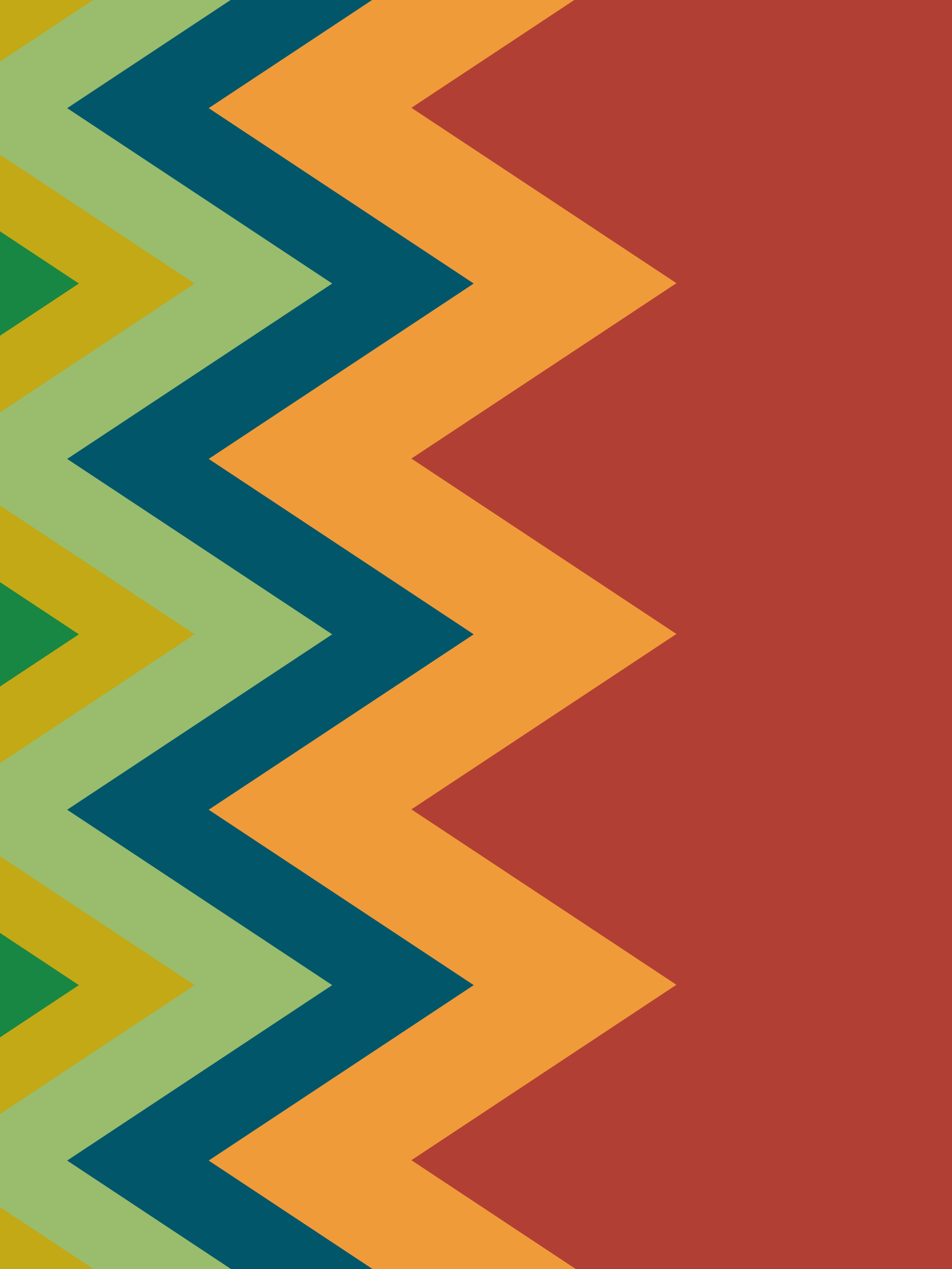


Afrozensus

2020

English Version





Afrozensus

2020

Perspectives, experiences of anti-Black racism and engagement
of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany

Thank you

Project organisations



Scientific co-operation partners



Supported by



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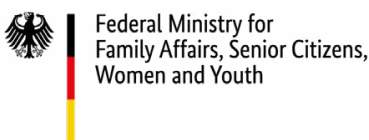
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About the Afrozensus

The Afrozensus is a joint project of Each One Teach One (EOTO) e.V. and Citizens For Europe (CFE), and was organized by the German Center for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM), Consensus and Conflict Department, Steffen Beigang, Prof. Dr. Sabrina Zajak and Dr. Ralf Wölfer (quantitative research) and the Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences, Prof. Dr. Iman Attia (qualitative research) as scientific cooperation partners.

Each One Teach One (EOTO) e.V. is a Black community-based education and empowerment project in Berlin. Founded in 2012, the association opened its doors as a library and archive in March 2014. Since then, it has been a place of learning and encounter. EOTO is part of the Competence Network Anti-Black Racism (KomPAD) and has focused its areas of expertise on cultural education, (extra-)school education, youth work, anti-discrimination counseling and monitoring, practical research, advocacy, networking and transnational cooperation of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.

Citizens For Europe (CFE) is a civil society organization and a non-profit social enterprise in Berlin. In our department "Diversity decides – Diversity in Leadership" we develop tools and strategies to advance and professionalize inclusion and professionalize inclusion processes. By means of applied research, the collection of anti-discrimination and equality data and our consulting services, we support organizations to promote the reduction of discrimination and to act in a diversity-oriented manner. In cooperation with BI-PoC communities, we shed light on the structural dimension of the realities of discrimination, support empowerment processes and develop demands for politicians and decision-makers.

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Foreword by Prof Dr Maisha Auma and Saraya Gomiss

Black life is a constitutive part of German reality, globally interwoven or rooted. It has a hyper-diverse archive of knowledge from Hamburg to Munich via Frankfurt to Cologne and Berlin. From Leipzig to Dresden to Halle. From Erfurt to the rural areas of Saxony to the Saarland and back to the North Sea coast:

Black, Afro-diasporic, and African life realities and knowledge productions have an impact in the most diverse fields of research, the arts, community organization, nationwide demonstrations, protests, and bus tours. They also influence the creation of learning, thinking, and action spaces, initiatives, associations, and religious communities. Additionally, they're reflected in magazines, festivals, theatre productions, radio programs, event series, mapping, and surveys. Private, public, and communal (imagined) archives, libraries, Afro shops, and event spaces, along with the knowledge archive in African communities and Black Studies, contribute to this tradition, which is born in and out of resistance movements.

With the Afrozensus, a survey instrument has now been introduced for the first time in 2021 that is able to visualise the interwovenness of Afro-diasporic and post-colonial German history and present it on an empirical basis. The work, the voluntary dedication, the hurdles, and conditions that made this first Afrozensus possible could fill books. These stories will hopefully be told together with the analyses of the Afrozensus, the criticism and gaps still to be filled in accessibility, representation or equipment of the researchers and the tasks of a next Afrozensus, as well as the stories of all the work of previous generations.

The context of this first large-scale survey of Black realities in Germany is that it builds on numerous extra-institutional initiatives to survey Black life realities in Germany. For example, the questionnaire for the survey "The Social and Economic Position of Black People in Germany" was designed in 1996 by Tina Bach-Adentunji, Modupe Laja (Adefra e.V., Schwarze Frauen* in Deutschland [Black Women* in Germa-

ny]) in co-operation with David Owusu and Magali Schmid (ISD e.V. Initiative Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland [Initiative of Black People in Germany]) (→ Fig. A).

It is a concrete example of community-based, somewhat contrapuntal research on Blackness and Black Europe. Almost ten years later, the transnational research co-operation BEST, Black European Studies (2005-2008) was launched by Fatima El-Tayeb and Peggy Piesche in cooperation with Sara Lennox and Randolph Ochsmann. BEST represents a milestone in the institutionalised, empirical recording of Black European reality in the past and present. It is disheartening, but hardly surprising that this research approach and the associated academic approach have since been institutionalised mainly in the North American context via numerous chairs. At the same time, in German-speaking countries, more than ten years after the completion of BEST, there is not a single professorship in the field of Black (European) Studies and no other sustainable forms of institutionalisation. Despite numerous qualifying theses by Afro-diasporic academics in German-speaking countries, studies on Blackness and Black Europe remain a significant institutional void.

While German institutions fail to recognise Afro-diasporic knowledge productions, these bodies of knowledge nevertheless act as non-state knowledge resources. They form contrapuntal archives of multidimensional Intersectional Black European Studies. They contribute to the transnational Black Studies Movement. Without institutional structures, Afro-diasporic scholars in German-speaking countries have established and continuously cultivated their own epistemic communities.

The founding of the nationwide 'Network for Black Perspectives in Research and Teaching' (NSP) is part of and an example for the critical interventions of academics of African descent in German-speaking countries: at the end of 2017, EOTO e.V. in cooperation with other Black organisations such as Generation Adefra,

Umfrage:

Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Stellung Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland

Diese Umfrage ist eine gemeinsame Aktion von **ADEFRA** - Schwarze deutsche Frauen / Schwarze Frauen in Deutschland e.V. und der **ISD** - Initiative Schwarze Deutsche / Schwarze in Deutschland

(Tina Bach-Adentunji, David Owusu, Modupe Laja, Magali Schmid)

In dieser Umfrage wollen wir Daten erheben, die Aufschluß geben über die soziale und wirtschaftliche Stellung Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland. Anlaß zu diesem Projekt war das Seminar "Schwarze Frauen in Beruf und Ausbildung", welches von **ADEFRA** im Oktober 1995 veranstaltet wurde. Die Tatsache, daß es nach unserem derzeitigen Wissensstand kein Datenmaterial zur Lebenssituation Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland gibt, veranlaßte uns, den vorliegenden Fragebogen zu erstellen.

Unser Ziel ist es, eine umfangreiche Studie innerhalb der Schwarzen Bevölkerung zu erstellen. Diese soll zum einen ein möglichst aussagekräftiges Gesamtbild ihrer wirtschaftlichen Macht ergeben, zum anderen soll erforscht werden, ob gemeinsame Erfahrungen oder Lebenssituationen prägend sind.

Um unser Ziel zu erreichen, sind wir auf Eure Unterstützung angewiesen.

Ihr könnt den Fragebogen über das **ADEFRA**-Büro erhalten.

Bitte kopiert diesen Fragebogen und verteilt ihn in Eurem Verwandten-/Freundes- und Bekanntenkreis mit der Bitte, ihn bis zum 15. September 1996 an folgende Adresse zurückzuschicken:

ADEFRA e.V.
Modupe Laja / Tina Bach-Adentunji
c/o Kofra
Baaderstr. 30
80469 München

Vielen Dank an alle TeilnehmerInnen und UnterstützerInnen!

Juli 1996

Fig. A: Survey on the social and economic position of Black people in Germany (1996)

Black Women in Germany, Initiative Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland (ISD), the Central Council of African Communities and The Africa Network Germany (TANG), as well as 20 independent Black researchers from various disciplines, set the institutional anchoring of Black perspectives in the German academic and research landscape as a focus of its work.¹

It is a paradoxical situation that Black scholars such as Vanessa E. Thompson, Fatima El-Tayeb, Edna Bonhomme, and many, many others are more recognised for their work in transnational knowledge systems in Germany than in the German knowledge landscape. For example, Peggy Piesche and Maisha Auma are both active on the Executive Board of the transnational organisation ASWAD (Association for the Study of the Worldwide Diaspora). Their studies on Blackness and Black Europe are institutionally anchored almost exclusively via transnational networks. At the same time, Afro-diasporic epistemic agents in Germany still must work on the equality of Black Studies without institutional anchoring.

Afro-diasporic epistemic communities are working towards realising independent, equal participation within the academic system. In doing so, community-based knowledge networks struggle with knowledge systems that urgently need decolonisation so that they can formally recognise the equal existence of scientists made vulnerable by racism.

The 2020 Afrozensus – some 15 or 25 years after the surveys and research described above – can be a decisive step towards equality for people of African descent and provide a significant foundation for making visible and combating anti-Black racism, especially in its institutionalised forms. Surveys of Afro-diasporic realities such as the 'Black Census' in the USA, as well as surveys in Peru, Colombia and Brazil and the visualisation of Afro-Latinx history and present (The Africas in Americas), are a vital learning field for the Afrozensus in German-speaking countries. The aim is to concretely grasp transnational lines of meaning and common and specific spaces of experience of Black life under the conditions of ABR (ABR- (Anti-Black racism) will be explained and discussed further in Chapter 2). The pan-African survey instrument Afrobarometer regularly records the view of African subjects on the

social, political and economic world, an interpretation of the world that is systematically ignored, trivialised, marginalised, or even eliminated in colonial, western and white-centric knowledge systems.

At the same time, the Afrozensus also learns from itself. Through development, consultation, surveys, and evaluations, the Afrozensus team has consistently identified and emphasized fixable gaps, as well as persistent barriers and insights. Epistemic humility emerges from acknowledging that our perception of the world interprets, structures, and filters knowledge, revealing our incapacity to fully grasp the world itself.

And the learning continues. The infrastructure is in place thanks to the work that was and is being done before, alongside the Afrozensus, and specifically because of it. The interest was great, although (too) many perspectives and experiences are still missing; the Afrozensus 2020 should, therefore, be seen as a prelude and not as a conclusion. We would like to pause for a moment and express our joy and appreciation for the work of the Afrozensus – especially considering the challenges, the additional voluntary work required and the resources available – as well as our joy and appreciation for the internal (power) criticism of the Afrozensus team.

Thinking into the future - The Afrozensus 2.0

Multidimensionality, hyperdiversity, complex diversity, intersectionality – what work do Black community organisations need to do together with other associations, initiatives and people for an Afrozensus 2.0? Where do we want to go based on the Afrozensus 2020 with its strengths and weaknesses?

The surveys mentioned above in Peru and Canada shed light on the creativity, resilience, cultural and literary production, scientific works, transnational histories and presences, Black Joy, Afrofuturism and Africanfuturism and the numerous facets of intersectional realities of Black, queer, disabled, old, young, resource-poor, materially privileged, imprisoned, religious, atheist, non-binary Black people. Crucial to this is integrating Afro-diasporic archives, community-based studies, and decolonial redistribution of (epistemic)

¹ See also: Reclaiming Our Time in African Studies Conversations from the perspective of the Black Studies Movement in Germany – Submitted by Maureen Maisha Auma, Eric Otieno and Alexander Weheliye for the Collective: "Perspectives of Black Studies and Researchers the "Network for Black Perspectives in Research and Teaching" (NSP) in Germany".

power resources. Institutionalising these instruments of recognition, movements, and movement history would be meritorious and worthwhile for an Afrozensus 2.0 from the anti-discrimination perspective.

We aspire to continue the journey from Anton Wilhelm Amo's scientific work, through studies in the 90s, to the Afrozensus 2020 and Afrozensus 2.0, institutionalising research, embracing community-based research, and broadening thinking spaces, thereby providing helpful insights and stimulating reading, research, controversy, and fraternal exchange.

Prof Dr Maisha M. Auma and Saraya Gomis

Foreword by Dr Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana and Dr Karamba Diaby

Dear Afrozensus team,

From the bottom of our hearts, we congratulate you on this milestone in Germany's Black, African, and Afro-diasporic history.

The Afrozensus has fulfilled a long-standing demand in Black communities: it has visualised the realities of our lives through qualitative and, most importantly, quantitative research.

Black communities gain the chance to amplify their voice and assert their rightful statistical space, going beyond mere data.

Upon first presenting the Afrozensus idea to us, it immediately sparked the question: Why has this been proposed only now? Why was the Afrozensus needed to survey Black, African, and Afro-diasporic individuals about their experiences in Germany on such a significant scale? Because we have realised that Black people are underrepresented in our German institutions, which means that data collection and data gathering are often biased.

As (former) researchers, we know how important it is to collect statistical data. And we also know what it means if specific data is not collected.

One thing is sure: Recognising Anti-Black Racism (ABR) as a distinct phenomenon is imperative. Creating structural frameworks at both European and federal levels is essential to empower Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities, allowing them to participate in life on an equal footing.

However, it is also clear that the data speaks for itself. They show the extent and forms of anti-Black racism (ABR) – especially in education and healthcare, two areas that are among the core tasks of public services of general interest. The fact that people of African descent are too often denied or hindered access to these existential goods due to racist discrimination should also

be a wake-up call for politicians and administrators to take a decisive look at structural ABR. The necessary acquisition of competencies for public institutions is not only a legal requirement but also a moral obligation.

The Afrozensus also provides an opportunity for a comprehensive examination of the participation possibilities for people of African descent – this also applies to our own parties. In our party work, we must devise strategies to amplify Black people's political representation in this country. The experiences shared with us and contextualised and analysed in the Afrozensus make it clear that Black representation is essential, from the district to the federal to the EU level. However, it is not just a matter of individual experiences but also of the ability to embed these in a collective experience. The Afrozensus emphasises and precisely strengthens this competence.

These statistics show we still have much to do before creating a more open, diverse and inclusive society in this country.

We need to focus our efforts nationally so that Germany can implement the action plan adopted by the EU and thus play a pioneering role within Europe.

Four recommendations that Black people repeatedly put forward seem to be of particular importance in the short term:

- 1. Development of a working definition of racism incorporated into our (federal) laws.**
- 2. Transfer of research projects such as the Afrozensus into university research within the framework of pilot chairs on "Black Studies and Empowerment", the institutionalisation of racism and empowerment research, supplemented by community-based approaches.**
- 3. Funding of a "Black Study Programme" to ensure the next generation of researchers and,**

analogous to the ELES and Avicenna Study Programme, to enable successful educational careers for the most outstanding talents from Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in empowering contexts.

4. Expansion of the new EU action programme "Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values" (CERV) to include a funding pot for Black civil society organisations.

With the Cabinet Committee against Racism and Right-Wing Extremism, we have already taken significant steps to advance racism research in Germany and to make the UN Decade for People of African Descent more visible with an official coordination centre. We are making good progress here. The Afrozensus reveals the gaps that we still need to address. However, we are confident that we will succeed in doing so in cooperation with civil society.

**Dr Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana
and Dr Karamba Diaby**

Invitation to read the Afrozensus

Dear reader,

We would like to invite you to read this report on the Afrozensus carefully and mindfully – carefully because, for the first time, thousands of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany were asked about the realities of their lives and their experiences of discrimination. The portrayal of these experiences, especially in intersection with other exclusions, paints a differentiated picture not only of the realities of discrimination but also of the self-assertion of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. Careful reading provides deeper insights and reveals gaps that still exist, as well as the existing need for empowerment.

Mindfully, because the analyses show that the realities of life for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany are very complex – and that this reality includes a multitude of experiences of discrimination. These insights can arouse emotions and evoke memories – especially, but not only, among Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. They can also provoke rejection and denial – not only among those who do not experience anti-Black racism in their everyday lives.

Nevertheless, we would like to invite you to engage with both the described content and your own role in it because the Afrozensus describes Germany's Black, African and Afro-diasporic experience. It is an opportunity to confront underestimated realities often made invisible. Accordingly, the following pages may contain a lot of experiences that readers may never have heard of, thought about or even touched upon – even if it is part of their biography or everyday life. It is, therefore, essential to look and listen carefully – even if this is certainly painful in some places. Because we firmly believe that these realities offer crucial insights. These can only be effective if all readers are not too hasty in rejecting, relativising, or denying new content and experiences that do not correspond to their own, but are open to new perspectives.

As a Black, African, or Afro-diasporic individual, the ability to categorise experiences and identify recurring patterns within them holds inherent empowerment. Throughout the research process, we received exten-

sive feedback affirming that the questions posed and the dialogue facilitated by Afrozensus were regarded as instrumental in validating experiences, fostering reflection, and promoting critical examination. We already see this validation, i.e. proof of lived experiences, as a vital empowerment, which the present analyses should further strengthen. The Afrozensus thrives on the diverse experiences within numerous communities. These shared encounters serve as a catalyst for joint, critical reflection, fostering healing and empowerment. The Afrozensus invites us to intensify all this further.

There are, of course, gaps in the Afrozensus, but it is the first project of its kind to be carried out by Black self-organisations and is unique in Germany in terms of its scope. We have made great efforts to involve many perspectives. Nevertheless, it has not been possible to adequately involve and represent the communities in all their diversity and complexity. The coronavirus pandemic has made most of the planned outreach events impossible. Instead, we had to use social media, chat apps and the press to invite people to participate. This made it difficult to reach specific groups: Lockdowns and strict access restrictions in refugee accommodation centres, for example, meant that younger people who are active online were easier to reach than older people and refugees.

Nevertheless, the Afrozensus presents the experiences, statements and perspectives of thousands of Black people and is, therefore, a unique testimony to Black life in Germany.

As the Afrozensus team, we invite you to read, share, and use the Afrozensus to help us do even better next time. Anyone missing content, perspectives and answers on the following pages can also help to ensure that the Afrozensus picks up on these things – in the next round. Although our preparations are complete, funding for this initiative is yet to be secured. Your feedback gains significance considering this: How did you experience the Afrozensus? How do you use it? How does it empower you? And what changes would

you like to see in the next round? You can give us your feedback at www.afrozensus.de/feedback and discuss it online using the hashtag #Afrozensus.

What awaits you on the following pages is a multi-layered reading experience: the content is complex, sometimes violent, but also shows the potential of joint analyses, of standing together in and between Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities.

The Afrozensus isn't the final statement; instead, it signifies a continued effort to delve deeply into examining anti-Black racism and the experiences of Black people. All readers who find essential impulses for their thoughts and actions on the following pages can contribute by discussing, disseminating, and sharing these findings.

With this in mind, we hope you enjoy reading this book, which will broaden your perspective and empower you.

Your Afrozensus team



EACH ONE
TEACH ONE







1.

Introduction

**"Five fingers, one hand, one unit
A fist in the air for freedom"**

konTa at the Black Lives Matter demo in Berlin ([2021](#) 🎵)

**"Blackness is a cypher, where the conversation is
intergenerational, international and interdependent."**

Minna Salami (2020, p. 92)

... In this spirit, the Afrozensus joins the intergenerational, international and interdependent exchange of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities. In 2020, amidst the peak of the global Black Lives Matter protests, Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany were given the first time opportunity to partake in the most extensive study of its kind.

"It is part of the knowledge base within Black communities that anti-Black racism structures German society." (Gomis, 2020, p. 3). Within Germany's academia, politics, and civil society, Black perspectives remain underrepresented, leading to an absence of debates founded on Black experiences and analyses (German Federal Parliament, 2021). Our presence has been part of German history for centuries; Black people have been part of German society for generations. In Germany and at the EU's external borders, historical violence against Black people continues to mark our experiences (Matondo, 2017 ♪; NUUKI, 2020 ♪). They offer insights into exclusions, discrimination and anti-Black racism that are not visible from other perspectives. At the same time, they point beyond racism: self-empowerment, solidarity and self-determination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, their commitment to a society that lives up to the ideals of the inviolability of human dignity, have a long tradition in the communities surveyed by the Afrozensus. They point to a future that the Afrozensus seeks to contribute towards achieving.

In their heterogeneity, Black people make many shared, but also often different experiences. Anti-Black racism, encompassing specific racist attributions and patterns, is a defining reality for Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities, both in Germany and across the globe. (→ [Chapter 2](#)). These are two of the central premises of the Afrozensus. One of the aims of this research project is to work out the specific contours of the Black, African and Afro-diasporic experience in Germany. It is, therefore, not sufficient to refer solely to the scientific analyses of anti-Black racism and Afro-diasporic experiences in the USA or Great Britain. While there are similar experiences and many historical and current connections, as well as valuable impulses and political, cultural, and theoretical exchanges, there are also critical socio-political differences.

In Germany, Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences have so far been largely rendered invisible through the use of the analytical category of migration background and subsumption under general racism. Although there are interfaces and overlaps between Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and people with a migration background and/or other experiences of racism, we are convinced that none of these groups (including their overlaps) will be done justice if specific experiences, discrimination dynamics and exclusion mechanisms within German society are not recognised and analytically understood. Furthermore, the focus of the few quantitative analyses available on the so-called migration background does not do justice to the reality of Black presence in Germany, as this only takes into account immigrants from the African continent and their children (→ [Chapter 3.2](#)).

Time and again, Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities and organisations in Germany have expressed keen interest in better understanding our present living situation. At the same time, however, reference was also made to the potential dangers of a state-run survey, which makes such a project an ambivalent undertaking, especially against the backdrop of German history: data and analyses can empower – or also be used to discriminate. This is why the embedding of the Afrozensus in Black organisations and the Black movement is so important (→ [Chapter 2, p. 37](#)): It has enabled us as the Afrozensus team to interrogate painful experiences as well as perspectives from within the community. We conceived and realised the Afrozensus as a project by us, for us – it, therefore, builds on a long tradition of movement and research. We briefly present essential points of inspiration for our study in the following three sections:

Black Movement History and Black Studies

Black life stories in Germany's historical archives reveal a potent narrative of Black self-assertion and resistance against white supremacy and anti-Black racism, spanning over 300 years. Notably, figures like Anton Wilhelm Amo (ca. 1703-1759), a philosopher, legal and enlightenment scholar and staunch aboli-

1 A person has a migration background if they themselves or at least one of their parents were not born with German citizenship. Specifically, this definition includes immigrant and non-immigrant foreign nationals, immigrant and non-immigrant naturalised citizens, (late) Aussiedler and the descendants of these groups born as Germans. Displaced persons from the Second World War have a separate status (in accordance with the Federal Displaced Persons Act); they and their descendants are therefore not counted as part of the population with a migration background.

tionist, embody this enduring legacy (Each One Teach One e.V., 2018b). In the colonial era, African and Afro-diasporic activists banded together, notably within the League Against Imperial Oppression and other organisations. In 1919, organised "Africans in Germany" demanded an end to forced labour and corporal punishment as well as "equal rights between blacks and whites" and their own African member of the Reichstag with the Dibobe Petition (Dibobe, 1919; Pelz, 2019). Black people also resisted persecution and oppression during the Nazi era, e.g. as members of the "Swing Kids" (Massaquoi, 2001).

May Ayim's work and her poetic, activist and academic oeuvre provided significant impetus for the new Black movement in Germany that began to gain strength in the 1980s. She worked as part of a community of predominantly Black women who had formed a network at the suggestion of Audre Lorde. Here, the importance of transnational exchange becomes evident; it ultimately inspired generations in ways ranging from the seminal book "Farbe bekennen" (Oguntoye et al., 1986), English edition "Showing our Colors") to the founding of the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland and ADEFRA. However, other self-organisations, such as the African Writers Association, which organised a commemorative event in Berlin in 1984 to mark the Berlin Conference of 1884, were already addressing colonial continuities and calling for solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement and the Namibian liberation organisation SWAPO (Koepsell & Bowersox, 2013). African and Afro-diasporic activists and movement impulses came together in Berlin in the 1980s.

This history of the movement was already producing the first attempts to analyse Black experiences in Germany. The annual ISD national meeting, regular Black History Month [G] events in several German cities and the ADEFRA regulars' table were some of the crucial spaces for exchange and networking. Since the 1990s, Black, African, and Afro-diasporic refugees have orchestrated resistance through groups like The Voice Refugee Forum and Flüchtlingsinitiative Berlin-Brandenburg, confronting Afro-Germans with German citizenship with their passport privilege and called on Black German organisations to show solidarity. In addition – and partly connecting the aforementioned contexts – there were and still are a multitude of informal networks that emerged at kitchen tables, in churches, mosques and other religious spaces, but also in Afro shops. These offer lived solidarity, but they also give rise to internal conflicts, learning processes and negotiations – and thus also empowerment and activism in the long term.

Black knowledge production was an early part of these activities, be it in the form of self-published magazines such as "Afrolook", through self-published directories of Black, African and Afro-diasporic businesses, doctors and organisations; in book form (e.g. "Spiegelblicke - Perspektiven Schwarzer Bewegung in Deutschland" by Bergold-Caldwell et al., 2016), but also as educational and discussion offerings such as the travelling exhibition "Homestory Deutschland", which presents Black biographies in Germany from four centuries.

Numerous qualitative, civil society Black Studies projects, i.e. research and analysis processes initiated by community organisations, aimed to create spaces for reflection. They aspired at understanding and improving the lives of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany in all their complexity, e.g. in the form of essential interventions in white knowledge production (ADEFRA e.V., 2020; Black Communities, 2015) as well as events such as the 6th Pan-Africanism Congress Munich (AK Panafrikanismus München, 2017), the symposium of the network Black Perspectives in Science and Research (Each One Teach One e.V., 2018a) and the 19th Alafia Africa Festival 2021 (BLACK COMMUNITY Coalition For Justice & Self-Defence, 2021).

From 2005, the Black European Studies (BEST) research network brought together historical, social science and socio-psychological perspectives in a transnational network – at two conferences (2005 and 2006), there was an exchange with central voices in African American theorising but also work on theoretical approaches for the Black European context (Piesche, 2006). Discrimination-critical, community-based research projects such as the study on empowerment for Sinti*zze and Rom*nja (Barz et al., 2020) were also an inspiration, not least for the qualitative research approaches of the Afrozensus.

Human rights and anti-racism: Black demands on politics

These Black Studies and movement-historical impulses were fundamental for numerous policy processes in Germany and internationally. The Afrozensus also builds on these influential contributions. Based on the Durban Declaration and the associated programme of action (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021; United Nations Department of Public Information, 2002), the UN Decade for People of African Descent (United Nations, 2021) provides the current framework under the motto "Recognition, Justice, Development", in which the in-

ternational community has committed itself to comprehensively improving the situation of people of African descent by the end of 2024. The last country visit by the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent resulted in a comprehensive catalogue of recommendations for the federal government (Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, 2017). At the European level, the advocacy measures of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) (2016, 2018a, 2018b) and the subsequent first resolution on the fundamental rights of people of African descent by the European Parliament (European Parliament, 2019) are essential. The absence of comprehensive measures and specific solutions at the federal level is evident, as it took the initiative of civil society, such as the Central Council of the African Community in Germany, to organise the kick-off event for the UN Decade for People of African Descent in Germany (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2020, p. 20). At the state level, the consultation process of the Berlin administration with people of African descent carried out by Diversifying Matters is an important example (House of Representatives of Berlin, 2019, 2020). The Afrozensus is thus part of a movement tradition that mobilises Black perspectives from below and international criticism that holds federal and state governments accountable from above.

Impulses for our quantitative research

One of the central, unifying topics at the political level was and still is the demand for a more differentiated quantitative survey of the realities of life and experiences of discrimination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. Over one million people of African origin live in Germany (→ Chapter 3.2). To date, however, there are no comprehensive statistics, partly because university research almost completely ignores the situation of people of African descent in Germany. There is also not a single university chair for Black Studies in Germany. The discourse on the need for more differentiated statistical surveys has been established and intensified in recent years, especially outside of universities: The survey on the social and economic situation of Black people in Germany (ADEFRA e.V., 1996), the first quantitative analysis of Mikrozensus² data on anti-Black racism in the education system (Gyamerah,

2015), and the parallel report on the 19th – 22nd state report to the UN Committee against Racism (Aikins & Diakonie Bundesverband, 2015) were crucial in this regard. Building on this, the specialist discourse on the collection of differentiated anti-discrimination and equality data developed further (Ahyoud et al., 2018; Aikins et al., 2018), which also led to the first statistical survey of anti-Black racism in schools by a (city) state administration (Senate Department for Education, Youth and Family, 2018, 2019) and the latest publication on the need for empirical research on Black people in Germany (Aikins et al., 2020).

The two surveys which collected comprehensive quantitative data on the realities of Black people's lives are also of particular importance for the Afrozensus: the Black Census in the USA (Black Futures Lab, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c) and the EU-MIDIS II study "Being Black in Europe" by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018b, 2018a). However, the latter used what we consider to be an inadequate name-based sampling method (→ Chapter 3.2) and, in contrast to the Afrozensus, only refers to respondents of "sub-Saharan" African migration background (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2017, p. 39). Finally, the current surveys of subjective experiences of discrimination are relevant for the statistical analyses. The representative survey commissioned by the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency on experiences of discrimination in Germany (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2018; Beigang et al., 2017) refers to the entire population in Germany but does not include a partial evaluation of results relating to the experiences of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. Data sources increasingly supplement this type of data on experiences of discrimination, such as those collected by the Each One counselling centre concerning anti-Black racism (Each One Antidiskriminierung, 2021).

This is only a tiny, incomplete excerpt of the numerous processes and analyses that have been pioneering and inspiring for the Afrozensus. In the follow-up to the Afrozensus, we will publish an annotated bibliography to supplement the list in extracts. By taking up these essential impulses and preliminary work, we would like our research to contribute, first and foremost, to the empowerment of our communities. The aim of the

2 (The microcensus is a survey on several topics. The survey consists of a core question programme and other survey sections. These include the survey section on labour market participation, the survey section on income and living conditions and the survey section on internet use.)

Afrozensus is to provide differentiated insights into the realities of life and experiences of racist discrimination, but also into the resilience and empowerment strategies of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany by interweaving quantitative and qualitative elements. We have deliberately chosen to use the triad of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people to reflect the heterogeneity in the self-designations that different people of African descent choose for themselves (→ [Chapter 6.6](#)).

Against the background of the gaps in university research and the historical impulses for Black Studies, the Afrozensus is particularly important for the following reasons:

1. **It names and analyses the specific anti-Black attributions and experiences and records patterns of anti-Black racism (→ [Chapter 2](#) and → [Chapter 6.4](#)).**
2. **It thus helps to classify the experiences of anti-Black racism, which are too often doubted, trivialised or denied in Germany. This clarifies that these experiences are real and valid and not isolated cases.**
3. **It goes beyond the so-called migration background in that it relies on the self-identification of the interviewees and thus captures experiences beyond the second generation. For the first time, Black, African and Afro-diasporic people with connections to the African continent and the African diasporas were interviewed together.**
4. **It enables us to quantitatively and qualitatively map our communities' internal diversity and complexity (→ [Chapter 3.3](#) and → [Chapter 4](#)) and carry out intersectional subgroup analyses.**
5. **The analyses help Black, African, and Afro-diasporic organisations, activists, and committed people better understand the needs of the communities. To this end, they make experiences of discrimination as well as resilience and empowerment strategies visible.**
6. **Although the Federal Government recognises Black people as being affected explicitly by racism (Federal Ministry of the Interior & Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, [2017](#)) and also identifies anti-**

Black racism (Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, [2020](#)), it has not yet implemented any specific and comprehensive measures. The Afrozensus, therefore, formulates concrete recommendations for action.

The Afrozensus consists of a Germany-wide online survey in which almost 6,000 people took part (→ [Chapter 3](#)) as well as focus groups and interviews in the areas of health (→ [Chapter 6.2](#)) and education (→ [Chapter 6.3](#)). The online questionnaire functions as a panel survey, specifically, a survey that recurs regularly. All Black, African and Afro-diasporic people older than 16 "who have family ties to Africa because themselves or one of their ancestors – regardless of generation – left Africa voluntarily or involuntarily" were invited to participate in the online survey. This includes not only people with a current direct connection to the African continent but also people with connections to the African diaspora. As Germany is considered the social frame of reference for the study, participants should live in Germany or have lived in Germany until recently. German citizenship was explicitly not a prerequisite for participation in the Afrozensus (Each One Teach One e.V. & Citizens For Europe, [2020](#)).

Through a cooperation, Each One Teach One e.V. (EOTO e.V.) and Citizens For Europe (CFE) enabled the Afrozensus. EOTO is a Black self-organisation and a community-based education and empowerment association. For years, EOTO has publicly addressed discrimination against Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in its multidimensionality and focussed on the self-empowerment of Black people. CFE's Diversity Decisions team and its expertise in collecting anti-discrimination and equality data complemented this expertise. The cooperation thus secured two fundamental prerequisites for successfully collecting data in Black communities: Black expertise and connections in the communities and sound experience in collecting anti-discrimination and equality data. In addition, the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) advised the research project for the online survey and the Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences (ASH) as a scientific cooperation partner for the qualitative research. The Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency (ADS) sponsored the Afrozensus and provided content-related support. However, implementation in this form and under the conditions of the coronavirus pandemic could only be sustained by surpassing resources at the individual, collective, and organizational levels for an excessive period of time.

Chapter overview

The report is organised as follows: Building on the aims of the Afrozensus, we develop the theoretical foundations of our research in **chapter 2**. For us, theory is "liberatory practice" (Hooks, 1991). Our comprehensive definition of anti-Black racism identifies specific anti-Black attributions that operate through everyday microaggressions [G], goes beyond intentional discrimination and identifies unintentional, institutional modes of ABR.

In **subchapter 3.1**, we explain our methodological approach: developing our online survey in conjunction with the qualitative results in the areas of health and education. In addition to data protection principles, we also describe the basis for calculating the percentages in the Afrozensus. In **subchapter 3.2**, we explain how we identified the Afrozensus respondents - Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany - using a snowball sample [G] based on the criticism of the concept of "migration background". In **subchapter 3.3**, we explain the operationalisation of the evaluated diversity dimensions.

Based on socio-demographic statistics, **chapter 4** provides an overview of who participated in the Afrozensus. In **chapter 5**, we calculate the engagement rate and provide information on the extent of the respondents' financial, material or other remittances and other support.

Chapter 6 consists of five thematic blocks:

In **subchapter 6.1**, we provide a comprehensive overview of experiences of discrimination in 14 areas of life. The interviewees were asked about relevant characteristics of their experiences of discrimination, and we were able to carry out selected subgroup analyses based on the socio-demographic data. Based on qualitative research, **6.2** deals with manifestations of anti-Black racism and Black resilience and empowerment strategies in the healthcare system. Based on this, we develop a graphic model that illustrates the "dilemma of reaction" faced by people confronted with ABR.

In **subchapter 6.3**, we look at Black experiences in the education system. To do so, we draw on the results of the online survey, expert interviews and focus groups with pupils, teachers, parents and educators. We show their "dilemma of negotiation" and their empowerment strategies. In addition to **chapter 6.1**, which deals with experiences of discrimination as a whole, in subchapter 6.4, we focus on the specifics

of anti-Black racism: we analyse the patterns and dynamics presented in **chapter 2** based on the quantitative and qualitative results and, among other things, deepen the intersection between racist discrimination and (cis)sexism [G]. **Subchapter 6.5** addresses the question of how the interviewees deal with experiences of discrimination, whether they report them and what consequences their actions have. We conclude **chapter 6** with comments on empowerment and Black self-positioning (**subchapter 6.6**).

Chapter 7 measures trust in institutions such as political parties and provides information on whether respondents are aware of their rights and participate in politics via the right to vote. **Chapter 8** provides an overview of which political demands received the most significant approval from respondents and which problems are considered particularly pressing. In **chapter 9**, we derive recommendations for action from the Afrozensus and provide an outlook in **chapter 10**.

Invitation to dwell

ABR is often such an unmistakable form of racism that experiences and dynamics of ABR are often used as examples of racism in general. While there is nothing wrong with this in principle, it does lead to a problem: in the endeavour to make a general point about racism, the specific nature of ABR, which has grown historically and still affects Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in particular ways today, is too often not mentioned (Dumas & Ross, 2016, pp. 415-418). ABR is without a doubt racism, but not every form of racism is ABR. The Afrozensus, therefore, invites us to dwell on the specifics of ABR.

We are convinced that the Afrozensus provides many insights into racism in Germany that may also be relevant for other communities experiencing racism. However, these potential insights and connections must no longer be analysed and discussed at the expense of considering ABR in its specifics. After all, recognising and explicitly addressing them is central to strengthening the resilience and targeted empowerment of people who have experienced ABR.

However, it was also essential for us as the Afrozensus team not to reduce the respondents to the discrimination they had experienced. Even if a focus on ABR is necessary, Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are more than their experiences of discrimination. We, therefore, invite you to dwell on the content of the survey, where the interviewees talk about their own power

to act and where resilience and empowerment strategies that go beyond ABR become clear.

The polyphony of the Afrozensus

Some readers will say that our text is too scientific, others that it is not scientific enough. We have deliberately chosen this style and this form of address: In many places, we intentionally use the terms **"we"** and **"us"**. In scientific contexts, it is often still customary to write in the third-person singular, to use passive constructions and not make the person writing – and therefore their position – explicit. However, in our opinion, formulations such as "it was analysed..." mislead the reader, as they suggest that the authors have no positioning or that this is irrelevant to the research. This writing from an unmarked position, which presents itself as objective and thus authorises itself to write about everything without self-reflection, has been criticised as a "God trick" from a feminist perspective for decades.

We avoid this trick and clarify by writing ourselves into the text: our **"we" is positioned as Black**. It is diverse and polyphonic and draws inspiration from sources that we would like to recommend for you to read and listen to. After all, our experiences and reading preferences are as varied as the sources of information we draw from. Black, African and Afro-diasporic music traditions are a resource, inspiration and invitation to share and deepen at the same time; therefore, we list them on an equal footing with written sources and mark them with a **note symbol** ↯.

Some sources are only available in libraries or online behind paywalls, but if the **year of a source is underlined**, this is a direct link (URL) to a source available free of charge on the Internet. In the printed version of the Afrozensus, the link is available in the list of references. Our **glossary** aims to make the text more accessible. There, we explain essential concepts and terms marked with a **[G]** in the text. To make the data even more accessible, we plan to translate the German version of the text into English and French and publish an **Online Data Explorer** in the future, presenting an extract of the data set interactively. We intend to offer all these possibilities to enrich the Afrozensus' polyphony, because this way, we would like to acknowledge the multitude of voices that laid its foundation.



2.

Research interest, theoretical foundations and research standards

„I am a social scientist gathering information
Observing different cultures in each of the various nation
Trodding incognito as a Rastafari artist
Instigating revolution with anyone willing to start it
Marketing the mission
As a spiritual experience
And using the opportunity to do some major
reconnaissance
To find out how my people living
On the black continent
So we can determine a plan for resistance
And mount an effective defense
As a way
A way a way a way over
A way a way out“

New Race (A way out) (Jah9, [2020](#) 🎵)

The Afrozensus aims to make Black, African and Afro-diasporic realities of life in Germany visible in their diversity and complexity, to enable solidarity and emancipatory action. In addition to socio-demographic data (e.g. age, education, income), experiences of discrimination, respondents' volunteer work, and their trust in organisations and institutions were also collected. In this way, the Afrozensus should make it possible to uncover and differentiate patterns and widely shared experiences of anti-Black racism (ABR) as well as to identify specific forms of anti-Black racism. The data and analyses of the Afrozensus should support all those who wish to contribute to the empowerment of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany and to the suppression of ABR. Above all, the outcomes aim to support the vital empowerment work undertaken by Black, African, and Afro-diasporic self-organisations and people throughout the country. The Afrozensus also offers recommendations for improving the life situation of these communities and for protecting against ABR for politics and administration. (→ [Chapter 5](#)). The choice of methods (→ [Chapter 3](#)) was guided by this research interest.

The Afrozensus invites an exchange about shared and different experiences in and between Black communities in Germany. It intervenes actively in reshaping research and knowledge production on Black, African, and Afro-diasporic experiences in Germany that were not conceptualised and conducted from within Black communities. As a result of this type of research, Black people do not appear as the creators of their knowledge, i.e. as subjects of knowledge in their own right, but rather as objects of a mostly white researcher's gaze, whose analyses do not address the questions and needs of those being researched. This status quo is the result of exclusions and reinforces marginalisation and oppression in the field of knowledge production about Black people.

The Afrozensus attempts to break through this dynamic, and close important gaps in knowledge and analysis. To this end, the research project deliberately set out to make Black, African and Afro-diasporic people visible as subjects of knowledge precisely in their diversity. At the same time, we are aware of the limitations of this project in all necessary epistemic modesty (Medina, 2013, pp. 42-43). Any attempt to capture Black, African and Afro-diasporic life realities in their complexity can only do so incompletely. Nevertheless, we believe that the need for sustainable empowerment of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany justifies this project. The Afrozensus

endeavours to overcome both the limitations of an external view of the communities and the limitations of internal perspectives that do not consider the communities in their diversity. The deliberate inclusion of various Black, African and Afro-diasporic perspectives enables this. Furthermore, the Afrozensus' design allows for follow-up surveys. As a research project that takes a critical look at the limitations of this first survey, we hope to learn from the reactions and feedback from the communities for future survey rounds. A project such as the Afrozensus can never provide a definitive, finalised picture – but it can nevertheless provide insights with a depth of detail and diversity of voices that have not been visible enough to date.

To do justice to our interest in knowledge and the aims of the Afrozensus, the Afrozensus draws on a long tradition of Black, African and Afro-diasporic reflection on their own situation, particularly over the past 500 years. In this tradition, systematic attempts to explain the experienced situation and identify possibilities for empowerment and liberation are core components of Black theory. To this end, it also necessarily focuses on hierarchies and oppression within and between Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities. Based on Bell Hooks, we understand theory as a "liberating practice" (hooks, 1991). We invite readers to read the following ideas, approaches and theories, which form important foundations for the Afrozensus, with this in mind: They are an offer to use old and new tools to sharpen our perceptions and advance the work of liberation through our own engagement and collective action. To this end, we draw on critical, emancipative, Black and African feminist and decolonial approaches, which the following sections illustrate. These relate both to epistemology, i.e. the question of whose knowledge is considered as such (Go, 2017; Medina, 2013), and to research methods (Clemons, 2019; Kühn & Koschel, 2011; Misra et al, 2021), i.e. the tools of analysis, as well as research ethics (Clemons, 2019; Harding, 2015; Smith, 2015; von Unger, 2014), i.e. the question of what values our research is committed to and what appropriate handling of the communities' data should look like. The Afrozensus thus joins a long tradition of Black research that grows out of the realities of Black experience and places the needs of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities at the centre of consideration. This report builds on the foundations of this important preliminary work (Du Bois, 2007; Eggers et al., 2005; Oguntoye et al., 1986), without which the Afrozensus would not have been possible. These include insights from Black feminist, Black critical and decolonial theory, which this chapter briefly outlines.

Responsible research: A reflexive research ethic

Which research-ethical values and principles guide the planning, the addressing of the target groups, the implementation of the Afrozensus, and the evaluation and presentation of the results is of central importance for the success of the project. For many Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, as for others affected by colonial aggression, research is not neutral, objective and impartial but has been part of the experience of colonial violence in disciplines as diverse as ethnography, sociology and medicine (Smith, 2012). In Germany, the personal and conceptual links from the colonial to the Nazi era that are particularly visible in racist research (Bauche, 2021) are just one example of racist and anti-Black academic traditions that served to justify genocides during the colonial period and also during the Nazi era (Ericksen & Olusoga, 2011; Zimmerer, 2011). To this day, socio-demographic data is cited for stigmatising population groups, often without conceptually including the history and present of racism and the analysis of people who have experienced racism or acknowledging them in research. The Afrozensus must respond with a research ethic that is reflexive by considering this history and its present in every step of the project.

The reference to the pioneering work, concepts and theories of Black researchers is therefore also central to the ethical stance of the Afrozensus:

We are not only reacting to external attributions and a violent academic history but also operating in a long and inspiring tradition of Black knowledge production (→ p.37). This also means that we not only repeatedly reflect on the process itself in dialogue with each other, with participants and experts – but also in the light of previous emancipatory research projects and perspectives. Therefore, the explanations in this chapter also always have ethical relevance; they are part of the reflexive practice of Black and critical research ethics (Clemons, 2019; Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021; von Unger, 2014).

Research being accountable to the communities it interacts with is at the heart of this issue. In the context of the Afrozensus, conceptual participation is, therefore, an essential part of the practical implementation of this ethic: in preparation, town halls [G] in Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig and Munich, as well as other consul-

tation formats, ensured that the prioritisation of topics for the Afrozensus took the multi-perspectivity of the communities into account.

In addition, the seven central core principles for collecting anti-discrimination and equality data are also a fundamental part of the research design. These are:

1. **Self-identification, where multiple identifications must also be possible;**
2. **Clarification of the meaning and purpose of data collection through a detailed declaration of consent;**
3. **Voluntary participation, which is ensured by prior informed consent to data collection;**
4. **Anonymity, which an encrypted connection to the questionnaire and data processing that makes it impossible to identify participants ensures;**
5. **Participation of representatives of discriminated communities in the process of data collection, analysis and dissemination;**
6. **Intersectionality, which the survey ensures by providing the possibility of selecting identities, reasons for discrimination and external attributions;**
7. **Principle of not harming through collected data or their analyses (Ahyoud et al., 2018).**

As early as 2018, consultations were held with experts and self-organisations on the diversity and discrimination dimensions surveyed as part of the CFE project "Vielfalt entscheidet" (Aikins et al., 2018). The results flowed into developing a survey instrument, forming the basis of the Afrozensus (→ Chapter 3.1 Online survey). These consultations also influenced the core principles, for example, the exchange with Sinti*zze and Rom*nja self-organisations, who spoke against the background of their historical experience with the use of research data in the persecution and murder of Sinti*zze and Rom*nja in the Porajmos [G], enabled the inclusion of the "principle of non-compensation" (Stiftung Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft (EVZ), 2016, p. 13). This was central to our discussions with and invitations to the communities to participate in the Afrozensus.

We also presented key aspects of the ethical principles described above at information events and in detailed explanations on the website in order to invite people to participate on this basis. Against this background, the anonymisation of the data played a central role in the cleansing of the dataset, the analysis of the data and the design of the presentations (→ [p.50](#)), as well as ensuring that no harm occurred. In implementing the quality criteria and anonymisation, the Afrozensus not only complies with all the requirements of data protection law but also goes beyond these ethical principles in some cases (→ [p.50](#)).

As part of the qualitative research for the Afrozensus, we enabled the multi-perspectivity of the analysis by conducting expert interviews, whose specialist insights helped us to organise focus group discussions. In these discussions, we also presented the first results of the quantitative analysis to the participants. By doing so, this part of the research could also serve as a space for joint reflection on and interpretation of the results. Reflective ethics also include disclosing one's own positionings (→ [p.37](#)), the limitations of the project and enabling detailed feedback in order to learn from this for future rounds of the Afrozensus and other projects (→ [Reading invitation](#)).

The Afrozensus team is convinced that the realities of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany are diverse. This entails that the Afrozensus should be as inclusive and differentiated as possible in its planning, design, implementation and analysis, even compared to previous surveys. For this to succeed, we must consider the diversity and particularities of the Black, African and Afro-diasporic presence in Germany.

Black communities are diverse in themselves and share experiences at the same time

The Afrozensus is based on the assumption that Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany are highly diverse. They have vastly different realities of life, have different experiences of racism and discrimination and also differ in their privileges. Their self-positioning [G], volunteer work and experiences in different areas of life, such as education, work, health, etc., are also diverse. For example, Black women experience a specific intersection of racism and sexism (Emejulu & Sobande, 2019), Black trans* and non-binary [G] people experience the intersection of ABR with cis-sexism [G] (Aikins & Diakonie Bundesverband, [2015](#), p. 22) and people without German citizen-

ship are confronted with specific forms of ABR that result from the intersection with exclusions based on nationality (Aikins & Diakonie Bundesverband, [2015](#)). These and many other entanglements each give rise to forms of anti-Black racism characterised by specific overlaps (→ [p.36](#)). One of the aims of the Afrozensus is to record the restrictions named as central in community consultations in a differentiated manner.

At the same time, ABR is characterised by specific mechanisms and patterns, by anti-Black attributions that also lead to shared experiences. These include, for example, the equation of Blackness and foreignness (Advanced Chemistry et al., [1992](#) ♪; Brothers Keepers, [2001](#) ♪; European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), [2020](#)), as well as the specific degradation of Black hair and Black physicality (→ [p.41](#) and → [Chapter 6.3](#)). Outlining these shared experiences is another aim of the Afrozensus. The question of whether Black people are discriminated against at all is explicitly not the starting point of our research. Instead, the objective is to gain a better understanding of different Black, African and Afro-diasporic realities of life and experiences of discrimination.

Knowledge shared within communities about experiences of discrimination, resilience and "empowerment strategies" (Bundesregierung (Federal Government), [2021](#), p. 389) is thus a central starting point of the Afrozensus. We always conceptualise experience and knowledge as situated, i.e. influenced by the individual and collective positioning [G] of people within society. From socially marginalised and discriminated positions in particular, it is therefore possible to gain an insight into inclusion and exclusion, but also solidarity and empowerment, which is hardly likely from a privileged position. The prerequisite for this is a community-internal exchange and the reflection of collective experiences that strengthen epistemic self-confidence (Medina, 2013).

The Afrozensus focuses on experiences of discrimination and agency

With the Afrozensus, we place the perspectives of those affected at the centre by surveying their experiences of discrimination. We avoid reducing respondents to this experience by focusing on how they deal with it, their counter-strategies, self-determined actions within communities, and their power to act against, and beyond, anti-Black racism.

Addressing discrimination, marginalisation, and racism often results in a specific form of injustice towards those experiencing discrimination. Through "testimonial injustice" (Medina, 2013, p. 60), reports, statements and testimonies on experiences of exclusion are doubted, relativised, or wholly dismissed as irrelevant. This rejection is exemplified repeatedly and is particularly widespread concerning racism. (Medina, 2013, p. 65). A key argument here is the alleged "subjectivity" of the perspective of those affected. The Afrozensus claims to provide a well-founded counter-argument through the data, analyses and insights it presents. Exemplary experiences of discrimination and ABR, which are thus experienced as shared by many respondents or by certain respondent groups in a particular way, make it clear that these experiences cannot be reduced to purely individual cases. The multiple repetitions and shared experiences of anti-Black racism and associated forms of discrimination show that these are socially embedded and have grown historically. The patterns of ABR (→ p.40) can be explained by this historical and social embedding, which produces and passes on widely shared attributions about Black people.

The answers provided and experiences shared in the project, along with the analyses and strategies, serve as testimonies to the diverse realities of Black life in Germany. These play a significant role in raising awareness of collective experiences and dealing with them in a targeted manner, as individuals and groups are thus better able to place what they have experienced in a larger context. Similarities and differences in experience and behaviour within and between Black communities emerge, and patterns of discrimination, as well as self-determined ways of dealing with it, can be discussed.

Disclosure leads to reflected and possibly confirmed experiences, but at the same time, it also becomes clear that ABR can be experienced differently depending on the position [G]. Which forms of discrimination people experience and what consequences they have depends, for example, on whether a Black person has German citizenship or not, which temporal, linguistic, financial and community-based resources are avail-

able to the person, and which other forms of discrimination affect them. An insight into these similarities and differences can promote the emergence of a collective awareness of the problem and solidarity. This can strengthen collective activities and have a decisive influence on the development of measures to reduce discrimination and empower those affected. This is precisely where the Afrozensus comes in.

The simultaneity of shared and specific Black, African, and Afro-diasporic experiences is both a methodological challenge and a considerable potential for knowledge in the Afrozensus. The mixed-methods research design presented in Chapter 3 addresses both.

Black Studies and community-based research focus on the needs and interests of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities

The Afrozensus follows in the tradition of Black studies, which were developed out of the need to understand better Black, African and Afro-diasporic life realities through research that is responsible to the needs of the communities and to be able to show emancipatory possibilities (Andrews, 2020a, 2020b; Auma et al., 2020; Howse, 2019). To fulfil this requirement, the Afrozensus uses a research design in which Black people appear as subjects - and not, as is all too often the case, as objects of a white gaze conducting research from the outside. This is because the great need for research in Germany also confronts a reality in which research on experiences of discrimination, in particular, is too often orientated towards white needs and perspectives in terms of questions, funding, methods, etc.¹ In studies that focus on racism and right-wing radicalism, Black experiences are usually omitted altogether and/or only attitudes in the population are surveyed (Zick et al., 2016). The frequently cited "centre studies" (Zick et al., 2016, p. 37) refer to the phenomenon of "group-related misanthropy", for example, without addressing anti-Black racism at all. Although more recent publications are the first to attempt to record racist attitudes against Black people (Zick, 2021), this generally occurs with an under-com-

¹ In this context, we refer to the community statement (ISD Bund e.V. et al., 2015), where Black researchers spoke out against establishing the Black Studies Bremen project at the University of Bremen. Previously, the exclusively white management had repeatedly failed to appoint even a single Black person to the project. At the same time, concept papers gave the impression that certain Black researchers and activists had participated in the project's development when this was not the case. The Black Community Statement explains what happened and problematises the process. Shortly after Angela Davis, among others, signed the statement, the organisers of Black Studies Bremen announced that they no longer wanted to continue the project.

plex approach, as, for example, the sexualisation of Black bodies typical of ABR is overlooked (→ p. 41). The perspectives of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and the effects of ABR hardly feature in academic research in Germany (ADEFRA e.V., 2020; Aikins et al., 2020).

Against this background, it becomes obvious that a university could not have developed the Afrozensus in the current German academic landscape. The necessary localisation of the Afrozensus in a Black research theory and practice with the participation of the communities is currently only possible in Germany within the framework of a civil society project. Therefore, the Afrozensus can only achieve its goals if Black perspectives and researchers are ensured to lead and significantly determine the project. Organisationally and in terms of personnel, this must be guaranteed in the sense of Black Leadership. (Bundesregierung (Federal Government), 2021, p. 393). In this way, the research design can strengthen the trust of the people surveyed in the research and, in many cases, enables them to participate in the survey in the first place.

The framework conditions should ensure that the research – from conception to publication – is largely free from a white gaze, which also refers to the anticipated expectations of the Afrozensus from the white scientific community. During the process, the Afrozensus must continually emancipate itself from this view and repeatedly ask the question of what Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and organisations need and what needs they have with regard to the Afrozensus during the planning, implementation, analysis and writing process. This is intended to be ensured through the involvement of diverse perspectives, including those in different positions, and ongoing discussion and reflection, both within the team and with representatives from the communities.

The positioning of the organisations and authors of the Afrozensus, i.e. the conscious naming of their social position in the context of anti-Black racism and other relations of domination and power, is – also from a research ethics perspective – central to the realisation of the research project. We differentiate between two levels:

- ◆ **Legal & organisational: Each One Teach One (EOTO) e.V. is an empowerment organisation by and for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and is a recipient of funding for the Afrozensus project from the Federal Anti-Discrimi-**

mination Agency (ADS) and passes on some of the funding to the partner organisation Citizens For Europe (CFE). CFE is a non-profit organisation with white management. The project funding implies that the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency provided feedback on individual project components but could not issue any instructions to EOTO (this is non-commissioned research), and that EOTO reviews the work of CFE. One person employed by CFE is an honorary member of the EOTO Board.

- ◆ **Collaborative partnership & conceptual leadership: The research team comprises seven people, some employed by EOTO and some by CFE. The team consists of four cis-women [G] and three cis-men [G]; seven heterosexual and one queer [G] person; four Black people, two PoC and one white person. The four Black people who make up the Afrozensus core team and who also exchanged ideas as a team of four throughout the work process provided the conceptual leadership. All members of the core team are without disabilities and have experience of migration, refugee experience, growing up in African communities and classist discrimination. There are also two Black, cis-female student assistants. Due to the various positions in the entire research team, the collaboration occurred with a clear distribution of roles, with conceptual, content-related and analytical impulses from the Black core team. A PoC and a white person provided the statistical code for data analysis. Three people in an external service relationship, one Black, one PoC and one white, created the illustrations and graphic design.**

People with different African and Afro-diasporic backgrounds, including Ghana, the Republic of Congo, Somalia, South Africa and Brazil, were involved in the extended Afrozensus team. The EOTO team organised the town halls and community consultations in preparation for the Afrozensus with its diverse African and Afro-diasporic backgrounds.

On the shoulders of giants: The Afrozensus stands in emancipatory traditions

The focus on Black communities places the Afrozensus in a tradition of Black analyses of their own situation in the African diasporas that goes back over a hun-

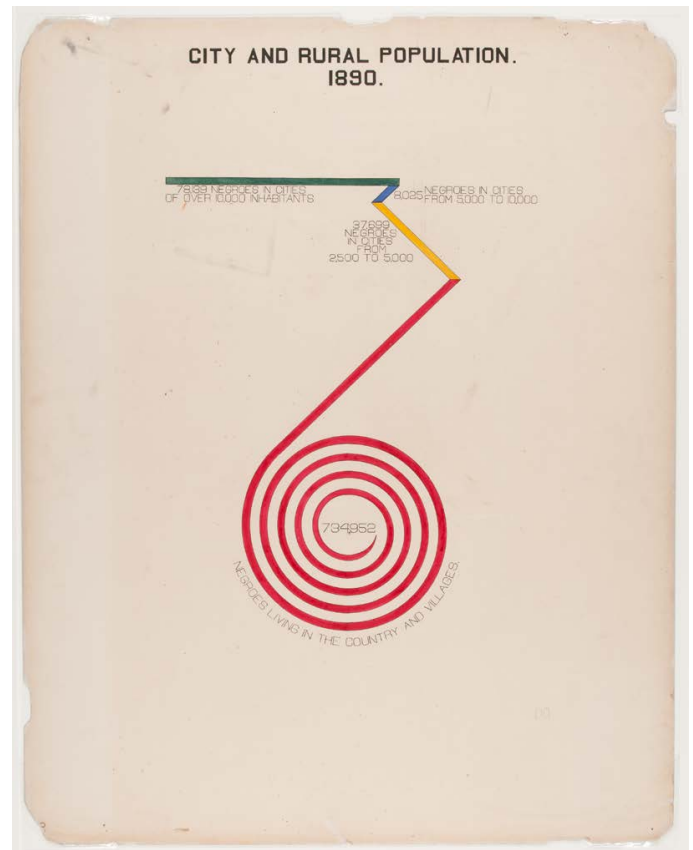
dred years. Works such as those of the Atlanta School around W.E.B. Du Bois have provided central impulses for the shaping of sociology as well as for Black liberation movements, international solidarity and Pan-Africanism, which have only been more widely recognised in the West and the social sciences in recent years (Go, 2016; Morris, 2015; Wright II, 2015). With his visualisations of the living situation of Black people in the USA for the Paris World's Fair, Du Bois also did pioneering work in committed data visualisation with an emancipatory interest (Forrest, 2019; Morris, 2015, pp. 91-96). The design of the data visualisation of the Afrozensus also takes up these impulses.²

The Afrozensus follows Black feminist approaches by taking up the thematization of the restriction of racism, sexism and other forms of oppression that Black women have been demanding for over 150 years. In doing so, he follows the call of the formerly enslaved African American activist Sojourner Truth to understand the experience of Black women as an essential basis of knowledge in the fight for equality (Truth, 2019). Black feminist movements' analytical perspectives on this specific interaction in the lives of Black people and communities are fundamental to the Afrozensus (Combahee River Collective, 1977; Emejulu & Sobande, 2019; Oguntoye et al., 1986).

The exchange between the African diasporas plays a vital role here: in Germany, it is linked not least to the work of Audre Lorde, the Black feminist theorist whose poetic, academic and activist impulses helped to make important milestones in the Black movement in Germany possible. At her suggestion, Black women who had met in one of her seminars at Humboldt University wrote texts on their own history and present in Germany, which were published in 1986 as "Farbe bekennen – Afro-Deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte" (Oguntoye et al., 1986) (Showing your colours – Afro-German women on the trail of their history) and provided a significant impetus for the resurgence of the new Black movement in Germany.

Fig. 1: One of the innovative visualisations that W.E.B. Du Bois and his team created for an exhibition on the living conditions of African Americans at the Paris World's Fair in 1900

Source: (Du Bois, 1900)



Only an intersectional perspective can understand anti-Black racism

The analyses of the Afrozensus are thus made possible by a foundation of critical Black theory and research that has been laid over centuries, i.e. a view of the world and the self: Black feminist perspectives, in particular, offer essential impulses and insights into the relationship between power, knowledge and marginalisation (Collins, 1986, 2019; Medina, 2013). Knowledge and the ability to recognise exclusions, name privileges, and

² These impulses included the comparison of different data sources and data collection methods to capture the realities of life (method triangulation to verify data), the use of "insider citizen researchers" (Wright II 2015, p. 78), as well as highlighting the multiple disadvantages faced by Black people in the USA as not biologically determined, but explainable by socially produced racist hierarchies and discrimination effects (Wright II, 2015).

initiate change depend not least on how and where people are positioned in overlapping social hierarchies.

However, it also depends on whether they are empowered to use these experiences analytically and to mobilise them in activist and political ways. For example, the analyses of Black women (Emejulu & Sobande, 2019; Kelly, 2019; Kilomba, 2010; Oguntoye et al., 1986) on the interaction of racism and sexism offer insights into a particular form of discrimination that results from the entanglement of anti-Black racism and a specific sexism directed against Black women. Their interaction is not merely additive, as in an "addition task", but also produces new forms of discrimination through the use of specific prejudices and attributions directed against Black women. Anti-Black racism and heterosexism, anti-Black racism and cis-sexism, ableism, classism and other socially anchored exclusion and discrimination dynamics overlap in a similar but specific way. They interact in a complex way, which cannot be understood here as a pure addition task but instead creates a new reality of discrimination. Such a perspective helps to classify and better understand the experiences – and can counter the degradation and rejection of the experiential knowledge of marginalised people, i.e. epistemic injustice and violence. For this to succeed, however, it is of crucial importance to consider the diversity, but also the hierarchies and various positions within the marginalised group. Intersectionality, i.e. the complex overlapping of different dynamics of discrimination, which produces its own new forms of exclusion, is, therefore, a central perspective of analysis in the Afrozensus. It overcomes the undifferentiated attribution of a supposedly uniform Black experience to focus on similarities, differences, diverse perspectives and horizons of experience within Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities instead (Emejulu & Sobande, 2019, pp. 6-9).

For this reason, the Afrozensus must endeavour to capture this intersectionality in its methods, approach, and evaluation to enable the drawing of a comprehensive picture of the Black experience in Germany. Focusing on Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences, the Afrozensus does not take a simple identity-political setting as its starting point but rather complex localisations.

Anti-Black racism as a critical analytical perspective

The Afrozensus builds on historically evolved patterns of ABR, which require an analysis that does justice to the history, the present and the specific forms of ABR. German and transnational anti-Black conventions overlap, each of which has its own aspects from the contexts of transatlantic enslavement, colonisation, decolonisation struggles and ongoing neo-colonial oppression that continue to have an impact to the present day. At the same time, ABR is always situated in specific historical national and regional contexts, which, although interwoven, also produce their own patterns of ABR. A discussion and analysis of racism that fails to differentiate between its various manifestations risks rendering invisible the group-specific and context-related expressions of different forms of racism. Therefore, The Afrozensus follows the intervention of the BlackCrit literature, which names and analyses anti-Blackness as a specific form of racism and thus establishes the concept of anti-Black racism in critical racism research (Dumas & Ross, 2016; Piesche, 2020). At the same time, any transfer of theories and approaches, especially from the context of the USA or Great Britain, must be consciously adapted and modified based on Black experiences and historical patterns in Germany. The data, insights and analyses of the Afrozensus should also contribute to this.

The focus on the specifics of ABR is explicitly not to be understood as a hierarchisation of different racisms or as a lack of solidarity with other people who have experienced racism. Both perspectives are untenable from a Black perspective, as Black individuals can belong to multiple groups that have experienced racism simultaneously.

In addition, there are Black, African and Afro-diasporic people from all parts of the world living in Germany, in each of which there are also different forms of ABR. The fact that ABR³ takes many different forms goes hand in hand with the experience of different forms and mechanisms of ABR as well as different counter-strategies and empowerment concepts. If the Afrozensus reaches respondents with diverse experiences and different diasporic references, it has the potential to sharpen the focus on diverse forms of expression of ABR and different forms of resistance.

³ This diversity becomes apparent, for example, in the comparison between Brazil and the USA or France and Great Britain, where vastly different state and social racist practices prevail but which produce observable discrimination against Black people in all these contexts.

Anti-Black Racism: history and definition

In the online survey of the Afrozensus, anti-Black racism was defined as follows as an explanation and completion aid for the question "How often do you experience anti-Black racism?": Anti-Black Racism (ABR) is a specific form of racism and has been a tradition in Europe and Germany since the time of enslavement. ABR is a particular degradation, dehumanisation and racist discrimination of Black people of African descent. Irrespective of the reality of discrimination and hierarchisation according to "skin tone" (colourism [G]), ABR cannot be reduced to discrimination based on so-called skin colour, as specific dynamics in anti-Black discrimination are not always the same. Anti-Black discrimination exists, and people of African origin with different 'skin tones' experience it.

This definition developed for the Afrozensus rests upon theoretical and historical work on ABR (Dumas & Ross, 2016; Fanon, 1980; Kilomba, 2010; Mills, 2013; Oguntoye et al, 1992; Wright, 2004, 2015) as well as on an experiential knowledge that has been shared transnationally for generations and differentiated for different Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences in Germany and the world (Wright, 2004, 2015). The philosopher Charles Mills points out that the

"...particular experience of Africans in Western modernity, which originally turned them into 'negroes' and constructed a race where none existed before, (...) imposed an involuntary diaspora on them that led them to Europe and America. (...) It made the exploitation of their labour a central component of modernity and demanded that they be part of the Western commonwealth, while at the same time excluding them from equal membership of that commonwealth, (...) attempted to strip them of their original civic and national identities, so that race in the diaspora became the central "practical" [inverted commas in original] identity for them, transformed in contrast from stigma to a badge of pride, while still remaining globally identifiable as the people who in the modern era, when slavery was dead or dying out in the West, were called the 'slave race' [Quotation marks in original]." (Mills, 2013, p. 35 [own translation])."

These experiences combine colonialism and hundreds of years of abduction and enslavement, which are remembered in Black, African and Afro-diasporic contexts as Maafa, as a "great catastrophe" (Dagbovie, 2010, pp.

190-193), or, with an emphasis on the planned intention, as "Maangamizi", as "destruction" (Akala, 2013 ♪).

Decolonial research and theorising have also worked out the formative connections between enslavement, anti-Black racism and the development of capitalist valorisation (Bush, 2007). Not least, the development and differentiation of financial instruments such as insurance and mortgages, as well as participation in enslavement via shares, was a dynamic that exists in Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, and the USA (Baptist, 2014), but also in German predecessor states: The Brandenburg-African Company, established by Elector Frederick William in 1682 to finance the Brandenburg enslavement fort Großfriedrichsburg, modelled on the Dutch model, is considered the first German joint stock company. The patronage made possible by enslavement profits, i.e. the sponsorship of art, classical music, science and universities, was another constitutive building block of Western modernity – as evidenced by the continuity of anti-Black racism in these institutions and the uncommented honours paid to the enslavers in the public sphere. The exploitation and abduction of African people and the African continent essentially enabled Western modernity – and justified by anti-Black racism (Abimbola et al., 2021; French, 2021). The loud silence about these connections and African and Afro-diasporic resistance itself contributes to the normalisation of ABR (→ [Chapter 6.3](#)).

From this body of knowledge, ABR emerges as a historically evolved, specific form of racism that began its tradition at the time of transatlantic enslavement. The historical context of several successive historical developments shaped ABR in Germany: Central to this was the period of enslavement, in which several German predecessor states also participated – a fact that still receives too little attention in German historiography, mediation and politics of remembrance, despite its many continuing effects.

The period of colonisation was also formative: even before the establishment of the German Empire and after the end of the German colonial empire, German individuals, companies and academia participated in many ways in the violent expansion of Europe and the associated intensification of decidedly anti-Black racist knowledge and practices (Hall, 1994). The genocide of Herero and Nama perpetrated by German Schutztruppen⁴ in what is now Namibia was the context which established the first officially designated German concentration camps. The skulls from these and other colonial conflicts that found their way to

German universities for racist research purposes still bear witness today to the intertwining of colonial violence, racist research and the always-doomed attempt to scientifically justify ideas of white supremacy.

After losing the German colonies, the Weimar Republic continued to operate an Imperial Colonial Office. There was also continuity regarding explicit public anti-Black racism. After the occupation of the Rhineland by Black French troops, this targeted provocation was taken up by German politicians far into the left-wing camp using anti-Black racist stereotypes. The smear campaign against the so-called "Black Shame on the Rhine" was also a crucial point of reference for the racist propaganda of the National Socialists. The persecution motivated by racism, forced castration and murder of Black people as well as the use of Black people in racist propaganda films and *Völkerschauen*, characterised the Nazi era.

During the post-war period, the 'Brown Babies' debate in the German Bundestag not only highlighted the shared notion, across political parties, that Black children born to predominantly African American GIs and German women should be separated from their families and expelled from Germany. The fact that the Western Allies did not intervene in this debate shows the unquestioned normality and political acceptance of ABR in the post-war period. Throughout its history, ABR in Germany comprehended shaping self-perceptions and perceptions of others, engaging in racist practices and exchanges with other European nations and their colonies. This continuity spanned from the era of transatlantic enslavement through the colonial and Weimar Republic periods to both the National Socialist and post-war eras. (Each One Teach One e.V., 2018; El-Tayeb, 2001).

Anti-Black racism: patterns and attributions

The centuries-long history of ABR on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany has given rise to some contradictory patterns of ABR, which at its core, however, denies Black, African and Afro-diasporic people their humanity, turns them into allegedly inferior, dangerous, essentially different people and defines the white, German self in contrast to these attri-

butions. ABR, therefore, includes some fundamental attributions and dynamics that recur constantly, i.e. occur in a pattern-like manner, and whose consequences can range from the predictability of discriminatory dynamics, which is tiring for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, to traumatising and re-traumatising (→ [Chapter 6.2](#) and → [6.3](#)).

In the following description of central aspects of ABR, it is of fundamental importance to emphasise that these are attributions and projections that are not grounded in reality, but in a long-established racist normality that is thus anchored in everyday culture as well as in the canon of literature and art and is therefore widely, if often unconsciously, shared. In short, ABR does not describe the characteristics of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people but rather the projections designed to enforce and justify white supremacy, racist oppression and the global division of labour and capitalist valorisation interwoven with it (Bush, 2007). One or more of the following attributions usually expresses this:

Black people are supposedly essentially different and inferior: Black people are seen as fundamentally, essentially different and as a contrast to an imagined standard of white European humanity and white bodies. Deviance and inferiority characterise this attribution of otherness. Due to the widespread familiarity of the associated stereotypes, it usually functions without explicit justification. Characteristics are often cited, sometimes indirectly and sometimes directly, as the causes of these attributions, either genetically or supposedly culturally, but generalized to the point of quasi-natural immutability.

Black people experience specific anti-Black and anti-African devaluation: Black people are evaluated and hierarchised according to assumed "closeness" to a white, Eurocentric ideal that is assessed as a positive standard and assumed distance from negatively evaluated, ascribed "African" characteristics. This relates to both phenotypical and cultural attributions. This devaluation can intensify ABR for specific people and creates internal hierarchies within Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities as part of a divide-and-rule dynamic. These are expressed, on the one hand, in a hierarchisation between different African diaspo-

4 Protection Forces was the official name of the colonial troops in the African territories of the German colonial empire from the late 19th century to 1918

ras and people with current connections to the African continent and, on the other hand, in the experience of colourism, i.e. the hierarchisation and intensified racist devaluation according to "shades of skin", possibly in connection with other "African markers". This dynamic also structures all subsequent attributions (BSMG, [2017](#) ♪; Mr Vegas, [2018](#) ♪; Saul Williams, [2006](#) ♪; Spice, [2018](#) ♪).

Black bodies supposedly deviate from the norm:

Black bodies are portrayed as deviant, out of place, unattractive and/or unprofessional. This enables the specific degradation of skin and, in particular, facial shapes and hair that deviate from the white European ideal. A power of disposition is claimed over them through unsolicited touching, undistanced commentary or problematisation.

Black bodies are supposedly dangerous and violent:

Black bodies come to be associated in ABR with particular physical strength but also unpredictability, danger and violence (Matondo, [2015](#) ♪; OG Keemo, [2019](#) ♪).

Black bodies are supposedly available, exotic and (hyper)sexualised;

at the same time, Black bodies are constructed as exotic and available, which often goes hand in hand with extreme sexualisation. The availability of Black bodies ranges from the normalisation of uninvited touching of skin and hair to sexual harassment, which is explicitly associated with the Blackness of the harassed person and thus normalised (Nitty Scott, [2017](#) ♪).

Black people allegedly do not belong to Germany:

Despite centuries of Black presence in Germany, Black people are routinely imagined as not belonging to Germany and treated accordingly. This ranges from insisting on answers to questions about the supposed real homeland to racist attacks which refer to non-belonging, fantasies of deportation, etc. (Advanced Chemistry et al., [1992](#) ♪; Brothers Keepers, [2001](#) ♪, [2021](#); Juju Rogers, [2019](#) ♪; Megaloh & Musa, [2021](#) ♪).

Black people are supposedly less intelligent:

Black people face denial of intelligence, rational thinking but also of their capacity to perform intellectually, learn, teach, and competently represent professional positions.

Black cultural expression is degraded:

African and Afro-diasporic languages and cultural forms of expression are labelled as inferior. African cultural expression

is also specifically devaluated and equated with primitiveness and/or primordiality, for example, i.e. the idea that it reflects an "earlier" stage of development that has already been "overcome" by other people.

Black bodies are said to be particularly strong and physically powerful:

At the same time, Black bodies are described as particularly powerful and endowed with above-average strength and abilities.

Black bodies are supposedly less sensitive to pain on the one hand but have an exaggerated perception of pain on the other:

One aspect of attributing Black otherness involves perceptions of Black sensitivity to pain. While Black bodies are purportedly seen as more resilient, there is also a mistrust towards the self-disclosure of Black individuals, with claims of potential exaggeration.

Black cultural achievements are supposedly "in the blood":

African, Afro-diasporic and Black cultural achievements, particularly in the areas of music and sport, are reduced to supposedly natural talents and skills. The individual achievements of people and the collective and intergenerational achievements and creative processes that become visible in cultural expression and aesthetics are thus rendered invisible and denied.

The last three forms mentioned have a supposedly "positive" meaning or connotation, where the attributions are projected onto Black people as supposedly "good" characteristics. However, this projection is just as dehumanising and racist as the negative attributions listed. This is because essentialisation reinscribes and confirms the homogenising dehumanisation and de-individualisation that is a core component of the negative and supposedly positive characteristics mentioned.

The aforementioned attributions are part of racist, anti-Black routines that are invoked when ABR takes place – for this reason, so-called everyday racism or so-called microaggressions [G] can also weigh heavily and have a re-traumatising effect (Tyron Ricketts, [2010](#)), because they invoke and restage the more comprehensive, specific, anti-Black devaluation (Kilomba, 2010).

ABR can only be understood through critical reflection and categorisation in collective Black experiences

Du Bois already showed that it is not the experience of ABR itself but its critical reflection in the community, its categorisation in larger contexts and patterns that enables critical perspectives (Du Bois, 2007 [original published in 1940]; Rabaka, 2021, p. 61). At the same time, the Afrozensus approach mobilises insights from decolonial, Afro-diasporic and African feminist perspectives. They show that the experience of discrimination or even the experience of being Black alone is not sufficient to comprehensively understand, classify and analyse the social anchoring of racism, in this case, ABR in interaction with other dynamics of discrimination (Combahee River Collective, 1977; Matiluko, 2020). Although one's own social localisation and associated experiences of discrimination are important, necessary conditions for in-depth insights, they are not a sufficient condition, i.e. no guarantee that the experiences can be understood as being embedded in social realities. This requires an exchange in the communities, which can understand individual experiences as part of collective experiences and make offers of categorisation and interpretation because „[we] must give meaning to what makes no sense“ (Ahmed, 2017, p. 37, translated from German): "When you discover feminism, you also find out about the many ways how feminists have tried to make sense of the same experiences you had before you could have them" (Ahmed, 2017, p. 49, translated from German).). These offers are an essential service of empowerment. They enable people who have been discriminated against to categorise their own experiences in a larger overall picture.

Therefore, the knowledge production of the Afrozensus does not end with writing the final report but continues through the discussion of the results in community contexts. In a critical Black tradition of thought, the Afrozensus invites people to consider the truths and experiences, but also the limits and gaps in their own Black experience in the light of differently positioned Black experiences in Germany. Only in this way can the analyses presented here raise awareness of Black life realities and concerns and enable solidarity-based, emancipatory action. In the context of the Afrozensus, the collaborative discussion process of the analyses has already commenced through qualitative research (→ [Chapters 6.2](#) and [6.3](#)). Additionally, it invites all readers of the Afrozensus to engage in critical self-reflection, dialogue with others about the content, and work with the data.

Discussing the results together is particularly important in the German context, as an understanding of racism that is reduced to individual and unintentional misbehaviour still hinders constructive debates on racism. In everyday life, the experiences of Black people are often denied ("that was definitely not racism"), trivialised ("it wasn't meant that way / it's not that bad") or relativised ("I'm not Black, but I've experienced something similar before..."). Against this background, the Afrozensus aims to give Black people the opportunity to categorise their experiences in the context of shared Black experiences. The discrepancy between one's own experience and knowledge of the patterns of ABR that one has experienced and the lack of recognition of this or the impossibility of citing it as a conceivable explanation for what has been experienced often represents a burden and a form of denial of Black realities. Discussions about the Afrozensus and individual experiences should open up the possibility of reducing this burden in order to leave the dynamics of repeated denial and energy-sapping self-assurance behind to some extent.

Anti-Black racism: beyond the individual, beyond the intention

Whether ABR is practised or takes place does not depend on the explicit application of the described categorisations or on the intention of individual persons or groups – an understanding of racism that is reduced to intentional, interpersonal racist discrimination falls far short of the human rights definition of racist discrimination (Article 1 of the UN Convention against Racism), which is also binding in Germany. This also includes unintentional and institutionalised racist discrimination. In many cases, ABR takes place without being intended by the discriminating person or institution. Whether ABR takes place is therefore not measured by whether actions or omissions are deliberately and specifically aimed at Black people, but by whether Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are disproportionately affected or discriminated against in a particular way by an action, regulation, deed or omission. In many cases, the widely shared assumption that Black people are essentially different leads to unequal treatment where all those involved identify themselves with full conviction as "non-racist" or even "anti-racist".

The widely shared social self-image as "non-racist" works together with a lack of awareness of the influential power of historically grown ABR in today's

social, political and economic contexts. This makes it possible to deny the reality of ABR, especially in its institutional and structural dimensions. Significantly, the denial of Black people's experiences of racism, as expressed for decades in Germany as well, inherently involves an implicit devaluation of Black experiences. Furthermore, withholding respect and empathy contributes to the dehumanisation of these experiences. This means that the attributions described above also make it difficult for discriminators to perceive the realities of ABR or facilitate the denial of ABR.

The interaction of the dynamics mentioned above and the diverse, obviously dehumanising, and even deadly ways of dealing with Black people condense into an "anti-Blackness" that becomes a constant background noise of contemporary Black, African and Afro-diasporic life realities. From this perspective, concrete cases of ABR are a form of expression of historically grown and currently systemically anchored "anti-Blackness" (Jung & Vargas, 2021). This explains a seemingly paradoxical simultaneity of the official rejection of openly racist statements and actions and the diverse, specific experiences of discrimination that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people also share internationally, regardless of significant differences. The concept of anti-Blackness makes the shared experiences identifiable without excluding the historically and currently different experiences in different countries and contexts.

The everyday nature of anti-Blackness is illustrated, for example, by Europe's deadly isolationist policy that violates human rights and leads to thousands of deaths in the Mediterranean every year. The deaths of thousands of Black people and refugees from many areas of the Global South are condoned daily and preferred over taking in refugees. Another example of the everyday nature of the structural anchoring of ABR is the historical and current connection between racism and the climate crisis, which particularly reveals itself in the fact that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are already disproportionately affected by the consequences of the crisis. One expression of the normality of racist dehumanisation is the lack of engagement with the impact of the Western way of life on the climate crisis. In the context of the climate crisis, the Western way of life is already leading to those African, Afro-diasporic, Asian and Latin American people in particular, facing the threat of crop failures, natural disasters and uninhabitable heat, who have historically and currently contributed the least to the climate crisis (Althor et al., 2016; World Mete-

orological Organisation, 2021). The African continent and Afro-diasporic communities are among the most affected areas and groups due to the combination of climate effects and the effects of enslavement, colonialism and current environmental racism, even within Western states, which reveals a blatant and severe global climate injustice (Abimbola et al., 2021). Here, the denial of historical and current climate debt, the overlap of ecological and colonial footprints, enables the maintenance of a structurally violent, imperial way of life (Abimbola et al., 2021, pp. 9-15).

The concept of anti-Blackness, particularly within the African diasporas, vividly highlights how Black communities in Germany and other Western nations are intricately entangled in global hierarchies. Since anti-Blackness plays an essential role in the neo-colonial, unjust and violent unequal distribution of resources and life opportunities, it is possible, due to our imperial way of life, that we as Black, African and Afro-diasporic people experience ABR and at the same time participate in structurally anchored anti-Black oppression – beyond our own intentions. This is especially true for those reading these lines in the Global North. For members of African diasporas, this entanglement often results in an acute awareness of global inequalities and a sense of responsibility, which manifests itself not least in material and intangible remittances, i.e. offers of support in family contexts in the Global South (→ [Chapter 5](#)). Therefore, these acts are not only a lived expression of global solidarity, but also entail conflicts and ongoing negotiations as people navigate structurally anchored hierarchies.

ABR in the public debate - beyond old patterns

The dynamic of denial, trivialisation and re-centring of privileged white perspectives also structures the crucial debates on ABR in Germany, which were intensively conducted in the summer of 2020. Even the outrage over the murder of George Floyd by a white police officer in May 2020, which was experienced as positive, has subsequently given rise to recurring patterns of interaction: Interested white individuals, organisations and media have asked Black people to tell stories of everyday racism, but have been less willing to include references to decades- and centuries-old literature on the topic or even the embedding of individual experiences in institutional and structural conditions. This was already evident in the reporting, which gave far less space to Black women like Sandra Bland, who US police officers killed during the same period (Piesche,

2020). In many cases, the constant restaging of the same questions without taking the answers seriously often created the impression of a debilitating, paralyzing dynamic within the communities: The diagnosis of the problem – too often focussed on individual experiences and thus limited – ran like in a repetitive loop.

However, the repeated presentation or mere consumption of information about personal experiences of ABR is not enough. Merely taking note of Black perspectives can falsely imply that meaningful actions have already transpired. However, the more repetitive the discussion is without taking note of current and past contributions to the debate, the more it comes across as self-promotion – the voyeuristic consumption of Black experiences of marginalisation without consequence. The year 2020 has shown that the dynamic known from the consumption of African, Afro-diasporic and Black art, culture and music is also possible in Germany concerning ABR. A demonstrative "engagement" with Black experiences thus becomes proof of one's own progressiveness. However, beyond symbolic statements, which usually even avoid directly pronouncing and addressing ABR, there are no efforts to actually push back ABR by initiating changes in institutions and processes or to sustainably strengthen Black people and self-organisations.

Merely acknowledging ABR without recognizing the urgent need to safeguard human rights, fundamental freedoms, human dignity, or even the basic survival of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people reflects a low level of importance attributed to them. A public interest that does not result in an in-depth debate thus becomes an empty gesture, the opposite of wokeness, i.e. a state of conscious "being awake/awakened". In African American vernacular English, the term wokeness describes the self-critical awareness of the structural anchoring of racism, the forms of oppression interwoven with it, and political and creative resistance. This mostly purely symbolic, performative preoccupation must be overcome in favour of a perspective that focuses on Black, African and Afro-diasporic interests, in-depth analyses and options for action against ABR. Escaping the draining loop of describing the situation demands an active transition towards taking tangible actions. A first step in this direction is to address the recurring pattern of the debates themselves. The Afrozensus would like to contribute to making this debate less patterned and more well-founded.

ABR Debates in and between communities - the Afrozensus offer

Parallel to the public debate, an intensive exchange took place within and between Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities. On the one hand, among the priorities were addressing the specifics of experiences in the USA and tackling the endless re-enactment of Black pain and death in the media causing trauma. On the other hand, the many internationally shared experiences were also addressed, with protests from Canada to Brazil, from England to Germany to Italy and Greece using the Black Lives Matter slogan to express solidarity with the African diaspora and to address specific experiences of ABR in their own countries.

In addition to racist police violence, topics such as racism in the education and healthcare systems, the honouring of colonial criminals in public spaces and looted art in German collections, as well as the EU's deadly policy of sealing off the Mediterranean were also discussed in Germany.

With the Afrozensus, we offer a comprehensive definition of ABR in Germany, which we deepen based on the quantitative and qualitative survey results and align with the reality of life for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. In this way, we can show lived practices and further possibilities for resistance, empowerment, legal and political protection against discrimination and the necessary, concrete steps to push back ABR; because the history and present of anti-Blackness is always also the history and present of Black, African and Afro-diasporic resistance, of resilience, empowerment, self-assertion and the defence of one's own scope for action that others are not influencing. With this in mind, we invite you to approach the following chapters equipped with the thinking tools described here. Together with the following data, experiences, analyses and demands, they can contribute to the long tradition of Black liberation practices, for these offer the "way over, way out" that Jah9 sang about at the beginning of this chapter.





3.

Methodological approach, sample, and operationalisation of dimensions of diversity

Based on the objectives of the Afrozensus presented in Chapter 2, we have chosen the broadest possible approach that reaches as many Black, African and Afro-diasporic people as possible and motivates them to participate. Our methodological approach should enable us to go into depth in individual areas and work out mechanisms of discrimination as well as ways of dealing with them, resilience, and empowerment strategies. In the following, we present the combination of this community-based quantitative and qualitative research approach, explain the choice of our sampling procedure, i.e. who was able to take part in the survey, and present the operationalisation of the diversity dimensions that were fundamental to our analysis.

3.1

Research design: Mixed methods

We opted for a mixed-methods approach for the research design, i.e. a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative aspect of the Afrozensus, which relied on numbers and frequencies, was established through an online survey conducted between the end of June and the beginning of September 2020. This database can serve to make statements about frequencies and possible correlations using descriptive and inductive statistical methods [G] (e.g. cross-tabulation analysis [G] and two-sample t-test [G]). Therefore, politicians and the public frequently request quantitative data to derive political recommendations for action.

However, quantitative research also has its limits, as it often does not allow us to gain a deeper understanding of discrimination mechanisms. Qualitative survey methods based on more extended experience reports are suitable for explaining mechanisms, as they help us to understand and categorise the hypotheses and results of the quantitative analysis in the social context of the studied population group (Li & Earnest, 2015). In the Afrozensus, primarily qualitative surveys in the form of focus groups and expert interviews provided these details.

In the focus groups, we analysed the manifestations, dynamics, and effects of anti-Black racism as well as its intersectional entanglements with various dimensions of discrimination. Above all, the qualitative approach makes it possible to record and analyse experiences of racism and discrimination as well as resilience and empowerment strategies. The interview and focus group formats on a Black discussion room permitted the embedding of individual experiences and analyses in collective experiences and analyses. However, the boundaries between the quantitative and qualitative elements in the Afrozensus are fluid. For example, the predominantly quantitative online

questionnaire also contains qualitative questions with open response fields, which enabled respondents to report in much more detail than simply ticking boxes. In addition, results from the online survey, the expert interviews, and previous focus groups provided impetus for the discussion, serving as stimuli in certain instances within the focus groups.

Development and implementation of the online questionnaire and the qualitative guidelines

Online survey

As part of the research project "Diversity in public institutions" (Aikins et al., 2018), Citizens For Europe (CFE) developed an online survey that made it possible for the first time in German-speaking countries to differentiate between all grounds of discrimination¹ protected by the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) [G]. In addition to experience in the data protection and technical implementation of extensive online surveys, this questionnaire module was the basis for a comprehensive survey of socio-demographic information in

¹ The aim of the General Equal Treatment Act is to prevent or eliminate discrimination on the grounds of "race" or "ethnic" origin, gender identity, religion or belief, disability, age, or sexual identity/orientation and is applied in labour law and specific areas of private contract law.

the Afrozensus online questionnaire and was adapted for the target group (Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people). Two large quantitative surveys of Black people (Black Futures Lab, [2019b](#), [2019c](#), [2019a](#); European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2018) as well as general surveys on discrimination (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, [2017](#), [2018](#); Beigang et al., [2017](#)) and demographic standards from the Federal Statistical Office (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik et al., [2016](#); Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, [2019](#)) initially served as orientation for the development of the four content modules (see below). By engaging in continuous dialogue with people from Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities, we developed the online questionnaire to ensure its relevance and respectful formulation. The first EOTO internal community consultation took place in October 2019. We invited representatives from various Black associations to contribute their expertise. The demands for political action formulated in the questionnaire (→ [Chapter 8](#)) refer, among other things, to the results of four town halls [G] in Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig and Munich in November 2019. In November 2019, PAD Week [G] showcased these presentations. We discussed content and data protection issues with community members in a dedicated forum. EOTO hosted a second open community consultation in December 2019, which preceded the finalisation of the questionnaire. In February 2020, the Afrozensus was presented at an info meeting on EOTO's premises as part of Black History Month [G], where parts of the questionnaire were also tested for the first time.

The team recorded and discussed the feedback from all these community events and fed it into the ongoing questionnaire development. Another example is a list of 42 (→ Appendix 12) typical discrimination situations for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, which a chat group of all EOTO members developed. Furthermore, both the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency as a sponsor and the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) as a scientific cooperation partner provided the Afrozensus team with advice during the development of the questionnaire, in particular during the development of the module on discrimination experiences.

In March and April 2020, the questionnaire was implemented on Limesurvey, an open-source survey software compatible with screen readers (read-aloud applications for blind people and people with visual impairments). The questionnaire pre-test with 66 participants took place from 11/06/2020-17/06/2020.

The final German-language online questionnaire was translated into English and French and consisted of the following content modules:

1. **Volunteer work & support abroad**
(4 – 16 questions*)
2. **Experiences of discrimination**
(15 – 41 questions*)
3. **Knowledge about rights & trust in institutions**
(5 – 8 questions*)
4. **Areas of discrimination & need for action**
(10 questions)
5. **Demography**
(25 – 45 questions*)

* The number of questions that actually had to be answered depended on the individual filter guidance during the survey.

Except for two mandatory questions (belonging to the target group and information/estimation of year of birth), answering all other questions was optional in accordance with the core principle of "voluntary participation" (→ [Chapter 2, p. 33](#)). This also means that not all participants had to answer all questions, which led to different numbers of cases per question. Unless otherwise stated, our analysis refers to the number of respondents who received and responded to the question. [P.51](#) explains the various reference figures in detail. In many cases, multiple answers were permitted, for example, to cover several situations and/or identities simultaneously. In these cases, unless otherwise stated, the analysis was based on the number of people who responded to the respective question. Where possible, questions were taken from representative studies (e.g., from the Federal Statistical Office regarding demographic questions) to compare the survey results approximately with data from population statistics. However, some of the answer categories for the adopted questions were adapted to the community-specific realities of life.

The survey period was six weeks (including extensions), and participation was possible from 20 July 2020 to 6 September 2020.² A total of 6,419 people took part in the survey, of which 4,013 completed the questionnaire, and 2,406 ended it prematurely.

After the end of the survey, the data set was cleaned (e.g. all information from participants under the age

of 16 was deleted) and pseudonymised [G]. The cleaned data set forms the basis for all analyses and comprises the responses of 5,793 respondents ("total participants"). For the pseudonymisation, categories were combined for variables (questions) that contain personal data and for which the number of respondents was too small, among other things, to ensure data protection by deliberately reducing the data resolution (→ information box on "Data protection"). Anonymisation risk tests [G] were also carried out for quality assurance purposes.³ This procedure means that the Afrozensus dataset can potentially also be made available to researchers for future evaluations and analyses.

The open-ended information from the online questionnaire was coded and fed back into the data set within the scope of available resources. Due to a lack of time and financial resources, it was not possible to finally code all of the open-ended responses from the Afrozensus respondents. Therefore, only individual experiences, perspectives, and analyses from these rich and trusting responses were included in the analysis as quotes. The aim is to make up for this in the follow-up to the Afrozensus with the appropriate financial support.

Data protection

Due to the sensitivity of the data collected in the context of the Afrozensus, compliance with data protection was essential. Numerous measures ensured this, including:

- ◆ **Data protection training for project participants**
- ◆ **Comprehensive FAQ on the Afrozensus for all respondents (Each One Teach One e.V. & Citizens For Europe, [2020](#))**
- ◆ **Participation in the online survey is only possible after consenting to a GDPR-compliant declaration of consent under data protection law**
- ◆ **Cooperation with external data protection officers at both EOTO and CFE**
- ◆ **Implementation of technical and organisational measures to secure data following the GDPR**
- ◆ **Storage of all data on servers rented from EOTO in Germany (data centre audited according to ISO/IEC 27001:2013)**
- ◆ **Separate storage of mail addresses (AES-encrypted on own server) and survey data (SHA-256 encrypted hard drive)**
- ◆ **Access to survey data only possible with password protection for authorised accounts**

² The official survey period was from 20 July 2020 to 16 August 2020, after which the period for participation was extended twice: first until 31 August 2020 and then until 6 September 2020.

³ The sdcMicro package was used to carry out the anonymisation risk tests.

What do the figures (totals and percentages) in the Afrozensus refer to and why do the calculation bases differ?

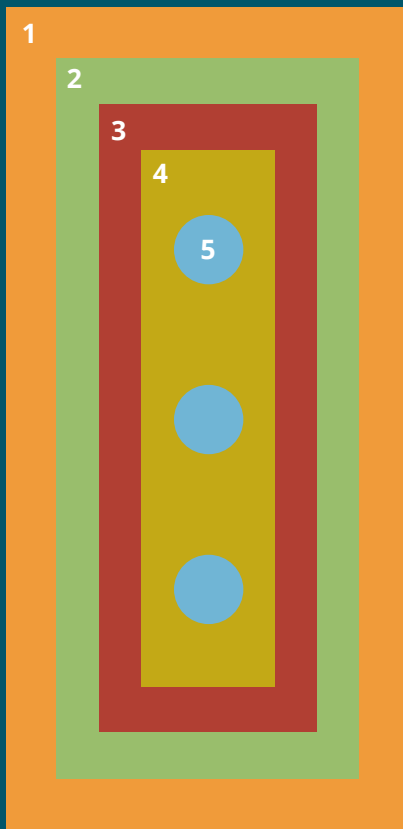


Fig. 2:
Calculation basis of the Afrozensus

1
Black, African and Afro-diasporic people who had registered for participation by email on the website www.afrozensus.de could participate in the Afrozensus. The number of **respondents** was $n = 10,286$

2
The number of participants in the Afrozensus differs from those invited, as not everyone accepted the invitation, i.e. clicked on the link to the survey. $n = 6,419$ people **opened the questionnaire**. Of these, $n = 4,013$ completed the questionnaire and $n = 2,406$ ended the questionnaire prematurely.

3
The number of people who opened the questionnaire differs from those included in the analysis. The data set was adjusted after a quality check. For example, the analysis did not include questionnaires if only the first page was opened. The **adjusted data set** is the basis for all analyses and comprises $N = 5,793$ people (**total participants**).

4
Answering (almost) every question in the Afrozensus was voluntary. There were also numerous filter questions. For example, the question of whether one had experienced discrimination in the housing market could only be answered if the respondent had had contact with the housing market in the past two years. This is why the number of all available answers per question varies. When the terms "**participants**", "**respondents**", or "**online respondents**" are used

below, the number refers to the respective question. For example, for the question "**How widespread is anti-Black racism in Germany?**", the $n = 4,315$ people.

5
For some questions, it was possible to give several answers, e.g. for the question about self-positioning/identification based on gender. For so-called **multiple-choice questions**, the n of the question refers to how many people were asked the respective question and gave at least one answer.

Some questions consisted of a series of related questions (matrix questions) and could be answered on a standardised scale (e.g. 1 = not at all to 5 = completely), e.g. the question of the extent to which various institutions (judiciary, political parties, etc.) are trusted. In these matrix questions, the n refers to the number of people who gave at least one answer on the scale. The n can, therefore, vary within the question battery depending on the question.

Two questions were analysed simultaneously in many places, e.g., when comparing volunteering for different socio-demographic data. Here, the n refers to all people who provided information on volunteering and the socio-demographic questions.

Qualitative survey

The qualitative survey in the form of interviews and focus groups focused on two thematic areas that were identified as particularly relevant in community consultations – education and health. The qualitative examination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences in the education system and with healthcare analyses both the manifestations and consequences of racist discrimination and how the interviewees deal with it, as well as their resilience and empowerment strategies. To consistently deepen the specifics of the respective areas, expertise from previous research consultations⁴ was used to determine the research interests and objectives in both areas and to create the question guidelines and discussion inputs.

To ensure a processual methodological development of the survey, we have combined expert interviews, written qualitative surveys and focus-group discussions that build on each other. By traversing through preliminary and main analyses, the survey unveils a mosaic of diverse perspectives and approaches from community members, intertwining their varied biographical and professional references and experiences in an intersectional and mutually reinforcing manner.

The preliminary analysis incorporated the expertise from the research consultations into the guideline concept for the expert interviews and focus groups. The results of the expert interviews expanded and deepened the guidelines/discussion inputs for the subsequent focus groups and written surveys (main analysis). In the areas of education and health, we conducted one expert interview each.

In the main analysis, we implemented focus groups and written surveys. The focus groups and written surveys consist of expert groups and groups focussing on individual biographical experiences and community knowledge. This approach of distinguishing between specialist and personal biographical expertise intends to reduce the mix of power and knowledge hierarchies among the participants, as well as mitigate the potential dominance of individual participants in the focus groups, and to favour intersectionally different perspectives. At the same time, the Afrozensus' power-critical approach requires a broader definition of

the narrow concept of "expert". This implies both the depiction of experiences and knowledge about social situations and processes by experts as functionaries or information carriers and the enquiry of individual, biographical dimensions as expertise.

A total of 34 Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people took part in the qualitative survey. Four to five people took part in each of the focus group discussions. In the area of education, there was one specialist focus group with teachers and one with social education workers and psychosocial counsellors. In this area, we also conducted one focus group with pupils and one with parents. In the health sector, we conducted one specialist focus group with doctors, one specialist focus group with psychologists and supervisors, five written surveys with carers, and three written surveys with ABR experts from the patient's perspective. As Black researchers, we conducted all interviews and focus groups to create a safe(r) space [G] for the participants.

The focus group discussions and expert interviews lasted two hours. The participants gave their written consent before the interview. We presented them with the verbatim quotes used in the analysis to review. Recruiting participants for interviews and focus groups during the COVID-19 pandemic required reaching out through community and specialist networks via written communication and telephone due to containment measures. We conducted the surveys in video conferences, simplifying participation for some participants due to eliminating travelling times and time flexibility. This also resulted in lower cash costs for participants who would not have been able to travel. We were able to recruit participants from North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, Hamburg, Saxony, and Berlin for the qualitative survey. The discussion guidelines and inputs were written in such a way that it was possible to develop an interactive dialogue in a virtual context.

The cross-topic and cross-group structure of the guidelines structures the recording of

1. **Experiences with barriers and discrimination, especially concerning anti-Black racism,**
2. **resilience and strategies for dealing with**

⁴ The focal points for the design of the qualitative research were developed through expert discussions within community organisations and the input was incorporated into the design of the focus groups and interviews.

discrimination, reflecting on discrimination, and

3. Sources and experiences of empowerment,

4. Recommendations for action from the participants.

For the focus groups in the area of health with participants from the care sector and the patient perspective, we restructured the guidelines for a written survey. Due to the pandemic, finding a joint appointment with carers was impossible, so we obtained their experiences in writing. To capture the experiences of people who use the services of the healthcare system ("patient perspective"), a written survey was also offered to protect the anonymity and vulnerability of these people. In these areas, the limitations prevented the typical interaction seen in focus groups.

The discussions in small groups made it possible to depict the complexity of the realities of the lives of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. In addition to the individual interviews, the deepening and greater utilisation of the experiences and realities in the group process provided important impulses, trends, and insights into collective experiences.

An external service provider transcribed the audio recordings of the interviews and focus groups conducted via video conference. The transcriptions and the written survey results were coded under the direction of Black researchers from our core team and supported by two Black student assistants using the freely available open-source software for qualitative data analysis QualCoder (Curtain, 2021). In doing so, we identified dynamics and patterns (deductive coding) with the help of the theoretical foundations presented in Chapter 2 and the facts derived from the collective experience of ABR, as well as identifying and coding new mechanisms and relationships based on the content of the expert interviews and focus groups (inductive coding). In this manner, theory, experiential knowledge, expert interviews, and focus groups synergistically enriched one another, further refining the interpretive framework akin to a spiral of knowledge (retroductive coding). (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021; Saldaña, 2016; ten Have, 2004, p. 2). As far as possible, we categorised the content coding across all areas along the thematic division of the interview guidelines. The structuring qualitative content analysis developed by this method forms the basis for the results presented in [chapters 6.2](#) and [6.3](#).

3.2

Sample of the online survey

The aim of the Afrozensus is to make statements about the realities of life and experiences of discrimination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. To explain why we decided to use snowball sampling, we first present the criticism of conventional approaches. At the same time, we describe the methodological implications of this sampling strategy.

Criticism of the category "African migration background"

At present, no self-identifications of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are collected in large social science studies. The primary approximation method currently used to record this group is to look at people with an African migration background (Gyamerah, 2015, p. 29). However, the fundamental criticism levelled at the statistical category of "migration background" – including the fact that it does not enable the recording of racist discrimination – (Aikins et al., 2020; Aikins & Diakonie Bundesverband, 2015; Aikins & Supik, 2018) has a particular impact on Black people: The migration background usually only includes people up to the second generation of immigrants. However, Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people have been living in Germany for at least six generations. Therefore, they can be identified as non-white far beyond the second generation and experience specific anti-Black attributions – even if they have a German-sounding name. Black people also relatively often come from binational families (Baier & Rabold, 2011, pp. 155-181), which reduces the likelihood of inheriting African citizenship due to restrictions in German citizenship law. In addition, an African migration background does not explicitly include Black people who, for example, only have US, French or Brazilian citizenship (→ Appendix 1).

In addition, none of the extensive population surveys, such as the Microcensus or socio-economic panel, contain questions whose answers can serve to reliably identify the group to which Black, African and Afro-diasporic people belong. In general population surveys, there is also the challenge that these aim at the entire population, and it is likely that so few Black,

African, and Afro-diasporic people take part that no statements are possible about this subgroup, let alone intersections.

All of this means that there is no reliable information on the size of the target population of the Afrozensus, i.e. the total number of all Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people in Germany.

Household sample impossible and onomastic methods unsuitable

Theoretically, we could have tried to draw a representative household sample, but this was impossible, primarily for research economics, because a representative quantitative survey does not usually include all the people about whom the study in question would like to make statements, but only a tiny proportion. For example, the "Sonntagsfrage" (Sunday question: In German and Austrian opinion and election research, the Sunday question (also known as the voting intention question) refers to the question about current voting intentions. The question has established itself as a standard instrument of empirical research and is used by academic and commercial survey institutes. It is used as a basis for calculating the current mood and for projections.) ("Who would you vote for if the Bundestag elections were next Sunday?") is not answered by several million eligible voters but usually by only around 1,000 people. From the assumption that all eligible voters theoretically have the same chance of taking part in the survey, deduction shows that the voting preferences of the sample are representative of the population.⁵ The sample-drawing process is the decisive basis for this assumption.

Regarding the Afrozensus, a household sample could theoretically be drawn from the population registers.⁶ We know from the Microcensus that around 1 million people have an African migration background in the narrower sense (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2021, p. 62), i.e. around 0.8% of all inhabitants. This figure is a rough approximation of the proportion of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in the population in Germany, even if we know, for the reasons explained above, that the total figure is significantly higher due to the exclusion of Black and Afro-diasporic people. If we were to draw a random household sample – i.e. knock on the doors of randomly selected homes and ask research questions – we would have to knock on 120,000 doors or make the corresponding number of telephone calls to interview 960 people with an African migration background randomly. In addition to numerous other imponderables and problems that such an approach would entail, this procedure far exceeds the budget of the Afrozensus.

Another possible approach would be an onomastic procedure that attempts to derive people's regional origin from their names as part of the sampling process (Liebau et al., 2018; Towfigh et al., 2018). Although the Being Black in Europe study uses this method (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2017, p. 40; Schnell et al., 2014), it is to be expected that many Black people cannot be identified using this method, as many Black, African and Afro-diasporic people have surnames with European references, not least due to the African and Afro-diasporic history of the past centuries. Any attempt to record the presence of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people purely onomastically is therefore tantamount to a reduction that denies their presence and history, distorts the survey results, and must therefore be rejected as unsuitable.

Hidden & hard to reach: snowball sampling by self-identification

As there is (so far) no quantitative data available on the total population of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany, this is a hidden population that cannot be reached easily using either a household sample or onomastics methods. The population

is also a hard-to-reach population [G]: Against the backdrop of German history and racist, abusive data collection under National Socialism up to the present day, many Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are critical of a government survey that allows conclusions about their affiliation. It is, therefore, a sensitive topic for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, so that members of the target group are more likely not to participate (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997).

One of the most common sampling methods for hidden and hard-to-reach populations, which we also used for the Afrozensus, is snowball sampling [G]. A snowball system serves to find the participants in a survey. The organisational sponsorship of the project by a Black self-organisation (Each One Teach One e.V. (EOTO)), a Black core research team (→ see information on positioning on p.36) and the cooperation with other self-organisations helped to reach the hard-to-reach target population and increase confidence in the survey (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Participants could access the online survey via self-identification by registering with their email address on the project website (www.afrozensus.de).⁷ Registration was possible from January 2020 until the end of the survey period on 6 September 2020.

To reach the target group, we cooperated with 15 Black organisations from six federal states (many active nationwide), numerous well-known Black people and other organisations (e.g. anti-discrimination agencies), which acted as outreach partners. The coronavirus crisis presented the project with unexpected challenges regarding its outreach strategy. The planned personal addresses and analogue information events in various meeting places and social centres in the targeted communities have been impossible or only possible to a very limited extent since March 2020 due to the coronavirus measures. The planned access to refugee accommodation was also denied due to the coronavirus crisis. Instead, an even more extensive social media campaign was designed and implemented. The Afrozensus also received enormous media attention through numerous national and international press articles (print, online, video formats, in German and English). The outreach part-

⁵ Representative samples are also weighted to ensure, for example, that the proportion of cis women corresponds to the proportion in the population. Significantly, no procedures have yet been developed to ensure that the proportion of people experiencing racist discrimination in all representative studies corresponds to the proportion in the population.

⁶ The challenges and limitations formulated below apply similarly to samples based on a random selection of telephone numbers (CATI survey) or, for example, a random route method (in the case of a face-to-face survey).

ners received information material (e.g. flyers, social media packages). An FAQ (Each One Teach One e.V. & Citizens For Europe, 2020) with frequently asked questions was offered and continuously updated on the EOTO website to provide a better understanding of the objectives and background of the Afrozensus.

Methodological implications

The selection of participants presented here, i.e. the sampling procedure of the hidden and hard-to-reach population of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, led to the participation of 6,419 people (before data cleansing) in the online survey of the Afrozensus (→ Fig. 2 on the calculation basis in the Afrozensus). The Afrozensus is thus the largest survey conducted in this target group in Germany to date.

Due to the sampling procedure, the results of the Afrozensus cannot be generalised to the population as a random sample could not be implemented for the reasons mentioned above (→ p.54). However, the great advantage of our sampling method is that the large number of participants also includes numerically smaller subgroups, which means that comparisons between subgroups, i.e. intersectional analyses, and greater depth of focus, are enabled for the first time. In addition, one aim of the Afrozensus was to record experiences of discrimination, ways of dealing with discrimination, resilience, and empowerment strategies, which was only possible in this level of detail thanks to the sampling procedure presented and the associated trust in the research project on the part of the respondents. The sampling procedure also meant that the survey reached subgroups practically never represented in quantitative surveys (e.g. Black trans* [G] or impaired people), in some cases for the first time in such a comprehensive survey. Thus, we could analyse and depict a more complex picture of Black life realities in all their facets.

7 The following note appeared at the beginning of the survey: "The questionnaire aims at Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. In other words, people with family ties to Africa because they themselves or one of their ancestors – regardless of generation – left Africa voluntarily or involuntarily. In addition to people who themselves immigrated from Togo, for example, this also includes Afro-diasporic population groups from Brazil, the USA, Canada, the Caribbean, Turkey, Iraq and many more. Does this apply to you?"

3.3

Operationalisation of the dimensions of diversity in the Afrozensus

To ensure an intersectional analysis, i.e. to visualise the diverse perspectives within shared experiences and the specific interaction of different dynamics of discrimination (→ [Chapter 2, p. 38](#)), we have examined selected results of the Afrozensus for specific subgroups along different dimensions of diversity.

When we speak of tendentially privileged and deprived groups in the following and in the analysis, we always refer to the (de-)privileging within the respective diversity dimension. This means, for example, that a person in the context of the diversity dimension "gender identity(ies)" as a cis man tends to be considered privileged compared to cis women and TIN* respondents. However, the same person may be deprived in other discrimination dynamics, for example, due to a low income.

We also refer to groups as tendentially privileged and deprived groups, as (de)privilege can also vary within a diversity dimension, depending on the prevailing context and which norms and power structures are the frame of reference for the respective analysis. In the case of Black men, for example, the racist attribution mentioned in → [Chapter 2](#) regarding the threat posed by Black bodies plays a special role, which is why they are potentially more disadvantaged in some contexts than Black women (→ [Chapter 6.1 p.93](#) and [6.5](#)). Finally, all respondents in the Afrozensus already share a relevant dimension due to their Blackness, which, combined with other diversity dimensions in the sense of intersectionality, creates particular dynamics. In the subgroup analyses, the ABR experience is thus specifically recorded in conjunction with other experiences of discrimination.

Table 1 shows an overview of all the diversity dimensions examined and their operationalisations based on the socio-demographic data of the respondents that we used in the Afrozensus for the subgroup analyses.⁸ The table is based on the research by Citizens For Europe that preceded the Afrozensus on recording intersectionality (Ahyoud et al., [2018](#); Aikins et al., 2018). This is based, among other things, on the grounds of discrimination protected in the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) and on the groups particularly affected by racist discrimination in Germany, which the Federal Government's report to the UN Anti-Racism Committee names (Federal Ministry of the Interior & Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, [2017](#); Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, [2020](#)). As part of the Afrozensus, we have expanded the survey to include the specific context of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.

⁸ Although the diversity dimensions "place of residence urban/rural" and "place of residence east/west" were analysed, there were no significant differences in the subgroup analyses of our sample. Among other things, this is probably due to the low number of cases for respondents in the Afrozensus who live in the new federal states or medium-sized and small towns as well as rural communities.

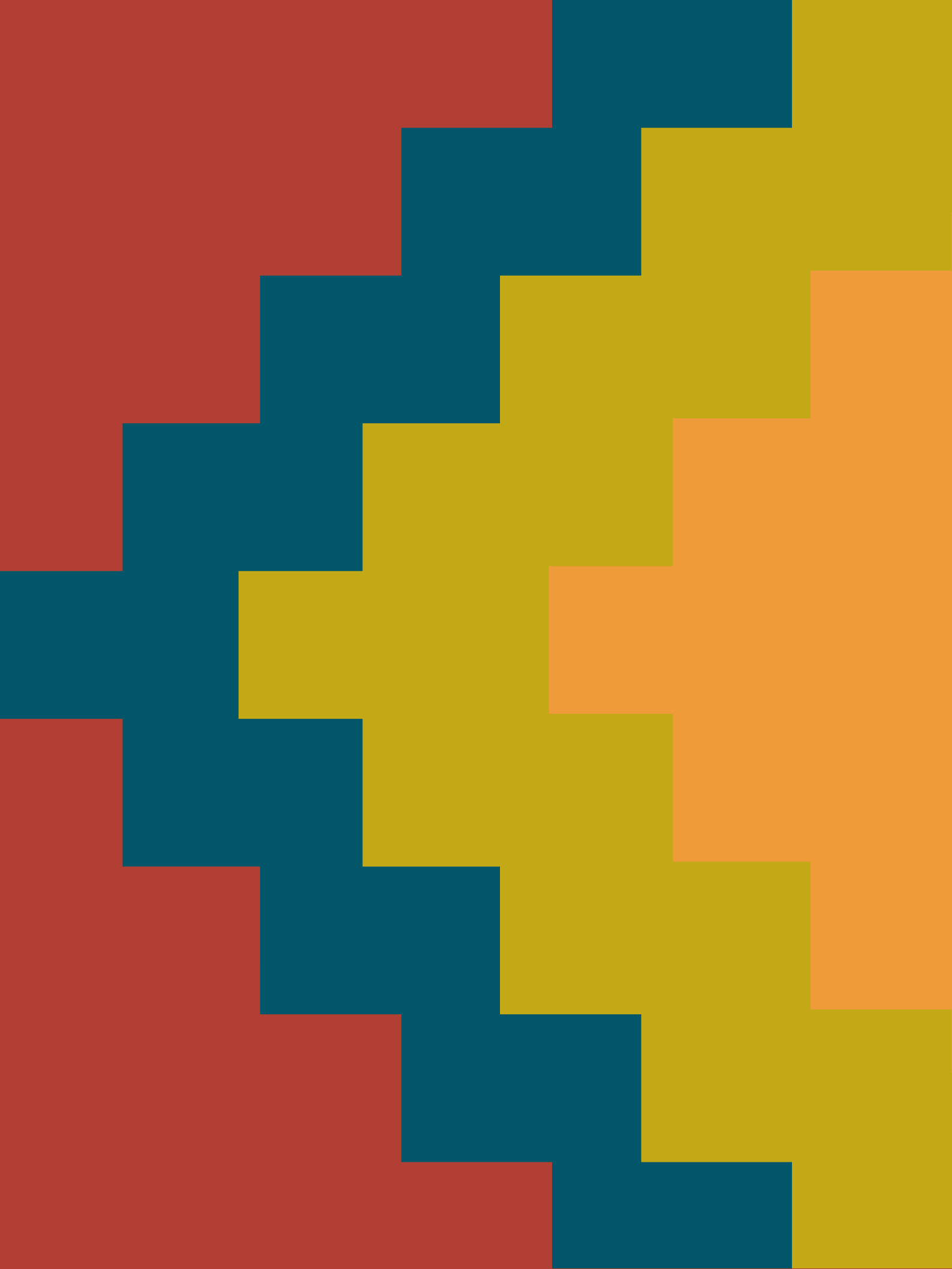
Table 1: Overview of the diversity dimensions in the Afrozensus

Diversity dimension	Tendentially deprived	Tendentially norm-privileged	Explanations on operationalisation (if not self-explanatory)
Number of African / Afro-diasporic parents	People with two (biological) parents of African / African diasporic origin	People with exactly one (biological) parent of African / Afro-diasporic origin	To depict the different realities of life of respondents with one and respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents in a more differentiated way, we have included the diversity dimension "number of African / Afro-diasporic parents" in the analysis (→ Kapitel 6.4).
Religious affiliation in relation to anti-Muslim racism	Muslim people	non-Muslim people	Muslim = respondents who stated Muslim as their religious affiliation and / or identity / self-positioning
Nationality	Non-German/ EU passport holders	German/EU passport holders	German/EU passport holder = respondents who stated that they have German citizenship and/or EU voting rights
Migration background (1st and 2nd generation)	People with a migration background	People without a migration background	Migration background = respondents who themselves or at least one of whose parents was born with non-German citizenship only or among others
Refugee experience (own and/or family)	People with personal and / or family refugee experience	People without refugee experience	Personal and/or family refugee experience = respondents who stated that they themselves and/or their parents and / or grandparents fled to Germany for humanitarian reasons

Gender identities	trans*, inter*, non-binary (TIN*)	Cis men and cis women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ TIN* [G] = respondents who stated "trans*", "inter*", "diverse" and combinations of these three response categories and, if applicable, with "male" and/or "female" ◆ Cis-men = respondents who stated "male" only ◆ Cis-women = respondents who stated "female" only
Gender identity (binary)	Cis women	Cis men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Cis-men = respondents who only indicated "male" ◆ Cis-women = respondents who only indicated "female"
Sexual orientation [G]	lesbian, gay, homosexual, bisexual, asexual and queer people (LGBTQ)	heterosexual people	
Age (generations)	too young / too old (context-dependent)	old / young	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Silent Generation: people aged 74 and over ◆ Boomer Generation: people aged between 56 and 73 ◆ Generation X: people aged between 40 and 55 ◆ Millennials: people aged between 24 and 39 ◆ Generation Z: people aged under 24 (and at least 16)

<p>Age (cohorts)</p>	<p>too young / too old (context-dependent)</p>	<p>old / young</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Cohort 1: 16- to 17-year-olds ◆ Cohort 2: 18- to 19-year-olds ◆ Cohort 3: between 20-39 ◆ Cohort 4: between 40-59 ◆ Cohort 5: between 60-79 ◆ Cohort 6: people who are 80 or older
<p>Disability</p>	<p>People with officially recognised disabilities</p>	<p>People without an officially recognised disability</p>	
<p>Impairment</p>	<p>People with impairments</p>	<p>People without impairments</p>	<p>Experts on inclusion and disability criticise that the latter is usually defined too medically and narrowly, so we also asked whether social barriers impair a person's self-reported participation, emphasising the social dimension.</p>
<p>Education</p>	<p>low educational attainment</p>	<p>Medium and high level of education</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Low level of education: never went to school, no school-leaving certificate, primary school leaving certificate, lower secondary school leaving certificate (with and without vocational training), intermediate secondary school leaving certificate without vocational training ◆ Intermediate level of education: intermediate secondary school leaving certificate with vocational training or Abitur/university of applied sciences entrance qualification without vocational training. ◆ High level of education: Abitur / university of applied sciences entrance qualification with vocational training, university/university of applied sciences degree, doctorate/postdoctoral

Income (equivalent income [G])	Low income	Middle and high income	<p>Equivalised income = total net household income divided by the age-weighted total of persons living in the household</p> <p>high income:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ income-rich = $\geq 200\%$ share of the median [G] of the sample ◆ high income = $\geq 150\%$ share of the median of the sample <p>middle income:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ middle income = 71%-149% share of the median of the sample <p>low income:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ income-poor = $\leq 70\%$ share of the median of the sample ◆ at risk of poverty = $\leq 60\%$ share of the median of the sample ◆ poor (according to WHO and OECD) = $\leq 50\%$ share of the median of the sample
Marital status concerning single parents	Single parent	Non single parent	<p>Single parent = if at least 1 child lives in the household and the other parent or another possible carer (e.g. grandparent) does not live there</p>
Place of residence City / Country	Rural communities, small and medium-sized towns	Large cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Large city = at least 100,000 inhabitants ◆ Medium-sized city = between 20,000 and less than 100,000 inhabitants ◆ Small town = between 5,000 and less than 20,000 inhabitants ◆ Rural municipality = less than 5,000 inhabitants
Place of residence east / west	People currently living in the new federal states	People who currently live in the old federal states	Berlin was surveyed as an independent category



4.

Who took part? Socio-demographic data in the Afrozensus

In this chapter, we describe the key socio-demographic data of the Afrozensus participants. This makes it easier to categorise the subsequent results of the Afrozensus. It also emphasises the diversity of the respondents. Since – as described in (→ [Chapter 3.2](#)) – there is no data available in Germany on the population of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, the information in the Afrozensus is compared with data on people with an African migration background¹ living in Germany and with data on the total population² in Germany.

As participation in the survey and the responses were voluntary, the number of cases per variable (question) varies. Unless otherwise stated, the percentage values always refer to the proportion of respondents who answered the respective question (→ [Fig. 2](#) Information based on calculation in the Afrozensus) and are contained in the respective information graphics.

To summarise, Afrozensus respondents are significantly more often cis-female [G] and have a higher level of education than people with an African migration background living in Germany and than the overall population in Germany. Compared to people with an African migration background, they are slightly older and earn more. Compared to the overall population in Germany, however, they are younger on average and earn less. Most Afrozensus respondents were born in Germany and 73.2% have a migration background. This means that one in four respondents statistical-

ly has no migration background but belongs to the group of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. This subgroup is made invisible in all other surveys in Germany, which only collect data on tangible migration background. Afrozensus respondents are significantly more likely to live in large cities than the overall population of Germany; they are also significantly more likely to live in Berlin than the overall population and people with an African migration background. Compared to the overall population in Germany, Afrozensus participants are less likely to state a Christian religious affiliation, are significantly more likely to identify as LGBTIQ+ [G] and are significantly less likely to state that they are severely disabled. Most respondents are at least bilingual or trilingual.

1 Where possible, this data was made available to the Afrozensus team through special analyses by the Federal Statistical Office.

2 The Federal Statistical Office does not collect data for many socio-demographic categories of the total population in Germany (e.g. sexual orientation, gender identities beyond a binary categorisation or religious affiliations that are not Christian or Jewish). For this reason, information on this topic relies on estimates subject to empirical limitations and the estimation methods of which are sometimes subject to critique.

Age

On average, Afrozensus respondents are slightly older than people with an African migration background and younger than the overall population of Germany. The age of respondents ranges from 16 (youngest possible age of participation) to 102 years, but the average is 31.7 years. Most Afrozensus respondents (54.0%) are between 20 and 39 years old. People with an African migration background are 29.4 years old on average, while the average age of the German population as a whole is 44.3 years³ (Federal Statistical Office

(Destatis), [2020c](#), [2021b](#)). The following comparisons of demographic data between Afrozensus respondents, people with an African migration background and the total population in Germany must be interpreted in the context of the age demographics mentioned above. For example, age influences income and religious affiliation: younger people tend to earn less because they are still at the beginning of their careers and are less religious than older generations (Pew Research Center, [2018](#)).

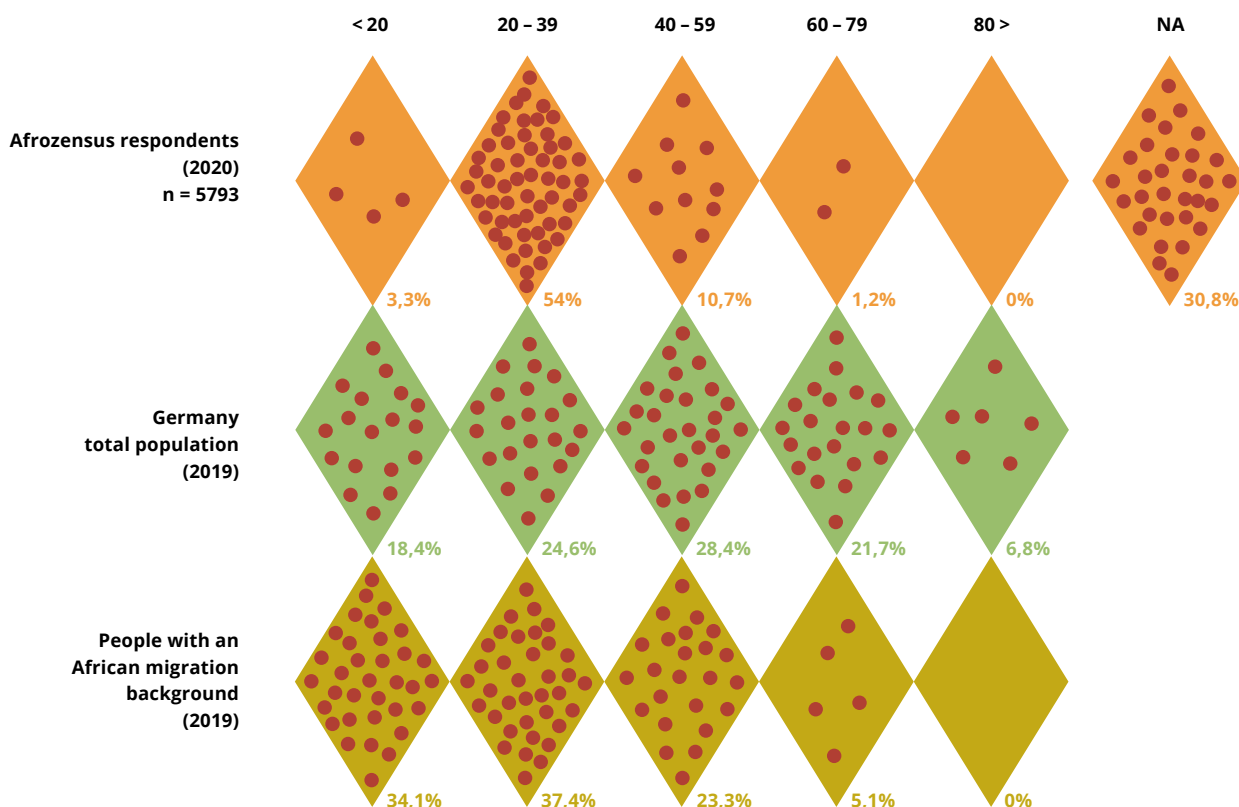


Fig. 3: Age

(→ Sources, p. 75)

Gender and sexual orientation

70.3% of Afrozensus respondents are cis-women [G], 26.4% are cis-men [G], and 3.3% are trans*, inter* and/or non-binary (TIN* [G]).⁴ The proportion of cis-women in the Afrozensus sample is significantly higher than the respective proportions in the German population as a whole and among people with an African migration background. According to the register of residents, 43.7% of people with an African migration background in Germany are female, and 56.3% are male (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020c](#));

there is no data on the number of people with an African migration background who are registered as "diverse" in the register of residents. In 2020, the binary gender distribution in the total population of Germany was recorded as 49.3% male and 50.6% female (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2021a](#)). Data on people of the third gender ("diverse" [G]) are currently not collected by Destatis (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2021e](#)). According to the first nationwide representative survey, the so-called Legacy Study, the proportion of people who do not see themselves represented by a cis-identity is 3.3% (Allmendinger et

al., 2016). Almost 8 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (79.9%) identify as exclusively heterosexual. Around a fifth of respondents (20.1%) stated their sexual orientation/identity as "homosexual", "lesbian", "gay", "bisexual", "asexual", and/or "queer" (multiple answers possible). They are summarised in the final data set and for the subgroup analyses in Chapter 4 under

LGBAQ⁵. People who identify as LGBTIQ+ make up 20.3% of all respondents to the Afrozensus. The nationally representative study by the City of Cologne (2019) assumes that around 6.9% of the total population in Germany identifies as LGBTIQ. Data on people with an African migration background regarding their sexual orientation/identity is not available.

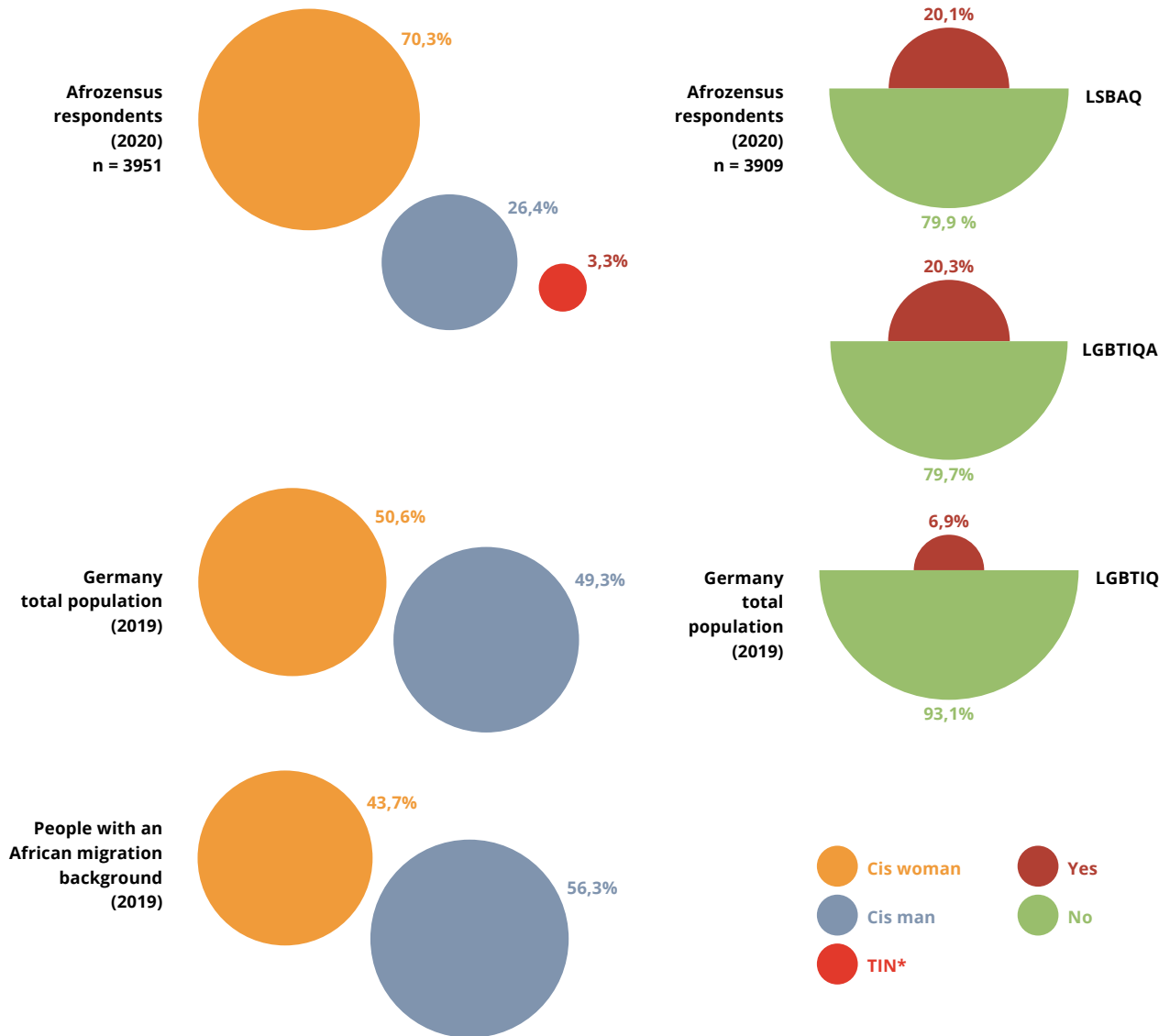


Fig. 4: Gender identity/ies & sexual orientation

(→ Sources, p. 75)

3 A complete comparison between the ages of the Afrozensus respondents and the general population or the population with an African migration background is not possible due to the Afrozensus conditions of participation. Only people aged 16 and above could take part in the survey. However, the statistics published by the Federal Statistical Office on the average age consider the entire population, i.e., all persons present in the population register. It was not possible to analyse only people who had reached the age of 16 and above.

4 Multiple answers were possible. The percentages of cis-women and cis-men refer exclusively to people who only gave one of these two responses.

5 People who identify as non-cisgender, regardless of whether they are heterosexual or non-heterosexual, are analysed separately (see TIN*) so that their realities and exclusions can be made visible.

Education

Afrozensus respondents have a higher proportion of high educational qualifications compared to the overall population in Germany and to people with an African migration background. For example, nine out of ten respondents (91.9%) have a diploma equivalent to General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE in the United Kingdom), but only three out of ten people with an African migration background (28.9%) and a third (33.5%) of the total population in Germany. In addition, 47.6% of respondents hold a university degree,

compared to only 8.6% of people with an African migration background and 17.3% of the total population in Germany. While 15.0% of people with an African migration background and 4.0% of the total population in Germany do not have a general school leaving certificate, there are almost no Afrozensus respondents (0.3%) without any school leaving certificate (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020c](#), [2020a](#)). Based on these results, it is reasonable to assume that academics and people with high school qualifications are overrepresented in our sample.

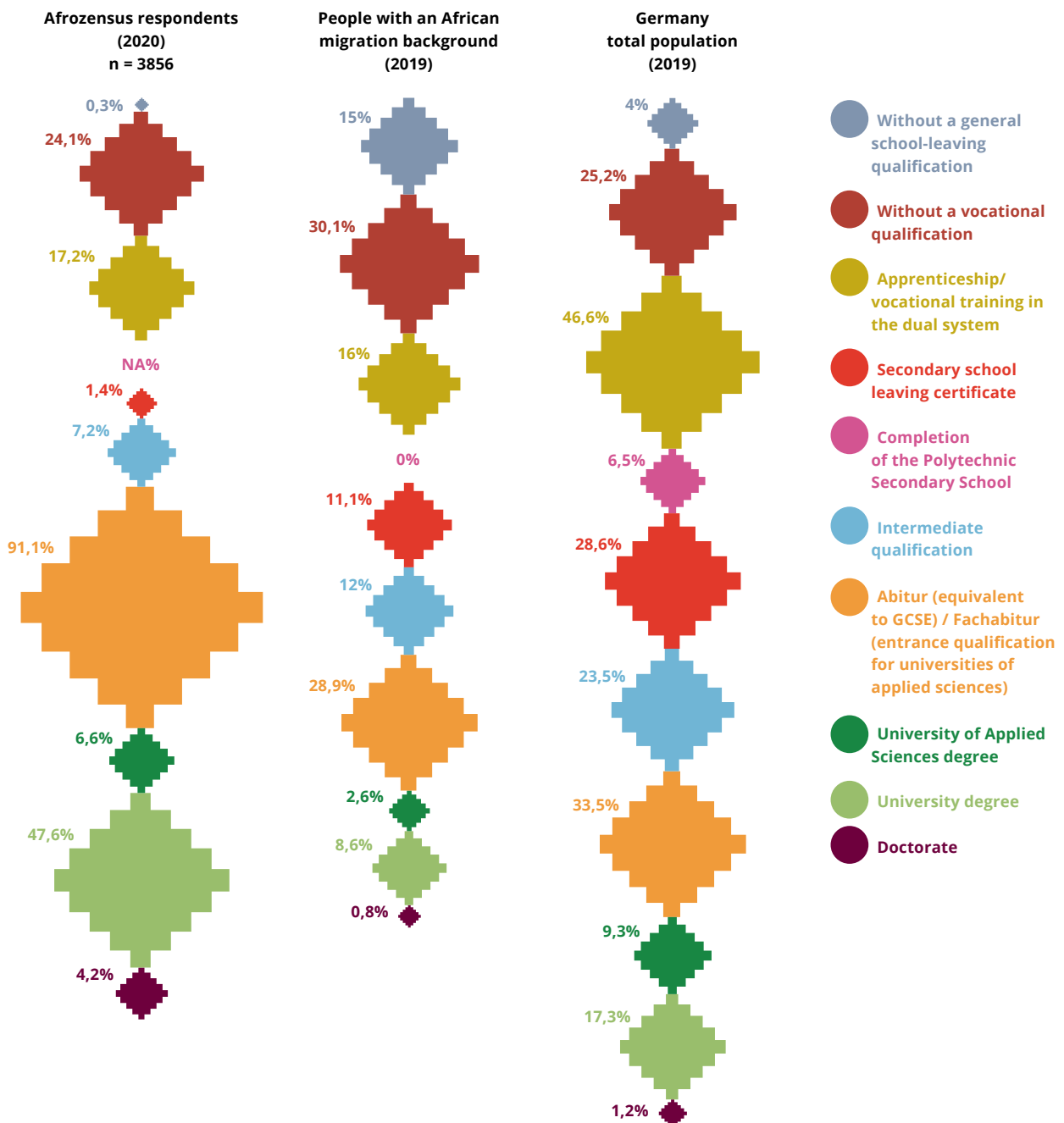
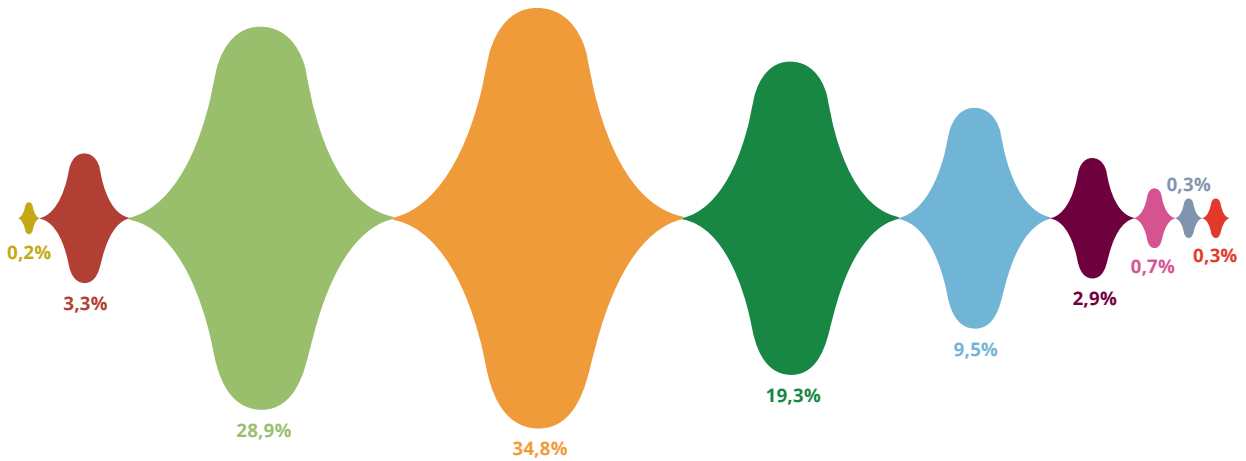


Fig. 5: Education

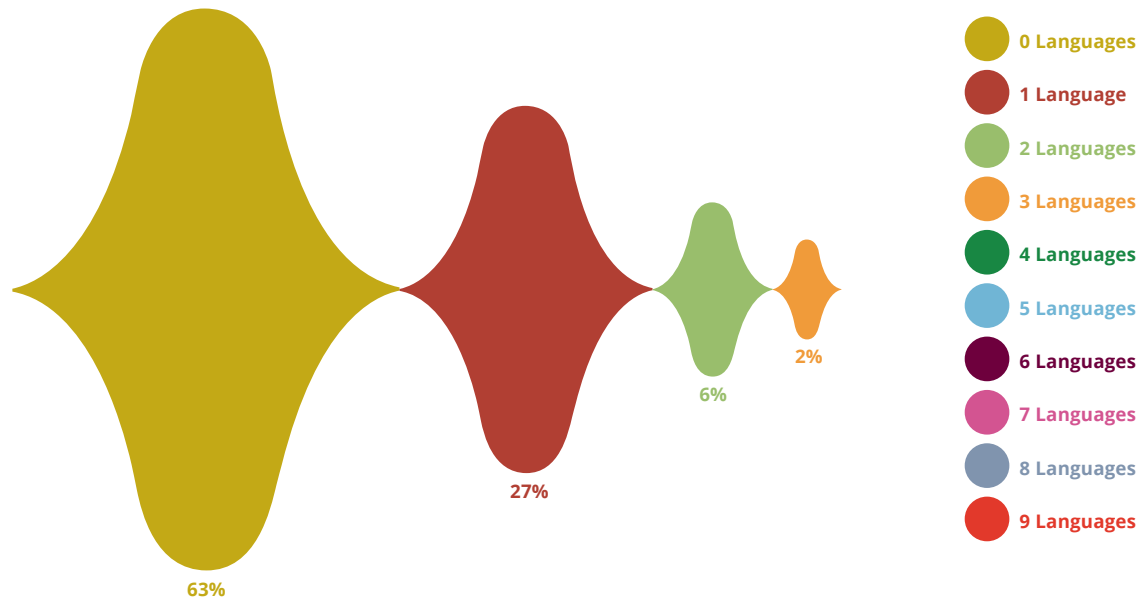
(→ Sources, p. 75)

Afrozensus respondents (2020)

Total number of languages
n = 3935



Number of African languages
n = 3840



- 0 Languages
- 1 Language
- 2 Languages
- 3 Languages
- 4 Languages
- 5 Languages
- 6 Languages
- 7 Languages
- 8 Languages
- 9 Languages

Fig. 6: Language

(→ Sources, p. 75)

Language

This diversity of familial and geographical references is also visible in the number of languages the respondents speak: 6 out of 10 (63.7%) of respondents speak two or three languages and a third (33.0%) even speak at least four languages. Around four in ten (37.0%) Afrozensus respondents stated that they spoke at least one African language.

Occupational situation of Afrozensus respondents

- ◆ Most respondents work full-time (35.3%) and/or part-time (19.9%). Around every 7th person is self-employed (14.9%). Afrozensus respondents owning a business employ on average three people in paid work (median [G]). Almost every 8th person was not employed (12.3%). Less than 4% of respondents work in some other form of employment.⁸ Of the people in Germany who are employed (51.8% of the total population), 67.9% worked full-time, and 28.4% worked part-time in 2019⁹ (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020c](#)). In 2019, 41.5% of people in Germany with an African migration background engaged in paid employment. Of these, 63.4% worked full-time and 29.5% part-time (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2021g).
- ◆ In 2019, the usual weekly working time (arithmetic mean [G]) of all employed persons in Germany was 34.8 hours. Considering full-time and part-time employees separately, full-time employees in the Afrozensus work an average of 41.2 hours. On average, people in Germany work 41 hours full-time. Part-time employees in the Afrozensus work an average of 25.9 hours. The average part-time worker in Germany works 19.5 hours. Hence, the time difference is 6.4 hours (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020f](#)). In this case, Afrozensus respondents work significantly more than the average person in part-time employment. People with an African migration background worked an average of 33.6 hours per week (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2021g), but this data is not available in more detail, which is why a more in-depth analysis is not possible. Most respondents work in the area of "health, social affairs, teaching and education" (31.3%). Around one in five people work in the area of "media, art, culture and design" (19.7%). Every 7th person works in the "Commercial services, goods trade, distribution, hotel and tourism" sector (13.8%). The least common sector is "military" (0.3% of all respondents).¹⁰
- ◆ Compared to the national data from 2020 (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2021a](#)), Afrozensus respondents are significantly more frequently represented in the field of "languages, literature, humanities, social and economic sciences, media, art, culture and design" (+23.1 percentage points (pp.) [G]). There are also major differences in the area of "health, social affairs, teaching and education" (+9.2 pp.) as well as in "raw materials extraction, production and manufacturing" (-19.5 pp.), "business organisation, accounting, law and administration" (-12.3 pp.) and "transport, logistics, protection and security" (-10.6 pp.).
- ◆ There is only very general information on the economic sector of the labour force with an African migration background in Germany, which is not comparable with the sectors mentioned above. There is valid information on 407,000 people (around 88% of all employed people with an African migration background). Of these, 24.3% work in manufacturing or construction, 34.9% in trade, hospitality or transport, 3.7% in public administration and 37.1% in other services (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020c](#)). There is no valid data on the number of people with an African migration background who work in the "agriculture and forestry" sector.



⁸ 3,551 respondents provided information on their professional situation. The analysis refers to these people. Multiple answers were possible. In approx. 11 % of all cases, multiple answers were given.

⁹ In contrast to the Afrozensus, the Federal Statistical Office analysed this data as follows: Full-time (37-98 hours); Part-time (1-24 hours); Not specified.

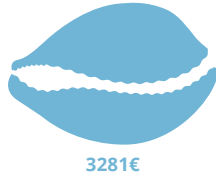
¹⁰ 2,978 respondents provided information on their professional field. The analysis refers to these people. Multiple answers were possible. Multiple answers were given in approx. 12 % of all cases.

Average net household income

Germany total population (2020)



Afrozensus respondents (2020) n = 3512

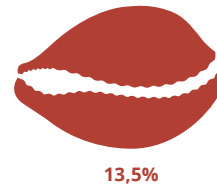
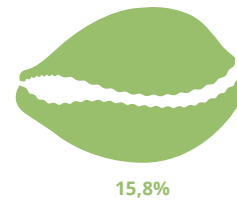
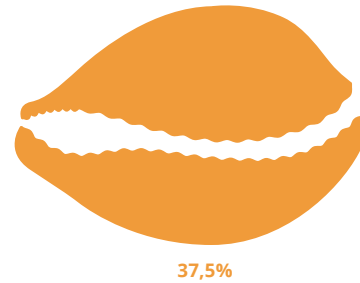
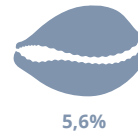
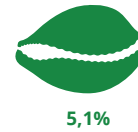
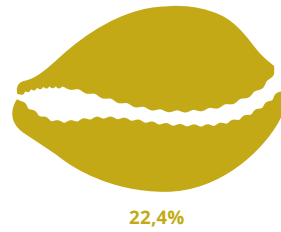


People with an African migration background (2020)



Net equivalised income

Afrozensus respondents (2020) n = 1399



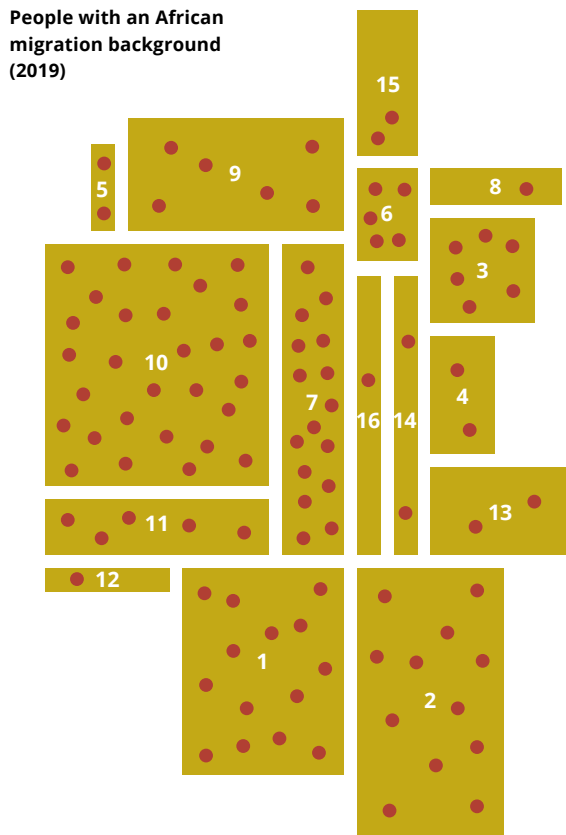
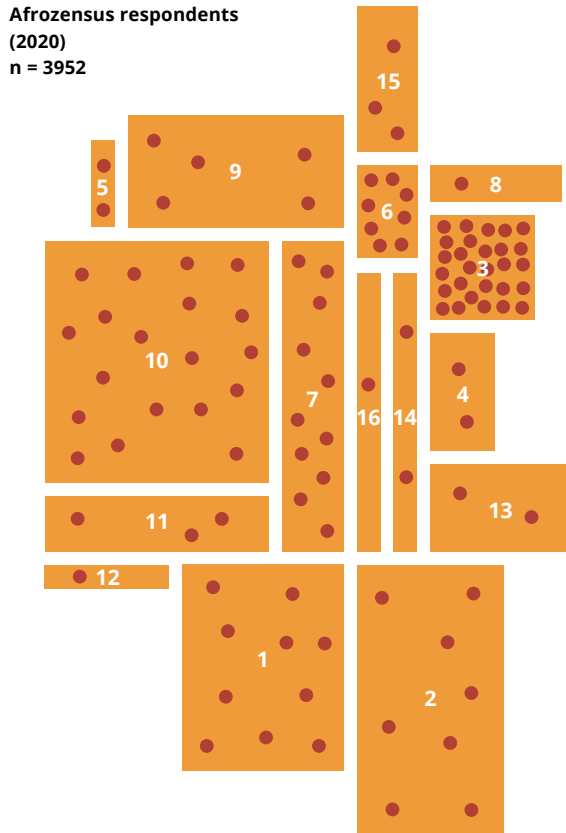
(→ Sources, p. 75)

Fig. 7: Income

Income

Regarding income, the higher educational qualifications translate into a higher average net household income [G] for Afrozensus respondents, but only compared to people with an African migration background. While Afrozensus respondents have an average net household income of EUR 3281 per month, people with an African migration background have EUR 949 less per month, i.e. an average net household income of EUR 2332. Compared to the national average net household income of EUR 3580 per month, the net household income of Afrozensus-respondents is EUR 299 less (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020c](#), [2021c](#)). According to our calculations of equivalised income⁶ [G] based on the OECD scale, the majority (37.5%) of Afrozensus respondents have a "medium income" overall. Around a third (33.1%) are considered to be "poor," "at risk of poverty," or "income-poor". Slightly less than a third of respondents (29.3%) have a "high income" or are "income-rich".

⁶ Equivalised income was calculated on the basis of net household income and two other variables: the number of adults and children living in the household. Respondents had to provide valid answers to all three questions in order to be included in the calculation of the equivalised income. The calculation was based on the median of our sample data set.



Place of residence

In terms of place of residence, most Afrozensus respondents (27.5%) live in Berlin, followed by North Rhine-Westphalia (20.4%) and Hesse (10.8%). Almost 7 out of 10 respondents (68.5%) live in the old federal states (excluding Berlin), and only around 4 % live in the new federal states.

Approximately the same number of Afrozensus respondents as people with an African migration background live in the new federal states (excluding Berlin) (4.0% compared to 4.7%), although 15.1% of the total population in Germany lives in the new federal states.

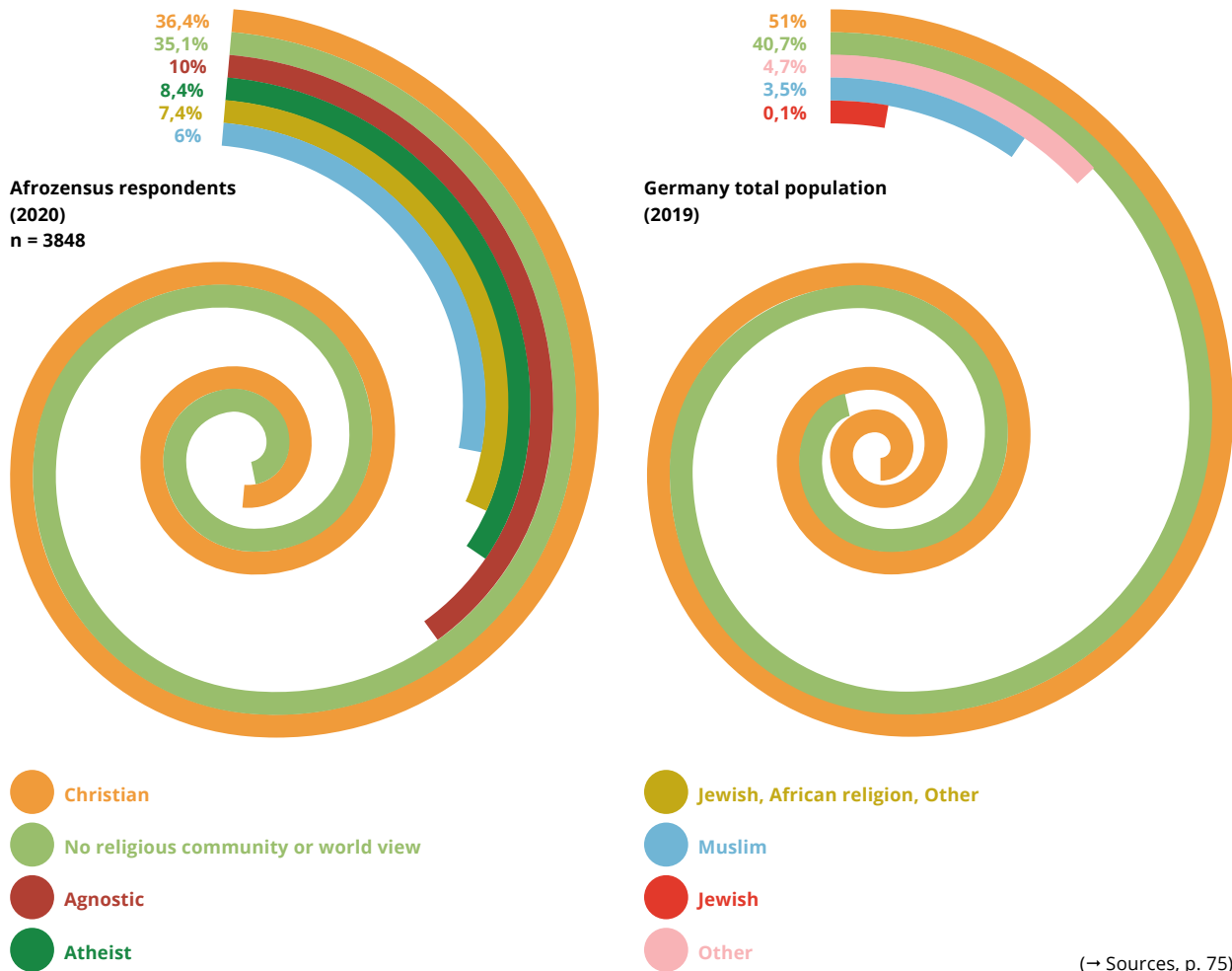
Afrozensus respondents are significantly more likely to live in Berlin than people with an African migration background and the overall population in Germany (27.5% compared to 5.7% and 4.4% respectively). Around nine out of ten people (89.6%) with an African migration background live in the old federal states, but only around seven out of ten Afrozensus respondents (68.5%). 8 out of 10 people (80.5%) of the total population in Germany live in the old federal states (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2020c](#), [2020b](#)).

Concerning the breakdown between urban and rural areas, most Afrozensus respondents (n = 3963) live in large cities (80.1%). This is 48.3 percentage points more than the total population in Germany, which lived in large cities in 2017. More than half of the German population (57.9%) lived in small and medium-sized towns, while only 17.1% of Afrozensus respondents stated that they lived in medium-sized and small towns. Only 2.9% of respondents live in a rural community. Overall, one in ten people (10.3%) in Germany lived in rural communities in 2017 (Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, [2020](#)).

Afrozensus respondents	People with an African migration background
1 Baden-Württemberg 9,7%	1 Baden-Württemberg 13,8%
2 Bavaria 8,9%	2 Bavaria 10,7%
3 Berlin 27,5%	3 Berlin 5,7%
4 Brandenburg 0,7%	4 Brandenburg 0,8%
5 Bremen 1,3%	5 Bremen 1,7%
6 Hamburg 8,1%	6 Hamburg 5,2%
7 Hessen 10,8%	7 Hessen 16,1%
8 Meck-Pomm. 0,2%	8 Meck-Pomm. 0%
9 Lower Saxony 4,5%	9 Lower Saxony 5,5%
10 NRW 20,4%	10 NRW 28,9%
11 Rhineland-Palatinate 2,8%	11 Rhineland-Palatinate 4,8%
12 Saarland 0,4%	12 Saarland 0,4%
13 Saxony 2%	13 Saxony 2%
14 Saxony-Anhalt 0,7%	14 Saxony-Anhalt 0,7%
15 Schleswig-Holstein 1,6%	15 Schleswig-Holstein 1,6%
16 Thüringen 0,5%	16 Thüringen 0,5%

Fig. 8: Place of residence (→ Sources, p. 75)

Fig. 9: Faith



(→ Sources, p. 75)

Faith

More than half (51.0%) of the German population were Christian (Protestant or Catholic) in 2020, according to the Worldviews in Germany Research Group (Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland, 2021). These figures stem from data provided by the state registers to the churches. In the Afrozensus, just over a third of respondents (36.4%) stated they consider themselves part of a Christian denomination.⁷ Six per cent of Afrozensus respondents stated that they are Muslim. The Research Group Weltanschauungen in Deutschland (2021) estimates the proportion of denominationally affiliated Muslim people in Germany to be 3.5% in 2020. 0.1% of the to-

tal population in Germany is Jewish (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2020d). For data protection reasons, people of the Jewish faith, members of an African religion and "other" were summarised in the Afrozensus: 7.4% of respondents stated they belonged to one or more of these faith communities. Overall, more than half (53.5%) of Afrozensus respondents are agnostic [G] (10.0%) and/or atheist [G] (8.4%) or do not categorise themselves as belonging to any religious community/worldview (35.1%). For the German total population, the estimate for people with no religious affiliation is around 40.7% (Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland, 2021). No data is currently available for the religious affiliations of people with an African migration background.

⁷ Multiple answers were possible unless explicitly stated that they did not belong to a religious community or worldview. However, only very few people stated multiple affiliations for this question (approx. 3% of all cases). One possible explanation for this could be that most of the faith communities listed are monotheistic.

Impairment, disability and severe disability

11.7% of Afrozensus respondents state that they have one or more impairments that hinder their participation in society. Both people with disabilities and people with severe disabilities are underrepresented in the Afrozensus compared to the overall population in Germany: 3.3% of Afrozensus respondents state that they have an officially recognised disability, and

1.3% of respondents are severely disabled. In 2019, the proportion of people with disabilities living in private homes in the total population of Germany was around 13%, and the proportion of people with severe disabilities was 9.5% (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2020e, 2021d). Among people with an African migration background, the proportion of people with disabilities is 4.3% and people with severe disabilities is 3.2% (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2021f).

Fig. 10: Impairment, disability & severe disability

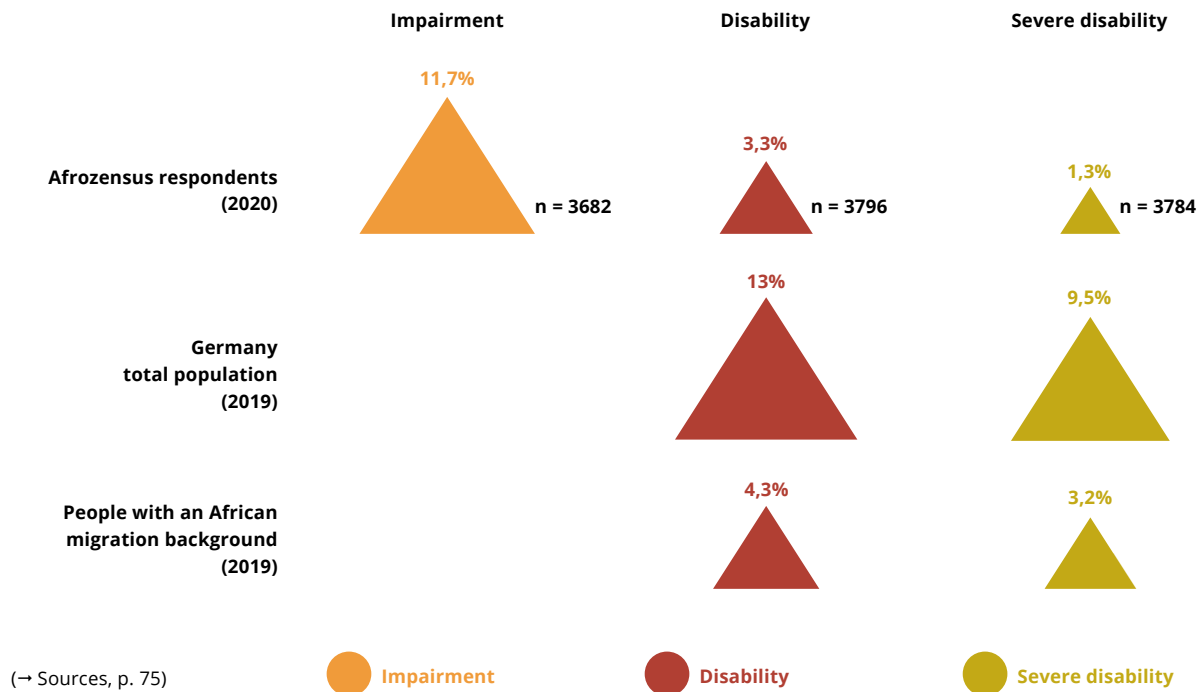
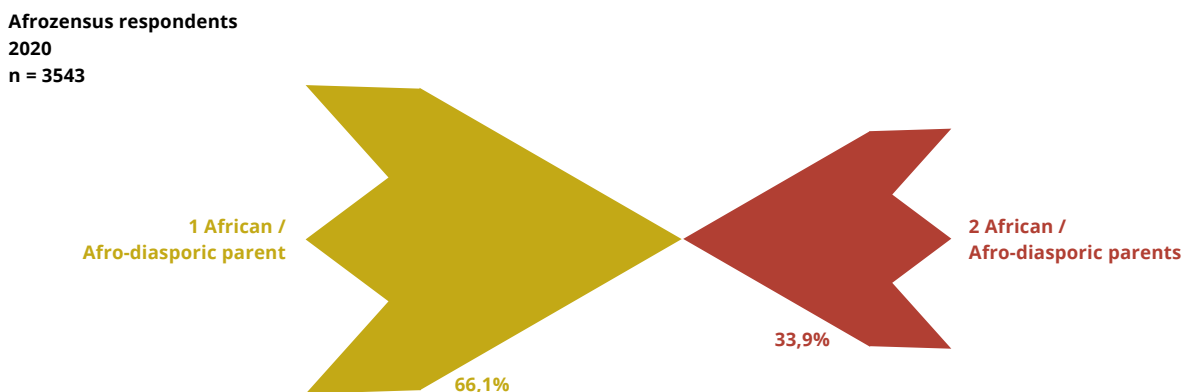


Fig. 11: African / Afro-diasporic parents



(→ Sources, p. 75)

Geographical and family links

The majority of Afrozensus respondents were born in Germany (71.0%), followed by the USA (2.8%), Nigeria (2.0%), Ghana (1.9%) and Kenya (1.6%) (Fig. 12 → Appendix 3). As the Federal Statistical Office does not collect complete data on the country of birth, there is no comparative data from the total population in Germany or on people with an African migration background. Apart from their country of birth, Afrozensus interviewees report a large number of family ties (parents and grandparents) to various countries on the African continent and in the Afro-diaspora. The most frequent references on the African continent are to Ghana, Nigeria, Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Togo and Cameroon. The most frequent references in the Afro-diaspora are to the USA, Poland, Jamaica, Great Britain, France, Cuba and Brazil (Fig. 13). One-third of respondents (33.9%) have two African/Afro-diasporic parents. In comparison, two-thirds (66.1%) have one African/Afro-diasporic parent (Fig. 11). Almost three-quarters of respondents (73.2%) have a so-called migration background. In the overall population of Germany, this figure is just over a quarter (26.8%) (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2020c). Nine out of ten respondents (92.3%) have German or EU citizenship. Almost one in six people (15.5%) reported a personal or family refugee history (Fig. 14).



**Afrozensus respondents
(2020)**
n = 3974

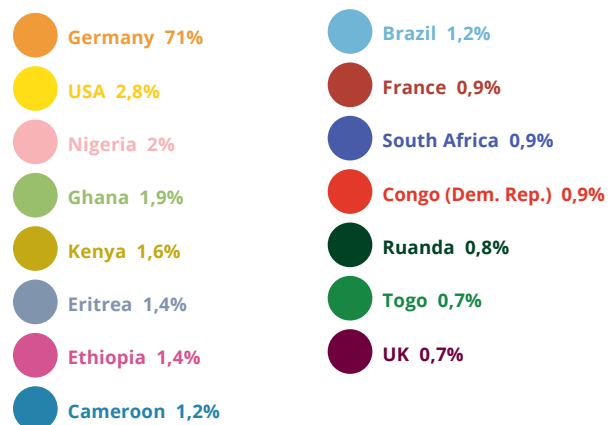
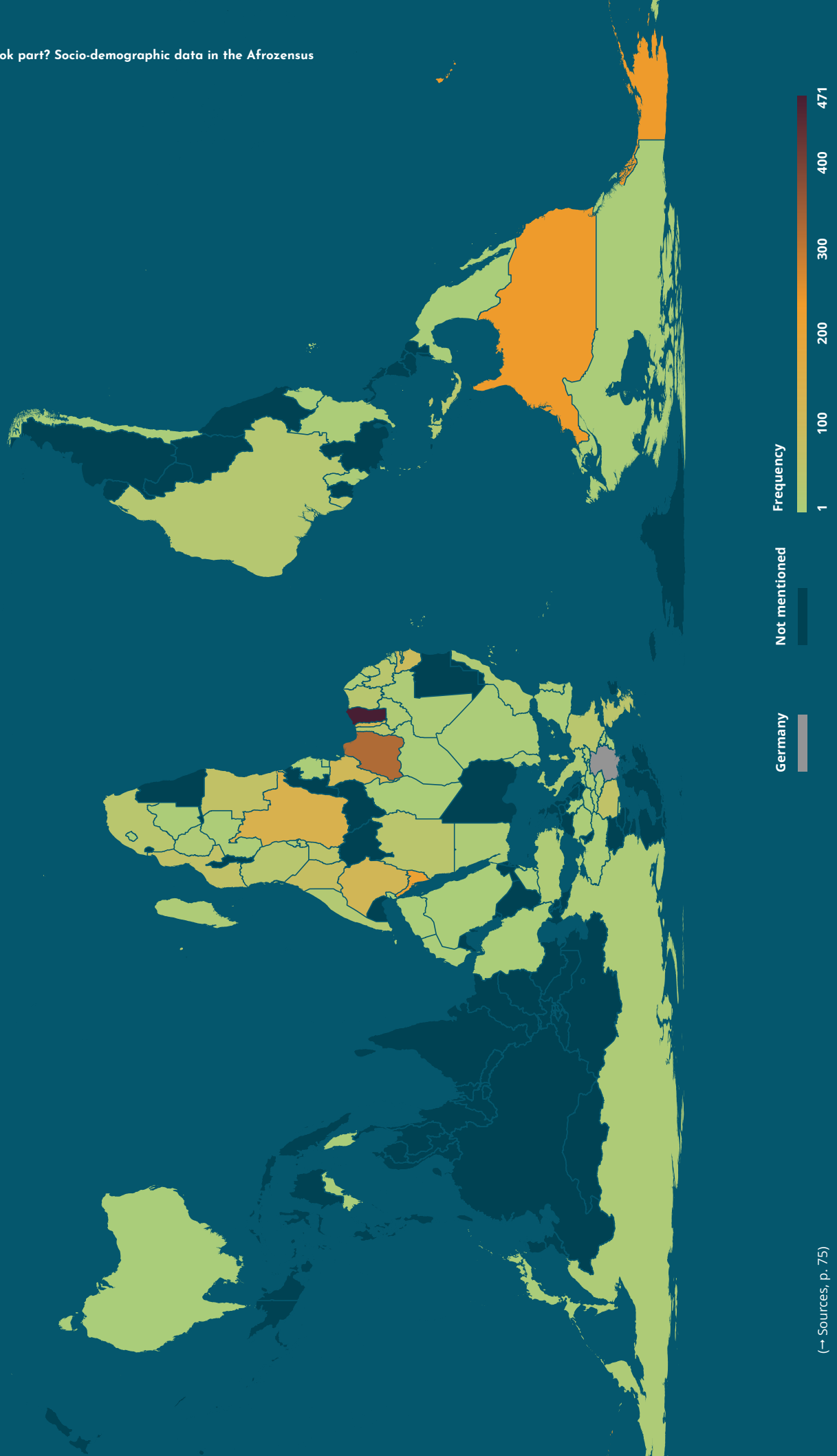


Fig. 12: Country of birth

(→ Sources, p. 75)

Fig. 13: Geographical references

n = 2728



(→ Sources, p. 75)

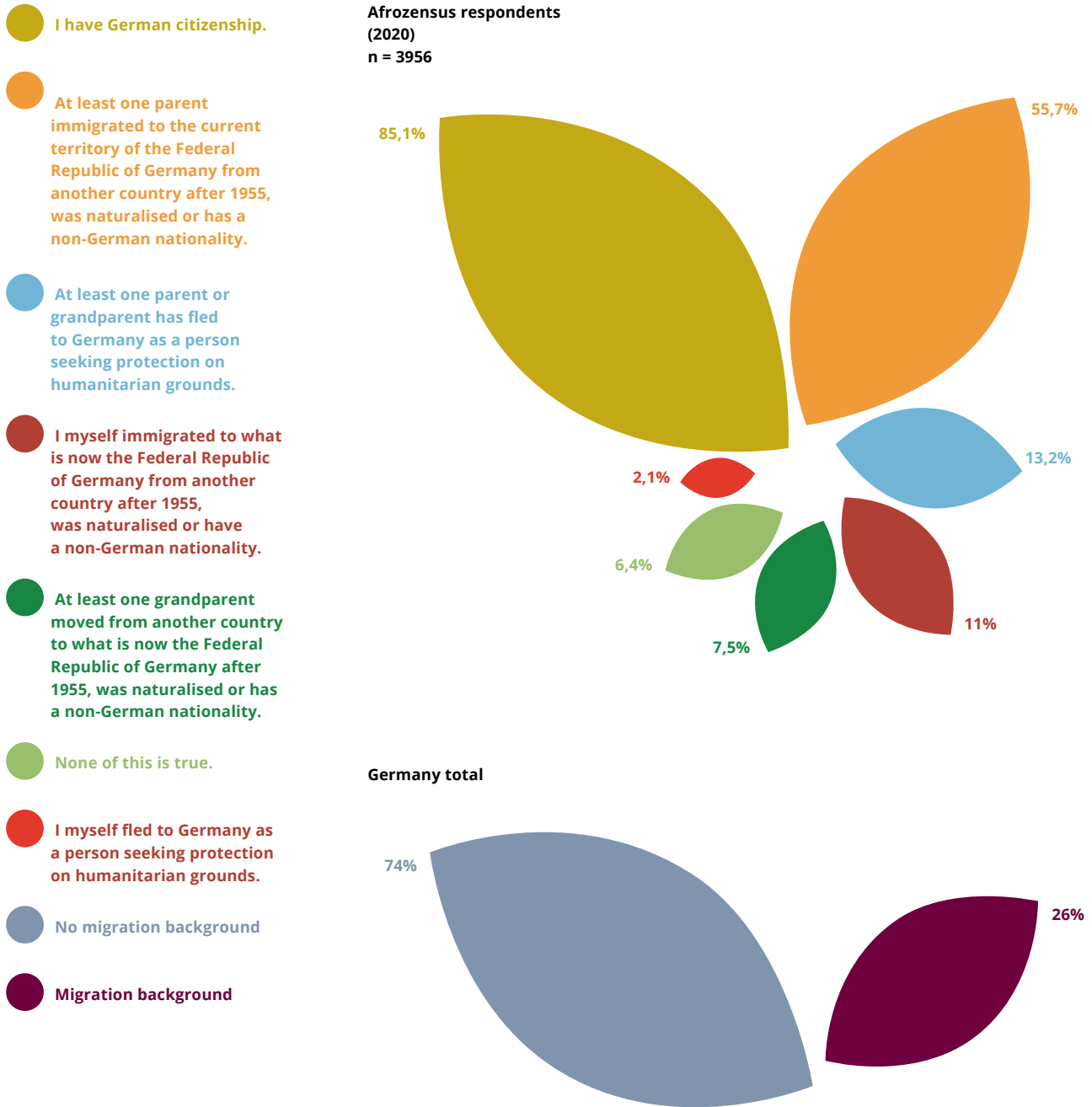


Fig. 14: Migration experiences

Data sources of the infographics: Fig. 3 Age: Own calculations, Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020c, 2021b) | Fig. 4 Gender identity/ies & sexual orientation: own calculations, DIE ZEIT et al. (2016), City of Cologne (2019) Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020c, 2021a) | Fig. 5 Education: own calculations, Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020a, 2020c) | Fig. 6 Language: own calculations | Fig. 7 Income: own calculations, Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020c, 2021c) | Fig. 8 Place of residence: own calculations, Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020b, 2020c) | Fig. 9 Belief: own calculations, Research Group Worldviews in Germany (2021), Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020d) | Fig. 10 Impairment, disability & severe disability: own calculations, Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) (2020e, 2021d) | Fig. 11 African/African diasporic parents: own calculations | Fig. 12 Country of birth: own calculations | Fig. 13 Geographical references: own calculations | Fig. 14 Migration experiences: own calculations



5.

Civic engagement and support abroad

In the following chapter, we present the results of the questions on civic engagement and support abroad. The set of questions consisted of four to 16 questions – depending on the filter used and the affirmative response behaviour of the respondents. It aimed to make the engagement of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people visible – in Germany and abroad.

Although civic engagement, in general, is highly valued in Germany, e.g. in terms of social cohesion, there is also no specific data on civic engagement in recent studies such as the Survey on Volunteering (Simonson et al, 2019) or the study by the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (Research Unit at the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (SVR Research Unit), 2020) do not provide any specific data on the involvement of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. Each case only records the migration background. The Afrozensus fills this gap and, for the first time, provides differentiated information on the area of volunteering¹, the type of activity, the duration, and the consequences of volunteering on the professional lives of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.

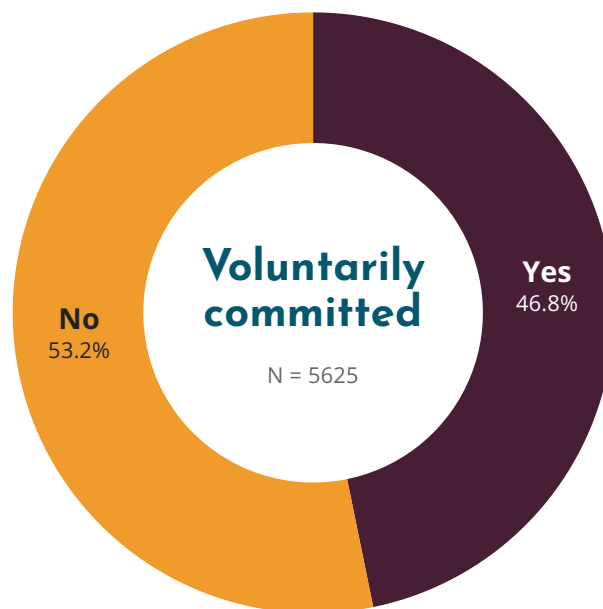
However, the Afrozensus also focuses on remittances, financial transfers, material support, and activities abroad and analyses Afro-diasporic relationships by asking the following questions: How often and in what way are relatives, acquaintances and/or projects abroad supported? What is the support used for locally (e.g. education, health) and are the interviewees themselves supported by relatives or acquaintances abroad?

Volunteer work

Almost half of the respondents (46.8% of n = 5626) stated that they had volunteered in domestic "associations, initiatives, projects and/or self-help groups" in the past 12 months (→ Fig. 15). Of these, 45% (of n = 2374) stated that they had volunteered in two or three areas. Overall, the volunteering rate in the Afrozensus sample is therefore higher (7.1 percentage points) than in the current representative population survey of the 2019 German Survey on Volunteering (39.7%)².

Fig. 15: Engagement rate: proportion of volunteers (in the last 12 months) in domestic associations, initiatives, projects and/or self-help groups (n = 5625)

Reading example: Just under half (46.8%) of the 5626 Afrozensus respondents stated that they had volunteered in the last 12 months.



There is also a difference between the volunteering rate of people with and without a migration background between the volunteering survey and our study. According to the volunteering survey, people with a migration background³ volunteer to a lesser extent (27% or 38.7% if they were born in Germany and have German citizenship) than people without a migration background (44.4%). In the Afrozensus survey, on the other hand, the volunteering rate among respondents with a migration background is 50.1% (of n = 2667) and, therefore, higher than the rate of Afrozensus respondents without a migration background (45.8% of n = 977).

Concerning the involvement of refugees as a subgroup, the Afrozensus provides differentiated insights into the results of the volunteer survey: While the vol-

¹ Volunteers are people who work voluntarily and unpaid (i.e. unpaid or for a small expense allowance) for an organisation, initiative, network, or association and carry out tasks.

² At this point, it's worth noting that we cooperated with 15 Black organisations to reach the target group, as described in → [Chapter 3](#). This form of sampling presumably influences the engagement rate. At the same time, the extensive media coverage during the period of the Afrozensus likely led to people outside of these organisational networks also taking part in the survey. The effect on the engagement rate can, therefore, not be conclusively estimated.

unteer survey records an involvement rate of 12% for people with refugee experience, the involvement rate of respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience in our sample is 60.3% (of n = 569) and thus significantly higher than for respondents without refugee experience in the sample (46.9% of n = 3075). This clearly indicates the need to take a more differentiated look at the various communities, including those with refugee and migration experience, and to reflect on the contexts of the survey (*who asks whom what and how?*).

However, different accesses, resources and (attachments) must also be differentiated within the Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities. The Afrozensus shows that respondents who tend to be deprived are more engaged than those who tend to be socially privileged. As regards gender identity(ies), for example, trans*, inter*, non-binary (TIN* [G]) respondents are significantly more engaged (71.4% of n = 126) than cis women [G] (48.7% of n = 2722) or cis men [G] (46.3% of n = 1016). Respondents with impairments (62.4% of n = 417) are also significantly more likely to become socially engaged than respondents without

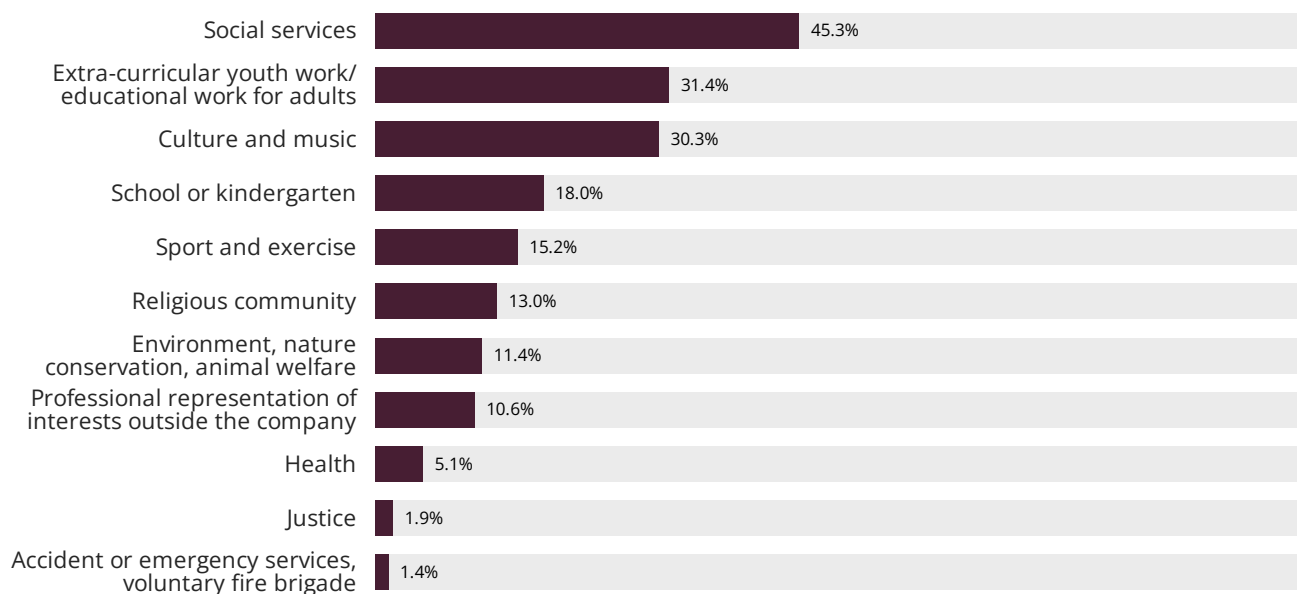
impairments (47.5% of n = 3197). In addition, respondents with a low income (54% of n = 457) are more likely to become socially engaged than respondents with a high income (44.0% of n = 405), LGBTQ+ respondents (54.3% of n = 726) are more likely to become socially engaged than heterosexual respondents (46,5% of n = 2871) and respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents (51.5% of n = 1177) are more likely to become socially engaged than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (47.7% of n = 2293).⁴

The qualitative results of the Afrozensus can explain the above-average engagement rates, particularly among deprived people – which our figures point to – that volunteering within the communities is also understood and used as a space for solidarity, networking, and protection. Such an understanding of volunteering thus goes beyond traditional volunteering and is also seen as part of community care practice.

As we have described in more detail in the explanations on dealing with experiences of discrimination in the context of healthcare (→ [Chapter 6.2](#)), community structures of self-organisations are important for pro-

Fig. 16: Areas of volunteering (in the last 12 months) (n = 2374, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost half (45.3%) of the 2374 Afrozensus respondents who volunteer stated that they had volunteered in the last 12 months in the area of "social affairs", among other things

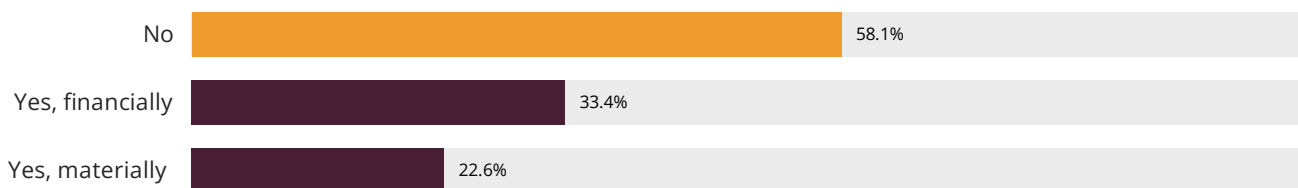


³ In the German Survey on Volunteering (2019) definition, the country of birth and the year of immigration to Germany are also included in the operationalisation of the migration background. This means that the concept of migration background in the German Survey on Volunteering is broader than in the Afrozensus (→ [Chapter 4](#)).

⁴ The listed differences of the subgroup comparisons are significant [G] ($p \leq 0.1$ two-sample t-test); see Appendix 4.

Fig. 17: Proportion of people who actively support relatives and/or acquaintances abroad (n = 5521, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost a quarter (22.6%) of 5521 Afrozensus respondents stated that they actively support relatives and/or acquaintances abroad with material donations.



moting resilience and empowerment work. These are collective spaces for empowerment and reflection, and they create resources and access for Black people to deal with exclusion and deprivege as well as to share their experiences and strategies for action.

Extent and areas of volunteering

Volunteering not only offers solidarity, networking and protection but also costs time as well as financial, material, and emotional resources. The respondents who have volunteered in the past 12 months have invested an average of four hours per week in voluntary tasks or work. In addition to the time spent, we also asked respondents about the area of their volunteer work (multiple answers were possible → Fig. 16). According to this, 45.3% of respondents (n = 2374) stated that they had been active in "social affairs" (e.g. charity, neighbourhood help). Furthermore, 29.2% of respondents stated, "extracurricular youth work / educational work for adults" (e.g. organising educational events), and 28.2% of respondents stated, "culture and music" (e.g. choir, theatre group).

The activities respondents most frequently mentioned in the areas of their involvement range from "organising and running events" (53.4% of n = 2511) to "political activism" (32.9%) to "networking" (32%) and/or "empowerment work" (31.7%). In addition to empowerment work, which forms the centrepiece of a community's care practice, almost a quarter of respondents (24.3%) cited "personal assistance" as a voluntary activity.

Both "empowerment work" and "personal assistance" were practised significantly more frequently by TIN* respondents (n = 88) than by cis women (n = 1290) and cis men (n = 456): 43.2% of TIN* respondents, compared to 33.3% of cis women and 27.0% of cis men, report doing 'empowerment work'; 35.2% of TIN*

respondents, compared to 23.2% of cis women and 25.0% of cis men, report giving 'personal assistance' as part of their volunteering. Other tasks and activities that TIN* respondents are more likely to undertake as part of their voluntary work include "political activism" (65.9% of TIN* respondents compared to 33.3% of cis women and 30.7% of cis men), "networking" (51.1% of TIN* respondents compared to 31.6% of cis women and 31.8% of cis men) and "political education" (45.5% of TIN* respondents compared to 30.8% of cis women and 29.6% of cis men). In the subgroup analysis, we found significant differences between cis men and cis women concerning "gender identity(ies)" in two of 18 task and activity areas: While cis women (33.3% of n = 1290) are significantly more likely to state that they do "empowerment work" as part of their volunteering than cis men (27.0% of n = 456), cis men (14.5%) are significantly more likely to state that they do "board work" than cis women (9.5%).⁵

Support for relatives and friends abroad

If we look at the active support of relatives and/or acquaintances abroad, 33.4% of respondents (n = 5521) support them financially, 22.6% support them materially, and 58.1% do not support people abroad financially or materially (multiple answers possible). There are no significant differences in the support of relatives and/or acquaintances between respondents with differing levels of education. The differences in the responses regarding financial support from relatives and/or acquaintances abroad are also not significant for respondents with different income levels. Although respondents with a low income provide material support to relatives and/or acquaintances abroad significantly more often than respondents with a high income, the difference is exceedingly small at less than three percentage points.

The subgroup analysis clearly shows significant differences between respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent and respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents. The latter stated significantly more frequently that they support relatives and/or acquaintances abroad both materially and financially: 46.6% of respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents (n = 1167) compared to 19.5% of respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (n = 2270) state that they provide financial support to relatives and/or acquaintances abroad; 33.5% of respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents compared to 14.9% of respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent state that they provide material support to relatives and/or acquaintances abroad.⁶

On average, respondents estimated their monthly financial support at 500 euros and material support at 200 euros. However, we must interpret these results cautiously considering the coronavirus pandemic. Because, as we show in → [Chapter 6.5](#), at the time of the survey (July – September 2020), 22% of respondents (out of n = 3942) agreed with the statement that they were particularly affected by the economic consequences of the coronavirus crisis as a Black, African and/or Afro-diasporic person. Therefore, there may have been a decline in support due to the coronavirus pandemic. Regardless of the level of support, 41.2% of respondents (of n = 2191) actively support 1-3 people (including children). Almost a quarter of respondents (24.1%) even support 6-10 people.

64.4% of respondents (n = 5402) are neither actively nor financially supporting projects abroad, while more

than a third of respondents (35.6%) support them. More than a quarter of respondents (26.7%) provide financial support, among other things. 7.3% of respondents support projects abroad through volunteer work in Germany, among other things. Almost as many (6.4%) provide material support, and 4.6% of respondents provide support through voluntary on-site work (multiple answers possible). The most common areas of support are education (65.5% of n = 512), health (56.9%) and housing (28.3%). Only 4.6% of respondents (n = 5515) receive financial support from abroad.

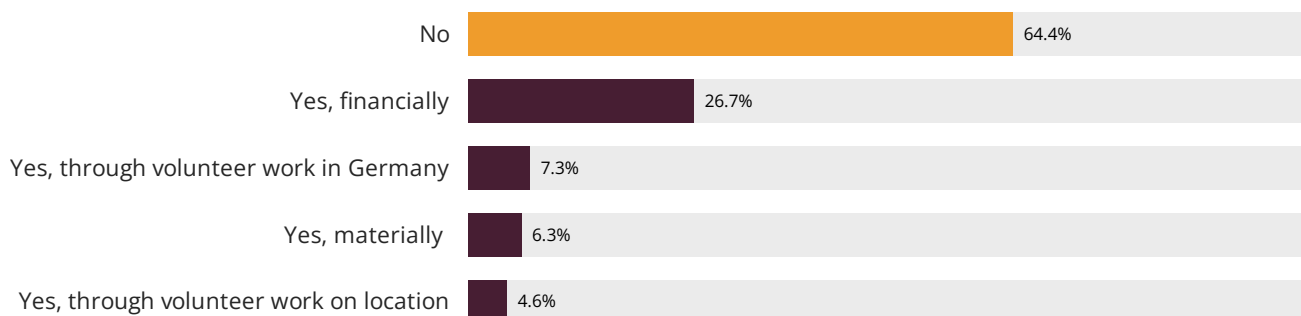
Summary

To summarise, the respondents in population surveys such as the Survey on Volunteering are more committed than the population on average. It also shows that this engagement is primarily borne and shaped by people who experience social deprivation and are nevertheless mainly involved in two to three areas. One explanation for this engagement is that volunteering in Black communities goes beyond the traditional understanding of volunteering and leads to community care, which also requires financial, material, and emotional resources but can also be experienced as a space for solidarity, protection, and networking.

In our survey, volunteering was placed at the centre for better comparability with representative studies. Nevertheless, it does not do justice to the reality of Black, African and Afro-diasporic life to take such an abbreviated conceptual understanding as a basis. This is because voluntary work often occurs within one's own four walls and often involves not just one

Fig. 18: Proportion of people who support projects abroad (n = 5402, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: More than a third (35.6%) of 5402 Afrozensus respondents stated that they actively support projects abroad. 7.3% of respondents support projects abroad, including through voluntary work in Germany.

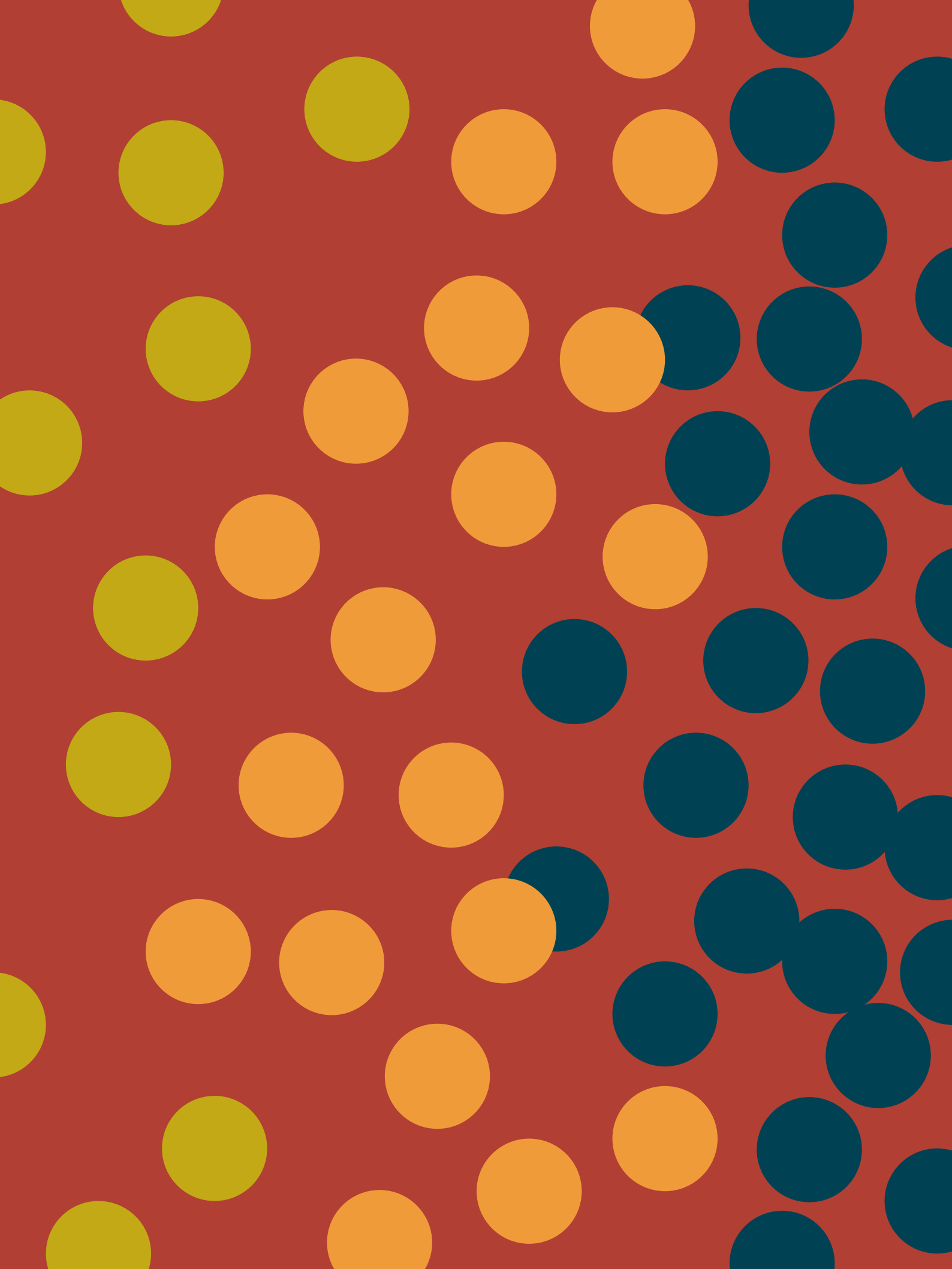


⁵ See Appendix 5 for the significances.

⁶ See Appendix 6 for the significances.

person but several people in the household. These can be activities such as translations, counselling in relationship and educational matters or sharing institutional knowledge (school system, authorities and much more). The information in the open fields also indicates this.

In any case, further research is needed to understand the motivation and understanding of volunteering in a context-specific manner. The same applies to volunteering abroad: our initial results reveal Afro-diasporic connections, which manifest through financial support from relatives, acquaintances, and projects abroad. These relationships are particularly strong among the first generation and are still largely unidirectional in terms of financial support (i.e. from Germany to abroad and not from abroad to Germany). However, the question of which countries the support flows to and the form and strength of the solidarity and network structures remains unanswered. It would also be useful to review our data regarding financial and material support abroad after the coronavirus pandemic to examine the pandemic's impact on remittances. The Afrozensus 2.0 could address these and other questions.



6.

Black experiences: Discrimination, resilience and empowerment

In the following chapters, we present the results of the questions on the experiences of discrimination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. We have analysed how often the Afrozensus respondents have experienced discrimination in different areas of life, what effects discriminatory experiences have on the respondents, and also what strategies and resilience they have developed in dealing with it. The issue is about both discrimination in general and anti-Black racism (ABR) in particular.

We assume that ABR (→ definition [chapter 2, p.39](#)) must always be considered intersectionally [G], i.e. in overlaps with other forms of discrimination, in order to be able to capture the realities of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people's lives. The understanding of discrimination on which our research builds and which we offered as a definition to the Afrozensus participants during the survey is as follows:

"Discrimination means that a person is treated worse than others without an objective justification. The person is then disadvantaged with regards to age, gender, religion, 'race'/'ethnic origin', impairment/disability or sexual orientation/identity, for example. Discrimination can be practised in very different ways, for instance, through insults, exclusion, sexual harassment and even violence. However, it is also discriminatory when people are disadvantaged, for example, by supposedly neutral rules and laws, even if this happens unintentionally."

The Afrozensus provides unprecedented quantitative results on the experience of discrimination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany for fourteen areas of life and on experiences and ways of dealing with discrimination in general. The qualitative research could illustrate the patterns of ABR in greater depth (→ [Chapters 6.2, 6.3](#) and [6.4](#)). Core elements of ABR (→ [Chapter 2](#)), as well as the specific discrimination dynamics and effects in the German context, were confirmed in the focus groups. Overall, this results in a picture of the core components of ABR in Germany, which is outlined in the following chapter.

6.1

Experiences of discrimination in 14 areas of life

To record the experiences of discrimination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany, we asked about these with respect to fourteen areas of life (→ Fig. 22). Furthermore, respondents were also able to provide information on 42 situations of discrimination, some of which are commonplace for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.¹ The quantitative information on experiences of discrimination in different areas of life was confirmed by numerous statements from the open responses on discriminatory situations. Selected anonymised quotes from Afrozensus respondents illustrate the results of the quantitative survey.

Firstly, respondents were asked to indicate which areas of life they had been in contact with in the past two years. Only if they stated that they had had contact with a particular area were the respondents asked in the second step whether or how often they had experienced discrimination in these areas. They could choose between "never", "rarely", "sometimes", "often" and "very often".²

Only when respondents confirmed experiencing discrimination in an area of life (i.e. selecting an answer other than "never") were they subsequently asked to assess the characteristics with regard to which they were discriminated against (with multiple answers possible). The characteristics consist of those protected by the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) ["racist grounds" / "ethnic origin", "gender", "sexual orientation / identity", "religion/belief", "disability", "age")

and additional characteristics that are not (yet) explicitly protected by the AGG (e.g. "social status/social origin", "impairment", "single parent", "body weight"). The list consisted of 22 characteristics and was not exhaustive. Respondents were able to specify further characteristics under "Other, namely" with regard to which they were discriminated against.

Respondents to the Afrozensus were also able to answer a question on how often they thought discrimination generally occurs in different areas of life. Only if the respondents indicated that discrimination occurs in an area of life could they state whether they had personally avoided this area of life in the past two years for fear of discrimination.

Due to the filtering of the questions as described above ("only if"), the voluntary nature of the response

1 The descriptions of the situations were based on a preliminary survey of EOTO volunteers and employees. The question consisted of two sets of 23 statements each on discriminatory situations. Respondents were randomly assigned to either set 1 or set 2. Four of these 23 statements were included in both sets due to their increased relevance to Black communities. "No response" and the response category "Does not apply" were excluded from this analysis. For the complete table of results, see Appendix 12: Discrimination situations.

2 The question on contact with individual areas preceded the questions on possible experiences of discrimination in the respective areas of life. This ensured that the answer "never" only included all respondents who had not experienced discrimination in the selected area of life and not those who had not experienced discrimination only because they had no contact with the area and/or even actively avoided it. For example, it only makes sense to ask about experiences of discrimination in the housing sector, if the person was looking for a flat.

3 For the analysis, the values "very often", "often", "sometimes", and "rarely" were summarised as "yes" (discrimination occurs) and compared with the value "no" (discrimination "never" occurs).

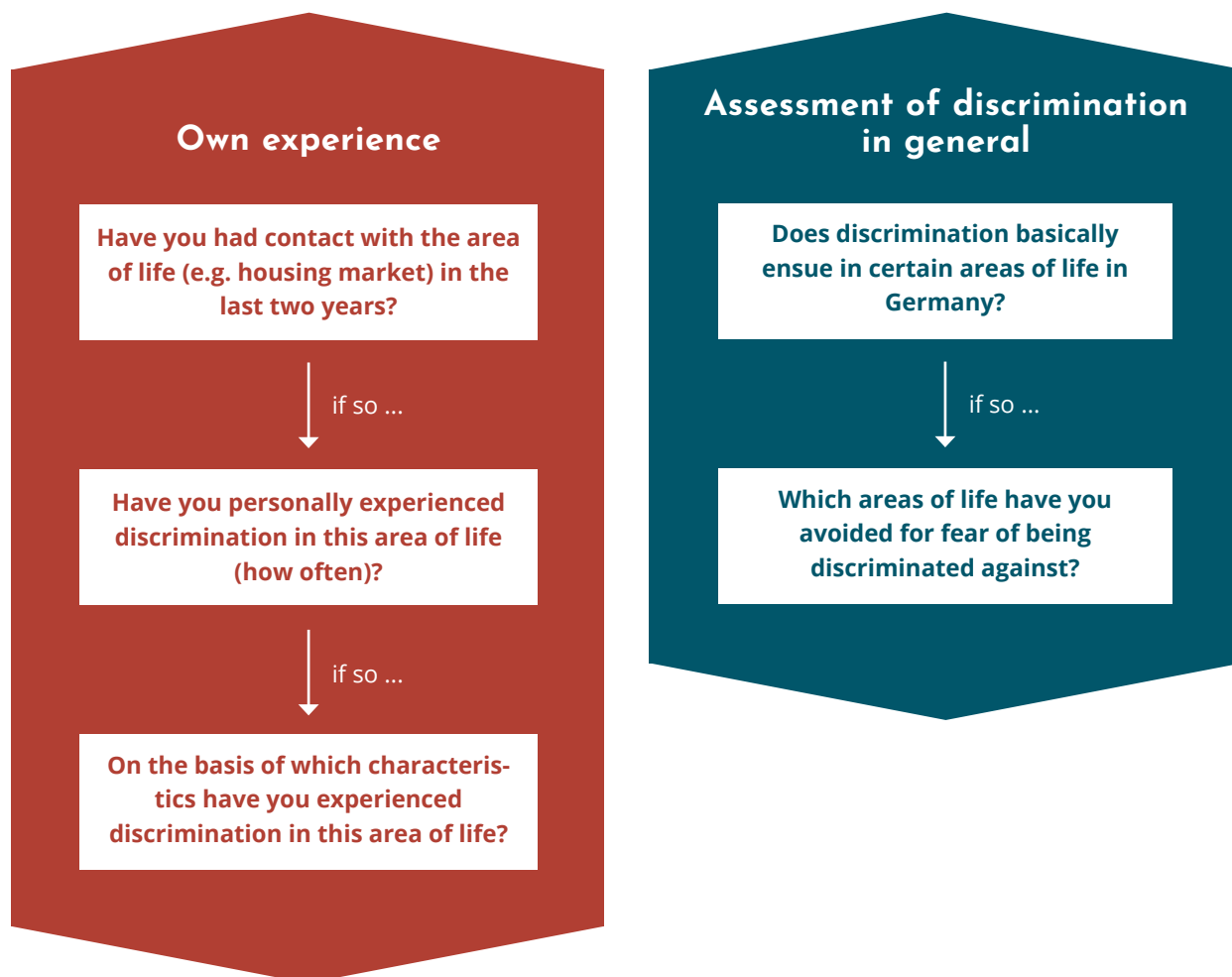


Fig. 19: Overview of filter guidance in the questionnaire section on experiences of discrimination

behaviour and the different underlying types of question, the number of cases varies within and among the question blocks (for a better understanding of how the bases of calculation in the Afrozensus are composed → [Chapter 3, Fig. 2](#)).

How do Afrozensus respondents generally rate the frequency of discrimination in different areas of life, and which areas have they avoided in the past two years for fear of discrimination?

Setting aside personal experiences of discrimination for the moment, the assessment by most respondents that discrimination fundamentally occurs in an area of life is consistently high across all measured areas (→ [Fig. 20](#)). For each area of life, at least 96.6% of respondents state that they assume that discrimination takes place there.³

Almost half (45.7%) of respondents who believe that the police generally act in a discriminatory way (regardless of their own experiences of discrimination) also state that in the past two years they have **avoided** contact with the **"police"** for fear of discrimination. Almost a quarter of respondents (22.5%) state that they have actively avoided the **"public and leisure"** sphere in the past 24 months. The same number of respondents (22.5%) have avoided the **"security personnel"** area of life within the past two years. More than a fifth of respondents (21.4%) not only generally suspect discrimination at **"public offices and with authorities"** but have also avoided them in the past two years. Almost the same proportion of respondents (21.2%) generally believe that discrimination occurs in contact with the **"housing market"** and also state that they have actively avoided this area of life in the past 24 months.

Avoiding an area out of fear of discrimination is also known as **anticipated discrimination**. This avoidance,

though aiming to prevent direct discrimination, perpetuates inequality, even if the discrimination itself did not occur. It leads to people refraining from going to public places (e.g. nightclubs) or using resources (health care from a doctor, seeking a new flat, etc.). This, in turn, can have significant consequences for the lives of those affected, as they are barred from opportunities of access and participation (Baumann et al., 2018).

Which areas of life have respondents had contact with in the past two years, and in which areas of life do respondents personally report discrimination?

When respondents were questioned about the areas they had engaged with over the past two years (n = 5426, multiple answers possible), most cited **"public and leisure"** (90.5%), **"shops and services"** (84.9%), **"private life"** (84.8%) and **"working life"** (79.0%). This is not surprising, as these are areas with which most people (have to) have regular contact due to their daily needs and livelihood. They stand in contrast to areas of life with which people usually have

rather sporadic contact, such as "art and culture" (58.9%), "public offices and authorities" (58.1%) or the "housing market" (46.8%). Respondents had the least contact with the areas of life "justice" (11.5%), "police" (32.1%) and "security personnel" (32.9%).

If they have had contact with an area, most respondents report their own experiences of discrimination in the following areas⁵: **"Public and leisure"** (93.2%), **"Media and internet"** (85.5%), **"Shops and services"** (85.1%) and **"Working life"** (84.7%). Most respondents stated that they experienced discrimination **"very often"** in the following areas: "Media and internet" (24.4%), **"Housing market"** (17.5%), **"Police"** (16.2%) and **"Public life and leisure"** (13.6%). In principle, a high proportion of respondents in all areas of life stated that they had experienced discrimination in the past two years. Even in the area of "banking and insurance", where the least discrimination is reported, almost one in two people (46.8%) still state that they have experienced discrimination there in the past two years. In the population-representative survey commissioned by the ADS (Antidiskriminierungsstelle) on experiences of discrimination in Germany, the areas of

Fig. 20: Assessment of the frequency of discrimination according to areas of life regardless of own experiences of discrimination

Reading example: Almost 3 in 10 (29.4%) of 4376 respondents estimate that, regardless of their own experiences of discrimination, discrimination "often" occurs in the area of "public offices and authorities".

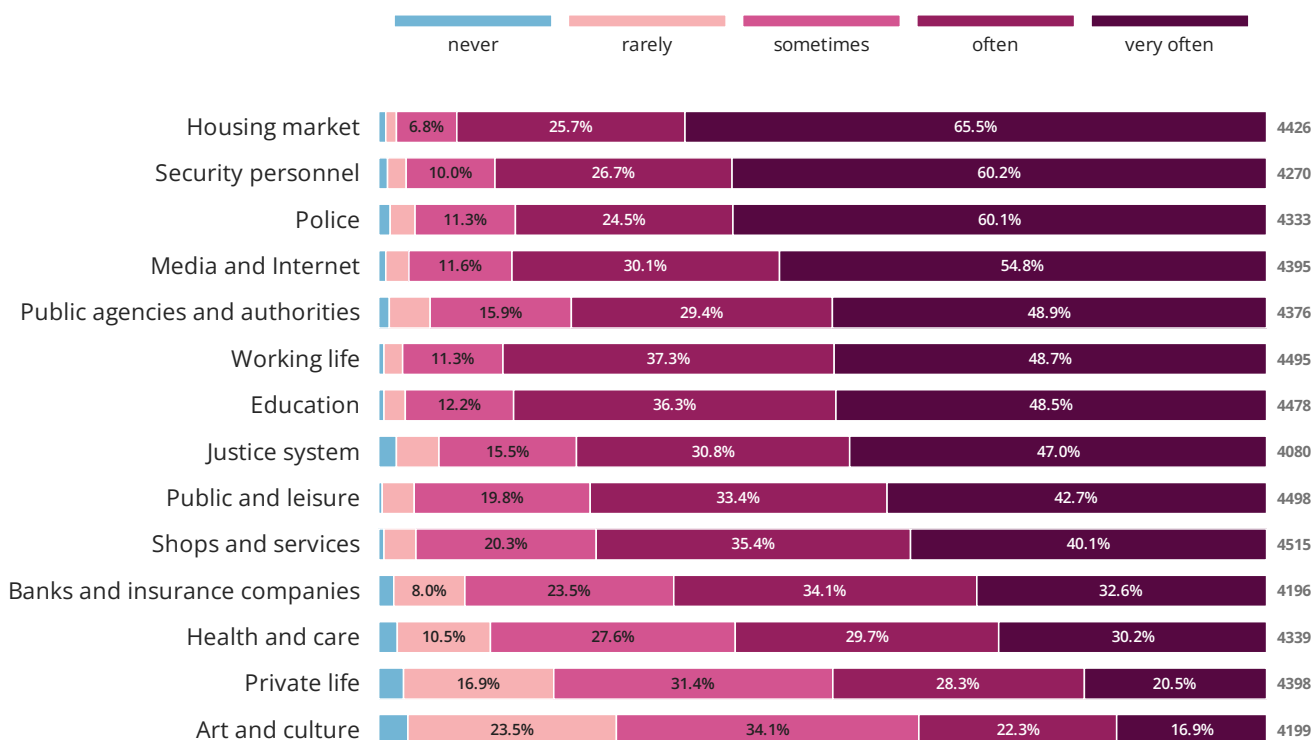
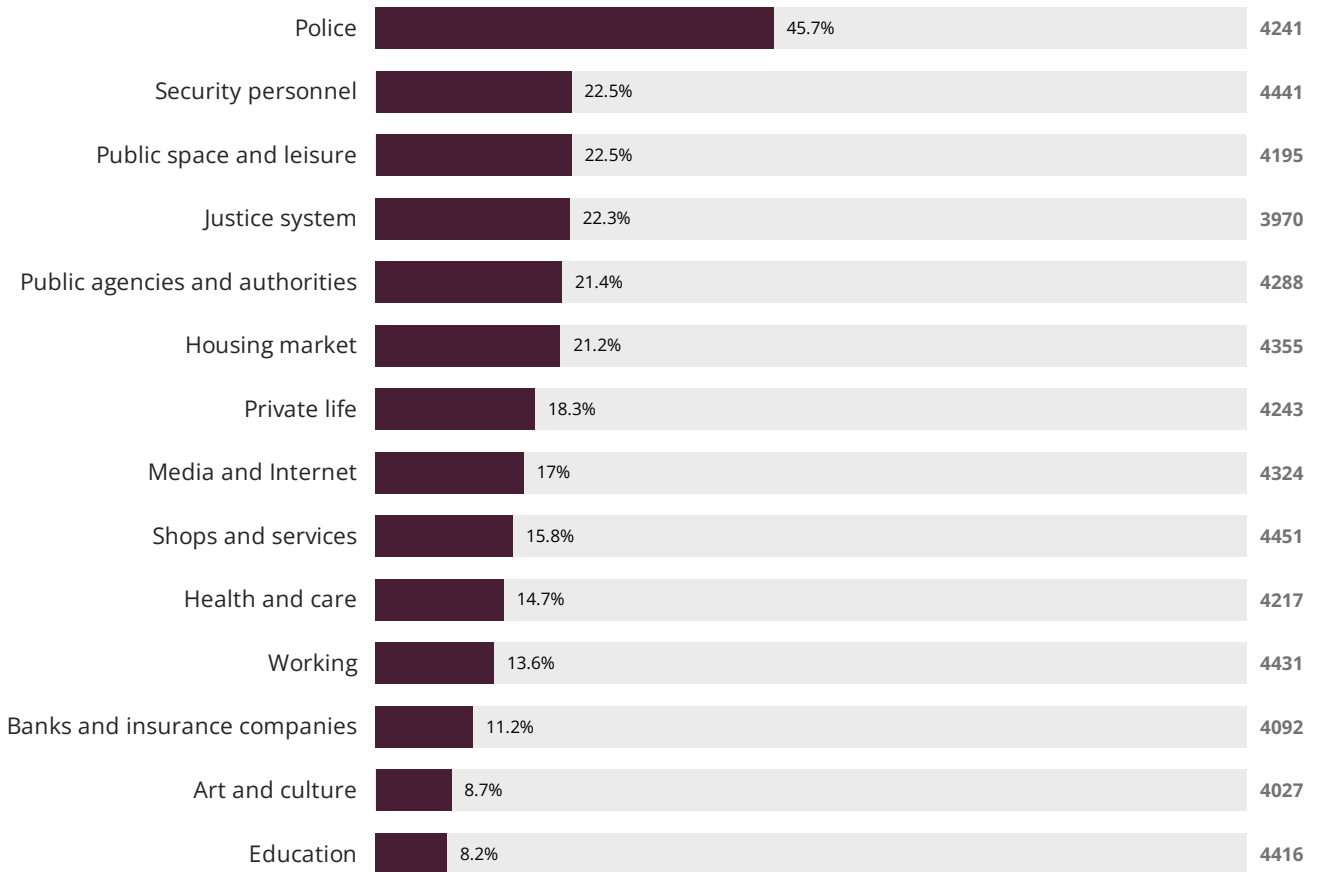


Fig. 21: Relative proportions of Afrozensus respondents who have avoided areas of life in the last two years for fear of discrimination (multiple answers possible⁴)

Reading example: Almost one in seven people (13.6%) of 4431 Afrozensus respondents who believe that discrimination generally occurs in the area of "working life" state that they have avoided this area in the last two years for fear of discrimination.



life where most respondents report experiencing discrimination are also "working life", "public and leisure time", and "shops and services" (Beigang et al., 2017). In both the ADS study and the Afrozensus, respondents report being particularly frequently discriminated against in the "housing market". For Afrozensus respondents, however, the areas of life "media and internet" and "police" also play a more critical role than in population-representative surveys (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2018; Beigang et al., 2017).

Compared to the general assessment of discrimination in different areas of life (→ Fig. 20), respondents

also estimate some prevalent occurrences of discrimination in domains where they personally haven't experienced any.

Regarding which characteristics do respondents estimate they have been discriminated against?

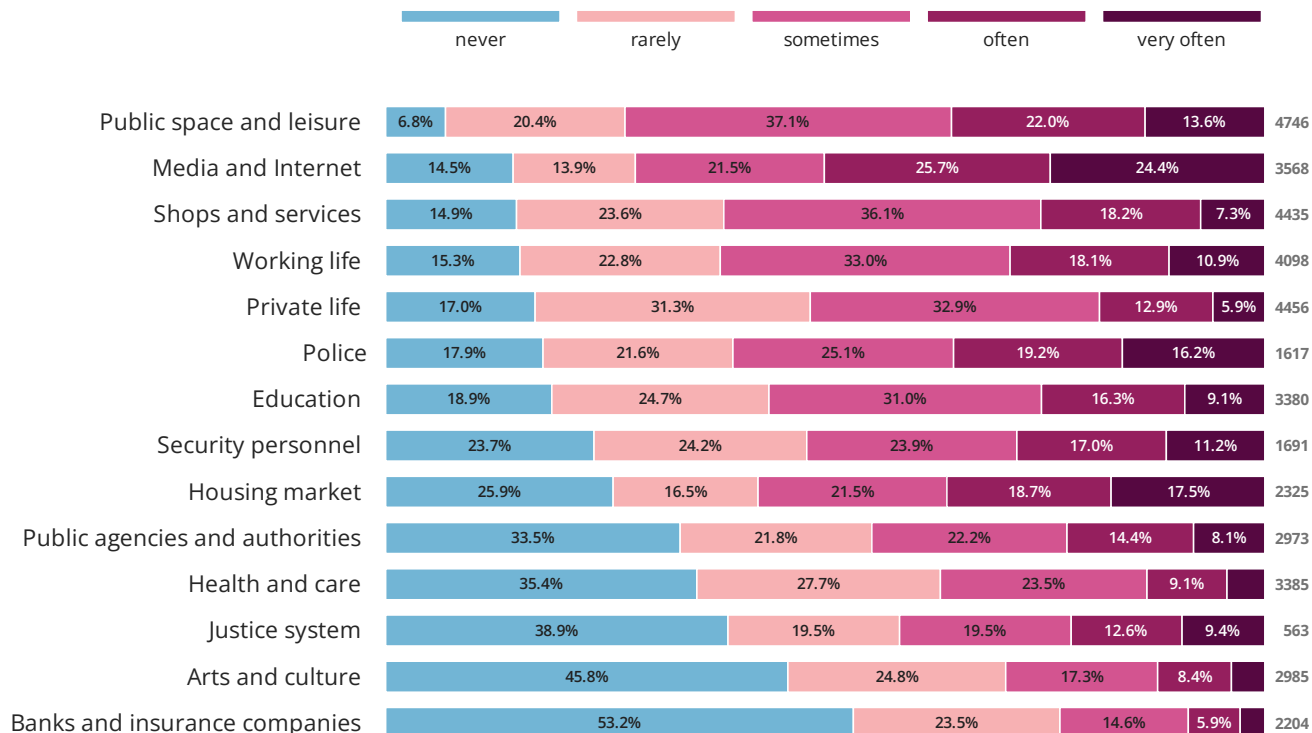
If all areas of life are summarised, the most common characteristics based on which respondents say they have been discriminated against in the past two years are as follows (multiple answers possible): **"racist grounds / 'ethnic origin'"** (93.9%) or **"skin colour"**

⁴ In this multiple-choice questionnaire, there are different numbers of cases per area of life. The discrepancy arises because respondents were limited to selecting life areas they had estimated as prone to discrimination in the prior question. As a result, different respondents had access to varying numbers of options.

⁵ For the analysis, the values "very often", "often", "sometimes", and "rarely" were summarised as "yes" (experienced discrimination) and compared with the value "no" ("never" experienced discrimination).

Fig. 22: Relative frequency of Afrozensus respondents' own experiences of discrimination by area of life

Reading example: More than a quarter (25.7%) of 3568 Afrozensus respondents who have had contact with the "media and internet" area of life in the last two years state that they have "often" experienced discrimination there.



(91.5%) followed by "gender" (52.5%), "name" (44.8%), "hair/beard" (38.1%), "social status / social origin" (33.5%) and "language" (27.8%). Other characteristics that are mentioned most frequently out of a total of 22 characteristics in individual areas are "citizenship" (in the areas of "banks and insurances", "housing market", "public and leisure", "offices and authorities" and "police"), "low age" (in the areas of "working life" and "housing market"), "religion/worldview/ascribed religion" (in the area of "media and internet"), "body weight" (in the area of "private life") and "clothing" (in the area of "security personnel").⁶

It is worth noting that the results for the most frequently mentioned characteristics must be interpreted in the context of the sample demographics (→ Chapter 4): Characteristics that are relevant for subgroups that are numerically less represented in the sample (e.g. "impairment" for respondents with impairments) only appear at the bottom of the list of the most frequently mentioned characteristics due to

the overall lower number of cases in the sample.

This changes when the most frequently mentioned characteristics are also analysed specifically with regard to individual groups: As in the overall overview (→ Fig. 23), "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" rank in the top two places in all groups as the most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which respondents state that they have been discriminated against. However, the order of the lower-ranking characteristics varies depending on the subgroup in question. For example, cis-women [G] and trans*, inter*, non-binary (TIN* [G]) respondents most frequently state that after "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" they have been discriminated against based on their "gender" in the past two years, while for cis-men [G], "gender" as a characteristic based on which they believe they have been discriminated against occupies one of the last places in the ranking. After "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour", Muslim respondents were the third most likely to state that they had experienced discrimination based

⁶ For the complete table with all characteristics, see Appendix 7

on their "religion/worldview/assigned religion" in the past two years, while for non-Muslim respondents this characteristic was ranked 11th out of 22.

Such comparisons can be further made for all sub-groups surveyed on the assumption that the group tending to be deprived (e.g. LGBAQ respondents [G]) mentions the relevant characteristic (e.g. "sexual orientation") more frequently than the group tending to be normatively privileged (e.g. heterosexual respondents).

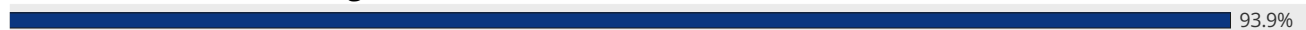
Overall, it becomes apparent that when Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are asked about experiences of discrimination without explicitly naming anti-Black racism at this point, almost all

of them consider racist discrimination to be a relevant dimension and that it is perceived as relevant to the experience of discrimination across all areas of life in combination with numerous other discrimination characteristics, from gender to social status to body weight. The theoretically assumed relevance of intersectional experiences of discrimination is thus very clearly evident in all areas of life surveyed. The intersectional analysis of experiences of discrimination in the context of anti-Black racism and particularly frequent combinations of characteristics is explained further in → [Chapter 6.5](#).

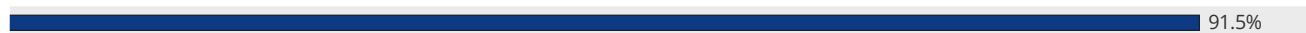
Fig. 23: Most frequently mentioned characteristics of discrimination across all areas of life (n = 4991⁷, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Every second person surveyed who had experienced discrimination (52.5%) stated that they had been discriminated against in at least one area of life in the last two years, including on the basis of their "gender".

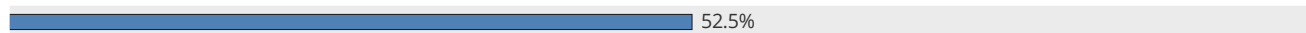
Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



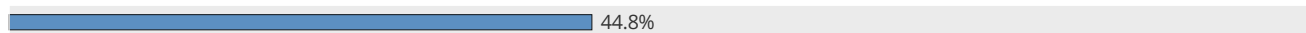
Skin colour



Gender



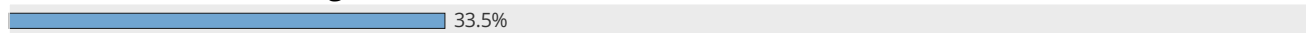
Name



Hair/beard



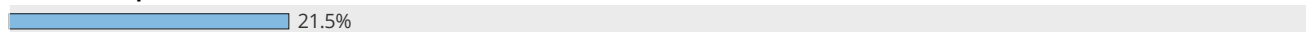
Social status/social background



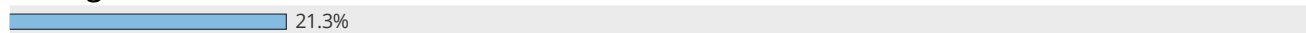
Language



Citizenship



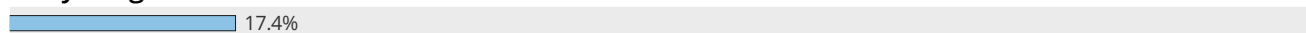
Low age



Religion / worldview / ascribed religion



Body weight



⁷ All respondents who provided at least one answer to at least one of the questions on discrimination characteristics from 14 areas of life.

Experiences of discrimination of subgroups considering selected diversity dimensions

For the subgroup analysis, the group(s) tending to be deprived were compared with the group(s) tending to be norm-privileged in a diversity dimension (→ [Chapter 3.3., Table 1](#)), and the group differences for the (binary) frequency of the experience of discrimination per area of life were evaluated. In all areas of life, respondents from groups that tend to be deprived (almost) always state more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in a certain area of life in the past two years than respondents from groups that tend to be norm-privileged.

To summarise, the **most significant group differences** are found in the diversity dimensions of "**impairment**", "**gender identity(ies)**", "**age (by generations)**", "**number of African/African-Afro-diasporic parents**", "**own and/or family refugee experience**", "**income**" and "**family status in relation to single parents**". In most cases, respondents from the deprived groups in each of these diversity dimensions **stated significantly⁸ [G] more frequently** that they had been discriminated against in a specific area of life in the past two years than respondents from the groups that tend to be norm-privileged. In the following, we present an overview of selected results:

- ◆ **Respondents from younger generations** report discrimination more frequently in most areas of life than respondents from older generations. The largest significant group difference occurs in the area of "private life". Only in the area of "public offices and authorities" do respondents from the boomer generation aged between 56 and 73 state significantly more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in the past two years than respondents aged between 16 and 23. Previous research findings suggest that older people generally report subjective experiences of discrimination less frequently than younger people, which may also be due to the perception of discrimination and sensitisation to the issue (Beigang et al., [2017](#)).
- ◆ **Trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents** state that they have been discriminated against significantly more often in the past two years in 12 out of 14 areas of life compared to cis-men in the Afrozensus. The area of life "security personnel" is the only one of the 14 areas of life where cis-males state more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in the past two years than TIN* respondents, but the difference is not significant. The biggest group difference between TIN* respondents and cis-men is in the area of life "Health and care" (→ [Chapter 6.2](#)). In comparison with cis-women, TIN* respondents in all areas of life (14 out of 14) stated significantly more frequently that they had been discriminated against in the past two years.
- ◆ In all areas of life (14 out of 14), **respondents with an impairment** were significantly more likely to state that they had been discriminated against in the past two years than respondents without an impairment. Between respondents with and respondents without an officially recorded disability, this is the case in 10 out of 14 areas of life. In addition, the group differences for "impairment" are overall higher than for "disability". These results speak in favour of our non-medical con-

⁸ To calculate the significance, a two-sample t-test was carried out with the group tending to be deprived and the group tending to be norm-privileged (e.g. respondents with and without a migration background) for the respective diversity dimension. For all values of p less than 0.1, a significant difference was found between the respective groups for a specific area of life. Due to the N of this survey, the significance level $p \leq 0.1$ (probability of error less than 10 %) was used. The p-values between some subgroups per area of life are shown in Appendix 11.

struct of impairment, which also makes the experiences of respondents tangible, who are certainly disadvantaged in society regarding their mental, mobile and other impairments but do not always have an officially recorded disability and, therefore, cannot invoke laws whose protective effect requires an officially recorded disability. The differences between respondents with and without impairments are particularly high in the following areas of life: "Health and care", "Offices and authorities", and "Art and culture".

- ◆ We found significant differences between cis-women and cis-men in 9 out of 14 areas of life: While cis-women in the areas of life "education", "health", "public and leisure", "art and culture", and "private life", state significantly more often than cis-men that they have been discriminated against in the past two years, cis-men in the areas of life "housing market", "police", "security personnel" and "shops and services" state significantly more often than cis-women that they have been discriminated against.
- ◆ Respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents are significantly more likely to report having experienced discrimination in the past two years in 12 out of 14 areas of life than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent. The area of "private life" is the only area where respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent were significantly more likely to report having experienced discrimination in the past two years than respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents. The most obvious contrasts between these two subgroups manifest in the areas of life "housing market", "offices and authorities" and "security personnel". As explained in → [Chapter 2](#), Black people are evaluated and hierarchised according to ascribed "African" characteristics. This hierarchisation (among other things, colourism [G]) can intensify ABR for some Black people. If the number of African parents is used as a proxy, i.e. an approximation of the ascribed and negatively evaluated proximity to "African" characteristics, this may indicate that respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents are perceived as "more African" and their ABR experiences therefore intensify – also in conjunction with other experiences of

discrimination. Subgroup analyses firmly corroborate this across nearly every area of life.

- ◆ Respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience are significantly more likely to report having been discriminated against in the past two years compared to respondents without refugee experience in all areas of life (14 out of 14). The group differences are particularly high for the areas of life "justice" and "police". How the results turn out for respondents with individual migration experience remains to be examined in order to determine whether it is actually their refugee experience or their own migration that is decisive in this context.
- ◆ Low-income respondents are significantly more likely than high-income respondents in all areas of life (14 out of 14) to have been discriminated against in the past two years. The group differences are particularly high for the areas of life "justice" and "police".
- ◆ Compared to respondents who are not single parents, single-parent respondents are significantly more likely to state that they have been discriminated against in the past two years in 5 out of 14 areas of life. The group differences are particularly large (> 15 percentage points) for the areas of life "housing market" and "offices and authorities".
- ◆ Across all areas of life, the significant differences between respondents with a migration background and respondents without a migration background are very small.⁹ Only 4 out of 14 areas of life show significant differences between the two groups. This applies to the areas of "education", "working life", "shops and services" and "security personnel". In principle, respondents without a migration background are even slightly more likely to state that they have been discriminated against in the past two years in most areas of life than respondents with a migration background. These results support our argument that the current standard of how migration background is legally defined and statistically recorded is not suitable for reflecting racist discrimination against Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. Discourses on the current use of the migration background suggest that people with a migration background are discriminated

against more frequently than people without a migration background. The differentiated data situation of the Afrozensus shows that in the case of ABR, the racist attribution is relevant; Black people with and without a migration background experience this.

- ◆ In areas of life where discrimination is generally reported more frequently, the group differences are comparatively smaller than in areas of life where discrimination is reported less frequently overall. We assume that in "publicly accessible" areas of the general public, such as public transport, social media, etc., Black people are less likely to report discrimination. We assume that Black people are discriminated against primarily based on them being Black or that the inference to this appears clearer for them in these areas than, for example, in areas where other factors such as income, educational attainment, age, etc., are (more) decisive (e.g. in banks and insurance companies) and mitigate or conceal the racist attribution factor.

Results regarding the experiences of discrimination of Black people in Germany for individual areas of life

In the following, we present the results for the individual areas of life. The following information is equally provided for all areas of life:

- ◆ how often the Afrozensus respondents state that they have experienced discrimination in the past 24 months in the respective area,
- ◆ based on which seven most common characteristics they say they have experienced discrimination¹⁰ and
- ◆ which subgroups are particularly affected by discrimination in the respective area based on our analysis along various diversity dimensions.¹¹

The areas of life "education" and "health" are dealt with in separate sub-chapters (→ 6.2 and 6.3) due to their relevance and additional data from the qualitative survey.

In a next step, future studies could use this initial data basis to take a closer look at the individual areas of life and, for example, determine in which context of the respective area of life Black, African and Afro-diasporic people specifically experience discrimination (e.g. in the area of "working life": job search, workplace or end of employment), by whom the discrimination was carried out (e.g. by superiors, work colleagues or customers) and in which form the discrimination took place (verbal, physical, psychological, etc.). They could also deepen the subgroup analysis regarding intersectional effects by linking further dimensions of diversity, e.g. "gender identity/ies" and "impairment", in order to make the specific experiences of discrimination of Black cis-women with impairments more visible.

9 In 7 out of 14 areas of life, the differences are < 3 percentage points. At 7.7 percentage points, the largest group differences are in the life areas of "justice" and "police". In comparison, we arrive at values ranging from 10 to more than 20 percentage points for the largest group differences regarding other diversity dimensions.

10 For the complete tables of characteristics per area of life, see Appendix 10.

11 As (almost) all responses were voluntary, the number of cases analysed by subgroup consists of all respondents who answered the question about discrimination in the area of life and the demographic question relevant to the respective diversity dimension. This explains the smaller number of cases in the analysis of the subgroups.

6.1.1

Discrimination in working life

Working life (e.g. job search, training, workplace) is one of the areas of life directly protected by the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG).¹² Despite these applicable legal regulations, working life is the area of life where respondents are the fourth most likely to state that they have experienced discrimination within the past two years. 8 out of 10 respondents (84.7% of n = 4098) stated that they had experienced discrimination in the area of "working life" during this period, with almost one in three (29.0%) even stating that they had experienced discrimination "often" or "very often". This is particularly significant because the workplace is where people in paid employment often (have to) spend the most time during the week to secure their livelihood. In the EU-MIDIS II study (Being Black in the EU) by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018), almost one in three people (32%) with an African migration background from areas "south of the Sahara"¹³ stated that they had experienced racist discrimination when looking for work in the past five years and 3 in 10 people (30%) stated that they had experienced racist discrimination at work in the past five years.

Discrimination in working life can occur on an individual, interpersonal level in the form of insults and other verbal, physical or psychological abuse. However, it also manifests itself on a structural level, for example, when Black professionals face barriers to promotion due to exclusion mechanisms. In the question on discrimination situations that Black people are familiar with, more than half (57.7%) of the 2011 Afrozensus respondents stated that they had been **insulted at work in a racist way**, and half (49.9%) of 1168 respondents indicated that they had **not been promoted for racist reasons**.

Another structural dimension manifests itself in the search and application for employment: while discrimination in the workplace can already be a burden, discrimination often begins before a person is even hired. Some people are, therefore, not even given the privilege of getting a job in the first place but are already disadvantaged in their search for it. This can lead to them not even being invited to an interview (Zschirnt & Fibbi, 2019) or being rejected after personal interviews for racist reasons. In the Afrozensus, more than 6 out of 10 people (67.3% of n = 1599) stated that they **had not been given a job for racist reasons**.

Structural barriers to accessing the labour market as well as to promotions can lead to people from mar-

"I had been rejected after a job interview. The reason given was: 'It's not because of your qualifications, but the white [high-ranking civil servants] won't take instructions from a Black woman; I don't want that to happen to you'."

ginalised groups finding themselves in jobs that are below their qualifications: In the Afrozensus, almost a third (29.1%) of 2586 respondents stated that their current job was below their professional qualification. 66.9% of respondents stated that **their current professional activity** corresponds to **their professional qualification**, and 4.0 % stated that it is above their professional qualification. TIN* respondents in particular (39.2% of n = 79), stated more frequently than cis-women (30.0% of n = 1781) and cis-men (26.0% of n = 709) that their current job is below their professional qualification.

Being a Black person in a predominantly white working environment creates its very own kind of stress (Wingfield, 2015). The effects of this circumstance are

12 According to AGG §2 (1), no one should be discriminated against on the grounds of "race" or "ethnic origin", gender, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual identity concerning recruitment (1.) and working conditions (2.) as well as access to vocational training (3.).

13 This includes first-generation immigrants living in the EU who were born in an African country south of the Sahara and persons with at least one parent born in such a country (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2018, p. 7)

"At a job interview, I was told that my hairstyle (braids) was unprofessional and that I should undo them if I was selected for the job."

worked out and explained in the sub-chapters on "education" and "health and care" (→ [Chapters 6.2](#) and [6.3](#)) for the respective context with the help of the results of the qualitative data. Even though these relate specifically to the working environment of the education and healthcare sector, overarching patterns and mechanisms of action can be derived for working life in general.

Based on which characteristics is discrimination occurring in the area of "working life"?

Fig. 24 shows the seven most common characteristics that respondents attribute to experienced discrimination in their "working life" in the past two years (n = 3308, multiple answers possible). Eight out of ten (80.5 %) of respondents estimate that they have been discriminated against based on "racist grounds" and/or their "ethnic origin", among other factors.

Fig. 24: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics with regard to which experiences of discrimination in the area of "working life" have been made in the past two years (n = 3308, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: More than one in three people (36.7%) of 3308 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in "working life" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "gender", among other factors.

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"

80.5%

Skin colour

75.8%

Gender

36.7%

Name

28.7%

Hair/beard

26.2%

Low age

14.8%

Language

14.6%

Over a third (36.7%) of respondents stated that they had been discriminated against in their "working life" based on their "gender", among other factors. In combination with "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour", this is the third most common combination of characteristics for the area of "working life". Almost half of the cis-women (49.1 % of n = 1842) and TIN* respondents (48.9 % of n = 92) stated that they had been discriminated against based on their "gender", and only 2.7 % of 634 cis-men.

Almost 3 in 10 (28.7 %) of respondents state "name" as another characteristic based on which they believe they have been discriminated against at work. The characteristic "name" is likewise mentioned most frequently by respondents in combination with "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour". In their field study on the Swiss labour market, Zschirnt and Fibbi (2019) also concluded that in the context of application situations, the name plays a decisive role in whether an applicant receives an invitation to an interview. People with a supposedly "foreign" sounding name are less likely to be invited to a job interview than people with "non-foreign" sounding names.

More than one in four respondents (26.2%) also stated that they had experienced discrimination at work in the past two years based on their "hair and/or

beard", among other things. This result as well as the information in open fields on discrimination situations in the online survey confirm our assumptions and collective experiences (→ [Chapter 2](#)) that Black hair – especially when it comes to Black women and people who are perceived as women – is politicised and expounded as problematic in a professional context (Opie & Phillips, 2015). The otherwise frequently mentioned characteristic "social origin / social status" does not appear among the seven most frequently mentioned characteristics in the context of the area of life "working life"; instead, around one in seven people surveyed (14.8%) cite "**low age**" as a relevant characteristic based on which they have been discriminated against in "working life" in the past two years.

Experiences of discrimination in "working life" - selected subgroups

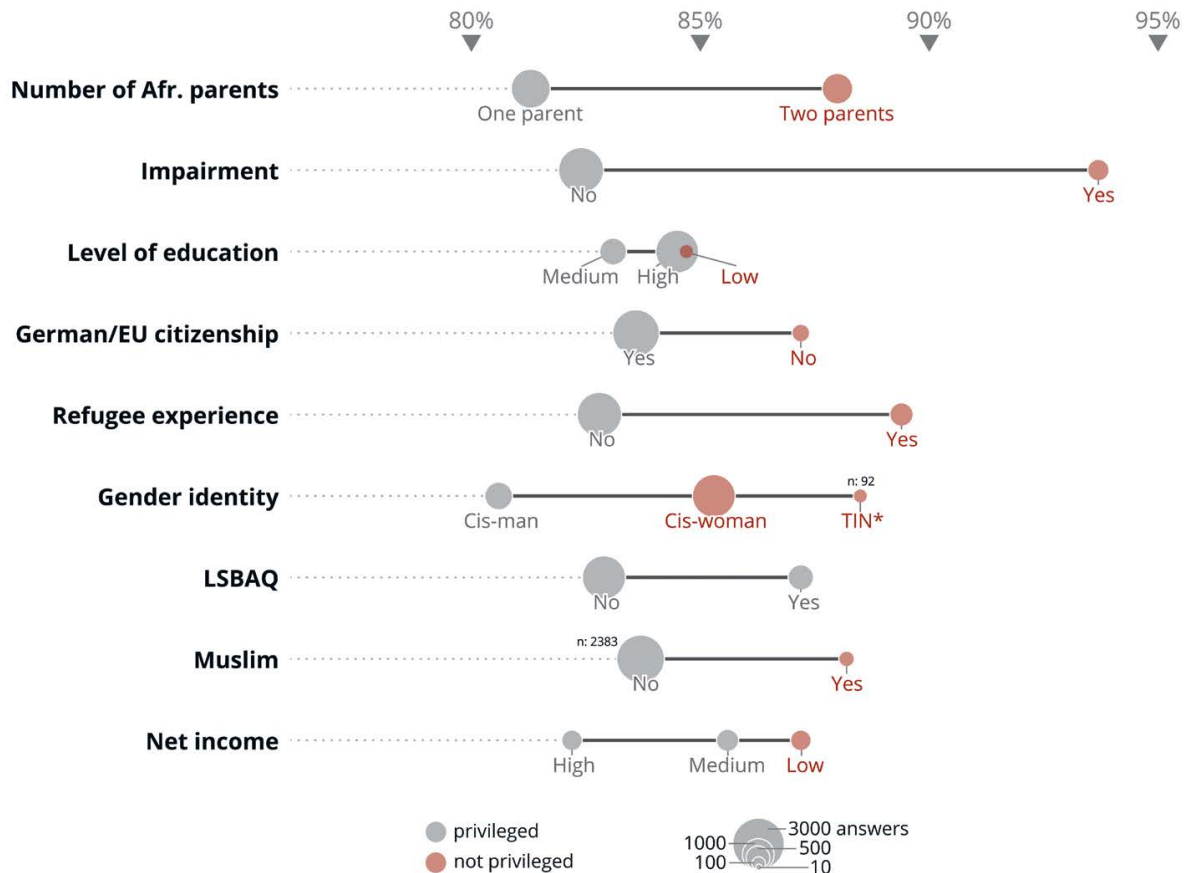
At 11.3 percentage points, our analysis shows the largest group difference in the area of "working life" between respondents **with impairments** and re-

spondents without impairments. The group difference between respondents with an officially recorded disability and respondents without an officially recorded disability is significantly smaller at 4.6 percentage points, nonetheless both respondents with an impairment (93.7% of n = 350) and respondents with a disability (88.3% of n = 94) were significantly more likely to report being discriminated against in their working life than respondents without an impairment (82.4% of n = 2535) and respondents without a disability (83.7% of n = 2881). Future surveys could investigate whether discrimination against Black, African and Afro-diasporic people with impairments and/or disabilities is predominantly a matter of physical barriers or in what other forms discrimination takes place in "working life" (e.g. verbal abuse, lower pay, etc.) and which specific discrimination dynamics result from the intersection of being Black and being disabled.

Trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents (88.5% of n = 104) were significantly more likely (+7.9 pp. and +3.2 pp. respectively) than both cis-men (80.6% of n =

Fig. 25: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of "working life"

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents with impairments are significantly more likely than respondents without impairments to have experienced discrimination in the area of "working life" in the past two years.



797) and cis-women (85.3% of n = 2177) to report having been discriminated against in the area of "working life" in the past two years. Cis-women are also more likely than cis-men (+4.7 pp.) to report discrimination at work. However, the differences between these two groups are not significant for Afrozensus respondents. Respondents aged between 56 and 73 who belong to the boomer generation are less likely to say they have been discriminated against in the past two years in the area of "working life" than **respondents from younger generations**. The biggest difference is between

"When I was looking for a job, I was often advised to straighten or wear my hair in a tight knot so that I looked more respectable."

respondents from the boomer generation and millennials (24-39 years). While more than 8 in 10 of the latter (85.6% of n = 2070) stated that they had been discriminated against in the area of "working life", this figure was 10.2 percentage

points lower among respondents from the boomer generation (75.4% of n = 69). The result is significant.

Other disadvantaged groups within the respective diversity dimension in the area of "working life" are **Respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents** (+6.7 pp. significant difference compared to respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent) and **respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience** (+6.6 pp. significant difference compared to respondents without refugee experience).

6.1.2

Discrimination in shops and the service sector

The (private) "shops and services" area of life (e.g. as a customer in a supermarket) is also protected by the AGG¹⁴. In addition to everyday transactions such as shopping in the supermarket, visits to restaurants or hairdressers, this also includes services in the "banking and insurance" and "housing market" sub-areas, which were, however, surveyed as separate areas of life in the Afrozensus. A separate section of the analysis is dedicated to the "housing market" area of life (→ [p.104](#)). "Shops and services" is the area where Afrozensus respondents report discrimination the third most frequently. Like working life, shops and services are areas of life that are difficult to avoid as they are part of providing for people's basic needs. In the Afrozensus, more than 8 out of 10 respondents (85.1% of n = 4435) stated that they had experienced discrimination here in the past two years.

In the area of "banking and insurance" (e.g. lending, insurance advice), almost half of the respondents (46.8% of n = 2204) stated that they had experienced discrimination in the past two years. Although this is also the area where respondents most frequently state that they have "never" been discriminated against in the past 24 months, almost every second person still reports having been discriminated against in contact with "banks and insurance companies". In addition, we identified major group differences in this area concerning the experience of discrimination (→ [p.101](#)).

The way how respondents are discriminated against in this area relates, among other things, to how they are perceived and treated in this context. For example, 9 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (n = 2298) stated that they were **observed by security staff in shops** when asked about common discriminatory situations.

Studies conducted in the context of the USA have concluded that various forms of discrimination characterise the experiences of Black consumers when shopping in businesses and that they faced more often accusations of intending to steal or cheat than, for example, white people (Lee, [2000](#); Schreer et al., [2009](#)). Our quantitative data and information from the open fields of the online questionnaire support the assumption that this is also the case in the German context.

Furthermore, the experience of discrimination often relates to the range of products and services offered by shops and service providers in the sense that specific needs are not taken into account. Here, the focus

„I have been refused service in restaurants and shops. I have received racist remarks from professionals (doctors, bankers, sales clerks etc). I get followed around in shops. I am constantly interrogated when paying by card even when other customers are not.“

on a white-dominant society automatically produces exclusions. For example, more than 9 out of 10 (95.2%) of the 2242 Afrozensus-respondents stated that they could **not find cosmetics or products in drugstores suitable for their skin colour or hair texture**. The lack of focus on Black customers is also reflected in the service sector; for example, while hairdressers in the UK have been required to learn how to cut and style Afro hair professionally as part of their vocational training since July 2021 (Khan & Brinkhurst-Cuff, [2021](#)), Black people in Germany are still often turned away from hairdressing salons because of their hair texture or do not receive the care and styling that would be appropriate for their hair type.

¹⁴ According to AGG §2 (1) 8, no one may be discriminated against based on "race" or "ethnic origin", gender, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual identity in the access to and supply of goods and services available to the public, including housing.

This type of setting is particularly relevant for Black customers who have no connections to Black communities and/or live in regions of Germany with little or no infrastructure for Black communities (Afroshops, private hairdressers, etc.). In recognition of the fact that specific discrimination on hair is a relevant facet of ABR in Germany (→ [Chapter 2](#)), the regional differences in the provision of competent hair care may lead

"I had made an appointment to have my hair cut at a renowned German hairdressing chain. I was new in town and needed help with my hair. During the phone call, I explained at length that I had a lot of frizz - due to my Ghanaian ancestors. The hairdresser on the phone assured me that his boss had experience with this type of hair. So I was pleased and went there. As I stood in the entrance area with my open afro, one of the hairdressers approached me and said: 'Nope, we can't do anything here with such a dry hair texture. It's really too frizzy!'"

to further risks of discrimination, e.g. in professional life. The open data in the Afrozensus clearly show that hair discrimination constitutes a barrier to accessing the labour market for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people (→ p.97). In addition to a broader training for hairdressers in Germany in handling hair of all textures, the recognition with regard to professional skills and in form of money compensation of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic hair stylists who have not undergone vocational training in Germany would also be relevant. These people and locations involved in hair care must be recognised and consolidated. For Black people and communities, hair styling and care is often more than just a service; it is also a place of coming together and togetherness and has a historical dimension that speaks to the empowerment and resilience of Black people (Bero, [2020](#); Tharps & Byrd, [2014](#)).

Which characteristics are subject to discrimination in the area of "shops and services"?

Most respondents stated that they had been discriminated against in the area of "shops and services" in the past two years with regard to **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** (82.8%) and their **"skin colour"** (81.9%) (n = 3572, multiple answers possible). Almost one in five people (19.3%) stated that they had been discriminated against based on **"hair/beard"**, among other factors. In contact with "banks and insurance companies", fewer respondents (out of n = 945, multiple answers possible) stated that they had experienced discrimination based on "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" (58.3 %) and "skin colour" (56.4%), among other factors. In this area, **"name"** (29.4%), **"social status"** (23.0%) and **"citizenship"** (13.8%) generally appear to play a more relevant role in experiences of discrimination compared to "business and services". The former two are ranked higher by "banks and insurance companies". Citizenship appears to be more relevant in the context of "banking and insurance" than in "business and services" in general, which could be partly because access to many services in this area (e.g. postal identification procedures) is more difficult for people without German citizenship. Responses in the open response section also indicate that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people have to bring forth identification even for simple services in the area of "banking and insurance" and that respondents without a German and/or EU passport in particular experience discrimination based on their citizenship more frequently in this context.

Experiences of discrimination in "shops and services" & "banks and insurance companies" - selected subgroups

In the area of life "shops and services", instances of experiences of discrimination are generally high for all subgroups, and the differences between the groups of different diversity dimensions are comparatively small. Only for "age", "impairment", and "number of African/Afro-diasporic parents" do the values of the groups that tend to be deprived (e.g. **respondents with impairments** and **respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents**) significantly exceed those of the respective privileged group by more than seven percentage points. Within the diversity dimension "age", where the de- and norm-privileged groups are context-dependent, respondents from the boom-

Fig. 26: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which experiences of discrimination were made in the area of "shops and services" in the past two years (n = 3572, multiple answers possible)

Reading Example: Almost one in five people (19.3%) of 3572 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "shops and services" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on, among other factors, the characteristic "hair/beard".

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



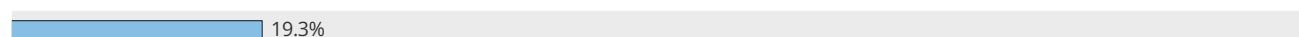
Skin colour



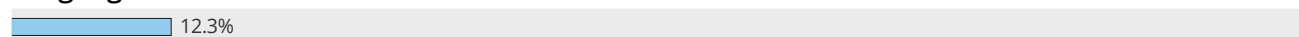
Gender



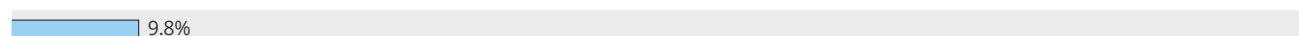
Hair/beard



Language



Name



Social status/social background

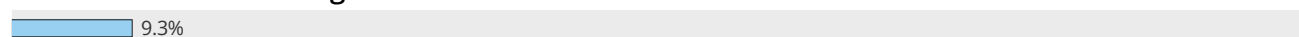
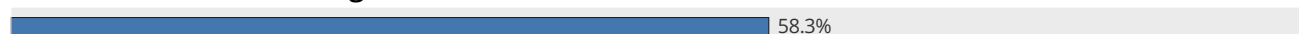


Fig. 27: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which experiences of discrimination were made in the past two years in the area of "banking and insurance" (n = 945, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost a quarter (23.0%) of 945 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the "banking and insurance" sector stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on, among other things, the characteristic "social status / social origin".

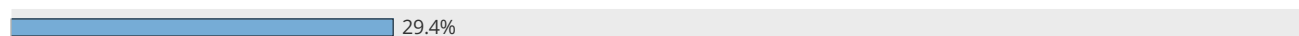
Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



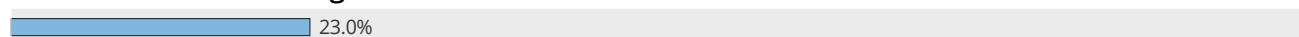
Skin colour



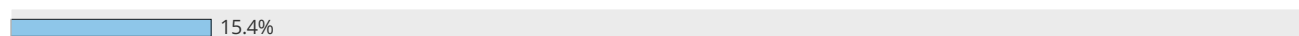
Name



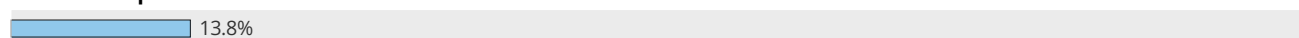
Social status/social background



Gender



Citizenship



Language

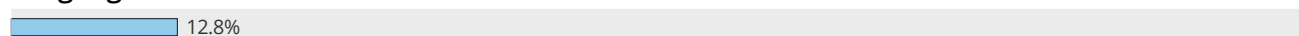
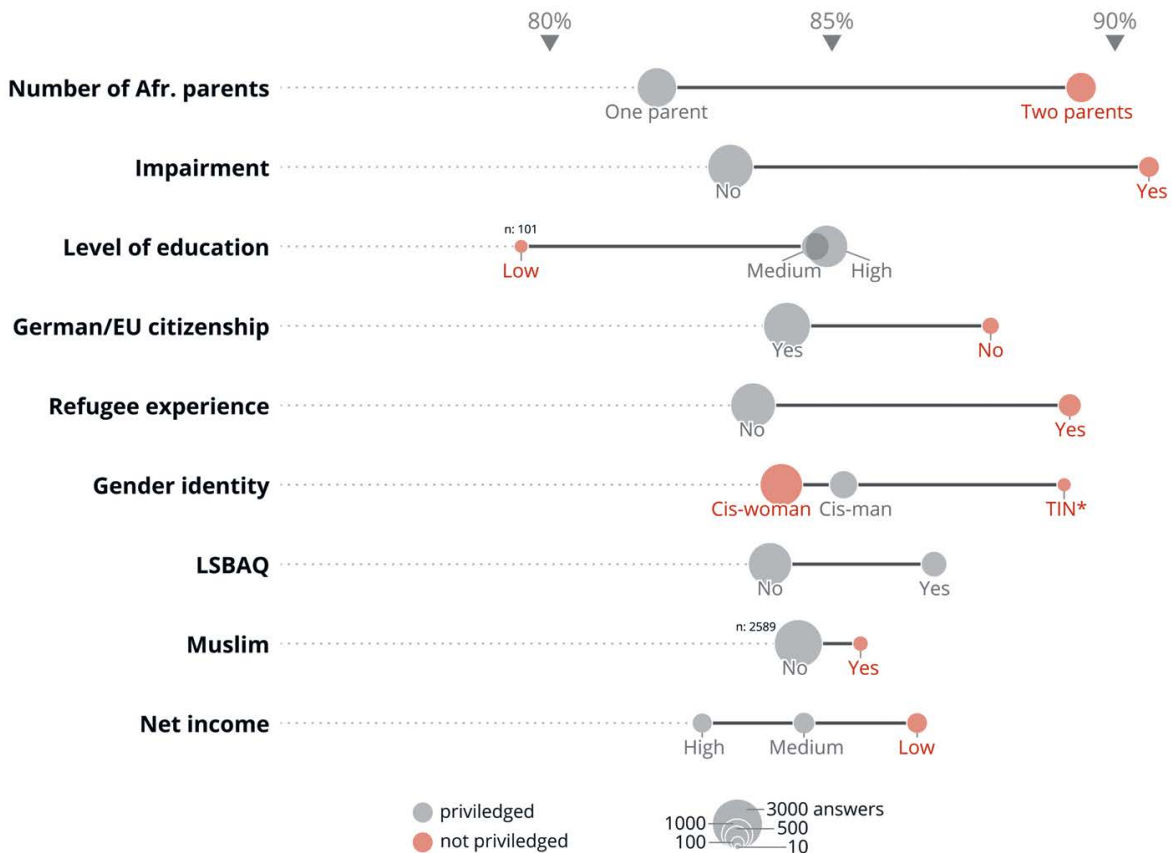


Fig. 28: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of life "Shops and services"

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents are more likely than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent to have experienced discrimination in the area of "shops and services" in the last two years.



er generation (aged between 56 and 73, $n = 81$) were significantly less likely (- 8.3 pp.) than **millennials** (respondents aged between 24 and 39, $n = 2163$) to state that they had been discriminated against in contact with "shops and services" in the past two years.

The situation is somewhat different when looking specifically at "banks and insurance companies" as service providers. The group differences are generally more apparent for contact with "banks and insurance companies" than for "shops and services". The significant group differences for most dimensions are between eleven and almost 24 percentage points. The group difference between **respondents with impairments** and respondents without impairments is 23.8 percentage points. While nearly 7 out of 10 respondents with impairments (66.0% of $n = 188$) stated that they had been discriminated against in contact with "banks and insurance companies" in the past two years, this only applied to 4 out of 10 respondents without impairments (42.2% of $n = 1401$).

For **respondents with impairments** compared to respondents without impairments, the difference is smaller but still amounts to 12.7 percentage points. These results could be related to the fact that people with impairments and disabilities are more often denied insurance policies where the perceived state of health is important (e.g. life insurance, disability insurance, etc.) (Pärli & Naguib, 2012).

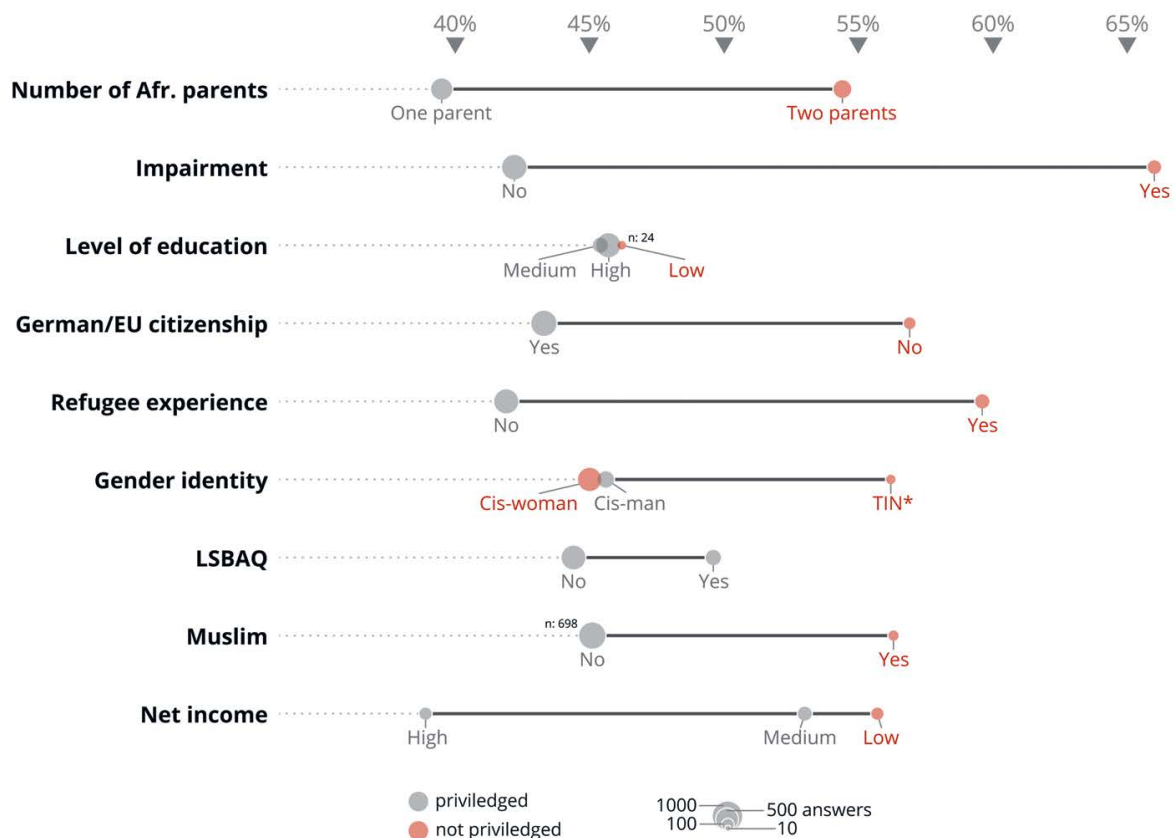
Respondents with high income (38.9 % of $n = 216$) are significantly less likely than **respondents with low income** (55.7% of $n = 158$) or **respondents with medium income** (53.0% of $n = 247$) to state that they have been discriminated against in contact with banks and insurance companies. The difference in the experience of discrimination in the past two years in contact with "banks and insurance companies" between respondents with high and low incomes is 16.8 percentage points. Among other factors, this could be due to the fact that a regular deposit of a certain amount is now required for many accounts, for example, and

that the level of income is decisive for the granting of loans. In the case of Black customers, there is also the fact that the open data section in the Afrozensus indicates that the creditworthiness of Black people is rated worse per se due to racist attributions.

Respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience are also 17.7 percentage points more likely to report being discriminated against in this area than respondents without refugee experience. Other groups that state significantly more frequently (by over 11 percentage points) that they have been discriminated against in "banking and insurance" in the past two years than the norm-privileged group are respondents **with two African/Afro-diasporic parents** (+14.8 percentage points (pp.)), **respondents without a German/EU passport** (+13.6 pp.), trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents (+11.3 pp. compared to cis-women) and **Muslim respondents** (+11.2 pp.).

Fig. 29: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the "banking and insurance" area of life

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience are significantly more likely to have experienced discrimination in the area of "banking and insurance" in the past two years compared to respondents without refugee experience.



6.1.3

Discrimination on the housing market

The area of life "housing market" (e.g. looking for a place to rent or buy a home) was surveyed as a separate area of life in the Afrozensus due to its generally high relevance.¹⁵ The right to housing is a human right (Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 [1]), yet for many people access to lodging is made difficult or quite impossible due to racist attributions, their social status, their religion/worldview and/or their age (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2020). A case of racist discrimination in the housing market has at present been exemplified

EU) by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018), 25% of respondents with a migration background in Germany from African countries South of the Sahara stated that they had been prevented from renting a flat by a private landlord in the past five years due to their "ethnic origin". Of 1578 Afrozensus respondents, well over half (68.2 %) stated that they had already been refused housing for racist reasons. This is particularly problematic since only around 1 in 10 respondents live in their own property; therefore, almost 9 in 10 respondents (88.5% of n = 3920) in our

study live in rented flats or houses. Around 44% of all households in Germany live in owner-occupied properties, and approximately 56% live in rented accommodation (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2020a). This means that Afrozensus respondents are 44.9 pp. less likely to say they live in owner-occupied property and 32.5 pp. more likely to say they rent. In 2018, the available living space per house-

hold in Germany was 93 m² (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), 2020b). At 83.22 m² per household, Afrozensus respondents live on average in living space that is around 10 m² smaller than the national average. It is worth noting that the differences in the results between Afrozensus respondents and the overall population in Germany are at least partly influenced by the young age demographic and the above-average urbanisation of the Afrozensus sample.

Based on which characteristics is discrimination occurring in the "housing market" area?

In contact with the "housing market", over 70% of respondents (n = 1630, multiple answers possible) stated that they had been discriminated against based

"Looking for a flat, I received a sudden rejection after the interview, despite proof of earnings and a confirmation by telephone (my skin colour was not visible on the phone!). I was told that 'my kind' tend to have relatives visiting from afar, which would be undesirable in this flat."

with reference to a municipal housing association in Bremen. They recorded personal data – such as origin, skin colour, or headscarf – using abbreviations without the flat seekers' consent, presumably resulting in racist housing allocations. (NDR, 2021).

The housing market is the area of life where respondents to the Afrozensus are "only" the ninth most likely to have experienced discrimination in the past two years. For example, 7 out of 10 respondents (74.1% of n = 2325) who had contact with the housing market in the past 24 months reported having been discriminated against there. However, it is also the area where the respondents in our study are the second most likely to state that they are "very often" discriminated against, with 17.5% stating this. According to the results of the EU-MIDIS II study (Being Black in the

¹⁵ In the AGG, this area falls under "supply of goods and services that are available to the public".

on **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** and their **"skin colour"**, among other factors. Almost half (47.7%) of respondents stated that they had been discriminated against in the past two years for reasons including their **"name[s]"** when looking for accommodation. This information confirms the results of testing studies [G] by anti-discrimination centres/offices as well as from the scientific community that the name of interested tenants (e.g. in email contact and on application documents) serves landlords as a marker for racialisation and is used accordingly (BR Data, SPIEGEL ONLINE, 2017). **"Social status / social background"** is also mentioned by almost every fourth person surveyed (23.7%), presumably because the associated income is usually used by landlords as a decisive (but also legally permissible) decision criterion for or against letting.

Experiences of discrimination on the "housing market" - selected subgroups

For the "housing market" area of life, our analysis by subgroups for selected dimensions of diversity reveals major differences between the groups that tend to be deprived versus those that are privileged. The largest significant difference of 19.6 percentage points is found in the comparison between **single-parent respondents** and respondents who are not single parents. 9 out of 10 respondents (91.9% of n = 74) who are single parents state that they have been discriminated against in contact with the "housing market" in the past two years, compared to 7 out of 10 respondents (72.3% of n = 1664) who are not single parents. One reason for this could be that single parents are statistically at a higher risk of poverty and have lower income than people who are not single parents (Fachstelle Fair mieten – Fair wohnen et al., 2019; Lenze, 2016).

Respondents with two African/ Afro-diasporic parents (83.4% of n = 511) were 17.4 percentage points more likely to state that they had been discriminated against in contact with the "housing market" than respondents with one African parent (65.9% of n = 1036). The group difference between **respondents without a German/EU passport** (87.4% of n = 135) and respondents with a German/EU passport (70.8% of n = 1478) is +16.6 percentage points. Respondents without a German/EU passport state significantly more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in contact with the "housing market" in the past 24 months than respondents holding a German/EU passport. We suspect that landlords prefer to rent their flats to German or EU citizens and also to white

people from Western countries rather than BIPOC [G] from the Global South. In 2019, Hamado Dipama, who had fled to Germany from Burkina Faso in 2002, successfully sued a landlord who had written in his flat advert that he only wanted to rent to Germans and who refused to invite Dipama to view the flat (Schuri, 2020).

Data from the descriptive analysis confirm that religious affiliation plays a decisive role in the context of the German housing market. At +14.8 percentage points, **Muslim respondents** (87.1% of n = 93) are significantly more likely to report being discriminated against in contact with the housing market than non-Muslim respondents (72.3% of n = 1585). A population-representative survey by the ADS on "Racist discrimination on the housing market" also concludes that Muslim respondents have greater problems finding a flat than Christian respondents (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2020).

„I was subletting my friend's apartment. I called the property management to report a leaking pipe and she yelled at me in German for not speaking German fluently. I spoke in German. My German is good enough to have that basic conversation, but she was upset that I wasn't fluent. She then refused to serve me. I asked if it was because I didn't speak German and she said yes. She hung up, called my friend and asked why there was a non-German living in the house - despite having agreed contractually for me to be there. I was also unable to take over the contract when my friend wanted to leave it to me."

Other groups that state significantly more frequently that they have been discriminated against in contact with the "housing market" in the past two years are

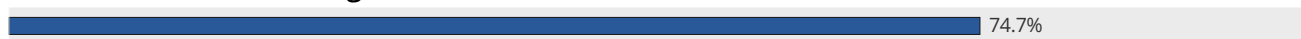
respondents with impairments/disabilities compared to respondents without impairments/disabilities (significant group difference: +13.6 pp.) and **trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents** compared to cis-gender respondents (significant group difference: +13.9 pp. to cis-women and +9.3 pp. to cis-men). It is striking that in this area of life, too, **cis-men** state significantly more often (+4.6 pp.) than cis-women that they have been discriminated against in the past two years.

The differences for "educational qualification" and "income", which would intuitively be assumed to play an important role for landlords when renting out properties, were rather small at 6.7 percentage points and 8.2 percentage points between the deprived and privileged groups compared to the other dimensions analysed. This result and the information provided by the Afrozensus respondents in the open field on discrimination situations suggest that discrimination on grounds of racist attributions appears more relevant for landlords than a possibly high income, which should be seen as a positive factor for renting a property.

Fig. 30: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics with regard to which experiences of discrimination in the "housing market" were made in the past two years (n = 1630, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost half (47.7%) of 1630 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the "housing market" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "name", among other factors.

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



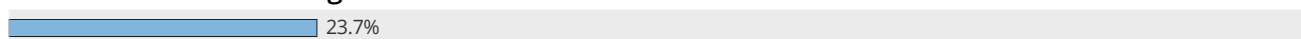
Skin colour



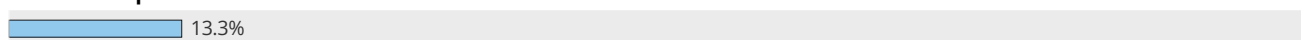
Name



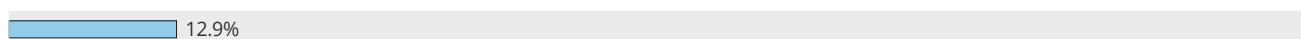
Social status/social background



Citizenship



Gender



Low age

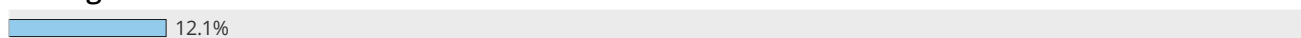
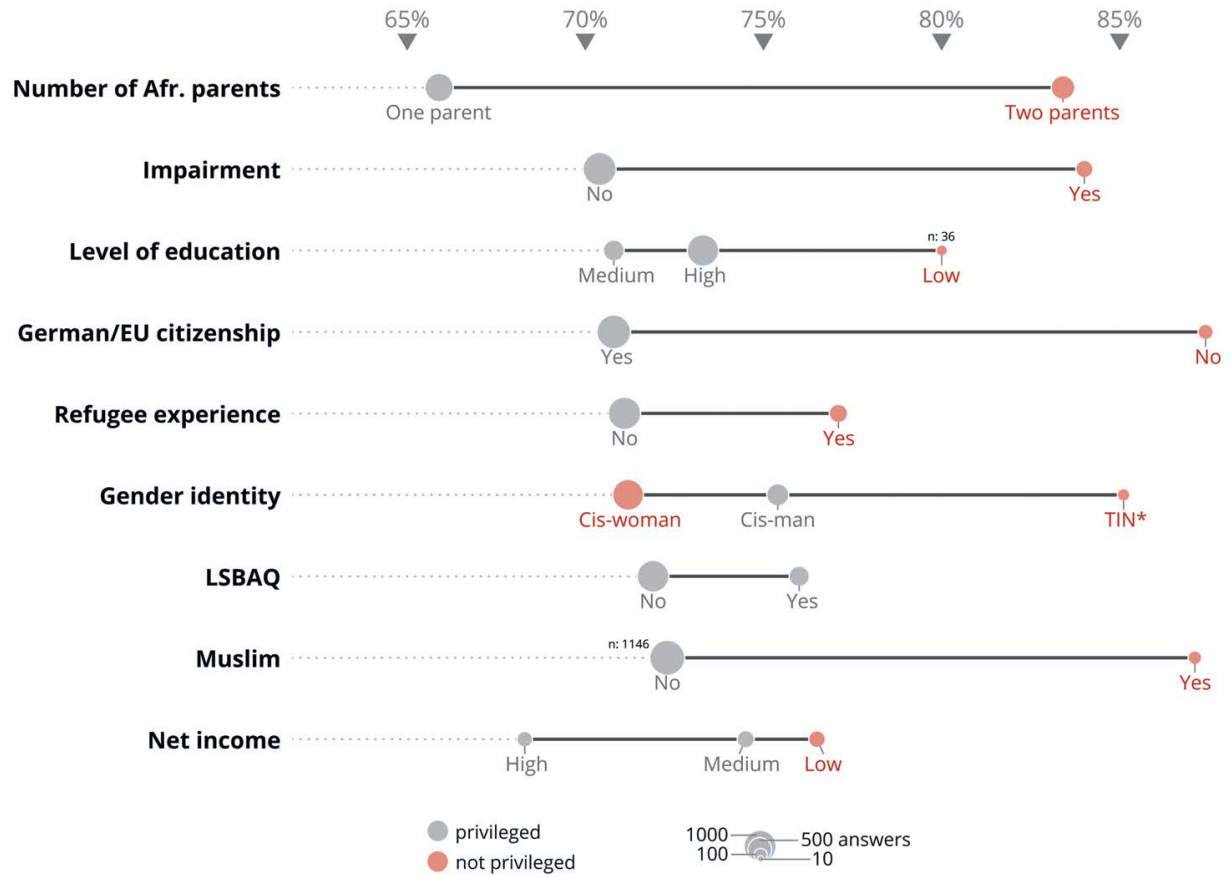


Fig. 31: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the "housing market" area of life

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents without German or EU citizenship are significantly more likely than respondents with German or EU citizenship to have experienced discrimination in the "housing market" area of life in the past two years.



6.1.4 Discrimination in public sphere and leisure & art and culture

The area of life "public and leisure" (e.g. public transport, clubs) is the area where Afrozensus respondents state that they have experienced discrimination most frequently in the past two years: 9 out of 10 respondents (93.2% of n = 4746) state that they have been discriminated against in this area during the past two years. The area of life "art and culture" was surveyed separately in the Afrozensus. More than one in two people (54.2%) with contact with the "arts and culture" sector – e.g. when visiting a theatre or museum – stated that they had experienced discrimination in this area in the past 24 months.

The results on experiences of discrimination in public show that this can involve both verbal attacks and, for example, unequal treatment compared to other passengers on local public transport. 8 out of 10 respondents (81.7% of n = 2346) state that they have been **insulted in a racist way on the street and/**

or on public transport. Almost 8 out of 10 respondents (79.6% of n = 2188) also report that **their ticket is checked more closely on the bus/train than that of other passengers**, and 84.1% of 2299 respondents state that **the seats next to them remain free, even if the bus or train is full.** More than 9 out of 10 respondents (94.0% of n = 2376) **avoid certain destinations when travelling because they could be dangerous for them for racist reasons.**

We assume that experiences of discrimination in public have quite a significant influence on the **perception of security in public spaces.** Afrozensus has adopted a question from the case study (2017) on Germans' perception of security by the survey institute infratest dimap^{15a} to ascertain the respondents' sense of security. When asked how safe they feel in Germany when they move around in public spaces, i.e. in public squares, streets, parks or on public transport, almost

Fig. 32: General feeling of (in)security among the total population in Germany (infratest dimap, n = 992) compared to Afrozensus respondents (n = 4243)

Reading example: The proportion of Afrozensus respondents who feel "very safe" in public spaces in Germany is 10%. In comparison, the proportion in the total German population is more than twice as high at 25%, according to infratest dimap. Source: own calculations & infratest dimap (2017)

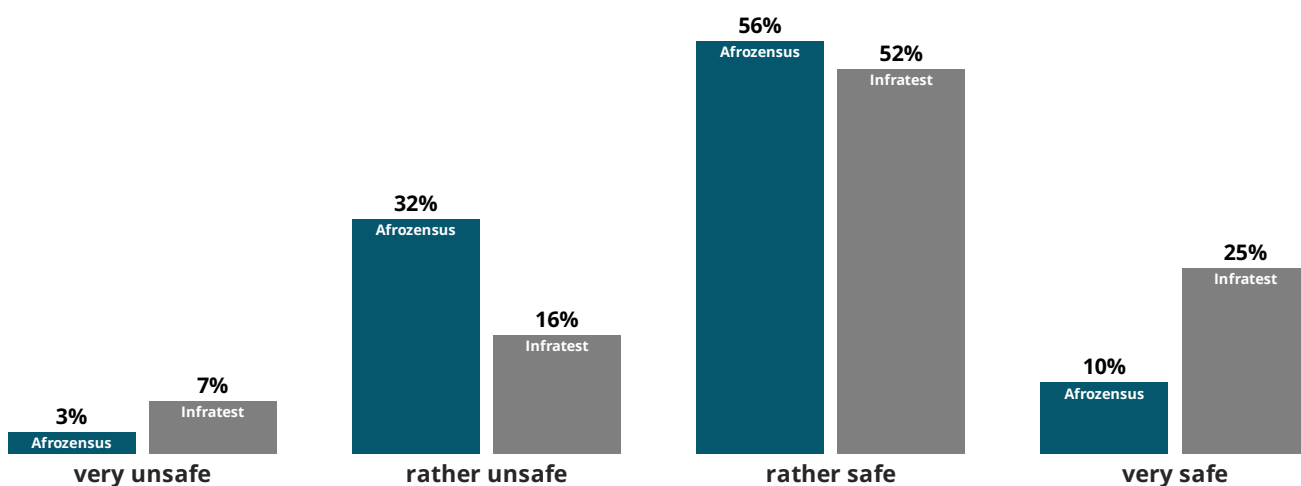
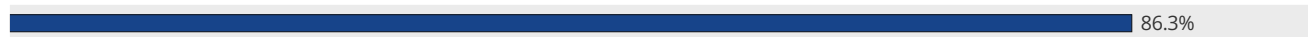


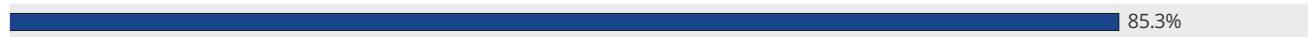
Fig. 33: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which discrimination was experienced in the area of "public and leisure" in the past two years (n = 4226, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: More than a third (34.2 %) of 4226 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "public and leisure" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "gender", among other factors.

Skin colour



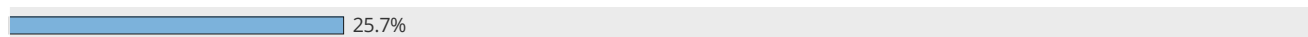
Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



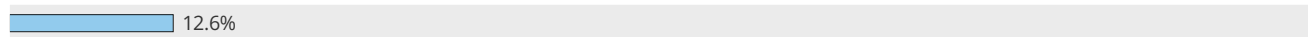
Gender



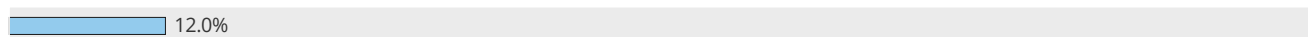
Hair/beard



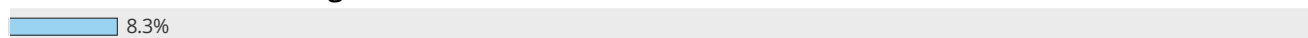
Language



Name



Social status/social background



a third of Afrozensus respondents (approx. 32% of n = 4243) answered that they feel "rather unsafe" overall. Only 1 in 10 people (10 %) feel "very safe". For comparison (→ Fig. 32): When asked the same question in infratest dimap's 2017 population-representative study, one in four people (25%) out of 992 respondents stated that they felt "very safe" overall in public spaces in Germany. Around 16% of infratest dimap respondents feel "rather unsafe".

More than 8 out of 10 (86.7 %) of 4315 Afrozensus respondents state that they fear being **verbally abused** in public spaces. 7 out of 10 (72.8 %) of 4225 respondents fear that they will be **sexually harassed**, and 6 out of 10 (61.1 %) of 4275 respondents fear that they will be **beaten and injured**. In comparison with the overall population in Germany (based on the infratest dimap survey), the Afrozensus respondents differ in their statements about **who makes them feel "uncomfortable/intimidated" (Afrozensus) or "threatened" (infratest dimap)** in public places, streets, parks or public transport.

Respondents in the infratest dimap study most frequently state that they feel **threatened** by **"foreigners, refugees", "neo-Nazis, right-wingers", and "young people in groups"** in public. The Afrozensus respondents stated that they felt particularly **uncomfortable/intimidated** by the **"police", "neo-Nazis/right-wing extremists"** and **"white men"**. It is also striking that Afrozensus respondents state several times in the open responses that they feel uncomfortable/intimidated by **"(white) older people"** in public.

Based on which characteristics does discrimination occur in the areas of "public and leisure" and in "art and culture"?

In both the "public and leisure" and "art and culture" areas of life, respondents cite the same seven most common characteristics to which they attribute having been discriminated against in the past two years (**"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'", "skin colour", "gender", "hair/beard", "language", "name" and**

Fig. 34: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which experiences of discrimination in the field of "art and culture" have been made in the past two years (n = 1488, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: One in five people (20.4%) of 1488 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "art and culture" stated that they had experienced discrimination in the past two years based on "hair/beard", among other things.

Skin colour

76.1%

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"

75.1%

Hair/beard

20.4%

Gender

19.3%

Social status/social background

14.8%

Name

10.4%

Language

10.2%

"social status / social origin"). Only the ranking of the characteristics varies depending on the area of life. In "public and leisure", for example, "gender" (34.2%) is the third most frequently mentioned characteristic, while in "art and culture", the characteristic "hair/beard" (20.4%) ranks third behind "skin colour" and "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'".

Experiences of discrimination in "public and leisure" & "art and culture" - selected subgroups

For all respondents in different diversity dimensions, there are very high numbers for the frequency of discrimination in the respective area of life. However, the group differences in the area of life "public and leisure" – compared to the group differences in other areas of life – are rather small across almost all dimensions. They are below 5.0 percentage points for all group comparisons except for the "age by generation" dimension. The trend here is that the younger a person is, the more likely they are to have experienced discrimination in the area of "public and leisure" in the past two years. **Respondents from younger generations** (Generation Z, n = 735 and Millennials, n = 2284) are significantly more likely (+12.2 pp. and +11.5 pp.

respectively) than respondents from the Boomer generation aged between 56 and 73 (n = 85) to have been discriminated against in "public and leisure".

The results of the subgroup analysis **concerning the Afrozensus respondents' feeling of safety** show that, in principle, differences can be observed in the groups with regard to "gender identity/ies", "sexual orientation", and "impairment" in particular when it comes to the question of how respondents feel overall when they move around in public spaces in Germany. Overall, **cis-women** (35.9% of n = 2725) feel significantly less safe in public spaces in Germany than cis-men (27% of n = 1003). Among **TIN* respondents**, the proportion who feel unsafe (53.5% of n = 127) even outweighs the proportion who feel safe (46.5%), and they feel significantly more unsafe overall than cis-women and cis-men. The difference to the latter is +26.5 percentage points.¹⁶ **Cis-women and TIN* respondents in the Afrozensus are significantly more likely than cis-men to state that they are afraid of being sexually harassed when they are in public spaces:** 9 out of 10 cis-women (91.7% of n = 2746) and 8 out of 10 TIN* respondents (80.3% of n = 122) make this statement, while the figure for cis-men is less than 2 out of 10 respondents (17.9% of

n = 967). Cis-women and **TIN*** respondents are thus more than four times as likely as cis-men to state that they fear being sexually harassed in public. TIN* respondents (76.0% of n = 125) are also **significantly more likely** than cis-women (61.6% of n = 2742) and cis-men (57.8% of n = 1011) to report a fear of **being beaten and hurt in public**.

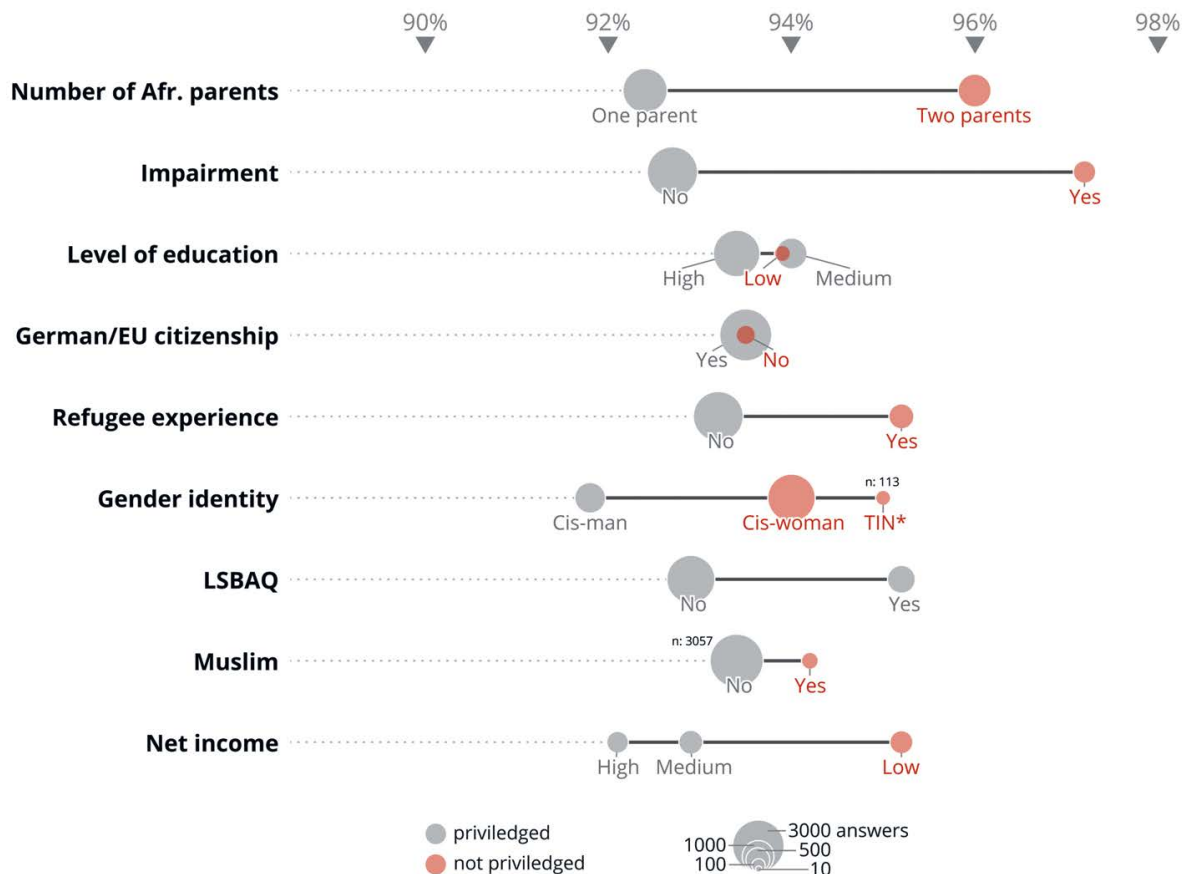
The proportion of respondents **with impairments** who feel unsafe also outweighs the proportion of respondents who feel safe in public spaces in Germany. Afrozensus respondents with impairments (57.2% of n = 416) feel significantly less safe (+26.8 pp.) than respondents without impairments (30.4% of n = 3179). Almost half (45.6 %) of 725 **LGBAQ respondents** stated that they felt unsafe in public in Germany compared to around a third (30.3%) of 2865 heterosexual respondents (significant group difference of 15.3 pp).¹⁷

In principle, respondents reported less discrimination in the arts and culture sector than in "public and leisure" in general. Still, the differences between the groups that tend to be deprived and those that tend to be norm-privileged are clearer across all diversity dimensions. This is particularly the case between **respondents with impairments** and those without impairments, which could presumably be related to the lack of accessibility in many cultural venues and programmes (e.g. lack of access for wheelchair users, no guarantee of translations into sign language).

There are also significant group differences of over 12.0 percentage points between **respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience** and respondents without refugee experience, between **trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents** and cisgender respondents, between **LGBAQ respondents** and

Fig. 35: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of life "Public and leisure"

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents are slightly more likely than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent to have experienced discrimination in the area of "public and leisure" in the last two years.



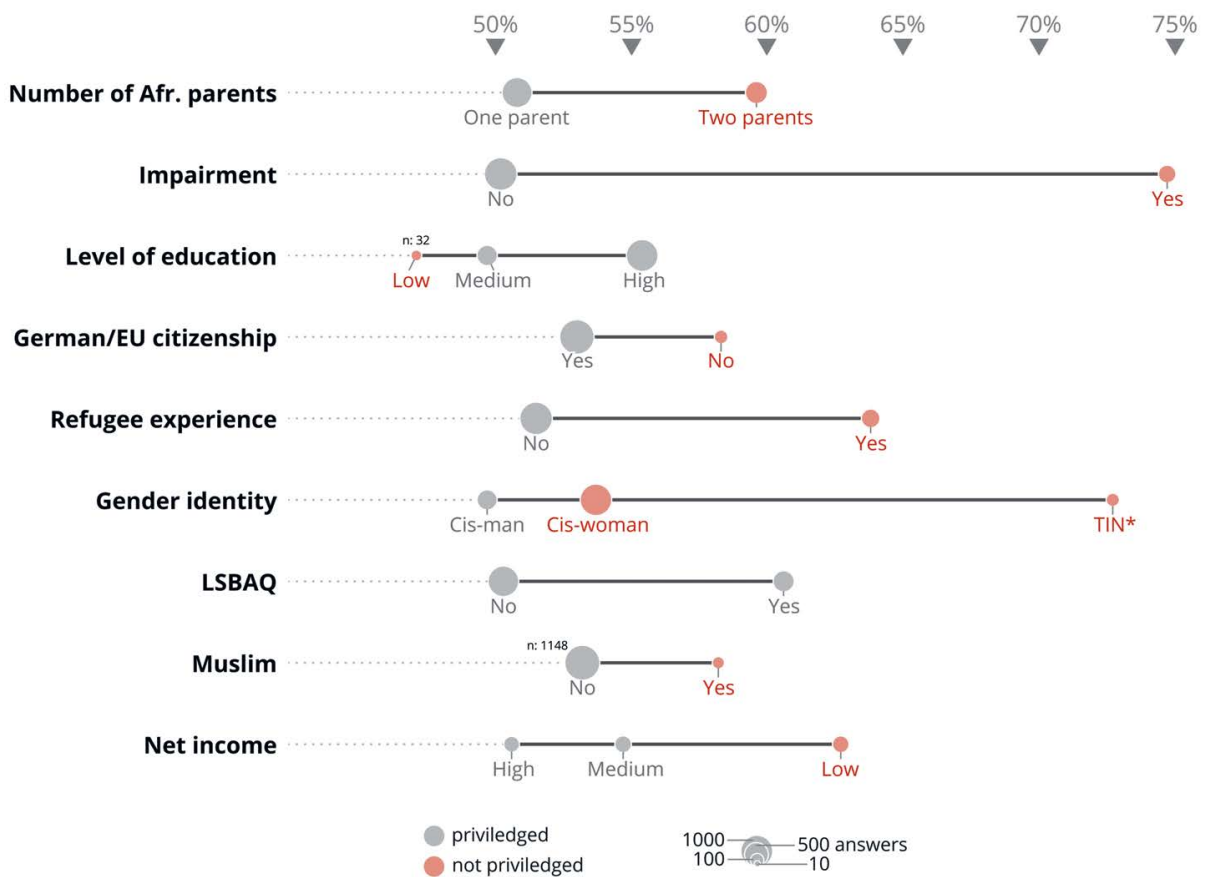
16 See Appendix 14 for the significances.

17 See Appendix 15 for the significances.

heterosexual respondents and between **respondents with low income** and respondents with high income. It is striking that respondents **with a high level of education** state more frequently that they are discriminated against in the "arts and culture sector" than people with a low level of education. However, this difference is not significant. It remains open whether the extent of discrimination experienced depends on the specific type of arts and cultural organisations visited, which may differ in terms of the potential for discrimination.

Fig. 36: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected dimensions of diversity in the area of "art and culture"

Reading Example: Compared to respondents with a medium or high income, Afrozensus respondents with a low-income state significantly more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in the area of "art and culture" in the past two years.



6.1.5

Discrimination at public offices and authorities & in the justice system

Public authorities and civil service, as state bodies, do not fall within the scope of the AGG, meaning that this law does not apply to discrimination by public offices and authorities. However, these bodies are bound by the constitutional prohibition of discrimination and the general principle of equality in the Constitution. To date, only the state of Berlin has had a law at state level since 2020, the State Anti-Discrimination Act (LADG), which intends to protect people from discrimination by public bodies such as authorities and administrations. In May 2021, the coalitions in Rhineland-Palatinate and Baden-Württemberg decided to follow suit with their own state anti-discrimination

laws. According to research by Mediendienst Integration, the responsible ministries in Brandenburg, Hamburg, Hesse and Saxony at least want to investigate the extent to which there are legal gaps in protection against discrimination and whether a legal basis is needed (Pürckhauer, 2021).

The LADG of the state of Berlin also covers protection against discrimination by the judiciary and the police. These two areas were surveyed separately in the Afrozensus due to their high relevance for Black communities. The results regarding discrimination in contact with the "justice system" are also presented in this section. The results relating to discrimination in

Fig. 37: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which experiences of discrimination were made in the past two years in the area of "public authorities and civil service" (n = 1838, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: More than a third (37.2 %) of 1838 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "public offices and authorities" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "name", among other factors.

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



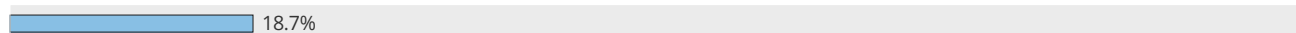
Skin colour



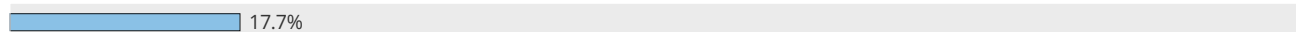
Name



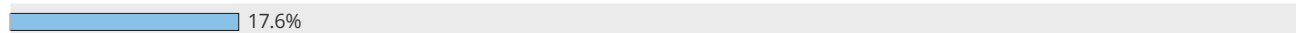
Social status/social background



Citizenship



Language



Gender

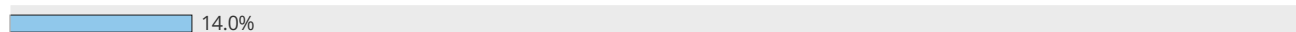


Fig. 38: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which discrimination was experienced in the area of the "judiciary" in the past two years (n = 317, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: More than one in five people (22.4%) of 317 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the "justice system" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on, among other factors, "social status / social origin".

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"

75.1%

Skin colour

68.8%

Name

29.0%

Social status/social background

22.4%

Gender

18.6%

Language

15.1%

Hair/beard

13.9%

contact with the "police" are presented in a separate section (→ p.118).

66.5% of 2973 Afrozensus respondents stated that they had experienced discrimination in contact with "public authorities and civil service" in the past two years. The justice sector is the area in the Afrozensus with which respondents have had the least contact in the past 24 months. However, 6 out of 10 respondents (61.1%) who had contact with the "justice system" in the past two years stated that they had experienced discrimination in this area. Encountering discrimination when dealing with state institutions is likely to impact one's trust in them (→ [Chapter 7](#)).

Based on which characteristics does discrimination occur in the areas of "public authorities and civil service" and the "justice system"?

Similar characteristics appear to play a role in discrimination for the respondents, both in authorities and civil service in general as in the justice system in particular: In addition to "**racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'**" (72.9% in the area of "authorities and civ-

il service" and 75.1% in the area of "justice system") and "**skin colour**" (71.4% and 68.8% respectively), the Afrozensus respondents believe that, among others, discrimination particularly occurs with regard to "name[s]" (37.2% and 29.0% respectively). We assume this is especially true for respondents with an African or non-Western first and/or last name. In fourth place in both areas of life, "**social origin / social status**" appears to be the characteristic based on which respondents believe they experience discrimination at "public authorities and civil service" and also in the "justice system". Other frequently cited characteristics are "**gender**" and "**language**" in both areas of life, as well as "**citizenship**" in contact with "public authorities and civil service".

Experiences of discrimination at "public authorities and civil service" & "justice system" - selected subgroups

The differences between the groups in almost all dimensions of diversity are very high regarding contact with the areas of life "public authorities and civil service" and "justice".

Concerning "age", respondents of the two **older generations** (Boomer generation and Generation X), who are 40 years and older, report similar experiences: 70.0% (of n = 50) of the Boomer generation and 72.1% (of n = 337) of Generation X state that they have been discriminated against in contact with "public offices and authorities" in the past two years. Millennials (aged between 24 and 39) are slightly less likely to say they have experienced discrimination in this area of life (66.8% of n = 1504). On the other hand, generation Z respondents aged between 16 and 23 were significantly less likely to state that they had been discriminated against in contact with "public authorities" in the past two years (57.3% of n = 400). Careful examination is crucial to discern whether the disparities among age groups stem from varying levels of engagement with different offices or authorities. For instance, investigating the extent of contact could shed light on these differences.

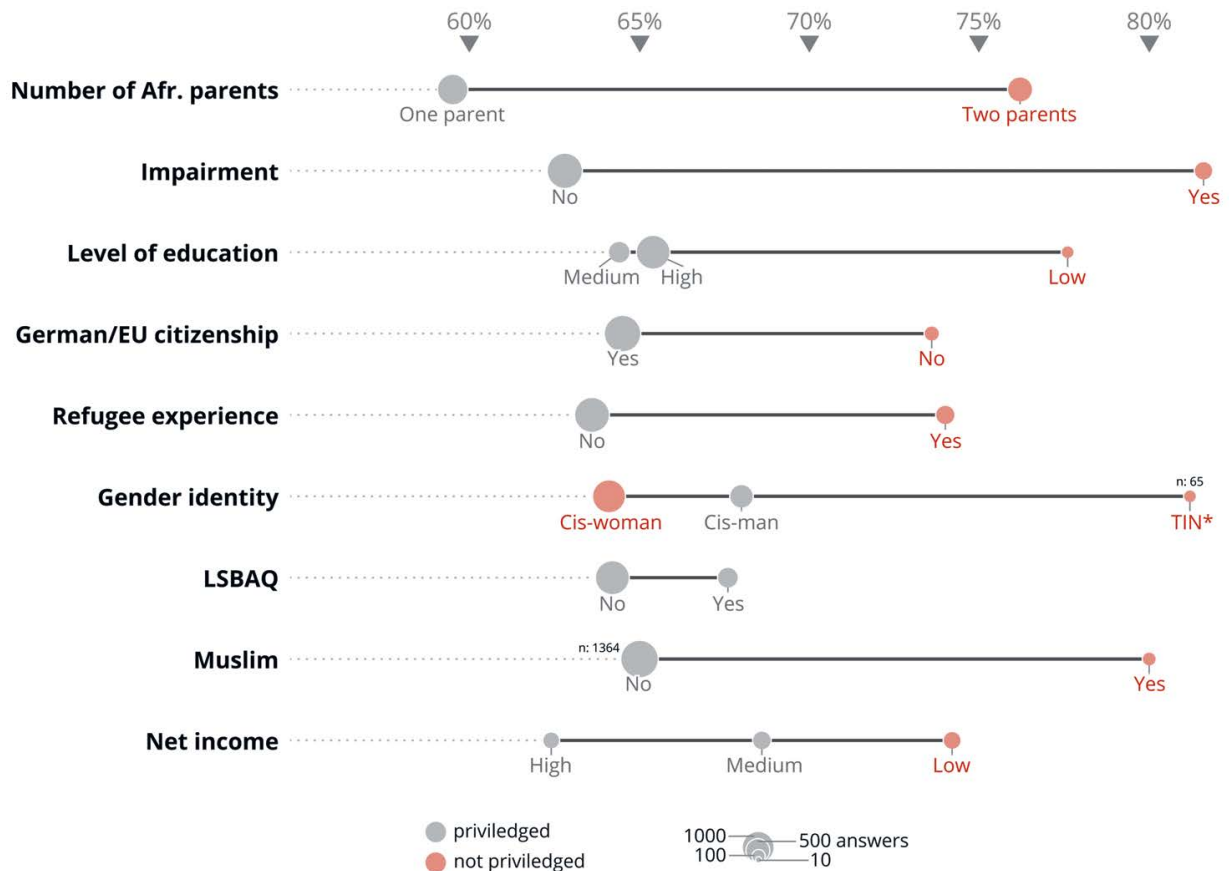
8 out of 10 **respondents with an impairment** (81.6% of n = 267) compared to 6 out of 10 respondents with-

out an impairment (62.8% of n = 1870) stated that they were discriminated against in contact with "public authorities and civil service". This represents a significant group difference of 18.8 percentage points. The situation is similar between **respondents with disabilities** (80.8%, n = 73) and respondents without disabilities (64.6%, n = 2117). Respondents with disabilities were 16.2 percentage points more likely to state that they had been discriminated against in contact with "authorities and civil service" in the past two years than respondents without disabilities. In its studies, the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency concludes that the lack of barrier-free access plays a decisive role in the discrimination of people with disabilities at public offices and authorities (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2017). This aspect could be investigated and analysed in greater depth as part of a second edition of the Afrozensus.

There is a further significant group difference of 17.2 percentage points in contact with "public offices and authorities" between **trans*, inter*, non-bi-**

Fig. 39: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of life "public authorities and civil service"

Reading Example: Compared to cis-gender Afrozensus respondents, TIN* Afrozensus respondents are significantly more likely to have experienced discrimination in the area of "public authorities and civil service" in the past two years.



nary respondents (81.3% of n = 80) and cis-women in the Afrozensus (64.1% of n = 1558). The significant difference to cis-men is 13.3 percentage points. An analysis is needed to determine if the distinctions observed between TIN* respondents and cis-gender counterparts could be clarified through instances of discrimination and hindrances in altering one's name or gender identity records. The Transsexuals Act [G], in particular, has been criticised in this regard (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2015, 2019; Bundesverband Trans* e.V., 2019).

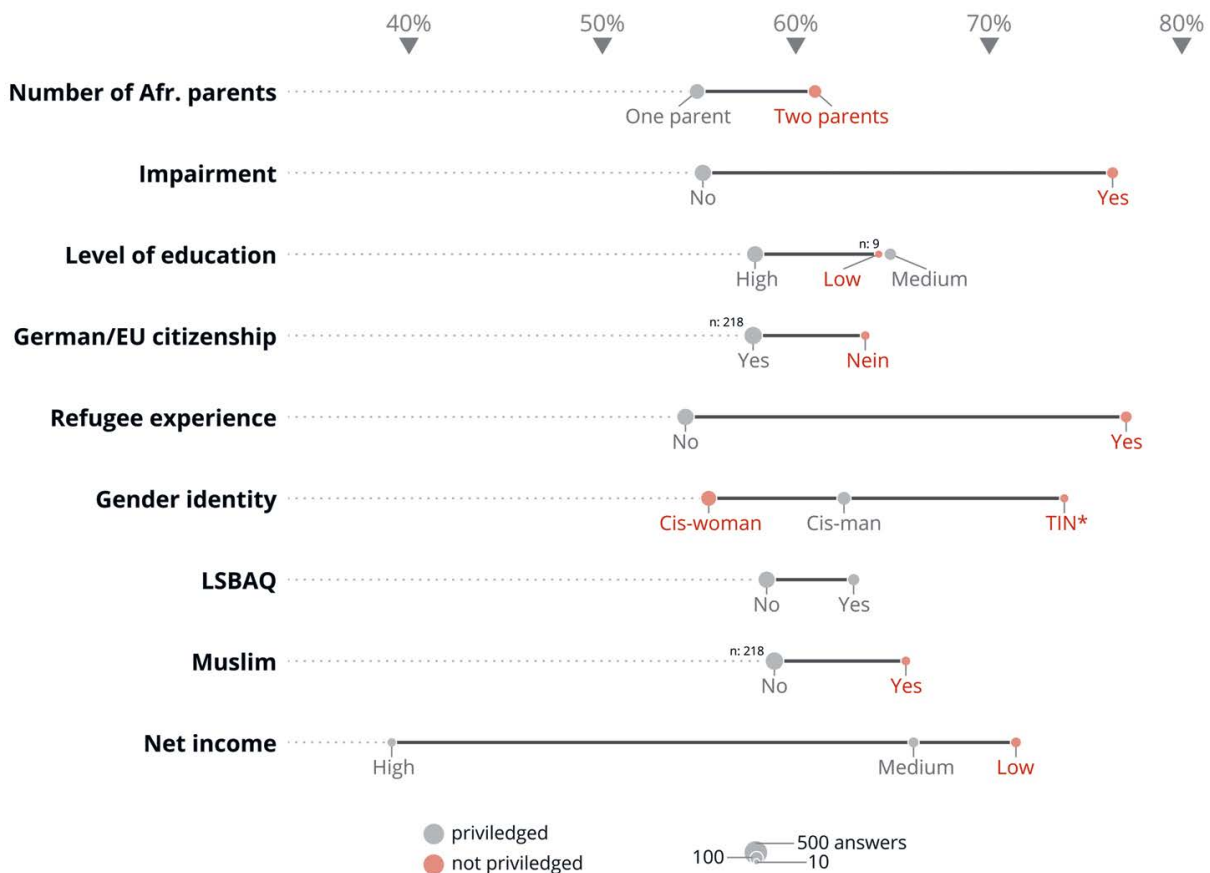
Afrozensus respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents (76.2% of n = 661) also stated significantly more frequently that they had experienced discrimination with "public authorities and civil service" in the past two years than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (59.5% of n = 1393). This group difference of 16.7 percentage points speaks in favour of an intensified ABR (→ p.93) that people with alleged proximity to "African" characteristics experience.

There is a significant difference of 15.7 percentage points between **single-parent respondents** (80.9% of n = 115) and respondents who are not single parents (65.2% of n = 2177) when it comes to experiencing discrimination at "public authorities and civil service". The open-ended responses from the Afrozensus respondents show that incidents of discrimination in connection with public authorities, civil service and the judiciary are often matters of concern. In many cases, Black parents report that they are treated less favourably by public authorities and government agencies in custody proceedings compared to the white parent of their child. Many interviewees also report that white family members, as well as institutions such as educational establishments detrimentally contact the youth welfare office for no reason that they can comprehend.

Respondents with a low level of education (77.6% of n = 85) are also significantly more likely (+ 13.3 pp.) to report being discriminated against in this area than respondents with a high level of education (65.4%

Fig. 40: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of life "justice system"

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents with impairments are significantly more likely to have experienced discrimination in the area of "justice" in the past two years compared to respondents without impairments.



of n = 1612) or a medium level of education (64.4% of n = 528). The descriptive analysis also suggests that **the lower the income** of a respondent, the more likely it is that this person will state that they have experienced discrimination in contact with "public authorities and civil service". Both results indicate that the respondent's social status and/or social background plays a decisive role with regard to the treatment by public authorities. In the area of "justice" in particular, income appears to be especially decisive: 7 out of 10 **respondents with low income** (71.4% of n = 49) stated significantly more frequently (32.3 percentage points) that they had experienced discrimination in contact with this area in the past two years as compared to 4 out of 10 (39.1% of n = 46) respondents with high income.

Respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience stated significantly more frequently that they had experienced discrimination in the past two years with both "public authorities and civil service" and "judiciary" areas of life than respondents without refugee experience (10.4 pp and 22.8 pp group difference respectively). For **Muslim respondents** compared to non-Muslim respondents, this is only the case with "public authorities and civil service": 80.0% of Muslim respondents (n = 110) compared to 65.0% of non-Muslim respondents (n = 2100) stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years.

6.1.6

Discrimination by the police

At the very latest since the murder of African-American George Floyd by a white police officer in the USA in May 2020, police violence against Black and other racialised people in Germany has been raised as an issue ever more often in German mainstream media outlets. However, the general public is still preoccupied with the question of whether institutional racism within the German police really exists or whether these are supposedly isolated cases. The reality of life for most Black, African and Afro-diasporic people does not even allow for this question; they are "poled to fear a siren light" (OG Keemo, [2019](#) ♪). Quantitative data and official studies on institutional racism in the German police force have so far been scarce (Abdul-Rahman et al., [2020](#)). The Federal Ministry of

"Death in Custody" specifically documents cases of people - such as the case of Oury Jalloh (Alliance Death in Custody, 2021) - who have lost their lives in police custody since 1990. The intersectionality report published by EACH ONE Antidiscrimination in 2021 traces specifically Black life realities in contact with the Berlin police and reveals common patterns of discrimination.

Against this background, it is not surprising that more than 8 out of 10 (82.1% of n = 1617) of the Afrozensus respondents stated that they had been discriminated against in contact with the police in the past two years. It is the sixth most common area of life where they report discrimination. The respondents' statements on trust in the police reflect these results (→ [Chapter 7](#)).

The questions on discrimination situations that Black people are familiar with show that almost one in three (32.3%) of the 1945 respondents had already experienced police violence. Over half (56.7%) of 4281 respondents stated that they had been stopped by the police at least once in their lives for no recognisable reason.

"I was stopped out of nowhere on the street by three plainclothes policemen and accused of selling weed. I was just out for a cup of coffee. Although they didn't find any drugs on me during the search or had any other evidence for their accusations, they pressed charges against me."

Homeland and the Interior recently rejected a study on this topic - after demands from the broader public for such an investigation had steadily increased, following NSU 2.0, the murderous incidents in Halle and Hanau, and the murder of George Floyd. The Ministry of the Interior is thus also opposing a recommendation by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe, postulating that Germany should commission a study on racial profiling [G] in police practice (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), [2020](#)).

Thanks to the work of various organisations and alliances, racist police violence in Germany is being documented and dealt with, at least qualitatively. The "Campaign for Victims of Racist Violence" (KOP), for example, has been documenting police violence against racialised people for years and has campaigned against racial profiling and institutional racism in police structures in a variety of ways. The campaign

Although these police checks "without suspicion" (also labelled as racial profiling) carried out on Black people, Muslim people and Sinti*zze and Rom*nja in particular are prohibited under the Federal Basic Law and human rights laws (Art. 3 para. 3 sentence 1 GG; European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, [2017](#)), they are still part of everyday police working practice (German Institute for Human Rights, [2020](#)).

In the EU-MIDIS II study (Being Black in the EU) by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights ([2018](#)), 34% of respondents with an African migration background "south of the Sahara" reported that they had been stopped by the police in Germany in the past five years. 41% of respondents who had been stopped thought the stop was racial profiling.

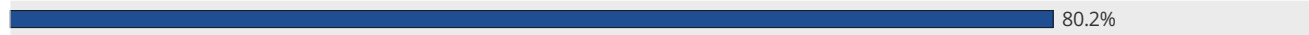
Fig. 41: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which experiences of discrimination in the "police" sector have been made in the past two years (n = 1245, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost a quarter (23.8%) of 1245 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the "police" sector stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "name[s]".

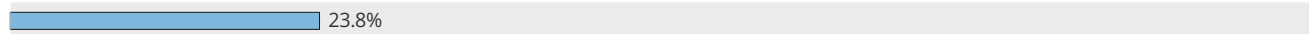
Skin colour



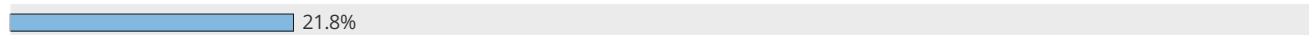
Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



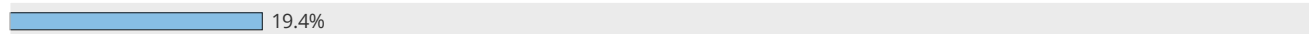
Name



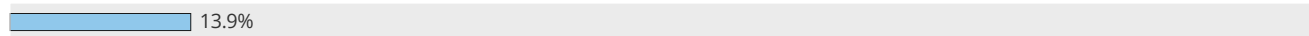
Gender



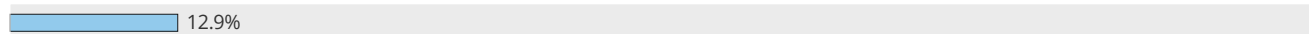
Hair/beard



Citizenship



Social status/social background



Based on which characteristics does the "police" discriminate?

Over 80% of 1245 Afrozensus respondents stated that they had been discriminated against in the past two years in contact with the "police" based on their **"skin colour"** (85.1%) and/or **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** (80.2%), among other factors. In this context, **"name"** (23.8%), **"hair/beard"** (19.3%), and **"citizenship"** (13.9%) also emerge, with respondents reporting instances of discrimination by the police based on these factors, which are considered markers for racialisation. Furthermore, more than one in five people (21.8%) stated that they had experienced discrimination based on their **"gender"** in contact with the police, among other things.

Experiences of discrimination by "the police" - selected subgroups

Our data show that **cis-men** in the Afrozensus (84.7%, n = 459) were significantly more likely than cis-women (78.2%, n = 728) to report being discriminated against in contact with the police (6.5 percentage points). However, in this group comparison, almost 9 out of 10 (89.9%) of **trans***, **inter***, **non-binary respondents** (n = 59) significantly more often (+11.7 percentage points com-

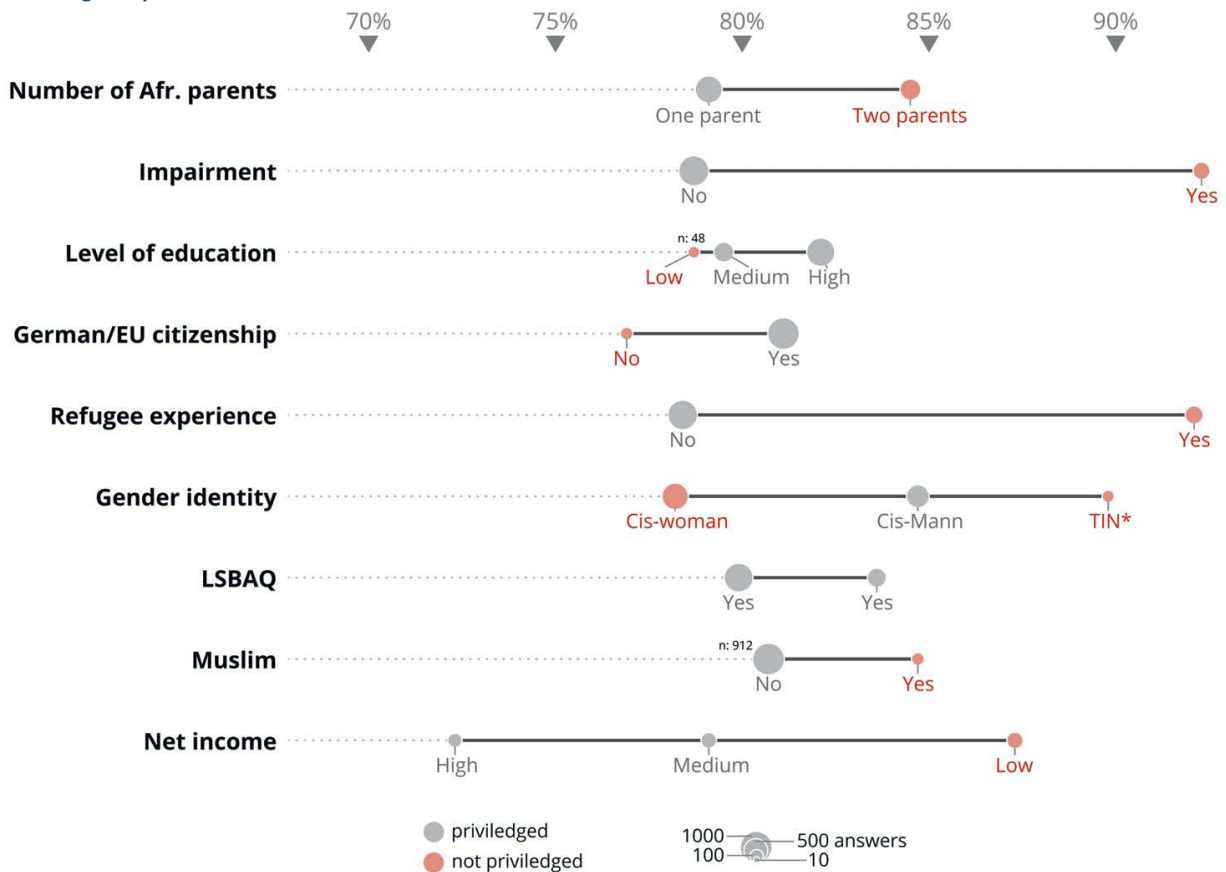
pared to cis-women) stated that they experienced discrimination in contact with the police in terms of gender identity. This result from our analysis supports studies that show that trans*, inter* and non-binary people represent a particularly vulnerable group in contact with the police (Ahmed et al., 2013 [i]). In the Afrozensus, trans*, inter*, and non-binary respondents (n = 60) were also significantly more likely to report experiencing **police violence** (58.3%) compared to cis-men (45.6% of n = 401) and cis-women (27.3% of n = 1087).

Regarding **police controls** in particular, however, 78.0% of cis-men (n = 935) compared to 47.9% of cis-women (n = 2347) and 63.3% of TIN* respondents (n = 120) report being stopped by the police for no recognisable reason significantly more often. These results are in line with shared Black experiences from different contexts, where Black men are also more frequently discriminated against by the police than Black women (Edwards et al., 2019; Anderson, 2019). However, it's noteworthy to mention that all three groups report strikingly high levels of experience in contact with the police and that Black people are, in principle, exposed to discriminatory violence by the police significantly more often than, for example, white people, regardless of their gender identity (Pierson et al., 2020; UK Home Office, 2020; Edwards et al., 2019).

Furthermore, respondents **with personal and/or family refugee experience** (n = 215) compared to respondents without experience of flight (n = 967) (+13.7 pp.), **respondents with impairments** (n = 182) and **respondents with disabilities** (n = 43) compared to respondents without impairments (n = 1001) and respondents without disabilities (n = 1155) (+13.6 pp. and +15.0 pp. respectively) and respondents **with low income** (n = 166) compared to respondents with high income (n = 130) (+15.0 pp.) stated significantly more frequently to have been discriminated against by the police during the past two years.

Fig. 42: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in "the police" area of life

Reading Example: Afrozensus respondents with personal and/or family refugee experience state significantly more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in contact with "the police" during the past two years compared to respondents without refugee experience.



6.1.7

Discrimination through security personnel

Contact with "security personnel" takes place across the board in different areas of life wherever both private and public facilities and persons are to be protected by private (i.e. non-governmental) security personnel. This can be, for example, security staff in museums, baggage and identity checks at airports, admission controls at entrances of discos and clubs, shop surveillance in supermarkets, security at the entrance and inside of local administrative offices for citizens and in refugee shelters. Almost 8 out of 10 (76.3%) respondents stated that they had been discriminated against by security staff in the past 24 months.

Based on which characteristics does "security personnel" discriminate?

Afrozensus respondents stated that they had been discriminated against during the past two years in contact with "security staff" with regard to **"skin colour"** (85.2%), **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** (80.2%), **"gender"** (28.8%) and other characteristics of outer appearance such as **"hair/beard"** (23.3%) and **"clothing"** (8.8%). The latter characteristic is only represented among the seven most frequently mentioned characteristics in this area of life. Generation Z respondents under the age of 24 (11.2% of n = 196) were the most likely to report being discriminated against because of their "clothing" when in contact with security staff, followed by millennials (respondents aged between 24 and 39) (8.3% of n = 647) and Generation X respondents aged between 40 and 55 (5.1% of n = 98). In the context of these results based on the "age" of the respondents, we suspect that some of these could be situations with security staff at discos and clubs, which tend to be frequented by young people and where "clothing" is one of the decision-making criteria for admission. In this context, "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "gender" also play a major role – as the results clearly demonstrate

"At the airport, a white woman with hair clips went through security, it emitted a beep, she was treated kindly and searched for the reason, with a laugh. When it beeped at me, I faced an aggressive approach, asked if I was flying with my family, pushed around, and swabs were taken for explosives straight away."

not only by Afrozensus but also by testing studies (Antidiskriminierungsbüro Sachsen e.V. and Referat Ausländischer Studierender der Universität Leipzig, 2011). Black men, in particular, are disadvantaged in this area, with more than twice as many reporting experiences of discrimination in the survey: More than 8 out of 10 (84.3%) of 415 cis-men in the Afrozensus, compared to 4 out of 10 (40.8%) of 1003 cis-women, were significantly more likely to say that a nightclub refused them admission for no discernible reason.

Experiences of discrimination by "security personnel" - selected subgroups

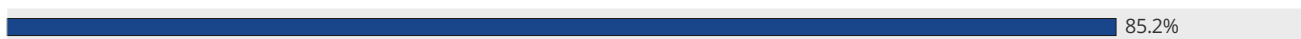
In contact with "security personnel", both **cis-men** (86.9% of n = 428) and **trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents** (85.5% of n = 55) stated significantly more frequently (+18.9 pp. and +17.5 pp. respectively) than cis-women (68.0% of n = 794) in the Afrozensus that they had been discriminated against in the past two years. **Respondents with impairments** (89.4% of n = 161) and **respondents with disabilities** (95.0% of n = 40) were significantly more likely (+17.1 pp. and +20.8 pp. respectively) to state that they had been discriminated against in contact with security staff in the past two years compared to respondents without impairments (72.3% of n = 1044) and respondents without officially recorded disabilities (74.2% of n = 2881).

A further significant difference exists between respondents with **two African/Afro-diasporic parents** (n = 351) and respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (n = 822). At 84.0%, the former stated significantly more frequently (+13.3 pp.) that they had experienced discrimination in contact with "security personnel" in the past two years than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (70.7%). They were more than twice as likely to say they had been discriminated against "very often" in this contact in the past two years: 16.8% of respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents compared to 7.2% of respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent stated they had been discriminated against "very often" in contact with security staff in the past two years. **Respondents without a German/EU passport** (86.4% of n = 66) stated significantly more frequently (+12.5 pp.) that they had experienced discrimination in contact with "security personnel" in the past two years than respondents with a German/EU passport (73.9% of n = 1159).

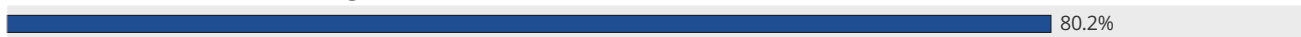
Fig. 43: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics with regard to which discrimination was experienced in the area of "security personnel" in the past two years (n = 1197, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost a quarter (23.3 %) of 1197 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the "security staff" area of life stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on "hair/beard", among other factors.

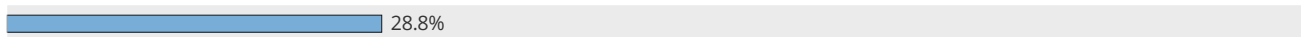
Skin colour



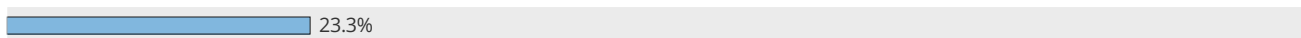
Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



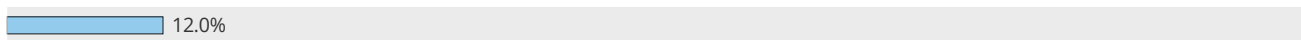
Gender



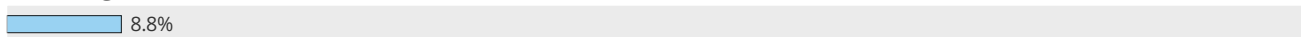
Hair/beard



Name



Clothing

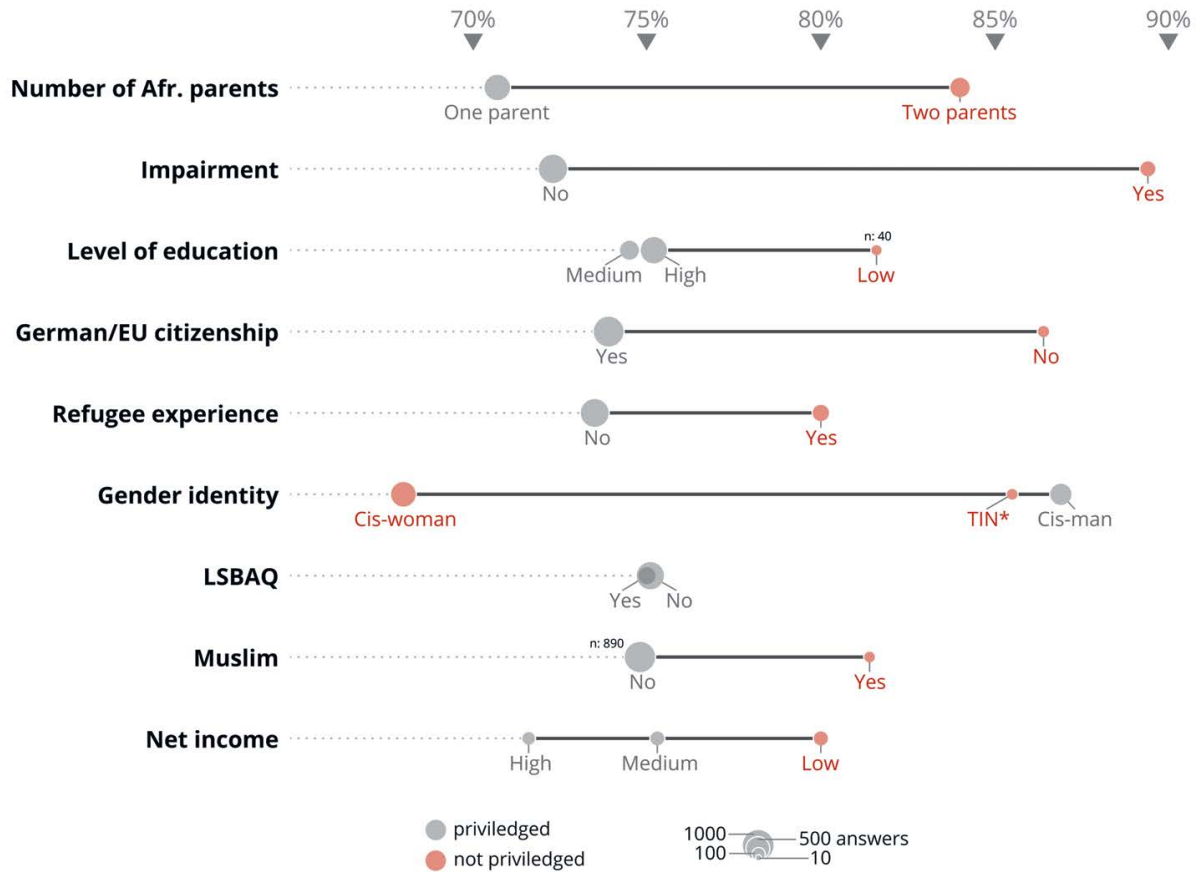


Language



Fig. 44: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the "security personnel" area of life

Reading Example: Cis-men and TIN* respondents in the Afrozensus are significantly more likely than cis-women to have experienced discrimination in the area of "security staff" in the past two years.



6.1.8

Discrimination in the media and internet

It is unsurprising that general power structures in society are also sustained in the media: Marginalised people are underrepresented in many sectors, and when they appear, they are frequently depicted stereotypically. This is also due to who, in this industry, is in decision-making positions such as editorial offices, and who decisively influences the selection of personnel and programme design. The study "Viel Wille, kein Weg – Diversity im deutschen Journalismus"^{17a} concludes that of the media with the widest reach, 9 out of 10 editors-in-chief surveyed are Germans without a migration background. Groups experiencing profound racial bias, such as Black people and Muslims, are not represented (Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen, 2020).

Discrimination in the media and on the internet can take many forms: from stereotyping (e.g. in films and

series) and reporting (e.g. in the news) marginalised groups, which reinforce racist perspectives on these groups (Ernst & Schmitt, 2020), to hate speech [G], e.g. in comments on social media, where people are insulted and defamed and threatened with violence. More than 8 out of 10 (85.5%) Afrozensus respondents stated having been discriminated against in the past two years in the area of life "media and internet". It is the second most common area of life where the respondents who had contact with it reported discrimination. Of the 2374 Afrozensus respondents who answered the question on discrimination common to Black people almost all (96.7%) of those who responded to the questionnaire about discrimination situations stated that they **encountered offensive imagery depicting Black people** in the media. Every second

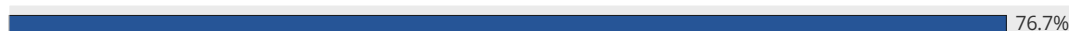
Fig. 45: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which discrimination was experienced in the area of "Media and Internet" in the past two years (n = 2837, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: 12.7% of 2837 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "media and internet" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "religion/belief/assigned religion", among other things.

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



Skin colour



Gender



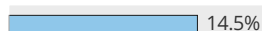
Hair/beard



Name



Social status/social background



Religion / worldview / ascribed religion



person surveyed (52.5%) out of 3,860 respondents indicated that they had been **insulted in a racist way on social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, etc.)**.

Based on which characteristics does discrimination occur in the area of life "Media and Internet"?

Almost 9 out of 10 respondents (88.3%) who state that they have been discriminated against in the area of "media and internet" in the past two years believe that the discrimination was due to **"racist reasons"** or their **"ethnic origin"**, among other factors. Almost half of the respondents (45.5%) stated that they had been discriminated against based on their **"gender"**, among others. **"Religion/worldview/attributed religion"** appears to play a particular role in this area: One in ten respondents (12.7%) stated that they had been discriminated against on these characteristics, among others, in the past 24 months in the "media and internet" sector. Muslim respondents (52.0% of n = 102) were significantly more likely than non-Muslim respondents (10.7% of n = 2075) to state that they had been discriminated against with regard to their "religion/belief/attributed religion" in the past two years. Among other things, this might be related to the fact that media reporting, in particular, but also films and entertainment series, are strongly characterised by anti-Muslim narratives (Hafez & Schmidt, 2020).

Experiences of discrimination in "media and internet" - selected subgroups

As in other areas of life where the Afrozensus respondents report having experienced discrimination particularly frequently in the past two years, the differences in the frequency of experiences of discrimination between the subgroups in the "Media and Internet" area of life are comparatively small.

Looking at the diversity dimension "age", the picture is not entirely clear at first glance: **Millennials** (respondents aged between 24 and 39) (87.0% of n = 1772) and **Generation X** respondents aged between 40 and

55 (83.7% of n = 337) most frequently state that they have been discriminated against in the "media and internet" in the past two years. Generation Z respondents below age 24 follow (81.4% of n = 580). Respondents aged between 56 and 73 from the boomer generation (75.6% of n = 45) were the least likely to say they had been discriminated against in this area of life in the past two years. The group difference between respondents from the boomer generation and millennials is 11.4 percentage points and is significant. Whether the divergence in discrimination encounters within "Media and Internet" across age demographics could be explained by dissimilar usage patterns demands further investigation. It can be assumed, for example, that respondents from the boomer generation use social media (e.g. Facebook, Instagram, etc.) less than respondents from the younger generations (Beisch & Schäfer, 2020) – where, for example, comments can sometimes be offensive and personal. Generation Z respondents probably use social media just as many times, if not more often, than Generation X and millennial respondents but may use other formats such as TikTok, whose thematic focus and presentation often differ from other social networks, e.g. through less direct discussions and more empowering and/or humorous presentations.¹⁸

According to our results, both gender identity and sexual orientation appear to influence the likelihood of experiencing discrimination in the area of "media and internet". **Trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents** (92.5% of n = 106) were significantly more likely (+9.2 pp. and +7.2 pp. respectively) than cis-men (83.3% of n = 672) and cis-women (85.3% of n = 1928) to have been discriminated against in the "media and internet" in the past two years. **LGBAQ respondents** (90.0% of n = 592) stated this significantly more frequently (+6.2 pp.) compared to heterosexual respondents (83.8% of n = 1939). 66.3% of 585 LGBAQ respondents also specifically state that they have been insulted in a racist way in the media - 18.3 percentage points significantly more frequently than heterosexual respondents in the Afrozensus (48.0% of n = 2220).

There are larger group differences between **respondents with impairments** (n = 319) and respondents

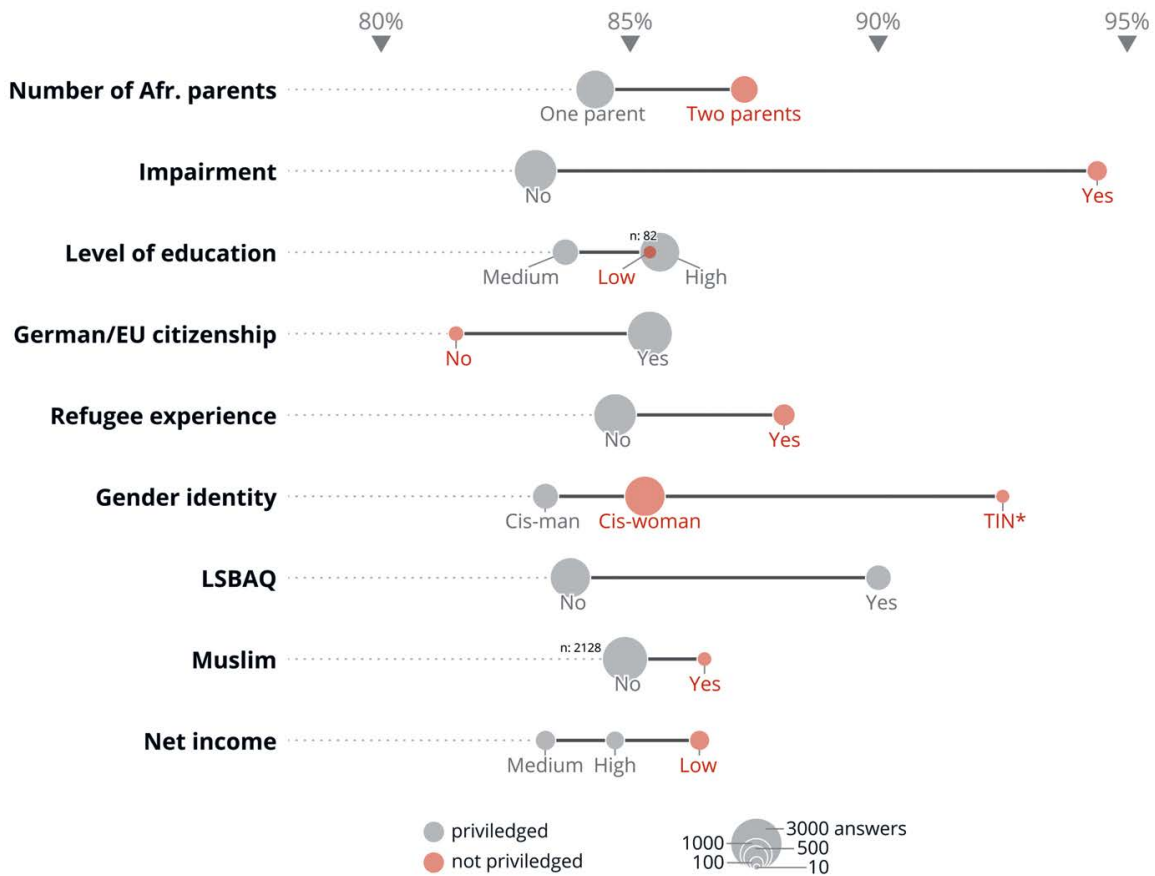
17a Plenty of will, no way forward – diversity in German journalism

18 Despite this, all of the platforms mentioned face hefty criticism for racist content and algorithms. At TikTok, a large-scale strike by Black creatives on the platform formed in the summer under #BlackTikTokStrike, protesting against the cultural appropriation of their viral dances and the partly algorithmic invisibilisation of Black, African and Afro-diasporic initiators of trends and dance moves (Cook, 2021; McClay, 2021).

without impairments (n = 2225), as well as between **respondents with disabilities** (n = 81) and respondents without disabilities (n = 2537) between the rather deprivileged and norm-privileged groups (11.3 and 10.7 pp. respectively). Respondents with impairment and respondents with disabilities thus state significantly more frequently that they have been discriminated against in the "media and internet" in the past 24 months than the respective norm-privileged groups. There's a strong possibility of elucidating these outcomes by the continuing lack of accessibility to media formats and the stigmatising portrayal of people with disabilities and mentally impaired people in films, media coverage, etc. (Schmitt, 2015).

Fig. 46: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of life "Media and Internet"

Reading Example: LGBTQ respondents in the Afrozensus are more likely than heterosexual Afrozensus respondents to have experienced discrimination in the area of "media and internet" in the past two years.



6.1.9

Discrimination in private life

8 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (83.0% of n = 4456) state that they have experienced discrimination in their private lives (e.g. within the family, among friends) in the past two years. "Private life" is the area of life where respondents report discrimination fifth most frequently.

Based on which characteristics does discrimination occur in "private life"?

Most Afrozensus respondents stated that if they had been discriminated against in the area of "private life" in the past two years, this had occurred based on "**racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'**" (77.5%) and "**skin colour**" (77.3%), among other factors. One in three people (33.5%) stated that they had been discriminated against in their private lives based on their "**gender**", among others. Other relevant characteristics are "**hair/beard**" (31.5%), "**name**" (23.4%) and "**social status/social background**" (16.6%). More than 1 in 10 people (13.9%) state that they have been discriminated against in contact with family or friends, for example, based on their "**body weight**".

Experiences of discrimination in the area of "private life" - selected subgroups

In the area of "private life", the tendency regarding the age of Afrozensus respondents is that **the younger** a respondent is, the more likely they are to have been discriminated against in their "private life" in the past two years: 6 out of 10 respondents from the boomer generation (61.8 % of n = 76) and 7 out of 10 respondents from Generation X (75.8% of n = 443) state that they have been discriminated against in this area of life compared to more than 8 out of 10 respondents from **Millennials** (84.7% of n = 2164) and respondents from **Generation Z** (84.9% of n = 709) respectively. The two younger generations between the ages of 16 and 39 are each around 23 percentage points more likely than respondents from the boomer generation (aged between 56 and 73) to say they

have been discriminated against in contact with family, friends, etc.

91.7% of 120 **trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents** and 84.5% of 2422 **cis-women** stated that they have been discriminated against in their "private lives" compared to 77.2% of 813 cis-men. This means that both trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents and cis-women are significantly more likely to report being discriminated against in their "private lives" than cis-men. **Lesbian, gay, bisexual, asexual and queer respondents** (88.5% of n = 679) are also significantly more likely than heterosexual respondents (81.0% of n = 2443) to report having been discriminated against in their "private life" in the past 24 months.

91.5 % of 376 **respondents with an impairment** report having experienced discrimination in the area of "private life" in the past two years compared to 81.5% of 2763 respondents without an impairment. Respondents with impairments are thus 10.0 percentage points more likely to report being discriminated against in their "private life" than respondents without impairments. For respondents with and without disabilities, the difference is only 0.9 percentage points and is not significant.

As shown in Fig. 48, contrary to the assumption of social privilege and deprivege, respondents with a high level of education state more frequently that they have been discriminated against in the sphere of their "private lives" in the past two years than respondents with a low level of education, but this group difference is not significant. It is also striking that private life is the only area where respondents without a Ger-

"I was discriminated against in my group of friends; my hair was grabbed, the N-word was often used, etc. Discussions were not taken seriously and ridiculed. "

man/EU passport (78.0% of n = 209) were significantly less likely to state that they had been discriminated against in the past two years than **respondents with a German/EU passport** (83.5% of n = 2994).

"I live in a white family, which means my parents and my brother are white. When my brother said the N-word to me again, my parents told me I should suck it up."

Similarly, **respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent** (83.8% of n = 2119) were significantly more likely to have been discriminated against in this area in the past two years than respondents with two African/African diasporic parents (81.9% of n = 952). Concerning ABR, these and numerous more answers from the open responses can be interpreted as an indication that Black people with one white or PoC [G] parent and possibly other white or PoC family members experience more racism within their families.

The specific experiences of those respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic (biological) parents who live in white foster families or were adopted by two white parents, for example, should also not be ignored. To date, these realities of life have not been explicitly asked about in the Afrozensus. Still, in the open responses

Black adoptees described various experiences of racism, which they went through both in the adoptive or foster family and through society. In a follow-up survey, the realities of life in different family constellations and the effects on their Black, African and Afro-diasporic members need to be investigated in greater depth, in order to reach a more detailed analysis.

Fig. 47: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which experiences of discrimination were made in the area of "private life" in the past two years (n = 3478, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: 13.9% of 3487 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "private life" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on their "body weight", among other things.

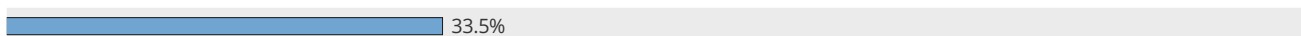
Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



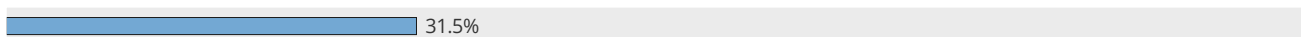
Skin colour



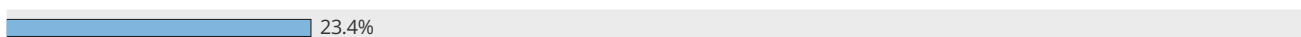
Gender



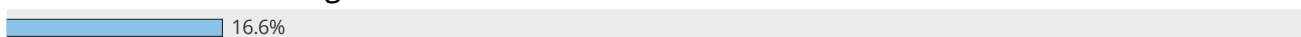
Hair/beard



Name



Social status/social background



Body weight

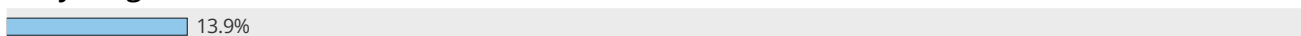
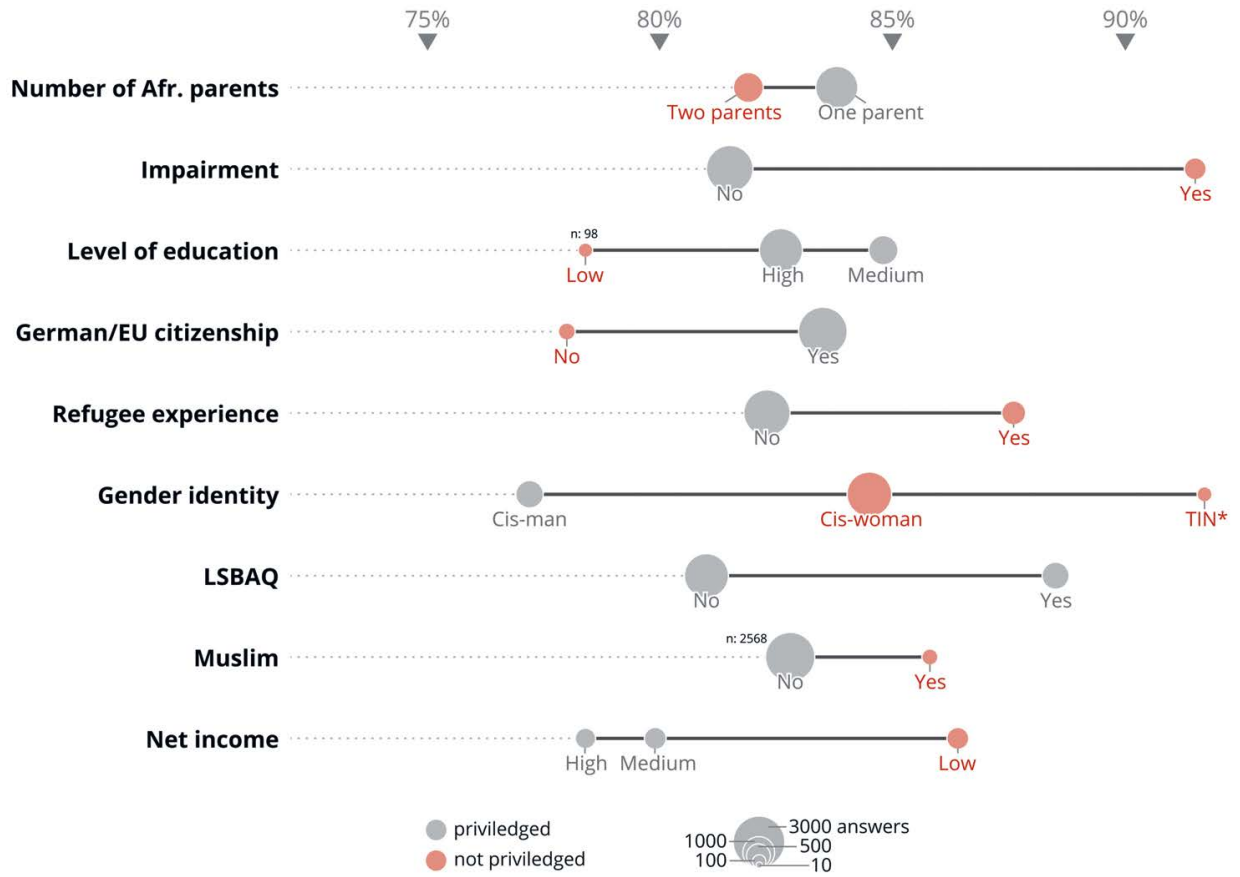


Fig. 48: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of "private life"

Reading example: TIN* respondents and cis-women are significantly more likely than cis-men to have experienced discrimination in the area of "private life".







6.2

Black experiences in healthcare: Discrimination, resilience and empowerment

According to the UN Convention on Human Rights, health is a human right (Article 25, UN Charter of Human Rights), which – according to Art. 2 para. 2 of the Grundgesetz/Basic Law or Constitution – Germany undertakes to guarantee with the welfare state principle (Article 20 para. 1 of the Constitution). "A necessary prerequisite for ensuring health protection is non-discriminatory access to medical and nursing infrastructure and services, which, in addition to medical and therapeutic treatment, also include medicines and medical devices" (Bartig et al., [2021](#)).

International discourses on racism and studies from countries such as the USA, Canada and the UK can provide initial orientation for research into the conditions of racist discrimination in the German healthcare system, particularly in areas where differentiated data and research perspectives are lacking in Germany, and this despite important differences to the German context. There, findings on the effects of anti-Black racism on the health care of Black people exemplify that racist behaviours and structures disadvantage and endanger Black people in the health care system (Dryden & Nnorom, [2021](#)). For example, research from the USA explores the central role of anti-Black racism in explaining significantly increased mortality among Black women and their children after childbirth. Remarkably, this discrepancy between Black and other mothers and their children persists even with comparable socioeconomic status and sometimes even when giving birth in the same hospital, which especially shines a light on the institutional and structural dimension of ABR in a special way (J. Taylor, [2020](#); J. Taylor et al., [2019](#)). In the context of the coronavirus pandemic, the vulnerability of Black people in the countries mentioned above becomes particularly evident: the correlations of "race" as a social construct with COVID-19 morbidity rates prove disproportionate effects of the pandemic on racialised groups, especially Black communities (Gravlee, [2020](#); Office for National Statistics, [2020](#)). These re-

search findings help to sharpen the analytical focus on racist discrimination in the German healthcare system. However, the still common proxy "migration background" is increasingly less suitable for capturing racist discrimination and, in particular, the realities of Black people in Germany (→ [Chapter 3.2](#)).

More differentiated research approaches also point to the lack of engagement with racism and discrimination in mental health care and psychotherapeutic practice (Kluge et al., [2020](#); Sequeira, 2015; Velho, 2011). Individual reports and the qualitative data on the experiences of Black people, which were collected in 2008 with "immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)" in focus group discussions on their experiences with white general practitioners (GPs), provide specific insights into racist experiences in GP care (Gerlach et al., 2008, p. 47).

Even though the researchers conducting this survey identified as white, they did not bother to consider any methodological implications associated with this setting. In contrast, in the Afrozensus, we as researchers record life realities of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people from the position as black researchers. As community-based research, the Afrozensus offers a "safe(r) space" [G] for Black people and communities when gathering information on their experiences and needs. The sources of insight for this part of the study

are the experiences, expertise, analyses and reflections of Black patients as well as Black experts within the healthcare system. The research by Dr Amma Yeboah (Yeboah, 2017) and the analyses and reports by Dr Marco Leitzke (Enquetekommission des Thüringer Landtags / committee of enquiry of the state parliament of Thuringia, 2019) on racism in healthcare were fundamental to the qualitative data collection in the Afrozensus.

Building on existing reports on the experiences of those affected by discrimination in the healthcare system, the Afrozensus brings together two new data sources: the results of the Afrozensus online survey and qualitative research results from focus groups and interviews with patients, nursing staff, doctors, psychologists and psychotherapists. In this qualitative survey, we asked about experiences and expert knowledge on the dynamics and effects of anti-Black racism (ABR definition → Chapter 2), experiences of discrimination, and dealing with ABR and empowerment in the healthcare sector. We include in this study expert and empirical knowledge on dynamics and affects of anti-Black racism (ABR, for definition see → Chapter 2), as well as the handling of such encounters and aspects of empowerment, collected in

the open response section of the online survey.

Firstly, we provide an overview of the quantitative research findings on experiences of discrimination in the area of "health and care". We subsequently present the qualitative results on manifestations of anti-Black racism as well as the consequences of and dealing with ABR.

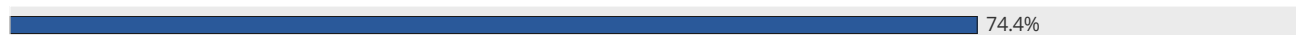
Based on which characteristics does discrimination occur in healthcare?

In the online survey, 6 out of 10 respondents (64.6% of n = 3385) who had contact with the "health and care" sector in the past two years stated that they had experienced discrimination there (→ Figure 22, Chapter 6.1). When asked which characteristics (multiple answers possible) they had been discriminated against in the area of "health and care" in the past two years, more than 7 out of 10 respondents named **"skin colour" (74.4%)** and **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" (72.7%)**. In addition, **28.4%** cited **"name"** and **22.7%** **"gender"** as characteristics. **15.6%** of respondents stated **"hair/beard"**, **13%** **"language"**, and **11.5%** **"social status / social origin"** (→ Figure 49, p. 133). Around 1 in 10 (9.5%) respondents also stated that

Fig. 49: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics with regard to which experiences of discrimination in the area of "health and care" have been made in the past two years (n = 2051, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost 3 in 10 (28.4%) of 2051 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "health and care" stated that they had experienced discrimination in the past two years based on their "name[s]", among other factors.

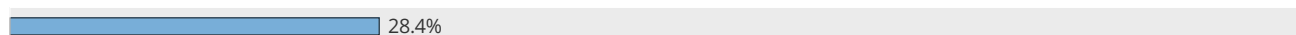
Skin colour



Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"



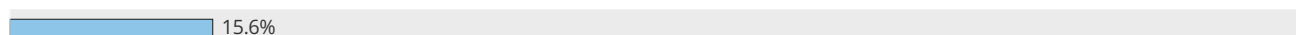
Name



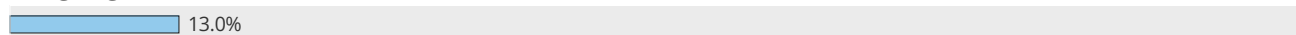
Gender



Hair/beard



Language



Social status/social background

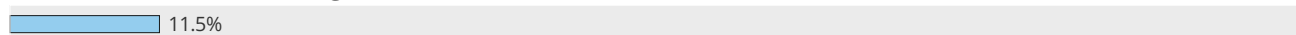
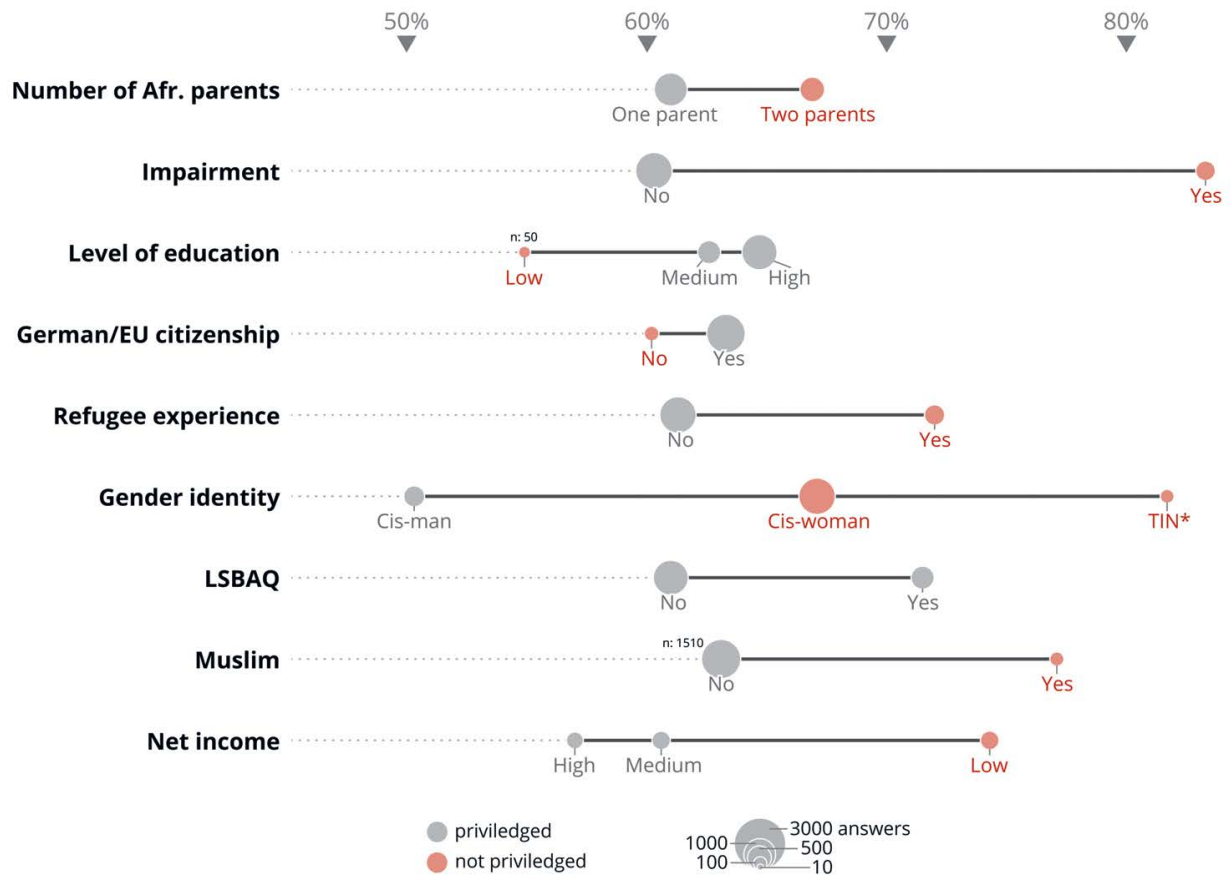


Fig. 50: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of "health and care"

Reading example: Cis-women and TIN* respondents are significantly more likely than cis-men to have experienced discrimination in the area of "health and care" in the past two years.



they had been discriminated against in the area of "health and care" in the past two years based on their "body weight", among other factors.

Experiences of discrimination of subgroups along selected diversity dimensions

With regard to the area of "health and care", we analyse experiences of discrimination according to subgroups for selected dimensions of diversity (→ [Chapter 3](#)) to identify differences between the groups that tend to be deprived and privileged. As explained in [Chapter 2](#), anti-Black racism occurs intersectionally with other forms of discrimination. The differences between the subgroup comparisons listed below are significant [G] ($p \leq 0.1$ two-sample t-test). The comparison between **trans*, inter*, and non-binary (TIN* [G]) respondents** (81.7% of $n = 104$) and cis-men (50.3% of $n = 598$) found shows the largest difference of +31.4 percentage points. The difference between

cis-women [G] (67.1% of $n = 1884$) and **cis-men [G]** is 17.1 percentage points. Cis-women and TIN* are, therefore, significantly more likely than cis-men to state that they have been discriminated against in the area of "health and care" in the past two years. **Respondents with impairments** (83.3% of $n = 305$) stated that they had experienced discrimination in the area of "health and care" significantly more often (+23.0 percentage points) than respondents without impairments (60.3% of $n = 2125$). **Respondents with low income** (74.3% of $n = 296$) are 17.3 percentage points more likely than high-income respondents (57.0% of $n = 284$) to say they have been discriminated against; compared to middle-income respondents (60.6% of $n = 343$), they are 13.7 percentage points more likely to say they have been discriminated against. The difference between middle- and high-income respondents is much smaller at 3.6 percentage points. **Respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents** are slightly more likely to report being discriminated against (+5.9 percentage points) (66.9%

of n = 715) than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (61.0% of n = 1648).

Muslim respondents (77.1% of n = 118) were significantly more likely to state that they had been discriminated against in the area of "health and care" in the past two years than non-Muslim respondents (63.1% of n = 2392). The group difference is 14.0 percentage points. Respondents with personal and/or family **refugee experience** (72.0% of n = 389) were 10.7 percentage points more likely to have been discriminated against in contact with the area of "health and care" in the past two years than respondents without refugee experience (61.3% of n = 2060). **LGBAQ respondents** (71.5% of n = 551) stated with a difference of +10.5 percentage points more frequently that they had been discriminated against in the area of "health and care" in the past two years than heterosexual respondents (61.0% of n = 1868) (→ [Figure 50, p. 134](#)). The differences concerning "educational qualification" and "German/EU nationality" are not significant and, therefore, not further explicated.

Discrimination characteristics and their combinations

The above frequency data on the characteristics "skin colour" (74.4%), "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" (72.7%), "name" (28.4%), "hair/beard" (15.6%), to which Black people relate their general experiences of discrimination, imply that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people experience discrimination in the healthcare sector primarily as anti-Black racism or in connection with ABR (→ [Subchapter 6.4](#)). The characteristics mentioned can be summarised as phenotypical attributions on the one hand and as ascribed cultural traits on the other. The frequency distributions of the combinations of characteristics for the area of life "health and care" also confirm this: "skin colour" and "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" are the most frequent combination of characteristics, followed by the mention of these two characteristics in combination with the "name". Next comes the combination of characteristics "skin colour", "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "gender". From these frequency data and their combination sequence, we can conclude that ABR is central to the experiences of discrimination of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and that ABR intersects with other forms of discrimination.

The qualitative results of the Afrozensus allow for a broader analysis of these experiences and to identify patterns and mechanisms of anti-Black racism. With regard to these specific analyses of the life realities of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, we closely scrutinised individual and collective experiences in the qualitative analysis. This includes experiences of discrimination and ABR, as well as empowering experiences. By transcending individual experiences, we can uncover the broader patterns and mechanisms underpinning structural and institutional discrimination. Moreover, we can identify resilient and empowering processes and strategies of Black people in dealing with anti-Black racism. The results of the qualitative research are based on community research consultations¹, one expert interview, eight written interviews, and two focus groups with four participants respectively, each focussing on the healthcare system (→ research design [Chapter 3](#)). They are summarised below in four sections, each of which also structured the qualitative survey formats:

1. **Forms of anti-Black racism in healthcare**
2. **Basic patterns and dynamics of anti-Black racism**
3. **Consequences of anti-Black racism**
4. **Dealing with anti-Black racism**

Our synthesis of the qualitative survey consolidates central themes and patterns, framing main statements within the unique contexts of their respective focus groups or interviews on a group- or subject-specific basis. We use selected quotations in italics to emphasise the collective and specific experiences of Black patients, doctors, psychologists, psychotherapists, and care givers. The results on "manifestations of anti-Black racism" are subdivided into psychotherapeutic health care on the one hand and other medical care by general practitioners, specialists, hospitals and rehabilitation clinics on the other hand, in order to do justice to the specific dynamics of ABR in the field of mental health.

¹ The focal points for the design of the qualitative research were developed through expert discussions within community organisations, and the input was incorporated into the design of the focus groups and interviews.

6.2.1

Forms of anti-Black racism in the healthcare system

In the following section, we look at the manifestations of ABR in **healthcare structures** in general and **diagnostics, research, professional training and skills development measures** in particular. To focus and visualise the results, these are divided into separate areas, but in reality, they overlap or interact with each other.

Supply structures

All participants in the qualitative survey mentioned barriers to accessing treatment and therapies due to racist discrimination. In particular, the summarised analysis of the expert interviews reveals the following ABR dynamics in the healthcare system: Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are structurally disadvantaged, as their needs and requirements are not taken into account in the provision and use of medical care. The experiences of discrimination and trauma caused by structural violence result in them being sidelined in care structures and care networks and also in discontinuing treatment due to racist experiences with professionals in the healthcare system. In cases of complex multiple marginalisation, access to care becomes even more difficult, and the risk of experiencing structural violence, increases (→ [Subchapter 6.4](#)). In addition, language barriers, in particular, are identified as a structural obstacle to providing information about access and treatment.

The focus group discussion of psychologists and psychotherapists shows that access to therapy in **psychotherapeutic care** is basically difficult, with many people often waiting for a long time for therapeutic treatment. The reason given for this is the regionally limited number of licences given by the health insurance companies. With a health insurance licence, psychotherapists can offer care without clients having to pay for treatment themselves or submit them to time-consuming applications with their health insurers. Psychotherapists criticise that these health insurance licences are limited and capped, expensive to acquire and involve waiting times of several years. In addition, patients often face the problem that it is

difficult to be granted therapy units within the framework of standard care, even if there is a proven need for psychotherapy, and that applying for reimbursement from the health insurance company involves extensive efforts.

"Most white therapists and psychologists are not sensitive to and/or reproduce anti-Black experiences of racism. Therefore, like many other BIPOC [G] people, I feel the need to be in treatment with BIPOC therapists and psychologists who are sensitive to my experience as a Black person. However, since there is a) a general lack of these and b) only very few of them are covered by health insurance, I refrained from therapeutic treatment for a long time when I could no longer pay on my own (€75 per session) for [...] therapy with a Black therapist."
(Interviews: patients)

With regard to health care supply for Black people, this results in high barriers to being able to have recourse to the health care service. According to the experience of psychotherapists, social class also plays a decisive role in having recourse to psychotherapeutic services: Members of the middle and upper classes can more easily access and afford the counselling and treatment services they need if the health insurance companies do not refund them.

To break down the above mentioned barriers to psychotherapeutic care for Black people, Black psychologists and psychotherapists are considering, among other things, the idea of requesting *"special-needs insurance licences for people affected by racism"* (focus group: *psychologists/psychotherapists*).

A major point of criticism of insufficient supply in mental health care is that the effects of racism on health are not recognised. Other diagnoses are used as placeholders to address individual racist experiences and perceive them also as structural racism. The participants emphasise that psychotherapeutic health-care needs to address racism in its structures and institutions, develop expertise that is critical of racism

and understand **racism as a significant factor impacting** the health of Black people.

"And then I simply realise that when it comes to the topic of racism [...] a very specific form must be found to complement this, to stimulate processes and to include racism as an impacting factor." (Focus group: psychologists/psychotherapists)

The experiences of Black people in **medical care (general practitioners, specialists, hospitals and rehabilitation clinics)** are characterised by "othering" (further explanations on this in the section "ABR basic patterns and dynamics"). Black patients, nursing staff and doctors emphasise that othering plays a major role, especially towards Black patients. Here, the participants describe how racist patterns of thought and behaviour make access to medical care more difficult or impossible on a structural and individual level. Knowledge and access to medical services, such as rehab measures, follow-up treatment, differential diagnoses, etc., depend on the mediating behaviour of health and service personnel, which is being influenced by othering processes. Black doctors and nurses, in particular, call for othering behaviour to be named and systematically incorporated into the curricula for professional training and academic studies, for example, to present in medical training situations or offer role plays, etc., in order to train critical awareness:

"Okay, I have to look at my counterpart from a different perspective. I can't simply expect my own reality to be sufficient to treat my counterpart, every counterpart, equally." (Focus group doctors)

Black patients describe implicitly and also explicitly direct experiences of ABR in contact with doctors and service staff. The participating doctors explain how patients' experiences of racism and re-traumatisation lead to reluctance and avoidance behaviour when seeking medical care (→ [section "Consequences of ABR" – Avoidance](#)). Black doctors, in particular, observe this reluctance in patients as well as in Black people in their social environment in general and that they demand less:

"I believe [that] Black people also demand much less from the patient perspective – also because they perhaps feel that they are not allowed to demand so much." (Focus group: doctors)

We explain the ABR experiences that doctors and nursing staff as healthcare professionals have with

"othering" in the section on "ABR basic patterns and dynamics").

Black professionals in the healthcare sector cite **language as one of the barriers to accessing** care. 13% of 2051 Afrozensus respondents who stated that they had experienced discrimination in the area of "health and care" named "language" as a characteristic of discrimination (multiple answers possible). In the qualitative survey, "language" was named by medical staff as a particularly relevant access barrier that leads to discrimination in communication and interaction.

"You have to understand everything that is being said in order to be able to carry out treatment properly. So language also plays a big role." (Focus group: doctors)

Black patients often receive incomplete information and inadequate counselling if they do not have the necessary language skills. According to their assessment, healthcare staff do not adequately fulfil their duty to inform and educate. On the one hand, the doctors' and nurses' own positioning on the interpersonal level is relevant here to deal with language barriers in a manner aware of possible discriminations and reduce communication-related stress for patients.

On the other hand, language and the associated need for translation as a prerequisite for treatment must be structurally guaranteed by qualified interpreters. They must have language skills as well as health-specific knowledge in order to inform patients accordingly. The right to information is one of the main elements of patients' rights (Patients' Rights Act: Section 630e BGB, n.d. [2013](#)). The participating doctors emphasise that the implications for medical treatment can be serious, as without translation, patients sign declarations that they do not understand and thus take risks that they are not aware of, even if these have been explained to them by doctors.

Processes must be organised efficiently and smoothly for medical staff to avoid stressful situations for doctors and service staff. For example, if translations are not guaranteed by the organisational structure and communication hence requires an additional work step, this creates further stress for healthcare staff in an already tight schedule. This, in turn, can have a negative impact on the attitude towards the patient.

Diagnostics

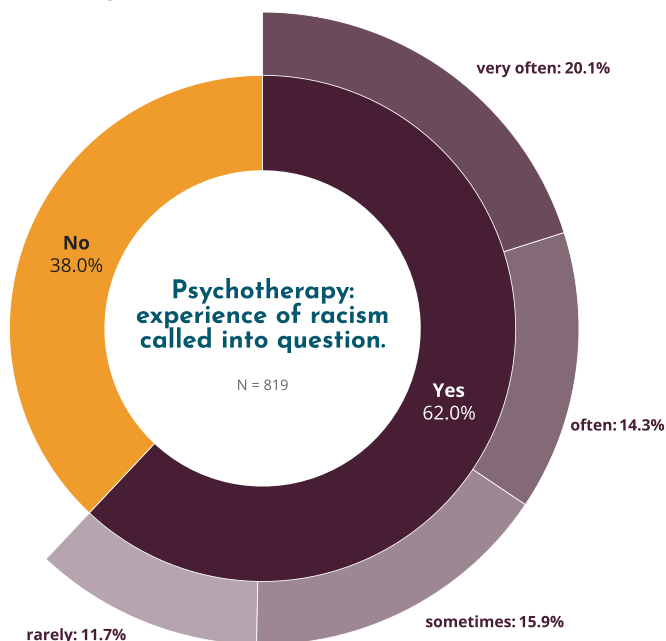
Within the field of diagnostics, participating **psychotherapists** acknowledge in a mutual exchange that based on current understanding, the factor 'discrimination' might potentially be included as an adjunct to diagnoses in treatments.

"(...) as a matter of fact diagnoses always have to be assigned, but now at least the addition of 'experience of discrimination' is included (...) The addition exists, but of course not specific to racism, but at least to discrimination - that was a highlight for me, that this can now be included in the diagnoses." (Focus group: psychologists/ psychotherapists)

They see it as a significant advancement in acknowledging discrimination experiences, yet there's a call for more precise articulation, specifically addressing racism. A classic ABR experience, which Black people in healthcare repeatedly report, is that their **complaints are not taken seriously**. Many respondents to the online survey also share this experience: 62.0% of 819 respondents agree with the statement, "My experiences of racism are not taken seriously and questioned during psychotherapy² (→ Figure 51, p.138).

Fig. 51: "In psychotherapy, my experiences of racism are not taken seriously and questioned." (n = 819)

Reading example: 62.0% of Afrozensus respondents (n = 819) state that their experiences of racism are not taken seriously and questioned during psychotherapy. More than a third of respondents (34.4%) state that this situation occurs "often" or "very often".



The lack of recognition of the effects of racism on well-being and mental health means that there are no corresponding counselling and treatment services.

"And on the other hand, their complaints are not taken seriously. In other words, this [lack of recognition] has the effect that, on the one hand, mental health is massively impaired and, at the same time, mental health care [...] does not exist." (Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare system)

Above all, Black psychotherapists emphasise the urgency of critically assessing psychotherapy services in Germany and urge for the establishment of processes that take into account the reality of Black people's lives. As already described, there is a lack of concepts that describe the effects and impacts of racism and include racism as an effective factor in diagnosis and treatment. In English-speaking countries, however, there are some concepts such as *"Imposter Syndrome"* [G] and *"Invisibility Syndrome"* [G], which at least address the effects of racism on the (mental) health of Black people.

The statement "My doctor does not take my complaints seriously" was chosen by 2108 Afrozensus respondents. Of these, two-thirds (66.7%) stated that their complaints are not taken seriously (→ Figure 52, p.139). In the focus group discussion, Black doctors see this as a possible reason for the reluctance of Black patients to come into contact with care structures. They observe that Black patients adapt and do not want to "be a burden" since they are not taken seriously.

Using the *"Mediterranean syndrome"*, also known as *"Mediterranean disease"* [G], the participating doctors describe how the misjudgement of pain expression and pain sensation often leads to delays in diagnosis and misdiagnosis. They believe, that the influence of nursing staff or doctors in reaching the correct diagnosis or therapy and that it is, therefore, important not to judge pain sensation with racist stereotypes and attributions. In their experience, these stereotypes, assumptions and attributions often lead to under- and overdiagnosis in diagnostics:

"HIV and tuberculosis diagnostics really are quite disproportionate."

"Anti-Black racism is sometimes totally centred on the patient. [...] Diagnosis lists, differential di-

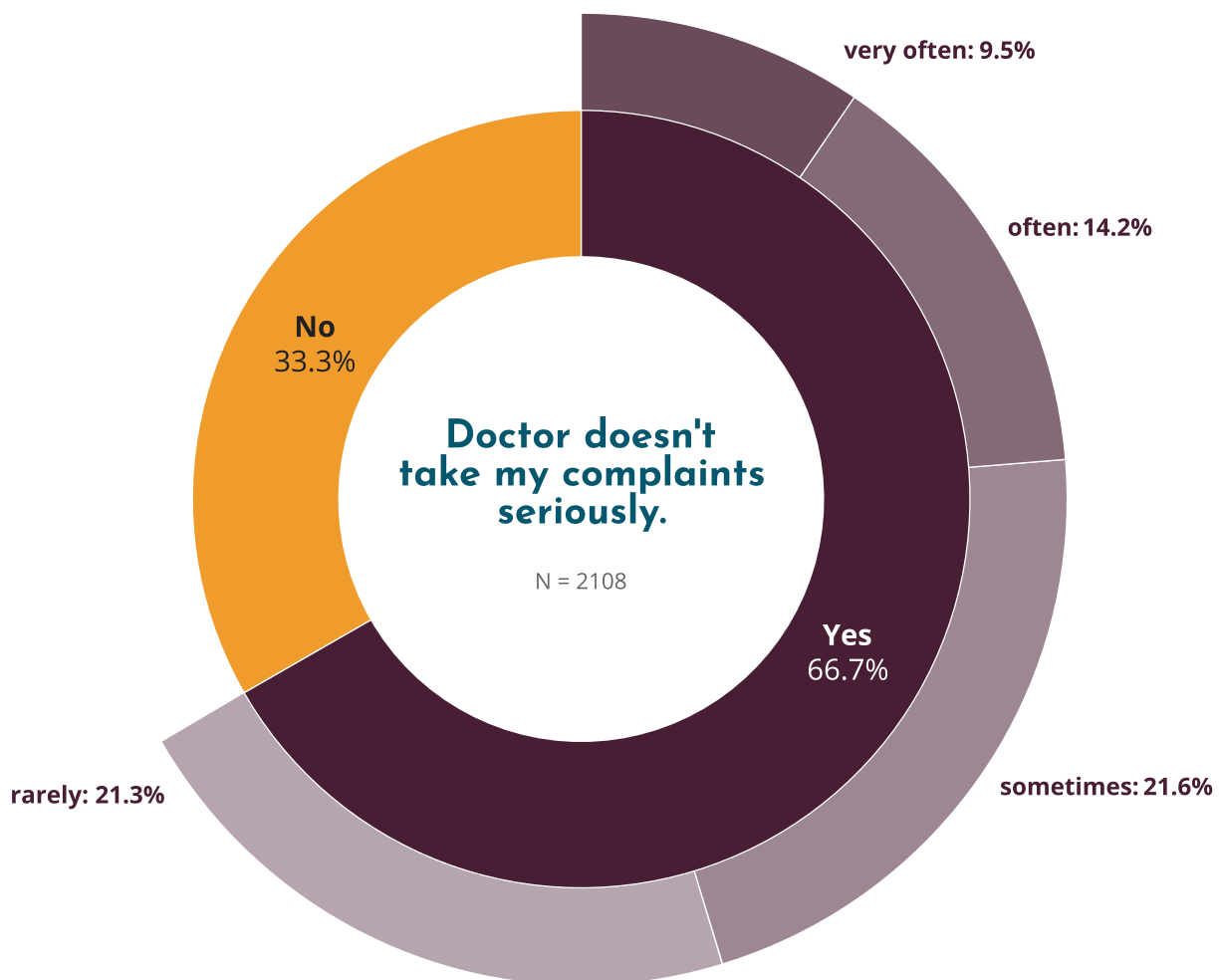
agnostics - as a doctor, you have to establish what there can and can't be. And then you realise that obviously a list is checked when it comes to Black patients, and you start to you think [...] if that child is from Cologne and if anything, may have been as far as Düsseldorf, why then would you have to ward off malaria and more tropical diseases?"
(Focus group: doctors)

Black doctors describe it as difficult to address anti-Black racism through professional questioning or enquiries in diagnostics, which is characterised by strong hierarchy, which gives is little room for critical

discussion. The exotification of Black people, especially children, by white doctors and nursing staff is also criticised as a false focus – **"the Black child is so cute"** (focus group: doctors) – which occasionally also leads to essential medical aspects of treatment not being addressed during the ward round. To give an example of a "fatal misdiagnosis", visible symptoms of a Black child's haemophilia are explained with anti-Black attributions of violence and brutality. When it comes to "skin diseases", Black doctors explain that medical care and supply is not geared towards the treatment of Black people and needs to be adapted:

Fig. 52: "My doctor does not take my complaints seriously." (n = 2108)

Reading Example: Two thirds of Afrozensus respondents (66.7% of n = 2108) state that their doctor does not take their complaints seriously. Almost every 10th person (9.5%) stated that this situation occurs "very often".



2 The descriptions of the situations are based on a survey of EOTO volunteers and employees. The question consisted of two sets of 23 statements each on discriminatory situations. Respondents were randomly assigned to either Set 1 or Set 2. Four of these 23 statements were included in both sets due to their increased relevance to the Black communities. "No response" and the response category "Does not apply" were excluded from the analysis. See Appendix 12 for the overall table of results

"But also with skin diseases - and I have to say, I simply learnt nothing - nothing at all! - if not the glaring opposite." (Focus group: doctors)

Research

In health research, data on the health situation of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people have been largely lacking to date. In the guise of migration research, attempts are made to record their realities of life under the statistical concept of "migration background". Such a recording can only ever be flawed (→ Chapter 3); it does not grasp the specific experiences and dynamics of anti-Black racism with its intersections and does not focus on the needs and perspectives of Black people. Approaches to appropriate treatment are needed, especially with regard to the effects and handling of racist discrimination. The participants firmly call for research which openly acknowledges and specifies racism.

"The structures have not changed yet, because we have retained the routines, the guidelines, the research committees, [...] the language in such a way that racism is not dealt with at all, i.e. it is still not addressed. [...] That's why I say that the structures are still based on racism or deny the existence of racism." (Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare sector)

Concerning research and science, the participating **psychologists and psychotherapists** also criticise that access to knowledge and research requires a high degree of politicisation and/or access via small informal networks, knowledge of specific publishers, etc. Due to difficult access, they have to exceedingly activate their own resources for finding literature and scanning the research sector through channels within the Black communities. The lack of concepts and the often mislabelled literature on racism in German-speaking countries, for example, under the heading of 'migration', require professionals to draw on a lot of English-language literature and research findings - however, this approach raises the question of transferability: While racism is to be understood as a global phenomenon and needs an international reference as a framing, there is an equal need for racism research from and with a Black perspective in Germany. No database documents and makes available empirical knowledge and research work from and with Black perspectives. Black researchers find points of contact for research via networking groups. The participants agree that there is a lot of knowledge:

"Indeed, there is knowledge. Indeed, there is experience." "[This knowledge] however, is not being recognised to matter." (Focus group: psychologists/psychotherapists)

This knowledge must become visible and accessible, bundled and made available for Black communities and society as a whole. Their experience is that knowledge and research needs that are not validated are not considered relevant and are often not funded. The participating psychologists and psychotherapists emphasise the need to promote and institutionalise research on the effects of racism, specifically ABR, on health and in healthcare structures.

Black doctors also describe the lack of confronting racism in **medical teaching and practice**. In diagnostics, in common treatment therapies, as well as in medical research, structures and institutions of healthcare manifest white people's prioritisation. Departing from a white, cis-male, European standard in medical research, corresponding diagnostic tools and treatments are developed but also applied to Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.

"[...] you can have those studies, but then it's about [...] really communicating that [...], also at university, that these [...] studies are calibrated for this 70-[kg], 170 [cm] tall cis-man. For all the others we need to interpret, interpret correctly, because this can also be quite risky." (Focus group: doctors)

They emphasise that a critique with regard to racism must be institutionalised as part of the treatment of and research on clinical pictures. Within clinical research, it's crucial to consider instances of racism as a contributing factor to health. The authorisation of drugs requires a racism-critical assessment of the effects and risks for Black patients. Unravelling the extent to which anti-Black racism yields a particular co-morbidity [G] also in Germany within the sphere of medication demands thorough research.

"More research and funding is needed in Germany; we are just as much part of society as everyone else." (Interviews: carers)

Training and qualification

In addition to their own experiences of racism during their studies and training, especially when their (mental) abilities put in question, Black psychotherapists criticise the fact that an "educational gap" remains, as racism was neither addressed during their studies nor in their therapist's training. The expert interview also underscores this aspect:

"Not even one single module, not one single seminar, not one single lecture in all these 13 years of high-level training has dealt with the topic of racism. Just try to imagine what that means. That means: eleven years of really highly qualifying training and not even one single time the issue of racism and its implications for the health of a highly qualified person." (*Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare sector*)

This means that during their training or studies no one, including Black experts and professionals can acquire the necessary expertise to deal professionally with anti-Black racism. The German qualification structures for medical training do not address racism and its effects on health. Participants have so far found that basic as well as further qualification on (anti-)racism can only be obtained through extra-curricular programmes, usually abroad, for example, in the UK or South Africa. This results in them facing additional expenses. In addition to their biographical background and the experiential knowledge that comes with it, they also need resources for professional dialogue. In the summer of 2020, the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) has increasingly put the focus on Black therapists. As a result of the high demand and attention, Black licensed colleagues and counsellors are more and more confronted with this topic in their work .

"There is actually so much request, so much demand, suddenly this focus [...] is now very strongly directed towards Black therapists." (*Focus group: psychologists/psychotherapists*)

In **medical training**, it is necessary to develop an awareness for different realities of life and to be able to name othering processes specifically. Medical staff do not receive education and training that is critical of racism. According to focus group participants, internalised racist stereotypes and accompanying implicit associations are not dealt with and thus are transmitted onto Black colleagues and patients. Consequently,

the participants advocate for embedding anti-racist learning and practice within the curriculum.

Black doctors report how difficult access to medical studies is and that it is mainly the children of academics who become doctors, most of whom have no connection to social disadvantage. In medical school, they often faced the assumption that they had a white family context as an explanation for their career as doctors. The prevailing assumption often was that their studying was feasible primarily because of their (family's) wealth. Black female doctors experience intersectional discrimination, particularly based on gender and class:

"[...] there's somehow a kink in the mindset of a lot of people; they find it [being Black / being African and studying medicine] somehow difficult to reconcile, and then there's always [...] classism on top of that, [...] during my studies many people always assumed I was adopted, they can't open up their minds at all." (*Focus group: doctors*)

Despite their professional position as doctors, the experience of ABR is omnipresent, and, according to their experiences, working as a professional in white structures is associated with high extra costs. These may include several job changeovers due to racist experiences.

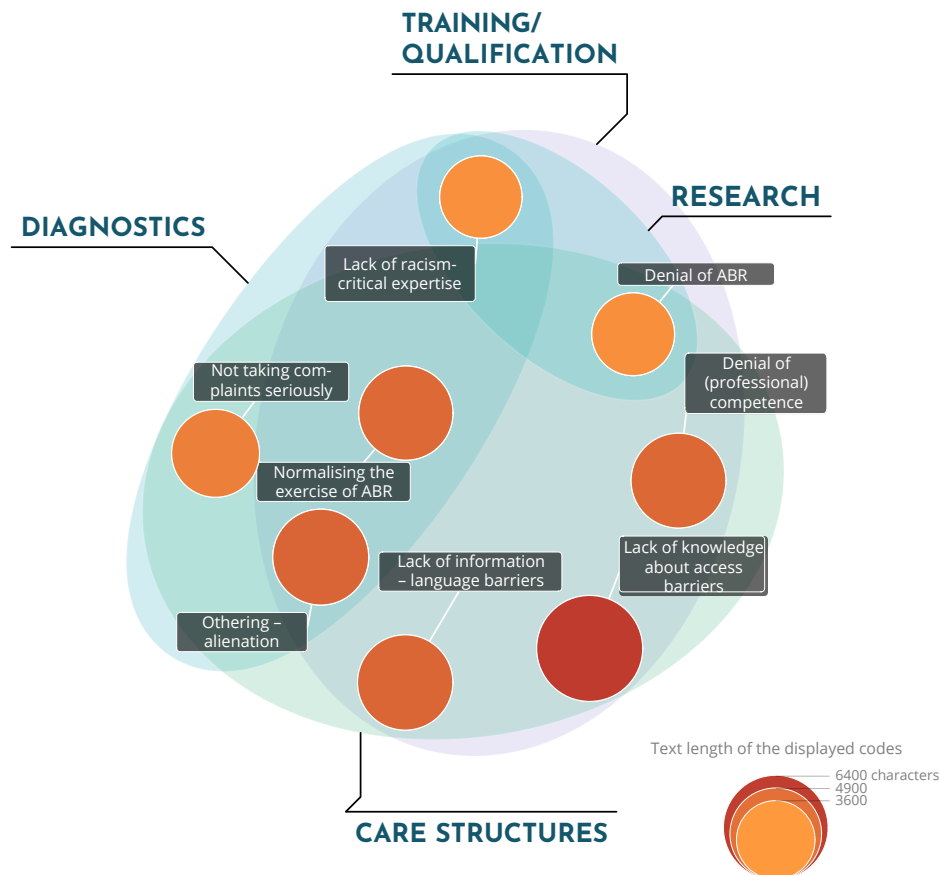
6.2.2

Basic patterns and dynamics of anti-Black racism

In the following, we derive superordinate basic patterns and dynamics of ABR in healthcare from the manifestations mentioned above of anti-Black racism. These emerge from the cross-group analysis and the statements as defining patterns of the realities of discrimination against Black people. To illustrate this, we show in Figure 53 (p.142) the distribution of the coded content for the category "manifestations of ABR" grouped by "areas" based on the focus group discussion of the participating doctors. After the content analysis evaluation, the codes (e.g. "denial of ABR") were weighted according to the length of their text. The area and colour of the dots represent the total length of the text in the discussion assigned to the respective code: the larger and darker the dot, the

longer the text. If a text passage is assigned to a code under "manifestation of anti-Black racism" and is also marked with an "area" – represented by the ellipses – it means that this type of ABR manifestation occurs in this area. For example, Black doctors address "lack of information and language barriers" in the areas of "care structures" and "training/qualification". Their assessments regarding "not taking complaints seriously" relate in particular to the area of "diagnostics" and medical "care structures" as a whole. "Lack of racism-critical competence" and "denial of ABR" are discussed in this focus group for the areas of "research" and "training/qualification", among others. Finally, we identify the ABR characteristics "othering", "normalising the practice of ABR", "disregarding professional

Fig. 53: Focus group of doctors: Allocation of manifestations of anti-Black racism to areas of the healthcare system



competence", and "denial of ABR" as well as "lack of knowledge about access barriers" as characteristic of the areas of "care structures" and "training/qualification", among others.

By combining the analyses from the focus groups and interviews, we can identify ABR-specific basic patterns and dynamics, which we explain in more detail below:

Anti-Black racism is omnipresent in society as well as in medicine. Black professionals explain that hierarchies and privileges from society and the resulting mechanisms are also effective in the context of medical care. Black people repeatedly face **othering/foreignisation** through racialising stereotypes, prejudices and attributions [G].

Black lives are not seen in their heterogeneity and are localised as foreign. 94% of 2413 Afrozensus respondents agree with the statement: "I am randomly asked questions about my origin in situations where it is not relevant (visit to the doctor, visit to the hairdresser, at a party)." (→ Appendix 12: Discrimination situations)

Black professionals in the healthcare sector describe how, in addition to essentialisation through a white gaze that homogenises Blackness as a reality of life, there is a permanent **invalidation, devaluation and denial** of the experiences of Black people. This leads to the **"normalisation of the practice of anti-Black racism"**. Othering of Black people serves as a discrim-

ination mechanism that leads to questioning achievements, doubting abilities and even dehumanisation. In this context, Black patients report that they have to put up with a lot of disregard in order to continuously build a relationship with their GP practice, for example.

"Doctors and nurses are predominantly white Germans. Even when I make an appointment and before I enter the doctor's office, I am aware that I am perceived as different because of my appearance and treated differently accordingly. I think that in addition to racism, my being a woman and my age also play a role: as a young Black woman, I am often not treated with the same respect as white patients. It's hard for me to imagine throwing a health insurance card at a white person because a doctor's assistant doesn't want to write their name."
(Interviews: patients)

In the healthcare sector, participating women, in particular, describe the intersectional interweaving of their experiences of discrimination along social class, gender and ABR. In addition to othering processes that occur when dealing with patients (→ section ABR characteristics → diagnostics), Black professionals name their own ABR experiences. They experience that explanations are demanded for their presence as Black people in their respective professional functions, for example, as doctors or carers, and that they have to justify themselves again and again. They report incidents such as commenting on their skin colour, discussing their hair, making inappropriate comparisons, using the N-word, avoiding pronouncing their name, etc.

"Both [by] doctors and medical assistants, my being Black is repeatedly commented on and addressed in various contexts. They often ask where I come from and whether I was born and grew up in Germany. Doctors have often explained my state of health by saying that 'this is often the case with people from Africa'. A white gynaecologist compared my skin colour to that of her German-Moroccan son, who, as she put it, has the same beautiful mocha skin as me. It also happens again and again that doctors, after asking about my origin, talk about their trips to Africa."

(Interviews: patients)

"I always brace myself for comments." (Interviews: carers)

The dilemma of how to react in ABR situations intensifies any traumatisation caused by racist violence. Black professionals describe the **disruptive effect of racist remarks** and behaviour on their personal and professional lives. Expressing or addressing racist violence as a reaction to racism is complicated and psychologically stressful. A sense of defeat lingers when ABR and discrimination are not called out due to self-protection from potential further escalation.

If, however, these matters are addressed, this might hamper one's career (more detailed explanations → [section Model "Dilemma of the reaction" p. 154](#)).

Participants report that discrimination they experienced in the work context has led to re-traumatisation and experiences of violence, panic attacks and several job changes. Their ABR experiences are trivialised, denied or disavowed, for example by employers refusing to speak to them or white colleagues advising them not to take racist abuse so seriously. In the intersection of anti-Black racism and sexism, Black doctors and nurses often name the violence perpetrated by white male colleagues or patients. In addition, language skills, passport or nationality and racist hierarchisation through colourism [G] are further factors that intertwine in the practice of ABR. The subsequent section elucidates how these factors fuel the consistent refusal to acknowledge the professional competencies of Black healthcare professionals.

The above mentioned, permanent foreignization of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in white spaces often goes together with **their qualifications and skills not being recognised or questioned**. Black professionals experience this degrading in training, during

their studies (here, for example, the questioning of German language skills and intellectual capacities despite grade-based access restrictions) and also in professional life. It has already been pointed out that attributed white, wealthy and/or academic family contexts may explain professional careers.

"And it always created confusion, for all people; somehow it didn't seem to fit, being Black and somehow being a doctor."

(Focus group: doctors)

Especially in hierarchically structured power relations, as they prevail in medicine, Black doctors experience **intersectional discrimination** in the guise of sexism and anti-Black racism. They commonly find themselves misidentified as either nurses or cleaning staff. In this context, they also observe that the derecognition of professionalism is nuanced according to attributions going along with language and colourism.

"Well, one doctor is from Togo, and my colleague is from Kenya, and I do notice big differences. In this context I see myself as privileged, light-

skinned, a German native speaker. Both have been in Germany for quite some years and they clearly speak German at native speaker level, I do indeed notice that they also encounter different experiences beyond mine." *(Focus group: doctors)*

The ABR experiences of Black professionals in the healthcare sector range from denial of their professional competence by their colleagues, to refusal to work with them to white patients refusal to be treated. During the ward round patients drop remarks, such as:

"Oh, I'm really surprised that people like you [the less respectful address "du" being used instead of the appropriate "Sie"...] **work here [...]"** *(Fokusgruppe: Ärzt*innen)*

Here, **nursing staff** describe more explicit experiences of ABR violence through racist remarks and admonishments on what they should do and how they should behave, mostly coming from patients:

"Sometimes it's harder to persuade patients to receive treatment from me."

"Patients who told me to go to Africa and pick bananas from the tree. One patient urged me to smile so that she could admire my 'little white teeth'. I took blood from another patient, and he proudly told me about his pure, Aryan, blue blood that I was taking from him." *(Interviews: nursing staff)*

In the context of **psychotherapeutic health care**, clients are surprised to encounter Black professionals during counselling appointments or therapy. Furthermore, psychologists/psychotherapists describe that the professional distance is infringed, as clients, without prior explicit communication, "pass the ball" to them alluding to experiences of discrimination and assuming that Black professionals due to their being Black can inevitably understand all sorts of experiences of discrimination without further explanation. They report that they are neither taken into account nor expected in basic trainings and skill enhancement programmes. By being reduced to attributions like "skin colour", they are repeatedly confronted with the problem of being pushed into a niche on the personal as well as on a professional level. As an example: Black professionals experience racism when their expertise is narrowed down and when white parents of Black children assume that it is their task to automatically get along well with their clients, i.e. the Black children. In this regard, they criticise, in particular, that the

power of agency of Black people involved is infringed, when they are advised on how and when they should get to terms with their experiences of racism. The psychotherapists describe the assumption of acquisition of **agency** as a conflicted pattern when it comes to discussing Black people's experiences of racism. White people in the family, partnership, residential community, etc., follow up with racism and bring their taking interest to the attention of the Black person – but bypass their own confrontation with it and the process of the person itself. The Black persons no longer have any control over the process and find themselves in a historical-colonial racist dynamic, where decision-making control is exercised over the Black person. In that setting they are even disempowered in the process of coming to terms with racism on their own. The healthcare system is repeatedly criticised for **not teaching the competence to deal professionally with racism** in general and with ABR in particular throughout medical training and further education. The healthcare system's emphasis on catering to the needs of white people is deeply entrenched within its structures and institutions:

"But the guidelines, routines, laws and structures themselves do not consider the needs and requirements of Black people. And that means that there is simply no knowledge of how to interact with this person. And that leads to [...] the people who are supposed to be cared for not arriving, on the one hand. But the people who are supposed to care for them don't accept them either." (*Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare sector*).

This leads to a **dual exclusion mechanism**: discrimination in the utilisation of care as well as through non-utilisation, i.e. anticipated discrimination due to avoiding care structures (→ section Consequences of ABR - Avoidance). The exercise of racist aggression or violence in the provision of care exacerbates structural deficits. But "unconscious" unequal treatment can also be dangerous here, as participants emphasise: The lack of or limited access to care due to racist, discriminatory structures and experiences of ABR during treatment or therapy can lead to increased risks and burdens for Black patients. In psychotherapeutic care, Black patients report **racist violence during treatment**. An example of this is the use of the N-word in the therapy of a Black patient with post-traumatic stress disorder. In healthcare, the participating psychotherapists and doctors emphasise the importance

of racism-critical language. White therapists often have little awareness when dealing with Black patients. As already explained under diagnostics, 62% of those surveyed in the Afrozensus (n = 508) stated that their experiences of racism were not taken seriously and questioned during psychotherapy (→ [p.138](#)).

"Well, whiteness always takes centre stage somehow. And from there, either too much closeness is offered, unsolicited closeness is offered, paternalistic behaviour comes to the surface, or it is simply ignored."

(*Focus group: psychologists/psychotherapists*)

According to Black psychotherapists, Black patients manifest a fear of not being seen and having to justify their own identity development. For them, dealing and strategising with experiences of racism requires knowledge, empathy and the ability to connect. Experience has shown that the lack of competence to understand anti-Black racism and to understand it as trauma in treatment, as well as racist re-traumatisation, empirically lead to an increase in psychological stress and disorders.

6.2.3

Consequences of anti-Black racism

Cancellation and delay of treatment or therapy

Both Black patients and Black doctors describe that racist microaggressions [G] in the care sector result in caution, restraint and mistrust on the part of Black patients. They have to make an extended effort and be uncomplaining in order to be taken seriously and, at the same time, they demand less, which results in them having shorter stays at consultations with GPs.

"I often don't feel like making appointments with doctors or visiting new surgeries because I want to avoid unpleasant, discriminatory experiences. For a long time now, I have also been consciously researching doctors who are Black or of colour to avoid the experiences described above."

(Interviews: patients)

Another consequence of anti-Black racism in the healthcare system is that Black patients repeatedly discontinue their treatment due to racist experiences with professionals. Professionals in the care structures have no awareness of their racist aggression and no critical white consciousness. In psychotherapeutic healthcare, in particular, it is clearly described that Black clients or patients discontinue several treatments before their health situation stabilises. They do this out of self-protection to avoid the racist violence to which they are exposed. The participants explain that denying or disavowing experiences of ABR, the use of re-traumatising language and the lack of recognition of the effects of racism can lead to long-term damage through the healthcare system. This means that even in well-running therapies, there is no room to address racism as long as there is no racism-critical expertise, as Black psychotherapists are often told by Black, African and Afro-diasporic patients. In mental

health and psychiatric care, this results in additional work for Black professionals in the process of finding the right placement for Black patients in order to avoid structural violence, prevent re-traumatisation and enable adequate treatment.

"I am in a call with psychosocial services: 'Can you please visit this person at home? I am on the phone with GP's: 'Can you please make [a] home visit? Because some people refuse to step back into the healthcare system. She has already cancelled the fourth psychotherapy treatment process, saying: 'I'm definitely not going back to be treated by a white person'.'" (Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare system)

Avoidance

Overall, 98% of Afrozensus respondents (of n = 4339) assume that discrimination occurs in the area of "health and care". Of 4217 respondents who generally believe that there is discrimination in the area of "health and care", 14.7% state that they

have avoided this area in the past two years for fear of discrimination (→ [Figures 20](#) and [21](#), Chapter 6.1). The presumption follows that Black people may refrain from seeking medical attention owing to the significant structural hurdles and discriminatory encounters mentioned earlier. Particularly in the context of **psychotherapeutic and psychiatric healthcare** avoidance and delay of essential treatment is being reported.

"Mentally impaired people, I am talking about Black people who are mentally impaired, have to get over enormous barriers, to make use of the institutions. For the very simple reason that they have the empirical evidence, i.e. the life experience, that these structures are racist." (Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare sector)

Black psychotherapists explain that seeking care is associated with anxiety for Black patients, which then

also leads to the progression of disorders or illnesses. Furthermore, Black patients tend to favour walk-in treatment due to their negative experiences with inpatient facilities. While ABR experiences persist in healthcare, the pervasive stigma and taboos surrounding mental health, especially with regard to Black women, contribute to reinforcing the aversion to seeking therapy. In addition, Black narratives about treatments are negatively tainted and characterised by scepticism. The participating psychotherapists link this to the historical use of white diagnostics in psychotherapies that were used to oppress Black people.

In the following section on dealing with ABR, we take up avoidance behaviour for self-protection as a coping strategy in the context of ABR resilience.

Mental stress

Black professionals explain that racist structures and violence translate into mental as well as physical stress for Black people.

"This means that survival or mere existence in the system is accompanied by very, very massive psychological, physical [consequences], but also in terms of professional development." (*Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare system*)

The participating psychotherapists point out that ABR violence experiences can lead to anxiety disorders, depressive disorders, panic attacks, and more. Black people experience stress at a high level of tension due to their awareness of constant external (white) gaze [G] and assessment.

"So I look outwards a lot and always: How am I being perceived? How am I judged? Am I performing adequately enough? I, am I enough, after all? So it's very, very much focussed on the outer world." (*Focus group: psychologists/psychotherapists*)

They judge the confrontation with racism to be painful and that this "deep pain" remains, as the recognition of racism as a whole and especially as an impact factor on the health of Black people is crucial for the healing of racist trauma. In this respect, the transgenerational denial of racism is identified as a pattern:

So it's not as if you can say that it will be over next year or so. And then there's this long-term way of dealing with a violation and humiliation that is still being experienced as pain. [...] Perhaps we

also need to look at the transgenerational aspect of it, the denial of it. It's a pattern. The one that I don't understand at all because [...] other forms of trauma [...] are recognised."

(*Focus group: psychologists/psychotherapists*)

Black professionals describe their own experiences with the psychological stress caused by ABR for patients and clients: Racist behaviour patterns and structures **de-individualise and isolate** Black people, causing severe psychological stress. In the realm of career progression for Black professionals, this implicates enduring hierarchies and power dynamics, notably heightened through ABR dynamics. The confrontation of professional colleagues with their racist behaviour or the questioning of diagnoses can result in further violent situations, which, according to their experiences, put extreme strain on or even end working relationships for Black professionals. They report that Black doctors and psychologists/psychotherapists, as well as nurses, are underrepresented in the health care system and thus remain isolated in these spaces due to a lack of contact persons and exchange of experiences. Black professionals very often share the experience of being the only Black person in training, studying or working environment.

Additional effort and strain for Black people

For Black patients, seeking care often involves research and changing doctors during treatment because they are trying to avoid racist experiences and re-traumatisation, which, according to the participants, often results in countless initial visits to different offices.

"We call it something like doctor hopping, that is, the patients go from doctor to doctor, from therapist to therapist, in the hope of eventually finding a person who has a consciousness about whiteness and at least refrains from targeted aggression." (*Specialist interview: Black experiences in the healthcare system*)

In this respect, Black professionals receive many requests for treatment from Black people, especially in the field of psychotherapeutic healthcare. Two interacting levels summarise additional strain with regard to the work and activities of Black professionals: Additional effort for racism-critical education and qualification and additional effort through voluntary work or educational work. Black professionals in the healthcare system describe that, on the one hand, addressing racism and their professional development

beyond their own goals and aspirations arise from social challenges and grievances in Germany. On the other hand, the realities in their own lives motivate and predestine them to counteract ABR and discrimination embedded in their personal and professional development. Their own experiences of ABR and discrimination serve as a basis for understanding, especially for an intersectional view on structural and institutional problems and needs. Qualifications and work experience in other contexts, for example, on the African continent, enable them to develop other narratives and competencies. This also means, though, additional educational efforts and costs for further education and training. Black professionals consider the additional ABR-related effort they must take for their professional development within the existing qualification structures to be enormously high. In addition to psychological stress, this may also include several changes in employment and location. They try to minimise such consequences by networking and exchanging experiences.

In addition to their paid work, they explain, they often do a lot of voluntary mediation and educational work so that Black patients or clients can receive adequate treatment, as well as educational work for white structures, for white professionals and community work to pass on knowledge and information with regard to providing accessibility.

**"I prefer to drive
half an hour longer
because I know
that that hospital
is not quite as
racist."**

*(Fokusgruppe: Ärzt*innen)*

6.2.4

Anti-racist demands for action in dealing with ABR

In this section, we present the requirements for action that the interviewees identified as relevant for society as a whole when dealing with anti-Black racism. Based on their shared experiences and perspectives, the participants reflected on and analysed how to deal with ABR not only on an interpersonal but also on an institutional and structural level, making the following racism-critical demands on the healthcare system.

Addressing anti-Black racism through anti-racism work

"Those affected should also be offered more protection and support. [...] Everyone should address injustices [...]. Education is not just the task of Black people." (Interviews: carers)

The healthcare sector's manifestations of anti-Black racism have been previously detailed. Racism is currently not being dealt with and dismissed across various levels. Black professionals conclude that in dealing with ABR it needs to be called out and openly spoken about in the first place, if a change in structural and institutional power relations is the goal. For Black people, the trivialisation and denial of ABR and other forms of discrimination result in further re-traumatisation as well as ongoing violence and oppression, as they note. In order to endure and break through these, Black, African and Afro-diasporic people have different confrontation processes for developing coping and empowerment strategies. According to the participants, the key question for action critical of racism is: How do people recognise their unreflected attitudes and racist behavioural patterns, and how can they act accordingly? It is vital to promote awareness

of this as early as possible. Consequently, education that is critical of racism belongs in the education and care system, should be taught in nurseries and primary schools and should be a compulsory subject in medical studies.

Dealing with ABR requires many resources in order to protect and support those affected, as well as tools for documenting and processing racist incidents. Existing tools should be utilised here, such as the Critical Incident Reporting System [G] in healthcare facilities, as suggested by participating physicians. This system is used as a reporting system to report errors and critical incidents anonymously. They call for criticism of racism being seen as integral to quality management in medical institutions.

Validation through racism-critical care structures

White-dominated organisations and structures must meet several conditions to validate Black experiences: White people must learn critical awareness, understand their privilege(s) and recognise its influence on Black realities. Proficiency in recognising racism and comprehending critical whiteness represents a crucial necessity for both medical practitioners and service personnel within the healthcare sector and need to be acquired within the frame of professional education. It is necessary to institutionalise complaints commissaries and structures, who can act independently from the healthcare structures, such as the position of racism officer in the Medical Chamber in the State of Hesse. In medical training and qualifications, it is essential to address the needs of Black people. For

"Only if students become and are aware of this can we prevent doctors with such internalised stereotypes being unleashed on patients or, vice versa, patients being unleashed on doctors."

(Focus group: doctors)

example, when dealing with racist trauma in psychotherapy, white therapists must familiarise themselves with how they can work with Black clients in a way that is critical of racism. The participants underline the vital need for Black people seeking therapy to receive empathetic treatment, ensuring their experiences of racism are acknowledged and validated. Furthermore, establishing research critical of racism is essential. According to the participating Black professionals, this requires the decolonisation of research and science as well as the provision and accessibility of funding. At the same time, medical practice, which arises from the historical dominance of white research structures, must be transformed in order to be able to provide adequate care for Black people. Overall, ensuring health protection for Black people requires a racism-critical transformation of healthcare in terms of personnel, structures and institutions. Within the scope of medical professionalisation, acknowledging the needs and experiences of Black people as both professionals and patients is crucial. Medical teaching and training of specialist staff and service personnel continue to ignore these requirements, as the qualitative findings of the Afrozensus show.

Racism-critical supervision

In supervision [G], there has been insufficient professional discussion of racism and the specific situation of Black professionals to date. The participating psychologists and psychotherapists observe the reluctance of white supervisors; only a few offer supervision [G], although in their experience, white psychotherapists are also looking for supervision that is critical of racism. The marginalisation of critical research on racism might be rooted in the fact that racism is still not addressed within the funding structures which possibly contributes to this situation. Due to the lack of racism-critical supervision programmes, Black professionals in healthcare resort to **intervision groups and mentoring**. Intervision groups serve as a resource for networking and exchange. Due to the lack of dissemination of standards critical of racism, the standards critical of racism in individual case supervision correspond with the negotiations and distribution of tasks agreed upon in the respective team. Therefore, these agreements primarily depend on the critical awareness of the white people in the team. In addition, Black psychologists and psychotherapists report that they are dependent on supportive mentors with extensive experience as Black therapists and psychological scientists.

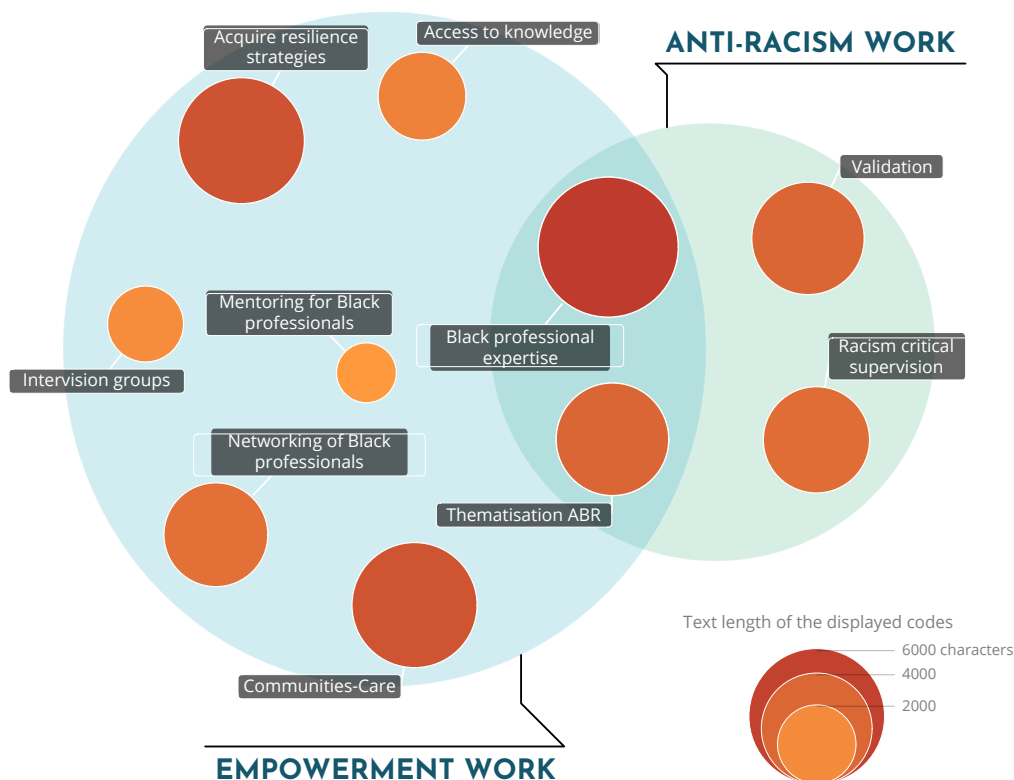
6.2.5 Strategies for addressing ABR

The analysis combines the action requirements mentioned above with the strategies aimed at addressing racism. The requirements for action may be subsumed under the descriptor **anti-racism work**. As shown in Figure 54, psychologists/psychotherapists, the "validation" of Black experiences through racism-critical care structures and the development of "racism-critical supervision" are described as part of anti-racism work. "Black professional expertise" and the "focussing on ABR" are identified as central to anti-racism and **empowerment work**. For the empowerment of Black people and communities, the participants also itemised "access to knowledge", "interview groups", "mentoring and networking of Black professionals", "acquiring resilience strategies", and communities care. In the visualisation of the content coded for addressing ABR, it becomes evident to which extent work is done by empowerment struc-

tures from within Black communities in dealing with anti-Black racism.

In the focus groups and the expert interview, the participants, in their role as Black professionals, commented on how they deal with anti-Black racism as well as on resources and strategies of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and their communities. In the following, we summarise the participants' statements on their coping strategies and sources of resilience and empowerment. We also develop the "dilemma of reaction" model from the coping strategies with anti-Black racism as described.

Fig. 54: Focus group of psychologists/psychotherapists: Addressing anti-Black racism categorised as anti-racism work and empowerment work



The "dilemma of reaction" as a model

We have already described the disruption of racist incidents and statements for Black people in our explanations on the manifestations of anti-Black racism. To illustrate this effect, we are developing a model of Black professionals' strategy formulation in case of racist incidents. The severity of the case is of secondary importance for the illustration, as the aim is to illustrate even seemingly minimal stress factors that ABR incidents entail and to depict typical conflict processes based on the qualitative results.

The initial situation is an incident characterised by anti-Black racism where a Black, African or Afro-diasporic person is put in the position of having to react. A situation in a hospital during a ward round serves as an example: A colleague or patient directs a racist statement at a Black doctor or nurse.

"When I visit the doctor, I always try to present myself in a way that I am not perceived as different or negative. Depending on the appointment and doctor's surgery, I make sure that I am smartly dressed. I speak particularly clear standard ("High") German and talk in a very friendly manner so that the staff meet me likewise and perceive me as German, 'good foreigner', educated, etc." (*Interviews: patients*)

First possible reaction: Conflict avoidance and relativisation

In an effort to mitigate additional risks and potential escalation, the individual impacted by ABR deliberately disregards or makes minimal reference to the incident. Conflict resolution is avoided through restraint and/or compulsive friendliness (fawn reaction) [G]. The costs or consequences of not calling out anti-Black racism and the resulting lack of external conflict resolution with those involved are avoided at the expense of the person's own well-being and internal stress and conflict management. This is a way of trying to slow down the evolution of conflict, which might ensue further uncertainty and harm. The indi-

vidual affected continues to be exposed to ABR, which means that the same racist experience can occur in exactly the same or in a varied form. This then can lead to re-traumatisation, since the conflict has not been dealt with in-depth. This is an attempt to slow down the development of conflict, which can lead to additional insecurity and injury. The person affected continues to be exposed to anti-Black racism in the situation, which means that repetitions of racist experiences in the same or similar form can follow and lead to re-traumatisation, as there is no in-depth confrontation with ABR.

The reason for such a decision is to avoid an open, unpredictable conflict, often based on the experience that a confrontation does not bring any immediately noticeable positive results. The participating carers, in particular, describe that they generally try not to attract attention to avoid discriminatory incidents, for example, the strategy of speaking standard German or straightening their hair. Avoiding conflicts is a common strategy used in professional contexts in order to avoid ABR re-traumatisation through trivialisation and denial. Patients also describe preventive measures that they take to avoid violent ABR experiences when they visit care structures.

Conflict avoidance behaviour also serves Black doctors as a coping strategy, which they may rethink and change in the course of their professional careers.

"But when the head physician or so is there [for] a ward round, then it's like, ok, swallow, maybe even smile and continue to present the patients." (*Focus group: doctors*)

In their developing strategies, Black doctors describe the evolution from not speaking out to "putting their foot down" and exerting their authority as a doctor to enter into direct confrontation at the occurrence of ABR statements and behaviour. However, this strategy of direct confrontation can also imply the continuation of ABR, as will become apparent in [Fig. 55](#).

Second possibility of reaction: Confrontation and Black positioning

The Black person calls out the incident, the perpetrator and people involved are addressed. As a strategy, the Black person may decide emphatically in favour of the path of Black self-positioning in the context of an explicit criticism of anti-Black racism. The person tries to draw boundaries and maintain their integrity by openly calling out racist violence.

One course of conflict can be that these boundaries are accepted. Nevertheless, even then there are also high costs for the person affected, as they have to invest emotional and knowledge resources, requiring positioning and educational work in the violent situation, which goes along with extensive effort. Black people have to muster the strength and courage to position themselves against a white majority that probably does not see or is unwilling to see the problem. Furthermore, when weighing the risks, the person concerned must fear further consequences and implications, notwithstanding whether or not they materialise. If the conflict escalates due to bold calling out, the consequences can range from trivialisation, denial, refusal of access and resources to termination or change of employment.

Resilience strategies

The "Dilemma of Reaction" model illustrates some of the trade-offs Black people face in ABR situations. The reactions presented here are embedded in ABR dynamics that are structurally and institutionally anchored and discriminate against Black people in an intersectional manner (see manifestations of ABR). The behaviours described are part of complex strategy-finding processes in dealing with anti-Black racism. It becomes apparent that in both types of behaviour, which are either characterised by avoiding or by entering into the conflict, Black people pay a price, and the potential continuation, repetition, or intensification of ABR is always still possible. Herein lies the "dilemma of response" to anti-Black racism. In both possible decision-making paths, the underlying mechanisms must also be taken into account when weighing the options because even if the course of the conflict is at best "acceptable" or does not worsen, the emotional and mental costs for Black people in the decision-making process are considerable; if the consequences of the confrontation are negative, they can be even more severe. This shows that Black, Af-

rican and Afro-diasporic people try to counteract the effects of ABR on their health and their professional agency through some of the resilience strategies [G] they have developed over generations, although they have no final control over the violence emanating from dominant social structures and actors. This means ongoing dynamics of violence that they must learn to navigate to survive and develop professionally in these structures and institutions.

Resources for ABR resilience strategies

Black, African and Afro-diasporic people usually have to build resilience alone and in biographical isolation. In addition to individual capacities, their resilience development is influenced by structured privilege or deprivege regarding, among others, socio-economic status, education and heteronormativity. From a psychological and psychiatric perspective, the participants recognise the importance of their own trauma work [G] with regard to resilience strategies. A strategic approach to ABR requires that Black people recognise racist discrimination as a violation and avoid dependency. Also, criticism persists about the inadequate recognition of the resilience of Black people within psychotherapy, given the profound levels of oppression and negative encounters they endure. For dealing with anti-Black racism, they explain that Black people have to develop various coping strategies. These ABR resilience strategies primarily involve developing a Black (self-)consciousness as a basis for conscious involvement in white structures and institutions. For this resilience training, Black people in different positions with different accesses and resources have different options for acting and reacting to ABR and discrimination. The positioning as a conscious decision of a Black person in a white environment goes together with the comprehensive consideration of the possible costs and consequences described in the model. For Black, African and Afro-diasporic people these costs arise in any case, even in the process of self-protection and survival or existence in white power relations.

Black people identify finding or learning a supposedly "neutral" de-escalating way of expressing themselves and communicating in conflict situations that is acceptable to white people as a key competence for reducing or avoiding stress. In their handling and coping strategies, the participants emphasise that, especially in work contexts, they try to deal with conflict situations in a way that they cause as little physical and psychological stress as possible to them. In their re-

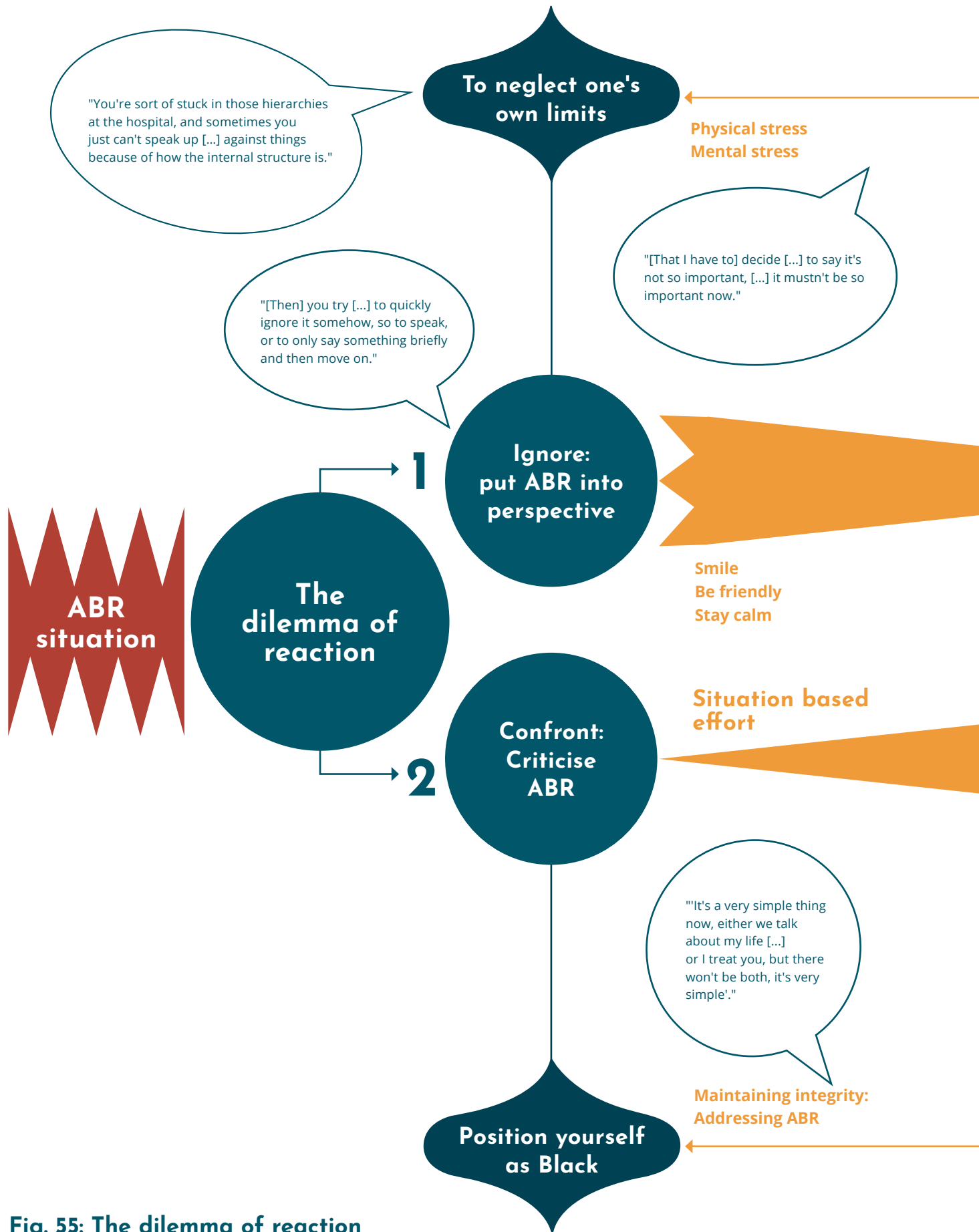
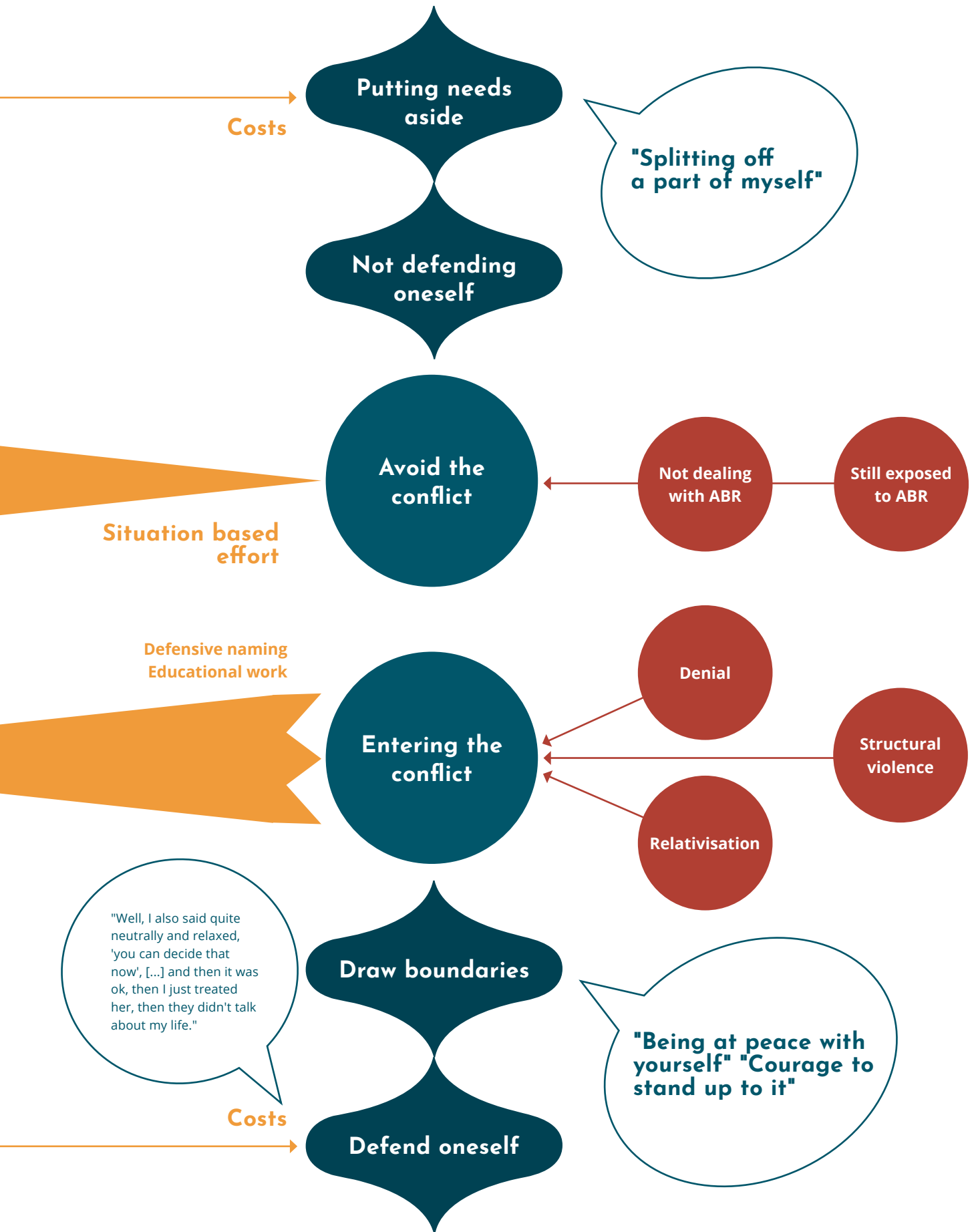


Fig. 55: The dilemma of reaction



relationships with patients, for example, Black doctors learn to insist on boundaries and professional distance over time.

In their ABR resilience strategies, it becomes evident how the professional position of power, increasing knowledge and skills acquired over the years, enable them to move from personal conflict avoidance behaviour to demanding structural and institutional responsibility in ABR conflicts. In conflict situations, for example, they demand the conscious positioning of the organisation or institution as a necessary base to counteract anti-Black racism. To this end, some describe a long learning process that is needed to distance themselves from racist attacks, depersonalise the conflict situation through structural and institutional references, and strive for a common stance with the healthcare facility in which they work. In addition to their professional positions of power, they consider their politicisation, engagement with the issue of racism, activism and empowerment processes within Black spaces to be decisive resources for their resilience strategies in dealing with discrimination.

**"I didn't want to get upset,
and I didn't want that for myself
and not for my body either;
I say that now in a very relaxed
way: 'I don't feel like talking
about myself now. I decide when
I want to talk about my life,
about my parents or something
else, and I don't want that now,
and you are here now as
my patient."**

(Focus group: doctors)

6.2.6

Empowerment

Black self-image and presence

Black people need resources and access to deal with anti-Black racism. Individual and collective empowerment processes promote ABR resilience and Black self-understanding. Black Consciousness [G] serves as a global reference for activism and Black movements in Germany. Black German identities and communities are spaces of empowerment and reflection for critical navigation and interactions in white structures. They utilise empowerment and activism as driving forces for their positioning and strategy development. Participants report that networking with other Black people and within Black self-organisations allows them to share and validate their experiences.

"[I] get to know [...] Black people with whom I can discuss and share both positive and negative things, which is really good and empowers me a lot." (Interview: Carers)kräfte)

They use these structures to deal with racist re-traumatisation through othering and de-individualisation and to thwart the isolation of Black people and their life realities. In this context, they emphasise that white homogenising racist behaviours and structures undermine the differences of Black experiences and consciousness processes that Black people go through. It is also essential for them to recognise within Black communities,

"that Black people who have very different stories, who have gone through very different biographies, politicisations, are now meeting at this intersection of being Black." (Focus group: psychologists/ psychotherapists)

In dealing with anti-Black racism and becoming aware of their own and collective Black experiences, some participants report that they had to develop an anti-racist stance which supports, among other things, a conscious, bold calling out of ABR. Within the realms of activist endeavours and engagement, participants articulate that the discovery of answers and the development of effective learning strategies naturally unfold within Black spaces, resonating with a profound sense of rightness. Here, for example, workshops are

offered by self-organisations such as the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (Initiative of Black People in Germany). In these spaces, dealing with ABR and other forms of discrimination is organised with underlying empowerment concepts and a critical assessment of racism is (further) developed. They point out that an anti-racist attitude is particularly important for upcoming generations.

"I'm sorry to say that it doesn't make my life any easier to take an anti-racist stance, but it does feel better. I hope my children learn from that model." (Interviews: carers)

Among the professionals within the healthcare realm a greater representation of Black people can be largely observed by now. Marked by the experience of being the only Black person, some professionals now encounter other Black colleagues in various areas of the hospital. They find this empowering because

" A tiny, tiny presence already makes a difference." (Focus group: doctors)

In addition to the exchange with colleagues with similar experiences and professional competencies, the Black nursing staff consider the experience of Black people seeing themselves represented to be fundamental for a positive self-understanding. They state that the presence of a Black professional makes a difference, especially for Black patients. They observe that Black and POC [G] patients "gain confidence more easily", and for them as professionals, this, in turn, leads to a "stronger self-confidence". Through their Black presence, Black professionals endeavour to be allies and receive positive feedback for this.

Black expertise as a resource

The experiences and expertise of Black people serve as a source of empowerment and anti-racism work to overcome anti-Black racism and other forms of discrimination. Within Black communities and outside them, Black people generate knowledge, which, as already explained in the "Research" section, is not appreciated or is marginalised by dominant discourses and structures. A psychotherapeutic perspective par-

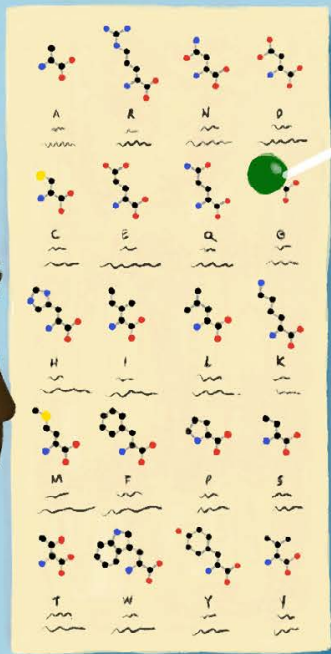
ticularly emphasises how existential this knowledge is for empowerment and resilience strategies in dealing with ABR, both individually and collectively. Knowledge as a resource for empowerment makes an understanding of white spaces possible, as well as strategic action in white structures and, above all, exit strategies in professional contexts to deal with permanent frictions and impairments to mental health caused by ABR.

The participating doctors emphasise, in particular, the knowledge about patient rights in healthcare. The systematisation and accessibility of knowledge through Black communities is central. As there are many different access points and levels of knowledge, it is important in their view, that Black communities can continue to provide alternative structures. They see the competencies of Black professionals who deal with racism beyond their own life experience as paramount. On the one hand, they can provide access to information about care systems and support Black people in acquiring knowledge and strategies, even if this involves additional work for them (→ section Consequences of ABR – additional efforts). On the other hand, they can support and empower each other through networking, mentoring during and after the qualification, intervision and supervision. A current example mentioned in this context is the specialist network "Black in Medicine", which brings Black doctors together, creates visibility and offers regular meetings for exchange and project planning. According to the participants, Black experts need more empowerment to produce, manage and disseminate knowledge. In their opinion, this requires the promotion of decolonial and anti-racist categorisation, appreciation and management of knowledge.

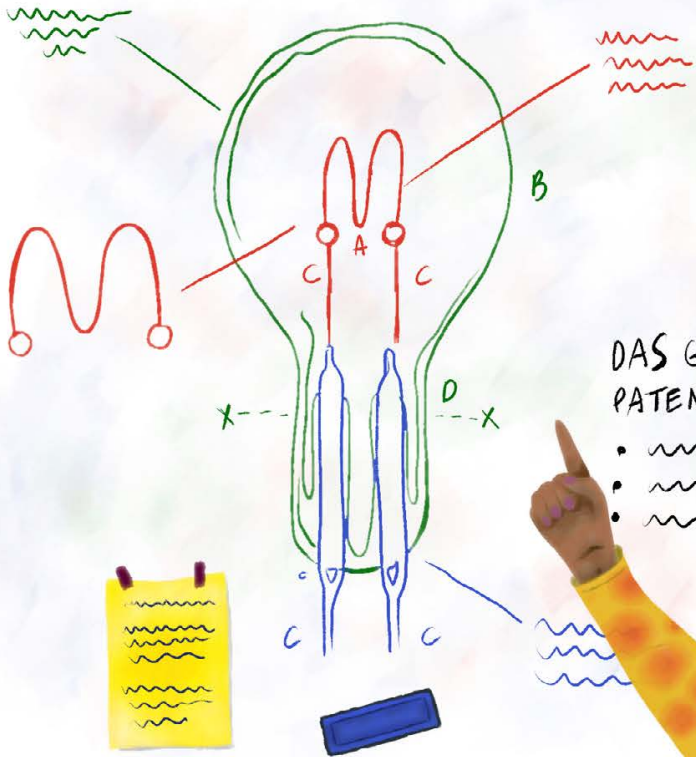
Community care as collective empowerment

The qualitative survey clearly shows that Black self-organisations and structures offer different spaces for self-care and empowerment of Black people. They serve as places to strengthen the power to act in order to overcome intersectional experiences of discrimination and racism individually and collectively. Hence Black spaces serve as havens, safeguarding patients and professionals alike, fostering collective support for acknowledging experiences of racism and navigating its repercussions among the Black community. The participants in the qualitative survey emphasised the following forms of communities care [G] as empowerment structures, some of which already exist and need to be promoted and supported:

- ◆ **Spaces for the protection and support of deprivileged, marginalised groups, for example, through additional consultation hours for Black people by Black professionals to facilitate access and impart knowledge about health care;**
- ◆ **Spaces for reflection, exchange and networking, which are used to categorise the reality of one's own life to frame, sort and understand experiences collectively. Above all, this is a way to counteract the "individual experience" narrative and emphasises that ABR experiences are made collectively. It's crucial to recognise that sharing collective experiences cultivates a sense of shared identity and solidarity, enabling the ones concerned to take purposeful action;**
- ◆ **Spaces and contexts such as the Afrozensus to overcome isolation, to gain insights into different realities of life, paths and knowledge – these promote the professional dialogue of Black expertise in particular;**
- ◆ **Healing spaces to share positive and negative experiences where healing processes can begin.**



GLÜHBIRNE



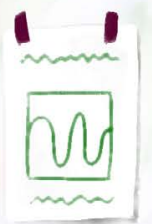
LEWIS
LATIMER
1848 - 1928

ERFINDER

PERTE
INDUSTRIE

DAS GLÜHLAMPEN
PATENT:

- wavy line
- wavy line
- wavy line



6.3

Black experiences in education: Discrimination, resilience and empowerment

School days

I learned your dates and numbers
I learned that you were the winners
That you were civilized, and I
I was your burden

School days

I learned about your victories
The valour and the glory that was yours
And I? The heathen had to hide
'Cause God was on your side
You never told me the thief came in the night
And stole my birthright
You never told me the empire you built then
Was founded on the bodies of my murdered brethren
You taught me to despise me seen through your eyes
But now I clearly see the lies you call
your history

Labi Siffre, School Days ([2015¹](#) 🎵)

¹ Originally 1992

**When I went to school,
 They often talked about owning slaves
 Everyone was supposed to own a Black person;
 They took away my self,
 For them, it was just a joke
 And while I suffered and asked myself at the same time,
 What was so funny about it
 It gave way to horror, to sorrow, a trauma, written down to see
 What I saw in history
 The civilized of the earth in competition to,
 Fight for a place
 In hunting, mistreating, robbing, murdering, despising, and
 Slaughtering people
 They showed each other how progressive, cultured, and what better
 People they were
 By denying others their humanity, and in doing so,
 Actually took away their own humanity**

Amewu with BSMG, Geschichtsunterricht (History Lesson) – lyrics translated from the original German (2018 ↗)

Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are among the youngest population groups in Germany (→ [Chapter 4, p. 64](#); Appendix 3) – this also means that many of them interact with the education system on a daily basis in kindergartens, schools, in the system of dual professional training, at technical colleges and universities. Unlike many other areas of life analysed in the Afrozensus, school attendance is usually compulsory from the age of 5 or 6 until at least the age of 15 or 16, and for many until the age of 19 or 20, depending on their educational path. Avoiding this area of life, for example, by not attending school or vocational school, is not an option from an educational biographical and, in some cases, legal perspective.

At the same time, education is often an essential part of the hopes and aspirations of parents and carers for the next generation, especially in African, Afro-diasporic and Black communities. Therefore, children and young people, their parents and carers must find a way of dealing with institutions that are often unable to protect their human rights on professional, educational and institutional levels. Racist discrimination in an educational institution violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Convention against Racism, the UN Social Covenant and – if the person

concerned is under 18 years of age – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, i.e. several human rights conventions that deal with the human right to education and to which Germany has committed itself (Motakef, 2006). Article 2a of the UN Anti-Racism Convention states: "[Each] State Party undertakes to refrain from acts or practices of [racist discrimination] against persons, groups of persons or institutions and to ensure that all state and local authorities and public institutions act in accordance with this obligation." (United Nations, 1965). (United Nations, [1965](#)).

Those who live in Germany and are unaware of these human rights experience a further human rights neglect: as human rights can only be claimed by particularly vulnerabilised groups if they have knowledge thereof, the human right to education including the so-called empowerment right guarantees the right to human rights education (Motakef, 2006). Interviewees' observations and experiences underscore patterned, institutionally embedded human rights violations faced by Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people within the German education system. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the specific patterns Black pupils, teachers, parents, and social education workers

experience within the school context. A more precise understanding of these patterns is essential for those potentially affected to better protect and defend themselves and to be able to contextualise their lived experiences. On the other hand, they are also relevant for all those who bear responsibility at an institutional and structural level and can (help) drive change.

The UN has repeatedly highlighted the systematic disadvantage endured by Black, African, and Afro-diasporic populations within the education systems. In its General Recommendation 34, the UN Anti-Racism Committee, which is responsible for interpreting the UN Convention against Racism, stated that people of African descent are disproportionately affected by discrimination in the field of education and made recommendations to safeguard their human rights in this area. The UN Working Group on People of African Descent was able to confirm these findings on specific discrimination faced by people of African and Afro-diasporic descent during its visit to Germany in February 2017:

"38 The working group is concerned about the educational outcomes of children of African descent in Germany. Civil society sources indicate a growing pattern wherein teachers are suggesting to children of African descent educational pathways that diminish their prospects for higher education. The working group notes that the school dropout rate is disproportionately high [...]."

39 The historical facts about the colonisation period, the transatlantic trade with Africans, the enslavement and genocide of the Ovaherero and the Nama are not adequately covered in all schools. In certain federal states' curricula, the causes of [racist inequality] and injustice lack adequate coverage. This has also contributed to the structural invisibility of people of African descent in Germany." (Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, [2017](#))

German and comparative educational research also shows that and how different forms of discrimination intertwine in the German education system in such a

way that people affected by racism, including Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, experience particular disadvantages: For Germany, the regular PISA studies and their results also provide evidence of classist [G] and racist² discrimination in the German education system, the intertwining of which has also been repeatedly confirmed by critical empirical educational research. For example, studies have frequently found that racism in the German education system emanates in particular from teachers due to the power imbalance between educators and teachers on the one hand and kindergarten children, pupils and trainees on the other. Furthermore, racist discrimination also takes place among children and pupils as well as teachers and educators (Bergold-Caldwell et al., [2020](#); Fereidooni, [2016](#)). Studies by the Education Panel regularly show that a so-called migration background (→ [Chapter 3](#) for a critique of this insufficiently differentiated concept) is associated with poorer educational opportunities – even when comparing people with and without a migration background with the same family income and educational experience. Unequal treatment becomes apparent in how identical performances receive dissimilar grading, such as the tendency to mark down test scores when they bear a "foreign-sounding name" (Bonefeld et al., [2017](#); Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, [2018](#)). Also, use of racist teaching materials is observable, as is the persistent inability to reliably thwart or appropriately contextualise racist depictions within educational resources.

The use of such teaching material is not only racist discrimination in itself (Diallo et al., [2021](#)); research on the effects of such teaching content in Hamburg schools shows that African, Afro-diasporic and Black schoolchildren experience as a result of the use of Eurocentric, historically biased and racist teaching materials and content an increase in racist aggression from classmates, who through such teaching content apparently feel invited and legitimised to practice anti-Black racism (Marmer & Sow, [2015](#)). The German education system has long faced accusations of practising institutional discrimination due to an interplay of discrimination forms intertwining to produce classist and racist unequal treatment. These patterns and

2 PISA and other educational studies scrutinise discrimination against people because of their "migration background" or based on other potent concepts like a non-German so-called heritage language (ndH), which can be interpreted as an approximation of examining racist discrimination. The fact, that in schools, children are regularly classified under the ndH concept vividly showcases how simply through wording in educational policies othering is normalised and non-German language skills are coined a problem. However, it is important to point out that the PISA studies, their reception in Germany, and the subsequent interpretation and knowledge production make socially constructed groups appear as quasi-natural groups, which are then problematised and provided with special measures (Ivanova-Chessex et al., [2020](#)). As these measures are deficit-oriented, they create and justify, for example, heritage language support classes or the public designation of schools "with a high proportion of migrants or ndH", which then has segregating effects (Hasters, [2021](#)).

dynamics transcend individual attitudes (Gomolla, 2010).

Within the hierarchical school system, ABR intertwines with various forms of discrimination, including adultism – where children and young people face degradation based on their age and perceived immaturity. Adultism intertwines particularly with anti-Black notions, associating Black people with immaturity, low intelligence, limited rationality, and excessive emotionality, implying a need for control. Within the constraints of this Afrozensus report's scope, this chapter actively addresses the reality of adultism by scrutinising pupil focus group statements and integrating insights gleaned from sessions involving teachers, parents, and social education workers.

The pupils interviewed paint a picture of anti-Black racism as anchored in teaching content, language and the behaviour of teachers, classmates or fellow pupils, address the inadequate handling of ABR by educational institutions and share their own resilience and empowerment strategies. In this way, they offer a differentiated picture of Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences in a key sector of German society, which represents a decisive factor for access to further education, from vocational training to university - and thus, in many ways, shapes the future course of life.

These facts result in power constellations, processes and dependencies that put Black people at particular risk due to the specific patterns of ABR (→ [Chapter 2, p.39, Chapter 6.4](#)) and its interwovenness with other dynamics of discrimination (→ [Chapter 2, p. 36, Chapter 6.4](#)). At the same time, they ensure that Black pupils, teachers and educators who work in or around schools, constantly reconsider their experiences, opportunities to influence and need for empowerment over and over again and become active in different ways.

Therefore, the experiences, analyses and strategies of the named groups were examined in greater depth in qualitative expert interviews and focus groups. These make it possible to supplement the quantitative data from the online survey with qualitative analyses of the underlying, exemplary processes of anti-Black racism, as well as Black self-assertion strategies in the German education system. The analysis also included answers given in the open responses to the online survey.

The results presented here can only reflect a fraction of what thousands of participants told us in the questionnaire and a total of 18 participants in focus groups and expert interviews. The Afrozensus brings together all these different data to paint as comprehensive a picture as possible of Black experiences in the Ger-

man education system, but also to invite Black people to be as proactive and self-determined as possible.

Which characteristics serve as grounds of discrimination?

The analysis of the information provided in the questionnaire shows that 81.1% of the 3380 respondents who stated that they had contact with the education system in the past two years had experienced discrimination there. The Afrozensus also asked in which role the respondents had been discriminated against. They could state that they had been discriminated against as a participant in the education system, as a parent or carer of children or that their child had been discriminated against. According to the assessment of 2597 Afrozensus respondents, the discrimination experienced in the education sector in the past two years as a participant and/or parent/caregiver was primarily based on "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" (88.5%), "skin colour" (79.8%) and, as a third leading cause, on "race" (33.2%). This higher value compared to other areas of life surveyed is consistent with research where dictations with the same content were rated lower when presented to teachers with a non-German-sounding name (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018).

As several characteristics could be mentioned here, analysing these multiple responses enables a more precise tracing of the contours of anti-Black racism as experienced by respondents who were discriminated against in the education system. The leading combination of characteristics "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" makes it clear that ABR is the central factor in the experience of discrimination for respondents in the German education system. The following seven most frequently mentioned combinations also exhibit these two characteristics, thus reinforcing this impression. The second most frequently mentioned combination, in addition to the first mentioned, also includes gender, which points to the intersection of ABR and sexism. "Racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'", "skin colour", and "gender" were the third leading common grounds of discrimination, closely followed by "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'", "skin colour", and "name". The next most frequent combination adds "hair" to these three. Only in the next following combination of characteristics is "social status/social origin" named in conjunction with "racist reasons/'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour".

These combinations of characteristics show in their sequence that attributions based on appearance, phenotype and hair, as well as attributed cultural references

Fig. 56: The seven most frequently mentioned characteristics with regard to which discrimination in the area of "education" have been experienced in the past two years (n = 2465, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost a quarter (24.0%) of 2465 Afrozensus respondents who had experienced discrimination in the area of "education" stated that they had experienced discrimination there in the past two years based on "social status/social background", among other factors.

Racist reasons/"ethnic origin"

88.5%

Skin colour

79.8%

Name

33.2%

Gender

30.4%

Hair/beard

29.9%

Social status/social background

24.0%

Language

14.6%

such as names, characterise the reality of discrimination against Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in the education system. It becomes evident that ABR patterns manifest uniquely across various facets of life. For example, the name is a much more frequently cited reason for discrimination in the area of education than in other areas of life. At the same time, the combination with the other discriminatory characteristics makes it clear that here, a specific form of anti-Black racism becomes manifest. The multiple responses show the entanglement with other discrimination dynamics – and thus the need for an intersectional approach.

Experiences of discrimination in education - selected subgroups

The discrimination experienced by Afrozensus respondents in the field of education shows that there are relevant group differences and that people who belong to disadvantaged, i.e. deprived groups along different discrimination dynamics, experience discrimination in the field of education more frequently than respondents who belong to norm-privileged groups. These findings align with critical educational research's³ understanding of discrimination against people with lower income and impairments.

However, they elucidate, broaden, and specify these aspects concerning the specific demographic groups highlighted in the Afrozensus.

It is clear that people with two African and/or Afro-diasporic parents experience discrimination in education significantly more often than people with only one African and/or Afro-diasporic parent. Black people who position themselves as Muslim are also significantly more likely to experience discrimination in education than non-Muslim respondents. Similarly, respondents with refugee experience are more frequently discriminated against in education than Black people without this experience.

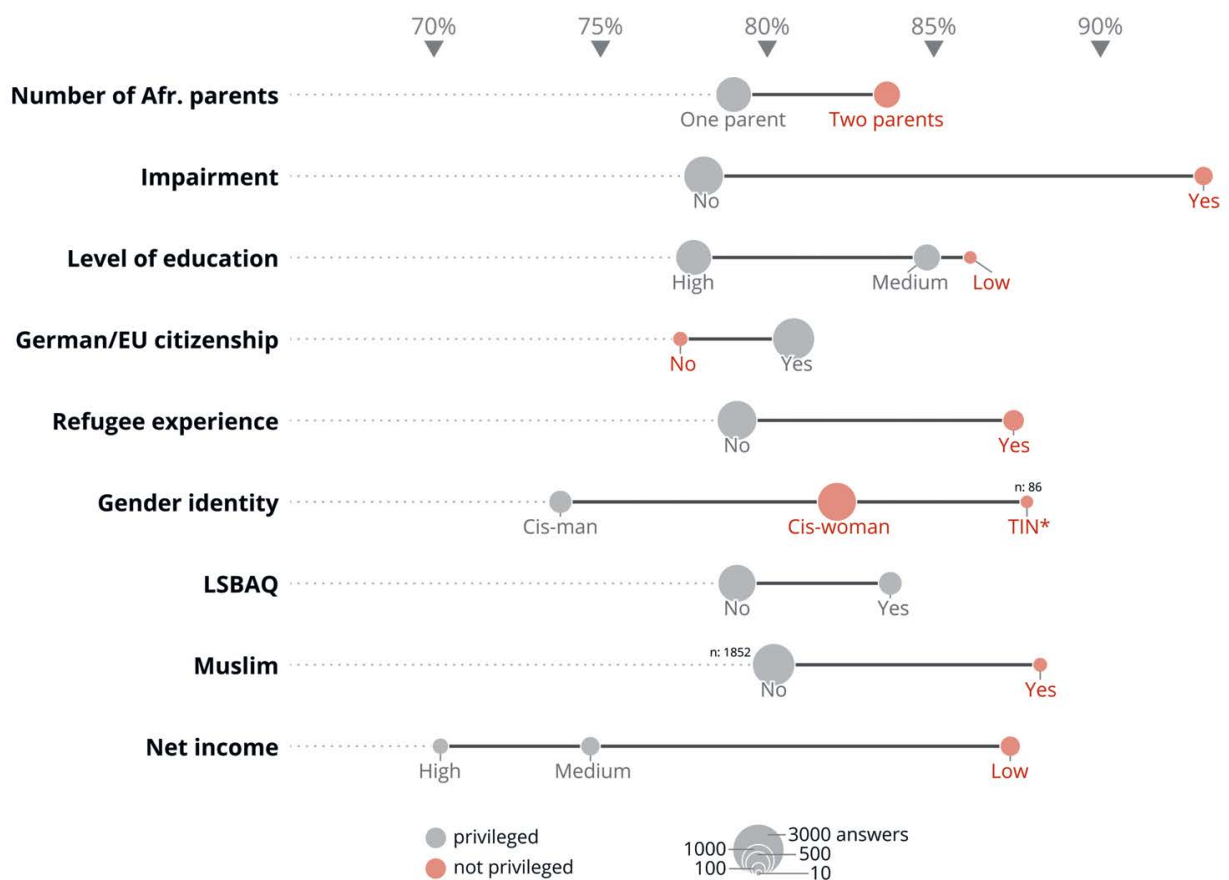
The wide spread in the dimensions of "impairment", "income", and "gender identity/ies" draws attention to Black people in households with a low net income, as well as trans*, inter* and non-binary people – they all experience discrimination in the German education system significantly more often than Black people who do not belong to these groups. Black people with impairments, for example, are discriminated against significantly more often than respondents without impairments, and people from households with a low net income experience discrimination significantly more often than respondents from households with a me-

dium or high net income. Respondents who identify as LGBAQ also experience significantly more discrimination than those who do not. These comparisons vividly depict that anti-Black racism intertwines with other forms of discrimination in the education sector.

The only dimension where the deprived state less frequently that they are discriminated against than the privileged is with respect to the diversity dimension "German/EU nationality". However, the difference here is not statistically significant.

Fig. 57: Frequency of experiences of discrimination along selected diversity dimensions in the area of "education"

Reading Example: Compared to respondents with medium and high income, Afrozensus respondents with low income state significantly more frequently that they have experienced discrimination in the area of "education" in the past two years.



3 The operationalisation of impairment in the Afrozensus follows self-organisations' demands to overcome the legal-medical perspective. From their perspectives, the term describes being socially impaired. At the same time, we are aware that the term impairment in the context of education is particularly ableist and discriminatory because it is institutionally used to justify the denial of equal access to education.

6.3.1

Exemplary processes of anti-Black racism in the German education system

Throughout their educational journey, from early years through primary and secondary schooling to apprenticeships and higher education, Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people in Germany consistently encounter exemplary ABR attributions, culminating in profound implications: The specific anti-Black degradation in form of the denial of equal humanity as well as intellectual capacity and ability for learning and education manifests itself on the interpersonal, but also on the institutional level. Educational institutions often find themselves unable to deal with ABR incidents in an appropriate, professional and pedagogically goal-orientated manner that aligns with human rights and fundamental rights.

The structural anchoring of anti-Black racism in the education system can be seen not least in the fact that those responsible in different subsystems (e.g. teachers, head teachers, school and youth welfare offices, university lecturers) reproduce ABR attributions. In addition, people who complain or actively try to protect themselves or their children experience denial, trivialisation, individualisation of the problem or other forms of ABR in various places. The persistence of teaching Africa with outdated stereotypes and the absence of fair portrayals of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic figures in key educational materials undeniably perpetuates systemic racism in schools, highlighting the depth of the issue within the teaching curriculum.

The results of the qualitative research are also based on community/ies research consultations, an expert interview and four focus groups focussing on the education system (→ [Chapter 3](#)). The analysis of the expert interview and focus groups mirrors the four topics on which focus group participants shared their views.

1. **Forms of anti-Black racism in the education system with a focus on schools**
2. **Basic patterns and dynamics of anti-Black racism**

3. Consequences of anti-Black racism

4. Dealing with anti-Black racism

In particular, background discussions with Black education workers and the expert interview enabled an initial identification of experienced ABR patterns and processes, which were then confirmed in the focus groups through repeated descriptions of the patterns and could be differentiated from the perspective of the various status groups. In school, ABR operates by specifically degrading and dehumanising Black people through racist attributions. In the area of education, the denial of intellectual abilities or the racist attribution of allegedly inferior intelligence, the simultaneous discrimination of physical characteristics such as hair structures and facial features read as African or Afro-diasporic, but also names, are frequent starting points. Departing from such moments Anti-Black racism unfolds as a sequence of degradations; pupils, in particular, experience the intertwining of ABR with other forms of discrimination such as adultism, which, as explained on [page 65](#), connects to anti-Black attributions of Black people's lack of independence, low intelligence, lack of reason and excessive emotionality.

Stigmatisation, sanctioning and exclusion: pattern sequence of ABR

Discrimination and institutional reactions that do not deal with the occurrence appropriately or even reinforce it lead to a spiral of increasing ABR and corresponding reactions, especially from Black children and adolescents, which are then in turn problematised and pathologised. The simultaneous trivialisation of the discrimination experienced and the problematisation of the reactions present everyone, but especially Black caregivers of Black children, with major challenges – including a specific dilemma of reaction or negotiation – which are shown below for the various focus groups.

In everyday school life, anti-Black racism experiences emanate from teachers, classmates and teaching materials. Teachers hold a special responsibility in this regard, not least because they always exercise institutional power in their actions within the hierarchical school system. In the experience of the interviewees, degradation by teachers takes place through the open communication of lower performance expectations, the denial of the ability to pursue higher education and the unequal awarding of grades, but also in the form of racist language by fellow pupils in the form of targeted and specific degradation such as monkey sounds, bush or jungle associations, as well as the use of the word "monkey" and physical violence and in teaching materials through the association with backwardness, war, poverty and comparable clichés. Teachers, teaching materials and pupils as actors or sources of discrimination in ABR reinforce each other; in particular, teachers who do not actively reproduce ABR too rarely intervene and thus normalise ABR in the experience of pupils as ordinary and permissible.

In addition, there is a particularly early sexualisation of Black children by the school environment: Black boys or children read as male are associated with sexualised violence at an early age as supposed assaulters and perpetrators, while Black girls or children read as female experience exoticisation and objectification in the early sexualisation by teachers and classmates. If Black pupils defend themselves against these projections or other forms of ABR at school, this triggers a patterned sequence of stigmatisation, sanctioning and exclusion of Black pupils, which goes hand in hand with a perpetrator-victim reversal.

At the beginning of such a sequence, teachers usually advise pupils to ignore the incidents. Advice such as *"Don't listen"*, *"It wasn't mean that way"*, or *"Don't take it so much to heart"* can be intended to be supportive but show a lack of professionalism in dealing with ABR. They do not lead to the intended relief for those affected because the fundamental conflict and the feelings triggered by the marginalisation and belittlement remain. Inclusions and exclusions borne from anti-Black racism are deliberate, not incidental. Within day-to-day school life, the re-creation of racist hierarchies, prevalent and deeply rooted in historical anti-Black racism, often goes unchallenged and is even reconfirmed despite its prevalence.

Not least, this possibility to connect to well known ABR attributions turns anti-Black racism in schools into a form of violence that normalises further exclusions

and violence. Although this is not always entirely intentional on the part of fellow pupils, teachers or educators practising ABR, the effect is a fundamental slander against Black persons, stripping them of their humanity – regardless of their intention. The basic message is, *"You are not part of us"*. Teachers generally do not take a clear stance in such a situation and do not make it clear to the discriminator that their behaviour is violent. They do not resolve the situation themselves but shift the responsibility for this resolution to the Black child. The latter is asked to ignore discrimination, to swallow or take it lightly, etc. This shift in responsibility and minimisation of the experience of those negatively affected can have a traumatising effect or reinforce existing traumas.

If the young person is subsequently no longer able to deal with the ABR they have experienced all by themselves, if, for example, they fight back, refuse to participate, withdraw in escape from ABR situations, return the aggression, withdraw or otherwise become "behaviourally conspicuous", such behaviour is subsequently sanctioned, which is the next stage in the sequence of patterns. If the parents face the sanction, they usually seek external counselling, as the discrimination that the child experiences at school is usually not taken seriously. If the parents and the child seek support from a counsellor who is not sufficiently competent to recognise anti-Black racism and the pattern sequence described here, this can lead to re-traumatisation and further pathologisation of the child.

Lack of confrontation of ABR in the school context

At this point, the parents, especially Black parents, become part of the ABR attribution in that their perspective is repeatedly not taken seriously, trivialised and they are subject to ascribed parental incompetence: They are deemed ignorant, too emotional themselves or even violent, which supposedly explains the child's behaviour. These escalating and mutually reinforcing projections occur without the original aggression, which was brought to the child by others in the form of ABR, being expressed, recognised or dealt with constructively. This omission restages an essential aspect of ABR – the non-recognition of the violence and pain that Black people experience resulting from ABR as well as the refusal to take individual or institutional responsibility or to deal appropriately with the violence perpetrated.

In various school environments addressing racism commonly results in the discontinuation of conversations, thereby aggravating the challenge of resolving

the underlying violent and racist dynamic. Educational authorities, teachers and school administrators frequently dismiss their being entangled, asserting: *"I firmly reject these allegations. I have no prejudices. I am free of racism. I am open to everyone."* This refusal to talk about experienced ABR then opens up opportunities for perpetrator-victim reversal: the affected child and the parents or caregivers are now the aggressors, which justifies their stigmatisation and provides reasons not to take their statements, experiences, expressed needs and demands seriously. This dynamic justifies the sanctioning and further stigmatisation of the child.

It can be seen, that if, racism is understood as being limited to conscious, individual misbehaviour, an appropriate confrontation with ABR in the school context cannot take place. Navigating the complexities of school becomes arduous for people unable to sidestep the perpetual presence of classes, teachers, and educators, an unchanging reality for an extended duration. This results in a particular dilemma for Black pupils, parents, teachers, social workers and social work educators: their own reaction to ABR must be made against the background that they may continue to work with the perpetrators daily for years or be dependent on them during lessons and for grades. The dilemma of reaction thus becomes a dilemma of ongoing negotiation in the educational context: What can I address and how? What is the risk? How much understanding or denial or perpetrator-victim reversal should I expect?

The German education system, with the opportunities it is supposed to open up, but also the reality of discrimination, marginalisation and violence, accompanies Black people in Germany for decades of their biographies. They often find themselves first in the role of learners and later in the role of parents, i.e. as caregivers of learners in contact with the education system. This goes hand in hand with the need to deal with Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences in this system. Black reference persons with their own migration history, on the other hand, are confronted with an education system whose functioning and formal and informal rules they do not know. This makes it difficult for them to recognise the afore-mentioned patterns and protect their children. Pupils interviewed reported that teachers exploit this circumstance in their dealings with families.

Four perspectives on ABR experiences in the school system

Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils, parents, teachers, social workers and social work educators and pedagogues have therefore developed strategies for dealing with this. Questioning them on the issue offers additional insights into the effects of ABR, as well into resilience and empowerment strategies practised.

Afrozensus participants were also asked about four specific situations in the education sector as part of a survey of 42 typical ABR situations⁴ collected in preparation for the Afrozensus as part of community consultations. They were asked about racist discrimination by teachers, classmates or fellow learners, poorer grades for equal performance and the experience of being advised against higher education at school and instead being recommended entertainment or sport as a career path. Most respondents experienced all four specific situations of ABR in education, albeit varying in intensity, underscoring their profound impact on Black educational experiences in Germany.

Detailed results of this survey are presented below in the analyses of the experiences of pupils, parents, teachers, social workers and social pedagogues in the relevant sections in which the relevant focus groups are analysed. Analysing the focus groups thus provides a context for embedding the figures in the processes and patterns that these experiences produce. In the analysis of the focus groups, we can link the quantitative data with the individual and collective experiences, the patterns and mechanisms of anti-Black racism, as well as the coping, resilience and empowerment strategies addressed in the focus groups. In this way, the focus will be on the institutional dimension of discrimination and options for action to curb ABR in the German education system.

For this reason, the experiences reported in the Afrozensus, particularly pertaining to schools, are considered below from the perspectives of pupils, parents, teachers, social workers and social pedagogues, as these experiences complement each other to form an overall picture. The diverse experiences, statements, and analyses shared in open-ended responses included discussions on kindergarten and university. Turning albeit briefly to these areas, aims at illustrating, the pervasive impact of ABR across one's educational journey and how Black people of all ages navigate these situations.

6.3.2

Kindergarten

In focus groups and open responses in the online survey, parents reported early discrimination and the everyday emphasis on some alleged "otherness" of Black children. A recurring pattern of anti-Black racism is the racialisation of Black bodies from an early age on. For example, one mother in the focus groups reported a situation in which educators* greeted a Black child in front of the entire daycare group with the comment that first the child's "wild hair" needed to be "tamed" now. The person then immediately began to work on the child's hair in a demonstratively rough manner in front of the other children until the mother intervened. In the open responses to the survey, Black parents reported several times that their children were segregated and discriminated against in daycare centres. Patterns of ABR in kindergarten can be discerned and in the refusal of daycare centre staff to confront ABR appropriately and to protect affected children. This entails that for Black, African and Afro-diasporic children, anti-Black racism can already shape the first important socialisation and educational experiences, which, when addressed, is all too often not dealt with adequately. For the parents and carers of affected children, this creates a dilemma at an early stage: should they address the problems in the interests of the child and its welfare, or do they risk worsening the treatment of their child, if they did?

This conundrum, which impacts the educational trajectory of Black people, is addressed in the subsequent analyses through the lens of diverse interviewee groups.

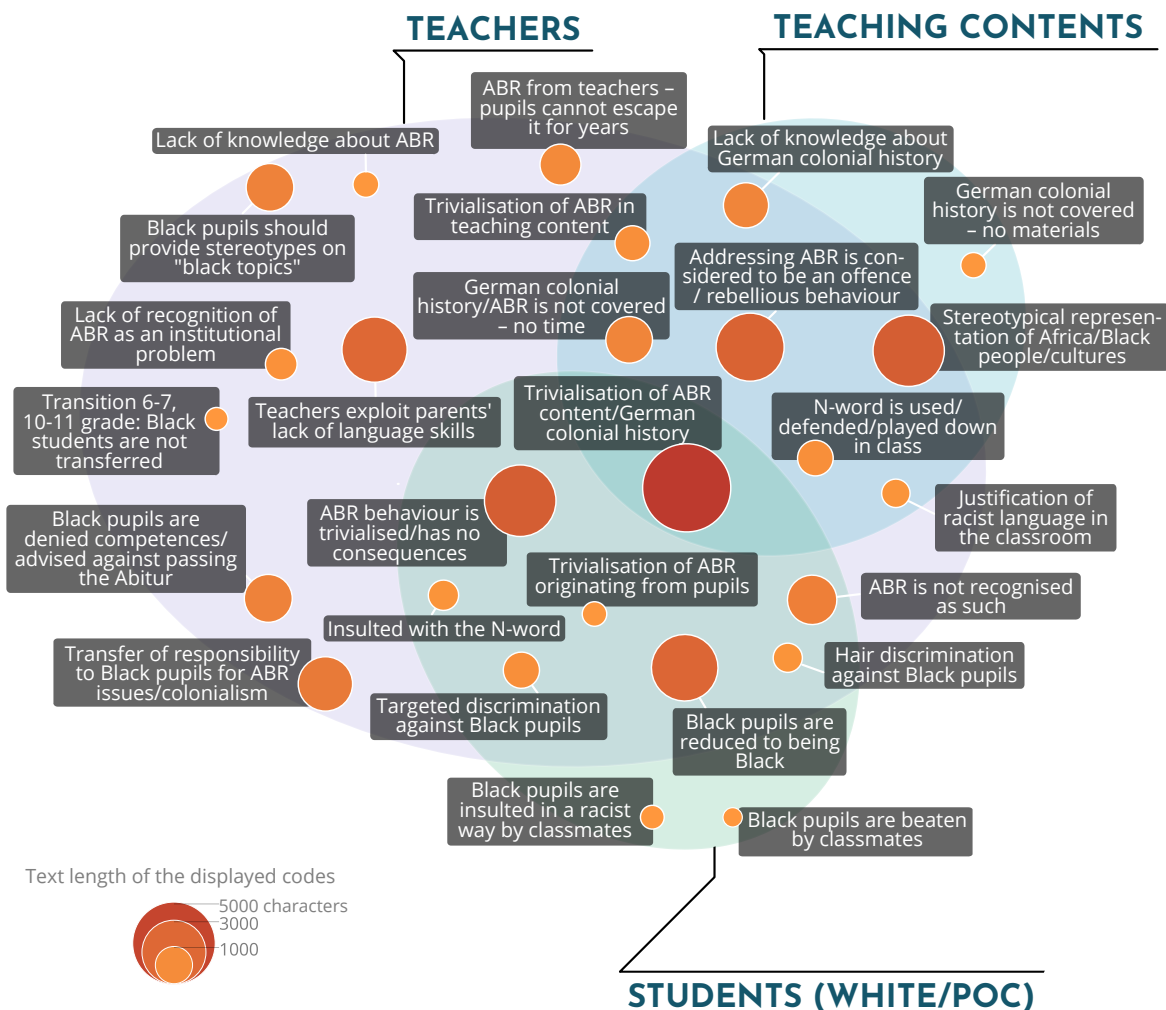
4 The question consisted of two sets of 23 statements each on discriminatory situations. Respondents were given either Set 1 or Set 2, with four out of a total of 46 statements appearing in both sets due to their increased relevance to the Black communities. For the overall table of results, see Appendix 12: Discriminatory situations

6.3.3 ABR experiences of pupils: Characteristics, consequences, ways of dealing with it

Pupils report repeated, pronounced and patterned experiences of anti-Black racism at school. Focus groups comprising people with school backgrounds across five federal states showcased sometimes identical experiences, mirroring the feedback from teachers, parents, and social pedagogues in the focus groups and the online survey. Such alignment implies that these patterns are broadly anchored and transcend

individual institutions or regions. Rather, they express broadly shared ABR, leading to similar experiences across federal states. Participating pupils describe the consequences of ABR as well as their ways of dealing with the additional stress and the experiences of violence that ABR at school entails, some of which have lasted for years.

Fig. 58: ABR experiences of pupils



Manifestations: ABR emanating from classmates, teachers and content of teaching

The complexity of anti-Black racism that Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils experience and describe clearly indicates that they face a particular burden: While school offers to many pupils a wide variety of experiences of discrimination due to hierarchies, dependencies and a lack of willingness to even discuss experiences of discrimination in their intersectionality, these are intertwined with ABR in a specific way for Black pupils. For Black pupils, this represents a significant barrier to full participation in educational experiences; in addition to the general requirements of school, they must also learn to strategically deal with ABR. The answers from the Afrozensus questionnaire and the descriptions of the pupils in the focus group show that ABR at school comes from fellow pupils, teachers and teaching content – and that these sources of ABR reinforce one another in the normalisation and practice of racist discrimination at school. Figure 58 provides an overview of the manifestations of ABR as expressed by pupils in the focus group, categorises them into different actors or sources of discrimination and shows the overlaps.

Figure 58 illustrates which specific forms of ABR emanate from the three afore-mentioned actors or sources of discrimination. The focus group repeatedly described how racist teaching content, its uncritical communication by teachers and ABR from fellow pupils can reinforce one another (→ section "Anti-Black racism in teaching materials"). For example, according to statements, classmates may intensify ABR when they use content from a lesson on enslavement or colonialism taught with a Eurocentric focus.

"And then there were a few people who, when you argued, would say: Well, your parents were enslaved or something like that. And then there were some teachers who didn't take it seriously at all, 'You see, it was just a joke' or something alike. I think you should learn about racism at school in a way that you're not allowed to do that. Actually anti-racism. That's what should be taught to people. That you express, that such stuff is not good."
(Focus group: pupils)

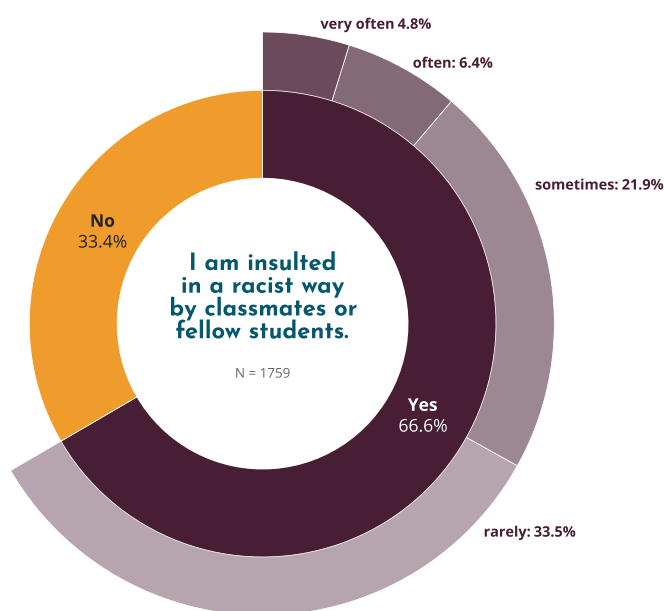
Here, it becomes clear that anti-Black racism is based on shared racist knowledge and that this can be activated, legitimised and intensified at school. Among pupils, ABR is then used as a means of power, as a tool to disparage, marginalise or exclude Black, African

and Afro-diasporic classmates. Particularly in teaching history classes and other subjects that explore the history of enslavement and colonialism continuing into the world wars and the post-war period as well as the present global economic relations, the communication and normalisation of ABR become evident in the teaching process.

Types of ABR in schools range from pupils' racist remarks to targeted racist violence by pupils against Black, African and Afro-diasporic classmates over an extended period of time. Two-thirds of those surveyed in the Afrozensus (n = 1759) stated that they had been insulted in a racist way by classmates or fellow pupils at school, vocational school or university. The information on frequency paints a differentiated picture:

Fig. 59: "I am insulted in a racist way by classmates/fellow pupils." (n = 1759)

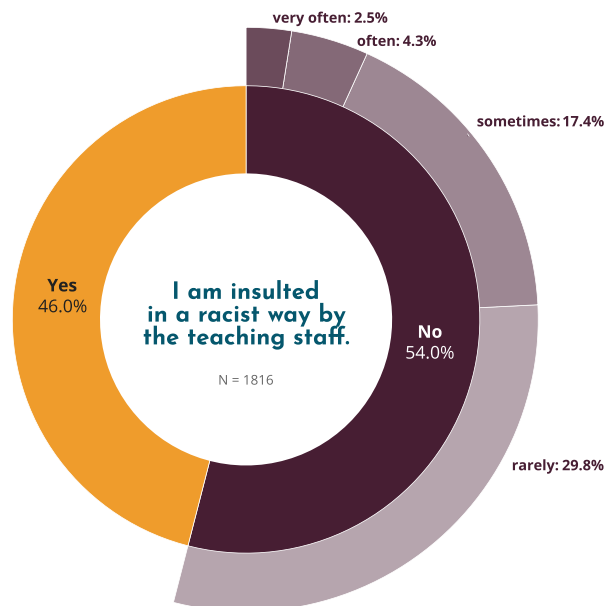
Reading example: Two-thirds of Afrozensus respondents (66.6% of n = 1759) state that they have been insulted in a racist way by classmates or fellow pupils. Around a third of respondents (33.1%) state that this situation occurs "sometimes", "often" or "very often".



A pattern was repeatedly described both in the open responses in the Afrozensus questionnaire and the focus group: the silence and non-intervention of teachers who are present when pupils experience ABR from classmates or other teachers. This loud silence contributes to the normalisation of ABR, as it is perceived to be approved of and not punished. 54% of respondents also stated that they had been insulted in a racist way by teachers or lecturers, including in the form of racist language or "jokes" in front of the whole class.

Fig. 60: "I am insulted in a racist way by teachers/lecturers." (n = 1816)

Reading Example: More than half of the Afrozensus respondents (54.0% of n = 1816) state that they have been insulted in a racist way by teachers or lecturers. Around a quarter of respondents (24.2%) state that this situation occurs "sometimes", "often" or "very often".



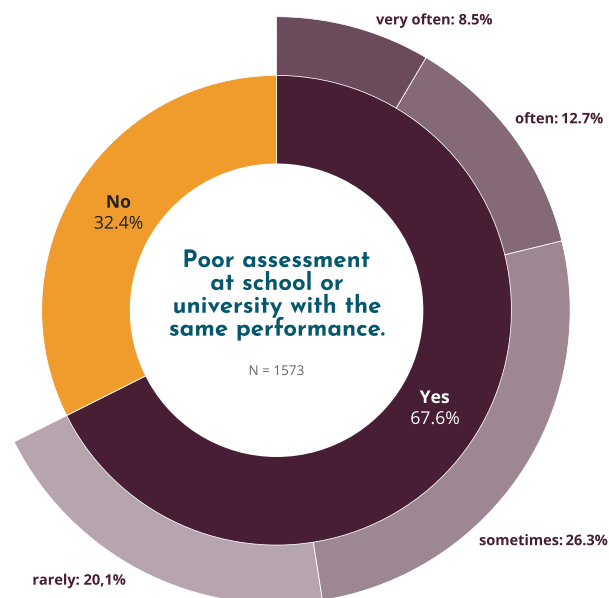
While the intensity here may be somewhat diminished in contrast to the racist insults exchanged among pupils, both in terms of the incidents and their frequency, it remains to be noted that over half of the students surveyed experience racist insults from teachers.

However, anti-Black racism emanating from teachers does not only manifest in insults: A specific experience of belittlement at school concerns the devaluation associated with ABR attributions of intellectual inferiority, i.e. teachers underrate the capacities and performance of Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils to perform. Both the focus groups and multiple open responses to the Afrozensus addressed the issue of openly being shown disdain and denied intellectual abilities at school.

Another frequently experienced form of discrimination in education is the poorer evaluation of equal performance - an experience that has been confirmed several times in studies on educational inequality (Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Jennessen et al., 2013) and thus also proves to be a relevant and drastic experience for the target groups of the Afrozensus on their educational path.

Fig. 61: I get worse grades than other classmates/ fellow pupils with the same performance, due to racist attributions at school/ university." (n = 1573)

Reading example: Two-thirds of Afrozensus respondents (67.6% of n = 1573) state that they receive lower grades than other classmates/comrades at school/university for the same performance due to racist labelling. More than a fifth of respondents (21.2%) stated that this situation occurs "often" or "very often".



However, for many Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils, it does not stop at such explicit degrading: Teachers' attitudes have an impact on promotion recommendations, promotion prognoses and educational recommendations. In the focus group, Black pupils described that, particularly in the case of transition from primary to secondary school, Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils are increasingly and often irrespective of their achievements, interests and aptitudes being recommended for school types the completion of which do not entitle them to study. As a result, Black pupils experience how the number of Black classmates decreases from year to year, especially at Gymnasium (academically selective secondary school in the German education system). This ABR pattern highlights the intersubjective traceability of ABR among teachers and, thus, also the institutional anchoring of ABR within schools: decisions on transfers and recommendations are made not by individuals but by the school board. In the open responses to the Afrozensus, for example, this was formulated:

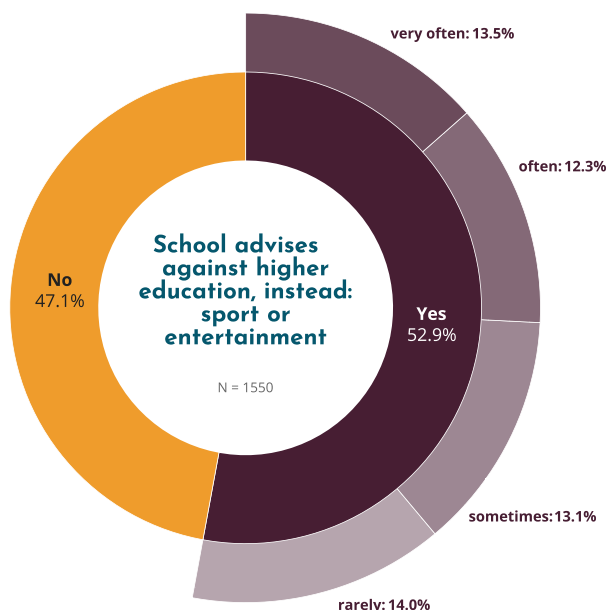
"Actually, I experienced quite some racism at school, and in primary school I was almost sent

to a special school for children with learning difficulties (objectively speaking, I had no deficits in reading or doing maths). I think, this was because of the colour of my skin. In retrospect, I always had to achieve more than what we call bio-Germans, and I also feel I could afford fewer mistakes. (Answer from an open-ended statement in the Afrozensus)

Out of the 1550 respondents to this question, a notable 52.9% detailed experiences of having been actively dissuaded from pursuing a higher school certificate (Abitur) or university education. Rather than encouragement in these directions, they were recommended to learn professions through apprenticeships or go into sports or entertainment. These fields echo anti-Black racism, replicate occupational stereotypes suggested to Black people. While 50.1% of respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (n = 751) reported having experienced this derogatory attribution, 57.7% (of n = 371) of respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents had this experience – a statistically significantly higher proportion.

Fig. 62: "At school, I am told that I should do an apprenticeship or seek work in sport and entertainment instead of taking Abitur examinations or going to university." (n = 1550)

Reading example: Around half of the Afrozensus respondents (52.9% of n = 1550) state that they are told at school to do an apprenticeship or work in sport and entertainment instead of taking Abitur examinations or going to university. A quarter of respondents (25.8%) state that this situation occurs "often" or "very often".



Teachers' active discouragement of Black pupils from pursuing the Abitur was a recurring topic of discussion within the focus groups.

"And the problem was that people who [...] had no migration background got better grades than I did, even though I always actively took part and stuff like that. [...] I spoke with some other teacher of mine about it and said: 'Yes, she's really discriminating against me'. Like, she says I won't make it, I won't be able to do it. Even though I had a really good report card even for the first semester. After that, the teacher spoke to her about it [...] anonymously, so to speak, and then one day she came into the class [...]. And she said: 'Someone here said that I am a racist'. Then a boy in my class answered: 'It's true, you are.' And he was not dark-skinned. Then I said: 'Yes, in my eyes too, you are racist, because you only discriminate against those who are Black and are foreigners.' After that, she replied: 'No, I only have the best in mind for you. She tried to talk her way out of it. She said: 'No, Abitur is hard [...]. I don't recommend it [...] because not everyone is up to it.'"

(Focus group: pupils)

The person concerned ends her description of the case by saying that after successfully transferring to a school leading to the Abitur, she is now worried that her younger sibling, who, unlike her, has two Black parents, could, therefore, become even more a target of ABR, will have the same teacher.

The dynamics of anti-Black racism in schools ensure that even accredited good academic performances of some Black pupils serve as an argument to absolve teachers of accusations of racism pitting Black pupils against one another:

"But what happens to me very often is that my good grades are used as an excuse when other kids say that they are being discriminated against, so to speak. Well, I was somehow consistently one of the top pupils. And in German lessons, it was often the case that [...] the only other Black person, a boy in my class, was graded very, very poorly and very, very often kind of classically was told, especially in seventh and eighth grade: 'You're so inattentive, you're so loud, you're so aggressive'. As soon as he brought this up, our teacher pointed to me and said: 'But [name] somehow manages to be quiet and disciplined and gets good marks, therefore it simply can't be that I'm doing this to you because of racist prejudices; as a matter of fact – you're just a bad student.' (Focus group: pupils)

This dynamic, in which teachers involve Black pupils with good grades in confidential conversations in which other Black pupils are stigmatised according to a divide-and-conquer pattern, was addressed by several participants.

"Me and my friend, we were so to speak the token Blacks, as we would later in eleventh grade call that. Because, as you said, I was so-to-speak a kind of confidant for the teachers, who could then blow off steam about other pupils. I never took actively part in that or teased around in that sense. But it was something like: 'Why this person isn't simply like you? I mean, after all, you obviously can do it. Or: 'But you speak German so well, and so on and so forth.'" (Focus group: pupils)

This was also linked to the experience that good grades can partly protect against or mitigate ABR emanating from teachers. However, respondents explicitly pointed out that addressing ABR and criticising its occurrence can also lead to the loss of model student status and a significant deterioration in grades. This exemplifies that both distinguishing Black students as "exceptions" whose performance is played off in contrast to other Black classmates as well as assigning others to a group of "Black pupils with poor performance" are two sides of the same ABR dynamics. Both can be experienced as a burden with possibly serious consequences.

Anti-Black racism in teaching materials

As the diagram on the manifestations of ABR experienced by pupils (Figure 58) illustrates, ABR originating from pupils, teachers, and teaching content can be reinforced because several sources of ABR discrimination intertwine in ways specific to the school setting. For example, Eurocentric and racist teaching content can reinforce according violent language and discrimination by pupils and teachers. In the focus group, it became evident that racist teaching contents trigger, support and normalise discriminatory behaviour by fellow pupils of the interviewees.

"Or when we watched a film at school, in a history lesson. When the film is about Africa, they show some kind of a poor country [...]. And then they all turn to you and say: 'Yes, look, this is your country' and stuff like that. And you think to yourself: But I am not from this country at all. [...] And after that, there's always some conversation, and then they say: Ey, I can speak that language'. And then they pretend to speak monkey language, and the teach-

ers are just there as well and they say nothing."
(Focus group: pupils)

The non-intervention of teachers in cases of blatantly racist remarks is also addressed in the open responses of the Afrozensus, for example, in an internship situation:

"I did an internship at a school. While we were watching a video in class, two white pupils made racist comments about a Black girl in the video and talked about how they wanted to do violence to her. I was sitting right behind them and heard everything. The teacher didn't say anything."

(Answer from an open statement in the Afrozensus)

Pupils expressed explicit criticism of the normalisation of racist language in teaching content, coming from pupils and teachers alike - in particular, the justification of, for example, the use of the N-word as it being "normal" or statements such as "that's part of it", which provide a justification rather than the problematisation and historical classification of racist language, you would expect. This is one aspect of the lack of historical contextualisation of ABR.

"But we Black people never [got] that respect, I say. Or never that backing or support from teachers when pupils insult their peers with the N-word. You get to hear 'Well, that's part of life' and so on. And the anti-Black racism was completely ignored. But then you see with other people or groups of people: 'Hey, no, you can't do that, you'll get a reprimand for it, and we'll even get a headline in a newspaper for it' [...] then occurrences are properly processed, prepared, followed up. All kinds of dealing with the issue can be done and were done to be as sensitive as possible to the issue of anti-Semitism, which is absolutely correct. But that [is] completely filtered out when it comes to anti-Black racism. And I then realised: Ah well, so it's possible and can be done, but you just never wanted to engage in it." (Focus group: pupils)

When Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils call out problematic content, they experience trivialisation of the ABR they address. They face the fact that, in their estimation, too many teachers have too little specialised knowledge of ABR throughout history and in the present of to adequately address it in terms of content or even to contextualise ABR practised at school and then act appropriately. In addition to directly refusing to engage more deeply with that range of issues, the interviewees also experience shifting responsibility onto those Black pupils who express criticism. They are invited to prepare and present themselves the content they had asked for without receiving neither the needed professional support nor the necessary backing if, for example, their fellow pupils react to this content with ABR again.

Black pupils experience more problematic dynamics in some teachers' positive endeavours of delving deeper into topics that are vital for understanding anti-Black racism but are not sufficiently being dealt with in class, such as the history of enslavement and colonialism, the past and present of the continent of Africa and the African diasporas or global economic interdependencies from the 16th century onwards to the present. They expound the inept transfer of responsibility to Black pupils:

"But what I still find very, very critical and crucial is that in this context, the educational task lies with the pupils, so to speak. Especially at an age where I find that this often cannot be warranted. Which is what [one of the participants] just said. That somehow, well, that 15-, 16-year-old kids can deal with these topics adequately without proper supervision or guidance. In my view that was kind of a transposition of responsibility. I don't know, I think a Project Week is basically a good idea, but then there is a lot missing." (Focus group: pupils)

Focus group participants also report anti-Black hair discrimination, where disparagement related to Black hair as part of Black physicality, African and Afro-diasporic hair cultures, gender and classism intersect in specific ways:

"[...] with many Black pupils who wore braids, we often got most racist comments from teachers and also from fellow pupils. More from classmates, though. Like, when girls arrive with their newly made hairstyle, remarks like 'ghetto look', 'trashy', whatever. That's quite common. You also have to say [at our school], there's a thing going on with classism, anyway. But it was particularly common

regarding Black girls, who got new hairstyles on a regular basis somehow." (Focus group: pupils)

Consequences

Anti-Black racism at school has far-reaching consequences for Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils, female and male, ranging from disparagement to long-lasting racist discrimination in everyday school life to traumatic experiences as a result of the practice as well as the denial of ABR by classmates, teachers and educational staff. One case described in the focus group depicts how grave consequences can be: A child related to a participant developed suicidal ideas in primary school after having been exposed to anti-Black hostility for months. It took the intervention of Black relatives to support and stabilise the child and to push back the ABR experienced at school through insistent and emphatic complaints. Such experiences are also always highly stressful for relatives and social environment, who witness their child being exposed to repeated, targeted discrimination and even racist violence. Due to the often routine denial or trivialisation of ABR by teachers and educators, it takes enormous energy and perseverance to bring about change or better protection for children. However, as pupils also frequently experience that a complaint is reprimanded and hence even worsens the situation, one consequence of ABR can be avoiding complaints. This consideration must, therefore, be made at each occurrence. This is another reason why focus group participants describe a constant strain caused by ABR at school:

"I have the feeling that my brain is completely filled with so many experiences of discrimination [...] because they were constantly there, they were linked together like a chain. There was never an end in sight, with a new beginning in the coming school term."

(Focus group: pupils)

Insults and physical assaults, e.g. in the context of hair discrimination by classmates, racist exposure and embarrassment by teachers or confrontation with racist teaching content, are experienced as marginalisation and cause increasing emotional and psychological strain.

"Well, I had an [...] oral exam [...], and I did it with another girl. She wasn't dark-skinned, and she forgot something right in the middle of the presentation. Well, I know [the tested language] and took over everything. At the end of the day, she got an A and I just got a C. So I complained, and they only raised it to a B. And they commented they hadn't seen that I'd presented any better, even though I'd actually done the whole exam, when you think of it. She just forgot everything and I had to give her the clues the whole time. [The teacher] didn't do that just to me, but also to my best friend. She also got a bad mark, even though her partner had forgotten everything." (Focus group: pupils)

Participants also experience the consequences of anti-Black racism in the grading process. This manifests in the fact that double standards are applied, and they must accomplish more to achieve the same grade.

Another consequence of ABR and protesting against it is poorer grading of performances and accomplishments of their own and of other Black pupils:

"To be honest, I had to do a bit a lot more than other pupils [...] to get an A. But I didn't realise it at the time. because, for me, it was just like: Okay, I should do two more presentations? Then, I'll do these other two presentations as long as the A shows on on the school report in the end. Whereas Hans Peter maybe didn't have to do anything more and we actually [had] the same grades in all the papers, tests, or I was even much better."

(Focus group: pupils)

Furthermore, they describe the need to perform better for the same grades:

"But with other pupils, for example, we were the school with the most Black pupils in the neighbourhood, so I realised that I could do whatever I wanted if my teacher didn't like me, in that case, and at some point, I said: 'That's racist'. If you called them out, so to speak, and said, 'That's racist, that's discriminatory', that was actually the red card. That was your death blow. You can do whatever you want. [...] The smartest thing you can do is change schools. Staying there is actually like suicide."

(Focus group: pupils)

Participants point out the inescapability of certain discriminatory teachers they have been exposed to over the years as a problem and name the consequences of criticising racist content or racist teachers' behaviour:

Beyond individual interactions, the experience of anti-Black racism at school causes a permanent ad-

ditional strain, which is linked to extra work and increased emotional effort and thus negatively impacts everyday school life and the educational experience. Experiences of receiving poorer grades for the same performance and the denial of educational opportunities at the occasion of school transitions clearly show that the consequences of ABR for pupils are utterly serious because ABR remains effective beyond individual racist classmates, teachers or educators due to institutional denial and trivialisation.

How Black pupils deal with ABR

The experiences described lead to considerable additional mental and emotional stress, which is exacerbated by the fact that pupils usually do not experience that ABR cases are dealt with appropriately. This renders their own conscious handling of these situations all the more important. However, this not only involves weighing their own personal situation but also the possible consequences of a complaint for the parents, especially in the case of pupils with Black parents or caregivers. Several focus group participants reported from their own experience and from their environment that parents were often deliberately not informed about ABR incidents at school because the children experienced that their parents were not taken seriously. In this setting, pupils make the conscious decision to protect not only, but primarily, their Black parents from not being taken seriously at school when they complain or from being discriminated against themselves.

"That was also the case for me, which is why I simply dealt with it myself right from the start, like [another participant], because I just knew that they most probably wouldn't take my parents seriously." (focus group: pupils)

Pupils cite language as a barrier to access for parents, which teachers deliberately use to discriminate against parents.

Another motivation described by focus group participants, using the example of a primary school child adopted into a white family, is the attempt by younger children in their environment to keep their experiences of ABR somewhat under control by not mentioning them to their parents. In this way, fear of worsening discrimination drove the choice to avoid addressing a situation at school.

"And then when the child was, I think, [...] six or seven [years old], he trained himself, so to speak,

not to talk about things with his mum because he knows [...] that he would then get even more stress. Because his mum always makes a big issue of it straight away and he doesn't want it to become a big issue, if his classmates beat him up or something. So the experiences that he was actually able to categorise quite well as a child, so to speak, when he also told me things somehow, that in the schoolyard, when they argued, the teachers always blamed him, even if he hadn't done anything or so. When he clearly stated, 'ok, that was just unfair and because I'm Black and the others aren't', that he didn't want to talk about it any more and that he didn't tell his parents or other confidants about it in any way." (Focus group: pupils)

The fact that this child did not confide the experience to their own mother, but to a Black confidant from their private environment points to a coping strategy that the pupils identified as important: sharing these experiences among Black pupils and trusted Black grown ups, which give them the chance to have the experience of discrimination be confirmed and framed. This is particularly important in an environment that denies or trivialises ABR or has no ABR experiences of its own and is discussed further in the section on resilience and empowerment strategies.

Black pupils endeavour to keep their reactions to ABR under control to avoid further escalation. Nevertheless, there are cases where ABR is so severe that pupils mobilise their parents to intervene. In one case described in the focus group, a participant had been elected class representative in her class:

"And then I stood for election and clearly won the election. And my teacher instantly decried the outcome: 'No, no, no. You can't be class representative because your skin colour alone makes you stand out. My classmates didn't think that was very nice either and stood up for me straight away, which I'm very grateful for, actually I felt that [was] a blatant experience. Even more so at school, in a place where something like that is actually rather out of place. And yes, that was actually my worst experience at school on the subject. The fact that the teacher alone marginalised you so [...] strongly." (Focus group: pupils)

The person then describes how the teacher refused to accept the vote even after protests from the other pupils, only one of whom had cast a different vote, she insisted on the exclusion. The person then left the school

for the rest of the day and called in their parents. They complained that much and intensely that as a result the teacher in question had to leave the school. The person points out that this was very difficult to achieve due to the status as a civil servant (for life).

Pupils only quite sporadically criticise the racism they experience at school to teachers and school officials, as they rarely find that those are willing to acknowledge their experiences and to think and act based on the needs of the pupils. Instead, there is a pattern of denial in which clearly racist incidents such as those mentioned above (e.g. use of the N-word) are trivialised as non-racist. These experiences explain the strategic handling of complaints facing the institution.

The dilemma of negotiating for Black pupils

As contact with classmates and teachers who practise ABR is not only short-term but lasts for years, Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils do not face a dilemma of reaction but of perpetuary negotiation. For years, they have to spend five days a week with the people with whom they negotiate derogatory content or who discriminate against them. In addition, they depend on teachers due to the hierarchies in the school system. In connection with the described pattern of denial of ABR at school, this creates a dilemma of negotiation that repeatedly leads to stress: Addressing ABR can lead to an improvement in the situation as well as a continuation or even worsening of the discrimination with a simultaneous deterioration in the relationship with teachers and classmates. On the other hand, not

speaking up means continued confrontation with ABR and discriminatory behaviour. Against this backdrop, pupils report constantly renegotiating how much they put up with without openly criticising.

Strategies of resilience and empowerment

Pupils report the exchange with other Black pupils as an important source of both resilience through the validation of their experiences and empowerment through the sharing of more diverse historical sources in the form of films, online videos, articles and books, but also cultural references and music. There were numerous mentions of the relief and alleviation stemming from such an exchange. In the case of one pupil who had intense experiences with ABR in the school context, focus group participants described the following:

"She has some favourite song [...] that she listened to day in and day out, which was about something like 'your skin is beautiful', which her mother didn't understand at the time because the children had bullied her so much and had told her so often that she was ugly the way she was - she's just dark-skinned - that she turned to music for some remedy, so to speak, and [watched videos and researched lyrics on the internet], which I didn't even do at that age." (Focus group: pupils)

One person in the focus group also reported on the empowering effects of an intervention where she gave a presentation herself after complaining about teaching content.

"But for the pupils, in any case, for many pupils, I definitely got on much better with them, because there were also some who really got involved with it afterwards at home and then talked to me about it in the yard breaks and so on. And that went on for the rest of the graduation year. So, we could always exchange ideas because they somehow found all sorts of different sources, and I even learned new things from them that I didn't know then. So that's one of the positive experiences I was able to gather - one of the singular ones." (Focus group: pupils)

Here, it becomes evident that a successful way of addressing ABR can improve the situation not only in the moment but also in the long term, as the relationship with classmates would be enriched through the exchange of critical perspectives on ABR and discrimination.

Resilience and empowerment are central, given the patterns of exclusion described above. At the same time, it becomes clear that experiences of ABR and other related discrimination are so firmly anchored and normalised in the school context that dealing with them, including through resilience and empowerment, cannot be shifted to Black pupils solely. This is another reason for the pupils' explicit requests to handle and push back ABR within the school system.

Demands by Black pupils

At the end of the focus group, Black pupils made precise demands based on the experiences and analyses described above. They take a critical look not only at individual incidents and individuals but also at the institutions, those responsible, and the legal reality in Germany. As clearly articulated, independent and professionally competent contact and complaints centres are indispensable. They also name relevant standards and conditions for the success of such a service:

"And you also definitely need centres or facilities. (...) Because we do have laws, but some people still break the law and end up in prison [...]. That goes hand in hand. [...] We also need drop-in centres because we know that, unfortunately, it won't always be possible to change things one hundred percent. And these facilities need to be staffed by people who, among other things, have been affected themselves or are simply so good at what they do that you simply know you can confide in them, right here and now. Because otherwise we [...] very quickly fall back into the pattern of: 'The burden is all on you, then'." (Focus group: pupils)

Expectations of changes in the curriculum and in dealing with topics are also clearly addressed, and the relevance of the history of enslavement as an interdisciplinary cross-cutting topic of historical learning is named:

"I think the educational aspects are relatively clear; that's what we discussed, especially regarding history lessons. But I think it's also important to expand on that. So that we are not just confronted with continuity and history, when it comes to the

issue of enslavement, in that one subject, but that there is also an obligation to really deal with it."

(Focus group: pupils)

The pupils also address the unproductive paralysis that may occur with white teachers in particular:

"Telling teachers that they are reproducing racism, that it's not, just like that, the end of the line. I don't know if you can somehow translate that into a concrete demand for action, but it has really disturbed me in recent years that it always [goes] like this: 'Ok, now I'm being racist as a white teacher. Now I can't do anything anymore. Now you can't do anything anymore.' I think that's a super difficult dynamic unfolding and I would like to see some change there." *(Focus group: pupils)*

As far as concrete options for action are concerned, the pupils focus on handling cases of discrimination at school and emphasise the importance of calling out racism as a base to start with:

"One thing I've heard and discussed a lot is that I think the concept and understanding of what teachers usually call an 'accusation of racism' needs to change. For example, we suggested to or demanded from our school to develop a series of measures or a way of dealing with cases of discrimination occurring at the school. And the response from our school, similar to the response from several other schools [...], or the response from public authorities is that this approach was unacceptable in these instances, because otherwise [...] they would be admitting that, indeed, racism in the schools is a fact. Our school administration was also like: So, if we [...] somehow start publicly taking measures against racism, then they [...] will precisely say that we are a racist school'. And I think it's really important to understand that admitting it does not imply negativity. And that, especially from a political perspective of aggrieved parties, it is much better and much safer for us to go to places that admit that, of course, they are racist, because they are in a racist-. Of course, they reproduce structures because they are in a world and in a city, where these already exist. In the end, such an admission doesn't characterise weakness but rather something stronger, because you can change things from there. I think that's something that allows for much more than denialism, yes, for everyone involved, and I think that's also super important." *(Focus group: pupils)*

The experience described reflects institutional and educational policy approaches that avoid calling racism by its name rather than maximising the professional level of its handling. Pupils interviewed point out that the needs and explicitly expressed wishes for dealing with specific situations of discrimination are not heard:

"I think it's also super important, especially with younger children, for example, that when it comes to specific cases, the children or young people should be the people who have the greatest decision-making power when it comes to consequences or something like that. So as was mentioned before, that somehow people were meant to draw pictures because they somehow had acted in a racist manner towards their classmates and stuff like that. I think, regardless of the structures, the kids themselves usually know very well what they want. And if sometimes it's just a genuine excuse, then I think it's okay to have it that way. But if they say: Nah, I actually want there to be stronger consequences somehow, then I think that should at least be seen equally. Because as is relatively often the case, less so in secondary school, of course, but in primary schools, the parents naturally have much more of a say. And if you have cool parents, that's usually helpful too. So this guardianship can be totally disempowering there too, because then kids do things like, what I expressed before, they stop talking addressing things, because they feel that escalating everything seems to be the endgame." *(Focus group: pupils)*

This statement not least criticises an adultist dynamic that does not see the children concerned as persons with their own decision-making competence in dealing with the discrimination they have experienced, but only as recipients of the measures taken by adults. The demand to take the articulated needs of Black children seriously, especially in primary schools, reveals adultist conventions that can also occur in the well-intentioned handling of such cases - with disempowering consequences to the extent that those affected no longer address the issues because they are once again forced into a passive role in the handling by adults, in which others decide assumed solutions. In their demands, the respondents also focus on the competencies of teachers to be able to deal with the topics addressed in an appropriate interpersonal manner:

"And I would also say that many teachers, well let me say, elderly teachers, who [have] no clue

and have been [in the profession] for more than 20 or 30 years. In any case, retraining is very, very, very urgently needed. In any case, really, really urgent. And not only regarding their expertise in their subject but also on a human level, I have that sense. There are a lot of isms that they don't understand yet, that they don't master. And that needs to be corrected at first."

(Focus group: pupils)

Given the institutional dimension of discrimination, exclusion mechanisms engraved in educational qualifications, which would require more far-reaching reforms, are also addressed:

"And yes, and then there's the structural aspect, which is very much about this recommendation or these transitions, which we also mentioned. I think you also have to pay a lot of attention to this, so that the awareness for these facts grow, especially in this perception or this question: Ok, who is given a recommendation? Who is not? Who gets ahead, who doesn't? That racism is totally, actually, mainly involved. Exactly. And that, I think, in terms of actions, it's also connected to the fact that we have to aspire for things like Abitur as the only big solution offered, let's think in that way, that there really need to be equal chances and opportunities. So that an understanding of school and qualifications, based on more equality and so forth [is promoted]. It's a bigger picture now, of course, but yes." *(Focus group: pupils)*

The experiences, approaches, empowerment strategies and demands of Black pupils show a high degree of reflection and analysis of their experiences and the institutional context of school. The perspectives documented here clearly show that Black pupils must be involved as actors, as subjects and as experts when it comes to better understanding anti-Black racism in schools and create ways to more effectively push it back.

6.3.4 ABR experiences of parents: manifestations, ways of dealing with it and negotiations

Parents interviewed reported a particular problem of Black parenthood in Germany that affects them throughout the entire educational path of Black children: How can the interests and rights of Black children be safeguarded in contexts where there is a lack of representation of Black people in education staff as well as a lack of appropriately diverse, multi-perspective teaching materials and the competence of many educators and teachers to recognise, name and appropriately deal with anti-Black racism as such?

The lack of processing competence is reflected not least in a refusal to confront the issue, the lack of binding procedures for clarifying allegations of racism and the unwillingness and sometimes inability to

deal with ABR in schools on an institutional level, in a professional and solution-orientated manner, beyond individual committed teachers or parents.

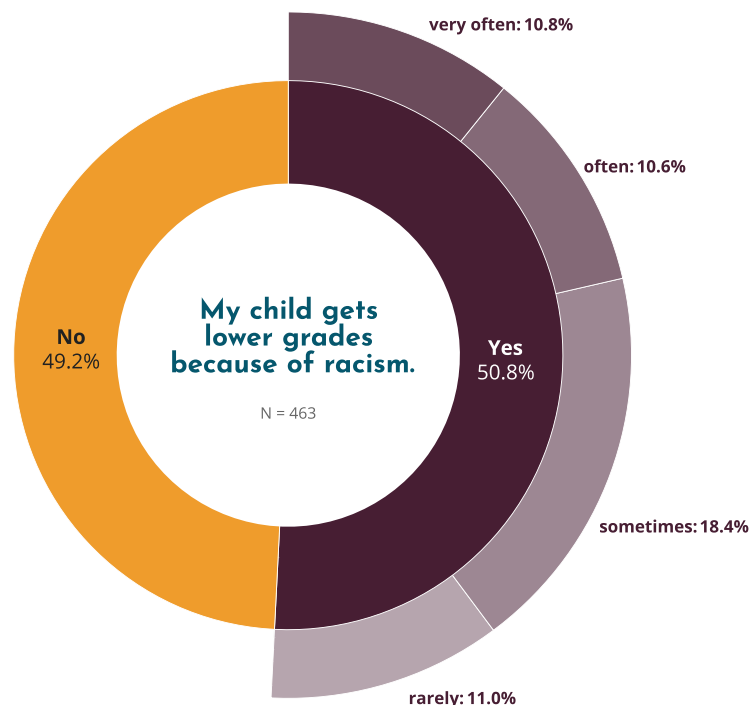
Characteristics

The parent focus group describes many of the manifestations of ABR analysed by pupils: the defence of racist representations and language in teaching materials by teachers and fellow pupils, the denial of ABR, the segregational measures and unequal assessment of Black pupils.

Parents also report anti-African and colourist [G] dynamics intensifying anti-Black racism, for example,

Fig. 63: My child gets lower grades at school than other children with the same performance due to racist attributions." (n = 463)

Reading example: Half of the Afrozensus respondents (50.8% of n = 463) state that their child receives lower grades at school compared to other children with the same performance, due to racist attributions. Around a fifth of respondents (21.4%) state that this situation occurs "often" or "very often".



when a sibling has a darker skin tone than previous siblings at the same school and is therefore exposed to more intense discrimination. Like pupils and teachers, parents experience that they are not taken seriously with their concerns about more inclusive, anti-racist content and their criticism of ABR at school, which forces them to deal strategically with ABR at school.

Dealing with ABR

Based on their children's experiences in kindergarten and school, the Black parents interviewed expect that there will be further racist incidents or confrontations with racist content during the course of their children's school attendance. They, therefore, try to take preventative action and position themselves accordingly. For example, several parents report trying to protect their children by consciously profiling their own appearance, for instance, by attending parents' evenings in suits or engaging as general parent representatives. At the same time, the acting out of their own positioning is experienced as highly questionable because they do not really want to cater to classist attributions and the idea of respectability.

The preventive approach cannot avert anti-Black racism, it does provide, however, a different base for discussion and possibly for allies within the parenthood, which are very important to avoid or mitigate the individualisation of ABR and the singling out of the child and the parents as the troublemakers in the framing of a perpetrator-victim reversal. In this context, parents mention the importance of Black and white allies who support them in voicing criticism. If necessary, different strategies are applied one after the other and different hierarchies of the school system are implicated, ranging from the headteacher to the school administration:

"I've realised for myself that criticism in a confidential setting and praise is always quite a good option. Which is to say [...] addressing the issue directly with that one teacher involved and then, if necessary, stepping up to the next level and to the next higher level. The problem with that, in my view, is that I always have to be on alert, always have to pay extra attention." (Focus group: parents)

Strategic consideration is also given to who takes over which communication, as Black parents, especially Black mothers, often experience that they are treated unequally in communication from the get-go:

"I wrote three times, and they never answered to the essence of my question. And at some point I wrote that somehow, I had a strange feeling. So, if

my email was being ignored, it makes me feel like I've done something really bad, and I'd be happy, therefore, if I got a response. A lot of time passed by, but somehow nothing ensued. And then [...] the white father wrote, and immediately there was an apology, immediately there was - 'yes, this and that happened' - an explanation. And that's what I have so often experienced; it really, really hurts. And what's even more aggravating is when the children are aware of these dynamics."

(Focus group: parents)

Black parents describe dealing with ABR as a constant balancing act. As racism is experienced as unaddressable, associated fears are sometimes only overcome in an endeavour to protect their own child:

"I felt for a long time that it was a real balancing act. And I was always afraid of what might occur: me speaking up, and my [child] being negatively affected. I am done with that. After the last incident, I no longer feel that way, [when I] made a very clear statement, right at school as well. Telling the school management and the teacher directly, [...] that racism and violence [...] are absolutely not acceptable." (Focus group: parents)

The school's approach to racism is explicitly criticised as counterproductive, as the attempt to maintain a positive school image - also in the external perception - appears to be more important than dealing with ABR occurrence appropriately. Therefore the existence of racism is flatly denied, which makes it more challenging to address and deal with its occurrence and can paradoxically reinforce it.

"Dealing with racism is always very awkward. It's often driven by: 'Please, just don't do any negative PR now. We'd like to keep the "School against Racism" label. And that "School against Racism" badge says nothing at all. Quite the opposite. As with all things in society, [it's] always and only about avoiding negative PR. I would assume that the fear of negative PR is greater than an actual desire for change. Or a willingness to confront things, which is, of course, painful. And we know that." (Focus group: parents)

Black parents also address the need to be constantly on alert about what their children are exposed to, because trust in school as a safe learning environment dwindles, especially after ABR incidents:

**"Which attitude do we enter a school with? Be on alert! That's my attitude. Being alert. [...]
Totally, you really have to watch out. I have to watch what homework comes in, and I have to watch what comments come in, whether comments come in. Whether teachers act somewhat strangely, that's it. And that's the difference to all white [parents]."** *(Fokusgruppe: Eltern)*

Black parents' dilemma of negotiating

In reflecting on how they deal with ABR and ensuing discrimination, Black parents experience negotiating how to deal with ABR as stress. Single mothers, in particular, pointed out the great difficulty in coping with these additional negotiations. One aspect that made the negotiation easier for a participating parent as the (primary school) age of the children increased was that they could be asked about their needs and consciously involved in order to act in their interests. This respectful inclusion and orientation towards the needs of the pupils are particularly vital, as it is not the parents but their children who "have to spend every day with these [teachers and fellow pupils]", and the combination of ABR and adultism restricts their say.

"But basically, the question is if I'm known as that mum [who always criticises]. And that translates to the child: how far do you go, or what battle do you pick? Or do I concentrate on nurturing my children at home, giving them a protective shield so they can just, with clenched teeth, get through. And at the same time, I also have a responsibility to society, other pupils, and whoever, to bring about change. Doing these splits is really painful. Because, in the end I am not the one, who then has to endure those angry teachers all day."

(Focus group: parents)

6.3.5

Black teachers: Limited intervention possibilities against anti-Black racism in schools

For participants in the focus group, anti-Black racism is a constant, sometimes changing in its forms of expression, but constant in its basic patterns from their own school experience, throughout their studies, traineeships and their own work as teachers. This raises awareness of troublesome hierarchies and their own role within the school system.

Characteristics

Black teachers experience ABR from their colleagues but also from pupils, denying them the acknowledgement of their competence and their right to exist as a teacher. The following experience shows that ABR has a discriminatory effect in school as well as in teacher training and the evaluation of teaching materials and teaching concepts:

"A pupil receives a bad mark from me for a picture. He asks why. I reply that he hadn't put any effort to the task and that the content (sexual, inappropriate depiction) had no place in school. He replies that Black people have no place in school either and leaves." *(Answer from open-ended statement in the Afrozensus)*

"I often create my own material with my own pictures and once did so during my traineeship. [...] The topic somehow touched the world of professions and job application and also had a Black person [in the illustrations]. And that was in a lesson where the training supervisor observed my teaching. And she later criticised the fact that the person in the picture was Black. That would befuddle the pupils. And then you're in that sort of an exam situation where [you] know that if you open that

pandora's box you'd get a bad assessment, and you know that later all depends on those assessments [...]. Then you immediately think to yourself: If I say something now, then [it's] over, then I'll never find a job. Because later, they consider the assessments you received. In these hierarchies you're really very dependent. So much for putting in your own diverse material." *(Focus group: teachers)*

This experience exemplifies the effects of ABR on various levels: The reaction is based on the normalisation of ascribed non-belonging of Black people by the supervisor. Accordingly, all pupils supposedly are white and cannot identify with Black people, but are "befuddled" by their mere presence. At the same time, the statement implies an obvious denial of the existence and experience of the Black teacher who re-

ceives the feedback. Furthermore, the exclusivity of white representation is reinforced in teaching materials that deal with job applications and thus a core aspect of work life for which school is supposed to prepare all, not just white pupils. This example also makes it

clear why teachers are calling for the mandatory thematisation of ABR, other forms of racism and intersectional discrimination dynamics in teacher training. The teachers surveyed also express, that the teaching material in use urgently needs to be assessed with a racism-critical lense. They report that they create their own teaching materials, as existing ones are usually not diverse enough and often even racist in their use of depictions and language. For example, textbooks and materials were criticised that indiscriminately use the

N-word, the I-word⁵ and the Z-word⁶. Some teachers also reported being confronted by pupils because of teaching materials with racist content. It can thus be concluded that ABR and other forms of racism lead to extra work and additional effort by Black teachers, which are just as little recognised as the racist environment and conditions that make them necessary.

"Again, it's not about racism in general. Again, it's just about white people absolving themselves of it, giving themselves a free pass and not tackling the problem, but once again, it's all about their feelings. I mean, I can understand that not every [Black] person wants to do that and at some point burns out or says "I'm not taking part in this anymore". It doesn't just start at some point [during teacher's training preparing for a lateral entry and career change]. It can be at university, and before that, at school. And then I can fully understand when people have had enough of it, break down and simply don't want to go on with it." (Focus group: teachers)

What is particularly significant here is a dynamic in which anti-Black racism, if it comes from other children of colour or children with what they call an immigration history, is sometimes seen as not worth dealing with. This reveals a particular vulnerability of pupils who experience anti-Black or other forms of racism from PoC classmates:

"Then among the pupils: we have [almost 2000] pupils and [slightly less than 1000] of them have a so-called immigration background. And they're not always particularly friendly with each other. And it has often happened that others, like the formteachers, have opined: "Well, okay. But that was not a German who said that. That was no white person." So they didn't see any need to intervene with such insults or any other thing. [They] dismissed it as simply being normal. That's how it is – these are the kind of situations I've observed." (Focus group: teachers)

Teachers emphasise that at many schools the staff is significantly less diverse than the students. At the same time, Black presence and increasing diversity within staff are not taken into account.

"[...] the case you just mentioned reminds me of the anti-discrimination law, the state anti-discrimination law here in Berlin, which is to be implemented. And that – the first reaction coming from the white school management was: Well, now we are obliged to produce evidence to the pupils with a migration background that we do not discriminate'. Looking at this 'we'... who actually is included in this 'we'? (laughs) Again, they only have in mind white teachers and white pupils and students. And no thought at all is given to the fact that within the system obviously there are also non-white teachers or teachers affected by discrimination."

(Focus group: teachers)

Consequences of ABR and how Black teachers deal with it

Teachers in the focus group point out that they have to strategically weigh the extent to which addressing anti-Black racism changes their standing within the teaching staff and with the school management. Due to the lack of willingness and ability to tackle with ABR and other forms of racism, especially among predominantly white teaching staff, bodies, Black teachers face complex challenges: They have to carefully reflect on how to shape their actions aiming at appropriate and sustainable school experiences for Black and other pupils affected by racism without jeopardising themselves.

"I also sense that the performance of Black pupils in my class often is assessed differently in some subjects by some teachers when compared to white pupils. In such cases I always try to give it another look. When it's my subject, it's easy because then I can simply say: 'Can I have a second look at the paper? And well, it isn't easy in other subjects that aren't mine to get hold of it. Yes, that's something that pupils, because I'm also a counselling teacher, often report back to me, Black pupils."

(Focus group: teachers)

Interviewees repeatedly mention the experience of isolation as a Black teacher within the teachers' body:

"Yes, we are alone on the front line. Because I think as a Black teacher in Germany, you're in a totally isolated position. Of course, we know that anyway, having grown up in Germany. Actually, as a Black person [...],

⁵ The I-word is a foreign term for the First Nations of the Americas, especially of today's USA and Canada, which is rejected by the vast majority of self-organisations.

⁶ This term is a derogatory term for Rom*ja and Sinti*zze, which is rejected by the vast majority of self-organisations with reference to the racist persecution and the Porajmos [G] by the National Socialists.

you always have this isolated position in society. But within such a teachers' body, it's really extreme. Because sometimes, I think to myself: even the among our students there is so much more diversity than within our staff. There's hardly any staff as diverse as the students in their entirety. Well, in the staff where I work now, I feel that because two, three or four non-white colleagues have met, it's also motivating for others, for other non-white colleagues: 'Ah, oh, there are already some. Then I want to go there, too.' (Focus group: teachers)

The dilemma of negotiation for Black teachers

As teachers find themselves in a pivotal position within the school hierarchy, the dilemma of negotiation for the teachers interviewed is different compared to other interviewees. Here, it is not least a question of weighing how ABR emanating from colleagues can be countered, what effects this has on Black teachers, and to what extent addressing ABR complicates their everyday work or weakens other possibilities for intervention. The following section exemplifies focusses on some examples the dilemma and the trade-offs:

"Well, I dare say I already have encountered the use of racist language during my studies. I know it from my traineeship, and I also know it from my day-to-day work. I really must say that my colleagues aren't particularly woke when it comes to the N-word. Yes, I've actually grown tired of such discussions. That's why, yes, they don't happen so often anymore. But only because I consciously turn a deaf ear. I have some colleagues who use other derogatory words [...]. I made an issue of that because also they were younger colleagues with whom I usually get along well. [...] I probably don't need to tell you the usual-. Yes, it always follows certain patterns. 'I'm too sensitive' and so on. And then I think to myself: I don't have to put up with this anymore. And then I always try to step out of the situation. I find that relatively difficult [...]. And we're not such a diverse team, [so] in principle, I don't have a point of contact to discuss such things. Because if I do that on my own, I'm always afraid that I kind of jeopardise my standing in the school, meaning, that I show myself and make myself vulnerable. 'I'll make myself vulnerable and so on. I find that a bit difficult.' (Focus group: teachers)

Resilience and empowerment

The interviewees report on meetings within the teachers' body that enable solidarity and validation of experiences of racism in groups of Black and PoC teachers.

They form an important space for exchange that builds and strengthens resilience against the normalisation of discrimination. The high motivation to create a less discriminatory, more inclusive school experience for pupils and students was mentioned several times, for example, by creating and using teaching materials with more diverse representations of PoC and Black people and other people who are discriminated against and are marginalised. One participating teacher is responsible for a "welcoming class" and experiences that she can represent and shape the children's entry into the German school system for her pupils, which feels empowering for the teacher as well.

Black pupils also play an essential role for the Black teachers interviewed:

"Yes, it's similar for me. I also, yes, feel empowered simply because of the Black pupils in my class. It was a bit strange for me at first that they brought me into their group, so to speak. But now I think it's really cool. And [they] always greeted me like that [with their fists crossed over their chests] when this became popular through the cinema. I always thought that was really cool. And they simply approach me when something happens, they simply come. No matter whether I'm their class teacher or whether I'm teaching them at all. They just see me in the corridor and say: 'Ah, aren't you-?' And: 'What's your name?' And if there's something wrong, then they come to me. And I think that's [...] great. And I also think it's great to see that it's [different] from when I was at school. When I was the only one in the whole school who was Black. And that they talk about it so well now and that, yes, they already have the vocabulary, so to speak, that I didn't have back then. That they read certain books without me having to recommend them; for the most part, they're already totally on board. I don't have to tell them much about, let's say, any books or music or things like that, because they've formed their own little community at school. This alone I find [...] empowering. And if my fellow teachers annoy me, in the staff room or so, then I rather go to the schoolyard, spend my break there and stand next to them." (Focus group: teachers)

Teachers emphasised the importance of exchange in the focus group, as in their professional routine they do not have the opportunity to share and reflect on their experiences with Black colleagues. Overall, self-efficacy in the design of inclusive educational programmes

and spaces is experienced as a source of empowerment against the backdrop of the negotiation dilemma described above. The experience of being able to provide information plays a special role here.

Experience of the ability to provide information

Black teachers experience, that they have the possibility to address ABR and discrimination in a way that opens up spaces for pupils to express themselves and address discrimination, some of which the teachers have not even noticed:

"What I found absolutely [...]intriguing, let me get back to the kids, was that I asked them at some point during a lesson: "What's it like for you at school with discrimination? Is it dealt with well? Do you know who you can turn to if something happens?" And so on and so forth. And really, in one class, almost everyone's hands went up and somehow almost everyone [had] a story to tell in seventh grade, which means they are new to the school right now. About different teachers who catch their attention. And different things they hear or that happen to them. And I must say, I was somehow a bit shocked because overall the atmosphere at that school is quite pleasant. After everything you've already experienced, you may feel quite comfortable in some places, somehow. So I realised that it was also important to note, for me, that you often really have to ask the kids and signal to them that it's okay to talk about it, and that sometimes different things come to the surface which you had not noticed before." (Focus group: teachers)

It becomes evident how important it is to consciously listen to pupils, to ask open questions about their experiences of discrimination and their knowledge of their rights and protection options – and to consciously offer spaces for this exchange. Adultist hierarchies in schools mean that pupils have insights into dynamics of discrimination that often remain hidden from adults, even attentive teachers. Black pupils and parents, in particular, are used to the fact that ABR cannot be discussed at school, so an explicit invitation is required even from Black teachers. Pupils are very willing and able to provide information when they are specifically asked about experiences of racism and invited to speak about them in a protected space, as the focus group with Black pupils also proves. This experience of being capable to provide information, in turn, strengthens Black teachers in their work.

Black teachers' demands

The interviewees identify the need that the provision and transfer of racism-critical skills need to be anchored in basic teacher training, teachers' traineeship as well as in teachers' professional routine and advanced training.

"Well [I] think it very desirable if a subject on racism, anti-Black racism, were an integral part of the study programme. If there was something like a module in teacher training [...], both at university and in teacher training seminars, preferably taught by Black people. Actually, that's the most important from my perspective, that this topic is introduced into the universities and hence into teachers' bodies. It can't be true that I - that teachers have no idea about how racism works and how to deal with it, but somehow the school endeavours to acquire the certification as a school with courage.

(Focus group: teachers)

Furthermore, teachers emphasise the importance of an institutionally anchored, standardised and sanctioned approach to discrimination in schools.

"Discrimination standards should be introduced into schools. And these standards critical of discrimination would also have to be established in training programmes, traineeship programmes and in schools, work in schools and in [education administration]. And then, independent complaints centres must be established. And that schools are obliged to work with these independent complaints offices. So they can't say: After all, that's - you're some kind of external body. We have no desire to work with you right now'. And then there is this complaints office that was set up within the Senate administration here in Berlin, and well, at this point, I don't think it'll make a difference anymore. The structures are just so very rigid. They can't be broken down

and changed from within. [...]. Accordingly, we need an independent complaints office working from outside, but of course it needs some position of power vis-à-vis [the schools] to make sure, that it is able to act and work effectively ."

(Focus group: teachers)

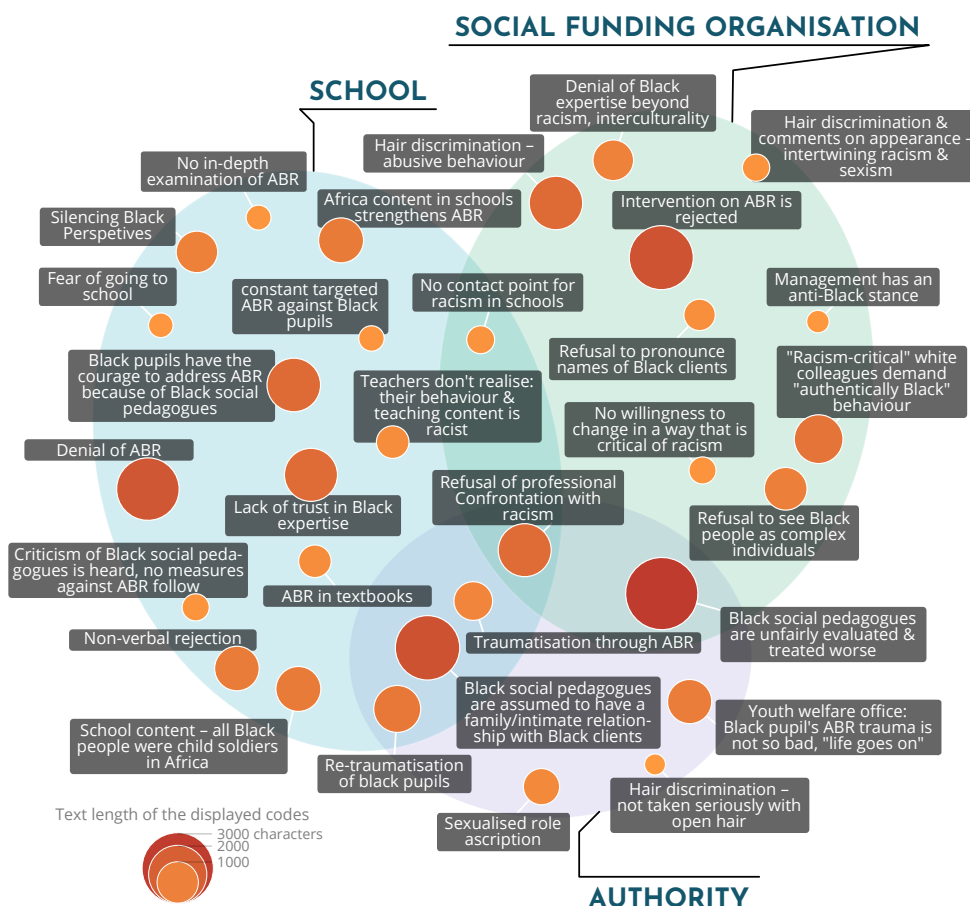
Further demands urged the competent revision of teaching materials to eliminate racist content and representations, the support of textbook publishers with the goal of improving their content, the revision of curricula for a non-discriminatory depiction and description of enslavement and colonial history – not only in history lessons, which echoes the pupils' requests.

6.3.6 Social pedagogues and social workers: Insights into the interaction between schools, authorities and social service agencies

The focus group with social pedagogues and social workers who work in schools or provide services in and around the spheres of schooling, allowed for specific insights into the school system from a perspective that takes into account not only pupils, teachers and parents but also school authorities, youth welfare offices and social service agencies.

The participating social workers and social pedagogues work in and around schools, child and youth social work, anti-discrimination counselling and family support. They experience the manifestations and consequences of ABR and find ways of dealing with it, resilience and empowerment strategies in all these areas.

Fig. 64: ABR experiences of social pedagogues and social workers



Characteristics: ABR in schools, public authorities and social service agencies

The experiences of Black social pedagogues and social workers provide a particular insight into the manifestations of ABR in its entanglements between schools, authorities such as the school or youth welfare office and social agencies (Fig. 64).

One experience that Black social pedagogues and social workers have in all three institutions is the highly patterned and quasi-ritualised refusal to professionally engage with anti-Black racism:

"Truly, I always feel that in many encounters and experiences, ignorance, ignorance and defence come together very badly. And that's a bit of the common thread. And especially when it comes to the structures of schools and daycare centres, I also feel that there is a great consensus that nothing should be any different now. As a matter of fact, 'racism' must not openly be tackled with. 'That's not racism, we are' - well, I keep being told that and encounter something like a big wall again and again when I try to initiate something, call the school on behalf of clients or also because I wanted to start a few new things there [for my child of preschool age]: 'No, we are open, we don't have that, we know nothing of racism'. So, all these issues that you also experience with individual people in your private life, they are so entrenched in the structures and cover each other, and you can't get past this wall. No matter how much personalisation, how much understanding, how much explanation you offer, the other simply is not allowed to be. The 'other' would mean completely re-positioning yourself, learning to sit down." (Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Black social pedagogues and social workers face special attributions at the intersection of ABR and sexism, which require a strategic choice of clothing and hairstyle. Each of the (4) educators interviewed outlined the occurrence of a particular type of anti-Black hair discrimination within their respective workplaces and schools, particularly evident during interactions with authorities. For example, when hair is worn openly, it is commented on in an abusive manner or even touched in disregard of personal boundaries. At the same time, the interviewees observe that they meet more confrontational and marginalising attitudes and that their professionalism is questioned more when they wear their hair open. This form of ABR, in which racist and sexist attributions overlap in a particular way, requires conscious and strategic dealings:

"Well, what I experience again and again is (...), also what you just said, that you're not seen as a professional at all. So, mostly, well, both from the client's side, but also from other professionals or even from the authorities, most people think that I'm the client or, well, or that you're somehow in a family relationship with the client. And I also find that a huge strain, in any case. Like, having to justify yourself again and again, yes, that you are somehow a professional and that automatically you are not perceived as a professional. And I realise that it definitely depends [on] how I wear my hair. So, if I have a tight bun at the back that looks kind of neat, I'm more likely to be read as a professional than if I wear my hair open. And when it comes to dealing with that, depending on what kind of meeting I'll attend, I definitely use it strategically. So, if I know that it's really important for the client, [...] yes, then I tell myself: OK, I'm going to wear my hair up, even if it's actually totally against my principles because I think [...] I have to be taken seriously somehow, with my hair open. But then I also realise: Okay, right now, it's not about me and my struggle and somehow my visibility, but it's somehow about the person's life right here and right now. And if that benefits them, then I can somehow put my issues aside for an hour. But of course, it still affects you somehow." (Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

In addition, however, a dynamic of anti-Black attributions unfolds, which, in the unanimous experience of the participating educators, makes it harder to deal professionally with the cases of Black, African and Afro-diasporic clients in particular. For example, educators and social workers are often supposed to have some sort of familial or intimate relationship with their Black clients, which places an additional strain on them, as they need to develop and apply additional strategic and communicative work in order to represent the interests of their clients in the institutions mentioned above.

In the focus group, social pedagogues and educators clearly articulate the dilemma of the limited influence that Black pedagogues and teachers have in schools. Teachers very clearly perceive their limited capacity to protect pupils from discrimination, which in itself stems from the fact, that anti-discrimination structures are lacking and that racist discrimination in particular is unexpressable.

"Well, that's partly why they come to [...] anti-discrimination counselling. Realising that they have a tough act to follow, which does not occur to the teaching profession only, but rather to all fields where you're somehow there as a token [G] or as an isolated person and it's extremely difficult to speak out. And that is, of course, an absolutely terrible emotional burden to realise, to which extent teachers reproduce acts of violence in their interactions with pupils, whereas all teachers have the duty to protect pupils from harm. And, of course, the Black teacher who is present has that same duty to protect, but cannot intervene or can only intervene to a limited extent." *(Focus group: social pedagogues)*

Consequences and handling

In the school context, the participating social pedagogues, educators, and social workers see the depiction of Black people in teaching materials vastly dominated by ABR patterns, directly reflected in the self-images and career prospects of Black pupils:

"If we all had [...] textbooks now and just leafed through them, especially for the subjects of history or geography: The books transfer a lot of ideas that are simply still very outdated. Take, for instance, images of Black people, yes, exoticising, in combination with certain professional fields, thinking of dance and sport, soccer, for example. So that's still pretty strong, in any case. And this is also reflected in children's imagination of what they would like to be as an adult.. So when you're in a class and get to know the pupils for the first time, and they just talk about what they want to be or what they wish for. Then it's usually in accordance with that. That's what they're offered. It's not at haphazard that all the Black boys at my school, as an example, are all playing soccer. Just like that. That's a regular scene before my eyes. And at the same time, yes, I can also see that there is movement on the issue. That there are also a few teachers who have this on their radar. And are now saying, well, we also offer other pictures."

(Focus group: social pedagogues)

Due to the patterns mentioned above, which intersect across schools, authorities and social institutions, dealing with ABR is a significant burden for Black social pedagogues or educators. They speak of *"additional burden"*, and *"extra workload"*, but also of *"powerlessness"* when it comes to describing what dealing with anti-Black racism in their professional context means to them.

At the interface between schools, social institutions and authorities, participating social pedagogues can come to a closer understanding of ABR and its consequences for Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils. In particular, they address the chain of traumatisation and re-traumatisation of Black ado-

lescents resulting from the repeatedly inappropriate handling of ABR.

"Because I actually found a better way of dealing with what was happening to me when I realised how important I am in this exact position, with my positioning. Because I had some clients, some of them were adults, who were quite pleased that the topic of racism was addressed, as it relates to partnership and family, because it's operative at all times, [causes] lots of frustration and [is] painful, and yet is never spoken about. And the same is true with the young people who then, as a product of this family so to speak - well, I have many families [...] whom I advise - then also felt relieved: 'There's someone who looks like me, who knows my struggle, who names it and says: This is systematic, [...] you're not fantasising about what you're experiencing at school, in society and in your family'. And there are so many young people who said they were in [the city] in the places where they were supposed to go for official counsel and they were re-traumatised there, they were in therapy and were re-traumatised there. And now they are here, and finally, there is someone who understands and can assist them."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Resilience and empowerment

The analysis of their role at the intersection of the sub-systems enhances awareness of the participating social pedagogues and social workers on how important their contribution is, especially for those Black children and youth who are already caught up in the patterned sequence of discrimination, stigmatisation, sanctioning and exclusion. This realisation, combined with an awareness of the possibilities and limits of their own actions, is an important source of resilience. Sources of empowerment for Black social pedagogues and educators are, in particular, encounters with Black people in a professional context. These break down the isolation in the work environment, which is perceived as stressful due to inadequately addressed incidents of anti-Black racism. Like the teachers interviewed, the participating social educators and social workers experience that young clients see them as role models and confide in them about their experiences with ABR if they signal – sometimes repeatedly but unobtrusively – a willingness to listen and to be approached. Beyond addressing ABR, empowerment spaces can be created and consciously designed in everyday working life:

"I had ordered a colouring book for work, created by some Black Women. And I just sat down in our facility and started colouring in it. And then, a Black pupil came to me and wanted to have a look at the pictures. And then we both looked to see which ones we thought were the most beautiful. And then, we copied them and coloured them together. We just sat there for hours and coloured pictures together. Everyone around us just kind of stared at us stupidly. And we were simply in a world of our own. And that alone was somewhat really empowering. Well, I think for me as well as for the pupil. And, exactly, ordering materials that are somehow empowering for Black kids. That, I would say, is definitely one source. Both for the young people, but for us professionals as well. I myself think this book is so beautiful and I love colouring in it. And sharing that with young people is just super nice. And for that I don't need other people, i.e. allies whom I don't have in the team. That's something I can do quite well on my own and in doing so, pass it on to the kids."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

The creation of extracurricular activities is also described as a source of empowerment for participants and organising professionals:

"But because there isn't that much now, to be honest, it's also the reason why I simply thought myself that it would be good to create things like this, which several organisations throughout Germany are now also doing, to say: So, we'll create our own spaces [...] not just for Black children, but for all generations. (...). But that [we] draw enough strength from these experiences, from these empowerment spaces. And that's what I've been experiencing for some time now - well, only for the past year or two - that it can be really nice to go on holiday with just Black children and chaperons. Because whatever may follow afterwards, during school time, is [...] no longer as harmful."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Demands by Black educators and social workers

The interviewees emphasised the potential of a racism-critical perspective to better address other forms of violence:

"School is a very violent place. It's really extreme, school is a violent place. And I believe that if you see racism as a construct of violence, you can actually break down the walls when it comes to other forms of violence. So if you go in there with that perspective and raise awareness, then you can also deal with other issues of violence, actually in a sustainable manner."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Perspectives that are critical of racism thus become a professional competence making it possible to address other structurally anchored, normalised forms of degradation and violence and working on them in the long term. This is why Black social pedagogues and social workers demand racism-critical trainings and advanced trainings as a basis for a power-critical approach to discrimination.

A further demand in the context of the professionalisation of racism-critical educational and social work is the explicit naming of anti-Black racism as the basis for targeted treatment: In the discussion about the statement by a Black social pedagogue "*that abbreviated shortened concept of racism that does not include anti-Black racism in school contexts means that Black children are not protected against racist attacks*", the participants emphasise the importance of specific calling out and addressing the issue and explain:

"I'm not [sure] right now whether I agree that it's a truncated concept of racism, or whether the understanding of racism - I think in general there is no understanding of racism. And that's why Black children are certainly not protected here. I don't know if that's-, well, I think most people think racism, right-wing radicalism. But that's not just explicitly concerning Black children and youth. But in general, most white people are simply not aware of the structural aspect [of] racism. And that's why BIPoC children are basically exposed to racist attacks, especially in the school context. Because the teachers don't even realise that what they say or what they teach or how they behave can be so problematic and racist."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Participants cite other racisms and discriminatory dynamics to show that specific naming can go hand in hand with critical processing:

"Yes, I would [...] agree. But I've actually also found that this conceptualisation and knowledge of it would change a lot, especially concerning young Black people. Because for example, I have experienced a different attitude at school when it comes to anti-Semitism. And even when it comes to anti-Muslim racism, what I've seen so far is that there is a different understanding and more - in terms of experience, it's not yet where it ought to be. But I also think that if this term is not there and is not commonly used, a lot of specific knowledge is lost or not called up."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Educators interviewed pointed out that the specific terminology also makes it possible to incorporate specific external expertise:

"I wanted to agree with what [name of participant] also just said. That's also my experience at school. The more specific you are, the more you

can achieve. Because, again and of course, it's not just about this term, but ultimately also about establishing the networking chain with organisations that also have this topic on their agenda. Consequently you also have many more opportunities to accomplish something, in schools as well. When it's clear that it's all about [anti-] Black racism and that you get relevant organisations involved. Then they listen more."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

Against this backdrop, it is clear that the term anti-Black racism makes an important contribution to precisely characterising the specifics of ABR so that not only interventions in school, authorities and social agency subsystems, but concrete and specific protection and appropriate handling, are facilitated. The interviewees criticise that protection against discrimination in the school sector is inadequate, at an enormously high-threshold and ineffective in practice. Having this in mind, the new Berlin State Anti-Discrimination Act is welcomed, which closes a protection gap in the General Equal Treatment Act, at least for this federal state, by including schools, authorities and public institutions in its scope of application and creating the right of associations to initiate legal proceedings:

"And I have to add that the fact alone that it has been established in Berlin, has moved so much in this respect, it sends out a signal. And I actually think that this needs to be implemented nationwide. And if the basis is well established and perhaps there a certain fear vanishes, not thinking that it's theoretically possible, then the next step could be to provide funds so that some kind of victim protection gets on its way."

(Focus group: social pedagogues and social workers)

6.3.7

Conclusions and recommendations for action

Education

This chapter details the specific nuances and discriminatory processes of anti-Black racism within education. Such insights empower Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people and their organisations to actively identify, acknowledge, and combat ABR within the education realm. By enabling individuals to take targeted action against anti-Black racism in education, they can better prepare themselves and provide enhanced protection for those impacted while empowering them through tailored educational programmes.

The focus group discussions were an invitation to come together, exchange ideas and reflect together. The eager reception of this demonstrates that collective contemplation is more than the sum of its parts, that it facilitates the advancement of genuine knowledge. Because it gives space not only to experiences but also to analyses, to discoveries of similarities, and disparities in shared reflections. The participants were enabled to extensively exchange and develop shared perspectives, which was mentioned positively in all groups and described several times as empowering. This experience and the analyses that the focus groups provided and made possible thus show the great potential of exchange on ABR rooted within the communities as well as resilience and the setting of empowerment strategies in schools. The manifold experiences and analyses that Afrozensus participants shared with us put us in a position where we can pass on conclusions and demands from the communities and from individuals who experience and help shape the education system on a daily basis as pupils, parents, teachers, social workers and social pedagogues, and where we can supplement these with recommendations for action. This chapter delved into tracing the recurring patterns, processes, and dynamics of anti-Black racism within the German education system, particularly in schools. It explores these phenomena from the viewpoints of pupils, teachers, social workers, and social pedagogues. Given the specific overlap between ABR and the degradation and discrimination of

young people (adulthood), the focus on the perspectives of Black pupils, in particular, highlights their analyses, reflective ability to provide information and demands. The results of the analyses clearly show: ABR is structurally anchored in the education system, especially in the school system. Different sources of discrimination reinforce each other, and a lack of professional competence in dealing with anti-Black racism prevails. Therefore, the demands cover institutional and legal dimensions and prove that structural changes are urgently needed. However, Black people in the education system instantly need perspectives and opportunities to reduce ABR and to deal with ABR experiences in a way that reduces the burden put on individual Black people. The enhancement of resilience and empowerment strategies among Black people within the education system is indispensable. A critical factor here lies in acknowledging the pivotal importance of Black representation and encounters with one another.

The importance of the presence of Black teachers and Black pedagogical staff

Even if the presence of Black professionals and teachers does not automatically mean that anti-Black racism or other forms of racism can be addressed or that spaces for empowerment are opened up, the particular importance and significance of the presence of Black educational staff and teachers became evident in all focus groups. Black pupils reported that this presence in itself has an empowering effect, since the presence of Black people can be tangibly experienced in connection with their professional authority and in competent roles. Black teachers reported a special responsibility due to the trust that Black pupils place in them. In this sense, Black pupils are an incentive and confirmation in their endeavours – often involving extra work and additional effort – to provide inclusive teaching and learning materials that reflect Black people in their diversity, for example.

Recommendations for action

The manifestations of ABR in the German education system identified here, especially in schools, make interventions within the communities, in schools, in teachers' training and further education, in school social pedagogy and social work, but also in education administrations and education policy urgently necessary. African, Afro-diasporic and Black communities and their self-organisations can use the analyses presented here to provide information and create spaces for exchange, support and empowerment. This includes offers for and by Black pupils, parents and carers, teachers and educators. Information about patterns of discrimination in the German education system can be combined with advice specific for the several German Federal States and assistance to support children, young people and other affected persons, as not only curricula and school administrations but also the legal framework for protection against discrimination and support services differ from State to State. Therefore, self-organisations should act locally – and, at the same time, push for the establishment of independent complaints offices with the power to implement and enforce sanctions in the education sector as well as the introduction of state anti-discrimination laws nationwide, which explicitly cover discrimination in schools and allow for the right of associations to file complaints. Extracurricular educational programmes designed and offered from within the communities are also key. It is important not to reduce Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils to their ABR experiences while allowing them to address those. Sharing music, books, internet resources, and other cultural references that address ABR in school from a pupil perspective but also so much more beyond that one issue in an empowering way is an important source of resilience and empowerment. For this reason, it is crucial to establish and support self-determined spaces for exchange among Black pupils.

In addition, self-organisations should support those Black initiatives and experts who are about to create new educational spaces and experiences by founding daycare centres and schools with a community/ies focus and/or competence. At the same time, municipal and state authorities must ensure professional handling of instances of discrimination, specifically addressing ABR in the education system, particularly within schools.

Anti-Black racism must be recognised as a violation of human rights and treated with the necessary professionalism and urgency. The denialist attitude of

teaching staff, school headmasters, education administrators and youth welfare offices, who tend to trivialise clearly racist incidents such as the use of racist language, anti-Black hair discrimination and physical assaults motivated by racism, must be dealt with and pushed back in a targeted manner by expanding competencies while at the same time sanctioning misconduct. At the level of dealing with individual cases, the pattern of perpetrator-victim reversal and the multiple re-traumatisation of Black pupils in schools, with authorities and in therapy - which in quite some cases only began as a result of ABR experiences at school - must be prevented.

The routine denial of obvious ABR from teaching content and materials to verbal and physical violence can be mitigated by recognising ABR and other forms of discrimination as socially anchored and hence present also in the education system. In this way, the calling out of ABR and pointing out ABR experiences is no longer perceived as a supposed accusation and personal attack, leading to defence mechanisms, but is rather understood as the identification of an institutional problem from whose sustainable processing all those involved benefit. In terms of content, this includes the review and revision of learning and teaching materials, curricula and framework plans. Other central concerns relate to the role of enslavement, colonialism and resistance, but also the relevance of racism for an understanding of recent history and the present in the German culture of remembrance and how schools teach and convey this content.

Since the review and exchange of teaching and learning materials is a time-consuming and long-term goal, we recommend, based on our analyses and in the spirit of community empowerment, that Black self-organisations collaborate on targeted intervention: the creation of open educational resources, i.e. freely available educational resources and teaching units from a Black perspective, with the inclusion of professional and pedagogical expertise. Dedicated teachers, pupils, parents, and carers can utilise this to foster greater inclusivity within educational offerings and experiences.

Changes are needed from teacher training and further education to human rights education in and out of school, particularly through the consistent implementation of empowerment rights. A human rights perspective is necessary to demand change; it can also make it easier for communities and those affected to identify ABR dynamics and thus make them discussable and workable.

Human rights perspectives on education: availability, accessibility, appropriateness and adaptability

The human right to education provides a framework that specifies binding criteria for human rights-compliant education. The findings from both the survey and focus groups in Afrozensus unequivocally illustrate the violation of these rights by ABR, highlighting the extent and manner of the infringement. For this reason, at the end of this chapter, we would like to present the education-specific criteria of the UN Social Council, which monitors compliance with the Social Pact, i.e. the relevant human rights convention. They help to place the present analysis into the context and terms of human rights and facilitate the assessment and constructive handling of specific cases of discrimination:

Availability: Education must be equally available to all children and youth (e.g. without segregation), and there must be enough trained and pedagogically competent teachers. (CESCR, 1999; Gomis, 2016).

Accessibility: Education must be within reach for everyone, specifically prioritising children and young people from groups facing disadvantages. This encompasses, not the least, economic non-discriminatory access (basic education free of charge) and physical access. (CESCR, 1999; Gomis, 2016).

Appropriateness: The criterion of appropriateness relates to the form, content and quality of education. Methods, materials, curricula, as well as education and training must meet inclusive requirements; they should be "relevant, culturally appropriate and of high quality". Incorrect, outdated or discriminatory content is incompatible with this criterion. (CESCR, 1999; Gomis, 2016).

Adaptability: This criterion addresses the adaptability of content, forms of teaching, school organisation and educational administration to the children and young people attending the respective school and also asks about reasons for the lack of representation of certain groups among learners and teachers (CESCR, 1999; Gomis, 2016).

An examination of the experiences in the education system shared by Black, African and Afro-diasporic pupils, parents, teachers, social workers and social pedagogues in the Afrozensus and by thousands of respondents in the online questionnaire reveals the

extent of human rights violations in the German education system: Applying these criteria reveals the extent of the human rights violations that ABR causes in everyday education in Germany. At the same time, the manner how the interviewees deal with ABR and the resilience and empowerment strategies described reveal the ways out and empowering approaches that are also part of their everyday education, work and family life. In this way, the potential of an intensified and deepened exchange between Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in the German education system becomes recognisable. Such an exchange can significantly contribute to changing the experiences of ABR expressed by Labi Siffre and Amewu, and shared by far too many pupils in standing together and pushing back ABR at school and empowering Black pupils in the long term. The experiences, perspectives, differentiated analyses and demands shared by the participating teachers, social pedagogues, social workers and pupils clearly show: Other School Days, i.e. school experience compliant with human rights and hence appropriate, accessible, relevant, high-quality is necessary – and must be accomplished.

6.4

Experiences with anti-Black racism

If I tell u wut I go thru
For my life inside
Chale
You no go lov to dey in ma skin
No go love to dey in my skin
If I tell u wut I go thru
For my life inside
Chale
You no go lov to dey in ma skin
No go love to dey in my skin

Wanlov the Kubolor, My Skin (2008 ♪)

It's the looks while I'm sitting in the job interview
and it's not about whether I have skills
it's my skin, racism and the hate
(and my gender)
that often decide whether I fit into your company

it's the looks of my mother, full of fear
understandable if each time, you fear
for your son's life
Now you see publicly how they murder us /
Believe me, inside we've already died a thousand times
Black lives matter
Counting Black lives...

Melane Nkounkolo, B.L.M. Counting Black Lives (2020 ♪)

The specific patterns and attributions mentioned in the chapter on theory (→ [Chapter 2](#)), which characterise anti-Black racism, are revisited below. We examine the role they play in the interviewees' experiences by analytically merging qualitative and quantitative data. The previous chapters demonstrate that the experiences of discrimination faced by Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people can never be understood in isolation from the intersections with anti-Black racism. Against this background, in this subchapter, we take an in-depth look at the combinations of characteristics given for experiences of discrimination and ABR (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)).

Using the example of the intersections of anti-Black racism and gender identity(ies), we examine the experiences of trans*, inter*, non-binary and cisgender interviewees to elucidate the specific dynamics that arise for all subgroups of the diversity dimension "gender identity(ies)" in this interplay. In addition, we use the quantitatively collected data on the coronavirus pandemic to show how anti-Black racism intensifies during times of crisis and which subgroups are particularly affected. We would like to point out to readers that numerous descriptions are quoted below from the open responses to the online survey, which can have a potentially (re)traumatising effect.

Assessments of the general prevalence of ABR in Germany - results of the online survey

After the respondents were initially asked to provide information on experiences of discrimination in Germany in general – without anti-Black racism being explicitly mentioned in these questions (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)) – our definition of anti-Black racism was explained in the following section of the online survey:

"Anti-Black Racism (ABR) is a specific form of racism and has been a tradition in Europe and Germany since the time of enslavement. ABR is a specific degradation, dehumanisation and racist discrimination of Black people of African descent. Regardless of the reality of discrimination/hierarchisation according to 'skin tone' (colourism), ABR cannot be reduced to discrimination based on 'skin colour', as specific dynamics exist in anti-Black discrimination, and these are experienced by people of different 'skin tones'."

The definition served as a framework for the following sets of questions. When asked how widespread anti-Black racism is in Germany, almost all (94.1%) of 4315 respondents answered that ABR is "fairly widespread" or "very widespread" in Germany (→ Fig. 65).

Concerning the development of anti-Black racism in Germany, only 8.9% of 3916 respondents state that they believe it has decreased in the past five years. Around a third (31.6%) estimate that ABR in Germany

Fig. 65: Afrozensus respondents' assessment of the prevalence of ABR in Germany (n = 4315)

Reading example: Almost half of the Afrozensus respondents estimate that anti-Black racism is "very widespread" in Germany (46.3% of n = 4315). Only 0.2% stated that ABR "does not exist" in Germany.

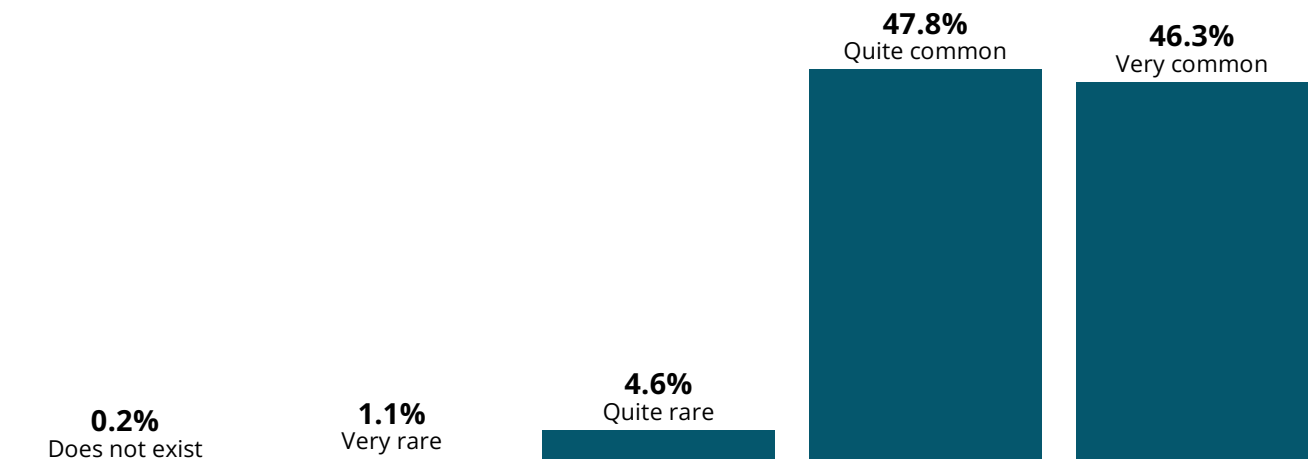
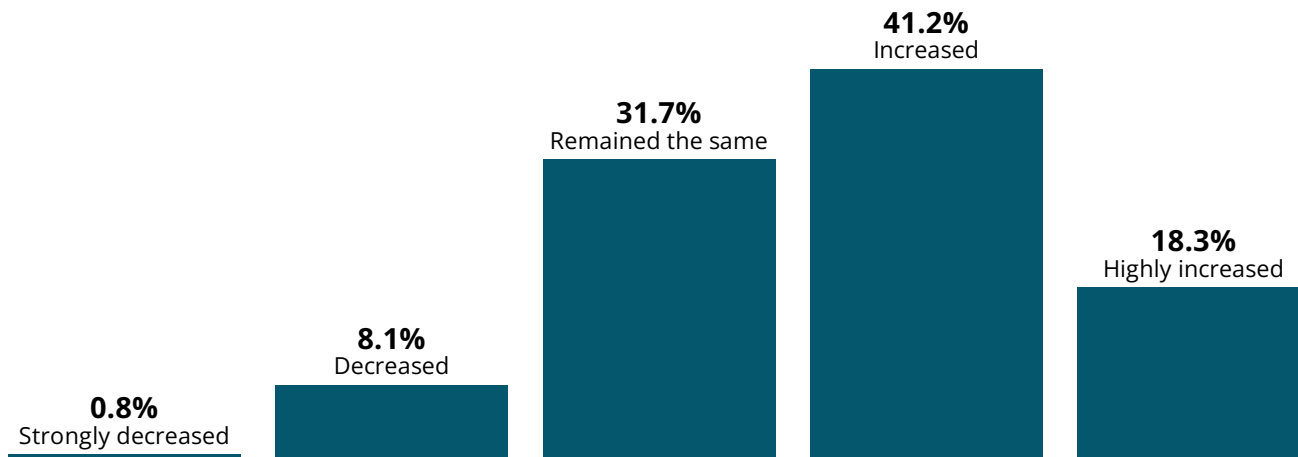


Fig. 66: Afrozensus respondents' assessment of the development of ABR in Germany over the past five years (n = 3916)

Reading example: Almost 2 in 10 of the Afrozensus respondents (18.3% of n = 3916) estimate that anti-Black racism has "largely increased" in Germany in the past five years.



has remained the same over the past five years, and more than half (59.8%) believe that anti-Black racism has increased in Germany (→ Fig. 66). When asked which incidents or events had increased anti-Black racism in Germany in the past five years, the following reasons were mentioned most frequently by 2677 respondents in an open survey (multiple answers possible, figures in per cent (persons) [G]):

1. **the reactions to increased immigration by refugees since 2015 and the associated policies (60.4%),**
2. **the rise, electoral successes, and slogans of the political party "Alternative for Germany" party (31.5%) and**
3. **the reproduction of anti-Black racism in the media and reporting (14.5%).**

New media and social networks are relevant sub-aspects in this context: respondents point out in the open statements (91 mentions of "algorithms/bubbles/fake news/online bullying") that filter bubbles and algorithmic amplification of extremist content contribute to the normalisation of racist positions. In addition to this algorithmic radicalisation, algorithmic discrimination is also addressed, in which algorithms learn ABR attributions and apply them i.e. to photos and videos of Black people on social media. This results in the reinforcement of racist representations and, at the same time, in a reduced visibility of self-determined Black content – dynamics that condense into digital anti-Black racism (Nkonde, [2019](#); Preston, [2021](#); Sobande, [2021](#)).

According to 687 respondents, ABR in Germany has been weakened in the past five years due to the following incidents or events (multiple answers possible, figures in per cent (persons)):

1. **the Black Lives Matter movement (36.5%),**
2. **anti-racist sensitisation, awareness-raising and educational work, including in the form of educational programmes (27.4%) and**
3. **through Black media presence and social media (16.2%).**

This shows that the decrease in anti-Black racism primarily stems from the dedication, activism, and agency of Black people. 1085 respondents state that they believe that there have been no notable changes in the past five years regarding a strengthening or weakening of ABR in Germany.

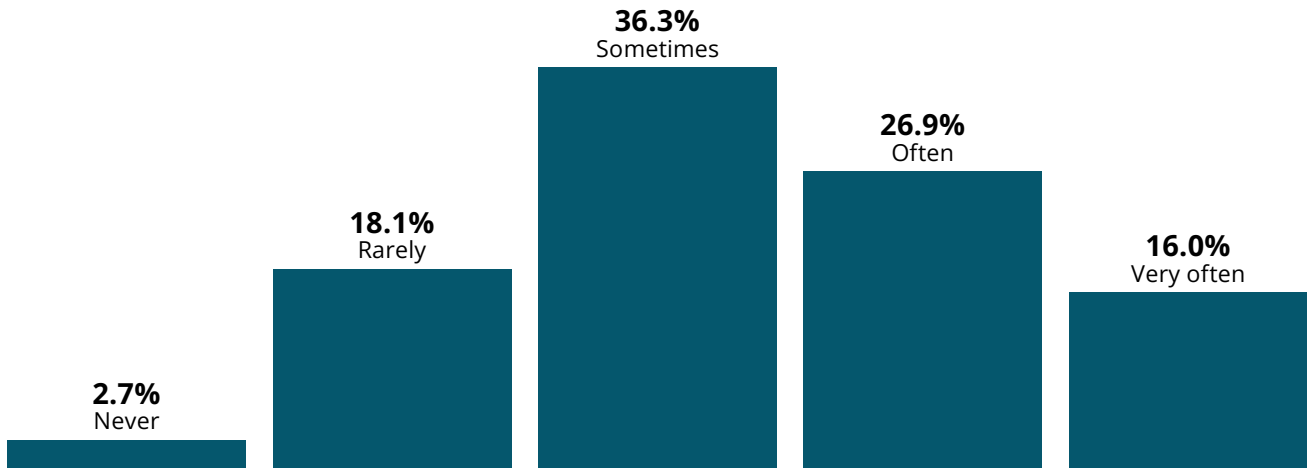
Irrespective of their assessments of the general prevalence of anti-Black racism in Germany, almost all (97.3%) of Afrozensus respondents (n = 4308) stated that they personally experience ABR. Almost half of the respondents (42.9%) also stated that they "often" or "very often" experience anti-Black racism.

Effects of the coronavirus pandemic

Crises reinforce social inequality, and the coronavirus pandemic is no exception. Marginalised groups that already had been socially disadvantaged beforehand

Fig. 67: Assessment of the personal experience of anti-Black racism (n = 4308)

Reading Example: More than a quarter of Afrozensus respondents (26.9 % of n = 4308) state that they "often" personally experience anti-Black racism.



(e.g. people with low incomes, homeless people, refugees, queer people and women) are also experiencing the negative effects of the coronavirus crisis more strongly (Federal Foundation Magnus Hirschfeld et al., 2021; Dawid, 2020; Entringer et al., 2021; Steinert & Ebert, 2020; Unterlerchner et al., 2020). Regarding the situation of Black people during the pandemic, figures have been published in both the USA and the UK that show that Black people are systematically disadvantaged during the crisis, both in terms of health and socio-economically; for example, they die more frequently from coronavirus as compared to white people (Gravlee, 2020; Office for National Statistics, 2020). This is related both to racist structures of healthcare in particular but also to the social disadvantage of Black people in general, who in the USA, for example, are more likely to come from precarious income backgrounds and are less likely to have health insurance (Vasquez Reyes, 2020). We have, for the time being, referred to figures from abroad because health data on the situation of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people is not being collected in Germany. Surveys do not incorporate references to the category "race" [G] or experiences of racism; instead, the category use "migration background" is being employed. However, as has already been illustrated in several chapters of this report (→ Chapter 2, Chapter 3.2, Chapter 6.1), this category does not suffice to capture racist discrimination. A detailed survey on the concrete effects of the coronavirus pandemic on Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in Germany would have exceeded the scope of this study, nevertheless we deemed it impor-

tant to integrate a small selection of questions in the context of the pandemic. Through utilising subgroup analysis, we determined segments within the Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities that face heightened impact due to the coronavirus crisis.

Overall, at the time of this survey, July – September 2020 (i.e. before the "second wave" and the second lockdown), a fifth (21.9%) of 4040 respondents agree with the statement that they have experienced increased racist discrimination since the coronavirus crisis. Just over a quarter (27.1%) are undecided, and around half (51.0%) disagree with the statement. In particular, **TIN* respondents [G]** (33.3% of n = 120), **Muslim respondents** (29.3% of n = 181), **respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents** (25.7% of n = 1130), and **low-income respondents** (24.7 % of n = 441) are significantly more likely to report experiencing increased racist discrimination as a result of the coronavirus crisis as compared to the other – along these diversity dimensions – norm-privileged subgroups. The significant group differences between these subgroups amount to between 6.5 and 12.4 percentage points.¹

Regarding the economic consequences of the pandemic, 22.0% of 3,942 respondents at the time of the survey (July – September 2020) agreed with the statement that, as a Black, African, Afro-diasporic person, they were particularly affected by the economic consequences of the coronavirus crisis. Almost a fifth (18.7%) are undecided, and more than half of respond-

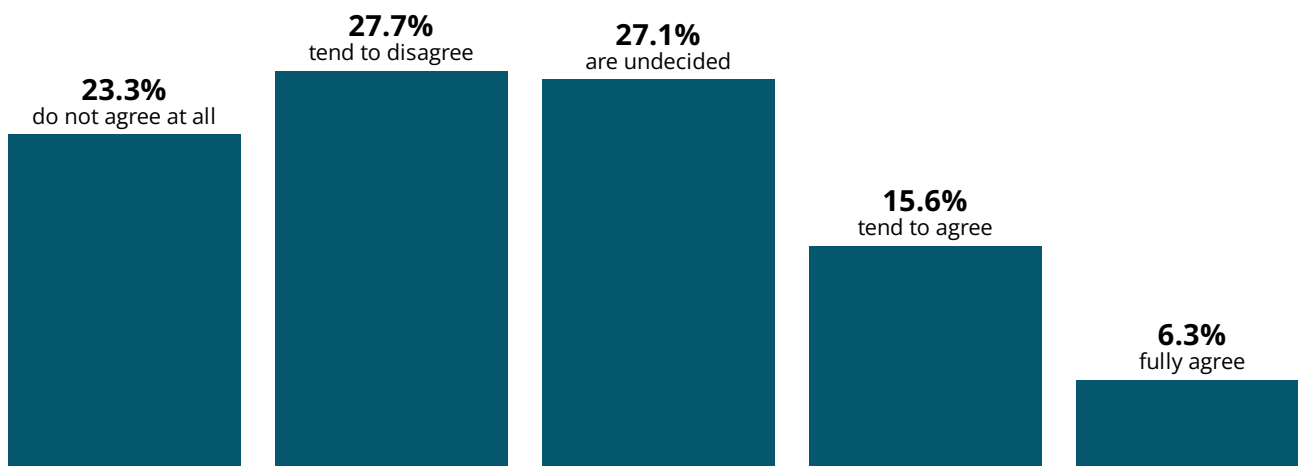
ents (59.3%) disagree with the statement. Based on our subgroup analysis, those particularly affected by the economic consequences of the coronavirus crisis are: **Respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents** (27.9% of n = 1116) compared to respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (16.7% of n = 2134), **respondents without German/EU citizenship** (36.5% of n = 271) as compared to respondents with German/EU citizenship (19.6% of n = 3155), **TIN* respondents** (47.7% of n = 111) compared with cis-women [G] (19.9% of n = 2547) and cis-men [G] (23.8% of n = 957), **LSBAQ respondents** (30.7% of n = 682) compared with heterosexual respondents (19.3% of n = 2698), **respondents with a low level of formal education** (32.4% of n = 148) as compared to respondents with a medium level of formal education (22.8% of n = 876) and high levels of education (21.3% of n = 2510) as well as **respondents with low income** (34.0% of n = 432) compared to respondents with medium income (18.7% of n = 492) and high income (9.2% of n = 382).²

Those respondents who stated that as a Black/African/Afro-diasporic person they had been affected by the economic consequences of the coronavirus crisis most frequently (multiple answers possible) indicated that they had to deal with lower earnings (49.7%) and that their precarious working conditions had become

even more difficult than before (40.5%). One in seven of 453 Afrozensus respondents (14.5%) even stated that they had been dismissed due to the coronavirus pandemic, among other things. At the same time, more than a quarter (27.8%) of respondents stated that they had to support their family abroad to a larger degree, which represents an additional financial burden. Self-employed people in the Afrozensus are affected by the economic consequences of the pandemic in that around a fifth of respondents (20.2%) state that, among other things, they are receiving fewer commissions. 5.3% report that their small business has been affected by insolvency. In addition, a fifth of respondents (20.1%) also stated, among other things, that they were discriminated against when seeking access to measures of financial aid to cope with the economic consequences of the coronavirus crisis. This survey could not definitively clarify the precise form this takes.

Fig. 68: Percentage of Afrozensus respondents, who agree with the statement "Due to the coronavirus crisis, I am experiencing increased racist discrimination." (n = 4040)

Reading Example: Around a fifth of Afrozensus respondents (21.9% of n = 4040) agree with the statement that they are experiencing increased racist discrimination due to the coronavirus crisis.



¹ See Appendix 17 for the significances.

² All these results are significant. See Appendix 18 for the table.

Fig. 69: Percentage of Afrozensus respondents, who agree with the statement "As a Black / African / Afro-diasporic person in Germany, I am particularly affected by the economic aftermath of the coronavirus crisis." (n = 3942)

Reading Example: Around one-fifth of Afrozensus respondents (22.0% of n = 3942) agree with the statement that, as a Black/African/Afro-diasporic person, they are particularly affected by the economic aftermath of the coronavirus crisis.

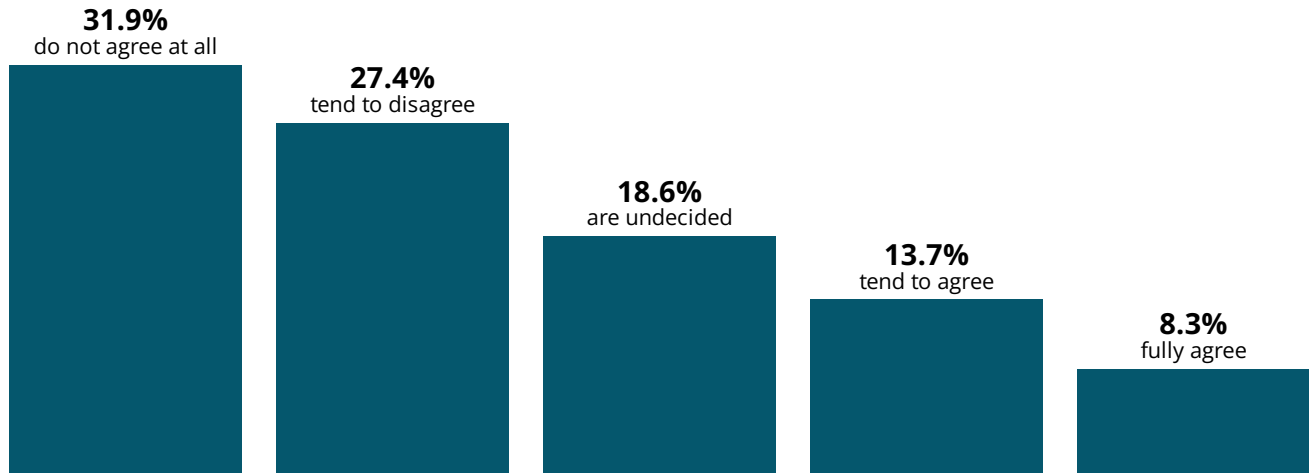
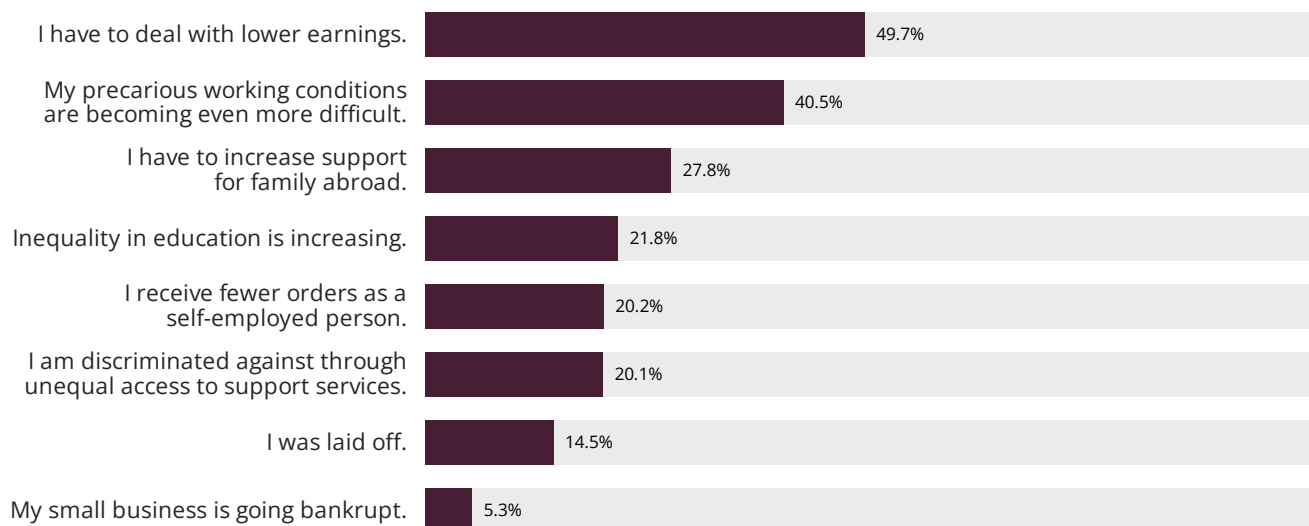


Fig. 70: Economic consequences of the coronavirus crisis for Afrozensus respondents (n = 753, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Almost one in seven people (14.5%) of 753 Afrozensus respondents stated that they had been dismissed due to the coronavirus crisis.



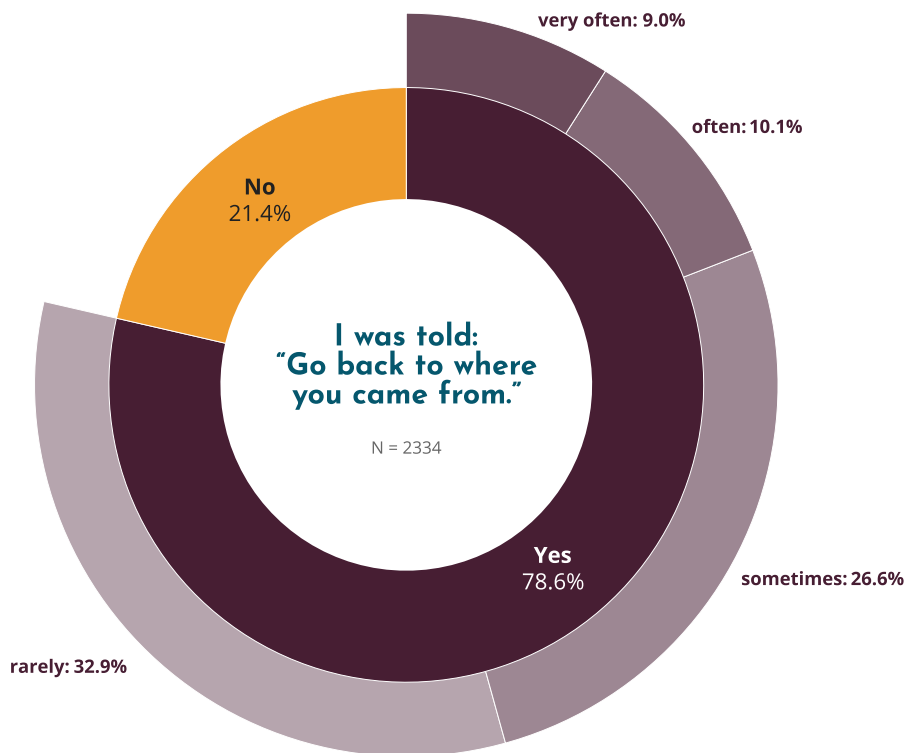
6.4.1 Patterns and intersectional dynamics of anti-Black racism

In the following, we first delve into the basic patterns of anti-Black racist attributions and devaluations. To this end, we merge the results of the quantitative and qualitative survey and assign them to the ABR-typical attributions formulated from theory and experience in → [Chapter 2](#). The results of the quantitative analysis relate to the survey of numerous discrimination situations common to Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.³ The qualitative results are based on the eval-

uation and analysis of the focus groups and expert interviews. As explained in → [Chapter 3.1](#), analyses guided by theoretical and empirical knowledge (deductive analyses) complement each other in identifying new correlations and mechanisms (inductive analyses). This way, we were able to further deepen the interpretative framework in an epistemological spiral, i.e. a retroductive analysis (Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2021; Saldaña, 2016; ten Have, 2004, p. 2).

Fig. 71: "I am told that I should go back to where I come from." (n = 2334)

Reading Example: More than three-quarters of Afrozensus respondents (78.6 % of n = 2334) state that they are told: "Go back to where you came from". Almost one in ten people (9.0 %) state that this situation occurs "very often".



³ The descriptions of the situations were based on a survey of EOTO volunteers and employees. The question consisted of two sets of 23 statements each on discriminatory situations. Respondents were randomly assigned to either Set 1 or Set 2. Four of these 23 statements were included in both sets due to their increased relevance for the Black communities. "No response" and the response category "Does not apply" were not optional in the analysis. See Appendix 12 for the complete table of results.

Localising Black people as not belonging and Black people's acquiescence with being "the other"

As explained in detail in → [Chapter 2](#), anti-Black racism refers to historically evolved attributions and projections with the goal of devaluating, degrading and dehumanising Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. To better understand the manifestations of anti-Black racism, we therefore analyse the specific anti-Black, anti-African racist attributions and patterns of devaluation named by the interviewees. Anti-Black devaluation and marginalisation are fundamentally based in the allegation that Black people are inherently, distinct in the essence of their existence (othering), which then is linked to discriminatory practices of devaluation and exclusion. (→ [Chapter 2](#)). In this dynamic, the othering of Black people as not belonging also plays a central role in ABR-specific mechanisms of discrimination.

We have already identified **processes of othering and alienation** as a basic pattern of anti-Black racism in the qualitative analyses (→ [Chapters 6.2](#) and [6.3](#)). The racist externalisation of Black people - i.e. the assumption by mainstream society that they are not from Germany - is also quite evident in the quantitatively collected data on typical discrimination situations. For example, 99.1% of 2452 respondents answered the statement **"People ask me where I really come from and how long I have lived in Germany"** with "yes". The statement **"I am told that I should go back to where I come from"** was answered in the affirmative by 78.6% of Afrozensus respondents (n = 2334).

These statements not only reveal the ascribed non-belonging of Black people but also the forceful prompt to "go back" to where they are ascribed to have come from. Respondents frequently described their externalisation in the open responses within the Afrozensus. In particular, it is noticeable that Black people are almost context-independent **"[f]alsely ascribed foreign socialisation / denial of being German"** (response to the open-ended information in the online survey of the Afrozensus (in short: open-ended information)). This can happen in the street, during a visit to the doctor, at school, anywhere.

"At work, a customer asked me where I came from. He was not satisfied with the answer 'from Germany'. He kept asking until something else was said that made more sense to him because of the colour of my skin. I felt excluded because it

made me understand that, because of my appearance, I wasn't recognised as part of society." (open statement)

"I volunteered at the charity organisation "Bahnhofsmission" in the railway station [in a town in Saxony]. A needy female read person wanted something again that could only be given out to guests once, as everything is based on donations. I told her in a friendly tone that it was not possible, and she became aggressive. She threw a cup and several other objects at me. Insulted me with the N-word and told me to go back to where I came from." (open statement)

The fact that this question entails a ritualised dynamic, in which a geographical answer is obviously not satisfactory if the specified place is imagined to be inhabited by white people, shows: the question is not about the geographical origin but about classification in a societal order characterised by racist hierarchies, in which the questioning of Black presence in Germany appears to be justified going as far as interrogating about family tree and ancestors. This dynamic cannot simply be reversed and hence illustrates the hierarchies invoked here (Mills, *n.d.*, 1998, pp. 42-43). The practice of essentialisation and externalisation locates Black people as belonging somewhere outside of Germany, which is expressed in statements including fantasies of expulsion and deportation as part of racist insults and attacks and is based on an alleged essentially non-belonging of Black people.

Devaluation patterns categorising Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities as foreign are predominantly linked to attributed features, used to localise them as not belonging. They are rooted in the assumption, that Black bodies deviate from an alleged normality. Through the specific degradation of - ascribed - "skin colour", "facial features", and "hair texture", which are construed or projected as deviating from a white European ideal, power of control is legitimised in coherence with racist thoughts, in the wake of which bodily and personal boundaries of Black people are ignored and transgressed. A very frequently reported experience in this context is that the interviewees, in addition to racialising statements and comments about their appearance, are being touched without permission, without being asked.

"I was visiting a friend in a rather rural region. Together we went to a birthday party of one of her friends. I was standing at the buffet waiting for my friend when an elderly white man came up to me and asked where I was from. Since he questioned my answer 'Berlin', I

repeated it, and then he tried to explain to me that my facial features clearly indicated that I couldn't be from Germany. While he was lecturing me, he began to measure my forehead and nose with his fingers (his hand being very close to my face), supposedly proving my non-German origin. On top of that, he made a comment about my lips being 'too thick'. I became speechless, my friend came back, asked what was going on, and we left the party." (open statement)

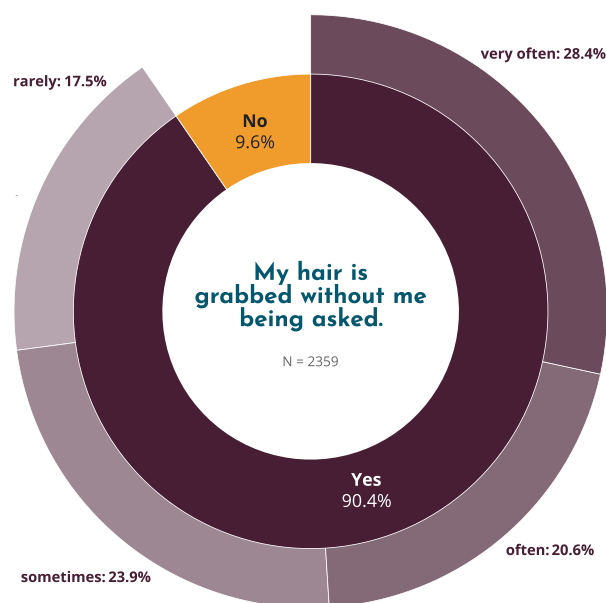
These othering processes exhibit dynamics of **essentialisation [G]** and **exoticisation** and here they lead to racist acts and the blatant infringement of personal boundaries through unauthorised (almost) touching. 90.4% (of n = 2359) of Afrozensus respondents shared at least one time the discriminatory experience **"Other people just touch my hair without asking for permission."** This vastly shared experience of discrimination illustrates the extent of how normalised the assaultive touching of Black bodies is.

"I was sitting at the railway station with the book 'Deutschland Schwarz Weiß' by Noah Sow and was asked by an elderly lady (without warning, no apology) whether my hair was real. While still asking, she already reached out and grabbed my hair. I was stunned and numb for probably 30 seconds. I closed my book and looked out for the hidden camera because I was really convinced that this was a test or a sketch. I was just reading this book!!! And someone had the audacity to actually grab my hair. I just could NOT believe it."

(open statement)

Fig. 72: "Other people simply grab my hair without even asking for permission first." (n = 2359)

Reading Example: 9 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (90.4% of n = 2359) state that other people simply grab their hair without asking first. Almost half of the respondents (49.0%) state that this situation occurs "often" or "very often".



(Hyper-)sexualisation

Black people repeatedly mention the "fetishisation and hypersexualisation of [their] 'exotic' skin colour or ethnic origin" (open statement). This involves, for example, "physique. allusions to sexual practices[,] specifically referring to lips, buttocks and breasts" (open statement). In their statements, they also emphasise the intersection of racist and sexist discrimination. The descriptions of assaults range from sexist remarks to sexualised physical violence.

"As a young Black woman, it's mainly experiences in which unwarranted you are sexualised to an extreme degree just because of your appearance. Especially on dating platforms like Tinder. In one interaction, I was reduced to my 'typical African features' and was told that my sex life would be all the better because I would definitely have a sense of rhythm. Or people label me a 'chocolate queen' etc. There were several of these conversations, I felt so uncomfortable in the situation that I had to block the person on all platforms and take time out for myself. I later deleted Tinder and have no plans to use this or any other platform."

(open statement)

Black, African and Afro-diasporic people also experience sexualised verbal and physical assaults in the context of exoticising racialisations, as anti-Black racism allegedly normalises a specific **sexualisation** of Black bodies. The construction of Black bodies as being exotic and available makes use of colonial racist attributions as well as the interwoven, yet changing objectification of Black bodies in films, music videos, advertising and other contexts in which commercialised, sexualised representations have an impact. The combination of othering, exoticisation, and the notion that Black people should serve the needs of others results in assumptions about the availability of Black bodies. At the same time, sexualised access is also normalised. Overall, this leads to a specific anti-Black (hyper)sexualisation (Siegenthaler, [2020](#)).

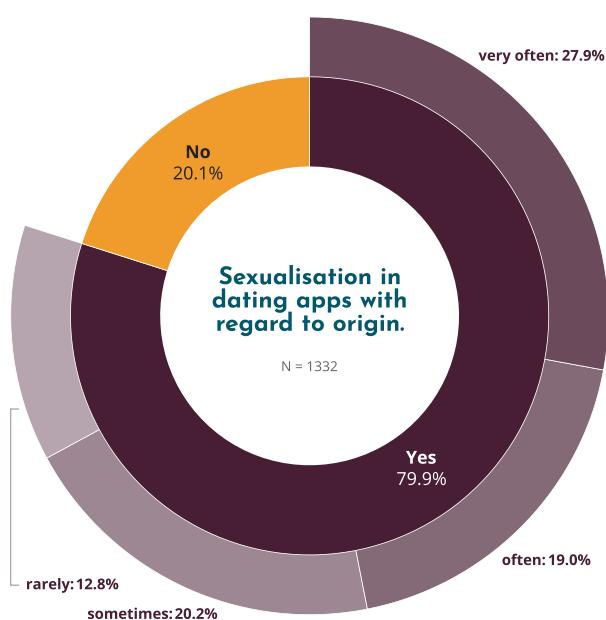
"A man unknown to me touched my thigh without asking for consent. When I asked him why he did that, he replied that he had been on holiday in an African country a few years ago and had experienced Black women there as 'very, confiding, exotic and as pretty as me' and therefore thought it was okay to touch me without having asked."
(open statement)

Almost 8 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (79.9% of n = 1332) state that they receive **sexualised comments about their appearance / "origin"** on dating apps. If we look at the result along the diversity dimension "gender identity/identities", there are differences between TIN*, cis-women and cis-men in the subgroup comparisons. The proportion of respondents who experience this situation ("yes") is 89.3% (of n = 28) for TIN*, 85.6% (of n = 752) for cis-women and 64.1% (of n = 256) for cis-men. The difference between TIN* and cis-men is 25.2 percentage points, and the

difference between cis-women and cis-men is 21.5 percentage points. Both group differences are statistically significant [G].⁴ (Hyper)sexualisation motivated by anti-Black racism thus affects more than two-thirds of Black men, more than 8 out of 10 Black women and almost 9 out of 10 Black trans*, inter*, non-binary people who answered this question.

Fig. 73: "I get sexualised comments about my appearance / my 'origin' on dating apps." (n = 1332)

Reading Example: 8 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (79.9% of n = 1332) state that they receive sexualised comments about their appearance or "origin" on dating apps. More than a quarter of respondents (27.9%) stated that this situation occurs "very frequently".



The (hyper)sexualisation and ideas of Black availability may lead to the general assumption of Black women and Black trans*, inter*, non-binary people, in particular, **being sex workers**, irrespective of the context⁵. One-third (33.7% of n = 1732) of Afrozensus respondents stated that they had already been assumed to be a sex worker. Almost half of TIN* respondents (46.0% of n = 50) and 39.7% of cis-women (n = 1076) gave this statement compared to only 11.2% of cis-men. The differences between cis-women and cis-men, as well

⁴ See Appendix 13 for the significances.

⁵ The concept of this question has ABR-specific relevance and was therefore included in the questionnaire. We would like to emphasise that the question is not intended to negatively value sex work as such. Rather, it is about illustrating the racist (hyper)sexualisation and ascribed availability of Black bodies - especially Black female bodies - and the resulting assumption that Black women and TIN* people, in particular, are available for sex at any time.

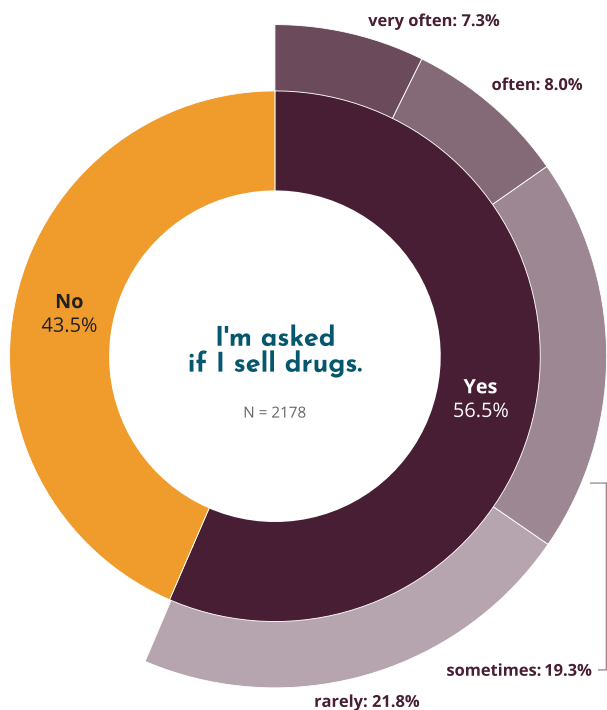
⁶ See Appendix 13 for the significance.

as between TIN* respondents and cis-men are statistically significant.⁶

Criminalisation

Fig. 74: "I am asked whether I sell drugs." (n = 2178)

Reading Example: More than half of the Afrozensus respondents (56.6 % of n = 2178) state that they are asked whether they sell drugs. More than a third of respondents (34.6 %) state that this situation occurs "sometimes", "often" or "very often".



Equating Blackness with criminality and the generalised projection of Black bodies as dangerous and threatening is another recurring pattern of ABR, as mentioned in → [Chapter 2](#). In the context of shops and services, for example, it has already been pointed

"Sitting on a bench in the middle of the city in broad daylight. A man is watching what I'm doing with a critical eye. He comes over at some point, sits down inconspicuously next to me and asks[,] whether I'm selling any drugs. I say no, and he doesn't believe it. I said no again, and he asked[,] if I could recommend someone to get hold of good drugs [...]." (open statement)

out that Black people **state with striking frequency that they are observed by security staff**: 9 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (90.6% of n = 2298) state this (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)). Over a third of Afrozensus respondents (34.6% of n = 2178) also state that **they are "sometimes", "often", or "very often" asked whether they sell drugs**. The criminalisation of cis-men in this context is particularly high: almost twice as many cis-men (84.3% of n = 464) as cis-women (44.3% of n = 1199) state that they are asked whether they sell drugs. The difference is statistically significant. This perceived criminalisation and threatening nature of Black men is also reflected in the results on racial profiling [G], where cis-men in the Afrozensus were significantly more likely than cis-women and TIN* respondents to state that they were **stopped by the police for no reason** (→ [Chapter 6.1.6](#), p. 119).⁷

In addition, the open statements report numerous other situations common to Black people where they are criminalised by passers-by or other customers as well as by service staff:

"What I often notice is that people in my vicinity check their bags and make sure nothing has been stolen." (open statement)

"At a concert [...] I used the public toilet several times. The cleaner there insulted me first, pushing me away so that she could get to the tip, which was on a plate on a table. As soon as I stood next to the money, she grabbed it, clearly stereotyping that the only Black person in the room would steal it. After I had waited in the queue for the toilet and it was my turn to go in, she refused to let me go to the toilet and brutally punched me in the stomach." (open statement)

These criminalising attributions are not only problematic as such but can often have serious consequences for the physical well-being of Black people, especially when police becomes involved.

"Changing trains at Munich main station with an otherwise 'white' group of travellers. Picked out by a [policeman] in plain clothes who subjected me to a suspected independent control and questioned me about drugs. Let go again after a superficial check. 100 metres further down on the same track. Ap-

proached again independently of suspicion, 'randomly' picked out again from the same group of travellers and questioned on drugs. When I [...] got angry, my personal details were taken. Only the mediating intervention of my companion prevented an escalation." (open statement)

Black, African and Afro-diasporic people thus experience that their physical presence alone is enough to be perceived as threatening and criminalised by third parties. As a result police are often quickly called. For example, at the end of 2020, a Black teacher who worked at his school on a Sunday was mistaken for a burglar, and the police were informed (Zaheer, 2021). In another case in April 2020, a Black geriatric nurse who was on his way to patients on his bicycle was violently pulled and fixed to the ground by three police officers because they thought he was a drug dealer (Tongers, 2020). Numerous Afrozensus respondents reported similar experiences of Black people doing everyday things and being criminalised due to racist attributions by third parties or the police in the open-ended responses:

"My brother and I were supposed to look after our (white) grandmother's house while she was on holiday. We were in the house, watered the flowers and sat down in the garden to have tea. After a while, the police came with my grandma's new neighbour. They accused us of burglary, and we weren't allowed to explain ourselves at first. It went so far that my brother was restrained by the police, with the explanation 'It looked like he wanted to run away'. We showed them the keys to the house, pictures[,] of us hanging in the house. They still didn't believe us. Until the police called our grandma. During the whole scenario, my brother and I were insulted by the neighbour without the police intervening. 'They are Black, they have nothing[,] that's why they want to steal from the poor woman. They were waiting for her to be absent." (open statement)

Repudiation of competences

The othering and simultaneous devaluation of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people is also evident in the continuous disregard for their skills. This specific basic pattern of anti-Black racism is evident in both

the qualitative and quantitative research results. The most common situation is probably the repudiation of language skills, with the person repudiating being unable to imagine Black, African and Afro-diasporic people to be German and master the German language: 9 out of 10 Afro-diasporic respondents (91.1% of n = 2219) state that they **are praised for their "excellent German", even though they are native speakers or speak fluent German**. Respondents experience similar situations when it comes to not acknowledging their professional competencies:

"I am a lawyer. During my legal clerkship, I, therefore, often had to go to court. While my colleagues could come and go without any problems, I was regularly stopped by the court officials and asked what I had come for to enter the court. Once, my reply that I was a trainee lawyer, was met with loud laughter by the all white male officials." (open statement)

"The most significant thing for me on a professional level is that, as an interior designer, my expertise is repeatedly and most commonly disregarded, as are my university degree, my 'German' name and my command of the German language. By customers, by clients as well as by sales representatives." (open statement)

Behind these patterns of derecognition and devaluation lies the idea and attribution that Black people are supposedly less intelligent, incapable of rational thought and therefore unable to competently fill professional positions, which is deeply rooted in colonial tradition justifying the enslavement of Black people. In conjunction with the criminalisation mentioned above, this regularly leads to Black, African and Afro-diasporic people being rudely or even violently removed from situations in which non-Black people do not expect their presence, especially in the context of high professional and socially prestigious positions. High social positions, therefore, do not automatically protect against this dynamic of discrimination but can even intensify due to the alleged contrast between high status and being Black:

⁷ See Appendix 13 for the significance.

"In my working field (art/culture/music), I am in a very exposed position, which is linked to increased public awareness. There are only a few Black people (worldwide) who practise my profession. While preparing for an imminent public performance, I was aggressively and loudly expelled from my room in the backstage area of a concert hall by a member of the management. The person had mistakenly identified me as a burglar." (open statement)

At the same time, the dynamic of repudiating (specialised) competencies pushes Black, African and Afro-diasporic people repeatedly into the same ascribed roles. The diversity of Black people is thus greatly disregarded. More than two-thirds of Afrozensus respondents (70.3% of n = 2081) state that they have experienced being automatically mistaken for a service or cleaning person.⁸ Almost half of respondents (45.5%) state that this happens to them "sometimes", "often" or "very often". The subgroup analysis clearly shows that this pattern of attribution is intersectionally intertwined with sexist discrimination. 72.2% of cis-women (n = 1194) were statistically significantly more likely (5.6 percentage points) to automatically be mistaken for a service or cleaning employee compared to 66.6% of cis-men (n = 413).⁹ Here, the specific devaluation of Black femininity reinforces the ABR experiences of Black women by linking the role ascription of Black femininity with care and reproductive work (Bergold-Caldwell, 2020, p. 139; Hill Collins, 2014, pp. 45-46).

"While I was washing my hands at the public toilet in a shopping centre, someone pointed out to me the dirty cubicle because that person perceives[,] Black women always as being the toilet attendants." (open statement)

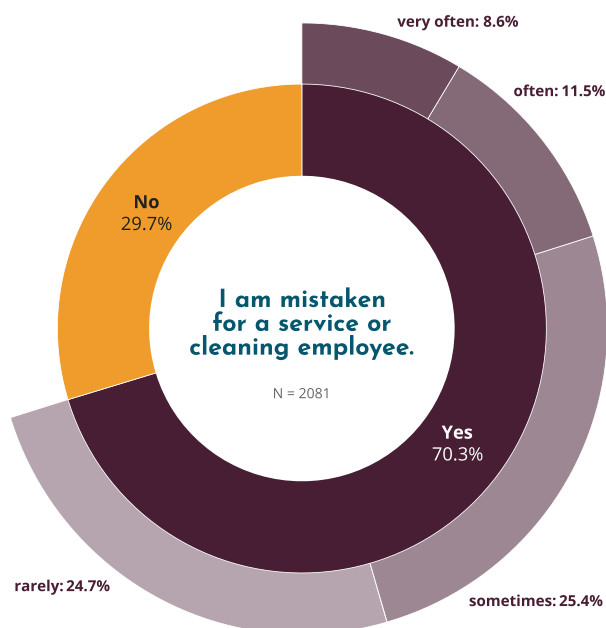
(open statement)

Furthermore, respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents (75.8 % of n = 504) were also significantly

more likely to say they were automatically perceived as a service or cleaning worker than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (68.1 % of n = 1016).

Fig. 75: "I am automatically mistaken for a service/waiting employee, shop assistant or cleaner." (n = 2081)

Reading Example: More than two-thirds of Afrozensus respondents (70.3 % of n = 2081) state that they are automatically mistaken for a waiter/waitress, shop assistant or cleaner. Almost half of the respondents (45.5 %) stated that this situation occurs "sometimes", "often" or "very often".



The open statements in the online survey and results from the interviews in the qualitative survey indicate that one consequence of and reaction to the constant repudiation of competencies is the tendency among Black, African and Afro-diasporic people to always work against this depreciation and aim at outperforming others in order to be recognised and taken seriously for their competencies. This overperformance, e.g. by demonstrating high capacity and efficiency, also by focusing on speaking clear standard, so called "high" German and being overly friendly, clearly can only be achieved through additional efforts by Black,

⁸ This question has historical and current relevance in the context of a survey on ABR, as the outsourcing of service, care and reproductive work in Germany is very much characterised by Black people and People of Colour with their own migration history - the underpaid and precarious segments of these sectors, in particular, are clearly migrantised and racialised (Dietze et al., 2021; Rodríguez, 2014). We would like to emphasise that the question is not aimed at negatively evaluating service or cleaning workers as such. Instead, it is about analysing racist role ascriptions in which Black people are reduced to activities that are essentially associated with them.

⁹ See Appendix 13 for the significance.

African and Afro-diasporic people, which also has psychological implications.

"A German[,] rather conservative couple comes into my shop and they are somewhat irritated by stumbling over me. I sense this as they look around with uncertainty to find some other employee. I present myself as friendly and competent as possible and feel the urge to convince this couple of my expertise. I would love to tell them that I am actually the managing director. Of course, I don't do that. I try to speak very elaborately, I'm really, really friendly and approachable until I see that they are comfortable with me... [A]fter having signed a contract, I feel bad because I've been so ingratiating. I often experience situations like this. It's all non-verbal, and it's always frustrating."

(open statement)

De-individualisation and homogenisation

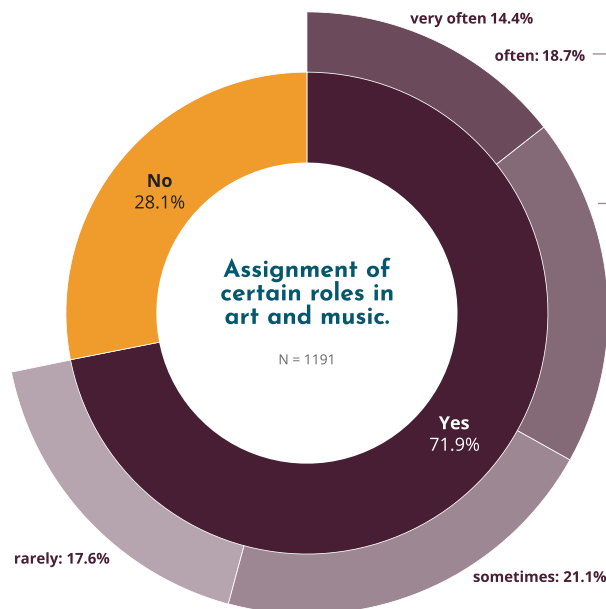
While in the previous section, in connection with the repudiation of professional competencies, we discussed how Black people are not seen in their diversity due to anti-Black racism, in the following, we look at a supposedly positive form within the range of racist attributions (→ [Chapter 2](#)), which has a similar effect of homogenising Black people. There is a widespread notion that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people allegedly have certain innate abilities – especially in the areas of music and sport – "it's in their blood". More than a third of Afrozensus respondents (71.9% of n = 1191) are familiar with the experience of always being assigned certain roles or instruments, for example, when acting in theatre, singing in a choir or playing music. More than half of the respondents (54.2%) stated that this happens to them "sometimes", "often" or "very often".

Even if the characteristics attributed to Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in these cases seem at first glance "well-intended", these assumptions and role attributions reduce Black cultural achievements to supposedly natural talents and abilities. Intergenerational achievements of preserving, defending and

developing several African and Afro-diasporic cultural expressions and their complex connections cultivated over centuries are rendered invisible¹⁰, as is the disciplined and professional endeavour of individuals. The diversity of Black cultures as an expression of collective agency, creativity and intergenerational as well as intercontinental exchange is reduced by essentialising them. These supposedly positive projections, just like negative attributions, are thus imbued with anti-Black racist mechanisms with the effect of depriving Black people of their personhood and humanity.

Fig. 76: "When I act in theatre, sing in a choir, make music, etc., I am always expected to play certain roles or instruments." (n = 1191)

Reading example: 7 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (71.9% of n = 1191) state that they are always expected to play certain roles or instruments when acting in theatre, singing in a choir, making music, etc. Almost one in seven people (14.4%) state that this situation occurs "very often".



¹⁰ This invisibilisation weighs heavily against the backdrop of the fact that it has taken centuries of efforts, which continue to the present day, to defend Black, African and Afro-diasporic cultural expressions against specific anti-Black and anti-African racist assimilation pressure. This is legitimised by the devaluation of African modes of expression and the underlying collective understandings of self and the world. The fact that it is precisely the passing on of one's own cultural forms that is threatened by various forms of discrimination makes the essentialising attribution of quasi-innate abilities particularly problematic because it nullifies the special efforts it takes to preserve these forms.

Trivialisation and denial of ABR experience

Racist statements and behaviour towards Black people are not only historically rooted in oppressive conditions and dynamics of violence, but they are also constantly reinforced and pursued. The dethematisation and denial of racism in general and anti-Black racism in particular prevents the confrontation with and recognition or validation of Black experiences. When Black, African and Afro-diasporic people react to racist discrimination by addressing it and pointing it out to those around them and those responsible for protecting them (such as teachers or superiors), they are often stigmatised in return, branding them as (over)sensitive or even as aggressive. Numerous open answers in the survey and exemplifications in all the expert discussions and focus groups identify a pattern of defensive questioning and trivialising the perception and experiences of Black people, especially by non-Black interlocutors.

This defensive stance prioritises fending off accusations of racism over investigating potential instances of racist discrimination and subsequent human rights violations. In particular, when it comes to protecting institutions, the behaviour of superiors or those responsible is characterised by a perpetrator-victim reversal. The Black person who addresses the issue of discrimination is now accused of perpetrating discrimination themselves by raising the issue of racism they have experienced (→ [Chapter 6.3, p.168](#)). Repeated trivialisation or even denial or reversal can lead to re-traumatisation of those affected, which can even be repeated several times in further attempts to address racism (→ [Chapter 6.3, p.168](#)).

The frequent use of this argument in perpetrator-victim reversal or disparaging rationality and credibility unveils a patterned denial of ABR, projecting fundamental irrationality onto the victims: Even though ABR operates in a patterned manner, it is not founded in any logic and therefore allows for contradictory behaviours to seamlessly blend into ABR procedures. This challenges Black people who want to defend themselves against ABR to anticipate many possible patterns of reaction to their complaint or defence and prepare themselves with manifold arguments for varying possible attacks. When a Black individual addresses ABR, they navigate the processes' predictability with strategic approaches, yet calling out these processes may stir a notably strong reaction. Many of those exerting ABR are not used to being exposed to de-individualisation, which may ultimately amplify the intensity of their denial and defensive attitude.

More than 9 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (93.3% of $n = 4658$) **state that they are not believed or are told that they are too sensitive when they raise a racist incident**. A third (33.9%) claim this occurrence as 'very frequent' in their experience. This has a significant impact on how Black, African and Afro-diasporic people deal with discriminatory situations. (→ [Chapter 6.5](#)). In the qualitative analyses in Chapters 6.2 and 6.3, we identified the relativisation and denial of racist statements and behaviour as a basic societal pattern in dealing with anti-Black racism. As a result, Black people are faced with difficult challenges in consciously dealing with ABR, as we have presented in the model "Dilemma of Reaction" (→ [Chapter 6.2, p.154](#)) and described as a "Dilemma of Negotiation" (→ [Chapter 6.3, p.154](#)), especially in the school context due to the inescapability of the situation.

"When I explained the concept of 'systemic racism' based on academic literature in the course of a discussion on Black Lives Matter, I was accused of attacking white people in a racist way, and it was claimed that Black people are more criminal anyway and therefore there is no need to complain. My following points were neither listened to nor taken seriously with the argument that I was simply too sensitive and angry."

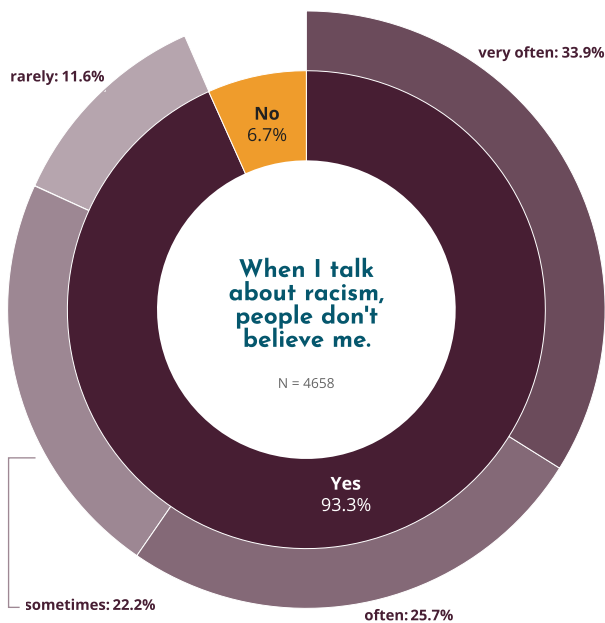
(open statement)

"In a new group of friends: [I] am greeted by one of the white people with 'Are you from Africa? I jokingly play down the situation, saying no. I then ask him calmly if he's from Africa. The conversation is awkward, but I let it continue[.] Sometime later, the same person makes a racist joke about Africa and Africans and says: 'I'm sure you can tell us more about that. You know your stuff.' Even though we had already clarified the issue. I get angry and feel like I have to explain to this white person the world (my world) and get involved in an energy-sapping discussion. I am interrupted several times. I get no support from the

white people (friends of mine) surrounding us. I call the person a racist, and he freaks out completely because I call him that. I still get no support by anyone and leave the scene[,] because the situation might become potentially dangerous." (open statement)

Fig. 77: "When I speak up about a racist incident, I am not believed or told that I am too sensitive." (n = 4658)

Reading Example: 9 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (93.3% of n = 4658) state that they are not believed or are told that they are too sensitive when they raise a racist incident. A third of respondents (33.9%) state that this situation occurs "very often".

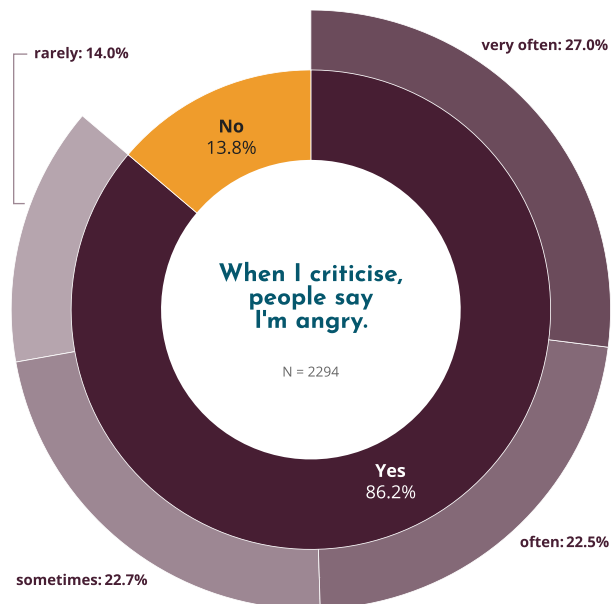


More than 8 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (86.2% of n = 2294) are familiar with the situation of being accused of being angry when they criticise something. Compared to cis-men (77.2% of n = 460), this is particularly true for TIN* respondents (94.8% of n = 58) and cis-women (88.4% of n = 1288). The differences between the subgroups are significant¹¹ and confirm the attribution of the so-called "angry Black woman", which denies Black women and Black people perceived as female, who make critical comments, that these are relevant, rational and credible. In this way, the Black woman is depreciated and, at the same time, an examination of the actual content of what is being said is avoided (Ofuatey-Alazard & Brinkmann, 2020).

"My work and research in the field of sexist & racist discrimination is not taken seriously in a working group. Instead, I am told that I would react in this way (ascribed: angry, too energetic, irrational, from my point of view: committed, empathetic, frustrated) because I am a Black woman and that I would have to restrain myself a little if I wanted to succeed." (open statement)

Fig. 78: "When I express criticism, I am accused of being angry." (n = 2294)

Reading example: More than 8 out of 10 Afrozensus respondents (86.2% of n = 2294) state that they are accused of being angry when they criticise something. Half of the respondents (49.5%) state that this situation occurs "often" or "very often".



¹¹ See Appendix 13 for the significance.

6.4.2

Diversity dimension of gender identity/ies intersecting with ABR

Prior to this, we explained the individual discrimination occurrences among cis-men, cis-women, trans*, inter*, and non-binary interviewees concerning subgroup differences. In this section, we explore how ABR experiences intersect with the diversity dimension of gender identities. These intersections emerge from the quantitative and qualitative data analysis as relevant points of elaboration. **"Gender"** (52.5% of n = 4991) is the third most frequently mentioned discrimination characteristic by Afrozensus respondents overall (→ Appendix 7), and in the ranking of characteristic combinations, "gender" is in second place together with the characteristics "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" (→ Fig. 80). To understand the significance of gender (and gender identities)¹² in the interplay with anti-Black racism, we summarise the most frequently mentioned characteristics based on which the respondents consider that they have experienced discrimination for all three subgroups of the diversity dimension "gender identity/ies". For cis-women, trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents and for cis-men, "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" are ranked first and second. This means that all three groups most frequently state that they experience discrimination based on these characteristics. The realities of discrimination in these subgroups differ in terms of the information they provide on other discrimination characteristics. In the following, we explain the main differences for intersections with anti-Black racism.

Cis-men

Black cis-men are significantly more likely than cis-women to report having been discriminated against in the areas of "housing market", "police",

"security personnel", and "shops and services". This points to gender-specific ABR dynamics in which Black men are associated with threats, criminality and illegality, especially by security personnel. Although the surveyed cis-males in the Afrozensus who mentioned "gender" as a discriminatory characteristic much less frequently than cis-women and TIN* respondents (for cis-males, "gender" was only ranked 10th, while for cis-women and TIN* it was ranked 3rd), their given data depended heavily on the context and area of life. In the area of life "security personnel", for example, the characteristic "gender" also ranks significantly higher for cis-men in the Afrozensus (rank 4). This is not the case, when exploring contact with "police", although the intersection of masculinity and Blackness in this context produces significantly stronger and different ABR dynamics than Blackness in intersection with other gender identities (→ Chapter 6.1).

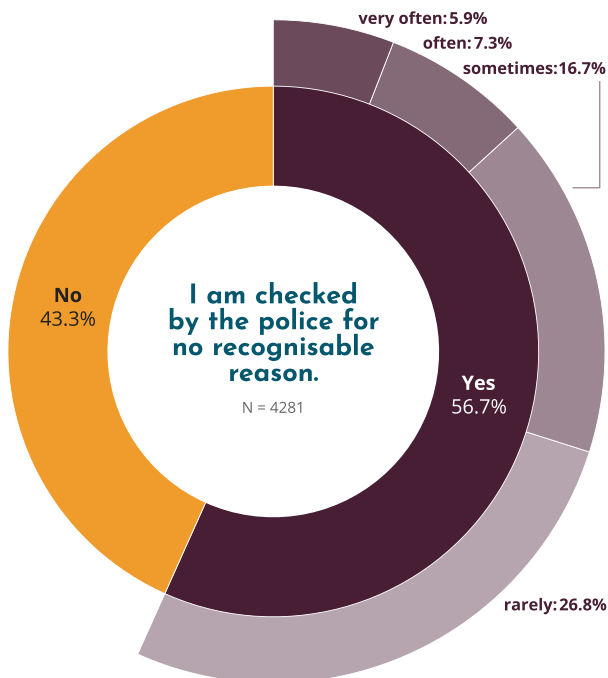
One explanation for this could be that cis-men, in their societal rather privileged position concerning their gender, in the first instance do not consciously perceive this characteristic as relevant in contexts of discrimination. In this specific context, "security personnel" takes on a distinct significance: When we infer from Chapter 6.1.7, considering the open-ended information and the average young age of the interviewees, it becomes apparent that this domain predominantly revolves around managing access control into clubs, discos, and bars – a context that vividly exposes unequal treatment. Black men can observe how they are turned away at the door, while others, including Black women, are more likely to be granted access. In this case, "gender" appears to rank higher with men, while it remains sidelined in aspects of life like police controls and housing market, where direct

¹² "Gender identity/ies" is a diversity dimension of the Afrozensus analysis (→ Chapter 3.3). "Gender" and "gender identity" are characteristics in view of which respondents were able to state whether they had been discriminated against in various areas of life during the past two years.

comparisons aren't usually feasible – despite the empirical relevance in this context. Nevertheless, as explained in Chapter 6.1.6, Black cis-men (78.0% of n = 935) and TIN* respondents (63.3% of n = 120) were significantly more likely than cis-women (47.9% of n = 2347) to report being stopped by police for no recognisable reason. This shows the consequences of institutionalised racist practices such as racial profiling in the experiences of Black (cis) men.

Fig. 79: "I am checked by police for no recognisable reason." (n = 4281)

Reading Example: More than half of the Afrozensus respondents (56.7% of n = 4281) state that they have already been stopped by police for no recognisable reason. 3 out of 10 respondents (29.9%) stated that this had happened to them "sometimes", "often", or "very frequently".



The following quote from the collected open data vividly illustrates how the alleged danger and criminality emanating from Black cis-males effect them throughout the areas assessed in the Afrozensus:

"For no recognisable reason and in an extremely aggressive manner I was kicked out of [a] student party by bouncers. Reporting it to the police ended up being dangerous for me because I got a counter-charge, which the police said would be more likely to be believed in court. The police officer said, the main problem with my complaint was that I had mentioned my suspicion that the

situation had escalated because of racist prejudices (as a Black man, I was perceived as particularly dangerous). Subsequently, I was told by a surgeon that he was loath to hear that 'racism' [topic] again. I should just admit that I was to blame."
(open statement)

In security, police, and healthcare areas, the entwining of ABR attributions regarding alleged violence in Black men and the routine denial of ABR result in a confluence of discrimination experiences. This leads to the near impossibility for impacted Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people to adequately address, let alone process, the racist violence they have experienced.

Black children over a certain age – especially Black boys and young men – are also not exempt from attributions of criminality and violence. These characteristics find reflection in attributions such as "wild," "loud," or "unruly". Over half of Afrozensus respondents (62.0% of n = 645) state that their child's behaviour is labelled as too wild and too loud. This has lasting, negative consequences for Black, African and Afro-diasporic children, particularly in the school context (→ [Chapter 6.3](#)).

"[T]he othering that my son regularly is exposed to. I remember how bad it was for me as a child to always be identified as different. It is true, today's comments are seemingly rather 'harmless' ('oh how cute[,] oh that little brown boy' [...])[,] but in the process of growing up and the fading of the cuteness factor, the comments generally become meaner, more suspicious and more hurtful."
(open statement)

This is a description of a widespread experience, that during the transition into puberty, the perception of Black masculinity undergoes a significant shift from being seen as cute to being portrayed negatively.

In summary, the differentiated Afrozensus data on the experiences of Black cis-men shows the privilege that Black cis-men also have in a cis-sexist society charac-

terised by patriarchal hierarchies. At the same time, the experiences of Black cis-men clearly show that the intersection of ABR and gender identity/ies results in a specific reality of discrimination and experiences of marginalisation for Black males.

Cis-Frauen

The analysis of qualitative and quantitative Afrozensus data clearly unveils the convergence of discrimination with regard to anti-Black racism and sexism, showing the unique experiences of discrimination encountered by Black women. Both cis-gender women and TIN* interviewees positioned "gender" as third in a range of factors in view of discrimination they encounter.

In five of the nine areas of life where we found significant differences between cis-women and cis-men, cis-women stated significantly more frequently that they had been discriminated against in the past two years: in "education", "health", "public and leisure", "art and culture" and "private life" (→ [Chapter 6.1, p.93](#)). The entanglement of anti-Black racism and sexism is mentioned several times by participating Black women in the qualitative analyses; in the focus groups and open statements in the Afrozensus, their experiences of discrimination relate in particular to work contexts and work relationships. Sexist and racist exclusion and discrimination dynamics engrained in society are especially effective in the setting of professional hierarchies and affect Black women specifically.

"During a volunteer internship at a start-up, some male colleagues repeatedly made sexist and racist statements in my presence, and every time[,] I pointed this out[,] gaslighting [G] was the response. One of the people had a Black girlfriend at the time and therefore thought[,] he had [a] carte blanche to make racist remarks." (open statement)

"Addressing my boss (white, hetero cis-man) about his microaggressions. (After months of having to endure racist and sexist comments) This led to a discussion[,] so I printed out my resignation during my break because I wanted to leave the company immediately. He didn't accept my resignation and dismissed me instead. He also threatened me with his lawyer because I had called him a racist (I didn't)[.] This was followed by insults. I reported it to the works council, and nothing happened." (open statement)

"When visiting customers, I first have to justify the fact that I at least studied in Germany. And then that I know the "standards", etc. Often it also goes into

"exoticisation", which I, as an Afro-Latina, often experience together with sexism" (open statement)

As explained in → [Chapter 6.2](#). (→ Basic patterns and dynamics of ABR, [p.142](#)) with regard to the health sector, ABR-specific discrimination dynamics become more complex through intersectional entanglement. For example, colourism intensifies anti-Black/anti-African devaluations [G], especially concerning the repudiation of professional competencies. The intersectional entanglement described thus manifests itself differently for Black people, who are also discriminated against by colourism. The interaction of ABR attributions and sexist attributions results in forms of sexism specifically directed against Black women. Hierarchisation through colourism also contributes to the intensification of racist and sexist multiple discrimination and structures these discrimination dynamics.

"Old white man shouts at me in the onboard restaurant of an ICE train that I should sit on his lap. He slaps on his thighs and shouts: 'Come here[,] beautiful African princess/queen. Here's room for you!' He was about 70, I was travelling alone and 20 years old. Everyone laughed, nobody said anything, and I panicked." (open statement)

In the Afrozensus, Black women share experiences of violence ranging from objectification and (hyper)sexualisation to physical assault and sexualised violence.

We have given a few examples for discrimination situations described above. We deliberately do not wish to cite other very intimate and triggering stories here. Black women describe sexualised/sexist violence perpetrated by white cis-men, but also by BIPOC [G] men. For Black women, sexist violence perpetrated by BIPOC men means having to navigate between racism and sexism to avoid (racist) instrumentalisation of their experiences of violence: They often act here with a critical awareness of racist attributions and patterns, due to which they fear reinforcing racist attributions and ABR dynamics towards BIPOC men by addressing sexist and sexualised violence.

"[...] In the foreground are sexist mechanisms in combination with racist mechanisms when it comes to intimidation and ensuing discomfort. However, I feel more threatened by people who are read as male, as I can attribute many assaults to my gender (female) and how this is positioned in society. Often, these assaults have happened to me from people read as BIPOC and POC men. I avoid talking about these incidents because I don't want to confirm racist stereotypes/prejudices. It feels like a catch-22 because I feel like [I would have to] betray a part of my identity and collateral oppression to expose sexist oppression which I am subjected to." *(open statement)*

Trans*, inter*, non-binary people

„Being an African transgender woman I feel vulnerable when I am in public as my authentic self.“
(open statement)

In 12 out of 14 areas of life, trans*, inter*, and non-binary (TIN*) respondents were significantly more likely to report experiences of discrimination compared to cis-men. In comparison with cis-women, they are also significantly more likely to report having been discriminated against in the past two years in all areas of life. The analysis of the discrimination characteristics and their ranking for TIN* respondents shows "gender" in third place, to which they relate their experiences of discrimination because of "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour". Furthermore, for trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents, both the characteristic "sexual orientation/identity" and the characteristic "gender identity" are ranked significantly higher (7th and 8th) than for cisgender respondents (14th and 18th for both cis-men and cis-women).

„I was heavily, heavily discriminated against while working at [a government workplace] in Berlin. Both based on my skin colour and my gender identity. I reported the incidents internally and also sought the

assistance of [a non-profit organisation] In the end, I couldn't take it anymore and ended up leaving the job because it was too damaging to my mental health.

Additionally, I was experiencing severe discrimination at the gym where i am a member [...] based on my gender expression (I'm Black and transmasculine, which of course makes me a threat in the women's changing room and leaves me feeling unsafe in the men's changing room. I sought the help of [a queer antidiscrimination office] without much success, but I did receive a letter from the lawyers of the gym instructing me to stop saying that the gym was transphobic on my social media posts, so I made my social media private and continued to speak my truth.“ *(open statement)*

TIN* interviewees fundamentally relate their experiences of discrimination to their gender identity and their sexual orientation/identity in connection with anti-Black racism.¹³ The qualitative analysis describes the structural dynamics of violence through multiple marginalisations and the associated intensification or exacerbation of experiences of violence using the case study of a trans woman as an example for people who experience discrimination in the intersection of anti-Black racism and trans hostility. This case study explains the challenges for Black doctors who are critical of racism and discrimination in enabling safe(r) access to healthcare for vulnerabilised Black people who experience multiple forms of discrimination:

¹³ See Appendix 8 for the table.

"If it's a white person, I ask, 'Where are you right now? What's your address?', and I call the police, and that's that. I can't do that with a Black person. That's the difference. [...] If they experience all other forms of marginalisation, those people, then it's more complicated or, let's say, much more complex. That means I have to think, okay, how can I meet this person so that they don't [fall] into their trauma. Because at the root of their trauma is structural violence. In other words, the experience of structural violence is what prevents them from going into care situations. In other words, of course, I want to avoid structural violence, but how do I do that? [...] So, for example, a Black trans woman once said: 'I'm not going there, I'm going to kill myself'. Well, she was acutely suicidal. And I can't force someone like that to go back to the psychiatric ward, that's obviously clear – but at the same time, this person needs acute care. How do I do that? That means I have to be creative and find people to visit them at home, but at the same time make sure that these people are not from the public order office." (*Specialist interview: Black experiences in healthcare*)

The quantitative results of the Afrozensus clearly show the high vulnerability of trans*, inter*, and non-binary respondents to multiple discrimination and the intersectional effects of ABR in conjunction with other forms of discrimination. Especially in contact with the police, trans*, inter*, and non-binary people most frequently (89.9% of n = 59) report experiencing discrimination (→ [Chapter 6.1.6](#)).

6.4.3

Interactions and intersections of discrimination characteristics

In the following, we describe the contours and manifestations of anti-Black racism based on the characteristics which Black, African and Afro-diasporic people gave for their experiences of discrimination in the Afrozensus (→ [Chapter 6.1](#), Appendix 7). In the quantitative analysis, we took a closer look at the characteristics most frequently mentioned by respondents concerning their experiences of discrimination in each area of life. The evidence gathered from the survey highlights how across all 14 life areas **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** (93.9%) and **"skin colour"** (91.5%) are by far the most frequently mentioned (multiple answers possible). Then follow as most frequently mentioned characteristics **"gender"** (52.5%), **"name"** (44.8%), **"hair/beard"** (38.1%), **"social status/social origin"** (33.5%) and **"language"** (27.8%) out of a total of 22.¹⁴

In addition to presenting the frequencies of the characteristics mentioned, we analyse various combinations of characteristics (→ [Fig. 80](#)). Respondents were always free to choose whether several characteristics were relevant for discrimination situations at the same time: The most frequently mentioned combination of characteristics was **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** and **"skin colour"** (433 mentions).¹⁵ In second place comes the combination of characteristics **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"**, **"skin colour"** and **"gender"**. The next common combination is **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"**, **"skin colour"**, and **"name"**, followed by "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'", "skin colour", and "hair/beard". The latter two combinations then follow in combinations of four with the characteristic "gender" included.

Overall, **"racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'"** and **"skin colour"** are the most frequently mentioned characteristics in single responses to the question about discrimination characteristics and also represent the most frequent combination of characteristics stated by respondents. In addition, they generally occur most frequently in combination with all other characteristics. This means that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people mainly relate their general experiences of discrimination to characteristics that are specifically and typically used in the practice of anti-Black racism.

We analyse the characteristics "racist reasons/ethnic origin" and "skin colour" as they are empirically decisive for approximating the contours of anti-Black racism. In this context, we also look at subgroup differences along the diversity dimension of "African/Afro-diasporic parents". To be able to depict the different realities of discrimination in a more differentiated way, we asked the participants in the online survey whether they have "one or two (biological) African/Afro-diasporic parents".

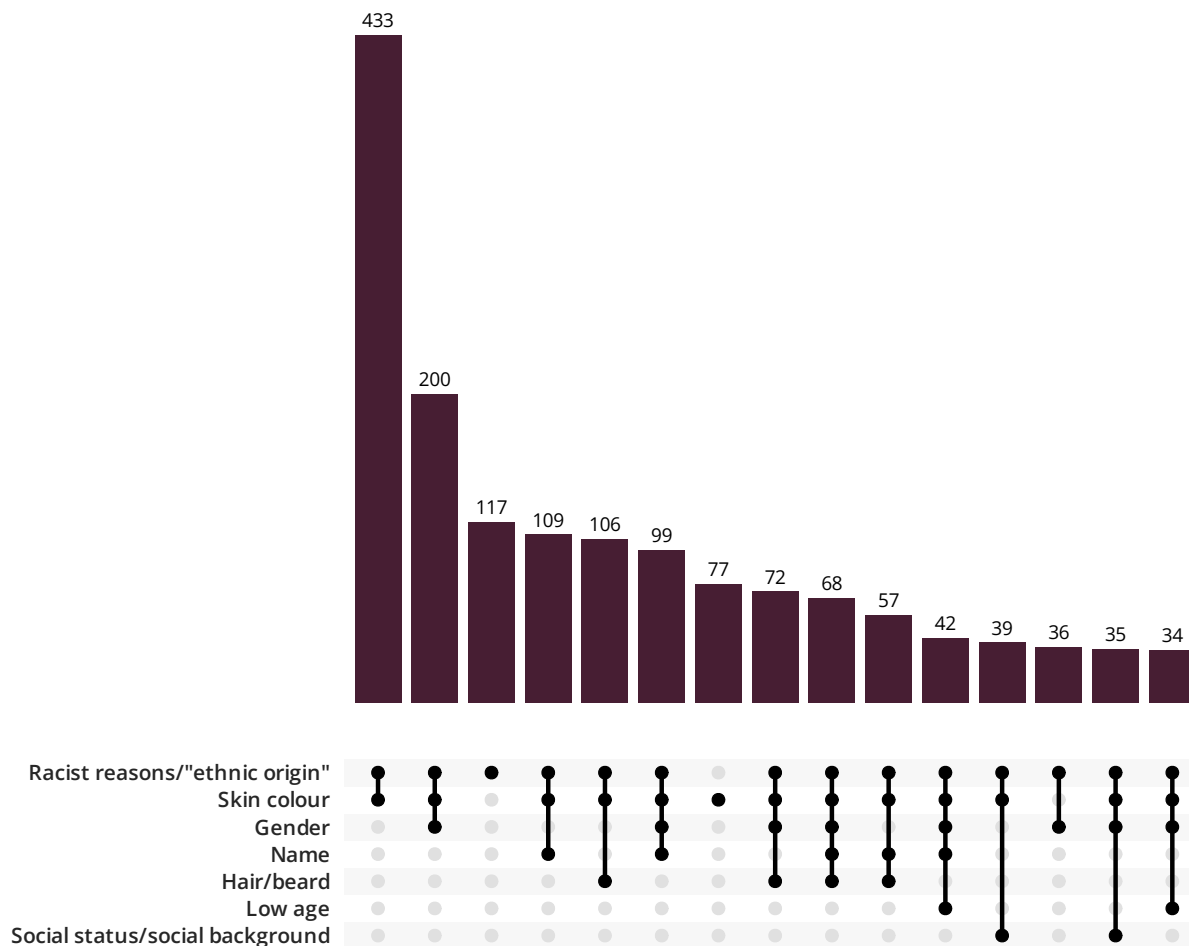
This is based on the assumption, that the of ABR experiences intensify in correlation with negatively perceived "African" traits and that these are attributed more frequently to those with two African/Afro-diasporic parents. This assumption relates to both phenotypical and cultural attributions. In particular, respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents were significantly more likely to report experiencing at first hand anti-Black racism "very often" (20.6% of 1174) than respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (13.4% of 2306). This result indicates that there

¹⁴ The frequency data on the characteristics and the sequence of the combinations of characteristics must be interpreted in the context of the sample demographics (→ [Chapter 4](#)), as relevant characteristics for groups that are numerically less represented are accordingly placed further back when considering all Afrozensus respondents.

¹⁵ We show the 15 most frequent combinations of characteristics out of a calculated 12,870 possible combinations, taking only eight characteristics into account. With a case number of 4,991 respondents who answered the question, the most frequent mention of 433 appears to be relatively rare. This is because the responses from almost 5,000 people were spread across 12,870 possible combinations of characteristics, and many combinations were only stated once or twice.

Fig. 80: The fifteen most common combinations of characteristics based on which Afrozensus respondents experience discrimination across all areas of life (n = 4991)¹⁶

Reading example: Across all areas of life, the combination of characteristics consisting of the characteristics "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" is mentioned most frequently (433 mentions). The second most common combination of characteristics is the one in which respondents stated that they had been discriminated against on "racist grounds / 'ethnic origin'", "skin colour", and "gender" at the same time (200 mentions).



is a higher intensity in the experience of ABR among people with two African/Afro-diasporic parents. This intensification of ABR experiences observed for this subgroup is reflected in 12 out of 14 areas of life, especially in the areas of "housing market", "offices and authorities", and "security personnel", as well as in the results on the effects of the coronavirus pandemic (→ p.202).

According to the interviewees, other characteristics such as **"name"**, **"hair/beard"**, **"social status/social**

origin", and **"language"** are also used to label and discriminate against Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. One way of analysing these external markers through racist attributions and their intensity for different groups in the sample is by looking at the ranking of the discrimination characteristics based on which they most frequently state that they have faced discrimination across 14 areas of life. To do this, we looked at the ranking of the characteristics that serve as markers for racist discrimination for the

16 An UpSet diagram represents the intersections (here: combinations of characteristics) of different rows (here: characteristics) in a matrix. Each column corresponds to a set. The bar charts show the size of the set. In the UpSet diagrams given here, each bar corresponds to a possible combination of characteristics: The filled cells show which characteristics are part of a combination. The UpSet diagrams were created with UpSetR (Conway et al., 2017).

groups "respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent", "respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents", and respondents who position themselves as "African" (for self-positioning in the Afrozensus → [Chapter 6.6](#)) and compared them with each other.¹⁷ We analyse the self-positioning "African" in this context because we assume that people who identify themselves as African face more frequently phenotypic and cultural anti-African attributions.

For all three groups, "racist reasons / 'ethnic origin'" and "skin colour" are the first and second most frequently mentioned grounds for discrimination. The proportion of respondents who stated that they had experienced discrimination regarding their name was roughly the same in all three groups, ranging from 45.1% (respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent) to 49.9% (respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents). We assume that these are respondents who have a name read as African and that this is decisive for anti-Black/anti-African, racist discrimination.

Only the characteristic "hair/beard", which serves as a phenotypic marker for anti-Black racist attributions, is ranked higher among respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (rank 5) compared to "respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents" and "respondents who position themselves as African, among others" (both rank 7). This might possibly be explained by the fact, that respondents with one African parent encounter ABR more often in their non-Black private settings, which could explain this (→ Chapter 6.1.9). The differentiation in hair with regard to Black people with a sole African parent serves as a distinct marker, setting them apart from the white norm and consequently making it a prime target for ABR. People born to two African or African diasporic parents frequently encounter their hair being utilised as one factor among other distinctive traits in exercising ABR. We expressly make this assumption without passing judgement; instead, we aim to connect those shared experiences and provide some first explanations, inviting further investigation through additional interviews and research.

**"A situation like 'What's your name?'
I say my African first name, the answer
is 'Oh God, what? Don't you have a nick-
name? I can't remember that.' [I say
that I have a middle name (German)
in response: 'Ah, that's much better,
this I can remember, I'll simply call you
that now.'" (open statement)**

The high ranking of "name" as a characteristic confirms our assumption that this is a relevant marker for ABR. "Social status / social origin" also ranked highly in all three groups: This characteristic ranked 5th with respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents, while among respondents who position themselves as African and among respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent, "social status/social origin" ranked 6th. For both "respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents" and "respondents who position themselves as African among others", "language" ranked significantly higher (rank six and rank five respectively) than for respondents with one African/Afro-diasporic parent (rank 8).

¹⁷ See Appendix 8 for the table.

6.4.4

Summary

The Afrozensus validates experiential knowledge shared throughout generations within communities, and thus highlights that the daily experiences of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people in Germany aren't isolated incidents but rather manifestations of recurrent patterns in expressions, processes, and frequently denied or insufficient handling of its occurrences by institutions. These patterns and repetitions show that ABR is deeply rooted and anti-Black knowledge is widely shared and anchored in tradition. Against this background, so-called everyday racism and so-called micro-aggressions [G] for Black people are part of a comprehensive, intergenerational and partly internationally shared experience of ABR (→ [Chapter 2, p.42](#)). Everyday ABR experiences can, therefore, also evoke a more comprehensive experience of anti-Black depreciation and thus have a (re-)traumatising effect.

In this chapter, we have deepened analyses on the realities of discrimination experienced by Black, African and Afro-diasporic people by concentrating on specific patterns and dynamics of anti-Black racism. By previously analysing the discriminatory and racist situations experienced by Black people, we were able to present exemplary manifestations of anti-Black racism. The complexity of anti-Black racist discrimination patterns becomes evident when breaking down the dynamics and entanglements of the mentioned discriminatory traits and their combinations.

Understanding **anti-Black/anti-African** devaluations in terms of ascribed "skin colour"/"skin tone" and beyond is important to understanding Black experiences in their diversity. We must understand anti-Black racism as an analytical framework that fundamentally **essentialises** and **depreciates Black people** through racist discrimination, specifically **targeting Black, Afro-diasporic and African people**. This racist devaluation is structured, among other things, by a hierarchy built on "skin shades", while at the same time, it goes far beyond the attributed "skin colour" (colourism [G]). Black people of different skin tones, for example, have shared experiences of ABR but are also rated and hierarchised within these discrimination dynamics according to phenotypical and culturally ascribed "African" characteristics. The interplay of different discrimina-

tion markers and the different frequencies and intensities reported by subgroups in different areas of life and discrimination situations show the complexity in the interplay of physical and cultural attributions for the hierarchisation and depreciation of people along an axis of Western/European norms. Anti-Black racism also interacts with other discrimination dynamics and structures these in a specific way for Black people. The intersectionally different experiences of anti-Black racism, as well as the diversity of Black, African and Afro-diasporic spheres of life and relations, which provide various resources for dealing with discrimination, generate a variety of ways of tackling ABR, which we will address in the following chapter.

6.5

Dealing with discrimination

Following the questions on discrimination in different areas of life (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)), Afrozensus respondents were asked whether they had ever reported to the police or elsewhere a situation where they had been discriminated against. Around one in five people (21.9%) of 4909 online respondents answered "yes" to this question. Apart from reporting discrimination, there are many other ways of dealing with and reacting to discrimination situations. To further analyse how Afrozensus respondents deal with discriminatory situations, we asked more in-depth questions both quantitatively in the online questionnaire and qualitatively in the focus groups on the areas of "education" and "health and care".

The online questionnaire invited respondents to recount, in their own words, the most impactful discriminatory situation they had experienced within the preceding two years. The respondents were to select a situation where they had personally experienced discrimination. This selected discrimination situation served as a reference point for the subsequent questions on dealing with discrimination.¹ The explanations in the quantitative part of the study, therefore, always refer to one individual discrimination situation experienced by the interviewee in the recent two years, which differs in form and context from that of other interviewees. When interpreting the subgroup analysis, it's vital to take this fact into account. The different situations in which discrimination has taken place produce different reactions and require different ways of dealing with it. The connecting element was that it was the most significant discrimination situation for each interviewee in the past two years. The following analysis aims to serve as a first step towards understanding reactions to and ways of dealing with discrimination against Black, African and Afro-diasporic people. For future in-depth analyses, after

coding the open information on the most significant discrimination situation, it could be investigated based on this information whether and how the Afrozensus respondents possibly deal with discrimination (e.g. reporting or avoidance), depending on the locality (e.g. workplace), the form of discrimination (e.g. physical vs. verbal) or the distribution of power positions between the perpetrator and the one negatively affected (e.g. managerial position vs. employee).²

Afrozensus respondents' actions after a discriminatory incident

When asked how the respondents dealt with the experienced incident of discrimination as a first step (n = 3908, multiple answers possible), most respondents (71.6%) stated that, among others, they had spoken to people in their social circle about it. 12.8% stated that they had networked with others. A large proportion of respondents (42.6%) were annoyed about the situation but had no energy or desire to take action. Almost one in three people surveyed (29.9%) stated having ignored the discriminatory statement or action. On the

¹ The questions of the quantitative survey in the online questionnaire were developed based on a representative survey by the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency on reactions to experiences of discrimination (Beigang et al., 2017)

² Due to a lack of time and financial resources, it was not possible to finalise the coding of the more than 4000, in some cases very detailed, open statements on the most significant discrimination situations of the Afrozensus respondents. Therefore, only individual experiences, perspectives and analyses from these rich and trusting responses were included in this analysis as quotes. The aim is to follow up on the coding in Afrozensus with appropriate financial support and thus establish a link between forms, places, participants and patterns of discrimination and the results of the quantitative questions on dealing with discrimination.

other hand, more than a third (36.0%) of Afrozensus respondents stated that they had openly addressed discrimination. Looking at the most common combinations of coping strategies, most respondents (321 mentions) stated that they had spoken to people in their social environment and, at the same time, felt angry but had no energy or desire to take action. The second most common combination (291 mentions) consists of those respondents who also spoke to their social environment and, at the same time, openly addressed discrimination.³

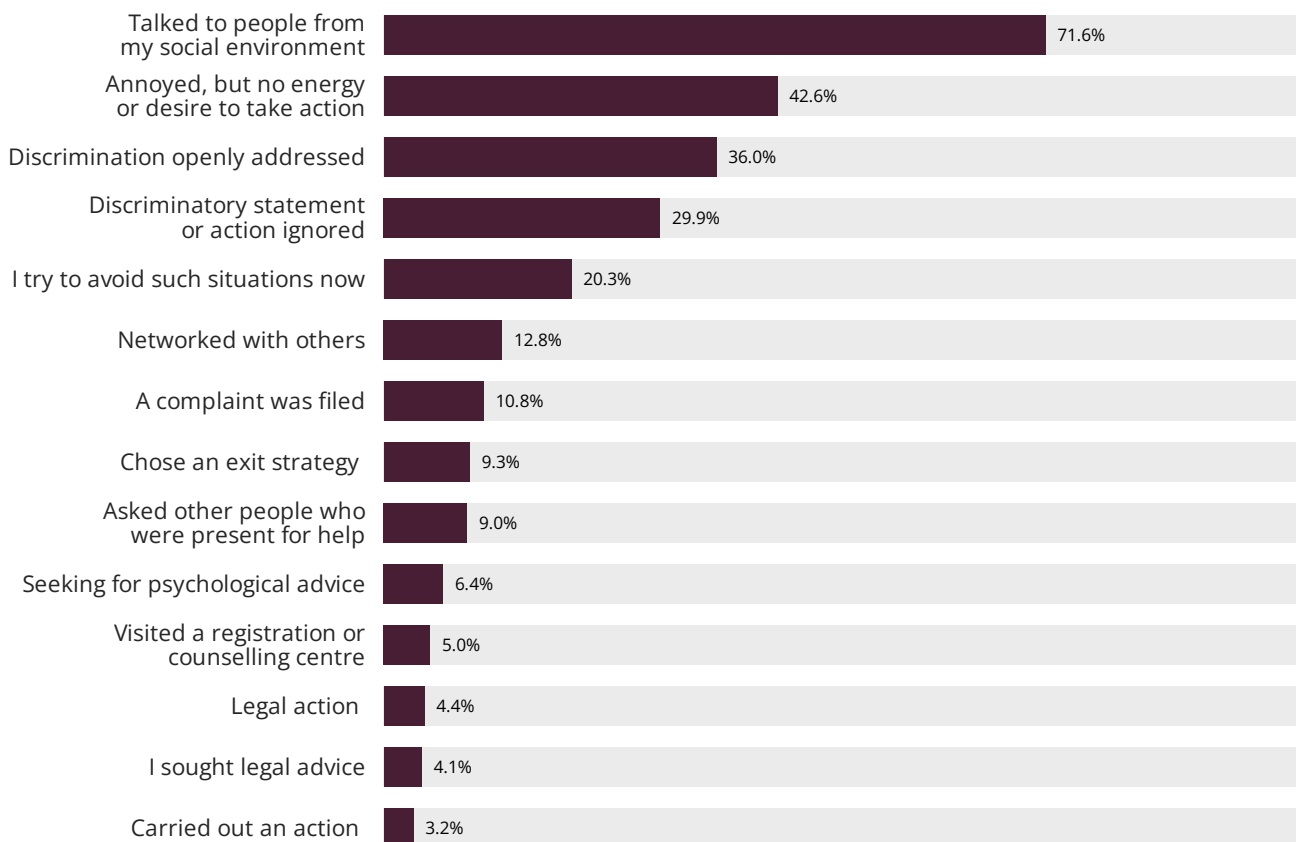
Only around 1 in 10 people (9.0%) stated, that, among other things, they had asked for help from other people present in the situation. However, it remains unclear from this in which situations there were no other people present who could have been asked for help by the person afflicted. The fewest respondents stat-

ed that they had sought counselling or reporting centres (5.0%), psychological counsel (6.4%) or legal advice (4.1%) in response to the discrimination. Only around 1 in 10 people surveyed (10.8%) stated that they had lodged a complaint after experiencing discrimination, and only 4.4% stated that they had taken legal action. One in five people (20.3%) stated that they wanted to avoid such situations in the future.

There are different results in the subgroup analysis regarding gender identity/ies⁴: Trans*, inter*, non-binary (TIN* [G]) respondents (n = 111) generally use more active strategies in dealing with a discriminatory incident than cis-men [G] (n = 851) and cis-women [G] (n = 2403). They are more likely to ask other people present for help (15.3% vs. 8.5% cis-men, 9.2% cis-women) and are more likely to openly address the discrimination (44.1% vs. 35.5% cis-men, 36.1% cis-women). They

Fig. 81: Reactions of Afrozensus respondents to the most significant experience of discrimination in the past two years (n = 3908, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: More than a third (36.0%) of 3908 Afrozensus respondents reacted to a discrimination situation from the past two years by openly addressing the discrimination, among other things.



³ For the ten most common combinations of handling strategies, see Appendix 20.

also make significantly more frequent use of reporting and counselling centres (15.3% vs. 5.2% cis-men, 5.0% cis-women) and/or seek psychological counsel (18.0% vs. 4.3% cis-men, 6.7% cis-women). TIN* respondents also stated significantly more frequently that they had networked after a discriminatory incident (23.4 %) than cisgender respondents (13.1 % cis-women and 11.4 % cis-men). Cis-women and TIN* respondents were significantly more likely to say that they spoke to people in their social environment after a discriminatory incident (81.1% of cis-women and 75.5% of TIN* respondents) than cis-men (65.3%).

The qualitative Afrozensus data can serve to deduce underlying explanatory patterns in dealing with discrimination and, in particular, anti-Black racism. In situations of discrimination where those affected do not take action or ignore the discriminatory statement or action – as is the case with almost a third of online respondents – the qualitative analyses reveal the complexity of this decision-making and strategising. In the ABR model "Dilemma of reaction" (→ [Chapter 6.2](#), p.158), we have illustrated the dilemma Black, African and Afro-diasporic people face in a discriminatory situation. One of the primary challenges they confront involves making decisions within situations they perceive as hurtful and abusive and the struggle to acquire or regain the power of agency. Yet, whether they opt for confrontation or avoidance, both paths carry with them potentially damaging and costly outcomes. To address discrimination (36% of respondents state in the online survey that they have "openly addressed discrimination") and insist on an open controversy, Black people must, for example, position themselves or carry out anti-racist educational work (for further details, see → [Chapter 6.2](#), p.152).

When (consciously and unconsciously) assessing how to deal with the discriminatory situation (situational effort) as well as the consequences and possible risks, resources such as one's own mental and physical condition and the contextual position of power play an important role. In situations where racist remarks are left unaddressed, this is done, among other things, to avoid conflictual confrontations and thus also consequences and repercussions that go beyond the discriminatory situation (conflict avoidance). When dealing with discrimination, avoidance is also generally practised as a preventive measure before conflict situ-

ations arise (again). Around 20 per cent of Afrozensus respondents stated in the online survey that they had tried to "avoid such a situation from now on" after a discriminatory incident. Chapter 6.1 (p. 90) elaborates avoidance behaviour as anticipated discrimination with regard to the areas of life. In addition, the qualitative results explain avoidance behaviour, in particular, as a consequence of racist experiences and the resulting fear of re-traumatisation (→ [Chapter 6.2](#), p.146).

The different resources and biographies of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people influence how they deal with discrimination and ABR. For example, conflict avoidance strategies are reconsidered in their own empowerment process and adapted in the long term. Empowerment and activism are used here as drive for their own positioning and strategy development. Overall, the ABR resilience strategies that Black people acquire in various empowering processes are crucial for dealing with discrimination (→ [Chapter 6.2](#), p.153).

Places where Afrozensus respondents have reported the incident or sought advice following discrimination

The previous results show that respondents have rarely made official complaints following a discriminatory situation in the past two years. 77.8% of 3512 respondents stated that they had not reported neither to police nor elsewhere the most significant discriminatory incident in the past two years. The EU-MIDIS II study "Being Black in Europe" by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2018, p. 43), which surveyed people with an African migration background "south of the Sahara", came to a similar conclusion: 85% of respondents who stated that they had experienced racist discrimination had not reported or filed a complaint about the most recent discriminatory incident in the past five years.

The Afrozensus data show that the younger the respondent is, the more likely they are not to have reported the incident. For example, 86.7% of 618 respondents aged 23 and under (Generation Z) and 78.1% of millennials (n = 1977) (aged between 24 and 39) were significantly more likely than respondents from the boomer generation (aged between 56 and 73) (63.6% of n = 66) to say they had not reported the incident. Presently it

⁴ See Appendix 19 for the table of significances.

remains open, why this might be the case: are younger respondents less likely to know about complaints and contact points, or do they consider their processing strategies sufficient or appropriate?

Of the 778 Afrozensus respondents who indicated that they had reported the incident or sought advice, most respondents (32.8%) stated that they had reported it to their respective employers. Over a quarter of respondents (26.9%) indicated that they had reported the incident to the police, among others. Around one in seven people declared that they had reported the incident or sought advice with self-/community organisations (15.7%). 14.7% indicated having reported the incident or sought advice from an anti-discrimination counselling centre. Significantly fewer (5.5%) declared that they had done so directly with the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency. The fewest respondents indicated contacting politicians (2.3%) or a church/faith community (1.8%) after a discriminatory incident.

For the subgroup analyses, there are only a few significant differences in reporting behaviour with respect to the location of reporting in the age comparison: Generation Z respondents who are 23 years old or younger (n

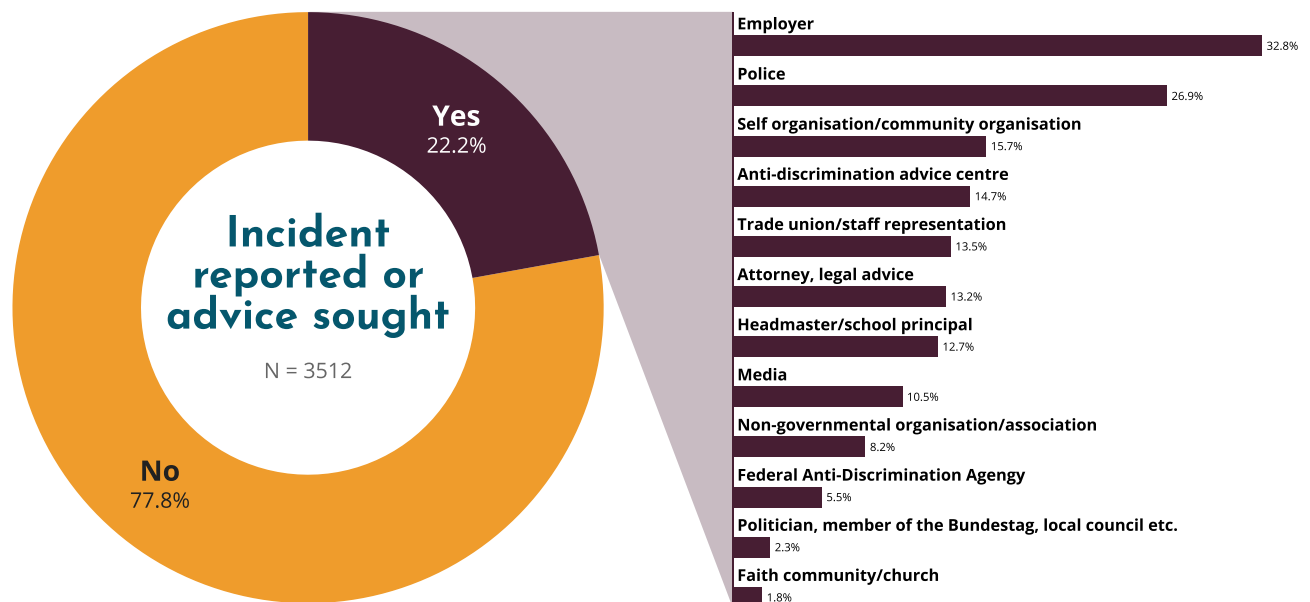
= 82) report discriminatory incidents significantly less frequently than respondents from the boomer generation (between 56 and 73 years old) to lawyers/legal counsellors but most frequently to the school principal (35.4%). This result corresponds to the age-specific context as well as the results on experiences of discrimination in certain areas of life: After discrimination in "public and leisure", respondents under the age of 24 most frequently stated that they experienced discrimination in the area of "education" (87.9% of n = 692).⁵

Reasons given by Afrozensus respondents for not reporting or filing a claim after a discriminatory incident

The 2732 Afrozensus respondents who stated that they had not reported or filed a claim about the discriminatory incident were then asked about their reasons for not doing so. Of the 2587 respondents who answered this question (multiple answers possible), around half (49.8%) stated, among other things, that they had not reported the incident because after reporting nothing would have happened or nothing would have changed anyway. In addition, 4 out of 10

Fig. 82: Places where discrimination was reported or advice was sought (doughnut chart n = 3512, bar chart n = 778, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: 77.8% of 3512 Afrozensus respondents state that they have not reported or sought advice after a discriminatory incident in the past two years. Of 778 Afrozensus respondents who indicated that they had reported the incident or sought advice, 15.7% stated that they had done so with a self-organisation/community organisation, among others.



⁵ For the table with significances see Appendix 21.

respondents (40.2%) stated, among other things, that they had not reported the incident because "it happens all the time". For some of the respondents, the decision not to report the incident was because they did not know how or where to report such incidents (18.1%) and did not know their rights/the law on that matter (8.3%). More than one in five people (22.6%) stated that they did not report the incident because, among other reasons, they had no evidence of proof.

For 14.6% of respondents, the reasons for not reporting included financial and/or time resources ("The process is lengthy / costs time, money"). In addition, 15.5% of respondents stated that they did not report the discriminatory incident because they felt ashamed or bad. Almost a quarter (23.3%) did not want to cause trouble and 12.3% specifically feared retaliation or being treated badly.

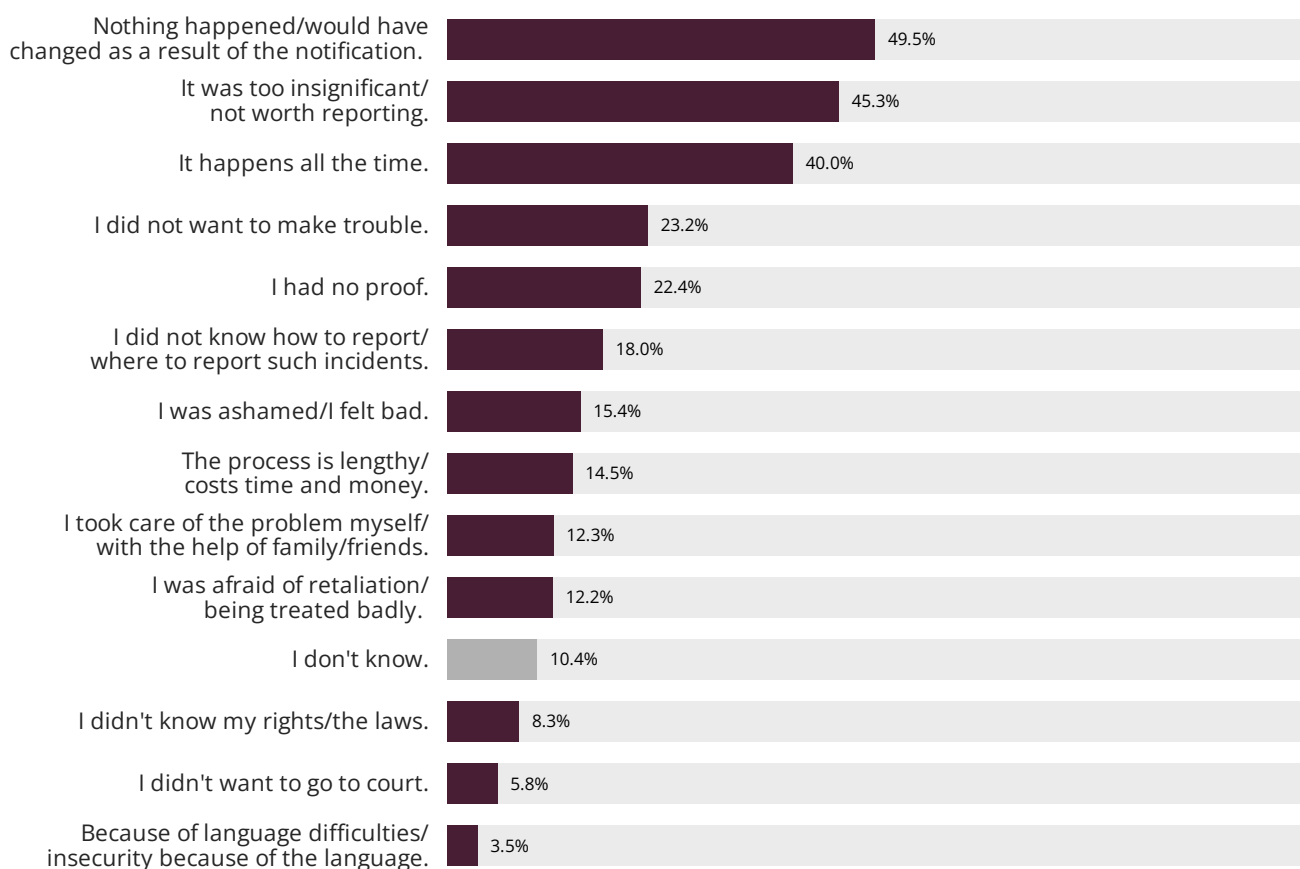
Respondents with an African migration background south of the Sahara in the EU-MIDIS II study – like the

Afrozensus respondents – most frequently state that they renounced reporting an incident because "nothing would have happened / nothing would have changed as a result of reporting" and second most frequently that the incident was "too insignificant". In contrast to the Afrozensus respondents, the respondents in the EU-MIDIS II study were the third most likely to state that they did not report the discriminatory incident because they "had no evidence" (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), 2018, p. 44). Among the Afrozensus respondents, this reason ranked fifth; for example, they more frequently stated that they did not report the incident because "it happens all the time" and because they "didn't want to cause trouble".

Not surprisingly, low-income respondents (21.8% of n = 271) were significantly more likely than middle-income respondents (14.7% of n = 279) and high-income respondents (11.0% of n = 228) to state that they had not reported the incident for reasons of resources in time and finances. Respondents with a low level of formal

Fig. 83: Reasons for not reporting the discriminatory incident (n = 2603, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: 12.4 % of 2603 Afrozensus respondents state that they did not report the discriminatory incident because they took care of the problem themselves or with the help of family/friends, among other reasons.



education were almost twice as likely as respondents with medium and high level education to say that they had not reported the discriminatory incident because they were unaware of their rights or the law (14.7% of 102 respondents with a low level of education vs. 8.4% of 595 respondents with a medium level of education and 8.1% of 1513 respondents with a high level of education). The group differences are significant.

TIN* respondents (26.4% of n = 72) are also significantly more likely than cis-women (13.2% of n = 1616) and cis-men (17.0% of n = 571) to state that they did not report the incident for reasons including time and cost. TIN* respondents and cis-women were also significantly more likely than cis-men to state that they had not reported the incident for reasons including fear of retaliation or being treated badly (19.4% TIN* respondents and 12.9% cis-women vs. 10.3% cis-men). This result is consistent with the information on the perception of safety in public spaces (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)), where TIN* respondents and cis-women also report significantly more frequently that they fear violent assaults in public. Cis-women (17.3%) are also significantly more likely than cis-men (10.3%) to state that they did not report the discriminatory incident because they felt ashamed or bad, among other reasons.

Significant differences in the reasons why respondents refrained from reporting the discriminatory incident can also be seen between respondents with an impairment (n = 223) and those without an impairment (n = 1890). Respondents with impairments were significantly more likely than respondents without impairments to state that they had not reported the incident for, among others, the following reasons: for reasons of time and cost (20.6% vs. 13.6%), because they had no evidence of proof (31.8% vs. 21.9%) and because they did not want to go to court (9.4% vs. 4.9%). They also stated significantly more often than respondents without impairment that they did not report the incident because they felt ashamed or bad (21.5% vs. 14.3%) and/or afraid of retaliation or being treated badly (21.1% vs. 11.1%). 61.4% of respondents with an impairment stated, among other things, that they had refrained from reporting the discriminatory incident because they were convinced that nothing would have happened or nothing would have changed as a result of reporting. This is 12.9 percentage points more than respondents without an impairment.⁶

From the qualitative focus groups, an additional reason can be deduced why Black, African and Afro-diasporic people decide not to report the incident: the power and dependency structures prevailing in the respective context. In healthcare, between doctors and nurses and patients, in education between teachers/lecturers and pupils/students, but also in the work context between managers/executives and employees as well as customers and service providers, the discriminated person, who, within the power structure, is in the less strong position, is in a dilemma of negotiation, as they usually continue to be dependent on the discriminator after having reported the discriminatory incident. In the education sector, pupils also stated in the interviews that they deliberately do not report discriminatory incidents to their parents for fear of them also being discriminated against again or not taken seriously.

Consequences of reporting or filing a claim after the discriminatory incident

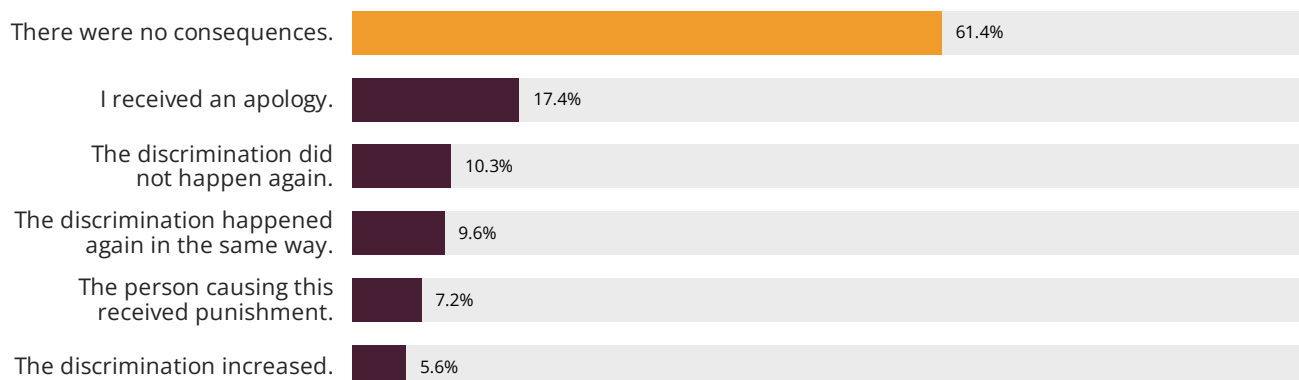
Of the Afrozensus respondents who reported or filed a claim after the discriminatory incident, 873 answered the question regarding what consequences their reporting/filing had (multiple answers possible). Well over half of the respondents (61.4%) stated, among other things, that reporting their incident had no consequences.⁷ Around 1 in 10 respondents (9.6%) stated, among other things, that the same discrimination had occurred again, and 5.6% of respondents stated that the discrimination had even increased after the report. 1 in 10 people (10.3%) state that the discrimination did not recur after their reporting/filing. 17.4% of respondents stated that they had received an apology, and 7.5% stated that the discriminating person had faced punishment. Due to the small number of respondents who, after all, had reported the incident (→ [Fig. 84](#)), we were not equipped at this point to analyse to which extent the place of reporting, i.e. where the incident was reported, might be in conjunction with the various possibilities of consequences. A subsequent survey could delve deeper into this aspect by specifically targeting respondents who reported the incident.

The subgroup analysis highlights significant group differences for the diversity dimensions "gender identity/ies" and "impairment"⁸: TIN* respondents are signifi-

⁶ For the table with significances see Appendix 22.

Fig. 84: Consequences of reporting the discriminatory incident (n = 873, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: Significantly more than half (61.4 %, n = 873) of the Afrozensus respondents stated that there were no consequences after having reported the discriminatory incident.



cantly less likely than cis-women and cis-men to state that they received an apology as a result of the report (13.3% TIN* respondents vs. 43.8% cis-men and 47.2% cis-women). Respondents with impairments were significantly more likely than respondents without impairments to say that the discrimination occurred again after having reported it (36.2% of n = 120 respondents with impairments vs. 22.1% of n = 575 respondents without impairments). They also stated almost twice as often (significantly) that discrimination had even increased after reporting (25.5% vs. 13.4%).

Afrozensus respondents' satisfaction with how their report of a discriminatory incident was handled

Almost three-quarters of 886 respondents (74.1%) who reported an incident also stated that they were as a whole dissatisfied with how the report was handled. 50.8% indicated that they were even very dissatisfied. Only a quarter of respondents (25.7%) were satisfied overall with how their report of discrimination was handled, only 7.0% were very satisfied.

Effects of experiences of discrimination on Afrozensus respondents

The effects and consequences of ABR and discrimination on Black, African and Afro-diasporic people

were analysed in the qualitative results in the areas of "health and care" and "education". The effects of racist violence and structures in personal and professional contexts are physical and psychological burdens, but also the additional work involved in finding one's way around these structures and counteracting them. These strains can also be quantified: Here, 42.7% of respondents (n = 3908, multiple answers possible) stated that the experience of discrimination stressed them mentally, 45.3% of respondents stated "it put a strain on me that I often kept thinking about this situation". Most respondents (66.7%) state that the discriminatory situation frustrated them, and 51.8% say they have become more aware of discrimination. 17.3% state that they have restricted or broken off social contacts. 9.8% of respondents say that they have developed a mental disease as a result of the discriminatory incident. 17.5% of respondents stated that they had defended themselves and felt strengthened as a result, while 6.9% stated that they had defended themselves and it had gotten worse as a result.

Summary

To summarise, apparently most interviewees deal with a discriminatory situation with the help of their private environment. Only a few respondents attempt to initiate a complaint or seek advice from official bodies. The experiences that interviewees have had with reporting incidents suggest that this experience could be a relevant reason for the relatively overall low number

7 For the remaining 48.6 %, however, we do not know whether reporting the incident had positive or negative consequences for those affected. At this point, a more in-depth or different form of enquiry would be useful in future studies.

8 For the table with significances, see Appendix 23.

Fig. 85: Satisfaction with how the report of the discriminatory incident was handled (n = 886)

Reading example: Almost a quarter (23.5 %) of 886 Afrozensus respondents stated that they were somewhat dissatisfied with how their report of the discriminatory incident was handled.

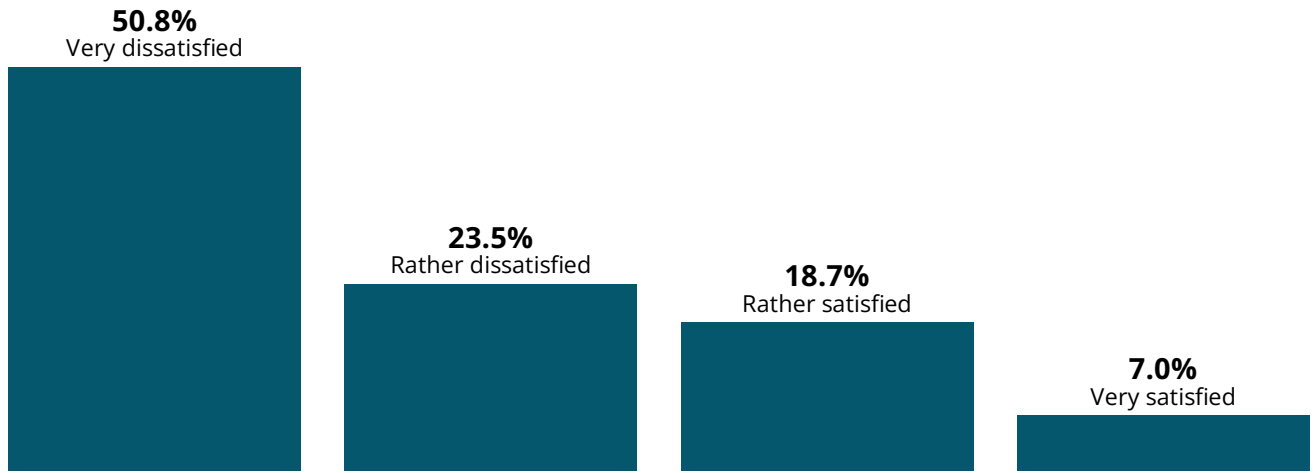
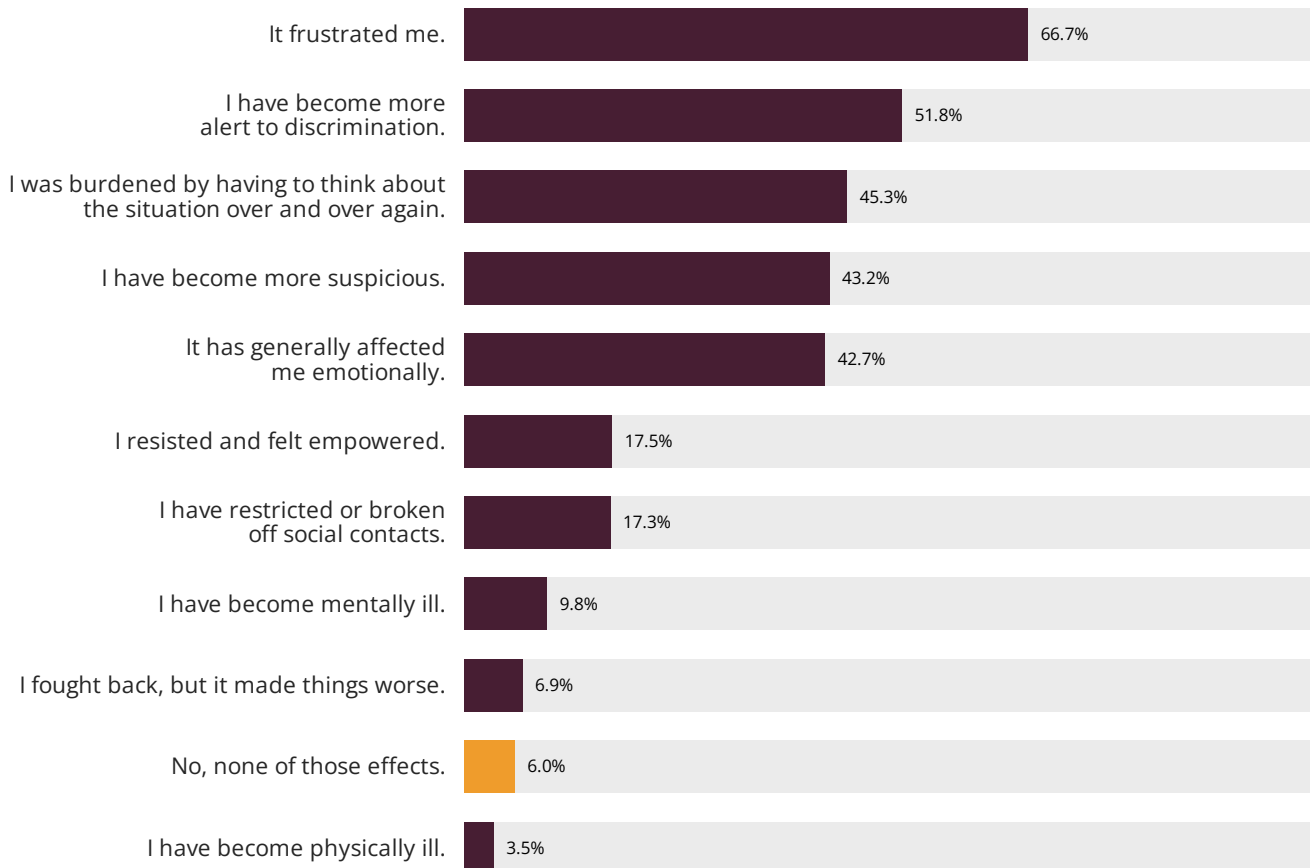


Fig. 86: Effects of the most significant discrimination situation within the past two years on Afrozensus respondents (n = 3908, multiple answers possible)

Reading example: 17.5 % of 3908 Afrozensus respondents stated that they had defended themselves concerning the discriminatory situation and felt empowered as a result.



of reports. This is because many of those affected are generally not believed when they report or bring to attention a discriminatory incident. According to the findings on discrimination situations that are frequently reported by Black, African and Afro-diasporic people, 93.3% of respondents in the Afrozensus (n = 4347) state that they are not believed or are told that they are too sensitive when they report a racist incident.

This is also underlined by the respondents' statements that reporting or filing a claim after an incident with official bodies in most cases did not bear any consequences and that almost three-quarters of respondents were generally dissatisfied with how their report or claim with regard to the discriminatory incident was handled. As a result, many respondents felt frustrated and emotionally burdened after having experienced a discriminatory incident. However, the qualitative survey also shows how, despite all, Black people develop resilience and coping strategies and create collective spaces for exchange and empowerment (→ [Chapters 6.2, 6.3](#)).

6.6

Black self-positioning and sources of empowerment

"we are the children who grow in crevices. this here is for us.

we are the weeds between the stones, the scale in your dishwasher, the traces of rainfall and the moss on your hopper window that won't open properly so you can't scrub it, but which you would be far too lazy to scrub anyway because housework is of no importance to you.

we wear pink skirts & wide trousers & lemon dresses
& cat t-shirts & docs & hijabs & trainers & crop tops
& all, we are many, we are goldig, quiet and loud, soft and strong, we are the people with the hair that no one* controls because they neither want to be nor should or have to be controlled, and resistance is in every breath we take."

(from: "children who grow in crevices" by Judith Baumgärtner (2020))



6.6.1

Black self-positioning

Black, African and Afro-diasporic people navigate experiences of anti-Black racism (ABR) and discrimination with a great deal of knowledge, perseverance and courage. Experiencing different forms and mechanisms of anti-Black racism and intersectional discrimination requires different counter-strategies and empowerment concepts. Activist resistance and social movements in the past and present are sources of empowerment for Black people. Individual and collective coping and empowerment strategies reflect diverse processes of confrontation and different forms of resistance in the Black experience.

From this experiential space, Black, African and Afro-diasporic people in the Afrozensus share their self-positioning, the meaning of Black presence and information on which individual and collective empowerment resources they need. While dealing with ABR and other forms of discrimination, Black awareness, Black consciousness [G], and positioning help people to recognise their needs and abilities and to raise their voices to demand more equal access for themselves and others.

„A mix of frustration, feeling empowered by resisting.“
(open statement)

"More conversations about racism with my child, more empowerment." (open statement)

"It has also motivated me to become active in creating community places and empowering myself and other Black people." (open statement)

About the definition of Black Consciousness, Biko (1979) points out that being Black is not a question of skin colour but reflects a mental attitude.

The term Black Consciousness **"attempts to fill the Black community with a new sense of self, with pride in its aspirations, its own value system, its culture, its religion and its attitude to life. [...] The interaction between self-consciousness and the emancipatory programme is of the utmost importance"** (Biko, 1979, p. 70).

Therefore, empowerment means moving from a position of perceived powerlessness to an individual and collective position with the power of agency, decision-making and shaping reality. In this process, Black Consciousness can open up new scopes for action beyond simply reacting to hardened power-norms which discriminate and disadvantage in racist demeanour. The Afrozensus proves that Black people and, therefore, Black experiences and identities are (very) diverse, in different societal positions with different access and resources. Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people go through individual processes, are at different points in their lives and have both individual and collective experiential knowledge; they encounter each other through shared experiences, through Black self-positioning and through Black Consciousness.

Shared experiences and perspectives are communicated using a variety of codes and cultural references, from cowries in the hair to the Nod, the recognising, mostly wordless greeting when passing by. Accordingly, Afrozensus participants understand their own positioning and strategy development in dealing with ABR as collective interaction and communities care. To this end, Black presence, activism, resistance and empowerment represent resources of resilience. Black empowerment spaces foster a more profound political awareness enabling Black people to identify and interrogate power structures with Black people

"By the simple fact that you call yourselves [B]lack, you have set out on the road to emancipation; you have committed yourselves to fight against all forces that seek to use your skin colour as a stamp that marks you as subordinate beings" (Biko, 1979, p. 69).

being in differing positions. They offer opportunities to contextualise own experiences and self-positioning (→ [Chapter 6.2.6 Empowerment](#)).

Self-positioning in the Afrozensus

The Afrozensus respondents were asked to provide information on their self-positioning. Multiple answers were possible in order to visualise the diverse overlaps of identities. As is clear from the previous chapters, Black people are not monolithic, we are diverse. This diversity is also expressed in the identity or identity facets and self-positioning of each individual person. We posed this question to allow the interviewees to express the richness of their experiences as Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people.

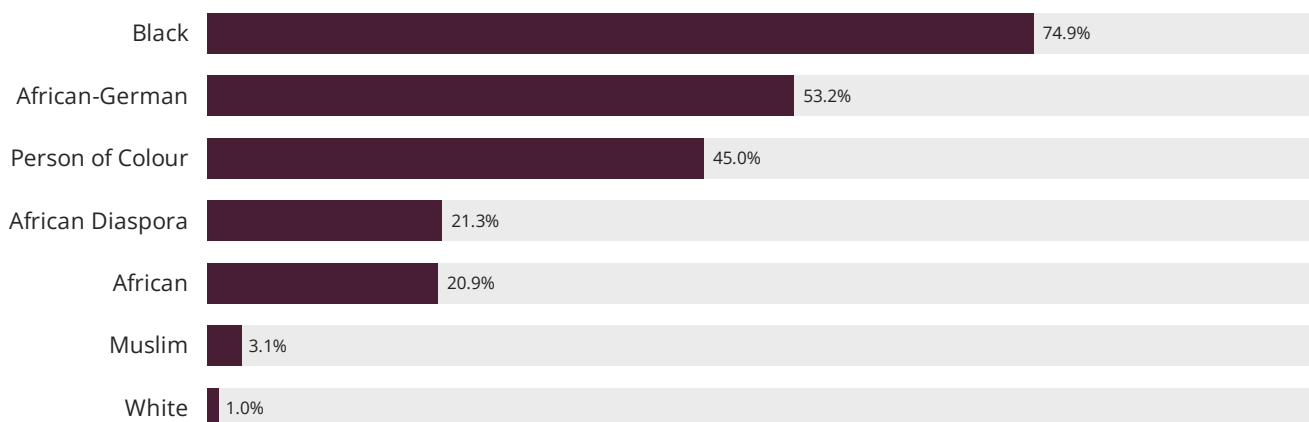
Most Afrozensus respondents (74.9% of $n = 3834$) position themselves as "Black" among others (→ [Fig. 87](#)). 16.0% of Afrozensus respondents state that they position themselves exclusively as Black (→ [Fig. 88](#)). More than half of the respondents (53.2%) state "Afro-German" among others as their self-positioning, 7.1% position themselves exclusively as "Afro-German". "Person of Colour" is the third most frequently mentioned

self-designation in combinations: 45.0% of respondents state this positioning among others, and 6.1% of respondents position themselves exclusively as PoC. A roughly equal number of respondents position themselves as "Afro-diasporic" (21.3%) or "African" (20.9%). In addition, 3.1% of respondents stated that they position themselves as "Muslim", among others. 1.0% of respondents stated the self-positioning "White" in possible combination with other positionings. For data protection reasons, the self-designations "Arabic", "Turkish-German", "Russian-German", "Jewish", and "Sinti*zze/Rom*nja" were summarised (2.0%).

If we look at the most frequent combinations of self-positioning statements¹ (→ [Fig. 88](#)), the most frequently mentioned combination is that of "Black", "Afro-German", and "Person of Colour"; 11.1% of respondents identify with all three of these positionings. "Black" and "Afro-German" is the second most common combination (11.0%), and the third most common combination is "Afro-German" and "Person of Colour" (5.9%). 4.7% of respondents position themselves as "Black" and "African", and 2.8% of respondents position themselves as "Black" and "Afro-diasporic".

Fig. 87: Information on the self-positioning of Afrozensus respondents (n = 3834, multiple answers possible)

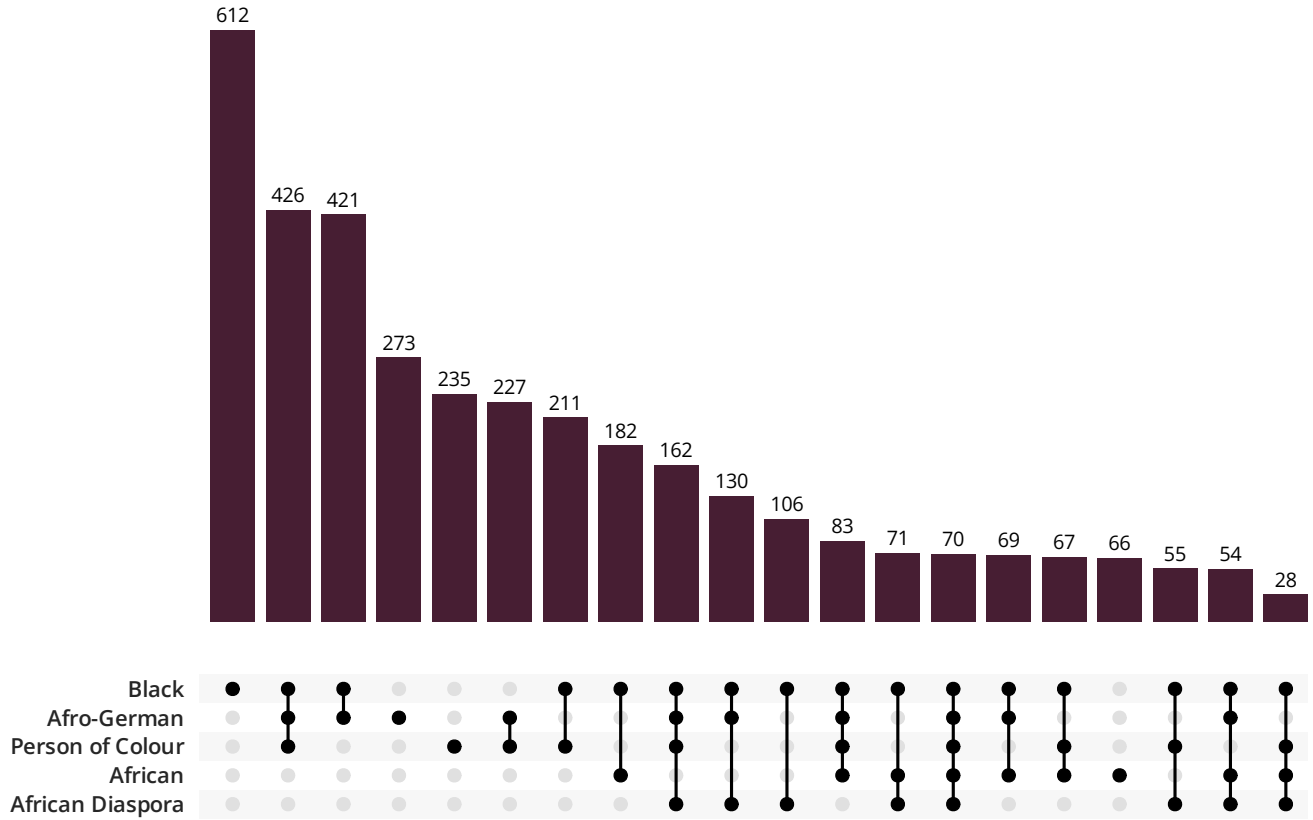
Reading example: One-fifth (20.9 %) of 3834 Afrozensus respondents position themselves as "African", among other things.



¹ The UpSet diagram (→ [Fig. 88](#)) shows the intersections (here: combinations of self-positioning) of different rows (here: self-positioning) in the form of a matrix. Each column corresponds to a set. The bar charts show the size of the set at the top. In the UpSet diagram, each column corresponds to a possible intersection: The filled cells show which row is part of an intersection. The UpSet diagrams were created with UpSetR (Conway et al., 2017).

Fig. 88: The 12 most frequent combinations of self-positioning statements by Afrozensus respondents (n = 3834)

Reading example: Most Afrozensus respondents who state "African" as their self-positioning also position themselves as "Black". This self-positioning occurs as a combination 182 times.



6.6.2

Black presence and Black organising as sources of empowerment

Afrozensus respondents describe the appreciation and visibility of the diversity of Black life and our presence in all areas of society as empowering.

"Making Black people visible, BLM, networking and empowerment work of the communities, PAD Week, Open Spaces." (*open statement*)

When asked what has lowered anti-Black racism in the past five years, among other identifiers visibility, Black presence and activism were named (→ [Chapter 6.4](#)). According to this, empowerment work is mainly carried out by Black people and self-organisations. This is confirmed by the activities that interviewees mention as part of their involvement: Among other things, Black people are involved in "political activism" (32.9%), "networking" (32%) and/or "empowerment work" (31.7%) (→ [Chapter 5](#)). Differentiated tasks and target groups in this context include empowerment for people with multiple social discrimination, programmes for Black children, queer-feminist groups and groups for people with refugee experience. With regard to support abroad, interviewees described the sharing of resources such as knowledge, emotional and mental support, cohesion and empowerment as well as economic empowerment.

For a positive Black self-image, empowerment spaces are also necessary as protective spaces where it is possible to position oneself and call out racism. The focus groups explain that Black people acquire coping and empowerment strategies through various processes of confrontation and that community structures create safe(r) spaces, access and resources for this purpose. In the two in-depth areas of "health" and "education", the importance of empowerment spaces for networking, professional exchange and self-efficacy against anti-Black racism is emphasised. The presence, encounters and exchanges with Black people in an everyday working context are already described as empowering because they break through the dynam-

ics of isolation. Mutual recognition can happen wordlessly or lead to an exchange.

"Empowerment spaces for Black people [are] of enormous importance. Spaces where Black people experience and see themselves reflected as human beings." (*expert interview: Black experiences in healthcare*)

"Black empowerment, enlightenment, networking, education, new concepts that give a name to what is being experienced and can thus make it real and tangible for others." (*open statement*)

"please let me know if you can think of a word to express how the soles of my feet are both, hard and soft. from walking, from carrying. resistance. withstanding. standing - again. I withstand. I stand - again. all I can see around here is beauty."

(*from: children who grow in crevices by Judith Baumgärtner (2020)*)

Sustainable empowerment enables Black people to expand their agency and choices, their defense strategies and self-assertion, so that they not only react to ABR, but act proactively and create self-determined spaces that are less characterised by racist logics and necessary reaction to them.

Empowerment is sustainable when one's own situation can be comprehensively understood, when the patterns of anti-Black racism can be identified, so that a certain freedom opens up to consciously choose between different counter-strategies.

Empowerment is comprehensive when social conditions become recognisable and understandable through insights into collective experiences beyond one's own individual horizon. Black experiences beyond one's own are important for this insight - the mosaic of different Black experiences provides a more differentiated picture of ABR and the lived practices of resistance and empowerment. This being one more reason why solidarity between different Black experiences is central.

Empowerment has the potential to emancipate us, Black people, from imposed reactions to anti-Black racism. That is why we plan to focus on issues of empowerment in the next Afrozensus and thus make visible the many different, creative ways in which the "path of emancipation" outlined by Biko, among others, continues to be forged.



7.

Knowledge of rights, trust in institutions and political participation

This chapter delves into the question of the extent to which respondents from the Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities are aware of existing national laws and guidelines at international and European levels for protection against racist discrimination. The questionnaire also contributes to the empowerment of the communities, because the listing of laws and guidelines also implies a transfer of knowledge and thus a sensitization to existing rights. This can be a first step towards proactively demanding them from third parties and/or the state. At the same time, this requires not only knowledge of laws and guidelines but also trust in state institutions and politics and, thus, the belief that complaints, lawsuits and participation in elections can also bring about positive changes. This is why, in a further step, we asked the participants about their trust in state institutions and politics and about their participation in the last elections at local, state and federal levels.

7.1

Knowledge of different laws to protect against racist discrimination

We presented the participants with a total of four different laws and directives on protection against racist discrimination: the European Anti-Racism Directive (Directive 2000/43/EC), the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG), the UN Convention against Racism (ICERD) and Article 3 of the German Constitution (GG). Respondents were able to rate their knowledge of the respective laws on a scale from 1 = "no knowledge" to 5 = "very good knowledge". This set of questions is a so-called matrix question, i.e. the number of cases within the question can vary depending on whether respondents gave at least one answer on the scale per question / per law (→ for a better understanding of how the calculation bases are made up in the Afrozensus, → [Chapter 3.1](#)).

In the case of the Anti-Racism Directive (Directive 2000/43/EC) to combat racist discrimination or discrimination based on ethnic origin, 56.4% of respondents (n = 4172) stated that they were not aware of the directive (Fig. 89). The Anti-Racism Directive is "only" an EU directive and must first be transposed into national law to be directly applicable. However, this is exactly what happened with the adoption of the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) in the German Bundestag in 2006, and here too it is evident that over a third of respondents (38% of n = 4174) are unaware of this law. This is particularly serious, as the Afrozensus respondents named working life (e.g. job search, training, workplace) as the fourth most common area of discrimination (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)) – and working life is also an area of life directly protected by the AGG. A lack of awareness regarding their own rights may result in individuals downplaying their experiences of discrimination, feeling powerless, and refraining from reporting or pursuing charges (→ [Chapter 6.5](#)).

Like the AGG (2006), the UN Convention on the "Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" (ICERD) is the applicable law in Germany. It obliges the state to take adequate measures against racist discrimination and acts – however, unlike the AGG, ICERD was ratified in Germany as early as 1969. By ratifying it over

50 years ago, Germany committed itself to taking concrete political and legal measures to protect people from racist discrimination in legal and factual terms, including, for example, the obligation to guarantee legal protection against discrimination in individual cases (Article 6). Although ICERD is the first global treaty for protection against racist discrimination in Germany, only 2% of respondents (out of n = 4169) were very familiar with it. On the other hand, 56.0% (in absolute figures 2354) of respondents had no knowledge of it.

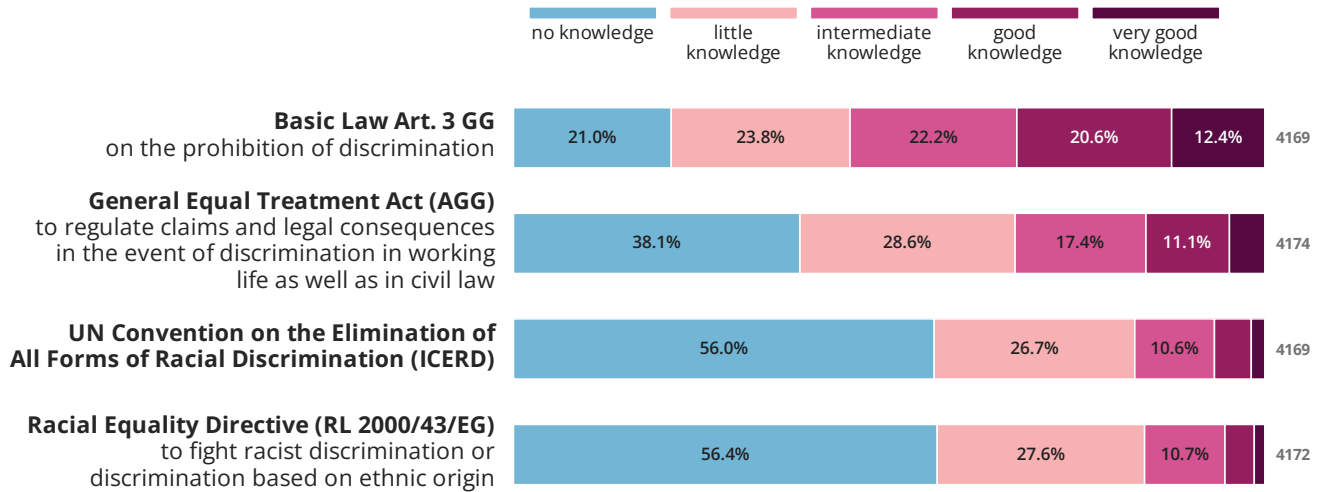
The best known of these laws is Article 3 of the Constitution. Article 3 guarantees equality before the law and prohibits discrimination or preferential treatment based on gender, descent, 'race', language, homeland and origin, faith, religious or political beliefs and disability. The Constitution and the fundamental rights enshrined therein are the most important rights people have vis-à-vis the state. 79% of respondents (n = 4169) were aware of the fundamental right formulated in Article 3 – making it the best-known law, but this also means that one in five people (21%) had no knowledge of fundamental rights.

The results show how great the need for action is in this area. Clearly, there is a fundamental lack of information about one's own rights and (legal) options.

The state is called upon to act proactively here and to establish the promotion of knowledge of the law as a state task – especially in anti-discrimination. This is of particular importance because knowledge of one's own rights and opportunities is the basic prerequisite for participation in an inclusive society.

Fig. 89: Knowledge of Afrozensus respondents about various laws to protect against racist discrimination

Reading example: Around one fifth (20.6%) of 4169 Afrozensus respondents stated that they knew Article 3 of the constitution on the prohibition of discrimination "well".



7.2

Trust in organisations and institutions

Trust in institutions is also an important prerequisite for the functioning and stability of a democracy. In the following set of questions, we therefore asked how much trust respondents have in civil society, economic and state institutions.

Respondents had the opportunity to rate 14 different institutions/organisations on a scale from 1 = "I do not trust at all" to 5 = "I trust completely". This is also a matrix question, i.e. the number of cases varies within the question – but with the difference that the respondents could also indicate that they could not assess the organisation/institution (shown in Fig. 90 as "don't know"). For example, the latter is the case if respondents have had no previous contact with the organisation or institution listed. If respondents stated that they could not assess the institution/organisation, they were not included in the analysis of trust in the organisation. Therefore, the percentages listed below always refer to the number of all respondents who provided information on trust in the respective institution/organisation.

This calculation shows that almost a third of respondents (30.9% of n = 3148) trust the "Immigration Office" the least of all the institutions / organisations listed in the questionnaire (→ Fig. 90). If we add the answer option "rather not", it even emerges that 70.3 % of respondents "rather not" to "not at all" trust the Immigration Office – regardless of whether the respondents have German citizenship or not. Only 775 respondents (n = 3923) stated they could not judge the Immigration Office.

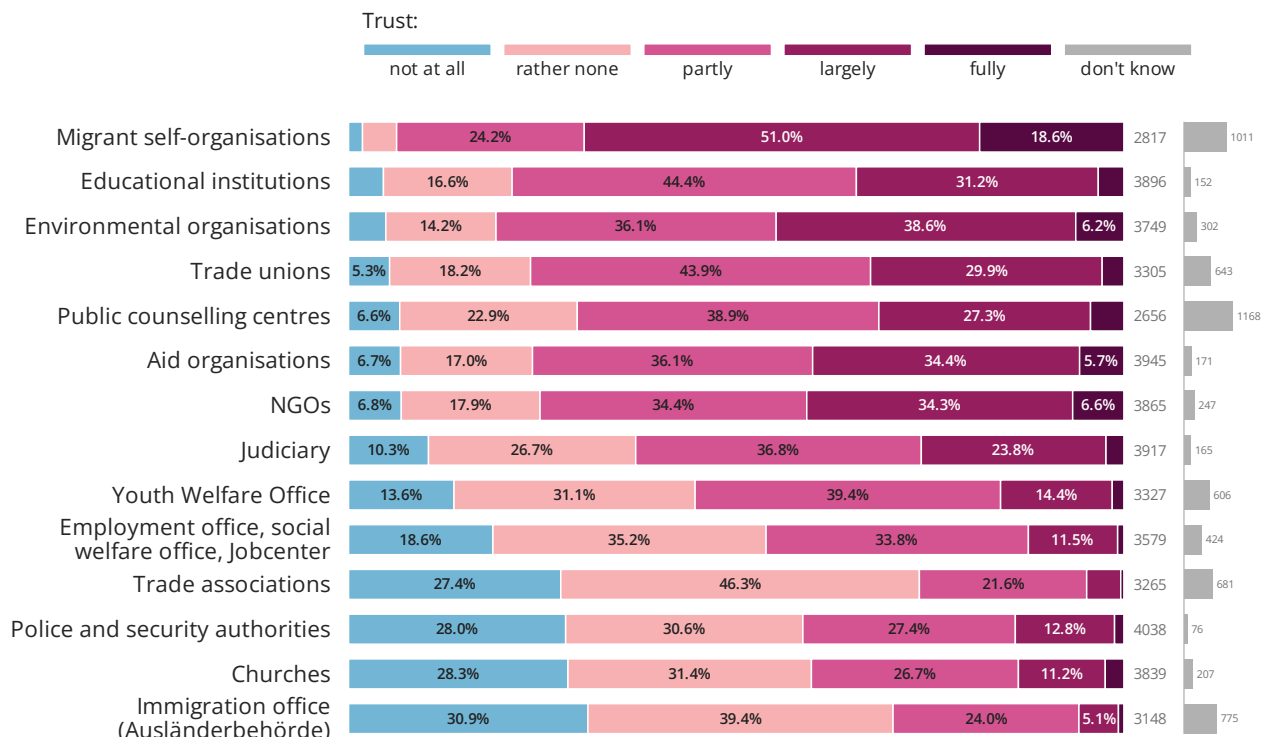
The second least trusted institution is the "church" with 28.3% (of n = 3839). Here, the Afrozensus respondents' assessment of the church aligns with the results of representative studies/surveys such as the Polis study (2016) or the ALLBUS data (GE- SIS-Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, 2019). In particular, the latter shows that trust in the church has been falling steadily since 1984. According to the ALLBUS (GE- SIS-Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, 2019), only

21% of the total population currently trust the church "a lot" or "completely", while the Polis study (2016) recorded that 30% of the total population have "no trust at all" in the church.

The third least trusted institution is the "police and security authorities". This is also the institution/authority for which the fewest respondents (1.8%, 76 in absolute figures) stated that they could not judge the institution, and the institution for which the fewest respondents stated that they trust the institution "completely" (1.2% of n = 4038). For comparison: In 2020, Infratest dimap published a representative study on trust in the police and according to this, 20% of citizens have a very high level of trust in the police – and only 2% have no trust at all (Infratest dimap, 2020). Although the figures cannot be directly compared because, firstly, we did not survey the police separately but together with the security authorities and, secondly, we chose a five-point scale instead of a four-point scale to assess trust, there are still clear differences. This can have many individual causes. However, the shared collective knowledge and experience of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities with the police and security authorities should not be disregarded, as these were brought to the forefront of collective consciousness shortly before the Afrozensus survey began because of the murder of George Floyd and the accompanying Black Lives Matter protests in Germany.

Fig. 90: Confidence of Afrozensus respondents in organisations and institutions

Reading Example: Around 7 out of 10 (69.6%) of 2817 Afrozensus respondents state that they trust migrant self-organisations "completely" or "to a large extent". 1011 respondents stated that they were unable to give an assessment.



The Afrozensus respondents have the most trust in "migrant self-organisations". Here, 18.6% of respondents (of n= 2817) stated that they "completely trust" these organisations and a further 51% trust them "to a large extent". Only 1.8% stated that they "do not trust them at all". NGOs, i.e. non-governmental organisations, came a distant second, with 6.6% of respondents (out of n = 3865) trusting them "completely" and a further 34.3% trusting them "to a large extent". Environmental organisations follow in third place with a similar assessment: 6.2% (of n = 3749) trust them "completely" and a further 38.6% trust them "to a large extent".

Overall, the results on trust in institutions show a very differentiated picture that requires further in-depth analyses: based on the available data, we cannot explain why most respondents have such a high level of distrust in "the church" and whether this is equally the case for all institutionalised Christian denominations. At the same time, a quarter of respondents (26.2% of n = 3917), for example, trust the "justice system" "to a large extent" or "completely". Although this is still significantly lower than in the representative Polis study (2016), where 48% of respondents stated that they had "great" or "very great" trust in the "justice system

and courts", it is also unexpectedly high in view of the collective experience and knowledge of racism in the justice system in the Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities. From our perspective, the results can be interpreted in at least two – not mutually exclusive – ways: (1) Afro-diaspora respondents have a stable trust in the rule of law and the constitutional state, regardless of (their own) experiences of racism. (2) The result expresses a dilemma: the judiciary – as an elementary component in the structural and systematic fight against racism – must be trusted.

The results require further differentiated and in-depth analyses to gain a better understanding of how one's own experience of discrimination is linked to the judgement of the institution as such. A further examination of the results is also necessary to develop measures to (re)establish the lack of trust in state authorities such as the Immigration Office and police and security authorities, but also in youth, employment and social welfare offices and job centres.

7.3

Trust in parties and political institutions

Another important prerequisite for the functioning and stability of a democracy is a certain level of trust in its political institutions. Here, we asked how much trust respondents had in the parties that were represented in the Bundestag at the time of the survey, as well as how much trust they had in the governments (state governments and federal government) and political institutions (Bundestag, European Union and United Nations) (→ Fig. 91).

Here too, respondents had the opportunity to rate these on a scale from 1 = "I don't trust at all" to 5 = "I trust completely", and this is also a matrix question with varying numbers of cases within the question complex and the option of not giving an assessment (→ Fig. 91 "Don't know"). Only the number of all respondents who assessed trust was considered to calculate the percentages.

The respondents of the Afrozensus have the most trust in Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (the Greens), followed by Die Linke (the Left) and SPD, whereby 8 out of 10 respondents only trust Bündnis 90/Die Grünen "to some extent" (40.2% of n = 3766) or only "to a large extent" (38.2%). Only 4.5% of respondents stated that they trust this party "completely". At the same time, slightly more respondents (7.2%) even stated that they did not trust Bündnis 90/Die Grünen party "at all". However, the latter is still the lowest (mistrust) value compared to the other parties: 10% of respondents (n = 3664) stated that they did not trust the Party Die Linke at all and 15.6% (of n = 3678) did not trust the SPD. The level of distrust increases significantly for the other parties surveyed: 39.6% of respondents (n = 3743) have no trust in the CDU at all and almost half of respondents (47% of n = 3523) distrust the FDP. In addition, mistrust of the CSU and AfD has risen sharply: 65.4% (of n = 3623) do not trust the CSU "at all", which is 25.8 percentage points more than their sister party, the CDU. However, the distrust of the AfD is even more pronounced, with 97.2% (of n = 3994) "not at all" trusting this party and none of the respondents stating that they "largely" or "completely" trust it.

Overall, the responses paint a differentiated picture with a clear tendency: even parties that are trusted the most are characterised by medium levels of trust. Overall, respondents in the Afrozensus trust parties of a politically left-wing orientation more than the political right – and have no trust at all in the AfD, which is in parts far-right. The result is not surprising insofar as the parties with the highest trust ratings are at least nominally committed to the fight against racism and discrimination, as well as the commitment to diversity. At the same time, the Afrozensus results can also be interpreted to mean that the commitment to the rights and demands of the Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities is judged to be insufficient. This is because more than 40% of respondents for Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Die Linke and the SPD also stated that they only "partially" trust them. This dissatisfaction becomes even clearer when looking at the SPD, as 28.9% (of n = 3678) also stated that they "rather do not" trust the SPD. Overall, 44.5% of Afrozensus respondents "do not trust" or "rather not trust" the SPD.

In the assessment of trust in political institutions, the results diverge only marginally: Almost 40% of Afrozensus respondents indicated 'rather not' or 'not at all' when expressing trust in the state and/or federal government, the Bundestag, or the United Nations.

This means that Afrozensus respondents trust the state governments, the federal government and the Bundestag less than respondents in the Bertelsmann Stiftung's representative study (2019) on trust in politics and political parties. In each case, only around a quarter of respondents had "little" or "no" trust in

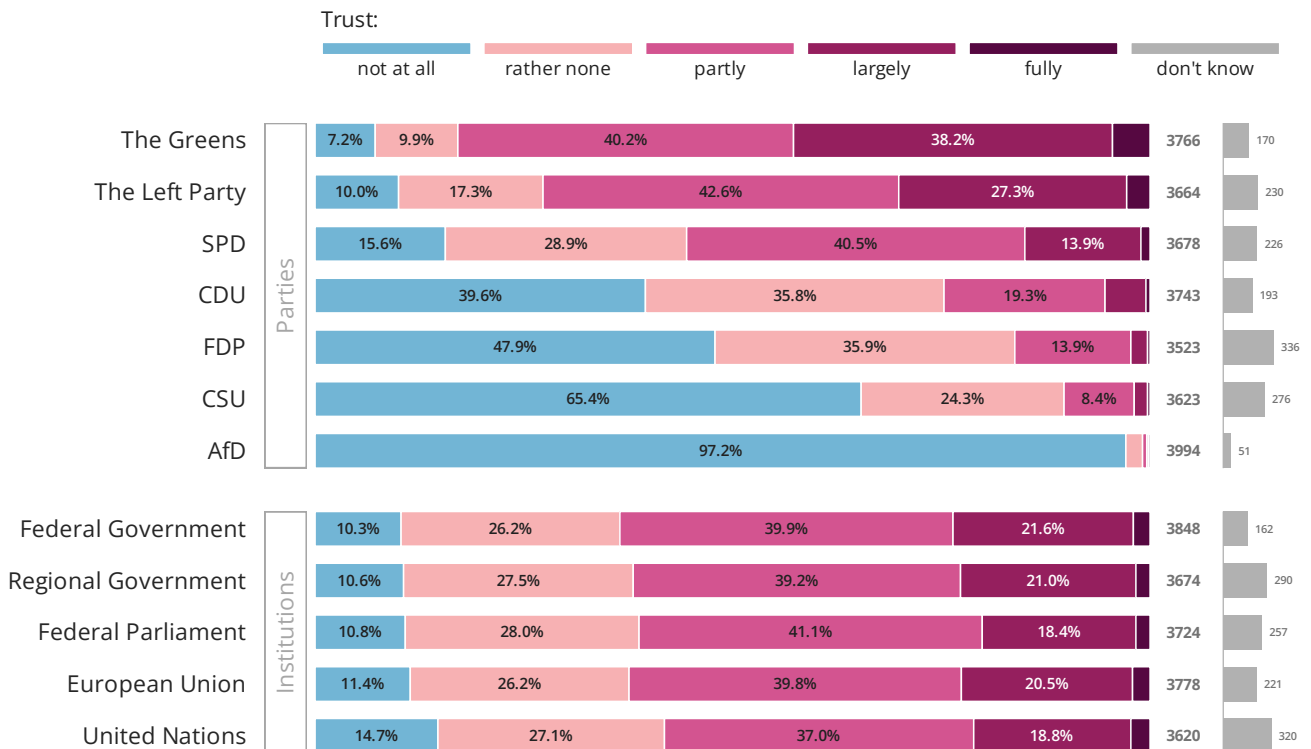
the institutions. We see a slight convergence with the representative study in the "partly/partly" rating, which is around 40% across all political institutions in the Afrozensus respondents and varies slightly in the Bertelsmann Stiftung (state government 48.1%, federal government 45.2% and Bundestag 46.6%).

Only around a fifth of Afrozensus respondents trust the political institutions "to a large extent" or "completely". The federal government is trusted the most: 23.6% of respondents (n = 3848) stated that they trust the federal government "to a large extent" or "completely" (6 percentage points less than in the comparative study by the Bertelsmann Stiftung). Here we see a clear discrepancy in the assessment of the federal government as an institution and the governing parties, CDU and SPD, which the Afrozensus respondents trust far less.

To summarise, the majority of Afrozensus respondents also tend to have little or no trust in political institutions. However, as described at the beginning, a certain level of trust is fundamentally important for the stability and existence of a democracy. Therefore, politicians should use the results as an opportunity to engage in dialogue with Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities. This dialogue can address the causes of the lack of trust and explore potential political measures.

Fig. 91: Confidence of Afrozensus respondents in parties and political institutions

Reading example: Around a fifth (20.5%) of 3778 Afrozensus respondents stated that they trust the European Union "to a large extent". 221 respondents stated that they were unable to give an assessment.



7.4

Voting rights and voter turnout

In addition to trust, voter turnout is also an essential indicator of the functioning and stability of a democracy. We therefore first asked the Afrozensus respondents whether they had the right to vote in state and federal elections, and whether they had voted in the last elections.

For the latter question, multiple answers were possible. Respondents had the opportunity to indicate whether, and if so, in which elections (state, federal, local, and/or European elections) they had voted. There was also the option of answering "No", "I was not allowed to vote at that time" and "I do not have the right to vote". We asked people without German citizenship whether they had the right to vote in local elections and had voted in the last local and European elections.

The results show that 1.6% of respondents (n = 4162) do not know whether they are entitled to vote, while 13.2% do not have the right to vote in German state and federal elections and 85.2% have the right to vote in these elections.

Most respondents voted in the last federal election (86.4% of n = 3150). The voter turnout is therefore 10.2 percentage points higher than the turnout of all eligible voters in Germany in the 2017 federal elections. 80.1% of respondents (n = 3150) also stated that they had voted in the European elections. Here, the voter turnout of respondents was notably 18.7 percentage points higher than the general voter turnout in the 2019 European elections.

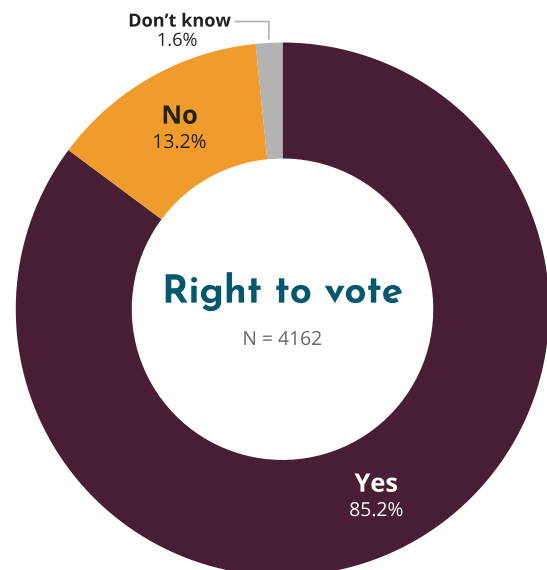
At the time of the survey, three quarters of respondents (76.5% of n = 3150) had voted in the last state elections. Only 9% of Afrozensus respondents (n = 3462) who were eligible to vote in state and federal elections did not vote. A further 4.8% of respondents (n = 3309) stated that they were not entitled to vote at the time of the last state and federal elections and 1% of respondents stated that they did not have the right to vote.

One fifth of respondents (20.7% of n = 599) only have the right to vote in municipal elections. Of these, 41.1% (of n = 46) participated in the last municipal elections and 37.4% (of n = 105) in the last European elections.

The trust of Afrozensus respondents is therefore not only particularly high in the federal government and the European Union but is also reflected in high voter turnout for these institutions. At the same time, this trust is not reflected to the same extent in the governing parties (SPD, CDU and CSU), which have significantly shaped politics at federal and European levels.

Fig. 92: Proportion of people with the right to vote in German state and federal elections (n = 4162)

Reading Example: Almost 9 out of 10 (85.2%) of 4162 Afrozensus respondents state that they have the right to vote in German state and federal elections.







8.

Need for political action and demands

Black, African, and Afro-diasporic communities have always been politically active, advocating for the specific interests of their members. This social engagement is bearing fruit within the communities. In the German political landscape, however, the concerns and demands have so far received too little attention, as can be seen from the failure to address anti-Black racism in the election manifestos for the 2021 Bundestag elections. ABR as a specific form of racism still seems to be too insignificant and irrelevant. The needs of Black people, which also result from their experiences with ABR, are therefore not recognised at policy level, i.e. by politicians and administrators, or are at best subsumed under the needs of people with a migration background.

Like the Black Census in the USA (Black Futures Lab, 2019), the Afrozensus was the first time that so many Black, African and Afro-diasporic people were asked to assess the need for political action. The focus was on two perspectives: firstly, classic demands of Black self-organisations that have been taken up and developed by organised civil society in recent years but have never been subjected to such a large-scale review by individuals as to their significance. Secondly, since Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people are rarely surveyed as a distinct group on general political attitudes, we conducted a survey using short statements for approval or disapproval. The following results offer an initial overview of the political needs and demands of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people in Germany. These results, for instance, align with the findings in concerning trust in parties and political institutions related to general political attitudes → [Chapter 7](#) concerning trust in parties and political institutions related to general political attitudes. For future studies, they provide an indication of where more in-depth research should be conducted into the political attitudes and demands of Black people. For Black community organisations, they can provide orientation for identifying points of contact in their work and the offers for their members.

Agreement and disagreement of Afrozensus respondents on general political issues

From what we have observed, general surveys on German and international politics don't differentiate based on the attitudes of Black people, unlike distinctions made for factors like gender or age. At this point, the Afrozensus asked common political questions about areas of German politics. The results in Fig. 93 are not conclusive and, in their brevity, can only give an initial impression of the priorities of Afrozensus respondents.¹

As shown in Chapter 7, Afrozensus respondents most frequently trust the parties Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (the Greens), Die Linke (the Left) or the SPD and less frequently the CDU or CSU. Attitudes towards common political statements also tend to correspond with those of the centre-left parties: for example, most respondents support increasing the minimum wage

to at least 12 euros (86.2% of n = 1897), the introduction of a basic income [G] (69.3% of n = 1884) and the free use of public transport in Germany (72.0% of n = 1888). Most respondents reject the expansion of video surveillance on public streets and squares (51.6% of n = 1999), although they frequently state that they are discriminated against in public and that they predominantly feel unsafe in public spaces (→ [Chapter 6.1](#)).

Questions on climate policy receive the highest level of approval. The majority of Afrozensus respondents believe that industrialized nations, such as Germany, are the main cause of the climate crisis. They argue that these nations must take on more responsibility at a global level (87.4% of n = 2018). Additionally, respondents are in favour of Germany making efforts to limit the rise in the global average temperature to below 1.5 degrees Celsius (89.0% of n = 1861).

The most pressing problems for Black communities from the perspective of Afrozensus respondents

Figure 94 shows the Afrozensus respondents' assessment of what they consider to be the most pressing social problems for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany. According to the respondents, the biggest problems are the **lack of professional handling of racism in institutions and organisations** and the **lack of representation of Black people at all levels of society**. Over two-thirds of respondents identified these two issues as a 'major problem,' with over 90% expressing it as either a 'fairly major problem' or 'major problem.' The lack of professionalism needs emphasis, as public debate often narrowly centres on the inadequate representation of Black people, or at least disproportionately fixates on it.

More than half of the Afrozensus respondents also cite **discrimination by the police, in the media** and the **tightening of asylum laws** as "major problems". However, other issues such as **discrimination in schools and authorities, low income** and **a lack of opportunities for political participation** were also identified as a "rather big" or "big problem" by more than half of respondents.

¹ Not all participants were asked about all statements. There were two sets, each consisting of six statements and one option for an open statement. Half of the Afrozensus respondents received Set 1, while the other half received Set 2. The allocation of the sets was randomised.

Fig. 93: Agreement and disagreement of Afrozensus respondents with common political demands

Reading example: Almost two thirds (63.2%) of 1947 Afrozensus respondents agree with the statement that it is time for Germany to introduce a citizens' insurance scheme instead of the current system of statutory and private health insurance. Slightly less than a third (29.4%) of respondents have no opinion or are neutral and 7.4% disagree with the statement.



Only in the case of discrimination in the arts and culture and poor medical care did most respondents state that they considered these to be predominantly a "medium problem". However, there are differences in the assessment when looking at individual subgroups²: Cis women [G] (46.2% of n = 2671) are significantly more likely (+13.6 percentage points (pp.)) than cis men [G] (32.6% of n = 972) to regard poor medical care as a "rather big problem" or "big problem" for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany. Trans*, inter*, non-binary (TIN* [G]) respondents (71.1% of n = 128) indicated this significantly more often than cisgender respondents. The

group difference between TIN* respondents and cis men is almost 40 percentage points (38.5 pp.).

Respondents with a low income (49.7% of n = 450) are also significantly more likely to consider poor medical care to be a "rather big problem" or "big problem" than respondents with a medium (39.6% of n = 502) and high income (37.0% of n = 389), by around 10 and 13 percentage points respectively. This differentiated analysis according to individual subgroups is consistent with both the qualitative and quantitative results in "Health and care" (→ [Chapter 6.2](#)).

2 For the results of the significance tests, see Appendix 24.

Support for political demands from the Black communities by Afrozensus respondents

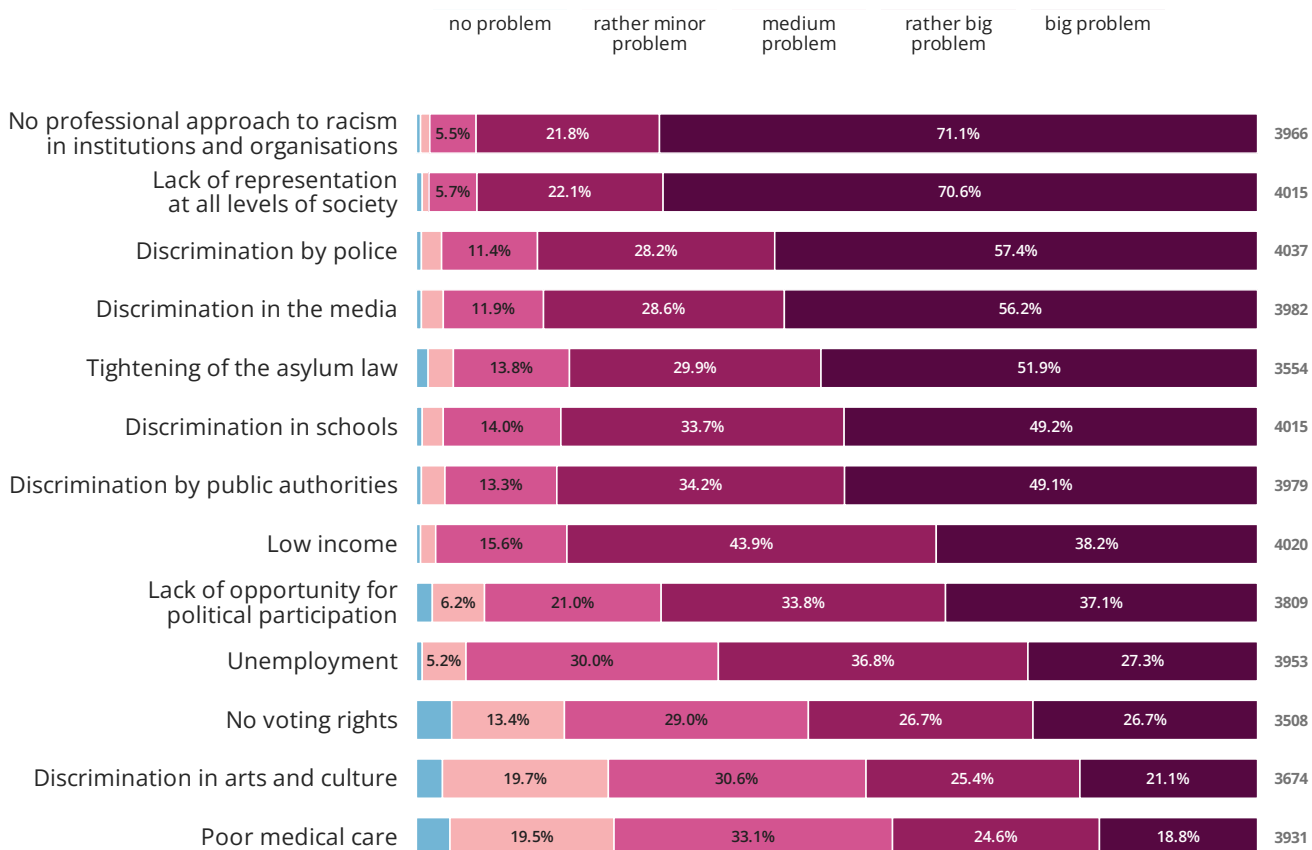
As part of four town halls [G] in Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig and Munich in the run-up to the PAD WEEK 2018 [G], participants developed many political demands³ that are important for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and whose implementation is expected to improve the lives of Black people in Germany. With the Afrozensus, it was now possible to bring a selection of these community demands to a broader mass and to assess the extent to which Afrozensus respondents support them. The specific question was: "How strongly would you support the following political demands to improve the lives of Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities?" There were then seven demands to assess, which can be seen in

Fig. 95. The demands of organised Black civil society appear to correspond largely to the perspectives of the respondents – although certainly not conclusively. All demands are "fully supported" by at least 82% of around 4000 respondents.

They are supported in principle by at least 97% of Afrozensus respondents who answered the question ("medium to great support"), which significantly strengthens the work of the self-organisations and their demands. For example, almost 4,000 people demand that anti-Black racism should be **explicitly included in anti-discrimination laws** and that **counselling centres for anti-Black racism** should be **expanded**. Over 4,000 people support the demand for **anti-discrimination training in educational and social professions**, as well as the demand to **put an end to racial profiling and police violence against Black people**.

Fig. 94: Assessment of social problems for the Black communities

Reading example: More than a quarter (27.3%) of 3953 Afrozensus respondents consider unemployment to be a "major problem" for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany.



³ The list of all claims can be made available on request at info@eoto-archiv.de.

The needs for action presented in this chapter, which were assessed directly by the Afrozensus respondents, are supplemented in the following chapter 9 by recommendations for action that we derive from the overall results of the Afrozensus.

Fig. 95: Support for community demands

Reading example: Almost all (98.9%) of 3981 Afrozensus respondents support the call to expand counselling centres on anti-Black racism. 1.1% indicated little or no support for this demand.





9.

Recommendations for action

The analyses presented in the Afrozensus clearly show the urgent need but also the great potential of conscious, planned action to push back anti-Black racism and to strengthen Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities in Germany. The following recommendations, therefore, address decision-makers in politics and administration as well as our own communities and their self-organisations, networks and activists.

The results of the survey, which clearly show that all developments relevant to the repression of ABR in recent years have originated from Black communities, make it clear that a focus on our communities enables us to take proactive, self-determined and empowering action. The Afrozensus builds on numerous demands and recommendations that Black, African and Afro-diasporic self-organisations and post-migrant associations have formulated in the past. Current documents include, for example, the catalogue of demands developed as part of the Berlin administration's consultation process for the implementation of the UN Decade for People of African Descent (Berlin House of Representatives, [2019](#), [2020](#)), the Hamburg catalogue of demands on anti-Black racism (Appiah et al, [2021](#)), the Anti-Racism Agenda 2025 of the Federal Conference of Migrant Organisations ([2020](#)), the "Five Proposals for an Anti-Racist Political Agenda" (Gomis & Gyamerah, [2020](#)), the demands of PAD WEEK Germany 2019 to the German Bundestag and numerous other unpublished documents sent directly to politicians by interest groups. Significantly, the Durban International Programme of Action (United Nations Department of Public Information, [2002](#)), the UN Convention against Racism (United Nations, [1965](#)) and the processes achieved, such as the UN Decade for People of African Descent (United Nations, [2021](#)), are among the most far-reaching demands to which Germany has committed itself.

In the following, we summarise the central demands of the Afrozensus participants and link them to recommendations for action that can be derived from the overall project. Since the research process can only be a building block in the ongoing decision-making process of the self-organisations of the communities, regardless of participatory qualitative elements, a final political prioritisation of the following recommendations can only be made by community organisations. It is also worth noting that the Afrozensus was only able to survey a small section of the daily lives of Black people. This limitation affects numerous areas and must be considered by the reader. In the following recommendations, for example, we do not address anti-Black racism on the housing market, dying in the Mediterranean, the right to vote for all or the inhumane accommodation of refugees in camps. This is, above all, an expression of the limited resources and time available. There is equally urgent pressure to act in all areas; further research is therefore necessary.

9.1

Specific addressing of anti-Black racism

Anti-Black racism has a specific effect. This is one of the key findings of the Afrozensus. Anti-Black racism must, therefore, be explicitly addressed, strategically and structurally. This applies to internal community work as well as to politics and administration. The often-derived insights that arise for racial discrimination from the analysis of anti-Black racism, must focus on the specific nature of the effects of ABR when designing measures of ABR – and thus also the group of Black people, African and Afro-diasporic people as the addressees of these measures.

In the Afrozensus, we asked participants about their assessment of the need for political action and demands specifically for the Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities, presented in detail in → Chapter 8. At this point, we summarise exemplary demands but explicitly refer to the detailed descriptions. The following statements have approval ratings of over 97% among the respondents (medium or high approval; around 4,000 respondents in each case):

- ◆ "We call on the German government to implement the European Parliament's resolution on the fundamental rights of people of African descent in Europe."
- ◆ "We demand the recognition of the genocide of the Herero and Nama, the return of looted colonial art and the recognition of Black victims of National Socialism."
- ◆ "We call for the expansion of counselling centres on anti-Black racism."
- ◆ "We demand action plans to combat anti-Black racism and to promote our communities at federal and state level."

Recommendations for action for policy makers and administration

- ◆ **ABR Commission:** The Bundestag must convene an expert commission on anti-Black racism to develop, among other things, a definition of ABR that can be incorporated into administrative action, including executive regulations and federal programmes.
- ◆ **ABR action plans:** The Federal Government has failed to systematically implement the mandate of the UN Decade for People of African Descent. Action plans at federal and state level to combat anti-Black racism and empower Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are urgently needed. These can be based on the example of the second edition of the National Action Plan on the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, [2016](#)).
- ◆ **ABR counselling:** Counselling centres for those affected by anti-Black racism must be established nationwide and supplemented by nationwide monitoring of anti-Black racism, which must be implemented under the conceptual management and professional supervision of self-organisations.
- ◆ **ABR in German remembrance policy:** The centuries-long impact of ABR in German history must be recognised and become part of public remembrance. This includes appropriate restitutions and reparations, which must be made directly with the representatives of the communities of origin and descendants of the communities affected by German genocide and colonial violence. This includes recognising and compensating Black victims of National Socialism.
- ◆ **ABR mainstreaming:** In all social and political projects, the different effects on the living situations and interests of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people must be considered systematically and as a matter of principle.

9.2

Empowerment as a basic principle

The policy field of the "immigration society" must be conceptually expanded to include a critique of racism. At the same time, empowerment – in short, self-empowerment within communities – must become a guiding political principle. Diversity politics must not continue to lead to Black people being primarily concerned with explaining racism to white people. The solution to anti-Black racism is not abstract and unspecific diversity measures. The aim must be to tangibly improve the lives of Black, African, Afro-diasporic and other people discriminated by racism.

Black, African and Afro-diasporic respondents are more engaged than average compared to the overall population in Germany (→ [Chapter 5](#)). The most frequently cited activities that respondents have carried out in the areas of their engagement include areas relevant to Black communities and their empowerment, such as "political activism" (32.9%), "networking work" (32%) and/or "empowerment work" (31.7%). In addition to empowerment work, which forms the core of a community care practice, almost a quarter of respondents (24.3%) stated "personal assistance" as a voluntary activity.

The open-ended responses show that the reduction in ABR can be attributed to the activism and agency of Black people, including, for example, the Black Lives Matter movement and the presence of Black people in (social) media.

Recommendations for policy makers and administrators

- ◆ Financial support: It is of central importance that the idea of empowerment as an overall strategic goal structures the Democracy Promotion Act, among other things. Black people must be specifically addressed, and the possibility of long-term funding must be ensured. Funding instruments such as the May-Ayim Fund, which are explicitly aimed at Black people, must be expanded. Funding logic must ensure that Black people do not primarily react to racism but can create a framework where they can empower themselves and choose the priorities and content of their work themselves.
- ◆ Institutionalisation: Community empowerment of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people must be institutionalised in various ways. Empowerment infrastructure is needed, for example, in the form of community centres.

Recommendations for action for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities

The necessary focus on anti-Black racism and the emphasis on empowerment, which must be communicated to society as a whole, lead to different conclusions within the communities. Internal heterogeneity needs to be explored and celebrated, resilience strengthened, and investments made in community care:

- ◆ **Diversity and allies:** Parallel to the shared experience of the specificity of anti-Black racism, the Afrozensus clarifies that Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and communities are very diverse. We have different experiences with overlapping forms of discrimination. This requires an increased effort in terms of necessary alliances and community-internal exchange on the realities of life and forms of structural discrimination that only some of us experience. The intersectionality and multidimensionality evident in the data must become even more central to community work but must not be played off against the specificity of ABR. Resources for building communities of solidarity must be developed and demanded. Furthermore, the institutionalisation of empowerment must not be at the expense of the intensity and diversity of fundamental grassroots work that is critical of discrimination and racism.
- ◆ **Intersectional discrimination:** The results show that there are groups among Black, African and Afro-diasporic people who are particularly at risk of/affected by discrimination. These include people with impairments and/or disabilities, trans*, inter*, non-binary people and women, as well as Black people with two African or Afro-diasporic parents. This vulnerability must be countered with resources, spaces, solidarity-based responsibility and community care.

9.3

Professionalisation, anti-discrimination and representationn

The focus on anti-Black racism and the institutionalisation of empowerment must be embedded in a robust anti-discrimination landscape and legislation, among other things. The lack of professional handling of anti-Black racism in all areas of society should be emphasised as a current deficit. The public debate merely addresses the inadequate representation of Black people. However, simply belonging to the group of Black people is not automatic: it does not oblige people to do service work for the dominant society, nor should a few individuals be made representatives of their group, nor is pure representational politics a guarantee for professional competences and priorities that are sufficiently embedded in collective experiences and critical of racism.

- ◆ Over 70% of respondents (around 4,000 people) say that the lack of a professional approach to racism in institutions and organisations and the lack of representation at all levels of society is a major problem. A further 20 % see this as a "fairly big problem".
- ◆ Of almost 4,000 respondents, 97.6% agreed with the statement "We call for the introduction of federal and state anti-discrimination laws that explicitly include anti-Black racism as a form of discrimination" (medium to high support).
- ◆ Of 224 differences tested between subgroups of the Afrozensus in 14 areas of life, 154 are significant. In 148 of the 154 significant tests, the de-privileged group tended to report higher levels of experiences of discrimination.
- ◆ 99.3% of 4030 respondents agree with the statement "We demand an end to racial profiling and police violence against Black people as well as the investigation and legal punishment of deaths of Black people in state violence" (medium to high support).

Recommendations for policy makers and administration

- ◆ General Equal Treatment Act: The anti-discrimination landscape and legislation must be expanded. The well-known reform proposals of the evaluation commissioned by the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency (Berghahn et al., 2016) must be implemented (including the right to bring collective actions, extension of the time limits for bringing actions and extension of the AGG to public law action). Contrary to the assumptions of traditional legal doctrine, empirical evidence tends to support the need to interpret Article 3, paragraph 3 of the German Constitution as a prohibition of dominance or hierarchisation. According to Payandeh (2021, p. 21), this interpretation is asymmetric, as certain groups are statistically discriminated against significantly more often. The protected discriminatory characteristics are thus an expression of power relations.
- ◆ State anti-discrimination laws: At state level, anti-discrimination laws are needed throughout Germany that cover the education sector and explicitly address anti-Black racism as a form of discrimination. These laws must establish the right to sue associations and create sanction-enforced independent complaints centres in the education sector, among other things.
- ◆ Professionalisation: All public institutions are responsible for engaging in a racism critical process of professionalisation. This includes but is not limited to, training for current employees.
- ◆ Police: Legislators at the federal and state level must entirely strike out any legal provisions that contain corresponding or similar authorisations allowing the police to carry out identity checks in "crime-ridden" or "dangerous" places without a specific reason. In addition, independent police officers must be appointed at the federal and state level.
- ◆ Promotion of young talent: To ensure the representation of Black people, a Black talent promotion organisation must be recognised to promote young talent in numerous areas.

Recommendations for action for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities

- ◆ Community-focused professionalisation: Given growing communities and needs, self-organisations must support people who want to develop community care and community work into a professional activity. This includes developing training and further education content that supplements state programmes with Black perspectives, as well as international exchange with contexts where a Black ethos of community care is already being lived and promoted professionally. Professionalisation includes areas such as social work, (social) education, political education, etc., as well as anti-discrimination counselling, fundraising, association management and finance.
- ◆ Framework conditions for engagement: The informal and voluntary structures where Black people support each other should be more consciously valued and nurtured. It is essential to support the social engagement of individuals or small groups to become more sustainable and active people do not burn out. This can be achieved through expense allowances or expanding existing care-for-care concepts (e.g., community kids' care for organisers or support for active elders). Establishing structures that enable single parents' participation is of particular importance.

9.4

Science: Institutionalisation of community-based Black Studies

The Afrozensus has highlighted the need for more sustainable, intersectional research and basic research on Blackness and Black Europe in many places. An increase in social knowledge on the equality of people of African descent (analogous to gender mainstreaming and the social increase in gender competence), as well as research on anti-Black racism with the aim of systematically breaking down barriers caused by ABR is urgently needed. In addition, there is a need for the incorporation of the knowledge production of Black people and their communities into academic institutions, as well as the mainstreaming of racism critique.

Recommendations for policy makers and administrators

- ◆ Community research: More, long-term and much better funded community-based research projects such as the Afrozensus are needed – also for other communities.
- ◆ Chairs: The research field of intersectional Black studies and empowerment must be sustainably anchored in the German academic community by establishing and funding chairs. To improve the lives of Black people, civil society cannot carry out the necessary analytical work alone. Black people must be comprehensively considered at management level.
- ◆ Ethical principles: All research activities must be carried out in accordance with anti-discriminatory research ethics principles and with the full participation of Black, African and Afro-diasporic researchers and self-organisations. The relevant research must distance itself from a white research perspective and focus on the needs of marginalised groups.
- ◆ Designates: Designates for racism criticism must be established at universities and colleges.
- ◆ Representative studies on the Black, African and Afro-diasporic populations must be made possible. To this end, the population of the target population must be recorded as a basis. The use of capture-recapture methods would be conceivable in the future.
- ◆ Extensive population surveys must be able to capture statements about anti-Black racism, the perspectives and experiences of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and other groups affected by racism. Recording the migration background is insufficient for this and must be supplemented by self-positioning, as many Black people do not have a migration background. The exclusive identification of Black people using onomastic methods or purely geographical African references makes parts of the target group invisible. This must be avoided. For this reason, corresponding enquiries must occur with the conceptual inclusion of self-organisations.

- ◆ Data collection: Central policy areas must address the specific dynamics of anti-Black racism and make it recordable. For example, anti-Black racism must be recorded as a specific form of discrimination in the education sector, as part of the Criminal Police Reporting Service for Politically Motivated Crime (KPM-D-PMK) and in the health sector, among others.

Recommendations for action for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities

- ◆ Community-based research: The institutional connection to Black self-organisation has made it possible to gain the trust of the interviewees necessary for participation and to mobilise knowledge resources that are not yet available in university research in Germany. It is vital to continue to demand and implement the community-based research approach.

- ◆ Contents that can be analysed in more detail in future research projects include:

- ◆ Forming and strengthening of solidarity and network structures of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and communities with a particular focus on community care.
- ◆ Deepening the intersectional analysis of anti-Black racism in selected areas of life. Sector studies, e.g. on the labour market, housing market, shops and services, as well as offices and authorities, must be funded and implemented while considering different forms and contexts of discrimination.
- ◆ An analysis of the ways ABR structures the experience of classism for Black people and how this restriction intensifies experiences of discrimination and exploitation – including within Black communities.
- ◆ The effects of environmental pollution and the climate crisis on Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities must be researched against the backdrop of a double impact: Black people, especially in African diasporas, are more likely to live

in environmentally polluted places and their connections to family and acquaintances on the African continent are already making the effects of the climate crisis tangible. At the same time, Black people in Western diasporas benefit from the neo-colonial footprint of the climate crisis. These realities must be researched in the German context.

- ◆ More research projects on empowerment are needed. We need to understand better what empowerment is and how empowerment can be ensured.

9.5

Health: Anti-Black racism as an impact factor

The specialist discourse on the health effects of racism in general and anti-Black racism in particular is not yet fully developed in Germany, and the necessary reforms in the healthcare sector are still in their infancy. In particular, the qualitative research of the Afrozensus provides essential impulses for necessary changes.

- ◆ Two thirds of respondents (66.7% of n = 2108) stated that doctors do not take their complaints seriously.
- ◆ 62.0% of Afrozensus respondents (n = 819) stated that their experiences of racism were not taken seriously and questioned during psychotherapy.
- ◆ In the focus groups, doctors described how the racialised attribution of "Mediterranean disease" [G], often leads to the misinterpretation of pain expression and pain perception, resulting in delays in diagnosis and misdiagnosis.
- ◆ „Poor medical care“ is rated by 4 out of 10 respondents (43.4% of n = 3931) as a rather big or big problem for the Black communities. In particular, trans*, inter*, non-binary respondents and cis women as well as respondents with a low income share this assessment.

Recommendations for policy makers and administration

- ◆ Racism works: Psychotherapeutic training and healthcare must deal with (anti-Black) racism in its processes, structures and institutions, develop expertise that is critical of racism and understand racism as a factor affecting the health of Black people.
- ◆ Publicly funded therapy positions: therapy positions funded through public health insurance for psychotherapeutic care should be preferentially allocated to therapists with proven racism-critical competencies and demanded as part of a special requirement.
- ◆ Education: Access to medical training must be systematically and specifically promoted and made possible for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.
- ◆ Evaluation: Current treatment concepts and training programmes must be evaluated in the light of international Black Studies findings to ensure adequate treatment for Black, African and Afro-diasporic people.

Recommendations for action for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities

- ◆ Sharing information: So far, there are too few self-organised spaces where Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities and self-organisations can share information about navigating the healthcare system in a decentralised manner.
- ◆ Complaints mechanisms: Black people and associations have so far made too little use of official complaints mechanisms about bad experiences with doctors and too rarely turn to the Medical Association and Psychotherapeutic Chamber with demands and needs.

9.6 Education and human rights education

Black self-organisations have long been active in the field of education and human rights education. As Black, African and Afro-diasporic people are among the youngest population groups in Germany, the recommendations are particularly relevant.

- ◆ Half of the Afrozensus respondents (50.8% of n = 463) state that their child receives lower grades at school than other children with the same performance due to racist attributions.
- ◆ Two thirds of Afrozensus respondents (67.6% of n = 1573) stated that they received lower grades than other classmates/fellow students due to racist attributions at school/university for the same performance.
- ◆ More than half of the Afrozensus respondents (54.0% of n = 1816) state that they have been insulted in a racist way by teachers or lecturers.
- ◆ More than a third of respondents (38.1% of n = 4174) state that they are not familiar with the General Equal Treatment Act. More than a quarter (28.6%) have only limited knowledge.
- ◆ Over half of respondents (56.4% of n = 4172) are not familiar with the UN Convention against Racism and over 25% have only limited knowledge.

Recommendations for policy makers and administration

- ◆ Complaints centres: Independent complaints offices for child daycare, schools and vocational training centres should be introduced at the state level throughout Germany.
- ◆ Legal ban on discrimination: In the area of education and youth, explicit legal bans on discrimination must be enacted.
- ◆ Professionalisation: Overall, the treatment of anti-Black racism in the education system needs to be professionalised.
- ◆ Information obligations of the state: The federal government has already committed to improving information on the legal framework in the area of racism and racist discrimination (Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community & Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, 2018, p. 41). The fact that this does not seem to have been successful so far seems to be disastrous, as human rights can only be claimed if these particularly vulnerable groups are aware of them. The state is called upon to act more proactively here and establish the promotion of knowledge of the law as a state task - especially in the area of anti-discrimination. Above all, the ICERD definition and the human rights stipulation that the effect of racism is relevant regardless of the intention must be publicised comprehensively and applied as a benchmark in official practice. Regarding information obligations, the German Institute for Human

Rights, the Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs, the federal states, anti-discrimination authorities and the Centres for Civic Education must fulfil their human rights obligations.

- ◆ **Political education:** A financial framework is needed that enables targeted addressing of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people by community organisations. They must also be informed more comprehensively about reporting and complaints channels in cases of discrimination.

Recommendations for action for Black, African and Afro-diasporic communities

- ◆ **Pedagogy:** Pedagogically, it is necessary to overlap the culture of remembrance and the communication of knowledge about enslavement and the colonial past, as well as the relevance of racism for an understanding of recent history and the present.
- ◆ **Sharing information:** If community organisations share information about patterns of anti-Black racism in the education system more widely, this can empower parents to protect their children better. It is also helpful to create more discussion spaces where Black pupils, parents, teachers and other educational professionals can exchange ideas.
- ◆ **Young people:** As changes in the education sector take a long time, more supplementary Black education programmes should be designed and implemented for young people.
- ◆ **Professional networks:** The work of Black teachers can be facilitated by establishing and strengthening professional organisations and networks for the joint representation of interests and the review, revision, creation and exchange of teaching materials.



10.

Conclusion and outlook

The Afrozensus ends here – and yet it is a beginning. We designed the survey, collected data, conducted, and analysed interviews and prepared everything in a comprehensive graphical format. We hope it will provide impetus for Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people – both for individual reflections and discussions in small groups and for community organisations and their work. We hope that a deeper understanding of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic realities will open up new options for action, create new choices and enable new perspectives on experiences other than one's own Black experience. We believe that this will allow new or deepened solidarities.

The Afrozensus uses qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse anti-Black racism and the experiences of discrimination of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people, but also their resilience and coping strategies, as well as empowerment through Black activism and engagement. It names and analyses the specific anti-Black, anti-African attributions and experiences and captures patterns of anti-Black racism; in this way, it also validates the realities of discrimination and experiences of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people and makes them clear: What Black people experience as racist discrimination is real, is not just their individual experience, is – contrary to what is often suggested in the context of denying discrimination – not a trivial matter and indeed not their respective 'personal problem', but an expression of specifically anti-Black racism anchored in society.

The Afrozensus shows the complexity of shared and different Black experiences by analysing subgroups on an intersectional basis. The intensification of the ABR identified in the process highlights the different lived experiences of Black life in Germany. It offers opportunities to categorise different experiences of anti-Black racism. The repetitions and patterns, along with the fact that people across the country regularly experience discrimination – sometimes on a daily basis – in the 14 areas of life considered here, including

education and health, which are examined in depth, demonstrate that anti-Black racism is a reality. It is embedded within institutions and structures in Germany. Anti-Black racism violates fundamental human rights. Dealing with it must be professionalised, and we have made some suggestions on how this can be achieved in the recommendations for action.

Reflection: What the Afrozensus could not achieve

As the first pilot study of its kind, the Afrozensus also has clear limitations. For example, the perspectives available in the core team could not cover many Black, African, and Afro-diasporic realities of life and expertise, despite the efforts for consultation, background discussions and exchange; our time and financial resources were also limited.

Although many open-ended responses were included in the analysis, the coding could not yet do justice to the detail and depth of analysis provided by the thousands of responses in this report. In addition, due to limited resources, we realised the Afrozensus under conditions that will not be sustainable in future projects. This resulted primarily from a combination of factors: firstly, far too limited financial resources that do not meet the actual requirements of the context;

and secondly, the simultaneous uncertainty regarding funding for future projects, alongside remarkably high expectations for the project. The coronavirus pandemic has also made the implementation of the Afrozensus extremely difficult for us and the research process: on the one hand, the planned outreach to many communities could not take place as planned through visits, meetings, information events and personal invitations and speeches due to the start of the pandemic. For this reason, among others, the Afrozensus was unable to address certain groups and communities to a sufficient extent and did not do full justice to these realities of life. Future research projects, therefore, have, among other things, the task of deepening the experiences of marginalised and vulnerable groups within the communities.

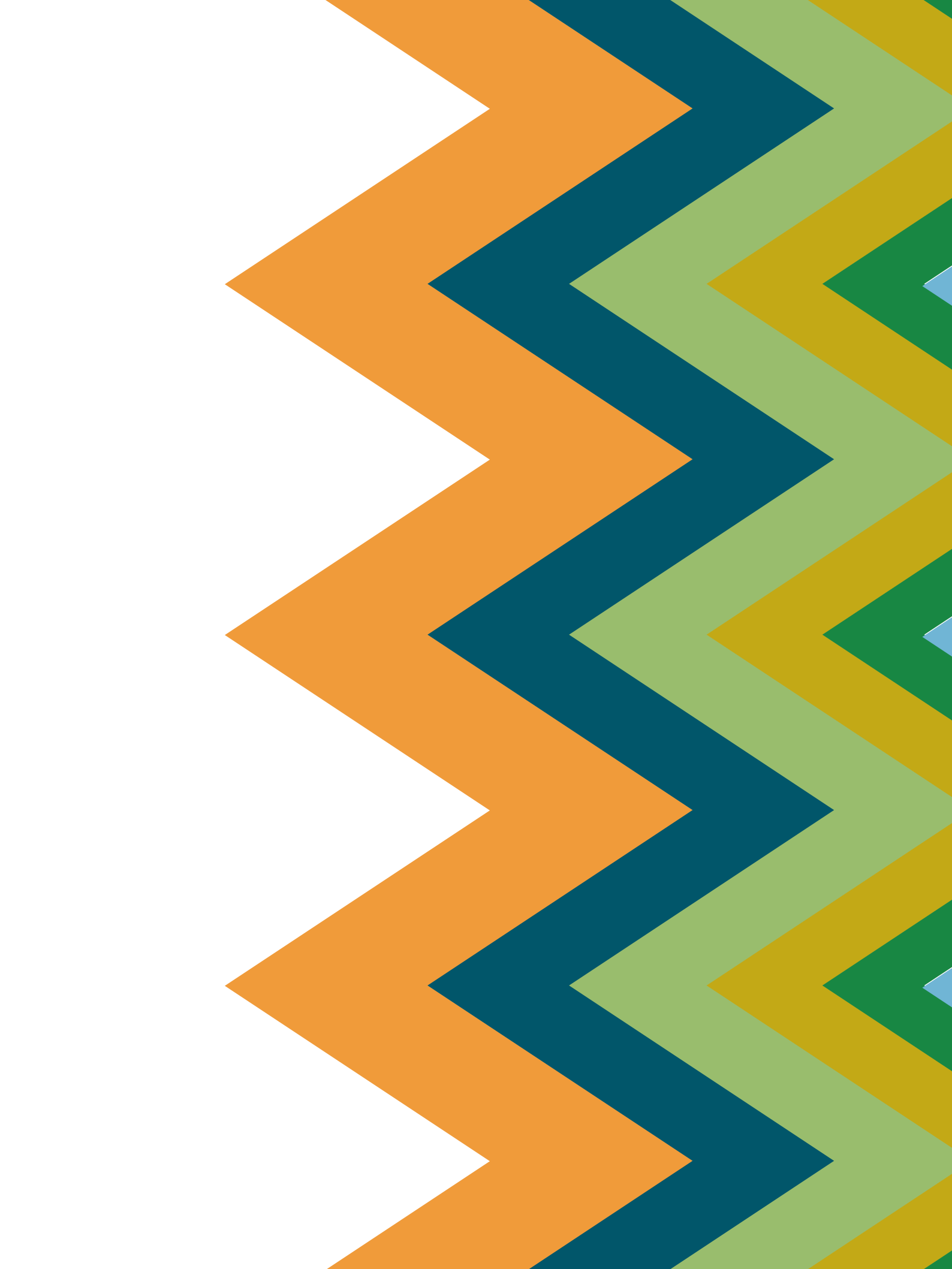
In addition to these aspects that we can name, there are certainly also errors, incompleteness, and omissions that we are not yet aware of but will become apparent through the community discussion. Therefore, we invite Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people and community organisations, in particular, to actively share the results and exchange ideas about necessary improvements. This learning process is only possible through joint work and responsibility. We would therefore like to take this opportunity to invite you once again to give us feedback. This is possible online at afrozensus@eoto-archiv.de.

Looking into the future - further research

For these reasons, the continuation of the Afrozensus and further research projects are of immense importance and significance for the suppression of anti-Black racism and the expansion of anti-discrimination work. However, the resilience and empowerment strategies documented by the Afrozensus, which can be shared in further dialogue, are at least as relevant for the communities. Because these go beyond oppression through ABR. They are lived practices in defence of independence, a refusal to be reduced to necessary reactions to ABR. In this way, a Black self-definition beyond the reaction becomes possible. To deepen insights into an inherently diverse and solidary Black consciousness, we are therefore planning to focus on empowerment in Afrozensus.

We would like to thank you for the trust you have placed in us and for your active support in realising the Afrozensus. We are at the end of this beginning and hope that we can continue to work, research,

learn and exchange ideas with you. Because what becomes of the Afrozensus is – like this report – in the hands of the communities.



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Glossary

Here, we provide a selection of term definitions marked with a [G] in the report. The entries are sorted alphabetically. We want to point out that all definitions and meanings presented here are context-dependent - and, therefore, subject to change. We also attach great importance to considering self-designations that may differ from those defined here.

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AGG

The General Equal Treatment Act is a federal law. The law aims to protect against discrimination on racist grounds or based on "ethnic" origin, gender, religion or world view, disability, age, or sexual identity.

Agnostic

Agnosticism is a view of the world that assumes that recognising and knowing about the existence or non-existence of a deity or several deities, i.e. everything supernatural, is not conclusively possible.

Anonymisation

"Anonymisation and pseudonymisation are data protection measures. Anonymisation is modifying personal data so that the data can no longer be attributed to a specific or identifiable natural person or only with a disproportionate amount of time, cost, and labour. Complete anonymisation is very difficult to achieve.

In pseudonymisation, the name or another identifying feature is replaced by a pseudonym (usually a code consisting of a combination of letters or numbers) to exclude or make it considerably more challenging to determine the identity of the person concerned [...]. [...] Pseudonymisation thus makes it possible – with the aid of a key – to assign data to a person, which is not possible or only possible with difficulty without this key, as data and identification features are separate. Therefore, the person and data must still be brought together.

The more meaningful the collection of data is (e.g. income, medical history, place of residence, height), the greater the theoretical possibility of assigning it to a specific person even without a code and being able to identify them. In order to maintain anonymity, this data may

have to be separated or falsified to make it more difficult to establish identity." (Wikipedia, [2021a](#)).

Anonymisation risk test

Surveys that collect microdata (data relating to individual persons) must ensure that the identity of their respondents is protected when the data is published. An anonymisation risk test assesses and reduces the disclosure risk of microdata based on protecting the respondents' identities.

Arithmetic mean (average)

In statistics, the generally known average is the arithmetic mean: the values whose mean value is being sought are added together and divided by their number. In statistics, the arithmetic mean competes with another average value: the median (Statista, [2021](#)).

Atheist

Atheism is a view of the world that denies the existence of a deity or several deities.

Basic income

With a basic income, the state pays everyone a monthly income that covers all basic living costs. This replaces many existing social benefits. The aim is to guarantee everyone a minimum standard of living. Everyone receives the same amount, regardless of whether they work or not. The extra money you earn can be kept. The basic income is financed through taxes (Aikins; Bremberger; Aikins; Gyamerah; Yıldırım-Calıman, 2020).

BIPoC

BIPoC is the abbreviation of Black, Indigenous, People of Colour. All of these terms are political self-designations. People of colour is used by people who experience racist discrimination in white majority societies as a common political

self-designation. The positive use of the term has its origins in the Black Power movement in the USA at the end of the 1960s. This means they emerged from resistance to racism and still stand for the struggles against this oppression and for more equality today (Migration Council, [2020](#)).

Black Consciousness

Black Consciousness is a term that was coined by the South African activist Steve Biko (1939 – 1977), who initiated the Black Consciousness Movement. Biko was involved in the struggle against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa, which oppressed and disenfranchised the Black majority and established a brutal white minority rule. Biko describes the key points of Black Consciousness as follows: "At the centre of this thinking is the realisation of Black people that the most powerful weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind/intellect of the oppressed." Through a positive reference back to their own histories beyond racist and Eurocentric attributions and through the empowerment to stand up for their own freedom, a Black self-image should be created that consciously frees itself from racist imperial standards.

Black History Month

"Every year in February, Black people in various communities around the world celebrate Black History Month to draw attention to the achievements of Black people in society and world history. Starting in the U.S. and Canada, various organisations celebrate Black culture and people who have significantly contributed to it for a whole month. On the one hand, the month is intended to make the achievements of Black people visible, which are often overlooked in the context of society as a whole,

but on the other hand, it is also intended to draw attention to experiences of racism. Above all, it aims to celebrate and strengthen cohesion within the communities. In Germany, the month was first celebrated in the 1990s by the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD). The German offshoot is also about giving Black history [in Germany and worldwide] a face." (Parbey, 2019) Incidentally, Black History Month began as Black History Week, which took place for the first time in 1926 thanks to the engagement of African-American historian Carter G. Woodson.

Citizens' insurance

Citizens' insurance is a single health insurance scheme for all. Through citizens' insurance, every citizen would participate in the solidarity-based financing of the healthcare system. The current system would be abolished in which statutory and private health insurance exist side by side (Aikins; Bremberger; Aikins; Gyamerah; Yildirim-Caliman, 2020).

Cis women / cis men / cisgendered

"Cis" refers to people whose gender identity corresponds to their sex assigned at birth. When people talk about "women" and "men" in everyday conversations, they often only mean or include cis women and cis men. To make it clear that this goes hand in hand with social privileges, more and more cis people are saying that they are cisgender.

Cis-/heterosexism

Heterosexism is a form of discrimination that devalues any other type of sexuality besides heterosexuality. It is based on heteronormativity, i.e. the idea of heterosexuality as the norm from which other sexual orientations deviate. Cis sexism is a form of discrimina-

tion that devalues all forms of gender identity other than cis identity, such as trans* and non-binary* identities. It is based on cis normativity. In a cis normative worldview, there are only two genders: the biological gender refers to the social gender, and cisgender represents the norm of gender identity. Hetero- and cis normativity result in the emphasising of rigid binary gender roles, the deviation of which is sanctioned and results in structural discrimination on a social level.

Classism, classist discrimination

"Classism refers to discrimination based on social origin and/or social and economic position. Classism is, therefore, not just about how much money someone has at their disposal, but also about their status and the financial and social circumstances in which they grew up. The majority of classism is directed against people of a 'lower class'. The term classism is not yet a widely used term that transports 'classism' from the US context into German. It does not follow a specific class definition, such as that of Marx, Bourdieu, or Max Weber, even if there are overlaps with these definitions. Instead, the term was used to create its own definition, which does not assume that everyone is familiar with the theories mentioned above. The term was significantly shaped by the experiences of communities that experience multiple discrimination, for example, groups within the women's movement or the 'Black Movements' that experience classism. The term, therefore, considers various dimensions of discrimination from an intersectional perspective. Furthermore, the term encompasses not only the economic position of people but also the various experiences of devaluation on a cultural, political,

institutional and individual level." (Diversity Arts Culture, n.d.)

Colourism

Colourism describes the hierarchisation and intensified racist devaluation according to "skin tones" in the context of ABR, possibly in connection with other attributed "African characteristics". BIPOC with lighter skin tones are favoured, and BIPOC with darker skin [and ascribed stronger African characteristics] are discriminated against. Colourism takes place between, but also within, different Black, African and Afro-diasporic and other formerly colonised communities. "This is one reason why the topic is highly taboo even within Black communities and why dealing with it is very emotional and sometimes painful. This is because the feeling of unity and cohesion in the common fight against racism is cracking. [BIPOC] with lighter skin often find it difficult to recognise that they enjoy privileges in a racist system that [BIPOC] with darker skin do not have. However, experiences of racism can vary greatly: Gender, social background, sexual orientation, religion, body, disability, regional backgrounds or even skin tone all play a part in this." (Musafiri, 2019)

Video: Colorism 101 (Mayowa's World, 2020)

Community care

We understand community care in the context of empowerment of Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people as care for and by the communities through self-organisational structures, informal support options and offers, etc. Related concepts are "community building" and "community organising", which are also about shared responsibility and commitment to transforming social relations, in-

dividual and collective resources; sharing knowledge and access to empower all discriminated groups. The term is characterised, among other things, as a community orientation to enable participation for people who are disabled.

Comorbidity (concomitant illness)

Comorbidity is spoken of when a condition or syndrome is added to a primary illness within a certain period of time.

Critical Incident Reporting System

A Critical Incident Reporting System is an anonymous reporting system used in the healthcare sector, for example, to identify weaknesses in the system and potential risks at an early stage and thus increase patient safety.

Cross-tab analysis

A cross-tabulation, or cross-tab is used if not just one variable (marker) but the relationship between two (or more) variables is to be analysed. This is a tabular arrangement where the values of two variables are set in relation to each other. This allows large amounts of data to be brought into a clear form and analysed.

Diagnostics

Diagnostics include all examinations carried out by doctors, psychologists, alternative practitioners, and other practitioners to diagnose an illness. This includes the medical history, e.g. what symptoms the patient is experiencing and what previous diseases exist in the family. During the physical diagnosis, patients are palpated or listened to. In addition, other examinations may also be arranged, such as blood tests or ultrasound. It is worth noting that diagnostics are not neutral but are influenced by social contexts and

power structures. Sexist and racist structures in the healthcare system, for example, have an influence on which diagnoses certain people (e.g. women and people who have experienced racism) receive - and when a person is considered "ill".

Diverse

→ TIN*

Essentialisation

Essentialisation describes a process of reducing discriminated persons to an alleged essence, a core of being, which is intended to justify the discrimination taking place. Essentialisation is an essential aspect of racist devaluation and discrimination.

Equivalentised income

The equivalentised income is a value that results from the total income of a household and the number and age of the people living on this income. Equivalentised income is primarily used to calculate income distribution, income inequality and poverty. An equivalence scale is used to weigh incomes according to household size and composition. This makes the incomes of people living in households of different sizes comparable, as economies of scale occur in larger households (e.g. through the shared use of living space or household appliances) (Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), [2021](#)).

Fawn reaction

The fawn reaction is a coping strategy that people who have experienced trauma have developed to avoid conflict. For example, they react to a conflict-inducing trigger with exaggerated friendliness, even though they don't actually feel like it, just to keep the peace and avoid having to enter into conflict. As mentioned, this reaction is a trauma reaction, i.e. people who

have adopted this strategy do not always use it consciously but have internalised it in response to traumatic events.

Gaslighting

In psychology, gaslighting [...] refers to a form of psychological violence or abuse in which [those affected] are deliberately disorientated, manipulated and deeply unsettled, and their sense of reality and self-awareness is gradually deformed or destroyed (Wikipedia, [2021b](#)).

Gender identity

Gender identity means identifying with one, several or no gender, regardless of biological sex or gender roles that are expected based on biological sex. Everyone has a gender identity: it is the inner knowledge of one's gender (Dissens - Institut für Bildung und Forschung e.V., [2021](#)).

Hard-to-reach population

Hard-to-reach populations are characterised by the difficulty of drawing samples from them using standard probability methods. In general, no sample frame is available for the target population, i.e., the population group's total population is unknown. Its members are rare in the population as a whole, or they are stigmatised and are, therefore, difficult or impossible to reach via a representative random selection (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997).

Hate speech

"Hate speech" is a political term. Accordingly, the definition is politically contested. In Germany, it is also not a legal category, even though some criminal offences, particularly incitement to hatred, come close to it. The police's crime statistics do not recognise hate speech as a separate category either. The discussion about hate speech is also more advanced in

some countries than in others, and different legal systems sanction hate speech in different ways. We [No Hate Speech Campaign] believe that hate speech does not affect people by chance - it is primarily directed against those who are already socially disadvantaged or those who show solidarity with these people. In Germany, this is also known as group-focused misanthropy: It encompasses stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination against people based on their actual or presumed membership of a disadvantaged group in our society. We [no-hate speech campaign] define hate speech as linguistic acts against individuals and/or groups to devalue or threaten them based on their membership of a disadvantaged group in society. The person or group does not have to be in the minority in terms of numbers, on the other hand, minority groups are not automatically disadvantaged." (No Hate Speech, [2021](#))

Imposter syndrome

Imposter syndrome is a psychological phenomenon that usually manifests itself in a professional context. In this case, one's own success is not recognised and perceived as legitimate, as it cannot be linked to one's own skills and knowledge, which is fundamentally questioned by the person affected. Those affected often have a heightened sense of stress because they live with the constant fear that their own perceived "inability" could be revealed at any moment by those around them.

Intersectional, intersectionality

Intersectionality looks at the interaction of different social categories such as social status/social origin, gender identity/ies, ethnicity/racist discrimination, religion, disability/impairment, as well as

age and/or sexual orientation. The various categories are not added, but rather, the interactions and interdependencies of different positions of social inequality are analysed (Each One Teach One e.V. & Citizens For Europe, [2020](#)).

Invisibility Syndrome

Invisibility syndrome refers to the perception of a person belonging to a marginalised group that their abilities and identity are not seen because of preconceived ideas and stereotypes about them.

LGBTIAQ+ or LGBAQ

LGBTIAQ+ is an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, inter*, asexual and queer. Queer and the "+" stand for the opening up of the categories and as a placeholder for all those who do not fit into one of the previous designations. The combination of identities is an attempt to represent as many genders and sexual orientations as possible in the queer spectrum.

In our questionnaire, the term "queer" was offered as one of many possible sexual orientations/identities to choose from. This operationalisation was subsequently assessed by the evaluation team as inadequate, as the term "queer" means much more than just a "sexual orientation" and is rather a positioning within society and the LGBTIAQ+ community, as explained by the Queer Lexicon: "[In English,] 'queer' was an insult for a long time, especially towards gay men. Today, however, the term is mostly used positively as a self-designation, especially by people who see their identity as 'outside the social norm'. Queer can also be used as an umbrella term for people who do not fit into the romantic, sexual and/or gender norms of society. However, queer is also a theoretical direction and a branch of science that breaks

down stereotypical thinking, seeks to link different forms of oppression and examines sexuality, in particular, as a place of oppression.

The term "queer" must, therefore, actually be considered outside of the gender identity/sexual orientation dichotomy. For the evaluation in the Afrozensus, however, "queer" had to be considered under the categories of sexual orientation/identity due to the operationalisation in the questionnaire, hence LGBAQ. In addition, a central point in our analysis was that people with a non-cis identity and a non-heterosexual orientation can each be analysed separately. The analysis was therefore carried out along the diversity dimensions, once for "TIN*" and once for LGBAQ. The empirical results confirm that these groups - which are normally considered as one under LGBTIAQ+ - have different experiences.

Median

The median is the value that lies in the centre. Example: Height of all employees in this project in centimetres: 150, 160, 170, 175, 180, 185, 225. When calculating the median, these figures are sorted by height, and then the value in the middle is selected, in this case, 175 cm. There is, therefore, no need to "calculate" the mean value, as with the arithmetic mean (here = 177.86 cm). The great advantage is that the median is more robust against outliers (extremely high or low values; see the value 225 cm in this height example) and is, therefore, often preferred to the arithmetic mean (Statista, [2021](#)).

Mediterranean disease (Morbus Mediterraneus)

Is a racist term that doctors, and nursing staff often use for BIPOC patients. Underlying this is the scientifically untenable prejudice/at-

tribution that BIPOC are more delicate and more sensitive to pain than white patients.

Microaggression

Microaggressions are discriminatory behaviour, i.e. explicit or implicit, as well as consciously or unconsciously derogatory comments, insults, or jokes. In their quantity, they often lead to psychological stress for those affected. To illustrate this, microaggressions are often compared to mosquito bites, which are tolerable in individual cases but can be quite distressing in large numbers.

Video: How microaggressions are like mosquito bites (Fusion Comedy, [2016](#))

Net household income

Net household income is the combined income of all household members. It is available to them for private consumption and saving after deducting all duties, taxes, and contributions to compulsory insurance. Net income in the case of self-employment refers to income after deduction of all operating expenses, duties, and taxes (Aikins; Bremberger; Aikins; Gyamerah; Yıldırım-Calıman, 2020).

Non-binary persons

→ TIN*

PAD-Week

The PAD (People of African Descent) WEEK Germany is a civil society conference by and for people of African descent. For the first time, more than 300 people from 35 organisations of African descent from all over Germany came together in November 2019 for a conference as part of the UN Decade for People of African Descent to draw the attention of decision-makers in the legislative and executive branches to the deficits in human rights protection for Black people as well as the

achievements of PAD in Germany. Inspired by the PAD-WEEK Europe in the European Parliament in 2018, the conference focussed on three main topics: Capacity Building of Black Civil Society in Germany, the networking of stakeholders from politics, academia and Black Civil Society, and the dialogue of civil society with the administration. After the opening symposium in the Bundestag with 150 PAD, there were panel discussions, lectures, workshops and a cultural programme (Each One Teach One e.V., 2020).

Peer supervision / Peer to peer consulting

Peer supervision or Peer to peer consulting are alternative ways of describing collegial case counselling, where a group of people in a professional context work together to find solutions to a specific problem that usually concerns one of the group members in their day-to-day work.

PoC

→ BIPOC

Porajmos

Porajmos (meaning in English: engulfment, swallowing) is the name chosen by the Sinti**zze* and Rom**nja* communities themselves for the national socialist genocide, i.e. the systematic persecution and murder of Sinti**zze* and Rom**nja* in the 'Third Reich'.

Positioning

→ Self-positioning

Per cent (persons)

The percentages in our tables refer to the relative frequency of people who saw and answered the question, i.e. who provided a response. For example (see figure): 88.5% of Afrozensus respondents (persons) stated, among other things, that they had been discriminated against in

education on racist grounds or with regard to "ethnic origin". "Among other things" because multiple answers were possible, i.e. respondents could state several characteristics in this question with regard to which they consider themselves to have been discriminated against. In our example, 79.8% of respondents also stated that they had been discriminated against with regard to skin colour and 33.2% with regard to their name. This is why all the percentages in the rows add up to over 100%. The percentages were calculated using the number of people who actually responded to the question. People who did not provide any information or did not see the question were not taken into account. "Number of mentions" in the table indicates how often the statement was made, i.e.: How many of the respondents made the statement in absolute numbers. As mentioned, multiple answers were possible, which is why the number of responses **cannot** be totalled in order to calculate a total N.

percentage point, -s

Abbreviation: Pp.

Unit for specifying a difference between two percentage rates

In general, the percentage point indicated is not to be equated with the percentage change. For example, if a party's election result rises from ten to eleven per cent within an election period, this means a change of one percentage point. However, the percentage change is ten per cent. Therefore take into consideration, that equal changes in percentage points do not lead to equal percentage changes. A party that was able to increase from one to two per cent within two election periods has recorded an increase of 100 per cent (Tarifo, 2021).

Pseudonymisation

→ Anonymisation

Race

"The dictionary suggests 'Rasse' as the literal German translation for 'race'. However, this German language term cannot be found in any serious current translations into German of literature critical of racism. Instead, it remains with 'race', because 'race' and 'Rasse' do not mean the same thing in this context. While 'race' in the English-speaking world has undergone a change in meaning from a supposedly biological category to a social science analysis tool due to its academic anchoring, 'Rasse' in general German usage implies the actual existence of different human races. In short, anyone who speaks of 'Rasse' (loan word in German language) knows that races are an invention of racism. But: Whoever says 'race' believes that races exist and is therefore potentially racist? – Unfortunately, it's not quite that simple. Article 3 paragraph 3 of the Constitution (Grundgesetz/Basic Law) of the Federal Republic of Germany literally states, among other things, that '[n]o-one [...] shall be favoured or disfavoured because of [...] 'Rasse'[...]''. This formulation is to be understood in the context of the founding of the FRG and was intended to counteract a National Socialist racist ideology in concrete terms. The approach is laudable and, to this day, more correct than it appears at first glance. It is not easy to understand that although there is no biological basis for human races, people can be discriminated against on the basis of the assumption of human races." (Kupka, [2020](#))

Racial profiling

Racial profiling occurs when the police stop, question, search and/or arrest a person on the basis of racist categorisations and attribu-

tions. The person is therefore not stopped because they have behaved suspiciously or fit a specific description of a suspect. Rather, they are stopped because police officers perceive them as "foreign"/non-German based on external characteristics such as skin and hair colour, clothing, religious symbols and/or their language, which alone makes them appear suspicious (Aikins; Bremberger; Aikins; Gyamerah; Yildirim-Caliman, 2020).

Resilience (strategies)

In psychology, resilience is used to describe people's varying degrees of mental capacity of resistance and adaptability, which allows them to cope with stressful situations in life.

Self-positioning

Self-positioning refers to the personal or biographical positioning within the social structure in relation to whether one's own person is privileged or negatively affected with regard to certain forms of discrimination, e.g. racism.

Sexual orientation

A person's sexual orientation describes which gender(s) they are romantically, physically and/or sexually attracted to, regardless of sexual practice and sexual preference. It includes asexuality, pansexuality, heterosexuality, homosexuality and bisexuality (in Acceptance of Diversity, [2021](#)).

Safe(r) space

Safe(r) space refers to a place where those affected by racist violence (or other forms of discrimination) can exchange ideas and be themselves without their experiences of racism being called into question or experiencing violence. The accentuation of **safer** is intended to emphasise that a space where people with different knowledge and experiences of discrimination come together can

ideally be aspired but can actually never absolutely be free of violence.

Significant, significance

In order to check whether differences in a sample between subgroups (e.g. people with low income compared to people with high income) are not random, i.e. that the differences are not due to deviations or distortions in the data, it is tested whether they are "significant". The most common application in the Afrozensus is the comparison of the extent of experiences of discrimination between subgroups. To calculate the significance, a two-sample t-test was carried out pairing the group that tends to be deprived with the group that tends to be norm-privileged (e.g. cis-women and cis-men) for the respective diversity dimension (e.g. gender identity). For all values of p less than 0.1, a significant difference was determined between the respective groups for a specific area of life. Due to the N of this survey, the significance level $p \leq 0.1$ (probability of error less than 10%) was applied.

Snowball sampling

Survey method in social research. According to the information provided by the respondents in one sample, a further group of people is interviewed, which in turn can lead to a further group of respondents and so on. The various "rings" of the "snowball" contain people who are in direct or indirect contact with the original respondents (Klimke et al., 2020).

Statistical methods (deductive, inductive)

Statistical methods are used to analyse empirical data.

Descriptive statistics (also known as summary or empirical statistics) are used to describe, process and summarise data in a suitable manner.

Its methods are used to summarise quantitative data into tables, graphical representations and key figures.

Inductive statistics (also known as mathematical statistics, inferential statistics, judgemental statistics or inferential statistics) are used to derive properties of a basic population from the data of a random sample. Probability theory provides the basis for the necessary estimation and test procedures (Wikipedia, 2021c).

Supervision

Supervision involves reflecting on one's own professional activities with the help of an external person (supervisor) who brings an outside perspective.

TIN* (trans*, inter*, non-binary)

Trans* is an umbrella term for all people who do not identify with the gender they were assigned at birth. The asterisk at the end of the word is a placeholder. It indicates that there is not only the genders "male" and "female", but a whole spectrum of gender, gender identities and physicalities (Each One Teach One e.V. & Citizens For Europe, 2020).

Inter* refers to people who are born with gender characteristics that cannot be clearly categorised as male or female. Intersex is not a sexual orientation, but describes a physical condition (Each One Teach One e.V. & Citizens For Europe, 2020).

Non-binary gender is a collective term for gender identities that are not or not only found in the binary categories of man* and woman*. Non-binary includes many different gender identities, but it can also be a personal definition of gender.

We use the self-designation TIN* in distinction to the term "diverse", which is used by the legislator to describe a third option in the gender

entry (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, n.d.). The term is viewed critically as it was not developed involving the affected communities and excludes trans*gender and non-binary persons in the context of the Civil Status Act, as it only refers to persons whose physical sex characteristics cannot be clearly categorised as "female" or "male".

Token, Tokenism

The term tokenism [...] criticises the practice of making merely symbolic efforts to give members of a socially marginalised group (women, migrants, homosexuals, etc.) socio-political equality (in work, politics, culture, social life, etc.). In fact, however, the majority of the marginalised minority(ies) are denied equal treatment as compared to the majority society, and their few formally equal representatives serve as tokens (puppets, in a figurative sense: fig leaves) (Wikipedia, 2021d).

Town Hall

Town hall meeting is the English/American term for citizens' assembly. It refers to a political assembly, usually at municipal level, which is open to all residents of a region. The town hall meetings in the run-up to the → PAD WEEK in Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig and Munich were held jointly by EOTO and Black partner organisations in order to strengthen the exchange between Black people in these regions and to jointly develop political demands.

Two-sample t-test

→ Significant

Trans*

→ TIN*

Transsexuals Act (TSG)

The law under TSG allows people whose gender identity does not match the gender they were assigned at birth to change singular-

ly their first name or their gender entry in the register of births. The respective local court to which an application must be submitted assigns two psychological experts who must confirm the transgender identity and subsequently a court must then approve the change. For this reason, the TSG is heavily criticised by affected persons' associations and various parties, classified as a violation of human rights and therefore its abolition or reform to guarantee gender self-determination is demanded.

Trauma work

Trauma work refers to the treatment and processing of traumatic experiences with the help of various therapeutic procedures. In the context of community/ies care and empowerment, it also refers to the collective confrontation with and healing of trauma in protected spaces.

Queer

The term 'queer' has been turned into a positive self-designation of people from LGBTIAQ+ communities, i.e. people who do not conform to the societal hetero and/or cis-norm.

White Gaze

White gaze is the assumption that standard readers or observers are coming from the perspective of someone who identifies as white, or that → BIPOCs sometimes feel they have to take into consideration the reaction of white readers or observers. Several BIPOC writers describe this as a voice in their head reminding them that their writing, characters and plot choices are being judged by white readers. As Toni Morrison put it: "The little white man that sits on your shoulder and checks out everything you do or say. You sort of knock him off and you're free." (Wikipedia, 2021e) 2021e)

