needs of Muslims and therefore other institutions like schools, universities, hospitals, etc. should deal with them as well. Muslim institutions do not want to be seen as a focus of crime and terrorism prevention. In Hamburg good cooperation with the police is possible, because the right people are in place to establish the contact, but this can change if it is not institutionalised.<sup>398</sup>

There was an ambivalent attitude towards the police among the Muslim and non-Muslim interviewees and focus group discussants. While Muslims called for more policing, non-Muslims called for less. The difference between the two groups does not appear to be about policing in general, but more about the style of policing.

Some Muslim interviewees complained that there is very little policing. Police are not seen on the streets, although there are many drug dealers around. It was said that police should be more visible and present to the public and on the streets in the local areas. Because police officers do not patrol the areas enough, some Muslims expressed feeling unsafe on the streets, especially at night. The visibility of the police is supposed to stop young people getting involved in illegal activities. Some non-Muslims shared this view and added their impression that police stations are not well staffed.

At the same time, some Muslims and quite a few non-Muslims shared the opinion that there is too much policing, especially at demonstrations. This is perceived as exaggerated and overbearing. Non-Muslims see the unnecessary intensification of policing as provocative, creating an atmosphere of paranoia. Increased suppression and control create more conflicts than they solve. Police exceeded their competencies when controlling individuals, which was seen as restricting individual freedom. The contact

---

<sup>396</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>397</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>398</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

with police and security officials was perceived as unpleasant and the presence of police a charade of false security, a non-Muslim concluded.<sup>399</sup>

The respondents who said that there is too much policing mainly referred to video cameras and video surveillance that are widely used in area 1. It is considered worrying that so many cameras are in public places and privacy is not respected.

## 9.2 Muslim Interactions with the Police

Muslims report crime less frequently than non-Muslims. Half as many Muslims (7) as non-Muslims (15) reported that they had been a victim of crime in the last 12 months. Both groups experienced crime in their own neighbourhood (4 Muslims, 8 non-Muslims) or in the city (2 Muslims, 1 non-Muslim). While five non-Muslims reported crimes took place in their local area, none of the Muslims did. An equal number, two Muslims and two non-Muslims, felt that the crime was motivated by discrimination. The Muslims were not satisfied with the police response. Muslims had less contact with the police than non-Muslims: 62 non-Muslims and 27 Muslims had contact with the police about an issue in the last 12 months.

Of those who reported contacting the police, 17 Muslims said that they initiated the contact (34 non-Muslims) and 10 said the police initiated the contact (28 non-Muslims).

Non-Muslims were more likely to be satisfied with their experience: 15 Muslims and 36 non-Muslims were satisfied with the conduct and outcome of the encounter with the police; 12 Muslims (26 non-Muslims) were not.

Complaints about the police were concerned with a range of topics. At the workshop on policing at the roundtable, a participant working for the police in Hamburg stressed that an independent complaints commission, like the UK's independent police complaints commission, is necessary to prevent the misuse of policing power and to investigate complaints, so as to sustain trust in the police.<sup>400</sup>

A non-Muslim perceived the police as not intervening where they should, but intervening in inappropriate areas, like demonstrations. A young Muslim, active in the anti-fascist movement, described his single contact with the police in the focus group.

I was struck by a jet of water and started bleeding and then I ran away, that's why I do not particularly like the police.<sup>401</sup>

Muslims expressed a widespread feeling,

---

<sup>399</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>400</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>401</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

especially due to increasing mistreatments of foreigners, I don't feel safe around the police.<sup>402</sup>

Unfair treatment of foreign children was reported and it was alleged that complaints are not taken seriously. Some Muslims had the feeling that the police try to deprive them of their legal and human rights. A non-Muslim of migrant background asserted that the police intervene only in petty crime when it is committed by people of black colour or with black hair and that recently specific groups are being more rigorously checked. This is highlighted by a non-Muslim, who reported that he was asked by the police to present his identity card without a reason, when he was sitting outside drinking beer.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims described police as sometimes incompetent and aggressive against homeless people, full of prejudice and arrogant. They were seen as having a compulsion for controlling, being brutal, restricting individual rights and harassing minority groups.

Police response times were reportedly too slow, either due to staff shortages or the distance from the police station. There were also concerns that complaints were not given sufficient attention, and that cases were often dropped before an arrest was made.

Even for serious crimes, respondents felt more needed to be done:

For the amount of police that are employed, too much crime that is not in their focus is happening. Drug and youth offences are pursued more vigorously, but violent crime needs to be chased more.<sup>403</sup>

9/11 was mentioned in only a few of the interviews. It also came up in a focus group with young Muslims. They were recalling what they experienced in the aftermath of 9/11. A Muslim woman recalled a story about her brother:

He just was finishing gymnasium [high school], he was 18, 19 and had a full beard. He was in the underground and forgot his ticket. He came from school with a lot of colleagues and had a rucksack full of books with him. The ticket inspectors asked for his name, because he forgot his pass. The others confirmed his name. He realised that they are afraid of the rucksack. In the moment he opened the rucksack, they jumped back and were frightened. He showed them his books, but they didn't believe him and took him to the police station. There he was confronted with insults because of 9/11, the terror attacks, because he has a full beard and he is dark.<sup>404</sup>

---

<sup>402</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008, and OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>403</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>404</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.



Another young Muslim man described his brother's friend, who was from Sudan and had a beard. The police took him from his office for questioning, and determined that he was innocent. After his release there was neither an excuse nor was anything explained. Everyone in his office saw how he was taken away by the police, and that a couple of days he was back again.<sup>405</sup> Another man participating in a focus group said that he already been questioned at the airport. One time he was taken out of the queue and had to give a saliva sample. In a report on ethnic profiling several events targeting Muslims are mentioned, supporting the view of the focus group participants:

German police have carried out mass identity checks outside mosques, frequently after Friday prayers when the largest number of worshippers is present. Since 9/11, police have conducted mass identity checks on numerous occasions outside 25–30 mosques, including those with the largest attendance in Germany.<sup>406</sup>

Muslims reported other situations where they were checked because of their appearance, being the only one asked for a ticket in the underground or for their identity card. A young Muslim once conducted an interview with the police for school and he found out that it was clear for them that the percentage of Turks who are involved in crime is high, therefore they say, "It's not our fault that people with black hair have a tendency to be criminal and that we immediately stamp them as criminal."<sup>407</sup>

A Muslim reported an experience when driving a friend's expensive car.

Exactly on that day I was stopped by two policemen, who didn't believe me. As co-driver there was a friend, as well with dark hair. It took two hours until I called the guy who owns the car. He had to come and clear up the situation.<sup>408</sup>

A Muslim woman reported a similar experience:

The police stopped me. I asked them why and it was immediately clear that it was because of my headscarf. They didn't believe that the big van was mine.<sup>409</sup>

One focus group participant described being allowed to pass through a drunk-driving checkpoint because the police officer concluded he was an observant Muslim from his appearance, and another Muslim interviewee was surprised when she was not excused from an alcohol breath test. According to another discussant, the police continue to do

---

<sup>405</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>406</sup> Open Society Justice Initiative, *Ethnic Profiling in the European Union: Pervasive, Ineffective, and Discriminatory*, Open Society Institute, New York, 2009, p. 65.

<sup>407</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>408</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>409</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.



tests based on their experience: when they stop Turks, everybody says they are Muslim and asks why this test is done. At the end it is clear they have been drinking.<sup>410</sup>

The HHAP addresses policing and security under the category of crime prevention. Its starting point is the statistical over-representation of crime suspects with non-German citizenship: 29.7 per cent of the suspects in 2005 were foreigners and the vast majority were young men.<sup>411</sup> This might be the effect of rules of thumb based on everyday experience reproducing existing stereotypes.<sup>412</sup> The HHAP differentiates between statistics and reality. High crime rates are often statistical effects. When in entertainment areas like Reeperbahn, tourists are counted as suspects as well and therefore dramatically increase the crime rate of foreigners. The HHAP is aware of the difference in reporting crime among migrants and sees the difficulty of the public perception of foreigners' crimes and real crime in some areas. This is most obvious at the entertainment area of the Reeperbahn. The percentage of Muslims and migrants living there is high and the crime rate is high as well. In public perception those two facts are connected, although detailed analysis of the crime rate shows visitors bring in a substantial amount of crime into the area and they not necessarily have a Muslim or migrant background. At the roundtable it was strongly stressed that all studies show there is no correlation between crime and Islam.<sup>413</sup> It reports as well on right-wing extremism (see Table 73.). In 2007 there was an increase of over 39 per cent in xenophobic crime, among them 17 violent crimes.<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>410</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>411</sup> HHAP, p. 31.

<sup>412</sup> Hans-Jörg Albrecht, "Rechtstatsachenforschung zum Strafverfahren. Empirische Untersuchungen zu Fragestellungen des Strafverfahrens zwischen 1990 und 2003" (Research on criminal proceedings. Empirical studies on issues of criminal procedure from 1990 to 2003), *Polizei + Forschung*, Vol. 29, edited by Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), Kriminalistisches Institut, 2005, Lucherland, Neuwied.

<sup>413</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>414</sup> HHAP, p. 32.

**Table 73. Right-wing crime in Hamburg**

	2006	2007
Total	400 (390?) <sup>415</sup>	332 (366?) <sup>416</sup>
Propaganda crimes	288	250
Xenophobic crimes	51	71
Anti-Semitic crimes	22	23
Violent crimes	29	22

**Source:** Statistics from the German Intelligence Bureau, February 2008. Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz (LfV) (2008), Verfassungsschutzbericht 2007, Hamburg, p. 175.

The objectives of the HHAP in this field are the reduction of crime, lowering the risk of becoming a victim and reducing right-wing crime (Table 73.). Specifically, focus is placed on the non-acceptance of prejudices and general suspicion against minority groups. To achieve this, the HHAP encourages people to meet, tries to find individual solutions for local problems and to connect the different actors of the migrant and inborn population on the ground, but no agency has been assigned to do this work yet, nor was any information about funding available. An inter-administrative steering group is planned, but information about its concrete objectives and composition was not available either at the time of the drafting of this OSI report.<sup>417</sup>

### 9.3 Minority Recruitment in the Police Force

As is the case in other areas, no legislative obligation to provide information on the extent of ethnic minority recruitment and monitoring in the police force exists in Germany. Only data on nationality have been collected so far. However, some information on the extent of ethnic minorities in German police forces has been

<sup>415</sup> The difference in numbers includes the category of 'others' which is included in the figure 400. The difference of 10 (400 and 390) relates to the number of cases which cannot be strictly categorized as politically motivated crimes under the law but fall under violent offences which have political connotations. An example of this is the placing of the swastika symbol on the desk of a primary school pupil.

<sup>416</sup> Total is lower because of multiple counting. One crime can be counted in two or more categories.

<sup>417</sup> HHAP, p. 32.

provided.<sup>418</sup> Some police forces, such as Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Mecklenburg-Western-Pomerania and Brandenburg, only recruit ethnic minorities of certain origin. Due to the large population of ethnic minorities of Turkish origin, the majority of the Federal states are trying to recruit ethnic minorities of Turkish origin. Officers of Polish background, since a large group of ethnic Germans are mainly from Poland, are more likely to be recruited.<sup>419</sup> The latest available figures, for 2006, indicate that for Hamburg 148 of 8,001 were ethnic-minority police officers (1.85 per cent). The highest number of ethnic-minority officers can be found in North Rhine-Westphalia, where 3,192 out of 42,000 (7.6 per cent) police officers come from minorities.<sup>420</sup> A study at Hamburg University comparing recruitment practices in Germany and England concluded that while in England differentiated data to analyse and state their progress in recruiting ethnic-minority police officers is being provided, Germany has provided very little research and data.<sup>421</sup> Instead of stressing the positive outcomes of a diverse police force (creating a safe environment for all, providing ethnic minorities with positive role models), Germany's idea in recruiting ethnic minorities has been for specific tasks only and utilising them to target migrant populations.<sup>422</sup> It was not the government's aim to have a fully representative public service, which would mark a turning point for ethnic-minority recruitment in Germany, but the mandatory adaption of EU regulations in 1994, which guaranteed the freedom of career choice within the EU.<sup>423</sup> The study recommends a detailed action plan for all Federal states, addressing the need for recruiting ethnic-minority police officers, setting clear targets and monitoring them and establishing an Ethnic Minority Police Association, because

---

<sup>418</sup> Bettina Franzke, *Polizisten und Polizistinnen ausländischer Herkunft. Eine Studie zur ethnisch-kulturellen Identität und berufliche Sozialisation Erwachsener in einer Einwanderungsgesellschaft* (Policemen and policewomen of foreign origin. A study on ethno-cultural identity and professional socialisation of adults in an immigrant society), Kleine Verlag, Bielefeld, 1999; Herman Blom, *Anders sein bei der Polizei in Deutschland. Zur Position von allochthonen Polizisten an ihrem Arbeitsplatz, vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Rolle als Minderheit und der Tatsache, dass sie als "anders" wahrgenommen werden* (Being different within the police in Germany. On the position of allochthonous police officers at their workplace, in the context of their role as a minority and the fact that they are "perceived differently"), Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, Frankfurt, 2005.

<sup>419</sup> Azilis Maguer, "Die Einstellung ausländischer Bewerber in den deutschen Polizeidienst" (The recruitment of foreign applicants to the German police), *Monatszeitschrift für Strafrecht und Kriminologie*, Vol. 4–2002, p. 309–316.

<sup>420</sup> Daniela Hunold, *Migranten in der Polizei. Zwischen politischer Programmatik und Organisationswirklichkeit* (Migrants in the police. Between policies and organizational reality), Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, Frankfurt, 2008.

<sup>421</sup> Oksan Karakus, Recruitment of Ethnic Minority Police Officers: Ethnic Minority Recruitment from a Multi-Cultural Perspective in England and Germany, University of Hamburg, Fakultät für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften. Departement Wirtschaft und Politik, Institut für Kriminologische Sozialforschung, typescript, Hamburg, 2008, p. 62 (hereafter Karakus, Recruitment of Ethnic Minority Police Officers).

<sup>422</sup> Karakus, *Recruitment of Ethnic Minority Police Officers*, p. 63.

<sup>423</sup> Karakus, *Recruitment of Ethnic Minority Police Officers*, pp. 63–64.

it is important for ethnic-minority officers to have support and affirmation and to be able to have a voice through an official institution in the police force that bolsters their rights.<sup>424</sup>

Hamburg partially meets this challenge with the recruitment campaign for trainees with migrant backgrounds. During the workshop on policing at the roundtable a Muslim specialist on recruitment practices in the police force noted that migrants often do not pass the tests necessary to start police training.<sup>425</sup> Another participant reported of a best practice from Leicester, UK, where voluntary police are recruited in the local community by a localised recruitment process.<sup>426</sup>

During the training police officers in Hamburg have a one-week training session on intercultural competencies. But the police officers often have difficulties with those sessions, because they feel that migrants should just conform, and then no problems would arise.<sup>427</sup> It was reported that in the Metropolitan Police in the UK the applicants must present their experiences with discrimination and how they deal with it.<sup>428</sup>

---

<sup>424</sup> Karakus, *Recruitment of Ethnic Minority Police Officers*, p. 65.

<sup>425</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>426</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>427</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>428</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

## 10. EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES: PARTICIPATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Political inclusion can be measured by the strength of identification with political institutions. This can be gauged by the extent to which interviewees felt that they can influence decisions affecting their city and their trust in political institutions such as the city council, parliament and government. This chapter looks at participation in the formal electoral processes and the degree and level of influence interviewees feel they have over decision-making at the city and nationally in civil society organisations. Civic participation, that is participation in associations and organisations, is discussed and some of the ways in which policymakers in Hamburg have engaged with attempts by Muslim organisations to become active civil society partners are highlighted.

### 10.1 Muslims and Elections

The Hamburg Citizenry elections took place during research for this report, on 24 February 2008. Deputies for the Citizenry, the Hamburg parliament and the district assemblies were elected. The turnout was 63.4 per cent. The Conservatives (CDU) got 42.6 per cent and the Grüne/GAL (Greens) 9.6 per cent. These two parties built the first Conservative–Green coalition government in Germany. The opposition is made up of the Social Democrats (SPD), with 34.1 per cent, and for the first time the Left Party (Die Linke) with 6.4 per cent. This is a new party made up of former Social Democrats, who left the SPD after the introduction of Agenda 2010,<sup>429</sup> which redesigned the German welfare state, and the former Communist Party of East Germany.

The number of Muslims eligible to vote is unknown. But of the 466,000 people with migrant backgrounds, 218,000 have a German passport and among them those of Turkish origin are the largest group (some 60,000). Turks were seen as a decisive group for small parties. One study concluded that voters with a Turkish background tended to vote SPD and Green, because most were working-class and because these parties stand for a liberal immigration and asylum policy.<sup>430</sup> The CDU is favoured by immigrants from Eastern Europe (ethnic Germans), whose immigration was supported during the Kohl government. The voting behaviour is, according to the study, more related to the traditional position of the parties *vis-à-vis* their immigrant groups than to social factors, since all parties target migrant groups in one or other way.

---

<sup>429</sup> Agenda 2010 dismantled the old welfare system, which was partly separate from unemployment benefits. The two systems were replaced by one system called Hartz IV.

<sup>430</sup> Sara Claro da Fonseca, “Neue Bürger – neue Kandidaten?” (New citizens – a new candidate?), *WZB-Mitteilungen* 114, December 2006, pp. 32–36.

The CDU established the German-Turkish Forum (DTF) shortly before the Hamburg election to make the CDU attractive for voters with Turkish backgrounds.<sup>431</sup> The head of the DTF, Bettina Machaczek, visited some of the Turkish communities in Hamburg during the election campaign.

The SPD established a German-Turkish forum more than five years ago,<sup>432</sup> and put candidates with Turkish backgrounds on their lists. Bülent Ciftlik and Metin Hakverdi, both at the top of the list, went into the Turkish community, talking not only about migration, but also about all political topics. During the election campaign they had a meeting with Turkish merchants in the local *hammam* and published a brochure in Turkish about the new voting system in Hamburg.<sup>433</sup> The SPD put up posters of candidates with Turkish backgrounds around the Centre Mosque in Steindamm, although most of the candidates were lower down on the list, making it most unlikely they would gain a seat in the Citizenry.

The GAL explained the new voting system in Turkish and sought the right to vote in local election for non-EU citizens who had been living in Germany for an extended period. They visited enterprises and organisations of the Turkish community and the former deputy of the Hamburg Citizenry, Nebahat Güçlü; they had outspoken Muslim women in leading positions. GAL proposed a campaign for naturalisation which was unanimously supported by all parties.

Ahmet Yazici of the Alliance of Islamic communities (BIG) said, according to NRD-online, “Those who have a say, can move this country forward. Going to vote is the most important thing they can do in a democratic society, when they feel they belong.”<sup>434</sup>

Slightly more than half of the Muslims (57) in the OSI survey said they were eligible to vote in national elections, and 88 non-Muslims. Nearly two-third of Muslims (37) who were eligible to vote did so in the last national elections. The rate of 64 per cent of Muslims voting in national elections is comparable with the turnout in the last Hamburg elections. Surprisingly, the rate is much higher among non-Muslims, which might be related to the politically active non-Muslims represented in the sample. (See Table 74.)

---

<sup>431</sup> Helge Schwiertz, “Der Kampf um Migrantstimmen” (The struggle for immigrant votes), NDR-online, 15 February 2008, available at [http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/buergerschafts\\_wahl\\_hamburg\\_2008/themen/tuerkischewaehler2.html](http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/buergerschafts_wahl_hamburg_2008/themen/tuerkischewaehler2.html) (accessed January 2010) (hereafter “Der Kampf um Migrantstimmen”).

<sup>432</sup> “Der Kampf um Migrantstimmen”.

<sup>433</sup> The new voting system was established by a struggle between civil society winning a referendum on more democratic participation and the government trying to minimise the influence of the referendum and the outcomes. The outcome was a compromise between the old voting system and the introduction of new participatory elements.

<sup>434</sup> “Der Kampf um Migrantstimmen”.

**Table 74. Voting eligibility for national elections**

Are you eligible to vote in national elections?	Did you vote in the last national election?	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes	Yes	37.0	74.0	55.5
	No	20.0	14.0	17.0
No		43.0	12.0	27.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

Nearly all non-Muslims (94), but only 58 Muslims, were eligible to vote in local elections. 65.5 per cent of Muslims (38) and 81.9 per cent of non-Muslims (17) who were eligible voted in the last district election (Table 75.).

**Table 75. Voting eligibility for local elections**

Are you eligible to vote in local elections?	Did you vote in the last local election?	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Yes	Yes	38.0	77.0	57.5
	No	20.0	17.0	18.5
No		41.0	6.0	23.5
Did not answer		1.0	0.0	0.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

### *Voting in the research areas*

Table 76. gives an overview of the ratio between the numbers of foreigners living in an area, those being eligible to vote in the last elections, and the votes the parties got in our three research areas.



**Table 76. Voting results in research areas for elections to the Hamburg Citizenry, 2008**

Area	Foreigners in 2006. Total eligible to vote in 2008	CDU	Grüne/ GAL	SPD	Die Linke	FDP	Other
Area 1	42.8%	38.1%	23.8%	48.2%	14.1%	5.9%	3.3%
Area 2	105.6%	26.8%	8.6%	47.9%	9.5%	2.8%	4.6%
Area 3	52.0%	35.8%	6.3%	39.6%	9.8%	3.8%	4.6%

Source: <http://www.statistik-nord.de/wahlen/wahlen-in-hamburg/buergerschaftswahlen/2008/> (accessed January 2010)

In areas 1 and 3, for every 100 persons who are eligible to vote, 42.8 and 52 respectively cannot. In area 2, for every 100 persons who can vote 105.6 persons cannot vote. This ratio, although not reflecting exact numbers (which were not available), shows that there are significant disparities in democratic representation in the different areas. Such massive political under-representation of a large proportion of the migrant population in an area responsible for casting some of the highest votes in the 2001 Hamburg Citizenry election for the right-wing populist Schill Party,<sup>435</sup> seems to undermine the trust of the migrant population in the political system, as the figures of the OSI research show.<sup>436</sup>

Stakeholders in the parties said that there is always a thin line between party strategies and political problems. “Each party wants to gain votes and exploits people for that,”<sup>437</sup> one stakeholder reported. This becomes difficult when target groups have opposing interests. The dialogue between the gay community and the Muslim community in St Georg about an alleged increase of homophobia in the area evolved into a campaign mobilising gay activists and alienating the Muslim community. This was in turn transformed into a conflict within the Green (GAL) party, where, so it was said, 1 per cent more or less of the votes can be decisive. As a result of this conflict the Green party discovered the Muslim community. The Social Democrats had previously gone from mosque to mosque and promoted their party. A Muslim stakeholder said,

It's not that the mosques go to the parties and say “Come and promote yourself”, it's the parties who come. It is less the conservatives (CDU), because

<sup>435</sup> This party only ran for the 2001 elections and after its dismissal from the government by the First Mayor in 2003 was never successful again in gaining votes.

<sup>436</sup> In Billstedt the Schill Party gained the second-highest votes (6,027), in Wilhelmsburg the fourth-highest votes (4,430) and in Horn the eighth-highest votes (2,971); available at [http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx\\_standocuments/Bue2001\\_Stadtteile-abs.xls](http://www.statistik-nord.de/uploads/tx_standocuments/Bue2001_Stadtteile-abs.xls) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>437</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.



they perhaps don't see the necessity to gain another 0.1 per cent of the votes, but for small parties it can be decisive.<sup>438</sup>

Another stakeholder from the GAL explained: "All parties are now discovering that it is good to have migrants in their party, because they think this is strategically successful. They experience the demographic change and see that this is a key group, which can be decisive in the elections."<sup>439</sup>

One Muslim stakeholder articulated the problems in this strategic approach:

If you are able to make politics for migrants and Muslim better, then they shall have my vote. You can define your role yourself when you get recruited. There is the party strategy and there is my strategy, if it overlaps, it is a good development. Most of the migrants who are in the parties have been asked to join, but they have this fear of being a "token migrant". But it is not enough to put candidates on positions where they don't have a chance to succeed, just to attract the votes. You have to place the people in a way that they have a chance of being successful and implementing their politics.<sup>440</sup>

Another Muslim stakeholder described the role the mosques played during election time.

In a lot of mosques it is said before the elections, that elections are coming up and they get invited to participate in the election, if they have the German passport. But it is as well explicitly said, "We as a mosque cannot give you an idea about which party to vote for. Vote the party you think is closest to your interests." I think that is really important, that people get informed, but not manipulated in a certain direction.<sup>441</sup>

There are several signs of the increased influence of the Muslim community in Hamburg at the level of high-ranking politicians and officials. During the month of Ramadan the BIG has for the past 10 years been inviting people from the fields of politics, religion and society generally to the annual Iftar reception, and the number of people accepting the invitation increases every year.

Six deputies of migrant backgrounds are sitting currently in the Citizenry, and more in the district assemblies. This is the highest number ever. Most of them do not consider themselves openly as Muslim, except Ms Güclü, vice-president of the Hamburg Citizenry, who identifies herself as a feminist and a Muslim. Migrants of Turkish background are present in all parties.

---

<sup>438</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

<sup>439</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

<sup>440</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

<sup>441</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

As mentioned, there is a campaign by the human resource body of the Hamburg administration to recruit 20 per cent of migrants as trainees; however, the reality is that there is a freeze on general hiring for the public administration and it will take many years until 20 per cent are dispersed through all ranks of the administration. But Muslims are elected to other advisory and decision-making bodies, like the deputation committee of the authority for social affairs or the advisory board on integration.<sup>442</sup>

In the OSI research, 45 non-Muslims and 40 Muslims agreed or definitely agreed that they could influence decisions affecting the city, but the majority of Muslims (54) and non-Muslims (52) disagreed or definitely disagreed with this statement (Table 77.).

**Table 77. Can you influence decisions affecting Hamburg?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Definitely agree	6.0	4.0	5.0
Agree	34.0	41.0	37.5
Disagree	30.0	42.0	36.0
Definitely disagree	24.0	10.0	17.0
Don't know	6.0	3.0	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>200</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The number of both Muslims and non-Muslims who feel that they have an influence on national decisions is lower (Table 78.).

<sup>442</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2009. The deputation committee is a body associated with the authorities, consisting of a senator (chair) and 15 elected honorary members (deputies) from the citizenry.

**Table 78. Can you influence decisions affecting Germany?**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
Definitely agree	6.0	3.0	4.5
Agree	29.0	32.0	30.5
Disagree	34.0	48.0	41.0
Definitely disagree	28.0	15.0	21.5
Don't know	3.0	2.0	2.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

## 10.2 Trust in Political Institutions

The vast majority of those surveyed (73 Muslims, 80 non-Muslims) did not trust the government very much or at all (Table 79.).

**Table 79. Level of trust in the government**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
A lot	2.0	0.0	1.0
A fair amount	13.0	9.0	11.0
Not very much	44.0	57.0	50.5
Not at all	29.0	33.0	31.0
Don't know	12.0	1.0	6.5
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The national Parliament fared hardly better: just 18 non-Muslims and 19 Muslims trusted the national Parliament a lot or a fair amount (Table 80.).

**Table 80. Level of trust in the national Parliament**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
A lot	2.0	0.0	1.0
A fair amount	17.0	18.0	17.5
Not very much	48.0	58.0	53.0
Not at all	20.0	21.0	20.5
Don't know	13.0	3.0	8.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The city council (Citizenry) is held in the highest trust by Muslims. Nineteen non-Muslims and 25 Muslims trusted it a fair amount or a lot. But 56 Muslims and 76 non-Muslims did not trust the city council very much or at all (Table 81.).

**Table 81. Level of trust in the city council**

	Muslim %	Non-Muslim %	Total %
A lot	4.0	0.0	2.0
A fair amount	21.0	19.0	20.0
Not very much	41.0	54.0	47.5
Not at all	15.0	22.0	18.5
Don't know	19.0	5.0	12.0
<b>Total</b>	%	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Number	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Open Society Institute

The high level of trust in police and in courts and the very low trust in government, parliament and city councils are surprising. In the focus group one participant commented that there is some truth about this difference, because in his eyes there are

no people in the world who really trust their governments.<sup>443</sup> Another participant suggested it was related to the political situation of the home countries, where, with the exception of Saudi-Arabia and Kuwait, the political systems are not stable. Turkey is seen as a relatively stable system over the last 30 years, after the coup d'etat of 1980. The participant explained:

My father doesn't trust the Turkish government at all. I think he would say that to any kind of government. Each government can be overturned, they can't do anything anyway and what they do is wrong. I think it has to do with the stability of the political system that you are used to, then it is more likely that you trust the government or parliament.<sup>444</sup>

### 10.3 Muslims and Active Citizenship

Muslims participate, even when they have fewer voting rights in national and local elections than non-Muslims. In focus group sessions young Muslims said,

Maybe those who don't trust politics among non-Muslims are anyway not going to elections.<sup>445</sup>

Another said,

Things are always already given. You cannot vote for exactly what you want to have, you always have to vote for the lesser evil.<sup>446</sup>

In response, another Muslim youth said,

I don't believe that any government, it doesn't matter who is governing in Germany, has the right solution, to solve the problem of unemployment or of the pension system or to find any other solution. It doesn't matter who has the power.<sup>447</sup>

Muslims are less active in politics than non-Muslims.

1. 45 non-Muslims and 29 Muslims attended a public meeting or a rally in the last 12 months.
2. 48 non-Muslims and 31 Muslims took part in a public demonstration in the last 12 months.
3. 61 non-Muslims and 29 Muslims signed a petition in the last 12 months.

---

<sup>443</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>444</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>445</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>446</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>447</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

4. 16 non-Muslims and 10 Muslims took part in a consultation or meeting about local services or problems in their local area.

The consultations covered such diverse topics as redevelopment, schools, rent levels and political parties.

Muslims are more active in youth work in their own ethnic or religious environment: 26 non-Muslims played an active role in organising youth activities in a mixed environment compared with just three Muslims, but 16 Muslims were active in an environment based on own ethnicity or religion, as was one non-Muslim. Muslims organised various activities, like seminars, youth education in mosques, outings, sporting events for young Muslims, celebrations, barbecues and catering. Some had founded a German-speaking Muslim youth club or actively participated in the administration of a club. Non-Muslims were additionally engaged in AIDS education, in anti-violence counselling, as mediators between administration and youth club users, as youth guides in a museum, organising city tours, preparing for vocational training, teaching courses, or organising reading events.

Nearly three-quarters of Muslims (71) played no active role in religious activities. Less than one-third (29) was active in their own ethnic or religious group. An even greater proportion of 98 non-Muslims did not play any active role in religion. Those who did (2) were active in their own group. The two non-Muslims were either preaching in the local dialect in church or helping organising events in their church. The activities of Muslims cover a wide range. Teaching the Qur'an, helping in Qur'an classes or teaching Arabic were among the main activities (10). Five were active in the administration of their mosque, and five more were involved in teaching activities, like homework help, teaching women, giving seminars or presentations. The rest were involved in organising activities, like planning schedules in the mosque, organising talks with young people, working for a charity fair organised in the mosque of the neighbourhood, organising the open day of the mosque or catering at activities.

Muslims were active in recreation, sport and hobbies in their own and in mixed environments: 17 non-Muslims and 8 Muslims were active in recreation, sports or hobbies in a mixed environment. Nine Muslims and two non-Muslims were active in an environment based on their own ethnicity or religion. The Muslims' activities in their own religious or ethnic group were mainly youth activities.

A minority of Muslims was active in the cultural field. One Muslim organised Islamic festivities for people from West Africa and another cultural events like music and dancing. In a mixed environment one Muslim played in a band and another organised concerts, theatre and music events.

Muslims do not play an active role in politics, but 12 non-Muslims were active in a mixed environment and four in an environment based on their own ethnicity or religion. Only one Muslim was active in politics in a mixed environment and he participated in a decision of the SPD in Wilhelmsburg.

Muslims are not active in criminal justice. Only one non-Muslim was active in criminal justice in a mixed environment, mediating between crime victims and perpetrators (*Täter-Opfer-Ausgleich*).

Few respondents were involved in human rights issues; seven non-Muslims and one Muslim were active here in a mixed environment. One Muslim looked into the rights of people entering Germany, and the non-Muslims made documentaries on topics like anti-racism, anti-globalisation and fast food, were active in asylum law and refugee rights, organised neighbourhood festivities, and wrote press releases and letters about human rights.

Another young Muslim highlighted the fact that Muslims who had a political opinion or were engaged in some cause are negatively stamped as violent extremists.<sup>448</sup> It was said that people often do not differentiate between a radical fundamentalist and an ordinary Muslim.<sup>449</sup> According to an interviewee, there are signs at the mosque entrances of the Turkish authorities (DITIP): “In this mosque there is no talk of politics”. Religion and politics are strictly separated in Turkey. There is a whole post-coup generation in Turkey that is religious and keeps out of politics, but this approach is changing among younger Muslims. Ali Özdil, head of IWB in Hamburg, represents this new approach of young German Muslims. He speaks of the diversity among Muslims: “The mosques are very international here. There are always specific national groups, who dominate. But it is pluralistic as well, pluralistic in the level of education and when it comes to different generations. It is not like that, that all Muslims who go to one mosque vote for a specific political party.”<sup>450</sup>

In contrast to Berlin, interaction of Muslims and in particular Muslim organisations with policymakers takes place in the districts and neighbourhoods to a lesser extent, but to a greater extent at the city level. There are important differences in the way the city and the different areas in the districts interact with Muslim organisations and address the needs and concerns of Muslims. In St Georg there is close cooperation between the Citizens Association (*Bürgerverein St Georg*) and the Central Mosque, while in other areas like in St Pauli there is hardly any contact between Muslim organisations and mosques, because there is no active mosque like the one in St Georg.

In the research, Muslims articulated a need for mixed local associations, centred on multi-ethnic dialogue, where the participation of all ethnicities would be possible, touching all areas of life. To achieve this, an open political atmosphere is seen as necessary. Ms Güclü (GAL), vice-president of the Hamburg Citizenry, is working on a regular dialogue with Islam at the city level. With the Conservative–Green government in power the established forms of dialogue have been extended, and Muslim

---

<sup>448</sup> In German the term “Islamist” has changed its meaning. Before 2001 “Islamist” meant somebody studying Islamic sciences, nowadays it has the connotation of “radical fundamentalist”.

<sup>449</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>450</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, February 2008.

communities can participate in more and more areas, like in the advisory board on integration or at the district level.

In the most recent legislative period, a new closeness was reached, when imams as well as Christian church representatives were present at the inauguration of the new Citizenry. With this symbolic gesture, Hamburg aimed to emphasise the inclusion of Muslims in the Hamburg entity. An extended, authentic dialogue in form and content is needed, like the dialogue forum with the SCHURA and other Muslim representatives, which the Greens have established on a regular basis. Ali Özdil from the IWB<sup>451</sup> sees positive developments in the fact that state treaties have been made with the Catholic Church (Vatican), the evangelical churches and the Jewish community. Because of equal opportunities for all religions, a treaty with the Muslim community represented by the SCHURA will be formalised soon.<sup>452</sup>

The local Muslim community is in an awkward position because it is part of the institutional arrangements, and yet the association of Islamic communities (BIG), with its high-profile events, is mentioned in the public annual reports of the Agency for the Protection of the Constitution. It has been under observation<sup>453</sup> since its foundation in the aftermath of 9/11 because it is said to represent the Islamic community Milli Görüs (IGMG) in Hamburg,<sup>454</sup> which is under observation by the Agency for the Protection of the Constitution.<sup>455</sup> Until now none of the investigations has led to a formal legal action by any state authority. But it makes the cooperation of Muslim organisations with other organisations more difficult, because they are still under suspicion.

Muslim interviewees emphasised the need to put prejudices aside and build up empathy. There is a high awareness that Muslims should not discriminate against others, and reciprocally, Muslims do not want to be discriminated against by others either. The freedom from discrimination was one of the four most important values

<sup>451</sup> Islamisches Wissenschafts und Bildungsinstitut, see <http://www.iwb-hamburg.de> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>452</sup> As of writing, no agreement had been reached, although negotiations are continuing; see <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article874250/Staatsvertrag-mit-Muslimen-Gespraech-verl-aufen-positiv.html> (accessed January 2010).

<sup>453</sup> The exact date when investigations of BIG were started could be clarified. But in all publicly available reports of the constitutional police in Hamburg (2002–2008), BIG is mentioned with similar wording; see <http://www.hamburg.de/verfassungsschutz/publikationen/231572/start.html> (accessed 14 August 2009).

<sup>454</sup> The Islamic Community Milli Görüş was founded in 1995. The IGMG maintains local mosque communities in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, England, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The name “Milli” refers to its affiliation with the views and perceptions of the Abrahamic community (Jewish, Christian, Muslim). The word “Görüş” means “opinion”, “view” or “perception”. See <http://www.igmg.de/verband/islamic-community-milli-goerues.html> (accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>455</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Inneres, Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz. *Verfassungsschutzbericht 2007* (Protection of the Constitution Report 2007), Hamburg, 2008, p. 68.



among Muslims and non-Muslims alike. At the same time discrimination was seen as a reason why the local communities effected an ethno-religious closing up.

For the older generation, according to the focus group moderator, contemporary politics in Turkey is interesting, but the second and third generations are not interested in it any more. A focus group participant, having been active on the left political spectrum and who is now working as a labour market coach for migrants, supported this point with his own experience.

In that whole story you should not forget the role of mosques and religious groups and organisations ... At that time there was an expression for those people who couldn't decide: with your head you are in Turkey, but with your feet you are here. You are cut into two parts, you do not take a decision. But there is a time you have to take this decision politically and the influence of large organisation is very large, as well as the influence of the mosques on the believers.<sup>456</sup>

Another participant said that most Muslims do not have voting rights and they are not interested in politics, because there are no opportunities to influence it anyway. It was reported that there are organisations that try to campaign for Muslims' German citizenship, but there was a huge outcry from the CDU, that Muslims want to undermine German society. One focus group participant remarked that the objective of those organisations is not to get German citizenship for Muslims, but to conserve Turkish culture.<sup>457</sup> The concept of Turkish culture was rejected by others in the focus group as well: people said that there was no such thing as Turkish society in Germany. The people are politically or religiously divided. The conflicts in Turkey, such as those between Turks and Kurds, are present in Germany as well.

To understand the current situation it is necessary to take the evolution of migration history into account, a discussant suggested.

If we look now at the people coming from Turkey, we see that they started with some religious background to found religious associations, mosque associations and those who didn't have a religious background discovered it later and have been politically active ... If we focus now on Muslims it is clear, that most Muslims spend a big share of their time being religiously active instead of being politically active in trade unions or in a party.<sup>458</sup>

The building of the mosque in which some of the focus groups took place describes through its own evolution a process of the steady establishment of the Muslim community in Hamburg. First it was a residential home, a young Muslim reflected. Slowly the residential home disappeared and it became an advice centre for housing, then a travel bureau for Turkey was opened, then offices were established and courses

---

<sup>456</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>457</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>458</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

started, as well private lessons. It was mentioned that that the head of the mosque has been a strong advocate for integration.<sup>459</sup>

The goal for the future is to live in freedom, and therefore freedom of religion must be guaranteed, a participant of a focus group said. The state must recognise the Muslim community and support it. This is seen as the only way a society of equality and freedom can come into existence.<sup>460</sup> A lack of political will to promote acceptance was named as an obstacle to integration, which was illustrated by an example from a focus group discussion. A group of young Muslims, mainly of mixed German-Moroccan backgrounds, is currently setting up a sports association in Hamburg:

I had the experience that discrimination is coming more from the side of the state than from the private side, there I had few problems. To give a current example, we founded a sports association and to get the sports association accepted by the Hamburg football association was not at all a problem and nobody said anything about our name, SV Muslime. The problem started when we got this letter from the police because of the registration as a foreigners' association. The law for associations is a law for German citizens and each association of foreigners must be specially recorded. We answered them and even filled out the questionnaire and made the remark in one of the extra fields, that we are not an association of foreigners, but that the majority of our members have German nationality and our board is German, therefore the association is German. Then they replied and wrote; "Thank you for writing and we notice your remarks. But we still need the addresses of your members to check if you are an association of foreigners." Those things are harsh discrimination in my opinion.<sup>461</sup>

#### 10.4 Participation in Voluntary Activities and Sports

The HHAP deals with participation in civil society<sup>462</sup> and sport also has its own chapter.<sup>463</sup> According to the Germany-wide volunteer survey of 2004, school and kindergarten, sport and physical training, and church and religion are the areas in which foreigners are most active.<sup>464</sup> This is in line with the results of the OSI survey.

---

<sup>459</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>460</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>461</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>462</sup> HHAP, p. 35.

<sup>463</sup> HHAP, p. 37.

<sup>464</sup> Thomas Gensicke, Sibylle Picot and Sabine Geiss, *Freiwilliges Engagement in Deutschland 1999–2004, Ergebnisse der repräsentativen Trenderhebung zu Ehrenamt, Freiwilligenarbeit und bürgerschaftlichem Engagement* (Volunteering in Germany, 1999–2004, results of the representative trend survey on volunteering, volunteerism and civic engagement), VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, 2006.

The participation of migrant youths in a “voluntary social or ecological year” (FÖJ) is very low.<sup>465</sup> To increase the participation and visibility of migrants in the voluntary sector the HHAP suggests raising awareness about the meaning of voluntary work in different cultures, by finding suitable forms to address those groups and by giving out prizes for voluntary activities of migrants. To increase access to volunteer networks, the Aktivoli-Network, an already existing network for voluntary work, needs to be opened for migrants. To increase the participation of youths with migrant backgrounds in those FÖJ, new concepts need to be developed by those who organise them. Additionally, a cooperative effort between the Department of Education and Vocational Training (BSB) and schools aims to increase advertisements for voluntary work and the FÖJ.<sup>466</sup>

Sport is seen as one of the most effective means of integration, yet information about existing activities and how to access clubs is said to be lacking among migrants. Children and young adults are generally active in local sports clubs. According to a survey of the Hamburg sports association only 294 are members in a migrants’ sports club, which represents 0.25 per cent of the membership aged under 18.<sup>467</sup> Compared with other regions in Germany migrant sports clubs do not play an important role in Hamburg.<sup>468</sup> Migrant women in particular are under-represented in sports clubs. To improve the situation, the HHAP calls for a study of the reasons why migrants are to a lesser extent participating as volunteer and professional trainers in sports associations.<sup>469</sup> The HHAP also provides that in cooperation with other partners, like mosques, gender-sensitive issues in sports shall be addressed to create fitting services for girls and women.<sup>470</sup> Information and knowledge about the structure of organised sports activities in Hamburg need to be improved as well. Here as well an interconnection between other actors, like integration centres and counselling, is envisaged. Sports mediators of migrant background would bring the message of sport closer to migrant communities. To increase participation, the HHAP suggests establishing low-level starting courses in kindergarten (Kita), schools and youth clubs.<sup>471</sup>

## 10.5 Naturalisation

The HHAP sees naturalisation and therefore access to German citizenship as the end of a migrant’s integration efforts.<sup>472</sup> The HHAP stresses that the immigration office

---

<sup>465</sup> In Germany this is a gap year taken to work as a volunteer in environmental projects or in the social sector. See <http://www.hamburg.de/foej/1380412/foej.html> (accessed 14 March 2010).

<sup>466</sup> HHAP, p. 36.

<sup>467</sup> HHAP, p. 75.

<sup>468</sup> HHAP, p. 75.

<sup>469</sup> HHAP, p. 38.

<sup>470</sup> HHAP, p. 38.

<sup>471</sup> HHAP, p. 38.

<sup>472</sup> HHAP, p. 42.

cannot influence the time it takes to get naturalisation, because third parties on the Federal level are involved.<sup>473</sup> Since November 2006, naturalisation is no longer only an administrative act, but an official ceremony takes place in the town hall each year.<sup>474</sup> Despite the objective of the HHAP to maintain the numbers of naturalisations at a high level and to increase the efforts to integrate new German citizens, the numbers are drastically decreasing.<sup>475</sup> In 2008 nearly 94,500 foreigners were naturalised nationwide. This is a decrease of 16 per cent in comparison with 2007. In Hamburg the decrease compared with 2007 is even higher, at 31 per cent.<sup>476</sup>

Reasons for the decreasing numbers are the prerequisites the applicants must fulfil. One main reason is seen as the language test introduced in 2007. Although 99 per cent successfully passed the test, it was seen as a psychological hurdle.<sup>477</sup> Along with fluent German knowledge, the applicants must provide seven other certificates. Those applicants who cannot care for themselves financially and depend on social welfare are excluded, as well as those who have been sentenced to more than 70 daily rates, a fine calculated on the daily rate of income, because of an offence.<sup>478</sup> Another reason is non-availability of dual citizenship. A study of the Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees concluded that the numbers of naturalisations could be doubled if the regulations allowed dual citizenship.<sup>479</sup> In a survey in 2002, 53 per cent declared their intention to naturalise within two years, if there were an opportunity of having dual citizenship; without this, only 24 per cent would naturalise.<sup>480</sup>

---

<sup>473</sup> HHAP, p. 42–43.

<sup>474</sup> HHAP, p. 43.

<sup>475</sup> HHAP, p. 43.

<sup>476</sup> Press release of the Federal Statistical Office No. 223, 12 June 2009.

<sup>477</sup> Migazin, “Dramatischer Einbruch bei Einbürgerungszahlen” (Dramatic fall in naturalisation figures), available at <http://www.migazin.de/2009/04/29/dramatischer-einbruch-bei-einburgerungszahlen> (accessed January 2010) (hereafter “Dramatischer Einbruch bei Einbürgerungszahlen”).

<sup>478</sup> “Dramatischer Einbruch bei Einbürgerungszahlen”.

<sup>479</sup> Susanne Worbs, “Die Einbürgerung von Ausländern in Deutschland” (Naturalisation of foreigners in Germany), BAMF Working Paper 17, available at [http://www.bamf.de/cln\\_180/n\\_n\\_432740/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Migration/Publikationen/Forschung/WorkingPapers/wp17-einbuengerung.templateId=raw.property=publicationFile.pdf/wp17-einbuengerung.pdf](http://www.bamf.de/cln_180/n_n_432740/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Migration/Publikationen/Forschung/WorkingPapers/wp17-einbuengerung.templateId=raw.property=publicationFile.pdf/wp17-einbuengerung.pdf) (accessed January 2010) (hereafter Worbs, “Die Einbürgerung von Ausländern in Deutschland”).

<sup>480</sup> Worbs, “Die Einbürgerung von Ausländern in Deutschland”, pp. 29, 33.

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

Media consumption, where the purpose is to understand and seek information about issues and events beyond an individual's immediate circle of family and friends, may be viewed as an act of citizenship, because it suggests concern about the local area, the city, the state and internationally. The media therefore both reflect and influence societal attitudes towards Muslims and shape the space in which policies and initiatives to support social, economic and political inclusion take place. A group will feel excluded if its members are invisible in the public space or where public discourse, including representation by the media, is stereotyped and distorted in a way that is demeaning.

This chapter begins by focusing on the OSI respondents' views of the representation of Muslims in the media and their impact on cohesion and inclusion. It then examines the type of media frequently used by the OSI respondents and refers to the broader research literature on minorities. It also draws on discussions of the media in focus groups and stakeholder interviews and the roundtable.

OSI respondents reported that the media portray Muslims negatively, as drug dealers, as oppressing women and as terrorists. Media produce "poison through pictures", as one Muslim interviewee dramatically formulated it.<sup>481</sup> There is a trend to cover crises, catastrophes and wars, as an expert of the workshop on media at the roundtable noted, but audiences are apparently growing tired of this. Such coverage, according to one participant, leaves little space for civil society, calling for "moderating journalists" who would bridge the gap between civil society and the media.<sup>482</sup>

The Centre for Turkey studies (ZfT) in Essen studied the media coverage of Islam in the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* and the daily *Westdeutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung* (WAZ) in 2000–01 and in 2003–04.<sup>483</sup> The most important topic was Muslims as terrorists; 22.5 per cent of all articles in WAZ and 31.3 per cent in *Der Spiegel* covered this topic. This negative atmosphere towards Islam is not only a product of media coverage, but reflects the public discourse presented by politics, the study concluded.<sup>484</sup> The ZfT analysed parliamentary debates connected with Islam in the same period. Highlighting the danger and the fear of Islam increased during the period 2003–04,

---

<sup>481</sup> OSI questionnaire, February–April 2008.

<sup>482</sup> OSI roundtable Hamburg, 4 June 2009.

<sup>483</sup> Kai Hafez and Carola Richter, "Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF" (The image of Islam in public broadcasting of ARD and ZDF), in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (eds) (26-27/2007): *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das Parlament* (Politics and Contemporary History. Supplement to the weekly newspaper *The Parliament*). Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei GmbH, Frankfurt/Main, 2007, pp. 40–46 (hereafter Hafez and Richter, "Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF").

<sup>484</sup> Hafez and Richter, "Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF".

and discussion about equality and the positive features of Islam became less frequent. The study decided that the increased political discussion about problematic developments in Islam was mirrored in the media.<sup>485</sup> An older Muslim woman in the focus group agreed with this view:

In the past, one was slowly accepted with a headscarf, but since 2001 and those media stories it really became worse. A long time ago it had been bad in the beginning, then it became better and you could find work with a headscarf, you got tolerated and accepted, but since 2001 and those bad news in the media, since the war in Iraq, it really worsened.<sup>486</sup>

These negative views of Islam in Hamburg are supported by a study coming from the office of Ms Güclü, at that time deputy in the Hamburg Citizenry, representing the GAL. The office collected print media reports on Muslims in Hamburg for two years (2004–05) and categorised them according to negative images and best practices.<sup>487</sup> The study found 82 per cent negative news in two years; 16 per cent were positive and 2 per cent could not be classified.<sup>488</sup> There is not only a negative portrayal of Muslims and religion, but of social status in combination with ethnicity and the bad images of some local areas as well. One Muslim interviewee drew attention to youth imitating video scenes from MTV, with its idealised images of “Gangstas”, of “my hood” or “my street”, and where appearance and skin colour often matter in the social interactions depicted.<sup>489</sup>

Non-Muslims saw that there could be a positive bridging function of the media, whereby the press should nourish prejudices less and steer clear of putting all social contacts in a racial context. Positive tendencies were stressed in the ZfT study as well, which noted that more journalists tried to differentiate between the Islamists in the Near East and Muslim neighbours. In *WAZ*, for example, generalising comments about Islam have decreased since 9/11. Some of the media have tried to establish a positive counter-discourse, which show Muslims in other, positive roles, the study says.<sup>490</sup>

During the roundtable working group on the media, the role of journalists was intensively discussed. While some participants called for positive media coverage of

<sup>485</sup> Hafez and Richter, “Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF”.

<sup>486</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>487</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

<sup>488</sup> OSI stakeholder interview, March 2008.

<sup>489</sup> See Andreas Hieronymus, “Discovering Whiteness. Young Adults and Their Understanding of Racism”, in Thomas Geisen and Christine Riegel, *Jugend, Partizipation und Migration. Orientierungen im Kontext von Integration und Ausgrenzung* (Youth, participation and migration. Orientations in the context of inclusion and exclusion), VS-Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2007.

<sup>490</sup> Susanne Steiger, “Düstere Aussichten: Islam in den Medien” (Gloomy outlook: Islam in the media), *Medien Monitor* online magazine, available at <http://www.medien-monitor.com/Islamberichterstattu.333.0.html> (accessed January 2010).



events where Muslims and migrants were involved, other argued that the primary task of journalists was “to probe the wounds” and report events which went wrong.<sup>491</sup> A journalist, participating in the roundtable, complained that she did not want only to be contacted when there was a demonstration in solidarity for Palestine, but for other reasons as well. She thought that there was a lack of knowledge on how to do public relations work in the Muslim organisations. A best practice was reported from the UK, where migrant organisations developed a handbook on Muslim terminology for British journalists, although it was not accepted because the journalists felt patronised. However, through training, the migrant organisations learnt how to deal with the British media professionally and they succeeded in getting pieces on their topics published.<sup>492</sup> Such handbooks also exist in Germany, like *The Brown Mob (Der braune Mob)*, which raises awareness about how to speak about people of colour.<sup>493</sup>

The working group on media at the roundtable highlighted the under-representation of Muslims and migrants in the media and media-related infrastructure such as the local media bodies. Participants said that those media bodies already represent minorities and that problems arise more on a practical level. One of these problems is that Muslims lack a legal entity like the Christian churches and therefore are not eligible for a seat on the Broadcasting Commission. Experience of Muslim and migrant journalists shows, according to the workshop participants, that which topics are represented in the media depends on the people participating and if Muslims and migrants are there, their topics are included in the media coverage.<sup>494</sup>

### 11.1 Media Use by Muslims

In 2007 the media commission of the public television stations ARD and ZDF made the first nationwide survey about the use of electronic media among people with a migrant background living in Germany. The survey showed that migrants are not a homogeneous group when using media, and therefore there is a need for a differentiated analysis of everyday media use according to ethnic groups. No pronounced parallel media usage is reported and all migrant groups are reached by German media, the study reported. Barriers do exist in some ethnic and older age

<sup>491</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>492</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>493</sup> See Informationen für Journalisten zu diskriminierungsfreier Sprache, “Schwarzafrika/Schwarzafrikaner/Schwarzafrikanisch” (Information for journalists about non-discriminatory language, “Black Africa / Black African”), available at [http://www.derbraunemob.de/shared/download/warum\\_nicht\\_schwarzafrikaner.pdf](http://www.derbraunemob.de/shared/download/warum_nicht_schwarzafrikaner.pdf) (accessed January 2010); Informationen für Journalisten zu diskriminierungsfreier Sprache, “Es gibt keine Farbigen” (Information for journalists about non-discriminatory language, “There are no “coloured”), available at [http://www.derbraunemob.de/shared/download/warum\\_keine\\_farbigen.pdf](http://www.derbraunemob.de/shared/download/warum_keine_farbigen.pdf) (accessed January 2010).

<sup>494</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

groups, mainly related to the knowledge of German. The importance of mother-tongue media differs among ethnic groups and is related to language skills, the length of the period they have been living in Germany and the availability of mother-tongue programmes. Mother-tongue programming is seen by the study as a natural bridge between the culture of origin and Germany.<sup>495</sup> This view is confirmed by the OSI research. Of course gossiping plays an important role for Muslims and non-Muslims in getting news about the local neighbourhood, as well as posters and flyers on the street.

Looking at the specific media, a variety of German and mother tongue media are used by Muslims and non-Muslims.

## Radio

The study of the media commission concluded that radio is less important among migrants than among Germans, but public radio stations do reach migrants. Migrants use radio to a lesser extent because new mother-tongue TV programmes became available to the Turkish migrants in 2002 and television as an everyday medium plays a more important role in south European countries.<sup>496</sup> In the OSI respondents' answers, German private radio stations seem to be used for getting information about the local area, while public radio stations are more used to get information about the city or Germany.

## Newspapers

According to the study of the media commission, 40 per cent of migrants regularly read daily newspapers,<sup>497</sup> and German ones more often than mother-tongue ones. Turkish migrants read mother-tongue newspapers the most. An older Muslim man confirmed this in one of the focus groups.

Everybody knows that we are less informed about what is happening in this country. We, and that is a pity, do not read daily newspapers. We read daily newspapers, but only in the mother tongue. There are not a lot of migrants who buy German newspapers.<sup>498</sup>

---

<sup>495</sup> ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission, *Migranten und Medien 2007. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Studie der ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission*, 2007 (ARD / ZDF-Media Committee, migrants and media 2007. Results of a representative study of the ARD / ZDF-Media Committee, 2007) (hereafter ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission 2007).

<sup>496</sup> ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission 2007. Windgasse, Thomas. "Die Radionutzung der Migranten im Kontext anderer Medien – Ergebnisse der Repräsentativstudien 2002 und 2004 im Auftrag des WDR" (Radio consumption of migrants in the context of other media – results of the representative study of 2002 and 2004 on behalf of the WDR). *Media Perspektiven* 3/2007, pp. 153–161.

<sup>497</sup> ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission 2007.

<sup>498</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.



Younger Muslims do read German newspapers, but they are alienated by them, because of the coverage of Islam, especially by the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*, which was named as the “central organ of Islamophobia”. One young Muslim man recalled an experience:

A journalist ... asked me, what do Muslims think about a specific article. I told him, “Go to the next mosque and ask how many people read this article at all.” They [Muslims] rather think, “What I do not know can't bother me.” They are not interested in it, because the target group of those newspapers are not Muslims. This can be an advantage or a disadvantage and the people say, “Let them write what they want,” but this is not really a political attitude.<sup>499</sup>

Participants of the workshop on the media at the roundtable stressed that the existing Muslim and migrant press themselves lack openness and sensitivity towards other communities and the German public.<sup>500</sup>

## Television

According to the media commission, television and the internet are used to the same extent by migrants and Germans, but for migrants television is the leading medium and is primarily used for entertainment. Programmes in the mother tongue are as important as films and serials on German TV. The public TV stations reach migrant audiences to a lesser extent than the German audience, but they do form part of media usage and have a good image because they offer a high volume of information, the study said.<sup>501</sup> A male focus group participant highlighted the difference in television usage between younger and older Muslims:

If I look at my parents, for years they tried to con me into getting a dish antenna, so that I can watch Turkish news. I say to myself, I would be really happy if I had the time to watch German news, to know what is happening in this country. But it is like that, they watch Turkish TV, Turkish news and they are better informed about the politics in the country of origin than about the politics in this country. That is a question of different generations, “What am I interested in?” A lot of young people have little or no interest at all in politics. You don't need to be a Muslim. The older ones are interested in politics, but not in German politics and that's why they are not active here. There is a difference in the generations.<sup>502</sup>

---

<sup>499</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>500</sup> OSI roundtable, Hamburg, 4 June 2009.

<sup>501</sup> ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission 2007.

<sup>502</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

## Internet

The internet is an important source of information and a communication medium for younger Muslims. Muslims do not use the internet differently from non-Muslims. They visit a range of websites, often the online version of newspapers or special interests. There was only one Muslim-related website mentioned in the OSI survey and that was the website of the Association of Islamic Communities in Northern Germany, which presents their communities without any external links to other Muslim websites.

There is a broad variety of Muslim-related websites accessible, for example through the largest Hamburg newspaper, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, where advertisements for Muslim dating services and links to other services for the Muslim community are presented. Others provide services for timing in Ramadan, listings of halal restaurants, Muslim doctors, lawyers and hairdressers. Templates for inviting the local police to the mosque, applications to get children exempted from swimming classes (with a recommendation to teach Muslim children swimming and to let them participate as much as possible in school outings and sports classes<sup>503</sup>) can be found, but these were not among the sites listed by interviewees.

## People

One important source of getting information about the different areas is the people themselves. This is neglected in the other media studies conducted in this field. The role of people as media, communicating information about the different realms of everyday lives, is important especially when you consider the role of coffee houses and mosques in the Muslim community. The answers of the interviewees showed a range of social interactions serving to distribute locally generated information into informal information channels gathering local news, about the neighbourhood, about the city and about Germany.

## Other

The interviewees mentioned a variety of other highly localised information sources for the local area and the city. These included a local office for redevelopment and housing, mosque noticeboards and schools.

A young Muslim man of German-Moroccan descent said:

I got interested in politics through one teacher in the social relations class. He gave us homework. We had to watch “Tagesschau” [the main news on public TV] and had to read a specific newspaper. In class we then had to report about

---

<sup>503</sup> Available at <http://www.muslimmarkt.de/Mustertext/muslim-mustertext.htm> (accessed 16 October 2008).

the latest news. That's how I got used to watching news and reading newspaper.  
If the teacher hadn't forced it as homework none of us would have done it.<sup>504</sup>

The working group on media at the roundtable controversially discussed the need of political intervention by the Senate of Hamburg to increase the number of Muslim and migrant trainees in journalism training.<sup>505</sup> It was suggested by journalists that handbooks on Muslim and migrant issues are easily written and can be easily included in the curriculum. Muslims and migrants need to be discovered as readers and media users, and especially when it comes to local news topics which are relevant for Muslims and migrants and can be transmitted to the communities. Representatives of the Senate emphasised their restricted mandate in intervening in media education and welcomed a multi-citizen forum on media to negotiate the different needs and learn from each other.<sup>506</sup>

## 11.2 Images of Muslims in the Media

The representation of Islam and Muslims by media experts was much disputed in the focus group with young Muslim men and women. Some of them saw the fear of Islamisation as a product of the media. In their eyes media produce fear, which is not real, but the feelings that are hurt are real. For the young focus group participants the war in Iraq was the turning point. The demonisation of Islam in the media started then, headscarf issues came up and the people became sensitive. On the one hand, people do not want to see headscarves or realise that women with headscarves exist; on the other hand, if they are noticeable in public, they are hit on the head, a young Muslim woman said. This bias was articulated several times in the discussion in different forms.

A young participant described a real expert on Islam as

somebody where you can see that he has a very good knowledge, somebody you can refer to and who himself refers to Qur'an and to the Suna and who puts it into practice.<sup>507</sup>

A young Muslim woman considered that there were too few regulations for the media, and the media did not realistically and truthfully enlighten their audiences, but looked at the quotas and their sales numbers, which are more important. In her eyes it was more profitable to stir things up a bit and let people feel their prejudices were confirmed.<sup>508</sup> Another participant asked who is interested in a Muslim who is fully integrated, who is a teacher and wants to make his living. People only want to have

---

<sup>504</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>505</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>506</sup> OSI roundtable, June 2009.

<sup>507</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>508</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

news, big news, something which is exciting. In relation to Islam the wrong people always get invited to speak. Those who claim to have the greatest knowledge about Islam turn out to be those with the least knowledge.<sup>509</sup>

While the OSI research was being conducted, the European Football Championship was taking place and the focus group with young Muslims was scheduled shortly before Germany played against Turkey in the semi-final. After the game one of the focus group participants received reports from young Muslims about their experiences during the game. Among them was this one from a German Muslim:

My (German-Turkish) son reported racist insults in the aftermath of the European semifinal in his primary school (4th grade), like “Luckily the Turks lost” (German boy), “Those swine Turks” (Greek boy), “Turks are asocial” (Polish boy), “Turks are assholes” (German boy). Although there are efforts from the official side and more positive and respectful coverage in the media, there is latent racism (among parents) and among children on the occasion of such events coming to daylight. Although I would see the game and the coverage more positive, for the image of the “Deutschländer”<sup>510</sup> there is still a lot to do.<sup>511</sup>

The difficulty of which side to take during the match was described in the focus group:

If you, during the European Championship, somehow say: “I don't care who wins. I would be happy for both, I would celebrate with both of them,” then immediately people said, “Yeah, yeah those suck-ups,” and when you say, “I want Turkey to win,” then people said, “Yeah, yeah, being a German citizen but supporting Turkey.”<sup>512</sup>

Others reported that they were called nationalists or traitors. Another participant said that he was confronted with the following generalisation:

Those eleven football players, they represent Turkey, those eleven are aggressive and that's why all the Turks are aggressive.<sup>513</sup>

At the end of the focus group one of the active members of the Muslim community told the story of a football game he had organised with pastors. He ended his story with an idea he had:

I said to the adviser for Islam of the Northern Elbian Church, “Let us organise a tournament between pastors and imams in Hamburg,” and I thought, perhaps

---

<sup>509</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>510</sup> Self-description of young people with a migrant background from Turkey, describing the fact that they are born in Germany.

<sup>511</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>512</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

<sup>513</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

we can develop this into a championship of the religious communities. We can get the rabbis and the Hindus and the Buddhists and the Bahai and the Armenians. Why not? It would be funny on the one hand and on the other hand it would attract media attention.<sup>514</sup>

---

<sup>514</sup> OSI focus group, June 2008.

## 12. CONCLUSION

Hamburg, with its long history of immigration, is today home to diverse Muslim communities. This reflects its tradition as a refuge for cultural and religious minorities. The tradition of inter-religious dialogue was established long before the events of 9/11, whose consequence has been a certain amount of adverse publicity for Hamburg. While the acceptance and inclusion of Muslims vary across the city's different districts, Muslim communities have been able to develop and have benefited from the population's familiarity with diversity. A comparatively high number of Muslim associations and organisations provide a broad range of religious facilities, including one of the most beautiful mosques in Germany.

The city administration in Hamburg has made significant efforts to include Muslims and Muslim organisations in policy debates and to support their participation in the society and its institutions. On the level of the Hamburg administration, the HHAP in 2006 was a far-reaching step with ambitious goals. The HHAP promotes interculturalism, stressing the need for mutual intercultural learning within the whole society. It switches the perspective from looking at migrants' deficits to their potential and their intercultural competencies to enrich society. The HHAP has sections on each key area, including education, employment, housing and security. However, in practical terms it could go further. Its provisions are, for the most part, not directives but rather encouragements; it calls for further research and greater cooperation, but lacks the mechanisms to implement or enforce these measures. Importantly, it does include a monitoring function, and a first round of assessment has been completed.

The OSI study about Muslims in the three neighbourhoods in the centre of Hamburg has looked in depth into a wide range of aspects of Muslims' everyday lives. This focus on the district of Hamburg-Mitte offers new insights and for the first time portrays the city from the perspective of its Muslim population. The HHAP also calls attention to the lack of data, especially from the perspective of migrants, which could inform politics and the administration about how best to tailor policy. The HHAP monitoring process has a strong component of measuring output to feed into the new budgeting system of the city, and this information is undoubtedly necessary. However, attention to more nuanced perspectives on the social relationships within the city should complement this quantitative data, to give a balanced view of the integration process.

Overwhelmingly, the OSI data portray the needs and priorities of Hamburg's Muslim communities as similar to those of other residents. Like their neighbours, Muslims in Hamburg are concerned about the quality of education in schools, the safety and cleanliness of their streets, the availability and cost of health care. The Muslims participating in the OSI survey indicated both a developed sense of belonging to Hamburg and a high degree of religious observance; nevertheless, they reported that there is little recognition of a German, Muslim identity in the mainstream.

The OSI research also indicates widespread perceptions of discrimination in Hamburg. There is evidence of a high level of discrimination against Muslims, especially in

education, but also in other areas, on the grounds of their perceived religious affiliation, which adds to pre-existing ethnic discrimination against “Turks”. The impact of discrimination on self-esteem means that it has an even greater impact when it takes place in the educational system. The HHAP also does not adequately address the role of discrimination as an obstacle to integration. Instead, it focuses on language acquisition as a means to foster full access to society. The effects of exclusionary processes need to be clearly recognised so that appropriate measures can be taken to address these barriers.

Rising Islamophobic attitudes in society have added another strike against people whose origins are in a country with a Muslim majority. Whereas racist discrimination against foreigners was – and still is – widely perceived to take place on the fringes of German society<sup>515</sup> and is considered a problem of right-wing extremism, discrimination against Muslims has to a certain extent become socially acceptable, especially where visible expressions of religious affiliation are concerned, like women’s headscarves, prayers at public places like school or mosque-building sites, as currently in Cologne.

The city administration of Hamburg has a long-established dialogue with the SCHURA, including the different strands of Muslim communities. This umbrella organisation is especially important given Islam’s structural differences from Christianity, which makes it very hard for the different groups to nominate one single dialogue partner representing all Muslims in the country.<sup>516</sup> National and local officials should take this non-hierarchical structure into account when initiating discussions with Muslim communities.

The Muslim population of Hamburg is diverse and the OSI research reveals a range of experiences, attitudes and opinions. The fact that the Muslim participants indicated a stronger relationship with the city than with Germany as a whole suggests that the local administration’s efforts to enhance integration are having a positive effect, but also that at a national level there are still major obstacles to be overcome. The role of religion in the public sphere is still an area where there is a struggle to find a common understanding, in which Muslims are not forced to choose between religious expression and integration.

---

<sup>515</sup> Several recent national and international publications are challenging this perception by locating racist attitudes in all parts (including institutions) of German society.

<sup>516</sup> Even after the complicated process of forming one cooperation council (*Kooperationsrat*), which all big organisations in the country accept as their spokesperson, the German officials rejected their ability to speak for the majority of Muslims, because their registered members make up only a minority percentage of all Muslims in the country. What was not taken into account was the reluctance of Muslims to register as members of an association and the actual far bigger number of believers using the facilities of the Muslim associations, as well as the estimated number of so-called Muslims in the country, counting everybody originating from a Muslim country, many of whom have no Muslim affiliation.



## 13. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are aimed at local and national policymakers, Muslim communities and civil-society organisations. They reflect key findings from the report and address the need for further engagement by Hamburg 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 Hamburg offers a number of very positive practices on inclusion of its diverse communities, the report calls for policies to tackle socio-economic disadvantage and minority inclusion, so as to ensure that all groups that make up the diverse population of the city are consulted and that their specific needs are understood and accommodated.

### 13.1 Education

#### 13.1.1 Muslim and migrant parents

1. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for School and Vocational Training, Chamber of Parents (*Elternkammer*) and independent parents' associations should continue, extend and permanently establish innovative projects in working with Muslim and migrant parents, such as the parents café in Wilhelmsburg, which combines an informal social gathering with information about the education system.<sup>517</sup> The associations carrying out the work with parents should be truly independent. Barriers in seeking a greater participation from migrant and Muslim parents, such as the official and very formal procedures when forming parent committees, should be explored by the Department for School and Vocational Training.
2. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for School and Vocational Training and other local initiatives should support schools in opening up to the local Muslim and migrant communities in the upcoming regional education conferences (*Bildungskonferenzen*) starting in 2010 to better develop the new local area schools (*Stadtteilschulen*) as open learning spaces and places of interaction for all. Active Muslim and migrant teachers and parents should be supported as mediators with the local Muslim and migrant communities.

#### 13.1.2 Evidence-based research and intercultural training

3. The Senate of Hamburg and the Department for School and Vocational Training should ensure that issues related to religious and cultural stereotyping

---

<sup>517</sup> See the website of the Gymnasium Kirchdof/Wilhelmsburg at <http://www.kiwi.hamburg.de/index.php/article/detail/2391> (accessed January 2010).



and discrimination are addressed as part of existing language support and teacher training.

4. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Institute for Teacher Education and School Development (LI) should consider a review of existing compulsory modules on cultural diversity in schools to ensure that all training includes basic knowledge about the AGG of 2006 focused on the effects of religious and cultural discrimination.
5. The Senate of Hamburg and the Department for School and Vocational Training should commission research studies on Hamburg's Muslim and migrant communities, their influences and preferences on educational decisions and the choice of schools for pupils that seek to obtain a better understanding of the influences of diverse ethnic backgrounds, language competencies and level of qualifications for transition into the labour market. The studies should explore and identify initiatives currently practised in schools in Hamburg and other cities in Germany with a view to offering them as best practices in an effort to challenge cultural and religious prejudice. The results of such studies should be encouraged to become part of teaching practices.

### 13.1.3 Diversity in schooling

6. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the relevant actors, such as the Department for School and Vocational Training, the Central Office for Integration and Civil Society, the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt) and the human resources department are encouraged to take the lead in developing a strategic diversity plan in the educational sector in Hamburg, with the objective of increasing the personnel with Muslim and migrant backgrounds in day-care facilities, kindergartens, pre-schools, schools, universities and adult education, according to their percentage in the population.

### 13.1.4 Monitoring the intercultural expansion of the education sector

7. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for School and Vocational Training should monitor the effects of the change from a three-strand to a two-strand educational system, currently implemented, with a particular view of the number of students in the classes and of the progress of students and teachers, and towards determining if the investments made in the educational system affect the teachers' working time model.

## 13.2 Employment

### 13.2.1 Local alliance for employment of Muslims and migrants

8. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with business enterprises in Hamburg, including trade unions, the labour agencies (*Agentur für Arbeit*, *Jobcenter*, *team.arbeit.hamburg*), the chambers (*Handelskammer*, *Handwerkskammer*), associations of entrepreneurs, departments (*Behörden*), representatives of Muslim NGOs, migrant enterprises and other relevant actors, such as the district assemblies (*Bezirksversammlungen*), should initiate local alliances for employment (*lokale Beschäftigungsbündnisse*) with the objective of increasing the employment of Muslim and migrant workers. This should include: a revision of recruitment procedures; public awareness-raising; the development of clear and transparent criteria for a public award scheme for public- and private-sector organisations that have instigated positive minority representation in their workforce; training; and regulations on quotas of employees in the public services and in private enterprises.

### 13.2.2 Monitoring the effects of the local alliance for employment

9. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the other actors of the local alliance for employment should establish a body which monitors and evaluates the effects of the objectives developed by the local alliance for employment, with a view to increasing Muslim and migrant economic integration. This should include, among other things: the monitoring of recruitment procedures; the criteria for the public award scheme; the quotas of employees in the public services and in private enterprises; and the monitoring of non-discriminatory procedures for the award of public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts (EU directives 2004-18-EG, 2004-17-EG).

### 13.2.3 Qualifying training for employed and unemployed Muslims and migrants

10. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales*), the labour agencies (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*, *Jobcenter*, *team.arbeit.hamburg*), employers and trade unions should provide qualifying training on the job for employees, which meets the needs of Muslim and migrant workers.

### 13.2.4 Strengthening the migrant economy

11. The Hamburg Senate and relevant actors such as the Department for Urban Planning and Environment, the Department for the Management of Social

Space and the Management of Transition (*Sozialraummanagement, Übergangsmanagement*) in the Office for the Hamburg-Mitte District should strengthen the migrant economy (migrants as employers and those who provide training on the job) at the local and national level through providing credits and supporting local socio-spatial measures in urban planning.

### 13.2.5 Recognition of school-leaving certificates, professional qualifications and academic titles earned outside Germany

12. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales*), the Commission on Federal and Länder Affairs (*Bund-Länder-Kommission*), the chambers (*Handelskammer, Handwerkskammer*), the Hamburg Department for Economy and Labour, the Department for School and Vocational Training, the advisory board on integration and all other relevant bodies should review existing lists of recognised school-leaving certificates, professional qualifications and academic titles earned outside Germany and establish transparent criteria and easy procedures for their recognition, which are accepted by employers.

## 13.3 Housing

### 13.3.1 Roundtable on housing for Muslims and migrants

13. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for Urban Planning and Environment (*Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt*), the Anti-discrimination Body (*Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt*) should encourage better coordination between housing companies and diverse Muslim representative organisations (e.g. the SCHURA) in Hamburg that will improve relations between housing companies and Muslim tenants and offer a forum to discuss opportunities and limitations in social housing schemes. A complaint mechanism for housing questions should be established.

### 13.3.2 Monitoring the effects of redevelopment programmes on Muslim and migrant populations

14. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for Urban Planning and Environment, the Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition (*Sozialraummanagement, Übergangsmanagement*) in the Office for the Hamburg-Mitte District and possible other actors should evaluate the effects of regeneration and redevelopment programmes on the distribution of the Muslim population in the city and should find ways to minimise the negative effects of those programmes for Muslim and migrant communities.

### 13.3.3 Representation of Muslims and migrants in the urban planning process

15. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for Urban Planning and Environment, the Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition and other relevant actors are encouraged to foster dialogue with local mosques and Muslim communities to increase the participation of Muslim representatives in urban planning processes. Such dialogue could also contribute to the need for a demographic balance in the number of Muslim residents remaining in the centre of the city and those who are moving to the outskirts of the city due to rising rent prices.

## 13.4 Health and Social Services

### 13.4.1 Equal access to the health-care system

16. The Senate of Hamburg and the Department for Social, Family, Public Health and Consumer Protection and other responsible institutions should enforce the existing legal framework (§ 88 Abs. 2 AufenthG [related to doctors, protecting the relationship to the patient], § 203 StGB [legal requirement concerning confidential medical communication], §§ 223, 13 and § 323c StGB [malicious injury through medical treatment, failure to assist a person in danger])<sup>518</sup> for people without residence permits and review the scope of health care offered to people without residence permits, with a view to improving the level of and access to adequate health-care services.

### 13.4.2 Ethno-medical training and intercultural mediators

17. The Senate of Hamburg, the Department for Social, Family, Public Health and Consumer Protection, the Association for Doctors in the Health Systems (*Kassenärztliche Vereinigung*) and other relevant actors should provide training on ethno-medical approaches for practitioners working in areas with a high population of migrants and Muslims.
18. Practitioners and hospitals should be encouraged by the Senate of Hamburg and other actors to actively seek existing training projects or initiatives on

---

<sup>518</sup> Katholisches Forum, “Leben in der Illegalität”: Stellungnahme zum Bericht des Bundesministeriums des Innern zum Prüfauftrag “Illegalität” (Catholic Forum, “Living in Illegality”, position paper on the report of the Federal Ministry of the Interior on the “illegality” audit) aus der Koalitionsvereinbarung vom 11 November 2005 (from coalition treaty 11 November 2005), Kapitel VIII 1.2 Illegal aufhältige Migranten in Deutschland – Datenlage, Rechtslage, Handlungsoptionen (Chapter VIII 1.2 Illegally residing immigrants in Germany – Data availability, rights, options for action), February 2007, available at <http://www.forum-illegalitaet.de/StellungnahmeBMI-Bericht-Forum.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

health affairs conducted by Muslim communities and then integrate them with their regular funding.

19. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for Social, Family, Public Health and Consumer Protection should encourage all hospital managements in Hamburg to recruit specific intercultural mediators in the provision of culturally-sensitive health care, especially for Muslim and ethnic-minority patients in hospitals and homes for elderly people. One such good practice is the University Hospital Eppendorf (UKE).

### 13.4.3 Diversity in local health centres

20. The Senate of Hamburg, the Department for Social, Family, Public Health and Consumer Protection, the Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition and other relevant actors in the districts should identify good examples in health-care provision, such as the health centre in St Pauli, which is seen to be successfully offering appropriate health service delivery for the local population. Such models can be disseminated and established in other areas with particular emphasis on recruiting qualified multilingual practitioners with Muslim and other culturally diverse backgrounds.

### 13.4.4 Monitoring effects of health reforms on Muslim and migrant populations

21. The Senate of Hamburg, the Department for Social, Family, Public Health and Consumer Protection and other relevant actors should monitor the effects of the recent reforms in the Federal health-care systems on the socio-economically disadvantaged population in Hamburg-Mitte, including specific groups like Muslims and migrants, in order to determine the impact of the reforms on service delivery, especially psycho-social services in the mother tongue.

## 13.5 Policing

### 13.5.1 Data collection

22. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department of the Interior in Hamburg, the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt), the Ombudsman for data protection and specialised NGOs should consider, on the basis of the recommendation of the German Institute for Human Rights,

collecting data on minority groups, specifically Muslim, in order to understand the level of trust and concerns about the criminal justice system.<sup>519</sup>

### 13.5.2 Diversity in policing

23. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department of the Interior in Hamburg should explore opportunities to facilitate an increase in multilingual officers in the police force and identify barriers hampering the access of Muslims and migrants into the police force. To facilitate this process an exchange of best practices with police forces from other EU countries is encouraged.
24. The Senate of Hamburg and the Department of the Interior should explore opportunities for providing more well-trained multilingual visible neighbourhood police officers (BUNABE) in areas with a high proportion of Muslim and migrant residents. Multi-ethnic and religious officers are encouraged to be part of BUNABE.

### 13.5.3 Introducing compulsory intercultural police training

25. The Hamburg Senate in cooperation with police training institutions should consider including compulsory intercultural training modules which offer linguistic, cultural and religious traditions of minority communities in Hamburg as part of the curriculum of the police academy, in order to build good community relations and provide effective policing.

### 13.5.4 Monitoring through an independent police complaints commission

26. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department of the Interior and the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt) should establish an independent police complaints commission, as suggested by Amnesty International, with a general complaints procedure and an ombudsman within the police force, to deal with complaints and to monitor the improvement of the services of the police.<sup>520</sup>

---

<sup>519</sup> Protokoll: Fachgespräch des Deutschen Instituts für Menschenrechte. Datenerhebung zum Erweis ethnischer Diskriminierung (Minutes: expert meeting at the German Institute for Human Rights. Data collection for a demonstration of ethnic discrimination), 12 June 2008, typescript.

<sup>520</sup> Amnesty International, “Amnesty International fordert die Stelle eines Polizeibeauftragten” (Amnesty International calls for an ombudsperson for the police), available at <http://www.ai-hamburg.de/images/stories/pressemitteilungen/presseerklaerung%20polizeigewalt-hamburg.pdf> (accessed January 2010).

### 13.5.5 Coordination mechanisms

27. The Senate of Hamburg is encouraged to include the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt) in the inter-administrative steering group that meets to discuss local policing issues.

## 13.6 Media

### 13.6.1 Multi-citizen forums

28. The Hamburg Senate, Muslim and migrant representative organisations, media representatives and advertising companies should establish a regular forum to discuss topics such as diversity and anti-discrimination in order to place them on the political agenda and to monitor their effects on the media. Public and private media sectors could develop an award scheme that rewards organisations for balanced media coverage.

### 13.6.2 Training for Muslim and migrant NGOs

29. This forum should initiate the joint training of journalists, Muslim and migrant NGOs, with a focus on professional media work (PR management) and writing a handbook on language sensibility.

### 13.6.3 Monitoring diversity

30. The Hamburg Senate should support publishing houses, media enterprises and the *Landesmedienanstalt* of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein to agree on steps to support young Muslim and migrant journalists, to achieve and guarantee an appropriate presentation of Muslims and migrants at all levels of the media infrastructure. This should be monitored by the independent monitoring body established by the media forum.

## 13.7 Muslim and migrant organisations

### 13.7.1 Action against discrimination

31. Muslim and migrant organisations should take steps towards stronger engagement against discrimination and building better networks with local politics and the respective NGOs in order to address this issue. Mosques and community centres that offer social counselling should consider training counsellors and social workers on how to recognise and deal with discrimination, including basic knowledge about the context in which the AGG operates.
32. The SCHURA and other migrant organisations in cooperation with the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt) and the Department for School



and Vocational Training are encouraged to develop a curriculum on how human rights-based approaches to equal treatment can be implemented in schools, universities, institutions of adult education, mosques and organisations.

### 13.7.2 Improving networking

33. The representatives of active local Muslim and migrant organisations should encourage other Muslim or migrant organisations not yet active in the field to improve their networking with respective NGOs of different backgrounds, especially concerning young people, education and anti-discrimination.
34. Muslim and minority organisations should take steps to encourage residents towards heightened engagement in district and city politics in order to get better participation in decision-making and networking.

### 13.7.3 Addressing the general public

35. Muslim and migrant organisations should make information events such as the open mosque days more public. Muslim organisations should consider opening up the mosque as a general community and information centre for the local neighbourhood.
36. Muslim organisations in Hamburg should consider joint declarations on the basis of a human rights approach on contested social and political issues, following the example of a declaration by seven Muslim organisations in Berlin on Islamophobia and homophobia. Those declarations should be communicated throughout the city and beyond, and particularly in the Muslim communities.

## 13.8 District administration

### 13.8.1 Preventing and tackling discrimination

37. The Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition (*Sozialraummanagement, Übergangsmanagement*) in the Office for the Hamburg-Mitte District, in cooperation with the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt) and other actors, should ensure that anti-discrimination counselling by independent NGOs is provided in local neighbourhood centres. Testing squads could be established and trained to test the district's public and private services so as to make the actual level of discrimination in the city visible.



### 13.8.2 Local mentoring programmes

38. The Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition in the Office for the Hamburg-Mitte District, in cooperation with other actors, should create and support more mentoring programmes for youths of migrant backgrounds, in order to foster greater participation in society by identifying specific role models as mentors and mediators. This could include local campaigns celebrating the diversity of Hamburg-Mitte, pointing out the advantages of a diversity of communities, that bring together people from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds as well as residents with various national and social origins and stand as an example of fruitful cohabitation.

### 13.8.3 Mainstreaming Muslims

39. The Department for the Management of Social Space and the Management of Transition in the Office for the Hamburg-Mitte District, in cooperation with other actors, should mainstream Muslims' views so as to incorporate them in district planning and projects – with an emphasis on youth projects – by acknowledging and building on their specific access to the whole Muslim community; working with community groups and organisations including imams and other religious leaders in, for example, anti-violence and drug programmes or HIV/AIDS prevention. Existing commercial and non-commercial services for young people should be reviewed, with the objective of improvement and to explore opportunities for young Muslims to organise sports and youth associations free of charge

## 13.9 Senate and Citizenry

### 13.9.1 Tackling discrimination in Hamburg

40. The Hamburg Citizenry is encouraged to make an all-party declaration of their purpose to create an environment free of discrimination for the whole population of Hamburg. To support this, the Hamburg Senate and the Citizenry are encouraged to become members of the X Coalition, “Cities against Racism”. The Hamburg Senate and the individual Senators as well as the First Mayor of Hamburg should recognise the importance of symbolic actions and statements on inclusion and take up opportunities for making them. This includes raising awareness about anti-discrimination laws, accompanied by support (including access to legal advice) for those seeking redress against religious discrimination.
41. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Department for Social, Family, Public Health, and Consumer Protection together with the Hamburg Department of Justice should link all relevant administrative bodies responsible for the implementation of integration policies and the fight against

discrimination in all forms, including the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt), which should be provided with sufficient human and financial resources and other support by the Senate of Hamburg for creating a central unit where cases of anti Muslim and anti-migrant discrimination are gathered and documented. The anti-discrimination body at the Federal level should consider integrating this into their existing research and publications.

42. The Senate of Hamburg in cooperation with the Justice Administration of Hamburg, the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt) and other relevant actors should establish transparent and accessible complaint procedures and qualitative indicators for a monitoring system. Special focus should be placed on multiple discrimination faced by distinct ethnic and religious groups. More funds could be provided to civil society groups with the expertise in combating such issues.

### 13.9.2 From policing to social justice and participation

43. The Federal Government, in particular the Department of the Interior (*Innenbehörde*) and the Senate of Hamburg, should consider reform of the way information and decision-making in the police about Muslim communities are transmitted to the general public. Options for reform could include greater emphasis on inclusion and the taking of responsibility by the Department for Social, Family, Public Health and Consumer Protection and Policy units of different government departments.
44. Local funding authorities should ensure access to public funding for Muslim organisations and their respective social projects in order to profit from improved access to certain groups in society and to make better use of the skills and human resources of Muslim communities.

### 13.9.3 Research on religious and ethnic self-definitions

45. The steering committee of the HHAP, in conjunction with the anti-discrimination body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt), the Ombudsman for data protection and specialised NGOs should look into methods of gathering voluntary data on the diverse populations of Hamburg. Studies on a voluntary and anonymous basis should include religious and ethnic self-definitions. A general agreement among the different actors in Hamburg should be concluded on what kind of data should be collected.

## 13.10 National Politics

### 13.10.1 Reviewing and monitoring existing and new legislation

46. The Federal government in cooperation with other relevant ministries should develop a process for carrying out equality impact assessments<sup>521</sup> of new policy proposals to ensure that policies do not inadvertently and indirectly discriminate or disadvantage particular groups. Regulations that have the effect of excluding Muslim organisations from public funding as well as the barriers that are faced by German-born residents in gaining access to citizenship should be reviewed. The Federal government should also review the law on the relation between the state and the different religious institutions (*Staatskirchenrecht*), to ensure equal treatment of different religious affiliations that do not follow the same management structure as Christian churches.

### 13.10.2 Working with civil society

47. The Federal government in cooperation with the *Länder* should establish a pact against discrimination with civil society and start a process of evaluating the experience with the Federal anti-discrimination body, to increase its efficiency and independence, with particular attention to the comments of the European Commission and of NGOs.

---

<sup>521</sup> See <http://www.idea.gov.uk/idk/core/page.do?pageId=8017247> (accessed 14 March 2010).

## ANNEX 1. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND WEBSITES

### English

- Bertelsmann Stiftung (ed.). *Religion Monitor 2008. Muslim Religiousness in Germany. Overview of Religious Attitudes and Practices*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2008.
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). *The 2008 World Factbook*, Langley, VA: CIA, 2008. Available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/download/download-2008/index.html>
- Florida, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, & Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Güney, Ülkü and Andreas Hieronymus. *ENAR Shadow Report 2007. Racism in Germany*. Brussels: ENAR, 2007. Available at [http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/national/Germany 20- 20SR 202007.pdf](http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/national/Germany%20-%20SR%202007.pdf)
- Heckmann, F. and W. Bosswick. "Integration and Integration Policies, an INTPOL feasibility study for the IMISCOE Network of Excellence". 2005. Available at <http://www.imiscoe.org>
- Hieronymus, Andreas. "Discovering Whiteness. Young adults and their understanding of racism". In Thomas Geisen and Christine Riegel (eds), *Jugend, Partizipation und Migration. Orientierungen im Kontext von Integration und Ausgrenzung* (Youth, participation and migration. Orientations in the context of inclusion and exclusion). Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, 2007.
- Hieronymus, Andreas. "Fashion, Brands, and Money: Cultural Styles and Social Positions". In Nora Raethzel (ed.), *Finding the Way Home. Young People's Stories of Gender, Ethnicity, Class, and Places in Hamburg and London*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2008.
- Human Rights Watch, "Discrimination in the Name of Neutrality: Headscarf Bans for Teachers and Civil Servants in Germany". New York: Human Rights Watch, February 2009. Available at [http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/germany0209\\_web.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/germany0209_web.pdf)
- Inalcik, Halil. *Turkey and Europe in History*. Istanbul: Eren, 2006.
- Karakus, Oksan. "Recruitment of Ethnic Minority Police Officers. Ethnic Minority Recruitment from a Multi-Cultural Perspective in England and Germany". Hamburg: University of Hamburg, Fakultät für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften. Departement Wirtschaft und Politik, Institut für Kriminologische Sozialforschung, 2008.
- Kohn, Jerome and Ron H. Feldmann. *Hannah Arendt. The Jewish Writings*. New York: Schocken Books, 2007.
- Malik, M. "British Muslims – Discrimination, Equality and Community Cohesion", in T. Choudhury (ed.), *Muslims in the UK: Policies for Engaged Citizens*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, 2005. this should be like the one below ie. OSI first, then title
- Open Society Justice Initiative. *Ethnic Profiling in the European Union: Pervasive, Ineffective, and Discriminatory*. New York: Open Society Institute, 2009.

## German

- Albrecht, Hans-Jörg. "Rechtstatsachenforschung zum Strafverfahren. Empirische Untersuchungen zu Fragestellungen des Strafverfahrens zwischen 1990 und 2003" (Research on criminal proceedings. Empirical studies on issues of criminal procedure from 1990 to 2003). Cologne: Luchterhand 2005.
- Alisch, Monika and Jens S. Dangschat. *Die solidarische Stadt. Ursachen von Armut und Strategien für einen sozialen Ausgleich* (The solidarity in our cities. Causes of poverty and strategies for social justice). Darmstadt: Verlag für wissenschaftliche Publikationen, 1993.
- Amnesty International. "Amnesty International fordert die Stelle eines Polizeibeauftragten" (Amnesty International calls for an ombudsperson for the police). 2008, Available at <http://www.ai-hamburg.de/images/stories/pressemitteilungen/presseerklaerung%20polizeigewalt-hamburg.pdf>
- Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes. *Band 4: Forschungsprojekt Diskriminierung im Alltag. Wahrnehmung von Diskriminierung und Antidiskriminierungspolitik in unserer Gesellschaft* (Research Project, Vol. 4: Discrimination in everyday life. Perceptions of discrimination and anti-discrimination policy in our society). Heidelberg: Nomos Verlagsges. Mbh + Co. 2008. Available at <http://www.bmfsfj.de/RedaktionBMFSFJ/RedaktionADS/PDF-Anlagen/2009-04-02-schriftenreihe-band4,property=pdf,rwb=true.pdf>
- Antidiskriminierungsverband Deutschland. "Stellungnahme des Antidiskriminierungsverbandes Deutschland (advd) und seiner Mitgliedsorganisationen zum einjährigen Bestehen des Allgemeinen Gleichbehandlungsgesetzes (AGG)" (Position paper of the Anti-Discrimination Association Germany and its member organisations on the first anniversary of the General Equal Treatment Act). 17 August 2007. Available at <http://www.antidiskriminierung.org/?q=Stellungnahme+1>
- ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission, Migranten und Medien 2007. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Studie der ARD/ZDF-Medienkommission, Frankfurt am Main, Media Perspektiven, Heft 9, 2007 (ARD / ZDF-Media Committee, migrants and media 2007. Results of a representative study of the ARD / ZDF-Media Committee, 2007), available at <http://www.media-perspektiven.de/1688.html>, accessed 1.5.2010.
- Blom, Herman. *Anders sein bei der Polizei in Deutschland. Zur Position von allochthonen Polizisten an ihrem Arbeitsplatz, vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Rolle als Minderheit und der Tatsache, dass sie als anders wahrgenommen werden* (Being different in the police in Germany. On the position of allochthonous police officers at their workplace, in the context of their role as a minority and the fact that they are perceived differently). Frankfurt: Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, 2005.
- Brettfeld, Kathrin and Peter Wetzels. *Muslims in Deutschland. Integration, Integrationsbarrieren, Religion und Einstellungen zu Demokratie, Rechtsstaat und politisch-religiös motivierter Gewalt*. (Muslims in Germany. Integration, barriers to integration, religion and attitudes toward democracy, the constitutional state, and politically and religiously motivated violence. Results of surveys within the framework of a multi-centric study in urban environments). Hamburg: Publikationsversand der Bundesregierung, 2007.

- Cil, Nevim. “Türkische Migranten und der Mauerfall” (Turkish migrants and the fall of the Wall), *APuZ – Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Vols. 21–22/2009, 18 May 2009, pp. 40–46.
- Franzke, Bettina. *Polizisten und Polizistinnen ausländischer Herkunft. Eine Studie zur ethnisch-kulturellen Identität und berufliche Sozialisation Erwachsener in einer Einwanderungsgesellschaft* (Policemen and policewomen of foreign origin. A study on ethno-cultural identity and professional socialisation of adults in an immigrant society). Bielefeld: Kleine Verlag, 1999.
- da Fonseca, Sara Claro. “Neue Bürger – neue Kandidaten?” (New citizens – a new candidate?) *WZB-Mitteilungen* 114, December 2006, pp. 32–36.
- Fürstenau, Sara and Mechthild Gomolla (eds). *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Elternbeteiligung* (Migration and educational transformation: parental involvement). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009.
- Gensicke, Thomas, Sibylle Picot and Sabine Geiss. *Freiwilliges Engagement in Deutschland 1999–2004, Ergebnisse der repräsentativen Trendhebung zu Ehrenamt, Freiwilligenarbeit und bürgerschaftlichem Engagement* (Volunteering in Germany, 1999–2004, results of the representative trend survey on volunteering, volunteerism and civic engagement). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, 2006.
- Gomolla, Mechthild. *Ethnisch-kulturelle Zuschreibungen und Mechanismen institutionalisierter Diskriminierung in der Schule* (Ethnic-cultural attributions and mechanisms of institutionalised discrimination in school). In I. Attia and H. Marburger (eds), *Alltag und Lebenswelten von Migrantenjugendlichen* (Everyday life and life worlds of migrant youth). Frankfurt am Main: IKO-Verlag, 2000.
- Hafez, Kai and Carola Richter. “Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF” (The image of Islam in public broadcasting of ARD and ZDF). In Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Eds.) *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das Parlament* (From politics and contemporary history. Supplement to the weekly newspaper *The Parliament*). Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei, 26–27/2007, pp. 40–46.
- Hallenberg, Bernd. “Migranten und der Hamburger Wohnungsmarkt. Ein Beitrag zum vhw-Verbandstag 2007” (Migrants and the Hamburg housing market. A report for the vhw-association meeting 2007), *vhw FW 5* (Federal Association for Housing and Urban Development – Forum Housing and Urban Development). Oct.–Nov (2007).
- Hammeran, Regine, Deniz Baspinar and Simon Erk. “Selbstbild und Mediennutzung junger Erwachsener mit türkischer Herkunft” (Self-image and media use among young adults of Turkish origin), *Media Perspektiven* 3 (2007), pp. 126–135.
- Haug, Sonja, Anja Sticks and Stephanie Müssig. “Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland” (Muslim life in Germany). In *Auftrag der Deutschen Islam Konferenz* (the German Islam Conference). Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2009.
- Hieronymus, Andreas. *Expertise: Interkulturelle Kompetenzen in Kompetenzfeststellungsverfahren* (Expertise: intercultural competencies in assessment procedures). Hamburg: BQM-Hamburg, 2008.



- Hunold, Daniela. *Migranten in der Polizei. Zwischen politischer Programmatik und Organisationswirklichkeit* (Migrants in the police. Between policies and organizational reality). Frankfurt: Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, 2008.
- Just, Michael. *Transitland Kaiserreich: Ost- und südosteuropäische Massenauswanderung über deutsche Häfen* (Kaiserreich, country of transit: eastern and southeastern mass emigration through German ports). In Klaus Bade, *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Germans abroad – foreigners in Germany. Historical and contemporary migration). Munich: C.H. Beck, 1992.
- Kossert, Andreas. *Kalte Heimat. Die Geschichte der Deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Cold home. The history of German dispersed people after 1945). Munich: Siedler-Verlag, 2008.
- Landeszentrale für politische Bildung. “Hintergrundinformationen zur Publikation Zwangsarbeit in der Hamburger Kriegswirtschaft 1939-1945” (Background information to the publication “Forced Labour in the Hamburg war economy 1939-45”). 2007. Available at [http://www.zwangsarbeit-in-hamburg.de/booklet\\_print.pdf](http://www.zwangsarbeit-in-hamburg.de/booklet_print.pdf)
- Linz, Stefan, Karsten Sandhop, Nadya Konrad, Hubert Vorholt, Ute Egner, Manuel Wirsing and Andreas Martin. “Preisentwicklung im Jahr 2008” (Development of prices in 2008). 2009. available at <http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Content/Publikationen/Querschnittsveroeffentlichungen/WirtschaftStatistik/Preise/EntwicklungJahr2008,property=file.pdf>
- Maguer, Azilis. “Die Einstellung ausländischer Bewerber in den deutschen Polizeidienst” (The recruitment of foreign applicants to the German police), *Monatszeitschrift für Strafrecht und Kriminologie* (Monthly journal of criminal law and criminology) 4 (2002), pp. 309–316.
- Migazin. “Dramatischer Einbruch bei Einbürgerungszahlen” (Dramatic fall in naturalisation figures). 29 April 2009. Available at <http://www.migazin.de/2009/04/29/dramatischer-einbruch-bei-einburgerungszahlen/>
- Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte. *Hamburg Portrait Heft 19: Hamburg als Auswandererstadt* (Museum for Hamburg History, Portrait booklet 19: Hamburg as city of emigration). Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1984.
- Özdil, Ali Özgür. *Gesprächskreis interreligiöser Religionsunterricht in Hamburg seit 1995* ((Roundtable on interfaith religious education in Hamburg since 1995). Available at his personal website, [http://islam-experte.de/dialog/foren\\_dialogs\\_hamburg.htm](http://islam-experte.de/dialog/foren_dialogs_hamburg.htm)
- Schwartz, Helge. “Der Kampf um Migrantenstimmen” (The struggle for immigrant votes), NDR-online, 15 February 2008, available at [http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/buergerchaftswahl\\_hamburg\\_2008/themen/tuerkischewaehler2.html](http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/buergerchaftswahl_hamburg_2008/themen/tuerkischewaehler2.html)
- Steiger, Susanne. “Düstere Aussichten: Islam in den Medien” (Gloomy outlook: Islam in the media), Medien Monitor online magazine, 13 February 2007. Available at <http://www.medien-monitor.com/Islamberichterstattu.333.0.html>

Windgasse, Thomas. “Die Radionutzung der Migranten im Kontext anderer Medien – Ergebnisse der Repräsentativstudien 2002 und 2004 im Auftrag des WDR” (Radio consumption of migrants in the context of other media – results of the representative study of 2002 and 2004 on behalf of the WDR). *Media Perspektiven* 3/2007, pp. 153–161.

Worbs, Susanne. “Die Einbürgerung von Ausländern in Deutschland” (The naturalisation of foreigners in Germany), BAMF Working Paper 17, 2008. Available at [http://www.bamf.de/cln\\_180/nn\\_432740/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Migration/Publikationen/Forschung/WorkingPapers/wp17-einbuengerung.templateId=raw.property=publicationFile.pdf/wp17-einbuengerung.pdf](http://www.bamf.de/cln_180/nn_432740/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Migration/Publikationen/Forschung/WorkingPapers/wp17-einbuengerung.templateId=raw.property=publicationFile.pdf/wp17-einbuengerung.pdf)

### Newspaper articles available online

*Hamburger Abendblatt*. “Hamburg hat den bundesweit höchsten Ausländeranteil” (Hamburg has the highest percentage of foreigners at the federal level). 2 July 2008. Available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/daten/2008/07/02/901676.html>

*Hamburg Abendblatt*. “Staatsvertrag mit Muslimen: Gespräche verlaufen positive” (Treaty with Muslims: Talks are positive). 14 August 2007. Available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article874250/Staatsvertrag-mit-Muslimen-Gespraech-verlaufen-positiv.html>

*Tagesschau.de*. “Mordprozess am Tatort” (Murder trail at the crime scene). Available at <http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/marwaprozess108.html>

Schädler, Karin. “Mord mit islamfeindlichem Hintergrund?” (Murder with Islamophobic background?). *die Tageszeitung*, 6 July 2009. Available at <http://www.taz.de/1/politik/deutschland/artikel/1/mord-mit-islamfeindlichem-hintergrund>

Thomas Andre, “Die Toleranz endet beim Türsteher” (Tolerance ends at the bouncers), *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 8 September 2008. Available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article937604/Die-Toleranz-endet-beim-Tuersteher.html>

Rebecca Kresse and Thomas Andre, “Türsteher, Die Debatte geht weiter” (Bouncers, the debate continues). *Hamburger Abendblatt*. 28 October 2008. Available at <http://www.abendblatt.de/hamburg/article571813/Tuersteher-Die-Debatte-geht-weiter.html>

*NDR-online*. “Haushalt 2009/2010: Ausgaben steigen um 800 Millionen Euro” (Budget 2009/2010: expenditure will increase by 800 million Euros). 3 September 2008. Available at <http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/hamburg/steuererhoehung106.html>

Helge Schwiertz, “Der Kampf um Migrantenstimmen” (The struggle for immigrant votes). *NDR-online*. 15 February 2008. Available at [http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/buergerschaftswahl\\_hamburg\\_2008/themen/tuerkische-waehler2.html](http://www1.ndr.de/nachrichten/buergerschaftswahl_hamburg_2008/themen/tuerkische-waehler2.html)



## Official publications

### *Laws*

Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany).

### *Policy and official documents*

Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit, Verbraucherschutz, *Hamburger Handlungskonzept zur Integration von Zuwanderern* (Hamburg Action Plan on Integration), Hamburg, 2007. Available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/128792/data/konzept.pdf>

Behörde für Soziales, Familie, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz, “Hamburger Integrationskongress 2006 – Dokumentation” (Hamburg Congress on Integration), 2006, p. 6, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/128800/data/doku-integrationskongress-datei.pdf>

Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg. *Drucksache 18/4120* (Publication 18/4120). 16 May 2006.

Bürgerschaft der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg. *Drucksache 18/7178* (Publication 18/7178). Hamburg, 9 November 2007.

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport. *Hamburg Schulstatistik im Überblick: Schulen, Klassen, Schülerinnen und Schüler in Hamburg* (Hamburg school statistics at a glance: schools, classes, students in Hamburg). Hamburg, 2007–2008.

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Inneres, Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz. *Verfassungsschutzbericht 2007* (Protection of the Constitution Report 2007). Hamburg, 2008.

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung. *Eine kluge Stadt braucht alle Talente. Die Hamburger Schulreform 2008–2012* (A wise city needs all talent. Hamburg School Reform 2008–2012). Hamburg, 30 June 2008.

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt (ed.) “Sprung über die Elbe”, Hamburg auf dem Weg zur Internationalen Bauausstellung (“Leap across the Elbe”, Hamburg on the way to the International Building Exhibition), IBA Hamburg 2013, available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/135218/data/sprung.pdf>

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg Finanzbehörde, *Der Hamburger Haushalt 2009 auf einen Blick* (The Hamburg 2009 budget at one glance). 2009. Available at <http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/1546152/data/haushalt-auf-einen-blick.pdf>

Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Schule und Berufsbildung, Institut für Bildungsmonitoring (ed.). *Bildungsbericht Hamburg 2009* (Education Report Hamburg 2009). 2009. Available at <http://www.hamburg.de/bsb-publikationen/nofl/1601636/hr-bildungsbericht-langfassung.html>

Vertrag über die Zusammenarbeit in der 19. Wahlperiode der Hamburgischen Bürgerschaft zwischen der Christlich Demokratischen Union, Landesverband Hamburg und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Landesverband Hamburg, GAL, 2008 (Treaty on

Cooperation in the 19th Term of the Hamburg Parliament between the Christian Democratic Union, Hamburg branch and Alliance 90/The Greens, Hamburg branch, GAL, 2008). Available at <http://www.hamburg.gruene.de/cms/default/dokbin/229/229457.koalitionsvertrag.pdf>

### Statistical publications

Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein (ed). *Monitor Wachsende Stadt, Bericht 2007* (Monitor of the Growing City 2007). Hamburg: Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2007.

Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein. *Statistischer Bericht A I 9 – j/03* (Statistical report). Hamburg: Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 1 June 2004.

Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein. *Statistischer Bericht A I 4 – j/07 H, Ausländische Bevölkerung in Hamburg* (Statistical report: foreign population in Hamburg). Hamburg: Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2007.

Statistisches Bundesamt, *Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2005* (Population and employment. Population with migration background – results of the microcensus 2005) – Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2 (Specialist Series 1 Series 2.2).

Statistisches Landesamt der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (ed.). “Trends und Strukturen Hamburg 1950–2015” (Trends and structures Hamburg 1950–2015). *Statistik.Magazin.Hamburg* Band 3 der Reihe (Vol. 3 of series). Hamburg, 2000

## **ANNEX 2. LIST OF EXPERTS INTERVIEWED**

### **Administration**

- Angela Bähr, Anti-discrimination Body (Arbeitsstelle Vielfalt)
- Bilinc Ercan, Authority for school and vocational training
- Rolf-Barnim Foth, Senate Chancellery (Planning Division 3)
- Uwe Franke, Administrative body for social, family, public health and consumer protection (BSG), commission for social and integration, management of advisory board for integration (SI 51)
- Berrin Haz, Senate Chancellery, adviser for immigration and integration
- Malte Krugmann, Senate Chancellery (Senatskanzlei, Urban Planning and Redevelopment)
- Stefan Müller, Human resources management of administration of Hamburg (Personalamt)
- Yvonne Nische, District Hamburg-Mitte, Department for Management of Social Space

### **Muslim organisations**

- Özlem Nas, SCHURA, Rat der islamischen Gemeinschaften in Hamburg e. V. (Council of Islamic Communities in Hamburg e. V.) (Vice-president, responsible for women's issues)
- Hossein Nian, Belal Mosque, Association of Afghan Muslims
- Ali Özdil, IWB, Islamisches Wissenschafts- und Bildungsinstitut (Islamic Science and Education Institute)
- Ramazan Ucar, BIG, Bündnis der islamischen Gemeinden in Norddeutschland e. V. (Alliance of Islamic Communities in Northern Germany) (President)
- Ahmet Yazici, BIG, Bündnis der islamischen Gemeinden in Norddeutschland e. V. (Vice-President)
- Mustafa Yoldas, SCHURA, Rat der islamischen Gemeinschaften in Hamburg e. V. (President)

### **Other**

- Huelya Eralp, BQM, Beratungs- und Koordinierungsstelle zur beruflichen Qualifizierung von jungen Migrantinnen und Migranten (Advisory and Support Service for provision of vocational training for young migrants)
- Dirk Hauer, Diakonie (Responsible for migration issues)
- Ursula Neumann, University of Hamburg, Department of Education (Professor, ombudsperson for foreigners)
- Christiane Tursi, Verikom (Councillor)

Wolfram Weisse, University of Hamburg, Department of Education (Professor, Academy of World Religion)

Hüseyin Yilmaz, German Trade Union, Department for Migration (Arbeitsmarktpolitische Integration junger MigrantInnen (labour market integration of young migrants) (Vice-president of Turkish Community in Germany and Hamburg, member of Advisory Board on Integration)

Ünal Zeran, Lawyer (family law/asylum law)

### **Politicians**

Bülent Ciftlik, Member of Citizenry (SPD deputy)

Nebahat Güclü, Vice-president Citizenry Hamburg (GAL)

Aydin Özkan, Member of Citizenry (CDU)

Aydan Özoguz, Körber Foundation, Muslim Academy, member of Hamburg Citizenry until 2008 (SPD)

Mehmet Yildiz, Member of Citizenry (Die Linke)

### **ANNEX 3. ORGANISATIONS/INSTITUTIONS CONSULTED DURING RESEARCH PROCESS<sup>522</sup>**

Association of Afghan Muslims / Verein Afghanischer Muslime

Efftingestr. 19, 22041 Hamburg

Contact person: Hossein Nian (040 6424101)

Tel: 040 6570309, 040 6572141

Email: info@belal-moschee.de

ATU, Arbeitsgemeinschaft türkischer Unternehmer und Existenzgründer e. V.

c/o Handelskammer Hamburg, Geschäftsführer:

Mehmet Keskin, Alter Wall 3, D-20457 Hamburg

Tel: 040 3613876

Fax: 040 3613877

Email: info@atu-ev.de

Basis and Woge e. V.

Steindamm 11

20099 Hamburg

Tel: 040 3984260

Fax: 040 39842626

Email: info@basisundwoge.de

BIG, Bündnis der islamischen Gemeinden in Norddeutschland e.V.

Böckmannstraße, 40 20099 Hamburg

Tel: 040 245629

Fax: 040 2800067

Email: <http://www.big-ev.org>

Bürgerhaus Wilhelmsburg

Mengestr. 20

21107 Hamburg

Tel: 040 7520170

Fax: 040 75201710

Email: info@buewi.de, [www.buewi.de](http://www.buewi.de)

BQM, Beratungs- und Koordinierungsstelle zur beruflichen Qualifizierung von jungen Migrantinnen und Migranten

Kapstadtring 10, 22297 Hamburg

Tel: 040 63785500

Fax: 040 63785599

Email: info@kwb.de

---

<sup>522</sup> The listed organisations do not constitute all Muslim and non-discrimination organisations based in Hamburg. These have been chosen either due to their involvement or consultation during the research process of this report or because of their public profile. The omission of other organisations does not point to an absence of relevance of their work.

DGB Hamburg, Arbeitsmarktpolitische Integration junger MigrantInnen  
Besenbinderhof 60, 20097 Hamburg  
Email: hamburg@dgb.de

Diakonie, Fachthema: Migration  
Königstraße 54, 22767 Hamburg  
Tel: 040 30620367  
Fax: 040 30620340

Hamburg Alevi Kültür Merkezi  
Goethestr. 37, 22767 Hamburg  
Tel: 040 3892724

Interdisziplinäres Zentrums „*Weltreligion im Dialog*“  
Universität Hamburg, Fachbereich Erziehungswissenschaft, Sektion 5,  
Prof. Dr Wolfram Weiße  
Tel: 040 42838131  
Fax: 040 428382112  
Email: weisse@erzwiss.uni-hamburg.de

IKB, Interkulturelle Begegnungsstätte  
Integrationszentrum St Pauli  
Rendsburger Str. 10, 20359 Hamburg  
Tel: 040 72963225  
Tel: 040 72963226  
Fax: 040 72963224

iMiR, Institut für Migrations- und Rassismusforschung e.V.  
Nernstweg 32-34, 22765 Hamburg  
Tel: 040 4305396  
Fax: 040 41369620  
Email: office@imir.de

Islamisches Wissenschafts- und Bildungsinstitut e.V.  
Contact person: Ali Özgür Özdil  
Buxtehuder Straße 7, 21073 Hamburg  
Tel: 040 32506731  
Fax: 040 32506734  
Email: info@iwb-hamburg.de

Islamisches Zentrum Hamburg e.V.  
Contact person: Dr Moagheghi (0170 4624242)  
Schöne Aussicht 36, 22085 Hamburg  
Tel: 040 22948610, 221220, 221240  
Fax: 040 2204340  
Email: info@izhamburg.com

Landesinstitut für Lehrerbildung und Schulentwicklung (LI), Beratungsstelle

Interkulturelle Erziehung

Contact person: Regine Hartung

Felix-Dahn-Str. 3, 20357 Hamburg

Tel: 040 428012129

Fax: 040 428012799

Email: regine.hartung@li-hamburg.de

Mieter helfen Mietern – Hamburger Mieterverein e. V.

Contact persons: Sabine Weiss und Andree Lagemann,

Bartelsstraße 30, 20357 Hamburg

Tel: 040 4313940

Fax: 040 43139444

Email: info@mhmhamburg.de, www.mhmhamburg.de

Passage gGmbH

Contact person: Maren Gag

Wallgraben 37, 21073 Hamburg

Tel: 040 7661720

Fax: 040 76617221

Email: info@passage-hamburg.de

<http://www.passage-hamburg.de>

SCHURA, Rat der islamischen Gemeinschaften in Hamburg e. V.

Borgfelder Str. 34, 20537 Hamburg

Tel: 040 32004664 (Opening hours: Mon-Fri 10–16)

Fax: 040 32004691

Email: info@schurahamburg.de

Web: [www.schurahamburg.de](http://www.schurahamburg.de)

Türkische Gemeinde in Hamburg und Umgebung e. V.

Hospitalstraße 111, 22767 Hamburg

Tel: 040 4136609 0

Fax: 040 413660969

Email: info@TGHamburg.de

Unternehmer ohne Grenzen

Büro St Pauli

Alte Rinderschlachthalle

Neuer Kamp 30, 20357 Hamburg

Tel: 040 43183063

Fax: 040 43190069

Email: info@uog-ev.de

Verikom e.V.

Verikom Wilhelmsburg Interkulturelles Stadtteilzentrum / Integrationszentrum  
Wilhelmsburg, Thielenstraße 3a, 21109 Hamburg

Tel: 040 7541840

Fax: 040 7507336

Email: [wilhelmsburg@verikom.de](mailto:wilhelmsburg@verikom.de)



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.

