"Alert for the neighbours": negotiating Muslim (non-)representations in an East German city

Schade, Katrin; Levert, Josca; Rebettge, Ulrike; Bergmann, Janne; Röder, Lisa; Scherer, Marlene

"ALERT FOR THE NEIGHBOURS": NEGOTIATING MUSLIM (NON-)REPRESENTATIONS IN AN EAST GERMAN CITY

Katrin Schade, Josca Levert, Ulrike Rebettge, Janne Bergmann, Lisa Röder, Marlene Scherer
University of Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany

Abstract: When it comes to Muslim representational practices in European cities, fears, criticism, and scepticism emerge in the public discourse. The aim of this paper is to investigate how Muslim places of prayer are negotiated. By means of a multi-method approach, we investigate how Muslim places of prayer in Leipzig become visible. We further question the media's role in local negotiation processes. The analysis shows that the diverse Muslim places of prayer rather resemble 'backyard mosques' due to financial and structural hurdles as well as conflict avoidance. However, some interviewees explain their satisfaction with the places of prayer, which are places of migration and thus social networks, especially for the first generation. Due to its East German past, Leipzig is experiencing a partly catch-up debate regarding the arrival of Islam through migration. But, religion as culture is giving-way to individual local practices of representation of diverse Muslim people that could be picked up more strongly by the media.

Email: katrin.schade@uni-leipzig.de

Introduction

The (architectural) representation of Islam repeatedly leads to local conflicts. This is illustrated, for example, through the plans to build a representative mosque by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat religious congregation in Gohlis, a district of the city of Leipzig (Kirndörfer and Wiest 2020). Although the plans for the building have existed since 2012/2013, construction has not yet begun (Jakobi 2021). While the citizens' association in Gohlis and the city administration support the construction plans, other initiatives including members of right-wing parties organise protests and take a written stance. In 2013 and 2016, there were two attacks in which five bloody pig's heads were impaled on wooden stakes on the site (Loch 2016, Jakobi 2021).

Despite the conflict-laden events surrounding the planned new mosque, the spokesperson for the Ahmadiyya community believes that acceptance will grow as soon as people get to know each other better: "This has been the experience in Berlin, for example, and everywhere else in Germany, where there was a lot of fear and concern before the mosque was built but, afterwards, the situation developed very positively" (Jakobi 2021). If the construction in Leipzig goes ahead as planned, it will be one of the first mosques to be built in East Germany alongside Berlin. The first representative mosque in East Germany outside of Berlin is currently being built in the industrial area Erfurt-Marbach, also supported by the Ahmadiyya community, which is due to be completed by the end of 2023 (MDR Thüringen 2023). The representation of Islam is, therefore, increasing in East German large cities (Figure 1), which is presumably due to the refugee reception crisis in 2015/2016 and the corresponding immigration of Muslim people (Stenske and Bioly 2021).
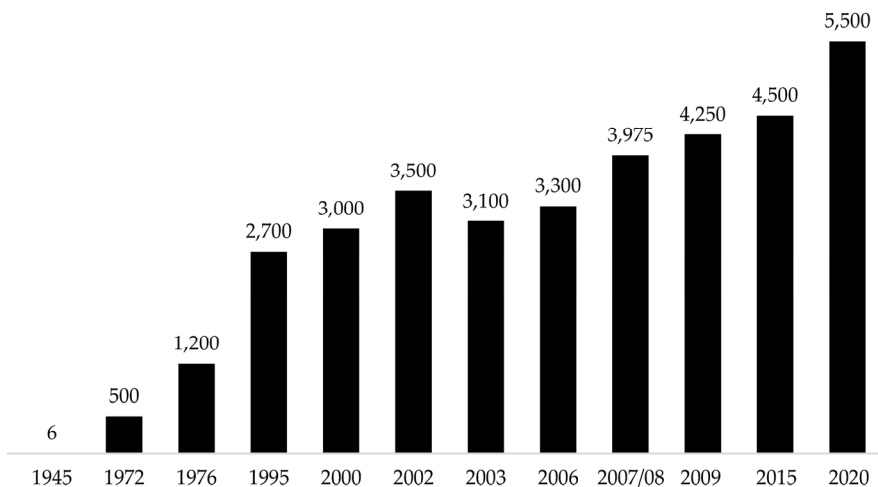

Figure 1. Development of the Muslim population in Germany 1945-2020 (in 1000 people; based on estimates)
Source: Pfündel et al. (2021)

Against the background of the conflicts surrounding the plans to build a new mosque in Leipzig Gohlis, the increasing proportion of Muslim people and growing (architectural) representation of Islam in East Germany as well as the words of Majoka, the aim of this article is to examine how Muslim places of prayer have been negotiated, which have existed in Leipzig for years. Our hypothesis is that the invisibility of places of prayer in Leipzig is related to conflicts and hostilities based on religion. The study serves to answer the following sub-questions: (1) How do Muslim places of prayer become visible in Leipzig and to what extent is their (in)visibility related to conflicts and hostilities based on religion or migration? (2) What role does the media play in the local negotiation processes of Muslim representation in Leipzig, and to what extent do they establish a connection with the topic of migration?

First, we focus on the emergence of local conflictual negotiation processes in relation to the connections between religion, urbanity, and representation. Then, we explain the research design using the methods of image analysis, guided expert interviews and a discourse analysis. After that, we present and discuss the results on the role of (in)-visibility in negotiation processes of Muslim representations in Leipzig.

Negotiation processes on the representation of religion in the city

Globalisation, modernisation, and crisis-ridden developments lead to migration and the transformation of religion in cities (Casanova 1994). However, according to Global Prayers scholars (Lanz 2014), the current view of religion in urban development is analysed too much on a global level. As a consequence, stereotyping takes place (Stump 2008, Bielefeldt 2010, Färber et al. 2012, Lanz 2014). The increase of trans-local contacts and the exchange of the global and the local leads to a "multi-layered glocalisation" (Rüpke 2020: 4). It creates a dynamic that links traditional religious aspects with new everyday practices (Lefebvre 1991, Lanz 2014). This development is reflected in representations within the city, e.g. in the architecture (Knott et al. 2016). Religion and the city, and their respective development, are thus mutually dependent and interlinked. In the future, it will therefore be increasingly important to mediate between the urban and the religious space (Rüpke 2020).

In relation to the religion of Islam, Muslims are to be understood as urban actors who have individual histories and cultivate everyday practices which, in turn, are influenced by everyday urban practices. Muslims thus participate in negotiation processes in the city and help to shape them, which is why "Islam can be described as an expression of urbanity" (Färber et al. 2012: 62). Mosques have a special significance in these processes because they can play a role in the everyday practices of Muslims, but they can also have a representative effect in the city.

The connection of representation and visibility

The concept of representation originates primarily from communication and media studies, as well as political and social science, but it can also have a spatial effect, which is why it is relevant to urban and spatial research. Spatial representations can define an objective reality and they are able to create inclusions and exclusions (Dzudzek et al. 2011). This means that the creation of an objective reality, i.e. the connection of the visible with images, documents and other analogue and digital contributions that produce general validity and are accessible to the community, leads to representation: "Representations are complex formations of material, techniques, and ideologies in which social practice is indissolubly linked to social thought and imagination. (…) Representation therefore raises the problem of the politics of what is visible and what is hidden" (Shields 2004: 10).

Visibility, as an essential component of representation, can help to induce negotiation processes for social representation, which can cause conflicts in social relationships (Färber et al. 2012, Hall 2013, Oltmer 2018), but also co-operation or participation: "[With visibility,] not only seeing as a practice and the visual comes into the focus of research, but (…) also legal, ethical and discursive framings of visibility, which determine what can become visible at all" (Maier 2018: 84-85). (In)visibility, among other things, due to (a lack of) visualisation, but also, for example, due to socio-political pressure, quite probably leads to (non-)representation. Negotiation processes that arise as a consequence of representation influence everyday religious practices and, at the same time, decide who shapes the city and how.

Causes and effects of conflictual negotiation processes

In urban areas, many different religions and their non-believers come together (Stump 2008). On the one hand, this can lead to diverse interactions and increased tolerance, as suggested by the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954). On the other hand, religious territoriality in such a confined space can lead to competition and conflict (Baumann 1999, Kong 2001, Goldblatt and Omer 2014, Knott et al. 2016). In addition, changes in the built and the lived urban environment are generally negatively perceived by the residents. These changes can trigger conflicts, because the city challenges our sense of security on a daily basis as the city is subject to constant processes of change and negotiation (Shields 1996, Knott et al. 2016).

Conflicts over religion in the city in particular are often emotionally fraught, due to the visibility of symbols, and they have an impact on representation. Symbols strengthen the sense of belonging of people within the subject position but, at the same time, they intensify the feeling of exclusion of outsiders, and they can evoke conflicts (Baumann 1999). Conflicts, especially if they are conducted in a hostile manner, can result in minoritised subject positions deciding against visibility. According to Keller (2012) and

Schaffer (2018), the term 'subject position' refers to the discursive decision of individuals to identify themselves as subjects in a certain way, and to make themselves identifiable to others. The term 'group' or 'grouping' is avoided here (unless it is a quotation or it expresses criticism), as the subject position is already determined from the outside without the subject being able to influence this. The 'minoritised subject position' refers to identified subject positions that are assumed to belong to a minority and that are ascribed to a minoritised social position.

The representation of hostile imaginaries and texts also lead to visible power inequalities, and they can contribute to invisibility and marginalisation, as visibility and invisibility are closely linked (Schaffer 2008, Hall 2013, Collis and Webb 2014, Powell and Van Baar 2019). Vetter (2019: 379) refers to architectural or structural invisibility and he concludes: "(…) the house must not be seen because of the safety of what is inside, or because the building should at least not visually burden its surroundings". He thus describes a (visible) retreat of social processes into invisibility, and he shows that invisibility can also be intentional (Schaffer 2008). On the contrary, greater visibility allows people to become part of the public discourse (Bielefeldt 2010). But, this also exposes them to criticism (Uehlinger 2013). As a result, minoritised subject positions, in particular, decide to remain invisible (Schaffer 2008), because which is not visible cannot be rejected. Without visibility, however, we cannot know about each other and experience diversity in a community (Habermas 2006, Collis and Webb 2014).

The decisive factor for visibility is whether, and how, conflicts which result in hostile actions are socially and legally dealt with (El-Mafaalani 2018), so that the fear of confrontation and conflict does not result in forced invisibility, especially for minoritised subject positions. But science can contribute to this. According to Alkin et al. (2022: 5), cultural and social sciences, in particular, but also spatial and urban research, must repeatedly address the following questions as a subject of research: "What is it and how do we want to live together in the city? What is it based on? Where do our actions find a space? What do these spaces look like? Which spaces remain invisible and why?".

Media products can contribute to making minoritised subject positions visible by reproducing and disseminating public statements about religious and everyday practices (Li and Zhang 2022). However, the (frequent) articulation of otherness, or the focus on the same aspects that reflect otherness, can trigger or even mask conflicts (Crețan and Turnock 2008, Canan and Foroutan 2019, Crețan et al. 2023). The terms Islam, and migration can be cited as an example. Islam initially came to Europe primarily through migration. But, the permanently corresponding and almost synonymous use of Islam and migration can reproduce the feeling of otherness and highlight intersectional stereotyping (Canan and Foroutan 2019, Wigger 2019, Diekmann 2022).

The historical interaction and relationship between society and religion in space and place continues to influence their negotiation processes to this day (Martínez-Ariño

2019, Sutkutė 2019). In Europe in particular, the negotiation processes surrounding the representation of religion in the public space play a certain role: "In many European cases, secularisation did not entail a fundamental separation between religion and politics (…) but territorially-based national churches. One of the consequences (…) is that certain religious traditions are generally described and experienced as fitting with the nation and others are not" (Oosterbaan 2014: 591). Not least, the increasing diversity of religious and spiritual faith communities poses challenges for the European community: "Within Europe, however, there are very different religious settings, both in terms of inner religiosity, and in terms of legal and institutional backgrounds, which vary from state churches on the one hand, to the system of laïcité on the other" (Hamplová and Nešpor 2009: 582).

Methodology

Study area

In Germany, the stronger presence of Islam has only occurred since the 1950s and it varies from region to region (Pfündel et al. 2021, Figure 2). In West Germany, guest-workers were recruited from Muslim countries, such as Turkey and countries in North Africa in the post-war period. Increasing family reunification from the 1970s onwards intensified the reference back to religion, not least in view of the experiences of marginalisation (Beinhauer-Köhler 2010). In East Germany, e.g. in Saxony, the immigration of Muslims only began in the late half of the 20th century (Hakenberg and Klemm 2016). Immigration is mainly made up of EU-workers, international experts from various sectors, students, and refugees from third countries (Hakenberg and Klemm 2016). The attitudes towards religion and Islam have developed differently in East and West Germany, partly due to the history of occupation and the associated socio-political influences.

Hamplová and Nešpor (2009: 582) assume that the religious socialisation of people in post-socialist countries, in which religion was hardly allowed to play a role and it remained relatively invisible, differs from the countries in which people experience diverse religious socialisation in terms of turning-to and accepting religiosity: "(…) the former [socialist states such as] East Germany (...) usually rank amongst the most secularised countries in what is generally seen as a non-religious continent", which is why the acceptance of religiosity in these states might be generally lower (Table 1).

Islam has received little attention to date in East Germany due to its relatively short history and supposedly minor role. It is only a few years ago that Muslim life in East Germany, as well as immigration to East Germany, have become research topics (Glorius 2020) that are attracting increasing interest: "(...) [This is a] plea to take a close look at when comparisons between West and East Germany are beneficial and when

they establish a West German norm that cannot grasp the circumstances of Muslim life in East Germany" (Stenske and Bioly 2021: 6-7). Besides, it was concluded that "hostility towards Muslims [...] is strongly pronounced and (...) [repeatedly] significantly higher in the East than in the West" (Decker et al. 2022: 64).

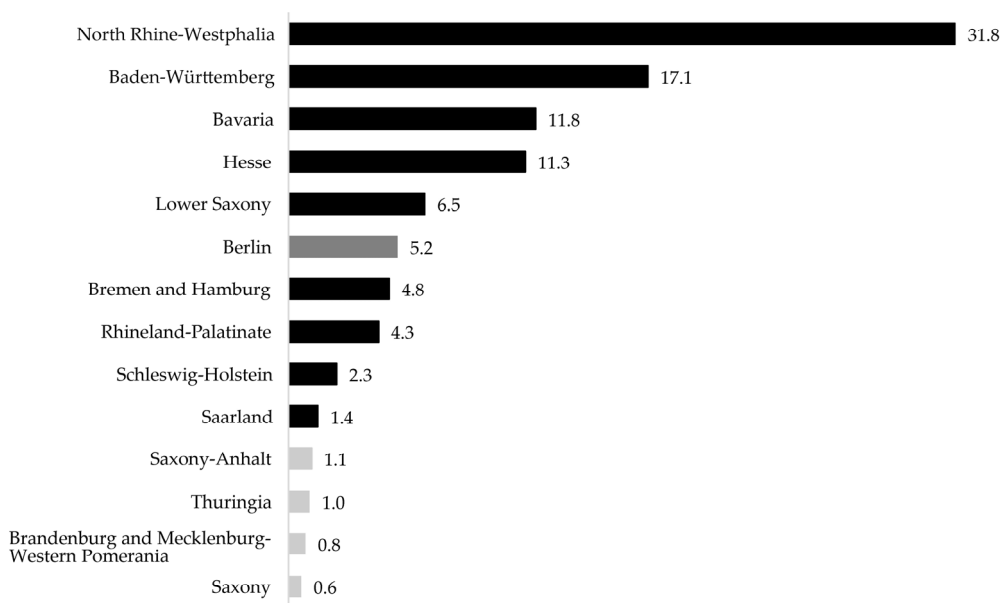|	
North Rhine-Westphalia	31.8
Baden-Württemberg	17.1
Bavaria	11.8
Hesse	11.3
Lower Saxony	6.5
Berlin	5.2
Bremen and Hamburg	4.8
Rhineland-Palatinate	4.3
Schleswig-Holstein	2.3
Saarland	1.4
Saxony-Anhalt	1.1
Thuringia	1.0
Brandenburg and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	0.8
Saxony	0.6

Figure 2. Share of Muslims in the German federal states in 2020 (in %). Berlin as part of former East and West Germany has been coloured dark grey, East German counties have been coloured light grey
Source: Pfündel et al. (2021)

Table 1. Eurobarometer survey: beliefs of the German population (% of the population in West and East Germany)
Source: Federal Agency for Civic Education (2018)

Identification	East Germany	West Germany
Buddhists	0.6	0.8
Catholics	6	34.5
Dont't know	2.1	2.2
Hindus	0	0.2
Jews	0	0.2
Members of another Christian religion	7	7.7
Muslims	1.5	4.2
Non-believers,agnostics, atheists	68.3	16.6
Orthodox Christians	1.9	2.2
Other	3.5	2
Protestants	9.7	29.8

On the one hand, racist and specifically anti-Muslim attacks are an all-German problem (such as in the city of Halle 2019 or city of Hanau 2020). On the other hand, demonstrations such as those organised by PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident – anti-Islamic, xenophobic, nationalist, racist and far-right organisation) do not occur with the same regularity and scale in the West (Akca 2021), even though demonstrators from all federal states attend. However, according to Rohe (2018: 71), it seems that Muslims in East Germany represent a "double-foreignness"; and many people in East Germany feel like a "minority" (Yendell 2013) or left behind in their own country: "The perceived own devaluation could translate into a passing-on and consolidation of stereotypes towards Muslims (…). Thus, in the field of negotiating positions and placements of non-dominant subject positions in Germany, the position in the lower field of social recognition would be passed-on to others" (Canan and Foroutan 2019: 428).

A look at the East German case study of Leipzig reveals specific local conditions for the acceptance of religiosity in the urban society and institutions. Leipzig was already considered a 'cosmopolitan city' in East Germany during the GDR era, thanks to the international trade fair and the Thomaner choir, a religious cultural and educational institution. The Church played a particular role as a place of prayer but also as resistance under socialism. In 1968, for example, the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) ordered the demolition of Leipzig's Pauliner church, which triggered protests among the city's population (MDR 2023). With Luckmann's (2023) idea of the evasion of religion into the private sphere, the question arises as to whether there is possibly an individual religiosity among the former GDR citizens of Leipzig which could facilitate the acceptance of diverse religiosity today, or whether the increasing diversity actually harbours particular potential for conflict. It is also conceivable that individual religiosity has decreased (between 2020 and 2021, the number of people leaving the church in Leipzig rose sharply from 1,508 to 3,475, according to City of Leipzig 2021), and that this increases the potential for conflict. As a rapidly growing city with increasing competetion for space, as a university city, and as the second most important DHL airport location within Europe, Leipzig also attracts young immigrants with experience of diversity, who may have a more open approach to Muslim places of prayer. Institutional stakeholders, such as the city administration and politicians, are also positioning themselves as cosmopolitan and diversity-positive, leading to controversies between various stakeholders in Leipzig's urban society (Kirndörfer and Wiest 2020).

Analysis of negotiation processes of religion

In order to empirically investigate negotiation processes of religion in the urban space, a multi-method approach is required, because (non-)representation cannot be explained one-dimensionally if visibility is only one component of it. The approach refers in particular to the application of methods of empirical social research, namely: image

analysis, guided expert interviews, and discourse analysis based on the sociology of knowledge (Table 2). The research topic requires a sensitive approach, as the possible visualisation of invisible places can trigger internal and external conflicts (Göle 2004).

Table 2. Overview of the empirical methods applied in this study

Applied method	Image analysis	Guided expert interviews	Sociological knowledge of discourse analysis
Data collection	Taking pictures of the architecture of each known Muslim place-of-prayer or community in Leipzig and developing their location map	Interviewing three people of three different religious denominations of Islam in Leipzig, and analysing them according to Mayring and Fenzl (2019)	Analysing eleven out of 100 collected national and local newspaper articles, published between 2013 and 2021, according to Keller (2011)
Topic	(In)visibility and its connection with conflicts and hostilities		The role of the media in local negotiation processes and their connection with migration

Image analysis

The aim of the image analysis is to answer the first part of the first sub-question of how Muslim places of prayer become visible in Leipzig. From our perspective, architectural visibility includes identificatory visibility. By identificatory visibility, we mean the extent to which Muslim places of prayer can be identified, e.g. through symbols, signs or the like, if the architecture does not allow for clear indications.

Snyder and Allen (1975: 169) have described the connection between photography, visualisation and representation in detail and they formulate: "(…) 'documentary' questions we ought to ask (...): what it means, who made it, for whom was it made, and why it was made in the way it was made". With this in mind, we analyse our own photographs of Muslim places of prayer and congregations in Leipzig. We determined the addresses of all Islamic religious communities with an internet presence, and we photographed them on their location in Leipzig with regard to certain features. The photos are limited to the buildings, the windows, symbols, or signs visible from the outside, as well as doorbell-signs, letterboxes, and the respective surroundings.

The visualisation of invisible places, to which our research undoubtedly contributes, can lead to conflicts which we want, and must help, to avoid. In the spirit of upholding scientific-ethical practice in relation to minoritised subject positions in space and place, no street names, house numbers or other signs that would indicate the exact location are visualised, or they are made unrecognisable (Sales and Folkman 2000, Popke 2007, Pittaway et al. 2010, Ullrich and Tullney 2012, Resnik 2020). The mapping of Muslim places of prayer in Leipzig carried-out after the image analysis also remains general and it only refers to the approximate localisation in the city districts. We are aware that

it is nevertheless possible to identify their locations, and this is why we only depict and name public places that can be found online anyway.

Guided expert interviews

The aim of the guideline-based expert interviews is to complement the findings of the image analysis and to answer the second part of the first sub-question of to what extent Leipzig's Muslim places of prayers' (in)visibility is related to conflicts and hostilities based on religion or migration.

The three interviewees represent three different religious denominations of Islam. Firstly, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat congregation represents the minoritised religious subject position of the Ahmadis. Secondly, the Islamic Al-Sahra Center e.V. represents the minoritised religious subject position of the Shiites in Leipzig. In both cases, the interviewees are direct representatives of the communities. The major religious subject position in Leipzig is formed by the Sunni denomination of Islam, which is indirectly represented in the third interview through a representative of Haus SoVi. Haus SoVi in Leipzig sees itself as an intermediary partner in the dialogue between the Muslim migrant population and the majority population (Haus SoVi 2023a); their projects focus heavily on the Sunni mosques in Leipzig. So, the surveyed interview partners are in contact with the Sunni communities in particular. The focus in the interviews lies on the experiences, opinions, and actions of the experts. For this reason, as well as to protect minoritised subject positions as a scientific-ethical practice, the interviews are anonymised. The interview guidelines contain relevant topics that emerge from the research and guiding questions.

The analysis follows Mayring and Fenzl (2019) in the form of a qualitative content analysis, specifically as a summarising content analysis with inductive category formation, in which the individual interviews are analysed using six categories and, in the next step, they are examined for their frequency in the interview material, inter alia: the communities and their development; architectural and identificatory visibility; media visibility; interactions between the congregations, and, between the congregations and the city; the relevance of migration; the connection with (hostile) conflicts.

In summary, the approach aims to capture experiences and opinions of representatives of Islam in Leipzig about local negotiation processes regarding the representation of Muslim places of prayer. In this context, the development of the communities and their understanding of visibility is relevant.

Sociological knowledge of discourse analysis

We use the discourse analysis as a third approach to examine public perception and media coverage from 2013 to 2021 to include several stakeholder perspectives,

especially with regard to the representation of Muslim places of prayer in Leipzig. With that, we aim to answer the second sub-question, addressing the media's role in the local negotiation processes of the representation of Islam in Leipzig, and to what extent they establish a connection with the topic of migration.

The sociology of knowledge through discourse analysis examines "social knowledge relations and knowledge policies" (Keller 2011: 61) and how stakeholders or organisations produce, confirm, or change the discursive reality (Keller 2012). In this study, the discourse-analytical method will help to investigate how knowledge about Islam and its visibility is created, and how it is represented. Based on Keller (2011), the procedure is divided into six steps, further explained.

The reason for the analysis period 2013 and 2021 is that the 'Mosque construction in Gohlis' project was first publicly communicated in 2013. The start of the analysis period also predates the refugee reception crisis of 2015/2016, so it is possible to identify changes over time (First step: exploring the field of study). For the data, newspaper articles were selected which are considered an influential mass medium and thus significantly determine the media coverage of the visibility of Muslim places of prayer in Leipzig (Second step: Data selection). Two local daily newspapers, the Leipziger Volkszeitung (LVZ) and the Sächsische Zeitung (SZ), as well as the national weekly newspaper, DIE ZEIT, were used as sources, shedding light on geographically different views. Inductive research on the keywords of 'Islam' and 'Leipzig' in the period between 1st January 2013 and 31st December 2021 resulted in a total corpus of over 100 articles (Third step: Corpus formation). This is followed by a selection which leads to the decision as to which articles are analysed in more detail. When selecting the articles, the first priority is to see how well they can answer the sub-question mentioned above (Keller 2011). Furthermore, it is ensured that the articles in each newspaper cover different time periods between 2013 and 2021. For the subsequent detailed analysis, a sample of eleven articles is thus identified by selecting four articles from each newspaper, LVZ and SZ, and three from DIE ZEIT. The detailed analysis is carried out using coding (Fourth step: Fine analysis). This is then divided into six questions, from which the categories are derived, in order to analyse the articles (stakeholders, differentiation of Islam, negotiation processes regarding representation, positioning of the author, migration and visibility). Finally, the results of the individual categories are brought together. This is followed by an interpretative-analytical recording of the content (Fifth step: Interpretation). In the final step, the results are aggregated into overarching discourse-related statements and an overall result of the study is compiled (Sixth step: Overall result).

Results

Based on the three applied methods, the two sub-questions are answered, focusing on the (in)visibility of Muslim places of prayer in Leipzig, the negotiation processes

around representation, and the media's role in the representation of Islam and its connection with migration.

The (in)visibility of Muslim places of prayer in Leipzig

The research into the architectural visibility of mosques in Leipzig revealed the existence of seven Muslim places of prayer from at least four different Muslim denominations (Figure 3). Two mosques are located in the west, two in the centre and north, one in the north-east and two in the east of Leipzig. With the exception of one mosque in the east, all communities are located within a three-kilometre radius of the city centre. For the image analysis, the following mosques and Muslim religious centres were visited from the outside: Takva Mosque, El Furkan Mosque, Bilal Mosque, Pakistani Mosque, Eyüp Sultan Mosque, Al Rahman Mosque, Al-Sahra Center, and the Community centre of the Ahmaddiya Muslim Jamaat.
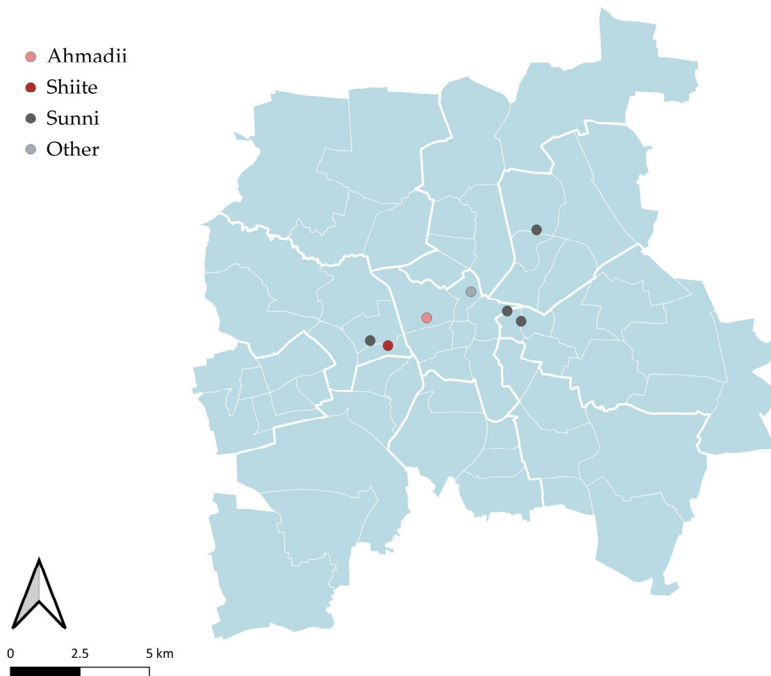

Figure 3. Muslim places of prayer per denomination in Leipzig
Source: Data basis – City of Leipzig (2022a); Map source – OSM, © OpenStreetMap contributors (2022);
published under the Open Data Commons Open Database License (ODbL) v1.0

The major denominations of Islam are represented in Leipzig in a similar manner as in Germany as a whole (Figure 4). The Sunni denomination makes up the majority of Muslims in Leipzig, Germany and worldwide. According to the category of 'Communities and their development', there are currently five Sunni mosques in Leipzig: the Takva Mosque, the El Furkan Mosque, the Bilal Mosque, the Pakistani Mosque, and the

Eyüp Sultan Mosque. There is also a Shiite religious community, the Al Rahman Mosque, the Islamic Al-Sahra Center and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat congregation. The latter two have no mosques in Leipzig to date. No prayer room for Alevi Muslims is known. However, Alevi Muslims in Leipzig are represented by the registered Alevi cultural association CEM HAUS (City of Leipzig 2022a, City of Leipzig 2022b).
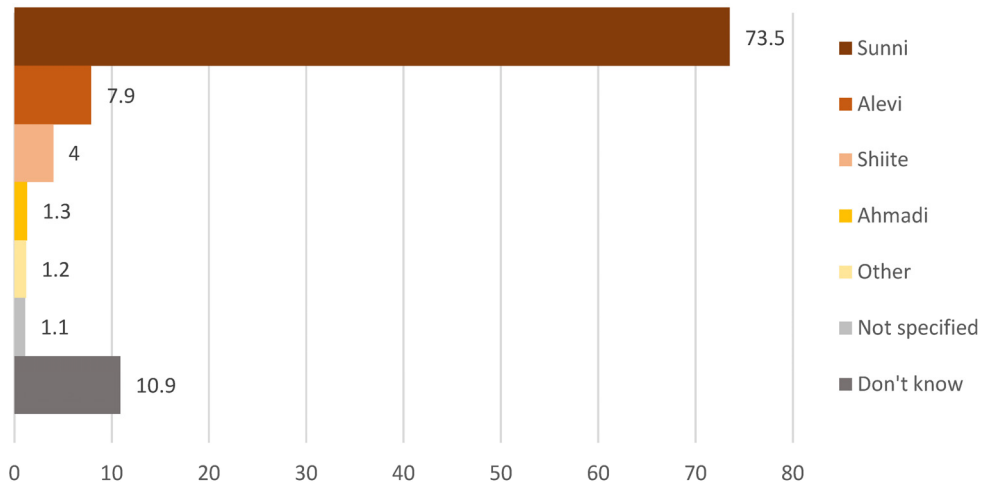

Figure 4. Denominations of Muslim immigrants in Germany (in %)
Source: Pfündel et al. (2021)

Basically, there is (still) no mosque in Leipzig that has the classic, representative architectural features of a mosque. All the portrayed mosques are located in multi-storey residential buildings, or single-storey (warehouse) halls. Four places of prayer can be recognised as mosques from the outside due to signs and symbols (identificatory visibility).

The other religious communities have no signs or symbols visible from the outside (Figure 5). A common feature of all mosques and places of prayer is that the first floor is always covered, barred and opaque with stained glass. Only one community shows 'Islamische Gemeinde' (Islamic congregation) on the doorbell-sign, while two others say 'Gemeinde' or 'Vereinshaus' (congregation house) (Figure 6). Furthermore, the other municipalities do not have doorbell-signs indicating that the respective religious community is located in the building. The publicly accessible letterboxes do not indicate this either. Only one mailbox of a mosque at the end of a cul-de-sac shows the name and the head of the community. All the mosques are located within, or adjacent to, residential areas.

The image analysis reveals that the existing Muslim places of prayer and congregations in Leipzig are rather invisible to non-Muslims, and they resemble the original "backyard mosques" that Bielefeldt (2010) described for West Germany in the

1950s/1960s. It takes special attention to recognise the places as places of prayer or congregations of Islam; people passing-by would probably not notice that they are Muslim places of prayer. Nevertheless, unlike in Erfurt-Marbach, these places are mostly part of the densely populated urban area of Leipzig. The analysis also shows that there are diverse Muslim places of prayer in the city, with (at least) four out of seven Muslim denominations.

Figure 5. The entrance to the Takva Mosque in Leipzig (house number retouched) and its letter box without address
Source: Levert (April 2024)

Figure 6. Windows and doorbell sign ('congregation') of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat congregation
(house number retouched)
Source: Levert (April 2024)

Causes and effects of (in)visibility

The interviews illustrate that both financial resources and permanent personnel structures within the communities are lacking for the implementation of architectural visibility, thus confirming the particular difficulties of Muslim self-organisation in East Germany (Interview 1, Akca 2021). The city administration does not provide any financial support for the communities in Leipzig either, as religion and the state are fundamentally separated in Germany. So, all congregations have to finance themselves independently (Czermak and Hilgendorf 2018). So far, they have financed themselves through donations and membership fees. But the available funds are not sufficient to build a representative mosque. Thus, the buildings converted into mosques are either privately-owned or in buildings where the rent is reasonable. In the case of the Ahmadiyya community, the mosque construction in Leipzig can be financed thanks to supra-regional funds (Interview 2). There are also difficulties at the organisational level. In most cases, communities are organised by individuals on a voluntary basis (Interviews 1 and 3). According to the Shiite religious community, there is another mosque in the east of Leipzig, but it does not have a website and its exact location is unknown. Akca (2021: 34) confirms the difficult circumstances for some Muslim denominations: "It is precisely this problem of self-organised religion that can manifest itself locally in very similar ways, which connects Muslims in east and west. There are also mosques in West Germany that do not have full-time religious staff, or they are not networked".

Some of the communities in Leipzig are satisfied with their current premises but, in principle, they would like to be more visible (Interviews 1 and 3). They would also like to be able to protect themselves from possible attacks, which is why the issue of structural protection measures further exacerbates the question of financing when building a mosque (Interview 1). In addition, the right location has to be found. Even in the past, the (urban) location of mosques was dependent on the available properties and affordable rents (Interview 1). However, the affordable locations are often also less central: "Somewhere on the outskirts is cheap but, as I said, then you have the difficulty of even noticing [the community]" (Interview 1). The congregation of the Eyüp Sultan mosque, for example, is currently looking for new premises due to a limited amount of space (Interview 1). The interviewee from the Al-Sahra community says that a larger, prestigious mosque could cause a stir in the residential area: "This is possible, but if, for example, so many people come, then it's not good, alert for the neighbours, for the people. That's possible. However, if we build a large mosque, for example, then (it should be) somewhere else, not here" (Interview 3). According to the interviewee, there have been no confrontations so far. These statements by the interviewees point to the preference for the invisibility of Muslim places of prayer for reasons of conflict avoidance, or even anti-Muslim racism (Schaffer 2008, Collis and Webb 2014, Vetter 2019, Alkin et al. 2022). This means that negotiation processes with Leipzig's urban

society do not even take place. However, negotiation processes that arise from conflicts could later lead to greater acceptance as a result. The interviewee from the Ahmadiyya community refers, for example, to the construction of a mosque in Berlin, which was also prevented for some time due to concerns from local residents: "Those who were afraid before, they're not anymore, and I hope and believe that this will also happen in Leipzig" (Interview 3). This person hopes that the mosque's design will also bring "the positive, these influences into the society" (Interview 3).

Despite the lack of architectural visibility in Leipzig, most Muslim communities can still be classified as visible to informed or inquisitive people. Most congregations are linked on the official website of the City of Leipzig and their homepages provide the addresses, as well as the names, of the community leaders. Some of the communities are also active on social media. In this respect, a media presence is created on their own initiative (Interviews 1 and 2, Li and Zhang 2022). The external media visibility of the communities in Leipzig sometimes complicates the representation of Muslims in Leipzig and it causes some frustration. It is important to all the interviewees that they are not reduced exclusively to their religion. In addition, Islam must always be viewed in the context of its different denominations (Interviews 1-3): "We, the Muslims, also have identities. We are perceived as a 'thing', we pray a hundred times a day and only do fasting, or never go out and only read the Koran. It is not like that. We also have several identities. We also have needs, interests" (Interview 1). The second interviewee is also annoyed by the fact that only Islam is included as additional information in the newspaper when crimes are reported, whereas this is not done for people of a different faith (Interview 2). These statements certainly suggest stereotyping encounters of a media or personal nature that articulate the otherness (Hall 2013, Canan and Foroutan 2019, Sutkutė 2019). This also happens, for example, through the media representation of the Eisenbahnstraße: "I've read in the newspaper a few times: 'Eisenbahnstraße – the most dangerous street in Germany' [...]. I mean, whether you like it or not, you are already labelled in every respect. There are two mosques on the most dangerous [street]" (Interview 1). The interviewee thus refers to the joint articulation of Muslim places of prayer and localised crime in the media, which can contribute to conflictual negotiation processes, or at least to stereotyping (Canan and Foroutan 2019, Wigger 2019, Diekmann 2022). This also shows how simple casualties (mosques and crime) and their combination with metaphors and bold, exaggerated statements ("Germany's most dangerous street") can contribute to stereotyping. At this point, it should be noted that the epithet of "most dangerous street in Germany" was created by the media due to gang crime (especially between biker-gangs), drugs and violence and it is not based on religious conflicts (ProSieben 2013).

There are no conflicts between the Muslim communities, but no significant interactions either. Interviewee 1 explains: "Everyone goes their own way". The planned mosque cannot be used by the other Muslim communities in Leipzig due to the different

movements within Islam, and the resulting differentiated principles of faith (Interviews 1-3). The Al-Sahra Centre emphasises: "No, we have our people, and they have their people. As I said at the beginning, our goal [is] not their goal; it is different, and it is not possible because of that" (Interview 2). These statements once again illustrate the desire for differentiation. In this context, one interviewee also referred once again to the public discourse surrounding the Al Rahman mosque, which is often associated with the extremist Salafist movement: "It is the language that they understand, and they go there. Some have nothing to do with this ideology at all. Some go there because most of their friends and family go there. Some go there because they've always gone there. So, you have to look a bit rather than placing everyone under the same umbrella" (Interview 1). The interviews show that the opportunity for diverse Muslim exchange in East Germany is hardly possible in a larger city like Leipzig. Muslim structures in Leipzig are more similar to West German cities, as ethnic and linguistic divisions have already been made in the infrastructure among Muslims, and they have assigned themselves to different religious communities (Akca 2021). However, there is an indirect dialogue with the city administration in Leipzig, especially with the Department for Migration and Integration. This is addressed by Akca's study (2021: 27), mentioning that "the exchange between local mosques in East German cities is less strained" and the relationships between representatives of Islam and the city administrations are generally better than in the West: "The East German communities, particularly those founded in recent years, benefit from dialogical contacts with municipal authorities. [The] integration into the municipalities can have a positive impact on the fledgling communities in the long-term" (Akca 2021: 39).

Due to personnel, space and financial hurdles faced by the individual communities, Haus SoVi (2023b) is an important stakeholder for Muslims in Leipzig. The association is committed to the appreciation of the Muslim faith communities, and it facilitates a dialogue between the city and Muslims. Nevertheless, not all communities are represented by Haus SoVi, although there have been approaches from both sides. For example, Haus SoVi does not see itself as a representative of the Al Rahman Mosque, and it excluded it from the self-organised project entitled 'Umut - Muslim communities as communal stakeholders' (Interview 1, Haus SoVi 2023b). This could be due to the diverse ideology of the discussed community, but it was not clearly addressed in the interview. However, according to the interview, Haus SoVi and the Al-Sahra community are also not in contact with each other (Interview 3). The exchange with the non-Muslims is desired and actively promoted, for example, through the Open Mosque Day or by Haus SoVi itself. Tours for school classes are to be offered in the future (Interview 1). This indicates an opening of Muslim places of prayer and visibility, which is associated with interaction, and it can contribute to mediation between the urban (society) and religion (Rüpke 2020).

In Leipzig, there are certainly correlations between the growth in membership of

Muslim communities and migration. In principle, the congregations in Leipzig have grown since the refugee reception crisis in 2015/2016, but not significantly. The number of Muslims is difficult to estimate, as they are not subject to church-tax and therefore not officially registered as Muslims. The question of whether only active Muslims are counted, or whether all people understood as Muslim people are also included, has not been conclusively clarified (Interview 1). This also includes believers who, for example, practise religion independently, do not belong to a fixed mosque or community, or they only attend Friday prayers, or they only honour the high holidays. Additionally, the number fluctuates because there is a "constant back and forth" due to the distribution of refugees of Muslim faith in the course of the refugee reception crisis (Interview 1). Furthermore, refugees of the Muslim faith feel more uncomfortable in (East German) rural areas "because there is nothing there" and they prefer to move to the cities. At the same time, there is also an internal migration of Muslims from other federal states to Leipzig. This means that the internal migration among Muslims from the rural areas in Saxony, and from other federal states to Leipzig, plays a certain role.

The Ahmadiyya community currently counts around 130 members, with a small increase of ten people since 2015 (Interview 2). The Al-Sahra Centre has grown to around 100 members (Interview 3). This means that the largest increase in membership has occurred in the Sunni communities. This might be because the Sunnis make up the majority of Muslims. In parallel, structures of Sunni mosques are more developed, and therefore more visible and easier to find than those of other denominations in Leipzig.

This illustrates the direct connection between visibility and invisibility; the visibility of one Muslim community leads to the invisibility of another (Schaffer 2008, Uehlinger 2013). Mosques can play an important role for Muslim immigrants, and they facilitate their arrival. For example, the interviewee from the Al-Sahra community reported that the women of the communities came together to celebrate the residence permit: "She got a rejection at the beginning. For many years and then..., she was so happy and said: when I get it, I'll invite everyone" (Interview 3). However, the religious community is also an important point of contact and place for the newcomers when it comes to family matters, such as marriage or divorce (Interview 3).

Another interviewee also makes a distinction between the Muslims who belong to the first generation of immigrants, and the later ones: "[...] for example, my grandfather often went to the community because he could hardly speak German; he had his network there, he knew the people, and if he had to look for an apartment, for example, he looked there because the mosque played a central role for people, especially for the first generation" (Interview 1). The later generation has often built up a wider network and asks friends or other institutions for help. Originally, the prayer-room was also seen as a "meeting place". However, the relevance of Islam has changed in recent years: "Overall, the role of the mosque for the Muslim community [has] declined somewhat" (Interview 1).

The resulting loss of importance can be observed in all world religions in Europe, as Casanova (1994) and Luckmann (2023) described with institutional secularisation. Both in the countries of origin and in Germany, mosques increasingly serve as places of prayer instead of meeting centres where social interaction and togetherness are lived (Interview 1). Voluntary activity is declining due to age and mentality, for example, because young people have less time or desire. German Muslims are also active in other social circles outside the community and mosques are no longer the only point of contact for the Muslims (Interview 1). This indicates that the Muslims engage in diverse everyday practices. They do not necessarily (want to) identify with their religiosity, but they are characterised by general urban everyday practices, or they help to shape them (Färber et al. 2012). Additionally, the efforts of the Ahmadiyaa community to build a mosque in Leipzig-Gohlis suggests that only the well-organised, larger Muslim communities (can and/or want to) afford structural, and representative visibility (Hjelm 2014, Amiraux 2016).

The media's role regarding Muslim representations

For the discourse analysis, the previously formed individual categories were analysed in order to find out how the media contributes to the representation of Islam and to the potentially conflictual negotiation processes. The first category of the discourse analysis records the various stakeholders involved in the negotiation processes as emerged from the articles in the fine analysis. A total of over 80 different stakeholders are identified. They are then categorised into: experts/academics, media, foundations/institutions, politicians/city administration, representatives of Islam, legislature, urban society, and others. The stakeholders' positions towards the Islam in Leipzig are analysed. For example, the support of Leipzig's mayor for the construction of a mosque is a sign of the appreciation of Islam in Leipzig and it illustrates the positive positioning of the city's representatives (Heitkamp 2013, Akca 2021).

The articles also address the contrary attitudes towards the Muslim representation in the form of sacred mosques in Leipzig, especially in the city's society, such as the citizens' initiative entitled 'Gohlis sagt nein!' (Gohlis says no!), which carried-out a leaflet campaign to form the initiative against the mosque, as well as the right-wing political parties such as the AfD and NPD (Kailitz 2013, Heitkamp 2021a). The reports also include information about the stakeholders in regulatory religious policy, such as the observation of Salafists by the Defence of the Constitution, which provides a supposed justification for the scepticism in the urban society (Döring 2018). In the same article, the sub-heading warns of an "[imminent] radicalisation of migrants", before the later attempting to relativise it by saying that not all visiting believers are potential Salafists (Döring 2018). Experts, artists, and the media are also addressed as further stakeholder positions who react to the discourse and, through feedback effects, they in turn contribute to the endorsement of the diverse Muslim representation in Leipzig.

For example, the artists criticise the perception of Muslims in Leipzig and they plead for a more differentiated view (Salzbrenner 2019). This builds on the desire for differentiation based on diverse identities and practices expressed in the interviews.

The second category enquires precisely about this differentiated view of Muslims. Some of the articles express that Muslims are still too often seen as a homogeneous group in the society and that no differentiation is made between the individual communities; this results in pluralisation (Färber et al. 2012). Accordingly, other articles strive for a differentiated view by including the perspective of academics on the topic. They justify the pluralisation with the one-sided media coverage in the general social ignorance of the religion, and the missing touchpoints with Islam (Debski 2016, Salzbrenner 2019).

The analysed articles largely differentiate between the Islamic communities. In particular, the reports focus on two communities and one denomination associated with Islamism, which are explicitly mentioned. The Ahmadiyya community, which wants to build a representative mosque in Leipzig-Gohlis, is often mentioned. Specific values of the community are referred to, which are presented exclusively positively in some articles (Kailitz 2013), but also neutrally or critically in others (Dpa Sachsen 2021). The second community is the DITIB community, which is considered to have unacceptable values, such as "anti-constitutional and nationalist-religious", and it is mentioned in connection with an attack on the community (Heitkamp 2021b). The Islamist Salafist movement is also the focus of reporting, and it is considered an extremist movement which refers to Islam; this is why it is monitored by the Defence of the Constitution (Döring 2018). In summary, the differentiated reporting by Muslims, or a differentiation of Muslims from the extremist religious movements, takes place when they become particularly visible or when they hold radical views contrary to the mainstream. This refers to Hjelm's (2014) argument about the re-emerging visibility of religion, which only occurs when it is either problematic (DITIB, Salafists), or useful (Ahmadiyaa), for the public discourse. However, differentiation only takes place with regard to the differentiation of communities from other movements, but not with regard to the diversity of Muslims as subjects within the Muslim communities, or with regard to individual practices. Individual everyday practices of Muslims remain rather invisible, apart from defensive attitudes, e.g. with regard to the rights of women to drive a car (Kailitz 2013).

The third category relates to the negotiation processes of the visibility of Muslim representation practices. Three articles mention how residential buildings are currently being used as places of prayer for Muslims (Heitkamp 2013, Debski 2016, Heitkamp 2021a). At the same time, the articles addressed urban society, with questions like whether a mosque will fit in with its surroundings, which is almost synonymous with 'whether the Muslims visiting the mosque will integrate into the urban society' (Stange

2013, Heitkamp 2021a). Religions often coexist in urban areas. This spatial proximity of different religions can facilitate diversity and tolerance towards other cultures (Stange 2013, Debski 2016).

The articles also express the potential conflict of the negotiation processes of Muslim representation practices as the opponents interpret the construction of a mosque as a "drive to conquer the world" (Kailitz 2013, Wöbking 2019). Also, a fear of foreign religions is highlighted: "The feeling of threat is primarily of a symbolic nature. It is the fear of losing one's own culture" (Debski 2016). This gives rise to conflicts, such as protests and even vandalism (Heitkamp 2021b), or the littering of the mosque construction area in Gohlis (Dpa Sachsen 2021); the latter can be forms of hostile conflict.

With regard to the architectural visibility of Islam in Leipzig, the new mosque being built by the Ahmadiyya community in Gohlis is a particular focus of the media. In this context, the mosque's decorative minaret and its exact height are often discussed. The articles increasingly refer to the fact that the mosque will be "restrained", "not taller than the surrounding residential buildings" and that everything will take place within the framework of the planning permission (Heitkamp 2013). Quotes from Muslim representatives such as: "We are not building ostentatious buildings" clarify this (Heitkamp 2013). The selected articles and media thus adopt a kind of appeasing stance, which aims to defuse the budding hostile conflicts and to respond to the sceptical urban society that there is a desire for integration on the part of Muslims. Visual representations of the planned mosque, which were published together with some articles, thus contribute to the visibility of Muslim places of prayer that were previously invisible in the urban space, and they are intended to help to defuse the conflicts. The emphasis on the fact that there will be no muezzin call in the Gohlis mosque also speaks in the favour of mediation and the willingness to integrate on the part of the media, but also of the interviewed Muslim representatives: "There will not be a muezzin who calls to prayer five-times-a-day. It would hardly be heard by the faithful either" (Heitkamp 2013).

The fourth category of the discourse analysis asks about the positioning of the authors on the visibility of Islam. Some articles criticise the unbalanced reporting in other media. One article cites a study which states that 80% of media reports on Islam are negative (Wöbking 2019). The strongly negative media visibility is also noticeable in the quantitative corpus formation of the analysed articles. Most search results can be found under the headings 'extremism' and 'demonstration'. This cannot be observed in the articles selected for the discourse analysis. Even if some titles are provocative, most newspapers do not attempt to take a judgmental stance towards Islam (Döring 2018). Opponents are criticised, and a lack of understanding is expressed (Kailitz 2013). However, when reporting on vandalism against a mosque, the newspapers also depict the possible motives for the vandalism, and they describe the criticism of certain self-proclaimed Islamic movements in Leipzig which are classified as extremist (Heitkamp 2021b).

A distinction between the communities and movements is drawn here, and there are different positions. There is criticism of the increasing number of Salafist followers and their visibility (Döring 2018). In contrast, when describing the values of the Ahmadiyya community, mostly positive, neutral, and negative values are mentioned, and no clear position is taken (Dpa Sachsen 2021). It can be argued that media coverage tends to be reactive rather than proactive; i.e. according to Hjelm (2014), the media turns to Muslims when problematic urban practices in connection with the communities become visible. The associated articulation leads to stereotyping and pluralisation, even if unintentionally. There is a parallel to the institutions of the Catholic Church in Germany, which is currently being reported less about the content of the new 'synodal path' and more about the associated problematic reform processes (Zeit Online 2023), certainly not least because of the nationwide abuse scandal.

In the fifth category, the articles are analysed with regard to their visibility and connection to migration. As described above, an article in the LVZ (Döring 2018) creates a negative, striking connection between the visibility of Muslims and migration in a sub-heading. The author of the article further states that the "Salafist mosque (...) has seen an enormous influx in the wake of the migration flows" and that "Muslims [lacked] alternatives in the city, so that there is a threat of radicalisation of migrants who previously had no connections to Islamist structures" (Döring 2018).

Another article in the SZ (Heitkamp 2013) documents the agitation by the NPD, which uses terms such as 'oriental desert warriors' or 'foreign infiltration'; 'xenophobia' is also a term that continues to play a role in connection with migration in the right-wing populist public sphere (Kailitz 2013). Some articles use the term 'integration', which shows parallels to the topic of migration (Debski 2016). Some articles argue that the visibility of Islam is an important factor for the integration of Muslims in Leipzig, and that the construction of mosques, for example, could contribute to this (Debski 2016). Other articles criticise the anti-democratic values of the Salafists in Leipzig, or they mention concerns about certain homophobic, nationalistic, and discriminatory ideas of the DITIB community in the newspapers, which stand in the way of integration (Döring 2018, Heitkamp 2021b). Looking at when the articles were written, it is noticeable that the article seeking a direct connection with migration, in particular, was written shortly after the refugee reception crisis. This event might have intensified the search for connections. However, a larger sample is required for a more detailed investigation.

Discussion

The analysis indicates that Muslim representation practices, such as the mosque construction project, lead to conflicts due to the visualisation of (religious) diversity. These conflicts can contribute to the paradigm shift from pluralisation to the

individualisation of Muslims against the background of the incomplete becoming of the subject (Butler 2001) and to reflecting on this within the local context. Media coverage, as well as institutional stakeholders in urban society, can play a decisive role in occupying a "transcoding of negative images with new interpretations" (Hall 2013: 277) by proactively focusing on the individual everyday urban practices of Muslims which promote exchange and participation in the urban society. The representations have the potential to ensure the exchange between the diverse residents of a neighbourhood (Beinhauer-Köhler 2010, Färber et al. 2012). At the same time, it could also be the task of Leipzig city with its institutions to promote the exchange among the diverse urban society. New impetus can also be provided by external interventions, for example as part of transfer projects. So, it is crucial to talk not only about but also with the affected people and to include their perspectives too.

A mosque does not just have to be a place-of-prayer, but it can also fulfil the functions of a cultural and social meeting-place. Among other things, it offers educational opportunities, and it is (still) used as the first point of contact for the immigrants (Beinhauer-Köhler 2010). Representative places of prayer can therefore offer Muslims opportunities to participate in the urban society (Halm 2006). Even if the visibility of Muslim places of prayer is no guarantee for more participation (Schaffer 2008), it at least sets negotiation processes in motion that can lead to increased participation: "(...) non-organised Muslim life [is] often invisible at municipal level (...), as municipalities do not record them if they do not have a minimum level of organisation and visibility, or municipalities do not have religious associations in view per se. This applies, for example, to educational initiatives, cultural associations, and informal circles. Thus, the diversity of informally, or not at all networked religious communities, often remains unconsidered" (Akca 2021: 33). Diversity among Muslims must therefore also be negotiated.

According to Schaffer (2008: 161), the crucial question, which also highlights the connection between visibility and representation, is how "minoritised subject positions are visually represented without repeating minoritisation in the form of their representation?". This is also about accepting intentional invisibility, as it can represent a privilege: "This is not about more visibility, but about examining and weighing-up the conditions and effects of specific visibilities [on a local level]" (Schaffer 2008: 161). Despite the relevance of visibility for the representation of Muslim communities, it stands in supposed contrast to re-secularisation: "The need of religious communities to be publicly visible and accepted with their identity contrasts with processes of increasing [institutional] secularisation of parts of the population" (Helleckes 2022: 259). All religious faiths have to face this issue.

In this context, speaking for Leipzig, it remains unclear as to whether: it is the difficulty in accepting the visible, and the diverse religiosity due to its socialist, institutionally-

secular character; or it is the own devaluation perceived by the East German subject positions as minoritisation, which is passed on to Muslims by means of a comparatively strong rejection (Yendell 2013, Canan and Foroutan 2019); or it is a specific local religiosity that shapes the conflict-laden negotiation processes in the city. A mixture of several aspects can be assumed, coupled with the possibility that Leipzig, as a rapidly growing city in East Germany, is embarking on a post-cosmopolitan path which may bring new combinations of urban and religious practices to light. This can mean conflicts, co-operations, but also participation with, and, for the approximately 17,000 Muslims in the city, and it could enable new corresponding representations (Humphrey and Skvirskaja 2012, Kirndörfer and Wiest 2020).

The multi-method approach enabled a comprehensive analysis of the (non-)representation of Islam in Leipzig, whose findings can also be applied to other religiously, ethnically, indigenous, gendered, or other differentiation categories that minorise the subject positions (Hirschauer 2014). However, the presented approaches have several limitations. For the image analysis, communities without an internet presence could not be considered for scientific and ethical reasons. The question of completeness therefore arises in respect of whether, and indeed where, additional Muslim faith communities are located. This also points to the increasing institutional secularisation discussed ambivalently in the literature, and the difficulty of obtaining a picture of the actual religiosity of the urban society, especially at a local level. A more in-depth insight into the internal and external perception of the individual communities in Leipzig would certainly be informative in follow-up studies. Additionally, the interviewees represent only three of the Islamic denominations, as not all of listed communities could be interviewed individually. In the discourse analysis, there is a risk of selective perception in the interpretation of the fine analysis and its results, due to the sample selection and category formation.

This study provides several approaches for further research, such as: the causes and effects of (East German) rural to urban migration of Muslim people; the attitudes towards diverse visible religiosity in a local context; and the urban everyday practices of Muslim people.

Conclusions

The article discussed the representation of Islam using Leipzig as a case study. It raises questions regarding the role of the (in)visibility of Muslim places of prayer and the (non-)representation of Islam through the media for the participation of Muslims in Leipzig's urban society. It thus discusses at the intersection of: (1) an increasing institutional secularisation of all faiths (Casanova 1994, Luckmann 2023); (2) the growing desire for individual expression and visibility of everyday practices, which also, but not exclusively, include religious practices, but in particular connects these

with urban, local practices (Färber et al. 2012, Rüpke 2020); (3) the inequality of power through unequally visible religious communities which, due to financial and structural conditions, succeed or fail in becoming visible in the urban space and thus part of the negotiation processes (Stenske and Bioly 2021); however, these negotiation processes are necessary for the (4) post-migrant and post-secular city (Beaumont and Baker 2011, Canan and Foroutan 2019).

The specific role of the local context for the causes and effects of Muslim representations, and the associated conflictual negotiation processes is addressed (Hamplová and Nešpor 2009, Sutkutė 2019). By means of an image analysis, guided expert interviews and a sociological knowledge of discourse analysis, questions regarding the causes and effects of the (in)visibility of Muslim places of prayer and the connection with the (non-)representation of Islam in Leipzig are answered.

The results of the image analysis show that the existing Muslim places of prayer and congregations in Leipzig's cityscape are barely visible, if at all, as they are located in converted residential buildings or warehouses. According to the expert interviews, the invisibility of Muslim places of prayer is mainly due to financial, as well as structural, hurdles which is also evident from the current state of research on the Muslim life in East Germany (Akca 2021). There is certainly a desire for more space to practise their religion. However, the interviewed Muslim communities are generally satisfied with the current situation. The partly deliberate invisibility of the communities is due to the targeted avoidance of conflicts, as confrontations and resistance often occur, particularly in connection with new mosque buildings.

The discourse analysis shows that the newspaper articles tend to express the positive to neutral opinions of the authors towards Islam, although more results are found for the search terms with negative connotations. A key point here is the differentiation between the Islamic denominations. The newspapers primarily focused on the Ahmadiyya community and its planned mosque construction, the extremist 'Salafist' movement in connection with the Al Rahman Mosque, and the DITIB community in the Eyüp Sultan Mosque. So, visibility is expressed more medially than physically. Invisibility can, therefore, also lead to representation. Hjelm (2014) referred to this by arguing that religion becomes more visible when it is either problematic, or useful.

References

AKCA A. A. (2021) Muslimisches Leben in Ost- und Westdeutschland (Muslim life in East and West Germany), in: Stenske L., Bioly T. (eds.), Muslimisches Leben in Ostdeutschland (Muslim life in East Germany), University of Leipzig, Leipzig, pp. 20-42, https://doi.org/10.36730/2021.2.mlo.

ALKIN Ö., BAYRAK M., CEYLAN R. (eds.) (2022) Moscheen in Bewegung:

Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf muslimische Kultstätten der Migration (Mosques on the move: interdisciplinary perspectives on Muslim places of worship of migration), De Gruyter, Berlin, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110668919.

ALLPORT G. W. (1954) The nature of prejudice, Addison-Wesley, London.

AMIRAUX V. (2016) Visibility, transparency and gossip: How did the religion of some (Muslims) become the public concern of others?, Critical Research on Religion 4 (1), 37-56, https://doi.org/10.1177/2050303216640399.

BAUMANN M. (1999) Religion und umstrittener öffentlicher Raum: Gesellschaftspolitische Konflikte um religiöse Symbole und Stätten im gegenwärtigen Europa (Religion and contested public space: Socio-political conflicts over religious symbols and sites in contemporary Europe), Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft 7 (2), 187-204, https://doi.org/10.1515/0031.187.

BEAUMONT J., BAKER C. (eds.) (2011) Postsecular cities: Space, theory and practice, Continuum, London.

BEINHAUER-KÖHLER B. (2010) Von der unsichtbaren zur sichtbaren Religion. Räume muslimischer Glaubenspraxis in der Bundesrepublik (From the invisible to the visible religion. Spaces of Muslim religious practice in the Federal Republic of Germany), Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History 7 (3), 408-430, https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1688.

BIELEFELDT H. (2010) Das Islambild in Deutschland: Zum Öffentlichen Umgang mit der Angst vor dem Islam (The image of Islam in Germany: How the public deals with the fear of Islam), in: Schneiders T. G. (ed.), Islamfeindlichkeit: Wenn die Grenzen der Kritik verschwimmen (Islamophobia: When the boundaries of criticism become blurred), Springer, Wiesbaden, pp. 173-206, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92385-7_12.

BUTLER J. (2001) Psyche der Macht: Das Subjekt der Unterwerfung (The psyche of power: The subject of subjugation), Suhrkamp, Frankfurt.

CANAN C., FOROUTAN N. (2019) Ost-migrantische Analogien der Konkurrenz um Anerkennung und Teilhabe? Schlaglichter aus einem repräsentativen Survey (East-migrant analogies of competition for recognition and participation? Highlights from a representative survey), Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen 32 (3), 424-429, https://doi.org/10.1515/fjsb-2019-0047.

CASANOVA J. (1994) Public religions in the modern world, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

CITY OF LEIPZIG (2021) Bilanz des Standesamtes 2021 (Balance of the registry office), Retrieved from: www.leipzig.de.

CITY OF LEIPZIG (2022a) Religiöse Gemeinschaften und interreligiöser Dialog (Religious communities and interreligious dialog), Retrieved from: www.leipzig.de.

CITY OF LEIPZIG (2022b) Alevitischer Kulturverein CEM HAUS e.V. (Alevi Cultural Association CEM HAUS e.V.), Retrieved from: www.leipzig.de.

COLLIS P., WEBB J. (2014) The visible and the invisible: legacies of violence in contemporary Australian Aboriginal contexts, Journal of Australian Studies 38 (4), 490-503, https://doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2014.952764.

CREȚAN R., TURNOCK D. (2008) Romania's Roma population: from marginality to social integration, Scottish Geographical Journal 124 (4), 274-299, https://doi.org/10.1080/14702540802596608.

CREȚAN R., COVACI R. N., JUCU I. S. (2023) Articulating 'otherness' within multiethnic rural neighbourhoods: encounters between Roma and non-Roma in an East-Central European borderland, Identities 30 (1), 93-111, https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2021.1920774.

CZERMAK G., HILGENDORF E. (2018) Religions- und Weltanschauungsrecht: Eine Einführung (Religious and Weltanschauung law: An Introduction), Springer, Berlin, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-56078-5.

DEBSKI A. (2016) Es müssen viel mehr Moscheen gebaut werden (Many more mosques need to be built), Leipziger Volkszeitung, Retrieved from: www.lvz.de.

DECKER O., KIESS J., HELLER A., SCHULER J., BRÄHLER E. (2022) Die Leipziger Autoritarismus Studie 2022: Methode, Ergebnisse und Langzeitverlauf (The Leipzig Authoritarianism Study 2022: Method, results and long-term development), in: Decker O., Kiess J., Heller A., Brähler E. (eds.), Autoritäre Dynamiken in unsicheren Zeiten: Neue Herausforderungen – alte Reaktionen? (Authoritarian dynamics in uncertain times: New challenges – old reactions?), Psychosozial-Verlag, Gießen, pp. 31-90, https://doi.org/10.30820/9783837979190-31.

DIEKMANN I. (2022) Muslim*innen- und Islamfeindlichkeit: Zur differenzierten Betrachtung von Vorurteilen gegenüber Menschen und Religion (Muslim and Islamophobia: A differentiated view of prejudices against people and religion), Springer, Wiesbaden, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-39065-5.

DÖRING F. (2018) Ideologischer Nährboden für eine islamistische Radikalisierung (Ideological breeding ground for Islamist radicalization), Leipziger Volkszeitung, Retrieved from: www.lvz.de.

DPA SACHSEN (2021) Religion: Baugenehmigung für Moschee in Leipzig erteilt (Religion: Planning permission granted for mosque in Leipzig), Zeit Online, Retrieved from: www.zeit.de.

DZUDZEK I., REUBER P., STRÜVER A. (2011) Räumliche Repräsentationen als Elemente des Politischen – Konzeptionelle Grundlagen und Untersuchungsperspektiven der Humangeographie (Spatial representations as elements of the political – Conceptual foundations and research perspectives of Human Geography), in: Dzudzek I., Reuber P., Strüver A. (eds.), Die Politik räumlicher Repräsentationen: Beispiele aus der empirischen Forschung (The Politics of Spatial Representations: Examples from Empirical Research), LIT Verlag, Berlin, pp. 3-24.

EL-MAFAALANI A. (2018) Das Integrationsparadox: Warum gelungene Integration zu

mehr Konflikten führt (The integration paradox: Why successful integration leads to more conflict), Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Köln.

FÄRBER A., SPIELHAUS R., BINDER B. (2012) Von Präsenz zu Artikulation: Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Hamburg und Berlin aus der Perspektive der Stadtforschung (From Presence to Articulation: Islamic Community Life in Hamburg and Berlin from the Perspective of Urban Research), in: Pohlan J., Glasauer H., Hannemann C., Pott A. (eds.) Jahrbuch StadtRegion 2011/2012. Schwerpunkt: Stadt und Religion (CityRegion Yearbook 2011/2012. Focus: City and Religion), Barbara Budrich, Stuttgart, pp. 61-80.

FEDERAL AGENCY FOR CIVIC EDUCATION (2018) Religion, Retrieved from: www.bpb.de.

GLORIUS B. (2020) Migrationsgeschichte Ostdeutschlands I. Von der Zeit der DDR bis in die 1990er-Jahre (Migration history of East Germany I. From the time of the GDR to the 1990s), in: Becker S., Naumann M. (eds.), Regionalentwicklung in Ostdeutschland: Dynamiken, Perspektiven und der Beitrag der Humangeo-graphie (Regional development in East Germany: dynamics, perspectives and the contribution of human geography), Springer Spektrum, Berlin, pp. 211-222, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-60901-9_17.

GOLDBLATT R., OMER I. (2014) The association between land-use distribution and residential patterns: The case of mixed Arab-Jewish cities in Israel, Journal of Urban and regional Analysis 4 (1), 15-34, https://doi.org/10.37043/JURA.2014.6.1.2.

GÖLE N. (2004) Die sichtbare Präsenz des Islam und die Grenzen der Öffentlichkeit (The visible presence of Islam and the limits of the public sphere), in: Göle N., Ammann L. (eds.), Islam in Sicht: Der Auftritt von Muslimen im öffentlichen Raum (Islam in sight: The appearance of Muslims in public spaces), Transcript, Bielefeld, pp. 11-44, https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839402375-001.

HABERMAS J. (2006) Religion in the public sphere, European Journal of Philosophy 14 (1), 1-25, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2006.00241.x.

HAKENBERG M., KLEMM V. (eds.) (2016) Muslime in Sachsen: Geschichte. Fakten. Lebenswelten (Muslim people in Saxony: History. Facts. Living Environments), Edition Leipzig, Leipzig.

HALL S. (2013) The spectacle of the 'other', in: Hall S., Evans J., Nixon S. (eds.), Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, Sage, London, pp. 223-290.

HALM D. (ed.) (2006) Zur Wahrnehmung des Islams und zur sozio-kulturellen Teilhabe der Muslime in Deutschland (On the perception of Islam and the socio-cultural participation of Muslims in Germany), University of Duisburg-Essen, Essen.

HAMPLOVÁ D., NEŠPOR Z. R. (2009) Invisible Religion in a "Non-believing" Country: The Case of the Czech Republic, Social Compass 56 (4), 581-597, https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768609345975.

HAUS SOVI (2023a) Willkommen im Haus der sozialen Vielfalt e.V.: Was wir machen

(Welcome to the House of Social Diversity e.V.: What we do), Haus der sozialen Vielfalt e.V., Retrieved from: www.haus-sovi.de.

HAUS SOVI (2023b) Umut – Muslimische Gemeinden als kommunale Akteure (Muslim communities as local stakeholders), Haus der sozialen Vielfalt e.V., Retrieved from: www.haus-sovi.de.

HEITKAMP S. (2013) Sachsens erste Minarette (Saxony's first minarets), Sächsische Zeitung, Retrieved from: www.saechsische.de.

HEITKAMP S. (2021a) Leipziger Moschee kann gebaut werden (Leipzig mosque can be built), Sächsische Zeitung, Retrieved from: www.saechsische.de.

HEITKAMP S. (2021b) Linke greifen Leipziger Moschee an (Leftists attack Leipzig mosque), Sächsische Zeitung, Retrieved from: www.saechsische.de.

HELLECKES S. (2022) Ein Garten der Religionen für Karlsruhe – Vom Ideenwettbewerb zu einem Projekt mit gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe (A garden of religions for Karlsruhe - from an ideas competition to a project with social participation), in: Kost S., Petrow C. A. (eds.) Kulturelle Vielfalt in Freiraum und Landschaft: Wahrnehmung, Partizipation, Aneignung und Gestaltung (Cultural diversity in open space and landscape: perception, participation, appropriation and design), Springer, Wiesbaden, pp. 259-280, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-37518-8_12.

HIRSCHAUER S. (2014) Un/doing Differences. Die Kontingenz sozialer Zugehörigkeiten (Un/doing Differences. The Contingency of Social Belonging), Zeitschrift für Soziologie 43 (3), 170-191.

HJELM T. (2014) Understanding the New Visibility of Religion: Religion as Problem and Utility, Journal of Religion in Europe 7 (3-4), 203-222, https://doi.org/10.1163/18748929-00704002.

HUMPHREY C., SKVIRSKAJA V. (eds.) (2012) Post-cosmopolitan cities: Explorations of urban coexistence, Berghahn Books, Oxford.

JAKOBI L. (2021) Gemischte Reaktionen auf Genehmigung für Moscheebau in Leipzig (Mixed reactions to approval for building a mosque in Leipzig), Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, Retrieved from: www.mdr.de.

KAILITZ S. (2013) Leipzig: Putsch am Bau (Leipzig: Putsch on the construction site), Zeit Online, Retrieved from: www.zeit.de.

KELLER R. (2011) Diskursforschung: Eine Einführung für SozialwissenschaftlerInnen (Discourse research: An introduction for social scientists), VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92085-6.

KELLER R. (2012) Der menschliche Faktor: Über Akteur(inn)en, Sprecher(inn)en, Subjektpositionen, Subjektivierungsweisen in der Wissenssoziologischen Diskursanalyse (The human factor: On actors, speakers, subject positions, modes of subjectivation in the sociology of knowledge discourse analysis), in: Keller R., Schneider W., Viehöver W. (eds.), Diskurs – Macht – Subjekt: Theorie und Empirie von Subjektivierung in der Diskursforschung (Discourse – Power – Subject: Theory and empiricism of subjectification in discourse research), VS

Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, pp. 69-107, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-93108-1_5.

KIRNDÖRFER E., WIEST K. (2020) Eine Moschee für Leipzig? Verdeckte Konflikte um urbane Zugehörigkeiten in der Migrationsgesellschaft (A mosque for Leipzig? Hidden conflicts about urban belonging in the migration society), Migration und Soziale Arbeit 42 (2), 117-127, https://doi.org/10.3262/MIG2002117.

KNOTT K., KRECH V., MEYER B. (2016) Iconic Religion in Urban Space, Material Religion 12 (2), 123-136, https://doi.org/10.1080/17432200.2016.1172759.

KONG L. (2001) Mapping 'new' geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity, Progress in Human Geography 25 (2), 211-233, https://doi.org/10.1191/030913201678580485.

LANZ S. (2014) Assembling Global Prayers in the City: An Attempt to Repopulate Urban Theory with Religion, in: Becker J., Klingan K., Lanz S., Wildner K. (eds.), Global Prayers: Contemporary Manifestations of the Religious in the City, Lars Müller Publishers, Zürich, pp. 17-46.

LEFEBVRE H. (1991) The Production of Space, Blackwell, Oxford.

LI K., ZHANG Q. (2022) A corpus-based study of representation of Islam and Muslims in American media: Critical Discourse Analysis Approach, International Communication Gazette 84 (2), 157-180, https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048520987440.

LOCH R. (2016) Erneuter Angriff auf das Moscheeprojekt in Gohlis (Another attack on the mosque project in Gohlis), Leipziger Zeitung, Retrieved from: www.l-iz.de.

LUCKMANN T. (2023) The invisible religion: The problem of religion in modern society, Routledge, New York.

MAIER T. (2018) Von der Repräsentationskritik zur Sichtbarkeitspolitik (From the critique of representation to the politics of visibility), in: Drüeke R., Klaus E., Thiele M., Goldmann J. E. (eds.), Kommunikationswissenschaftliche Gender Studies: Zur Aktualität kritischer Gesellschaftsanalyse (Gender studies in communication science: On the topicality of critical social analysis), Transcript, Bielefeld, pp. 77-90, https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839438374-006.

MARTÍNEZ-ARIÑO J. (2019) Governing Islam in French cities: defining 'acceptable' public religiosity through municipal consultative bodies, Religion, State and Society 47 (4-5), 423-439, https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2019.1652019.

MAYRING P., FENZL T. (2019) Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse (Qualitative content analysis), in: Baur N., Blasius J. (eds.), Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung (Handbook of methods of empirical social research), Springer VS, Wiesbaden, pp. 633-648, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-21308-4_42.

MDR (2023) 30.05.1968: Sprengung der Leipziger Universitätskirche. Walter Ulbricht: "Das Ding muss weg!" (30.05.1968: Demolition of the Leipzig University Church. Walter Ulbricht: "The thing must go!"), Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, Retrieved from: www.mdr.de.

MDR THÜRINGEN (2023) Minarett ziert Moschee der Thüringer Ahmadiyya-

Gemeinde in Erfurt (Minaret adorns the mosque of the Thuringian Ahmadiyya community in Erfurt), Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, Retrieved from: www.mdr.de.

OLTMER J. (eds.) (2018) Migrationsregime vor Ort und lokales Aushandeln von Migration (Local migration regimes and local negotiation of migration), Springer VS, Wiesbaden, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-18945-7.

OOSTERBAAN M. (2014) Public religion and urban space in Europe, Social & Cultural Geography 15 (6), 591-602, https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2014.922605.

PFÜNDEL K., STICHS A., TANIS K. (2021) Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland 2020 (Muslim Life in Germany 2020), Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, Nürnberg.

PITTAWAY E., BARTOLOMEI L., HUGMAN R. (2010) 'Stop stealing our stories': The ethics of research with vulnerable groups, Journal of Human Rights Practice 2 (2), 229-251, https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huq004.

POPKE J. (2007) Geography and ethics: spaces of cosmopolitan responsibility, Progress in Human Geography 31 (4), 509-518, https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132507077090.

POWELL R., VAN BAAR H. (2019) The invisibilization of anti-Roma racisms, in: Van Baar H., Ivasiuc A., Kreide R. (eds.), The securitization of the Roma in Europe, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 91-113, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77035-2_5.

PROSIEBEN (2013) Die schlimmste Straße Deutschlands (Germany's worst street), Retrieved from: www.prosieben.de.

RESNIK D. B. (2020) What is ethics in research & why is it important?, National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, Retrieved from: www.niehs.nih.gov.

ROHE M. (2018) Der Islam in Deutschland: Eine Bestandsaufnahme (Islam in Germany: An inventory), C. H. Beck, München.

RÜPKE J. (2020) Urban Religion: A Historical Approach to Urban Growth and Religious Change, De Gruyter, Berlin, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110634426.

SALES B. D., FOLKMAN S. (eds.) (2000) Ethics in research with human participants, American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

SALZBRENNER U. (2019) Alle über einen Kamm (Lumping them all together), Sächsische Zeitung, Retrieved from: www.saechsische.de.

SCHAFFER J. (2008) Ambivalenzen der Sichtbarkeit: Zum Verhältnis von Sichtbarkeit und politischer Handlungsfähigkeit (Ambivalences of visibility: On the relationship between visibility and political agency), in: Dorer J., Geiger B., Köpl R. (eds.) Medien — Politik — Geschlecht: Feministische Befunde zur politischen Kommunikationsforschung (Media — Politics — Gender: Feminist findings in political communication research), VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, pp. 233-248, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-91096-3_16.

SHIELDS R. (1996) A guide to urban representation and what to do about it: alternative traditions of urban theory, in: King A. D. (ed.), Re-presenting the city: Ethnicity, capital and culture in the twenty-first century metropolis, Palgrave Macmillan,

London, pp. 227-252, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-24439-3_12.

SHIELDS R. (2004) Visualicity–on urban visibility and invisibility, Visual Culture in Britain 15 (1), 23-36.

SNYDER J., ALLEN N. W. (1975) Photography, vision, and representation, Critical Inquiry 2 (1), 143-169.

STANGE J. (2013) Bürgerprotest: Geplanter Moscheebau spaltet Leipzig (Citizen protest: Planned mosque construction divides Leipzig), Zeit Online, Retrieved from: www.zeit.de.

STENSKE L., BIOLY T. (eds.) (2021) Muslimisches Leben in Ostdeutschland (Muslim life in East Germany), University of Leipzig, Leipzig, https://doi.org/10.36730/2021.2.mlo.

STUMP R. W. (2008) The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place and Space, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.

SUTKUTĖ R. (2019) Media, stereotypes and muslim representation: world after jyllands-posten muhammad cartoons controversy, EUREKA: Social and Humanities 6, 59-72, https://doi.org/10.21303/2504-5571.2019.001054.

UEHLINGER C. (2013) Coming out - zum Verhältnis von Sichtbarmachung und Anerkennung im Kontext religiöser Repräsentationspraktiken und Blickregimes (Coming out - on the relationship between visualization and recognition in the context of religious representation practices and gaze regimes), in: Lüddeckens D., Uehlinger C., Walthert R. (eds.) Die Sichtbarkeit religiöser Identität: Repräsentation – Differenz – Konflikt (The visibility of religious identity: representation – difference – conflict), Pano, Zürich, pp. 139-162.

ULLRICH P., TULLNEY M. (2012) Die Konstruktion ,gefährlicher Orte'. Eine Problematisierung mit Beispielen aus Berlin und Leipzig (The construction of 'dangerous places'. A problematization with examples from Berlin and Leipzig), sozialraum.de 4 (2).

VETTER A. K. (2019) Hermetische Architektur: Überlegungen zu einer grundsätzlichen Dimension (Hermetic Architecture: Reflections on a Fundamental Dimension), Brill Fink, Paderborn.

WIGGER I. (2019) Anti-Muslim racism and the racialisation of sexual violence: 'intersectional stereotyping' in mass media representations of male Muslim migrants in Germany, Culture and Religion 20 (3), 248-271, https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2019.1658609.

WÖBKING M. (2019) Warum die Vorurteile im Osten größer sind (Why the prejudices are greater in the East), Leipziger Volkszeitung, Retrieved from: www.lvz.de.

YENDELL A. (2013) Muslime unerwünscht? Zur Akzeptanz des Islam und dessen Angehörigen. Ein Vergleich zwischen Ost- und Westdeutschland (Muslims unwanted? On the acceptance of Islam and its members. A comparison between East and West Germany), in: Pickel G., Hidalgo O. (eds.) Religion und Politik im vereinigten Deutschland: Was bleibt von der Rückkehr des Religiösen? (Religion

and politics in a united Germany: What remains of the return of religion?), Springer VS, Wiesbaden, pp. 221-248, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-94181-3_10.

ZEIT ONLINE (2023) Kirchenaustritte: Katholische Kirche verliert mehr als eine halbe Million Mitglieder (Leaving the church: Catholic Church loses more than half a million members), Zeit Online, Retrieved from: www.zeit.de.