Afrozensus

Preview Version

Afrozensus

2020

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

Preview Version

Thank you

Project organisations

EACH ONE TEACH ONE

citizens FOR europe

Scientific co-operation partners

DeZIM Deutsches Zentrum für Integrations- und Migrationsforschung

ASH Berlin Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin University of Applied Sciences

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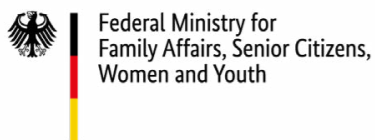
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The authors marked with * are no longer working for CFE but for the Center for Data-driven Empowerment, Leadership and Advocacy (zedela) (www.zedela.org). Lisa Reiber (Data Science) is also no longer with CFE.

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The comprehensive quantitative data preparation of the Afrozensus 2020 report was implemented by the Afrozensus Data Science Team – Lisa Reiber and Juan Vivanco (both CFE) – which also provided the statistical code for data analysis.

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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 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 commitment, 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,
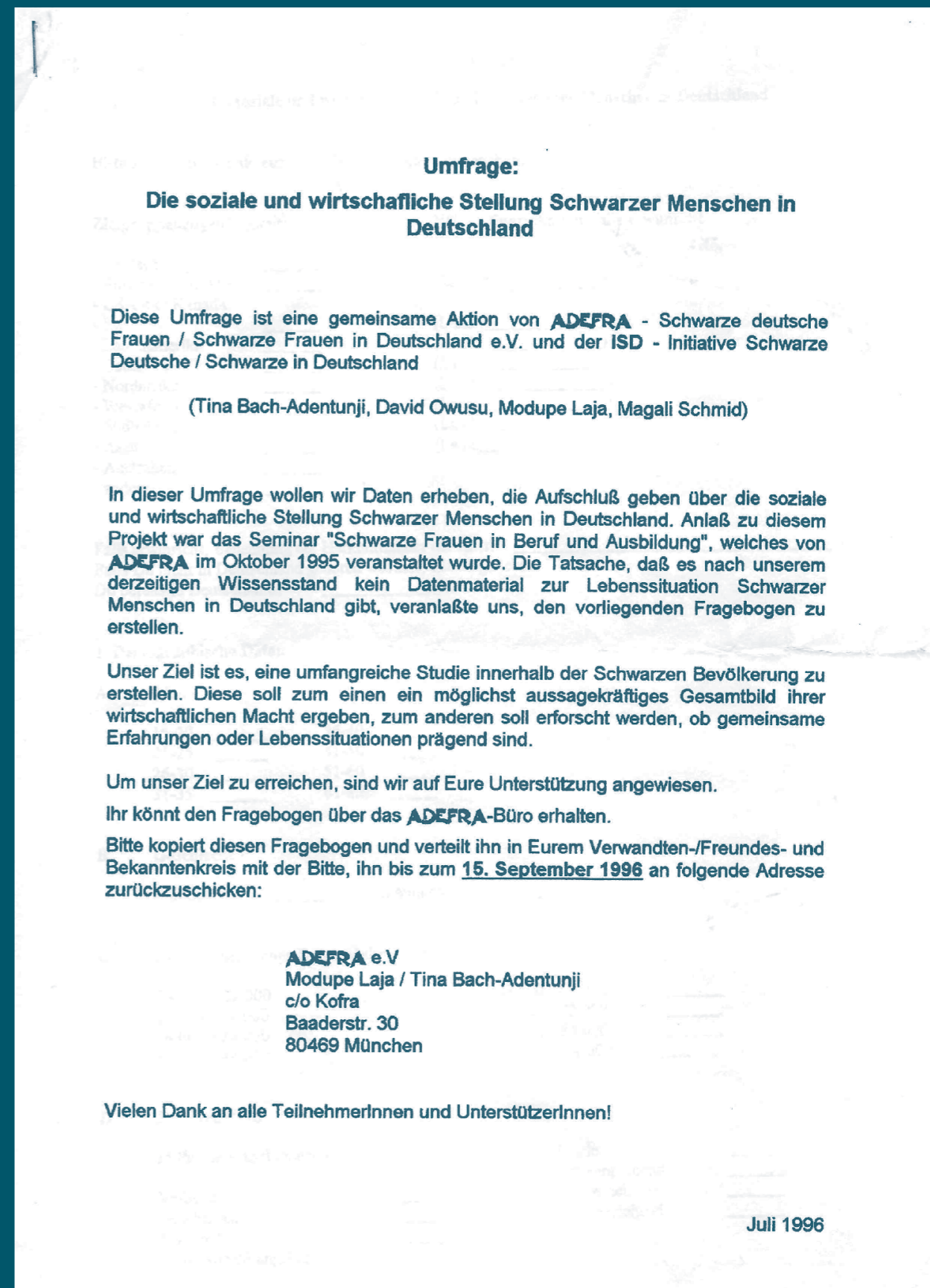

Fig. A: Survey on the social and economic position of Black people in Germany (1996)

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)

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

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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".

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 attentively – 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.

Attentively, 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 extensive 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
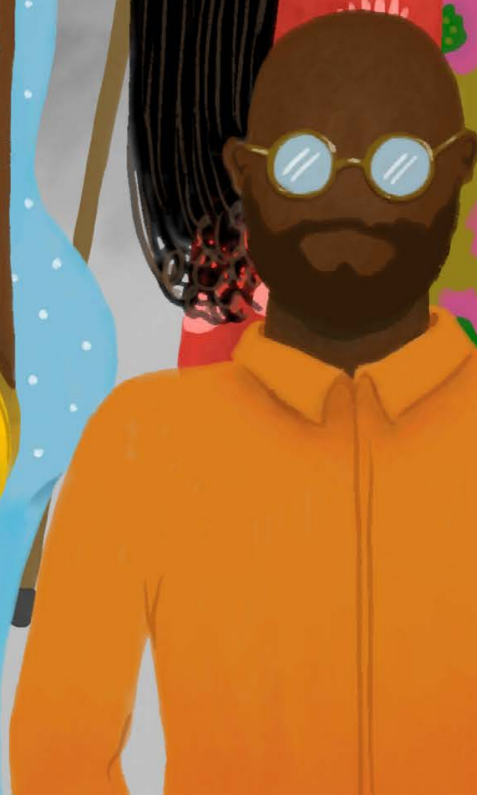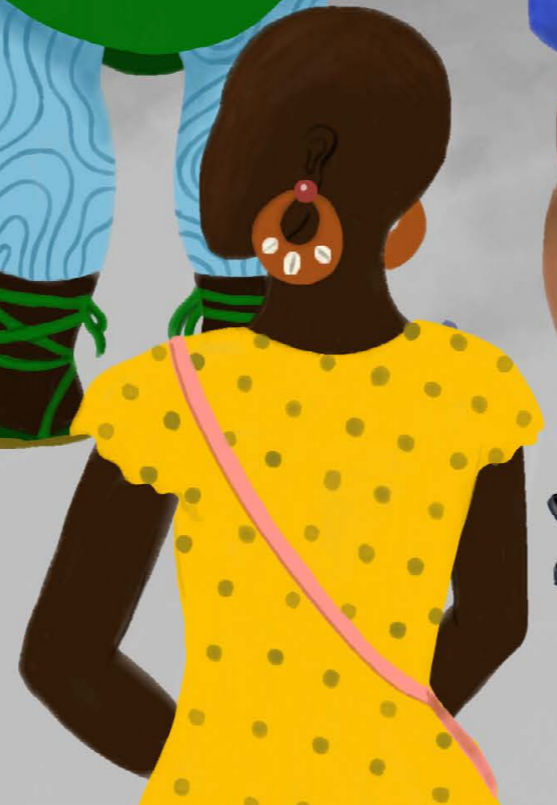
1.

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 had the opportunity to participate in the most extensive study of its kind – a groundbreaking opportunity for the first time.

"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 significantly. (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 would like to contribute to achieving.

Black people have many shared experiences, but in their heterogeneity, they also have many different experiences. The experience of 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 im-

pulses and political, cultural, and theoretical exchanges, there are also critical socio-political differences.

In Germany, Black, African and Afro-diasporic experiences have so far mainly been made invisible by using the category of migration background[1] to analyse them and by subsuming them under general racism. "There are interfaces and overlaps among Black, African, and Afro-diasporic people, as well as those with a migration background and/or other experiences of racism. However, it is our firm conviction that none of these groups, in all their overlapping realms, has been adequately acknowledged. This acknowledgment is contingent upon recognizing and thoroughly analyzing specific experiences, discrimination dynamics, and exclusion mechanisms within German society." 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. Simultaneously, there was recognition of the possible risks inherent in conducting a state survey, rendering such an initiative a conflicting pursuit, particularly when considering the historical backdrop of Germany; data and analyses can both empower and 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 scholar, enlightener, and staunch abolitionist, 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 networked at the suggestion of Audre Lorde. Here, the importance of transnational exchange becomes evident; it ultimately gave rise to generations of inspiring impulses such as "Farbe bekennen" (Oguntoye et al., 1986), as well as the founding of the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD) 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, challenging Afro-Germans possessing German citizenship about their passport privilege and urging solidarity from Black German organisations. 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 formation of theory but also work on their own 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 stems from 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 Na-

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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.

tions 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", where the international 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 particularly 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 further statistics, partly because university research almost completely ignores the situation of people of African descent in Germany. There is also not a single chair for Black Studies in Germany. The discourse on the need for more differentiated statistical surveys has been established and intensified in recent years, espe-

cially 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 Mikrozensus[2] 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 an 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 with a Sub-Saharan 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 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 ra-**

cism (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

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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.)

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 visualise the diversity and complexity of Black, African and Afro-diasporic life realities in Germany and thus enable solidarity and emancipatory action. In addition to socio-demographic data (e.g. age, education, income), experiences of discrimination, respondents' commitment, 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 interest in findings.

The Afrozensus invites an exchange of 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 research subjects. 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

The question of which research ethical values and principles guide the planning, addressing of the target groups, implementation of the Afrozensus, as well as the evaluation and presentation of the results, is central to 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 (Erichsen & 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 stems from 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], commitment 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 availa-

ble 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-

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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-Discri-**

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, flight, growing up in African communities and classic 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)
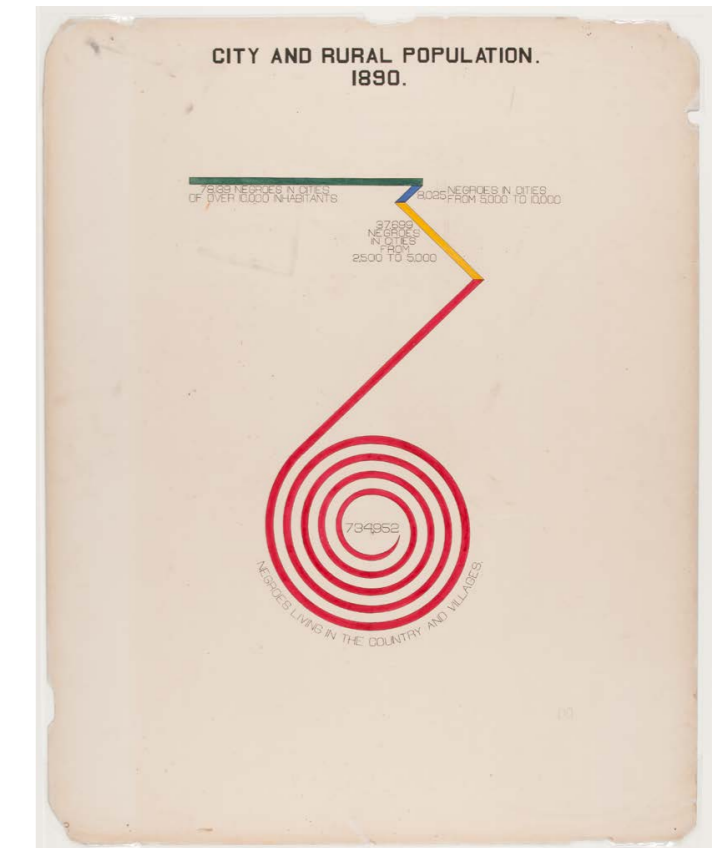
Only an intersectional perspective can understand anti-Black racism

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 knowledge 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 ABR[3] 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.

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' [inverted commas in original]." (Mills, 2013, p. 35)."

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 Schutztruppen[4] 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

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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.

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 traumatisation and re-traumatisation (→ 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-

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, distanced 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 in intelligence, rational thinking but also in 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).

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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

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 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 that which makes no sense" (Ahmed, 2017, p. 37): "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). These offers are an essential empowerment service. 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 voids of 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 in-

fluential 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 Meteorological 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, paralysing dynamic within the communities: the problem diagnosis – 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 the diversity dimensions

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. We chose a mixed-methods approach for the research design, incorporating both 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 discrimination[1] 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

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. **Social commitment & 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 completed it early.

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

[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.

of 16 was deleted) and pseudonymised [G]. The cleansed 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**

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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?
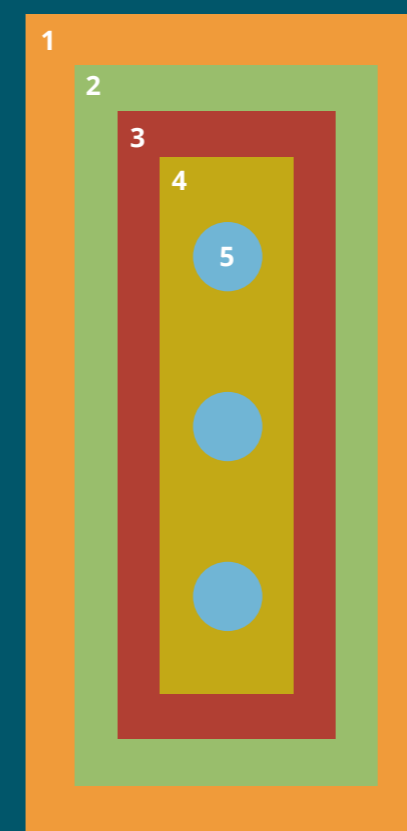
**Fig. 2:
Calculation basis of the Afrozensus**

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 = 4013 completed the questionnaire and n = 2406 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 consultations[4] 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**

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 .

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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.

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 bi-national 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-

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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 peo- ple, 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 numerical- ly 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 stra- tegies, 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.

3.3 Operationalisation of the diversity dimensions 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 depriv- ileged groups in the following and in the analysis, we always refer to the (de-)privileging within the respec- tive 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 consid- ered privileged compared to cis women and TIN* re- spondents. However, the same person may be depriv- ileged in other discrimination dynamics, for example, due to a low income.

We also refer to groups as tendentially privileged and deprivileged groups, as (de)privilege can also vary within a diversity dimension, depending on the pre- vailing 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 attri- bution 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. 95 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 dy- namics. 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 dimen- sions examined and their operationalisations based on the socio-demographic data of the respondents that we used in the Afrozensus for the subgroup anal- yses.[8] The table is based on the research by Citizens For Europe that preceded the Afrozensus on record- ing 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 par- ticularly affected by racist discrimination in Germany, which the Federal Government's report to the UN An- ti-Racism Committee names (Federal Ministry of the Interior & Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, 2017; Press and Informa- tion 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 Af- ro-diasporic people.

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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 – re- gardless 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?"

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 deprivileged	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 pass-port 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
Flight experience (own and/or family)	People with personal and / or family flight experience	People without flight experience	Personal and/or family flight 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	◆ 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	◆ 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	◆ 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)

Preview Version

Preview Version

Age (cohorts)	too young / too old (context-dependent)	old / young	◆ 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
Disability	People with officially recognised disabilities	People without an officially recognised disability	
Impairment	People with impairments	People without impairments	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.
Education	low educational attainment	Medium and high level of education	◆ 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	Equivalised income = total net household income divided by the age-weighted total of persons living in the household high income: ◆ income-rich = >=200% share of the median [G] of the sample ◆ high income = >=150% share of the median of the sample middle income: ◆ middle income = 71%-149% share of the median of the sample low income: ◆ income-poor = <=70% share of the median of the sample ◆ at risk of poverty = <=60% share of the median of the sample ◆ poor (according to WHO and OECD) = <=50% share of the median of the sample
Marital status concerning single parents	Single parent	Non single parent	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
Place of residence City / Country	Rural communities, small and medium-sized towns	Large cities	◆ 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 background[1] living in Germany and with data on the total population[2] 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 LGBTIQA+ [G] and are significantly less likely to state that they are severely disabled. Most respondents are at least bilingual or trilingual.

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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 years[3] (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).
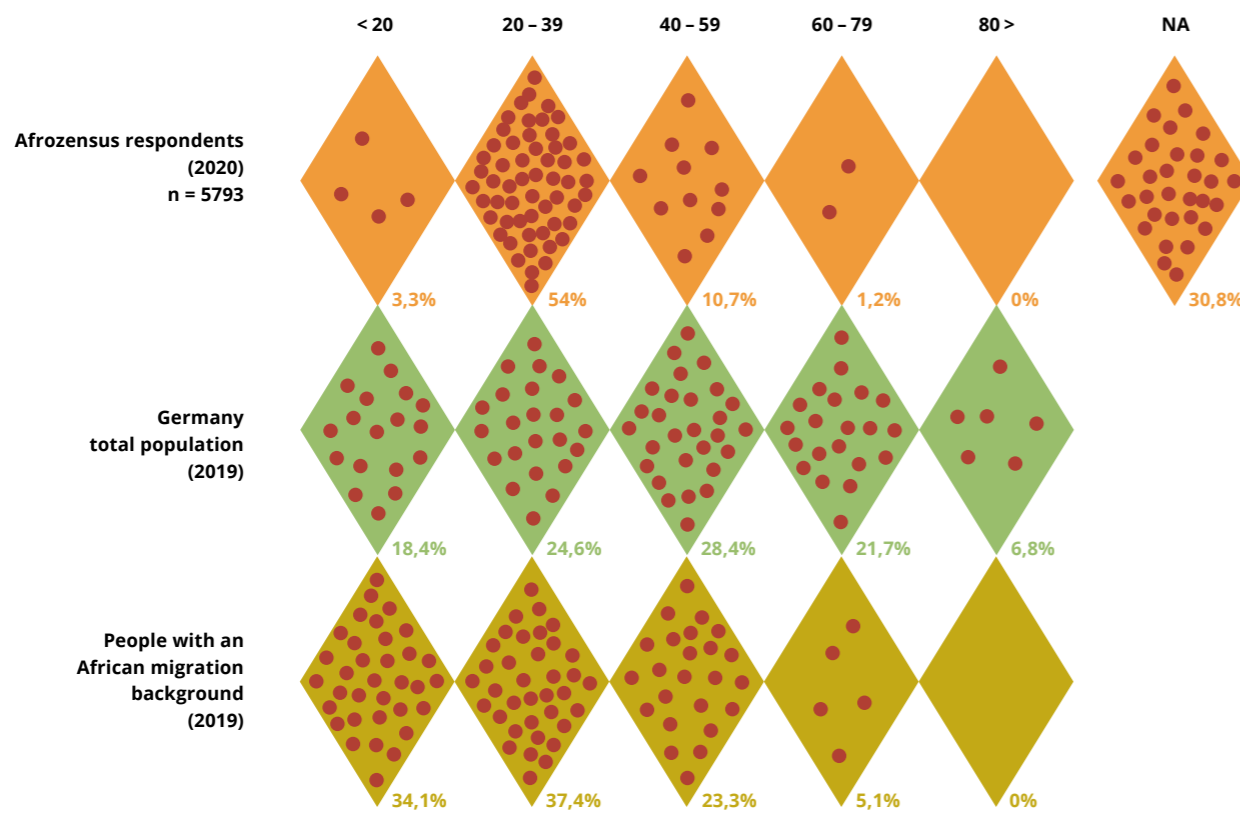

Fig. 3: Age

(→ 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.
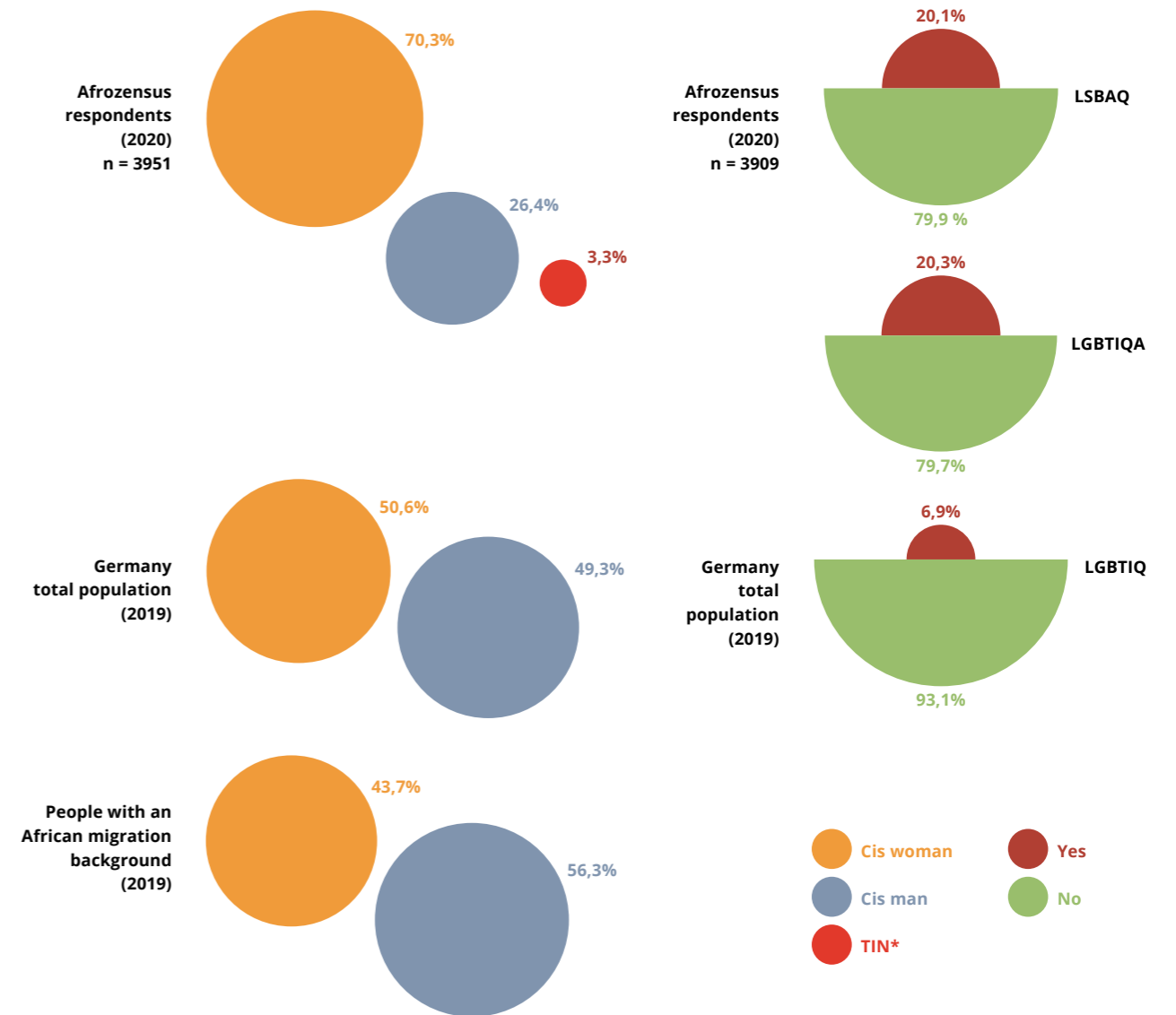

Fig. 4: Gender identity/ies & sexual orientation

(→ Sources, p. 75)

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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.
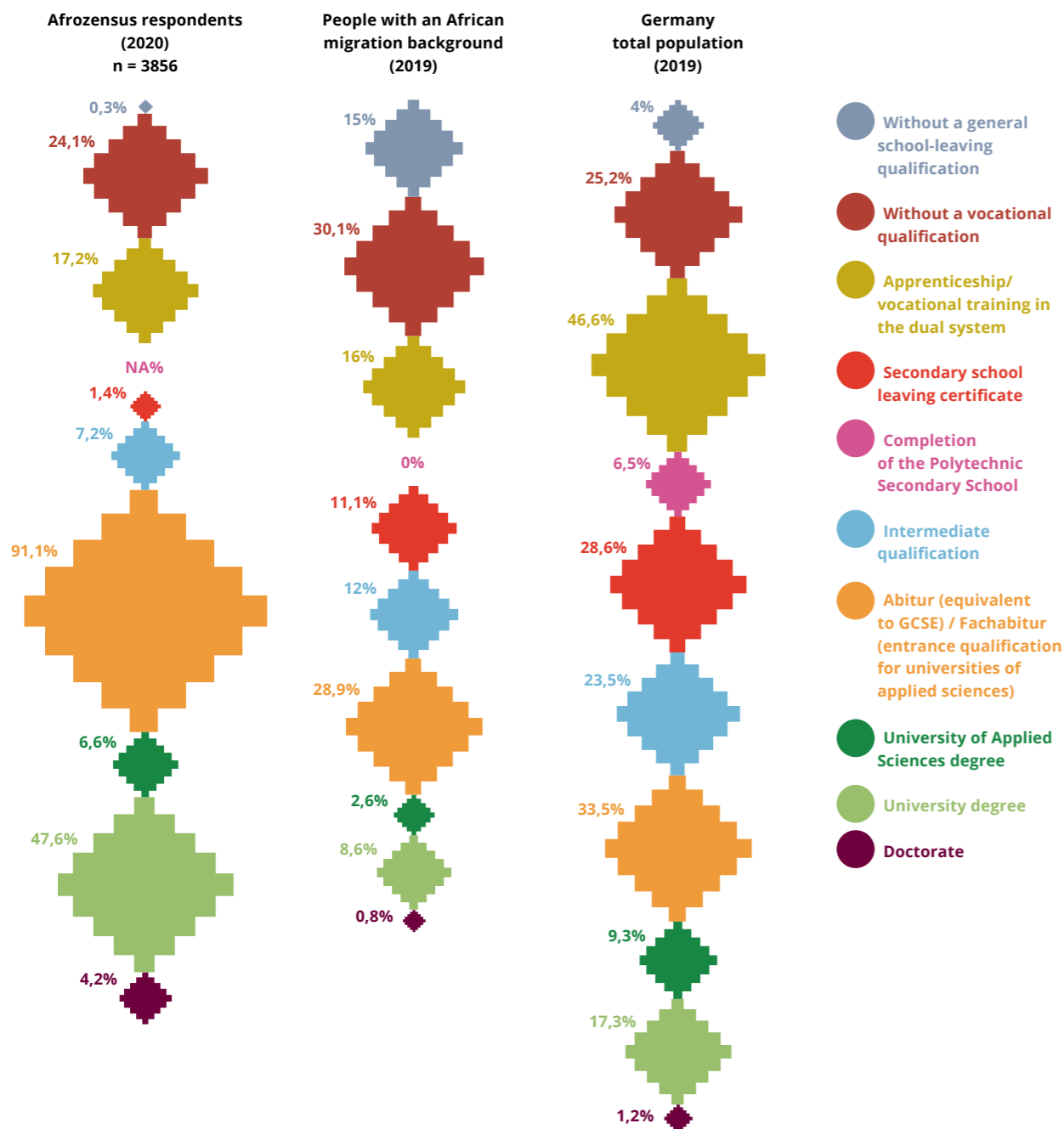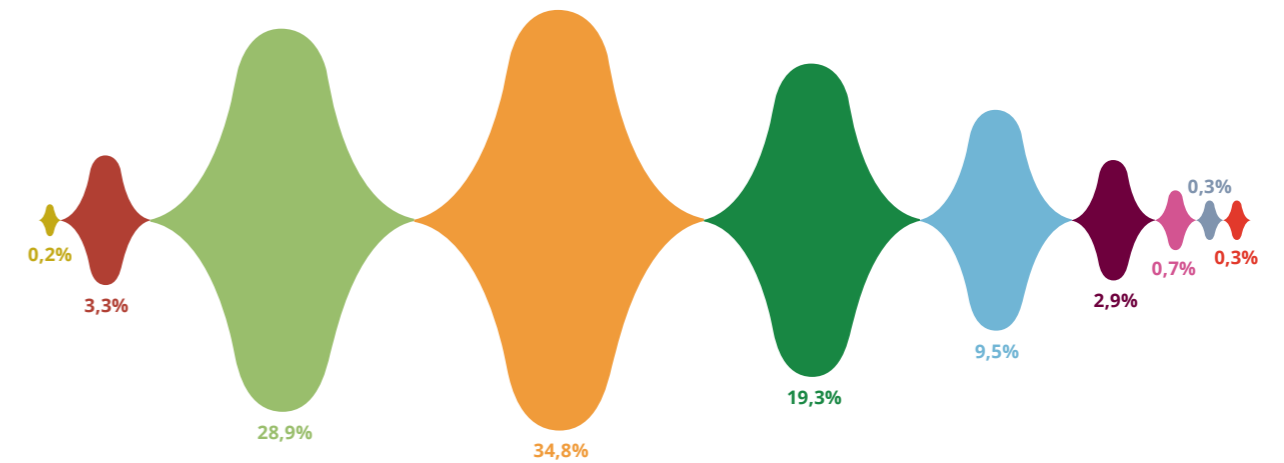

Fig. 5: Education

Afrozensus respondents (2020)

Total number of languages
n = 3935

Number of African languages
n = 3840

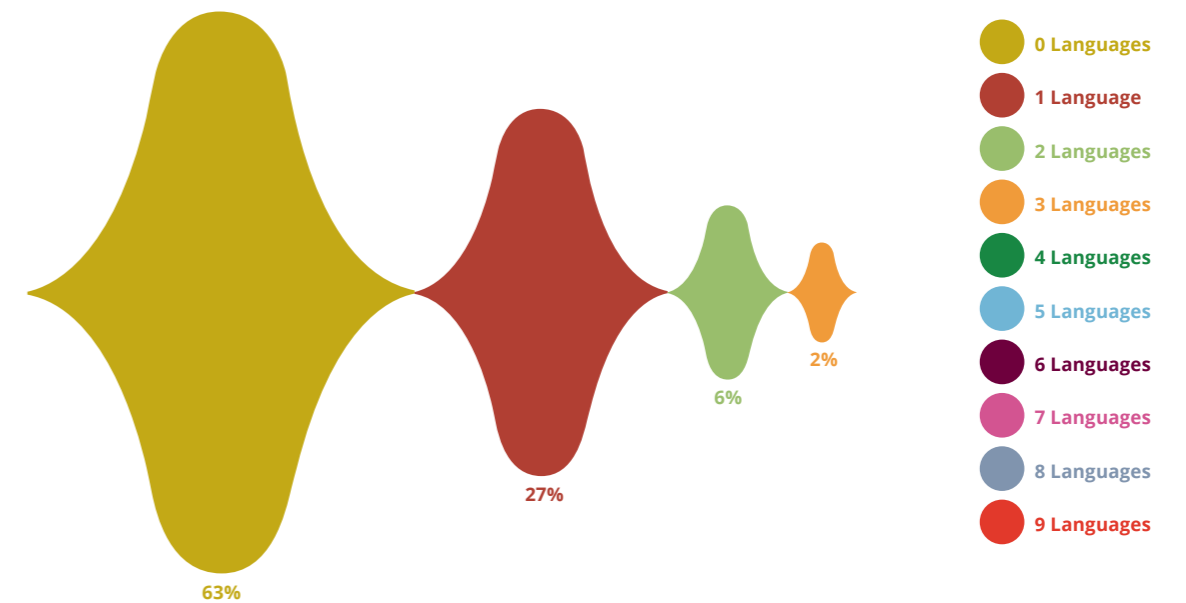## Fig. 6: Language

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 2019[9] (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 ser-

vices, 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.
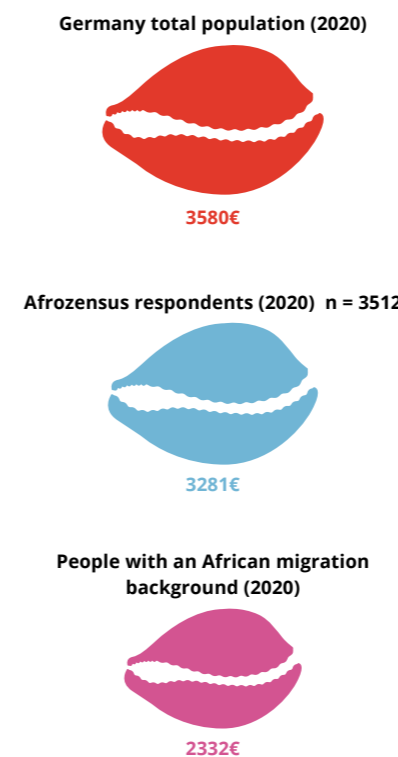
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8 3,551 respondents provided information on their professional situation. The analysis refers to these people. Multiple answers were possible. In approx. 11 % of all cases, multiple answers were given.
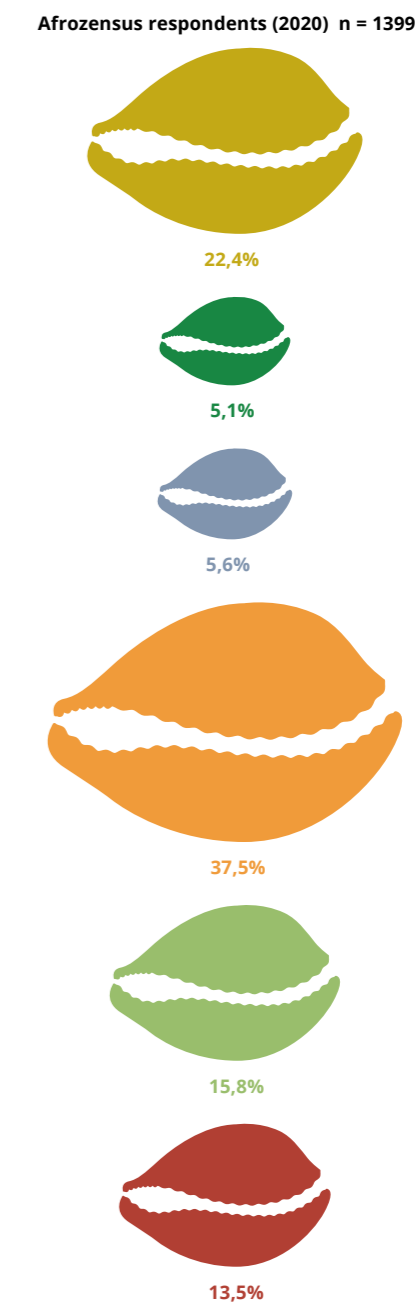9 In contrast to the Afrozensus, the Federal Statistical Office analysed this data as follows: Full-time (37-98 hours); Part-time (1-24 hours); Not specified.
10 2,978 respondents provided information on their professional field. The analysis refers to these people. Multiple answers were possible. Multiple answers were given in approx. 12 % of all cases.

Average net household income

Germany total population (2020)

3580€

Afrozensus respondents (2020) n = 3512

3281€

People with an African migration background (2020)

2332€

Net equivalised income

Afrozensus respondents (2020) n = 1399

22,4%

5,1%

5,6%

37,5%

15,8%

13,5%

● Poor   ● Medium income
● At risk of poverty   ● High income
● Low income   ● Income-rich

(→ 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".

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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.

Preview Version

Afrozensus respondents (2020)
n = 3952

People with an African migration background (2019)
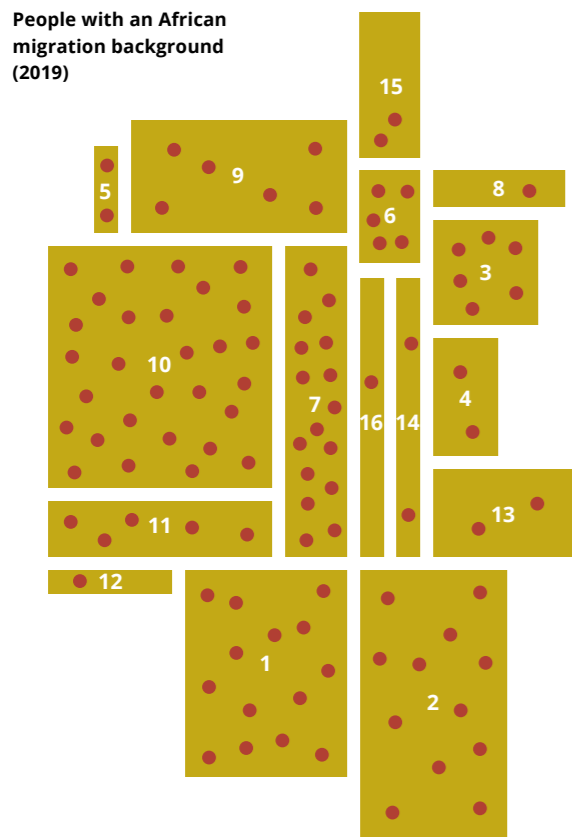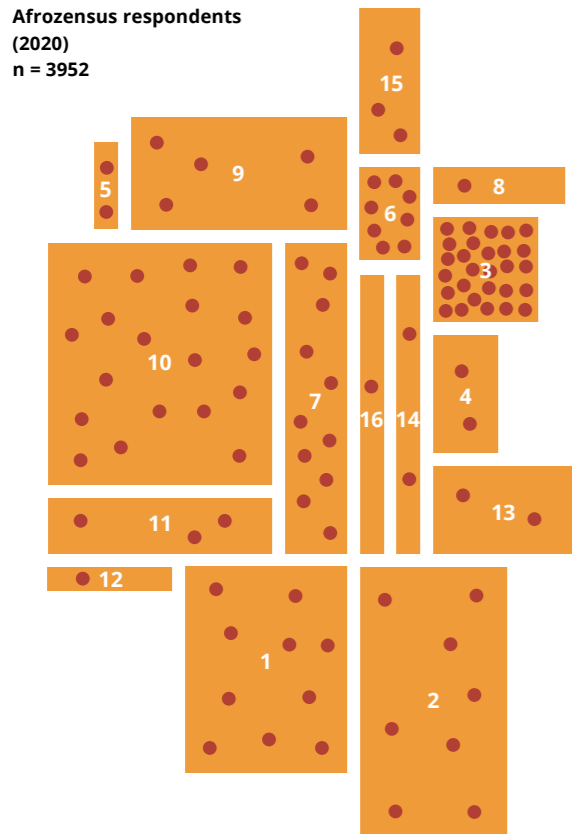
Place of residence

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.
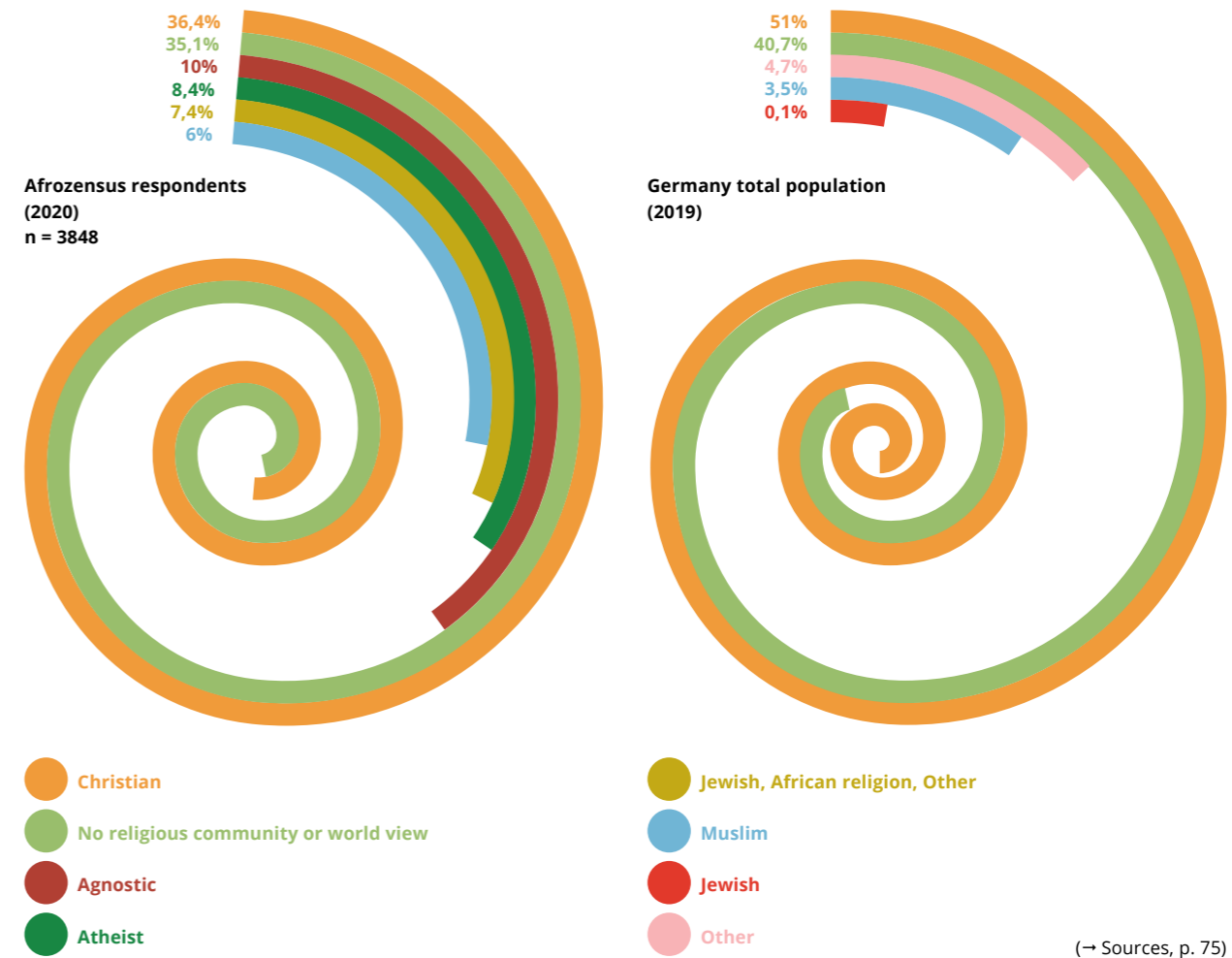
Afrozensus respondents are significantly more likely to live in Berlin than people with an African migration background and the overall population in Germany (27.5% compared to 5.7% and 4.4% respectively). Around nine out of ten people (89.6%) with an African migration background live in the old federal 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

Afrozensus respondents (2020)
n = 3848

36,4%
35,1%
10%
8,4%
7,4%
6%

Germany total population (2019)

51%
40,7%
4,7%
3,5%
0,1%

● Christian
● No religious community or world view
● Agnostic
● Atheist

● Jewish, African religion, Other
● Muslim
● Jewish
● Other

(→ 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, members 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.

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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).
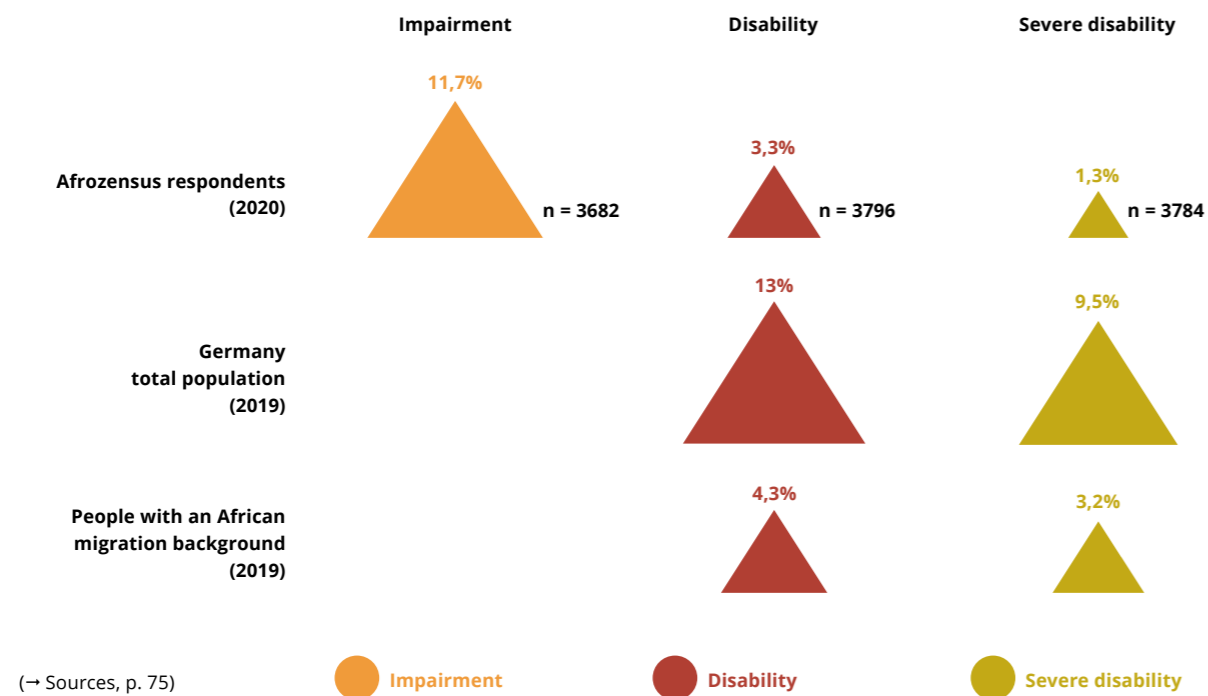
Fig. 10: Impairment, disability & severe disability

Impairment   Disability   Severe disability

Afrozensus respondents (2020): Impairment 11,7% (n = 3682), Disability 3,3% (n = 3796), Severe disability 1,3% (n = 3784)

Germany total population (2019): Disability 13%, Severe disability 9,5%

People with an African migration background (2019): Disability 4,3%, Severe disability 3,2%

(→ Sources, p. 75)

● Impairment   ● Disability   ● Severe disability

Fig. 11: African / Afro-diasporic parents

Afrozensus respondents 2020
n = 3543

1 African / Afro-diasporic parent — 66,1%

2 African / Afro-diasporic parents — 33,9%

(→ Sources, p. 75)
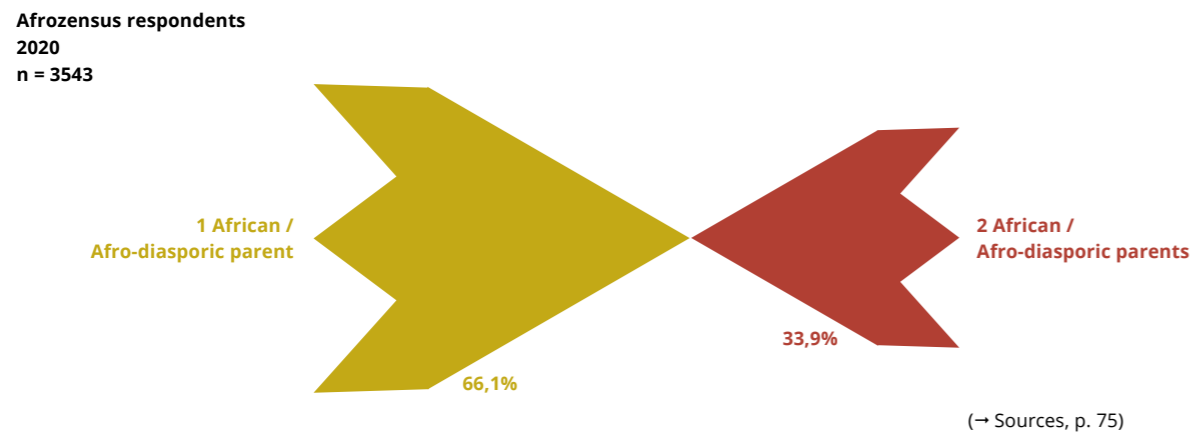
Geographical and family links

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 flight history (Fig. 14).
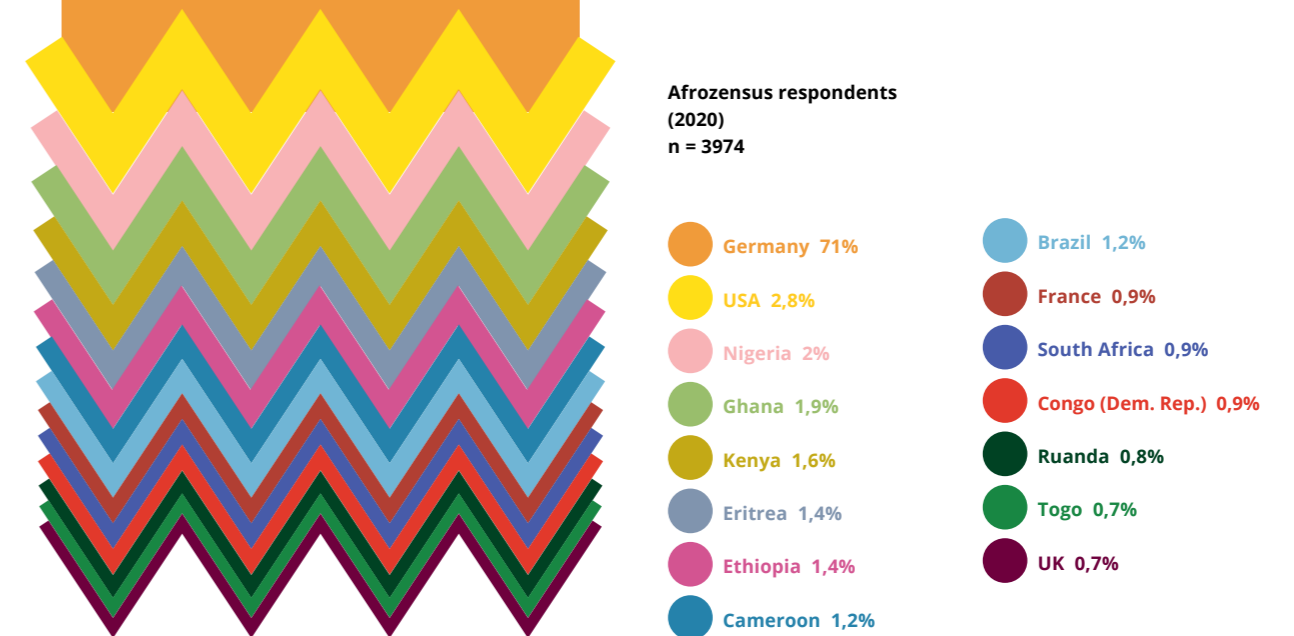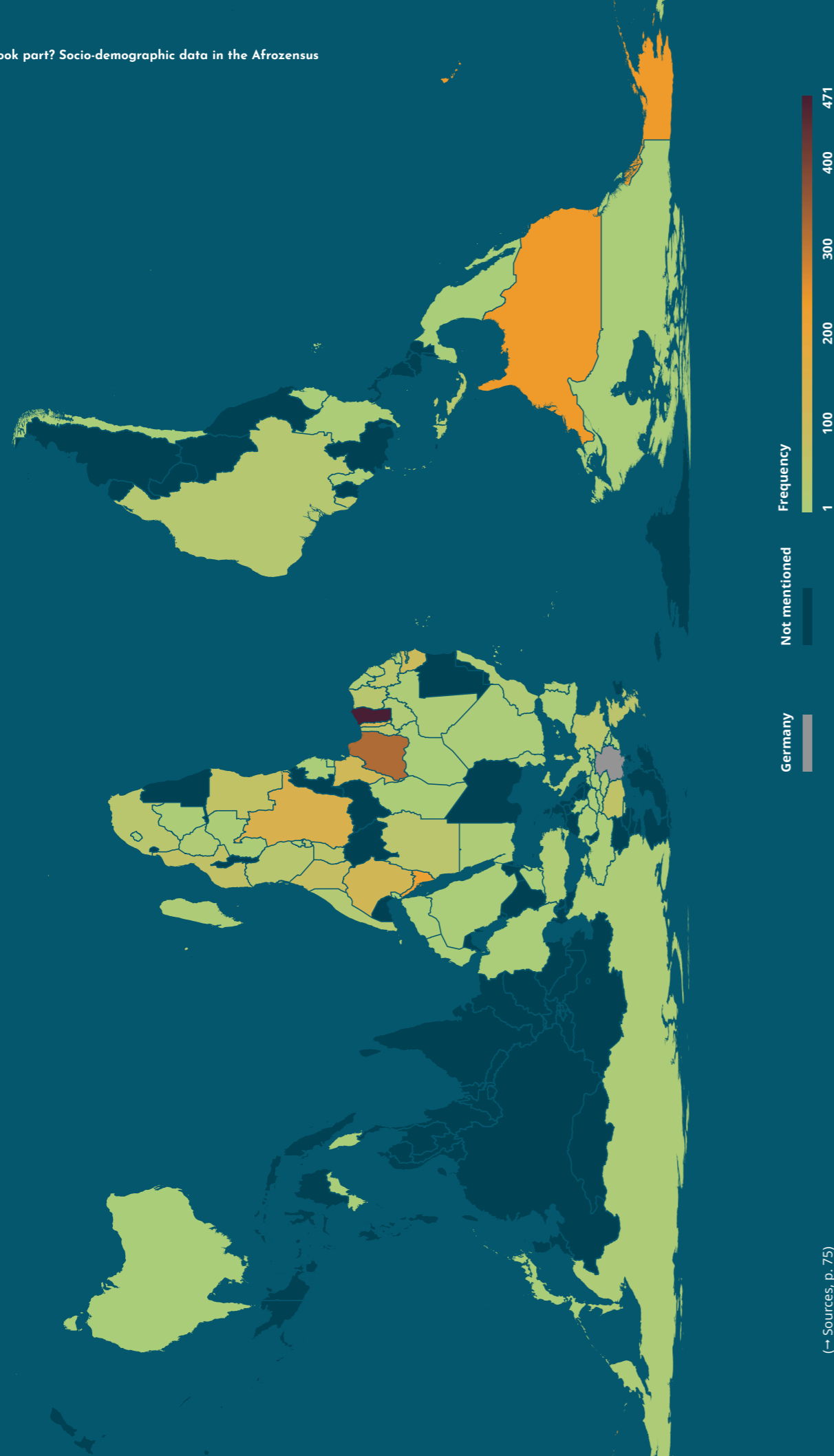

Afrozensus respondents (2020)
n = 3974

● Germany 71%
● USA 2,8%
● Nigeria 2%
● Ghana 1,9%
● Kenya 1,6%
● Eritrea 1,4%
● Ethiopia 1,4%
● Cameroon 1,2%
● Brazil 1,2%
● France 0,9%
● South Africa 0,9%
● Congo (Dem. Rep.) 0,9%
● Ruanda 0,8%
● Togo 0,7%
● UK 0,7%

Fig. 12: Country of birth

(→ Sources, p. 75)

Fig. 13: Geographical references

n = 2728

Frequency

471
400
300
200
100
1

Not mentioned

Germany

(→ Sources, p. 75)

I have German citizenship.

At least one parent immigrated to the current territory of the Federal Republic of Germany from another country after 1955, was naturalised or has a non-German nationality.

At least one parent or grandparent has fled to Germany as a person seeking protection on humanitarian grounds.

I myself immigrated to what is now the Federal Republic of Germany from another country after 1955, was naturalised or have a non-German nationality.

At least one grandparent moved from another country to what is now the Federal Republic of Germany after 1955, was naturalised or has a non-German nationality.

None of this is true.

I myself fled to Germany as a person seeking protection on humanitarian grounds.

No migration background

Migration background

Afrozensus respondents (2020)
n = 3956

85,1%
55,7%
13,2%
2,1%
11%
6,4%
7,5%

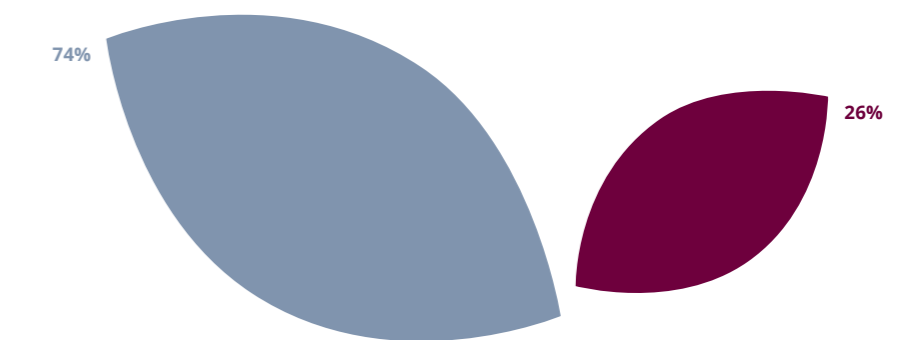**Germany total**

74%
26%

Preview Version
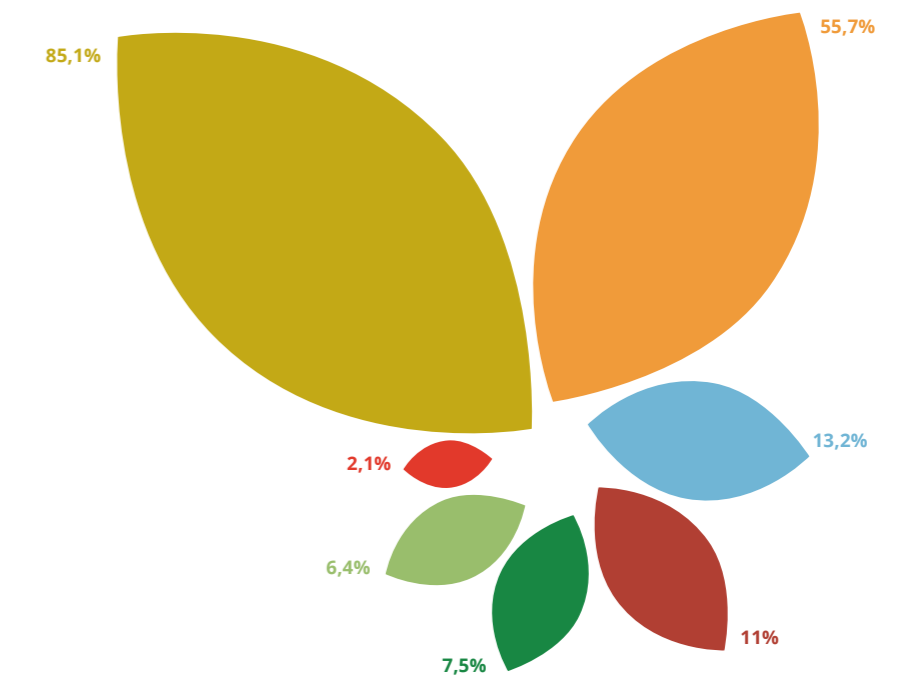
Fig. 14: Migration experiences

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.

Social commitment and support abroad

In the following chapter, we present the results of the questions on social 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 – and aimed to make the commitment of Black, African and Afro-diasporic people visible.

Although social engagement, in general, is highly valued in Germany, e.g. in terms of social cohesion, there is also no specific data on social 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 volunteering[1], the type of activity, the duration, and the consequences of volunteering[1] 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?

Voluntary commitment

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.
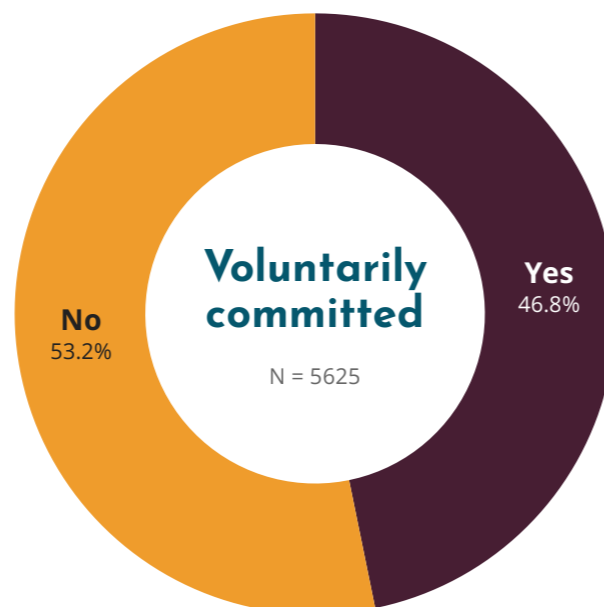
There is also a difference between the volunteering rate of people with and without a migration background between the volunteering survey and our study. According to the volunteering survey, people with a migration background[3] volunteer to a lesser extent (27% or 38.7% if they were born in Germany 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 volunteer survey records an involvement rate of 12% for people with experience of flight, the involvement rate of respondents with personal and/or family experience of flight in our sample is 60.3% (of n = 569) and thus significantly higher than for respondents without experience of flight 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 experience of migration and flight, 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 deprivileged 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 lik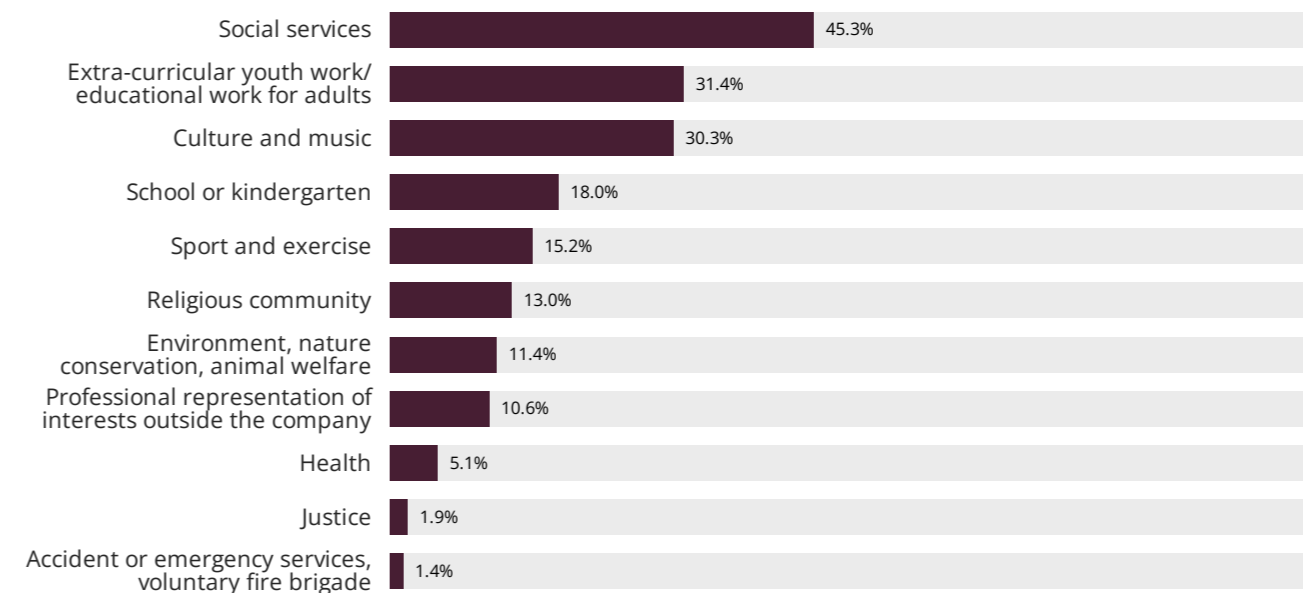ely to get involved than respondents without impairments (47.5% of n = 3197). In addition, respondents with a low income (54% of n = 457) are more likely to get involved than respondents with a high income (44.0% of n = 405), LGBTQ+ respondents (54.3% of n = 726) are more likely to get involved than heterosexual respondents (46,5% of n = 2871) and respondents with two African/Afro-diasporic parents (51.5% of n = 1177) are more likely to be involved 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 deprivileged 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

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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.

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 ≤ 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.

No	58.1%
Yes, financially	33.4%
Yes, materially	22.6%
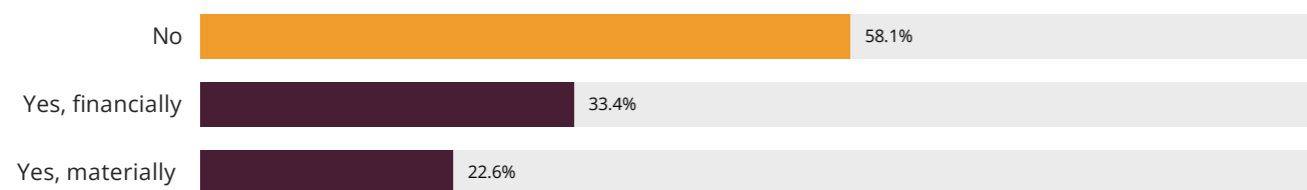
moting resilience and empowerment work. These are collective spaces for empowerment and reflection, and they create resources and access for Black people to deal with exclusion and deprivilege as well as to share their experiences and strategies for action.

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 commitment (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.
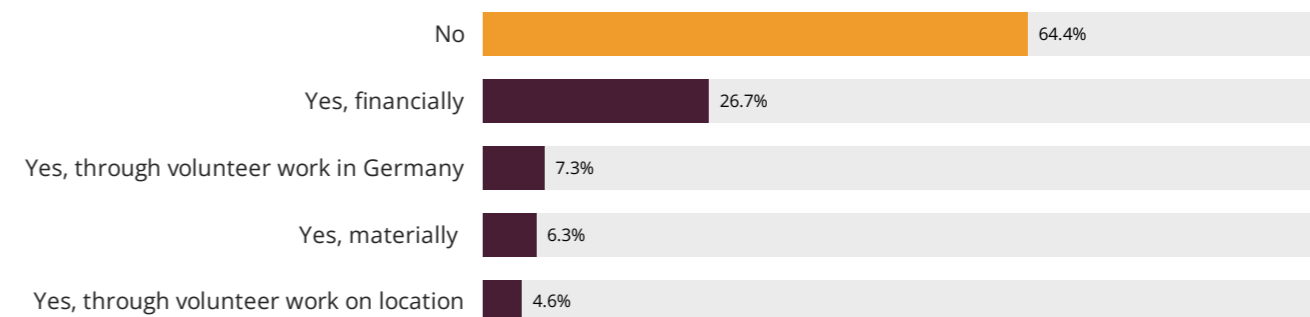
Summary

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 commitment is primarily borne and shaped by people who experience social deprivilege and are nevertheless mainly involved in two to three areas. One explanation for this commitment 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.

No	64.4%
Yes, financially	26.7%
Yes, through volunteer work in Germany	7.3%
Yes, materially	6.3%
Yes, through volunteer work on location	4.6%

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.

Preview Version