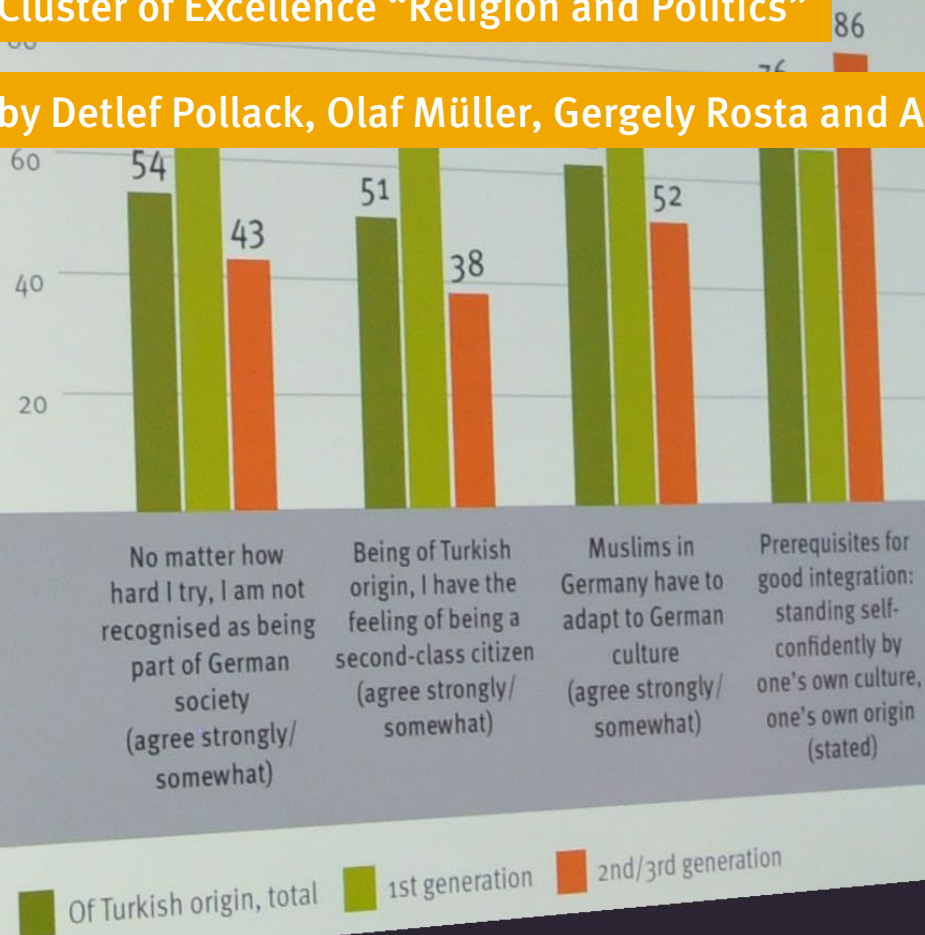


› Integration and Religion as seen by People of Turkish Origin in Germany

Representative survey of TNS Emnid on behalf of Münster University's
Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics"

by Detlef Pollack, Olaf Müller, Gergely Rosta and Anna Dieler



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Cover background: Photo of the survey figure "Perceived recognition and cultural self-assertion when comparing generations" on a PC screen;
Contents background: Main building and lecture hall of the Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" with *Petrikirche* (Church of St. Peter)

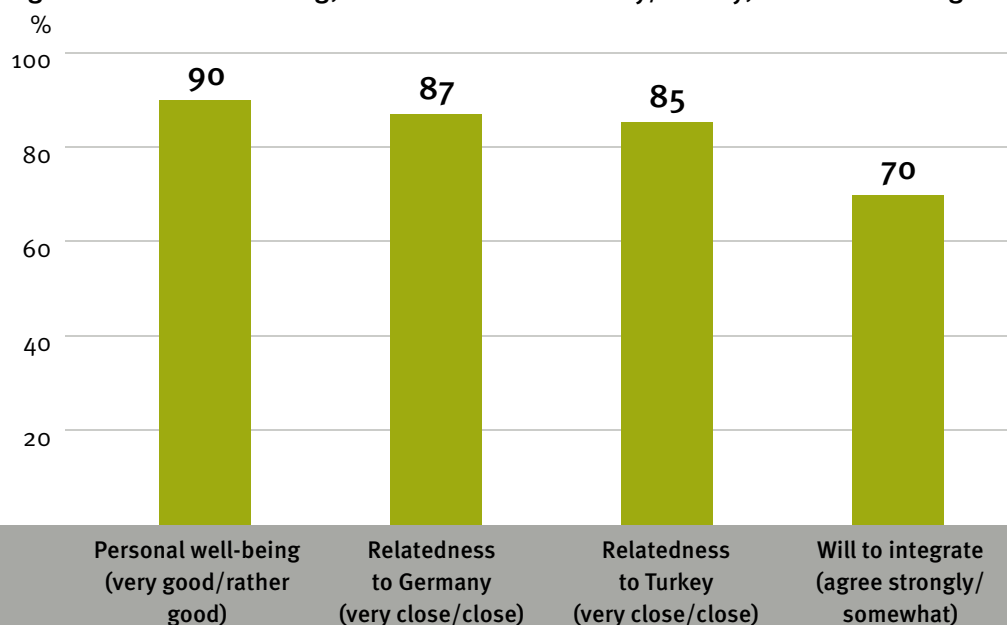
› Integration and Religion as seen by People of Turkish Origin in Germany

Very good personal well-being, but widespread feeling of lack in social recognition

The picture of the personal living conditions of the people of Turkish origin who live in Germany, which results from the findings of the Emnid survey of Münster University's Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics" that was recently conducted, is more positive than could have been expected, given the predominant state of discussion: the vast majority of people of Turkish origin are satisfied or very satisfied with their life in Germany. 90 % answered the question as to whether they felt good in Germany on the whole with "yes, very good" or "yes, rather good".

No more than a mere 10 % of respondents said they felt "rather less good" or "not good at all". Similarly, the vast majority of respondents feels related to Germany (87 % "very close" or "close") – which is about as many as feel related to Turkey (85 %). The will to integrate is also very pronounced among the people of Turkish origin in Germany. 70 % of respondents said that they wanted to integrate into the German society unconditionally and without reservation (figure 1).

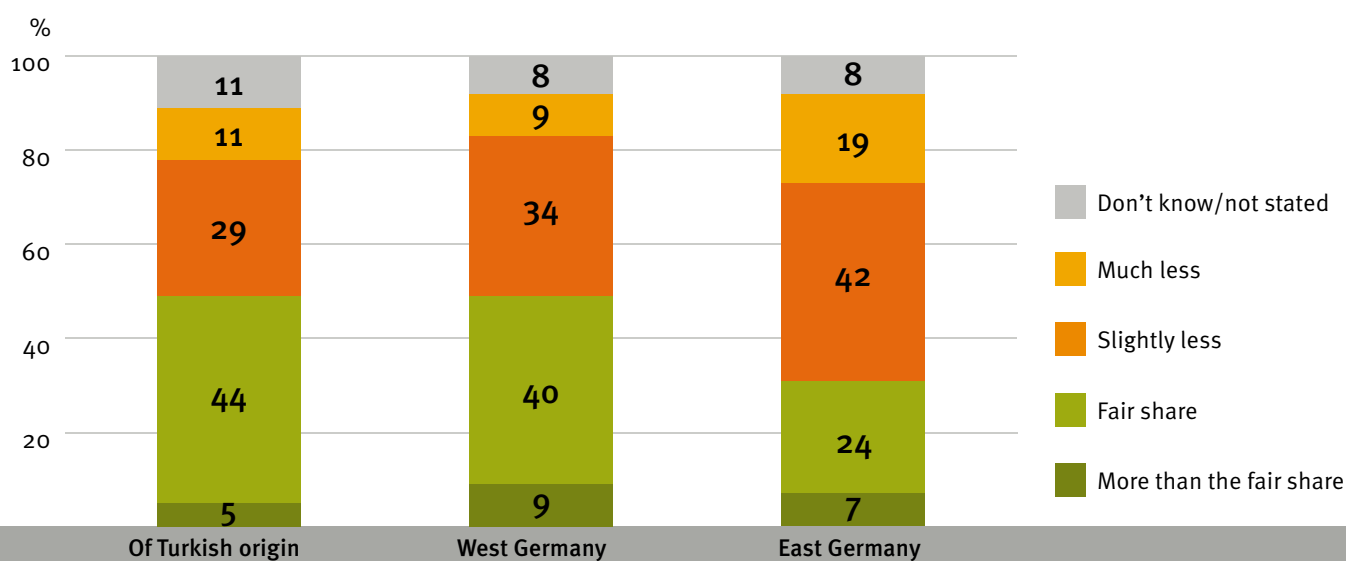
Fig. 1 Personal well-being, relatedness to Germany/Turkey, and will to integrate



Personal well-being: "On the whole, do you feel good in Germany?"; four-point scale (very good – rather good – rather less good – not at all good);
Relatedness to Germany [Turkey]: "To what extent do you feel related to Germany [Turkey]?"; four-point scale (very closely related – closely related – not very closely related – not at all related); **Will to integrate:** "I want to integrate into the German society unconditionally and without reservation."; four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly)

Feelings of relative deprivation are no more widespread than on average (figure 2): almost half of the respondents (44 %) think that they receive their fair share compared to how others live in Germany; 5 % are even convinced that they receive more than their fair share. A total of 40 % say that they either receive “slightly less” (29 %) or “much less” (11 %). Thus, compared to society as a whole, the respondents of Turkish origin’s assessment resembles the West German society to an astonishing degree; East Germans, in contrast, feel considerably more disadvantaged (cf. WArV 2010).

Fig. 2 Fair share compared to others

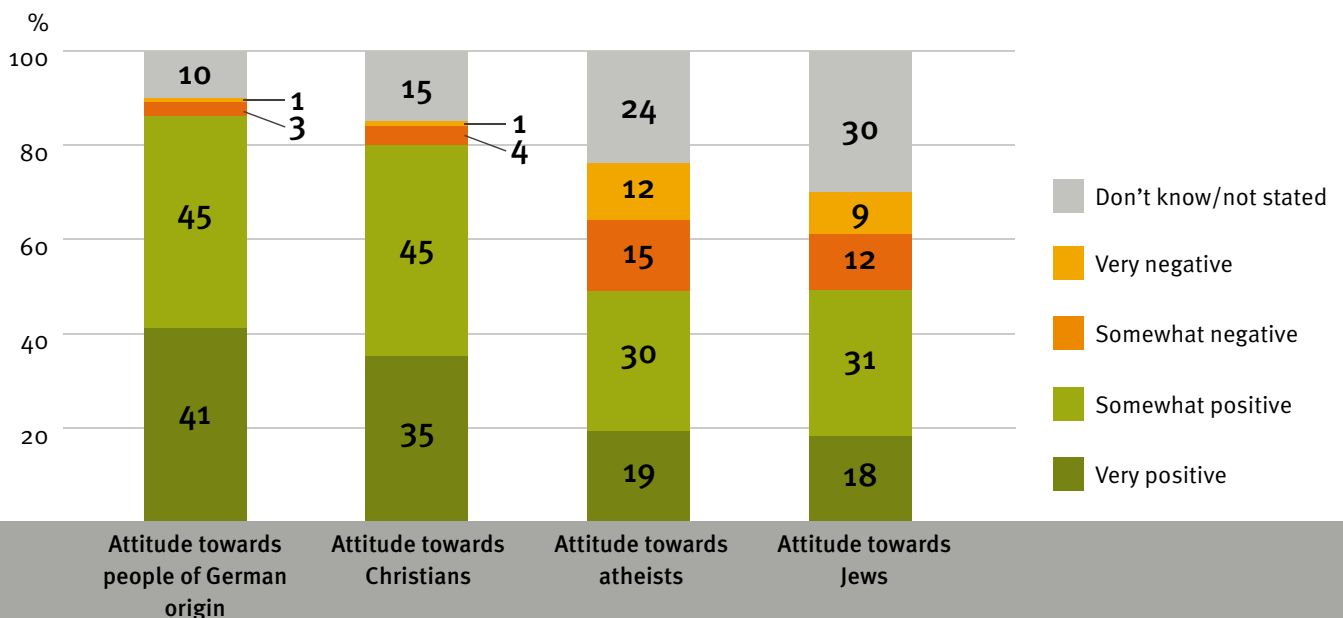


Question: “Compared to how others live here in Germany, do you think that you get your fair share, more than your fair share, slightly less or much less?”; source for West and East Germany: WArV 2010

86 % of respondents of Turkish origin describe their attitude towards the majority society, towards “people of German origin” as “very positive” or “somewhat positive”; only 4 % show a “somewhat negative” or “very negative” attitude, 10 % are indecisive in this point or refuse to answer (figure 3). The answers regarding the largest religious group in society, Christians, turn out to be about as positive (in total: 80 % positive, 5 % negative, 15 % don’t know/not stated). In total, opinions regarding atheists (it was explicitly pointed out here that these are people who do not believe in any god) are much more reserved; however, the share of those who are positive towards this group (49 %) still considerably exceeds the share of those with a negative attitude (27 %).

It can already be noticed here that a remarkable number of respondents do not form an opinion or do not wish to make their opinion known (24 %); this phenomenon becomes even more pronounced when asked about their attitude towards Jews, where 30 % of respondents answer either with “don’t know” or even not at all. Here, the percentage of those with a positive attitude is as high as in the case of the atheists and the share of those with a negative attitude amounts to 21 %. It is not to be the subject of discussion here how the rather large number of “don’t know” answers or refused answers is to be interpreted. However, an at least latently defensive attitude towards the two last groups that could harbour a certain potential for social conflict can hardly be overlooked.

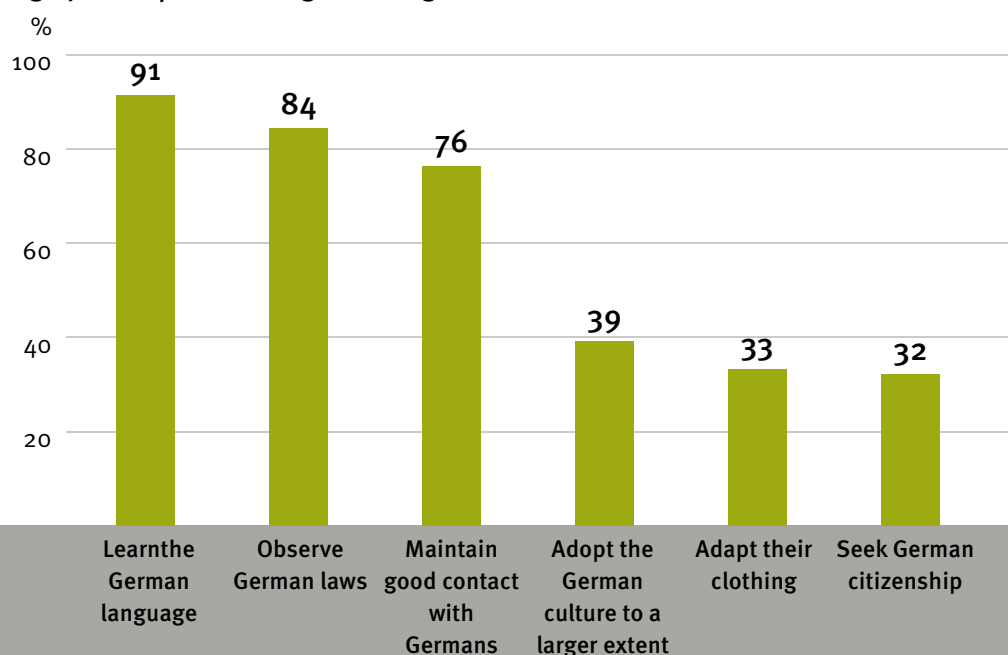
Fig. 3 Attitudes towards different social/religious groups



Question: “What is your personal attitude towards the members of the following groups?”

Asked about what they themselves considered to be good integration, respondents answered: to learn the German language (91 %), to observe German laws (84 %) and to maintain good contact with Germans (76 %). The people of Turkish origin considered it less important to adopt the German culture to a larger extent (39 %), to adapt their clothing (33 %) or to seek German citizenship (32 %; figure 4).

Fig. 4 Prerequisites for good integration

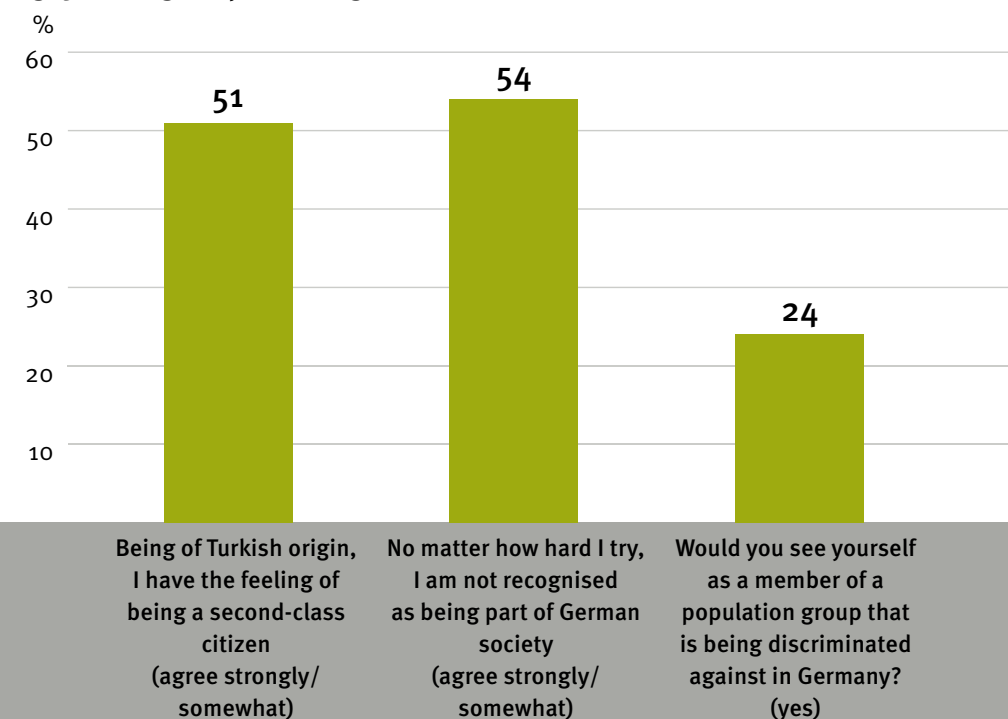


Question: "In your opinion, what should people do to be well integrated in Germany?"; multiple answers possible

The findings regarding the general assessment of one's own social situation and about the willingness to integrate, which are very positive overall, should not belie problems that still exist, however. Above all, a significant percentage of respondents complains about a feeling of poor recognition: 51 % of respondents "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" with the statement, "Being of Turkish origin, I have the feeling of being a second-class citizen". Likewise, about every other respondent believes that their own will and personal effort are sometimes not enough to "belong"

because general barriers to inclusion exist also on the part of the majority society. 54 % agreed strongly or somewhat with the statement, "No matter how hard I try, I am not recognised as being part of German society". However, it cannot be observed that the majority feels discriminated against for being a member of the group of people of Turkish origin. Only 24 % perceive themselves as a member of a population group that is being discriminated against in some form or other (figure 5).

Fig. 5 Feelings of poor recognition and of discrimination



Second-class citizen/No matter how hard I try ...: four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly);
Feeling of discrimination: two-point scale (yes – no)

Second and third generations better integrated and at the same time openly self-confident as regards the protection of their own culture

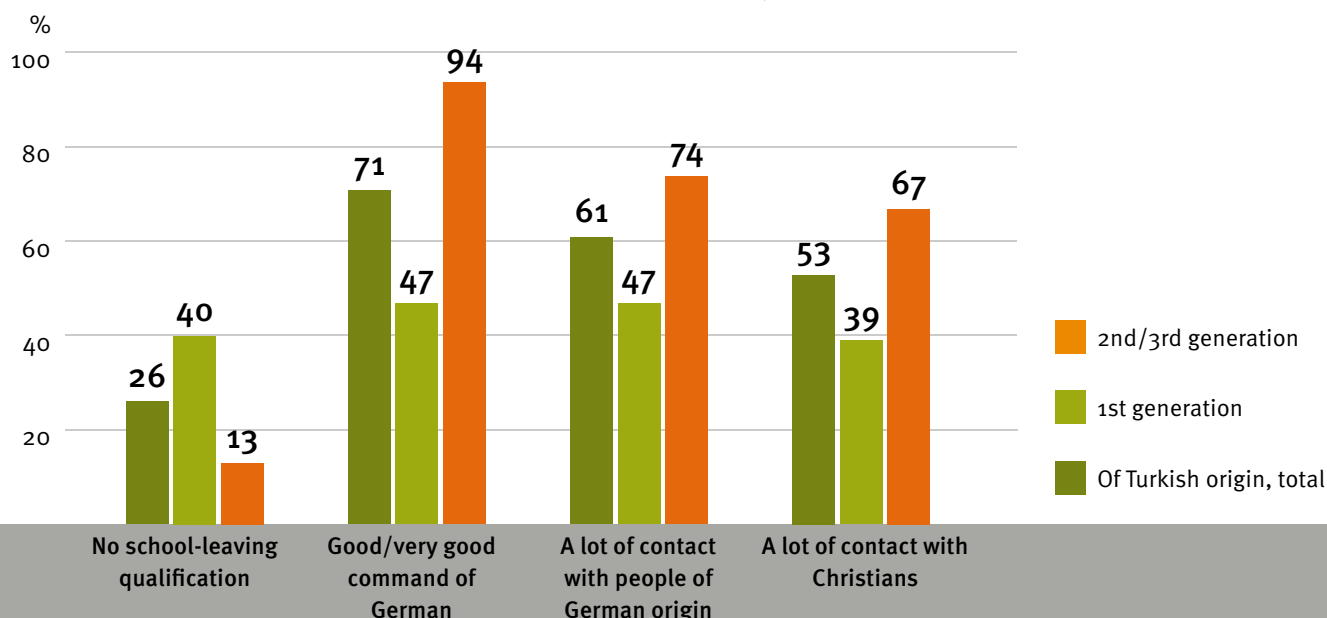
Population groups with an immigration background can not of course be considered a homogeneous entity, neither in view of their circumstances nor regarding their cultural attitudes – this declaration is one of the largely undisputed insights of migration research. The “immigrant generations” concept has proven to be particularly fruitful here and will also be applied in the following.

Interesting and partly surprising insights can be gained if the people of Turkish origin are divided into two groups – those who were born in Turkey and immigrated to Germany (the so-called “first generation”), and the

“second generation” and “third generation”, that is, those who were either born in Germany or who came to Germany at pre-school age (< 8 years).

Regarding many integration aspects, some of the data of the second and third generations are considerably more positive than that of the first generation: for example, the share of people without a school-leaving qualification has more than halved (13 % vs 40 %) and the percentage of those with a good command of German (by own account) has doubled (94 % vs 47 %).

Fig. 6 Structural, cognitive and social integration when comparing generations



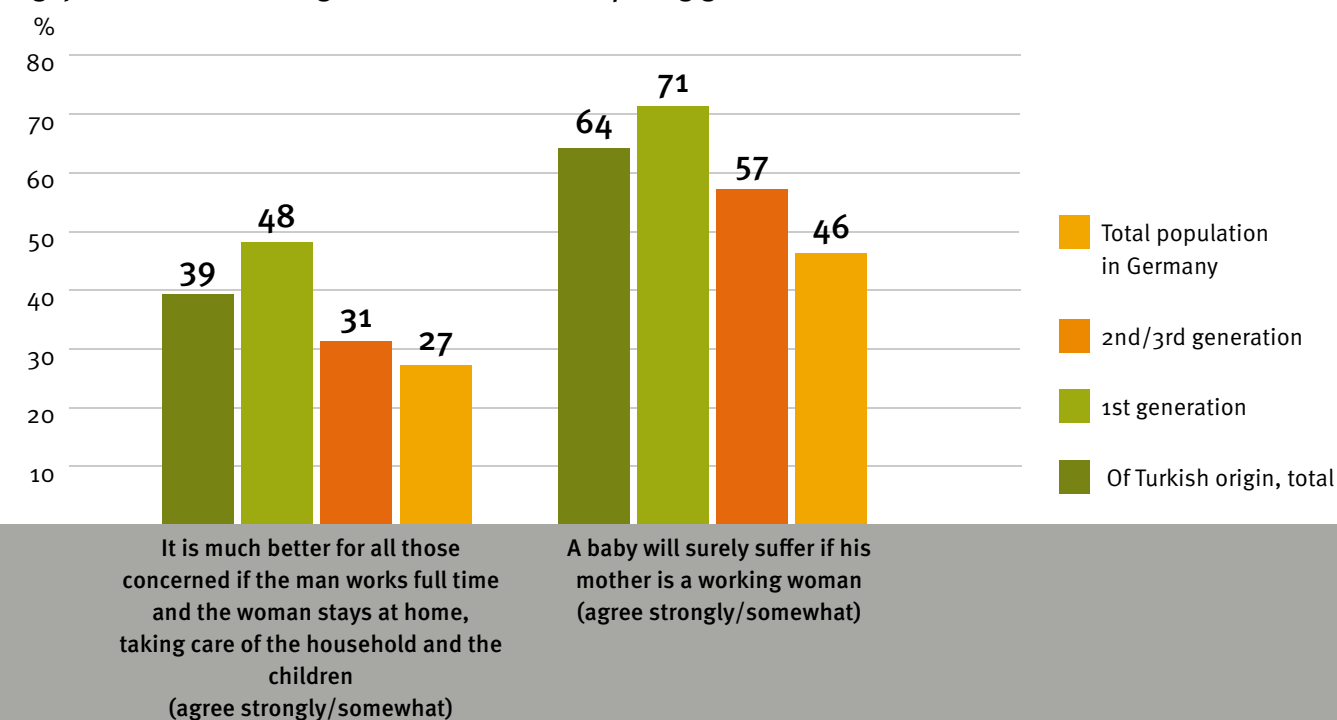
Questions: “I would now like to know more about your command of German. According to your own assessment, how well do you understand German?”; six-point scale (very well – well – fairly – badly – very badly – not at all); “Do you have a lot of contact with the members of the following groups?”; four-point scale (yes, a lot – yes, a little – no, actually not – no, not at all)

Overall, the second and third generations are socially and structurally better integrated into the “majority society” than the first generation: while only every other of first-generation respondents (47 %) declares to have “a lot of” contact with people of German origin, three quarters of respondents of the second and third generations do so (74 %); frequent contact with Christians are claimed by 39 % of the first generation and 67 % of the second and third generations (figure 6).

A second-generation and third-generation approximation of the majority society can also partly be observed regarding the attitudes towards the family and towards the role

of women (figure 7): after all, 48 % of respondents of the first generation consider it better if the man goes to work and the woman takes care of the household and the children; no more than 31 per cent of the second and third generations share this view (and a total of 27 % in Germany agree with this statement; ALLBUS 2012). 71 % of the first generation believe that working mothers are harmful to their babies; this, too, is met with less approval in the second generation (57 %; a total of 46 % in Germany agree; ALLBUS 2012).

Fig. 7 Attitudes towards gender roles when comparing generations

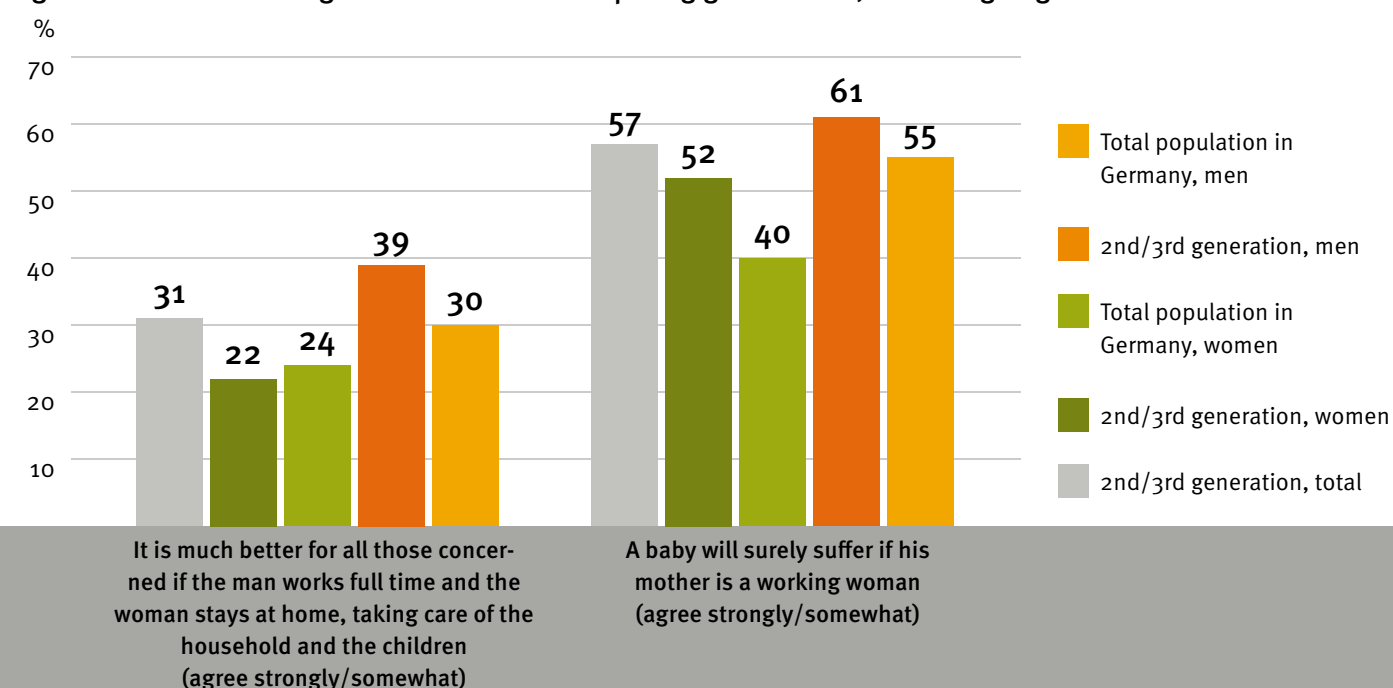


Four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly); source for the total population of Germany: ALLBUS 2012

When looking at the differences between the generations according to gender, it becomes apparent that second-generation and third-generation women of Turkish origin do not see role allocation any more traditional than women of the German majority society (figure 8): 22 % agree with the statement that it is much better for all those concerned if the man goes to work and the woman takes care of the household and the children; a total 24 % of women in Germany think the same (ALLBUS 2012). However, the difference between second-generation and third-generation men of Turkish origin and the majority society remained (39 % vs 30 %; ALLBUS 2012).

On the other hand, working mothers are seen more critically by both women and men of Turkish origin of the second and third generations than by men and women of the German majority society. 52 % of women of Turkish origin of the succeeding generations agree with the statement that a baby will suffer if his mother is a working woman, compared to a total of 40 % of women in Germany. Among the men, the difference is less pronounced at 61 % compared to a total of 55 % in Germany as a whole.

Fig. 8 Attitudes towards gender roles when comparing generations, according to gender



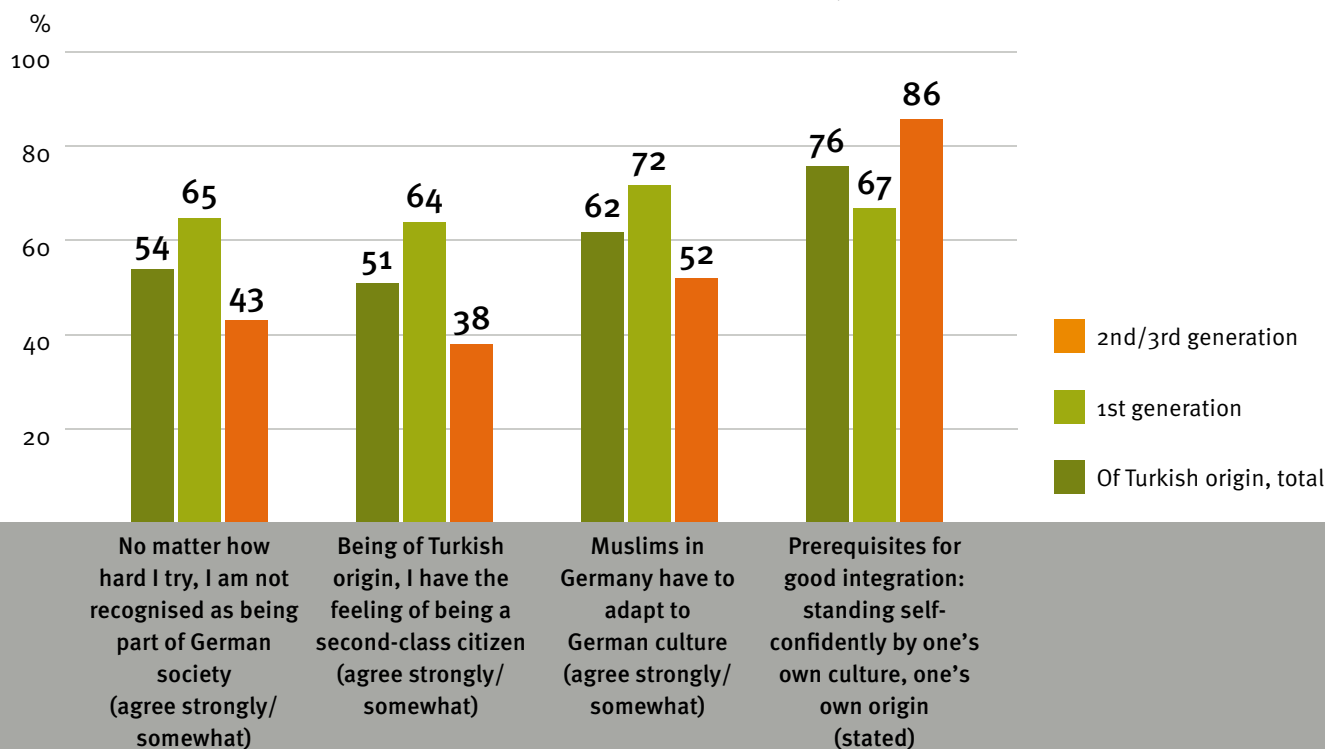
Four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly);
source for the total population of Germany: ALLBUS 2012

In view of these findings, it is not surprising that the second and third generations as a whole feel rejected to a lesser extent by the majority society (figure 9): 65 % of respondents of the first generation, but no more than 43 % of respondents of the second and third generations agree with the statement mentioned at the beginning “No matter how hard I try, I am not recognised as being part of German society”. 64 % of the first generation have the feeling of being “second-class citizens”, while only 38 % of the second and third generations do so.

All migrants and their descendants are challenged to find a balance between adaptation to the majority society on the one hand and cultural self-assertion on the other. In the case of the second and third generations, the pendu-

lum swings more towards self-assertion as compared to the first generation: although people of Turkish origin who were born in Germany or who immigrated as a child are in many aspects closer to the majority society as those who immigrated as adults, their relationship to the majority society can indeed not be described as assimilation. Rather, they emphasise the difference to the majority society more strongly than the first generation. 72 % of first-generation respondents, but only 52 % of second-generation and third-generations respondents believe that Muslims should adapt to the German culture. At the same time, 86 % of the second and third generations think that one should stand self-confidently by one’s own culture and origin – but only 67 % of the first generation do so.

Fig. 9 Perceived recognition and cultural self-assertion when comparing generations



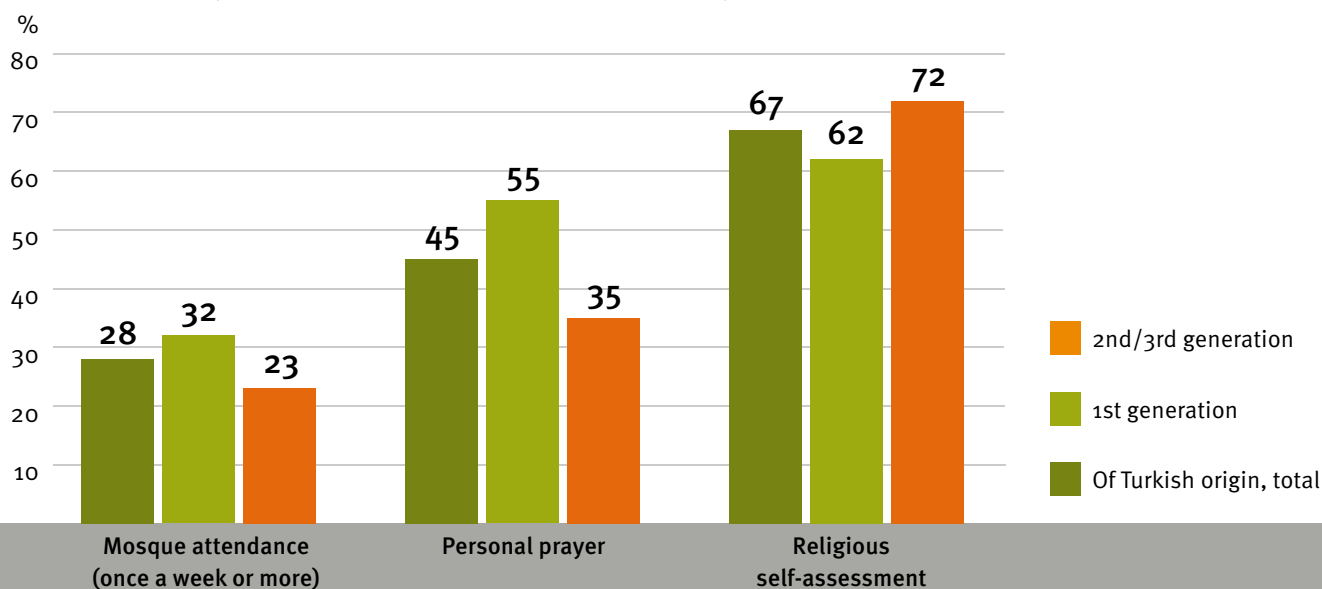
Questions: prerequisites for good integration, “In your opinion, what should people do to be well integrated in Germany?”, multiple answers possible; all other items: four-point scale

Facets of religiousness: traditional practice in the first generation, and religion as a marker of identity in the second and third generations

The patterns of the balance between readiness for adaptation and self-assertion repeat themselves when it comes to the religiousness of the people of Turkish origin in Germany (figure 10). On the one hand, the second and third generations turn out to be less active than the first generation as regards traditional religious practice. The second and third generations attend a mosque less often than the first generation (23 % vs 32 %), and they also much less

often say that they engage in personal prayers several times a day (35 % vs 55 %). On the other hand, the second and third generations see themselves as much more religious than the first generation (72 % vs 62 % “devoutly”, “very” or “rather” religious). Answers to these questions possibly reflect much rather a pointed commitment to their own cultural origin and less an “effectively lived” religiousness.

Fig. 10 Religious practice and self-assessment when comparing generations

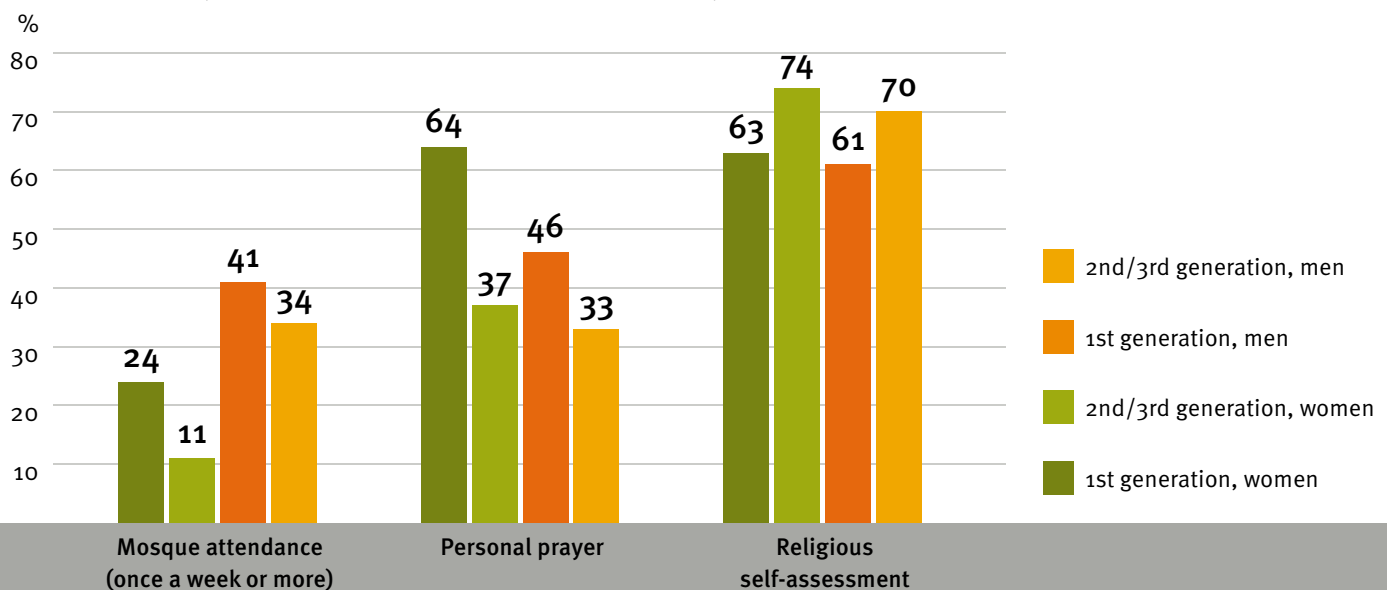


Mosque attendance: “How often do you attend the mosque or the Cem House?”; six-point scale; **Personal prayer:** “How often do you pray personal prayers (du’a)?”; eight-point scale; **Religious self-assessment:** “As how religious would you describe yourself?”; seven-point scale

These trends are also confirmed when examining religiousness according to gender (figure 11). Although the decrease in mosque attendance across the generations is more pronounced among women, who traditionally attend mosque less frequently (24 % vs 11 % who attend a mosque once or several times a week), there is also a decrease among the men (41 % vs 34 % who attend a

mosque once or several times a week). Likewise, engaging in personal prayers several times a day declines among both genders across the generations (women: 64 % vs 37 %, men: 46 % vs 33 %). The religious self-assessment, in contrast, increases both among women and men of the second and third generations (women: 63 % vs 74 %, men: 61 % vs 70 %).

Fig. 11 Religious practice and self-assessment when comparing generations, according to gender



Mosque attendance: “How often do you attend the mosque or the Cem House?”; six-point scale; **Personal prayer:** “How often do you pray personal prayers (du’a)?”; eight-point scale; **Religious self-assessment:** “As how religious would you describe yourself?”; seven-point scale

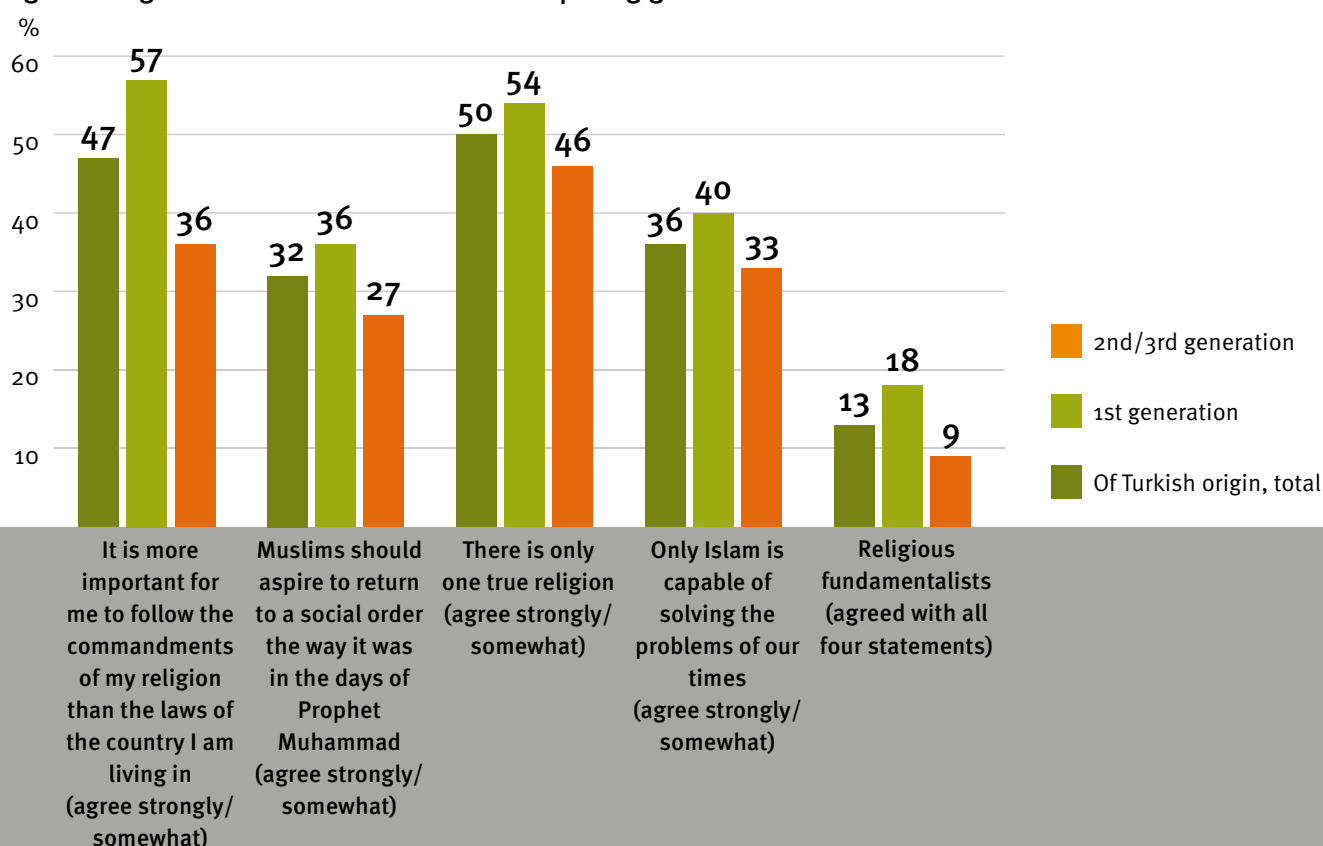
Dogmatic and fundamentalist attitudes common

The percentage of people of Turkish origin who express attitudes that can hardly be regarded as compatible with the basic principles of modern “Western” societies like the one in Germany is partially considerable (figure 12). 47 % of respondents agree with the statement, “It is more important for me to follow the commandments of my religion than the laws of the country I am living in”. 32 % of respondents think that Muslims should aspire to return to a social order the way it was in the days of Prophet Muhammad. 50 % of the people of Turkish origin agree strongly or agree somewhat with the statement, “There is only one true religion”. 36 % are convinced that only

Islam is capable of solving the problems of our times. The percentage of those with a thorough and firmly established Islamic fundamentalist world view (agreement with all of the four statements) amounts to 13 % of respondents.

Looking at the different immigrant generations separately again reveals that such dogmatic and fundamentalist orientations are a little less common in the second and third generations: 36 % of them (first generation: 57 %) believe that it is more important to follow the commandments of their religion than the laws of the country they are living in; 27 % (first generation: 36 %) wish for the

Fig. 12 Religious fundamentalism when comparing generations



Statements: four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly)

Muslims' return to a social order the way it was in the days of Prophet Muhammad. There is only one true religion for 46 % of second-generation and third-generation respondents (first generation: 54 %); 33 % take the view that only Islam is capable of solving the problems of our times (first generation: 40 %). At 9 % in the second and third generations, the number of those who agree with all of the four statements is half that of the first-generation respondents.

However, as further multivariate analyses have shown, the popularity of such attitudes could diminish in future – provided that the structural and social integration

will continue to be successful, particularly as regards the second and third generations: the most important influencing factors counteracting a fundamentalist attitude that emerge from the study are frequent contact with the majority society, a good command of the German language and integration into the labour market, while feelings of poor recognition (“second-class citizens”) and ethnic cultural segregation (contact that is largely restricted to the Muslim community) prove to be rather prejudicial.

Fig. 13 Acceptance of violence when comparing generations



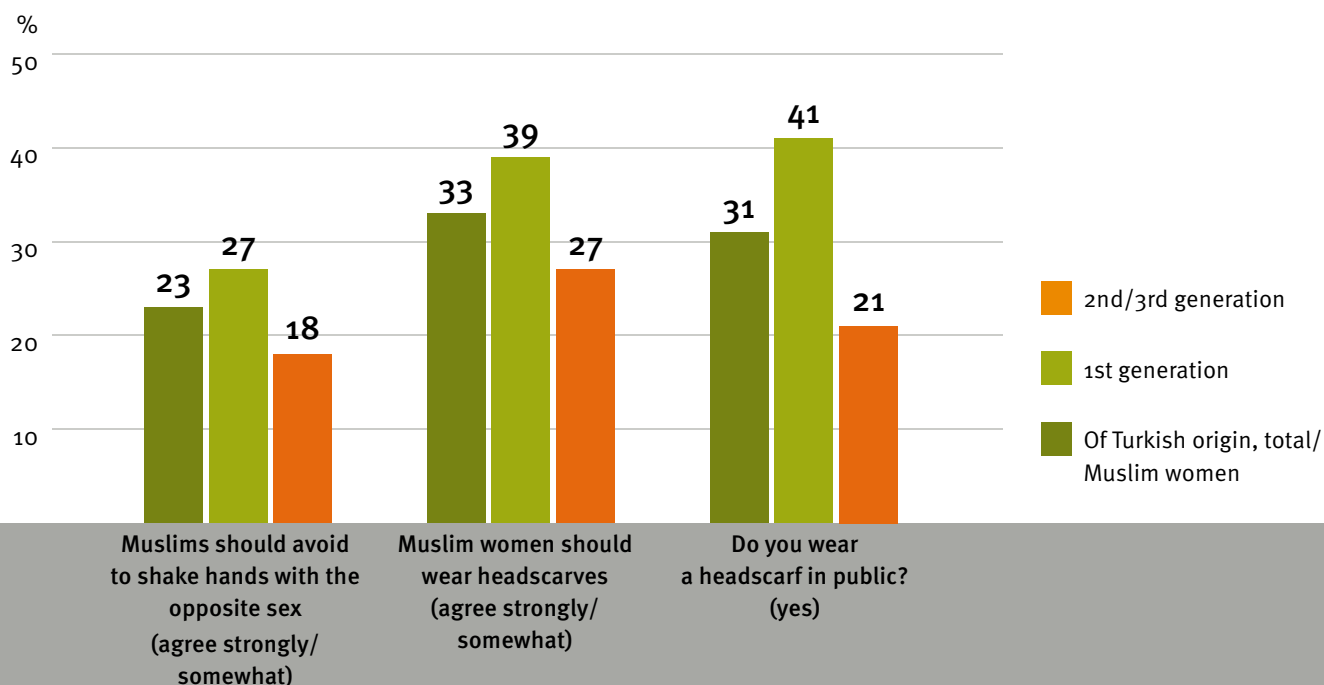
Statements: four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly)

A considerably smaller but still substantial percentage of respondents holds views according to which the use of violence for religious reasons is acceptable in certain cases (figure 13). For every fifth respondent, the threat to Islam is a justifiable reason to accept violence: 20 % agree strongly or somewhat with the statement, “The threat to Islam by Western civilisation justifies that Muslims defend themselves with violence”. In contrast, only about 7 % of respondents believe that the violent spreading and implementation of Islam is justified. Differences between the first generation and the second and third generations can only be detected when looking at the acceptance of violence for reasons of self-defence. In the first generation, every fourth respondent (25 %) thinks that it is justified if Muslims stand up to their defence forcibly against the

threat by the Western world; only 15 % of the second and third generations agree.

The percentage of those who are particularly devout believers declines in the second and third immigrant generations but it still remains considerable (figure 14). While 27 % of the first generation take the view that Muslims should not shake hands with members of the opposite sex, this share amounts to 18 % in the following generations. In the first generation, 39 % think that Muslim women should wear headscarves, and 27 % of the second and third generations still think so. Likewise, the percentage of women who actually do wear headscarves decreases from 41 % to 21 %.

Fig. 14 Traditional practice of faith



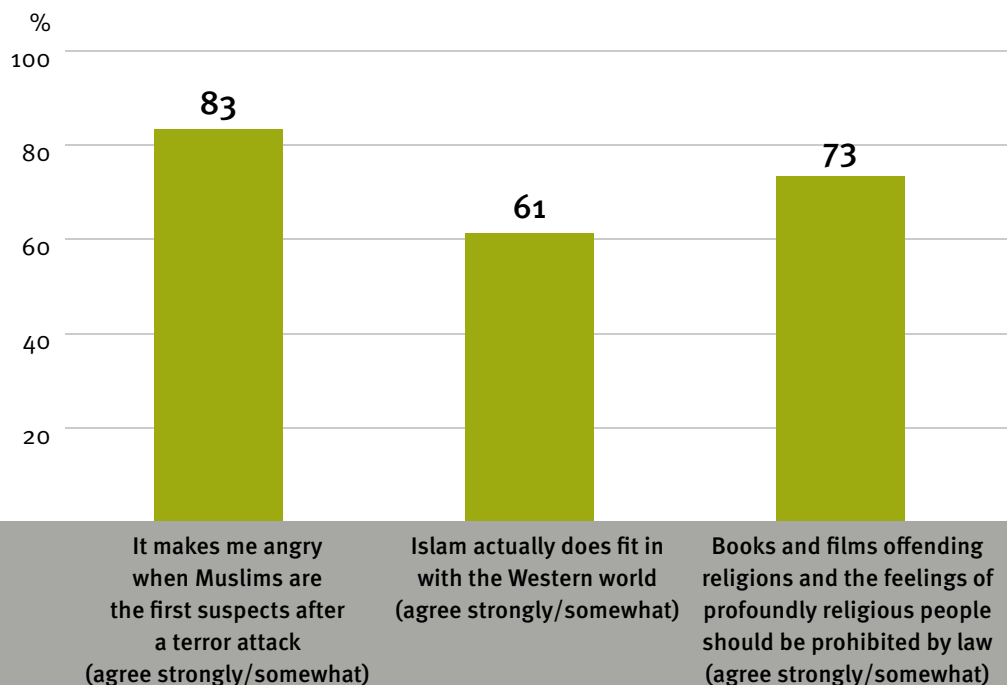
Statements: four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly); **Wearing of a headscarf:** only Muslim women were asked

Defending a religion under attack

The attitudes towards one's own religion once again reveal particularly clearly how very widespread the feeling of poor recognition and the pursuit of cultural self-assertion are and how the two are associated (figure 15). The significance of the perceived devaluation is among other things expressed in that 83 % of respondents agree with the statement that it makes them angry when Muslims are the first suspects after a terror attack. The answers to the questions posed consistently show a vehement defence of the personal religious affiliation. 61 % of respondents believe that

Islam actually does fit in with the Western world – thus contradicting 73 % of the majority society, who answer in the negative (WArV 2010). Almost three quarters (73 %) say that books and films offending religions and the feelings of profoundly religious people should be prohibited. Only 34 % of the German majority society demand a prohibition of this kind (WArV 2010). For the minority of Turkish origin in Germany, Islam is a religion under attack that needs to be protected from harm, prejudice and suspicions.

Fig. 15 Islam as a religion under attack

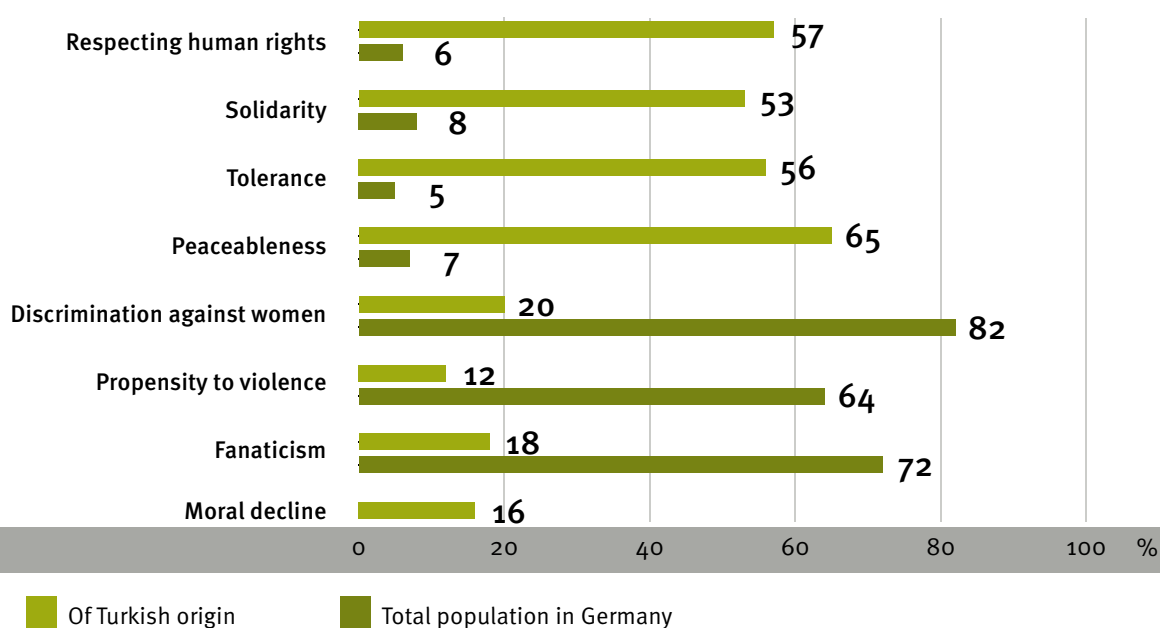


Four-point scale (agree strongly – agree somewhat – disagree somewhat – disagree strongly)

The answers to the question as to which characteristics one associates with Islam also give the impression of cultural self-assertion (figure 16). Only few of the respondents of Turkish origin associate Islam with discrimination against women (20 %), fanaticism (18 %) or the propensity to violence (12 %). The majority of them ascribes positive characteristics to Islam, such as peace-

ableness (65 %), tolerance (56 %), the respecting of human rights (57 %) or solidarity (53 %) – characteristics which only a small proportion of the German majority society can detect in Islam (5 % to 8 %). In contrast, 82 % of the German population associate Islam with discrimination against women, 72 % with fanaticism and 64 % with the propensity to violence.

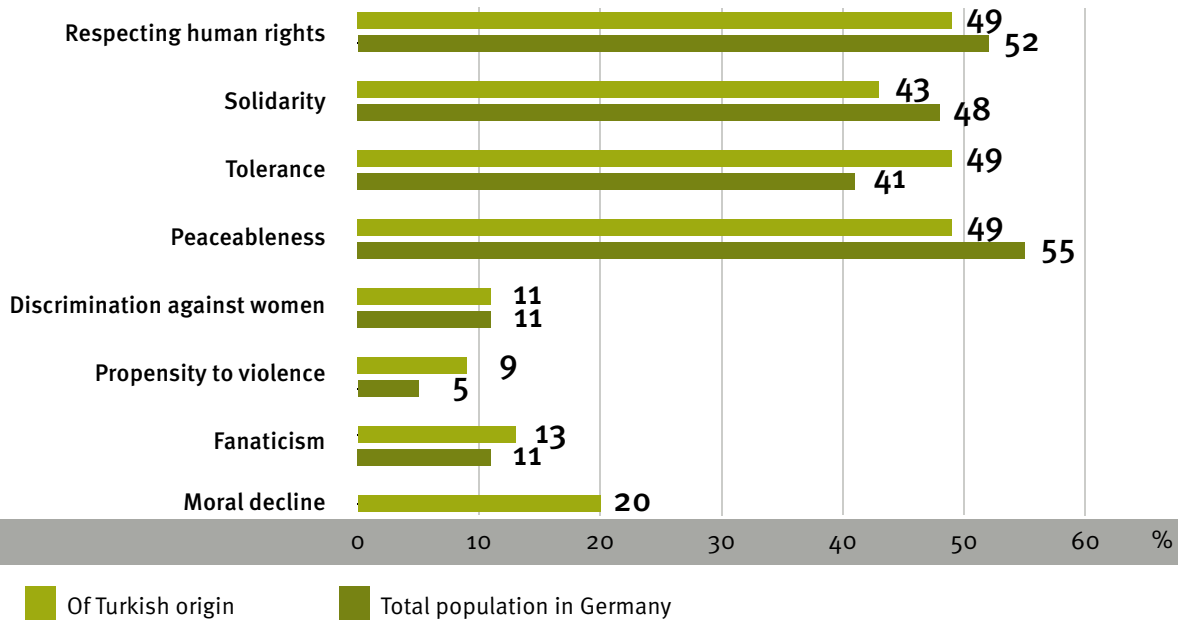
Fig. 16 Associations with Islam



Question: "There are, after all, very different views of Islam. What do you think when speaking of Islam?"; share of those who give the respective keyword; source for the total population of Germany: WArV 2010

Regarding the image of Islam, thus, the majority society and the people of Turkish origin fundamentally disagree. However, their assessment of Christianity are very similar (figure 17). The image of Christianity is as positive among the total population as it is among the respondents of Turkish origin, thus resembling the image that the latter have of Islam (comparative data for Germany: WArV 2010).

Fig. 17 Associations with Christianity



Question: “There are, after all, very different views of Christianity. What do you think when speaking of Christianity?”; share of those who give the respective keyword; source for the total population of Germany: WArV 2010

› Conclusion

The findings are not devoid of contradictions and ambivalences: on the one hand, the vast majority of people of Turkish origin seem to have “arrived” and to feel “at home”. They do not perceive distributional injustice any more than the German majority society does. On the other hand, half of them have the feeling of being second-class citizens and do not have the impression of being truly recognised, even if they try to integrate. Thus, the problems of integration do not seem to be restricted to the structural level (education, inclusion in the labour market). Problems on the level of recognition are at least as important, that is, on the level of attitudes and of communication.

This is also obvious in the assessments of Islam, which are virtually opposed. While a clear majority of the German society ascribes negative characteristics to Islam such as fanaticism, the propensity to violence or discrimination against women, the majority of people of Turkish origin associate Islam with positive characteristics such as peaceableness, tolerance, solidarity and the respecting of human rights. The majority of people of Turkish origin have the impression that Islam is misperceived. It makes them angry when Muslims are the first suspects after a terror attack. The negative attitudes and suspicions on the part of the majority society outrage them. At the same time, more than a few of them reveal religious positions that hardly contribute to counteracting the widespread dimension of scepticism and mistrust.

The dispute is about what Islam is, what it stands for and what its characteristics are. It is a dispute on the level of perception, largely explaining the tendencies towards cultural and religious self-assertion, which are unmistake-

able among Muslims of Turkish origin and which are even more pronounced in the younger generation than they are in the older one. Although the members of the second and third generations, that is, those who were born in Germany or immigrated as a child, are better integrated than the members of the first generation, who immigrated to Germany as adults, they attach less importance to adapting to German culture and more importance to self-confidently adhering to their own culture than the first generation.

As important as it is to continue turning the attention in integration policy to the structural level, in particular to the educational system and the labour market: in order to comprehensively and effectively integrate the population group of the people of Turkish origin, but also with a view to cohesion in society as a whole, changes on the level of perception and recognition are at least as necessary. A first step to success should be the effort to understand the other. Here, both sides are doubtlessly needed: the German majority society should have greater understanding for the immigrants’ and their children’s tension-laden problems of integrating into the German society without denying the influences of the society of origin. It should also realise that the majority of people of Turkish origin do not hold dogmatic views, and it should get a more differentiated picture of Muslims and of Islam overall. The people of Turkish origin should be more sympathetic about the reservations of the German majority society – they should not react only with defence and outrage to them but also deal critically with the fundamentalist tendencies in their own ranks.

About the study:

On behalf of Münster University's Cluster of Excellence "Religion and Politics", the research agency TNS Emnid interviewed some 1,200 immigrants from Turkey and their descendants 16 years of age and older for the representative survey. The telephone interviews focused on integration, religiousness and recognition by the majority society, they were conducted partly in German, partly in Turkish, and took place between November 2015 and February 2016.

Respondents of the first generation have been living in Germany for an average of 31 years. 40 per cent of respondents were born in Germany. 28 per cent are German citizens, 58 per cent Turkish citizens, 8 per cent have both a German and a Turkish passport, 5 per cent a Turkish passport plus another one.

The survey resulted from a research project at the Cluster of Excellence headed by Prof. Dr. Detlef Pollack and with the collaboration of religious sociologists Dr. Olaf Müller, Dr. Gergely Rosta and Anna Dieler.

Comparative data sources:

ALLBUS 2012: Diekmann, Andreas/Fetschenhauer, Detlef/Kühnel, Steffen/Liebig, Stefan/Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger et al. (2013): Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften ALLBUS 2012. Version: 1.1.0. GESIS Datenarchiv. Data set.

WARV 2010: Pollack, Detlef/Friedrichs, Nils/Müller, Olaf/Rosta, Gergely/Yendell, Alexander (2010): Wahrnehmung und Akzeptanz religiöser Vielfalt. Eine Bevölkerungsumfrage in fünf europäischen Ländern. Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster: Exzellenzcluster "Religion und Politik"/Institut für Soziologie, Lehrstuhl für Religionssoziologie. Version: December 2010. Data set.

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Some 200 academics from more than 20 disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and from around 14 countries research in the **Cluster of Excellence “Religion and Politics”** of the University of Münster. They deal with the relationship of religion and politics across epochs and cultures: from the world of ancient gods and Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period to the current situation in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. It is nationally the largest research association of its kind and of the 43 Clusters of Excellence in Germany, it is the only one to deal with religion. The German Federal Government and the Federal States support the project with 33.7 million euros in the Excellence Initiative’s second funding phase from 2012 to 2017.

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