

European Union's Muslim Integration Strategy in Germany 2014-2015

Zhafir Muntashir¹ and Ahmad Syaifuddin Zuhri¹
¹*Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia*

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Abstract: This article analyses the Muslim integration strategy of the European Union (EU) in Germany during 2014-2015. The focus is on the process of EU efforts on Muslim integration strategy in Germany. Negative images were attached to Muslim post-terrorist attacks September 11, 2001. Thus, spread from the United States extended to Europe made Muslim integration became urgent and need to overcome the tension with Muslim and creating regional security. The EU pursued two aspect: to promote the integration and to fight against extremism. The Muslim integration strategy was intensively applied after the terrorist attacks and when the numbers of immigrants hitting the EU in 2014-2015. This article uses theoretical framework of Neo-Liberal institutions; the economic aspect, the role of institutions, and the concept of integration that is also behind the EU in the strategy of Muslim integration in Germany. Germany and Muslim play an important role in the economy, the survival of the institution, and the successful integration of Muslim in the EU.

1 INTRODUCTION

Muslim have been in Europe since early eight century by the Arabs conquest in Spain, Sicily, and Southern Italy. The fourteenth century, Muslim have been lived in the Balkans after the Ottoman Empire expansion. Throughout centuries Muslim in those region have developed continuous interaction the Christians in Europe. (Amitai & Nachmani, 2007)

In Europe, Muslim were considered as a migrant community by the European communities. Muslim integration was implemented properly by Muslim and the European communities. Muslim were commanded to get to know each other and keep the friendship between them. The European communities also welcomed the attitude of Muslim living in Europe.

The good relations between Muslim with the people of Europe then began to experience a tension when the attack on the World Trade Centre (WTC) in the United States (US) on September 11, 2001. Muslim were considered as the cause of such terrorist acts. The incident attracted worldwide attention, especially it has changed the perspective towards Muslim and Islam.

The world communities began to see the negative views toward Muslim communities since the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001. As a result, Muslim become the victims of such negative views. Muslim getting more attentions, especially in the countries of United States and European Union (EU).

These negative views about Muslim created a justification against Muslim. The world began to feel the fear of Islam that arose the term Islamophobia. Islamophobia in the words of John Esposito, "is becoming social cancer ... and is a threat to the very fabric of our pluralistic democratic way of life. (Esposito & Kalin, 2011)

The EU tried to promote the integration of Muslim in Europe. This integration strategy is in line with efforts to fight against terrorism which is the social needs of the European communities in creating peace and harmony between Muslim and European communities in Europe.

EU's Muslim integration strategy hopefully will help to prevent the future terrorist incidents. Therefore the EU sought to improve the integration of Muslim aiming to promote Muslim participation in the European economic, politic and societies. (Archick K. , Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2011).

Muslim integration strategy by the EU is not yet fully implemented, and still required more efforts because various terrorist attacks still happened across Europe, such as Madrid bombings and the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh in 2004 and the attack on London in 2005. (Archick K. , Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2011)

Such incidents was challenged the efforts of Muslim integration strategy in EU countries. The efforts was questioned the implementation of Muslim integration strategy to prevent the future terrorist incidents across Europe.

In 2015 also happened the attack on the office of Charlie Hebdo magazine, bombing attack during a concert of music in Paris, and a suicide bombing at Brussels Airport in (Euronews, 2016). These incidents increased the difficulties for the EU to attempt the Muslim integration strategy.

In addition to the various incidents of terrorism, the EU also has to face massive immigrants who come from different region of conflict in the world. Massive migration due to the conflict entering the EU countries and the majority of them are Muslim. The EU then need to share the burden of refugees to their member states that does not accumulate in one or two countries.

Approximately 562,680 refugees and asylum seekers arrived in Europe in 2014. The number of refugees and asylum seekers increasing rapidly in 2015 with more than 1 million people, exactly 1,255,640 refugees and asylum seekers arrived in Europe. (Schmid, 2016)

A state that becoming a favourite European destination for Muslim immigrants is Germany. Germany is a prosperous country in Europe, but the potential of terrorist attacks can be occurred due to the massive immigrants. In 2015, Germany was also willing to accept 800,000 refugees and asylum seekers in the country. (Mason, 2016)

The intention of that German policy to accept refugees and asylum seekers was made Germany potentially vulnerable. This would require Germany to make efforts towards integration of (Muslim) immigrants. In this Muslim integration efforts, Germany needs the EU as an institution that houses the European countries.

EU role for Germany is to support Germany's Muslim integration efforts. The support of EU to Germany and other EU member states is the part of the EU's Muslim integration strategy. The strategy aimed to facilitate the EU member states to promote and implement the Muslim integration efforts through their policies.

The role of EU also to encourage integration practices, harmonizing standards and monitoring national policies. There was no legal basis to the EU to act or directly implemented national integration policies to their member states. (Archick K. , Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2011)

The EU also seeks to create a Muslim integration through the integration strategy of Muslim, especially in Germany which is the most favourite destination country of the majority of Muslim immigrants. Germany was a country that EU set to implement Muslim integration strategy because of its vulnerability.

Efforts made by the government of Germany to their Muslim in the country aligned with Muslim integration strategy by the EU. It promoted the integration and tackled against radicalism and terrorism. It is then reflected into Germany's domestic policy such as an exit program in 2010.

Exit program was launched in July 2010 by interior ministry of Germany to provide assistance to violent extremists seeking to turn backs on extremism. This initiative was similar with the program for right-wing extremists that launched in 2001. (Archick K. , Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2012).

Those kind of considerations made Germany was priority to implement the EU's Muslim integration strategy. The strategy will make Germany to create their national policies in order to overcome the problems that may be occurred in the case of Germany's vulnerability.

The EU itself has made a strategy, while Germany will make the national policies of the strategy. The EU strategy on the integration of Muslim is to promote the integration and to fight against radicalism and terrorism.

The strategy was reflected in draft called EU Fundamental Rights Draft: preventing and combating anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim hatred in Europe. (European Commission, 2015). The draft will then be adopted by all EU member states into their national policies in their respective countries. (Archick K. , Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2011). Thus the EU's Muslim integration strategy was priority to Germany.

2 MUSLIM IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Muslim in the European Union is a community that has long history and has been lived in Europe for

centuries. Since the early eighth century AD, Muslim have been arrived the region through the Arab conquest. Thereby, as time goes by, Muslim in the Europe sometimes erratic numbers increased and decreased. This is caused by the presence of Muslim who returned to his homeland after living in the Europe. (Schmidinger, Islam, Migration, and the Muslim Communities in Europe: History, Legal Framework, and Organizations, 2011)

The Increasing of Muslim in large numbers occurred in the 1960s. Great migration from the former colonies which most of them are Muslim majority countries in North Africa. As a result of it, Muslim that came into the Europe made the number of Muslim in Europe increased rapidly. The arrival of Muslim immigrants was due to the need for workers or labour in European countries after the warfare of World War II such as Germany, Britain, and France. (Gallis, Archick, Miko, & Woehrel, 2005)

Muslim immigrants were initially set to temporary, but due to the changes of the bilateral agreements, these immigrants settled in the Europe for decades. The presence of Muslim immigrants made the Muslim populations in Europe has increased almost beyond Europe natives. Nonetheless, Muslim and local communities in Europe remained peaceful co-existence. It was harmony, even the Europeans are keen to embrace Islam (Angenendt, et al., 2007).

Tolerance that showed by Muslim and the Europeans did not going well along the way. Sometimes there were some groups opposed Muslim called as the far-right wing groups. Thus, German took the lead to integrate them. This integration effort was to overcome disputes. These efforts are also made to ensure the lives of Muslim immigrants to receive the same treatment as citizens. In fact there was no such as major problem that happened between Muslim and the Europeans at that time.

Entering the era of the 2000s in the aftermath of terrorist attacks such as the September 11, 2001 in US spread to Europe by bombings of Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005, the EU made the integration has to seriously undertaken to fight extremism and radicalism in the Muslim communities.

Negative prejudices against Muslim appeared to make it difficult to create a process of integration that has been running. Other than that, Islamophobia has also become one of the factors that hinder the integration of Muslim in the EU. (Angenendt, et al., Muslim Integration: Challenging Conventional Wisdom in Europe and The United States, 2007).

The social movement prevalent in the German-speaking countries 'Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident' (German abbreviation: PEGIDA), particularly in its country of origin Germany and in Austria. It emerged as a populist 'street movement.' On 20 October 2014, with approximately 350 protesters, they took the first demonstration and protested against the political establishment and increased Islamic influence on European culture. A Facebook group arose with which criticized a pro-Kurdish demonstration in the city of Dresden. (Haller & Holt, 2018)

That kind of prejudices against Muslim and the movement has aggravated the relations between Muslim and European communities in Europe. In addition it also impeded the efforts of Muslim integration that has been built through the ideas to promote integration in Europe.

Therefore, the EU pursued a strategy of integration of Muslim in the era of the 2000s focused on promoting integration and prevent radicalism and terrorist recruitment. Preventing potential terrorist radicalization and recruitment process was hoping to tackle the growth of terrorism in the EU.

Besides promoting the integration of Muslim and preventing radicalism, there was also a forum to exchange information, so there is no misunderstanding about Muslim. The forum was facilitate by EU and organized by each EU member states. In Germany, they were created a German Islam Conference. (Bonewit, 2016)

Muslim integration efforts was continuity undertaken in each of EU member states. In 2013 the strategy of Muslim integration that was challenged back by various terrorist attacks stricken the across the EU countries. In addition to the numerous terrorist attacks, the declaration of Islamic caliphate in Syria and Iraq which called ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) and the various warfare and conflicts that never ending the Middle East and Africa region also has implications for the integration of the Europeans and Muslim.

The never ending war in the Middle East and Africa region has impacted the number of refugees and asylum seekers entering Europe. The refugees and asylum seekers are mostly Muslim entering the EU member states to seek a protection. But there are also who seek a better life. The problem that happens then is that the number of refugees who come to the EU during 2014-2015 was more than 4 million people (Schmid, 2016).

Refugees and asylum seekers were arrived in the EU member states mostly from South Asia, West,

Africa, and the Balkans. More than 1 million people in the Mediterranean Sea in 2015, the majority coming from three majority Muslim countries, namely, Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, the rest come from Somalia, Libya, and other Middle Eastern countries. (Schmid, 2016)

This massive immigrants that entering the EU was the biggest migration since World War II. This situation also created xenophobic and anti-migrant movements. Those refugees and asylum seekers majority caused of the warfare in the Middle East such as Syria. (Yasbek, et al., 2015)

The EU has created Muslim integration strategy that focus on two aspects: to promote the integration and to fight against extremism. In promoting integration, although there are no legal basis EU treaties which directly authorizes the EU to carry out a policy of integration, the EU plays an important role in the integration process going on and monitoring the integration efforts of its member states. (Archick K. , Belkin, Blanchard, Ek, & Mix, 2011)

One of favourite destination of these refugees is Germany. Germany also holds the largest among the refugee burden of other EU countries. Besides being Germany is a country of immigrants, Germany also has had experience in the integration program, especially with Muslim immigrants. Besides, Germany is also a country potentially affected by the terror attacks because of the many immigrants.

The number of Muslim immigrants coming into Europe, especially in Germany making the EU conduct a strategy in 2014, namely to guarantee fundamental rights for immigrants and Muslim population. Additionally, Muslim integration efforts are also made to support the steps taken by the European Union. Germany is one of particular concern regarding Muslim integration due to the massive Muslim immigrants who came in and a series of terrorist attacks (European Commission, 2016).

There are interesting things from the many refugees who come to Germany. Despite frequent attacks against refugees throughout 2015, but there are also groups that welcomed the arrival of the refugees as performed by some of the German community in Munich. The refugees who had just arrived at the station Munich were greeted with drinks, food, and medicine. Besides, the German people also donated basic needs for refugees.

Volunteer group of refugees is estimated at 3,000 people and is expected to reach 7,000 in September 2015. The volunteers help the newly arrived refugees after a long journey from Hungary to use

the bus. Assistance provided by the German public to the refugees were able to create a good integration process, especially against Muslim. (Connolly, 2015)

The majority Muslim in Germany live in large cities and large industrial areas, such as Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Dortmund, Essen, Munich, and Hamburg. The Muslim presence is very strategic to the German economy. (Schmidinger, Islam, Migration, and the Muslim Communities in Europe: History, Legal Framework, and Organizations, 2011)

In the last two decades, they are more successful economically, educated, and integrated into the social and cultural life. Another reality of Muslim in Germany is 80 percent Muslim immigrants in Germany are employees or employers. In education, 34 percent of German Muslim are graduates of diploma, 22.3 percent of high school graduates is high, 28.8 percent of high school graduates. This means that 85.2 percent of German Muslim have the qualifications to enter the diverse workforce. (Foroutan, 2013)

3 STRATEGY ON MUSLIM INTEGRATION IN GERMANY

Due to the economic potential generated by the German Muslim and to prevent the occurrence of problems, especially for the EU, German Muslim performed an integration strategy in 2014. The strategy was the EU strategy against radicalization and recruitment into terrorism, and the European Commission is also advised to prevent radicalization and recruitment of terrorism with a broader approach that includes internal and external security.

The phenomenon can be analysed in neo-liberal institutionalism by Robert O. Keohane. This theory emphasize on cooperation to create economic prosperity. This theory also emphasizes soft power in solving a problem which is non-violence. Because beside to make it save, the settlement of soft power is considered more effective and efficient. (Keohane & Nye, 2012)

One form of soft power efforts undertaken by the EU of Muslim in Germany pursued a strategy of integration of Muslim. Germany's ability to carry out the successful integration of immigrants in the 1960s gave the EU the confidence to be able to create the continuation of integration of Muslim following the strategic framework and basic principles of the EU draft.

Muslim integration strategy also followed the concept of mutual cooperation in the Neo-liberal

institutionalism. Because in the process, The EU in cooperation with Germany and the Muslim communities within Germany are keen to create the integration of Muslim. This is resulted in the presence of Muslim in Germany to be able to be empowered especially those immigrants who can boost the German economy.

The increase in the German economy cannot be separated from the role of Muslim in Germany. Germany increased surplus of 7.3 percent of GDP in 2014 and 8.2 percent of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) in 2015. The presence of Muslim in Germany that can move Germany automatically will have an impact for the EU because Germany is a member of the European Union and actively participate in various activities of the EU economy (European Commission, 2016).

The increase in GDP was due to the dominance of foreign trade gives a surplus of 1,2 pps (purchasing power standard) to 8.6 percent of GDP. German surplus is associated with the European Union. The European Union also experienced economic improvement of 1.3 pps, the pps 0.7 of it associated to Euro currency. (European Commission, 2016)

The European Union is willing to provide assistance funding to all its members amounted to 3.137 billion Euro for efforts to make the asylum seekers, immigrants, and integration. Germany receives assistance in improving the facilities and services for asylum seekers. EU action is to aim for all member states, especially Germany no economic difficulties in implementing the strategy of Muslim integration. (European Asylum Support Office, 2016)

The existence of a mutually beneficial relationship between the EU and Germany are due to Muslim integration strategy is consistent with the concept of absolute advantage (absolute gain) or non-zero sum games in the neo-liberal institutionalism. The intent of this concept is a collaboration will always make a profit even if the value of different advantages, but these advantages can surely be achieved with the cooperation (Keohane & Nye, 2012).

The economic advantage is not only felt by the EU and Germany alone, but also the Muslim communities in Germany also can feel the benefits of the Muslim integration strategy. Because of the presence of Muslim integration strategy of the Muslim community in Germany received special attention gaining the fundamental rights such as carry conviction.

In November 2015 Germany also launched a pre-integration course comprised of language training and cultural orientation, immigration counselling, and project integration for immigrants whom would

stay in Germany, primarily from Muslim countries. Germany also prioritized the integration of labour markets and labour market counselling guide projects in the procedures for granting asylum. Such efforts would improve the economy if the refugees and asylum seekers were able to integrate into the labour market.

The creation of mutually beneficial cooperation between the European Union, Germany, and the Muslim community in Germany is a manifestation of the mutual dependence or interdependence. In the Neo-liberal institutional concept of interdependence, the concept is defined as the process of interdependence between the actors with other actors because each actor has advantages and disadvantages (Elsayed & Grip, 2015).

The Neo-liberal institutionalism argued that security is an important or major factor in improving the economy. Because if there is no security guaranteed or there were conflicts within the state then cooperation will not be created or not fully implemented, and if cooperation is not created then the benefits could not be obtained. Therefore ensure and guaranteed the security in Germany, Muslim integration strategy is an answer as a part of efforts to boost the economy of Germany and the EU.

Although Germany has had experienced in the integration of Muslim in particular with immigrants for a long time, but it is vulnerable to various threats of terrorist attacks due to the massive immigrants entering the country. The arrived of 1.1 million asylum seekers in Germany in 2015 and only 477,000 people are newly registered, and the majority come from Muslim majority countries such as Syria (162 510), Albania (54 762), Kosovo (37 095), Afghanistan (31 902), and Iraq (31 379) (Bonewit, 2016).

To overcome the security problem, The German Federal Government launched security cooperation with the Muslim community in 2011. The initiative aimed to raise awareness of the threat of violent extremism and radicalism that triggers to the terrorism, to identify the successful of Muslim communities with the security authorities, and to encourage and finance the construction of the other communities. (OSCE, 2014)

Therefore, to support the integration strategy for the Muslim and Muslim's security guarantees, The European Union held a meeting to discuss the fundamental rights. The meeting resulted a draft that is to emphasize tolerance and to fight against anti-Semitism and hatred against Muslim (European Commission, 2015).

Seeing the enormous potential security threats in Germany The strategy of integration of Muslim is done by using soft power as a forum for dialogue,

the provision of education and skills, etc. The use of soft power by Neo-liberal institutionalism is more important than the use of hard power such as expulsion or even the use of military force. (Keohane & Nye, 2012)

The EU pursued the integration strategy of Muslim to prevent future conflicts that could be occurred in Germany which will affect the EU and its member states too. Germany also has the interest to get help from the EU as an institution. These two kind of interests are then joined together by cooperation that created in the umbrella of institution with the way of integration of Muslim strategy in Germany.

The cooperation then created a relationship of mutual dependence (interdependence) and mutual benefits (absolute gain) between them. The EU and Germany see Muslim in Germany as an economic potential that can boost the economy of Germany and the EU. This is a common interest to achieve the mutual cooperation that happening between the circles.

4 MUSLIM INTEGRATION IN GERMANY AS AN EXAMPLE FOR THE OTHER EU MEMBER STATES

Muslim integration strategy that created by EU is a form of support to Germany because it has been willing to accommodate the number of massive Muslim immigrants coming into the country. Therefore, to appreciate the efforts of the German EU also gave the assistance to Germany through a series of EU meetings to discuss the integration of Muslim, especially in Germany.

German was tend to potentially conflict with the number of immigrants within them. Thus, the EU immediately tried to keep Germany remained stable and secured. In 2015, The EU made a draft which aimed to promote tolerance, fundamental rights, and eliminate hatred against Muslim. This draft also was in the same year, the EU member states adopted a declaration on cooperation commitment against radicalization and terrorist networks (Oray).

The draft is intended for all members of the EU but in practice more specifically to Germany because of the urgent conditions. Based on the draft, Germany can make domestic policy on the integration of Muslim as mandated by the EU and EU has to support, facilitate, and monitoring the policies of Muslim integration in Germany.

The EU should help solve problems faced by each member states and play an important role to

give the assistance. In the case of Germany, the EU step is slightly different from the other members because there are major priorities concerning highly potential conflict that could happen between Muslim and the native in Germany so that the EU as an institution that houses Germany pursued and obligated the integration of Muslim in Germany.

The EU chosen Germany to be prioritized due to the potential of high conflict that could happen in Germany and its vulnerability compared with other members. Other than that, Germany also has a strong influence on the EU for the survival of EU institutions amid the issue of anti-EU or Euroskeptic trending happening today. The exit of Britain from this institution has affected the other EU member states to join the Brexit campaign.

This situations was concerning EU to build strong relations with Germany. For the Germany, German's willingness to accommodate Muslim immigrants, it required Germany to conduct various. The program focuses on the integration of Muslim; promoting citizenship, shared values of freedom, tolerance, and non-discrimination through education. The programs also need the assistance of EU and Germany could share it to the EU.

Integration is a two-way process between immigrants and locals dynamic to help each other. Various definitions of such integration can be concluded that integration is a process to blend (unification) with the public without leaving their original culture. Respect for differences and tolerance is needed in the process of community integration; integration over a greater understanding of sociology and society (Hübschmann, 2015).

In the course of the integration of immigrants in the European region, 15 EU member states practicing the integration of immigrants but only German intensively practicing the integration of immigrants consistently. Various immigrant integration program undertaken by Germany can be realized with good and last a long time since the successful of immigrant integration in 1960s.

Because of the successful of Germany integration programs in the field of immigrant integration, the EU has the confidence to give its trust to make a strategy of Muslim integration in Germany. Germany has successfully implemented an immigrant integration programs that also inseparable from the role of Muslim itself in Germany that also fully supported the programs. Muslim integration strategy in Germany is expected to become an example for other EU member states to create an integration of Muslim in their respective countries.

The real implementation that Germany has already realised for the process of immigrant integration especially Muslim integration in Germany are creating and organizing German Islam Conference, integration courses, Islamic education in public school, etc. Those Germany efforts still implemented until now and able to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding between Muslim and local Germans.

5 CONCLUSION

Muslim integration EU strategy is a strategy that has long history of step by step efforts by the EU and its member states. As the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, the strategy has been made and continue to be refined over the years. The strategy is to promote integration and to fight against extremism to maintain the security and harmony of European society's relations with Muslim.

Various terrorist attacks that hit the EU region and significant flows of refugees and asylum seekers coming into the EU increasingly created the need for the integration of Muslim to be done intensively practicing. For that, in 2014-2015 the EU intensively finalize the Muslim integration strategy that conducted by the EU member states of the institution.

EU member states seemed focus only on their internal security and less on Muslim integration in the country. Therefore the EU seeks to convince its member states to integrate their Muslim population by giving attention to Germany which is a favourite destination for Muslim immigrants.

Therefore the EU issued a strategy of integration of Muslim in Germany in 2014-2015, i.e., when the German willing to open the country to accommodate and received many refugees and asylum seekers. The EU put their trust in Germany that has been able successfully practicing the integration of immigrants and Muslim for a long time.

The EU also has the interest of pursuing a strategy of the integration of Muslim in Germany. This interests is a common interest between the EU and Germany. Both interests was created an interdependence situation between EU and Germany and also Muslim in Germany that could not be separable.

The European Union has the expectation that if the integration of Muslim in Germany successfully implemented, Muslim integration will be extended to other EU member states or even the world. This concept which usually called spill over. The spill

over was hoping to create Muslim integration strategy to all EU member states, all the European countries and even all over the world.

Therefore, The European Union is pursuing a strategy of integration of Muslim in Germany to later serve as an example for other EU member states that have not done the integration of Muslim amid the many security threats and the number of Muslim immigrants in the European Union. If this Muslim integration extends to other European Union member states, hopefully it can create the stability in the European Union, especially the harmony between the Muslim community and the European Union.

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