DeZIM

Nationaler Diskriminierungs- & Rassismusmonitor

Preliminary study for the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) of the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM)

Racist Realities

How does Germany deal with racism?

Published by

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PREFACE

In July 2020, the German Bundestag allocated funding for the first time to establish a German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) at the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (Deutsches Zentrum für Integrations- und Migrationsforschung, or DeZIM). In November 2020, among its list of measures to be implemented, the Cabinet Committee for Combatting Racism and Right-wing Extremism reiterated its wish to expand the research into racism at DeZIM. This task was taken on by the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ), which provides DeZIM with funding for this as an institution similar to a departmental research establishment. The present study thus serves to implement one of the measures from the Cabinet Committee list.

In preparation for a systematic, long-term discrimination and racism monitor, DeZIM conducted an extensive, representative survey of the population in Germany from April to August 2021. Within the framework of this preliminary study, “Realities of Racism”, around 5,000 persons participated in a telephone interview on racism. This is the first representative study in Germany to comprehensively shed light on the ways in which the country is dealing with the manifold facets of racism, including perceptions and evaluations of everyday racism and structural racism and the persistence of bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas. This study also examines the various ways of dealing with racism and the patterns of response to racism.

In contrast to most of the existing quantitative studies, it was not only members of the majority population whose perspectives were surveyed but also members of different racialised groups, i.e. those potentially experiencing racism.

On the basis of this preliminary study, as a means of actively countering racism, significant initial findings are available on the extent of racism and bodies of racist knowledge, present awareness of the problem and existing potential for mobilisation in society. Many of the aspects that become apparent in this preliminary study will be handled in greater depth in the forthcoming main studies of the Racism Monitor, such as how racism impacts the health and well-being of the people who experience it in Germany.

WHAT IS THE GERMAN NATIONAL MONITORING OF DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM (NADIRA)?

The German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) studies the causes, extent and consequences of racism in Germany. The German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) intends to use it to garner information on developments and trends pertaining to racism in Germany.

NaDiRa is divided into different modules, the work encompassed by which is multimethodological and interdisciplinary. These include quantitative and qualitative surveys, short studies, experiments, legal analyses and media analyses. Representative surveys form a central module. The population in Germany, including members of the groups affected, will be interviewed on racism, their perceptions and their lived realities within a national, randomised panel study conducted on a regular basis. The NaDiRa Online Access Panel enables repeat surveys so that changes over time and short-term trends can be recorded.

In addition, individual studies will examine how the subject of racism is broached in German-language media and how it impacts various areas of life from the perspective of those affected by it. Other studies will explore the question of what advisory structures exist to combat discrimination and racism, how accessible these options are and how they are used. These will be supplemented by legal analyses of topics relating to racism. A theoretical module will go towards bolstering development of the theoretical discussion within racism research. An attendant process in civil society will see actors from civil society get involved in the research process in the capacity of advisors. Through this unique combination, the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism represents the most extensive examination of the topic in Germany to date. It will also assist in developing and implementing evidence-based antiracism measures.

In preparation for a comprehensive racism monitor, the DeZIM Institute conducted a total of 34 short studies together with the DeZIM research community in 2020. The key topics of these exploratory studies – the health system, the education system and the labour market, institutional racism, dealing with experiences of racism, racism in the media, racist ideologies and attitudes – will be analysed in greater depth by NaDiRa in the future.

From 2023 onwards, a report will be issued on a regular basis to continuously highlight developments and trends. The first milestone en route to the continuous racism monitor is the publication of this preliminary study, "Realities of Racism". The results illustrate how people in Germany deal with racism. This representative study thus reflects the attitudes and assessments of the German population as a whole on the subject of racism, as well as the experiences of those affected.

Full information on the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) can be found at **www.rassismusmonitor.de**

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The findings of this preliminary study for the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) demonstrate that racism is a central social issue which affects numerous people in Germany and which they deal with in a variety of ways. The realities of racism shape many people's daily lives in Germany – this is the perception of a sizeable majority of the population. The data and analyses show that:

1. Racism is a widespread **experience** in Germany. Many people are confronted by it in various ways. Directly, it primarily affects members of groups that are potentially affected by racism, but indirectly it affects a large portion of the population. Thus only 35 % of the interviewees state that they have never encountered racism in their life. Being affected directly and indirectly both lead to a long-lasting affective impact.

2. Racist **bodies of knowledge** and ideas are to some extent deeply rooted in society. They are reflected in biologistic categorisations, cultural hierarchisations, and in the legitimisation of social inequalities, which are mentioned by between one third and one half of the persons interviewed.

3. Almost the entire population (90 %) recognises that racism is a reality. Almost one in two people view racism not just as being due to individual behaviour, but as a phenomenon that shapes everyday life and social institutions. Hence the **perception** of racism goes beyond the vilification of or violent attacks on minorities – a sizeable proportion of the population appear to be at least intuitively aware of its structural and institutional dimension.

4. When it comes to **assessing** racism it becomes clear that forms of discrimination that support structural inequalities are especially frequently categorised as racism. More than 80 % of the population mention racist mechanisms of exclusion in the spheres of school, work and housing. Up to now, the level of awareness of the problem has not been the same for all forms of racism. Antisemitism and anti-Black racism tend to be recognised as such more often than anti-Asian, anti-Muslim and anti-Slav racism, or racism against Sinti and Roma people.

5. Reactions to racism vary. The data show that a substantial portion of the population are **defensive** about criticism of racism; for example, they describe people affected by racism as oversensitive (33 %) and overanxious (52 %). Almost one in two people interpret antiracism as a restriction on freedom of opinion, or as inappropriate and excessive in other respects. Sociodemographically, this resistance stems in particular from the middle stratum of society.

6. Meanwhile, there are also completely converse reactions. Just under 70 % of the people in Germany are willing to confront and actively combat racism. **The potential for active antiracism** is multifaceted, comprising involvement that ranges from the political (demonstrations) or symbolic (petitions) to the habitual (objections, criticism of language) and financial (financial donations). At the same time, it is evident that antiracist engagement increases when people experience racism indirectly and at second hand by witnessing it or having other people's experiences of racism reported to them. The potential for involvement is very widespread in the younger age groups in particular.

CHAPTER 1: EXPERIENCES OF RACISM – WHO ENCOUNTERS RACISM DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY?

1. **Many people in Germany are directly affected by racism:** in total more than a fifth of the overall population (22 %) state that they themselves have experienced racism. So it cannot be called a marginal phenomenon.

2. **It is predominantly racialised people who experience racism:** 58 % of interviewees who describe themselves as members of racialised groups (i.e. potentially affected by racism)[1] state that they have experienced racism.

3. **Direct experiences of racism are reported more frequently by younger members of racialised groups. People who class themselves as belonging to a group that is potentially affected by racism and have a higher school-leaving qualification also experience racism directly.** 73 % of 14- to 24-year-olds belonging to one of the racialised groups report having experienced racism themselves. Among those with a university entrance-level qualification the figure is 58 %.

4. **Far more people in Germany encounter racism when indirect experiences are included.** Almost one in two interviewees (49 %) say they know a racialised person who has talked about experiences of racism. Almost the same number (45 %) have witnessed a racist incident.

5. **Direct and indirect experiences of racism lead to a marked affective impact.** Between 60 % and 80 % of people who have experienced or witnessed racist incidents, or have been told about such experiences, state that they were upset emotionally.

6. **Racism is a widespread experience in Germany:** only 35 % of the population state that they have never encountered racism in any form by being affected either directly or indirectly.

[1] The sample size in this representative study also makes it possible, at least to some extent, to consider the experiences and perspectives of racialised minorities, which are important in the context of racism. To this end, we focused on six groups: Black people, Muslim people, Asian people, Sinti and Roma people, Jewish people and East European people. The selection of the groups affected by racism was on the one hand in accordance with the specific forms of racism addressed in recent years by the Federal Government. Thus, in 2017, the National Action Plan Against Racism mentioned "antisemitism", "antigypsyism", "Islamophobia and hostility to Muslims" and "racism against Black people" as particularly virulent forms of racism in Germany (Federal Government 2017). In the context of the coronavirus pandemic, "anti-Asian racism" also came into focus as a phenomenon and was explicitly listed as such by the Cabinet Committee for Combatting Racism and Right-wing Extremism. This preliminary study also took account of "anti-Slav racism", which is of particular significance in Germany due to the country's National Socialist past. For this reason East European people were also studied as an affected group. The interviewees were able both to allocate themselves to one of these groups (self-perception) and to state whether outsiders allocate them to this group (external attribution).

CHAPTER 2: BODIES OF RACIST KNOWLEDGE – HOW FIRMLY ARE RACIST IDEAS ROOTED IN GERMANY?

1. **Many people in Germany still believe in the existence of human 'races'.** Almost half (49 %) of the population share this view. At the same time there is an awareness that using the term 'race' for people is wrong; 65 % of people agree with this.

2. **It is mainly older people who share the belief in 'races', and it declines with increasing education.** Almost two thirds of the over-65s (61 %) believe in the existence of 'races'. Among the 14- to 24-year-olds, just under a third (32 %) do so. In addition, almost three quarters of people with no school-leaving qualification agree with this (72 %), but only around a third of the interviewees who have a university entrance-level qualification do (37.2 %).

3. **Furthermore, ideas of 'culture-related' or 'natural' hierarchical distinctions are widespread.** One third of the population (33 %) affirm that certain ethnic groups or people "[are] inherently more hard-working than others", while around 27 % believe that "certain cultures are much better than others".

4. **Ideas of a cultural hierarchy differ only slightly between the individual population groups:** racist ideas are found throughout the population, with only very minor differences by gender, age and membership of one of the racialised groups.

5. **More than a quarter of the population share the idea that the inequality of social groups is legitimate.** Thus 28 % of the interviewees believe that the "attempt to make all social groups equal" is unjust. Alongside this, 27 % agree with the statement that "every society needs groups that are at the top and others that are at the bottom".

6. **The idea that inequalities between groups are legitimate is widespread in the population.** There are only minor differences between genders, age groups and the interviewees' own membership of one of the racialised groups.

CHAPTER 3: PERCEPTION OF RACISM – WHICH DIMENSIONS AND FACETS OF RACISM ARE RECOGNISED AND ACKNOWLEDGED?

1. **Almost no one doubts that there is racism in Germany.** An overwhelming majority of the population (90 %) fundamentally agree with this statement.

2. **There is a high level of awareness that racism finds expression as an everyday phenomenon and shapes our everyday reality.** A clear majority (61 %) agree that racism is "part of everyday life in Germany".

3. **A majority of the population also do not question the existence of institutional forms of racism.** Just under 65 % of people, for example, tend to believe that German authorities are prone to racial discrimination.

4. **A sizeable proportion of the population consider racism to be a relevant structuring principle of society.** 40 % agree with the statement that most people are racist in their behaviour sometimes. One in two (50 %) shares the view that "we live in a racist society".

5. **However, within the compass of this perception there is a noticeable difference between men and women.** Only 39 % of men think that "we live in a racist society", whereas for women the figure is 58 %.

6. **It is not only the people who directly experience racism themselves who perceive it.** 51 % of those who class themselves as belonging to a racialised group believe they live "in a racist society". Almost as many people among the other interviewees think the same (49 %).

7. **A sizeable majority of the population are aware that racism can be expressed subtly and unconsciously.** Thus, for example, 81 % agree with the statement that people can "also exhibit racist behaviour unintentionally".

CHAPTER 4: ASSESSMENT OF RACISM – WHEN ARE SCENARIOS JUDGED TO BE RACIST AND WHAT ROLE IS PLAYED BY THE GROUP TO WHICH THE PERSONS AFFECTED BELONG?

1. **Whether an action is judged to be racist depends on the context of the situation. Scenarios in which structural discrimination is suspected are viewed as racist especially frequently.** A clear majority (88 %) consider it racist when, for example, a pharmacy will not employ any members of a particular group because customers might "feel uncomfortable". Descriptions of scenarios in the educational system or the housing market are also very frequently considered racist. Descriptions of scenarios in the cultural sphere ("a comedian tells clichéd jokes") or those involving internal security are much more rarely judged to be racist.

2. **Whether a scenario is classed as racist depends on the group affected. Racism is most frequently identified in scenarios affecting Jewish or Black people. V**arious hypothetical scenarios are perceived as racist by 80 % of the interviewees when they primarily affect Black or Jewish people. In contrast, when the same scenarios involve Muslim or East European people, the figure is only 70 %. When racism is identified and how it is assessed also depends on the combination of the scenario and the group affected.

3. **Women recognise racist scenarios more frequently than men. People with a higher education level are also more likely to rate scenarios as racist than people with a low educational qualification.** Across all the scenarios and affected groups, 79 % of the women surveyed highlight racism, but only 70 % of men. Interviewees with no educational qualifications class the scenarios as racist only in 64 % of cases on average, but interviewees with a university entrance-level qualification do so in around 80 % of cases.

4. **People in Germany do not shy away from classing a scenario as racist when they feel it is unfair to racialised groups. This applies in particular to discriminatory scenarios in the labour and housing markets.** Across different groups and scenarios, on average 75 % of the interviewees agree that these scenarios should be classed as "racist". When asked whether the same scenarios are "unfair", only slightly more of the interviewees agree (79 %). The percentage values for the assessments of the hypothetical scenarios in both the labour and housing markets are virtually identical.

CHAPTER 5: DEFENSIVENESS – HOW DO PEOPLE REACT TO CRITICISM OF RACISM?

1. **Racism is externalised both geographically and socially. Large parts of the population externalise racism as a problem of the extreme right.** 60 % agree with the statement that racism primarily comes from right-wing extremists. More than a third of the population (35 %) situate it mainly in the USA.

2. **Many people in Germany respond aversively to antiracism, or perceive it as exaggerated or even dangerous.** 45 % of the interviewees, for example, agree with the statement that accusations of racism and "political correctness" restrict freedom of opinion.

3. **The central age groups are the most markedly defensive against criticism of racism.** The 45- to 54-year-olds most often (63 %) believe that it is "nonsensical that words that used to be normal are supposedly racist now". In contrast, in the oldest age group (65 and older) this figure is 55 %, and in the youngest age group only 40 % of interviewees.

4. **With regard to the interviewees' level of education, resistance comes mostly from the middle stratum of society.** 62 % of people who left lower secondary school after Year 10 reject the use of antiracist language, as do 55 % of those with a university entrance-level qualification and 48 % of those who left lower secondary school after Year 9.

5. **Members of racialised groups reject different aspects of antiracism to different degrees.** While the attitudes to racism among those interviewees who are potentially affected by racism often do not differ markedly from those of the interviewees not affected by racism, they much less frequently reject calls for the use of antiracist language (46 % vs 56 %).

6. **Criticism of racism is also rejected by insinuating that those who are affected by racism are hypersensitive:** 33 % of the population share the view that people who complain about racism are "often too sensitive". 52 % believe that it is "excessive" that some people "are afraid of becoming victims of racism all the time and everywhere".

CHAPTER 6: POTENTIAL FOR ANTIRACISM – WHO IS WILLING TO GET INVOLVED IN COMBATTING RACISM?

1. **A substantial proportion of the population are already involved in combatting racism.** Almost one in two (47 %) state that in the past five years they have objected to a racist utterance in their daily life. During this period, almost 18 % of the interviewees have supported a petition campaign against racism, 9 % have taken part in a demonstration or protest action, and 5 % have donated money to an antiracist organisation.

2. **A sizeable proportion of the population are potentially willing to become involved in combatting racism in various ways.** In addition to those who have already become involved or are currently involved in this, another third to half of the population can imagine potentially doing so, depending on the form of involvement.

3. **This means that the potential among the population for antiracist engagement is extremely high.** 23 % have been or would be willing to participate in all four of the activities named (objecting, petition campaigns, demonstrations, donating money), and a further 25 % in at least three of the activities. On average the interviewees mention 2.3 activities. Only around 12 % of the population cannot imagine themselves becoming involved at all.

4. **The potential for becoming involved in combatting racism is highest in the younger age cohorts and the groups with a higher level of education.** On average the 14- to 24-year-olds state that they have either already been involved in 2.8 of the four activities mentioned or consider this potentially conceivable. Among the persons aged 65 and older, the figure is only 1.9 activities. On average, persons with a university entrance-level qualification cite 2.7 activities, and persons with no school-leaving certificate only 1.5.

5. **The potential for antiracist activities differs only slightly between the members of racialised groups and the remainder of the population.** The interviewees who class themselves as belonging to one of the racialised groups state that they carry out 2.4 activities on average, and the remainder of the interviewees 2.3.

6. **Direct and in particular indirect experiences of racism substantially increase the potential for antiracist engagement.** Members of racialised minorities are potentially more engaged when they have personal experience of racism (2.6 vs 2.1 activities). Indirect experiences of racism, through witnessing racist incidents or being told about them by other people, lead to an above-average willingness to become involved throughout the population (2.8 or 2.7 activities).

Introduction

The dawning of political and public awareness of racism

In 2020, a series of racially motivated murders created political awareness in German society of the topic of racism, prompting the Federal Government to recognise that right-wing extremism and racism posed serious and intrinsic threats to German democracy. The murder of the leader of Kassel Regional Council, Walter Lübcke, by right-wing terrorists in June 2019, the antisemitically and racially motivated terrorist attack involving three fatalities in Halle in October 2019, and the racist terrorist attack in Hanau in February 2020, in which nine young people with an immigration background were murdered, have increasingly served to fuel discussions on racism in Germany.

As a consequence of the series of racist murders and associated demands from migrant self-organisation bodies, the Federal Government appointed a Cabinet Committee for Combatting Racism and Right-wing Extremism, which prepared a list of measures to be taken. Whereas in the wake of previous racist murders, for example by the NSU (National Socialist Underground), the police had still regarded the victims' family members as suspects and ruled out racism as a motive for the crime, this move by the Federal Government marked the start of a new period of reflection by the whole of society and can be seen as a political turning point in dealing with racism in Germany.

In May 2020, the racially motivated murder of George Floyd by a police officer in the USA triggered extensive antiracism protests by the Black Lives Matter movement, including in Germany (Zajak, Sommer & Steinhilper 2021). The demonstrations made it unequivocally clear that it was not just in the USA that racism was rife, nor was it consigned to the past in Germany – meaning that here too there was an urgent need for action in respect of racist structures and attitudes.

The subject of racism is being increasingly raised, there is a growing awareness of the need to reappraise the racist incidents of the past, and questions are being asked publicly about structural racism in institutions and everyday life. Against the backdrop of this growing political awareness, and on the basis of the Cabinet decision to combat right-wing extremism and racism, the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) was entrusted with the task of developing a German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) to amass data and analyse and combat the extent, causes and consequences of racism in Germany. Within the list of measures from the Cabinet Committee, a decision was made to "permanently fund a monitoring of racism and anti-discrimination with a view to transferring this into the institutional funding of the DeZIM Institute" (Press and Information Office of the Federal Government 2020).

The new Federal Government formed at the end of 2021 very clearly addressed the subject of combatting racism in its Coalition Agreement too. Statements of intent included the following:

> *We will continue the work on combatting right-wing extremism and racism, further develop the content and secure it financially in the long term. We are developing a strategy for social cohesion, the promotion of democracy and the prevention of extremism. We will step up work against online hate and conspiracy ideologies. Key factors in combatting group-focused enmity include work against antisemitism, antigypsyism, racism, especially against Black people, hostility to Muslim people, misogyny and homophobia, as well as attacks on refugees and antiracism advocates.* (SPD, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN & FDP 2021: 120)

The coalition partners again affirmed the permanence of the Racism Monitor (NaDiRa) in the Coalition Agreement, thereby making an extensive longitudinal study of racism possible. NaDiRa will not be restricted to surveying attitudes within the population as a whole – there have been established studies on these for a number of years, including the *Mitte studies* (Zick et al. 2021), the *ZuGleich* study series (Zick & Krott 2021) as well as the *Leipzig Authoritarianism Studies* (Decker & Brähler 2020), which examine extreme right-wing attitudes among the population at large which pose a threat to democracy; the *German General Social Survey* (ALLBUS), which concerns itself with issues relating to the term 'Ausländer' ('foreigner', 'foreign national') (GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences 2018) or religious (in)tolerance (GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences 2019) and the Bertelsmann Foundation *Religion Monitor* (Pickel & Bertelsmann Stiftung 2019), which examines the effects of religious pluralism on political culture by means of population surveys.

The Racism Monitor will also pursue the goal of using a multimethodological, interdisciplinary approach to analyse the extent of racism in Germany, the causes underlying this and the consequences racism entails for society. The focus will be on individual, psychological and social issues, as well as structural dimensions in the areas of health, education, work and housing – as exclusive or inclusive sectors of social participation or social inequality. NaDiRa will also study which social groups in Germany are particularly affected by racism, and the consequences this has on their healthcare, educational participation, housing situation and/or careers. It will also examine how racism impacts political involvement, social participation or withdrawal, whether it constitutes a reason for emigration from Germany or for defiant redefinitions of national, post-national and post-migrant identities, or for the way in which new social movements (re)form, and last but not least whether or how the belittlement that people have experienced can be passed on to others and thus lead to aggression, radicalisation or depression, anxiety and loss of trust. All of these aspects will be of particular relevance for NaDiRa in the future. At the same time, with a view to the future, NaDiRa will pursue the central question of the extent to which racism weakens society as a whole besides harming racialised groups of persons, i.e. those potentially affected by racism directly. This pertains not just to the symbolic or moral degradation of society, but also to the economic, foreign-policy or structural effects that racism can have.

Racism – a new or ongoing phenomenon in Germany?

In the past, people frequently avoided the term 'racism', referring instead in the main to 'hostility to foreigners' or 'xenophobia'. While the general public still regard media reporting and the explicit tackling of racism at the highest political level as a new phenomenon, racism itself is subject to a continuous process of experience and structuring. According to research from civil society, there have been at least 213 victims of racist and extreme right-wing violence in Germany since 1990 (Amadeu Antonio Foundation). The racist pogroms and attacks in Hoyerswerda (17–23 September 1991), Rostock-Lichtenhagen (22–26 August 1992), Mölln (23 November 1992) and Solingen (29 May 1993) have left a deep impression on the public consciousness. The early years of German reunification were marked by overt racist hatred in public, and extreme right-wing and racist violence existed in both East and West Germany. The NSU was exposed in 2011, and this new dimension of racist and terrorist power hinted at how deeply not just individual perpetrators but also to some extent state structures (such as those protecting the constitution) were involved in the emergence of extreme right-wing networks that were prepared to use violence. We should also remember the derisive depiction in the press (the 'kebab murders') and the fact that the families of the migrant victims themselves came under suspicion, while their hunch that the perpetrators should be sought in the extreme right-wing milieu were not taken seriously for years. In 2011, the first discussions about institutional racism erupted, but political actors frequently tended to regard them as more of a marginal topic (Karakayalı et al. 2017).

After the murder of George Floyd, the Black Lives Matter protests brought the subject of racism onto the streets in many German and European cities, into social media and thus also to the attention of the general public. They prompted the feeling that it was finally time for Germany too to get to grips with racism thoroughly and in earnest. Yet the surprising thing is that it took the name George Floyd and the uproar over a racist act by the police in the USA to spark such widespread discussion of racism in Germany despite the names of the 213 casualties of racist and extreme right-wing violence in Germany still being scarcely known today. We could postulate that it is easier to address racism as a foreign problem, rather than one that affects our own country, our own structures or our own behaviour.

Nonetheless, the Black Lives Matter protests in Germany which emanated from the United States contributed to initiating a debate that extends beyond the violent and fatal forms of racism to examine a racism that is embedded in the institutions and structure of society as a whole. Structural and everyday racism are a constant reality for a substantial part of the population. These forms of racism are expressed both in explicitly racist transgressions and verbal assaults and in microaggressions and processes of exclusion which operate in a much subtler way. In the form of institutional and structural racism, many often unquestioned procedures and habits contribute to discrimination against especially vulnerable groups and to constantly self-reinforcing structures of inequality. In addition, everyday racism means that racialised people cannot feel the same unquestioned sense of belonging in Germany as other people. The various mechanisms and forms of racism that are thus part of the way normal society functions result in certain groups being marked as 'aliens', and thus more easily becoming targets of exclusion or even violence.

But where do we stand today when it comes to tackling racism in Germany? Were the outrage and protest that ensued after Halle, Hanau and the Black Lives Matter demonstrations just a brief moment in politics, or can we discern a lasting desire among the population to get to grips with racism? Is it primarily minorities affected by racism who are concerned with the issue, or is there a broader antiracism alliance? How high a proportion of the German population are aware of everyday experiences of racism, and know which people encounter racism and to what extent? Does racism in Germany extend beyond the groups that are directly affected by racism to their partners, friends and colleagues too, and what consequences does that entail? How many people try to oppose racism to some extent, either through objections in their daily life or through collective mobilisation?

These are the overarching questions from which the central questions were derived for this preliminary NaDiRa study (see section Central issues and overview of chapters) and which will be answered partly on the basis of the findings presented here, though also in the subsequent NaDiRa studies. In preparation for its systematic, long-term Racism Monitor, the DeZIM Institute conducted an extensive representative population survey for the first time to create an appropriate empirical basis for researching racism in Germany. From April to August 2021, 5,003 persons aged from 14 to 92 were interviewed by telephone. This report presents the first key findings, which are representative of the resident population in Germany. Simultaneously it represents a snapshot of the realities of racism in Germany in 2021. The preliminary study thus provides the initial data to enable such an appraisal. The findings should be viewed in light of the fact that at the time of the data collection, the racist murders in Hanau were being debated at the highest federal level in the Cabinet Committee, and the Black Lives Matter protests had taken place just a few months before.

The findings contained in this report and the further analyses enabled by the survey data that has been collected form the first step in developing a long-term discrimination and racism monitor. This will enable the creation of an evidence-based footing for recommendations for political action as well as data-based rationales for these, and will thus make it possible to formulate, implement and evaluate measures against racism that will be effective in the long term. Among other things, this preliminary study will serve to develop the content and methodology for the survey module at NaDiRa, which will contain not only quantitative surveys but also qualitative and experimental modules.

Central issues and overview of chapters

The German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa) is modular in structure. This preliminary study takes stock of the realities of racism that the Monitor will need to consider. It examines the extent to which the population in Germany are already getting to grips with racism, and where there are gaps in people's perceptions, and/or defensive reactions that need to be given closer consideration. This preliminary study therefore asks about (1) experiences of racism, (2) bodies of racist knowledge and racist attitudes, (3) the perception of racism, (4) the population's assessment of racism, (5) the rejection of antiracism and (6) the antiracist potential in the population. In specific terms, the study pursues the following key questions:

1. Who encounters racism? Consideration is given to both being affected directly and being affected indirectly, i.e. not only to the racialised persons themselves but also to their family members, friends and colleagues who perceive racism by being told about or witnessing it and thus suffer a vicarious impact[2]. The study also examines differences with regard to the age, social origin and gender of the persons experiencing racism.

2. How deeply are bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas rooted in the population? How widespread are biologistic and culturalistic categorisations and hierarchisations of social groups? And among whom? For example, do people who are directly affected and indirectly affected (vicarious impact) pass on bodies of racist knowledge less often than people who are not affected? Or do these bodies of knowledge circulate in society, and are they firmly rooted there? Here too the dissemination of racist ideas is examined by age, social stratum and gender.

3. What dimensions and facets of racism are recognised and acknowledged? Do people reflect on the extent to which racism can occur in daily life, in authorities, in subtle forms? Is it individual, institutional or instrumental in structuring society? And how do these assessments differ by age and gender?

4. When are scenarios assessed as being racist? Do people perceive racial discrimination in the housing market, in school or in their working life differently from the ways in which they perceive it in the cultural sector, for instance? Do they assess such experiences purely according to the scenario itself or is their interpretation also coloured by the group being affected by the racial discrimination?

[2] Even though some sections of the population do not experience racism directed at them themselves, they can also encounter racism indirectly and be affected at second hand. See Chapter 1 on the term *vicarious impact*.

5. How do people react to criticism of racism? What forms of aversion exist when racism is being assessed? To what extent is it externalised? Are there differences in the positions people adopt in respect of racism between those who are themselves affected by racism and those who indirectly experience a vicarious impact? Are there differences in respect of gender and social origin?

6. Who is willing to get involved in combatting racism? What antiracist potential is there in the population? And how does it differ by gender, class and age? In addition to taking stock, this chapter also offers evidence of how the antiracist potential in society can be increased.

The empirical findings of the preliminary study are presented in six sections, prefaced by a short theoretical introduction to the relevance, the subject of the research and the German context. The theoretical introduction also addresses the term 'racism' in depth and concludes with the methodological steps and the study design, which forms the basis for quantifying how racism is dealt with.

Starting points

Definition of the term

Racism has become a central social issue in Germany, but at the same time the term is understood and used in many different ways. This makes tackling the phenomenon particularly challenging, and frequently contentious. Racism is not just a subject of analysis by the social sciences, but at the same time a term that is charged politically, normatively and ethically.

Beyond the extreme manifestations that hit the media headlines, recognising, thinking about and acknowledging racism is no easy matter. Does it make sense to limit the term to physical and verbal assaults? Is something only considered racist if it is obviously derogatory, abusive and violent? Or are there subtler mechanisms of which we need to be made aware so that we can decipher the racism underlying them? Is racism just a matter of individual sensitivity, or does it structure our daily life and society? Can racism only ever be recognised as such when it is expressed in deliberate behaviour, or can it also unfold and take effect unintentionally?

The everyday understanding of racism only covers part of what has been established by means of theoretical findings and research over recent decades, and of what the racialised groups affected by it have experienced throughout their lives. The reasons for misperceptions and defensive reactions often lie simply in the way people understand the term 'racism'. A glance at the national and international research shows that even the academic definitions are not based on any consistent, generally accepted use of the term. Different disciplines and theoretical perspectives emphasise different aspects of the phenomenon, and differentiate the term from other terms with different emphases (Shiao & Woody 2021). Sometimes it is used vaguely and broadly, so it runs the risk of including virtually everything that relates to inequalities between social subgroups that are differentiated as 'alien' on the basis of cultural, ethnic, religious or national differences. When used in this way, it is of little help in analysing specific, prevailing problems and the mechanisms behind them. On the other hand, the term is often greatly narrowed down, so important points of view and the finer mechanisms of the phenomenon are excluded. This is the case when, for example, racism is understood as purely individual and obvious misbehaviour, and we lose sight of the deeper social causes and consequences that reinforce inequalities outside the dimension of class. This conflict of objectives between the broad and narrow interpretations of the term involves various dimensions and perspectives that can be exemplified by, for example, a number of key questions (biological vs cultural, overt vs subtle, individual vs systemic racism), which will be addressed and analysed in more detail in the empirical sections of this report.

Despite the different nuances and variants, a number of central and by now widely shared elements of the understanding of racism in the social sciences can be carved out as starting points; these also serve as the basis of this study (e.g. Miles 1991; Memmi 1992; Essed 1992; Clair & Denis 2015). In essence, racism is understood to be an ideology, but also a discursive and social practice in which (1) people are divided into different groups on the basis of external features (categorisation) and (2) ascribed generalised, absolute and unchangeable characteristics based on their 'origins' (generalisation and racialisation[3]) which are (3) evaluated and (for the benefit of the perpetrator's own group) are associated with social ranks (hierarchisation), by means of which (4) unequal treatment and social

[3] The term 'racialisation' is used in very different ways. It is sometimes used more or less synonymously with one of these four basic elements – above all for 'categorisation' or 'generalisation' – and sometimes for more than one of these characteristics.

power and dominance structures are reproduced and justified (legitimisation). This aspect of the function of sustaining power and privilege is central to definitions of racism. These core elements will be addressed in more detail in the analysis of bodies of racist knowledge and ideas (see Chapter 2).

Various dimensions and perspectives of research enable us to determine what racism is. One strand of research, for example, concentrates on collectively shared ideologies, and considers racism primarily as a form of racist biases against certain individuals and social groups. Accordingly, stereotypes of racialised groups and group-focused enmity in the population are studied.[4] Other studies focus on racism as a societal power balance that interacts with other societal power relations and dimensions of discrimination such as gender, sexual orientation, class or age and disability, and as such is constitutive of modern societies. That view understands racism as a continuously structuring process of (negative) societalisation that has been handed down historically and often eludes individual awareness. This broader understanding – also known as 'structural racism' – adopts a perspective on society as a whole in which bodies of racist knowledge and racist practices are already so normalised that they cannot only have intentional racist effects, but also constant unintentional ones (cf. Cox 1959; Macpherson 1999; Bonilla-Silva 2022). Such analyses and critiques of racism can provoke strong defensive reactions, which are debated mainly in the international racism research, and form a further strand of research.

Racist ideologies and the practices that result from them do not have to be attached to a biologistic understanding. For some time, a shift has been observable in racism research away from claims that racism is biological in origin and towards the idea that racism is culturally based (Balibar & Wallerstein 1990; Gilroy 1991; Memmi 1992). This argument can be construed as a modernisation strategy, enabling headway to be made with the substance of biologistic racism without having to draw on the biologistic theories of race that are discredited by everyone except openly right-wing extremists (Goldberg 1993). This development can be connected on the one hand to the racial biological theories that have been frowned upon since the fall of National Socialism, and on the other hand to the variety of protests and struggles by social movements.

Classic contributions to this shift have come from Martin Barker (1981), Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (1990) or Pierre-André Taguieff (1988). The terms 'cultural', 'differentialist' or simply 'new racism' are intended to make it clear that terms such as 'culture', 'mentality' or 'religion' can take on the same function in contemporary discourse as the term 'race' in the older manifestations of racism. Thus here too groups are apportioned a set of characteristics that are regarded as being immutable, or largely so, and which reduce individuals to mere representatives of these supposedly homogeneous groups, while hierarchising the groups in question. So cultural or new racism is less about the superiority or inferiority of supposed 'races' and more about the so-called irreconcilability of self-contained 'cultures' and, derived from this, the insurmountable difference between members of the different 'cultural circles' (Kulturkreise). In this context, Hall (1989) and Balibar and Wallerstein (1990) talk of "racism without races". Authors such as Etienne Balibar locate the historical beginnings of cultural racism in the period of decolonisation and immigration from the former colonies to the 'old motherlands'. For the German context in this regard, we can highlight immigration within the framework of recruiting foreign workers.

4 See for example the Mitte studies mentioned or the Leipzig Authoritarianism Studies in the chapter Introduction: The dawning of political and public awareness of racism.

Racism research in Germany

Racism is not a phenomenon limited to particular countries. Both the phenomenon itself and the scientific debate around it take place in an international arena, although the specific forms racism takes can differ depending on context and can be characterised by different narratives and bodies of knowledge. For the German context we need to take account of specific framework conditions, including historical ones. The beginnings of German (or West German) research into racism can be traced back to the 1980s and 1990s in the context of reunification and the racist parades and attacks (see the section Introduction: Racism – a new or ongoing phenomenon in Germany?). During this period, many migrant and Black organisations and associations played an important role in addressing and resisting racism.[5] The exchange of ideas between the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) headed by Stuart Hall and the circle linked to the Argument publishing house (Bojadžijev 2015) was central to the theoretical development, as Hall's writings and those of other international researchers on racism were translated and thus became known to a German public (Räthzel 2000). The question of the extent to which concepts and conjectural theoretical mechanisms could or even should be transferred to Germany from other countries continues to be a central discussion point for empirical racism research in Germany. The latter's current status will be addressed in the next subsection.

Historical background

Three historical reference points are of particular significance for the discussion of racism in Germany: (1) National Socialism and the Holocaust; (2) German colonialism; and (3) the history of migration in the second half of the 20th century.

In Germany, the term 'racism' was primarily associated with National Socialism for a long time. This had two consequences in particular for the racism debates: firstly, the association led to a significant narrowing, such that racism is overridingly seen as an exceptional and explicit phenomenon based on violence. Hence racism was considered to have ended when the (mythical) 'zero hour' that followed National Socialism heralded the inception of a new Germany; for the most part it became a taboo subject in the post-war period. Accordingly, racism was long regarded as a past problem that had been overcome. Along with this historicisation, a social narrowing can also be discerned – by primarily reducing racism to an extreme right-wing ideology shared only by a small, radical minority, we enable racism to be perceived as a problem of the margin of society. This meant that for a long time racism was not sufficiently recognised and acknowledged as a problem affecting society as a whole.

At the same time, a third narrowing and externalisation had taken place – racism was situated outside Germany by being "treated as a problem affecting former colonial powers such as Great Britain and France (ignoring the German colonial history) or the USA as a neocolonial or imperialistic country" (Bojadžijev et al. 2017). Until recently, German colonial history was scarcely present in the public perception of or debates on racism. It is only in the context of the current heated debates – for example, about renaming streets or building the Humboldt Forum – that Germany's colonial heritage and the responsibility for colonial crimes such as the Herero and Nama genocide have been increasingly debated in public.

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[5] In 1986, Katharina Oguntoye, May Opitz and Dagmar Schultz published the book Farbe bekennen – Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte (Oguntoye, Opitz & Schultz 1997). At the same time, two organisations arose: Adefra, an association of Afro-German lesbian women which still exists today, and the Initiative Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland (ISD), both of which have made an important contribution to antiracist movements and knowledge production and continue to do so.

Last but not least, the acknowledgement of a racist past and the criticism of a racist present in the public debates can be attributed to the changing terms of the discussion against the backdrop of a post-migrant society. The social changes due to migration are obvious and have had an impact on the debates on national identity, belonging and citizenship. The migration (e.g. of labour) into the post-National Socialist Germany led to diversification and a demographic change which altered the homogeneity of Germany that had been established by force through the racial fanaticism of the National Socialists.

Now Germany is home to over 11 million foreign nationals, i.e. people who are exclusively citizens of a country other than Germany, and around 21.9 million people with a so-called migration background[6] (approximately 26.7 % of the population). In Germany, racism is closely connected to issues of migration and changing ideas of integration and is predominantly directed against people who came to Germany as migrants or refugees – or are even just perceived as such – and their descendants.

A Europe-wide comparison also makes it evident that racism in Germany is primarily contextualised in terms of migration and integration (Nwabuzo & Schaeder 2017). Hence it makes sense for racism research to be connected with critical migration research.

Empirical racism research in Germany

Research on racism in Germany is very diverse, yet has not been greatly institutionalised to date. Hence there are no research and teaching institutions that are dedicated specifically to racism. Nor are there correspondingly named professorships, research centres or special research areas, or corresponding research training groups or undergraduate courses in Germany. The non-establishment of this area of research means that the racism research undertaken to date has not garnered the awareness and attention that it deserves in view of the social challenges and the large number of existing theoretical and qualitative research papers. Racism research is therefore primarily conducted via various contiguous disciplines, including (for example) research on migration and integration, antisemitism and inequality, as well as the educational sciences, European ethnology, the cultural sciences and gender studies.

Despite being attached to these different disciplines, racism research in Germany to date has largely been limited to qualitative and theoretical research, in which both different subsections of society and different forms of racism are examined in terms of their historical and social significance. German-language racism research analyses both racism against Black people (including El-Tayeb 2001; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2018; Auma, Kinder & Piesche 2019), anti-Asian racism (including Ha 2012; Suda, Mayer & Nguyen 2020), anti-Muslim racism (including Attia 2009; Shooman 2014), racism against Sinti and Roma people (including End 2014; Stender 2016), as well as the intersectional interaction with other characteristics of discrimination (including Erel et al. 2007; Lutz, Herrera Vivar & Supik 2010; Center for Intersectional Justice e. V. 2019).

The quantitative assessment of racism or racial discrimination is subject to the particular challenge of having to factor in both the ethical implications of research and data protection legislation. Amassing data on the population using criteria relating to their appearance or physical features is proscribed and forbidden – making data collection difficult. Yet international bodies such as the European Commission against Racism

[6] According to the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, a person has a migration background "if he or she or at least one parent did not acquire German citizenship by birth" (Statistisches Bundesamt 2020: 4).

and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe remind us that racism and racial discrimination should be quantified in the form of national surveys which address in particular those persons who are potentially affected by racism. Although the collection of data on equality is increasing in importance – including with regard to racial discrimination – the collection of statistical data on racial discrimination issues still poses a particular challenge. Accordingly, little representative data exists both on the living situation of minorities and of groups classed as worthy of protection or vulnerable in accordance with the ICERD (the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination) and on their experiences of discrimination (Supik 2017). The existing quantitative studies that do examine racism mostly record racist attitudes in the entire population, such as the *Mitte studies* (Zick et al. 2021). Studies such as *Deutschland Postmigrantisch* (e.g. Foroutan, Canan & Arnold 2014) and *Ost-Migrantische Analogien* (Foroutan et al. 2019) do not adequately portray racism in Germany as they limit themselves to individual, selected groups of affected persons, without focusing on the full spectrum of racism.

A similar limitation is evident in the previous quantitative studies which centre on the perspectives of the persons affected by racism (Beigang et al. 2017; EU-MIDIS 2009) – the samples in these are generally self-selecting. These studies, which are very broadly based, are publicised via various media, including social media, as well as at events. Anyone who feels that these surveys are applicable to them can participate, which means that the probability of individual persons being included cannot be determined. The samples run a high risk of being distorted, and therefore do not provide representative data. Yet it is precisely these studies that manage for the first time to focus on realities of life that are ignored in the public debate, and describe them more accurately. This is shown not least by the *Afrozensus* (Aikins et al. 2021), the online survey *Vielfalt im Film* (Citizens For Europe [CFE] 2021) or the study *Soziale Kohäsion in Krisenzeiten* (Mayer et al. 2020; Suda et al. 2020a; Suda et al. 2020b). At the same time, these studies have a mobilising effect due to the diverse opportunities for participation, the for the most part participative procedure and the resultant high level of backing in the communities. They therefore constitute an essential element of antiracism research activity in Germany. Nonetheless, from a technical and statistical perspective, they do not enable any conclusions to be drawn about the parent population, for which a representative sample from the population groups would be required. This requirement is now being met for the first time with the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism, which will contribute to closing this gap in the research. The initial steps in this direction are taken in this preliminary study.

Groups potentially directly affected by racism

The sample size of the present representative study also allows us, at least to some degree, to take account of the important experiences and perspectives of racialised minorities in the context of racism research. To this end, we focused on six groups: Black people, Muslim people, Asian people, Sinti and Roma people, Jewish people and East European people.[7]

The selection of the racialised groups was aligned on the one hand with the specific forms of racism that have been addressed in recent years by the Federal Government. Thus in 2017, the National Action Plan Against Racism mentioned 'antisemitism', 'antigypsyism', 'Islamophobia and hostility to Muslims' and 'racism against Black people' as particularly virulent forms of racism in Germany (Federal Government 2017).

[7] The interviewees were able both to allocate themselves to one of these groups (self-perception) and to state whether outsiders allocate them to this group (external attribution).

In the case of **RACISM AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE** (anti-Black racism), the violent, degrading and dehumanising practices during the era of colonisation and slavery (the Maafa) have had effects that have lasted to the present day (Richards 1989; Johnson 2016; Ferreira 2018). To legitimise the colonisation of the African continent, and the enslavement and exploitation, various racist attributions were used with the aim of dehumanising Black people. On the one hand Black people were described as 'infantile' and 'subservient by nature', and on the other hand as 'volatile' and 'dangerous' (see for example Oguntoye, Opitz & Schultz 1986). This made it possible to legitimise the colonisation of the African continent (Fanon 2002; Piesche 2020). In addition, particularly brutal crimes such as the genocide of the Herero and Nama came to be justified by the engineered threat they posed (see for example Häussler 2018). White myths and fantasies shaped, and continue to shape, an imaginary world in which Black people also function as a space on which to project negative characteristics (Fanon 2002; Kilomba 2020).[8] The specific attributions that characterise anti-Black racism to this day include, for example, the degrading of Black corporeality (Nnaemeka 2020; Aikins et al. 2021), exoticisation and hypersexualisation (Collins 2004; hooks 2006, 2007) and, especially for Black men, the attribution of threatening characteristics.

During a visit to Germany in 2017, a UN Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent drew attention to structural and institutional anti-Black racism among public authorities and in the labour and housing markets and called for more education and research (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2017). The *Afrozensus*, a survey of Black, African and Afrodiasporic people in Germany, did important pioneering work in this regard (Aikins et al. 2021). Nonetheless, there still continue to be large research gaps in respect of the extent of anti-Black racism in Germany.[9]

In Germany, getting to grips with **ANTISEMITISM** is inextricably intertwined with the persecution and systematic murder of European Jews, as well as the associated issues surrounding remembrance. European antisemitism has its roots in the hostility towards Jews that was founded on Christianity and created the breeding ground for anti-Jewish legends (such as the desecration of the Eucharist, poisoning of wells, or ritual murder), on the grounds of which repeated persecutions and expulsions took place in the Middle Ages (Heil 2008; Schäfer 2020). This anti-Judaism is a pre-modern form and is distinguished from the racially justified antisemitism of modern times (Brumlik 2020). The latter arose in the context of the German völkisch movement, not least as a defensive reaction against the emancipation (i.e. the legal equality and social ascent) of members of the Jewish minority. Yet biologistic ideas according to which Jews were incapable of 'true conversion' due to their 'nature', date back to the pre-modern period (Schüler-Springorum 2020). The semantics of the modern antisemitism that developed in the 19th century can be described as a form of anti-modern lament, in which Jews appeared equally as representatives of capitalism and communism, feminism and liberalism, and as a minority that threatened to dominate the non-Jewish majority of the population. In contrast to images of colonial racism, antisemitism is characterised above all by attributions of power to both Jews and Judaism (Claussen 2005; Benz 2016; Expertenkreis Antisemitismus [Independent Expert Group on Antisemitism] 2017). Closely connected with this is the conspiracy theory that is central to antisemitism, which imagines an all-powerful opponent. For these reasons, antisemitism is frequently differentiated in the research from other forms of racism (Shooman 2015).

In both the academic debates and in political practice, there is a lack of agreement on how to conceptually define the **RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SINTI AND ROMA PEOPLE** and the balance

[8] Here, the use of skin colour as a signifier for classifying people draws not on a supposedly biological reality but on a social construct that has structured the perception of the world to the present day (El-Tayeb 2001)..

[9] For the historical overview cf. e.g. El-Tayeb (2001), Lemke Muniz de Faria (2002) and Lusane (2003).

of power directed specifically against this group. The term 'Antiziganismus' ('antigypsyism') is currently the most well-established, yet is also criticised above all for reproducing the 'G word' (Unabhängige Kommission Antiziganismus [Independent Antigypsyism Committee] set up by the German Parliament in 2021). Critics thus tend to refer to 'racism against Roma and Sinti people' (Randjelović et al. 2020). As well as the terminology, there is also wide debate about the specifics and the similarities with other forms of racism and antisemitism (Hund 2014). Despite discussions around terms and demarcations, there is largely consensus with regard to the phenomenon and its history, which has been characterised by structural exclusions of Sinti and Roma people in Europe since the 15th century. In the German context, their exclusion and dehumanisation reached its peak in the National Socialist genocide (the Porajmos). The fight to have this acknowledged and remembered is an important element in the political work of various Sinti and Roma groups. This minority's specific experiences of racism also include the fact that even after 1945 the German justice system and police were still involved in openly racist and discriminatory practices against them (Widemann 2015; Unabhängige Kommission Antiziganismus 2021). This explains why Sinti and Roma people frequently have little trust in state institutions (Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti and Roma 2020).

ANTI-MUSLIM RACISM construes Muslims as an 'unintegratable' minority in western societies, and as such excludes them (Attia 2009; Shooman 2014). The focus in Germany on their religious affiliation is the consequence of a shift in perception, as a result of which the population groups that used to be perceived as 'guest workers' or 'foreigners' are increasingly labelled 'Muslims'. The rejected group is addressed as a 'community of descent', which is to say that anyone descended from Muslim parents is deemed to be Muslim – and this alone already makes them a 'problem' or even a 'danger'. As a result, their religious affiliation is ethnicised and racialised. Therefore, the exclusion affects not only practising Muslims, but also people who are labelled as such on the basis of their appearance or their name. One constituent element of anti-Muslim racism is a dichotomous construction of 'western' culture – which is synonymous with 'Christian and occidental' – versus 'Islamic' culture, which are diametrically opposed as static entities considered to be irreconcilable. In this binary view of Islam and the (Christian) West, the latter is usually described as emancipative, pro-democracy and progressive, while the former is considered to be backward, unchangeable, irrational, barbaric and incompatible with democracy. These images of Muslims' spiritual stagnation and supposed mental inability to develop are topoi which extend back to the colonial and race theory-based discourses on the 'Orient being in need of civilisation'.

The dispute surrounding **ANTI-ASIAN RACISM** also gained in significance during the coronavirus pandemic. As has already been shown in DeZIM's collaborative project "Soziale Kohäsion in Krisenzeiten: Die Corona-Pandemie und antiasiatischer Rassismus in Deutschland" [Social Cohesion in Times of Crisis. The Coronavirus Pandemic and Anti-Asian Racism in Germany], just under 49 % of the 700 participants in a survey addressing persons in the Asian diaspora reported experiencing racism during the pandemic (Suda et al. 2020b). However, viewed historically, anti-Asian racism has manifested itself in different contexts. Noteworthy examples are the German colonial policy in China (Leutner 2005); the treatment of Chinese people under the NS regime (Yü-Dembski 2000; Amenda 2006); the government-organised labour migration from Asia from the end of the 1950s onwards (Berner 2006; Kataoka 2012; Goel 2014; Lee 2021); the forced migration from Vietnam to West Germany as a result of the war (Ha 2021); and racial violence in the 1990s (Nguyen 2017; Ha 2020). Furthermore, the 'model minority myth', according to which Asian (post-)migrants are said to be 'assimilated', 'easy to manage' and 'hard-working' draws on positive attributions to camouflage racial discrimination, and to some extent eclipses this discrimination entirely (Chou & Feagin 2015; Hartlep & Bui 2020; Hong 2021).

Because of the National Socialist background, particular attention needs to be paid in Germany to **ANTI-SLAV RACISM**, which is why this preliminary study focuses – last but not least – on East Europeans as a group potentially affected by racism. Anti-Slav racism in Germany extends back to the 19th century, when historians and philosophers popularised ideas of a monolithic Slavism without either history or culture. National Socialism linked such culturalist fantasies of superiority with the assertion that 'racial inferiority' existed. This prepared the breeding ground for the völkisch expansionistic idea of a German 'drive to the east' (Drang nach Osten) (Wippermann 1981). Anti-Slav racism thus formed the ideological basis for the racist occupation and Germanisation policy that encompassed the systematic expulsion, deportation for compulsory labour and killing of large sections of the population of Eastern Europe (Madajczyk 1994; Harten 1996; Majer 2005; Kopp 2012). The history of anti-Slav racism continues to be underrepresented in German remembrance culture (Terkessidis 2019), and even in current racism debates, discrimination against people of East European or Russian/post-Soviet origin is given scant attention overall.

Specialist discussion on how the individual forms of racism – or, more correctly, the different 'racisms' – described above interrelate in the German context is still in its infancy. The present study provides reference points for a more in-depth debate.

Data and methods

The findings presented in this report are based on a telephone population survey (computer-assisted telephone interview, or CATI for short) on the subject of racism in Germany, which was conducted between April and August 2021. The study was conceived by the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (Deutsches Zentrum für Integrations- und Migrationsforschung e.V., or DeZIM) as part of the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa). The market and opinion research institute BIK ASCHPURWIS + BEHRENS GmbH was commissioned to conduct the survey in practice. The key points in that regard are summarised in the Methodology Report on the survey (BIK 2021), which can be accessed on the Racism Monitor website. [10] This also contains an overview of the programmed questionnaire.

Questionnaire development and pretests

The questionnaire was prepared by the NaDiRa team at the DeZIM Institute. As well as the classic sociodemographic variables (e.g. gender, age, education, employment status, etc.), it particularly includes the extent to which the population in Germany encounters racism; which aspects of racism are perceived and recognised/acknowledged as such; and what attitudes to the subject of racism and viewpoints associated with these are predominant. Willingness to get involved in combatting racism is also included as a variable. In addition, randomised split questionnaires were implemented to evaluate racist scenarios, for the purposes of which vignettes featuring various scenarios were presented to the interviewees (see Chapter 4).

During the development of the questionnaire, several pretests were conducted, primarily with the objective of identifying which questions and/or items were suitable or unsuitable. An initial, extensive draft questionnaire was connected to respondi's access panel in January 2021. In total, 1,000 persons were interviewed here. This data analysis was used as the basis for the final draft of the questionnaire, which underwent a qualitative pretest by BIK in February 2012 with a total of 30 persons. The main focus of this pretest was on the extent to which the interviewees were able to navigate the questionnaire, and what associations certain terms and questions provoked. Special cognitive methods which had been developed previously by DeZIM's NaDiRa team were applied to this (e.g. having test subjects think out loud and paraphrase individual questions). Moreover, the course of the conversation was documented by the interviewers in order to identify any anomalies or difficulties in the structure and flow of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was repeatedly revised against the background of these findings. Finally, at the end of March 2021, a quantitative pretest was conducted with 40 interviewees under real field conditions. As well as ambiguous terms and wordings that were identified during the telephone conversation, the interview length, filters and the sequence of the interview were reviewed at the same time.

Sampling

The population for the survey comprised persons aged 14 and over and the survey was conducted in private households in Germany in the interviewees' main place of residence. The sample was drawn using the normal dual-frame approach and comprised both landline numbers and mobile phone numbers. As there is no complete list in Germany of all the persons belonging to the survey population including their

[10] See www.rassismusmonitor.de

telephone numbers, the landline sample was created on the basis of data from the Bundesnetzagentur (Federal Network Agency). Those telephone numbers which either were no longer active or were used purely commercially were removed, as a result of which around 49 million landline numbers formed the entire sampling frame for this study. At the same time, telephone numbers were generated in order to contact landline numbers that were not listed. As not all households in Germany have a landline connection, and the proportion of those who are only contactable on mobile phones has increased in recent years, the sampling frame was supplemented with mobile numbers. To this end, a simple random selection of mobile numbers was made using the Gabler-Häder sampling process (Gabler & Häder 1997; Häder & Häder 2014).

When landline connections were successfully contacted, the target person in the household was identified using the last birthday method, taking account of all the persons in the household who at the time of the survey were at least 14 years old and had an adequate knowledge of German. If of these persons the one who had the last birthday was not at home, a new appointment was made. As it can generally be assumed that mobile numbers are allocated to individual persons, no further selection stage was necessary when contact was made via a mobile number. If the first call did not result in a conversation, the persons to be interviewed via landline numbers were contacted up to five more times; for the mobile network the upper limit was a maximum of five contact attempts. If an appointment was agreed, the target person was contacted up to 17 more times. In total, 97 trained interviewers were involved in conducting the telephone survey, and the average interview duration was 30 minutes. For the net sample, 2,820 persons (56.4 %) were ultimately recruited from landlines and 2,183 persons (43.6 %) from the mobile network.

Sample response rate and data weighting

The response rate indicates what percentage of the telephone numbers contacted led to an actual interview. A distinction is made between quality-neutral and systematic reasons for non-responses. Whereas a non-response is deemed to be 'neutral' if the randomness of the sample remains intact (e.g. no telephone line, fax or modem line, lines used by companies or authorities, etc.), we use the term 'non-neutral' to refer to non-responses where the sample is potentially distorted (e.g. the target person refuses to be interviewed or breaks off the interview prematurely, the target person is not in Germany at the time of the survey or cannot be contacted). To take account of these forms of response, the 'general' response rate is distinguished from the 'adjusted' response rate. The latter encompasses the proportion of completed interviews that have already been adjusted to account for neutral non-responses. The adjusted sample contained 51,959 telephone numbers in total (of which 29,719 were landline numbers and 22,240 were mobile numbers), which ultimately resulted in 5,003 interviews suitable for evaluation. The sample response rate was 10.7 %.

To be able to assess the quality of the sample, a relevant question is the extent to which the sample that has been drawn differs from the population in terms of its sociodemographic structure. It is generally the case that the greater the consistency between the sample and the population, the better the quality. For the purposes of the comparison, a special evaluation of the 2019 *Microcensus* formed the basis for the intended distribution (special evaluation as at 22.04.2020).

A look at the 2020 census data shows that the structural sociodemographic characteristics of the sample largely correspond to the parent population of Germany. There are no differences of note for the

[11] According to the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, a person has a migration background "if he or she or at least one parent did not acquire German citizenship by birth" (Statistisches Bundesamt 2020: 4). As interviewees often do not know what citizenship their parents held at birth, migration background was operationalised using the place of birth in this study. Previous studies show that the parents' birthplace can be accessed more easily than factors such as their nationality at birth (cf. Wittlif, Beigang & Kalkum 2020).

characteristics of gender, age, employment status or migration background[11]. However, with regard to the highest general school-leaving certificate it is apparent that there is underrepresentation of persons without any certificate (1.0 % in the sample, 3.9 % in the microcensus) and those with a lower secondary school certificate (Year 9, ISCED 2) (22.3 % in the sample, 29.1 % in the microcensus), while persons with a university entrance-level qualification are slightly over-represented in this CATI study (29.9 % in the sample, 24.8 % in the microcensus).[12]

To be able to make more reliable statements about the population in Germany, the data were weighted accordingly. Design weighting balanced out the different selection possibilities for the interviewees, as the survey procedure used here differs from a simple random sample and relates to sample elements from two different sampling frames (landline and mobiles). In addition, a redressment or non-response weighting was calculated to adjust the data collected to the known parameters of the population. To implement the redressment weighting the following characteristics were taken into account using the distributions found in the microcensus: gender, age, employment status and the population figures in the federal states.

Statistical analyses and data documentation

This study is essentially limited to showing certain attitudes or characteristics in the population (univariate analyses) as well as showing differences in these attitudes or characteristics with regard to individual selected characteristics of the interviewees (bivariate analyses). These include gender, age, school education and the interviewees' self-perceived membership of one of six central racialised groups (see section Starting points: Groups potentially affected directly by racism). These are generally illustrated using stacked bar charts or simple scatter charts. In the background, regression techniques are used to check whether any influences of characteristics on particular attitudes, or differences between the levels of characteristics, are statistically significant. In the course of this, the results are also tested to identify the extent to which this also applies when all the characteristics being examined are considered simultaneously (multivariate analyses). This is described in the discussion of the individual findings, where more precise details of the models and the underlying significance levels are provided in footnotes.

In Sections 2, 3 and 5, the individual subsections each analyse sets of attitudes or intended behaviours which illustrate how Germany deals with the subject of racism. The 26 variables (items) overall were presented to the interviewees in several more extensive lists of questions or statements (batteries of items). The grouping by topic in the individual sections and subsections is based both on the theoretical considerations when developing the items and on exploratory factor analyses. The objective of the factor analyses is to structure a larger set of variables into subgroups that are distinguishable from one another (factors). Specifically, the depiction in this report is oriented around a principal factor analysis with oblique rotation (oblimin). This gives rise to a differentiation between eight different factors. If use is made of the widespread rule of thumb that, when interpreting the correlation between items and a factor, only loadings of at least '.30' should be taken into account (Gorsuch 1983; Kline 1994), then the variables can be allocated precisely to one of these factors without larger cross-loadings.[13] Further details are explained within the compass of the discussion of the statement sets in corresponding footnotes in the individual subsections.

[12] The underrepresentation of lower educational certificates was already encountered during the field phase, as it became evident during the survey that persons with a higher-level certificate more frequently declared themselves willing to participate in the survey. Accordingly, screening was introduced in the subsequent interviews to filter out people with an Abitur.

[13] The only exception to this is the third Social Dominance Orientation item (see Section 2.3), which has a loading of less than .30 on the factor it has in common with the other two items. This item is included in the discussion here as together with these other two items it forms a scale that has been used and tested in other contexts.

The fourth chapter is based on an experimental vignette design, with the logic of this and the form of analysis being explained there in more detail.

The data were processed and analysed using the statistics software Stata (Version 17). The corresponding DO files can be accessed on the Racism Monitor website. The figures used in this study were created with the statistical-computing programming language ‘R’” and the package ‘ggplot2’. The data themselves will be made available after further evaluations and corresponding reprocessing approximately two years after the end of the data collection, i.e. probably in August 2023, on the basis of the normal terms of the DeZIM Institute’s research data centre (DeZIM.fdz).

Who encounters racism directly or indirectly?

1. Experiences of racism – Who encounters racism directly or indirectly?

This chapter captures the extent of subjective experiences of racism in Germany. Of particular interest is the question of which groups of persons are directly or indirectly affected by racism, or encounter it.

The interviewees are first asked about being directly affected (see Section 1.1). People are regarded as having been directly affected by racism if they have been labelled as 'different' on the basis of their skin or hair colour, name, cultural, ethnic, religious or national origin, and have therefore been disparaged. The process in which a person is ascribed to a group and thus categorised and hierarchised with certain fixed qualities is referred to in racism research as 'racialisation' (Banton 1977; Miles 1993). Here, supposedly biological or phenotypical characteristics such as skin colour as well as cultural characteristics such as language, clothing and religious practices can become signifiers (Guillaumin 1992; Goldberg 1993; Terkessidis 2004).

Consequently, racism can affect many people in Germany. Society is characterised by a high degree of plurality, which is reflected not only in the heterogeneity of its population structure (for example, in respect of age, gender, sexual orientation or socioeconomic status) but also in respect of its cultural, ethnic, religious and national diversity (Foroutan & Kalter 2021). Sizeable sections of the population have a migration background (approximately 26 %) – and amongst children and young people the figure is almost 40 % (ibid.). While not everyone with a migration background automatically counts as racialised, there are racialised groups of persons in Germany who are neither migrants nor descendants of migrants. This study focuses on six racialised groups: Black people, Jewish people, Muslim people, Asian people, East European people, and Roma and Sinti people (see section Starting points: Groups potentially affected directly by racism).

As well as the direct experience of racism, which will form the central subject of analysis in further follow-up studies by NaDiRa, this preliminary study also aims to look at indirect experiences of racism. Hence it will also focus on persons in the immediate environment of racialised people – parents, siblings, children, partners, friends or colleagues – who share in the racist incidents of the people close to them by hearing their stories of these and are thus affectively impacted by them. Extensive long-term studies from the USA have shown that positive and negative emotions spread via social networks; this is referred to as 'emotional contagion' (Hill et al. 2010). Accordingly, witnessing racist experiences or being told about them can trigger negative feelings and have more far-reaching consequences. For example, persons who witness or hear about racial discrimination against their children or life partners report that they suffer from depressive symptoms and health-related limitations (Wofford, Defever & Chopik 2019; Holloway & Varner 2021). Witnesses to interactions in which people are discriminated against – such as workplace discrimination – experience these as emotionally stressful (Totterdell et al. 2012). Persons who hear about racism on the news or on social media report having a worse subjective state of health (Holloway & Varner 2021).

Even though sizeable sections of the population are not at risk of experiencing racism directed against themselves, they are therefore able to encounter racism indirectly in everyday life and suffer collateral damage from it. In this study, this is referred to as vicarious impact. In the international context the term *vicarious racism* is also used in this context (Heard-Garris et al. 2018). On the one hand, the persons affected by racism tell persons they are close to – such as family members, friends, acquaintances and even work colleagues – about their experiences of racism (see Section 1.2), and on the other hand these people can also become witnesses to racist incidents (see Section 1.3).

Thus in order to capture different dimensions of the perception of racism, these analyses will highlight three different ways in which racism can be experienced: (1) by being directly affected; (2) experiencing a vicarious impact through hearing reports/stories of other people's experiences; and (3) experiencing a vicarious impact through witnessing racist incidents. The survey examines the prevalence of such experiences – as a whole and across different social subgroups. The subsequent Section 1.4 will examine what emotional repercussions the different experiences generate for the interviewees. Section 1.5 will summarise and discuss the essential findings of this chapter.

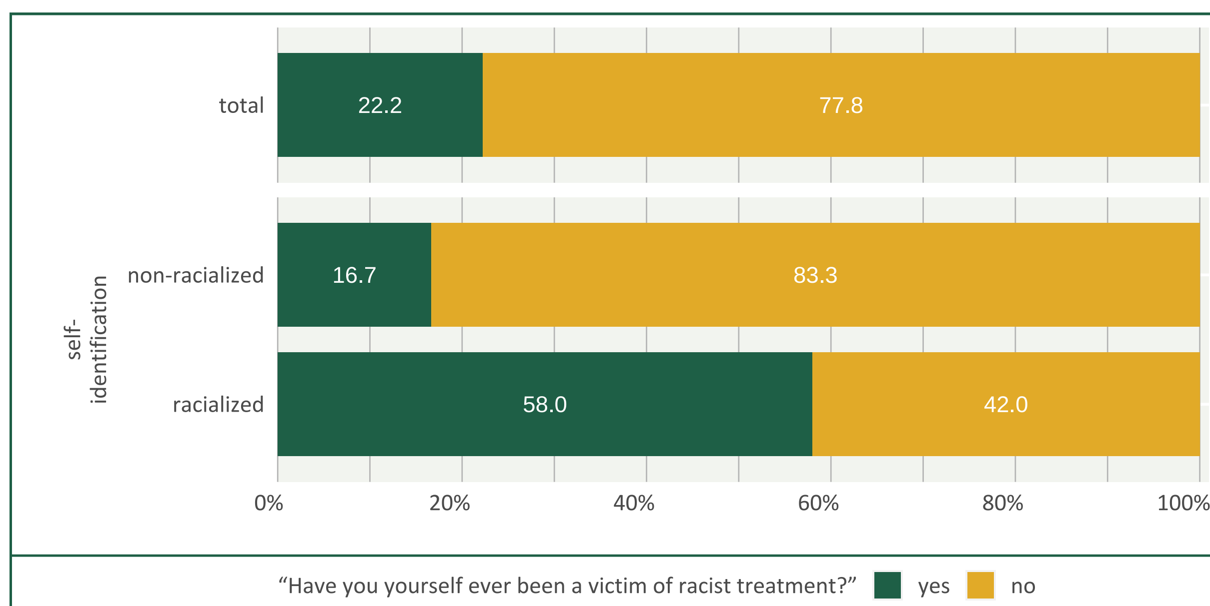
1.1 Direct experiences of racism

In order to gather direct, subjective experiences of racism, this study deliberately asked a simplified and comprehensive question: "Have you yourself ever been a victim of racist treatment?" More than one fifth of all participants (22.2%) answered this question with a "yes" (see Figure 1). In the follow-up questions on how often the interviewees had experienced such incidents, just under a third (29%) stated that this occurred "often" or "very often". So from the perspective of society as a whole, it appears that experiences of racism are in no way a marginal phenomenon.

From the perspective of the groups potentially affected by racism, this is even more pronounced. The survey focused on six racialised groups: Black people, Jewish people, Muslim people, Asian people, East European people, and Roma and Sinti people.

If we look only at those interviewees who class themselves as belonging to one of these groups (13.2% in total), a majority of the interviewees (58%) answer "yes" here.[14]

Figure 1. Direct experiences of racism, overall and by self-identification



Note: Figure 1 shows the proportion of interviewees who state that they themselves have experienced racism. This is subdivided into interviewees that class themselves as belonging to one or more of the six groups potentially affected by racism, and interviewees that allocate themselves to none of these groups. **Example interpretation:** 58.0% of all interviewees classing themselves as belonging to one of the six groups potentially affected by racism have experienced racist treatment at least once. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

Figure 1 also makes it clear that 16.7 % of the interviewees who do not class themselves as belonging to any of the six specific groups state that they have had experience of racism during their life. In an open question, these interviewees and those who self-identify as belonging to the racialised groups of persons were given an opportunity to specify the group membership of which formed the basis for their experiences of racism. The answers here are very heterogeneous. In some cases, other racialised groups are mentioned which cannot be subsumed within the six named groups, or which the interviewees did not class as belonging to those groups (e.g. the answer "I am half Iranian" or "because I come from Southern Europe"). The answers also seem to be subject to a definition of racism that has been extended to include other forms of unequal treatment and discrimination (e.g. on the basis of gender or sexual identity).

At this point, it must be emphasised that these involve self-reported, subjective reports or subjective experiences of racism, where to some extent the understanding of the term is very different and is subject to wide interpretative leeway. It cannot be ruled out that events that are unrelated to racism are subjectively categorised as racism. Conversely, it is known that not all persons who suffer racist treatment also perceive and describe these incidents as racist (Beigang et al. 2017; El-Mafaalani, Waleciak & Weitzel 2017). This can serve as a self-defence mechanism for the persons concerned or can be a sign of habituation and normalisation, though it can also be down to a conception of racism that is limited to extreme right-wing acts of violence. Further sections of this study will address various of these aspects in more detail (see for example Section 5.1).

Closer examination of which characteristics within the six racialised groups play a role in whether or not racist experiences are reported produces the findings shown in Figure 2. These show that there is no clear connection between experiencing racism and gender or the level of a person's school-leaving certificate.[15] Thus in terms of both the question of whether the participants have ever experienced racist treatment in their life and the follow-up question on the frequency thereof there are no noteworthy differences between the groups with different school-leaving certificates. Hence a higher level of school certificate does not seem to protect against experiencing racism.

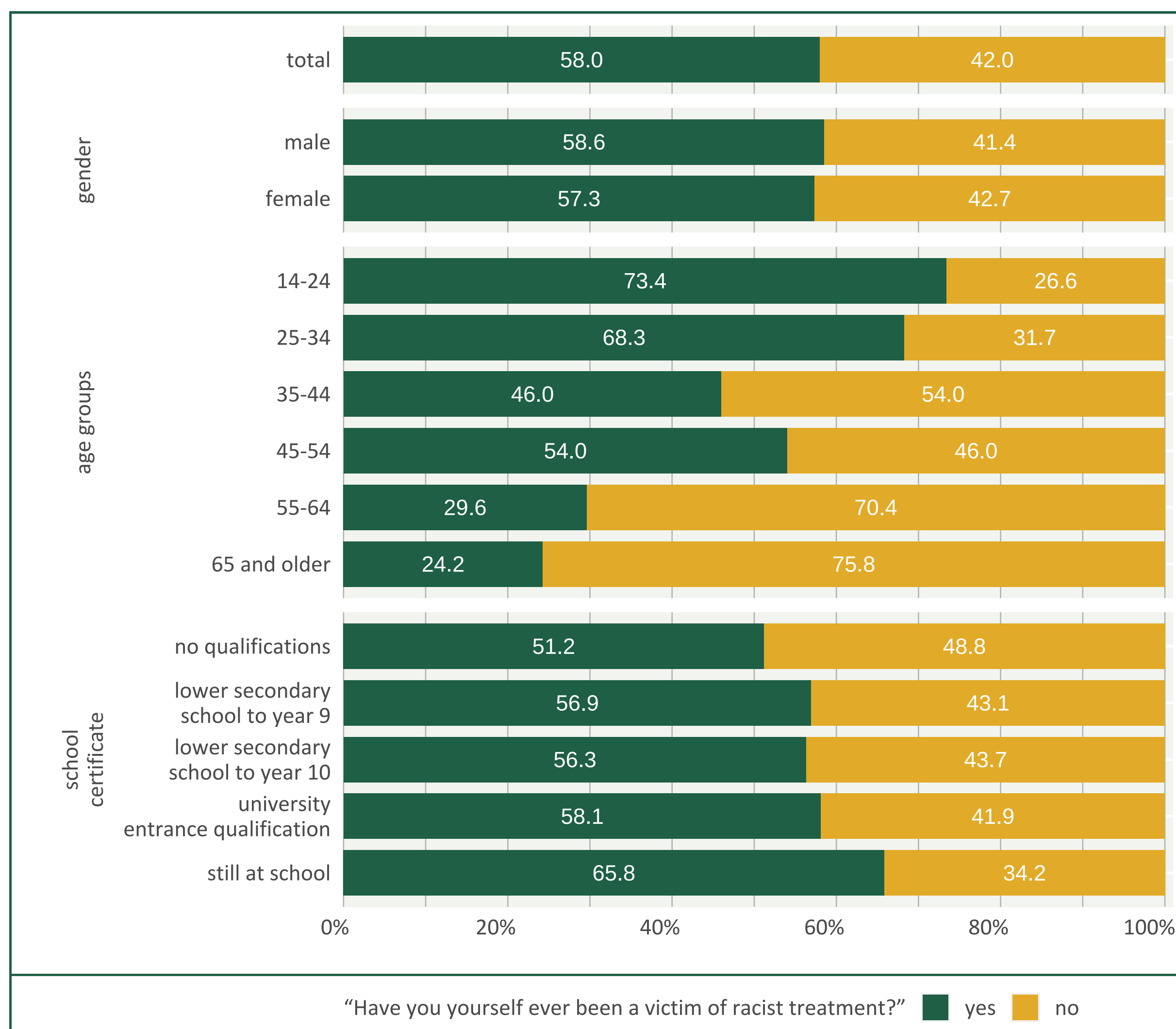
On the other hand, differentiation by the age of the interviewees highlights differences in the frequency of experiences of racism. With increasing age, the proportion of those who state they have had experiences of racism falls (see Figure 2). While this proportion is almost 73.4 % in the youngest group (14–24 years), for persons aged over 65 it is only around 24.2 %.

For the connection shown between experiences of racism and age, it should once again be borne in mind that whether something is classed as racist or not depends on the interviewees' understanding of racism. From this it follows that older persons have not necessarily actually had fewer experiences of racism, especially as the period of time in question is longer. In point of fact it should be assumed that older people will declare and assess these experiences differently. As expectations and awareness of racism and discrimination are different among those descendants of immigrants who were born in Germany, it is likely that younger interviewees will more clearly recognise experiences of racism and discrimination and label them as such (El-Mafaalani 2018; Foroutan 2020).

[14] When the responses are differentiated according to the six individual subgroups, the percentage of those interviewees who self-allocate as "Asian" is highest at 76 %, followed by "Muslim" (65 %) and "Black" (63 %). It should, however, be noted that the case numbers in individual groups are very small and the error variances are thus large. The differences between the three groups mentioned are not statistically significant (5 % level). However, they all differ significantly from the other three groups. As well as their self-perception, the interviewees were also asked whether other people perceive them as members of the corresponding groups (external attribution). When the allocation of the interviewees to the six racialised groups is based on this external attribution, 48.7 % in these groups answer "yes".

[15] This figure represents the bivariate correlations. In parallel, however, a multivariate model was estimated to control for the three sociodemographic characteristics as well as the respective group membership (one of the six focal racialised groups). Gender and education do not make a significant contribution here (5 % level), but the age categories contribute significantly to the model.

Figure 2. Direct experiences of racism by members of the six racialised groups, overall and by sociodemographic characteristics



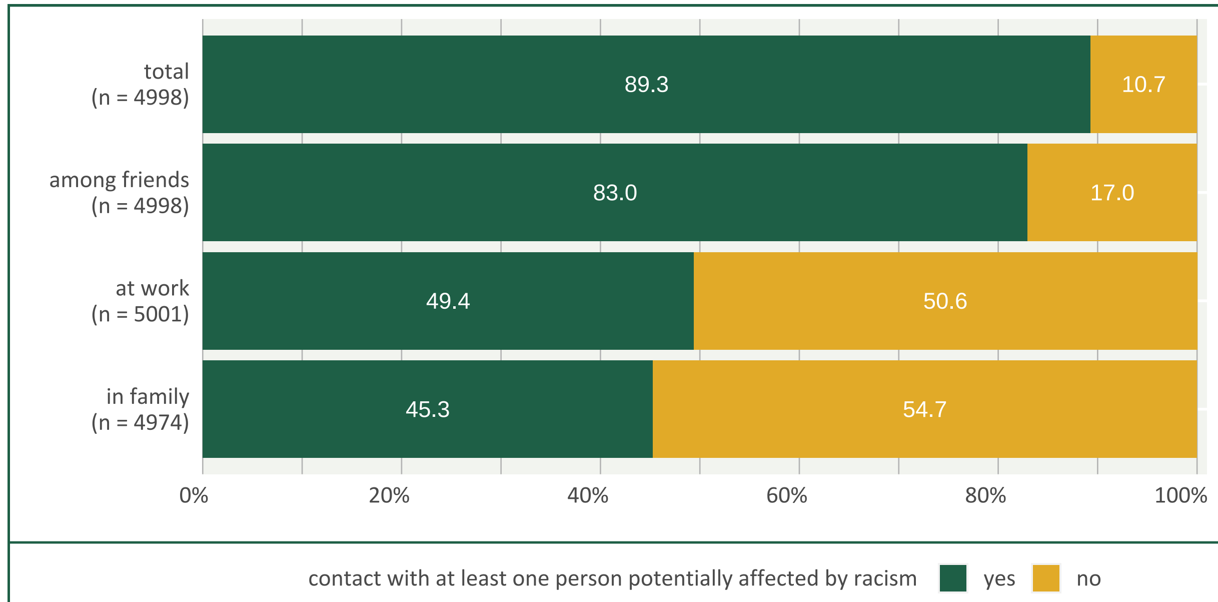
Note: Figure 2 shows the proportion of the interviewees who self-allocate to one or more of the six groups potentially affected by racism and have themselves experienced racism, overall and differentiated by gender, age group and highest school certificate. **Example interpretation:** 73.4% of the 14- to 24-year-old interviewees have experienced racist treatment at least once. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

1.2 Indirect experiences of racism through reports and accounts

The interviewees in the study were asked to state whether there were persons who belong to one of the six named groups potentially affected by racism in their own family (including, for example, their partner, their own children, parents, grandparents, siblings and their partners and children), among their friends and acquaintances or in their work context, where relevant. 45% of all interviewees stated that this applied to their family, while 49% of all interviewees know someone who belongs to one of the six racialised groups through their work (see Figure 3).[16] In terms of friends and acquaintances, once again this percentage is markedly higher at 83%. Across all three levels of social relationships, around 90% of the interviewees state that they know a racialised person. Thus the findings unambiguously show that most people in the population regularly have contact with at least one group that is potentially affected by racism.

To ascertain indirect experience of racism, those persons who state that they have contact with racialised minorities – i.e. who answer "yes" in at least one of the areas – were asked further whether the people affected had ever talked to them about their experiences of racism. This applied in more than half the cases (54.3 %), which means that taking account of the total sample, almost half of the population have indirectly learned of experiences or incidents of racism in their immediate surroundings (48.8 %).

Figure 3. Contact with groups potentially affected by racism, overall and by level of relationship



Note: Figure 3 shows the proportion of interviewees who have contact with at least one member of the six groups potentially affected by racism, overall and differentiated by relationship level. **Example interpretation:** 83.0 % of all interviewees state that there is at least one person potentially affected by racism among their friends. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

If we look at the distribution of indirect experience across the demographic characteristics of the interviewees, hardly any differences are evident in respect of gender. In terms of age there is a similar pattern to that already witnessed in the interviewees' own experiences of racism – the older the persons, the lower the proportion who have been told about experiences of racism (see Figure 4). Thus it is precisely in the youngest age group (14–24 years) that almost two thirds of interviewees state that they have been told about other people's experiences of racism. In contrast, in the oldest group (over 65 years) just a third have.

With regard to the interviewees' level of education, in this case there is a clear stepped pattern (see Figure 4): thus roughly one in three people (32.6 %) with no qualification or a lower secondary school certificate (Year 9, ISCED 2) state that they have heard reports from people about their experiences of racism. Among people with a lower secondary school certificate (Year 10), just under one in two people confirm this (47.6 %). Among people with a university entrance qualification, on the other hand, almost two thirds (61.9 %) have had experiences of racism described to them. This form of being indirectly affected

[16] Interviewees who were not in employment were not asked about their contacts at work and were therefore coded with "no".

is particularly high among the members of the six racialised groups, where almost three quarters of the interviewees (71.8 %) know people who have experienced racism and reported on this.[17]

1.3 Indirect experience of racism through witnessing it

Racism is also experienced indirectly when third parties witness racist actions. Within the framework of the study, the following question was asked about this: “Have you yourself ever witnessed racist incidents during your life?” 45.1 % of all interviewees answered “yes” to this.

In that respect, racist incidents can be witnessed in the interviewees’ direct surroundings, if (for instance) their work colleagues are subjected to racist discrimination by their superiors, or also through witnessing incidents in public, such as during a police check or overt insults in the street. Here, too, the answer to this question is highly dependent on whether a racist incident is perceived as such, and consequently recognised and named as racism.

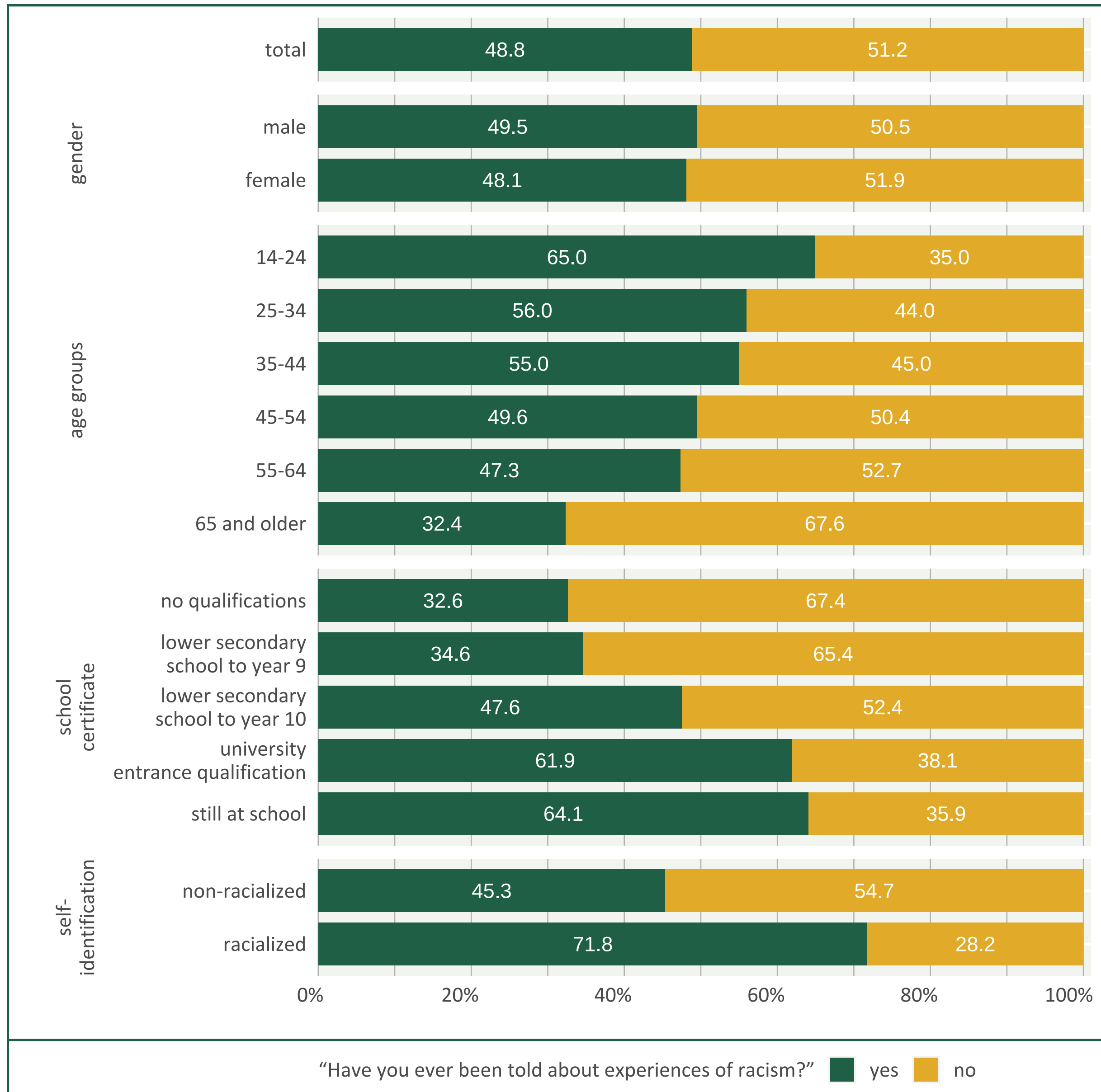
When this is examined for the central sociodemographic characteristics, there is a clear difference between genders for this form of indirect experience, with women reporting that they have witnessed racist incidents less often (40.2 %) than men (50.1 %). In terms of age, there is a similar picture to that already seen for people’s own experiences of racism (see Figure 2) and being told about other people’s experiences of racism (see Figure 4) – the higher a person’s age, the less likely they are to have witnessed racist incidents. As was already explained above, this might be due to a tendency towards a narrower understanding of racism, where racism is taken to mean extreme right-wing violence rather than everyday racism. This connection is addressed again and analysed in more detail in Chapter 3.

In terms of school education (see Figure 5) a clear trend is evident. 55.5 % of the interviewees with an upper secondary school certificate (Abitur) state that they have witnessed racism, while the proportion of those with a lower secondary school certificate (Year 10) is only 44.4 % and with a lower secondary school certificate (Year 9) it is 32.2 %. The gradations between the different general schooling certificates imply that a higher level of school education is associated with an increased sensitivity for identifying racism as such. There are large differences between the interviewees who themselves belong to one of the focal racialised groups and those who do not. The interviewees who class themselves as belonging to one of these groups have witnessed racist incidents in 66.1 % of cases, while among the interviewees who do not class themselves in any racialised group the figure is only 41.9 %.[18] It can be assumed that, as well as a potentially increased sensitivity, people’s habitual social contexts also play a part in determining the likelihood of witnessing racist incidents. In addition, the higher incidence in men also supports the theory that contextual conditions have an influence.

[17] In statistical models (linear probability models) the three variables of age (categorised), education and membership of one of the racialised groups were each significant (5 % level) in explaining people’s attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analyses. Gender has no significant effect (to at least 5 % level) in either bivariate or multivariate analyses. The explanatory power of the four characteristics examined is therefore R^2=.11 in total.

[18] In statistical models (linear probability models) the four variables of gender, age (categorised), education and membership of one of the racialised groups were each significant (5 % level) in explaining people’s attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analyses. The explanatory power of the four characteristics examined is therefore R^2=.13 in total.

Figure 4. Indirect perception of racism – persons experiencing vicarious impact due to hearing accounts of experiences, overall and by sociodemographic characteristics

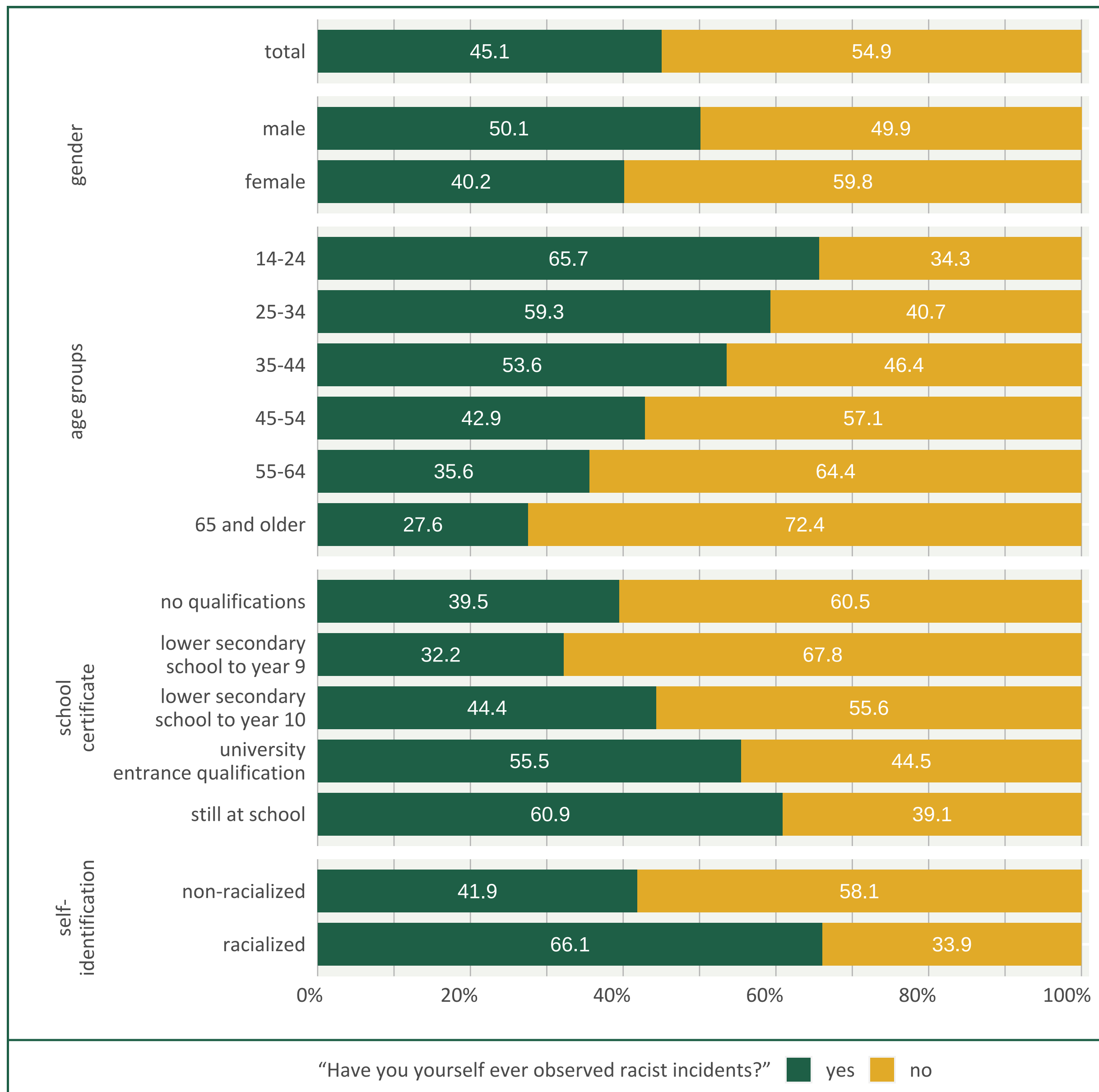


Note: Figure 4 shows the proportion of interviewees who have been told about experiences of racism by a person they are in contact with, overall and differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 48.1 % of the female interviewees state that persons they are in contact with have told them about their experiences of racism. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

1.4 Affective impact

To follow on from the examination of persons who have been directly affected by racism, as well as those experiencing vicarious impact through reports or accounts of other people's experiences and by witnessing racism themselves, this section examines the emotional repercussions of these encounters with racism. Here, the interviewees were asked to state to what extent they agree with the following two statements: (1) "The experiences/descriptions/incidents I witnessed upset me emotionally" and (2) "I kept thinking about them later".

Figure 5. Indirect perception of racism – persons experiencing vicarious impact through witnessing racism, overall and by sociological characteristics

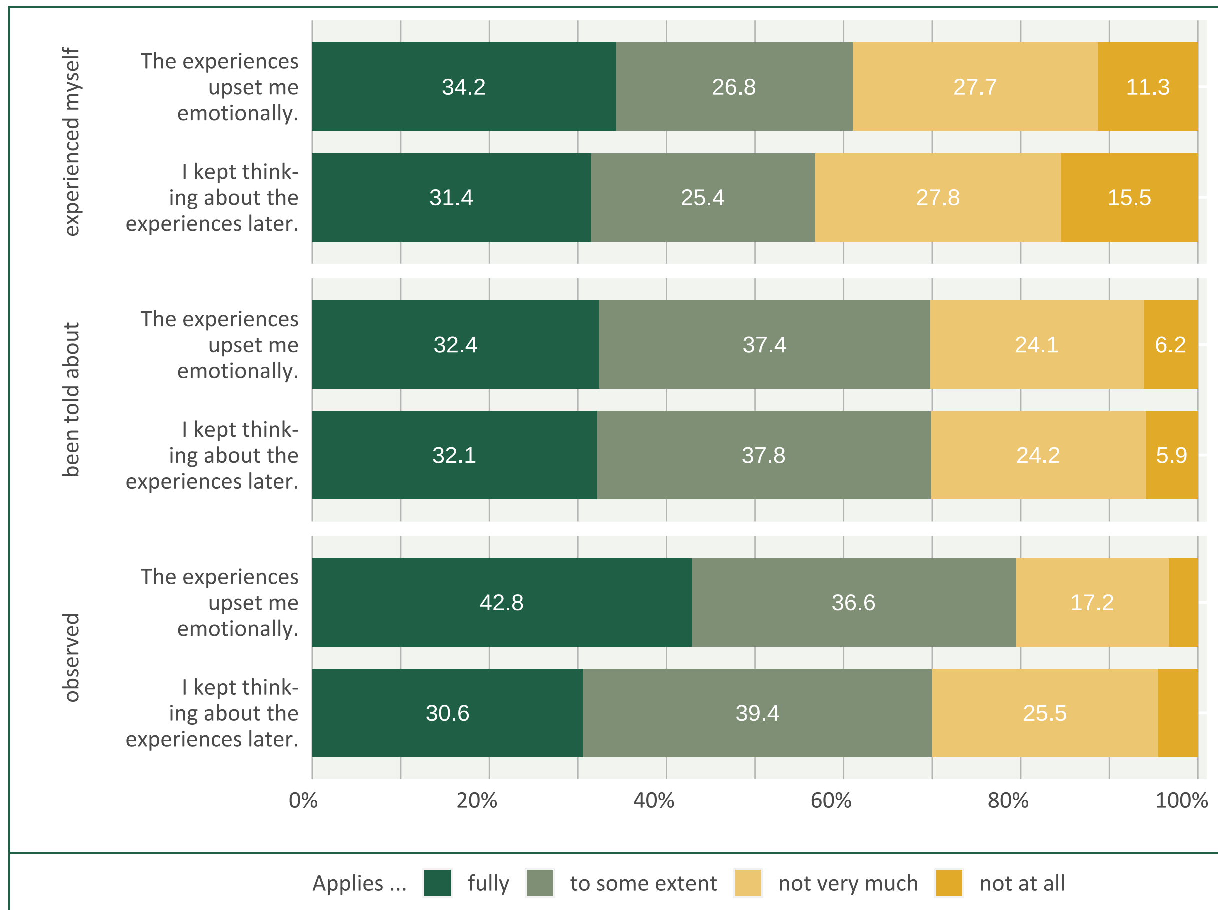


Note: Figure 5 shows the proportion of interviewees who have witnessed racist incidents, overall and differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 39.5 % of the interviewees with no school certificate state that they have witnessed a racist incident at least once.
Source: DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

Between 70 and 80 % of interviewees who have been told about experiences of racism or who have witnessed racist incidents state that this was emotionally upsetting for them and that they kept thinking about it later (see Figure 6). In contrast, only around 60 % of the interviewees who have themselves experienced racism stated this.

It is evident that those persons who state that they were emotionally upset also generally keep thinking later about what they experienced, heard or noticed. Hence from these results it is not possible to derive a clear separation between processing incidents mentally and emotionally.

Figure 6. Being emotionally affected after encountering racism



Note: Figure 6 shows the agreement by interviewees who have experienced racism directly ("experienced myself") or perceived it indirectly ("been told about", "witnessed") with the two statements "The experiences upset me emotionally" and "I kept thinking about them later". Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** 34.2 % of the interviewees who have themselves experienced racism fully agree with the statement "The experiences upset me emotionally". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

The frequent indirect experiences of racism and their extensive emotional and mental repercussions illustrate important characteristics of a post-migrant society. People affected by racism are not a marginal group. Through their social relationships – from their family or friends through to their working environment – their experiences pass into the lived reality of people who are not directly affected by racism. The fact that the latter appear to be even more affected emotionally could be down to various factors. Thus "for members of racialised groups, racism is frequently an everyday experience, so they have to develop strategies for dealing with the associated negative emotions at an early stage" (Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema & Dovidio 2009). Moreover, when non-racialised persons witness experiences of racism, this can not only trigger negative feelings through empathy but can also threaten their own self-image, such that when non-racialised persons are confronted with racism they frequently suffer feelings of collective guilt (Wohl, Branscombe & Klar 2006) and need to distance themselves from the racist incident and the perpetrators (O'Brien et al. 2010). This can happen, for example, through strong negative feelings. In most westernised societies, antiracist attitudes also represent the social norm which suppresses (overtly) racist utterances and encourages the expression of antiracist attitudes (Crandall et al. 2002). Agreement with the statement "It upset me emotionally" can thus also reflect social desirability. However, more in-depth studies are needed for a further interpretation of this finding.

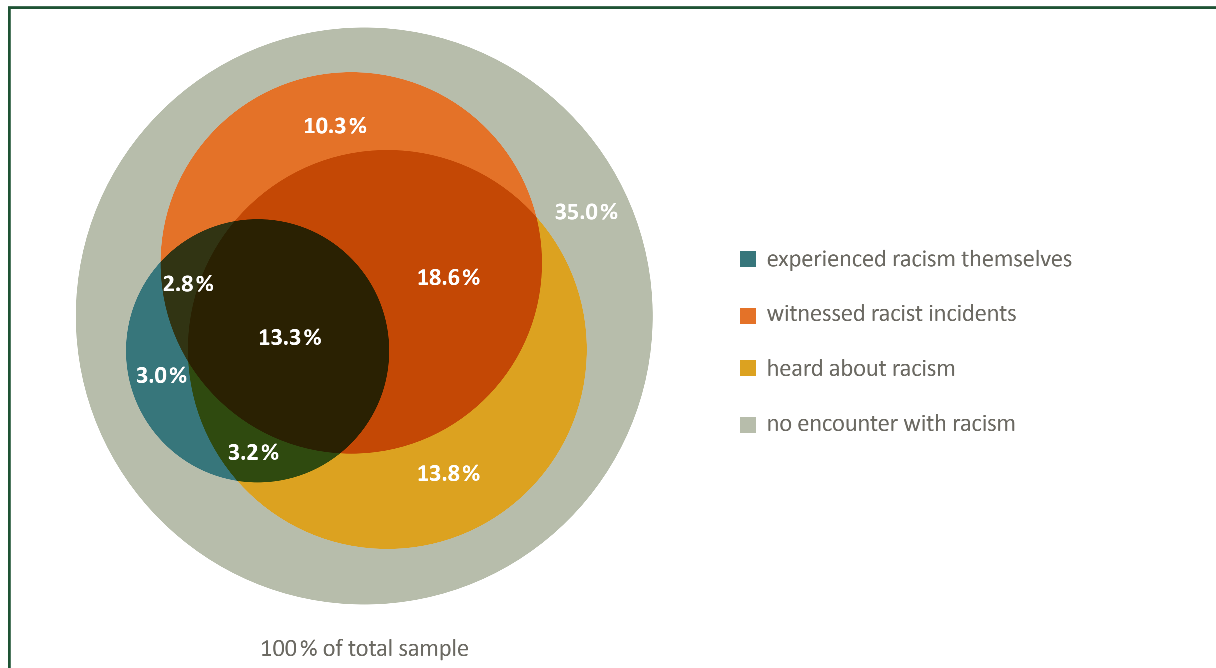
1.5 Conclusion: Racism affects and preoccupies the overwhelming majority of the population

This chapter has pursued the question of the extent to which the population in Germany subjectively experiences racism. Account has been taken of different ranges of experience, which can be divided into both direct and indirect experiences. While 'directly affected' describes how widespread people's own experiences of racism are in German society, 'indirectly affected' measures whether people have heard accounts of experiences of racism or have themselves witnessed racist incidents and have thus experienced a vicarious impact.

Overall, the results of the survey show that almost one in five people in Germany say they have experienced racism – and among the members of the six racialised groups that were interviewed the figure was even 58 % overall. In addition, one in two people in Germany have had experiences of racism reported to them in person, and moreover one in two people have themselves witnessed a racist incident. To some extent these experiences overlap: 13 % of the population reported all three types of encounter with racism (see Figure 7). In summary, we can say that around two thirds (65 %) of the interviewees have encountered racism in some form. There remain only around 35 % who subjectively state they have neither directly nor indirectly encountered racism. Last but not least, the fact that in principle racism affects a sizeable proportion of the population in Germany – albeit not all to the same extent – can be inferred from the affective repercussions transmitted to the persons not directly affected.

Of all the sociodemographic characteristics considered, age is most closely associated with the different experiences of racism. Thus, across all the different levels, it is evident that it is the younger interviewees who

Figure 7. Encounters with racism



Note: Figure 7 shows the overlaps between the interviewees who have experienced racism themselves, heard about racism or witnessed racist incidents. The outermost circle represents the interviewees without any form of encounter with racism. **Example interpretation:** 18.6 % of the interviewees state that they have witnessed at least one racist incident and have also been told about experiences of racism but have never experienced racism themselves. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

more often report that they have themselves experienced racism or that other people have reported racism to them, and who more frequently witness racist incidents in their daily life. There is no obvious connection between education and the interviewees' own experience of racism – a higher-level school certificate apparently does not protect people from experiencing racial discrimination themselves. However, indirect experiences do tend to increase with a higher level of education.

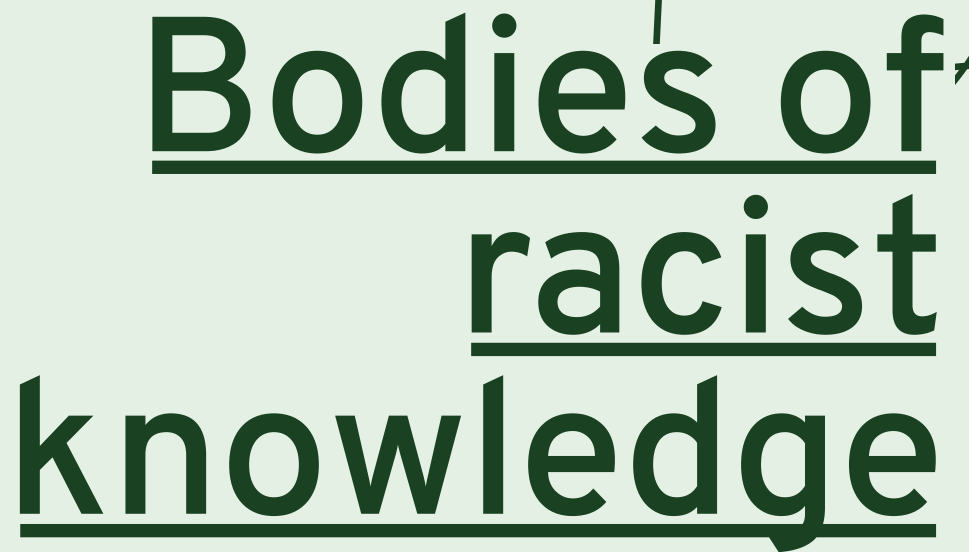
In this chapter, very simple and general indicators have been used to capture direct and indirect experiences of racism. These leave plenty of leeway for subjective interpretation. The initial aim was to gather information on subjective and affective points of encounter with racism across the breadth of the population. The findings should not be misconstrued as a statement about the actual extent of such points of contact – this would be incorrect simply because racism can have very different aspects and take very different forms which need to be specified with a considerably higher degree of precision (see Chapter 3). It will be the task of many future supplementary NaDiRa modules to determine the factual relevance of different manifestations of racism. As the discussion of the analyses here shows, this will be a matter of capturing the experiences not only in much more concrete detail but also in a temporal context and representing the groups that are potentially affected much more extensively in the samples, including other groups not examined here.

To sum up, we can state that direct and indirect experiences shape everyday reality and thus the perceived societal relevance of the subject of racism. They show clearly that it is incorrect to understand racism as a 'problem for minorities'. In fact, racism touches and affects sizeable sections of the population, including through connections based on solidarity, partnerships, family, friendships and colleagues, which makes this subject relevant to the whole of society – including in terms of antiracist engagement (see Chapter 6).

SUMMARY:

- Racism is a pervasive experience for a large majority of people in Germany.
- It affects many people directly and is experienced especially highly in the younger cohort, where the plurality of society increases.
- People of all levels of education experience racism.
- Many more people encounter racism indirectly than is commonly assumed. One in two people in the population have already witnessed racist incidents or heard other people talking about their experiences.
- This means that racism is not an anomaly. It happens every day in Germany and preoccupies people emotionally, upsets them and cannot be shaken off again for a long time.

➔ **Racism is a phenomenon affecting the whole of society and must be recognised and addressed as such. Addressing this issue urgently is not only relevant when there are racist attacks such as those in Halle or Hanau. On the contrary, we have to recognise that a sizeable majority of the population are directly and indirectly affected by it. We therefore need sustainable structures for dealing with and combatting racism.**



How firmly are racist ideas rooted in Germany?

2. Bodies of racist knowledge – How firmly are racist ideas rooted in Germany?

The connection between racism and knowledge production forms an important focus of antiracist research. In particular, the inextricable links between power and knowledge emphasised by Michel Foucault form the starting point for much work in this context. 'Knowledge' can be understood here as a socially acknowledged, available form of power which does not function (purely) as a resource but actually guarantees the functioning of society and is in turn constantly constituted by that functioning (Foucault 2017, 2020). Knowledge moves between discourse and practice, as well as between the subject as a social individual and the superordinate systems of order such as media, science, institutions or states. Depending on the era, knowledge can generate different scientific classification processes, interpretations and norms. According to sociological findings, bodies of knowledge, which are always socially constructed and are conveyed via forms of socialisation, can never be examined in isolation from social power relations, and hence cannot be assumed either to be true or untrue, right or wrong independently of these (Keller 2011; Berger & Luckmann 2018). Thus, for example, Edward Said describes the connection between colonial policy and sovereignty in the so-called Orient on the one hand and the production of knowledge by various academic disciplines on the other hand (Said 2014). David Theo Goldberg describes precisely this connection with the term *'racial knowledge',* which refers to a body of knowledge that on the one hand was fundamental historically for the emergence of academic disciplines and at the same time is portrayed as the product of these, and thus legitimised (Goldberg 2020; Foucault 2017, 2020). To this way of thinking, bodies of racist knowledge are closely intermeshed with the history of academic knowledge creation and (global) power relations. According to Mark Terkessidis, 'racist knowledge' is a model that is labelled as legitimate, and thus forms the basis for the behaviour of the general public and, through its processual nature and through repetition, roots itself in the accessible collective knowledge (Terkessidis 2004).

This chapter aims to gain an impression of how strongly bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas are empirically rooted in the German population. The analysis is oriented around the central elements that constitute racism as a mechanism for classification and degradation. Different theories (see also section Starting points: Definition of the term) describe the process of 'racialisation' via the four central steps of categorisation, generalisation, hierarchisation and legitimisation:

1. **CATEGORISATION:** People are divided into various groups on the basis of external characteristics. In the case of racism in particular, this general process of classification and subdivision operates via physical characteristics, though also via language, name, origin, culture and religion.

2. **GENERALISATION:** The members of the groups that have been categorised in this way are ascribed generalised and absolutised characteristics that are unchangeable due to 'ancestry'. Thus the division into groups goes hand in hand with ascribing specific characteristics that are regarded as immutable and characteristic of the entire group and are in this way naturalised.

3. **HIERARCHISATION:** The characteristics ascribed to the groups are evaluated and associated with social classes (to the benefit of the group practising this hierarchisation). Hence the ascribed characteristics are not primarily descriptive but perform a normative function: the naturalised, homogenised characteristics and the groups of people constituted from these are construed as excluding one another. This gives rise to antagonistically labelled characteristics, such as civilised/

uncivilised, hard-working/lazy, progressive/backward-looking, modern/traditional, or also rational/emotional, controlled/instinct-driven, carnal/spiritual, etc.

4. **LEGITIMISATION:** These processes of categorisation, generalisation and hierarchisation are used to legitimise discrimination and social inequalities. Racism thus does not manifest itself as erratic, individual wrongdoing but is instead related to existing social power differences, which are legitimised by it and thus reproduced. In this respect, racism is understood as a form of societalisation that, via knowledge that has developed historically, both inscribes itself in society in the form of cultural practices and structures society with regard to forms of inclusion and exclusion.

The first of the following sections (Section 2.1) analyses how widespread the idea of human 'races' still is among the population as both a concept and a term, meaning that it can be used as a potential categorisation scheme. Section 2.2 examines attitudes that are associated with ideas of generalisation and hierarchisation. This is based on questions which were also used in an international comparative survey, the European Social Survey (ESS). The third section (2.3) is devoted to aspects of legitimisation and examines the established concept of social dominance orientation. The chapter concludes with a summary discussion and classification (Section 2.4).

2.1 Categorisation into human 'races'

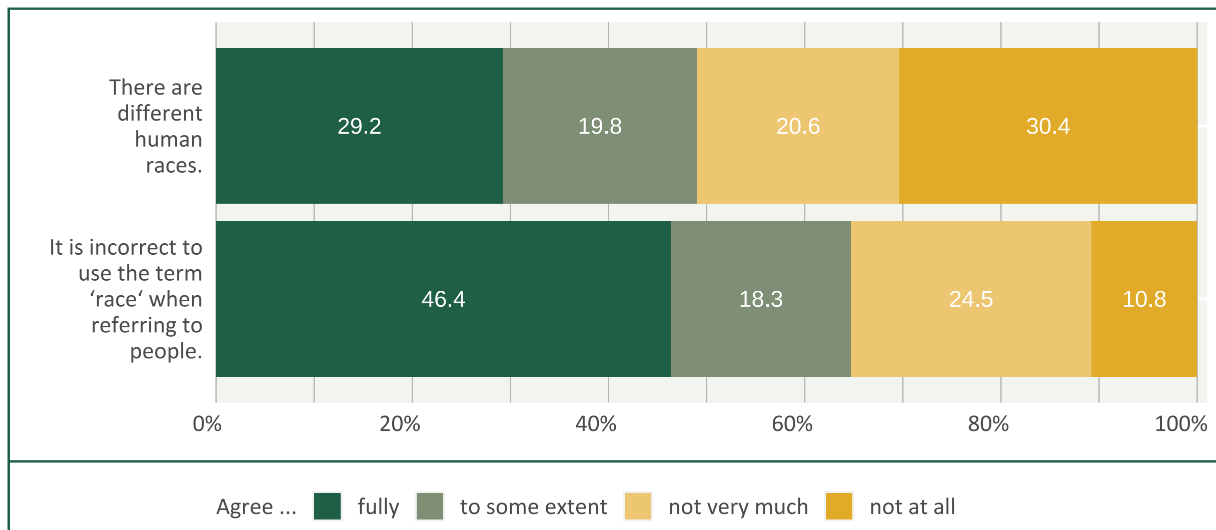
The idea that there are human 'races' arose in the thinking of Enlightenment theorists (Arndt 2021). It had a fundamental function in justifying colonisation and colonial slavery at a time when the ideals of equality and freedom were developing in parallel (Mills 1999; Bhambra 2007). The idea that people can be divided into different 'races' on the basis of shared external or cultural characteristics has long been debunked scientifically. There is now broad scientific consensus that there is no biological basis for differentiating between human 'races' (e.g. Fischer et al. 2019), and this has once again been proved in no small part by the Human Genome Project (Venter 2000). In fact, there is agreement that 'race' should be understood as a socially constructed concept (Miles 1991; Memmi 1992; Taguieff 2000), and as such it creates social realities, especially realities of inequality.

In the face of these scientific findings, the biologistic idea that there are different human 'races' has not disappeared; in Germany it is still rooted in almost one in two of the population (see Figure 8). Interestingly, at the same time the majority of the interviewees consider this 'racial' categorisation of people to be wrong. [19] Thus around two thirds of the interviewees (64.7 %) tend to agree with the statement "It is incorrect to use the term 'race' when referring to people".

What first appears to be a contradiction might be explicable with reference to the fact that believing in the existence of human races does not necessarily preclude people from being sceptical about this ethically problematic classification. In German-speaking countries in particular, the use of the term 'race' is closely associated with the crimes of National Socialism and is thus a taboo. This might be one of the reasons why the majority consider that 'races' exist, yet a significant proportion of them refuse to use the term.

[19] However, in exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in this chapter, there is a high negative correlation between the two attitude items (r=-.42) and they each have a high loading on a common factor.

Figure 8. Attitudes to the term 'race'



Note: Figure 8 shows the interviewees' agreement with the statements "There are different human races" and "It is incorrect to use the term 'race' when referring to people". **Example interpretation:** 29.2 % of the interviewees fully agree with the statement "There are different human races". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

A closer look at the sociodemographic characteristics of the interviewees shows that the idea of the existence of human races is found more frequently among the older cohorts and is less widespread in people with a higher level of education. While overall only around a third of the 14- to 24-year-olds believe that races exist, among the 65-year-olds and over the figure is almost two thirds (see Figure 9). At around 63 %, more than twice as many interviewees with an Abitur qualification disagree with the statement compared to those with no school certificate (less than 30 %). The belief in the existence of human 'races' is just as widespread among the persons who class themselves in one of the six focal racialised groups as it is among the other interviewees.

Of the four characteristics examined here, education has the strongest correlation statistically with the 'idea of races', followed by age. Gender and the question of whether interviewees themselves belong to a racialised group show no significant correlation in this simple analysis. [20]

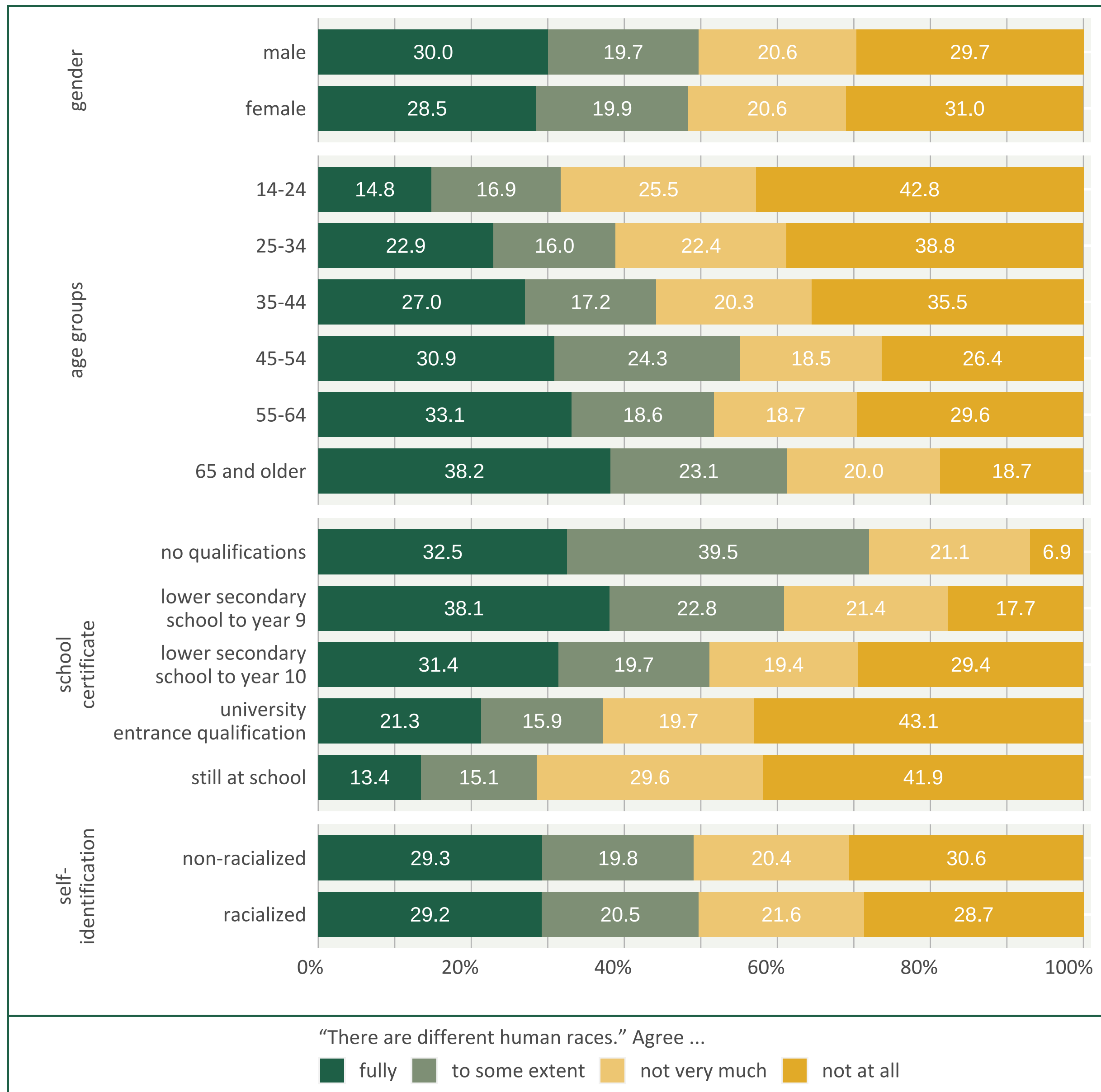
2.2 Generalisation and hierarchisation

The survey also highlighted the interviewees' bodies of racist knowledge with regard to racialised hierarchisations, i.e. ideas that certain characteristics are associated with certain groups and make some of these groups appear superior and others inferior. With minimal changes, these are questions that were also asked in the Social Survey (ESS7) in 2014.[21] The first is: "Do you think that certain ethnic groups or

[20] Linear regression models were estimated with dependent variables being interpreted as metric (1–4). The 'strength of the correlation' means the statistically expressed variance (R^2 value) in bivariate analysis. In a multivariate model with all four models, the gender effect and membership of the racialised groups are significant. Women believe less in the existence of human 'races' when the analysis is controlled for the other characteristics. This is because age has a stronger influence and women are more represented in the higher age groups. If the age structure were the same as for men, the women's attitudinal values would thus be even lower. On the other hand, when the analysis is controlled for the other three characteristics, racialised persons are significantly more convinced by human 'races', despite tending to be younger. If their age distribution was the same as the non-racialised group, their attitudinal values would be higher.

[21] See: https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round7/fieldwork/germany/ESS7_main_and_supplementary_questionnaire_DE.pdf

Figure 9. Belief in human races by sociodemographic characteristics

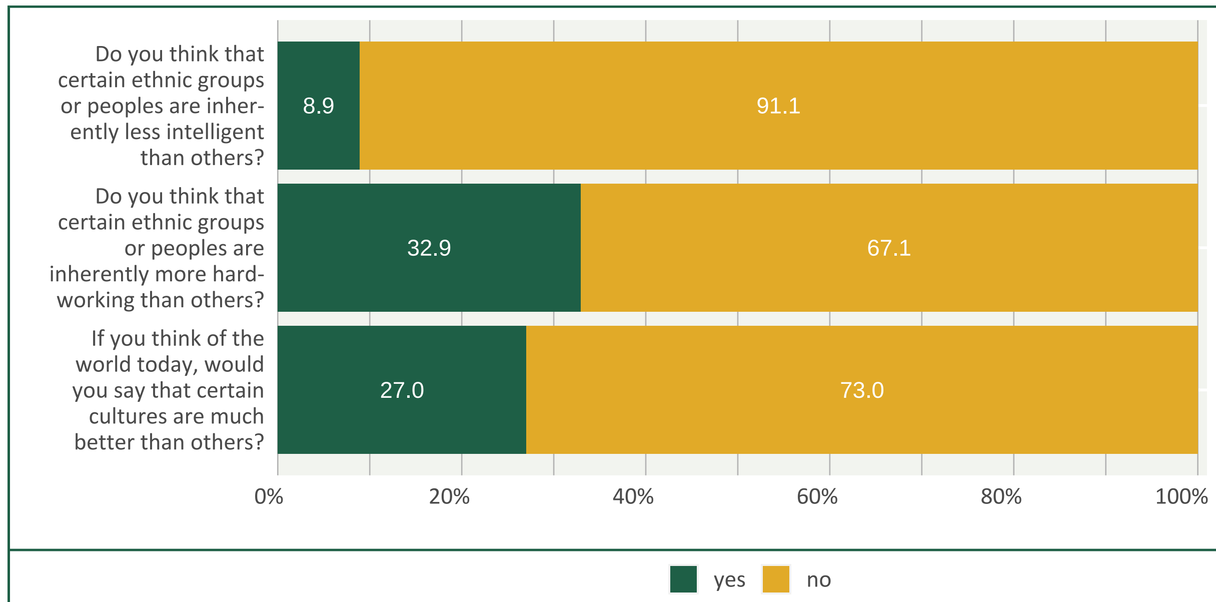


Note: Figure 9 shows the interviewees' agreement with the statement "There are different human races" differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 42.8 % of the 14- to 24-year-olds did not agree at all with the statement "There are different human races". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

peoples are inherently less intelligent than others?". 9 % of the interviewees answered "yes" to this (see Figure 10). The subsequent question, whether "certain ethnic groups or peoples are inherently more hard-working than others" was answered in the affirmative by around a third of the interviewees (33 %). Almost as many (27 %) believe that certain cultures "are much better than others", while the remaining 73 % consider that "all cultures are equally good".

[22] The calculations were prepared using the ESS online analysis tool (see http://nesstar.ess.nsd.uib.no/webview/) and applying the poststratification weights.

Figure 10. Racialising hierarchisations



Note: Figure 10 shows the agreement with three statements about the equality or inequality between ethnic groups, people and cultures. **Example interpretation:** 32.9 % of the interviewees believe that certain ethnic groups or peoples are "inherently more hard-working" than others. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

For comparison, in the 2014 European Social Survey (ESS7) the figures for respondents in Germany were 9.8 % (first question), 38.6 % (second question) and 37.9 % (third question). [22] Compared by country, the values in Germany were in the mid-range. While in Germany 58.3 % of the respondents answer at least one of the three questions in a racist way, in Portugal a very high proportion do so (78.1 %), followed by Denmark (74.0 %) and Norway (73.1 %). In contrast, this figure is the lowest in Lithuania (47.8 %) followed by Sweden (48.4 %) and the Netherlands (49.1 %).

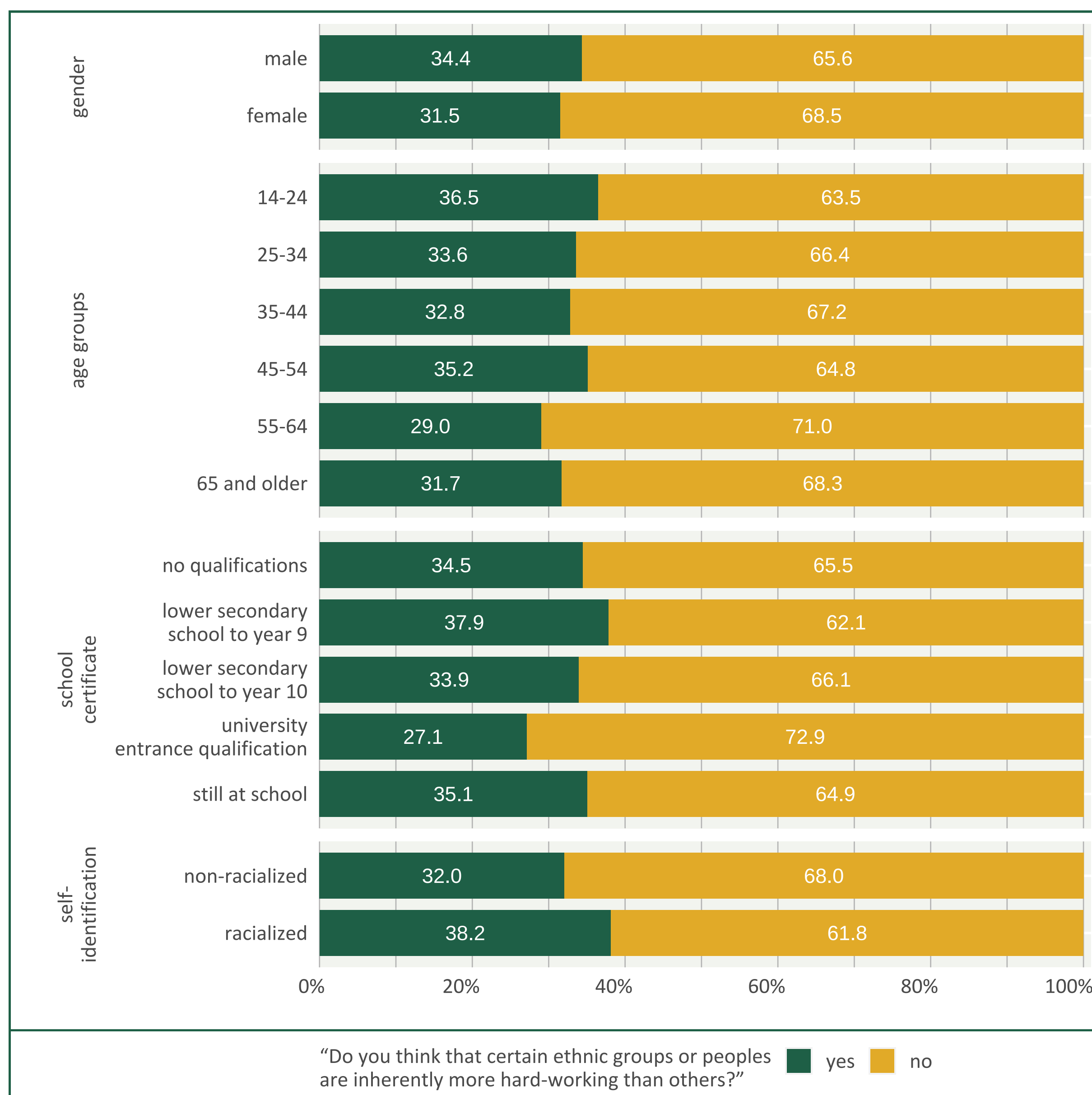
The answers to the three questions are connected, though not to an especially pronounced extent. In the corresponding analyses, the second question turns out to be particularly representative for the hierarchisation aspect: "Do you think that certain ethnic groups or peoples are inherently more hard-working than others?"[23] Hence the usual sociodemographic characteristics were examined with regard to agreement with this question (see Figure 11).

The differences between individual groups of interviewees are only very slight here. It is a fact that men share the attitude that there are "inherently" more hard-working ethnic groups or peoples somewhat more than women do, but the differences are comparatively minor.[24] The same picture is apparent when the differences in the other demographic groups are compared: younger interviewees share this view less than older people; persons with a lower level of education tend to do so more than the more highly educated interviewees; and non-racialised interviewees less so than racialised people.

[23] In exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in this chapter or in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, they each have a high loading on a common factor. The second item in each has the highest loading. The correlations (weighted) between items 2 and 1 (r=.29) and items 2 and 3 (.21) are somewhat higher than the correlation between items 1 and 3 (r=.19).

[24] In statistical models (linear probability models) the four variables were each significant (5 % level) in terms of explaining the attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analysis, but the contribution to the explanation is very low (R^2=.01 in the model with all four variables).

Figure 11. Racialising hierarchisation – belief that some people are inherently hard-working, by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 11 shows the proportion of the interviewees who believe that certain ethnic groups or people are "inherently more hard-working" than others, differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 32.0 % of the interviewees who do not self-allocate to any of the groups potentially affected by racism believe that certain ethnic groups or people are "inherently more hard-working" than others. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

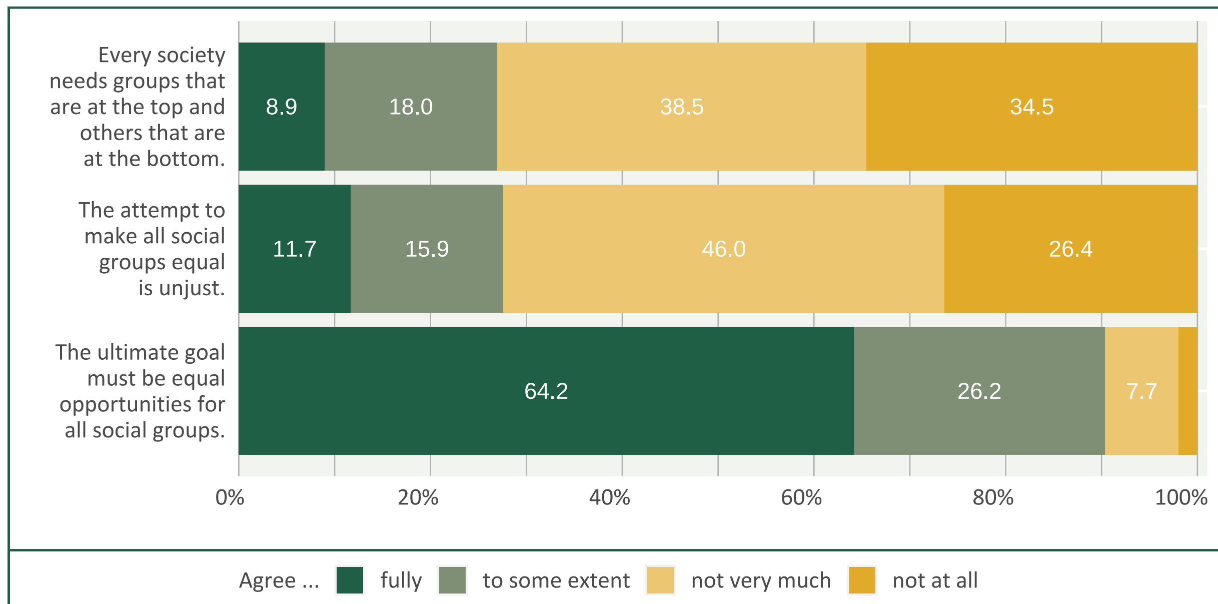
2.3 Social dominance orientation

The legitimisation of existing inequalities is a central element of racist ideology, and thus a constitutive characteristic for defining racism (see Introduction to this chapter and the section Starting points: Definition of the term. Within the framework of this preliminary study, a sociopsychological concept that is closely associated with this aspect was measured, namely social dominance orientation (Sidanius &

Pratto 1999). This describes the general tendency of social systems to develop and maintain hierarchies between groups. A short scale was used, which consisted of agreement with three statements (Aichholzer 2019) and is suitable for population surveys (see Figure 12).

The first of the three statements is: “Every society needs groups that are at the top and others that are at the bottom”. 8.9 % of the interviewees in this study agreed “fully” with this, and a further 18.0 % agreed “to some extent”, so in total more than a quarter of the interviewees agreed (26.9 %). Agreement with the statement “The attempt to make all social groups equal is unjust” was slightly higher at 27.6 %. On the other hand, 90.4 % tended to agree with the conversely worded statement “The ultimate goal must be equal opportunities for all social groups”, while only 9.6 % tended to disagree.

Figure 12. Agreement with the statements on social dominance orientation



Note: Figure 12 shows the agreement with the three different statements about social dominance orientation. Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** 11.7 % of the interviewees agree fully with the statement “The attempt to make all social groups equal is unjust”. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

The answers to the three questions are essentially connected.[25] The first item, “Every society needs groups that are at the top and others that are at the bottom”, most strongly indicates the underlying trend.[26] Therefore this item is used below for a closer examination of the different sociodemographic characteristics of the interviewees (see Figure 13).

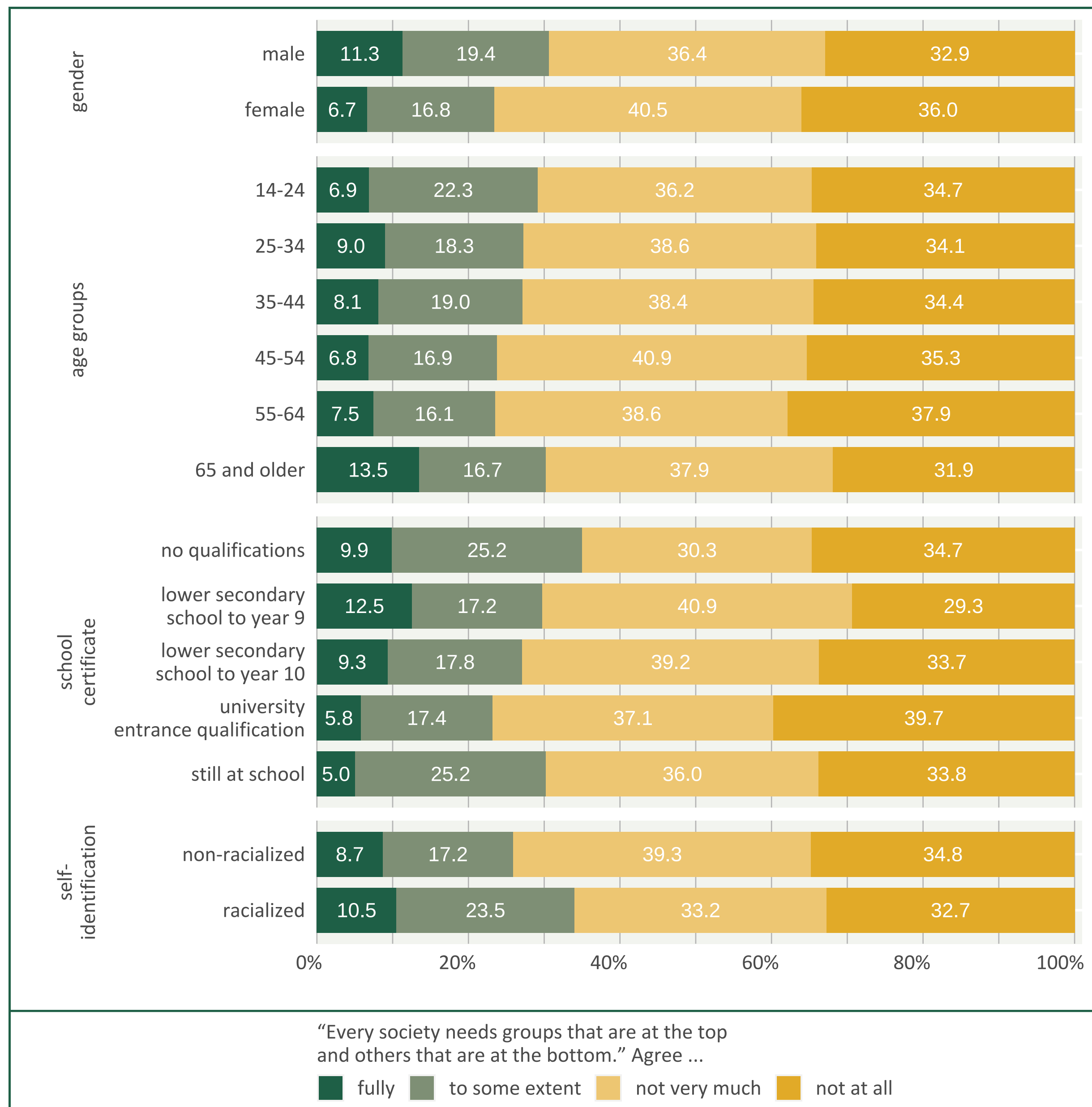
Here too, the differences between individual groups of interviewees tend to be minor. Men are more likely to have ideas of social dominance than women, older people more so than younger ones (with an

[25] However, the correlation is not quite as high as in other studies. In other studies using this scale, reliabilities of .45 to .75 (Cronbach’s alpha) are reported (https://zis.gesis.org/skala/Aichholzer-Kurzskala-Soziale-Dominanzorientierung-(KSDO-3)). In the sample this is .42 (the removal of the third item would increase the reliability to .46).

[26] In exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in this chapter or in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, the first two items have approximately the same loading on a joint factor, the third item somewhat lower. The correlation (weighted) between item 1 and item 3 (r=-.14) is somewhat higher than the correlation between items 2 and 3 (r=-.13).

interesting deviation in the oldest cohort of over-65s), people with a lower level of education more so than those with a higher education level, and members of racialised groups more so than members of non-racialised groups. Nonetheless, the differences again tend to be minor.[27]

Figure 13. Social dominance orientation by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 13 shows the interviewees' agreement with the statement "Every society needs groups that are at the top and others that are at the bottom", differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 34.7 % of the 14- to 24-year-old interviewees do not agree at all with the statement "Every society needs groups that are at the top and others that are at the bottom". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

[27] In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variables with values 1–4 interpreted metrically), the four variables contribute significantly to explaining the attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analysis (5 % level), but the contribution to the expression is very low (R^2=.02 in the model with all four variables).

2.4 Conclusion: Bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas are deeply rooted in the population

The empirical findings of the first chapter of this study revealed that a sizeable proportion of the population in Germany encounter racism directly or indirectly, and these experiences lead to long-lasting affective impact. As described in this chapter, the reproduction and persistence of racist realities are also reflected in bodies of collective knowledge which contain biologistic, culturalistic and also Social Darwinist ideas. These bodies of knowledge are rooted in history and can be retrieved in daily life. They create collective knowledge archives on the basis of which discriminatory processes of action-taking and decision-making can be legitimised.

Firstly, these include the idea that people can be categorised biologistically into groups – thus almost half the population still believe in the existence of different human 'races', even though since the 1970s this has been disproved scientifically and debunked as a myth. Among the over-65s, as many as 61 % agree with the statement "There are different human races". The idea that people can be divided into different 'races' goes hand in hand with biologistic attributions which are regarded as immutable and with a hierarchisation of groups – thus, for example, one third of the population believe that some groups or peoples "are inherently more hard-working than others".

Racist ideologies and the practices resulting from them do not have to be attached to a biologistic understanding. For some time, racism research has seen a shift away from biologistically argued racism towards a culturally justified racism based on the assumption of an insurmountable difference and thus a hierarchy between self-enclosed cultures (see section Starting points: Definition of the term). In our data, 27 % of the population believe the idea that "certain cultures are much better than others".

Both biologistic and culturalistic forms of racism legitimise social inequalities and dominance relationships – hence 28 % of the population think that "the attempt to make all social groups equal is unjust". 27 % agree with the statement that "every society needs groups that are at the top and others that are at the bottom". Holding a higher school-leaving certificate does not automatically reduce someone's ideas of social dominance – 27 % of persons with a university entrance-level qualification believe that certain groups are "inherently more hard-working" than others. And just under a quarter (23 %) are of the opinion that some groups "are at the bottom" and some "on top". Consequently, a higher level of education is not synonymous with an antiracist education.

Bodies of racist knowledge that feed on historically rooted collective ideas are important for understanding the realities of racism. Garnering and quantifying these marks an important first step but is in no way sufficient. Indeed, we also need to ask how racism comes to operate both intentionally and unintentionally at an institutional and structural level, through which mechanisms persons and groups are disadvantaged and excluded from central areas of society and positions, or are refused access to important goods and resources (e.g. education, work, health, housing). Among other issues, this raises the question of how this is simultaneously justified using bodies of racist knowledge – for example, of an 'inferior culture', 'lack of hard work' or 'lack of a desire to advance in life' – thus legitimising the idea that it is right that some groups are "on top" and others "at the bottom". It is important to take a look at informal routines and habitual behaviours in organisational structures which to some extent (re-)produce racist effects (Hall 2001).

SUMMARY:

- Bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas are still firmly rooted in Germany. One in two people share the assumption that people can be categorised in 'races'.
- Biologistic ideas that some peoples are "inherently more hard-working" than others persist in a third of the population.
- Cultural hierarchisations, according to which some cultures are inferior to others, are prevalent in 27 % of the population – even among those with a higher level of education.
- A central function of racism is to legitimise the inequality of social groups. This is expressed in (for example) one third of interviewees stating that it is right that some groups are positioned higher in the hierarchy than others. Such convictions draw on racist ideas and bodies of collective knowledge.

➔ **Racism is partly legitimised by means of historical, biologistic, culturalistic and Social Darwinist discourses and knowledge archives and is even reproduced in the books used in schools. We therefore need to launch a school and education offensive with the aim of unlearning racist ways of thinking. This needs to be tackled in the media with wide coverage as part of political education and we should not shy away from reflecting on this or from a critical discussion of established knowledge archives.**

Which dimensions and facets of racism are recognised and acknowledged?

3. Perception of racism – Which dimensions and facets of racism are recognised and acknowledged?

This chapter pursues the question of whether the German population recognises that racism is a relevant social problem in Germany. It also examines the relative extent to which possible manifestations of racism are perceived and reflected on.

As has already been shown in the section Starting points and Chapter 2, the term racism is understood in very different ways, ranging from very narrowly to very broadly defined ideas, and applying to different subaspects. Racism comprises far more than the sometimes brutal excesses of explicitly racist beliefs and actions that are depicted in the media, are referred to as 'overt racism' and are hard to ignore. In this context the phenomena of 'everyday', 'institutional' or 'structural' racism as well as 'unintentional, implicit' racism (for example) are of central significance within the research.

EVERYDAY RACISM:

In her ground-breaking work *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*, Philomena Essed (1991) stresses that the structural power of racism is not apparent solely in exceptional and extreme situations but also essentially shapes everyday routines, i.e. finds expression not just in subtle forms of degradation, such as microaggressions (Sue 2010) but more generally in the variety of everyday practices of demarcation and exclusion. Even the people who themselves are directly affected by racism are not always aware of them.

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM:

Racism research has increasingly examined systematic mechanisms which shape society, its structures and institutions. Here racism is understood not as occasional wrongdoing by individuals, but as institutionalised discrimination, where even without the actors' explicit intention the existing rules, practices and norms have severely detrimental effects on members of racialised groups and thus repeatedly reproduce existing inequalities. The concept of 'institutional racism' arose in the context of the US Black Power movement (Carmichael & Hamilton 1967) and increasingly gained prominence and relevance in the social and academic discussion of racism. A striking milestone was the Macpherson Report, in which the public inquiry into the murder of Stephen Lawrence established that there were institutionally racist structures in the Metropolitan Police Service (Macpherson 1999). To date, numerous theoretical and empirical contributions to racism research have examined these mechanisms, which are also discussed using the terms 'structural racism' or 'systemic racism'.[28]

UNINTENTIONAL RACISM:

Historically, racist ideologies and practices in different contexts have assumed extreme and brutal forms, which today substantially shape our ideas of racism as a phenomenon, with Germany under National Socialism, the apartheid regime in South Africa or colonial slavery in the USA, including the later Jim Crow laws, being considered particularly striking examples. While in these societal structures it was possible to openly adopt a racist position and act in a discriminatory manner, today this is largely restricted by law and is no longer accepted by society. Despite the considerable decline in explicitly racist attitudes among many people, there is extensive agreement within racism research that racism has by no means disappeared but

[28] The concept is becoming increasingly popular in studies dealing with (for example) racism in the education system (Gomolla & Radtke 2002; Hunkler 2014; Kemper 2015), in the labour and housing markets (Müller 2015) or in state institutions such as the police (Hunold 2014).

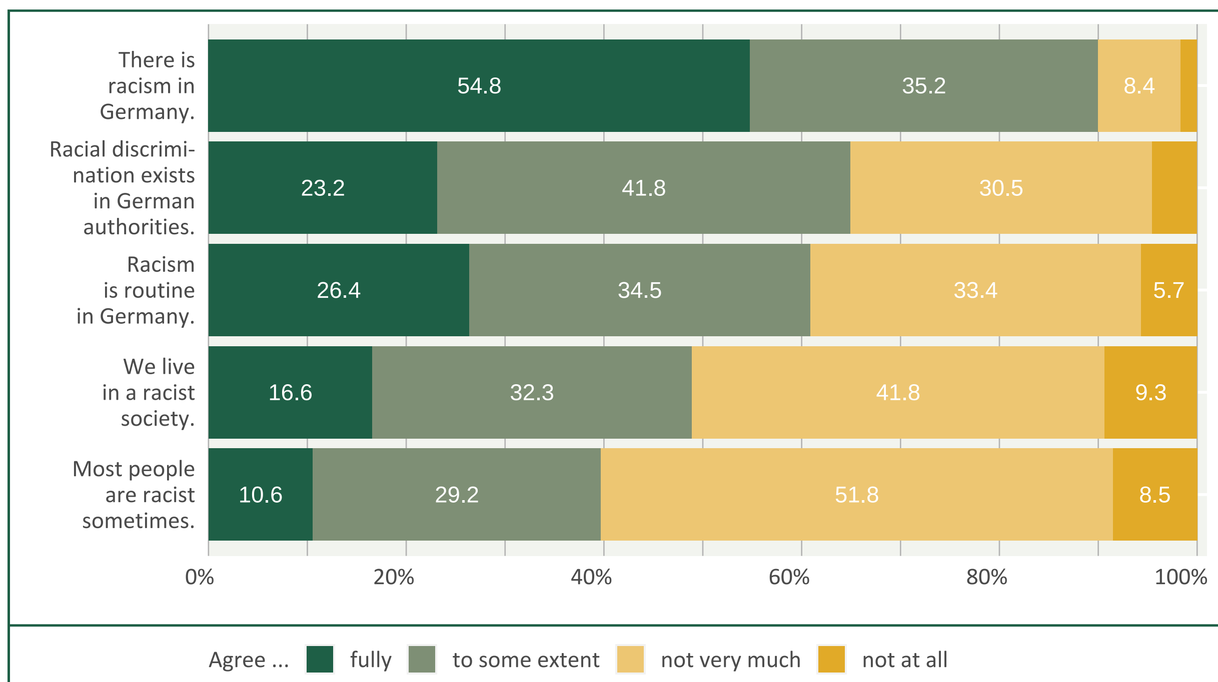
has in many cases assumed other, subtler, covert and indirect forms (McConahay & Hough 1976). What these subtle forms of racism have in common is that they can be practised without the actors being aware of it. This is the case in institutional racism, for example. An important submechanism in this context is implicit bias. In other words, despite the decline in openly racist attitudes, racism is reproduced through unconscious stereotypes and negative attitudes to racialised minorities (Pyke 2010; Banaji & Greenwald 2013).

This chapter analyses whether the population recognises and reflects on the various forms of racism – everyday, institutional/structural, (un)intentional, subtle and cultural racism. Section 3.1 evaluates a number of questions on this which relate to the dissemination of racism in Germany but are also connected with reflecting on how racism is rooted in daily life and in institutional structures. Section 3.2 considers people's understanding of unintentional components. Here the aim is not to ascertain how widespread phenomena such as everyday racism, institutional racism or unintentional racism actually are in Germany. To some extent, this requires different survey designs and methodological approaches, which will, however, be a focus of the main NaDiRa surveys and modules. Instead this preliminary study illustrates the extent to which the population is aware of these phenomena and attaches relevance to them.

3.1 Perception and acknowledgement of racism as a problem in Germany

Firstly, the survey results (see Figure 14) confirm very strikingly that across society racism is viewed as a subject that is relevant to Germany. Around 90 % of the persons interviewed agree with the statement that there is racism in Germany (55 % "fully" and a further 35 % "to some extent"). Given the reactions to the racist murders in Halle and Hanau, and the Black Lives Matter protests, which also provoked a strong response in Germany

Figure 14. Perception of racism in Germany



Note: Figure 14 shows the interviewees' agreement with the respective statements about racism in Germany. Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** 23.2 % of all interviewees agree fully with the statement "Racial discrimination exists in German authorities". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

(Milman et al. 2021; Zajak, Sommer & Steinhilper 2021), the noticeable reflection on racism in Germany might also be due to media and political attention (Milman et al. 2021). Nonetheless, the huge general agreement with this statement makes it clear that society is no longer in any doubt that racism exists.

A majority, albeit a much smaller proportion of the total population, also state that racism is part of everyday life in Germany – a good 26 % of the interviewees agree with this “fully” and just under 35 % “to some extent”, i.e. just under 61 % of the study participants in total. That is almost two thirds of the population.

With regard to institutional aspects of racism, there is a high level of agreement with the statement that there is racial discrimination in German authorities. Almost two thirds of the interviewees (65 %) tend to agree here. Consequently, there is widespread perception in society that racism can have structural components. This is supported by the fact that almost one in two also agree with the extreme statement “We live in a racist society” (17 % agree “fully” and approximately 32 % agree “to some extent”). Almost 40 % of the interviewees also share the view that most people are racist sometimes. This too indicates that people perceive that different forms of racism affect many people’s daily lives.

Overall, the different agreement values for the various statements show that racism is recognised as an issue in society and is only basically denied by a small minority. Most interviewees are also aware of its manifestations as everyday racism or institutional racism. The agreements with the individual statements tend to be closely connected.[29]

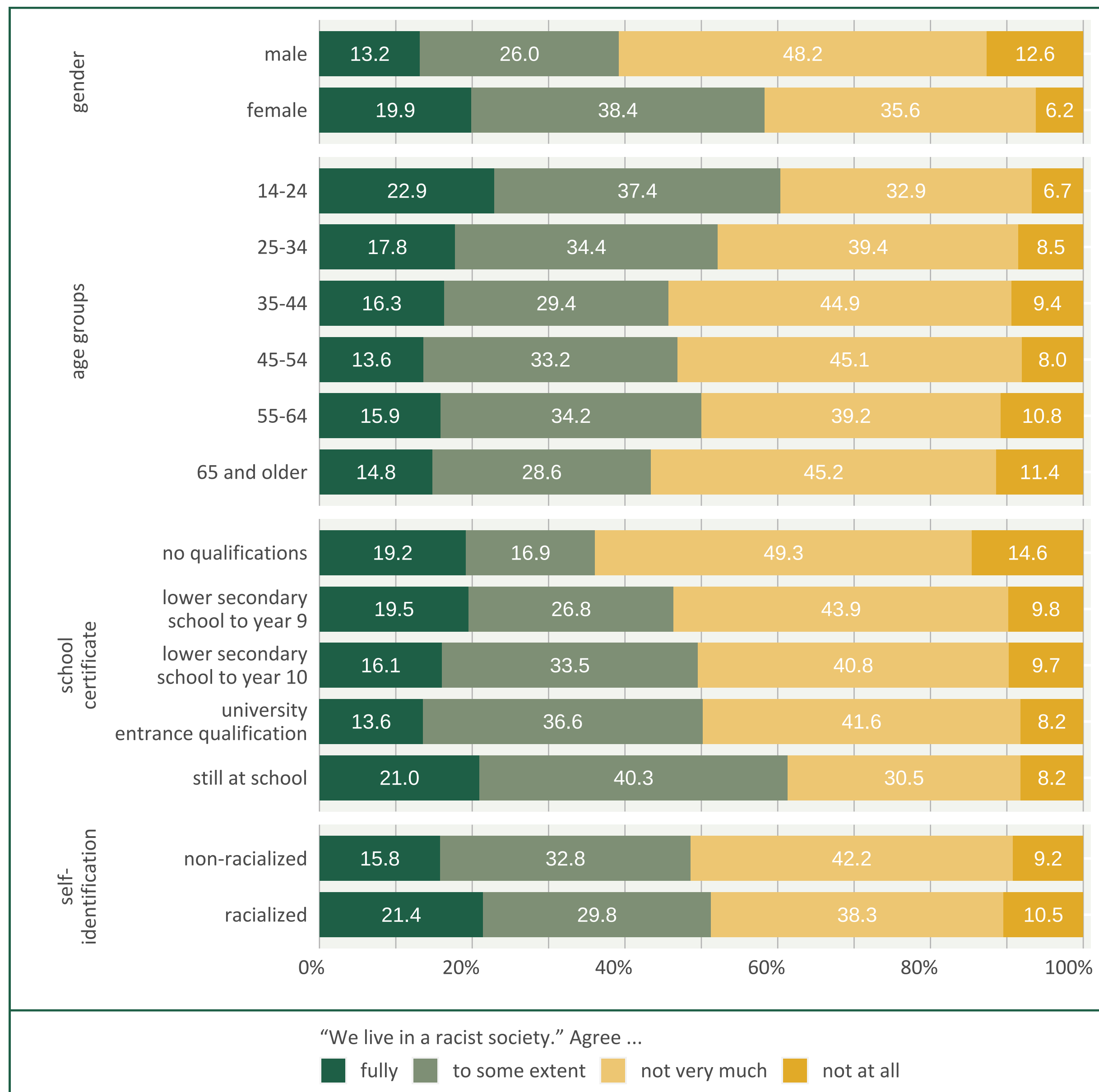
Figure 15 shows how conceptions of racism among different sociodemographic groups differ from one another. To this end, the distribution within the statement “We live in a racist society” is examined across individual subgroups. It is evident that women are far more apt to assume that society is marked by racism than men. Well over half of all women (58.3 %) tend to agree with this statement, compared to far less than half of all men (39.2 %).

Relatively strong correlations are evident here in terms of age groups. While 60.3 % of 14- to 24-year-olds agree “fully” or “to some extent” with the statement, this rate tends to decline as age increases, and the figure is only 43.4 % for interviewees who are aged 65 or older. A clear trend is also apparent with regard to education – agreement is lowest among interviewees without a school-leaving certificate, and highest among those with a university entrance-level qualification. On the other hand, those who are still at school show even higher levels of agreement. It is striking that the members of the six racialised groups do not show any notably higher agreement levels than the rest of the interviewees.[30]

[29] In exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in this chapter and in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, the five items in Figure 14 have a loading on a common factor. They correlate highly with one another and together form a scale with a high level of reliability (Cronbach’s alpha = .76). The item with the highest item–test correlation in this scale is “Racism is part of everyday life in Germany”. The item “We live in a racist society”, which was selected for the analyses below, has the second-highest correlation in this respect.

[30] In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variables with the four variables with values 1–4 interpreted metrically), the distinction between racialised and non-racialised interviewees does not contribute to explaining the agreement in either bivariate or multivariate analyses (all four variables). All three other variables have a significant effect (5 % level) in both bivariate and multivariate analyses, but the contribution to the explanation is still low to moderate (R^2=.05 in the model with all four variables).

Figure 15. Perception of Germany as a racist society by sociodemographic characteristics

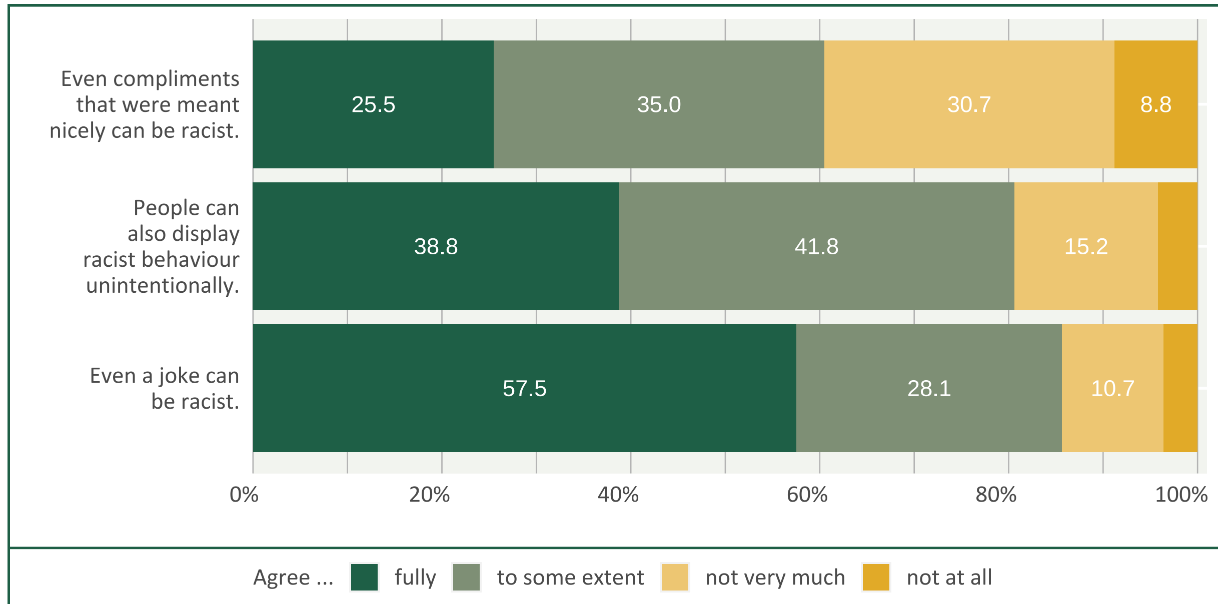


Note: Figure 15 shows the interviewees' agreement with the statement "We live in a racist society", differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 21.0% of the interviewees who are still at school agree fully with the statement "We live in a racist society". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

3.2 Unintentional racism

To ascertain whether the interviewees understand that racism in everyday life is not necessarily explicit and overt but is also practised subliminally and unconsciously, the correlations between three further statements were examined (see Figure 16).

Figure 16. Understanding of racism as an unintentional phenomenon



Note: Figure 16 shows the interviewees' agreement with the respective statements about the relationship between racism and intentionality. Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** 57.5 % of all interviewees fully agree with the statement "Even a joke can be racist". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

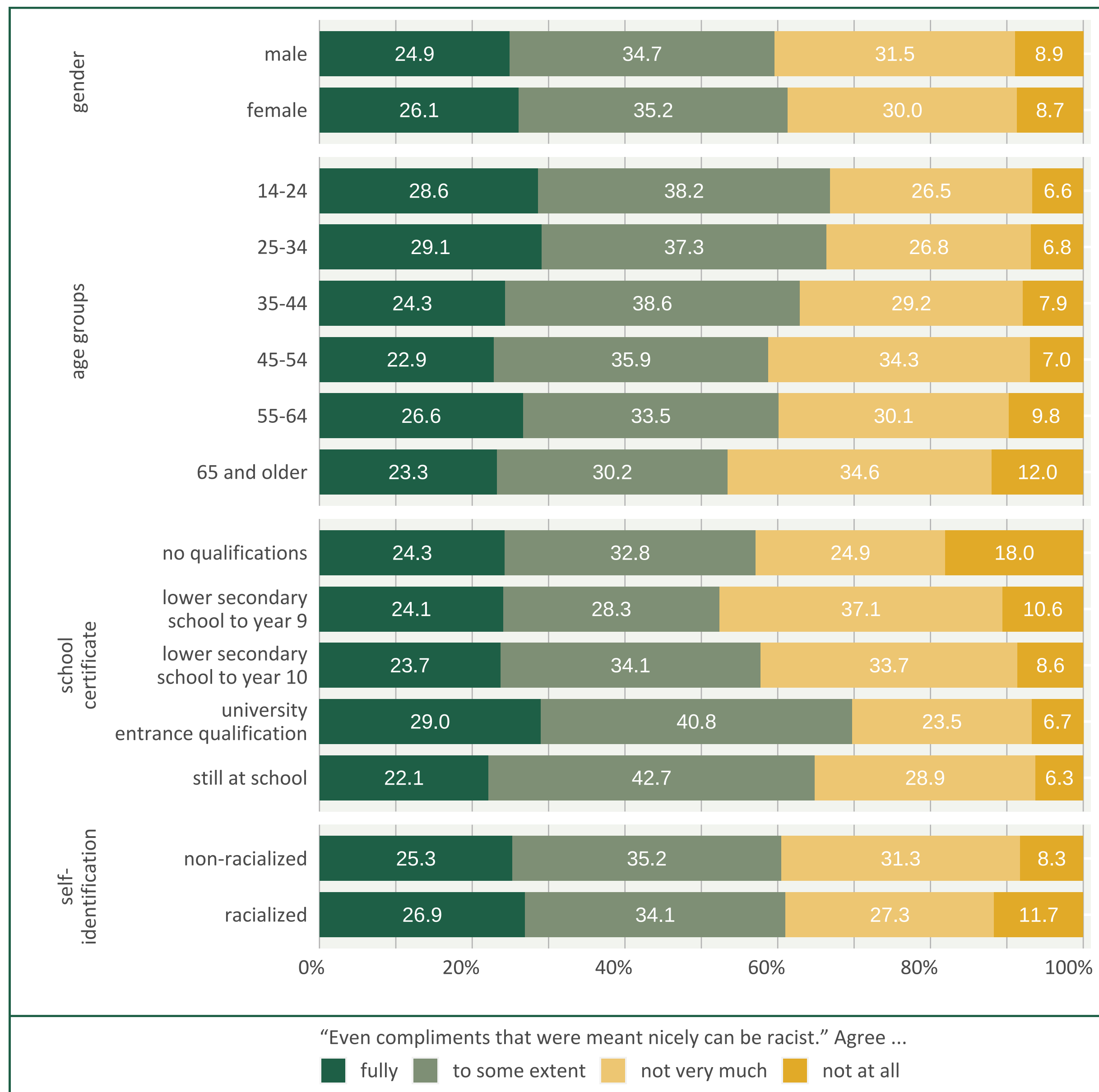
The vast majority of the interviewees state that "even compliments intended nicely can be racist", with 60.5 % of the interviewees tending to agree with this (25.5 % agree "fully", 35 % "to some extent"). An even larger proportion (80.6 %) believe that "people [...] can also exhibit racist behaviour unintentionally": 38.8 % agree "fully" with this statement, and a further 41.8 % "to some extent". The interviewees are especially sensitive to the potential effect of jokes. In total 85.6 % share the view that these can be racist.

The interviewees' agreements with the three statements are closely associated. The first statement in Figure 16, "Even compliments intended nicely can be racist" best reflects the general trend.[31] Figure 17 illustrates how the tendency to agree is distributed over the interviewees' different sociodemographic characteristics.

The answers scarcely differ, either between genders or between members of the six racialised groups and the other interviewees. Slight underlying trends can be identified which indicate that the perception of unintentional racism decreases with age and increases with education. However, these are not particularly

[31] In exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items in this chapter and of all the items used in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, the three items have a loading on a common factor. They have a moderate correlation with each other; a scale formed from them would only have a moderate level of reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .52). The item with the highest factor loading and the highest item–test correlation is "Even compliments intended nicely can be racist".

Figure 17. Understanding of racism as unintentional by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 17 shows the interviewees' agreement with the statement "Even compliments intended nicely can be racist", differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 24.9 % of the male interviewees fully agree with the statement "Even compliments intended nicely can be racist". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

pronounced, so overall it can be stated that the perception of unintentional racism is not particularly dependent on sociodemographic characteristics.[32]

32 In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variables with values 1–4 interpreted metrically) gender and the differentiation between racialised and non-racialised interviewees do not contribute to explaining the agreement in either bivariate or multivariate analysis (all four variables). Age and education have a significant effect (5 % level) in both bivariate and multivariate analysis. However, the contribution to the explanation is minor (R^2=.02 in the model with all four variables).

This chapter makes it clear that a majority of the interviewees consider that German society is shaped by racism. It can be concluded that the phase in which there was a debate about whether or not racism exists in Germany appears to be a thing of the past. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the population agree that there is racism in Germany. A large number agree with the statements that racism is prevalent in authorities, daily life and most people's behaviour.

Racism is perceived not only as an extreme, exceptional phenomenon in the media, but also as structuring daily life and society. A large majority recognise that racism can be expressed subtly and unintentionally, for example in jokes or compliments. It is evident here that it is no longer just those incidents that are overt and violent that count as racist. The idea of what is racist has changed. It is true that in the public debate there are still indications that to some extent the term racism is used very narrowly and relates only to physical and verbal attacks, for example (Bartsch & Ziegler 2022). But for the vast majority of the German population, such a narrowing down does not conclusively describe the phenomenon of racism.

Instead, the data analysed here show that the majority of the population not only notice or recognise explicitly discriminatory actions as racist, but also perceive that racism can be rooted at a much more fundamental level in the institutional and cultural organisation of society. The interviewees note that this can also have effects on individual actions – even if it is done unintentionally and unconsciously. One in two agree with the statement that "we live in a racist society". Just under 65 % of people tend to believe that there is racist discrimination in German authorities. Around 40 % of the population share the view that "most people are racist sometimes".

The broadening of the term 'racism' – away from the reduction of it to verbal abuse and physical harm perpetrated on obviously racialised people and towards a structuring power relation that generates, legitimises and secures established positions and privileges – is now predominantly under attack from new right-wing networks in the USA, and is vilified as a left-wing ideological project (Reveland 2021). The accusation is that structural racism is an invention of left-wing activists from elite US universities, who invented this idea and dubbed it 'critical race theory' in order to attack white people and deprive them of their positions (of power). This polemic has also been adopted to some extent in the German-speaking region. In many places there is an aversive reaction to the terms 'structural' or 'institutional' racism, with the implication that they automatically label everyone who is privileged by societal structures as racists.

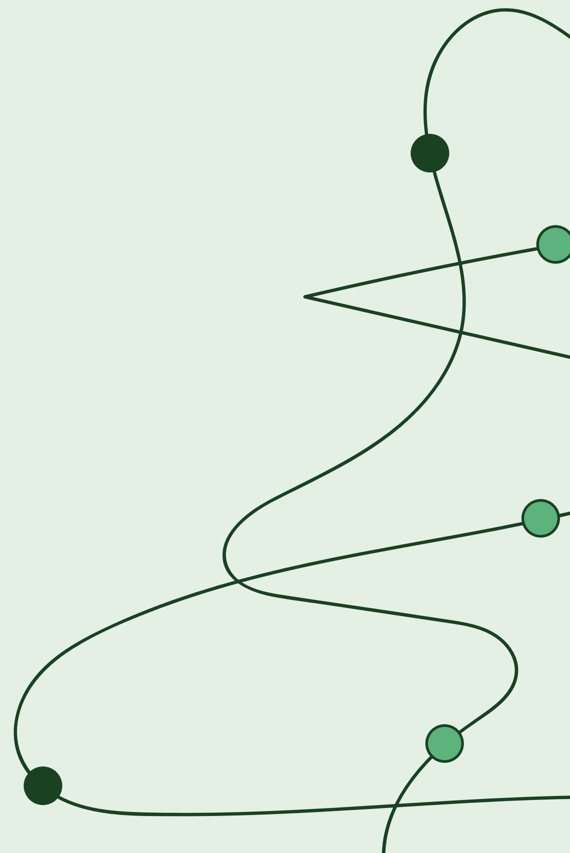
A constructive debate on the concept's theoretical content and meaning for a critical analysis of society is currently being drowned out by the polemical discourse and is therefore still lacking. The present analysis is neither intended to provide further empirical proof of the effectiveness of institutional structures in promoting inequality, nor is it capable of doing so. However, it does make clear that it is not an elite minority but a broad majority of people in Germany who recognise that racism exists in society, shapes daily life, is active in government institutions and authorities, and sometimes manifests itself in most people's behaviour. Nor is it only the groups potentially affected directly by racism who share this perception. Members of racialised and non-racialised groups alike agree with the statement 'We live in a racist society'.

SUMMARY:

- Much thought is given to racism in Germany, even when account is taken of social desirability as a possible factor in the interviewees' answers (cf. Section 1.4).
- Racism is clearly noticed and recognised as an everyday phenomenon in Germany.
- The interviewees appear to understand racism not just in terms of its individual facets but also in terms of its structural and institutional dimension.
- A relevant proportion of the population assume that racist thinking and behaviours are widespread.
- The data clearly show that there is marked reflection on racism, not only among those people who are themselves potentially directly affected but also in the population at large.

➔ **There is an urgent need for discussion of structural and institutional racism in Germany that goes beyond the polemic debates. These forms of racism need to be researched and further empirical data collected in order to be able to introduce effective political countermeasures. On an international comparison, Germany is lagging far behind on collecting data on this dimension.**

Assessing racism



When are scenarios judged to be racist, and what role is played by the group to which the persons affected belong?

4. Assessing racism – When are scenarios judged to be racist, and what role is played by the group to which the persons affected belong?

Racism is evident in specific interpersonal incidents, i.e. in situations and events in which members of certain groups are valued less, or treated worse, than other persons. However, there is no social consensus as to what counts as racist. Which situations or incidents should actually be classed as racist – or not – is therefore the subject of hefty debate. One possible approach to explaining this is offered by the prototype theory developed by Rosch et al. (1976), according to which people have no clear definition for many terminological concepts. Instead, they gradually allocate events to a particular concept – a prototype. This happens primarily through the similarity between an event and events that are already known. What this means when it comes to the perception of racism is that people do not simply compare a potentially racist incident with a clear definition of racism; instead they compare the event with situations they already know to be racist or non-racist, and decide how similar the new event is to the ones they already know. So whether or not something is construed as racist depends on which situations or events are serving as the reference standard. This standard will be based on information that is usually especially prevalent – for example, because it is frequently mentioned in connection with racism in their personal environment or (social) media. As well as examples of known incidents of racism, this information may commonly relate to normative and moral considerations too. If the reference standard changes, then a person's perception of what counts as racist will change too.

Hence this study asks how the population actually assesses typical scenarios in which racism operates. When working out whether or not something is perceived as racist, does it depend on which specific groups are affected? Do people who tend to describe certain scenarios as racist differ in terms of their characteristics from those who tend not to? How inclined are people to call something "racist" as compared to "unfair"?

To answer these questions, the study participants were shown descriptions of six scenarios from different areas of life, which they had to class as racist to differing degrees (see Figure 18). These were descriptions of hypothetical scenarios in which members of specific racialised groups are disadvantaged – Black people, Jewish people, Muslim people, Asian people, East European people, and Roma and Sinti people. Which hypothetical scenario was combined with which group was randomised. Accordingly, each interviewee assessed six scenarios involving different members of the groups mentioned above. To gain an impression of how specifically the particular scenarios are associated with the term 'racism', half of the interviewees were to assess how "racist" the scenarios are and the other half how "unfair" they are.

This chapter presents the central findings from the data that have been evaluated. They are divided into four sections. Firstly the various scenarios from different spheres of life are compared with one another (Section 4.1). Then differences in respect of the minority groups affected are examined (Section 4.2). This is followed by an analysis relating to the interviewees' sociodemographic characteristics (Section 4.3). Finally the findings for the different assessments of "racist" and "unfair'" are compared with one another (Section 4.4). This should provide information on situations for which the interviewees have reservations about explicitly labelling them racist, and to what extent. The final part of the chapter summarises and discusses the main findings (Section 4.5).

The central results are shown on the basis of extensive statistical analyses, which take account of the different combinations of the scenarios, groups, the interviewees' characteristics and assessments, both simultaneously and in terms of their interaction effects.[33]

4.1 Differences between scenarios in six spheres of life

First of all we examine the individual hypothetical scenarios and the different ways they tend to be assessed. The first of these scenarios concerns the field of entertainment. Fun and humour play an important role in circulating and downplaying racist prejudices in society, as they allow one group of people to share a laugh about racialised others (Stern, Lindemeyer & Tezcan-Güntekin 2018). On this topic, there have been various disputes in Germany in recent years about remarks by comedians, for example Lisa Eckhart or Dieter Nuhr. Comments by Chris Tall or Serdar Somuncu had previously caused a stir.[34] In contrast, comics such as Anke Engelke and Kaya Yanar now look back critically on their own sketches.[35]

Against the backdrop of these current media debates, the interviewees were given the following description of a situation: "A comedian on television tells clichéd jokes about [members of a particular group]". As explained above, one of six potentially racialised groups was randomly inserted instead of the placeholder: Black people, Jewish people, Muslims, Asian people, East Europeans, and Roma and Sinti people. The interviewees were then asked to what extent they assessed this as racist – "fully", "to some extent", "not very much" or "not at all".

As Figure 18 shows, the majority of the population in Germany (59.7 % in total) tend to regard clichéd jokes as racist: 34 % think this applies "fully", and just under 26 % more think it applies "to some extent". However, compared to the other scenarios they were asked about, the level of agreement here is relatively low.

The second description of a scenario relates to institutional government action. It asks: "An organisation newly founded by [members of a particular group] is initially monitored by the authorities as a precaution". In total, just under 64 % consider this to be "fully" or "to some extent" racist. On the other hand, 36 % of the interviewees think the term applies "not at all" or "not very much". The basis for this assessment might be the aforementioned cognitive reference standards for racist situations, but other reasons for this assessment are also conceivable. Firstly, the wording of the description does not rule out that there might be a particular reason for the monitoring. So some interviewees might have assumed when answering that monitoring undertaken "as a precaution" was based on such indications. Secondly, it can be assumed that to a certain extent the interviewees are relying on the fact that the state would act properly and correctly.

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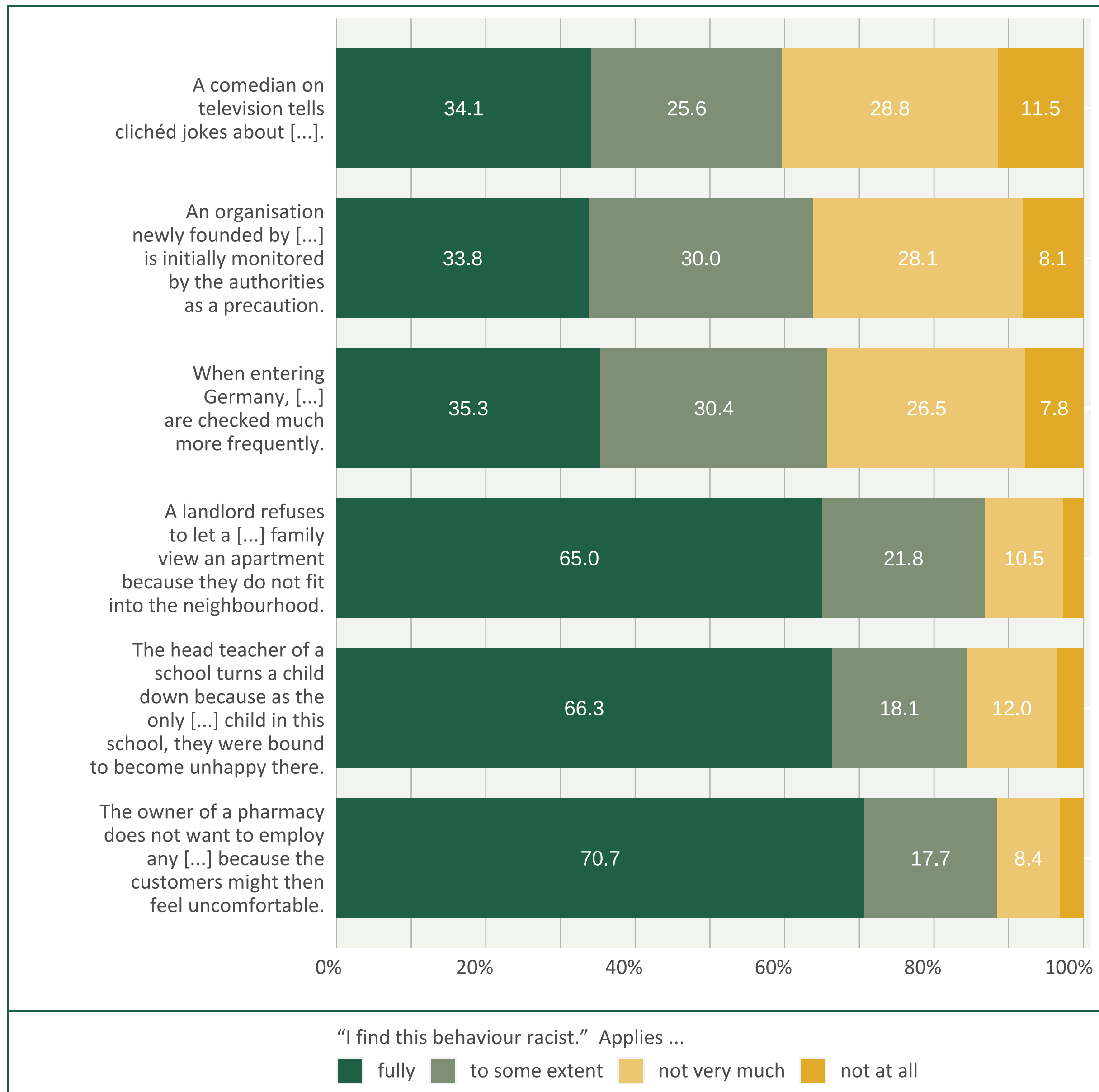
[33] A pooled dataset was prepared in which each of the assessments of the six scenarios by an interviewee was entered as a case. The agreements were then analysed as metric variables (1 "not at all", 2 "not very much", 3 "to some extent", 4 "fully") by means of linear regression models, with the clustering of the interviewees being accounted for by estimating the standard error.

[34] See (for example) Thorwarth, Katja (2020): Dieter Nuhr (ARD): Rassismus, Sexismus und schlechte Witze – nein danke!, 29.09.2020. Available online at https://www.fr.de/meinung/kolumnen/dieter-nuhr-stammtisch-kabarettisten-rassismus-sexismus-lisa-eckhart-gruber-florian-schroeder-schlechte-corona-witze-90053363.html, last checked on 28.09.2021; Deutschlandfunk (2017): Komiker Kawusi und Tall sorgen für Wirbel. Available online at https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/rechte-pointen-auf-der-comedy-buehne-komiker-kawusi-und-100.html, last checked on 18.03.2022; Schwarzer, Matthias (2020): Witze über Minderheiten: Dumm und aus der Zeit gefallen. In: Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland, 23.09.2020. Available online at https://www.rnd.de/kultur/witze-uber-minderheiten-dumm-und-aus-der-zeit-gefallen-was-darf-satire-YC3RLIDUTZGAXC4CQ5P4JUB5KE.html, last checked on 28.09.2021.

[35] Cf. n-tv.de (2020): Hoëcker und Yanar kritisieren eigene Gags. In: n-tv, 26.09.2020. Available online at https://www.n-tv.de/leute/Hoecker-und-Yanar-kritisieren-eigene-Gags-article22061617.html, last checked on 28.09.2021.

Figure 18. Assessment of various scenarios as racist (without taking account of the group concerned)



Note: The interviewees were asked to categorise the different scenarios as racist to differing degrees. Figure 18 shows the average assessment of the scenario, irrespective of the randomly selected group. Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** 7.8 % of the interviewees do not agree at all that the scenario "When entering Germany [members of a group potentially affected by racism] are checked much more frequently" is racist. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

The description of a further scenario in this context indicates the same thing: "When entering Germany [members of a particular group] are checked much more frequently". Around 35 % class this behaviour as "fully" racist and a further 30 % as racist "to some extent". Here too the tendency for the remainder (around 34 %) to disagree could have something to do with the fact that security-related actions by the state are perceived as legitimate. This assumption implies that state institutions are only presumed to be racist if the situation leaves little room for alternative explanations.

There has been much discussion in Germany lately about racial profiling, including in connection with a planned study of racism in the police, which the Federal Minister of the Interior at the time, Horst Seehofer, rejected.[36] In the Afrozensus, a study of the experiences of Black, African and Afrodiasporic people in Germany, over half of the respondents reported that they had been checked by the police at least once in their life for no apparent reason (Aikins et al. 2021). We still lack any more extensive, reliable findings on how widely racial profiling also occurs in other affected groups. However, a study by the Fundamental Rights Agency also indicates that in Germany both people from a Turkish background and people from the former Yugoslavia are checked by the police almost twice as often as members of the majority society (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2010). In the survey of people affected by discrimination in Germany, Diskriminierungserfahrungen in Deutschland, around 70 % of those affected by police checks with no reasonable suspicion ascribed them to their (assumed) origin (Beigang et al. 2017).

Time and again the media run reports of racism in the housing market, most recently (for example) on Brebau GmbH, a housing construction company in Bremen. According to newspaper reports, when accepting tenants the company discriminated against people on the basis of their origin, name, religion and knowledge of German, among other things.[37] Discrimination in the housing market has been verified scientifically by means of experimental studies (Müller 2015; Auspurg & Hinz 2017). Within the framework of these studies, two people who are as similar as possible in terms of relevant characteristics such as their income apply for the same apartments. However, they differ in their origin, which is indicated by a foreign-sounding name on the application forms or an accent on the phone. Comparison of the positive responses received by both of these people indicates the existence and extent of discrimination.

The description of the fourth scenario to be assessed by the interviewees for racist content is worded to reflect this: "A landlord refuses to let a family [belonging to a particular group] rent an apartment after they have viewed it because they would not fit in in the neighbourhood". 66 % of the interviewees "fully" agree with the statement that this is racist and a further 18 % agree that it is racist "to some extent". Consequently the landlord's refusal of the family is perceived as racist by a sizeable majority (84 %).

The description of the fifth scenario that the interviewees were asked to assess in respect of racism relates to education. Numerous studies have examined racism in the education system (Broden 2010). The 'PISA shock' in 2000 was followed by an increase in people's awareness of the connection between sociostructural differences and pupils' attainments. The PISA Study in 2000 found not only that on a Europe-wide comparison pupils in Germany achieved worse results overall but also that their social background had a substantial influence on their achievements – due to sociostructural disadvantages, pupils with a migration background fared worse on average than their fellow pupils without a migration background.

To find out how the interviewees perceive racial discrimination in this context, they were presented with the following description of a scenario from the educational sphere: "The head teacher of a school turns a child down because as the only child [belonging to a particular group] they were bound to become unhappy

[36] See (for example) Starzmann, Paul (2020): Groko streitet über Rassismus bei der Polizei. In: Der Tagesspiegel, 06.07.2020. Available online at https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/illegale-praxis-des-racial-profiling-groko-streitet-ueber-rassismus-bei-der-polizei/25981038.html, last checked on 28.09.2021; Abbas, Fatima (2020): Mindestens 170 Verdachtsfälle von Rechtsextremismus bei der Polizei. In: Der Tagesspiegel, 08.09.2020. Available online at https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/hitlergruss-antisemitische-videos-reichsbuergersymbole-mindestens-170-verdachtsfaelle-von-rechtsextremismus-bei-der-polizei/26162960.html, last checked on 28.09.2021; Julke, Ralf (2021): Von wegen Einzelfälle: Inzwischen 49 "Verdachtsfälle mit Bezug zum Rechtsextremismus" bei der sächsischen Polizei. In: Leipziger Zeitung, 13.08.2021. Available online at https://www.l-iz.de/politik/sachsen/2021/08/von-wegen-einzelfaelle-inzwischen-49-verdachtsfaelle-mit-bezug-zum-rechtsextremismus-bei-der-saechsischen-polizei-404890, last checked on 28.09.2021.

[37] Brunnée, Lina; Burghardt, Peter; Vespermann, Stella (2021): Wohnungen für Weiße. In: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20.05.2021. Available online at https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/rassismus-wohnungsmarkt-bremen-1.5300030, last checked on 29.09.2021.

there". This description is particularly interesting because the head teacher's discrimination is justified by their supposed concern for the child's welfare. Nonetheless, the scenario is classed as racist by around 84 % of the interviewees in total ("fully" racist 66 %, racist "to some extent" 18 %). This suggests that the participants did infer from the description of the scenario that the child was turned down simply because they belonged to a particular group. The interviewees clearly do not believe the supposed justification that this was done because it was in the child's best interests, so they do not accept this ostensible reason and assess the action as racist.

Last but not least, a further area in which the persons affected frequently experience systemic discrimination on the basis of their (assumed) origin is working life. This has already been demonstrated in numerous studies relating to job hunting in particular. To study discrimination, the researchers submitted applications for various job advertisements. The applications were similar in terms of CV and stated skills yet varied in terms of whether (for example) a German-sounding or foreign-sounding name was stated, or what native language was mentioned. The documents submitted also contained references to belonging to a religious group. Subsequently the researchers monitored which of the applicants' profiles received a positive response. It was evident that persons of Muslim origin and Black people were discriminated against when looking for work (Veit, Koopmans & Yemane 2018; Thijssen et al. 2019; Veit & Thijssen 2019).

The sixth event to be assessed by the interviewees for its racist content in this preliminary study therefore relates to a specific situation in the world of work: "The owner of a pharmacy does not want to employ any [members of a particular group] because customers might feel uncomfortable". Of all the scenarios described, this was the one that was most frequently perceived as racist. In total, 89 % of the interviewees classed it as racist (approximately 71 % as "fully", just under 18 % as "to some extent" racist). From this finding we can conclude that the interviewees definitely recognise that, in a professional context, people are explicitly rejected because they belong to a particular group and not, for example, on the basis of any lack of qualifications. It is evident that the participants do not believe that referring to the attitudes of potential customers provides a legitimate excuse for turning an applicant down on the basis of their membership of a group.

Overall, it remains to be said that typical scenarios where racial discrimination plays a role are considered "to some extent" or "fully" racist by a substantial majority of the population. In the examples selected, this applies in particular where scenarios involve disadvantages in structural areas such as working life, the education system or the housing market. A scenario is classed as racist less frequently when it involves governmental or institutional action that can be associated with security interests in the broadest sense. The perception is even weaker in the field of entertainment (here: comedy).

4.2 Differences between the groups affected

It is a known fact in research that the extent to which racism is perceived can vary depending on the groups concerned (Marti, Bobier & Baron 2000; Beigang et al. 2017). These differences in assessment can be caused by the mutability of racism, which is described in this study (see section Starting points: Definition of the term). The rate and significance of this ability to shift from a biologistically constructed racism to an ethnocentric racism targeting cultural differences have been the subject of academic debates (Balibar & Wallerstein 1990).

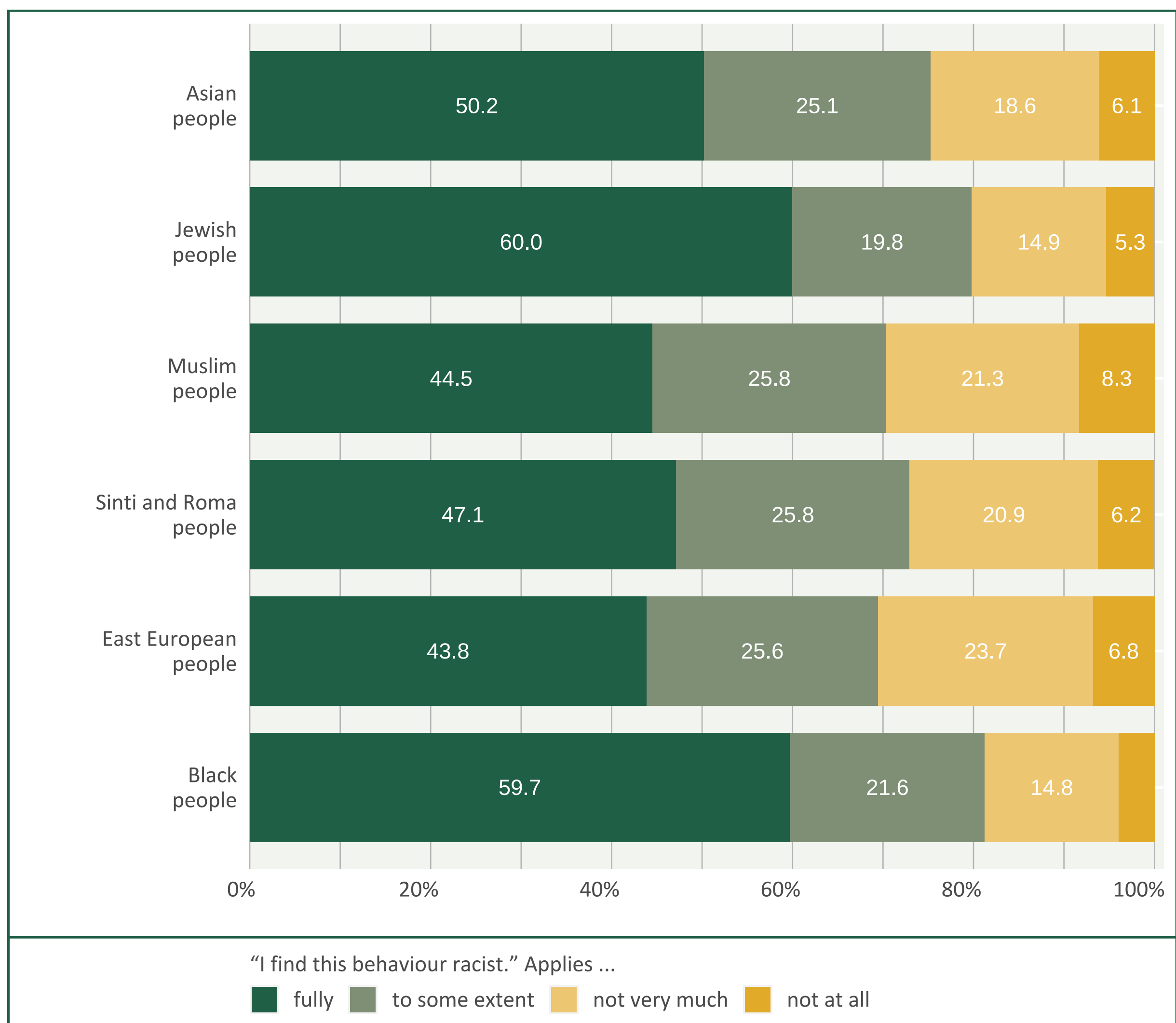
The discussion of the term "racism", whether defined more narrowly or more broadly, is accompanied by differences in the way discrimination against different groups in Germany is evaluated. Thus cases of racism that are regarded as especially typical are more easily recognised as such. What people assess as 'typical' or

'atypical' is closely connected to what they themselves have experienced, heard from other people, learned, or is discussed especially frequently in the media (Rosch et al. 1976).

As explained above, one of a total of six groups was inserted randomly into every description of a scenario and presented to each interviewee. The groups concerned include Asian people, Jewish people, Muslim people, Roma and Sinti people, East European people and Black people. Firstly, all six scenarios were aggregated for each of the six groups. Figure 19 shows the extent to which the interviewees' assessment of whether or not a scenario is racist depends on which group is affected.

It is evident that the scenarios about which the interviewees were asked are most frequently perceived as racist when the persons affected are Black people or Jewish people.

Figure 19. Average assessment of scenarios as racist by group affected



Note: Figure 19 shows the average assessment of all six of the scenarios described in Section 4.1 and Figure 18 as racist, by group affected. Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** 6.1 % of the interviewees to whom a scenario in which Asian people are affected was presented do not find this scenario at all racist. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

In each case here, around 60% of the interviewees state that they regard the scenarios as "fully" racist; and around a further 20% class them as racist "to some extent". On the one hand this might have something to do with the high level of public condemnation of antisemitism and anti-Black racism, and in particular with a historical awareness of the Holocaust, colonialism and slavery. On the other hand, we can assume that the racism debates in the USA that are also received by the media in Germany also play a role in this assessment. The interviewees also frequently assess a scenario as being racist when it affects people of Asian origin (in total some 75% agree "fully" or "to some extent"). Comparable discrimination is less often classed as racist when it involves Sinti and Roma people (approximately 73%), Muslim people (approximately 70%) or people of East European origin (approximately 69%).[38]

When the scenarios are differentiated according to the individual descriptions, some interesting deviations from this basic pattern arise. Figure 20 shows the proportion of the answers that tend to agree ("fully" and "to some extent" amalgamated) for the six different racialised groups depending on the specific scenario.

Initially it is striking that the assessments of the same scenarios (albeit with different affected groups) as these tending towards being racist lie more closely together when discrimination is assessed in the three structural areas 'pharmacy', 'school' and 'landlord'. It also becomes apparent that in all scenarios, discrimination against Black people is most clearly perceived as racist, closely followed by Jewish people. Discrimination against Asian people is indeed assessed at a similarly high level for the three structural scenarios 'pharmacy', 'landlord' and 'school', but for the scenarios 'immigration' and 'organisations' the gap between them and the previously mentioned groups is somewhat larger. It is notable that, compared to other groups, clichéd jokes about Asian people are much less often considered racist. In addition, it is particularly striking that discriminatory behaviour against Muslims in terms of monitoring newly founded organisations is the least likely to be classified as racist.[39] Possible reasons for this might be that Muslims are to some extent associated with stereotypes of radicalisation and terrorism (e.g. Zick 2017), and that when assessing the scenario the interviewees assume that there is a reason for state monitoring.

4.3 Differences between the interviewees

Below we highlight which sections of the population tend to categorise as racist the behaviours or approaches in the scenarios described. Figure 21 shows the assessment of the scenario categorised by age, gender and education, as well as according to whether or not the interviewees class themselves as being in one of the six racialised groups.[40] The percentages stated combine all six scenarios and all six groups affected.

The data evaluation reveals that women assess the scenarios mentioned as racist more frequently than men. Across all scenarios and groups, 56% of women agree "fully" and a further 23.1% "to some extent" that the behaviours outlined are racist. Among the men, on the other hand, only 45.5% answer "fully" and 24.8% "to some extent" racist. In total, 79.1% of the women and 70.3% of the men class the described scenarios as racist.

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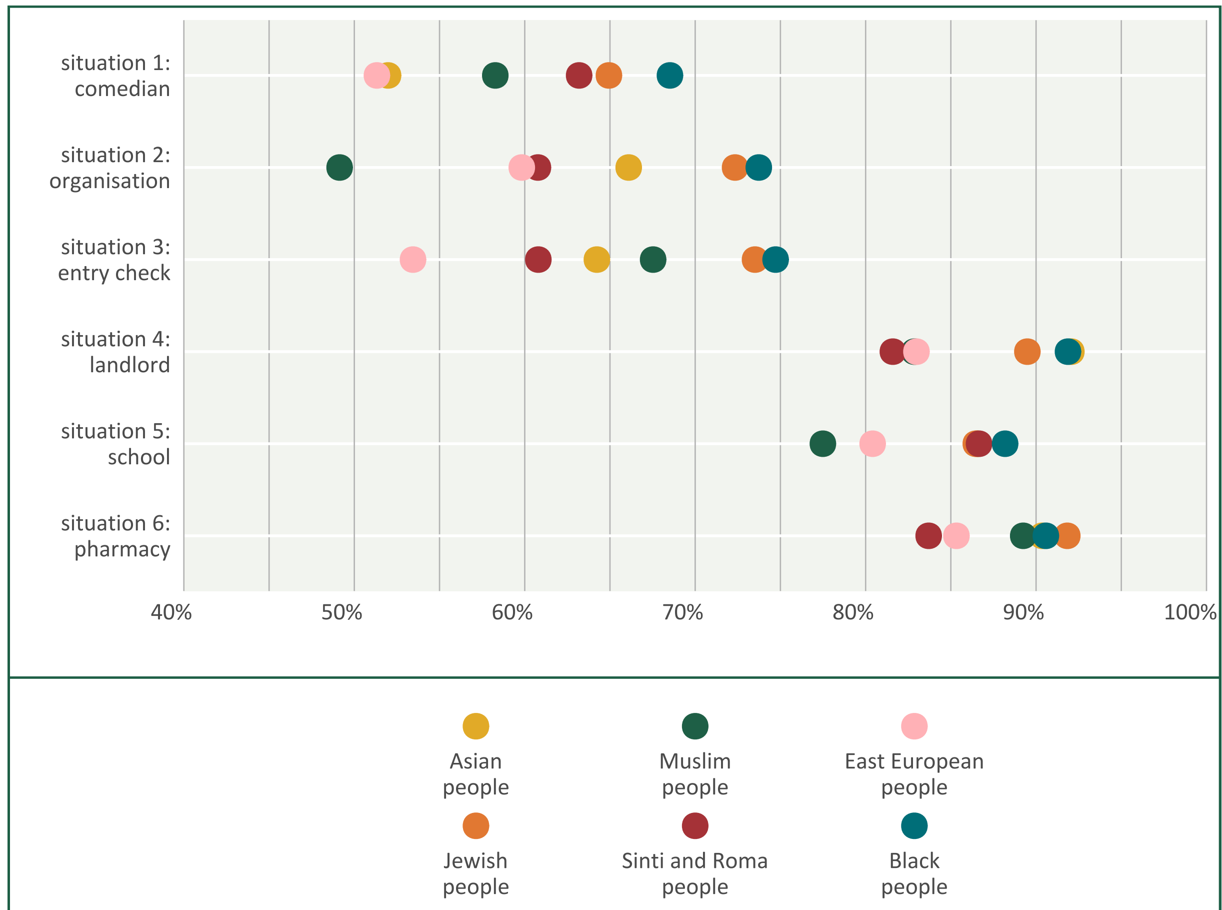
[38] The differences between "Black" and "Jewish" are not significant in multivariate models (significance level < .05), but the differences between these two groups and all the other groups are significant. The strength of agreement in the category "Asian" also differs significantly from all other groups. The same also applies for the category "Sinti and Roma people". In contrast, the differences between "Muslim" and "East European" are not significant.

[39] The use of multivariate statistical models shows that this deviation from the basic patterns (interaction effect) is the greatest deviation of all in total and is highly significant statistically.

[40] When multivariate regression models are also controlled simultaneously for the six different events and the six groups affected, then gender, age and education contribute significantly (5% level) to explaining the classification as racist. The effect of membership of one of the racialised groups is not significant.

Figure 20. Assessment of behaviour as racist according to the scenario and the group affected



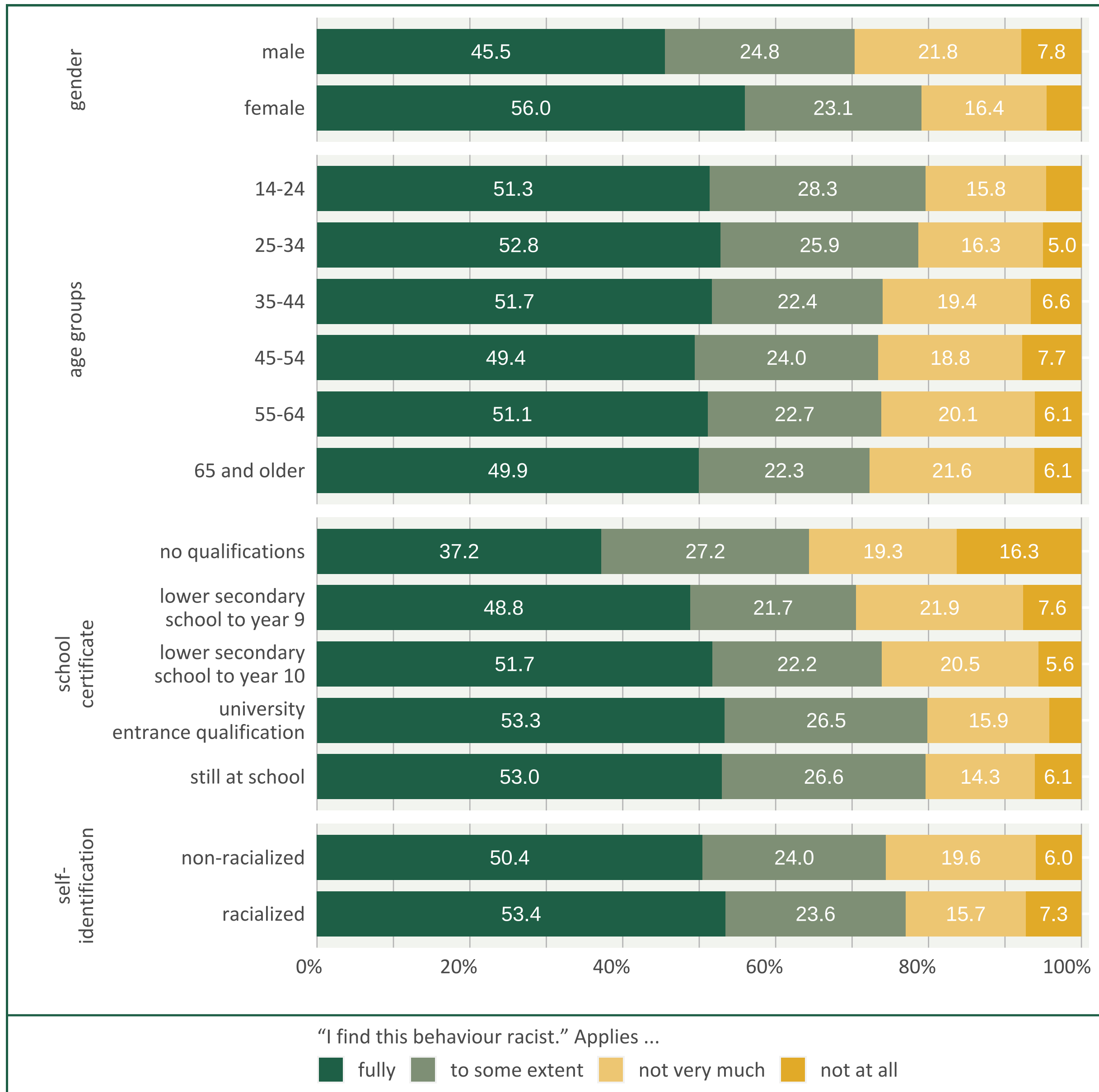
Note: Figure 20 shows the proportion of interviewees who answered "applies to some extent" or "applies fully" to the question pertaining to the racist nature of a scenario, differentiated by the six scenarios as well as by the six groups affected. **Example interpretation:** 53.4 % of the interviewees who were presented with the scenario "A comedian on television tells clichéd jokes about Asian people" find this scenario "to some extent" or "fully" racist. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

Smaller differences are apparent in terms of age. The percentage values for those who "fully" agree that the scenarios are racist scarcely differ between the age groups; they fluctuate between 49.9 % for the age group "65 and older" and 52.8 % in the age group "25–34". If we also take account of the category "to some extent" racist, it is evident that persons aged between 14 and 34 tend to assess the hypothetical scenarios as racist more frequently than older interviewees (79.6 % vs 72.2 %), but even then the differences are only slight.

Clearer differences in assessing the scenarios are apparent in terms of educational background. Interviewees without a school certificate are least likely to categorise the scenarios as racist – only around 37 % on average select as their level of agreement the category "fully", and around 27 % the category "to some extent". For interviewees who possess a university entrance-level qualification or are still at school, the values here are 53 % for "fully" racist and 26.5 % for racist "to some extent".

The differences are especially striking when we consider the category "not at all" – around 16 % of the interviewees without a school certificate find the incidents outlined in the scenarios "not at all" racist, four times as many as among the interviewees with a university entrance-level qualification (4.2 %).

Figure 21. Assessment of behaviour as racist (for all scenarios and all groups affected in total) by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 21 shows the average assessment across all scenarios and groups affected, differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. Proportions below 5 % are not shown. **Example interpretation:** On average, 7.8 % of the male interviewees think that the scenarios described for the randomly selected groups affected are not at all racist. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

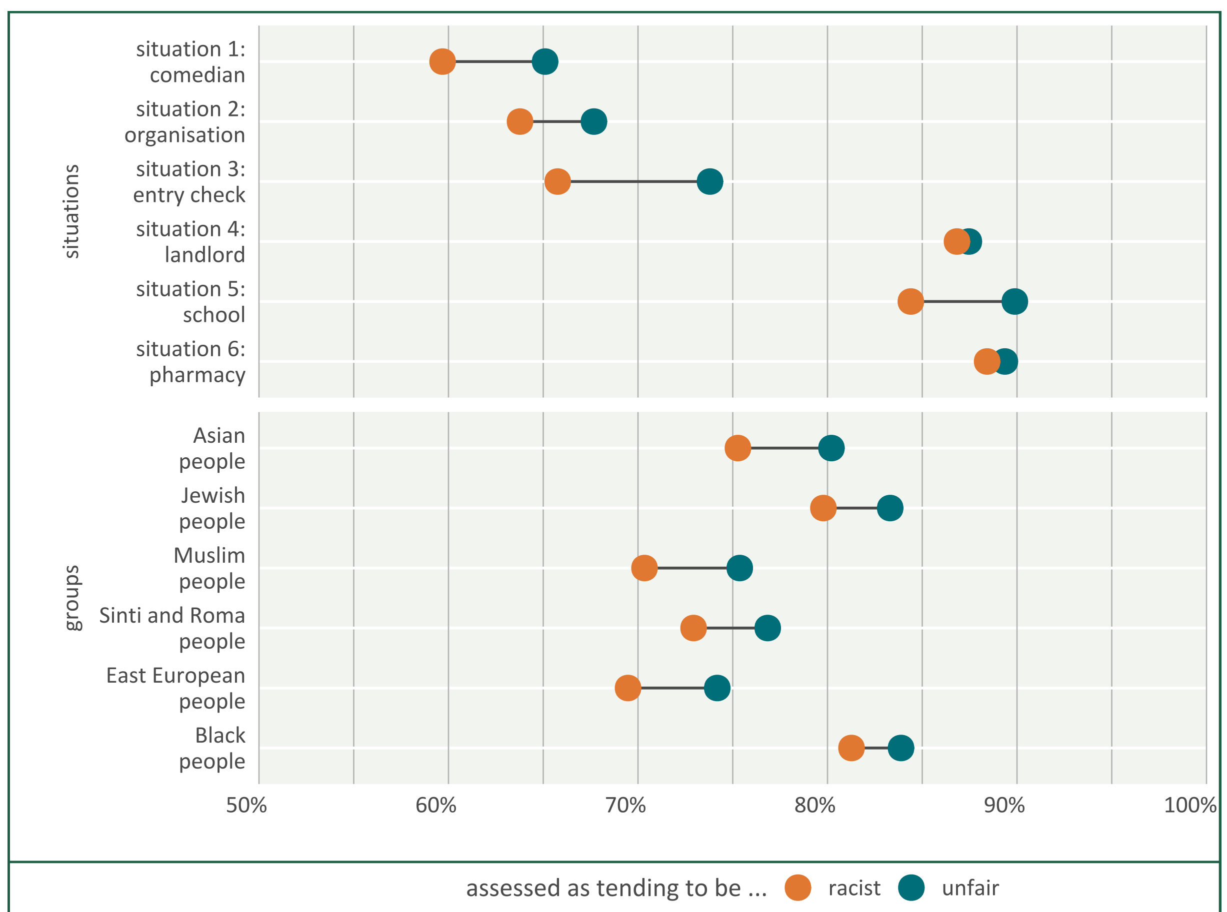
Study participants who class themselves as belonging to the six racialised groups tend to consider the scenarios racist slightly more often than the other interviewees (77.0 % vs 74.4 %).

4.4 Labelling racism – “racist” or “unfair”?

As explained at the start, there is no generally valid understanding and no consistent use of the term racism. To some extent, recognising racism requires more in-depth consideration. Unjustified discrimination against a particular group can be regarded as racist or not depending on how people understand or define racism. There can also be inhibitions regarding use of the historically loaded term ‘racism’.

Hence in this study half of the interviewees were asked to assess how “racist” the scenarios are and the other half how “unfair” they are. The systematic comparison of the two assessments allows us to identify which interviewees agree with the assessment “racist” or “unfair” for which scenarios and which groups, and where they differ.

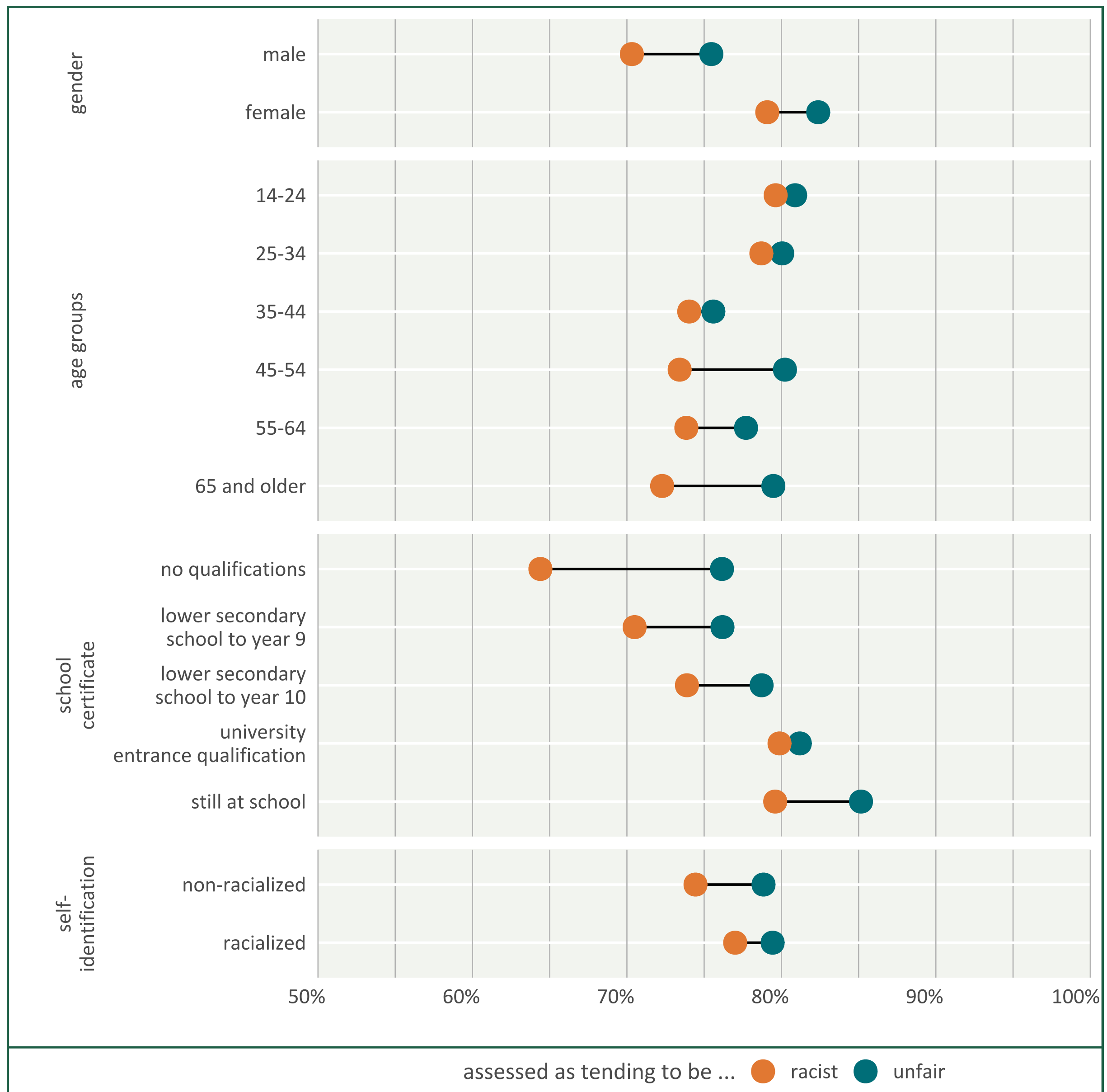
Figure 22. Assessment as “unfair” vs “racist” for different scenarios and affected groups



Note: Figure 22 shows the average proportion of the interviewees who tend to agree (i.e. who answer “applies to some extent” or “applies fully”), depending on whether they are presented with the statement that the corresponding scenario is “racist” or “unfair”. The figure above differentiates between the six scenarios (top) and between the six groups affected (below). **Example interpretation:** On average 65.8 % of the interviewees think that the scenario “A comedian on television tells clichéd jokes about [members of a group potentially affected by racism]” tends to be unfair and 59.7 % of the interviewees think the same scenario tends to be racist. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

Figure 22 shows the descriptions of scenarios on which agreement with the two terms differs. The 'pharmacy' and 'landlord' scenarios particularly stand out, with the proportions of answers agreeing with the words "unfair" or "racist" being almost identical here. For the other four scenarios, it is evident that the participants tend to agree with the assessment "unfair" much more often than the assessment "racist". Hence discrimination against members of racialised groups is specifically labelled "racist" in the contexts of the labour and housing markets, yet discrimination in other areas of life tends to be termed "unfair".

Figure 23. Assessment of scenarios as tending to be "unfair" vs "racist" (for all scenarios and affected groups in total) by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 23 shows the proportion of the interviewees who tend to agree (i.e. who answer "applies to some extent" or "applies fully"), depending on whether they are presented with a statement that a scenario is "unfair" or "racist", differentiated by gender, age group, the interviewees' highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. The percentage shown relates to all six scenarios and six groups affected overall. **Example interpretation:** On average 70.3 % of the male interviewees class a randomly selected scenario with a randomly used group as tending to be racist, and 75.4 % of the male interviewees describe the same scenario as tending to be unfair. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

If we consider the differentiation between “unfair” and “racist” in respect of the different groups affected, the two assessments in the case of Black people show the smallest differences (“unfair” 83.9 % vs “racist” 81.3 %). The gap between the assessments “unfair” and “racist” in respect of Jewish people is similar to that for Black people (“unfair” 83.4 % vs “racist” 79.8 %). Hence behaviour felt to be “unfair” is also labelled ‘racist’ the most frequently when it involves these two groups. Discrimination against other affected groups tends to be described as “unfair” more frequently in comparison to “racist”. However, the differences between the two assessments are small overall.

Across all scenarios and groups, generally speaking (79 %) the interviewees agree that the scenario outlined is “unfair” (“fully” or “to some extent”). When the term “racist” is used for the same descriptions of hypothetical scenarios, in total 75 % of the interviewees agree. This indicates that when assessing discrimination against members of particular groups of the population, people use the term “racist” to a similar degree of frequency as they use the term “unfair”. This leads us to suppose that people in Germany do not shy away from using the word racism or assessing a scenario as being racist.

With regard to age groups (Figure 23) it is noticeable that the three younger groups of interviewees (14–24, 25–34 and 35–44) only exhibit slight differences in their assessment, i.e. they also use the term “racist” to refer to behaviour felt to be “unfair”. The older interviewees (45–54, 55–64 and over 65) make a considerably greater distinction here. Moreover, women show a smaller difference between the terms used in their assessments compared to men. If we compare the intervals between education groups, it is evident that the interviewees with a university entrance-level qualification make a proportionately smaller distinction between the assessments “unfair” and “racist”, while those with no school certificate make a comparatively greater distinction. The members of the six racialised groups also differentiate between the two terms to a lesser extent than the other interviewees.

4.5 Conclusion: There is an awareness of structural racism – but not in equal measure for all its forms

Whether an action is assessed as racist depends on the respective context. Scenarios that suggest that there is structural discrimination are more frequently recognised as racist. This fits the empirical findings ascertained in Chapter 3, which indicate that the population in Germany conceive of racism far more broadly than simply as an expression of individual opinion and attitudes.

An overwhelming majority (89 %) class it as racist when a pharmacist does not wish to employ members of a particular group because customers might “feel uncomfortable”. A clear majority (85 %) also recognise racism when the head teacher of a school turns a child down on account of that child’s origin, even if the justification is supposedly for the child’s welfare. Furthermore, 87 % assess it as racist when a family is not granted a viewing for an apartment because they “would not fit in in the neighbourhood”. Thus to a large extent the population in Germany recognise that there is structural racism in the areas of work, education and housing and do not allow themselves to be misled by spurious justifications.

In contrast, scenarios involving racism in the context of art and culture are classed as racist less often – if a comedian tells clichéd jokes about particular groups, only 60 % perceive this as racist. This might be due to the fact that humour and culture are recognised as areas where it is permitted to cross linguistic or conceptual boundaries.

However, whether a scenario is assessed as racist also depends on the group affected by it. Scenarios are most frequently assessed as racist when the persons affected are Black people or Jewish people (60 % "fully", around 20 % "to some extent" racist). This seems to reflect the public shunning of anti-Black racism and antisemitism. This might indicate that the historical knowledge conveyed in schools about the Holocaust and the history of colonialism and slavery has a positive impact in terms of raising awareness of this phenomenon. The interviewees' awareness at the time of the survey might also have been influenced by the reception of current racism debates following the murder of George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter protests. In addition, the agreement values might partly be ascribable to social desirability.

Scenarios are least commonly perceived as racist when they apply to East European people (44 % agree "fully", 26 % "to some extent"). This might be due to East European people being seen as 'white' while racism is mainly perceived as something that affects people labelled as 'non-white'. It might also be the case that awareness of the existence of anti-Slav racism is not so prevalent in the collective knowledge archive. In addition, scenarios are far less often described as racist when they apply to Muslims and Sinti and Roma people (45 % and 47 % respectively "fully", 25 % "to some extent"). Existing empirical findings indicate that these two groups are treated particularly degradingly in the population (cf. for example the Mitte Studies; ZfA 2014). This might explain why these two groups are categorised as less vulnerable and worthy of protection, and people are therefore less likely to concede that they experience racist discrimination. Anti-Asian racism is "fully" recognised in 50 % of cases (in 25 % "to some extent"). This is also a lower figure than the one pertaining to recognition of anti-Black racism and antisemitism. As Asian people were long regarded as the model minority, it is possible that in Germany too the awareness of this form of racism has only been increasing for a shorter time (Suda, Mayer & Nguyen 2020).

Three quarters of the participants assess the scenarios described in this chapter as tending to be racist, with more than half even describing them as "fully" racist. This suggests a high level of overall awareness of the subject of racism in daily life and in social structures, and adds to the broad awareness of the problem revealed in Chapter 3 with reference to recognising dimensions of racism. It should still be noted that the scenarios put to the interviewees are hypothetical, concisely worded and honed. Real situations are often harder to assess, as many other factors influence how situations are perceived and assessed. For example, witnesses might ascribe other reasons to the actors, rather than just the fact that the persons affected belong to a particular group, especially when the witnesses have not previously perceived the actors or institutions concerned as racist. As with all self-reporting – in particular on socially relevant and normatively charged topics – social desirability certainly also plays a role here. In other words, the interviewees tend to give socially conformist answers that are likely to be well received as a result. Nonetheless, a high level of agreement is apparent in terms of categorising the discrimination against racialised groups as "racist", and not merely as "unfair". This makes it clear that the population at large is prepared to address the phenomenon of racism seriously. As Chapter 5 shows next, this still involves conflict.

SUMMARY:

- This chapter underlines the generally high level of awareness of and reflection on racism in the population. Typical scenarios in which members of racialised minorities are discriminated against are clearly described as “racist” in the main. The interviewees are hardly any more reluctant to use this term than the term “unfair”.
- Structural dimensions are most explicitly recognised as racism and labelled as such. Thus most people are aware that racist discrimination can occur and exert an influence in the labour market, education and when searching for housing.
- The population is also aware of disparaging behaviour in the contexts of art and culture too, but this is not regarded as particularly racist in comparison with other contexts.
- It is striking that the extent to which a scenario is assessed as “racist” also depends on which group is affected (e.g. Asian people, Jewish people, Muslim people, East European people, Black people, or Sinti and Roma people). Specifically, it is evident that there is already a more widespread public awareness of antisemitism and anti-Black racism. This might be due either to a greater social desirability in the interviewees’ answers or to the fact that reflection on racism is already further advanced in respect of these two groups.

➔ **Measures are needed to create and increase awareness of the problem with regard to the different forms of racism. To counteract hierarchisations in the perception of racism, it must be researched at all levels and addressed publicly and politically.**

How do people react to criticism of racism?

5. Defensiveness – How do people react to criticism of racism?

The social debate about racism is uncomfortable. Apart from the extreme right wing, which represents a minority, virtually nobody will relish the suggestion that they (implicitly) think in racist terms, (unconsciously) act in a racist manner or (tacitly) benefit from racist structures. Hence the processes and mechanisms that are used to ward off such accusations are of interest in racism research, not least because at best they further reinforce discriminatory structures.

The international research literature discusses the phenomena of defensive, protective or dissenting attitudes using terms such as '(white) denial' (Van Dijk 1992), 'white defensiveness' (Roman 2005) or 'white fragility' (DiAngelo 2018). These describe various defensive strategies, which range from denying, playing down, making excuses for or reframing the realities of racism, or avoiding the subject, to suggesting that the subject is being exaggerated or instrumentalised by the people affected by it, or even claiming that there is *reverse racism*. The literature points out that these mechanisms are particularly in evidence among members of the better-educated middle and upper classes because they conceal a particular pressure to reconcile the realities of racism with their generally liberal ideas of equality. Thus the concept of 'aversive racism' highlights the fact that it is precisely 'well-meaning', progressively minded people that try to maintain a positive self-image by not even admitting their exclusionary tendencies to themselves. Instead, they reject such accusations indignantly and justify this as (for example) preserving the quality of their children's schools or keeping their neighbourhood safe (DiAngelo 2018).

The survey in this preliminary study examines a series of such defensive postures and attitudes. Above all, the analyses will highlight three striking findings, which are examined more closely in the subsections of this chapter:[42] (1) racism is externalised, i.e. it is turned into someone else's business (Section 5.1); (2) positions that are critical of racism are perceived as exaggerated and treated with disregard (Section 5.2); and (3) complaints of racism are reinterpreted as 'personal oversensitivity' (Section 5.3). Section 5.4 examines the prevalence of such ideas in the population, followed by a summarising discussion.

5.1 Externalisation of racism

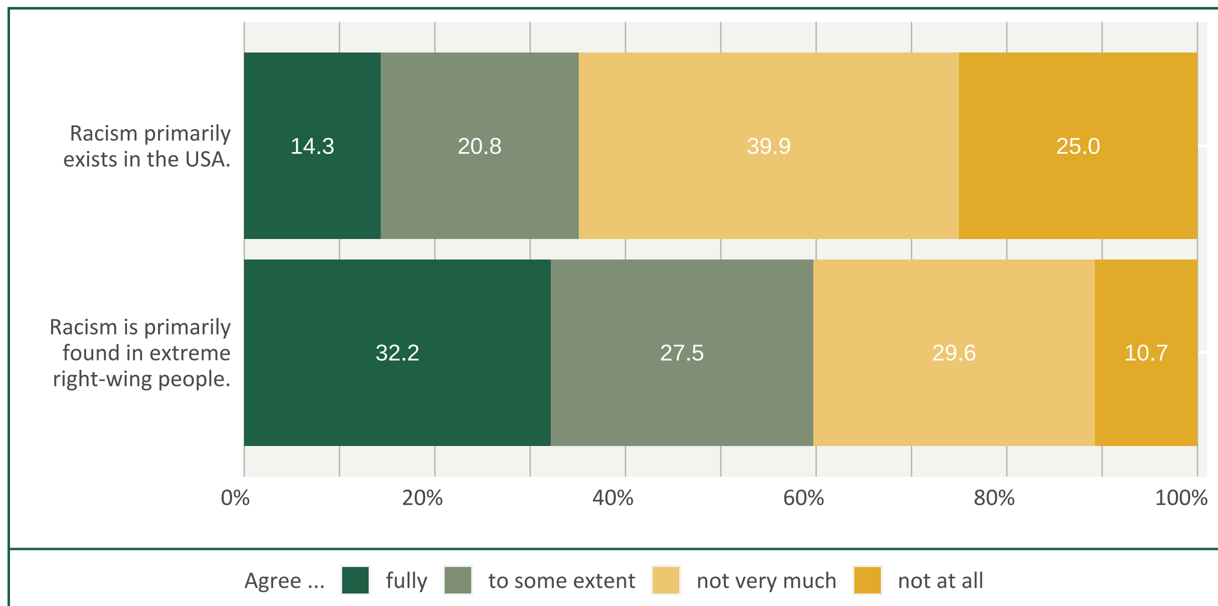
Many authors believe that the German national debate was for long time shaped by the fact that racism was either taken to be a remnant of National Socialism, or shifted abroad (e.g. to the USA or South Africa) or to the right-wing margin of society (Melter & Mecheril 2009; Attia 2014; Bojadžijev et al. 2017; Barskanmaz 2019). Accordingly, internal German debates largely avoided labelling racism as such until well into the 1990s. Instead, alternative labels were used to describe racist events, such as xenophobia, hostility towards foreigners or fear of foreigners.

[41] On the term 'aversive racism' see Dovidio and Gaertner (2004) and Hodson, Dovidio and Gaertner (2004).

[42] The basis of these analyses is an overarching exploratory factor analysis (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation), within the compass of which all the items used in Chapters 2, 3 and 5 have been used as input. The sections of this chapter represent the three factors calculated in this way. It should be emphasised that it was possible to use only a limited number of items overall for the preliminary study and so the subaspects of defensive attitudes investigated have not come anywhere near to being exhausted. In the main NaDiRa studies, further and more extensive item batteries will be used and it will be possible to distinguish further and/or finer dimensions.

Even though extensive thought has now been given to the fundamental existence of racism in German society and its various facets (see Chapter 3), defensive attitudes that externalise the problem are still widespread, with 14.3 % of all interviewees agreeing “fully” and a further 20.8 % “to some extent” with the statement that “Racism primarily exists in the USA”. Generally speaking, this corresponds to around a third of the population (Figure 24). Seen from the opposite perspective, this means that two thirds of the population situate the problem not only in the USA but also in Germany.

Figure 24. Externalisation of racism



Note: Figure 24 shows the interviewees’ agreement with the statements “Racism primarily exists in the USA” and “is primarily found in extreme right-wing people”. **Example interpretation:** 25.0 % of the interviewees do not agree at all with the statement “Racism primarily exists in the USA”. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

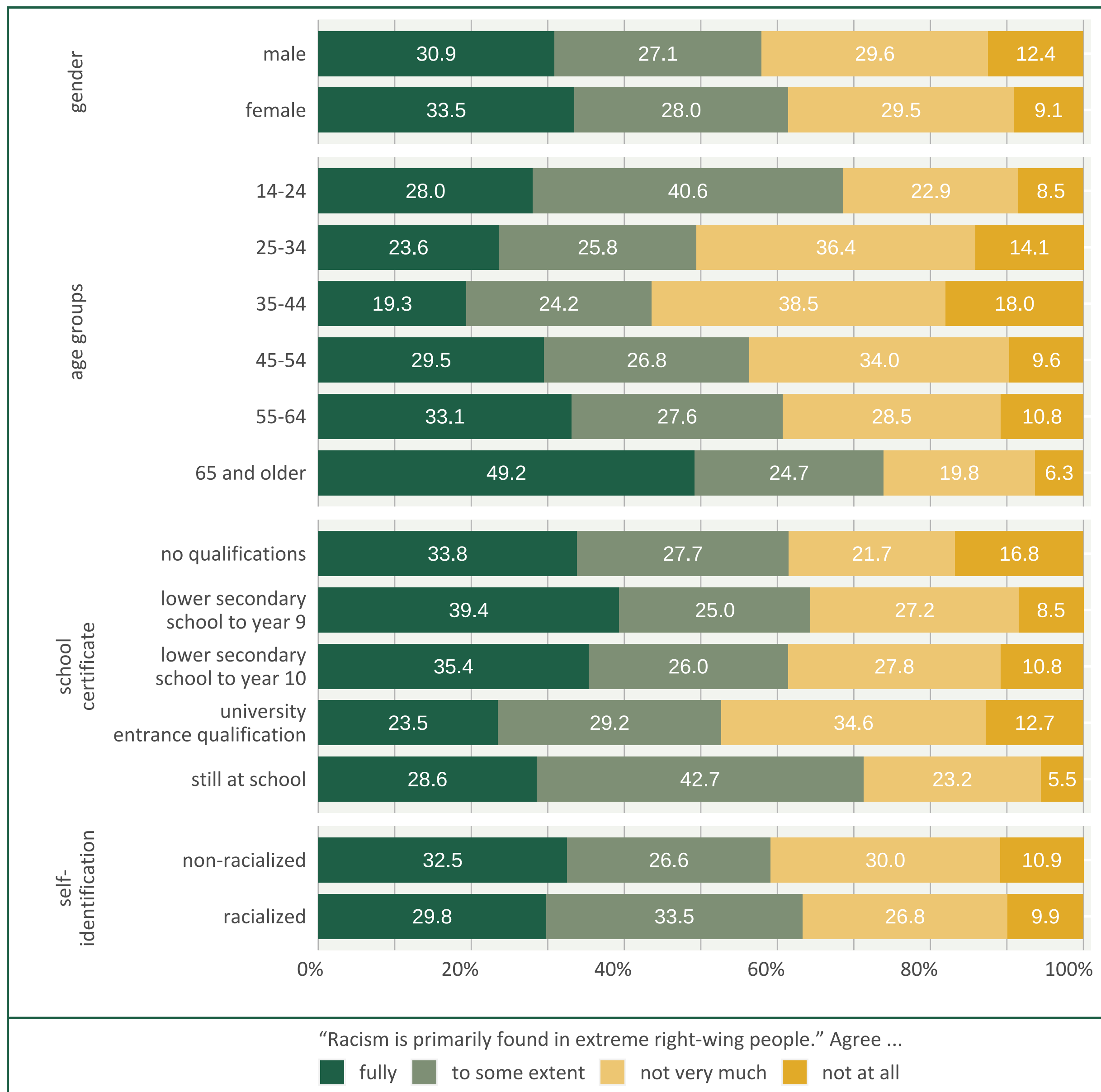
However, there is much greater agreement with the statement that racism is primarily found in extreme right-wing people, with a clear majority (59.7 %) sharing this view, of which 32.2 % of them agree with it “fully” and 27.5 % “to some extent”. The findings from previous chapters have shown that large parts of the population regard racism as a relevant issue in Germany (see Chapter 1). From the data in Figure 24 we can conclude that, at the same time, many people still mainly associate it with the right-wing margin of society (cf. section Starting points: Historical background).

These two ways of externalising racism are interrelated – despite different rates of agreement with these statements, those people who primarily situate racism in the USA also tend more to ascribe it mainly to right-wing extremists.[43]

[43] The correlation between the two items is r=.40. In exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in this chapter or in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, they each have a high loading on a common factor. The loading of the “right-wing extremists” is somewhat higher (.52) and is therefore used for the purposes of the analysis by sociodemographic characteristics below.

To analyse the distribution of racism across the different sociodemographic groups, Figure 25 examines the responses from the different groups to the statement “Racism is primarily found in extreme right-wing people”. Looking at the results, women tend to agree somewhat more than men (61.5 % vs 58.0 %); and at the same time racialised people agree with the statement somewhat more frequently (63.3 %) than non-racialised interviewees (59.1 %).

Figure 25. Externalisation of racism (to right-wing extremism) by sociodemographic characteristics



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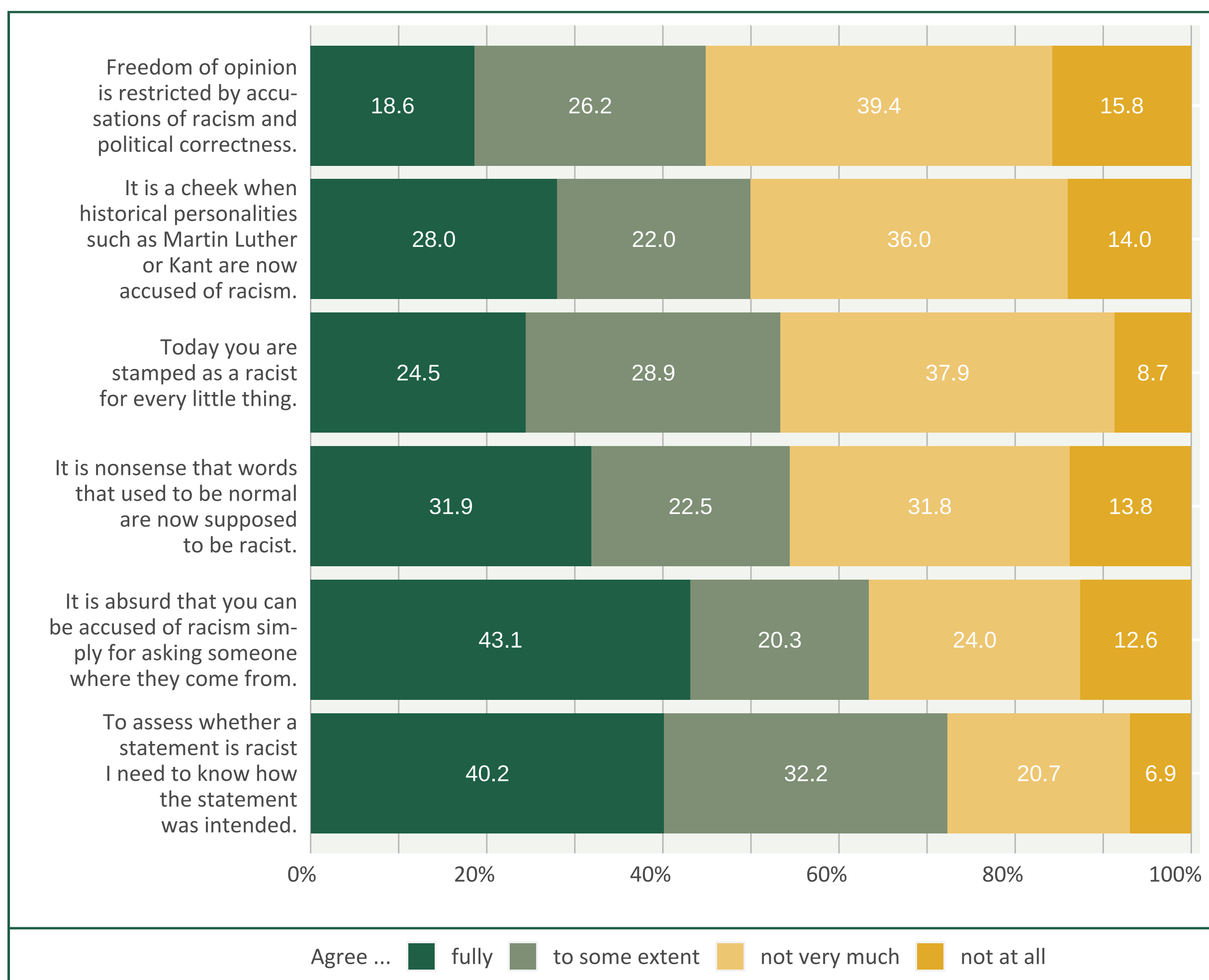
Note: Figure 25 shows the interviewees’ agreement with the statement “Racism is primarily found in extreme right-wing people”, differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 29.8 % of the interviewees who self-allocate to one of the six groups potentially affected by racism agree fully with the statement “Racism is primarily found in extreme right-wing people”. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

Generally speaking we can also see from this that racism is externalised more frequently with increasing age and less frequently with a higher educational level.[44]

5.2 Aversion – defensive rejection of criticism of racism

As shown in Figure 26, the data indicate that a further defence mechanism used by the interviewees is to agree with statements that regard accusations of racism as inappropriate and exaggerated (based on the development of a scale at the DeZIM Institute: Simon, Mohr & Wölfer [in preparation]). To some extent this lack of understanding merges with indignation and criticism of racism is classed as counterproductive or even dangerous (Van Dijk 1992).

Figure 26. Defensive rejection of criticism of racism

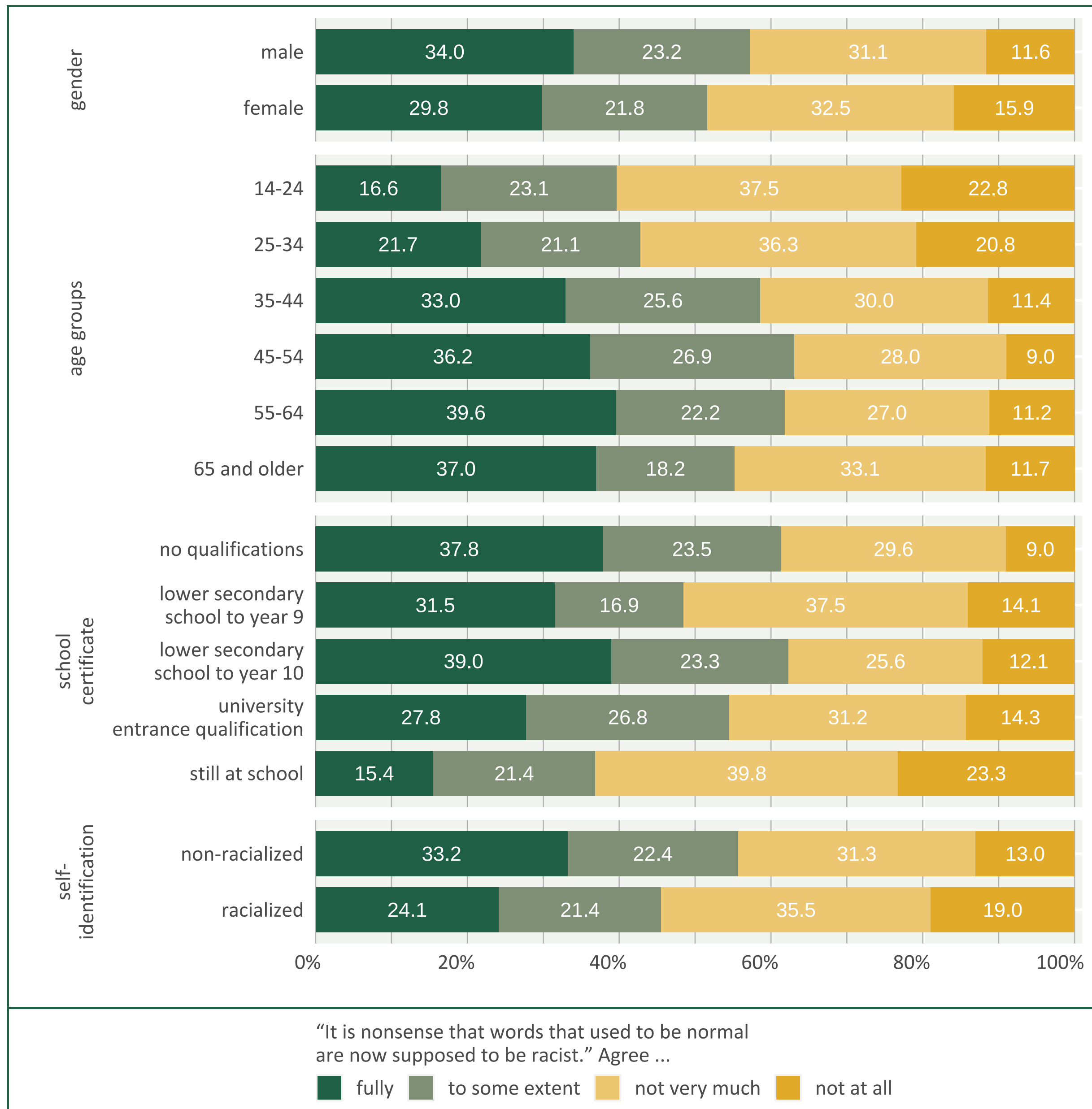


Note: Figure 26 shows the interviewees' agreement with statements reflecting defensive attitudes towards criticism of racism. **Example interpretation:** 8.7 % of the interviewees do not agree at all with the statement "These days you get labelled a racist for every little thing'. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

[44] In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variable with values 1–4 interpreted metrically) gender, age and education each contribute significantly (5 % level) to the explanation of the agreement in bivariate analysis. In multivariate analysis it is age, education and membership of one of the racialised groups that do so; the total contribution to the explanation in the model with all four variables is R^2=.07.

Almost half of all interviewees (44.8 %) tend to agree – 26.2 % “to some extent” and 18.6 % “fully” – that accusations of racism and ‘political correctness’ restrict freedom of opinion. Precisely half (50.0 %) tend to perceive it as “an affront when historical personalities such as Martin Luther or Kant are now accused of racism”.

Figure 27. Defensive rejection of criticism of racism, by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 27 shows the interviewees’ agreement with the statement “It is nonsensical that words that used to be normal are supposedly racist now”, differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 29.8 % of the female interviewees agree fully with the statement “It is nonsensical that words that used to be normal are supposedly racist now”. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

The interviewees state even more frequently that “these days you get labelled a racist for every little thing” (53.4 %), that it “is nonsensical that words that used to be normal are supposedly racist now” (54.4 %) and that it is absurd “that you can be accused of racism simply for asking someone where they come from” (63.4 %).

More than two thirds (72.4 %) agree that to assess whether a statement is racist or not, they need to know “how the statement was intended” – and that otherwise it would not be appropriate to make an accusation of racism.

The interviewees’ agreements with the six statements shown in Figure 26 are very closely interrelated.[45] The statement “It is nonsensical that words that used to be normal are supposedly racist now” most closely captures the general tendency to agree with the individual statements, which is why this statement was selected for analysis with regard to sociodemographic characteristics (see Figure 27).

The sociodemographic correlations differ from those identifiable in respect of externalisation (see Figure 25 in Section 5.1). To a greater extent than is the case with women, men frequently dismiss the use of antiracist language and more clearly describe it as exaggerated. On the other hand, the members of the six racialised groups are more clearly positioned and are less inclined to deflect criticism of racism as being ridiculous, exaggerated or by claiming to be shocked. Interesting patterns for the dimensions of defensiveness considered here can be found above all in relation to the age and education structure of the interviewees.[46] A type of inverted bell curve is evident across all age cohorts together – whereas the younger cohorts tend to be much less defensive about criticism of racism, it is above all the middle-aged cohorts that position themselves most strongly against supposedly exaggerated criticism of racism. Nor is the correlation with education in any way linear – interviewees who left lower secondary school after year 10 are most defensive about antiracism. Overall, interviewees with a university entrance-level qualification reject criticism of racism more frequently than interviewees with a lower secondary school certificate (Year 9, ISCED 2). As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, this might be an indication that staving off criticism of racism by calling it exaggerated is particularly prevalent in the very sections of the population that have to cognitively reconcile their self-image – of being in the democratic middle class – with the realities of racism.

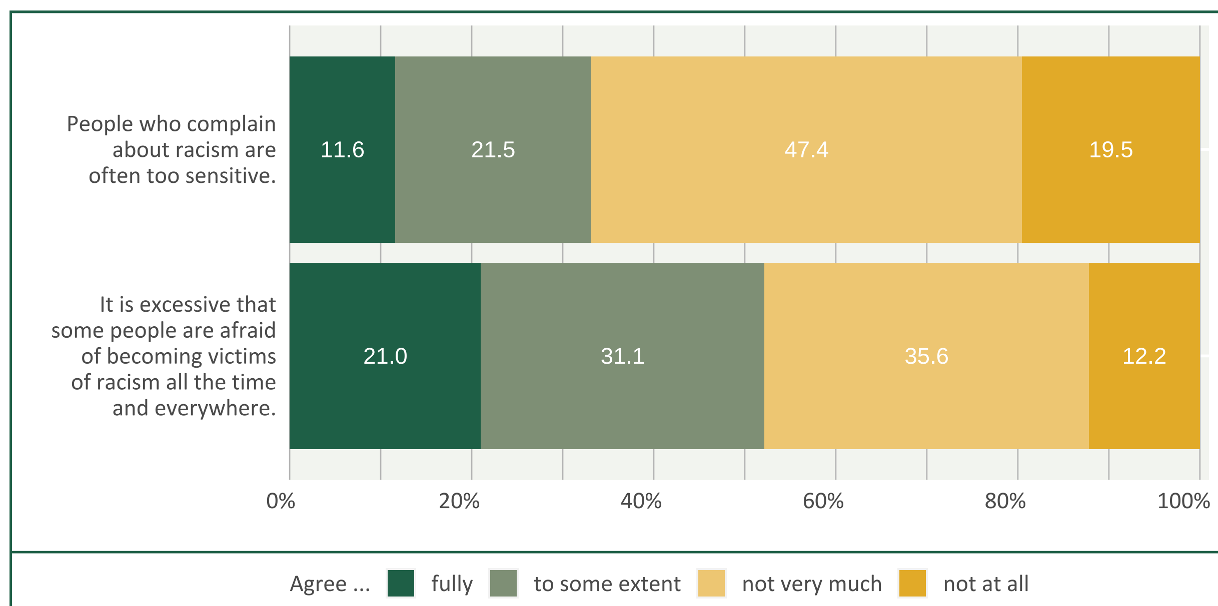
[45] In exploratory factor analyses (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in this chapter or in Chapters 2, 3 and 5, the six items each have a high loading on a common factor. Together they also form an additive scale with good reliability (α =.71). The item “words that used to be normal” has the highest loading in each of the factor analyses (.57) as well as the highest item–test correlation in the additive scale.

[46] In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variable with values 1–4 interpreted metrically), as categorial variables (not ordinally) the four characteristics contribute significantly (5 % level) to the explanation of attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analysis. The contribution to the explanation overall is R^2=.05 (in the model with all four variables).

5.3 Insinuated hypersensitivity

Apart from the aspects of rejection of antiracist viewpoints that have been discussed up to now, a further subtype can be distinguished based on the data. This can be characterised as the accusation that the actors concerned are hypersensitive, which in this survey can be attached to the following two statements.[47] Firstly, one third of the interviewees (33.1 %) tend to agree with the statement that "people who complain about racism are often too sensitive" (see Figure 28). Secondly, somewhat more than half (52.1 %) agree with the view that it is "excessive that some people are afraid of becoming victims of racism all the time and everywhere".

Figure 28. Assessment of antiracism as hypersensitivity



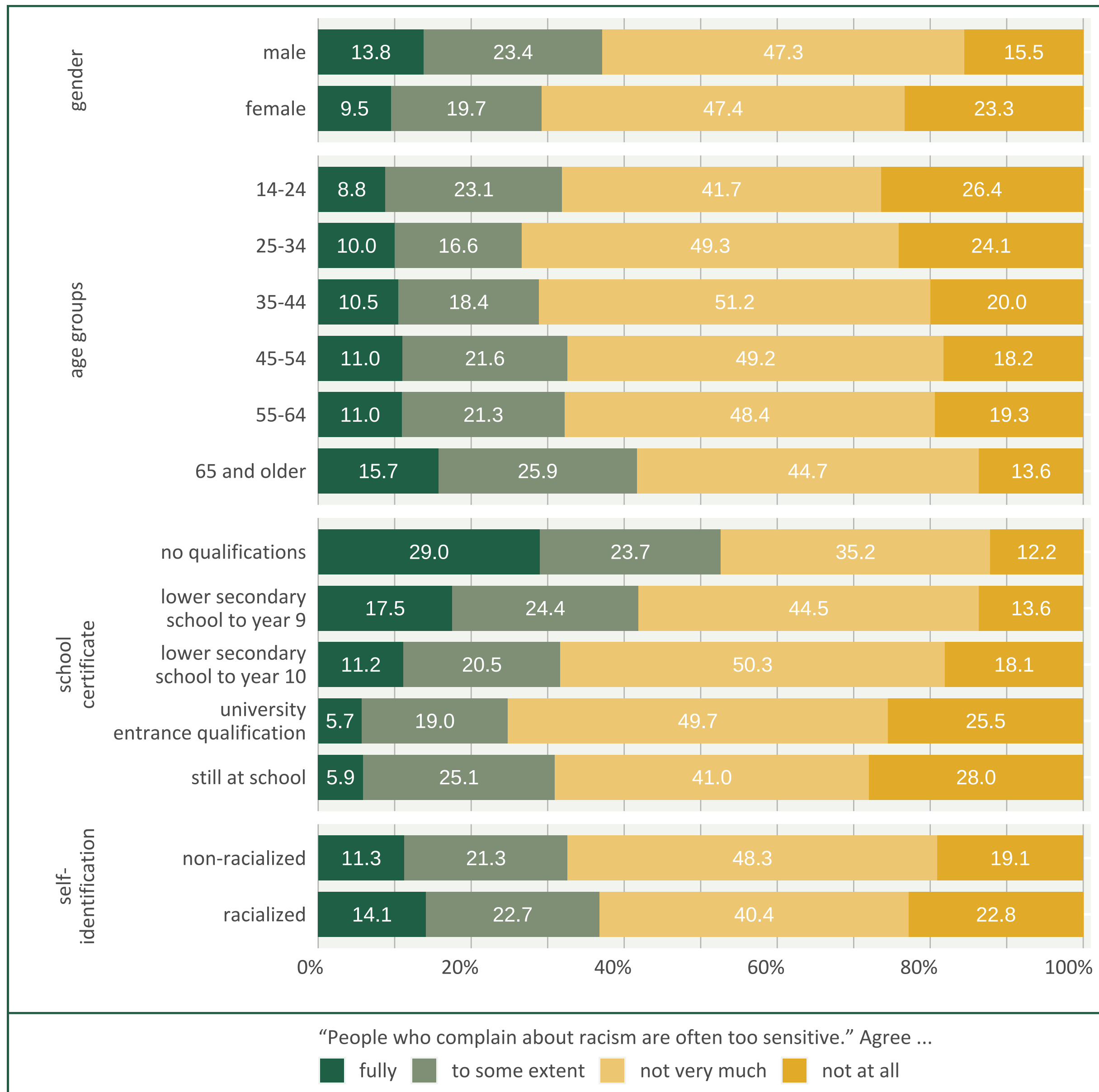
Note: Figure 28 shows the interviewees' agreement with statements that assess criticism of racism as "excessive" or "too sensitive". **Example interpretation:** 19.5 % of the interviewees do not agree at all with the statement "People who complain about racism are often too sensitive". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

If we examine the distribution of the accusation of being "too sensitive" across different sociodemographic groups, the picture we obtain for the corresponding statement "People who complain about racism are often too sensitive" (see Figure 29) is that men label people hypersensitive much more frequently than women (37.4 % vs 29.2 %). The accusation of being hypersensitive increases with age, but this trend is only slight. The differences are even clearer with regard to education – the higher the education level, the lower the agreement. The agreement values for the members of the six racialised groups and those for the remaining interviewees hardly differ.[48]

[47] The two items have a moderate correlation with each other (r=.30), and in the exploratory factor analysis (principal factors, oblique oblimin rotation) of all the items used in Chapters 2, 3 and 5 they each have a roughly similarly high loading on a common factor. However, the factor loadings are relatively low (both approximately .34). With a stricter selection of criteria, it would therefore be questionable whether this factor should be retained separately. The factor shown here has the highest correlation (.46) with the factor underlying the items in Section 5.2.

[48] In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variable with values 1–4 interpreted metrically) gender, age and education each contribute significantly (5 % level) to the explanation of attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analyses. Belonging to one of the racialised groups is not significant in either bivariate or multivariate analysis. The overall contribution to the explanation is R^2=.07 (in the model with all four variables).

Figure 29. Assessment of criticism of racism by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 29 shows the interviewees' agreement with the statement "People who complain about racism are often too sensitive", differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** 15.7 % of the interviewees aged over 65 agree fully with the statement "People who complain about racism are often too sensitive". **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

5.4 Conclusion: The reactions to antiracism are a sign of defensiveness and trivialisation

Chapters 1, 3 and 4 of this study have shown that the German population not only reflects on racist situations and recognises and categorises them accordingly, but also increasingly perceives that racism is rooted in daily life and in public authorities, and therefore has a structuring effect on society (cf. Chapter 3). In contrast, this chapter makes it clear that the reactions to criticism of racism reflect a high level of ambivalence and uncertainty. When asked more specifically about how they perceive racism, a substantial

proportion of the study participants react defensively and trivialise racism. The people affected by racism are also to some extent accused of being hypersensitive.

Racism is externalised both geographically and socially – more than a third (35 %) of the population situate racism primarily in the USA. Just under two thirds (60 %) consider racism to be something that is mainly found among right-wing extremists. Both of these forms of externalisation can on the one hand be interpreted as offloading strategies, where racism is defined as a problem of other (foreign) societies or a phenomenon confined to the margins of society and thus not found in the interviewees themselves or at the centre of society. On the other hand, it could be concluded less unequivocally that while the interviewees do indeed recognise the existence of racism in German society, they are far more likely to situate it in the right-wing margins or in the USA, which cannot be described as externalisation in this case.

Considerable ambivalence can also be seen in the fact that, despite the widespread recognition of racism as a social problem, one in two interviewees perceive the fears about racism among those affected to be exaggerated – 52.1 % say that "it is excessive that some people are afraid of becoming victims of racism all the time and everywhere". In addition, a third of the interviewees suggest that those affected are hypersensitive, with 33.1 % agreeing that "People who complain about racism are often too sensitive". (33.1 %). A majority also regard themselves as victims of unfounded accusations of racism – somewhat more than half of the interviewees (53 %) believe that "these days you get labelled a racist for every little thing'.

To some extent, criticism of racism generates strong aversion. Almost half of the population (45 %) think that accusations of racism and 'political correctness' restrict freedom of opinion. Above all, historical and linguistic criticism of racism trigger indignation and incomprehension – 52 % perceive it as an affront if Luther or Kant are criticised for racism. Almost as many are defensive about criticism of the use of racist language (54 %). The sometimes high levels of agreement with the rejection of different forms of antiracism show that the more concretely such statements are rooted in people's living environment and daily life, the greater the extent to which people defensively reject them. This brings the legitimacy of antiracism into question, turns it into an unreasonable imposition on the majority, and trivialises racism as excessive sensitivity. In the international racism research, these theoretical assumptions are referred to as *aversion*, *denial* and *defensiveness*.

One interesting finding is that the middle-aged groups are the ones most clearly defensive about antiracism. Almost two thirds of the over-45s reject criticism of racism (approximately 65 %); among the over-65s the figure is 55.2 %, and among the 14- to 24-year-olds it is as low as 39.7 %. With regard to education, too, the middle groups are particularly aversive as far as criticism of racism is concerned – those who left lower secondary school after year 10 have the highest level of aversion (62.3 %), closely followed by school dropouts (61.3 %). In comparison, persons with a lower secondary school certificate (Year 9, ISCED 2) are less aversive to criticism of racism by almost 14 percentage points (48.4 %). The least opposed to antiracism are school pupils (36.8 %).

Further research is needed to examine how these findings relate to the Mitte Studies and their findings on group-focused enmity. It is interesting, for example, to see to what extent this population group is particularly disposed towards rejecting criticism of racism, on the one hand on the basis of status anxiety relating to the social ascent of previously marginalised minorities, and on the other hand due to status envy towards the middle-class elites that are regarded as progressive. This point might also be of interest when examining other topics representing social transformation, such as feminism or climate justice.

SUMMARY:

- Reactions to racism vary,being externalising, aversive or defensive.
- The data show that defensive reflexes and an associated trivialisation of racism can be observed in half the population.
- Almost one in two people interpret criticism of racism as restriction of freedom of opinion, and thus as habitus control.
- A similar number of people also consider that people affected by racism are “too sensitive” and “overanxious’”.

➔ **Antiracism needs to be more widely communicated, explained, covered in the media, and thus rendered common knowledge among the general population. Formats need to be developed for this to assist the population in recognising and reflecting on defence mechanisms. Only in this way can emancipative approaches to equality and equal rights be strengthened.**

Potential for antiracism

Who is willing to get involved in combatting racism?

6. Potential for antiracism – Who is willing to get involved in combatting racism?

The previous chapters of the NaDiRa preliminary study have shown that many people essentially recognise that racism is a problem in Germany, even though there are ambivalent results vis-à-vis how well they understand racism and thus its perceived manifestations and their extent. This chapter will now conclude the preliminary study by addressing the question of the extent to which the population in Germany is willing to actively combat racism and get involved themselves.

To date, there is little in the way of reliable knowledge about the determinants of antiracist engagement in Germany. The voluntary surveys that are important when researching engagement do not survey antiracist engagement (Simonson et al. 2021). In the field of protest research, population surveys (such as SOEP, ALLBUS or the microcensus) can, for instance, provide a foundation for differentiating between people with and without experience of demonstrating, but these data do not provide any information about the cause of the protests either, and thus do not permit any thematically differentiated analyses (Simonson et al. 2021). Representative on-the-spot surveys of demonstrators can close this gap to some extent (Van Stekelenburg et al. 2012), but to date they have not been conducted in Germany for antiracism protests. As a result, the questions of who in Germany is involved in antiracism, in which antiracist mobilisations they participate and on what factors their participation is dependent are largely unexplained empirically.

It is known from the literature on antiracism mobilisation in the USA that the composition of the participants is clearly more diverse, younger and more intersectional in the range of topics than other mobilisations (Fisher 2019). The international literature on the mobilisation of migrants also shows that people's own experiences of discrimination can act as a mobilisation factor (Klandermans, Van Stekelenburg & Van der Toorn 2008). Engagement in socially contested areas such as antiracism in Germany can involve social costs, so it can be assumed that an extensive awareness of the problem is required for such involvement to exist. On the one hand, this can develop through people's own experience of racism, but on the other hand it can also develop when people in Germany encounter the realities of racism indirectly through being told about and witnessing them. Furthermore, it is known from the research on engagement and protest that individuals' education level in particular offers a key explanation for their willingness to get involved (Simonson et al. 2021; Sommer, Steinhilper & Zajak 2021). Consequently, greater participation by the more highly educated strata is also to be expected in the case of antiracism engagement in Germany.

Below we look at the distribution of different forms of antiracism engagement (Section 6.1) and examine which social groups possess particular potential for engagement (Section 6.2). A central focus here is the extent to which the aforementioned encounter with racism, in the form of people's own experiences or through hearing about or witnessing racism, increases their willingness to become involved in antiracism (Section 6.3). A summary discussion of the major findings follows in Section 6.4, ending the report.

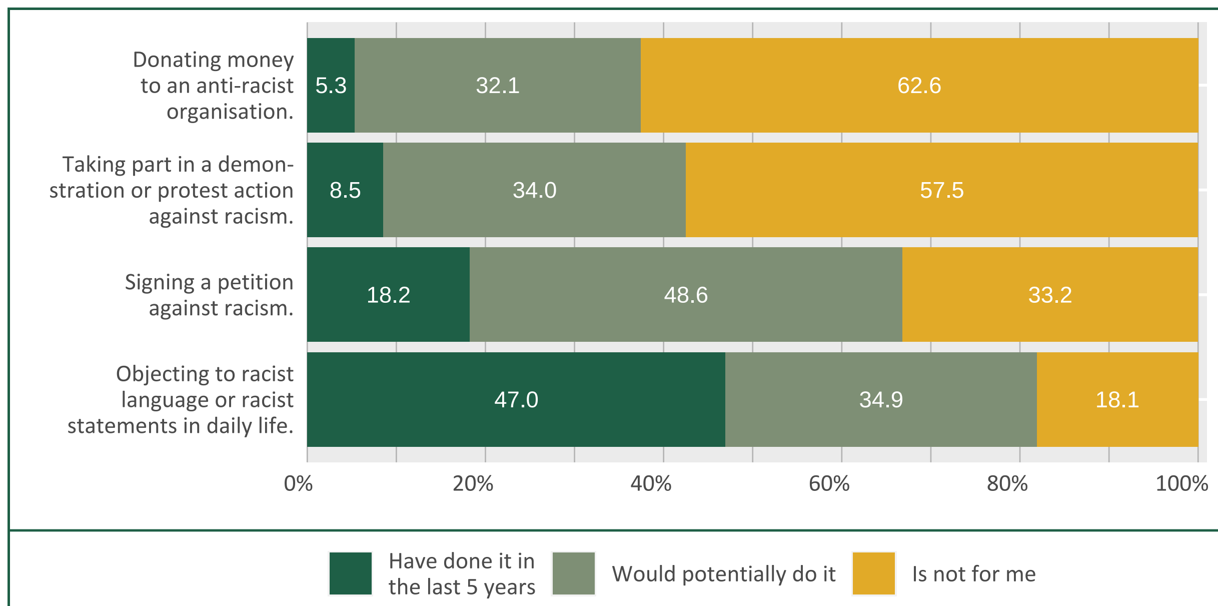
6.1 Forms of antiracist engagement and how they are distributed

Antiracist engagement can include a wide range of activities – for example, civil courage when faced with racist statements in everyday life, voluntary activities or alliances for the common good in the public arena, and much more besides. The survey includes four forms of possible antiracist action: (1) participating in a demonstration against racism; (2) personally objecting to racist language or racist statements in daily life; (3) signing a petition against racism; and (4) being willing to support an antiracist organisation with donations.

While taking part in a demonstration involves giving up some of your time, and donating involves financial costs, protesting in daily life involves a direct personal confrontation, so the different areas of activity involve different requirements. For each of the four types of engagement, the survey asked whether the interviewees had been active in the corresponding way in the previous five years, or whether they could at least imagine doing this in the future.

Looking at the different forms of engagement against racism (see Figure 30), clear differences in how they are distributed are evident in the first instance. While only 5.3 % of the interviewees have donated money to an antiracist organisation in the last five years, and only 8.5 % have taken part in a demonstration against racism, 18.2 % do at least state that they have signed a petition against racism. Almost half the interviewees (47.0 %) say they have objected to racist statements in daily life during this period. Even though social desirability bias cannot be ruled out for this low-threshold form of antiracist engagement, this widespread willingness to counter everyday racist situations is notable as it can involve emotional and social hurdles. This finding thus underlines the fact that awareness of the topic and willingness to take personal action against racism are widespread in society. This is reflected primarily in the interviewees' high level of willingness to potentially take action in the future, if they have not already done so in the last five years. A further 47.0 % of the interviewees state that they are willing in principle to sign a petition against racism. And in addition, with regard to the three other forms of engagement surveyed, around a third of the interviewees state that they can at least imagine becoming active in those ways.

Figure 30. Willingness to take action against racism for different forms of engagement

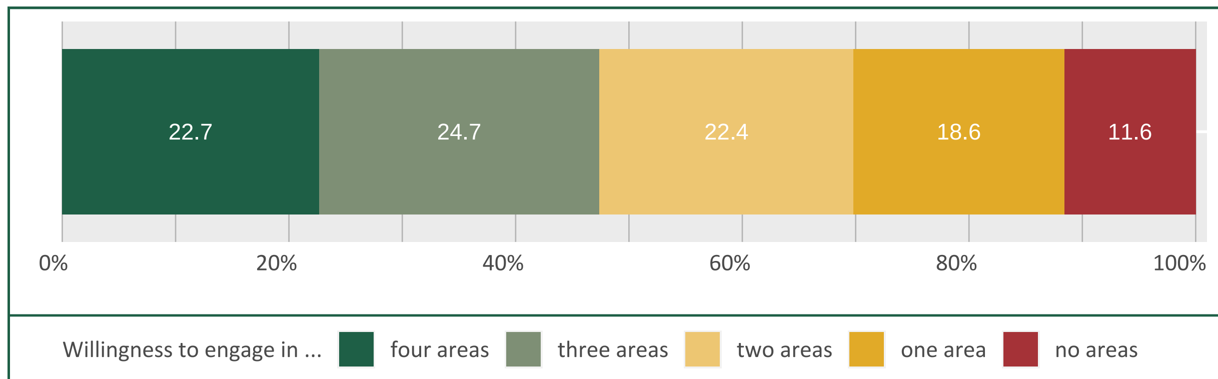


Note: Figure 30 shows the interviewees' willingness to take action against racism in various ways, by type of engagement. **Example interpretation:** 5.3 % of the interviewees state that they have donated money to an antiracism organisation in the last five years. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

Conversely, some 60 % of the interviewees cannot imagine participating in a demonstration or protest action against racism or donating money to an antiracist organisation. This does not necessarily have to contradict the willingness to oppose racism, as the other activities also show. Various studies prove that generally, for example, only around a third of the population in Germany have experience of demonstrations themselves (Lahusen & Bleckmann 2015; Simonson, Kelle & Kausmann 2019; Simonson et al. 2021). Thus the figures do not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in the subject but are more readily explicable with reference to the specific form of engagement. This assumption is confirmed above all in the context of the high level of willingness to oppose racist language or statements in daily life. Finally, if the practice and the potential are added together, a clear picture emerges that there is substantial potential among the German population to take a stance against racism.

Figure 31 again reinforces this point. It summarises which sections of the interviewees have already undertaken how many of the four activities against racism or would be willing to do so. Only 11.6 % would not be willing to do anything against racism. On the other hand, almost a quarter of the interviewees (22.7 %) cite all four activities as at least potential possibilities.[49]

Figure 31. Potential in the population for engagement (potential index)



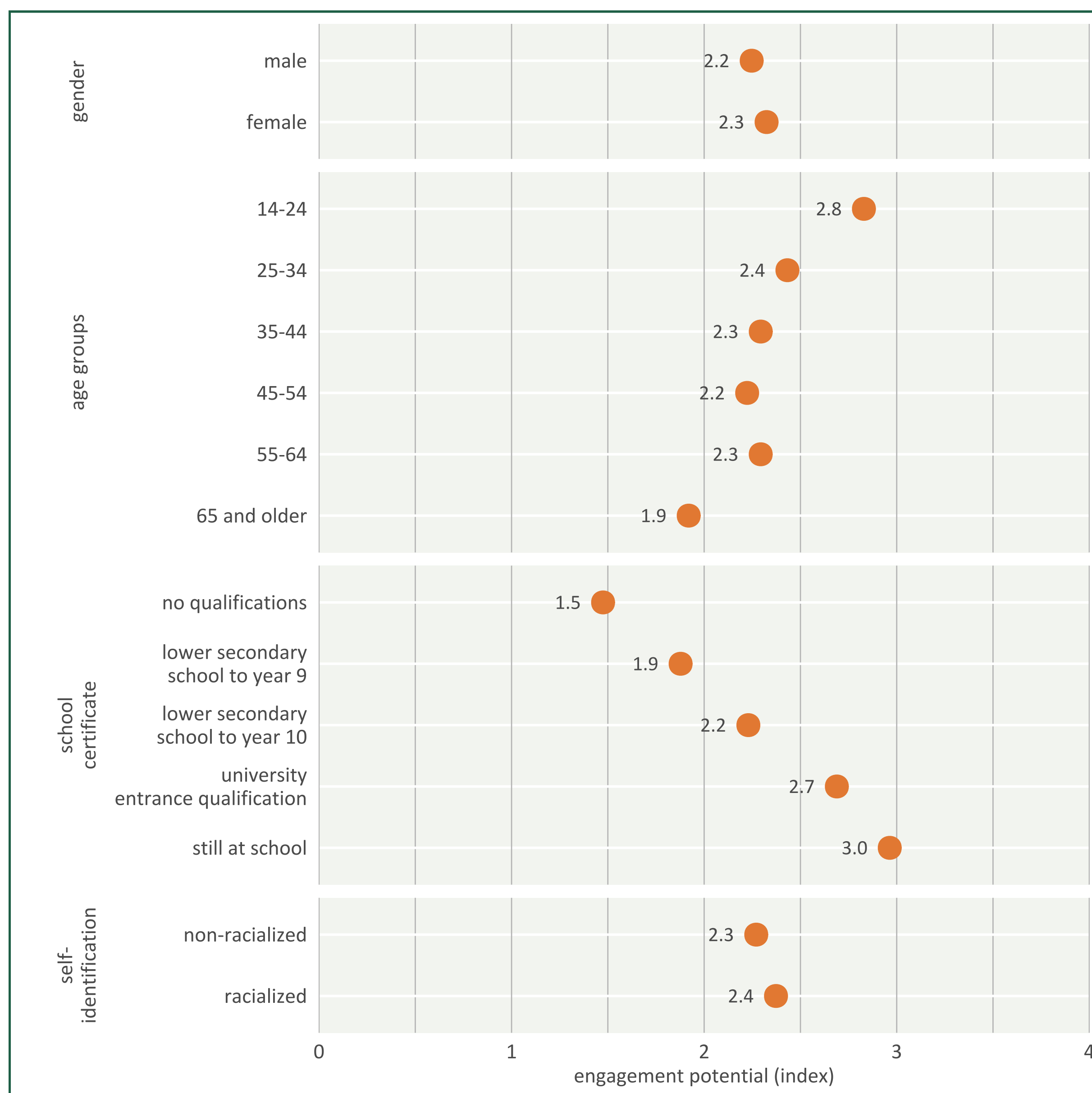
Note: Figure 31 shows the proportion of the interviewees who would be willing to take action against racism via one or more forms of engagement and those who have done so in the last five years. **Example interpretation:** 24.7 % of the interviewees would be willing to engage in precisely three of the activities mentioned, or have already done so in the last five years. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

6.2 Engagement among demographic groups

The study took a closer look at how the potential for antiracist engagement is distributed in the population. To this end, the potential index from Figure 32 was examined using the sociodemographic groups that had already been differentiated in the previous chapters, these being gender, education, age and membership of one of the six racialised groups. The arithmetical mean of the index is shown, i.e. the average number of actual or potential antiracist activities named in the individual subgroups.

[49] When the four activity items are interpreted metrically with the coding 0 ("is not for me"), 1 ("I would potentially do so") and 2 ("have done so in the last five years"), they form a scale with good reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .72). The resulting index correlates very highly (r=.91, unweighted) with the simple enumeration used here, which in effect combines the values 1 and 2. As the simple enumeration is so much easier to interpret directly, it continues to be used as an index of potential in the sections below.

Figure 32. Potential in the population for engagement (potential index) by sociodemographic characteristics



Note: Figure 32 shows the average number of antiracism activities that the interviewees would be willing to undertake or have already undertaken in the last five years, differentiated by gender, age group, highest school certificate and self-identification with one of the six groups potentially affected by racism. **Example interpretation:** On average, interviewees with no school certificate would be willing to undertake 1.5 antiracism activities, or have already done so in the last five years. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

It is evident that not all sections of the population act comparably or can imagine becoming active in the future. In terms of the interviewees' gender, there are no noteworthy differences, with women citing 2.3 activities on average and men 2.2. On the other hand, there are much greater differences in terms of age – whereas those in the youngest age group, the 14- to 24-year-olds, cite 2.8 activities on average, in the highest age group (65 and older) this figure is only 1.9. If, instead of the index, we look at the individual items, then 18 % of under-25s state that they have participated in a demonstration against racism in the last five years – well above the average of 8.5 %. This age distribution deviates from the participation in activist protests on

other subjects, where in Germany the central age cohorts predominate (Sommer, Steinhilper & Zajak 2021). Thus antiracist protest also mainly attracts young people.

The influence of the school-leaving certificate is even clearer – on average, interviewees with no certificate cite 1.5 activities, whereas interviewees with a university entrance-level qualification cite 2.7. In the group of those who are still at school the average is 3.0. These results largely concur with research studies that show that people with higher levels of education are disproportionately likely to participate in voluntary work (Simonson et al. 2021), in protest events (Sommer, Steinhilper & Zajak 2021) and in donating money (Gricevic, Schulz-Sandhof & Schupp 2020). The antiracist activity examined here also assumes the availability of time resources (demonstrations) and material resources (donations), which are associated with a higher level of education.

It is striking that among the interviewees who themselves belong to one of the six racialised groups, the antiracist potential is only slightly higher (2.4) than among the other interviewees (2.3).[50] In other words, the potential for being affected that arises from feeling part of a racialised group does not necessarily lead to a higher level of antiracist engagement. The next section will examine more closely whether actually being affected, either directly or indirectly, has a greater effect in this respect.

6.3 Engagement and being affected

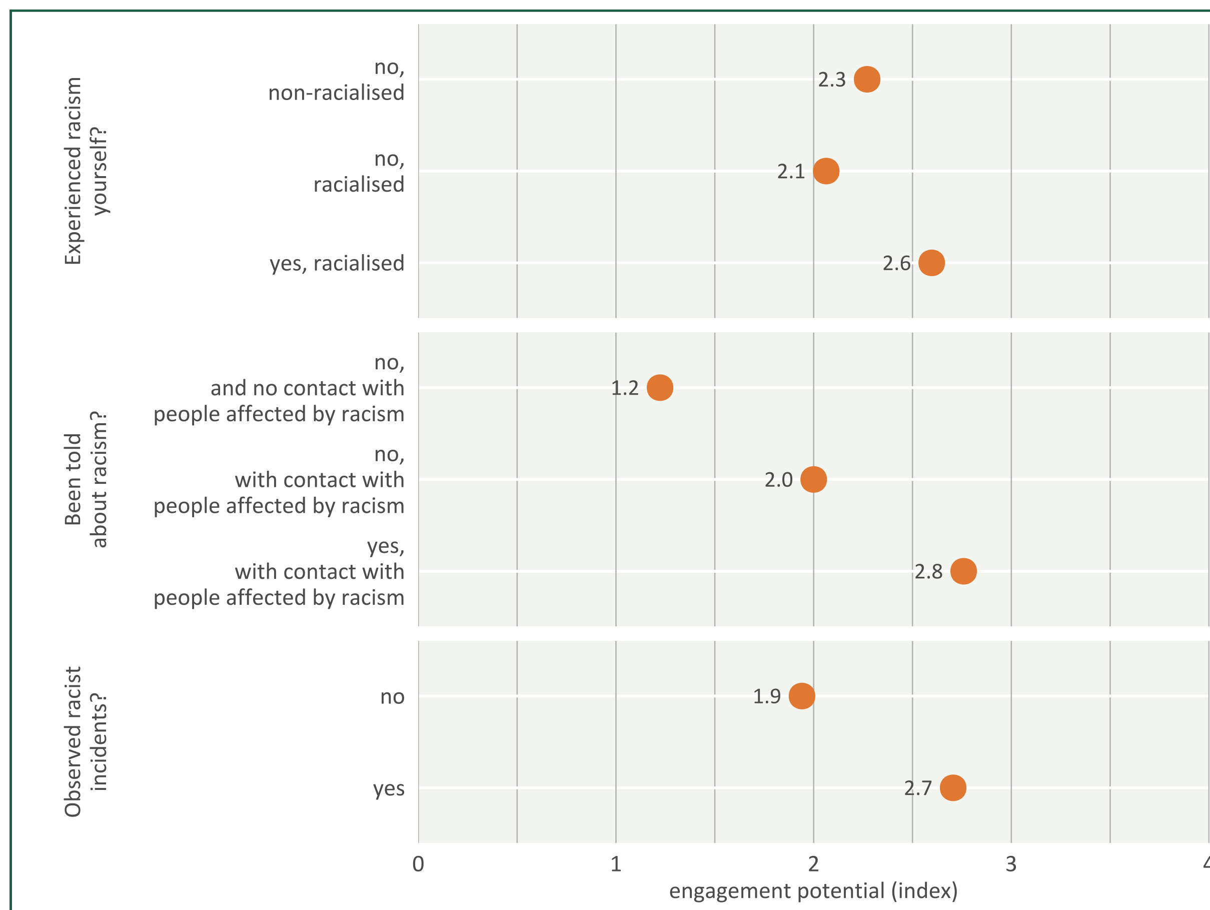
In order to examine the role that personally being affected by racism plays in antiracist engagement, the members of the six racialised groups were first differentiated by whether or not they themselves (in accordance with the information in the survey that was analysed in Section 1.1) have ever experienced racism. Figure 33 shows that those who answered in the negative exhibit even lower average potential values (2.1) than the interviewees who do not belong to any of these groups (2.3). On the other hand, those who answered "yes" have a higher average potential (2.6). Hence within the six racialised groups taken together, personal experiences are associated with a moderate increase in the potential for antiracist engagement.

As well as the interviewees' own experience of racism, contact with persons who have been affected also has a clear influence on antiracist engagement. Interviewees who have no contact with persons affected by racism (see Section 1.2) show an average index value of only 1.2. Thus this group of persons generally shows only little willingness to do something against racist incidents or structures. This value is markedly different in the case of those who do have such contacts. When people have such contacts but those contacts have never spoken of racist experiences, the average engagement potential is 2.0. If these contacts have also reported on racist experiences, the average engagement potential is 2.8. For example, 56.2 % of such people are willing to take part in a demonstration, and 51.2 % are willing to donate money to an antiracist organisation. For comparison, among people who have not been told about experiences of racism, willingness to take part in a demonstration is 29.6 %, and 24.1 % are willing to donate money to an antiracist organisation.

Hence willingness to take a stand against racism is clearly influenced by contact with people who are affected by racism and increases to a particularly significant extent if these contacts have reported experiencing racism. This means that experiencing a vicarious impact in this way plays an important role.

[50] In statistical models (linear regression models, dependent variable: potential index with values 0–4) gender, age and education contribute significantly (5 % level) to the explanation of the attitude in both bivariate and multivariate analyses. Belonging to one of the racialised groups is not significant in either bivariate or multivariate analysis. The overall contribution to the explanation is R^2=.11 (in the model with all four variables).

Figure 33. Antiracist potential through being affected directly or experiencing vicarious impact



Note: Figure 33 shows the average number of antiracism activities that the interviewees would be willing to undertake or have already undertaken in the last five years, differentiated by level of contact with racism. The interviewees who have been directly affected ("have themselves experienced racism") are then further divided into members of the six groups potentially affected by racism (racialised) and members of none of these groups (non-racialised). Only the members of the six groups are then divided up by whether or not they themselves have experienced racism. When they have been affected indirectly by stories ("have heard accounts of racism") the interviewees are then divided up by whether or not they have contact with one of the six racialised groups. Only those interviewees with such contacts were then asked whether or not these contacts have reported on racism. **Example interpretation:** On average, interviewees who have not witnessed any racist incidents would be prepared to undertake 1.9 antiracist activities or have already done so in the last five years. **Source:** DeZIM, NaDiRa preliminary study.

The same applies when people experience a vicarious impact by themselves witnessing racist incidents (see Section 1.3). If this is the case, the interviewees on average name 2.7 potential antiracist activities. If this is not the case, the average is just 1.9.

Thus people experiencing racism directly, though also encountering it indirectly through witnessing it themselves or hearing contacts' accounts of their experiences, has a clear effect on antiracist engagement.[51] This can be explained by the emotional effects of these factors, among other things.

[51] In multivariate linear regressions, all three of the variables for being affected directly and vicariously shown in Figure 33 each have a significant influence when the analysis is controlled simultaneously for gender, age and education as well as membership of one of the racialised groups. However, members of the racialised groups who have not been affected by discrimination then show a significantly lower value than non-racialised interviewees, while members of the racialised groups who have been affected have a significantly higher value.

As already shown in the first chapter, both directly experiencing racist incidents and also hearing them described and witnessing them have emotional consequences, with the respective persons frequently saying they felt "emotionally upset" by such incidents and "kept thinking about them later" (see Section 1.4). This emotional and mental confrontation with racist incidents – here referred to as "being affected" and "experiencing a vicarious impact" – increases the tendency of the persons interviewed to engage in antiracist engagement.[52] Hence being affected emotionally has a positive impact on antiracist engagement. This finding is also reflected in other studies which have highlighted the influence of emotions on protest mobilisation (cf. Goodwin 2001; Klandermans, Van Stekelenburg & Van der Toorn 2008).

6.4 Conclusion: Racism damages society – and mobilises antiracist potential

This chapter shows that, as well as aversion, trivialisation and defensiveness, which were described as reactions to racism in Chapter 5, polar opposite reactions exist too. A very high proportion of the population in Germany is willing to confront racism and become involved. The potential for antiracist engagement is multi-layered, and ranges from political or symbolic to habitual and financial engagement.

Almost one in two (47 %) state that within the past five years they have objected to a racist statement in daily life and have thus intervened in a racist situation. A further 35 % are potentially willing to do so. Only 18 % say this is not for them. Furthermore, almost half (49 %) state that they would participate in a petition against racism, which can be assessed as symbolic engagement. A further 18 % state that they have already been involved in this form in the past five years. Around a third (34 %) say they could imagine taking part in a demonstration against racism, which can be evaluated as willingness to become involved politically. 32 % of the interviewees were also willing to donate money to an antiracist organisation, hence to become involved financially.

Highlighting this antiracist activity shows that, rather than being a niche phenomenon, there is high potential for antiracism engagement in Germany. Thus with regard to the forms of engagement that are the focus of this study, a majority of the population – two thirds of the interviewees – state that they want to become active in this area in the future.

Alongside this willingness to act, which is high overall, there are discernible patterns showing which sections of the population already stand out in particular. While there are no apparent significant differences in terms of the interviewees' gender, a lower age correlates with a greater willingness to become politically active. 87 % of the 14- to 24-year-olds state that they have already objected to a racist statement or would potentially do so. 75 % of the over-65s say this. Education also increases willingness to get involved – 92 % of the interviewees with a university entrance qualification say that they have already objected to a racist statement or would potentially do so. For the interviewees with no school-leaving certificate, this figure is only 47 %. Becoming active against racism is thus dependent on age and education level.

The high level of engagement of juveniles and young adults has most recently been seen in relation to the issue of climate protection and the mobilisation of Fridays for Future, and is an indication of a sustainable politicisation of young people in Germany (Haunss & Sommer 2020). An education effect favouring persons

[52] The affective impact caused by direct as well as indirect experiences of racism ("The experiences/descriptions/incidents upset me emotionally" and "I kept thinking about them later" are associated with statistically significant higher values on the potential index, even when controlled for gender, age and school certificate.

with higher-level school certificates is also apparent. These patterns are stable across the different forms of engagement and scarcely differ in this respect.

Hence the findings to some extent coincide with existing studies on voluntary engagement in Germany but deviate in particular in terms of the composition of the age cohorts and the role of racialised people. The reason for the pronounced engagement of young people might be that the young generation have been socialised during a period in which the subject of racism in Germany has been increasingly addressed and diversity has already been experienced as a social reality. Even though these findings should be interpreted with caution due to the potential for distortion, such as through social desirability bias, they still express wide support for active involvement in German society and a high potential for antiracism, the visibility of which needs to be enhanced.

The disproportionately high level of participation on the part of racialised people also shows that being directly affected oneself represents a central mobilisation factor for political engagement (Klandermans, Van Stekelenburg & Van der Toorn 2008). In addition, it becomes clear that those persons who encounter racism indirectly – be this through hearing about racism or witnessing it – show a disproportionately high level of engagement and exhibit high antiracist potential. Consequently, being affected by racism oneself, hearing accounts of experiences of racism and witnessing racist incidents are factors that are major drivers of action.

SUMMARY:

- Overall, the survey data show a variety of forms of engagement and widespread potential for anti-racism activity among younger people in particular.
- Education also increases willingness to become involved. Being active against racism is thus dependent on age primarily and on level of education secondarily.
- Experiencing a vicarious impact increases people's willingness to show solidarity – antiracist engagement increases when people are affected by racism indirectly and at second hand, witnessing or being told about experiences of racism.
- The antiracism potential is only slightly more widespread among the interviewees who themselves belong to one of the six racialised groups.

➔ **Measures are required to further foster and support the potential for engagement that exists in the German population. When experiences of racism are shared – by being reported or witnessed – this increases willingness for antiracist engagement. This is an important finding for educational and media intervention options, as well as for the task of creating sustainable structures for antiracist engagement.**

Discussion and outlook

The data and analyses in this preliminary study as part of the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism prove that racism is a key social topic which affects many people, and with which they engage in many different ways. A wide variety of aspects are combined in this engagement, such as experiences of racism, the existence of bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas, the perception, assessment and also defensive rejection of criticism of racism, and the antiracist potential in the population. Different sections of the population deal with the individual aspects differently or debate them in different ways.

As the data from this study show, racism is not just perceived as an abstract phenomenon. Rather, it 'touches' a large majority of the population in a very literal sense (see Chapter 1); many citizens belong to potentially affected groups and have themselves already had to experience racism. A further, substantial proportion of the population encounter it indirectly, either because they know people who have been affected and who have told them about their experiences of racism, or because they have witnessed such things in their daily lives.

It is part of social reality that certain ideas and bodies of knowledge that form the basis of racism as an ideology are still widespread (see Chapter 2). At the same time, there is significant awareness in the population of the de facto existence and reality of racism, which is in no way limited to the extreme events covered by the media but also includes everyday, structural and subtle forms of racism (see Chapter 3). This sensitivity and reflection are also evident from the fact that the interviewees in the study overwhelmingly describe as manifestly "racist" typical hypothetical scenarios in which members of racialised groups were discriminated against, and are not much more hesitant to use this term than they are to use the term "unfair" (see Chapter 4). People in Germany deal with the perceived realities of racism in very different ways. On the one hand, they resort to defence mechanisms when responding to the resultant criticism of racism (see Chapter 5), which entails racism primarily being regarded as other people's problem, or the way it is tackled being perceived as excessive. On the other hand, there is a high level of potential in the population for individuals to become actively engaged in combatting racism in a variety of ways (see Chapter 6).

For most of these viewpoints there are clear differences between the age groups. The younger cohorts more frequently subjectively state that they experience racism both directly and indirectly, more strongly perceive racism as a social reality, more often class scenarios as racist, are less defensive about dealing with the issue, and are more willing to become active against racism. Hence addressing racism is also a generational issue. However, some bodies of racist knowledge and racist ideas are only slightly less widespread in the younger age groups than in the older cohorts. A higher level of education generally shows a similar effect on the aspects studied too, including a greater degree of contact with the subject of racism, lower bodies of racist knowledge, a greater perception and more differentiated assessment of racism, and a higher degree of antiracist engagement. In terms of defensiveness regarding criticism of racism, however, it is not just the middle levels of education that stand out in particular but also the higher levels. The differences between the genders are only slight for many aspects, being most evident from the fact that women recognise and acknowledge racism more frequently and exhibit less pronounced defence mechanisms against criticism of racism. In addition, it is often the case that only minor, non-systematic differences exist between members of racialised groups and the other interviewees. This makes two important points clear: firstly, the groups that are potentially affected by racism are no less part of historically conditioned social structures; and secondly, the various aspects of addressing racism that have been mentioned above

are by no means a subject particular to the minority affected by them, instead being one for the entire population.

The findings presented in this study represent the starting point of a comprehensive, systematic scientific basis for addressing racism within the framework of the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism. The analyses entailed in this preliminary, more large-scale data collection serve to highlight many immediate follow-up questions, which will be explored in the next stages of this extensive overall project. A substantial number of possible follow-up questions can and will be addressed in more in-depth analyses. The dataset also offers interesting information and instruments contained in the list of survey questions (BIK 2021). These relate on the one hand to the measurement of further racism-related aspects and general attitudes and on the other hand to other, more detailed and supplementary general or sociodemographic characteristics of the interviewees, such as non-school education, their employment and income situation or the family's migration history. There are therefore ample options in terms of refining and augmenting the assessment presented here.

The analyses shown here are largely limited to the question of how certain attitudes are distributed in the population as a whole or across individual social groups (see section Data and methods: Statistical analyses and data documentation). It will be interesting in the next stage to see how different aspects of dealing with racism discussed in this report are interconnected. An initial approach to this can be found in Chapter 6 (see Section 6.3), which shows a close relationship between being indirectly affected by racism and willingness to engage in antiracism activity. Many similar follow-up questions can be asked about connections between the aspects that have been dealt with in the individual chapters, such as how closely being directly and indirectly affected is also associated with bodies of racist knowledge, with the perception, assessment and naming of racism, or with defensive rejection of criticism of racism. Similarly, one might reasonably ask whether and how closely the bodies of racist knowledge are connected with other aspects, etc. The factorial analyses undertaken in the background (see section Data and methods: Statistical analyses and data documentation) show that there are many reciprocal relationships here (correlations between the factors) which are worth investigating in more detail.

Despite the many options for analysis offered by the data used here, their potential still remains limited in several respects. Firstly, this is a one-off cross-sectional survey. On the one hand, this raises the question of how stable the resulting snapshot is and the extent to which it might have been influenced by specific events or cycles of this subject. On the other hand, cross-sectional analyses as such do not generally permit stricter causal analysis tests. Survey experiments as used in Chapter 4 do indeed offer certain possibilities but only for very limited and focused questions. Therefore, as a further data source, an extensive panel study is being developed as part of the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism (NaDiRa Online Access Panel), which will involve a longitudinal study being conducted at quarterly intervals. This will not only allow trends in fundamental attitudes in the population to be tracked over time but will also highlight whether or not particular changes in attitudes, experiences or events were preceded and caused by certain racism-related attitudes or actions.

The present data only offer an as yet very limited view of the perspective of the groups potentially affected by racism. In contrast to other surveys, the ample sample size of approximately 5,000 interviewees and the fact that self-attribution was requested do in fact allow the analyses to differentiate fundamentally between members of the six central racialised groups and the other interviewees. Nonetheless, the number of cases in these groups still remains limited for more in-depth

analyses. The associated high statistical uncertainty means in particular that differentiations between the individual groups are almost impossible. The structure of the NaDiRa panel study will therefore pay much more attention to selected groups that are potentially affected by racism, to an extent that is disproportionately high compared to their level of representation in the population. The development of appropriate sampling procedures poses a particular challenge here.

Last but not least, it should be emphasised that the focus of this preliminary study and the underlying CATI survey is on how the subject of racism is dealt with and tackled, hence to some extent highly subjective views are captured and analysed. It can be assumed that these do not develop entirely independently of factual realities, but this should not be taken to imply that there is necessarily a closer connection. More specifically, the present data can indeed show that a large majority of the population assume that everyday racism or institutional racism exists. They are presumably interested and willing to learn more about it. However, for the moment this does not yet enable anything to be said about the precise extent of the different forms of racism and the precise incidences. Hence the longitudinal survey will basically have to use broader instruments that point more in that direction. As already outlined in the conclusion to Chapter 1 (see Section 1.5), for example, it will be necessary in the samples of the potentially affected groups to record experiences of racism in a more concrete, specified form with more precise time references to enable a more precise figure to be attached to everyday racism. More targeted batteries of questions will also have to be developed and used for measuring racist tendencies in the general population, thereby reducing the problem of social desirability and in particular examining subtle, unintentional forms of racism. The ability to undertake comparison at an individual level between the experiences and lives of the groups potentially affected by racism and those of other groups, taking account of many important factors, will gradually enable findings to emerge regarding the ways in which structural racism operates and the extent to which it prevails. The areas of health, the labour market, the educational system and the housing market will be particular, rotating focuses.

Nonetheless, even if resources are not in short supply and all the options are optimally implemented, quantitative survey methods alone are insufficient for us to paint an adequate picture of racist realities in Germany. Researchers studying discrimination and racism largely agree that different methodological approaches each have their specific advantages and disadvantages and must therefore be used to complement, validate or correct each other (National Research Council 2004). Within the compass of the German National Monitoring of Discrimination and Racism, the quantitative surveys will therefore be complemented by further modules encompassing other data and analytical techniques. These will include experimental methods, qualitative surveys, data provided by consultants, legal documents or textual data from the traditional media or new social media. This interplay of different methodological approaches and procedures will enable us to gain an appropriate and comprehensive view of the causes, extent and consequences of racism.

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