Bertelsmann Stiftung (ed.)

Living Diversity – Shaping Society

The Opportunities and Challenges Posed by Cultural Difference in Germany

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Reinhard Mohn Prize 2018

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Foreword

Cultural diversity is today an issue of vital concern well beyond Germany. Everywhere in the world, people are wrestling with the issue of what a suitable approach to diversity – particularly of different nationalities, cultures and religions – might look like, and how it should be shaped. Populist parties and movements are thriving in many countries, and the future of peaceful coexistence depends critically on finding good solutions for our approach to this diversity. The fact is that, in most countries, such diversity is today simply a reality.

The Reinhard Mohn Prize 2018 addresses this task under the title, "Living Diversity – Shaping Society." It offers suggestions on how we can live in peace and freedom in our society under conditions of diversity. Yet, in order to find good solutions, it is important to better understand both the challenges and the opportunities that go along with diversity. Only in this way can we develop sustainable prospects for shaping society. A crucial requirement in this regard is and remains that people are given the opportunity to lead a self-determined, meaningful life through education and employment. This includes an important principle: We must once again learn to share – including to share knowledge!

The contributions to this volume offer a comprehensive analysis of the approach to cultural diversity being taken in Germany, and highlight ways in which we can prove more effective in meeting this challenge in the future. How do we currently address cultural diversity in this country? How does it manifest in the law, in the media, and in education? What form of approach is taken in other countries? But,

above all, how can we succeed in shaping a respectful life together in diversity? Experts offer answers to these questions while also introducing international cross-country comparative perspectives. For the Reinhard Mohn Prize, with its motto of "Learning from the world," this is of paramount importance.

The recommendations offered here are the combined result of the expert contributions collected in this book and the findings from our international research into best practices conducted jointly with Prognos AG. They focus on cities as the key locations in which diversity is concretely lived and shaped. To be sure, activity at the city level is always necessarily embedded in and constrained by broader conditions; yet there is nevertheless significant room to shape diversity actively at the local level. Above all, cities are sites of encounter: In the neighborhood, at the workplace, in the school or kindergarten, at the football club, at the music school or the youth center, people with different cultural backgrounds, religions and lifestyles come together.

New technologies, and particularly social media, have changed the way we communicate and work. Using them is important today and will remain so in the future. However, one thing remains critical in order to live together successfully in diversity: the face-to-face encounter! Every day, this offers the opportunity to meet and engage in exchange and dialogue, even across cultural differences, on the basis of the things we hold in common – as neighbors, parents, or sports or music fans. Cultural diversity is today an element of our everyday lives, and we are all challenged to shape the way we live along with our fellow human beings. If this is to succeed, it is important that we always see the human in the people we meet – not simply the "foreigner" – encountering one another with openness, empathy and respect.

All this improves our ability to enter into dialogue, even across supposed differences. In this way, we can succeed in making our world more just, more peaceful and more human, and thus better overall. This begins with small steps – in our cities and in our neighborhoods. It thus begins with each and every one of us. My motto,

drawn from my experiences in life, is the following: First you get to know each other; from this grows respect and affection; and, finally, friendships emerge.

Liz Mohn
Vice-chair of the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Executive Board

Cultural Difference in Germany: Living Together in Diversity

Ulrike Spohn, Kai Unzicker, Stephan Vopel

In historical terms, cultural diversity has always been a reality in Germany, where the question of dealing with a plurality of cultures in society has repeatedly been subject to renewed debate. Indeed, Jews, for example, have inhabited the area we now refer to as Germany long before Christianity spread throughout the European continent. Following the Reformation and the resulting split in Western Christianity, the differences between Protestants and Catholics in early modern Europe were viewed as defining a key cultural distinction that proved divisive even into the 20th century. With the rise of nationalism, the diversity of ethnic groups living side by side – a fact of life for centuries – increasingly came under scrutiny as an issue involving questions of how to deal with cultural "others." As a result, Sinti and Roma, Danes, Frisians and Sorbs living on what had become German territory were defined as national minorities. In particular, Jews as well as Sinti and Roma were repeatedly subjected to prejudice, vilification and persecution. The genocide of the Third Reich in the 20th century marks the nadir of these developments.

In the years following World War II, the young Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic faced the formidable task of integrating nearly 14 million people from the eastern provinces of the former German Reich and other areas throughout East and Southeast Europe who had been forced to migrate. In East Germany, these displaced persons temporarily made up one-fourth of the population. In the 1950s and 1960s, inflows into West Germany of so-called guest workers from Southern Europe, Turkey and North Africa con-

tributed even further to the ongoing ethnic and religious pluralization of society in the Federal Republic. Though to a lesser extent, East Germany also recruited foreign labor, mainly from Vietnam, Poland and Mozambique. This kind of labor-driven migration was, however, nothing new for Germany, which had a tradition of recruiting foreign labor to compensate for labor shortages, such as the "Ruhr Poles" in the 19th century. Following the fall of the Eastern Bloc in the 1980s and 1990s, ethnic Germans from several former Soviet states ("Aussiedler" and "Spätaussiedler") began seeking repatriation in Germany, and hundreds of thousands of people fleeing conflicts in the former Yugoslavia sought refuge in Germany. Whether driven by crisis, war or economics, the current influx of migrants must be seen in the context of globalization processes as marking yet another episode in the long history of diversity in Germany.

The Reinhard Mohn Prize 2018 draws on a concept of cultural diversity that involves the dimensions of origin, religion and language. This concept is distinct from that employed by, for example, diversity management efforts in the business world, where diversity also includes the dimensions of gender, age, sexual orientation and disability. In the context of this year's Reinhard Mohn Prize, emphasis is deliberately placed on the former three dimensions of diversity because they are the dimensions that are currently informing public debate in Germany and are perceived as posing a challenge to how we live together in German society. The different cultural traditions, religions and languages that go hand in hand with diverse ways of life can prove a difficult process for a society as it is faced with change. Clearly, this presents challenges that have fueled tensions in German society in particular, though it is certainly not alone on that count. At the same time, cultural diversity might also be recognized for the opportunities it offers in terms of its capacity to foster societal development and innovation. Making cultural diversity a marker of societal strength involves the active participation of all stakeholders.

Reinhard Mohn recognized early on the importance of cultural diversity for the future of society. Indeed, the question of ensuring social cohesion in the face of cultural differences and diverging histor-

ical experiences within German society took on a particular urgency in the early 1990s after the fall of the Berlin Wall. German re-unification demanded that a path be forged for all Germans to bring together what was once divided and thereby form a single society. At the same time, German society was faced with a large number of asylum applicants from the Balkan conflict. During this period of social upheaval, xenophobic sentiments in Germany ran high, culminating in 1992 in a series of racist riots in Rostock-Lichtenhagen.

In the same year, the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Carl Bertelsmann Prize focused on the challenges associated with immigration policy, awarding Sweden the prize in recognition of its success with integration. Having acknowledged that most of the country's recently arrived migrants were there to stay, the Swedish government pursued an integration strategy that accepted and embraced this fact. Sweden thus defined itself early on as a country of immigration and began emphasizing cultural identity rights, social inclusion and political participation as objectives.

Underscoring the need to anchor pluralism in the rule of law, Reinhard Mohn stated, "The peaceful coexistence of different cultures and peoples in one state requires a durable cultural pluralism that is secured through constitutional safeguards." Indeed, a free state must be able to ensure that a variety of cultures find expression in social life. As he saw it, "Culture is an essential source of support in people's lives." In other words, the cultural traditions, religion and language in which we are embedded provide the frameworks from which we draw meaning regarding our place in the world. Being able to live out and practice our cultural identity is therefore only a given.

As noted, German society has repeatedly addressed the issue of cultural diversity over time. Yet in each case, as the societal context changes, a different set of challenges are confronted. In recent decades, Germany has taken several major steps forward in terms of its approach to cultural diversity. Since the early 2000s, citizenship laws have been reformed to allow for dual citizenship, in part by doing away with a requirement ("Optionspflicht") in 2014 compelling children of migrant parents residing in Germany to choose either their parents' or German citizenship at the age of 18. Recent studies (e.g.,

Bertelsmann Stiftung 2018a) also show that the German public has become increasingly more tolerant and open since the 1980s.

The current rise in right-wing populist movements and political parties can be attributed in large part to the fact that the trend toward greater tolerance has nonetheless bypassed a significant share of the German population. We are witnessing a growing polarization between those who increasingly embrace diversity and those who persistently reject engaging with the reality of diversity in society. At the same time, Germany's geopolitical location in the middle of Europe is increasingly subject to cultural nativism, as the examples of Brexit, Hungary and Poland demonstrate. To be sure, however, cultural nativism extends beyond Europe and into the United States under President Donald Trump. Each of these developments poses a threat to the capacity of diverse peoples to live together in peace, freedom and prosperity.

Germany's challenge for 2018 lies in forging a way forward – despite resistance at home and an unfavorable geopolitical environment. Germany must not only secure, but also build on the gains made in dealing with cultural diversity. It must find a way to deepen the values of a free and democratic society that reflects the diversity of society. And it must achieve these things without polarizing society any further. In order to succeed on this path, Germany must provide everyone in society the opportunity to engage with diversity as well as to help shape the ways in which diversity is lived and experienced. The Reinhard Mohn Prize 2018 thus aims to inspire while providing a fresh perspective on approaches for Germany in this regard. To be sure, German legislation and national policy play a vital role here. Equally important, however, are developments at the local level of social organization – that is, in neighborhoods, communities and cities – where coexistence and the day-to-day experience with diversity are a natural part of lived societal practices.

About this publication

The aim of this book is to provide a deeper understanding of approaches to cultural diversity in Germany while supplying guidance

on how to move ahead. This involves providing a thorough description and analysis of the current state of affairs in Germany. In line with the Reinhard Mohn Prize motto of "learning from the world," however, we have looked to other countries for solutions with impact. How can we make living with diversity a success in practice? Answering this question involves taking a closer look at cities as environments where the density of cultural diversity is highest and the opportunities for positive experiences are inherent to daily life.

Approaches to cultural diversity in Germany

Questions regarding approaches to cultural diversity in Germany can be applied to a variety of areas – from policymaking to the law, the world of business, our education system and the media. Legal approaches to these issues are particularly important because they create binding frameworks that determine how other areas of society handle diversity. In his contribution describing Germany's current legal codes and approach to diversity, *Michael Wrase* explores the long-running controversies over headscarves among educators in schools and ritual circumcision for boys. Living well together, as the author argues, requires that Germany's legal order recognize the cultural diversity of German society. Education, in particular, is an area in need of immediate attention.

While the law is concerned with ensuring respect for constitutional principles and fundamental rights in societal practice, the media play an equally important role as a public forum in modern society. As such, the media provide a formative arena in which public debates over how to approach diversity in society and through policy can be carried out. This is where knowledge is created, interpretations are formed, and narrative arcs are developed that demand recognition and legitimacy. These are questions of societal identity: Who is part of Germany? What does it mean to be German? How much cultural heterogeneity can social cohesion withstand? How Germany defines itself is shaped not only by these debates, but also by the way in which

people and the experiences of diversity are framed by media reporting. As *Friederike Herrmann* demonstrates, media coverage in Germany depicts far too often a specific form of cultural diversity that is not genuinely representative of the spectrum of lived realities. Drawing on the examples of the headscarf debate and current controversies regarding refugees, she exposes the inadequacies of contemporary media coverage for a diverse German society.

In his contribution, *Armin Nassehi* explores the factors explaining why identity attracts so much attention in the German debate about cultural diversity. Conventions, regulations and institutions – particularly in labor markets, housing and education systems – must be rethought and adapted to reflect diversity in a society. There are several opportunities here to negotiate the challenges and opportunities inherent to diversity while developing practical solutions for everyone involved. Yet, in Germany, diversity is treated almost exclusively as an issue of cultural identity in terms of a "Leitkultur" (guiding culture). Rather than taking a pragmatic, solution-oriented approach to issues of cultural difference, the tendency in Germany is to stylize cultural differences and treat them as identity-related conflicts. Aiming to better understand the specifically narrow nature of this debate in Germany, Nassehi examines it through the lens of historical sociology.

Established patterns of perception and discourse regarding diversity frame and thereby systematically affect the opportunities of access and participation available to those individuals in society who are marked as "culturally different." In his contribution, *Volker Heins* demonstrates how derogatory views and prejudices foster discrimination as well as how this limits social inclusion for those who belong to minority religious groups in Germany. He looks in particular at the experiences of Muslims and Sikhs in Germany, the latter of whom have thus far received little attention.

The prevailing attitudes and discourses regarding diversity in Germany – in addition to the policies that derive from them – are not a matter of happenstance. They each have a long tradition that can be explained by taking a closer look at their origins and the historical contexts from which they emerged. *Thomas Großbölting* explores the

historical roots of the skepticism expressed toward diversity in Germany. He shows how the ideal of a culturally homogenous society, which emerged during the 19th century along with the rise of the nation-state, survived the dictatorships of the 20th century and continues to influence political debates in the 21st century.

International perspectives

The second section of this publication looks at the issue of diversity from an international perspective. Here, we see that Germany is not alone in struggling with its approach to diversity. Other European countries are also grappling with the need to acknowledge diversity as a natural feature of modern society. Since the birth of the nation-state, continental European societies have traditionally tended to emphasize homogeneity and unity. Comparing this to the experience with diversity in Anglo-Saxon cultures, which – despite the current and historical tradition of nativism in U.S. politics – generally feature a stronger tradition of pluralism, can prove fruitful. Culturally diverse identities are for the most part embraced as part of daily life in Anglo-Saxon countries. *Oliver Schmidtke* chronicles these paradigms as they are invoked in Germany and France, on the one hand, and in Canada and the United States, on the other. By juxtaposing them with each other, he highlights the concepts underlying each paradigm as well as the political and historical developments that have shaped them.

The contribution provided by *Tariq Modood* represents a point of view from the United Kingdom. He presents an argument in favor of the concept of "multiculturalism," which has fallen into disfavor in Germany as a taboo term. Modood suggests that the concept, as a forward-looking political option for culturally diverse societies, has been misunderstood by many and provides the basis for social inclusion in diverse societies. He closes his contribution by comparing approaches to diversity in Germany with those observed in the United Kingdom, identifying problems in Germany regarding attitudes toward diversity and the visibility of diversity in the public realm.

Migration and Diversity on a City Level: How Does Mechelen Make a Difference in an Age of Populism and Radicalization?

Bart Somers

At the end of the 1990s, Mechelen was often derisively referred to as the "Chicago on the Dyle."[1] Today, Mechelen is seen as one of the leading cities in Belgium and Europe. Journalists, politicians and researchers come from all over the world to learn from our city's approach. People want to understand how a deeply pessimistic city was transformed into an open-minded city with a positive appearance and proud citizens.

I have been the elected mayor of Mechelen since 2001. From the first moment I started in office back then, I felt that it was crucial to create a more optimist and positive atmosphere in the city. People needed to feel prouder about being "Mechelaar." But there are no miracle solutions or set recipes that can be followed to achieve this. Only through trial and error, as well as by having a persistently positive and voluntarist approach, have we arrived at the point we are at today. It was all about believing that the city as a whole could do better, that every individual citizen could do better.

I am convinced that the positive and liberal approach we have followed was the only possible way to turn the tide. After more than 17 years of being mayor, I dare to believe that we have chosen the right path. Nevertheless, we can't ignore that we are living in a very challenging period, as our society is being assailed by illiberal, populist, dogmatic and sometimes even violent ideas from many directions.

1 The Dyle (or, in Dutch, the Dijle) is the river that flows through Mechelen and is very prominent in the city's appearance.

Since the key values of our liberal democracy and constitutional state are at stake, cities should make a difference. On a city level, one should create a bulwark against populism, extremist violence, fear and envy. I believe that cities are a certain kind of laboratory for policy models; on a city level, one can create solutions that are understandable, flexible and down-to-earth.

In this essay I will start with an empirical description of the situation in Mechelen. Second, I will stress the importance of making all citizens equally part of the super-diverse city we live in. After that, I will highlight the fundamental political choices we made to achieve this as well as illustrate these political choices using some real-life examples. Then, in the last part, I will try to derive some lessons for other (European) countries and cities from our experiences in Mechelen.

Mechelen: a 180-degree turnaround

Today, Mechelen has over 86,000 residents and is part of the greater Brussels-Antwerp metropolitan area, which has some 3 million inhabitants. The city's population is made up of 131 different nationalities. Thirty percent of its residents have a migrant background, 20 percent are Muslim, and roughly half of all newborns have foreign roots. Migration started here in the 1960s, when most of the people coming to Mechelen were Moroccan. However, migration has accelerated quickly since the 1990s, drawing people from Central Africa, Eastern Europe and Turkey. This evolution is clearly visible in our city today, as Mechelen is a culturally and religiously diverse city.

Seventeen years ago, Mechelen was a clearly negative city in which the public discourse was mainly dominated by intolerance and the extreme right. People were visibly and significantly troubled by migration and diversity, and there was a lot of resistance to any kind of change or evolution. Nevertheless, the diversity in our cities is a development that can't be denied. People need to accept that this process is an unavoidable aspect of our 21st-century society. It is irreversible, and we have to work with this new reality and approach it in a positive

and hopeful way, while stressing the huge economic potential of migration and the enormous cultural wealth of diversity.

In Mechelen, we have been working over the last 17 years on a societal model based above all on inclusion. In order to convince residents to embrace this policy model, we had to win over their hearts by highlighting the positive aspects of these developments. In doing so, it was crucial to make major investments in urban renewal and the fight against criminality. Investing in this fight is key for establishing and sustaining the credibility of a local government, as creativity and entrepreneurship can never flourish in a negative, crime-ridden environment. With a lot of urban-renewal projects, we convinced middle-class families to return to the city. In the last two decades, street criminality has decreased by 84 percent, and poverty has gone down. What's more, of all Belgian cities, we have one of the highest rates of acceptance of our integration policy (Stadsmonitor 2017).

Super-diversity as a new normal

Confidence and citizenship

The most important reason why so many other cities, researchers, media and politicians are looking at Mechelen today is the shared positive mindset of its citizens. The residents of Mechelen believe that their city can make a difference and be a leading example for other cities in Belgium, Europe and even the rest of the world. Of course, this does not mean Mechelen is a paradise on earth, as the city has its problems, too. But there is a firm belief that the key answer to so many challenges is a policy of confidence and inclusiveness, of making people part of their society and equal citizens in it. However, to make them citizens, it is first necessary to convince people that they themselves are the key building blocks of their own society. People need to feel that their future can grow here, that they can offer their children prospects of hope and opportunity. This is the development that has taken place in Mechelen since 2000. Indeed, a city once characterized

by crime and stagnation has evolved into a popular, prosperous and hopeful biotope of entrepreneurship and open-mindedness.

Looking at the urban reality in Mechelen, it is needless to repeat that super-diversity is part of the DNA of the city's current structure. To understand the meaning of this concept, it might be interesting to look at how American sociologist Steven Vertovec (2007) has adopted a holistic view of analyzing the different dimensions and layers of diversity in a society. Vertovec introduced the term to help better describe the complexity of modern societies shaped by increasingly heterogeneous immigration flows, both in terms of their cultural and social structures. Vertovec argues that in addition to ethnicity, other variables such as gender, age, education level, labor market experience and legal status distinguish diversity. We therefore need to change our way of thinking and acknowledge that the people coming to our cities do not just represent "ethnicities" or "countries of origin," they comprise, rather, many more variables (e.g., social status, interests, profession, hobbies, etc.), all of which play a vital role in diversity. Indeed, it is the crucial interplay of these variables that makes every citizen a unique, multilayered individual.

In our 21st-century cities, we cannot reduce an individual to only "Muslim," "Christian" or "atheist," nor can we merely identify them as "Syrian," "Moroccan" or "Polish." However, in my view, this simplistic reasoning and group thinking has been put forward too easily when it comes to diversity and migration – and should be avoided at all times. Instead of merely viewing people from the perspective of their social or ethnic background, we need to see them as full individuals who can – at the same time – be atheist or Muslim, teacher or plumber, football fan or music player, etc. Super-diversity is based on numerous layers of identity, and all these aspects are only some of many identity markers. Therefore, a city like Mechelen can't be reduced to the sum of its (ethnic or cultural) communities, but rather is made up in the first place of individuals who can embrace their identity as mother or father at this time and as, say, the fan of the local football club at another. Recognizing diversity in this way and accepting that all people are different and unique but still share the same

feeling of citizenship (after all, they are all residents of the city of Mechelen) are the most effective antidotes to the poisonous agenda of people trying to sow intolerance in a society.

In addition, group thinking can be identified as a fallacy on both the left and right sides of the political spectrum. While traditional left group thinking tends to see victimhood and deprivation in all migrants, traditional right group thinking often only views migrants as criminals or people who exploit the social system. Both sides are blind to the fact that there is a middle class with a migrant background – and a growing one, at that. Indeed, the success stories don't fit in their rhetoric. And it is exactly these success stories and role models who are stimulating social mobility, which is so crucial for achieving societal and individual progress.

Social mobility is key

In order to be an open and inclusive society, it is important to embrace the liberal idea that it is in the power of citizens to build a better future for themselves, their family and their community. In these challenging times, when public discourse is sometimes dominated by fear and envy, it is very important to promote and stress the positive effects of change. Globalization should not be seen as a threat. We need to see opportunities, and we shouldn't let ourselves focus exclusively on negative side effects or resentments. Of course, we can never ignore the impact of globalization or be blind to its shortcomings. But, in order to foster progress and create opportunities for all citizens, we need to embrace globalization as well as the diversity and opportunities that come along with it. Thus, the (local) government needs to supply the prerequisites for making this upward social mobility possible for every citizen, regardless of their social or ethnic background. People in a society need to see and even feel concrete progress and results if their belief in social mobility and individual progress is to be confirmed. The government needs room for inspiration, outside-the-box thinking and positive energy to ensure that new ideas can be fostered.

The Authors

Thomas Großbölting has been professor of modern and contemporary history at the University of Münster since 2009. Previously, he served as professor of modern history at the Otto von Guericke University Magdeburg from 2007 to 2009, and from 2005 to 2007 headed the education and research department of the Office of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the Former German Democratic Republic (BStU) in Berlin. His research work focuses on 20th-century German and European history.

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Tariq Modood is professor of sociology, politics and public policy and the founding director of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship at the University of Bristol. He was awarded a MBE for services to social sciences and ethnic relations in 2001, made a fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (UK) in 2004, and elected a fellow of the British Academy in 2017. He served on the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, the UK National Equality Panel, and the Commission on Religion and Belief in British Public Life. His latest books include *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea* (2nd ed.; 2013) and, as co-editor, *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines* (2016) and *The Problem of Religious Diversity: European Challenges, Asian Approaches* (2017).

Armin Nassehi is professor of sociology at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. He has held the chair for general sociology and social theory since 1998. He completed his studies in education, sociology and philosophy at the University of Münster, where he also obtained his doctorate and post-doctorate teaching qualification (Habilitation) in the field of sociology. His research focuses on sociological theory and the sociology of culture, politics and religion.

Doug Saunders, a journalist and author of Canadian and British citizenship, specializes in research devoted to cities, migration, population and social policy. He is the author of two internationally published books. The first, *Arrival City* (2011), examines the migratory growth of cities and the principles that govern the formation of new communities of immigration through field research in 20 cities. His second, *The Myth of the Muslim Tide* (2012), examines the migration and reception of religious-minority communities in Western countries. He is the international affairs writer and columnist for the Canadian national newspaper *The Globe and Mail*, where he served for a decade as European bureau chief and as Los Angeles bureau chief. His current research is devoted to policies and actions that improve outcomes in urban communities. He lives with his family in Toronto.

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Bart Somers has served as mayor of the city of Mechelen in Belgium since 2001. He is also currently chair of the Open Flemish Liberals and Democrats (Open VLD) parliamentary party group in Belgium's Chamber of Representatives, and president of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) in the European Committee of the Regions. From 2003 to 2004, he was minister-president of Flanders, and from 2004 to 2009 served as the Open VLD party chairperson. His political work has focused on the issues of diversity, security, positive identity, urban renewal and citizenship. He holds a master's of law degree from Catholic University of Leuven (KU Leuven).

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Michael Wrase is professor of public law, with a focus on social and educational law, at the University of Hildesheim and at the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB). He studied law at Humboldt University Berlin (HU) and completed a legal clerkship at the Berlin Court of Appeals. He obtained a doctorate focused on constitutional law from HU under professor and Federal Constitutional Court judge Susanne Baer. Since 2013, he has been a research fellow at the Berlin Social Science Center in a project group led by WZB President Jutta Allmendinger. His work focuses on public law, particularly educational and social law, as well the sociology of the law and anti-discrimination law.