



What is to be Done?

Germany between Islamic Extremism and Islamophobia

An Action Plan submitted by a commission
established by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

**FRIEDRICH
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STIFTUNG
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Foreword

Islamic extremism and terrorism pose real threats to Germany and Europe. The attacks of December 19, 2016, in Berlin's Breitscheidplatz, of April 3, 2017, on the St. Petersburg subway, of April 7, 2017, in one of Stockholm's pedestrian zones, of May 22, 2017, in Manchester, and of June 3, 2017, in London all remind us that peaceful coexistence in diversity is under siege not only in Germany but all across Europe.

Islamophobia is likewise a genuine threat to our common life. Xenophobia and Islamophobia shade off into each other and pose a danger to social peace, especially in an era of increased immigration. Even though Islamic terrorism and Islamophobia cannot be compared in respect to their propensity to violence, events such as the attack on Muslims in front of their London mosque on June 18, 2017 show that Islamophobia too can lead to violence.

In 2015 the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Foundation) empaneled a Commission of Experts to investigate both Islamic extremism and Islamophobia, according equal weight to each. As that year drew to a close, the Commission's findings were published under the title "A plan of action for the confrontation with Islamic extremism and Islamophobia." Part one of the report summarized the main insights and recommendations that emerged from the Board of Experts' work. Moreover, the experts studied a number of specific aspects of these topics in the named articles they contributed. An overview of these articles can be found at the end of this brochure, as well as a list of the experts who participated in the Commission.

Since the report was published at the end of 2015, there have been quite a few new developments. First, more attacks occurred in 2016, and this time they hit Germany especially hard. Second, intensive public discussions have been taking place meanwhile concerning Muslims, Muslim life in Germany, "the" Islamic religion, and tendencies toward radicalization. These debates sometimes have been framed in conjunction with an issue that has deeply preoccupied the public: refugee policy and the integration of those who have fled their home countries. Yet at other times that connection has not figured in the discussion.

Third, the attack of December 19, 2016, in Berlin finally provoked a series of changes in Germany's security laws.

In spite of these developments, the authors see no reason to change drastically the basic assessment they offered in 2015. In part, the conclusions of the Commission's work at that time have been confirmed by subsequent events. That is the reason that we have not reconvened the Board of Experts; instead, we have revised and updated the findings of 2015 in light of the events that took place in the next two years.

Thus, this volume offers an update of the original findings and provides the reader with a good overview of the phenomena of Islamic extremism and Islamophobia in Germany. At the same time it will show that there are certainly a great variety of actionable options both for reining in Islamophobia and dealing with the threat posed by Islamic extremism. The purpose of the present text is to provoke discussion of these recommendations. The authors, like the members of the Commission themselves, are convinced that implementing them will lead to greater security and enable togetherness in diversity to thrive.

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Bilkay Öney

Berlin, August, 2017



Muslim Life in Germany

Introduction

For decades, it has been entirely normal for Muslims to live in Germany. As workers immigrated to the Federal Republic during the Fifties and Sixties, cultural diversity in Germany began increasing once more. And this happened just a few years after the Germans had attempted to root out everything they saw as “un-German,” using the most brutal means and committing horrendous crimes in the process. As a result of the Recruitment Agreement signed in 1961, the number of mainly Turkish immigrant workers—most of them Muslims—increased. In the Eighties, significant numbers of Muslim immigrants from the Middle East began arriving. Then, in the wake of the civil wars in Yugoslavia during the Nineties, many Bosnian refugees added to the number of local Muslims.

New immigration

In 2015 and 2016 a great wave of refugees from Islamic countries arrived in Germany (mainly from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and even Pakistan) seeking asylum in Germany. Even today there are no exact figures about their numbers available, since some have been double-counted, while others continued their migration or to date never have been registered. The Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge or BAMF (in English, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees) reports that 158,657 Syrians filed an initial application for refugee status in 2015, while in 2016 the number rose to 266,250. For Afghan refugees the corresponding figures were 31,382 in 2015 and 127,012 the following year. Migrants from Iraq filed 29,784 first-time applications in 2015 and 96,116 in 2016 (all statistics from the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2017).

Public discussions about “the” refugees make it difficult for us to recognize the heterogeneity of the people who have come to Germany. For example, among the refugees from Syria (according to the BAMF), 65.3 % were Arabs and 24 % Kurds. Of the Afghan refugees, Tajiks accounted for 43.7 %, Hazaras 25.5%, and Pashtuns only 14 %, even though the latter are Afghanistan’s most numer-

ous ethnic group (BAMF 2017, p. 22). Turning to religious affiliations, in 2016 91.5 % of Syrian refugees filing a first-time application were Muslims, 2.6 % were Christians, and 1.5 % Yazidis. Among the Afghans, 91.4 % were Muslims and 1.7 % Christians. By contrast, only 54 % of Iraqi refugees were Muslims, while 3.3 % were Christian and 38.8 % Yazidis. Of the Pakistanis, 95.2 % were Muslims and 2.3 %, Christians.

We lack reliable data that would enable us to subdivide the Muslims into Sunnis and Shiites. Nor can we estimate the number of Alawites. But we can say that, of the Albanians (74.8 %), Kosovars (90.9 %), and Macedonians (81.3 %) who filed applications for asylum in 2015, the overwhelming majority were Muslims (BAMF 2016, page 25).

Most of the refugees who arrived in 2015 and 2016 from Syria and Iraq are likely to be allowed to remain, in contrast to the majority of those from the Balkan countries and at least a large number of the Afghans. Consequently, not only will the number of Muslims in Germany grow, but their ethnic makeup also will change considerably. While previously Muslims of Turkish extraction clearly predominated, in the future immigrants (with Arab roots) from the Middle East will play a more important role. This will be the case even if the number of immigrants and asylum applicants from Turkey grows again in the aftermath of that country's failed coup of July, 2016.

The number of Muslims in Germany

The exact size of Germany's Muslim population is unknown. Estimates issued by the statistics offices before the refugee wave began provided a figure of at least four million citizens of the Muslim faith. After 2015 and 2016 the number will have risen by at least a half-million (counting refugees from Syria and Iraq, but excluding those from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Balkan countries), i.e., including only immigrants with a reasonable prospect of being able to remain over the middle and long term. Because of residents permits that will be granted to partners and children (family unification), the number will increase by at least that same magnitude. Of those Muslims who have lived here for longer periods of time, around 55 % or roughly 2.3 million are German citizens (Deutsche Islam Konferenz, DIK). Looking at their geo-

graphic distribution across Germany, we find that Muslim citizens live and work primarily in the industrial and economic centers of the old Federal Republic and in Berlin. Their religious life today is centered on some 2,600 mosque associations. Approximately 900 mosques are subordinate to the DITIB, a Turkish acronym that translates into English as the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (www.ditib.de, *Unsere Gemeinden*). These, in turn, are subject to regulation by the Turkish-state-sponsored Turkish Presidency for Religious Affairs. About 300 mosques and educational organizations are supervised by the Association of Islamic Cultural Centers, an officially registered group (VIKZ; www.vikz.de *Über uns*). Over 200 mosques are listed as belonging to the Islamic Community Milli Görüs (IGMG), another officially registered association (www.moscheevereine.de). The actual number certainly should be pegged at more than 300, because many such groups are not registered as IGMG associations. Also, around 300 mosque associations are subject to organizations affiliated with the Central Council of Muslims (remid.de; *Mitgliedzahlen Islam*). In past years, Muslims also have formed federations at the *Land* or state level (“shura”) in order to qualify as recognized dialogue partners in the political process. As is the case with the Christian population of Germany, the degree of religiosity among Muslims varies quite a bit, so it would be reasonable to assume that there are also some non-believers among those who have emigrated from Muslim countries.

One striking characteristic of Muslim life in Germany is its diversity, which is analogous to the diversity of the immigrants’ countries of origin. Precisely for that reason, one cannot speak of a single Muslim “life-world” or social environment. While it is true that about three quarters of the Muslims living in Germany are Sunnis, there are still several different sects within the Sunni denomination itself. One reason for these differences in religious orientation is the diversity of migration backgrounds in Muslim congregations. The approximately 500,000 Alawites in Germany do not see themselves as Muslims, but they are often subsumed under that category in statistics. The Alawite umbrella organization (Alevitische Gemeinde Deutschland e.V., or Alawite Congregation of Germany) is also a member of the German Islamic Conference (DIK). A further 10 % of Muslims are Shiites, while the rest belong to the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat (AMJ), as well as some smaller groupings. Differing self-reported levels of religiosity as well as confessional diversity make it

impossible to speak of “the” religion of Islam in Germany. Other factors, such as a person’s socio-economic situation, individual immigration story, and length of residence in Germany, also contribute to the heterogeneity of the Muslim portion of the country’s population.

Key aspects of Muslim life-worlds in Germany

If we attempt to sketch out the features of the Muslim “life-worlds” or social environments in Germany, despite their heterogeneity, the following factors will be highly relevant.

1. Legal recognition

In terms of religious life, there are still some unanswered questions. As yet, Islamic organizations have not been granted complete legal rights on a par with those enjoyed by Christian churches, Jewish congregations, and other religious communities. To be sure, certain individual matters such as confessional religious instruction, burial in accordance with Muslim rites, and the observance of Muslim holidays have been addressed in some of the German states, but not yet at a national level (cf. Spielhaus/Herzog 2015). Many Islamic organizations have not been recognized as religious communities. Furthermore, with the sole exception of the AMJ in Hesse and Hamburg, they have not been accorded corporate status, even though that status has been granted to smaller religious communities such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses. Nevertheless, foot-dragging on the part of the German state is not the only reason why these groups still await recognition as religious communities and have been denied corporate status. Muslim organizations themselves have not always been willing to apply for such recognition and to meet the requirements necessary to obtain it.

2. Financial matters

The financing of Muslim religious life in Germany is especially relevant in practice. The majority of mosque congregations must make do with meager budgets since their members are not very wealthy and the yield from donations is

therefore relatively small. What is more, many of the donations given by Muslims living in Germany flow back to their respective countries of origin. Of course, state-recognized religious communities could levy and collect a “church tax,” but Muslim congregations have never desired this expedient and have always rejected it. Given these parameters, mosque congregations and associations in Germany should get credit for the fact that they have been pretty much self-financing since the Sixties and have built their current institutions on their own initiative.

In a state that professes neutrality toward world-views, there are good reasons why the public financing of religious life is ruled out in principle, whether for Christians or for Muslims. The financing of Christian churches (state support) is justified historically and is based on ancient rights and titles. The financing of Jewish congregations constitutes an exception and was gradually institutionalized after 1949.

Given these realities, funding from foreign donors is attractive to many Muslim congregations. This might mean that imams are trained abroad, as in the case of the DITIB, and then assigned to German congregations, often being paid in part from foreign sources. In the case of the DITIB, the money comes from the Turkish state religious authority. In addition to the financial issues involved, this arrangement also raises the question of whether the DITIB and its imams are dependent on the Turkish state and its ideological outlook in other ways—especially in light of the direction the Turkish state has taken under Erdoğan. There have even been charges that data about the faithful have been passed on to the Turkish state by a few imams (cf. the *Berliner Zeitung*, December 13, 2016). Other congregations accept funds from totally non-transparent sources, including sometimes from donors who interpret Islam in ways that are incompatible with a fundamentally liberal-democratic order.

Because mosques have faced rising expectations over the past few years, and since still more will be expected of them in the wake of the high number of refugees arriving since 2015, they will have to clarify the sources of the long-term financing that they will require. Mosque congregations and Muslim organizations are supposed to help familiarize refugees with our fundamentally liberal order; they are expected to take a position on international terrorism; and they

must work with the youth—and all this should serve, at the very least, as a preventive measure against Islamic extremism. Finally, of course, they should contribute to the well-being of their respective urban neighborhoods or boroughs. All of these functions involve social work rather than the performance of “normal” clerical tasks such as holding Friday prayers or doing pastoral counseling.

3. The discourse of security

The security concerns noted above are described by the Muslim organizations as highly burdensome. Many Muslims feel as though they are under broad suspicion purely on account of their religion. Moreover, every Muslim person whose name has ever come up in a report by the German Constitutional Protection Office bears a stigma, whether that person’s inclusion in the report was justified or not. The same goes for Muslim organizations. When people cite religious commandments as definitive guidelines for how to lead their personal lives, that fact alone can lead too quickly to the suspicion of unconstitutionality. The Constitutional Protection Office must distinguish more carefully between religiosity and unconstitutional activities.

Anyone who wants to overthrow democracy—such as the political Salafists—should be watched; religious Salafists, by contrast, should be left alone. In practice, security concerns continually lead to the rejection of applications for project funding, and/or to the projects not being carried out. This prejudicial treatment could be observed, for example, in the debate about Muslim pastoral counseling in prisons (cf. “Streit um Gefängnisseelsorge,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, November 14, 2013).

4. Experiences of discrimination

In Germany the life-worlds of Muslims also are influenced by experiences of discrimination. Muslims are genuinely at a disadvantage, for example when they look for an apartment, apply for a job or a spot in a training program, seek a recommendation for more advanced education, or hope to receive a promotion from their firm. Not long ago a report by the Federal Office for Migration, Refugees and Integration substantiated this finding with hard data (cf. *Beauftragte der Bundesregierung* 2016, 395ff.). This is true in particular of Muslim

women who wear the head scarf, since they experience discrimination more frequently than other Muslims do (cf. Scherr 2014).

So far it has not been possible to measure and quantify the precise extent of such experiences of discrimination. Furthermore, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the act of discrimination is religiously motivated or whether it arises from xenophobia.

Other data offer a different perspective on such reports of discrimination. For example, one source claims that over 70 % of the Muslims living in Germany are happy to be here (cf. SVR-Jahresgutachten 2014). In this sense the picture is mixed, but that should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Muslims feel like second-class citizens.

5. Internal diversity among Muslims

The diversity of cultural and religious life due to immigration is a hallmark of immigration societies. The lives of Germany's Muslims continue to bear the stamp of their many different regions of origin. Their religious beliefs and practices as well as their individual and collective religiosity are equally varied. The non-Muslim portion of the population, especially, needs to become aware of this diversity so that collective ascriptions to "the" religion of Islam can be avoided. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that Muslims have lived in south-eastern Europe for centuries, but not only there. After all, Germany has had sizable Muslim minority for decades. In other words, it bears repeating that Muslims are not the Other, "coming from the outside" as it were; rather, Islam in all of its diversity also has influenced the cultural heritage of Europe. By the same token, majority Muslim cultures have not developed in a monolithic way. There simply is no single Islamic music, painting, or cuisine; instead, there is always a culture that has emerged under the influence of its own time, region, and power alignments. Contrariwise, not everything that comes from Islamic countries is shaped by religion and Islam, any more than all European cultural elements are formed by Christianity.

The associations and mosque congregations alluded to above represent only one cross-section of Muslims in Germany, a fact that underscores intra-Muslim

diversity. Associations such as the VIKZ or Milli Görüs, mosques financed by Saudi Arabia, other Gulf states, or Iran, DITIB imams sent out by the Turkish religious authorities (some of whom admitted to spying for Turkish authorities in the recent past): all of these make up the mosaic of Islam in Germany, but each of them represents only one part of it—sometimes only a small part.

6. Recognition and evaluation versus ascription

Without question it is correct to say that the lively public discourse on Islamic issues has led to an increase in ascription. A German citizen whose appearance or family name betrays his or her religious or ethnic origin is perceived as a “Muslim.” Ascriptions of this kind potentially can have a marginalizing effect when linked to constructed dichotomies such as those between “the Muslims” and “the Germans” or between “Islam” and “democracy.” Young people, especially, report that they suffer from the Muslim ascription because it threatens to overshadow other dimensions of their identity. The insight that every human being can combine different and quite contradictory identities within the same self has gained credence only in recent discourse (cf. studies on hybrid identities by Foroutan and Schäfer 2009).

Today’s young Muslims are the first generation to be completely socialized in Germany; hence, they are the first generation of domestic Muslim believers. The public anti-Islam discourse that commenced in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States—indeed, even quite independent of those events—cast a pall of broad suspicion over Islam as a religion of extremism. Having encountered this anti-Islam trend, young Muslims had a harder time participating without constraints and second thoughts in the affairs of society. Muslim youth in Germany ended up experiencing marginalization and thus homelessness and pressure to conform.

Muslims who complain that they do not feel fully accepted in Germany justify their claim by citing several arguments. The first point they make concerns what they see as anti-Islam media reportage, especially the visual language that accompanies such reporting. Thus, for example, Muslim women nearly always are shown wearing the head scarf, even though the majority of women in Germany don’t wear it. Second, they object that too much is said *about*

Muslims and that few people bother to talk *with* them. Recently, one can observe efforts to include Muslims as partners in dialogue, but often these efforts make the situation even worse, as when TV talk show hosts will invite comparatively extreme representatives of the Islamic community as their guests. In addition, it is noteworthy that talk shows and media reports that relate to Islam tend to emphasize themes such as “social problems,” thereby reinforcing the—false—impression that it is Muslims above all who cause such problems, and blinding us to the (positive) contributions they make to society. This insight leads to a third critical point: the lack of awareness about intra-Muslim diversity. Because they have so little knowledge of Muslim life-worlds, people tend to talk about a monolithic Islam, thereby illegitimately ignoring Islamic heterogeneity. Finally, the fourth charge is that even well-meaning debates about migration and integration far too often fail to take into account those Muslims who were born and raised in Germany. Talk of a “culture of welcome” is proper and important in respect to new immigrants. But when it is applied to people who come from Germany, it leads ultimately to the “foreignizing” of German citizens of the Muslim faith. In that case, the “welcome” gets perverted into its opposite. In ordinary language, we “welcome” someone who does not already belong here. The self-evident membership in their own society of Muslims born and raised in Germany is negated by such talk.

An Action Plan – Recommendations

1. Recommendations for politics and administration

Legal recognition

Legal recognition is overdue. It does not matter in the end whether it takes the form of recognizing Muslims as a religious community, as a corporate body under public law, or concluding a state treaty to grant them recognition. Recognition is necessary both for the expansion of the network of cooperation between the state and Muslim organizations and for a long-term alteration in the mind-set and behavior of public authorities. Ultimately, recognized organizations would have easier access to state financing of their projects, youth work, etc.

Intra-Islamic diversity

Political decision-makers and public administrators must learn to live with intra-Islamic diversity. On account of the diversity of Muslim congregations, there cannot and will not ever be a monolithically organized, church-like Islam in Germany. Intra-religious pluralism can be found in other areas as well, for example in German Protestantism, where a multiplicity of churches and congregations exists.

No distinction should be drawn between “good” and “bad” Muslims. Approaches meant to create supposedly politically acceptable organizations lead down the wrong path. The intention here is not to place Muslim extremism under surveillance or for the state to launch a legally sanctioned offensive against it. Indeed, the same point holds for all religions. By the same token, the fact that a major share of Germany’s Muslim population is not organized should not lead politicians to engage only existing associations and mosque congregations as partners in dialogue. Unorganized Muslims are just as important in this context, as are the critics of Muslim associations.

Opportunities to provide aid to religious communities

Because religious communities take on such a great variety of tasks that go beyond matters of religious belief, state funding options absolutely can be offered to religious organizations. For example, the Free State of Bavaria funds both the Greek Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches. For its part, the city-state of Berlin has entered into a state treaty to support the local Jewish community, partly for historical reasons, but also to give backing to other fields in which the local Jewish congregations have been working. It is worthwhile to sift through these examples to see whether they are applicable to Muslim organizations as well. Of course, such funding is always project-specific, since it would be neither legal nor politically prudent to offer institutional support to the proselytizing work of mosques or other Muslim organizations.

But the religious support services provided to refugees since 2015 belong in a different category. Muslim associations do need funding for the work with refugees they have been doing. Since 2017 the German Federal Ministry of Home Affairs has been funding qualifying projects, as was negotiated previ-

ously with Muslim representatives of the German Islamic Conference (DIK 2016).

Can the state be kept at arm's length?

It should continue to be possible for Muslims to keep the state at arm's length. A few mosques have explicitly said that they want no ties to or funding from the state, as is the case also for the "free churches" (i.e., those not officially "established"). Given the experiences they had in their home countries, one can easily understand why they would want no part of "state Islam."

Constitutional protection

Many Muslims criticize the significant role played by the German Office for Constitutional Protection in deciding which organizations will be classified as Islamic extremist. The Board of Experts suggests that regular consultations be held between the Constitutional Protection Office and Muslim Organizations so that views can be exchanged on the issue.

In quest of greater objectivity: the Council of Experts

Discussions of Islam and policies adopted toward it continue to be carried on in a highly charged atmosphere. Arguments frequently are based on a very limited knowledge of Islamic life in Germany, and may even be accompanied by open or concealed Islamophobia. Moreover, the interlocutors often fail to distinguish—sometimes intentionally—precisely enough between Islam and Islamic extremism or perhaps also political Salafism. For that reason it is time to transmit greater knowledge about Islam, its different denominations and schools of thought, its common elements and the sources of division among Muslims.

A Council of Experts should be set up within the federal government that would include both the representatives of major Muslim associations as well as unaffiliated specialists who would join the Council as individuals. Both Muslims and non-Muslims should be represented. It would have a broad spectrum of responsibilities, including (among other things) publishing informational mate-

rial that provides an objective image of Islam, especially Islam in Germany. Furthermore, the Council should do its part to make the discussion more objective by supplying analyses based on scientific studies.

Upgrading the DIK

On the whole, the German Islam Conference has proved its worth. It offers valuable opportunities for political decision-makers to meet ideally with all Muslim organizations and discuss questions that touch on Islam. For that reasons, the DIK should be upgraded, expanded, and given a continuing mandate, so that it can hold meetings whenever regnant issues or circumstances require. To insure that the Muslim side is not represented exclusively by officially recognized associations, some unorganized Muslims also should be allowed to participate in the conference as full-fledged members.

School and open youth work

School is one place in which the common intercultural life of the future can be shaped. The burden of responsibility placed on teachers and school administrators is correspondingly heavy. They must foster a discrimination-free atmosphere, respect the individuality of each pupil, and prepare everyone for a common life in diversity, including imparting to them the requisite discursive techniques of conflict resolution. Reports from the classroom indicate that dealing with Islam-related issues is an intimidating process in many schools, and one that it is perceived as unsatisfactory by teachers, students, and parents. Thus, we must meet an equally daunting political challenge: bringing teacher-training, curricula, and textbooks up to date so the situation will change in the schools over the long term. Cooperation with civil society and Muslim organizations would be advisable here. Besides the schools, open youth work is the second way we have of reaching young people. Here, too, the intercultural competence of youth can be enhanced and practices that encourage a successful coexistence in diversity can be inculcated.

Intercultural understanding

We need to sharpen understanding of cultural dynamics in immigration societies,

so that sheer ignorance and the experience of foreign ways do not lead some people to construct an “other” that is fundamentally different from themselves. Education in culture can help its beneficiaries to understand the process of identity-formation (e.g., via the analysis of media images) and be a guiding force for young people, in particular, as they struggle to discover their own identities. Up to this point, cultural institutions largely have failed to encourage an in-depth discussion of Islam. For that to happen, we will need—in addition to the willingness to undertake it—well-trained personnel, adequate financial resources, and ample time.

Religious instruction in Islam

Many Muslim parents want their children to have religious instruction in Islam, but in the German language. By further expanding the teaching of Islam, it should be possible to satisfy this request, one that is both reasonable and increasingly heard. In addition, religious instruction in state schools can prevent the dissemination of one-sided, radical interpretations of the Koran and foster understanding of how religions coexist in a society that contains many of them. Muslims also complain that they do not learn enough about Muslim culture and history in school. In this connection, too, many hopes are being pinned on Islamic religious instruction. To meet these expectations, Islamic religious instruction should be offered by an Islamic teacher corps trained in German teachers’ colleges and universities. The Federal Ministry of Education has sponsored centers of Islamic theology in Münster-Osnabrück, Frankfurt am Main, Tübingen, and Nürnberg-Erlangen. All of these centers feature appropriate academic training courses in Islamic studies (what would be called “majors” in the USA), while other universities offer at least “minors” in that field.

The training of imams

In the political debates concerning Islam in the German Federal Republic, politicians agree, regardless of party, that imams should be trained in Germany in order to eliminate foreign influences. For example, a resolution adopted at the CDU party congress in 2016 states: “Imams should be trained in Germany. We want to exclude political-religious influences emanating from foreign sources and we will try even more rigorously to eliminate them in the future.” (quoted

from the party resolution "Orientierung in schwierigen Zeiten", p.9). In North Rhine-Westphalia, the former minister Guntram Schneider (SPD), speaking in an interview with the *Islamischer Zeitung* on February 2, 2015, encouraged Islamic associations to take over the training of imams. Also, Alliance 90/ The Greens as well as elements of the Left Party would like to see imams trained in Germany (resolution of the Greens' party delegation in the Bundestag from February 26, 2012, section 5, and declaration by Raju Sharma, a deputy of the Left Party in the Bundestag from October 2, 2010).

In 2016, 970 imams sent out by the State Institute for Religion in Turkey alone were posted to German mosques under the auspices of DITIB. As a rule, they stay in Germany for only five years ("970 imams sent out from Turkey in Germany," *Welt-Online*, April 24, 2016). Despite efforts to train imams at German universities as well, and apart from the still-unresolved issue of how fully the locally trained imams will be accepted in the mosque congregations here (cf. "Imam training in Germany," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 9, 2016), imams trained abroad will continue to be needed here, given that there are so far around 2,600 mosques in Germany. The advantage to be gained from this circumstance is that the foreign-trained imams will be familiar with the cultural heritage of their home countries. On the other hand, there is an ongoing problem with the lagging integration of imams from abroad into our social order. They are insufficiently acquainted with the German language and social relations in Germany. When they come from countries in which there is as yet no fundamentally democratic order or in which the latter is being dismantled, the risk is that they will base their interpretation of Islam on the non-democratic understanding of the state that they have brought with them.

In this case, supplementary education might contribute to their more complete integration. Additional training of this kind, publicly subsidized because of the political interest at stake, probably could be made mandatory as well. When imams come to Germany, they do not enjoy any special privileges. Rather, they are subject to the rules of the Residence Law that govern entry for the purposes of pursuing gainful employment (cf. Verdict of the Administrative Court in Berlin of January 4, 2009). It follows that the decision about whether or not to issue them a residence permit is in the hands of the relevant authorities (Cf. § 18 of the Residence Law). Presumably, their presence is not supposed to

impair or endanger the interests of the Federal Republic of Germany (cf. § 5, Paragraph 1, Number 3 of the Residence Law). If the imams in question remain overly dependent on a foreign, undemocratic government, then that might represent just such a danger. Given these concerns, it is conceivable that a supplementary education especially focused on the democratic political order of the Federal Republic of Germany ought to be made mandatory. Still, it must be conceded there are no precedents for such a mandate, so we would be moving into unexplored territory in the law concerning foreigners.

Expanding youth work with Muslims

Muslim youth work frequently displays a very low level of organization and exists only under the umbrella of adult associations upon which it depends for financing. For the most part, that work is carried on by volunteers, and the associations involved generally are not recognized as private agencies providing assistance to children and youth. Muslim youth organizations should be supported in their endeavor to develop new and improved institutions. In practice, that would mean increasing the financial endowments of these youth associations so they can employ full-time professionals, apply for and carry out project grants, and improve their networking with other (non-Muslim) agencies. Over the medium term, the goal is to pave the way for suitable Muslim youth organizations to be recognized as private agencies, and thus be put on a par with many established associations. Toward that end, both public administration and the Muslim organizations themselves will have work to do.

Religious support for refugees

Most of the refugees who arrived in 2015 were Muslims. The same was true for 2016, although the total number of refugees coming to Germany that year declined. It should be assumed that still more Muslims will be immigrating in the coming years, not least because of residence permits that will be granted for the purpose of family unification. Religious care is provided by mosque congregations on a volunteer basis, an arrangement that has overburdened them. Thus, there should be state-financed programs of religious care for refugees for preventive reasons alone. At this point, there is some risk that radicalized groups such as the Salafists will fill the gap in the currently insufficient

religious support and deliberately recruit new members in front of refugee housing (BMI 2016, p. 174f.)

2. Recommendations for the Muslim community

Non-profit agencies

It is advisable to establish legal persons authorized to apply for project grants. These might be, for example, non-profit agencies or companies set up to carry out social projects. It would also be worthwhile to consider the potential of inter-religious cooperation, especially since actors such as churches and other religious communities already may have experience in applying for and administering public funds.

Developing and improving structures

When it comes to Islamic structures, Germany is a patchwork. In the future, intra-Islamic communications structures should be set up, in which different actors can get together and hammer out common positions, e.g., on religious instruction according to confession. There is no one-size-fits-all solution here; rather, Muslims themselves must clarify the organizational question.

Nevertheless, state agreements from Hamburg and Bremen show how well the “Shura model” works in practice. At the same time, some previous agreements of this kind reveal weaknesses, because they were negotiated and concluded only with representatives of officially recognized associations. When Lower Saxony and Rhineland-Palatinate tried to negotiate such state pacts, they ran into stumbling blocks due to the connection between DITIB and the Turkish government under President Erdoğan (“Talks with Islamic associations suspended,” program broadcast by Deutschlandfunk on August 11, 2016). Other German federal states, such as Berlin and Baden-Württemberg, previously have created sub-regulations for Muslims via laws rather than agreements. The Berlin Participation and Integration Act of 2010 and the Baden-Württemberg Participation and Integration Act of 2015 furnish examples.

Intra-Islamic communications

Generally speaking, a functioning, intra-Islamic communications structure is needed so that Muslim umbrella organizations can communicate at the federal level and reach common positions that they can defend in the political and administrative spheres as well as in the media and in contacts with other actors.

Dealing with terrorism

For German Muslims there is no alternative to confronting the phenomenon of Islamic terrorism. The public image of Muslims in Germany already had taken a hit from the attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States, of March 11, 2004, in Madrid, and July 7, 2005, in London. In the wake of further attacks in Paris on November 14, 2015, Brussels on March 22, 2016, and Nice on July 14, 2016, their image became still more negative.

What is more, the German population itself has been directly affected since 2016. Fourteen Germans were killed in the Al Qaeda-sponsored terror attack on tourists on the Tunisian island of Jerba, which took place on April 11, 2002. Just when memories of those events were fading, ISIS launched a suicide attack in Istanbul on January 12, 2016, in which eleven Germans lost their lives. The latter attack raised public awareness of the prospect that Islamic terror could be a threat to Germany itself.

Those terrorist incidents were followed by the stabbing attack perpetrated by a female juvenile against a Hanover policeman during February of 2016, the hatchet and knife attack on a regional rail line near Würzburg on July 18, 2016, and a bombing in Ansbach on July 24, 2016. On October 9, 2016, police in Leipzig arrested a purported ISIS militant, who allegedly had been planning an attack on one of Berlin's airports. The worst attack to date in Germany took place on December 19, 2016, when the attacker, Anis Amri, drove a truck into the Christmas market on Berlin's Breitscheidplatz. Eleven people died and 55 more were injured. In addition, the perpetrator had already killed the truck driver. These events were followed in 2017 by the attack in Stockholm on April 7, 2017, which killed five people and then the bomb attack in Manchester on May 22, 2017, that took the lives of some twenty more. Security services in Europe and Germany assume that there is a potential for even more attacks in

the future. These Islamic terrorist crimes are real and engender real fear among the German populace. German Muslims, too, must take these fears seriously.

3. General recommendations for other actors

Media reporting

Media reporting about Islam-related issues has become more nuanced and well-informed in recent years. Nevertheless, the media still confront the task of avoiding Islamophobic stereotypes in their reports, of which examples can be found even in the very recent past. Since so many citizens acquire their information about Islam from the media (cf. Foroutan et al., 2015), it is even more important for them to treat Muslims in a non-discriminatory way.

More nuanced debates

Debates need to become more nuanced. For instance, when we talk about a “culture of welcome,” it should be made clear that we are referring to as-yet unintegrated, newly arrived immigrants, and not talking about, say, the descendants of immigrants who came to Germany decades ago. Additionally, discourses about Islam-related topics should not speak of Islam as a monolithic religion; instead, they should state clearly who or what they are talking about—a Salafist group, the mosque congregation of a certain association, or a specific preacher.

A culture of recognition

Numerous experiences of recognition being withheld, ascription of foreignness to someone by outsiders, and outright acts of discrimination make it apparent that Germany still needs to come to an understanding about how an immigration society should behave. Part of that understanding concerns the recognition that there are many highly diverse ways of “being German,” and that there is no one kind of “normal German behavior” that immigrants should be expected to emulate.

Cooperation as the norm

The “taken for granted” character of Muslim everyday life clearly needs to become part of Germany’s present. For that to happen, much more cooperation is required. It often has been suggested that mosques and Muslim associations should be more closely involved in local encounter projects. In addition, it is easy to imagine greater cooperation between Muslim organizations and museums, theaters, newspaper editorial staffs, or archives.

The Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin provides an example of how such cooperation could work with its project known as *multaka*, the Arabic word for rendezvous point, carried out in collaboration with the Museum of Western Asia, the Sculpture Collection, the Museum of Byzantine Art, and the German Historical Museum. Syrian and Iraqi refugees were trained as museum guides so they could lead museum tours for Arabic-speaking refugees. (www.smb.museum/multaka).

Conclusions

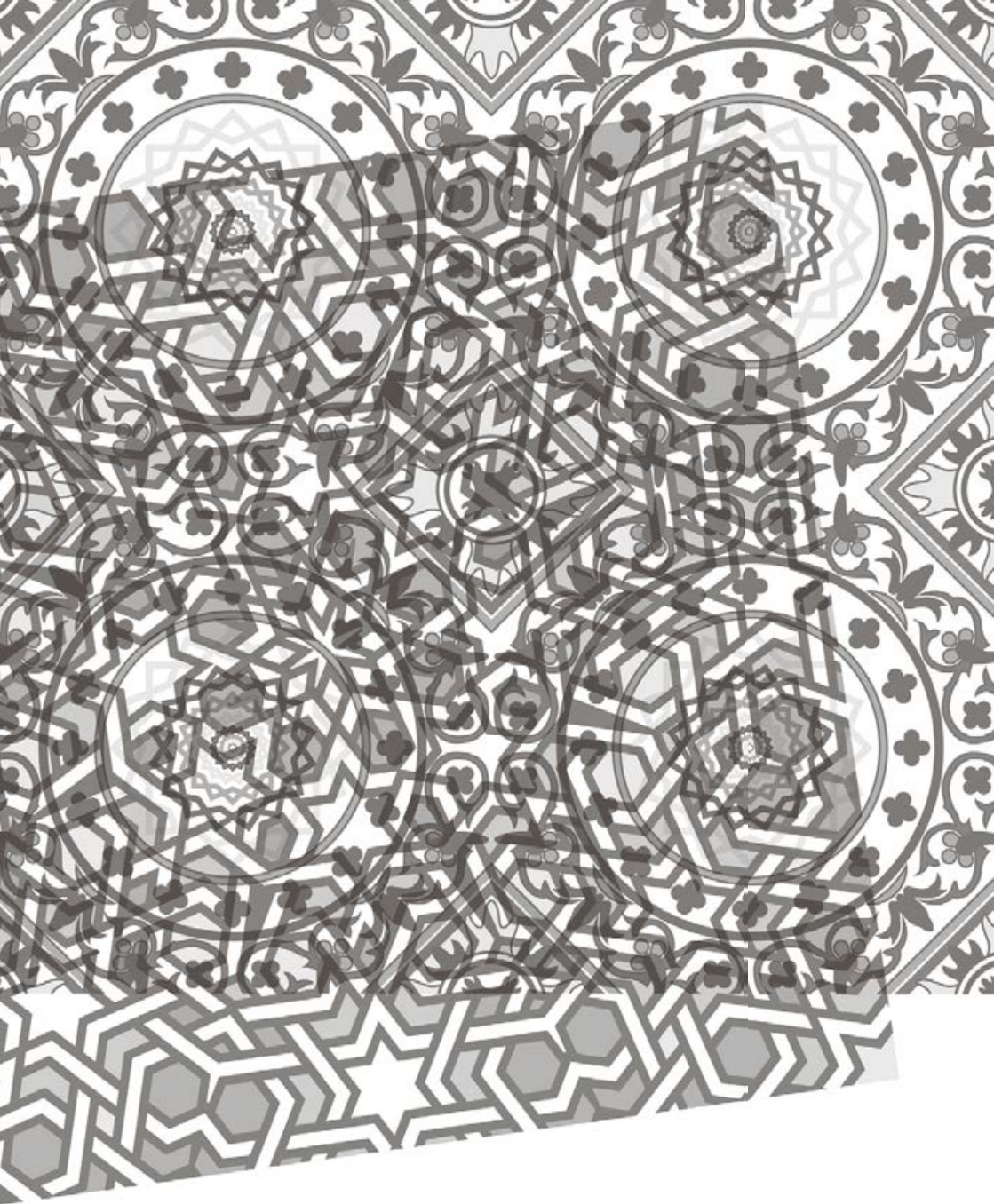
The takeaway from the previous discussion is that, to deal with Islam-related issues successfully, the following factors must be taken into account:

- Reducing a person to “the Muslim” or “the Christian” ought to be avoided.
- Images shape perceptions; hence, they must be selected with some sensitivity. The different effects that a given picture may produce on different observers must be understood.
- Culture is never static; it is always dynamic.
- Muslim life is diverse and the Muslim community is heterogeneous. Furthermore, not everything that a Muslim, Jew, or Christian says is motivated or influenced by religion.

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Islamophobia in Germany

Introduction

Although xenophobia affects the Muslim life-world in Germany, it is not the only factor. As noted in the previous chapter, Islamophobia also plays a part in influencing daily life among Muslims here. In this chapter, we will shed further light on the Islamophobia complex and offer recommendations for dealing with this phenomenon.

Conceptual clarity is still lacking in both public and scholarly debates about how best to describe Islamophobia. It is quite common to find references to “Islamophobia,” “hostility to Islam,” “hostility to Muslims,” and “anti-Muslim racism,” all of which are sometimes used as synonyms. But neither was the Board of Experts able to reach consensus on whether it would be more appropriate to use a term that emphasized a collective characteristic of religious affiliation (Islamophobia) or one that focused on the denigration of the individual (hostility to Muslims). In the following pages we will use the term Islamophobia to capture both dimensions of denigration.

The ideological features of Islamophobia are (cf. Farschid 2012):

- There is assumed to be an unbridgeable cultural gulf between Muslims and non-Muslims (called alternatively “Christians,” “Europeans,” or “Germans”).
- Islam and democracy are fundamentally irreconcilable; thus, it will never be possible to integrate Muslims into Western societies.
- Violence is a constituent element in Islam.
- Muslims are pursuing a secret strategy of Islamization and ultimately aim to achieve world domination.
- Muslims allegedly seek to introduce Islamic traditions and norms into European societies in the near future (above all the required wearing of the head scarf).
- Muslims employ conscious deception (“Taqiya”).
- Islam is a “totalizing” world-view, which makes it appear to be an ideology and denies it the status of a religion.

Studies confirm the presence of Islamophobia in many forms. Thus, for example, opinion surveys have revealed high levels of agreement with anti-Islamic statements. In addition, right after Federal Chancellor Merkel made a speech in January of 2015 in which she insisted that "Islam belongs to Germany," a Forsa poll indicated that 52 % of respondents disagreed with her.

On the other side of the divide, interviews with Muslims also confirm the reality of Islamophobia. Although to date there has not been a comprehensive study investigating all aspects of the topic, findings can be inferred from other surveys. For instance, about 30 % of the respondents in a poll of citizens of Turkish ancestry indicated that they already had experienced discrimination on the job market, in looking for an apartment, or in dealings with officialdom. To be sure, not all acts of discrimination directed against Muslims are religiously motivated; sometimes they spring from a more general xenophobia or hostility to foreigners.

Because the authorities only began to keep separate records of anti-Islamic crimes in 2017, observations about the extent of such criminality must be hedged in with qualifications. The Federal government, responding to interrogation by the Left Party, has provided statistics about the number of attacks on mosques, but that is the only aspect of anti-Islamic activity about which we regularly get information. For the first quarter of 2016 there were five such attacks (BT-Drucksache 18/8115); for the second quarter of the same year, fourteen (BT-Drucksache 18/9310). During the third quarter of 2016, the number of attacks increased to 26 (BT-Drucksache 18/10322), and for the fourth quarter, that figure leveled off at 25 (BT-Drucksache 18/11128). Among the attacks perpetrated last year were some serious cases of arson, in which chance alone prevented any injuries or fatalities.

The Islamophobia encountered in Germany is reinforced by widespread ignorance concerning any and all religions. In some segments of the population this lack of knowledge has escalated into intolerance against religious people and a lack of acceptance of their convictions (cf. Bielefeldt 2014). Because religiosity seems suspect to many citizens in an increasingly secular society, they project their uneasiness onto Muslims, who strike them as especially religious people.

In the wake of the recent flood of refugees and asylum-seekers into Germany, the interaction between Islamophobia and xenophobia has become clearly evident. Toward the end of 2014 and into 2015, the so-called Pegida movement gave the country a lot to think about. The main features of the movement were its Islamophobic slogans and its claims of an unbridgeable gulf between the “Christian-Jewish Occident” and “the” religion of Islam.” Eventually, citizens’ initiatives were organized in many towns to oppose planned refugee shelters, frequently with the involvement of the organized right-wing extremist scene. By the summer of 2015, numerous arson attacks on refugee shelters had occurred. According to police sources, it was only by dint of good fortune that no one was killed. Both the citizens’ initiatives and the arson attacks were marked by xenophobia, but behind it there also lurked Islamophobic attitudes.

In respect to German political parties, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) has adopted an openly Islamophobic stance. The AfD’s statement of principles reads as follows: “Islam does not belong in Germany. The AfD regards its spread and the presence of a steadily growing number of Muslims as a serious danger to our country, our society, and our values.” (AfD 2016, p. 49). Furthermore, the party’s program for the 2017 parliamentary election adds: “Islam does not belong in Germany. The AfD regards its spread and the presence of over 5 million Muslims—whose numbers are steadily increasing—as a serious danger to our country, our society, and our values” (AfD 2017, p. 31).

By virtue of this Islamophobic program, the AfD has drifted in the direction of the NPD, which by now has become largely irrelevant. The latter asserts: “The most visible token of the fact that Germany is being overrun by an unchecked influx of foreigners is the expansive spread of Islam.” A little later the text notes first: “Even now, according to the police and security services, foreigners are involved, on average, in over 30 % of the capital crimes committed in Germany such as homicide, manslaughter, and rape.” Then, without any facts to back it up or even a hint of verifiable background information, the NPD adds the following statement: “Untrammelled Islamization makes this trend even more explosive.” It thus establishes a link between trends in crime and Islam, one that is designed to whip up popular hysteria (quotations from the website <https://npd.de/themen/identitaet>).

Crucial points to consider

1. The extent of Islamophobic attitudes

Various studies have demonstrated that Islamophobia is widespread among the German populace. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung regularly conducts research on "middle Germany." In one of the most recent of these, 17.5 % of the respondents expressed Islamophobic prejudices (cf. Zick/Klein 2014, p. 73). An investigation carried out by the University of Münster revealed that Muslims in the German population were significantly more unpopular than members of other religious minorities. Responding to the question regarding their attitude toward Muslims, 57.7 % of West Germans and 62.2 % of East Germans said it was "rather negative" or "very negative." By contrast, negative views of Hindus, Buddhists, or Jews were 30-40 % lower (cf. Pollack 2010). A study based on international comparisons also has confirmed that hostility to Islam is relatively widespread in Germany. In this survey, the respondents from Germany were more outspokenly Islamophobic than those in the Netherlands, Great Britain, or France (cf. Zick et al. 2011, pp. 69-72).

However, not all studies on Islamophobic attitudes distinguish as carefully as they should between Islamophobia and the critique of Islam. While critique is always permitted and necessary in an open society, hostility oversteps the boundary of discrimination, since it denies the other person's equal worth. In 2012 the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung conducted one of its empirical "middle studies" in hopes of honoring the distinction between critique and outright hostility. In the study, subjects were questioned about various items indicating critique or Islamophobia. The result was that barely 61 % of the respondents agreed with statements expressing a critique of Islam, while some 36 % agreed with those that expressed Islamophobia (Decker et al. 2012, pp. 86-97). Nevertheless, it is undeniable that , in the sense of an ideology that treats the other as of lesser value, is consistent with the general phenomenon of group-focused enmity and/or right-wing extremism.

2. Real-life experiences of discrimination

Muslims experience discrimination on the labor market, in their search for

housing, in contacts with officialdom, and in everyday life. However, it should be emphasized that such experiences of discrimination also happen to members of other groups with a migratory background. There is a generalized xenophobia in Germany that also happens to be directed at Muslims. Yet the Muslims are a special case in the sense that the overheated atmosphere surrounding public debates on their status heightens their feeling that others discriminate against them—even beyond what is warranted by their discrete experiences of discrimination. Still, it must be acknowledged that many Muslims in Germany are discriminated against and, according to their own testimony, often feel like “second class citizens.” Because a democratic immigration society must find ways to integrate migrants and offer them a chance to participate, the current situation is unsatisfactory and needs to be changed.

A wealth of studies has focused on discrimination. Usually, they compare segments of the population with and without a migratory background and ascertain differences in the level of schooling or vocational training attained, median household income, unemployment rate, or poverty risk. But to the extent that quantitative data do indeed function as indicators of discrimination, one must probe behind them. This is so because the educational biography and social status that migrants bring with them play a crucial role in determining how they will fare. The same holds true of their sense of family relationships—expressed, for example, in the rate at which they avail themselves of care for their very young children. So the really decisive issue is whether children and young people who have grown up here have equal opportunities. For example, if we look at pedagogical statistics from Berlin, it turns out that pupils who learn a language other than German at home do not perform as well in school as those whose native tongue is German (cf. Senatverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Wissenschaft 2015).

Moreover, despite favorable trends in recent years, the unemployment rate among those holding foreign citizenship is still twice as high as it is among Germans (on average 14.6% versus 5.6% for 2015 (cf. Beauftragte der Bundesregierung 2016, p. 193). As the current annual report of the Federal Commissioners for Migration, Refugees, and Integration points out, “For some years unemployment in percentage terms among persons holding foreign citizenship has exceeded that for those holding German citizenship. In fact, the spread

between those two figures has widened. [...] This trend strongly indicates that, at the present time, the potential of people with a migratory background has not been fully tapped" (ibid. p. 172). As a result, the poverty risk rate among persons with a migratory background, at 26.8 %, is more than twice as high as it is for persons without a migratory background, at 12.3 % (Mikrozensus 2012, cf. Statistisches Bundesamt 2015).

There is no question that the head scarf plays a definite part in these outcomes. For one thing, the intense public debate that flares up every time the courts hand down a decision about the ban on head scarves for female teachers or administrative personnel underlines how controversial this article of clothing remains. Furthermore, women who wear the head scarf in other sectors of the economy also encounter disadvantages, as a study by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce for the Baden district has shown (cf. Scherr 2014). Besides, women who wear the head scarf face verbal discrimination far more frequently than other people.

But in fact, for many women the head scarf apparently is nothing more than a token of their effort to hold onto their identities. Some time ago, in the "head-scarf trial," the expert witness Dr. Karakaşoğlu testified that "the head scarf is also worn by young women who are preserving their own identity in a diaspora situation" (Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts, September 24, 2003—2 BvR 1436/02—RdNr. 52).

3. The public image of Islam

One encouraging observation can be made in this context: the image of Islam in the media has become noticeably more nuanced in the past few years. In addition, journalists have grown more sensitive to anti-Islamic positions. Nevertheless, even in the more recent past numerous examples of Islamophobic headlines and imagery can be found (e.g., "How dangerous is Islam?": a story title in STERN that, by its very wording, implies that Islam does indeed pose a fundamental danger), or—in terms of images—the dominance of the head scarf as a symbol of the Muslim faith.

The intense public preoccupation with Islam-related issues as well as the establishment of bodies such as the German Islam Conference (DIK), may harbor the risk of positive stigmatization (cf. Teczan 2012). What is more, every “dialogue with Islam” suggests that the partner in dialogue is the “other” and perpetuates the dualism between the “we” and “the Muslims.” Instead, a more appropriate approach would be to put a positive value on diversity in the quest for individual identity, as well as to appreciate the heterogeneity of Muslim life in Germany.

The public image of Islam arises in a twofold process in which qualities are ascribed both to oneself and to the foreigner. Any citizen has a right consciously to adopt the position of being a faithful Muslim. It can be observed that, in some parts of Muslim society, people even may choose to isolate themselves. In an open society that is certainly a possibility. But this choice sometimes may evoke reactions of incomprehension or even fear; and those responses are also allowed and form part of Germany’s social reality. Finally, the perception of global Islamic extremism likewise influences and shapes the image of Islam in Germany, regardless of whether one thinks that it is proper or unnecessary for German Muslim organizations to keep Islamic extremism at arm’s length.

4. The discourse of security dominates

The real menace of Islamic terrorism even in Germany has meant that, when issues relevant to Islam arise, the discourse of security becomes strongly dominant. One result has been that many Muslims feel defamed, since they are assigned to the broad category of “security risks.” Muslim organizations say that they feel discriminated against when their names are mentioned in reports by the Constitutional Protection Office. They object to the fact that it is never really clear why the name of a person or organization would show up at all in a Constitutional Protection report. In every case, being named in that sort of a report entails numerous disadvantages. To be more specific, besides the negative consequences for one’s private affairs, such a mention may mean the rejection of project grant applications as well as exclusion from public discussions and indeed from the entire public discourse. Furthermore, the point of view of the Constitutional Protection Office is taken into account when it comes to filling civil service job postings. In practice, this has been the case more than

once in the selection of personnel for offices such as advisory or executive committees that operate at the interface between the Muslim community and the state. Finally, some experts have criticized the fact that, once a person or organization is named in a Constitutional Protection report, there is no way to inquire into the reasons or force a deletion. Thus, the Constitutional Protection Office ends up exercising interpretive sovereignty over the question of who is identified as an Islamic extremist and who is not. It should not be forgotten, however, that our Board of Experts does not have a unanimous opinion about the role of the Constitutional Protection Office.

An Action Plan – Recommendations

The collection of data on anti-Islam crimes

We welcome the fact that, beginning in 2017, the statistical collection of data on politically motivated criminal activity will be expanded to include a category for anti-Islam crimes in addition to the acquisition of data on crimes committed due to hostility to Christians or Sinti and Roma (cf. "Polizei reagiert auf Hass gegen Muslime," in *Der Tagesspiegel*, May 12, 2016). This step should be accompanied by appropriate retraining in police departments.

Reconsidering surveillance by the Constitutional Protection Office

The Constitutional Protection authorities should scrutinize carefully their surveillance of Muslim organizations. When in doubt, they should talk to Muslim people or organizations. One well-tested example of such cooperative relationships is furnished by the ties established between the Constitutional Protection Office in North Rhine-Westphalia and the local branch of the Coordinating Council of Muslims (KRM).

Sensitivity training for public officials and the elimination of misunderstandings

The negative experiences reported by many Muslims in their contacts with

public officials suggest that civil servants need to develop greater sensitivity in handling intercultural encounters. At the same time, ways must be found to communicate to Muslims what their rights and duties are, especially when language barriers are present.

Knowledge transfer to the local level

Integration takes place locally, in municipalities, schools, and the workplace. As a rule, that is where concrete problems have to be solved, e.g., in schools or day care centers. That is the reason why access at this level to information should be improved, so that assistance can be rendered for local decision-making.

True, there are already quite a few published expert reports and studies on Islam-focused topics—from the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the security services, and the Ministries of Social Affairs, Integration, Justice, and the Home Office at the federal and state levels as well as those bureaus subordinate to them. However, this knowledge is not available to be downloaded from a central location. Even documents accessible on the Internet cannot be acquired without a considerable research effort. Considering the numerous daily tasks that have to be performed at the local level, it is not likely that such an effort will be undertaken there. It follows that this knowledge should be consolidated and made available for downloading at some central location. The next step is to inquire whether an Internet-based research archive modeled on the EU Document Information System (EUDISYS) might be the most suitable platform.

Sensitivity training for teachers and school administrators

The Board of Experts highlighted the need to improve communication and mutual understanding between teachers and school administrators on one side and Muslim pupils and their parents on the other. Both Islamophobic resentments and well-intentioned practices of marginalization (“And now Ahmed will tell us something about Islam”) often crop up in schools. What is more, pupils with migratory backgrounds—thus including Muslims too—are less likely to get good recommendations for more advanced study. That outcome prematurely limits their vocational prospects, of course.

The public image of Islam

One proposal to improve the public image of Islam would be to offer Muslims more say in the media. The plan would affect representation in broadcast councils and on editorial boards.

Prevention of Islamophobia

In order to deal with the Islamophobic attitudes in the population described above, it is crucial to expand preventive measures. The many years of experience accumulated in the confrontation with xenophobia and anti-Semitism may serve as a guide for how this could be done. Above all, what we need are more personal encounters between Muslims and non-Muslims. Experience shows that direct contacts help reduce feelings of resentment. One aspect of that task is to oppose Islamophobic movements such as Pegida, which came of age in 2015, and the anti-Islamic AfD.

The diversity narrative

Another much-needed approach is to fashion a convincing narrative about Germany as a country shaped by immigration—one with great diversity in its society and the life-worlds that make it up. Positive developments already underway that point in that direction should be commended and supported. If there is to be a long-term, systematic change in the collective consciousness, we need to become more aware and inclusive of the viewpoints of the immigrants themselves. For example, school textbooks could be rewritten so as to include the immigrants' perspectives. The diversity of Germany's population offers a compelling reason to encourage the acceptance of various life-plans and belief systems. By the same token, religious freedom is so important precisely because not all people believe the same things.

Creating institutions that enable civil society to monitor Islamophobia

There should be a drop-in center in which experiences of discrimination motivated by Islamophobia could be reported. One possible model for this is provided by the counseling outreach centers for victims of right-wing extremist violence.

Highlighting the heterogeneity within Islam

There is no question that violent acts committed by foreign jihadists stoke latent fears of Muslims in Germany as elsewhere. To counteract such impressions, it is important to provide fuller knowledge about intra-Islamic heterogeneity. On the other hand, talk of “the” religion of Islam tends inappropriately to homogenize Islam and therefore may encourage stereotyped perceptions. As recommended in the first chapter, an advisory council within the federal government might help in this instance.

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Islamic Extremism – Threats, Radicalization and Prevention

Introduction

The dangers posed by acts of terror carried out by Islamists in Germany are real. As early as March of 2012 the magnitude of the threat became apparent in the murder of two U.S. soldiers at the Frankfurt airport. In 2016 it was underscored dramatically again by the stabbing of a policeman in Hanover, the hatchet and knife attack on the regional train to Würzburg, the bombing in Ansbach, and finally by the major attack on a Berlin Christmas market, in which a truck plowed into a crowd of people. Moreover, since 2000 there have been numerous attempted or planned attacks. The danger of Islamist terrorism will be with us in the years to come as well. For quite some time the German security services have made it a point to keep the violence-prone Islamist scene in Germany under surveillance. Successful investigations that have prevented further attacks suggest that their attention to that milieu was justified.

At the same time we should not overlook the fact that threats from other extremist quarters have also been on the rise. Right-wing extremism, recently more attracted to violence than before, offers “exhibit A” for the danger from non-Islamist sources. While violence-prone Islamist movements were being closely scrutinized, the far-right National Socialist Underground (NSU) was able to murder people for years—including especially German Muslims—without getting caught. That circumstance has created the impression in the minds of many Muslims that the security services might not devote the same degree of diligence to investigating each and every potential or actual crime on their agenda.

Beginning a few years ago, the emergence of the terrorist militia “Islamic State” (IS or ISIS) has altered the global situation. The IS conquest of parts of Syria and Iraq and the establishment of its political rule in those countries—not to mention the founding of a branch in Libya—have attracted Islamic extremists from all over the world. This development is nothing new. During the Bosnian war in the 1990s there were about 6,000 so-called “warriors of God”

engaged (cf. Wikipedia), although very few were Germans. The situation in Afghanistan after the expulsion of the Taliban regime look similar. Still, as early as 2010 the Constitutional Protection authorities estimated the number of terrorists with ties to Germany at 225, most having traveled to Pakistan and Afghanistan to support the Taliban (Verfassungsschutzbericht Berlin 2010, p. 8). More than a dozen terrorists from Germany had joined the group of the German Taliban Mujahedin alone, although it was broken up in 2012. The exodus of Islamist supporters of the IS and other terrorist groups such as the Al Nusra Front into Syria and Iraq has far exceeded the figures reported above. IS has been rolled back in both Syria and Iraq, and these defeats clearly had reduced its attractiveness by late 2016. Nevertheless, it should be noted that from May, 2013, until December, 2016, a total of around 930 people had set out from Germany to support IS in Syria and Iraq (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2017). There is good reason to fear that, if future conflicts should break out in countries with strong elements of Islam, supporters from Germany will once again be drawn to them. According to the assessments of the security services, returnees pose a particular danger. A third of the IS supporters who traveled to Syria have returned to Germany by now. Of those, 70 had already acquired combat experience by 2015; hence they have been classified as so-called potential threats or security risks (BMI 2016, p. 163). Given this real menace, it is important to understand the phenomenon of violence-prone Islamic extremism and to ask what steps might be taken to prevent or repress it.

Crucial points to consider

1. Risk assessment

A fundamental rule that must be emphasized is that the security services only intervene once crimes have been committed (police and courts) or when anti-democratic and violence-prone movements arise (Constitutional Protection). What can be overlooked here is that the radicalization that sets the stage for the offense had begun much earlier. Consequently, we should contest anti-democratic attitudes as well as “hostility to freedom” (Bernd Wagner), wherever they turn up. A later section on preventing radicalization will address these

processes, which pave the way for the transformation of people into security risks.

The Islamic extremist scene in Germany has undergone dynamic development since around 2006. This is particularly true of the political Salafist movement. In the first phase of that development, most preachers were German-speaking. Although they may have disseminated anti-democratic messages, they did not openly advocate violence. During the second phase, inaugurated by the so-called Arab Spring, many Muslims attempted to travel abroad and were deeply engaged in international affairs. The proclamation of the "Islamic State" in Syria and Iraq launched a third phase, in which many potentially violent German Salafists traveled to Syria and Iraq with the intention of committing crimes and violent acts, even as suicide bombers.

Numerically the Salafist scene has more than doubled in size during the past few years, increasing from about 3,800 in 2011 to 9,700 in 2016 (BMI 2017, p. 160). Geographically speaking, their core areas are found in North Rhine-Westphalia, Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen. As early as 2015, the Constitutional Protection offices were assuming that there were some 2,100 security risks known to the authorities. Ninety percent of these potentially dangerous persons had a migratory background and belong to the second or third generation of immigrants. Three quarters of them hold German citizenship and 10 % are converts.

The quantitative difference between adherents of the Salafist scene and political Salafists and/or persons classified as security risks calls to mind the crucial distinction between religious Salafists, on one hand, and political Salafists or jihadists on the other. Here, too, some further distinctions should be drawn. Political Salafism is unquestionably hostile to democracy and pursues the aim of establishing a theocracy on German soil—or at least moving in that direction. Still, not all political Salafists are disposed to use violence; hence, they pose a lesser security risk than jihadists. Of course, not every person who thinks or speaks in Salafist terms is automatically a jihadist. Still, the converse is true: all German jihadists that we know of up until now have been radicalized in Salafist circles (cf. Steinberg 2014).

The threat posed by Islamic terrorism in Germany intensified during 2016 due to a series of attacks and planned attacks. On February 26, 2016, Safia S., a fifteen-year-old girl holding dual German and Moroccan citizenship, stabbed a policeman to death in Hanover's main train station. In Istanbul she had allowed herself to be convinced by the IS that she should carry out an act of martyrdom against the hated Federal Republic of Germany (press release of the Generalbundesanwalt 22/2016 on April 15, 2016). She was convicted by the Regional Appeals Court in Celle on January 26, 2017, and sentenced to six years in prison.

On July 18, 2016, a 17-year-old Afghan citizen who is called Muhammad Riyad in a video, attacked passengers in a regional train near Würzburg with a hatchet and a knife, causing severe injuries to some people. The perpetrator was shot dead by the police when he attacked them as well (press release 39/2016 of the Generalbundesanwalt of July 20, 2016).

On July 24, 2016, during the music festival "Ansbach Open 2016, the Syrian citizen Mohammed Daleel set off an explosive device in a backpack that injured twelve, including three seriously. He himself was killed in the course of the attack. In a video he professed allegiance to IS (press release 40/2016 of the Generalbundesanwalt of July 25, 2016).

On October 20, 2016 a 22-year-old Syrian named Jaber al-Bakr was arrested in Leipzig. He had been planning a bombing attack for the IS in Germany, probably at an airport in Berlin (press release 50/2016 by the Generalbundesanwalt of October 10, 2016). The perpetrator hanged himself while in pre-trial custody in Dresden.

On December 19, 2016, a 23-year-old Tunisian citizen by the name of Anis Amri stole a tractor-trailer and drove it into a Christmas market on Berlin's Breitscheidplatz, killing twelve people and injuring fifty more. The perpetrator was shot dead by Italian police at a checkpoint outside of Milan. From 2011 until 2015 he had stayed in Italy as a refugee and already served time in jail there. In July of 2015 he went to Germany where he used 14 different aliases and registered as a refugee once more. In June of 2016 his application for asylum was denied. In a video broadcast by the IS he proclaimed his loyalty to the group (press release 77/2016 of the Generalbundesanwalt of December 29, 2016).

On December 31, 2016 a 34-year-old Syrian who had requested money from IS to carry out an attack was arrested in Saarbrücken. The accused had come to Germany in 2014 via Greece and Hungary as a refugee.

In all of these cases there are evident ties to IS, even though it has not yet been determined with precision whether the attacks were planned by IS or whether the perpetrators simply claimed to be acting in its behalf and were seeking contacts with the group. Peter Neumann, an expert on terrorism, interprets these events as follows: "There is a new trend here: the attack on a regional train near Würzburg followed the attack in Nice by just four days. So far as we can tell, the perpetrator, Muhammed Riyad, was radicalized alone. But shortly before the attack he chatted with a presumed member of IS in Saudi Arabia. Is Riyad a lone wolf? Certainly, he acted alone; yet he was remotely controlled." Neumann expects that we will see more such acts of terror ("Auch Attentäter von Nizza war kein einsamer Wolf," Interview with Peter Neumann in *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, October 20, 2016).

The attacks of July 18, 2016 (the perpetrator had been in Germany only a year); of July 24, 2016 (the perpetrator had lived in Germany for only two years); of October 9, 2016 (the suspect had been staying in Germany only for a year and a half) and of December 19, 2016 (the perpetrator had been in Germany illegally for barely one and a half years) were committed in each case by individuals who had come to the Federal Republic only a short time before. That might indicate that people who have not lived here for very long are more susceptible to radicalization than others. One might conclude from these facts that our policy of long-term integration of Muslims in Germany shows signs of working. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that the attack on American soldiers at the Frankfurt airport in 2011 and the knife attack on a policeman in Hanover on February 26, 2016, were carried out by people who had been integrated in the Federal Republic for quite some time. The same is true of the bombing attack in Manchester of May 22, 2017, committed by a perpetrator of Libyan extraction who had grown up in Great Britain.

Conversely, the rash of attacks by immigrants who had been living here just briefly might show that too little is being done in the way of short-term integration of immigrants. New immigrants still wait too long to find out the result

of the proceedings taking place under the auspices of the Residence Law. Job opportunities for the often poorly educated immigrants are hard to find. The state does not support the religious care of refugees, so it is left to chance: i.e., the responsiveness of interested mosques or groups.

It is apparent that the threat of terrorist attacks in recent years should not be laid at the doorstep of perpetrators who have been sent from abroad to carry them out. They are the work of so-called home grown terrorists, who were socialized in our domestic environment. The case of Safia S. in Hanover provides a good example as does the case of a Nigerian born and raised in Germany who was classified as a security threat and, by a decision of the Federal Administrative Court on March 21, 2017, was singled out for immediate deportation (BVerwG 1 VR 2.17). But it would be short-sighted to focus all our attention on home-grown offenders. There is another group of perpetrators to be considered: those who were not yet radicalized when they immigrated, have not yet been socialized in Germany, and became radicalized during their relatively short residence in this country.

In addition, people returning from the IS combat zones are especially likely to concern the security services. Both the attacks against the Jewish museum in Brussels and the editorial staff of the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris were committed by returning IS fighters, which proves that these worries are justified. So far returning German fighters have not been involved in terrorist acts. About one-third of the approximately 900 jihadists who have left Germany since 2012, have returned in the meantime. In many of these cases, criminal prosecutions have been initiated. Yet in most instances we do not know what the persons in question went through in those combat zones: whether they were further radicalized or instead became disillusioned. Therefore, as a general rule, the security services classify such people as being potentially dangerous. That is the reason why 60 people in North Rhine-Westphalia and approximately 180 nationwide have been placed under surveillance by the Constitutional Protection office (cf. report by the *Kölner Express* of July 15, 2016).

The fact that there are scarcely any stable institutional structures to keep tabs on makes surveillance of the jihadist scene that much more difficult. It is true

that there are certain individuals who are famous in that scene as well, for example the Berlin rapper Deso Dogg (Denis Cuspert) who fights for IS under the name of Abu Talha al-Almani. But beyond a fluid following on social media there are no established associations that could be outlawed or any other easy targets for repressive measures against extremist groups. The few bans imposed on associations—e.g., those against Millatu Ibrahim in 2012 and DawaFFM and Islamic Audios in 2013—have had only rather limited success. Bans do not change the mind-set of the extremists. They may indeed make it harder for them to recruit new members, but they do not prevent the affected associations from re-establishing themselves under new names. Sections 8 and 3 of the Law of Associations do indeed make it possible to ban and dissolve such “replacement organizations” through a simplified procedure. This in fact happened when the association Tauhid Germany was deemed to be a replacement organization for the banned Millatu Ibrahim in 2015. But it is not until an association is banned or its successor is formally declared to be a replacement organization (in the sense intended by § 20, paragraph 1, number 1 of the Law of Associations) that activities designed to keep the association or its replacement organization going become legally punishable. More specifically, this means that activities by former members of a banned association in behalf of a newly founded replacement organization carry very little personal risk of prosecution for them. When an association is declared to be banned under the terms of the current Law of Associations, it may face dissolution or even confiscation of its treasury, but that does nothing to dismantle the structure that lies behind it.

When it banned the group *Die Wahre Religion* (The True Religion), alias Stiftung LIES, on November 15, 2016, the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs dealt a blow to one of the most important Salafist organizations. The ban order is based on §§ 3, paragraph 1, clause 1, 17 number 3 of the Law of Associations. According to its wording, associations that turn against the constitutional order or the idea of understanding among nations can be banned. The order banning the group alleges that it inculcated in its membership, some of whom were minors, an anti-constitutional attitude and a fundamentally militant, aggressive posture. That kind of indoctrination, it is alleged, culminated in the advocacy of violence and the departure of at least 140 activists and supporters for Syria or Iraq, where they joined the fighting waged by terrorist groups (BMI 2015).

This ban led the Salafist scene to seek substitute activities. One week after the ban took effect, the Salafist preacher Pierre Vogel began distributing books about the life of Muhammed under the auspices of an association called "We Love Muhammed" (report from *Welt-Online* of December 5, 2016).

At the Berlin state level, on February 28, 2017, the Senate department responsible for such matters issued a ban against the officially registered mosque association, Fussilet 33, which also had been frequented by the perpetrator of the Breitscheidplatz massacre, Anis Amri (press release of the Berlin Senate Department for Home Affairs and Sports of February 28, 2017).

In conclusion we wish to point out that the dangers emanating from Islamic extremists have aspects that extend beyond the threat posed by lethal violence. Even political Salafists and other Islamic extremists who do not advocate violence poison the social climate. For one thing, their activities endanger Muslim youths, whom they attempt to recruit. In the process they also chalk up some successes (albeit limited ones as measured by the share of converts versus that of the Muslim population as a whole), as is evidenced by the rising number of adherents of the extremist Muslim scene. For another, the Salafists and other Islamic extremists affect the entire society by propagating an interpretation of Islam that is incompatible with democracy and human rights. The resonance of their views in the media leads to a situation in which fear-obsessed stereotypes take firm root in some sections of society. Thus, the end result is that Islamophobia increases (cf. Cakir 2014).

The immigration of refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, and other Sunni-majority countries that we are currently experiencing, as well as that which can be expected in coming years, will change the mosque landscape in Germany. These refugees have felt what Islamic extremism means on their own bodies. The stories they tell in the Muslim communities about their experiences might help to block radicalization processes. Preachers with radical messages, who tend to appear as "salon-Islamists," will have a tougher time recruiting people for jihad in Afghanistan or Syria when the reports of immigrants confront the image of being a martyr with the reality of it. In this respect, then, the wave of refugees from Syria and Iraq, especially that of 2015, also will surely offer opportunities to prevent radicalization.

2. What we know about the processes of radicalization

Research on radicalization processes among Muslims has not yet advanced very far. Consequently, the following explanations should be understood as preliminary findings. It would be sensible to examine and refine them further. Research has identified the following factors as key influences on the radicalization process, regardless of their respective ideological content.

- An authoritarian upbringing, especially when accompanied by intra-familial violence.
- Conflict-laden family relationships, often when linked to the separation of parents.
- An unstable personality at a young age with meager social connections and underdeveloped resilience.
- Experiences of discrimination that cannot be worked through. Sometimes it is collective experiences of this kind, more than individual ones, that contribute to the processes of radicalization.
- Opportunities—ultimately serendipitous—to make contact with members of the scene.

In short, the interaction of personality factors, the effects of socialization, and opportunity structures determines whether and how radicalization will take place. This finding has been well documented, e.g., in the case of right-wing extremist radicalization (cf. Rommelspacher 2006). Thus, there is no one trigger for a process of radicalization, nor is the latter by any means inevitable, since the vast majority of young people who live in the difficult circumstances depicted above do not join an extremist movement.

Yet it is also the case that Salafists—behaving much like right-wing extremists in other milieus, albeit with different target-groups—deliberately seek out people who seem to fit the criteria listed above. The Salafists appeal to Muslim identity for those Muslim youths who have been marginalized or who are simply failures, even when the latter are not particularly religious. What is relatively new in this context is the extension of enticements by Salafists to teenagers and occasionally even children in hopes of appealing to potential adherents in ever-younger age groups. Jails are another important recruitment site for Islamic extremists. It has been noted often that the justice system can trigger pro-

cesses of radicalization. Many prisoners exhibit low self-esteem, feel socially isolated, seek out authority, and welcome oversimplifications. Enticements by Salafists that are well-designed to appeal to people in such situations often fall on fertile ground.

The attractiveness of political Salafism comes from the fact that its overtures are broadly ideological and yet also socially-minded. First, there is a solid edifice of religious ritual that lends structure to everyday life. Furthermore, Salafism offers a tightly-knit community, proposes simplistic explanations of the world and one's own place in it, and promises solutions for personal crises. In view of those blandishments, indicators of radicalization may include such things as a change in eating habits, a new circle of friends, praying five times a day (when the person has not done so in the past), striving for religious perfection, and criticism of others for not practicing what their religion requires.

By contrast, jihadists are attracted by different incentives. They are not so much seeking ideological security as adventure, recognition, and definitely material benefits as well. This is exactly what IS offers its fighters: when they are successful, they can expect to get a large apartment, a woman, and a share of the war booty. So in this case the motivation is clearly less about religion. Still, they too hope to escape living conditions that they perceive as crisis-plagued. Moreover, recent experience shows that the radicalization process goes faster among the jihadists than the political Salafists. One also encounters jihadists more frequently in segments of the population in which life is less precarious.

This finding—that jihadist fighters, surprisingly, exhibit only minimal religious motivations—has been corroborated by the results of another study of 90 Islamist extremists from Berlin who traveled abroad. This investigation, carried out by the Berlin Senate Department for Home Affairs and Sports, was entitled “Travel to Syria/Iraq by persons on the Islamist spectrum in Berlin” (Senate Department for Home Affairs and Sports 2015). The study discovered that one quarter of them already had acquired experience fighting in other theaters of war. Also, “only” a third of them had failed to graduate from school, while others actually could point to successful educational résumés. So it would be a mistake to underestimate the extent to which war as such can act as a magnet for certain people. Fighters from Germany have a history of traveling abroad to

engage in combat during past wars. We need only think of the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s or the wars in the ex-Yugoslavia during the 1990s. And there is one more thing: other studies show that quite a few of the people currently traveling abroad to fights have criminal records.

To sum up: we should bear in mind that no one gets radicalized due to religion in and of itself; however, once the radicalization process is underway, the Islamic religion becomes topic number one (cf. Dantschke et al. 2011). In Germany, radical groups serve as recruiters in this process, as noted already, and then as catalysts of radicalization. A study by the State Criminal Investigations Office in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate reveals that around 50 members of the Salafist "Lies!" campaign (distributing copies of the Koran for free in pedestrian zones) now are in IS-controlled areas. Thus, Salafist campaigns can be waystations in a radicalization process that leads to jihadism. A study by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung came to the same conclusion in a comparison of the quite different Salafist movements in Jordan and Lebanon (cf. Abu Rumman 2015).

An Action Plan – Recommendations

In light of both the threat assessment adumbrated above and insights into the processes of radicalization, the question eventually must be confronted: what actions can be taken to counteract that process and deal with the threats? Some distinctions should be drawn right from the outset. First, we have to distinguish among options for action in terms of repression, prevention, and intervention (which in practice amounts to deradicalization). Second, we have to be clear about which groups of persons we will be working with. Will it be persons who are still searching and maybe harbor nascent sympathy for Islamist ideas without having any contact with the scene? Or will it be persons who already know the Salafist scene and previously have taken part in one of its characteristic activities or even are regulars in that scene? We must distinguish among different possible courses of action in each of these cases.

1. Repression

By repression we mean measures taken by the state intended to keep the Islamic extremist scene within strict limits, not allowing it to expand and develop. These include:

- Promoting cooperation among the various security services (as well as between the states and the federal government or of the states with one another and—so far as current law permits—between the police and intelligence services).
- Prioritizing violence-prone Islam as the main focus of surveillance by the Constitutional Protection offices.
- Issuing bans under the Law of Associations (the most recent of which was directed by the BMI against the group *Die Wahre Religion* on November 15, 2016).
- Altering the Personal identity Card Law to grant authorities greater latitude to rescind cards in order to prevent foreign travel by potential IS fighters, as the Bundestag already has done.

The instruments of repression in Germany were sharply expanded in reaction to the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. Just two-and-a-half months after those events, the Bundestag passed an anti-terror package of laws including, among other items, changes in the criminal code and an easing of the provisions under which associations could be outlawed. In January of 2002, the legislature again addressed the issue in a new package of laws that altered about 100 rules and regulations. The issuance of visas and surveillance modalities upon entry into and exit from the country henceforth would be scrutinized more carefully. In addition, the Joint Anti-Terror Center was established to facilitate coordination of different security services.

On the whole there have been structural changes in the police departments and in police tactics in all of the federal states over the past fifteen years. During that interval, dialogues between the police and Muslim organizations, originally begun to combat terror, have reinforced mutual trust and led to a cultural evolution among the police, to the point that the two sides usually see themselves as partners in prevention.

Although it is certainly possible to accentuate the positive—that Germany has succeeded in foiling several planned terror attacks—experts dispute whether or not the country is overemphasizing repressive measures. Clearly, there is no way to provide absolute protection against terror. In addition, it is important for a democratic state under the rule of law to set strict limits to restrictions on liberty.

The early phases of the crackdown, especially, left behind bitter memories in the minds of many Muslims. Raids on mosques after September 11, 2001 carried potent symbolic implications that helped to spread a generalized suspicion against Muslims that, even today, stokes the Islamophobia discussed in the previous chapter. At the same time, they disappointed many Muslim citizens and put a chill on their relationship with the German state. The shortcomings and blunders of German security authorities that came to light in 2011 concerning their investigation of the series of murders committed by the NSU once again deeply disillusioned Muslim citizens.

Security laws

Terrorist attacks in Hanover, Würzburg, Ansbach and at the Christmas market on Berlin's Breitscheidplatz in 2016, as well as the preparations made for a terrorist attack on a Berlin airport, have sparked a debate in the Federal Republic of Germany about whether stricter security laws and changes in administrative practices might protect the country better against terrorist attacks.

Transition zones for refugees

It is noteworthy that the attackers in these cases were all refugees, except for Safia S. (the young woman who attacked a policeman in Hanover's main train station). That has provoked a discussion about whether there should be transit zones for refugees. Some have demanded, among other steps, that the identity of a refugee should be verified even before s/he enters the country. This proposal of course raises the question of whether transit centers would be permissible in light of the basic right to asylum and the principles governing a state under the rule of law. But aside from that problem, they would seem ill-suited to prevent terrorist attacks. The debate over transit zones mainly con-

cerns the questions of how refugee flows are to be channeled, and whether asylum proceedings or the issuance of residence permits ought to be speeded up in light of a person's refugee status. It would not be easy to tell whether a refugee might be undergoing radicalization even in such transit zones. Insofar as the perpetrators of the 2016 attacks are concerned, it is clear that they were not radicalized back home, but instead only after their flight to the host country. That was also true of Anis Amri, the perpetrator of the Breitscheidplatz attack in Berlin, who does not appear to have been radicalized until he was imprisoned in Italy and later came to Germany.

Detention pending deportation for security risks

In the case of the Breitscheidplatz attacker, Anis Amri, it was impossible to terminate his stay in Germany via deportation even when his application for asylum was rejected, because his country of origin, Tunisia, initially declined the request to issue him personal documents. In such cases, a person (such as Amri) cannot be placed in detention pending deportation if s/he cannot be deported within the next three months. After Amri's attack, voices were raised demanding that a new provision be inserted in the Residence Law to cover "Detention pending deportation for security risks." To be sure, even prior to this case plans were afoot to toughen legal measures under the laws on foreign nationals against such security risks. Thus, for example, under existing law (§ 58a of the Residence Law), an immediate deportation would be possible "against a foreign national when the facts support the prediction that s/he poses a terrorist threat." In two decisions, the Federal Administrative Court has affirmed the constitutionality of this regulation even in cases of foreigners with roots in this country (rulings of March 21, 2017-BVerwG 1 VR 1.17 and BVerwG 1 VR 2.17).

The Bundestag took up those political demands in the wake of the attack of December 19, 2016, passing the Act to Improve Enforcement of Departure Obligations (May 19, 2017) which made it possible to place "security risks" in detention pending deportation for 18 months (BT-Drucksache 18/11546), even though the person in question could not be deported within three months.

In individual cases it may help to put someone deemed to be a security risk in detention pending deportation. However, custody pending deportation does not represent a comprehensive and proper means to achieve greater security. In general, deportation is possible only in cases involving foreign nationals, yet many of the “security risks” hold German citizenship. That is true especially of those who left Germany to support IS. Around 50 % of those are (also) German citizens. When they return, legal measures aimed at foreign nationals do not apply. Also, it is not possible to deport foreigners to countries in which they would be put at risk (§ 60 of the Residence Law). The prohibition against deportation even applies in cases where a deportation order exists (§ 58, paragraph 3 of the Residence Law), i.e., when the person involved poses a terrorist threat.

More generally, in situations where a person represents a terrorist threat, it makes sense to ask whether mere deportation, the “export of the threat” into another country, is the proper remedy. True, deportation eliminates the acute danger in Germany, yet it simply displaces it into the deportee’s home country or a third country. When people are deported who cannot be convicted in Germany due to lack of sufficient evidence, the security services in their home countries or any recipient countries must be asked to cooperate closely so that the suspects can be held accountable and punished if they cross the line of criminal liability.

In addition, the Law to Improve Enforcement of Departure Obligations imposes on foreigners—as does the Law on the Restructuring of the Federal Criminal Code of April 27, 2017 on domestic offenders (BT-Drucksache 1811163)—restraining orders on personal contacts and residence as well as obligations to wear so-called electronic ankle bracelets. Where foreign nationals are concerned, there are no constitutional scruples about these steps, because restraining orders and ankle bracelets, under the terms of the Law of Proportionality, represent a less harsh punishment of the person than deportation. When German citizens are involved, it remains to be seen whether these rules will stand the test of scrutiny by the Constitutional Court. In one Italian case the European court of Human Rights (Verdict of February 23, 2017 in *Tammoso v. Italy*) objected to limitations on freedom of movement because the legal basis of such limitations was so vague.

Expansion of video surveillance

The attack by Anis Amri on the Breitscheidplatz in Berlin in December of 2016 unleashed a debate about more extensive use of video surveillance. The legal situation varies from one German federal state to another. For example, North Rhine-Westphalia allows video recordings for up to a year in some crime-plagued neighborhoods (§ 15a PolG NRW). Video recordings are also permitted in Bavaria. In Berlin, too, broad authority is granted to collect data. There, as in other states, police officers use video recordings as a form of self-protection (§ 19a ASOG Bln) and when there is reason to believe a crime might be committed at a public event or gathering (§ 24 ASOG Bln). Recordings are also used as a means of data acquisition around public traffic control devices (§ 24a ASOG Bln). However, Berlin does not yet allow the video surveillance of crime-plagued areas as do North Rhine-Westphalia or Bavaria, for example. Instead, Berlin has decided to use expanded video surveillance only on certain occasions.

Through its Law on the Improvement of Video Surveillance of April 28, 2017, the federal government now limits data protection and permits video surveillance in public sports, entertainment, and pleasure venues, shopping malls and parking lots, and in places of public rail, ship, or bus transit.

However, the question of video surveillance is not one that ought to be discussed primarily in the context of terrorist attacks. In any case, video surveillance currently cannot prevent current crimes, nor does it have any discernible, broadly preventive effects. As successful detective work on offenses committed in public transportation shows, it can contribute to crime-solving and, as the case may be, prevent similar offense from occurring in the future. To this extent, video surveillance may make sense in certain public squares or locales that have become hubs of criminality. It can be an effective means of investigating crimes of a general nature, but it does not represent a repressive measure that is particularly well-suited to stopping terrorist attacks.

The legal position of associations

Under the Law of Associations, extremist associations can be banned. When a ban is issued, the association is dissolved and its assets are confiscated (§ 11 Law of Associations). Furthermore, the property of third parties made available

to the association in question can be confiscated (§ 12, paragraph 2, Law of Associations). These provisions weaken the organizational cohesion of the extremists.

However, the legal rules governing associations do not go far enough in preventing some of them from getting around such bans. To be sure, they are not allowed to set up replacement associations (§ 8, paragraph 1, Law of Associations). But the prohibition does not impose sanctions on those who establish such replacement associations in defiance of a ban. Nevertheless, it is relatively easy to renew a ban, since that can be accomplished through a declaration that the new association is indeed a replacement for the old one (§ 8, paragraph 2, Law of Associations). The upshot is that even members of the board of directors of the old, banned associations can set up a new association without having to worry that sanctions will be enforced against them personally.

The second reform of the Law of Associations, approved on March 10, 2017, at least makes it more difficult for unbanned sub-organizations or other associations to use the emblems, attributes, and symbols of a banned association. The law also should be changed that exempts from sanctions those who start a new association to replace an old, banned one. The Law of Associations should be revised so that the founding of successor or replacement associations should immediately attract sanctions on the founders.

Prisons and pastoral counseling for prisoners

In prisons, and especially in juvenile detention facilities, we need to establish a systematic set of options available to inmates with an eye to deradicalizing them. There are proven and tested methods and agencies experienced in providing this kind of service. But to work well, it must take place within the appropriate parameters. It is well known that future Islamists have been radicalized in prisons and that men there are targeted for recruitment into the IS or Salafist groups, so it is more important than ever to offer them a range of other options.

Apart from these considerations it is also desirable to introduce Muslim counseling and spiritual guidance for inmates. Of course, that would be a worth-

while and justified step on its own merits, quite apart from its bearing on the issues discussed here. Still, it is to be expected that Muslim counseling and guidance also would have a deradicalizing effect, a sort of collateral benefit, as it were. There are model projects for this in several states, including Baden-Württemberg and Hesse. Islamic counseling in prisons can help prisoners come to grips with Islamic theology on their own terms. With the support of the pastors, inmates can strengthen their own personalities. Furthermore, the transmission of a non-violent faith generally will help to socialize them and enable them to find their way in society.

Special attention should be paid to the recruitment of Islamic extremists in prisons. Toward that end, when deciding how sentences will be carried out, the justice system distinguishes between radicalized and at-risk prisoners (cf. Abschlussbericht der Länderarbeitsgruppe 2016, p. 8f.). In the cases of radicalized prisoners, wardens arrange to have them separated from other defendants. In the most serious cases, the radicalized inmates are even separated from all the other prisoners (ibid., p. 10).

But even after such prisoners have served their time, problems remain. By the middle of 2016, in Berlin alone there were six prisoners and eight pretrial detainees in custody with acknowledged radical-Islamic attitudes and a propensity to violence, as well as 17 sympathizers. All of these criminal offenders will serve fixed-term sentences and then be released into society. That is also true of the other returnees from Syria and Iraq who are now being detained all over the country. The states have begun to offer programs in their jails either to deradicalize the inmates or prevent their radicalization in the first place. In light of the growing number of inmates, these programs will have to be bolstered and supplemented by outreach measures designed to assist those who have been released after serving their time.

In its Law on the Reform of the Criminal Code-Expansion of the Law of Preventive Measures, the Bundestag has made it legal to force convicted Islamic terrorist offenders to wear an electronic ankle bracelet (BT-Drucksache 18/11162). Electronic ankle bracelets offer greater reliability in parole supervision under § 68 StGB when there is a risk that a convicted offender will reoffend after serving time in prison. The court can issue instructions that the convicted per-

son must wear “the requisite technical device for electronic surveillance of his or her location” at all times (§ 68b, paragraph 1, clause number 11 StGB).

It is dubious whether such a measure would help in the case of convicted Islamic terrorists. Suicide bombers, whose ideology enables them to see themselves as martyrs, or other extremist fanatics are unlikely to be deterred by an electronic ankle bracelet. In July of 2016 a Catholic priest was murdered in France by two men, one of whom was wearing an electronic ankle bracelet, as reported by the daily news broadcast on July 26, 2016.

Appealing to a person before s/he leaves the country

It is often the case that a person still has not formed a rigid world-view at the time that s/he decides to leave the country. For that reason, appeals to such a person on the part of the police or experienced social workers can be effective countermeasures. Of course there is never any guarantee that such an appeal will prevent the person’s departure for Syria or wherever. Still, it is interesting to note that one IS returnee on trial before the State Superior Court in Celle complained that the State Office of Criminal Investigation had not called him in for a talk prior to his departure (reported in “Angeklagter wirft LKA Pannen vor” on August 25, 2015 in ndr.de).

Criminal proceedings

A remarkable innovation recently has occurred in the jurisprudence concerning criminal accomplices. In a departure from the tradition of German criminal law, which must prove individual participation in a criminal offense, the so-called Auschwitz bookkeeper Oskar Gröning was convicted of being an accomplice to the murders committed in the death camp. Given that precedent, it might be possible to prove collective complicity in the crimes against humanity committed by IS.

The persecution of people of different faiths by IS, openly displayed and broadcast by the group, featured in particular the expulsion and murder of Yazidis and the enslavement of Yazidi women. As depicted it amounts to genocide. Nevertheless, the Federal Prosecutor General has limited the cases brought

against IS supporters to the principal accusation that they supported a terrorist organization abroad (Prosecution by the Federal Prosecutor General against Schaas Al-M, November 27, 2016- 52/2016 -, against Tarik S., August 18, 2016 - 41/2016-, against Abdelkarim El-B., June 9, 2016 - 28/2016).

2. Prevention

In the past few years repressive instruments have been thrust into the foreground of political discussion and action, but a review of their uses simultaneously reveals their limitations. Creating repressive instruments, especially new kinds of legal rules, fosters a deceptive air of tranquility. These instruments give citizens the feeling that the state is capable of doing something about radicalism and the terrorist threat. At bottom, this is the right approach, but it is just one side of the coin. Prevention is equally important—perhaps even more so—even though it has not enjoyed equal billing with repressive instruments in political debates or everyday political life.

Prevention means that people are given primary immunization against extremist ideologies. The point of prevention, then, is that people should not become radical in the first place. As a rule prevention entails pedagogical work and begins with political education, personal development, and the encouragement of experiences of self-efficacy as well as tolerance for ambiguity. Elements in the work of prevention may include the following:

- Establishing forums for discussion and dialogue about issues important to youth, e.g., on “hot topics” such as the relationship between divine and state authority or the Middle East conflict.
- Promoting religious education and inter-religious dialogue.
- Encouraging at-risk young people to grapple with their own identities.
- Shedding light on extremism and terrorism (in some cases with the participation of drop-outs from the extremist scene; there are many examples of successful practices here).
- Introducing participatory methods of political opinion-formation and decision-making.

The principal challenge in all of these prevention programs is to keep the discussion going and to allow the opinions of young people to be aired fully (e.g., in the case of honor killings), so that they subsequently can be dissected. Not only is this a challenge in a pedagogical sense; it also creates difficulties in the social and/or family environment. In practice the question of how far the bounds of tolerance should be extended stirs up heated debate. Even among experts there is no consensus about whether, for example, it is permissible to use Al Qaeda videos in preventive work. The one thing that no one disputes is that preventive work involves the development of a relationship between the mentor and the young people. One contact alone is not enough for that to happen, which suggests that such work is going to take quite a bit of time. But illuminating the alternatives to political Salafism and highlighting diversity will only work if a trusting, genuine relationship has emerged. This is particularly the case when people are involved who are struggling to attain status in society. Research has taught us that people with few prospects are the ones most susceptible to misanthropic attitudes—e.g., marginalized youth, seniors left behind, the long-term unemployed, etc. However, practice also teaches that groups like these are especially hard to reach through preventive alternatives.

The religious integration of Muslim refugees

Refugees from Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq who have arrived in Germany in great numbers during the last few months offer potentially fertile ground for Islamist propaganda, mainly because of their difficult personal situations, uncertain future prospects, and the insecurity felt in many communities due to arson attacks and demonstrations by right-wing extremists. It is true that most of them will have been immunized against radical Islamic interpretations of religion, because believers in such views in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Syria were precisely the people who drove them from their homes by dint of armed violence. Nevertheless, Salafists try to recruit new acolytes in or near the refugees' accommodations, according to intelligence gathered by the Constitutional Protection authorities and published by the press. In the future, mosque associations will have to offer timely services in these refugee shelters. Also, the integration administration in charge or employees of the Constitutional Protection Office need to enlighten the refugees, either verbally or through brochures, about radical-Islamic groups.

The religious support offered by mosque associations has to be financed. The members of the mosque association, who are usually volunteers, cannot guarantee that such assistance will be provided to the extent required. Paid or at least partially financed members of the mosque associations must be deployed. The associations themselves are in no position to raise the needed funds. In this instance, the state should provide financial aid under the rubric of refugee support. In March of 2016, the Association for Aid to Muslim Refugees was established and duly registered with the state. It represents a step taken by a several associations to create the institutional framework for providing assistance. For its part, the German Islam Conference has created a toolkit of support instruments (cf. DIK 2016).

Let's create Muslim role models

Young Muslims, especially, need role models from among the Muslims with deep roots in Germany who demonstrate the absurdity of any attempt to question the compatibility of being German and being Muslim (as per Gunter et al., 2016, p. 192).

Mosque services should be offered in German

It is a historical fact that most mosque associations are ethnically homogeneous and offer services in the mother tongue of their immigrant constituencies. Yet it is still important for mosques to offer more German-language services, above all to members who belong to the second, third, and—as time goes on—the fourth generations. What happens in mosques is not a trivial matter. When a climate of isolation from the mainstream of German society prevails there and/or the idea is cultivated that Muslims are victims of the West, those impressions have an effect on young Muslims.

Muslim Internet programming in German

In addition to the few well-tended and informative pages put up by Muslim associations, in the German-speaking Internet there numerous Salafist offerings. Radical video clips dominate on the YouTube portal especially, which is intensively used by young people and presents a completely distorted image of

Islam in Germany. German-language alternatives must be brought to bear against those false images.

Developing intra-Islamic counterarguments against Islamic extremism

Arguments have to be marshalled against Islamic extremism. Even though radicalized people are scarcely open to rational lines of argument, it is still important that not-yet-radicalized participants in the Muslim milieu should see that a strong case can be made against Islamic extremism. In this context, good arguments are those that make use of the Koran, the Sunna, or other widely accepted sources. Just because IS draws so heavily on Islamic traditions—e.g., in branding the Yazidis as heretics—something must be adduced as a counterweight.

The Islamic community itself ought to assume this responsibility. The centers for Islamic theology already have supplied stimulating ideas about this issue. In addition, it might be reasonable to issue a sort of compendium, complete with arguments worked out by various thinkers, to prepare readers for the intellectual duel with extremist views.

Offering (social) work with youth

Mosques are still the best bets to reach semi-radicalized youth. This is not the only reason why it is important to develop and expand Muslim social work with youth, but it is certainly one of them. Muslim organizations must develop schemes to do this, exchanging experiences and designs for the alternatives they offer, while also either training or hiring competent employees in the field. They should rely on political connections and administration to access funding sources and, if need be, sharpen their skills in submitting grant applications. Also, training programs might have to be broadened in some cases. Discussions about such curriculum revisions already are going on in Berlin, for example, as one university considers changes to its training program for social workers (the focus is on including courses on Islamic theology and the pedagogy of religion). Course offerings at existing centers for Islamic theology should be expanded to include a module on pedagogy (primarily for students who are majoring in other subjects). Students who aspire to a career in youth social

work thus would have an opportunity to acquire teaching skills and religion-specific knowledge. The latter would be needed to recognize, at an early stage, any tendencies toward radicalization among young people.

Highlighting intra-Islamic diversity and the humanistic side of Islam

Islam is heterogeneous. Diversity in schools of law and confessional traditions are characteristic of the faith. Muslims organizations should keep this intra-Islamic diversity in mind in their work, while also not overlooking the humanist traditions that are also present in Islam.

Prevention can be achieved even outside the congregations

All of the experts agree in stressing that mosques and Muslim organizations are not the only actors in the work of prevention against Islamist extremism. For youths trying to find their way in society, it is important to look for answers to their questions outside of religion as well as within it. Mosques are not the best place for this. Hence, religiously unaffiliated political education and social work with youth are also crucial sources of prevention. Certainly, “the Islamization of social work” would be a step in the wrong direction. All of this implies that a political task is involved here as well: seeing to it that there are enough resources, opportunities for vocation training and adult education, and social “hangouts” for extra-religious preventive work to happen.

Counseling and spiritual guidance for Muslim prisoners

The “Islamic Roundtable” in Baden-Württemberg devoted two sessions to the question of counseling and spiritual guidance for Islamic prisoners. One volunteer counselor of prisoners delivered an emphatic report about the urgent need for such counseling, but also about the likelihood that it might have preventive effects. At a joint symposium between Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria in March of 2016 devoted to the problem of how to deal with Salafists/ Islamists, a representative of the Federal Prosecutor General warned vehemently of challenges ahead for the justice system due to the exponential increase in the number of proceedings (on this point, cf. Drucksache 15/6870 of the state legislature of Baden-Württemberg). As early as 2015 it was reported

to the experts' circle of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung that 500 preliminary investigations and prosecutions were underway against presumed participants in criminal offenses in the area of violence-prone Salafism.

Apart from the deradicalization measures among radicalized inmates already described here, it is also vital to put in place early-warning measures to identify and counteract Islamist tendencies among other prisoners. Because they are responsible for the enforcement of the laws, the states should institute Islamic counseling as quickly as possible and adjust it to suit their own needs. Also, continuing education programs tailored to such counseling need to be set up for the personnel involved in the penal system.

In addition to pastoral counseling, prison libraries deliberately could stock books that offer an alternative, more pluralistic exegesis of Islam. In this way, the inmates would have an opportunity to learn about interpretations of Islam that differ from the Salafist ones (this is the recommendation of Lohlker et al. 2016, p. 227).

Dropouts

Those who genuinely have dropped out of political Salafism or other Islamist milieus could be effective in supporting the work of prevention. Experiences in political education work with dropouts from the right-wing extremist scene have been mostly positive. Of course the person's exit from the scene must be credible and demonstrable, and all of the regulations characteristic of law-based states must be observed.

Prevention in refugee housing

Prevention programs in refugee lodgings have been important since 2015. The IS already has attempted to recruit adherents among the recent immigrants in such places. Applications for asylum take an inordinately long time to process; moreover, high numbers of refugees make it difficult to offer a sufficient number of integration programs. As a result, many new immigrants have no jobs and few prospects, so some individuals become receptive to extremist blandishments. By now the federal government and the states have agreed on the

requirements for speedier proceedings and improved financing of integration programs. In spite of their efforts, there is a need for prevention programs, which in turn also requires funding.

Communication

In conclusion we want to emphasize that communication is the starting point and main ingredient in all prevention work. Places have to be available where citizens can talk about their fears and experiences, whether these are positive or negative, concerning intercultural encounters in daily life. There should be communication between citizens and the authorities as well as among the different agencies that deal with migration, integration, and the prevention of extremism. Communication is also needed with youth or adults who are beginning to feel drawn to the Salafist mentality. Finally, there should be communication among mosque congregations, schools, municipal administrations, the police, churches, civil society, and other institutions.

3. Intervention

The term “intervention” refers to work with individuals who already have been radicalized. The goal of intervention is to interrogate and disrupt radical structures of thought and action, i.e., to deradicalize such individuals and enable them to exit from the scene permanently. If processes of this kind are to succeed, the radicalized individuals will need even longer supervision than is the case with prevention. Experienced hands say that the exit process usually takes one to two years. The exit process includes the following (cf. Heitmann et al. 2009):

- Acceptance of professional guidance and co-design of an ongoing working relationship.
- Questioning of the ideology, admitting doubts about one’s own world-view as well as the capacity for self-reflection and dialogue.
- Development of a new social network or else restoration of the old one, abandoned in the wake of radicalization.
- Remaining aloof from the extremist scene and not committing any more crimes.

- Developing plans for the future, such as going back to school after return from, e.g., Syria; securing a spot in a training program or a job (both of which are highly problematic in practice).
- Receiving help in moving to a new area if a move is warranted by circumstances.
- Setting one's sights on a personal plan for the future that doesn't involve politics.

Financial support programs for deradicalization projects

Alternatives have to be offered that initiate and accompany the process of deradicalization. It is hard to imagine any way to finance them other than with public funds. Again, one can find models in the struggle against right-wing extremism. We need only recall the XENOS special program known as "exit to enter," lodged in the Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs, which lasted from 2010 until 2014. These programs must take account of the extended time-horizon of deradicalization work and not strive for overnight success.

Continuing education of social workers in theology and the pedagogy of religion

Islamic extremists hold what they consider to be a closed ideological worldview. If social workers are going to shake it up, they will need to acquire some theological knowledge. Furthermore, practice shows that religious discussions are highly sought-after, so they can serve to "break the ice" for a longer process of consultation. In effect, this means that training and continuing education must be supplemented by the presentation of elements of Islamic theology.

Exit counseling

The first exit programs for Islamic extremists, such as the one in North Rhine-Westphalia, were set up several years ago. Quality control criteria and the factors that influence success have not been studied in a scientific, systematic way to date, as has been done, for example, in the case of exit counseling for right-wing extremists (cf. Tunnel-Lichtblicke 2012). Along the same lines, the exit counseling options offered by civil society for right-wing extremism should be

adapted for use in counseling Islamic extremists. Because the state and its representatives embody the image of “the enemy” for Islamic extremists, exit programs offered by the police are not the best starting point for someone who is thinking about getting out, especially if s/he has a criminal record.

The administration can provide help in the exit process

When a person decides to abandon an Islamic extremist group, s/he is in a precarious situation. On one hand, life and limb are in jeopardy, which implies that the security services should step in. On the other hand, the exiting person needs support as outlined in the bulleted points above, i.e., in order to find new friends and acquaintances, enroll in a school or job-training center, etc. Since no school will welcome a returning IS recruit with open arms, the authorities should offer the necessary support.

Creating deradicalization programs in prisons

As previously explained, jails have proved to be fertile ground for the recruitment of new acolytes to the Islamic extremist scene. That makes it all the more vital to provide pro-democracy and pro-human rights alternatives to inmates. Moreover, the justice system offers the opportunity to work with individuals over a longer time interval, which is one of the basic preconditions for a successful deradicalization process. From 2001 until the end of 2014, a project designed along those lines, called “Assume Responsibility—leave behind hate and violence” was carried out under the auspices of the XENOS program supported by the European Social Fund. The states of Berlin, Brandenburg, and Hesse have continued the program, funding it themselves.

Counseling for family members

When a person is in contact with the Islamist scene and seems on the verge of radicalization, members of his or her immediate family have the first opportunity to intervene. It takes courage to take on this task. However, in practice the family members tend not to seek out the confrontation. Instead, their contacts with one another are conflictual or sometimes even terminated, which in turn gives a boost to radicalization. Since no one can relieve the family members of

the confrontation—certainly not a state body or the security services—it is crucial to develop and expand the counseling options available to them (including anonymous and online ones) as well as the support systems (schooling, self-help groups, and so forth).

Cooperation between civil society and Muslim organizations

The deradicalization of Islamic extremists only works when carried out in conjunction with Muslim organizations. That is the reason why cooperation of this kind already exists, as for example in Berlin between the Violence Prevention Network and the Şehitlik mosque (DITIB) in the Neukölln district. Such cooperation should be sought out with greater resolve.

4. Further recommendations

Encourage more scientific research on the radicalization process

So far both money and time for the production of knowledge in science and practice have been scarce. It is true that, by this time, a number of different studies have been done on travel abroad by militants to join the IS. These offer insights into the circumstances that, in individual cases, have contributed to the radicalization of young Muslims. Nevertheless, it is difficult and problematic from a scientific standpoint to deduce a general explanatory approach from those cases. Therefore, to develop a prevention program designed to be truly comprehensive, we need to expand scientific research in this field. More attention should be paid to a question that researchers have not answered unanimously: whether more religious faith can prevent violence or whether those who are extremely religious reach a turning point and actually become more violence-prone. The expansion of such studies should be inseparable from a more intensive research focus on extremism and radicalization (as urged also by Frindte et al. 2016, p. 150).

Create counseling structures

Until now there has not been a counseling network against Islamic extremism of the kind that was developed, for example, during the confrontation with

right-wing extremism over the past fifteen years. There are indeed a number of model projects, and a great deal of knowledge has been accumulated in practice. But not much of it has been transmitted to broader circles, nor has there been much networking among them. For that reason it would make sense to develop network structures in the work of prevention against Islamic extremism.

Give social workers the right to refuse to testify

If a social worker should manage to build up a relationship of trust with an individual and initiate a process of deradicalization, the social worker should have the right to refuse to give evidence in court. This should also be the case when the person in question must work through traumatic experiences such as being involved in the fighting in Syria or Iraq. The legal foundations for such a refusal to testify would have to be established.

Ascription, the quest for identity, and tolerance for ambiguity

Many young people dislike ambiguity and want to have a clear identity of their own. But at the same time, Muslim youth in Germany find that identities are ascribed to them by others (often non-Muslims), many with negative connotations. Hence it is of vital importance to emphasize the value of heterogeneity when doing pedagogical work with young Muslims, or for that matter with other young people as well. The goal is to foster tolerance for ambiguity and to point out that identities have many layers (cf. Foroutan/Schäfer 2009).

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Appendix

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Dr. Ehrhart Körting, a native Berliner, holds a degree in the field of law. He became a judge on the Administrative Court of Berlin and served as vice-president of the Constitutional Court of the State of Berlin (1992-1997). A member of the Social Democratic Party since 1971, he has been active at both the district and state levels. He was twice elected to office in the Berlin House of Deputies and has been a member of the Berlin state government as Senator for Justice (1997-1999) then as Senator for Home Affairs (2001-2011).

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Titles and Authors of Essays from the 2015 Publication

In November, 2015, the book entitled *Handlungsempfehlungen zur Auseinandersetzung mit islamistischem Extremismus und Islamfeindlichkeit (An Action Plan for Confronting Islamic Extremism and Islamophobia)* brought together the findings of a Board of Experts in the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. In addition to the first section, which is updated here, the following articles appeared in that publication.

Marwan Abou-Taam: **Deutsche Sicherheitspolitik im Kampf gegen den internationalen Terrorismus** [German Security Policy in the Fight against International Terrorism], pp. 61-76

Bekim Agai, Raida Chbib: **Deutschland und seine Muslime: Mit Vielfalt leben als gesellschaftspolitische, soziale und religiöse Herausforderung** [Germany and the Muslims: Living with Diversity as a Social-policy, Social-welfare, and Religious Challenge], pp. 77-88

Ismat Amiralai: **Die islamische Volkshochschule – ein Pilotprojekt** [The Islamic Adult Education Center—a Pilot Project], pp. 89-94

Yilmaz Atmaca: **Die Bedeutung nichtreligiöser Jugendarbeit für muslimische Jugendliche** [An Apostrophe: the Meaning of Non-religious Youth Work for Muslim Youth], pp. 95-98

Nils Böckler, Andreas Zick: **Wie gestalten sich Radikalisierungsprozesse im Vorfeld jihadistisch-terroristischer Gewalt? Perspektiven aus der Forschung** [How do Radicalization Processes Develop in the Runup to Jihadist-Terrorist Violence? Research Perspectives], pp. 99-122

Aziz Bozkurt: **Mut zu politischer Normalität** [Courage for Political Normality], pp. 123-32

Claudia Dantschke: **Radikalisierung von Jugendlichen durch salafistische Strömungen in Deutschland** [The Radicalization of Young People by Salafist Sects in Germany], pp. 133-42

Olaf Farschid: Zur **Unterscheidung von Islam und Islamismus** [How to Distinguish Islam from Islamism], pp. 143-150

Ehrhart Körting: **Die Legende von der Rolle des Glaubens bei den Anschlägen islamistischer Extremisten** [The Myth of the “Role of Faith” in Attacks by Islamist Extremists], pp. 151-156

Aiman A. Mazyek: **Islamfeindlichkeit** [Islamophobia], pp. 157-164

Gary Menzel: **Neue Anforderungen an die Polizei in der Auseinandersetzung mit islamistischem Extremismus am Beispiel Berlins** [New Demands on the Police in the Conflict with Islamic Extremism: the Case of Berlin], pp. 165-170

Thomas Mücke: **Deradikalisierungsstrategien im Phänomenbereich des religiös begründeten Extremismus** [Deradicalization Strategies in the Area of Religiously-Based Extremism], pp. 171-186

Dawood Nazirizadeh: **Religiös begründeter Extremismus – Eine muslimische Perspektive und Handlungsempfehlung** [Religiously-Based Extremism: a Muslim Perspective and Action Plan], pp. 187-200

Sindyay Qasem: **Neue Haltungen gegen Unmut: Forderungen an eine gesamtgesellschaftliche Präventionsarbeit** [New Attitudes toward Resentment: A Call for Society-wide Prevention Work], pp. 201-208

Mathias Rohe: **Die rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen muslimischen Lebens in Deutschland** [The Legal Parameters of Muslim Life in Germany], pp. 209-216

Werner Schiffauer: **Sicherheitswissen und Deradikalisierung** [Security Expertise and Deradicalization], pp. 217-244

Volker Trusheim: **Die „dritte Welle“? Die Bedrohung durch den extremistischen Salafismus in Deutschland** [The “Third Wave”? The Threat Posed by Extremist Salafism in Germany], from p. 245-260

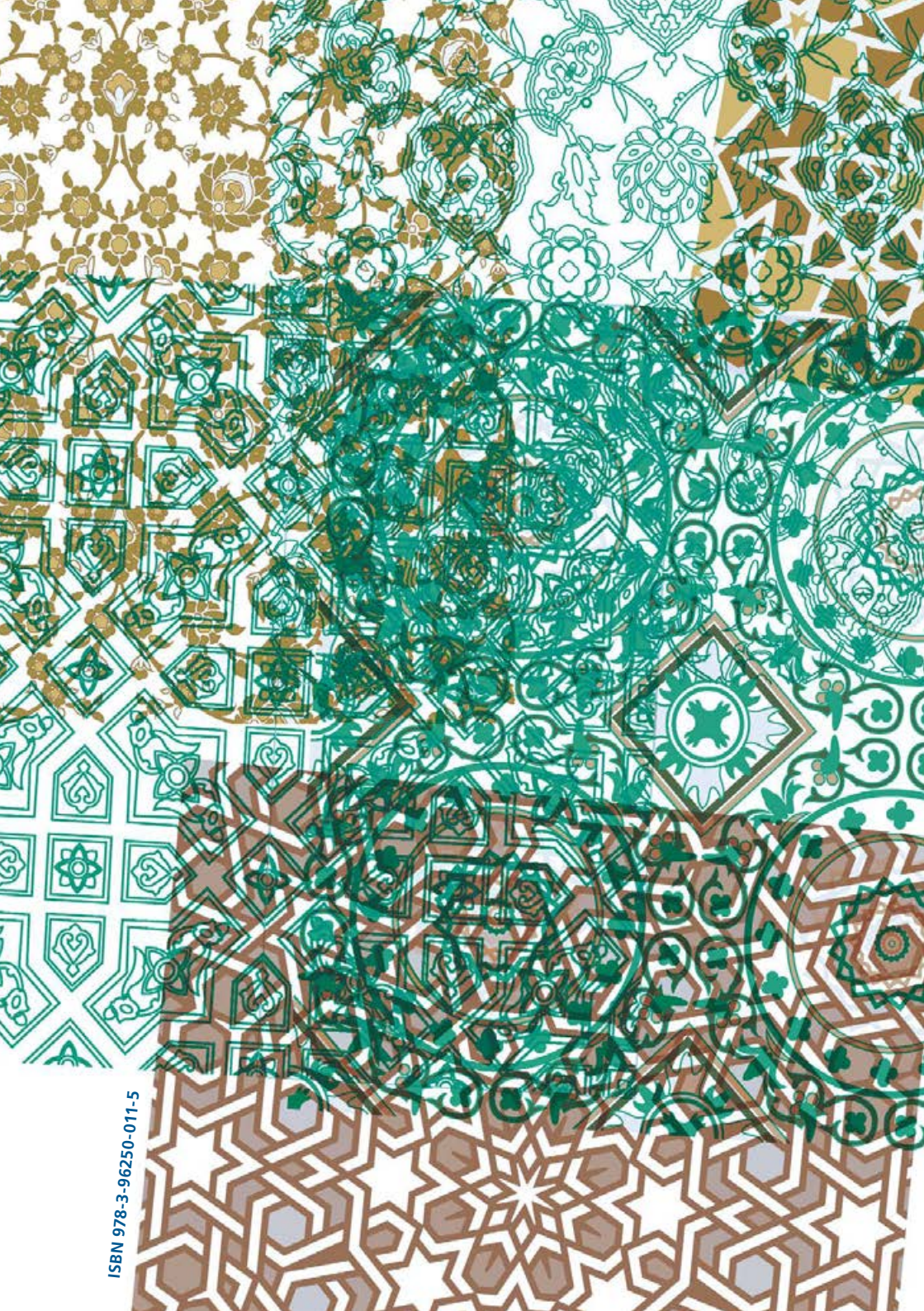
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