



european network against racism

ENAR Shadow Report 2008

ENAR SHADOW REPORT 2008

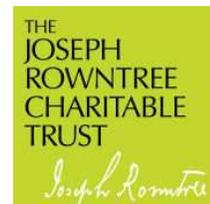
Racism in Germany

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Racism is a reality in the lives of many ethnic and religious minorities in the EU. However, the extent and manifestations of this reality are often unknown and undocumented, especially in official data sources, meaning that it can be difficult to analyse the situation and to establish solutions to it. Even where there is extensive official data, NGOs offer a vital alternative data source that comes directly from experiences of those individuals and communities experiencing racism on a daily basis.

The ENAR Shadow Reports are produced to fill the gaps in the official and academic data, to offer an alternative to that data and to offer an NGO perspective on the realities of racism with the EU and its Member States. NGO reports are, by their nature, based on many sources of data, official, unofficial, academic and experiential. This allows access to information which, while sometimes not backed up by the rigours of academic standards, provides the vital perspective of those that either are or work directly with those affected by the racism that is the subject of the research. It is this that gives NGO reports their added value, complementing academic and official reporting.

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I. Executive summary

In 2008 the foreign population decreased in Germany, coupled with an increase in the number of German citizens with a migrant background. Since 2005 German statistics define Germans with a migrant background as those who themselves or whose parents or grandparents had migrated to Germany after 1949. Migrants from Turkey and ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union are the largest groups. Most vulnerable groups are undocumented migrants, Jews, Muslims, asylum seekers, Roma and Sinti.

Manifestations of racism and religious discrimination in Germany are described in the following areas:

Employment: It is not limited to having a migrant background which leads to discrimination in the labour market, also often, religious affiliation is a factor. Often the apparent lack of German language skills or assumed insurmountable cultural differences is given as reasons for discrimination. The rigorous German practice of not recognizing and accrediting foreign certificates are further obstacles for many migrants in the job market. Despite skills and competencies migrant students feel discriminated against in the labour market and do not feel accepted and appreciated despite their equal qualifications to Germans.

Housing: The housing quality of immigrants and Germans have improved in the last 20 years. However, immigrants are still disadvantaged particularly regarding the quality of housing and facilities such as heating and living space. In addition, they also pay higher rent. The ethnic background of applicants plays an important role in the process of awarding flats.

Education: Low socio-economic position coupled with a migrant background still reduces educational opportunities of children in Germany. The marked difference in educational achievements of pupils with a foreign passport and native Germans is still increasing. Differences remain even when both groups have the same socio-economic background. At the same time there are large differences within the group of "alien" pupils concerning their chances to achieve a high school degree. Especially the area of vocational and professional training is dire. Young people with a migrant background are much less successful in getting a placement for a professional training than their German counterparts.

Health: Unemployment, cramped domestic situation, pressure to adapt, often have an extraordinary psychological and physical impact on migrants. These stresses in turn may lead to illnesses and domestic violence. Particularly violence against women in migrant families often go ignored. Compared to the majority society migrants use health services less frequently which is a direct result of unequal access to medical services and also unequal claim for health services. Another vulnerable group is undocumented migrants who, due to their illegal

status have very limited access to health care facilities and do not use health care facilities, because of fear of being detected and deported. Many torture victims, who have neither health service documents nor are able to speak German, do not receive the necessary and appropriate treatment. This is largely due to the fact that the majority of mental health professionals are unable to conduct therapy in the mother tongue of their patients.

Policing and racial profiling: German military forces are involved in the war in Afghanistan and training camps on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan are thought to be one of the major locations where Islamists from Europe travel to be trained as terrorists. As a result, Muslims who travel to this area are suspected of planning terrorist attacks in Germany. Discourses on Muslims are often linked to security concerns and they are increasingly portrayed as being anti-democratic and violent. This in turn negatively impacts on the way the police engage with Muslims in everyday policing. An ongoing problem is the situation of asylum seekers in police custody. It often takes a long time and a lot of pressure from NGOs to shed light into the death of asylum seekers in police custody.

Racist violence and crime: Despite a slight decrease in the previous years, recent surveys have shown a considerable frequency of xenophobic and Islamophobic attitudes within German society. Police figures show as well a noticeable increase in xenophobic crimes. For the first time, the records for 2008, present figures for hate crimes. Statistics for anti-Semitic violent crimes show as well an increase.

Access to goods and services in the public and private sector: There are various areas in the public and private sector in which discriminatory practices still occur, but consistent data is only partially available. Fields, which require particular attention, are: Health care facilities, banking and financial credits for refugees and immigrants and entrance to leisure facilities.

Media, including the internet: Mass-media play a major role in reproducing stereotyping discourses. At the same time ethnic minorities and migrants are not proportionally represented in the industry which influences how migrants are represented in the mainstream German media. On the other hand it can be observed that successful migrants are not perceived as foreigners or strangers, but as Germans. Increasingly the internet becomes the space in which racist and discriminatory views are distributed among the public. Minorities like Roma and Sinti, as well Muslims, are the main targets of discriminatory websites.

The political and legal contexts of these manifestations are described according to four aspects:

Anti-discrimination: The first court decisions within the context of the Equal Treatment Act (AGG, implementing the race directives) of 2006, have been taken. The Federal Cabinet finally adopted the National Action Plan (NAP)

agreed upon at the Durban World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in 2001. The NAP was criticized by NGOs for the lack of a sound analysis of the motives, extent, manifestations and effects of racism and racist discrimination in Germany. After two years of existence, both the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) and the Federal Anti-discrimination body have been criticized by NGOs for its apparent weakness and the failure of the Federal Anti-discrimination body to meet its obligations. One being the essential need of informing people adequately about their rights.

Migration and integration: The 'European Pact for Immigration and Asylum' paved the way for more rigorous practices of German authorities towards undocumented migrants and their families. While the third summit on integration presented first interim results of the 'National Plan to Integration' (NIP) of 2007 and was centred on language improvement of migrants, the 'German Islam Conference' (DIK) was dominated by questions of national security and the requirements of Islamic religious instruction at schools. NGOs criticized the NIP for not addressing problems of racism, discrimination, residency and citizenship. One such effect of discriminatory legislation was the decrease of residence permits for the immigration of spouses in the first half of 2008. This followed the decision in 2007 whereby migrants were now forced to have German language skills prior to entering the country. For the first time several thousand youth who had dual citizenship since birth, were compelled to forfeit one of these two citizenships. The limitations on the freedom of movement of workers from the new EU member states were retained.

Criminal Justice

Racism as a crime: New funding programmes to financially support initiatives against right-wing extremist tendencies were established at Federal and Länder level. A bill to include the concept of hate crimes into criminal law, which was passed by the Upper House in 2007, was rejected by the Federal Government. International NGOs criticized Germany for the violation of human rights, particularly regarding the handling of refugees and asylum seekers and the insufficient action against human rights abuses in the context of the US led "war against terrorism".

Counter- terrorism: There is a noticeable increase in the collaboration between politics, the military and science related to questions of national security. The heterogeneous society as a result of immigration is seen as a concern to security and migrants are constructed as potential security threats. There is a general suspicion towards migrants and international students particularly from non-European and Muslim countries. On the other hand the liaison between Muslim organizations and security authorities in Germany has improved. A new political development manifested itself in the summer, when the local party "Pro Köln" (Pro Cologne) invited all major European right-wing parties to an "Anti-Islamisation Congress" in Cologne. A broad coalition of both Muslims and non-Muslims prevented this event from taking place by protesting and thereby blocking off the entire city.

Racial profiling: The efforts to limit immigration provided new ways of gathering information and setting up databases for law enforcement. Additionally 9/11 has been taken as a pretext for data mining exercises in Germany. Muslims, Sinti and Roma and migrant groups have complained of being confronted with suspicion and constantly having to prove their legal residence status or their innocence, with stigmatizing effects on individuals and on entire communities. The foreign population is registered in the Central Registry of Aliens. The European Court of Justice decided that this data base may only retain those data, which are absolutely necessary for the application of the rules for the residence law. A utilization of the data to fight crime for statistical purposes is prohibited.

Social inclusion: The Federal Government has established a new form of monitoring integration. This involves the introduction of 14 life spheres whereby people are to be monitored to measure and determine their progress and highlight the challenges for integration. The necessity for integration into 'German culture' applies to all whose origin is non-Western. Integration is criticized by NGOs as an undefined concept that has become a never ending demand for the migrant population to meet.

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III. Introduction

In 2008, Germany was at the centre of the European anti-racist debate because of its resistance to a single anti-discrimination directive proposed by the Commission. For an outsider it was not understandable why the German government opposed this proposal, because it already had resolved the problem, which the new directive is supposed to solve for other member states. The two existing directives (2000/43EC and 2000/78EC) defined unequal protection from discrimination in different areas for different grounds, which led to a situation in some member states where victims of racism are protected in one area, but not in another. Germany, although reluctantly implementing the "race" directives with the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) of 2006, provided protection in all areas on all grounds mentioned in the two directives. In Labour law the legislator was able to build on existing legislation related to the work councils. From this point of view Germany could have as well taken the lead for a single anti-discrimination directive, because it would not have touched internal legislation at all. The ground for this opposition might be more apparent for people outside of Germany, when considering the deeper currents and twists of German society. Currently Germany is faced with having to adjust their legislation and national institutions to the reality of an immigration society, which has been neglected for so long. The fact that the dichotomous "German" - "foreigner" divide was replaced by more refined definitions of being "German", reflects this change. Nowadays Germans are seen as native, if their parents were born in Germany. Germans have a "migrant" or "migration" background if one of their parents is born outside of Germany after 1950. This definition ensures that those 12 million ethnic Germans evicted from the East and south east of Europe ("Vertriebene") after World War II are no longer considered as "migrants". Germans have a "migration experience", when they were born outside of Germany and got naturalized. Being a "migrant" is a synonym for not being ethnically German. It does not have the real meaning which the term actually implies. A German with a migrant background therefore can be a person, who never migrated and has been socialized totally in German society.

There seems to be a twofold process at work in Germany. In the years with the highest immigration to Germany (until 1973 and between 1988-1992) the ruling conservatives fiercely denied any reference to this social reality. German reunification was viewed similarly, as the return of an ethnic principle, the inclusion of "brothers and sisters" and not as an opportunity for a new social contract including all populations in Germany. Re-unification alienated parts of the population in Germany, which were still excluded from participation in the nation. Integration of the newcomers was left to the people themselves, to the migrants and their German fellow workers, who often shared the same housing estates. Since Germany actually defines itself as an immigration society, real migration is at its lowest and a fierce discussion on "nachholende" (catching up on) integration has started. This is based on the assumption that the day to day

integration of people in the past have seemingly been ineffective and hence a new, strong impetus through state intervention is required.

This report is shadowing these above-mentioned deeper currents in the field of racism and discrimination in the Federal Republic of Germany for 2008. It looks at the situation of vulnerable groups and the policies applied in the field of migration and the fight against racism, as well as activities at a grass roots level. Manifestations of racism and religious discrimination are reflected in the area of employment, housing, education, health, policing and racial profiling, racist violence and crime and access to goods and services in the public and private sector. The political and legal context of developments in the field of anti - discrimination, migration and integration, criminal justice and social inclusion are described for 2008. The report ends with national recommendations for the above- mentioned areas and closes with a concluding chapter.

IV. Communities vulnerable to racism

At the end of 2007 the Federal Office for Statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt) cited the number of all foreign population in Germany at 7,255,395. This makes up 8,8 per cent of the overall population in Germany¹. At the end of 2008 the number of those who exclusively hold foreign citizenship in Germany amounted to 6,73 million which shows, according to the Central Register of Aliens (Ausländerzentralregister² [AZR]), a slight decrease of about 0,3 per cent compared to the previous year. Comparing these two sources of information reveals that there is some inconsistency in the data base, as it would mean, that there is a decrease of approximately half a million foreign nationals, which is more than the announced 0.3 per cent of the AZR. The largest group are Turkish nationals (1,7 million) and their size declined to about 25 thousand people in comparison to that of 2007. This is explained by the fact that most of them acquired German citizenship. On the other hand there is a visible increase on the number of foreigners holding European Union passports. This is due to a growing influx of people with Romanian, Polish and Bulgarian nationality (all together approximately making up 26 thousand). Overall 80 per cent of all foreign nationals in Germany hold a European passport. The number of those who are nationals of one of the European Union candidate states such as Turkey, Croatia and Macedonia make up 29 per cent. The remaining group with a foreign passport are from other European countries or from the Americas, Africa and Asia. The largest group among these with a foreign passport in Germany are Turkish nationals at 25 per cent followed by Italian nationals (8 per cent), Polish nationals (6 per cent), nationals of Serbia and Montenegro (5 per cent), as well as Greek nationals with 4 per cent and nationals from Croatia and the Russian Federation with each at 3 per cent. Over 72 per cent of these foreign populations have been residents in Germany at least eight years and fulfil therewith the requirement for naturalization³. These accounts are important as it shows that more foreign nationals from third countries acquire German citizenship in order to benefit from the privileges of German citizenship.

The average age of foreign nationals has been given as appx. 39 years showing a slight increase to the previous year. This can be seen as the result of the "option model" that was introduced in 2000. According to this model every child born in Germany automatically acquires German citizenship, also in cases where both parents hold a foreign passport. This legal change is affecting the statistics of the AZR: 521 thousand foreign children under the age of eighteen years have been registered in 2005; in 2008 this number decreased to 356 thousand. According to the same sources 1.33 million (20 per cent) of all who are listed in

¹Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Pressemitteilung Nr. 110 vom 23.03.2009 <http://www.destatis.de>, accessed 03.04.2009

²The Ausländerzentralregister records only foreigners who have a permanent residency in Germany.

³Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Pressemitteilung Nr. 110, *ibid.*

the AZR were born in Germany⁴. Again the largest group are Turkish nationals (33 per cent) followed by Italians (31 per cent) and Greeks (28 per cent)⁵. According to a press release by the Federal Bureau of Statistic (Destatis) one fourth of the overall 8,6 million families with an under-age child have a migration background (27 per cent). The definition of “families with a migration background” is given as parent-child compositions from which one of the parents hold foreign citizenship or acquired the German citizenship through naturalization. This category also includes ethnic Germans (Aussiedler) who have gone through a similar naturalization process. There are 4 million underage children who were raised by 2,3 million families with a migration background. Compared to 9,8 million children raised by 6,2 million families without a migration background⁶.

Undocumented migrants are still one of the most vulnerable groups in Germany. There are no accurate numbers available about the size of this group. However the Institute for World Economy (HWWA) has calculated that around 2,8 million people live without any legal resident status within the EU. It is estimated that between 100 thousand and 250 thousand undocumented migrants live in Germany. These people carry out highly demanding work such as in households or in the gastronomic industry and are badly underpaid. Additionally children with such a status do not have the possibility of attending school nor of utilising the health system. This is mainly due to the fear of being detected as German law has a rigorous rule of compulsory registration⁷.

Muslims remain the most debated group in recent years. The figures involving the Muslim population are largely only estimates as German authorities do not collect data about religion. According to ‘www.remid.de’ there are around 3.5 million Muslims in Germany. About 1 million of them hold a German passport and 15 thousand are German converts. Among this group, Sunnis with 2.6 million make up the largest denomination followed by Alawites⁸ with 400 thousand⁹.

Jews: There is no new data available for the year 2008. According to the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees [BAMF] the number of Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Republic amounted to 209 thousand in 2007 and this number is expected to decrease further as a result of changes in the migration procedure¹⁰.

⁴ibid.

⁵ibid.

⁶Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Pressemitteilung Nr. 281 vom 05.08.2008 <http://www.destatis.de>, accessed 03.04.2009

⁷Andrea Dernbach, "Berlin will illegalen Einwanderern helfen", 23.02.2009, www.Tagesspiegel.de HYPERLINK "http://www.Tagesspiegel.de/"

⁸Alawis are a cultural/religious minority in Turkey which, because of its heterodox tenets was severely persecuted during Ottoman rule. Therefore Alawis practised “taqiya” (dissimulation), i.e. they did not outwardly identify as Alawis. Since the 1960s, Alawis came like other Turks as working migrants to Germany. After an era of dissimulation, Alawis started a revival of Alawism in both Turkey and Germany. At present Alawis in Germany demand especially their recognition as a religious community, which includes the right to teach Alawism in the schools. They do not necessarily see themselves as Muslims.

⁹Remid, Religionswissenschaftlicher Medien- und Informationsdienst e. V. http://www.remid.de/remid_info_zahlen.htm#islam accessed 6.4.2009

¹⁰Migration und Bevölkerung, Newsletter, Ausgabe 4, Mai 2008, <http://www.migration->

Asylum seekers still make up one of the particularly vulnerable groups in Germany. In 2008 approximately 28 thousand people applied for asylum. Compared to 2007 this figure indicates a decrease of about 800 applications. In 2008 Iraqis constituted a large part of this group at 31 per cent followed by people from Turkey (6,4 per cent) and Vietnam (4,7 per cent). A considerable part of asylum seekers from Turkey (78,1 per cent) and Iraq (43 per cent) are members of the Kurdish ethnic minority. The majority of the applicants for asylum are men (67 per cent) under the age of 30 (77,7 per cent). Children under 16 years constitute 27 per cent of asylum applicants in Germany¹¹.

Sinti and Roma are two groups belonging to the historical ethnic minorities who still experience racism and persecution. According to Romani Rose the chair of the central council of Sinti and Roma, there are around 70 thousand German Sinti and Roma¹². As there is no ethnic data collection, numbers of non-German Roma can only be estimated by counting the people coming from countries with a large Roma minority. Such countries include the former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, which does not provide an exact picture of the situation. Despite the horrendous experiences of the holocaust these vulnerable groups still experience discrimination which exhibits itself in the ever increasing aggression by right wing extremists. Above all there seems to be an observable increase in racist propaganda and physical threats toward Sinti and Roma via the internet¹³.

[info.de/migration_und_bevoelkerung/artikel/080402.htm](http://www.info.de/migration_und_bevoelkerung/artikel/080402.htm), accessed 27.6.2008.

¹¹http://www.bamf.de/nn_442824/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Asyl/Downloads/EEBriefe/2009/ea-info-2-2009Beilage,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/ea-info-2-2009-Beilage.pdf, accessed 6.4.2009

¹²Romani Rose – 09.12.2008, [vorwärts.de](http://www.vorwaerts.de), <http://www.vorwaerts.de/artikel/noch-viel-zu-tun> HYPERLINK

"<http://www.vorwaerts.de/artikel/noch-viel-zu-tun>" , accessed 6.4.2009

¹³ibid

V. Manifestations of racism and religious discrimination

V.i Employment

There is little research that focuses on the employment situation of migrants, although there has been considerable research on the foreign population. This might be the effect of the changes of 2005 in the data gathering procedures, where aggregated data along the lines of migrant background is not yet available in all areas. Nevertheless as we will present on the following there are studies which have documented discrimination in employment opportunities. This mainly involves young migrants entering the highly competitive vocational training positions. Not merely their migrant background is an issue, but also religious affiliation is a factor of discrimination in the labour market. Often cultural differences and inadequate German skills are cited as reasons for discrimination. Also, as we pointed out in the previous Shadow Reports the rigid German practice of not recognising foreign qualifications are obstacles for many migrants in the job market.

According to research presented by the Institute for Labour Market Research (IAB) in Nuremberg¹⁴, naturalised migrants are more successful in their career than those who are not naturalised. Some 54 per cent of Turkish nationals between the ages 26 to 35 do not have a professional education. Whereas among naturalised Turkish migrants this figure remains at 33 per cent. However compared to Germans without a migration background, migrants all together, above all young Turkish nationals have despite good certificates poor prospects in the job market. Turkish nationals are more affected by unemployment and are employed in considerably less qualified jobs compared to other migrants or Germans with a similar educational background. Therefore the particular discrimination of Turkish nationals can only be partly maintained with arguments that they would be less educated. The IAB assumes that mechanisms of institutional discrimination by businesses (companies) may also play a role. This seemingly occurs in the process of recruiting and selecting applicants, where certain migrant groups as a priority are excluded¹⁵.

This is further substantiated by university students of Turkish background who took part in a representative survey. Conducted by 'www.future.org'¹⁶ the survey found that 38 per cent of highly qualified academics with a Turkish background plan to 'go back' to Turkey although some of them were born and/or raised in Germany. Yet many of the 24,000 university students with a Turkish background

¹⁴Migranten auf dem Arbeitsmarkt: Bildung und Einbürgerung verbessern die Chancen, <http://www.bildungsspiegel.de/aktuelles/migranten-auf-dem-arbeitsmarkt-bildung-und-einbuengerung-verbessern-die-chancen.html?Itemid=262>, accessed 17.6.09.

¹⁵Migration und Bevölkerung, Nr. 9, November 2008

¹⁶Arnfried Schenk and Martin Spiewak (2008): "Verprellte Talente", Die Zeit, 4. December 2008, Nr. 50

do not see their future in Germany but in Turkey. Despite their skills and competencies they feel discriminated against. According to the survey, they do not feel accepted and appreciated despite their equal qualifications to Germans. Tellingly “working hard alone is not a guarantee for success among immigrants in Germany” was the subtitle of the weekly ‘Die Zeit’ that published the article¹⁷.

Indeed discrimination seems to be most manifest in the area of jobs and employment. Particularly Muslim women wearing a hijab (religiously motivated headscarf) experience discrimination in the job and when searching for employment. Muslim women are denied employment on the grounds of their hijab although in many cases wearing a hijab does not clash with the equality policy (such as in schools and kindergartens) or the safety and hygiene regulations of most workplaces. For example, a young Muslim woman was denied a traineeship in a kindergarten as a result of her wearing a hijab¹⁸. In some cases the recruitment was cancelled after the employer was informed that the employee was wearing a hijab. The higher administrative court of Baden-Wuerttemberg banned a teacher in Mannheim from wearing a hijab at school¹⁹. In many cases the applications of women wearing a hijab are returned without mentioning the real reason for refusal. Also those who are employed experience discrimination from their colleagues and superiors. They are confronted with overt or more subtle hostility. The latter usually takes the form of subjecting the women to media images which negatively represents Muslims for instance, forced marriages and violence²⁰.

V.ii Housing

The housing quality of immigrants, according to some studies, improved in the last 20 years. As this is also observable in households of Germans it can be said that there are still differences in the quality standards of the housing. Immigrants seem to be still disadvantaged not only regarding the quality of the housing, but also amenities are lacking, living space is not optimal and rent is higher. According to a study conducted with ‘Gatekeepers’²¹ such as employees in public housing offices, or authorities of semi public housing offices, in the housing market in Hanover, results show that apart from economic criteria the ethnic background of the applicants play an important role in the process of awarding the flats. In some fields of public housing the landlords or the public housing authorities practise exclusionary letting methods. This unofficial procedure is based on the so called rules of ‘foreigner quota’ (Auslaenderquote). This practice is very controversial and is not clearly controlled²².

¹⁷ibid

¹⁸Senatsverwaltung fuer Integration, Arbeit und Soziales (2009): “Mit Kopftuch aussen vor?” Schriften der Landesstelle fuer Gleichbehandlung – gegen Diskriminierung. Berlin.

¹⁹“Kopftuchverbot fuer Lehrerin bleibt bestehen”, Migration und Bevoelkerung April 2008, p.2.

²⁰Senatsverwaltung fuer Integration, Arbeit und Soziales, “Mit Kopftuch aussen vor?”, ibid.

²¹Friedrich, Lena (2008): “Wohnen un innerstaedtliche Segregation von Migranten in Deutschland”, Working Paper 21, Bundesamt fur Migration und Fluechtlinge 2008.

²²ibid

A different survey conducted by the 'Planerladen e.V.' with a "Paired Ethnic Testing" method revealed that, for instance, Turkish test identities (two comparable persons apply, one with a Turkish name, the other with a German name) were two times more rejected than their German counterparts. In the same survey German test identities received 24 per cent more approval for flat viewing than Turkish test identities. The researcher noticed a direct discrimination in 42 cases (8,7 per cent) in which Turkish test identities were denied a date for a flat viewing while the German test identities immediately received a date for the viewing for the same adds for apartment listings. Nevertheless, according to the survey, in 79 per cent of the cases there was yet an 'equal treatment' observable whereas in 19 per cent of the cases Turkish test identities were discriminated against²³.

V.iii Education

The report 'Education in Germany 2008' as already reported in previous shadow reports, once more points out, that a low socio-economic position coupled with migration background reduces educational opportunities of children. This problem becomes worse for those youth who decide to enter vocational education²⁴. Until now Germany has not managed to establish appropriate programmes that provide support to these disadvantaged groups. This indicates an ongoing institutional discrimination in the German education system.

Preschool education in Germany does not effectively support children who speak another language other than German at home. These children are not part of the general positive effects that preschool education has on the developing competencies regarding the German language. Existing data does not give any clues about the reasons for this difference²⁵.

The fact that pupils with a migration background²⁶ achieved significantly lower results than pupils of German origin, revealed by the PISA test for the first time in 2000, has not changed in the following years. On the contrary, the difference in educational achievements between those two groups has increased in 2003 and once again in 2006²⁷.

There is still a big difference between pupils with alien passports and pupils of German origin concerning achievements at school. Twice as many alien²⁸ pupils as those of German origin drop out of secondary school (Hauptschule) without a certificate.

²³Planerladen e.V. (2009): "Ungleichbehandlung von Migranten auf dem Wohnungsmarkt".

²⁴ „2008Bildung in Deutschland“ : (2008)Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung . 194

²⁵Ibid. p. 57

²⁶The report 'Education in Germany 2008' defines those as persons of migration background who or whose parents or grandparents had migrated to Germany after 1949, without considering their current citizenship.

²⁷85 .p,2008Bildung in Deutschland : (2008)Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung

²⁸The report 'BIBB-Übergangsstudie' defines those persons as aliens who do not own a German citizenship.

Alien pupils achieve a university-entrance diploma (Hochschulreife) three times less than pupils with a German origin. At the same time there are large differences between different groups of alien pupils concerning their chances towards achieving a high school degree, which enables them to enter university. Pupils with a Turkish, Italian or Eastern European (e.g. former Soviet Union) passports achieve the university-entrance diploma to a significant lesser extent than pupils with a passport from countries of the EU. Also, pupils who hold a passport of an East Asian country, a United States passport or of other countries of the American continent are relatively high achievers at school²⁹.

Children and youth with a migrant background have less access to higher education especially as opposed to their counterparts of German origin. Despite the ongoing increase of pupils who choose a secondary school³⁰ (Gymnasium) career, fewer pupils with a migration background enter these schools than their peers of German origin. This difference remains even when both groups have the same socio-economic background³¹.

Relating to vocational education youths of migration background are heavily disadvantaged: According to a study³² about transition from the school to general vocational training conducted by the Bundesinstitut fuer Berufsbildung (BIBB) in 2008, overall 55 per cent of youth from both groups (those with a migrant background as well as those of German origin) were in search of a placement as apprentice/trainee in companies. Young people with a migrant background had much lower success in getting an apprenticeship in a company than their counterparts. Having the same educational qualifications 50 per cent of youth of German origin had a placement after three months. Whereas for 50 per cent of youth with a migrant background it took 17 months to find a placement as an apprentice in a company. After 30 months 75 per cent of youth of German origin had an apprenticeship compared to only 60 per cent of youth coming from a migrant background³³.

After finishing school 31 per cent of youth with a migrant background and 24 per cent of youth of German origin were looking for vocational education in a school³⁴. Youth of migrant background had a significantly lower success rate at getting a vocational placement after school. Within a period of 30 months their success rate was 7 to 14 per cent lower than those youth of German origin³⁵. Considering professional training in general (apprenticeships in a company,

²⁹ ,.ibid :(2008)Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung . 90/91

³⁰ Gymnasium is a school that enables the direct access to the university.

³¹ 63 .p.,.ibid :(2008)Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung

³² nge von der allgemeinbildenden Schule in eine vollqualifizierende berg- :(2008) ,.G .J ,Ulrich & .U ,Beicht
r den zweiten nationalen Bildungsbericht zum Schwerpunktthema □nzende Analysen fu□Erg –Ausbildung
-ule und Arbeitsmarkt“ auf Basis der BIBBHochsch –Ausbildung –nge zwischen Bildung berg-,
25and 22 .p.,Arbeitspapier ,2006bergangsstudie -

³³ .Ibid

³⁴ Certain skilled professions such as designer are not trained at companies or production shops but at specific schools.

³⁵ Beicht, U. & Ulrich, J. G. (2008), *ibid.*, p. 29 and 30

vocational education in a school, apprenticeship as a civil servant, studying) youth with a migrant background are much less successful in getting a placement for a professional training. After four months 50 per cent of youth of German origin had a placement for a professional training compared to 50 per cent of youth of migrant background for whom it took 14 months for a similar placement. In conclusion after 30 months, 80 per cent of youth of German origin but only 68 per cent of those with a migrant background had a placement for a professional training³⁶.

V.iv Health

'Does Migration make ill?' is the title of an article that is published in Qantara.de³⁷ which focuses on the psycho-social exposure that migrants are experiencing. Ute Hempelmann, the author of the article states that unemployment, cramped domestic situations, pressure to adapt, have often extraordinary psychological and physical impact on migrants. These stresses in turn may lead to illness and domestic violence. Particularly violence towards women in migrant families often go ignored³⁸.

Betuel Licht, a second generation migrant woman of Turkish descent, is familiar with this phenomenon through her profession and wrote a novel about it³⁹. In an interview Ms. Licht states that violence in family education may apply to some mothers but the stress of mums with a migrant background is higher, therefore the risk of violence is also higher. Being both a newcomer and a stranger in a country, women often carry the biggest responsibility as they they have to mediate between all family members. At the same time however they not only often lack opportunities to relax but also external contacts and knowledge of the German language. People deal differently with the uprooting affects of migration. Some suffer psychologically others physically. Sometimes migration results in problems on the spinal disc, at other times it's related to obesity, high blood pressure or diabetes. It is the permanent pressure that makes migrants sick⁴⁰.

Compared to the majority, migrants use health services less frequently. This is assumed to be a result of the unequal access and also unequal claim for health services. Among others this is caused by problems of communication: Language barriers, lack of information, insufficient and unsuitable translation services in the health care system are some of the problems with which the patients with a migrant background have to deal with. Therefore the patients who are not conversant in the German language let alone with medical terminology struggle

³⁶ Ibid, p. 39 and 40

³⁷"Macht migration krank?", 2008, Qantara, http://de.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/ c-469/ nr-968/i.html, accessed 14.5.2009

³⁸ibid

³⁹Licht, Betül (2008): In meiner Not rief ich die Eule. Eine jünge Türkin in Deutschland. Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe.

⁴⁰"Macht migration krank?", 2008, Qantara, ibid.

to understand the explanations which are necessary for treatment⁴¹. This coupled with racist discrimination, causes severe emotional distress to such an extent that patients end up avoiding health services all together until their health situation becomes unbearable.

Another vulnerable group that are affected by discriminatory legal practises are undocumented migrants. Due to their illegal status this group has very limited access to health care facilities. Most of these immigrants do not use health care facilities for fear of being reported. The German public authorities are instructed by law to report illegal immigrants to the immigration office. At the same time the difficult and draining life and work conditions put them particularly at risk of falling ill without receiving appropriate care. According to a report presented by the German Institute for Human Rights, for example, cancer cases of adults and children or diabetes and its subsequent damages are diagnosed too late so that it causes permanent damage to the eyes and kidneys⁴².

A further group that is negatively affected by discriminatory policies are asylum seekers and refugees. According to Eva van Keuk⁴³ it is assumed that 45 per cent of asylum seekers in Germany suffer from post traumatic stress disorder. Among this group many had experienced torture, rape and persecution, which requires particular psychological and physical care. European guidelines dictate clear criteria for the identification of vulnerable groups and adequate humane treatment of traumatised refugees and asylum seekers. This applies to under aged unaccompanied youth, handicapped persons, single mums and victims of torture and others. However these guidelines are frequently violated. Many under aged refugees have to share accommodation with adults and many torture victims who have neither health service documents nor are able to speak German, do not receive appropriate therapy⁴⁴. The availability of psychotherapists, who are able to treat these refugees and asylum seekers in their native language, are extremely low in most of the larger German cities. Additionally only few cities have centres where torture victims can receive therapy. When refugees or asylum seekers eventually succeed in getting health insurance, it is not a guarantee that they get access to a therapist who can speak their mother tongue⁴⁵.

⁴¹Robert Koch Institut - Statistisches bundesamt, "Migration und Gesundheit: Gesundheitsversorgung fuer Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund", http://www.bitvtest.de/dateien/pdf_test/1049/migration.pdf, accessed 14.4.2009

⁴²Deutsches Institute fuer Menschenrechte (Hrsg.) (2008): Frauen, Männer und Kinder ohne Papiere in Deutschland – Ihr Recht auf Gesundheit, August 2008, 2. Auflage

⁴³Eva van Keuk is executive committee commissioner in German Institute for Human Rights.

⁴⁴Christa Schaffmann (2008): "Rechte traumatisierter Fluechtlinge Missachtet", Pressemitteilung, Nr. 14/08, Dezember 2008, http://www.bdp-verband.org/bdp/presse/2008/14_fluechtlinge.html, accessed 10.4.2009

⁴⁵Grundtvig Workshop on Psychological Needs of Refugees, iMiR, April 2009.

Good Practice: In September 2008 it was reported that the “Three-Generation-Project – Health with Migrants and for Migrants” started its work in Lower Saxony. The so called “MiMi” – Project aims to train committed men and women with a migrant background to become inter-cultural health care mediators. These people who will be instructed at the Ethno-Medical Centre, Hannover, will be appointed to improve the health provision of families with a migrant background. The financial support for the project comes from the Ministry of Social Affairs, Women, Family and Health but also from other sources such as the Laender and the Federal Government. The trained mediators have the responsibility to pass on their knowledge in their communities through offering courses on healthcare. Therefore the training contains facilitation techniques and course planning. The “Three-Generation-Project” is a significant milestone in improving the health care and health awareness for migrants as basic attitudes concerning health and elementary knowledge on health are passed on from grandparents and parents to the children.⁴⁶ For more information please refer to: Ethno-Medizinisches Zentrum e. V., Katja Ngassa Djomo (Project manager), E-Mail: ethno@onlinehome.de

V.v Policing and racial profiling

According to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz) Islamic terrorism has become an increasing real threat facing Germany in recent times⁴⁷. This is thought to become even more evident since German military forces are involved in the war in Afghanistan. In this context the training camps on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan are thought to be one of the major locations where Islamists from Europe travel to be trained as terrorists. Therefore Muslims who travel to this area are suspected of planning terrorist attacks in Germany. Particularly in the wake of the suicide attacks on the London underground in July 2005, it is assumed that also Germany may become the target of a potential Islamist motivated suicide bomb attack. However the office does not have substantial accounts on this matter or assumption. Also the report points to a ‘new quality’ of increasing propaganda activities e.g., the ‘Global Islamic Media Front’ (GIMF) is under suspicion of distributing relevant material in German via the internet. GIMF is thought to be one of the platforms used by the Islamist terrorists to distribute their ideology, strategy and the know-how for terrorist activities. This website is suspected of indoctrinating and planning a communication medium conspiracy. The report calls for a war against Islamism and to prevent terrorist recruiting⁴⁸.

⁴⁶“ethnomarketing.de”, <http://www.ethnomarketing.de/deutschland/5-drei-generationen-projekt-gesundheit-mit-migranten-fuer-migranten-startet-landesweit.html>, accessed 15.5.2009

⁴⁷Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz (2008): “Islamismus aus der Perspektive des Verfassungsschutzes”, <http://www.verfassungsschutz.de>, March 2008

⁴⁸ibid

In the introduction to the publication of the research "Muslims in Germany", conducted by Brettfeld and Wetzels⁴⁹ the Federal Minister for the Interior stated that "Islamic terrorism is the biggest threat to our security". Furthermore he talks about the "phenomenon of home grown terrorism" and therefore the need to enforce integration. Thus discourses on Muslims in public, political and academic fields are determined by security concerns and religiously motivated terrorism. Muslims are increasingly constructed and implicitly associated with anti-democratic attitudes and violence. Often debates are conducted in a polarising way which depicts Islam as being archaic, traditional, backward and undemocratic in contradiction to the apparently democratic, modern and liberal western values. Muslim identities are reduced and equated with a rigid sexual moral and authoritarian way of thinking. According to Uelker Polat⁵⁰ this prevents and undermines the integrative potential that Muslim communities can contribute to Western societies.

Another case that needs to be mentioned here is the case of Oury Jalloh and the court case regarding his 'mysterious' death in a police cell. Oury Jalloh was an asylum seeker who was taken into custody by the police in Dessau on the 7th of January 2005. He died handcuffed under unexplained circumstances after a fire broke out in his cell. Two police officers were charged for his death. However after 4 years and 57 days in court the two police officers were acquitted in December 2008. Many asylum initiatives and individuals hold the view that the death of Oury Jalloh was one of the many cases of deaths under police custody or through police conduct⁵¹.

In the Shadow Report of 2005 a severe example of racial profiling relating to the "war against terrorism" was reported from the city of Hamburg. On the evening of August, 25th 1,071 police controlled the traffic at 12 junctions in Hamburg, among them heavily armed policemen. The trigger for this large scale operation was the statement of a witness of Egyptian descent, who had overheard a discussion in Arabic the night before at a bus stop in Hamburg-Altona. According to police data, among the words, which the witness heard, was the sentence: "We will stand tomorrow as a hero before Allah". The police published pictures of the suspects, which had been taken by a monitoring camera in the bus. The police arrested one of the men at his home, the two others surrendered voluntarily. After interrogating the suspects, who turned out to be Chechens, for hours, the police released them from custody, because no charge could be verified. The police searched the dwellings of the 21 to 25 year old men and

⁴⁹Brettfeld, Kathrin and Peter Wetzels (2007): 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 Multicentric Study in Urban Environments, Hamburg, 509 p

⁵⁰Polat, Ülker (2007): Umstrittene Islam-Studie, Quantara.de, http://www.quantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-469/_nr-808/i.html, accessed 11.05.09

⁵¹The Voice Refugee Forum: "Break the silence!", Pressemitteilung zum Ende des Gerichtsprozesses im Fall Oury Jalloh. <http://www.thevoiceforum.org/node/1007>, 11.05.09

interrogated friends and acquaintances⁵². This case of racial profiling was never publicly discussed nor criticised. In 2008 the two suspects brought forward a case against the city of Hamburg, where they demanded compensation because of false accusations⁵³.

V.vi Racist violence and crime

In January 2008 a longitudinal study on anti-Semitic, Islamophobic and xenophobic attitudes was published. The survey is conducted by the 'Interdisciplinary Institute for Conflict and Violence Research' (University of Bielefeld) among 2000 persons. The survey indicates despite a slight decreasing tendency to the previous years a considerable frequency on xenophobic attitudes in the German society. According to the survey 25 per cent (2004: 30 per cent) of the interviewees said that "there are too many foreigners living in Germany". The survey shows an increase in Islamophobic attitudes. Overall 29 per cent (2004: 24 per cent) of the interviewees support the view that "Muslims should be prohibited from immigrating to Germany"⁵⁴.

These data presenting the views of the "average" German should not be seen as an isolated phenomenon that remains an opinion among a handful of people in German society. Rather these attitudes have a significant influence on the xenophobic activities and racially motivated attacks of the extreme right. A study on right-wing violence in Berlin released by the Berlin State Administration of the Interior in February 2008, presents that 49 per cent of all cases of right-wing violence could be identified as committed with a xenophobic motivation. The results were obtained through an assessment of 300 crimes which were registered by the police as extreme right-wing violent crimes between 2003 and 2006⁵⁵.

In 2008 German police statistics registered 13,985 politically motivated extreme right wing crimes (2007⁵⁶: 10,935). Among these numbers 735 crimes were recorded as violent. A substantial part of these crimes with 1,908 could be identified as xenophobic from which 291 were violent. These figures show a noticeable increase to the same period in 2007 with 1,576 xenophobic crimes. 305 people were injured as a result of these xenophobic violent crimes that indicate an increase of about 66 to the year 2007. For the first time the records for 2008 also present figures for hate crimes (1,999) without any definition of this term and the categories it contains. It is to assume that it indicates for example,

⁵² NDR, Terrorverdacht: Entwarnung nach Hamburger Grossfahndung http://www1.ndr.de/ndr_pages_std/0,2570,OID1711298,00.html, 11.05.09

⁵³ Information by the involved lawyers.

⁵⁴ RAXEN BULLETIN January – April 2008, http://www.efms.unibamberg.de/pdf/Bulletin_percent201_2008.pdf, accessed 16.4.2009

⁵⁵ Senatsverwaltung fuer Inneres und Sport, Berlin (2007) Rechte Gewalt in Berlin. 2003-2006. www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/seninn/verfassungsschutz/stand2005/rechte_gewalt_2003bis2006.pdf, accessed 15.4.2009

⁵⁶ Rechtsextreme Straftaten, http://www.petrapau.de/16_bundestag/dok/down/2007_zf-rechtsextreme-straftaten.pdf, accessed 16.4.2009

as well, homophobic crimes⁵⁷. The statistics for anti-Semitic violent crimes are recorded and presented separately. According to preliminary statistics submitted by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, there were 1089 anti-Semitic crimes, which shows an increase of 138 to the previous year with 951 registered anti-Semitic crimes. 32 of these crimes were recorded as violent and 36 people were injured⁵⁸.

V.vii Access to goods and services in the public and private sector

There are various areas in the public and private sector in which discriminatory practices still occur. However there is rarely information about discrimination in these fields. This is a good indication of how badly the anti-discrimination policy is established in Germany. Some of the fields, which require particular attention regarding discriminatory practices in accessing services and goods, are: Health care facilities, banking and financial credits for refugees and immigrants and entrance to leisure facilities.

According to research conducted by the Robert Koch Institute the problems in accessing the health services are possibly caused among others by the following: Differences in social security status resulting in financial access. Many "new" migrants such as seasonal workers have uncertainty regarding their own social security status. Many of those structural problems such as migration status and specific experiences of migration: Undocumented migrants have a particular difficulty in accessing health services because of fear of being detected⁵⁹.

Apart from undocumented migrants, (which we reported on in the Shadow Report of 2007) another vulnerable group that is particularly negatively affected in accessing health care are asylum seekers and refugees. Many of the asylum seekers suffer from trauma to torture, and/or rape. The availability of professional trauma treatment varies in the different German states.

The Berlin Centre for the Treatment of Torture Victims (bzfo) was founded in 1992 with support from the German Red Cross. The bzfo is a non-profit association committed to the rehabilitation of torture victims. In 2008, 547 patients were treated at the bzfo. The bzfo offers help to victims of organized state violence suffering from physical ailments, long-term psychological effects and psychosomatic disorders. The bzfo is organized like a social-medical treatment centre. Out-patient care and day-clinic care is provided through

⁵⁷ibid

⁵⁸ Antisemitische Straftaten 2008, http://www.petrapau.de/16_bundestag/dok/down/2008_zf_antisemitische_straftaten.pdf, accessed 16.4.2009

⁵⁹Robert Koch Institut, 2008, "Migration und Gesundheit: Gesundheitsversorgung fuer Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund", Berlin. [http://infomed.mds-ev.de/sindbad.nsf/de083cd4fce51312c12571e700442bef/9b5105ff5965f528c125748e003b0219/\\$FILE/GBE_Migration_Gesundheit_2008.pdf](http://infomed.mds-ev.de/sindbad.nsf/de083cd4fce51312c12571e700442bef/9b5105ff5965f528c125748e003b0219/$FILE/GBE_Migration_Gesundheit_2008.pdf), accessed 9.4.2009

medical, psychiatric and psychotherapeutic treatment offers. The healing process is supported by resource-oriented therapy offers such as art therapy, music therapy, physiotherapy and the Inter-cultural Healing Garden. Treatment would not be possible without the application of trans-cultural psychotherapy and psychiatry as well as the knowledge of the interpreters who build the lingual and cultural bridges⁶⁰.

A different field of difficulty in accessing services in the private sector is the right to have a bank account. In 2008 a law for detecting profits out of criminal offences, shortly called 'money laundering law' came into force. This however worsened the living situation of foreign nationals particularly those of tolerated refugees: Through the changes in the law these people are exempted from the right to a bank account. The law demands proof of identity with a valid official document which contains a photograph. The majority of the tolerated refugees do not fulfil this criterion. Herewith the legislator excludes approximately 100,000 people from opening an account through this law⁶¹.

Banking and credit seem to be one of the areas where both implicit and explicit discrimination takes place. As mentioned in previous reports German companies use scoring systems that work informally and is therefore highly controversial. Score values are used by credit institutions but also by other service providers to rank and rate people with a number that is calculated by computers with concealed methods. This number shows insiders if a person is able to pay off his bills. This number decides about the 'quality' of a customer. Although it is said that these scores do not entail categories such as nationality, profession, income, family status nor residential area⁶², it is to assume that these play an important role in granting a loan or a credit.

Migrants constitute a considerable part of the overall unemployed and are particularly affected by poverty. According to the '3rd Report on Poverty and Wealth of the Federal Government' that is presented by the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs, people with a migrant background are twice as much (28 per cent) at risk of being poor than people without a migration background (12 per cent)⁶³. The poverty risk of migrants under the age of 15 years is 33 per cent much higher than children and youth without a migration background at 14 per cent. Also older migrants (over 65 years) are more affected by poverty: In this age-group the risk of poverty, at 27 per cent, is more than double than that of persons without a migrant background. In the latter group poverty is only at approximately 10 per cent. The per-capita income of people with a migrant background remains around one fifth less than that of the total population.

⁶⁰bzfo, Behandlungszentrum fuer Folteropfer Berlin, <http://www.bzfo.de>, accessed 11.5.2009

⁶¹Pro Asyl, "Petition fuer das Recht Geduldeter auf ein Konto – gegen das gesezliche Verbot der Kontoeroeffnung durch Geduldete", Frankfurt a.M. 11.11.2008

⁶²Gunhild Luetge, "Der Mensch als Zahl", DIE ZEIT, Nr. 26, 19.6.2008

⁶³Third report on poverty and wealth, www.bmas.de/coremedia/generator/26742/property+pdf/dritter_armuts_und_reichtumsbericht.pdf, accessed 20.4.2009

However this report was criticised for embellishing the situation due to sampling and measuring methods. Therefore the validity of the data is very ambiguous⁶⁴.

One of the fields of discrimination is the access to nightclubs and pubs as we stated in the previous report. To illustrate this problem there is a case of discrimination in which a young black man was refused entrance to a pub by the bouncer. The bouncer told the man that he had been instructed by his boss to prevent male foreigners from entering the club. On 23rd July 2008 the Local Court (Amtsgericht) Oldenburg sentenced the owner of the nightclub to pay compensation of € 500 due to unlawful ethnic discrimination in the access to public goods and services. Thus the decision constitutes the first successful court ruling on ethnic discrimination that refers directly to the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG).

V.viii Media, including the internet

In a web page called 'Jurblog.de', Ekrem Senol published an article which he tellingly titled: "The devil on the wall has a Turkish migration background". In the article he criticises the approach of the government, the public and the media regarding issues related to migrants, migration and discrimination. In a long list he highlights the issues that migrants, but also the German society have to deal with almost daily⁶⁵. The list is insofar interesting as it covers almost all the topics that are discussed in different spheres of life in Germany. It also immediately highlights the discourses about issues relating to migrants and discrimination and the ways in which these problems are dealt with.

The mass-media have a major role in reinforcing these discourses and negative perceptions in reports which focus on, kindergarten and schools in which the share of foreign children are seemingly too high, about criminality in ghettos and honour crimes, about language problems of foreign nationals and about unemployed 'guest workers' who rip off the social services. Additionally much is said about the construction of new mosques in parallel societies and about oppressed women wearing hijab and forced marriages; about so called fundamentalist-Islamist terrorists or sleeper cells who live amongst us with the probable intent for assault; about security measures and checks with new and yet again safer identity cards; and about the tightening of immigration laws with data handling and policing. Regular media themes continue to talk, about teachers with religious head scarves who breach the neutrality of the state and about uncontrollable, weird backstage mosques in which hate preachers are at work. Themes also include the brutal Islamic practises and Jihad which in the meantime has become distorted and is represented merely as a holy war. The above-mentioned list is endless and the issues mentioned previously are just a

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ekrem Senol (2009): "Der Teufel an der Wand hat einen tuerkischen migrationshintergrund!", <http://www.jurblog.de/2009/04/20>, accessed 14.5.2009

fraction of the media catchwords which leaves readers with an uneasy feeling⁶⁶. Furthermore, ethnic minorities and migrants are not proportionally represented in the media industry. The proportion of full time journalists with a migrant background remains estimated at 1,2 per cent. This was the result of an empirical study of media scientists from the University of Dortmund and Siegen. According to these scientists ethnic diversity in the media industry in Germany lags far behind countries such as the USA, Canada and Great Britain⁶⁷.

On the other hand the utilization of the media by migrants finds great interest among academics and policy makers. A survey conducted in 2006 in North Rhine Westphalia analysed the use of media by young migrants with a Turkish background to find out about the extent of integration of these young adults. At the end of the survey the researcher came up with a result that divided the young people into three categories: the ones who were highly integrated because they were using mainly German media, and the second group who were poorly integrated because they were caught up in a 'Media ghetto' using primarily the media of the country of origin, and a third group that was located between the two⁶⁸. This however is a misleading conclusion as the use of the so called "ethno media" or the media of the host country cannot be taken as an indicator for integration or the lack of it. As this example illustrates even the use of the media is utilized to measure the scale of the ubiquitous and notorious term of integration.

The major problem that defines the relationship between migrants and the media is the way migrants are represented in mainstream German media. Firstly, people with a migrant background are not proportionally represented in the media. Despite the long history and presence of migrants in Germany they either do not appear in the media or are generally portrayed in a negative context. Positive representations however are relatively uncommon in the German media. According to Judith Arnold, migrants are normally associated with criminality and often portrayed as either perpetrator or victim⁶⁹. The negative portrayal and association of migrants in the German media influences the opinions and attitudes of the majority towards migrants and other minority groups. An example of this is the coverage of the murder of Morsal – a young woman with Afghan background from Hamburg. Her murder by her brother caused a very contentious debate in which Muslims were accused of being violent, backward and criminal⁷⁰.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Canan Topcu (2009): http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/nr_1402952/SubSites/DIK/DE/Themen/Medien/Journalisten/journalisten-inhalt.html, accessed 21.4.2009

⁶⁸Thilo Guschas (2009): 'Mediennutzung junger Erwachsener mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund', http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/nr_1362656/SubSites/DIK/DE/Themen/Medien/Mediennutzung/mediennutzung-node.html?__nnn=true, accessed 21.4.2009

⁶⁹Arnold, Judith (2008): Medien und Integration. Empfehlungen für Medienschaffende. http://www.medienheft.ch/kritik/bibliothek/k08_ArnoldJudith_01.html, accessed 17.6.09.

⁷⁰ssu/AP, '16-Jährige rebellierte gegen Familie - vom Bruder getötet', <http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/0,1518,553823,00.html>, accessed 22.4.2009

In a similar way the court case of the so called 'metro puncher' generated an enormous uproar in the media and the public. Two young men (from Turkish and Greek background) assaulted an older man, who in turn, had insulted them in the metro. The men were declared to be notorious criminals even dehumanised by the media and finally prosecuted with a disproportionately high prison sentence with the openly declared motivation to make an example of the case.

On the other hand it can be observed that successful migrants are not perceived as foreigners or strangers. Also Germans, French, Italians are not regarded as foreigners, whereas people from Arab countries are. These perceptions have become even worse since the events of 9/11⁷¹. This is evident even in the main public broadcasters such as ARD or the ZDF which cover Islam related topics. Here, more than 80 per cent of the coverage has a negative focus which takes the form of concentrating on the presentation of themes such as problems of integration, violation of human rights or international conflicts. Through the linkage of these or similar themes Islam is presented in a negative light. In this context often a number of images such as veiled women, the Kaaba or the Iranian Shiites who castigate themselves. This, comments Kai Hafez one of the researchers, "is comparable to illustrating Europeans always with the bullfight of Pamplona"⁷².

Increasingly the internet is becoming a space for racist and discriminatory views to be distributed to the public. According to the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, racist propaganda by extremist right groups against 'foreigners', Jews, Sinti and Roma gained in intensity in recent years. Particularly the trade with forbidden hate music, such as one with the title "Zigeunerpack", which is easy to find via the ordinary search engines, has adopted threatening dimensions. In January 2008 the Central Council of Sinti and Roma recorded and presented to delegates of the German Federal Parliament, a number of cases for review. To date these complaints remain and no consequences nor positive results have been met. Instead, the Council merely stated the intention to make concrete arrangements with providers of the internet services for the permanent control of the contents of their internet resources⁷³.

⁷¹Judith Arnold (2008): 'Medien und Integration: Empfehlungen fuer Medienschaffende', http://www.medienheft.ch/kritik/bibliothek/k08_ArnoldJudith_1.html, accessed 21.4.2009

⁷²Thilo Guschas (2009): 'Das Islambild in deutschen Medien', http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/nr_1319348/SubSites/DIK/DE/Themen/Medien/Islambild/islambild-node.html, accessed 21.4.2009

⁷³Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma, letter to Franzisca Weber (DGB-BVV), in: Netz gegen Rassismus, fuer gleiche Rechte, 21.2.2008

VI. Political and legal context

There have been elections in the Federal states of Hesse, Lower Saxony, Hamburg and Bavaria. In Lower Saxony the ruling conservative-liberal coalition was approved, while in Bavaria the ruling conservative Christian-Social Union (CSU) lost votes and had to go into a coalition with the Liberals (FDP). In Hamburg the ruling Christian-Democrats lost their majority as well and had to enter into a coalition with the Greens (GAL), the first conservative-green coalition on a Länder/State level. In Hesse, Socialdemocrats (SPD), the left (DIE LINKE) and the Greens won a majority, but a coalition treaty was not possible, because the right wing segment of the Socialdemocrats refused to go into a coalition with the left, which is a new party made up of the former communists of Eastern Germany and the left wing of the Socialdemocrats. In all these elections the fascist Nationaldemocratic Party (NPD) did not play a role.

There have been local elections in Bavaria, Schlesvig-Holstein, Brandenburg and Saxony. The right wing parties won two seats in Schlesvig-Holstein (Kiel and Lauenburg), and was able to get seats in all districts in Saxony, where they are well represented in the Länder parliament. The election results do not have direct influence on the political and legal context of the following fields, but it makes clear, that firstly the right-wing NPD is establishing a strong base in municipalities in Saxony and secondly, although there is a left majority (Socialdemocrats, the Left and Greens) among the electorate, it is currently not possible to transform it into a political majority, because of the split within the Socialdemocratic Party, whose strong right wing segment, does not permit a coalition with the Left.

VI.i Anti discrimination

The first court decisions within the context of the Directives 2000/78/EC and 2000/43/EC, which are implementing in the Equal Treatment Act (AGG) of 2006, have been taken. The most prominent case, the “deaconry case”, which was described in the Shadow Report of Germany 2007, is currently blocked after the last court decision. In this case a Muslim woman of Turkish origin applied for a job in a Christian organisation active in the field of integration. The organisation was interested in her application and phoned her to enquire, if she would be willing to join a Christian church. She said no and she didn't get the position. The first court decision saw this as religious discrimination and the victim was granted compensation. The next court decision did not refer to any regulation in the Equal Treatment Act, but just mentioned that the prerequisites for the job was a university degree and as the applicant had no university degree, she was denied the job based on lack of qualification. At the moment the lawyer responsible for the case is trying to reopen the case by applying for an appeal in court⁷⁴.

⁷⁴Migration und Bevoelkerung, Nr. 1, January 2008, see also

In 2008 the Federal Cabinet adopted the National Action Plan (NAP) against “racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and anti-Semitism and related forms of intolerance”. This was an obligation resulting from the UN Conference against Racism in Durban in 2001. The NAP introduced a number of initiatives and measures taken by the government to deal with intolerance, on the basis of origin, ancestry or religion. These are as follows: prevention of right wing extremism among young people through education, encouraging civil society and aiding civil courage in order to establish democratic values, appreciate diversity and contest anti-Semitism as well as supporting young people who are at risk of right wing extremism. Preventing discrimination in the job market particularly for young people and collecting and linking activities on the social and political level.

This action plan however was criticised by the German Institute for Human Rights firstly for the lack of a sound analysis of the motives, extent, manifestations and effects of racism and racist discrimination in Germany. According to the institute a resolute examination of the phenomenon of racist attitudes existent not only on the fringes but also in the midst of the society is missing. Secondly, there is a lack of a differentiated examination of the situation of those groups who are particularly affected by racism. Although the plan contains detailed explanations about anti-Semitism, a comparable account on other affected groups such as Sinti and Roma, people of African origin and Muslims (men and women) would have been important. Thirdly the plan is criticised by the institute for not considering the particular situation of the foreign nationals who live in Germany. In this context ICERD⁷⁵ had taken an initiative to protect non-nationals from racist discrimination and to remove the existing discrimination both by the state and by individuals. Fourthly, the plan does not respond to the implicit discrimination that affects particularly migrant families and their children at school, in the job market or at work. The plan does not pay attention to the aspect of actual disadvantages, for example, of people with a migrant background. And fifthly, the action plan of the government does not deal with the increasing or at the higher level remaining figures of criminal and violent offences with racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic motivation. In total, the Institute criticises the lack of concrete and measurable steps and the development of new, future-oriented provisions. Therefore the action plan of the government lacks an orientation towards real action and it also lacks in establishing monitoring tools to measure success and failure in combating racism. The few intentions targeting the future remain too general and without commitment.

Therefore, according to the German Institute for Human Rights, these measures do not meet the requirements of an action plan and they refer to the evaluation of already existing programmes and institutions. Accordingly, the institute concludes, an implementation and evaluation process on the basis of this present plan is not possible⁷⁶. In August 2008 CERD⁷⁷ accepted its ‘Concluding

<http://bundesrecht.juris.de/agg/index.html>

⁷⁵ICERD = International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.

⁷⁶Petra Follmar-Otto and Hendrik Cremer (2009): ‘Der Nationale Aktionsplan der Bundesrepublik

Observations' on Germany's struggle against ethnic discrimination. Apart from some positive aspects such as the introduction of the Equal Treatment Act, the much debated German Islam Conference and the founding programme 'Youth for Diversity, Tolerance and Democracy' the report criticises the lack of some essential issues. One criticism is that there is a lack of statistical data about ethnic minorities. A definition of racial discrimination in the national legislation is still absent. Another point of critique is that German criminal law does not contain explicit provisions which consider racial motivation as an aggravating factor by the courts when determining criminal sentences. Also CERD expressed its concern about the persisting discrimination of Sinti and Roma and the proportionally high representation of migrant children in schools for special needs (Sonderschule) "mainly on account of their [apparent] lack of adequate German language skills", and their under representation in Secondary and Tertiary education⁷⁸.

On 18th August 2008, the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG), celebrated its second year. However according to the Berlin-based anti-discrimination network ADNB at the Turkish Council Berlin-Brandenburg (TBB) the Equal Treatment Act is not known among the migrant population. This is shown by the outcome of a non-representative survey conducted by the ADNB of the TBB. The survey was conducted among 421 persons from whom 52 per cent said that they are not aware about the existence of any anti-discrimination legislation. Only about 16 per cent felt that they were adequately informed about their rights based on the AGG. Also 16 per cent declared to know exactly whom this law is protecting. Some 25 per cent of the respondents indicated to know where to get help in case of discrimination. And 69 per cent of the informants would like to receive more information about the General Equal Treatment Act. This survey shows that the Federal Anti-discrimination Body (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes), although established with the General Equal Treatment Act is not meeting its obligations, which includes, to inform people adequately about their rights⁷⁹. On the other hand the German Anti-discrimination Association (advd) also acknowledged shortcomings of the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG). The anti-discrimination umbrella organisation advd used the second anniversary of the AGG as an opportunity to release a wide-ranging statement on the weaknesses of the AGG and its implementations. In particular the weak support and counselling such as the work of the Equality Body and the lack of support

Deutschland gegen Rassismus: Stellungnahme und Empfehlungen', Deutsches Institut fuer Menschenrechte, Policy Paper No. 12, Januar 2009

⁷⁷The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) is a United Nations convention. A second-generation human rights instrument, the Convention commits its members to the elimination of racial discrimination and the promotion of understanding among all races. The Convention is monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD).

⁷⁸CERD/C/DEU/CO/18, 21 August 2008, Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/co/CERD.C.DEU.CO.18.pdf>, accessed 23.4.2009

⁷⁹ADNB des TBB, 'Zwei Jahre Allg. Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (AGG) – Wer weiss was?', <http://www.openpr.de/news/235027/Zwei-Jahre-Allg-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz-AGG-Wer-weiss-was.html>, accessed 23.4.2009

infrastructure on the local level were seen as problem fields by the advd. As indicated subsequently to the results of the survey in Berlin-Brandenburg the advd criticised the insufficient implementation of the EU equality directives through the AGG. A further point of criticism was the numerous bureaucratic and practical hurdles that, according to the advd, make it difficult to take legal steps against discrimination (e.g. the shift of the burden of proof is not known among judges, because it is a new concept in German legislation)⁸⁰.

VI.ii Migration and integration

In October 2008 following intensive debates the European Council enacted the 'European Pact for Immigration and Asylum'. Among others the pact involves guidelines such as controlling legal immigration according to the needs, priorities and capacity of each of the member states as well as promoting integration. Although the pact contains a guideline that aims to assure the "creation of a Europe of asylum" it aims to a greater extent at limiting the access to Europe, for example through stronger border controls and the deportation of undocumented migrants⁸¹. These regulations would pave the way for more rigorous practices by German authorities towards, for example, undocumented migrants and their families who anyway live under very difficult conditions.

The 11 Common Basic Principles have not been widely discussed in Germany. The Union of Metal Workers (IG Metall) referred positively to the basic principles and called in a working paper on migration policy⁸² for a Europe wide support of migrants and asylumseekers and the implementation of the basic principles through the 'National Plan to Integration' (NIP) and the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG). In November 2008 the third summit on integration took place. Invited by the Federal Government the aim of the summit was to present first interim results of the 'National Plan to Integration' (NIP) that was published in July 2007.

The NIP, which was compiled with contributions of the Federation, Länder and local authorities as well as social partners, welfare organisations and various migrant self organisations, contained a number of recommendations on the following topics:

- Courses on integration and language improvement,
- Education, training and job market,
- Living situation of women and girls,
- Local integration through recreation and volunteer work as well as through

⁸⁰ advd, 'Stellungnahme des Antidiskriminierungsverbandes Deutschland (advd) zum zweijährigen Bestehen des Allgemeinen Gleichbehandlungsgesetzes (AGG)', http://www.antidiskriminierung.org/files/Stellungnahme_per_cent202_per_cent20Jahre_per_cent20agg_end_12.09.2008.pdf, accessed 23.4.2009

⁸¹ Netz gegen Rassismus, fuer gleiche Rechte, Koordinierungsstelle: DGB- Bundesvorstand, Bereich Migrations- und Antirassismuspolitik, March 2009, Berlin

⁸² Migrationspolitisches

Forderungs- und Arbeitspapier
der IG Metall,

http://www.igmetall.de/cps/rde/xbcr/internet/docs_ig_metall_xcms_25502_2.pdf, accessed 17.6.09

media and sciences

The interim assessment was attended by all participants mentioned above and by sport organisations, employer unions and trade unions. Although the question about the process of the implementations were brought forward apart from general declarations there was no concrete plan for the future of the process of realisation and improvement of the NIP. The first progress report of the Federal Government for implementing had been presented in October 2008.

In July 2008 the Confederation of German Trade Unions (DGB) had published its own interim report about the implementation of the NIP, titled "Participation instead Discrimination". In this report the DGB described not merely the participation of migrants in trade unions, the co-determination and the realisation of the self commitments but it also deals with subject areas such as racism and discrimination as well as with residence and citizenship laws which were left out in the NIP⁸³. Simultaneously, the members of the government and those of non-governmental organisations work on the 'German Islam Conference' (DIK). While the Islam Conference was dominated by questions of national security and the requirements of the introduction of Islamic religious instruction at schools, language improvement of migrants were at the focus of the plan on integration⁸⁴. In 2008 debates about integration and participation were partly dominated by two incidents, which occurred in 2008: The first incident was the attack of two young men with migrant background on a passenger who had insulted them in a Munich underground at the end of 2007. The older man was injured and had to be treated in hospital. Nevertheless, this incident caused a massive outcry among the public and in politics and ended accordingly with a disproportionately high prison sentence for both young men. Subsequently the case was exploited by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party in Hesse during the regional elections in January 2008. The members of the CDU took this as an opportunity to warn the public about the threat that immigrant youth represented to public security. In this context they requested a faster deportation and the tightening of the juvenile crime law. This was criticised not only by other political parties, but also by the Central Council of Jews, Migrant organisations and the DGB for being dishonest and partly as xenophobic. Despite this critique the Federal Board of the CDU passed their resolution of requirements on the tightening of Juvenile Crime Law and the law for eviction of immigrant youth offenders⁸⁵.

The second case occurred in Hamburg and centred on the murder of a 16 year old girl of Afghan background by her brother. Media reports claimed that it was on grounds that she had an unsuitable way of life for an Afghan-Muslim woman and would bring shame over the family. The incident caused unprecedented attention and a controversial debate about integration and of crime among

⁸³ibid.

⁸⁴ibid.

⁸⁵ibid.

'foreigners'⁸⁶. For example, the chief of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) of Hamburg Michael Neumann described the incident as a result of a long lasting problem of integration. He appealed for a united defence for law and order that no longer should be discredited as reactionary. This case is being used by the media and politicians to further the integration debate in a more negative way and to utilize the issue for justifying and tightening the already restrictive immigration laws. Despite warnings by some politicians such as Till Steffen, (senator of Justice from the Green-Alternative List, GAL) to be cautious in generalizing Afghans or immigrants, the handling of the case again resulted in a more reactionary debate among the majority society denouncing everything that is seemingly linked to Afghans, Muslims and Islam. Some politicians such as the Senator for the Interior of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) Christoph Ahlhaus even went as far to demand the introduction of a specific crime statistic for Germans with a migrant background⁸⁷.

As already stated in the previous report of 2007, a rather rigid and very controversial law that came into force in August 2007 caused a considerable decrease in residence permits for the immigration of spouses in the first half of 2008. The reason for this is the requirement of certified German language knowledge prior to entry into the country⁸⁸.

On the other hand the immigration of highly skilled specialists has been alleviated. This is based on the action programme of the Federal Government about the contribution of labour migration for covering the need for skilled personnel in Germany. Due to an impending deficit of highly skilled specialists, the German government took measures for the alleviation of immigration of work force, but also to simplify the access of people who have the status of being 'tolerated'⁸⁹ to the labour market by issuing residence permits as well as establishing a labour force monitoring⁹⁰.

At the same time the Government agreed upon retaining the limitations on the freedom of movement of workers (Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit) of people from the new EU member states (NMS-8) and from Bulgaria and Romania. For the legal implementation of the enactment in August 2008 the Federal Government presented a blueprint of a 'Law to Steer Labour Migration' (Arbeitsmigrationssteuerungsgesetz). The law came into force on December 2008⁹¹.

⁸⁶Such incidents in which migrants – particularly those with a Muslim background – are involved are called generally 'Ehrenmorde' (honour killings). But it is interesting to notice that similar cases caused by non-migrants are labelled as 'family drama'.

⁸⁷"Politiker wollen Integrationsdruck auf Zuwanderer erhöhen", Spiegel Online, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,554851,00.html>, accessed 4.5.2009

⁸⁸Netz gegen Rassismus, fuer gleiche Rechte, Koordinierungsstelle: DGB- Bundesvorstand, Bereich Migrations- und Antirassismuspolitik, March 2009, Berlin

⁸⁹Geduldeter = Person with exceptional leave to remain for humanitarian reason.

⁹⁰Netz gegen Rassismus, fuer gleiche Rechte, Koordinierungsstelle: DGB- Bundesvorstand, Bereich Migrations- und Antirassismuspolitik, March 2009, Berlin

⁹¹ibid

In the course of the year 2008 for the first time several thousand youth with dual citizenship had to choose between one of their two citizenships that they had since birth. If they missed to do so by their 23rd birthday they stood the risk of losing their German citizenship. The obligation to decide dates back to the so called 'Option liability' which is based on the Citizenship Law of 1999. According to this law children of migrant parents who were born in Germany automatically received German citizenship provided that at least one of the parents had legal residency in Germany for at least eight years. However, if the child adopted the citizenship of the parents, he/she has the obligation to decide for one of the citizenships when he/she is between 18 and 23. If the child opts for the foreign citizenship, then he/she automatically loses the German citizenship. If he/she decides to keep the German citizenship he/she has to prove that he/she has no foreign citizenship or was released from it⁹².

The annual report of Amnesty International (AI) published in 2008 criticised Germany for the violation of human rights, particularly regarding the handling of refugees and asylum seekers. The AI report brought up also other areas of human rights violations. One of the critique points was the insufficient action by the authorities against the human rights abuses which occurred in the context of the USA led "war against terrorism". Here the report mentioned the handling of the terror suspects Murat Kurnaz, Muhammad Zammar and Khaled El-Masri.

Further the AI report criticised Germany for the deportation of people to countries such as Algeria and Tunisia, in which they are not protected from human rights abuses. Another criticism was regarding the handling of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. According to AI the implementation of eleven EU guidelines concerning Asylum in German law was not sufficient to protect people who fled persecution effectively. For example, asylum seekers from central Iraq or from the south of the country, who do not belong to minorities at risk, were not granted adequate protection.

VI.iii Criminal justice

VI.iii.i Racism as a crime

In September 2008, the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs announced a new funding programme that aims to financially support initiatives against right-wing extremist tendencies. This is expected to help initiatives which seek to assist right-wingers who want to leave this milieu. The financial capacity is around seven million Euros and is allocated primarily to initiatives which offer assistance for those right-wingers who want to exit the neo-Nazi scene. It is targeted at labour market integration to start a 'new life'. The funding programme

⁹²'Deutschland: Optionspflicht fuer volljaehrige mit Doppelpass', Migration und Bevoelkerung, Ausgabe 1, Januar 2008.

also strives to promote a mutual exchange of experiences and good practice of particularly effective approaches in different countries such as Sweden⁹³. As already mentioned in section VI.i there is an intensive effort directing financial resources to prevent right wing extremism or to support those who are at risk of joining right wing organizations.. Although these attempts are positive and earn appreciation they show that right-wing extremism is seen as a phenomenon emerging out of social disadvantages and therefore can be overcome by financially supporting those socially disadvantaged right-wingers. This view constructs the right-wing extremists as victims of social circumstances and reproduces unintentionally the racist and anti-Semitic politics and activities of those people.

Increasingly programmes against right-wing extremism and xenophobia are established also on the communal level. The North-Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) state ministries set up a liaison office to enhance local networks against right-wing extremism. The liaison office aims to coordinate and enhance the state-wide activities and efforts against right-wing extremism as well as to assist governmental and non-governmental organisations and initiatives against increasing right-wing activities on the local level⁹⁴.

An effort to curb racism and xenophobia was shown by the Upper House (Bundesrat) which had passed a bill to implement hate crime concepts into criminal law in 2007. In their justification of the bill the Upper House pointed out that the protection of the victims of hate crimes would be represented "in the current law merely by an inadequate normative expression". However in August 2008 this bill was rejected by the Federal Government on the grounds, that the protection of people who become victims of inhuman, racist or xenophobic motivated violence would be already sufficiently assured through the present penal code⁹⁵.

The 2008 report of Amnesty International (AI) pointed to the infamous case (mentioned in section V.v) of an asylum seeker with the name Oury Jalloh who died violently in police custody in January 2005. Two police officers who were accused for being involved in the death of Oury Jalloh were acquitted by the County Court of Dessau in December 2008. Despite the apparent efforts of a complete clarification of the case, according to the chief judge Manfred Steinhoff, many significant circumstances remained unexplained which resulted in an appeal lodged against the judgement. Also, Barbara Lochbihler, general secretary of the German section of AI, criticised the weak actions against police

⁹³Bundesministerium fuer Arbeit und Soziales, 12.09.2008, „Engagement gegen Rechtsextremismus intensiviert“, http://www.bmas.de/coremedia/generator/27520/2008_09_12_engagement_gegen_rechtsextremismus.htm, accessed 29.4.2009

⁹⁴Ministerium fuer Generationen, Familie, Frauen und Integration des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 8.5.2008, „Land stärkt lokale Netzwerke - Start der Landeskoordinierungsstelle gegen Rechtsextremismus“, <http://www.mgffi.nrw.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/pm2008/pm080508a/index.php>, accessed 29.4.2009

⁹⁵Deutscher Bundestag, PuK 2 – Palamentskorrespondenz, "Bundesrat fordert haertere Strafen bei rassistischer Gewalt", http://www.bundestag.de/aktuell/hib/2008/2008_234/02, accessed 24.4.2009

violence in Germany. She suggested the appointment of an independent commission at Federal state level that ought to investigate cases of disproportionate violence by the police⁹⁶. In fact, according to a documentation compiled by the 'Antirassistische Initiative e.V.', some 14 asylum seekers died as a result of police actions between 1993 and 2008. Within this period 417 asylum seekers (130 of them in custody) were injured by the police or the security personnel, 371 asylum seekers were injured through arbitrary measures or cruelty and 5 people died during the process of deportation, involving police action. The documentation also provides figures of other violent deaths and injuries of asylum seekers and refugees, which are directly or indirectly implications of the Federal Government's asylum politics and measures⁹⁷.

VI.iii.ii Counter terrorism

The question of national security has become a much debated issue in Germany in recent years coupled with a noticeable increase in the collaboration between politicians, the military and science. For example: in December 2008 the Max-Planck-Society and the Federal Academy for Security Politics (BAKS) invited an international group of politicians, scientists, experts from the Federal army and practitioners. They came together to discuss the "Demographic changes: A challenge for the national and global security". This conference was a result of the increasing concerns about the demographic change in Germany and the security problems that it may raise. Until now demographic change was a concern for health services, retirement, pensions and the social system. Gradually it has become an issue of security-political debates without knowing exactly what these issues could be. The major question at the conference was, how to deal with an increasingly heterogeneous society and the security concerns that this may bring about. Particularly the security relevance that seemingly results out of immigration and the insufficient integration of migrants were discussed. In this context the minister for the interior, Mr. Schäuble, did not miss the opportunity to refer to the issue of undocumented migrants and the necessity of a rigorous extradition of these people to their home countries.

It is important to point out that a heterogeneous society as a result of immigration is stipulated in this discourse as a concern for security and migrants (who are deemed as not being integrated enough) are constructed as a potential security threat to society. Particularly associating undocumented migrants with national security, seems to be an attempt to depict them as a threat to the rest of society. The final outcome of the above mentioned conference was, that the growing number of young people in countries such as Iran or Saudi Arabia would become increasingly aggressive if they continued being unable to take part in the wealth

⁹⁶Amnesty International: Jahresbericht 2008', Migration und Bevoelkerung, Ausgabe 1, Januar/Februar 2009

⁹⁷Antirassistische Initiative e.V.,2009, "Bundesdeutsche Fluechtlingspolitik und ihre toedlichen Folgen" (1993-2008), www.ari-berlin.org/doku/titel.htm, accessed 30.5.09

of their elites. It is interesting to note that firstly young people from certain Muslim countries are labeled as being potential terrorists and additionally this is somehow linked to immigration and migrants in the wealthy western countries⁹⁸.

The general suspicion towards migrants and international students particularly from non-European and Muslim countries caused a controversial debate between the different political fractions, the universities and the immigration authorities in the spring of 2008. The immigration office of North-Rhine-Westphalia created a questionnaire that was aimed at nationals from 26 mainly Muslim countries. The form contained questions about opinions and intentions of the students such as: "Do you know how to build explosives?" or "Have you ever been to Afghanistan?" The final question was optional and asked whether the person would be willing to liaise with the Federal Security authorities or the police. The form was compulsory and formed part of the procedure where people wanted to have their German residence permit renewed or extended. Due to the fact that the forms were not public knowledge, they could not be copied nor removed from the premises. This explains why it took so long before this issue could not be made public although it was introduced in autumn of 2007. The applicant was informed; that in the case of suspicion their personal information could be sent to the authorities dealing with security or crime issues. Protests from the university in Muenster, but also from various political fractions (groups) against these tests were dismissed by the interior ministry of Northrhine-Westfalia with arguments citing "Islamist motivated terrorist attacks". According to the interior ministry of Northrhine-Westfalia terrorist attacks could be avoided by a strict application of immigration regulations. The obligation to fill in these forms is based on a so called EU listing of 'states with a duty to consultation'. According to the government of Northrhine-Westfalia the test is also practised in other Federal States⁹⁹.

Terrorism is still seen as one of the major threats to Germany. This was again asserted during the German Islam Conference (DIK) in March 2008 where the members had gathered for the third time in a plenary to present the interim results. The members of the study group 'Security and Islamism' of the DIK along with the security authorities supported the view that Germany faces serious terrorist threats from Islamists. Not merely foreign nationals or people from other countries are seen as potential terrorists, but also those migrants who grew up in Germany and even Germans. These people, according to the study group, are radicalised under the influence of some Muslim groups and organisations which disseminate extremist ideologies and attitudes.

A further point was the concern about Islamic education. According to the members of the study group, conveying an Islamist worldview may not

⁹⁸Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, "Demographischer Wandel – aber sicher?", Presseinformation, 8.2.2008. www.mpg.de, accessed 30.5.09

⁹⁹Carolin Jenkner and Jochen Leffers, "Leben unter Generalverdacht", Spiegel Online, 28.7.2008, <http://www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/studium/0,1518,567185,00.html>, accessed 2.5.2009

necessarily be linked to terrorist attacks. However, the members assume that an Islamist curriculum can have a radicalising effect even if the content of the curriculum contains no propaganda relating to politico-religious motivated violence. The danger of this comes from its disintegrative effects that in turn may facilitate the so called “emerging Islamist parallel societies” and feed radicalisation into political extremism.

These assumptions and the perceived threat that an Islamic curriculum can bring about, stands in contradiction with the efforts of the party of the Interior Minister Mr. Schäuble from the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) who was the main supporter of the building of a representative Mosque in Cologne in the previous year. Those contradictory debates cause an alienation of migrants particularly among faithful Muslims. These views once again show the shortcomings of the concept of integration that is understood as assimilation in which the culture of the hegemonic majority society is set as the norm, which all others have to accept and internalize unconditionally.

Yet another issue of the above mentioned study group was aimed at improving the liaison between Muslims and security authorities in Germany. For this purpose a “clearing house” was set up in the Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). The aim of this “clearing house” is, among others, to establish and to support a country wide network of contact persons between security authorities and Muslim organisations. The clearing house started to function immediately after the conference in 13th of March¹⁰⁰.

A new political development manifested itself in the summer of 2008, when the local party “Pro Köln” (Pro Cologne), having been elected to the Cologne City Council on the topic of Mosque building, invited all major European right-wing parties (Vlams Belange, Front National, Lega Nord, etc.) to an “Anti-Islamisation Congress” in Cologne. On the day of the congress a huge coalition of city officials, party officials, migrant groups, anti-fascist groups, business people (Muslims and non-Muslims) prevented the event from taking place by blocking the whole city. The city centre was blocked by demonstrators, hotel reservations for participants of the congress were cancelled at the last minute, taxi drivers refused to transport participants and speakers of the congress to the congress location. At the end of the day the congress did not take place and only a few people were able to reach the event location¹⁰¹.

In the city of Duisburg-Marxloh the newly constructed Mosque was opened in summer 2008 without creating any problems with the local population or politicians. This is due to the fact, that from the beginning, when the first ideas of

¹⁰⁰Bundesinnenminister und Plenum der Deutschen Islam Konferenz (DIK) stellen Zwischen-Ergebnisse vor, 13.03.2008, http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/nn_1319668/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/DIK/2008/080313-pressemitteilung-01-08-bmi.html, accessed 3.5.2009

¹⁰¹Lenz Jacobsen, Köln, “Rechter Reinfeld”, Spiegel Online, 19.09.2008

constructing the Mosque came up, the local population, the majority being Muslims, but also the non-Muslim population, were heavily involved in the whole planning and construction process. Muslim women, as representatives of the Mosque played a decisive role. The Mosque has integrated a community centre for all local population groups, Muslim and non-Muslims¹⁰². This urban planning process can be seen a positive initiative in avoiding confrontational and politicised controversies as seen in Cologne.

VI.iii.iii Racial profiling

The reports about racial profiling are dispersed over several years. Presently there is no specific information available concerning racial profiling in the political and legal context of 2008. Thus the following is a report of issues significant for the question of racial profiling in the last couple of years. Initially it is to point out that the topics 'counter terrorism' and 'racial profiling' is intertwined as both the law and politicians deal with them in a related manner.

The rapidly-expanding immigration in Europe and the efforts to limit it provided new ways of gathering information and setting up databases for law enforcement. Since the events of 9/11 databases are at risk of being exploited as a source for profiling. The Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI) is documenting ethnic profiling and introduced some issues at the roundtable Seminar in Belfast organised by the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission¹⁰².

According to OSJI ethnic/racial profiling is practised in many EU countries among others in the UK, Italy, Spain and Germany. In the majority of European countries citizens are required to carry ID cards. According to the OSJI in many contexts this leads directly to ethnic profiling. In Germany where carrying an ID card is obligatory the police can conduct random ID control on people mostly on the basis of their 'foreign appearance'. There have also been checks of IDs at German mosques that machine gun carrying police conducted even on 11 year old children¹⁰³.

As mentioned above 9/11 and the subsequent events have been taken as a pretext for data mining exercises in various western countries. In Germany in search for terrorist "sleeper" identities police forces trawled through 8.3 million sensitive personal data without finding a single terrorist. The search criteria were set for people matching the following profile: male; age 18-40; current or former student; Muslim or Islamic links through birth or nationality to one of several specified countries with a Muslim-majority population. The search for potential or

¹⁰²Rebekah Delsol (2008): "Ethnic Profiling, ID Cards and European Experience", Presentation to Identity Cards and Suspect Communities Roundtable Seminar, organised by Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission on 15th October 2008 at Malone House, Belfast, Open Society Justice Initiative, http://www.nihrc.org/dms/data/NIHRC/attachments/dd/files/104/Ethnic_Profiling_ID_and_european_experience.pdf, accessed 5.5.2009

¹⁰³Ibid.

'real' terrorist was intensified after the attempted bomb attack in Germany in 2006¹⁰⁴. As already stated in the Shadow Report of 2007, in April 2006 in a decision, the German Federal constitutional Court declared this data mining operation unconstitutional¹⁰⁵.

Ethnic profiling is not limited to certain places, times or certain persons it affects thousands of people in streets, in airports and, as mentioned before outside mosques. Many Muslims, Sinti and Roma and migrant groups have reported that they are confronted with suspicion and are constantly expected to prove their legal residence status or their innocence¹⁰⁶. These have stigmatizing effects on individuals and on entire communities. This is the case, for example, when German police conducted mass identity checks in riot gear outside major mosques using preventive measures lasting several hours. According to the OSJI "there is a troubling gap that exists in current EU immigration law in the protection of third country nationals – in particular, Article 3.2 of the Racial Equality Directive which allows differential treatment on grounds of nationality. While immigration decisions have to be made on the basis of nationality, this broad exclusion of nationality discrimination leaves a significant gap in protection and can 'mask' forms of discrimination based on race or ethnic origin as supposedly legitimate differences based on nationality. When combined with the fact that current EU anti-discrimination law does not apply to criminal justice and policing, these shortfalls potentially permit the kinds of profiling that is described above¹⁰⁷.

For example the Central Registry of Aliens (Auslaenderzentralregister, AZG) is a data base that contains approximately 23,7 million personal data about foreigners in Germany (February 2009). The registry is managed by the Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees and operated by the Federal Administrative Office. Some 6.000 public partner authorities have access to the data among others the immigration office, police offices and customs. In 2000 the operation of the AZG was given the negative 'Big Brother Award' as the AZG represents an "institutionalised official discrimination of non-German nationals in Germany". Eight years later, in December 2008 the European Court of Justice decided that AZG may only keep those data, which are absolutely necessary for the use of the rules for the residence law. A utilization of the data to fight crime or for statistical purposes are prohibited.

VI.iv Social inclusion

In November 2008 the third summit on Integration took place in the Federal Chancellery in Berlin. At this summit the first progress report on the National

¹⁰⁴[Daniel Moeckli](http://www.opendemocracy.net/) (2008): "The impossibility of terrorist profiling", Published on open Democracy News Analysis (HYPERLINK "<http://www.opendemocracy.net/>" <http://www.opendemocracy.net>)

¹⁰⁵Bundesverfassungsgericht, http://www.bverfg.de/entscheidungen/rs20060404_1bvr051802.html, accessed 6.5.2009

¹⁰⁶Rebekah Delsol (2008): "Ethnic Profiling, ID Cards and European Experience", *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷*ibid*

Integration Plan was introduced which the Federal Government considered as positive. Some 200 people from the Federal Government, the Länder and Municipalities as well as representatives from civil society organisations including migrants came together to discuss the actual state of integration. Then in summer 2008 the Federal Government enacted a new form of reporting about integration. It was decided to measure and record the situation and the level of integration of persons with a migrant background through the monitoring of 14 life spheres. This is expected to expose progress and remaining challenges through which the politics of integration can be controlled. For this operation existing official statistics about people with a migrant background shall be used as a source of information. The government assumes that figures about foreign populations alone will not be sufficient as more than half of the people with a migrant background also have German citizenship. The aim of this is a continuing monitoring of integration over the years. This is seen as the basis for the future development of national integration plans¹⁰⁸.

Actions taken to combat poverty and social exclusion are directed towards the outside, the developing countries, good governance in those countries and fighting the effects poverty has on the environment there¹⁰⁹. Increased poverty in other parts of the world is seen as effecting Germany through increased migration. Lack of education (school leaving certificates) and labour market access (vocational training) is seen as the main poverty risk on a national level. The German government sees economic growth as the main factor in fighting poverty abroad and at home. A wide range of actions in the field of environmental policy, sustainable development, crisis prevention, biological diversity and economic policies are therefore listed in the progress report.

The interesting point that needs attention is the ambiguous policy that the government pursues: on the one hand the information about the naturalised migrant population, which in turn can only be obtained when the person can prove that he/she is 'integrated' in German society by e.g. speaking "good German". On the other hand the government wants to collect specific data including about those migrants who already are naturalised in order to further their integration. This is contradictory as on the one hand only 'integrated' migrants can acquire German citizenship and on the other the government sees the necessity of integration even for naturalised persons (Germans) because of their migration background. This highlights the general contradiction of the German naturalisation policies. The conservative approach says, citizenship is at the end of the integration process and the liberal approach says integration must start with citizenship and then integration can take place. This thought is significant in the overall debate on integration as it exposes the hegemonic discourse about naturalised migrants. Even though having gone through a

¹⁰⁸Federal Government, 2008, "Nationaler Integrationsplan: Erster Fortschrittsbericht", <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/Anlagen/nationaler-integrationsplan-fortschrittsbericht,property=publicationFile.pdf>, accessed 13.5.2009

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 20.

procedure of tests and assessment in order to acquire German citizenship they are never fully seen as being integrated into German society as exemplified above. This is partly due to the ambiguous or rather non-existence of a common definition of integration. Accordingly, although they receive citizenship rights through naturalisation they are not acknowledged as Germans. The necessity for the alleged integration into the 'German culture' applies for all those whose origin is non-Western regardless of their legal status.

In fact there appears to be a number of contradictory policies regarding integration and legislation. In particular the new immigration law that was introduced in 2007 contains aspects that are detrimental to the much desired integration of migrants. For example, proof of German language for the immigration of spouses does not apply to those aliens who are apparently less in need of integration. This is, for example, the case for persons with a higher education. This constitutes not only an inequality between people with and without a higher education but also for the spouses who live and work in Germany or are Germans. That means there is an inequality created firstly between 'social classes' according to their education but also between various nationalities¹¹⁰.

Indeed the knowledge of the German language is set as the primary criteria for integration. The government offers so called 'integration courses', which mainly consist of German language teaching programmes, but also courses to aid orientation, which instructs on legal, historical and cultural knowledge of Germany. Although these courses are declared as being a support towards integration they are mandatory and attendance is controlled by sanctions. Furthermore those who reject integration ('Integrationsverweigerer') can be fined up to 1.000 Euros. Consequently, these courses have become a state controlled obligation that leaves no choice for immigrants¹¹¹.

The point that needs to be made here is that these courses on integration do not guarantee social inclusion or protection from discrimination let alone preventing racism. On the contrary - the discourse on integration is ideologically burdened - as it takes a deficiency approach regarding migrants. In this perspective migrants are under-supplied with knowledge and necessary civilised education, which is needed in order to be 'integrated' in Germany. This approach does not acknowledge the cultural and social resources of these people. Although recently there are debates about welcoming and appreciating cultural diversity particularly in businesses and public services in certain professions¹¹², however this is discussed separately and not put into relation to all fields of life. It can therefore happen that a person with a migrant background, regardless of her or his legal status and in spite of fulfilling all the given criteria for an 'integrated migrant' may

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² BAMF (2008): "Vielfalt als Chance", <http://www.vielfalt-als-chance.de/index.php?id=29>, accessed 13.5.2009

experience discrimination and racism. Therefore for many people with a migrant background, integration is not necessarily linked to social inclusion, but it is closely connected to their cultural background, religion, colour, ethnicity, social class, etc. Hence social inclusion requires in addition to legal and economic security also acknowledgement of cultural existence.

VII. National recommendations

VII.i General

The German parliament should establish a monitoring system of legislative decisions and administrative measures to provide an overview of the discriminatory effects of those decisions and measures for particularly vulnerable groups.

The German government should implement the recommendation by the German Institute for Human Rights¹¹³ to erase the term 'race' in national and international (legal) documents in the area of human rights and anti-discrimination.

VII.ii Anti -discrimination

NGOs should campaign during the upcoming 2009 elections for real independence of the Federal anti –discrimination body, from party politics and cooperative interests.

The National Integration Plan (NIP) should include recommendation on how to implement the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) in all life spheres.

Critical revision of the two years of activities of the Federal anti –discrimination body by an independent expert group of NGOs and Migrant Self Organizations active in the field of anti- discrimination.

The German government should actively support the Swedish presidency in getting a unanimous vote in the Council of Ministers for a new EU directive covering all grounds of discrimination.

VII.iii Migration and integration

The German government should disconnect their naturalization policy from the discourse on integration and should grant full citizenship rights according to transparent criteria.

The German government should rethink its migration policies and establish an active immigration policy by lowering barriers in the areas of family reunion, language requirements, asylum seekers and high potentials according to international human rights standards and they should broaden access for a wider range of people.

The German parliament should rethink its citizenship laws with the objective to avoid “optional” citizenship for those born in Germany. It should establish an equal access to dual citizenship for all nationalities.

¹¹³Cremer, Hendrik (2008): "... und welcher Rasse gehören Sie an?" Zur Problematik des Begriffs "Rasse" in der Gesetzgebung, Policy Paper No. 10, Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte Berlin.

The German parliament should start a process for a referendum among all people living in Germany to replace the provisional “Grundgesetz” by a constitution, as it is foreseen in Art. 141 of the “Grundgesetz”. This process should involve both East and West German population, as well as migrant populations and established foreigners.

VII.iv Criminal justice

VII.iv.i Racism as a crime

The German government should reconsider its decision to reject the bill to implement the concept of hate crime into criminal law, which was already accepted by the Upper House (Bundesrat).

The German government should review their implementation of EU directives concerning asylum to guarantee full protection according to international human rights standards for all fleeing persecution.

VII.iv.ii Counter- terrorism

The debate on security and counter-terrorism should be disentangled from the debate on migration and the integration of Muslims.

VII.iv.iii Racial profiling

The ministry of the interior should monitor the profiling practices by security forces and engage in trainings focused on the effects of racial profiling on the profiled communities.

An information campaign about the civil right of self determination of information, should be started by the German government, targeting migrants with foreign passports and Germans with migrant background.

The annual report by the Federal ombudsperson for data protection should include a section on how and in which data bases migrants are registered in. Moreover decisions need to be taken regarding which institutions are allowed to access these data bases and for which purposes this information is used.

VII.v Social inclusion

Municipalities together with Migrant Self Organisations and other NGO's should organised round tables on social inclusion addressing the needs of the native and migrant population. These round tables should discuss local, regional, national and European obstacles to social inclusion and formulate recommendations at the local, regional, national and European political and administrative level.

VIII. Conclusion

While German society is heavily engaged in the process of redefining itself as an immigration society, the political elite is busy in finding the smallest of loopholes to prevent people from legally migrating to Germany. The year 2008 therefore can be characterised as the year where the idealistic self-image of a society, which imagines itself as open to migration is faced with the reality of the effects of its own policy, which is driven by ideological approaches, but not by evidence based policy approaches. This necessarily has the consequence of contradicting developments:

The discourse and the policies on integration are heavily based on the assumption that integration is mainly a language problem. By providing German language courses for migrants it is thought to repair their deficits in communicating with the German host society. No need to say that language acquisition is never a bad thing, but it misses the real point in the German immigration society, which has already a well developed diverse population and established multi-lingual communities. Successful communication needs more than language skills and knowing the communication code. It needs access to the social groups, which speak this code. A lot of people of migrant and non-migrant backgrounds report of the difficulties of gaining access to social groups in which they are not socialised in. In this view language can function as a means for discriminatory practices of in- and excluding newcomers. While in the hegemonic discourse the inclusion function of the German language is stressed, the excluding effects are ignored. The knowledge of basic German prior to entering Germany is mainly targeting family reunions of Turkish migrants by willingly using language skills as a mechanism of exclusion, since German language courses are only available in a few urban areas in Turkey.

Such exclusionary practices can be seen as well in the approach towards naturalisation. As already described, conservatives see naturalisation as a reward at the end of an integration process and put barriers in place to reach this reward. New figures show a decrease of naturalisations in Germany, but those who opt for the obligatory integration test in their vast majority passes the test without any problems and therefore can be naturalised. New research shows, that those who are uncertain whether they would be able to pass the test, because of the language requirements, do not take the test at all and therefore cannot be naturalised. Experiences from other countries show that naturalisation is one of the prerequisites of a successful integration process, because it stabilises the identity and enables them to become active citizens.

In quite a few integration plans, which are established all over the country, language needs and sometimes inter cultural competencies are very well focused, but discrimination is mostly not mentioned. This view is supported by the role the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) and the Federal Anti-discrimination Body play in the discourse on integration. They play practically no role. The AGG is still often seen as not necessary, as a bureaucratic monster or expensive toy and has a negative reputation, because mainstream media follows

the discourse of the business community, which right from the beginning of the legislative process, process had a total negative approach towards anti-discrimination legislation. The Federal Anti-discrimination Body, under the current leadership, sees its objective in convincing the business community, through expensive studies of well established mainstream research institutions and expensive one-day conferences, that the AGG does not harm the German economy. With a much smaller budget the anti-discrimination organisations are meanwhile doing the grass roots work, dealing with anti-discrimination complaints, developing testing approaches for the housing market and common standards in the counselling of victims of discrimination, trying to find strategies for litigation and advocacy or struggling with local discriminatory practices.

To combat the pessimism it must be added, that new studies are emerging, which more and more target discrimination questions. It is probably only a question of time till problems of discrimination are discussed in the mainstream discourse as well.

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Annex 1: List of abbreviations and terminology

advd = German Anti-discrimination Association
AGG = General Equal Treatment Act
AI = Amnesty International
AZG = Ausländerzentralregister = Central Registry of Aliens
BAMF = Federal Office for Migration and Refugees
CDU = Christian Democratic Union
CSU = Christian Social Union
DGB = Confederation of German Trade Unions
DIK = German Islam Conference
GAL = Green-Alternative List
GIMF = Global Islamic Media Front
HWWA = Hamburg Archive for World Economy
ICERD = International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.
NIP = National Plan to Integration
NPD = National Democratic Party Germany
NRW = North-Rhine-Westphalia
OSJI = Open Society Justice Initiative
SPD = Social Democratic Party



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