

Muslim hostility in Germany

Facts and fairy tales



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Numbers and statistics are used to "make politics" - both positively and negatively. A striking example of this are studies on "hostility towards Muslims", "hostility towards Islam" and "anti-Muslim racism". Allegedly, discrimination in this field is increasing from year to year. But is there any empirical evidence for this? Is the data recorded properly? And does religion really play a big role as Muslim religious actors claim?

The starting point was a simple review and examination of the data on anti-Muslim hostility in Germany. When working on the topic, however, it became clear that in the past ten years the discussion about discrimination and hostility towards Muslims has taken a certain direction, which has been able to prevail politically and financially, but does not stand up to critical empirical examination. Many studies in this area do not allow an undistorted view of social conditions, but rather the ideologically distorted perspectives of those who implement their own socio-political agenda with these studies. The fact that they are often supported by state institutions is a clear sign of how much the responsible political circles lack social science competence. This will be demonstrated in the following with a few examples.

Legal basis

In the German Constitution, Article 3, Paragraph 3, it is stipulated for state action that no one may be disadvantaged or preferred because of their religion or other personality traits.

"GG Art 3 (3) Nobody may be disadvantaged or preferred because of their gender, their descent, their race, their language, their homeland and origin, their beliefs, their religious or political views. Nobody may be disadvantaged because of his disability."

This stipulates that the state must behave neutrally in questions of religion or ideology. This view is confirmed by the frequently quoted formulation of the Federal Constitutional Court from 1965¹ and specifies that only an ideologically neutral state can be a "home of all citizens".

"The Basic Law establishes through Article 4 (1), Article 3 (3), Article 33 (3) GG as well as Article 136 (1) and (4) and Article 137 (1) WRV in conjunction with Article 140 GG on the state as the home of all citizens regardless of the person, ideological-religious neutrality."

Since 2006, the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) - which deals with the possibility of sanctioning discrimination under private law - has named further features in Article 1.

"§ 1 Goal of the law: The goal of the law is to prevent or eliminate discrimination based on race or ethnic origin, gender, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual identity."

1. BVerfGE 19, 206 - Rn 37

The AGG (also known as the “Anti-Discrimination Act”) is based on the “Council Directive 2000/43/EC of June 29, 2000 on the application of the principle of equal treatment regardless of race or ethnic origin” of the European Union. This guideline and the “Anti-Discrimination Act” based on it are attempts to implement Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (“All people are born free and equal in dignity and rights”). Tragically, however, some organizations that for ideological reasons cannot fully agree to these anti-discrimination provisions (for example, with regard to equality between men and women or between homosexual and heterosexual people) have used these anti-discrimination rules to make their own (by no means non-discriminatory) agenda more effective to be able to implement.

Associations and Organizations

The organizations that hope to benefit from pulling out the “discrimination card” include initiatives that can be assigned to “legalistic political Islam”. These organizations realized early that this was a worthwhile political field for them. A brief overview of the activities of the last few years, in which an increasing shift from necessary anti-discrimination work to Islamistic propaganda can be observed:

2003: In order to comply with the "EU Directive 2000/43/EC" endeavors to ensure equal treatment, the "Anti-Discrimination Network Berlin" (ADNB) is founded as a project of the Turkish Federation in Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. (TBB). "The ADNB of the TBB is funded by the State Office for Equal Treatment Against Discrimination (LADS) as part of the state program against right-wing extremism, racism and anti-Semitism of the Berlin Senate." The aim is to provide advice and public relations work with regard to all aspects of discrimination specified in the law.

In its work and advisory activities, the ADNB of the TBB has, for example, taken care of concrete and verifiable discrimination. In the anti-discrimination reports of the TBB, examples are given in trade law (2003), right-wing extremism (2005), Sinti and Roma (2006), looking for accommodation (2009 and 2011) and employment services (2016). This discrimination, as in the labor market, is also documented elsewhere: “Qualified job applicants with Turkish names and headscarves are disadvantaged”.

2006: In accordance with the requirements of the General Equal Treatment Act, a federal anti-discrimination agency is set up. It is assigned to the Federal Ministry for Family, Seniors, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). The main task is to provide legal advice in the event of discrimination.

2010: In August, the Islamic lobby organization Inssan e.V. founded the “Network against Discrimination and Islamophobia”. It is the first Inssan project to receive state funding. The project is not primarily aimed against discrimination in several dimensions, but has a specifically religious focus.

“The Network Against Discrimination and Islamophobia was founded in August 2010 to actively combat discrimination against Muslims in our society. The aim is to increase the awareness of those affected that they are

citizens of this state with equal rights and to show them options for action in the event of discrimination. We go to mosques and Muslim institutions. Based on the experiences of the participants, we provide information about the legal basis in the events on site, show options for action and provide information about the existing support and advisory infrastructure."

2018: Following this focus, the "CLAIM - Alliance against Islamophobia and Muslim Hostility" is founded in June - under Inssan's leadership - with 47 member organizations (as of March 2021). The focus is gradually shifting from "Islamophobia and Muslim hostility to so-called" anti-Muslim racism".

2020: In January - under the leadership of Inssan/CLAIM and in cooperation with the Working Group of Protestant Youth in Germany - the "Competence Network Anti-Muslim and Muslim Hostility" will be publicly recognized and promoted. Fixed topic: "Anti-Muslim Racism".

"The aim of the competence network is to bundle and further develop expertise on the subject of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hostility and anti-Muslim racism and to make it available to education, politics, administration and civil society."

Initial funding from the German government for the years 2020-2024: EUR 1.05 million.

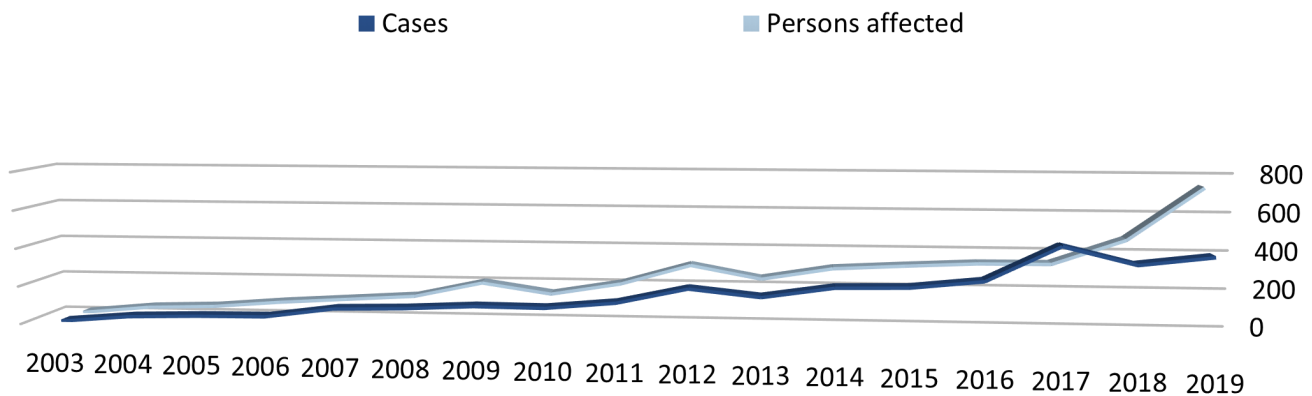
An official description of the competence network states that "Islamophobia should also be made more visible in terms of numbers".

"One focus of the work is to supplement the largely negative public discourse on Islam with positive narratives. In addition, the problem of Islamophobia should also be made numerically more visible and encourage diverse engagement for the protection and realization of the rights of Muslims."

Empiricism, part 1

If the aim is to “make the problem of Islamophobia also more visible in numbers”, empirical data and analyzes can be expected. The anti-discrimination reports of the TBB document the number of incidents reported over the years: in 2019, for example, there are 424.²

Number of incidents reported in Berlin																	
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Cases	4	34	43	46	94	102	119	116	149	228	190	244	250	288	469	380	424
Persons affected	4	38	49	78	100	122	200	146	206	310	243	303	322	339	341	470	740



But how does religion play a role in this discrimination? The report of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights “Survey of the European Union on Minorities and Discrimination” (2011), in which Africans and Surinamans were questioned, seems to refer to this. The respondents in the participating European countries (not including Germany) consider religion to be the second most important feature of discrimination. However, this relates to the assumptions of these respondent groups, not to their real experiences. In addition, there are immigrants with Christian and Muslim religious affiliation who consider their faith to be very important (p. 119).

With regard to the question of discrimination against Muslims, this survey does not help, as it relates to expectations and assumptions and, moreover, Germany does not appear. The importance of religion as a reason for discrimination can, however, be de-

2. Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk Berlin TBB, Antidiskriminierungsreport 2018/2019, p. 9

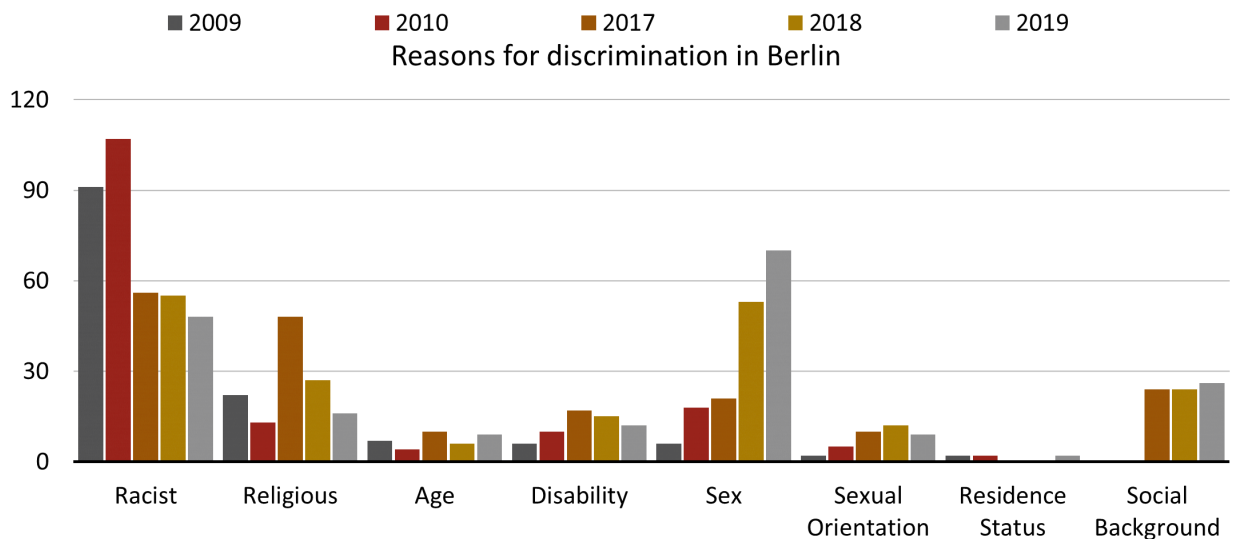
terminated by the reports cited by the Turkish Association of Berlin-Brandenburg (TBB).

Sorted according to the grounds of discrimination, the particular importance of “racist discrimination” (which would probably be better known as “ethnic discrimination”) is shown, although it is decreasing (in the case of multiple answers), but in 2019 it is still mentioned for around 50 percent of all reports.

Reasons for discrimination in Berlin					
	2009	2010	2017	2018	2019
Racist	91	107	56	55	48
Religious	22	13	48	27	16
Age	7	4	10	6	9
Disability	6	10	17	15	12
Sex	6	18	21	53	70
Sexual Orientation	2	5	10	12	9
Residence Status	2	2			2
Social Background			24	24	26

The role of "religion" as a reason for discrimination is decreasing (with multiple answers) in 2019 only nine percent of all reports.

This seems to contradict the fact that in the “Report on the cooperation project“ Network against Discrimination against Muslims ”between ADNB des TBB and Inssan e.V. (2010-2013)“ religion is assigned a more important role. Hakan Tosuner writes in this report (pages 26-35) about: “Everyday discrimination against Muslims. Evaluati-



on of the questionnaires from 2010 to 2011. “An evidence-based analysis of everyday discrimination against Muslims can therefore be expected.

However, such an evaluation does not take place. Only an overview of the “ethnic origin of the discriminated” and four pie charts is shown, for “gender of the discriminated”, for the “area of discrimination (multiple answers possible), for the “ age of the discriminated person ”and for“ discrimination feature (multiple answers possible) ”with the characteristics "Religion" (61 percent), "Ethnic group" (24 percent) and "Other". It says:

“The phenomenon of multiple discrimination also becomes clear here, because a Muslim (religion), Turkish (ethnic) woman wearing a headscarf (external appearance), woman (gender) is exposed to multiple discrimination. Around two thirds of affected Muslims believe that their religion played a role in the discrimination they experienced, while one fifth said their ethnic origin was the reason for the discrimination. In the questionnaires, multiple reasons for discrimination were possible, e. B. religion, ethnic origin, outward appearance, language, age, gender, disability, sexual identity, social status.”

This is followed by five pages of “case studies” which largely relate to the subject of wearing the headscarf and which, in the scientific sense, should only be viewed as anecdotal evidence. That is empirically weak - although Hakan Tosuner, who is also the managing director of the “Avicenna-Studienwerk” (gifted support organization for Muslims) founded in 2013, is a research assistant (together with Nina Mühe, the CLAIM project coordinator) at the chair for comparative cultural and social anthropology at the university Viadrina, Frankfurt / Oder (Prof. Werner Schiffauer) was qualified and should have mastered the basic techniques of scientific work.

In this respect he should also have known that the greater importance of religion in the Inssan reports stems from the fact that from Inssan e. V. is primarily informed about discrimination in mosque communities and encouraged to report, i.e. among the more religious Muslims who go to a mosque. Their greater weighting of religion is inevitably also reflected in the results. This has roughly the same logic as asking in a bakery in the morning what people usually buy in the city and (in the case of multiple answers) mostly receives the answer “bread rolls”.

In the “Annual Report 2019”, the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency cites the facts and figures of its requests for advice and comes to significantly different results than Hakan Tosuner: Even with multiple answers (around 5 percent), the proportion of requests for advice on discrimination on the grounds of religion is (from 2016 to 2019) nationwide constant 6 - 7 percent.

Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, gender, disability and age is consistently mentioned more frequently as a reason for a request for advice than the attribute “religion”.

Incidentally, these distributions could already be observed in a 2013 report by the German Parliament.³

In view of the long-running headscarf debate, the low relevance of the factor “religion” in the field of discrimination may be surprising. Nevertheless, the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency goes into this topic in great detail. The publication "Religious Diversity in the Workplace" states that the headscarf is an essential element of religion: (p. 8)

“Most of the requests for advice that the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency receives on the subject of religion come from Muslim women who wear headscarves. They are often rejected when applying for internships, study positions and apprenticeships.”

Excursus: Headscarf

Wearing a headscarf at work has been a controversial issue for years. The Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency writes:

“The General Equal Treatment Act protects against disadvantages in the area of working life, among other things. In this context, it is not uncommon for people to turn to the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency who feel they are disadvantaged because of their religion. In many cases this affects Muslim women who wear a headscarf for religious reasons. The question of the extent to which employers can restrict or even prohibit the wearing of a headscarf in the workplace is a constant concern of the courts.”

The research report by Sonja Haug, Stephanie Müssig and Anja Stichs: “Muslim Life in Germany” (2008) is also devoted to the subject of the headscarf in detail (pp. 193-216) and presents, among other things, the following: only 28 percent of Muslim women wear a headscarf, while 72 percent do not.

Even if 92 percent of women wearing a headscarf regard the headscarf as a religious duty, this corresponds to only about 26 percent and not the vast majority of religious Muslim women who do not wear a headscarf at all. Of the Muslim women who describe themselves as “very religious”, only 41 percent wear a headscarf.

There is also a clear age distribution among Muslim women who wear headscarves. In the 16-25 age group, 22 percent wear a headscarf and, with the older age groups increasing, the figure is 50 percent in the 66-year-olds-and-older.

The statement that wearing a headscarf in public is the “widely recognized religious duty” of a Muslim has no empirical evidence and therefore does not correspond with the reality of Muslim women.

In this respect, it is astonishing how incorrectly these results are also presented in scientific texts. Naika Foroutan, Coşkun Canan, Sina Arnold, Benjamin Schwarze, Steffen Beigang and Dorina Kalkum write in: “Germany postmigrant. Society, religion, identi-

ty. First Results "(2014) - a publication by the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research (BIM) at Humboldt University (p. 39):

"The dominant motive for wearing a headscarf is that it is a religious duty. This is indicated by 92.3 percent of the Muslim women surveyed. In second place and named by 42.3 percent it follows that the headscarf gives security. Third is the desire to be recognizable as a Muslim. Expectations from other people's families and/or partners, on the other hand, only play a subordinate role and are mentioned by around 6–7 percent of those who wear headscarves (Haug et al. 2009: 205–206). For most Muslim women, the headscarf is a self-determined act of religious expression."

The initial mistake is that it is not 92.3 of the Muslim women questioned, as written in the text, but 92.3 percent of the 28 percent of Muslim women who wear a headscarf.

Does this give rise to scientifically and politically quotable misrepresentations?

Terminology

Multidimensionality

Since "religion" - even when counting multiple instances of discrimination - only plays a marginal role in quantitative terms, it seemed appropriate to the religious activists to "integrate" it into a larger context: multidimensionality.

According to Canan Korucu (in her contribution "Aspects of the multidimensional discrimination of Muslim women wearing headscarves", in: "Islamophobia - Insights into the everyday discrimination of Muslims in Berlin"), the view of the multidimensionality of discrimination goes back to Judy Gummich.

"The study of multidimensional or intersectional discrimination began in the US in the late 1980s and early 1990s. "Black female students found that black women in the US face specific forms of discrimination that neither black men nor white women experience and that arises from the interaction of the individual factors (black and woman)." The concept of multidimensional or intersectional discrimination assumes that every person has a multi-layered identity, consisting of the personality traits gender, sexual identity, ethnicity, age, religion, health status, etc., d. H. every person has a multi-layered (= intersectional) identity that is made up of different aspects. As a result, there can also be discrimination on the basis of the various personality traits, whereby the person does not necessarily have to be discriminated against on the basis of a single personality trait. "Discrimination is linked to one or more personality traits. But it is not the real, supposed or constructed personality traits themselves, but the ascriptions that are associated with these personality traits that are essential for the discrimination."

These statements can be compared with the statement by Mario Peucker: "Discrimination on the basis of Islamic religious affiliation in the context of working life - findings, questions and recommendations for action. Findings from social science research and recommendations for action." (A publication by the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency.) Mario Peucker writes that the research situation on discrimination is very low, but that there is also a general problem with religious affiliation as an individual factor.

"On the other hand, the empirical analysis of such processes of discrimination against Muslims is particularly challenging due to the often indissoluble interweaving of various grounds of discrimination, from religion and ethnic origin to gender, possibly also age and social status. Investigating the role of Islamic religious affiliation within these forms of multidimensional discrimination - detached from other factors - very often turns out to be impossible and, moreover, rarely contributes to a better understanding of these special mechanisms of discrimination."

Religion can also be "cultivated" differently in a multidimensional approach. In the elaboration by Maureen Maisha Auma: "Racism: A definition for everyday practice" it says in "Modern Racism 2" (p. 7) that the biological criteria are replaced by culture:

"The idea that had prevailed from the Enlightenment until the 20th century that people could be divided into clearly separated 'races' according to biological criteria was consistently rejected from a scientific point of view. With that, however, the system of asserting racism has by no means become superfluous. In fact, the subject of racist marking has only shifted: Today, biologically based differences or even the term "race" are rarely used. Instead, the concept of 'culture' is used to create, emphasize and fix differences. [...] Cultural forms of practice - including, for example, religious practices, forms of upbringing, clothing styles or gender arrangements - are designed as irreconcilable, flawed and deficient opposites to the dominant culture."

This means that the religion is 'incorporated'. And when Maureen Maisha Auma writes of "sets of properties", it is not used as a basis, but as an attribution, ie. H. viewed as a consequence. (P. 8)

"This perception [of a headscarf] is also based on the ascription of a negative set of properties, which is also used as a mark of difference for an entire group - in this case women marked as "Muslim": The persons in question become potentially passive, fundamentalist, backward and shown suppressed."

This elaboration was made in the context of the publications of the "Regionalen Arbeitsstellen für Bildung, Integration und Demokratie (RAA) e. V.", for which the chairwoman of the board of Inssan e.V. works as a speaker.

Islamophobia and hostility towards Muslims

In many publications it has become common practice to mention “hostility to Islam and Muslims” at the same time. In the 12th Integration Report (2019, p. 69), equation is presented.

„Islam and the ‘Muslims as a homogeneous unit are very often the subject of debates on topics such as immigration and integration and are given collective negative traits and being problematized. The dimension of hostility towards Muslims and Islam has remained at a high level since the last reporting period.“

Reference is made to the 11th integration report, in which, however, no figures can be found.

This is also the case with Andreas Zick, for example: “Anti-Islam and anti-Muslim attitudes in the population. A report on survey results ”for the German Islam Conference (DIK). However, the study largely deals with the opinions of Muslims based on the Bielefeld Studies on group-related enmity (GMF). The percentage agreement with anti-Muslim attitudes in the population in the GMF Survey 2003 to 2011 (p. 38) amounts to a range of 25 to 40 percent.

In contrast, the Bertelsmann Foundation named in the Religionsmonitor (2019) with regard to the question of whether one considers Islam to be threatening 52 percent approval of the general population. However, the head of the program “Living Values” at the Religion Monitor, Yasemin El-Menouar, says: “Skepticism towards Islam does not mean hostility to Islam.”

„Many people express reservations about Islam, but do not derive any political demands or anti-democratic views from them. ”Only a minority of citizens show a clearly anti-Islamic view and demand, for example, that the immigration of Muslims be prevented. According to Religionsmonitor, the proportion of people with an Islamophobic attitude has decreased overall over the past few years: While it was 20 percent in Germany in 2017, it is only 13 percent in 2019. The analyzes also show that people with clearly Islamophobic positions often reject not only Muslims but also other minorities and represent a worldview that is generally against diversity.“

These references already indicate that “Islam” and “Muslims” are two different categories whose simultaneous mentioning and connection with “and” is not justified in terms of content. Important in this context: The term “Muslim” refers to people who can be personally affected by discrimination. However, there is no “Ms. Islam” or “Mr. Islam” who could be victims of discrimination. In principle, therefore, it can be doubted whether "Islamophobia" - in contrast to "Muslim hostility" - represents a meaningful category. Because systems of ideas do not suffer when they are severely attacked, it is always people who suffer from such attacks.

“The term“ Islamophobia ”also suffers from the fact that “Islam“ does not exist in this singular form. Because "Islam" is - like Christianity - a historically transmitted set of

rules, with the most varied of variants (and holy writings of men), to which people who see this set of rules as binding and exclusive truth (can) refer, to justify and justify their actions. The variants, interpretations, schools of law, national similarities and differences within Islam are multifaceted and colorful. Most striking is probably the existence of a 'war faction' and a 'peace faction' within Islam. In this respect, it is understandable that when asked about the threat posed by Islam, around 60 percent of those questioned perceive Islam as "threatening" and not as "enrichment" when they look at the atrocities in Syria and Iraq and the terrorist attacks in New York, Visualize Paris, London, Paris, Nice, Berlin etc. of the war faction of Islam - which also include Al-Qaeda and IS.

Isabell Diekmann also dealt with this question of terminology in: "Islamophobia or Muslim hostility? Empirical data analysis to differentiate two phenomena." The respondents were given various statements on the one hand on "Islam" and on the other hand on "Muslims".

„There is much to be said for the distinction between hostility towards Muslims and hostility towards Islam, so that a more sensitive handling of this concept as well as its operationalization and naming can be called for. For Muslims as human beings, the consequences of devaluation and discrimination can look different than in the case of Islam. While the devaluation of it and feelings of threat from Islam are particularly interesting and important with regard to integration, the consequences for Muslims as people in the focus of the devaluation can also be of a social, psychological and health nature.“

How much the two terms are mixed up, however, is also shown by a contribution by the Integration Media Service with the "Information paper on anti-Muslim racism in Germany. Facts and Figures" in which the results of the survey on "anti-Muslim attitudes" are presented under the subheading "Prejudices against 'Islam' are widespread".

Empiricism, part 2

A major Muslim actor in this field is the aforementioned Inssan e.V. In a summarizing report on reports from 2016 - 2018, its conclusion is to be agreed.

"The social and political situation makes documentation, advice and action by and against discrimination, hostility and assaults particularly indispensable at the moment."

The question, however, is how this documentation is recorded, evaluated and published.

"Since 2016, the contact point has been systematically recording insults, hostility, discrimination and physical attacks on Muslims and people who are marked as such. It is a standardized way of collecting data on complaints. The case numbers are reports from affected people. The documentation center does not work as a research and monitoring center. Reports are mainly submitted to the contact point in writing using the registration form or via the report link."

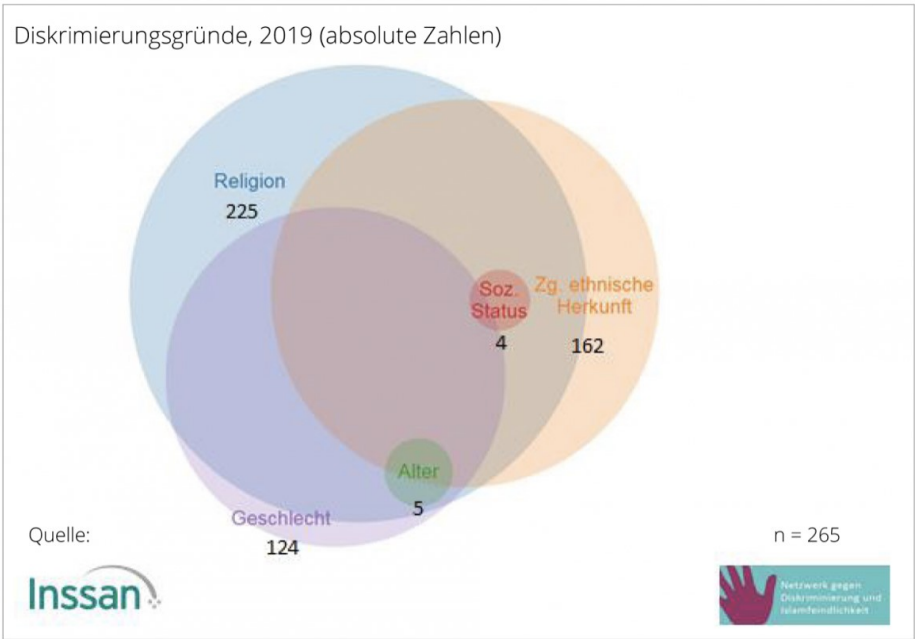
So it is a broad field - even if it is called "systematic" - a whole range of subjectively perceived "insults and hostility" to "physical attacks on Muslims and people who are marked as such".

In the online questionnaire of the "Network against Discrimination and Islamophobia (Inssan e.V.)", questions are asked about "External characteristics relevant to the incident" and the possible answers are given: headscarf/niqab/abaya/beard/turban/dark skin color, hair, eyes/accent/"non-German name".

There is also a query on: "Assumed grounds of discrimination" with the answer specifications and possible multiple answers: (attributed) ethnic origin (e.g. due to name, assumed country of origin or skin color)/(attributed) religion, ideology (e.g. due to religious practice or clothing)/gender e.g. discrimination against women/sexual identity, orientation (e.g. homophobia, trans-hostility)/disability (e.g. denied access due to mental or physical impairments)/age (e.g. denied access due to old age)/social status (e.g. due to the way of speaking, general knowledge, behavior, dress style, income)/other.

This amount of information, which - at least for the reported cases - would allow a differentiated picture according to reasons of discrimination, is not processed systematically. Instead, a graphic with overlapping circles is shown.

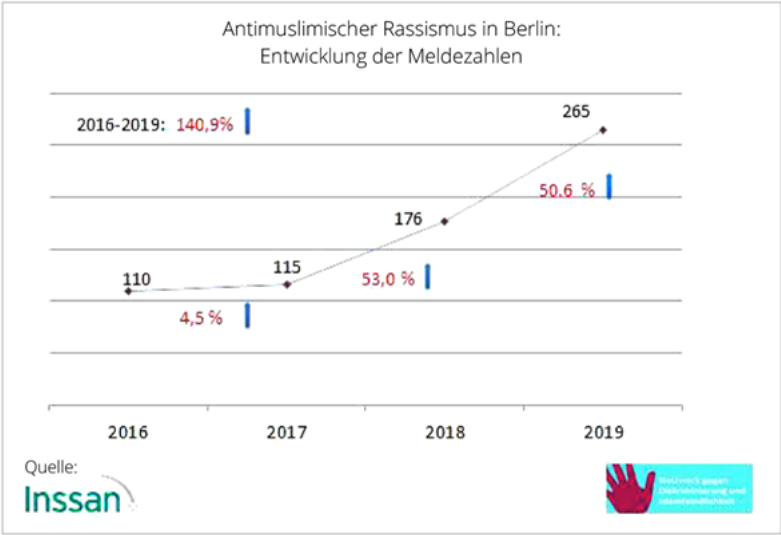
Diskriminierungsgründe, 2019 (absolute Zahlen)



Not only the non-evaluation in simple two-dimensional tables but also the description of the subject gives reason to ask about social science competence.

"Inssan e.V. recorded a worrying situation in Berlin with 265 incidents in 2019. This is an increase of 88 incidents compared to 2018."

This is also shown in a graphic:



What is wrong with it?

1. These are only reported incidents, but the wording intends (“alarming situation”) that it is the reality of the number of actual incidents (“number of cases”).

2. The indication of percentage increases suggests that “anti Muslim racism” is increasing every year and has doubled since 2016 (+ 140.9 percent). The fact that more incidents are reported after lectures in mosque communities, intra-Muslim public relations work on discrimination, information on reporting options, online reporting has also been possible since 2019, etc. can be considered a success of this public relations work, but certainly not as scientifically sound evidence for a real increase in such incidents.

Inssan / CLAIM publish the topic in a more emotionalising, striking way - not only when describing a “worrying state” - but also when it says: “Again today. - The week of action against anti-Muslim racism makes daily attacks and discrimination the topic.” Or, as in the presentation of the case numbers for 2019 with the heading: “The intensity of attacks on Muslims is much more unrestrained.” However, there is no evidence for this factual statement .

The imbalance of the methodological approach of Inssan/CLAIM - to be researched only in the mosques and Muslim institutions - is also shown in the fact that only a minority of Muslims in Germany regularly, visit a mosque at least once a month. According to a fowid evaluation of the 32nd wave of surveys by the SOEP (Socio-Economic Panels) in 2015, the proportion is only 30 percent. In other words, Inssan/CLAIM deliberately restrict themselves to religiously active Muslims, but not to all Muslims who live in Germany. This is a religious-political distortion of the reality of Muslims in Germany.

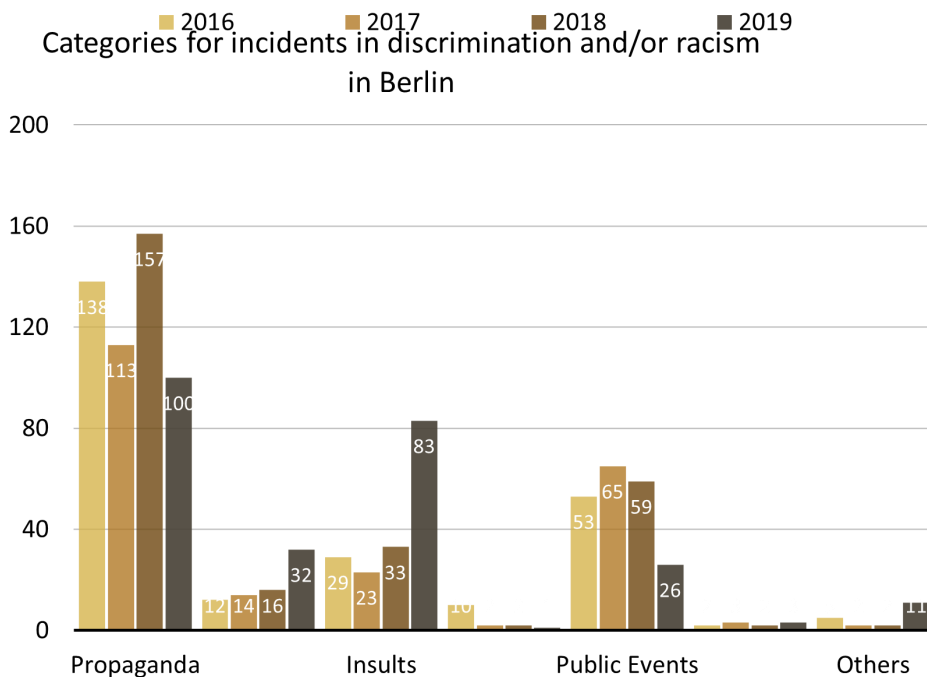
It also does not correspond in any way to the requirements of EU Directive 2000/43 / EC, in which evidence of acts of discrimination that can be verified by a court is expected.

„It is for the national judicial or other competent bodies to assess facts which suggest direct or indirect discrimination, in accordance with national law or practice. In particular, these national rules may provide for indirect discrimination to be detected by any means, including statistical evidence.”

In an evaluation of the Berlin Register for the years 2015 to 2017, the numbers for anti-Muslim racism and anti-gypsyism are classified under the topic of racism and are not shown separately. This also applies to the register report for 2019. Due to a fowid request, with the request to present the figures on anti-Muslim racism separately, these were transmitted.

Incidents for discrimination in Berlin				
	2016	2017	2018	2019
Racist in total	1.213	859	1.358	1.337
Anti-Muslim	249	222	271	256
In Percentage	20,5	25,8	20	19,1

This information means three things: On the one hand, how necessary this recording is, because every discrimination is one too many. Secondly, that “anti-Muslim racism” is only a sub-field of the larger field of “racism” and, with a relatively constant proportion of 19-26 percent of all incidents in this category, only represents a minor problem. Thirdly, “propaganda” - with 39 to 58 percent - has the largest share in it, and that would actually have to be endured in a democratic pluralism and politically defended against it. If you add the “events” (due to BärGida demos) to this “propaganda”, the proportion is between 49 and 80 percent.



Even if the “claims and legal protection options according to the AGG” are extensive, there are comparatively few lawsuits, since it is assumed that “there is discrimination within the meaning of the law”. It is clear that the fact that one feels “offended” as a member of a certain group because of the propaganda of third parties is not yet an expression of inadmissible discrimination. Otherwise, non-denominational people, for example, would have to constantly complain

about discrimination, since the holy scriptures of Christianity and Islam threaten them with torture in the "eternal hellfire" after their death.

	2016	2017	2018	2019
Propaganda	138	113	157	100
Attacks	12	14	16	32
Insults	29	23	33	83
Vandalism	10	2	2	1
Public Events	53	65	59	26
Public Transport	2	3	2	3
Others	5	2	2	11

Another approach based on empirical findings on discrimination on the grounds of religion as a Muslim is given in studies and publications of the “EU-MIDIS - Survey of the European Union on Minorities and Discrimination” (2010) on “Multiple Discrimination”. In this study the data from an EU-MIDIS survey among minority groups and the Eurobarometer population survey. Perception of discrimination is mentioned more frequently in the Eurobarometer than in the EU-MIDIS survey. Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin is mentioned most frequently (62 to 55 percent), followed by sexual orientation (51 to 24), age (46 to 21), religion or belief (45 to 33), because of disability (45 to 20) and gender (30 to 21).

Minority groups surveyed by the EU-MIDIS state that 63 percent have not experienced any discrimination in the past 12 months, 23 percent cited one reason and 14 percent stated that they were discriminated on several grounds. Of these 14 percent of migrants, 93 percent see themselves discriminated against because of their ethnic origin or their migration background. 64 percent of this group see themselves discriminated against because of their religion or worldview (72 percent of men and 56 percent of women), which in turn means that 9 percent of all respondents feel discriminated against on religious grounds.

The EU-MIDIS survey comes to the same results in an evaluation of Muslims. 10 percent feel discriminated against because of their religion. “The highest rate of discrimination was recorded among the Muslim groups surveyed, who came from sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa.” 79 percent of those discriminated against did not report their experience of discrimination to a competent authority. 59 percent of those affected said that “nothing would be done or changed anyway” and 38 percent saw no point in reporting anything, as this discrimination was “part of their normal everyday life”.

And, essential for our question: "Wearing traditional or religious clothing (e.g. a headscarf) had no influence on the discrimination experiences of the Muslims surveyed."

Concepts and constructs

After the reports of discrimination on the basis of personal beliefs remained marginal, the religious activists expanded them to include more dimensions and embedding them in a further concept of culture, for which the empirical evidence is also sparse. So it was consistent to forego any empirical evidence and to conceptually “ethnicise” the “hostility to Muslims” in a first step and to “racialize” it in a second step. The central concept is the construct of “anti-Muslim racism”.

The forerunner of the term was “Islamophobia”, the claim that criticism of Islam is a pathological fear (“phobia”) of Islam. It is enlightening what Sanem Kleff (project leader School without Racism - School with Courage) wrote in 2005 in “Islamophobia - What is that?” In the conference volume “Islamophobia - Insights into everyday discrimination against Muslims in Berlin”: “Islamophobia is a ideological construct of the political movement of Islamism. ”

„When the term Islamophobia first appeared in public debates in Germany, it is quite clear: After September 11, 2001, the claim was spread from Islamist circles that Muslims were being persecuted en masse in Germany, that they were being physically attacked and that women were being attacked. Headscarves torn off the head, the whole of society is gripped by a phobia, Islamophobia. But if you check the facts, fortunately these claims turn out to be false and are obviously part of the wishful thinking of the Islamists. Wishful thinking because Islamism necessarily needs an enemy construction to determine its own profile in order to legitimize the demarcation from the other. Islamism creates a sense of togetherness, especially through the demarcation from the 'West', the non-Muslims. As a legitimation of its existence, Islamism not only needs demarcation, but also the myth of its own victim role. After all, similar to the processes of establishing a nation, this is about the establishment of a virtual community, the community of all Muslims, i.e. the umma. There is constant notification of imminent danger. This is not only intended to keep the supporters on a permanent alert and always ready to fight the enemy, but above all to motivate potential supporters to join them.“

Anti-Muslim Racism

According to the presentation of migration researcher Sandra Kostner: “Wissenschaft nach Agenda” (FAZ, 11/2020), the definition “Islamophobia is anti-Muslim racism” was adopted by the British think tank Runnymede Trust (1997) with the report “Islamophobia. A challenge for us all.”

In its “Racism Report” (page 11), Inssan used the following definition:

„In contrast to the international and European human rights debate, which generally speak of Islamophobia or discrimination and intolerance of Muslims, there is an intense debate in Germany about the use of the 'correct' term, which cannot be discussed in detail here. As in the report, the German Islamic Conference decided to use the term 'hostility towards Muslims' on the grounds that this would remove any ambiguities 'whether the negative attitude is related to Islam as a religion or to Muslims as affected people'. This position was rightly criticized by relevant scholars, because it does not adequately reflect the 'sometimes massive rejection attitude of the majority society towards Muslims' as well as the structural racist dimension.“

As evidence (“... relevant scientist ...”), an article by Yasemin Shooman is linked: “Islamophobia, anti-Muslim racism or hostility to Muslims? Commentary on the term debate of the German Islam Conference”, published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

„In addition to the biologically argued racism, there is a widespread form of racism that draws on the characteristic of 'culture' (and its inherent 'religion') is taken into account in the DIK interim report. The term “anti-

Muslim racism” is rejected because it can only be used for the “hard variants” of corresponding negative attitudes” (interim report, p. 3). An understanding of racism is expressed here, according to which racism is a marginal social phenomenon that manifests itself in extreme attitudes that deviate from the norm. „Based on the knowledge that there are indeed no biological human ‘races’, but that these represent powerful social and political constructs, the term ‘racialization’ is understood in racism research to mean the process in the course of which a dominant social position, certain groups are constructed as natural groups, given collective ascriptions and positioned in a binary arrangement to form an ingroup. ”

In the "International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" of the UN (1965) it says in Part 1, Article 1:

„In this Convention, the term” racial discrimination ”means any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, skin color, ancestry, national origin or ethnicity, which has the aim or effect of achieving equal recognition, Enjoying or exercising human rights and fundamental freedoms in political, economic, social, cultural or any other area of public life is thwarted or impaired. ”

There is no mentioning of religion here.

However, there is the adoption of the phrase “racism against Muslims” in the “Concluding remarks on the 19th to 22nd State Reports of the Federal Republic of Germany” (2015) of the UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (p. 14).

„While taking note of the State party’s legitimate concerns and the measures it has taken to combat anti-Semitism, the Committee is concerned that it is dealing with other forms of racial discrimination such as institutional racism against Muslims, discrimination against women belonging to minority groups and does not adequately address the intersectionality between discrimination against lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender and intersexual people and racial discrimination.”

In 2012, Yasemin Shooman published the article: “The interplay of culture, religion, ethnicity and gender in anti-Muslim racism” in “From Politics and Contemporary History” (APuZ) by the Federal Agency for Civic Education, in 2015 the article “What is anti-Muslim racism?”

Under the keyword "ethnicization of religious affiliation" the term is described as follows:

„The focus on religious affiliation is the result of a shift in perception and an Islamization of the debates around the issues of migration and integration, as a result of which the population groups that were previously perceived as guest workers or foreigners have increasingly become Muslims. As a result, the religious affiliation is ethnicized, which is why one can also speak of anti-Muslim racism. It is based on the notion of Muslims as a ho-

homogeneous group to which certain (mostly negative) collective characteristics are ascribed and which are viewed as not belonging."

In 2015, Yasemin Shoorman got involved in the headscarf debate with the statement "My head belongs to me" in which she describes "the headscarf ban as a factual occupational ban".

However, this is an unscientific and unhistorical perspective, which is also reflected in the hashtag #professionalprohibition. The historical, political professional prohibition - also known as the "radical decree" - ruled out any professional activity in the public service, be it as a railway worker, post office worker, teacher, etc., for anyone who was a member of the DKP. In the current debate on the headscarf, that cannot even begin to be mentioned.

In this context, the publication by the political scientist Ozan Zakariya Keskinilic (lecturer at the Alice Salomon University in Berlin), who was given the opportunity by the Federal Agency for Civic Education in December 2019 to make a contribution to the topic "Extremism/radicalization prevention." There, he tries to open up a historical dimension:

„[The term anti-Muslim racism] does not understand the phenomenon as an irrational occurrence in the present, let alone as a (right) exceptional situation in democratic, egalitarian societies in Europe, but as an inherent aspect of European modernity. He puts current debates on Islam in the context of the historical development of Europe and recalls the legacy of European colonialism."

„Wanting to be racist is not a prerequisite for thinking and acting in racist terms. Racism is a social balance of power that secures the privileges of the 'ingroup' and justifies the discrimination of 'the other'. Racism is not a contradiction to modernity and the enlightenment. On the contrary, it is its product, historically grown and socially handed down."

In June 2019, the political scientist Armin Pfahl-Traugher also dealt with "anti-Muslim racism" in the article "Islamophobia, Islamophobia, criticism of Islam - a guide through the jungle of terms", which he describes as a "content-wise ambiguous and poorly selective category".

„Anti-Muslim racism' is considered to be a special form [a linguistic biologization of the cultural], whereby the category 'Muslims' is included in the ethnicization. Those who are meant could not escape the discrimination, because people from the Islamic regions without an Islamic religious affiliation are also meant. The followers of this understanding of the term therefore do not actually see a 'race' in Muslims. They want those affected to be constructed into a homogeneous group based on their actual or assumed religion. Anything questionable can be deduced from their 'being a Muslim'."

In it, Armin Pfahl-Traugher confirms what he said in the article: “ Anti-Muslim racism ‘ -analytical category or polemical catchphrase?”, With reference to a “questionable human rights relativism”.

„Since it is always a matter of defending against criticism of cultural groups or religious communities, there is a risk of a collectivist idea of identity. A dubious human rights relativism is not far off.”

With regard to the establishment of a „registry office for anti-Muslim racism” (in March 2020) at the Berlin interior administration, the Federal Working Group of Immigrant Associations has published its concerns about this designation.

„As much as we welcome the establishment of registries to record hate crimes and racism, as much as we oppose racism and discrimination, we are concerned that the concept and related term of 'anti-Muslim racism' will receive support and recognition by the administrations and Ministries. [...] We understand racism to mean ideologies of inequality that refer to biology to categorize people. Firstly, they assume the existence of clearly identifiable groups of people as 'races', and secondly, racism justifies the discrimination against those affected by their assignment to a 'race'. 'What is significant is that a biological category is considered fundamental and there is no changeability in this regard.. Islam is a religion and not a ' race ' ”

The philosopher Michael Schmidt-Salomon formulates the criticism of “anti-Muslim racism” even more clearly in his book “The Limits of Tolerance - Why We Must Defend the Open Society” (2016). He considers the term dangerous - not only because “the real problem of racism, the devaluation of people on the basis of their ethnic origin, is being disregarded”, but also because it is „ultimately based on the same wrong thought pattern, that of racist ones Argumentation is typical, namely the inadmissible mixing of biological and cultural categories”:

„Because Muslims are of course not a race, not an ethnic group, not a biologically definable population within the species Homo sapiens. The fact that a person comes from a certain part of the world where Muslims are in the majority does not therefore allow the conclusion that he or she is Muslim. Even being born into a Muslim family does not justify the assumption that the person concerned sees himself or herself as a Muslim. A characteristic of racist thought patterns has always been to define people by their birth, i.e. by an unchangeable characteristic that they carry around with them for a lifetime. However, cultural characteristics such as personal beliefs and customs are changeable, by no means given by birth, which is why the term 'cultural racism' is dangerously misleading.”

Regardless of this, the term "Islamophobic racism" has found its way into the aforementioned and other official bodies, such as the „Register for recording right-wing extremist and discriminatory incidents in Berlin”.

„Similar to anti-Semitism, anti-Muslim racism is not a modern phenomenon, but its roots in Europe can be traced back to the emergence of

Christianity. As a result, people of Islamic faith have repeatedly been and are victims of exclusion, discrimination and persecution. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, anti-Muslim racism was once again widely accepted. Right-wing populist parties in particular use anti-Muslim racism for their political goals. In doing so, old images of the enemy that arose in the Middle Ages are used."

The emotionalization of the discrimination debate goes in a similar direction if - without any evidence - verbal and thus substantive analogies to the racist Holocaust are formulated.

Anti-Semitism

After depicting anti-Muslim racism, Yasemin Shooman puts anti-Muslim racism in parallel with anti-Semitism.

„The devaluation and rejection of the Islamic faith has consequences for people marked as Muslims above all if the term religion is used in a deterministic way and their entire behavior is interpreted against the background of actual or ascribed religious affiliation. Then the 'essential characteristics' that are criticized about Islam flow into ideas about the collective character of 'Muslims' without major breaks in the argument. Such interactions between the resentment against a religion and the resentment against the members of the religious community in question are known from anti-Semitism."

This representation - of Islamophobia and racism as well as a similarity with anti-Semitism was already used (2005) by Khaled Alkhatib, in his contribution: "Islamophobia - A challenge for the immigration society?", In: "Islamophobia - Insights into the everyday discrimination of Muslims and Muslims in Berlin." (2004)

„Islamophobia is a very dangerous form of racism. It is all too often played down and legitimized in many layers of society. There is a risk of institutionalization and thus the emergence of anti-Islam, which has similarities to medieval anti-Semitism. "

Michael Schmidt-Salomon also vigorously contradicted this comparison in his (already quoted) book "The Limits of Tolerance":

„In contrast to today's anti-Muslimism, anti-Semitism of the 20th century was actually based on racist thinking. The basic racist structure of anti-Semitism in the 20th century was evident not least from the fact that it was directed not only against those who professed to be Jewish, but also against those who vehemently rejected this belief. Yes, paradoxically, the rejection of the Jewish religion was perceived as 'typically Jewish'. Since some of the most important religious critics emerged from the Jewish community (including Baruch de Spinoza, Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud) and among 'Jewish' scholars and politicians (e.g. in the socialist move-

ment) the number of atheists and agnostics was disproportionately high,' Godlessness' and a-religiousness are understood as special characteristics of the 'Jewish cultural disintegration'."

Empiricism, part 3

In addition to the incidents reported under the Anti-Discrimination Act (AGG) - such as from the anti-discrimination network (ADNB) of the Turkish Federal Berlin-Brandenburg (TBB) and the network against discrimination and anti-Muslim hostility of Inssan - there are further data on the question of the empirical recording and representation of hostility towards Muslims or Islam.

Islamophobia

In the case of "Islamophobia", the facets are recorded according to various sections of the Criminal Code (and mostly as official offenses). Within the phenomenon of politically motivated crime (PMK), various offenses are processed by the police state security within the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA).

Regarding "hate crime" it says:

„Hate crime describes politically motivated crimes if, after assessing the circumstances of the crime and/or the attitude of the perpetrator, there are indications that they are based on prejudices of the perpetrator with regard to - nationality/- ethnic affiliation/- skin color/- religious affiliation/- social status/- physical and/or psychological handicap or impairment/- gender/- sexual identity/- sexual orientation/- external appearance."

The number of cases for crimes related to „religion" can be determined from the police crime statistics of the Federal Criminal Police Office. On the one hand (§ 166 StGB :) „insulting denominations, religious communities and ideological associations" (also called „blasphemy paragraph") and § 167 StGB : „disruption of religious practice".

In Bundestag document 19/17069, the parliament explained (on page 9) the classification as an "Islamophobic background".

„In the LKA [State Criminal Police Office] the professional evaluation of the respective case takes place (assignment to a phenomenon area, definition of the quality of the offense, naming of subject areas, etc.). This also applies to the naming of the UTF [subtopic field] "Islamophobic". The information made available by the responsible department as well as the technical assessment of the LKA are transmitted to the BKA for phenomenological evaluation and statistical recording. [...] The free text presentation of facts is of particular importance here. [...] For example, cases are to be assessed as hostile to Islam if the perpetrator's actions are directed against Islam or Muslims

out of actual motivation or, taking into account the circumstances of the act, presumed motivation. "

This makes it clear that around 90 percent of crimes with an “Islamophobic background” are assigned to right-wing groups and parties (Pegida, AfD, etc.).

Criminal cases with anti-Islam background			
	2017	2018	2019
PMC right-wing	994	840	856
PMC left-wing	3	4	2
PMC Foreign Ideology	1	9	7
PMC religious ideology	18	16	22
PMC not classified	59	41	63
Total	1.075	910	950

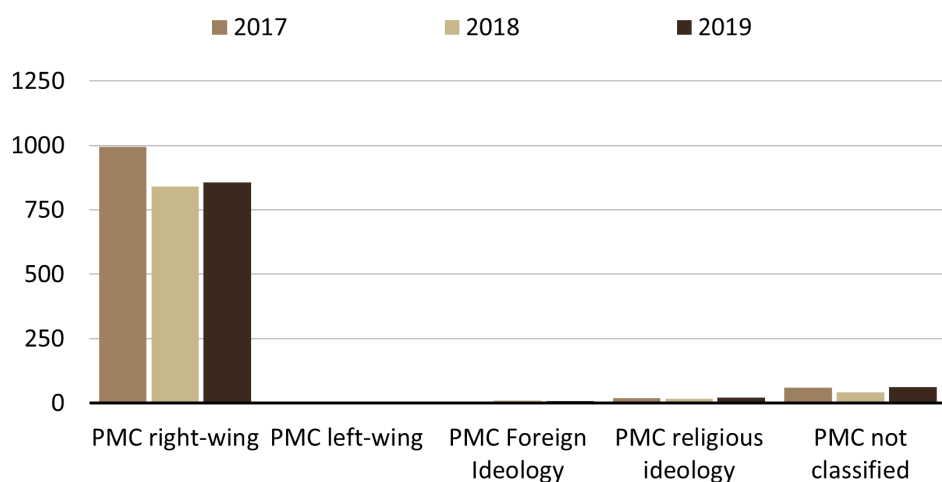
“The crimes recorded include incitement to hatred against Muslims or Muslim refugees on the Internet, threatening letters, attacks on women wearing headscarves or recognizable Muslim men on the street. Damage to property and Nazi graffiti on houses and mosques are also part of it. The authorities have no knowledge of the amount of damage. "

It is worth mentioning that - even if only a small proportion - is assigned to “religious ideologies”.

"The PMK -religious ideology- is assigned to offenses where there are indications that a religious ideology was decisive for the commission of the offense and that religion is used to justify the offense."

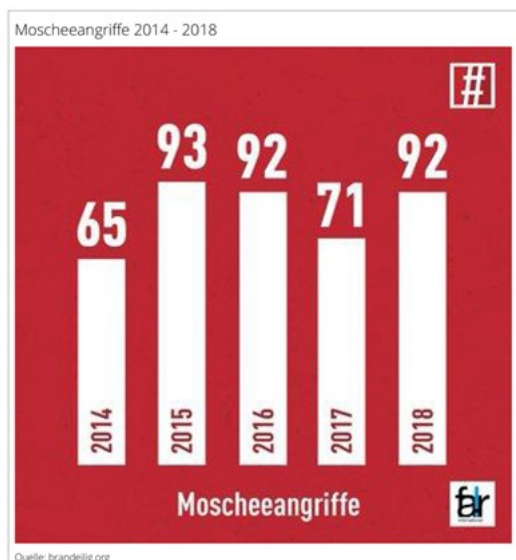
Mosque attacks

In 2019, within the framework of FAIR international - Federation against Injustice and Racism e. V. formed an initiative that focuses on "mosque attacks" and publishes the corresponding figures on mosque attacks⁴. The working definition of what a "mosque attack" is, is comprehensive.



„A mosque attack includes all attacks on facilities that are used by Muslims for religious purposes or from which the perpetrator (s) accept such use. This also includes rooms, objects or events that are legally or factually related to such a facility (libraries,

event rooms, residential units, youth facilities, club vehicles, garbage cans, outdoor activities, etc.). We also consider threatening letters or even bomb threats to be an 'attack'. Threats of any kind are categorized by law as 'endangering offenses' and are considered criminal offenses that can be punished with imprisonment."



Such a detailed recording requires a precise evaluation. After all, there are significant qualitative differences between a devastating arson attack, a discarded pig's head (for defamation) on a construction site or a scrap in the mailbox. However, nothing of this can be seen in the evaluation.

It shows 612 "mosque attacks" in the six years 2014-2019, i. H. an average of 102 per year or around 2 per week. In this respect, the factual presentation: "In Germany, a mosque is attacked on average every week" is even an understatement.

The largest category is "vandalism" (245 cases in five years), but that too is a "broad field". As long as it is not stated which forms and intensities of

"vandalism" it actually was, the representation is not very meaningful.

Interestingly, this information does not correspond to the presentation of the data from brandeilig.org on IslamIQ, which cited a total of 413 mosque attacks for the

4. www.brandeilig.org

years 2014 to 2018, i.e. an average of 83 per year. This could suggest that the 2019 graph contains double counting in terms of „type of attacks”.

Here, too, the chance to record and publish a detailed explanation of quality and intensity has been wasted.

Conclusion

The public relations work of state-sponsored groups such as Inssan and the CLAIM alliance is - even without empirical evidence - quite successful.

The Evangelical Press Service (epd) accepts an Inssan PR report without questioning it critically in any way. Readers of „Sonntag Sachsen”, the weekly newspaper for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony, learn that religion is supposedly the „main reason for anti-Muslim incidents” and that discrimination against Muslims is increasing.

MIGAZIN also headlined in April 2019: „Discrimination against Muslims is increasing significantly. The number of anti-Muslim incidents in Berlin rose by over 50 percent last year”. However, this only means (see above) that (in 2019) 88 more cases were reported than in the previous year.

Instead of giving the rather modest concrete figures, it naturally sounds much more dramatic to speak of an increase of 50 percent. It always depends on the reference values. According to this logic, the MIGAZIN report could have been given a completely different title, namely with reference to the population of Berlin: "Anti-Muslim incidents increased by 0.0023 percent" (namely 88 cases among 3,762,000 Berlin residents). „Dumber is always possible!” - however, this has nothing to do with serious social research.

Due to the proven incompetence of the actors involved, it is extremely questionable whether organizations such as Inssan/CLAIM can scientifically record and publish reliable data on hostility towards Muslims. However, this is urgently needed to make real progress in reducing discrimination.

In the course of this analysis, the impression was strengthened that Inssan/CLAIM is not concerned with a correct representation of social conditions, but with strengthening the structures of Islamic lobbyism and legalistic Islamism, which pulls out the „discrimination card” to gain advantages over other social groups. This fits that both organizations are counted in the network of the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany. This is one of the reasons why it seems extremely worrying that the German government is funding CLAIM as a „federal central agency”, as emerges from the Bundestag document 19/17069 (dated February 6, 2020) on the subject of "Anti-Muslim racism and discrimination against Muslims in Germany" (p.11/12):

„As part of the federal program „Live Democracy!”, the federal government is promoting state democracy centers in all federal states that link local advice and support for victims of anti-Muslim, anti-Semitic, racial etc. vio-

lence. In addition, the Anti-Discrimination Association Germany e. V. (advd) as well as Mutik gGmbH with the project "CLAIM - Alliance against Islamophobia and Muslim Hostility" promoted in the development of central federal agencies. The central task of the two organizations is to document and analyze specific cases of discrimination, to develop strategies for action and preventive measures against discrimination based on this, and to advise and empower those affected. "

The German government should urgently rethink its funding practice.

