

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

The idea of Muslims integration is becoming a growing public opinion in Europe recently, especially in Germany it has been a national debate. The debate on the importance of Muslims integration in Germany, like in many other European countries that have to face with big numbers of Muslims population, in the past few years has been a current hot topic. This intense debate is mainly posted in the media coverage. Politicians, academicians, religious leaders, and also common people exchange opinions, demands, critiques, as well as propose approaches and strategy concerning Muslims integration.

The debate emerged following the terrorist and violent acts by Muslims living in Europe. It started in the wake of the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York, known as the 9/11. The European countries, especially the government and the people of Germany, were struck as one of the terrorist, Mohammad Atta, who was proved for having organized the attack, had long been a resident of Hamburg, Germany. The intensive debate both of political and media started to rage again in Germany triggered by some more violent acts done by

immigrants with Muslim background. The Madrid bombings in March 2004 and the murder of filmmaker Theo van Gogh in Netherland by a Dutch Moroccan Muslim in autumn 2004 followed by several attacks on mosques and churches had triggered a lot of reaction in Europe, and certainly in Germany as well.

The debate on Muslims integration continued accompanied by media reports on more cases such as the London bombings and the riots in one of the Muslims neighbourhood in Paris' suburbs done by French-born children with Arab and African Muslims background in November 2005. Then more cases happened such as the Danish cartoon controversy in February 2006 that satirising Muhammad published in several European newspapers resulting anger of Muslims around the world to the reactions towards Pope Benedict XVI's speech on Islam delivered in the University of Regensburg Germany.

In Germany alone, the deportation of an imam who was accused of having given hatred preached towards Germans, Metin Kaplan, by the German authorities in October 2004¹, was one of many stories about radical Muslim preachers in the German media. The Berlin suitcase-bomb attempts in July 2006 as well as the recent

¹ Charles Hawley, "Muslim Integration, Germany's Pseudo Culture War," *Der Spiegel*, November 23, 2004 (accessed on September, 17, 2007); available from

case of honour killing by Turkish resident in Germany prolonged the public opinion on Muslims and violence and thus strengthened more debate on Muslims integration.

The public opinion in Europe perceives Islam and Muslims as closely related to terrorism and violence acts. Several polls were conducted in order to explore more how people in Europe, particularly in Germany, perceived Islam and Muslims living in the country. One of the leading newspapers in Germany, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* newspaper, assigned a study called the *Allensbach* survey in early May 2006. The survey found that out of 1,076 German adults, 83% of the respondents associated Islam with fanaticism; over 71% regarded Islam as intolerant; 62% considered it as a backward religion; 60% considered Islam as an undemocratic religion.²

The series incidents and the image of Muslims and Islam that closely related to violence also have drawn the attention of both the authorities and public to see more on the fact of the present numbers of Muslims population in Germany along with their demographic issues and problems, added up more on the debate. According to a statistical report this year of 2007, the number of Muslims population in Germany is estimated to have reached 3.0 to 3.2 millions, which have made up about

² *German Mistrust of Muslims and Islam grows* (accessed on October 24, 2007); Available from <http://www.islamophobia-watch.com/display/ShowJournal?moduleId=102277&sourcePage=2&articleId=7576>

3.6 to 3.9 per cent of about 82.44 millions total population.³ Like in other European countries such as Britain and France, Germany is facing the growing numbers of Muslims population. This is due to the high birth rate among Muslims that three times higher than the non-Muslims Europeans and 50 % of Muslims in Western Europe today were born there.⁴

In relation to these demographic issues of Muslims in Germany, the *Allensbach* survey also revealed how the Germans perceived and thought about Muslims and Islam in relation to social aspect: 91% respondents agreed that Islam discriminates women. Responding to the presence of Muslims in the country and the implication of violent acts done by Muslims, 40% of the respondents supported the limitation of freedom of religion that actually is guaranteed by the Germany's constitution for protecting national security. Thus 56% agreed to limit the freedom of religion by banning the building of mosques in Germany.⁵

Along with the series of incidents and the public opinion on Islam and Muslims in Germany, politicians expressed their concerns, varied from giving comments and warnings on the threat of violence acts by Muslims to the demands for

³ Nina Mühle, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report, Germany* (Open Society Institute EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, 2007), 11.

⁴ Timothy M. Savage, "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing," *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no.3 (2004): 25-50.

⁵ *German Mistrust of Muslims and Islam grows, loc.cit.*

emphasized the effort from the present federal government of Germany to “*establish a well functioning dialogue and cooperation structure between the state and Muslims organization*”.¹⁰

The topics concerning the Muslims integration in Germany are varied from forced marriages and honour killings to the oppression and inequality of women such as the debate on the practice of headscarves and veiling. Some more topics are related to Islamic religious teaching in public schools, the demands for the training of the Muslims clerics or imam in Germany, the building of the mosques that often draws pros and contras, to the needs for Muslims political representatives in the German parliaments. Now due to these all issues, Germany’s government recently is taking a more serious step in dealing with Muslims population. Germany’s European fellow countries such as Britain and France are the models for Germany in dealing with Muslims population.

Britain had long accepted the fact of its Muslims population. Like in France and Germany, Muslims population in Britain was the result of the influx of immigration for workers and asylum seekers. In dealing with its immigrants, including Muslims, Britain has long adopted the approach of multiculturalism as

early as the 1960s.¹¹ Multiculturalism is a social term to describe a society in which any ethnic and cultural diversity are well preserved and no one of the ethnic and culture dominates another. This approach is taken in the form of official policies in order to maintain the preservation of its varied ethnic and culture for the shake of its unified society and state system.

This British multiculturalism model is more on promoting tolerance and discouraging discrimination, and so allowing immigrants and ethnic groups to maintain their cultural identities and customs. Therefore, in dealing with issue such as the wearing of headscarves as Islamic dress of Muslims women, for example, is not so much of a problem. Muslims in the UK enjoy legal protection as members of ethnic groups' such as the Pakistanis or the Arabs.¹² Muslims also enjoy discrimination protection through the implementation of Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty (1999) and the 2003 European Commission regulation which includes the elimination of religious discrimination especially in the field of employment.¹³

While maintaining multiculturalism in Britain, the government also took several efforts for facilitating Muslims community in the country through initiatives

¹¹ Library of Congress, CRS Report for Congress, Congressional Research Service, *Muslims in Europe: Integration Policies in Selected Countries* (accessed on August 28, 2007) available from <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33166.pdf>.

¹² Tariq Modood, *Muslims and European Multiculturalism* (accessed on December 3, 2007), available from <http://www.cerda.com/row/sgp/crs/row/RL33166.pdf>.

such as new citizenship law and English language requirements, and improving the relationship with Muslims community through more dialogues, encouraging the development of moderate Muslim political voices.¹⁴ Though Britain takes soft way towards Muslims living in the country, however, Britain applies the most strict and comprehensive anti-terrorism legislation in Europe against terrorism and violence acts by Muslims which has been implemented as early as 2001 after the 9/11 case, that many perceive this legislation as being unfairly implemented against Muslims in Britain.

On the opposite, France, the country with the biggest Muslims population in Europe, had long rejected the idea of multiculturalism right from the start.¹⁵ Instead, the French government had long taken the assimilation approach towards its immigrants through public schools education, military services, and employment¹⁶. Assimilation in social term means the common blending and sharing of folkways, mores, laws, and ways of life generally of two or more groups or societies or peoples that formerly had distinctive patters.¹⁷ Usually, this approach is taken by the host community or host country addressing its immigrants. It is mostly when the

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Selo Soemardjan and Soelaeman Soemardi, *Setangkai Bunga Sosiologi* (Lembaga Penerbit Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 1964), 215 – 217.

government puts emphasis on its homogenous national identity, as French government's efforts of making immigrants '*French*'.

Being '*French*' means fully assimilate into French national community embracing French norms and values. French centralized national government strictly requires and controls its immigrants, including Muslims, to fully assimilate. The government also ensures the maintenance of public order, thus, cases such as radical Muslims preachers or organizations, to the wearing of headscarves that perceived as oppression and inequality of women, are considered as disrupting public order and violating the equal rights of the French system of *laïcité*. Known for its deeply rooted secularism, no special treatment or consideration is given by the French government to different religions or political groups¹⁸ as everybody is equal before public order. French government under President Chirac in December 2003 took a clear cut way out by banning the wearing of eye-catching religious symbols in public that applied not only for Muslims. As the state requires full assimilation of all, including Muslims living in France, therefore, no official policies specifically on integration towards Muslims are set up by the French government.

Compared to Britain and France, Germany takes different road. Under the present federal government led by Merkel, Germany is actively promoting Muslims

¹⁸ Ibid.

integration. The government has taken several initiatives intended to foster Muslim integration in both at local and national levels. At the local level, both the state officials and local people have created innovative programs in order to participate in integrating their Muslims community to the local society. In the area of intercultural and interreligious dialogue aimed to mediate representatives of Muslims and the majority of society programs such steps like "Islam Forums" initiated by the NGOs and *Interkultureller Rat* (Intercultural Council) in which it received acknowledgment from several politicians such as Rita Süßmuth (the former President of the German *Bundestag* – the parliament), and Angela Merkel, the Federal Chancellor of the present German government.¹⁹ Other civil society organizations that support the integration of Muslims community include Trade Union and business community to education, social services, even health sectors.²⁰

At the national level, the present German government under the grand coalition lead by Chancellor Angela Merkel took a more serious step in campaigning and fostering Muslims integration in Germany. The Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration of Prof. Dr. Maria Böhmer is one that is active in promoting the integration of Muslims communities living in Germany. Previously, this commissioner was only a post of national commissioner for foreigners' affairs.

¹⁹ Nina Mühe, *op. cit.*, 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Under the current grand coalition government of Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) the post was upgraded to the level of cabinet-level deputy minister.²¹

This commissioner puts great emphasis on the importance of incorporating Muslims communities and Islamic faith into the German society.²² Several significant actions have been taken by the commissioner such as expert conferences aimed at increasing public awareness and the establishment of website providing comprehensive information on Islam and Muslim in Germany.²³

Moreover, for the first time at the national level, as soon as the present Merkel's government started to govern in fall 2005, the federal government through the Federal Minister of the Interior Dr Wolfgang Schäuble initiated the German Conference on Islam (*Deutsche Islam Konferenz*, DIK). Through this conference, the German government expects to improve the religious and social integration of Muslims living in Germany.²⁴

²¹ *Islam and Identity in Germany* (Crisis Group Europe Report N°181: 14 March 2007), *op.cit.*, 2.

²² Nina Mühe, *op.cit.*, 59.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ German Federal Ministry of the Interior, *German Islam Conference* (accessed on September 3, 2007); available from http://www.bmi.bund.de/clin_012/nn_148130/Internet/Navigation/EN/Topics/German_Islam_Conference/German_Islam_Conference_node.html_nnn=true

From here it can be seen that unlike Britain with its multiculturalism approach and France with government control assimilation, Germany takes more serious approach towards its Muslims through its nation-wide integration policy with comprehensive strategies. Germany's effort through the promotion of Muslims integration is an interesting case. In secular states like Britain, France, and Germany where there is a clear separation of religion and state, and that religious affairs are not focus matters of the state and its political life, interestingly, Germany takes a unique way by accommodating its Muslims voices and establishing forum organized by the state for dialogues with its Muslims population

Even though Germany follows its European counterparts like Britain and France in dealing with terrorism and violence acts done by Muslims through tight security measures and surveillance that gained critics as unfairly implemented towards Muslims, on the other hand, it seems like Germany does not totally abandon and discriminate its Muslims in the country. Its nation-wide integration programme, part of it – its promotion on Muslims integration, gives greater chances for Muslims living in the country to improve themselves through educational programs such as language training as well as education for Muslims youth, women, and preachers.

Germany is also actively giving information to its German society on Islam and Muslims living in Germany through programs such as the introduction of Islamic

religious instruction in the German language in state-funded schools. Germany also concerns on topics such as the training of Muslim preachers or Imam at public institutions of higher education, Islamic burial system as well as Islamic animal slaughter system, and the accommodation of the building of representative mosques in public areas. These efforts prove that Germany, especially the present government under Merkel's leadership, is taking serious commitment in integrating Muslims living in Germany.

B. Research Question

By giving the illustration above, the main problem of analysis is: *Why does the German government of Angela Merkel seek to integrate Muslims in Germany?*

C. Theoretical Framework

The writer wishes to explain the above problem by using concept and theory. Concept is an abstraction that represents an object, character of an object, or a

certain phenomenon.²⁵ One of its functions is to organize ideas, perception, and symbols in the form of classification and generalization.²⁶

Theory helps us to explain and predict a certain phenomenon. According to McCain and Segal, theory is a series of related statements consisting (1) sentences that introduce terms that refer to the basic concepts; (2) sentences that relate the basic concepts; (3) sentences that relate several theoretical statements with groups of probable empirical analysis on the object (hypothesis).²⁷

The writer first wishes to use the following concept and theory in order to answer the proposed research question.

Concept of Integration

Terminologically, the word 'integration' comes from the word 'to integrate', which means to make whole or to complete by bringing together.²⁸ Integration is used as term of art in specific field of knowledge explaining multidimensional phenomenon, especially of social and politics.

In social term, integration (society), which is sometimes called social integration, means that different ethnic/religious groups as parts of diverse elements

²⁵ Mochtar Mas'oed, *Hubungan Internasional Disiplin dan Metodologi* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 93-94.

²⁶ Ibid, 95.

²⁷ Ibid, 187.

²⁸ Sara Hawker and Chris Cowley, *The Oxford Color Dictionary & Thesaurus* (Oxford University Press, 1996).

of society are incorporated in order to achieve a unified society. There is neither denial nor limitation by virtue of race, religion, or national origin for any individual to attain education, access to any public or private facility, opportunity for employment, and ownership of property.²⁹ Integration provides equality of opportunity for all members of that society in all aspects of life.

In political term, integration can be understood as a condition or as a process of how a political system is sustained and developed in a particular direction. One type of integration is Political Integration. It does not merely involve the formation of institutional mechanism and decision-making procedures but also the development of shared values and expectations, peaceful resolution of disputes and socio-political cohesiveness.³⁰

Political Integration requires National Integration, by which a state aims to succeed as nation-state. National Integration means *"the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of a national identity"*.³¹ National integration is necessary since it *"will lead to a drawing together of diverse elements in society into something more*

²⁹ "Integration (Society)," in *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia*, 2008.

³⁰ John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics, an Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford University Press.), 411.

³¹ Saafroedin Bahar, *Muslims Community, National Integration, and Modernization Drive in*

cohesive".³² Myron Weiner reviewed the real problem of political integration, that "there is still a great gap between the economic, social and cultural 'das Sein' and the political 'das Sollen'", pointing to National Integration as one of the five separate sub-problems of political integration.³³

From both social term and political term of integration, it can be summed up that integration points toward the unity or unified society which comprises of diverse elements of society. Integration also aims to reach cohesiveness in important aspects of life of the society – entwining economy, social and politics, to security – within a state as a single territorial unit.

Integration nowadays is often used as an approach or strategy taken by the national government in dealing with its immigrants, whom are often seen as disparate groups in the society but they shape the multicultural society in the country. Here the integration approach is "*the inclusion or acceptance of immigrants into the core institutions, relationships, and position of a host country or society.*"³⁴

The national governments take integration approach through one of the dimensions of social integration – one of them is called structural integration. Structural integration is the process of "*acquisition of rights and access to position*

³² Howard Wriggins, "National Integration," in *Modernization: The Dynamic of Growth*, ed. Marion Weiner (Princeton University Press., New Jersey, 1966), 197-207.

³³ Saafroedin Bahar, *loc.cit.*

³⁴ Wolfgang Bosswick and Friedrich Heckmann, *Integration of Migrants: Contribution of Local and*

and status in the core institutions of the host society: the economy and labor market, education and qualification systems, the housing system, welfare state institutions, and full political citizenship."³⁵ This process is taken by the government, as Weiner called it vertical integration, which is concerned with political, legal and administrative issues³⁶ that finally brings about the integration policies.

Many of the European states now, such as Germany, take the integration approach in which they apply nationwide integration policies for their immigrants that cover labor market policies, education (vocational and professional training) requirements and policies, naturalization policies, as well as promotion of civic and political participation.

Departing from these perspectives of on integration, the attempt of the German government to integrate Muslims in the country is understood as the attempt to incorporate Muslims community, who is not merely a disparate ethnic group given their immigrant background but concurrently a disparate religious group within the society, into a unified society in Germany.

Integrating Muslims is also understood as the effort of the German government to maintain its National Integration. Integrating Muslims as a disparate ethnic/religious group in the society in Germany is the attempt to reach cohesiveness in the country in interrelated aspects of life from economy, social and politics to

security. By integrating Muslims, German government attempts to develop the shared values and expectations from the German government to the Muslims community in the country.

Rational Actor Model Theory

Rational Actor Model or also known as “Classical” Model is a theory developed by Graham T. Allison. The core of explanation of this theory is “*to show how the nation or government could have chosen to act as it did, given the strategic problems it faced*”.⁴⁴ In this model, Allison proposed that the basic unit of analysis is governmental action as choice. The national government that takes the action is regarded as a unitary decision-maker based on rationality.⁴⁵ Here, rationality signifies “*consistent, value-maximizing choice within specified constraints*.”⁴⁶ Allison also proposed that the action taken by the national government is a “*solution*” to the problems. Allison argues that the action is as “*a steady-state choice among alternative outcomes*.”⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision, Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1971), 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 32 - 33.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 30.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 33.

Moreover, Allison proposes several basic components of the Rational Choice⁴⁸, as follows:

1. Goals and Objectives. National security and national interests are the principle categories in which strategic goals are conceived.
2. Options. Various courses of action relevant to a strategic problem provide the spectrum of options.
3. Consequences. Enactment of each alternative course of action will produce a series of consequences. The relevant consequences constitute benefits and costs in terms of strategic goals and objectives.
4. Choice. Rational choice is value-maximizing. The rational agent selects the alternative whose consequences rank highest in terms of his goals and objectives.

In brief, Rational Actor Model accentuates the best choice of action taken among alternative sets of consequences – the costs and benefits. The root of this theory then would underline why the German government led by Angela Merkel seeks to integrate Muslims in the country. Integrating Muslims is a German government's rational choice, based on goal and objective of maintaining national interests and security. The Merkel's government is the agent that chooses to take this effort of integrating Muslims, which is conceived as rational choice by the German

⁴⁸ Ibid.

government in addressing the presence of Muslims population in the country. The attempt of integrating Muslims population in the country is considered as rational choice based on benefits and costs considerations taken by the Merkel's government.

Since Merkel's government assumed office in late 2005, the German government actively promoted several initiatives and program to integrate Muslims into German state system and society with its expected norms and values. The crucial momentum that fostered the German government to promote Muslims integration in Germany was when Angela Merkel launched New Integration Policy in the First Integration Summit held in July 2006. On this one day conference on integration which took place in Berlin, Merkel invited several representatives of immigrant groups, politicians, businessmen and trade unionist, and she committed that her government together in cooperation with these representatives intended to find strategies in order to better integrate immigrants in Germany.

Then the federal government through the Federal Minister of the Interior, Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble initiated a separate conference to exclusively discuss the integration of Muslims, the German Conference on Islam (*Deutsche Islam Konferenz*, DIK). The DIK is the first institutionalized dialogue specifically held by the German government to serve as a media of negotiations and communication between the state and representatives of Muslims community living in Germany. Through this

conference, the German government expects to improve the religious and social integration of Muslims living in Germany by promoting “Muslims in Germany – German Muslims”.⁴⁹

In the following year, Merkel’s government improved its National Integration Policy through the 2nd Integration Summit held in July 2007. Merkel approved €750 million (\$1 billion) in funding to improve integration.⁵⁰ Her government committed to work in cooperation with trade unions, business, foundations and associations, as well as immigrants organizations with about 400 integration plans and projects. The projects include language courses, integration program on foreign women, trade and business courses. The government also committed to give greater concern on the capacities of immigrant women as well as the protection to immigrant women against threats of women oppression and inequality.⁵¹ Following this 2nd Integration Summit, the German Conference on Islam (DIK) was held for the second time, discussing varied topics and concrete actions on Muslims integration in Germany.

⁴⁹ German Federal Ministry of the Interior, *loc.cit.*

⁵⁰ Anna Reimann, “A Contentious Summit: Merkel’s 400 Integration Promises,” *Der Spiegel*, July 13, 2007 (accessed on Monday, September 24th, 2007); available at:

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,424215,001...>

D. Hypothesis

The German government of Angela Merkel seeks to integrate Muslims in Germany. In order to explain the reasons behind this attempt, the writer proposes this following hypothesis:

The German government of Angela Merkel seeks to integrate Muslims in Germany because the German government needs to maintain its national interests, which are: (1) protecting its national security against the threats of Islamic fundamentalism; (2) improving the social cohesion of its society; *and* (3) for safeguarding Germany's long term economic prosperity .

E. Method of Research and Data Collection

This research is based on the library research method. Thus data taken are secondary data from references in the forms of books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspapers, and journals. Additionally, the internet media is a valuable resource used in order to obtain data, reports, and surveys since some updated information and the most recent data dealing with the topic forwarded are only available through the internet media. From these sources of references, the writer tries to elaborate the real

facts relating to the topic, analyze the data by the implementation of the theories related to the case, and thus the hypothesis will be drawn.

F. Range of Research

It is important to draw limitation on the research. This will help the writer to explore and analyze the data, to prevent the subject from being expanded and thus keeping the focus of the discussion on track. In this research, the writer will focus the discussion on how the German Federal Government under the Chancellor Angela Merkel views the importance of Muslims Integration in Germany.

As the writer wishes to explain the shift of the German Government interests on Muslims Integration in Germany, the writer will show the dynamic of the German government efforts towards its immigrants, especially that are related to the Muslim immigrants and Muslims community with the immigrant background in Germany, starting with the 2005 Immigration Law, Merkel's National Integration Plan and Policy, to the several initiatives of the Merkel's government to integrate Muslims in Germany in part of the institutionalized dialogue with Muslims through the German

G. System of Writing

The outline of this thesis is as described as followed:

CHAPTER I discusses the problem background, research question, purpose and benefit of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research and system of writing.

CHAPTER II discusses Muslims in Germany, their population and immigrant background, situation and condition of Muslims, the heterogeneity of Muslims in Germany, and the relations between the State and Muslims in Germany.

CHAPTER III discusses the Germany's National Integration Policy of the present Angela Merkel's government; began with the dynamics of immigration and integration in Germany, followed by the National Integration Policy, and its relation with Muslims in Germany.

CHAPTER IV discusses the determinants of the German government led by the Federal Chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel that seeks to integrate Muslims in Germany through several initiatives in part of the National Integration Policy. By using the relevant data, the writer is going to explain that the German government seeks to integrate Muslims living in Germany in order to...