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Intergroup Relations and Intercultural Policies in Frankfurt am Main, Germany



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Foreword

European cities, in particular major cities with strong economies, attract immigrants from all over the world. As a result, urban populations have become increasingly heterogeneous in ethnic, cultural and religious terms. The multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious structures of urban society are, on the one hand, an opportunity for cities. On the other hand, heterogeneity challenges a city's ability to maintain peaceful and productive relations among the different segments of the population.

For this reason, cities have a genuine interest in successful local integration practices. Therefore, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CoE), the City of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions ('Eurofound') formed the European network of 'Cities for Local Integration Policies' (CLIP) for migrants. This network, launched in 2006, brings together about 30 European cities in a joint learning process: through the structured sharing of experiences, the network aims to enable local authorities as well as national and European policymakers to learn from each other and, thus, pursue more effective integration policies for migrants at a regional, national and European level. The learning process is accompanied by researchers from six academic research centres.¹

The researchers at efms of the University of Bamberg are responsible for this report on Frankfurt.² Together with the contact person from the municipality of Frankfurt, Helga Nagel, an enormous effort has been taken to collect data for this report. Many officials, especially from the Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA) and political representatives, were interviewed during the city visits in March and June 2009, as the list at the end of the report indicates. They provided reports, statistics and comments for this report and beyond that have maintained continuous communication. Additionally, representatives of migrant organisations, NGOs, religious communities, the police and the media provided information and useful commentary. We would like to thank all those who have cooperated in providing valuable resources for this report. In addition, further thanks go to Rachel Heidmann for her assistance in editing this study.

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¹ The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam, the European forum for migration studies (efms) in Bamberg, the Centre for Migration Policy Research (CMPR) in Swansea, the Forum of International and European Research on Immigration (FIERI) in Turin, the Institute for Urban and Regional Research (ISR) in Vienna and the Institute of International Studies in Wrocław.

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1. Introduction

Urban populations have become increasingly heterogeneous in ethnic, cultural and religious terms. These multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious structures challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or maintain peaceful relations among the different segments of the population. In this third module of the CLIP project, we are interested in the relations between different groups in the city, local policies established to deal with these relations, and the way in which representatives of migrant associations, religious communities and NGOs assess the local activities.

The concept of ‘group’ used in this CLIP module is rather broad, since “the term ‘group’ basically has two different meanings in the social sciences: on the one hand it stands for stable structures of interaction among persons, on the other hand ‘group’ is understood as a social category that does not necessarily imply relations among the persons that are included in the category. National, ethnic or religious ‘groups’ in a city would be cases of such categories” (Heckmann 2008: 3-4). Hence, ‘intergroup relations’ deals with relations between ‘real groups’ such as the city administration, the city council, welfare organisations, migrant organisations, religious communities and the police, but also with social categories such as ‘the Turkish group’ or ‘the group of Christians’.

As decided by the CLIP network, the relations to and dialogue with Muslim communities are a special focus of this module. This is due to the fact that Islam is by far the largest ‘new’ religion in European countries of immigration, and that Muslims are perceived as particularly disconnected from ‘European life’. Compared to other migrant groups, there are higher rates of discrimination and there is more prejudice against and fears of Muslims.

Led by these assumptions, the CLIP research group developed a questionnaire that has been filled out by city officials. The study at hand is based on the information collected by this questionnaire, on existing literature as well as on interviews with local experts conducted by the researcher in spring 2009.

Since the national situation has an important impact on the activities on the local level, the study begins with background information on Germany (cf. chapter 2) before delivering background information on the city of Frankfurt (cf. chapter 3). The following chapters describe the city’s general intercultural policies (cf. chapter 4), as well as specific policies aimed at Muslims (cf. chapter 5). Chapter 6 illustrates communication strategies of the city administration and local media. Radicalisation, extremist political and religious positions, which can occur both among natives and migrants, are the focus of chapter 7. The study concludes with a summary and some lessons learned (cf. chapter 8).

2. Background information on Germany

The first section of this chapter describes the history of migration to Germany and the resulting societal composition in Germany; the second section introduces the largest Muslim organisations in Germany; the third summarises German integration policy.

2.1. History of migration and composition of migrant populations

Enormous migration processes have marked German history since the end of the Second World War. Between 1945 and the beginning of the 1950s, about twelve million German refugees and expellees came to Germany. Prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, 3.8 million people migrated from East to West Germany.

Whereas migration in the late 1940s and early 1950s was closely related to the war and its consequences, migration from the late 1950s to the early 1970s was the result of labour-market processes. The combination of high economic growth and internal labour shortages led to a continuous and increasing recruitment of foreign ‘guest workers’: the first contract for the recruitment of guest workers was signed in 1955 with Italy. This was followed by agreements with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968).³ The recruitment was stopped due to the oil crisis in 1973. At this time, four million foreigners were already living in Germany. In the 1970s, the process of family reunification occurred on a large scale, and, since then, family reunification has become another major channel of immigration to Germany. Nowadays, the second and third generation of these migrants live in Germany, and the foreign population still consists mainly of citizens originating from the former sending countries (Borkert et al. 2007: 15, Özcan 2007: 2 et seq.).

At the end of the 1980s, a new phase of German migration history began with the fall of the Iron Curtain. A large number of immigrants from Eastern European countries came to Germany, among them many ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler/Spätaussiedler*⁴). Between 1990 and 2007, 2.5 million *Spätaussiedler* came to Germany. However, in the recent past, fewer and fewer *Spätaussiedler* have been arriving (BMI 2008: 51).

Another large group of immigrants are asylum seekers and refugees. Between 1990 and 2007, 2.25 million people, originating from countries such as Yugoslavia, Iran and Afghanistan, sought (political) asylum. In 2007, about 650,000 asylum seekers and refugees were living in Germany (BMI 2008: 99, 116).

As a result of these immigration processes, the number of people with a migration background is continuously increasing. This number includes foreigners, naturalised Germans and migrants’ descendents. According to microcensus data from 2007, foreigners (8.9%) and Germans with a migration background (9.9%) represented a total of 15.4 million or approximately 18.7% of the population (Statistisches Bundesamt 2008b: tab. 1).⁵

³ The Eastern GDR (*DDR*) also recruited Contract Employees, as they were named, mainly from countries such as Vietnam. Immigration in the GDR was quantitatively considerably lower than in the Western FRG (*BRD*).

⁴ The terms *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler* refer to the specific dates of immigration (prior to 12/31/1992 and from 1/1/1993 onwards, respectively). The term *Spätaussiedler* has become the common term in everyday usage and is therefore used in the following to describe the entire group of *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler*.

⁵ Data concerning migration background has only been included in official national population statistics since 2005. For this reason, many of the statistics in this study only represent foreigners living in Germany and not the complete group of people with a migration background.

Figure 1: Migration background of the population (Germany, 31/12/2007)

Source: compiled by efms based on data of Statistisches Bundesamt 2008: tab. 1

Of the proportion of people with a migration background, about two thirds have had first-hand migration experience, while the other third were born in Germany and have had no personal migration experience (Statistisches Bundesamt 2006: 75).

Immigration has led to a more diverse society in Germany, both in ethnic and religious terms. Neither the country of birth nor the ethnicity of immigrants is registered or analysed by official German statistics; official data only exists on citizenship. In December 2008, 82.1 million people were living in Germany: 75.4 million Germans and 6.7 million foreigners. Hence, foreigners represent about 8% of the population. Of this proportion, 34% are citizens of the EU. As shown in figure 2, Turks, with a population of 1.69 million, represent the largest group of foreign nationals (25%), followed by citizens of the former Yugoslavia (12%), Italians (8%), Poles (6%), and Greeks (4%).

Figure 2: Foreigners by nationality (Germany, 31/12/2008)

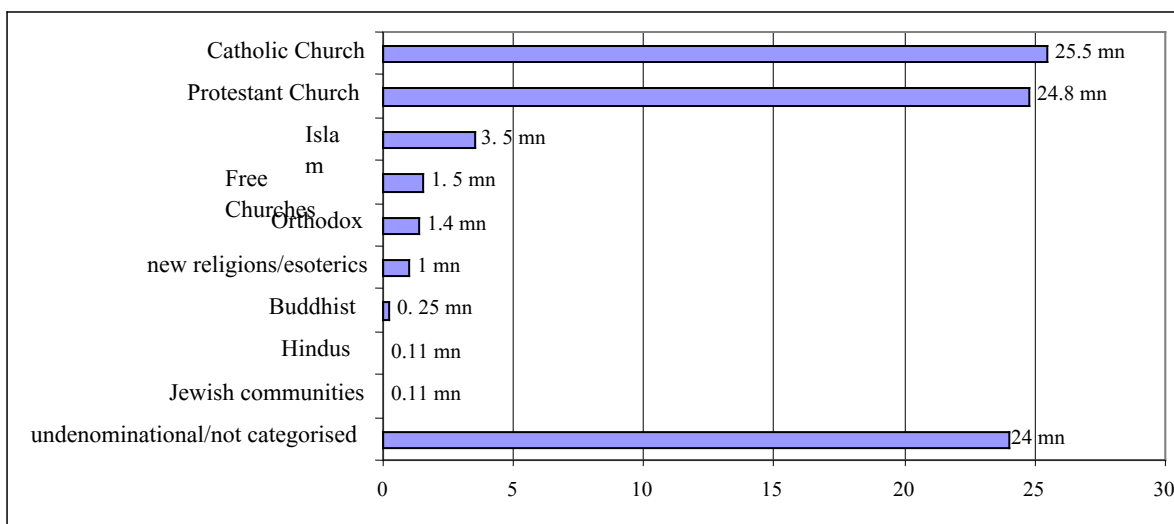
Source: compiled by efms based on data from Statistisches Bundesamt 2009: 30 et seq.

Immigration has also had an impact on the religious landscape in Germany: the (labour market related) immigration and the subsequent family reunification process from South-Western Europe raised the number of Catholics in Germany, those from Turkey brought Islam to Germany and immigrants from Eastern Europe brought, among others, Jewish communities as well as Orthodox and (free) Protestant churches.

An exact number of each community's size cannot, however, be given. This is due to the fact that the German registry offices only register the membership in religious communities that are 'public corporations' (*Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts*) and whose membership contributions ('church tax') are collected by the state. Traditionally, this is true for the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church in Germany. In addition to these two Christian Churches, several small Christian communities, Jehovah's Witnesses as well as the Jewish umbrella organisation 'Central Council of Jews in Germany' (*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*) are 'public corporations'. Generally, every religious community can be granted this status by the *Länder* as long as it fulfils the required qualifications. In practice, however, most municipalities register membership in either the Catholic or the Protestant Church; all other religions, including Islam and Judaism, are registered as 'other'.⁶ The figures available for the number of Muslim residents in Germany are estimates based on citizenship and naturalisation statistics; additionally, the number of Muslims holding German nationality is estimated on the basis of the last census from 1987.

The Catholic and the Protestant (*Evangelische*) Churches are the largest religious communities: 25.5 million people are members of the Catholic Church (31%) and 24.8 million people are members of the Protestant Church (30.2%) (see figure 3). The third largest religion in Germany is Islam: about 3.5 million people in Germany are Muslims (4.3%). An estimated number of 1.5 million people are members of Free Churches (1.8%), 1.4 million are Orthodox (1.7%), and one million people can be categorised as adherents to new religions/esoteric groups (1.2%). The 0.25 million Buddhists represent 0.3% of the population; the 0.11 million Hindus and the 0.11 million Jews each represent 0.1% of the population. 24 million people are non-denominational or cannot be categorised (29.2%) (data of 2007; collected by the Theological Media and Information Service REMID: 2009b).

Figure 3: Members of religious communities (Germany, 2007)



⁶ Some municipalities, e.g. Stuttgart, differentiate further and use the additional (small) categories 'other religious communities that are public corporations' (e.g. Old Catholic and Israelite) and 'unknown' (mainly children).

The Central Register of Foreigners (*Ausländerzentralregister – AZR*) does not record 'religion' at all.

Source: compiled by efms based on data from REMID 2009b

Islam has become the second largest religion in Germany after Christianity, and the number of people stemming from Islamic countries has been constantly increasing. Hence, the size of the population alone makes it worthwhile to take a further look at Muslims living in Germany. This further investigation is also necessary, because the Muslims do not form a homogeneous group or community; in stark contrast, they are very diverse in terms of ethnicity and believe.

The main Islamic groups in Germany are Sunnis, Shiites and Alevis. The absolute majority of the Muslims are Sunnis: according to the Theological Media and Information Service REMID (2009a), about 2.64 million Sunnis live in Germany, according to the German Ministry of the Interior (BMI 2009a), 2.5 million. Shiites constitute another large Muslim group in Germany: between 200,000 (BMI 2009a) and 225,000 (REMID 2009a) of Muslims belong to this branch. The Alevis number between 400,000 (REMID 2009a) and 500,000 (BMI 2009a) people. Other Islamic persuasions – such as the Ahmadiyya community with about 50,000 persons, the Sufi community with about 10,000 and the Ismailite community with around 1,900 – do not play a quantitatively significant role in Germany (REMID 2009a).

Differentiating national origin reveals the following picture: of the (estimated) 3.5 million Muslims, 1.8 million are Turkish, 160,000 are Bosnian, 70,000 Moroccan, 60,000 Iranian, 55,000 Afghan and roughly one million are German citizens (mostly former Turkish nationals). Thus, Islam in Germany has a largely Turkish character: more than 90% of the Muslims living in Germany are of non-Arabic origin (BMI 2009a).

2.2. Religious Muslim organisations in Germany

The organisational structure of the Muslim community is very heterogeneous and complex. In Germany, some 2,500 Muslim organisations and communities exist; the majority of these are mosque associations. Most organisations are incorporated within umbrella associations; the biggest and most significant are the Turkish-Islamic Union (DİTİB), the Central Council of Muslims in Germany (ZMD), the Islamic Council (IRD), the Association of Islamic Cultural Centres (VIKZ) and the Alevi Community (AABF). However, few Muslims living in Germany (estimated 10% to 15%) are formally members of religious associations (BMI 2009a, Deutscher Bundestag 2000, 2006). In the following, some background information is given on these five Muslim organisations whose activities are relevant at the local level.

The Turkish-Islamic Union (*Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V.*, in Turkish: *Diyanet İşleri Türk-İslam Birliği* – DİTİB) was founded in 1984 for Turks living in Germany. DİTİB is an organisation affiliated with the Turkish government's authority on religious affairs. Its main activities are the construction of mosques, religious education as well as other educational activities. With some 870 local associations, the DİTİB is by far the largest Turkish-Islamic umbrella organisation in Germany.

Another Turkish dominated organisation is the Association of Islamic Cultural Centres (*Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren e.V.* – VIKZ), consisting of about 250 mosque communities nation-wide. The VIKZ represents a very traditional and orthodox form of

Islam. Its activities focus on religious offerings, such as Quran courses, spiritual and cultural programmes and youth work. In order to achieve these goals, it often establishes educational and cultural centres.

The Turkish dominated Alevi Community in Germany (*Alevitische Gemeinde in Deutschland e.V.* – AABF) is assessed as a theologically and politically liberal association. It includes about 120 member associations. In North Rhine-Westphalia, Hesse, Berlin and Bavaria the AABF is allowed to provide religious education in public schools.

Additionally, two councils have been founded representing different ethnic groups and religious tendencies: the Islamic Council and the Central Council of Muslims.

The Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany (*Islamrat für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* – IRD) aims to unify the Muslim community in Germany and be granted the same legal status as Christian Churches. Seventeen federal, ten state and several regional/local associations are affiliated with IRD, with the quantitatively most important organisation being the Islamic Community Millî Görüş (*Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş* – IGMG). Millî Görüş is active not only in Germany, but – with about 600 affiliated Muslim organisations – all over Europe. In Germany, it represents one of the largest Muslim organisations with 274 affiliated associations. Millî Görüş specifically emphasises educational work for young people; additionally, there are specific focus groups on education, public relations and legal matters, as well as specific groups for women. Furthermore, close cooperation exists with the Muslim newspaper ‘Millî Gazete’.

Millî Görüş is categorised as politically extremist by the German Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*) and is, therefore, under their observation. According to this office, the organisation represents 27,000 members (2007).

The Central Council of Muslims in Germany (*Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland e.V.* – ZMD) consists of Muslims of different ethnicities, mainly Arabs. They consist of nineteen organisations, including 300 local mosque associations. Especially since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Central Council has gained some official recognition through its effective public relations strategy; it has become a contact point for German authorities and a dialogue partner in several inter-faith activities.

In April 2007, the four associations DİTİB, VIKZ, the Islamic Council and the Central Council of Muslims joined to form the Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany (*Koordinierungsrat der Muslime in Deutschland* – KRM). However, no single umbrella organisation speaks effectively for the entire Muslim community in Germany.

2.3. National policy context

National integration policy is largely influenced by the societal definition of the immigration situation; in other words it is influenced by the perception of the ‘nature’ of the ongoing migration process by major active bodies in politics and society. During the migrant labour recruitment period there was a consensus in German society and in political circles that the residence of the migrants (‘guest workers’) would be temporary. For a long time, the official government definition was that Germany was not an immigration country. This

understanding was strengthened by the German ethnic nation concept: the nation has defined itself as a community of descent with a common culture and history. Hence, for decades, there has been no wide-ranging ‘strategy’ for integrating immigrants and rarely any explicit policy improving intergroup relations (cf. Heckmann 2003). The same is true for policies regarding immigrants’ religions, namely Islam. “Because Islam was officially treated as a ‘guest religion’ that the state had no obligation to accommodate under the law, Germany was ill prepared to meet the religious needs of its growing population” (Fetzer/Soper 2005: 102).

Nonetheless, the integration of migrants has been officially deemed necessary since the 1970s and a multi-layered system of programmes and projects improving integration and intergroup relations has been developed over the years. Still, the main feature of the typical German mode of integration continues to be the incorporation of immigrants into the universal welfare policy; where migrant-specific measures receive less focus.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century the German mode of integration evolved into a more open and inclusive one: in 2000, the government introduced a more open citizenship law that is not only based on the concept of ethnic descent (*jus sanguinis*) but instead also includes the principle of birthplace (*jus soli*). In 2005, the ‘Immigration Act’ (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) was adopted, which acknowledges the importance of a comprehensive integration strategy. As a result, a ‘National Integration Plan’ was then developed and adopted.

In addition to these developments, the Federal Ministry of the Interior initiated a German Islam Conference (*Deutsche Islam Konferenz – DIK*) in 2006. The German Islam Conference is intended to be a communication process lasting several years between the government and representatives of the Muslim population in Germany, and aims at improving religious and social integration of Muslims in Germany. The German Islam Conference has thirty permanent participants – fifteen representatives of the German government and fifteen Muslim representatives. These Muslim representatives are from the five previously named organisations (cf. section 2.2). Since less than 15% of the Muslim population in Germany are members of an Islamic organisation, ten representatives of a modern, secular Islam from the private sector, society, academia and the cultural scene were also invited to participate.⁷ Achievements of the German Islam Conference include an agreement on the necessary introduction of religious education for Muslims at German public schools, a list of suggestions concerning inter-religious community life as well as a common definition of ‘integration’. The German Islam Conference has generated a controversial discussion. While some politicians and Muslim representatives criticise the conference’s composition and doubt the necessity and/or sincerity of its goals, others applaud the conference as an important long over-due step in acknowledging the importance of Islam in Germany.

⁷ The thirty participants gather together in the plenary, the main board of the DIK, which meets once a year. Furthermore, there are four consulting bodies: three working groups, that work on the issues of ‘The German society and German values’, ‘Religious issues in context of the German understanding of the constitution’ and ‘The private sector and the media as bridge-builders for integration’ as well as a discussion group debating on the issue of ‘Security and Islamism’. These bodies meet every two months and consist of several members of the DIK as well as about 100 external experts and scientists.

3. Background information on Frankfurt

This chapter provides useful background information on the city of Frankfurt. The first section gives a brief general description on the city (cf. section 3.1), the second illustrates the composition and the characteristics of the local (migrant) population (cf. section 3.2), the third provides an overview of the different ethnic and religious organisations in Frankfurt (cf. section 3.3) and the fourth examines Islam, the largest of Frankfurt's newer religions (cf. section 3.4).

3.1. Brief description of Frankfurt

The city of Frankfurt am Main is located in the State of Hesse, in the West of Germany. With 676,197 inhabitants recorded at the end of September, 2008 (Stadt Frankfurt 2008a), it is Germany's fifth largest city in terms of population.

Frankfurt is Germany's leading financial centre. More than 300 national and international banks, such as the European Central Bank and the German Bundesbank, are located in Frankfurt. The city is also among the leading locations for companies in Europe, benefiting from a highly developed infrastructure, including Europe's largest airport. Furthermore, the city has the third largest exhibition area in the world.

The gross domestic product for 2006 market prices was € 50.014 billion. This was € 84,578 per gainfully employed person and, thus, the highest GDP per gainfully employed person of all German cities (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c). Frankfurt has the highest density of jobs in Germany: 911 jobs per 1,000 residents in 2006 (Stadt Frankfurt 2008b). This high concentration of jobs can be attributed to the number of commuting professionals. At the end of June 2007, 66.3% of all gainfully employed persons working in Frankfurt commuted to the city (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c).

Of Frankfurt's 2005 resident population, almost half (48%) are gainfully employed. 62% are white-collar workers, while 18% are blue-collar workers, 15% are self-employed, and 5% are government officials. The unemployment rate has decreased over the past years. From its peak of 11.8% in March 2006 it fell to 8.0% in December 2008 and is now rising again (8.5% in January 2009) (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2007, 2009).

As a result of structural changes and a shift toward a service-based economy, the number of jobs in the tertiary sector has risen. Additionally, the amount of employment opportunities in the areas of basic services and security has also increased. Despite the many positive developments, many well-paid jobs for technology specialists have also been lost due to the decline of the industrial sector. This development has led to a polarisation within the employee qualification structure: the number of employed academics, as well as the number of minimally-qualified employees, has risen considerably since the 1990s. By contrast, the number of qualified employees without academic training has fallen to an exceptionally low level (Sautter 2004: 6).

3.2. Frankfurt's migrant population and its characteristics

Frankfurt has a long-standing tradition of immigration. From the 1960s to the early 1970s, the city was one of Germany's most important destinations for guest workers. The labour

migrants came primarily from Italy, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. After the 1973 recruitment ban, guest worker migration to Frankfurt stopped. Guest workers then increasingly decided to settle in Frankfurt and began bringing their families from their home countries to Frankfurt. Family reunification became the most important source of migration to the city. In the 1990s, immigrants from the former Soviet Union, war refugees from the former Yugoslavia and asylum seekers were the three major groups of immigrants.

In September 2008, there were 167,416 persons without German citizenship living in Frankfurt, forming a quarter of the population (24.8%) (Stadt Frankfurt 2008a). The proportion of all people with a migration background (namely those with citizenship other than German and those with dual citizenship, naturalised Germans and people born abroad) is much higher, namely 37.7% at the end of December 2007 (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 17). The population with a migration background is constantly increasing: among children born in Frankfurt, two thirds have a migration background.

Because the municipal Statistical Office has only recently begun to collect data concerning migration background, most of the following information still refers to foreigners (i.e. non-German citizens), and not to migrants in general.

Figure 4: Foreigners by nationality (Frankfurt, 2007)

Source: compiled by efms based on data of Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 37

The city's composition of foreigners is characterised by a high diversity of ethnic groups and nationalities. The foreigners living in Frankfurt stem from 175 different countries. As shown in figure 4, Turkish citizens, composing 19.1% of the foreign population of Frankfurt, constitute the largest group of immigrants. They are followed by citizens from Italy (8.4%), Croatia (7.3%), Serbia (6.3%) and Poland (5.7%) (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 37).

A significant number of immigrants are ethnic German migrants from Eastern Europe, referred to as *Spätaussiedler*. Since they are automatically given German citizenship, these migrants and their descendants are not represented in general statistics dealing with foreigners. However, statistics concerning the German population with a migration background show that the number of people stemming from the typical countries of origin for *Spätaussiedler* amounts to 22,089 people, i.e. 3.4% of the Frankfurt population (2005). The group of *Spätaussiedler*, their descendants and their family members (e.g. spouses of

descendants) with a citizenship other than German (e.g. Kazakh) is larger, but this figure remains unknown (Stadt Frankfurt 2006: 9).

Many foreigners have lived in Frankfurt for a considerable length of time. Over one third of the city's immigrant population older than eighteen has lived in the city for more than fifteen years (in 2004). Especially among migrants from Croatia and Turkey, there is a high percentage of 'long-term Frankfurters' (62% and 54%, respectively) (Stadt Frankfurt 2004: 165).

Due to changing motives for immigration, the gender and age composition among foreigners in Frankfurt has changed significantly since the 1970s. One can note an increase in the percentage of women from 32.6% in 1970 to 49.3% in 2007. In 2007, 12.8% of the foreign population were under eighteen; only 8.1% were over sixty-five. More than half (54.6%) of foreigners are between eighteen and sixty-five (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 16).

The German school system is known for being a rigid tier system that is based on early selection mechanisms: all children attend elementary school until grade four. Afterwards, they pursue one of three school paths – *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* – based on their school performance at the elementary level.⁸ The entire school system does little to overcome educational inequalities caused by the varying socio-economic background of families, which can also be noticed in Frankfurt. The educational achievements of foreign students on average are considerably lower than those of German students.⁹ Consequently, German pupils achieve higher qualifications than foreigners. Regarding those who left school in 2006 with an A-level qualification of the *Gymnasium*, Germans (47.5%) outscore foreigners (14.9%) by far. In addition, 10.9% of non-German pupils left school without any graduation certificate, compared to 4.3% of German pupils (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 77). These figures do not, of course, represent the educational achievements of those young people with a migration background who are naturalised German citizens.

This low level of educational achievement is also reflected in the labour market: as stated above, Frankfurt had a total unemployment rate of 8.5% in January 2009; and with an unemployment rate of 13.4%, non-Germans are more affected by unemployment than Germans. 38.9% of the 28,515 unemployed persons living in Frankfurt are non-German (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2009).

Immigration not only has an impact on the ethnic landscape in Frankfurt, but also on the religious composition of its population. There are, however, no official figures on each community's size. As explained in section 2.1, the German registry office only records membership in the Catholic and the Protestant Church; all other religions are registered as

⁸ The *Hauptschule* is the least academic path; it is supposed to prepare practically-oriented students for an apprenticeship or a semiskilled career path. The *Realschule* is supposed to prepare students for a (mid-level) trade, technical or administrative profession. The *Gymnasium* is designed to provide students with an education which will enable them to study at university.

⁹ In the school year 2007/08, 55.1% of German and 34.4% of non-German pupils transferred from primary school to *Gymnasium*. In comparison, 3.3% of German pupils and 7.5% of non-German pupils transferred from primary school to *Hauptschule* and another 13.7% of German and 25.3% of foreign pupils attended *Realschule* after finishing their primary education. About one-fifth of both groups of pupils (21.6% and 23%, respectively) transferred to integrated forms of schooling (Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 76).

‘other’. Hence, there is only data on members of the two Christian churches: 22.3% of the people living in Frankfurt are Protestant (*Evangelisch*), while 24.4% belong to the Catholic Church. However, most of the population, namely 53.3%, are listed as having another or no religion (see figure 5).

Figure 5: Religious affiliation of Frankfurt’s population (2007)

Source: compiled by efms based on data of Stadt Frankfurt 2008c: 18

These figures differ significantly according to nationality: of the German population, 29.3% are Protestant, 23.6% are Catholic and 14.5% have another religious affiliation or no religion. Of the foreign population, by contrast, only 2% are Protestant and 26.6% are Catholic, while the majority (71.4%) has another religious affiliation or no religion.¹⁰

To get more detailed information on the religious composition of the city’s population, the Statistical Office of Frankfurt estimated the numbers of people affiliated to other religious communities. This estimation from 2005 is based on data on nationality and migration background. According to this estimation, 24.9% of the population were members of the Roman Catholic Church, 23.8% of the Protestant church. 12% of the population in Frankfurt were Muslims, 7.5% were members of the Orthodox Church or other Christian communities, 2.3% belonged to other world religions and 29.5% were affiliated to other ‘free’ religions or did not belong to any religious group (Asemann 2005: 96). This data is reflected in the diversity of religious communities in Frankfurt.

¹⁰ In absolute figures: 111,822 Germans are Catholic, 139,137 Protestant and 223,262 have another affiliation or no religion; 43,242 foreigners are Catholic, 3,126 Protestant and 116,175 have another or no religion.

Figure 6: Religious composition of Frankfurt's population (2003)

Source: Asemann 2005: 96

3.3. Ethnic and religious organisations in Frankfurt

Members of Frankfurt's diverse population established numerous associations – based on both their ethnic or religious heritage. In this section, these organisations will be examined more closely, starting with ethnic associations and followed by religious migrant organisations.

3.3.1. Ethnic associations

There are about 250 ethnic-based migrant associations in the city of Frankfurt that vary widely both in the backgrounds of their members as well as in the topics covered and activities conducted. These associations and their volunteers contribute to the integration and social cohesion in Frankfurt and are appreciated by the city's officials.

Like other associations in Germany, some migrant associations are organised within local umbrella organisations: the *Vereinsringe* ('Associations' Circles'). In thirty-five of Frankfurt's forty-six districts, organisations can join the neighbourhood-based circle that supports the cooperation between member associations and with the city of Frankfurt. It also represents its members and their demands and problems. The local circles are then members of the city-wide Union of Associations' Circles (*Stadtverband Frankfurter Vereinsringe*). According to the responsible for cooperating with migrant organisations at the Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA), only few migrant associations are members of these circles. This should, however, change soon as a result of the changing structures of the migrant organisations: nowadays more of the involved persons are born or brought up in Germany, speak German and are aware of the importance of cooperation. They more often join the network and thus get to know other organisations. This leads to both a better cooperation and integration of the associations.

3.3.2. Religious migrant communities

In addition to the various ethnic associations, there are more than 150 religious migrant communities. Some of these communities have an inter-religious orientation, but most are

either Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh or Bahá'í. In the following, these several communities will be portrayed – using information from the interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits and the publications ‘Religions of the World’, commissioned by the city (Bernasko/Rech 2003 and 2006).

Christian communities

In Frankfurt there are eighty-four migrant Christian communities that are extremely diverse in denomination, national or ethnic heritage and language spoken. The majority are Protestant (free churches and Pentecostal churches), followed in number by Roman Catholic and then Orthodox churches. Migrant Christian communities have expressed the feeling of not exactly being minorities, since they are Christian like the majority of persons in Germany.

Despite the theological, national, cultural and social differences that exist among the different migrant churches in Frankfurt, they do share many characteristics and common experiences. For example, they offer social activities for members such as the chance to express worries and problems, specific activities for children, as well as integration classes. They receive support from the German Christian associations: the Catholic *Caritas* and the Protestant *Diakonie*. Furthermore, both Frankfurt's Catholic parish church and the Protestant church in Frankfurt am Main have a person responsible for working together with the migrant Christian communities.

The migrant churches are also active in mission projects to other countries. They often belong to international organisations and have sister churches throughout Germany and in other countries. Migrant churches, regardless of denomination and national ties, celebrate, in addition to religious holidays, national and cultural holidays that they would have celebrated in the country of their heritage. Members are both new-comers to Germany, long-term foreign residents, as well as Germans.

Muslim communities

There are thirty-eight Muslim religious communities in Frankfurt, which are mostly organised as associations. The vast majority are Sunni associations, but Frankfurt also has Shiite, Alevi and Ahmadiyya communities.

In addition to this diversity in confession, there is also a large diversity in national heritage and language, and communities have varying levels of religious beliefs and different regularities of mosque attendance.¹¹ Mosques also differ in their outer appearance. While two of them can be recognised from the outside as mosques, others cannot be distinguished from other buildings in the city. They are located mostly in mixed, industrial or centre zones of the city.

Certain trends can be recognised in Islamic religious communities. All offer social activities, e.g. assistance for refugees and self-help projects, language classes (both German as well as the language of their ethnic heritage) and specific programmes for children, including Quran classes. Most Islamic communities in Frankfurt are members of an international network of mosques and have contact with other communities throughout Germany and Europe.

¹¹ But only one third of Muslims take advantage of mosques (Bernasko/Rech 2003: 156).

Buddhist communities

In Frankfurt there are eight Buddhist communities, belonging to different branches of Buddhism: Tibetan Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism and Theravada. Members of these communities are predominantly German, Vietnamese, Chinese and Thai. The large number of German members is not a result of naturalisation, but instead because of conversion. In addition of offering various religious programmes such as prayer and meditation, the Buddhist communities also offer classes about Buddhism and support service projects in other (mostly Asian) countries.

Hindu communities

There are five Hindu communities in Frankfurt, whose members are mostly Indians, Afghans, Germans and Tamils. In the communities, Hindus meditate, do yoga, meet for various social activities, celebrate holidays and host festivals. There are specific programmes for children, too. The communities also send money to fund service projects in other countries.

Jewish community

There is also a Jewish community in Frankfurt. It strives to foster Jewish tradition, while regarding the interests and needs of its congregation. The synagogue is officially an orthodox synagogue, but it has members from all traditions.¹² Persons attending the synagogue are predominantly from Eastern Europe. The community hosts social activities, maintains Jewish cemeteries and is responsible for funeral arrangements. It also offers help to the needy. The Jewish Synagogue in the city of Frankfurt belongs to the umbrella organisation ‘Central Council of Jews in Germany’ (*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*) and is thus a ‘public corporation’ like the German Protestant and Catholic Churches. As part of this status, its membership fees are collected as taxes by the state.

Sikh community

In the city of Frankfurt, there is one prayer centre (*Gurdwara*) for Sikhs. It is attended regularly by more than a thousand persons. These persons are mainly from India, Afghanistan, Nepal and England, as well as many other countries. The centre functions mostly as a gathering place for religious activities, where Sikhs attend prayer services and young members of the Sikh community can receive (religious) education. The centre also hosts discussions about (political) topics.

Bahá’í community

There is also one Bahá’í community in Frankfurt. It organises religious festivals, as well as groups for youth and committees for adults and offers lectures and discussions about various topics, including world religions, racism and environmental policy. Its members not only come from many different countries, but also include converts from different religious traditions.

¹² It is an orthodox synagogue, because it is possible for non-orthodox Jews to attend an orthodox synagogue while it is not for orthodox Jews to attend a non-orthodox synagogue.

3.4. Frankfurt's Muslim population and its characteristics

Since the Islam has become the largest 'new' religion in the city, this section briefly focuses on Frankfurt's Muslim population. The only official number of the city's Muslims population is based on the population count of 1987. At that time around 37,000 Muslims were living in Frankfurt. Due to immigration flows within the last twenty years and dynamics within the group itself this number is outdated.

In order to get an idea of the number of Muslims living in Frankfurt today, the municipal Statistical Office estimated this figure based on the number of foreigners and naturalised German citizens from Islamic countries; the single figures were weighted according to the percentage of Muslims living in the country of origin.¹³ According to this estimation, around 75,000 Muslims are currently living in Frankfurt. They make up 12% of the city's population.

Of those 75,000 Muslims a majority (54%) have a Turkish background, followed by residents from Morocco (18.2%), Iran (6.7%), Afghanistan (6.6%) and Pakistan (3.5%). The remaining 11% have different national backgrounds (see figure 7).

Figure 7: Frankfurt's Muslim population according to country of origin (2006)

Source: compiled by efms based on data of Schröpfer 2007: 204

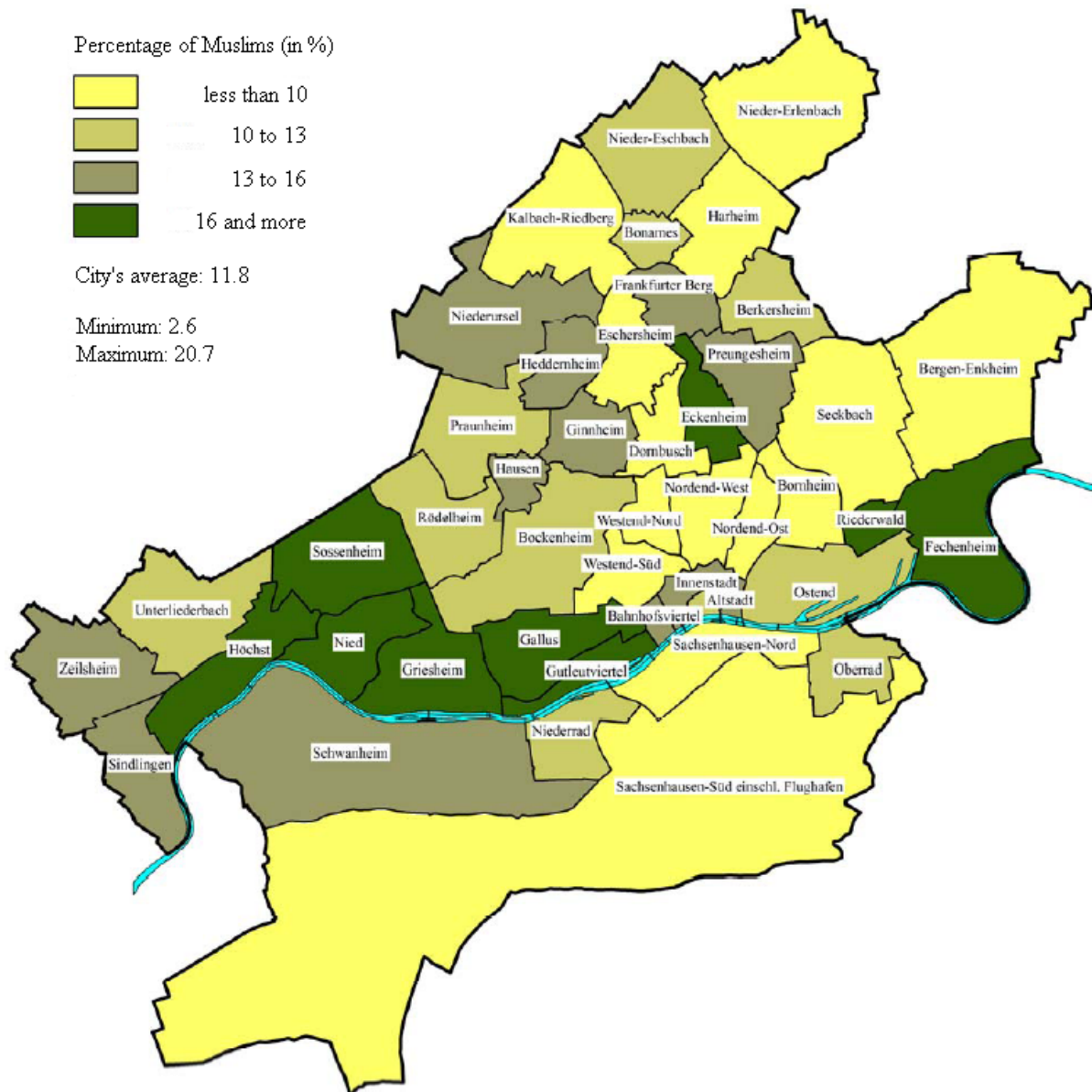
64.6% of the Muslim population in Frankfurt has a foreign nationality, while the remaining 35.5% are German citizens with a migration background. This Muslim population is largely made up of young people. 23.7% are younger than 18 and around 75% of the Muslim population is less than 45 years old. With 54.2%, the majority of the Muslims living in Frankfurt are men, while 45.8% are women (Schröpfer 2007: 204).

The Muslim population is currently spread throughout the city, but several spatial concentrations can be recognised. The majority of the Muslim population in Frankfurt lives in western city districts, where a rather high percentage of foreign citizens can be found, as well. Of those nine districts with Muslims making up more than 16% of the entire

¹³ This method of estimation contains several problems: because there is no reliable information about the percentage of Muslims living in the different countries of origin, the numbers are related to several sources, namely the German Department of Foreign Affairs, the reference book 'Harenberg aktuell' as well as the online lexicon 'wikipedia'. Furthermore, it cannot be asserted whether the religious composition of the different migrant groups matches with the composition of the societies of their country of origin. Finally, the number of German Muslims without any migration background cannot be estimated at all.

population¹⁴, seven are located in the western part of the city (see figure 8). However, Fechenheim, the district with the highest percentage of Muslims (20.7%) lies in the very east of Frankfurt. There are fourteen districts in Frankfurt with a Muslim population making up less than 10% of the entire population. Both districts with the lowest percentage of Muslim inhabitants, namely Harheim (2.6%) and Nieder-Erlenbach (3%), are located in the very north of the city.

Figure 8: Percentage of Muslims over the city (2006)



Source: Schröpfer 2007: 208

Neither the city nor the Muslim communities themselves have data on the social status and socio-economic background of the Muslim population in Frankfurt. Most of the members of the Muslim population, however, are former guest workers from Turkey and their

¹⁴ These nine districts are Fechenheim, Gallus, Sossenheim, Höchst, Nied, Griesheim, Riederwald, Gutleutviertel, Eckenheim.

descendants; thus, many of them are part of the working class. In addition, the areas in which a higher percentage of Muslims live are more socially deprived. Consequently, it can be supposed that their educational background and their socio-economic status are below city's average.

4. Local intercultural policies in general

In the following chapter, local intercultural policies are described. At the beginning there is an overview of the most relevant issues, demands and interests of the ethnic and religious migrant organisations (4.1). The subsequent section (4.2) concentrates on Frankfurt's general policy approach for integrating migrants and for dealing with the plurality of cultures and religions. Section 4.3 provides an impression of the formal and informal relations and dialogue between the city and migrant as well as religious organisations, while section 4.4 focuses on relations between different migrant groups.

4.1. Issues, demands and interests

A diverse migrant population also leads to diverse demands and interests. This section gives an overview of the most frequent issues of migrant communities. Because there is no real survey covering this information and hardly any other kind of data on these topics, the information is mainly based on the interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits. In addition, data is used which stems from former interviews with representatives of migrant communities, gathered by order of the city to prepare the publication 'Religions of the World' and a study about a planned 'Agreement on Integration' (Bernasko/Rech 2003 and 2006, Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2009a).

The aspect which was stated most often was the difficulty of the organisations to find available and sufficient space. Almost all of the religious communities – as well as many ethnic organisations – face this problem and mentioned it during the interviews. A particular topic thereby is that of Muslim communities building new mosques, which sometimes leads to discussions or even conflicts (e.g. in the district of *Hausen*, cf. section 5.1).

Solving inner-community conflicts, e.g. between generations, about the future of the association was also stated as a problem for ethnic communities. Although this is an internal issue, it influences the communities' structure and orientation and thereby also their relations to the city and other groups.

Furthermore, particular dress codes are an issue for migrant groups. This was mainly mentioned by the Sikh community, whose members wear turbans. According to the Sikh community, Sikhs face difficulties on the labour market, particularly in public institutions, where they are not allowed to wear conspicuous religious signs. Similarly, getting a job in public institutions can also be problematic for Muslim women, who wear a headscarf, as this clothing item is, for example, in some parts of Germany not allowed to be worn by teachers in public schools.

Another very important aspect can be described under the often mentioned category of 'fairness, understanding and appreciation'. The religious communities want to be accepted by

people with other religious beliefs. Particularly Muslim communities named this issue of societal acceptance, as it is an important prerequisite to building a mosque, gaining additional space for the community, developing additional programmes, and becoming more involved in the society through inter-religious dialogue and more contact to the city government.

The communities also wish for a better communication and cooperation with the majority population, other organisations and the city administration. Particularly concerning the latter, an increase in participation is desired by the communities. Communication, cooperation and getting to know other organisations are seen as important means for solving problems between different groups. Participation in local activities encourages this process and also supports the identification with the city of Frankfurt (and maybe with Germany as a whole). Mainly the Jewish community mentioned the issue of developing an identity as both, German and Jewish at the same time and not just one or the other.

Furthermore, issues were mentioned that relate to Frankfurt's institutions. Some staff of the city administration named discrimination as an issue in the city. Particularly at school, problems arise: some communities – for example Buddhists – are interested in (Buddhist) religious education at school, others – e.g. Sikhs – wish for more understanding for their traditional clothes. Other issues emerging within the educational system, such as conflicts concerning school trips, physical education and swimming lessons or wearing a headscarf are particularly related to Muslims.

The city of Frankfurt has gathered information about the religious groups' issues and is in contact to ethnic and religious communities. According to both the interviewed representatives of migrant communities as well as the employees of the city administration, the city knows about the communities' demands and tries to respond to them, as far as possible – e.g. through projects organised by the Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA). The city's resources are, however, limited.

4.2. General approach to ethnic and religious organisations in Frankfurt

The following section includes information about political responsibilities for social cohesion and approaches towards integration as well as about political participation of migrants.

Political and administrative responsibilities for integration

The city of Frankfurt is governed by the city council (*Stadtverordnetenversammlung*) and the city government (*Magistrat*). The former is elected directly by Frankfurt's residents and currently has ninety-three members. Among its various tasks is the duty to appoint the members of the city government (except for the Lord Mayor), which – as Frankfurt's 'executive institution' – is presently composed of the Lord Mayor, the Mayor of Frankfurt, the city treasurer as well as seven full-time city councillors and fourteen honorary city councillors. Each of the full-time and one of the honorary councillors is responsible for one of the eight municipal departments.

One of these departments is the Department of Integration (*Dezernat für Integration*) whose main function is to provide the political framework for the municipal integration and diversity policy. Two bodies are subject to this Department of Integration: the Foreigners'

Council (*Kommunale Ausländervetretung, KAV*) and the Office for Multicultural Affairs (*Amt für multikulturelle Angelegenheiten*), known as the AmkA. The former is the political representation of Frankfurt's foreign population and an advisory council of the city government. The latter – the AmkA – is an institution whose task is defined as promoting peaceful intergroup relationships among people of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it is in constant contact with other offices, institutions and (migrant) organisations outside the municipal administration. The AmkA regularly communicates with and counsels for ethnic associations. It is an institution that initiates projects and generally conducts them in cooperation with other offices or (ethnic) organisations. Since its foundation, the office has had a focus on religion: it employs a person specifically responsible for religious issues who is in contact with the various migrant religious communities. Furthermore, already in 1993, the AmkA became an official 'anti-discrimination body' where people who feel discriminated against for migrant-specific reasons can file a complaint.

For more than twenty years, the AmkA has had a separate budget at its disposal for funding migrant organisations' projects. In 2009, it spends approximately € 196,000 for supporting organisations and their initiatives. Moreover, the office has a budget of about € 1,422,000 for the projects it conducts and about € 1,320,000 for personnel costs.

Apart from the AmkA's budget, the city spends approximately € 5,000,000 for measures, projects and programmes other departments implement in order to enhance intergroup relations. The number is estimated by the city and only includes projects that directly aim at fostering intergroup relations. It would be considerably higher if all of the city's expenses for 'integration' (particularly in the fields of education, youth and social services) could be separately identified and included.

The installation of a special Office for multicultural Affairs, which can communicate with other offices on the same hierarchical level, was unique in Germany – and is still uncommon. Not only has the position of this unit, but also its naming been a novelty in Germany: instead of a commissioner for 'multicultural affairs', other cities had (and some still have) a so-called 'integration commissioner' or 'foreigners' commissioner'. In Frankfurt, the name of the office responsible already indicates its philosophy. According to the head of the AmkA, the main question no longer is how migrants can be integrated into the German society, but how the municipality can change to be more suitable for dealing with the demands of a heterogeneous, multicultural population ('intercultural opening' of the institutions). The empowerment of, and cooperation with migrant organisations, the improvement of the intercultural dialogue, anti-discrimination work as well as conflict management are additional fields of municipal activity.

Strategic approaches towards integration

Frankfurt is an international city that has attracted a large number of people from all over the world. As in most German cities, migrant integration in Frankfurt has primarily taken place by opening up the core institutions, such as the educational system and the labour market, and by including the migrants in the welfare system. Frankfurt, however, realised the necessity of specific political measures fostering peaceful and fruitful intergroup

relationships earlier than other German cities and implemented an integration policy that aims at both citizens with a migration background and those without. The city does not have a specific integration concept, but it is currently working on establishing one. Until now, it has only set a definition on goals its integration policy strives for. These are: (1) promoting equal participation of migrants in the societal and social life as soon as possible, (2) promoting peaceful intergroup relationships and social cohesion of the heterogeneous population groups, and (3) supporting the native population in handling changes and new challenges.

The second goal – promoting peaceful intergroup relationships and social cohesion – targets the various ethnic and religious groups. The AmkA was established early by the city in order to ‘manage’ Frankfurt’s diverse population. Thus, the city has an approach towards ethnic and religious groups – though not an established one.

The Lord Mayor, Mrs. Roth, the head of the Department of Integration, Mrs. Eskandari-Grünberg, and the AmkA believe a close contact with the ethnic and religious organisations to be very important. Thus, they arrange regular meetings, e.g. the spring reception in the town hall’s Emperor’s Room. Good contacts between the city and the ethnic and religious organisations are expected to lead to a better integration of the organisations and their members. The city encourages the organisations’ participation – particularly on the district level – and runs several projects for this purpose (cf. section 4.3). The city’s representatives are often invited by ethnic or religious organisations – e.g. during the Islamic month of Ramadan or to celebrate the Jewish New Year. Representatives use these occasions to establish contacts with the organisations. Hence, the Lord Mayor and the head of the AmkA as well as other staff members of the office are in regular contact with migrant and religious organisations.

The city respects freedom of religion and supports the free practice of religion. Thus, it makes sure that different cultures and religions are accepted and respected in Frankfurt. This also includes their dedication to combating xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and discrimination. The city of Frankfurt released a ‘Declaration on Racism and Anti-Semitism’ in the course of the United Nation’s anti-racism day in 1990 and reaffirmed it in 2000. Therein it stated that it must fight against such tendencies in order to ensure a peaceful social coexistence of residents of different cultures.

Political participation of migrants

Residents with a migration background can exercise their voting rights in two ways. Those who have the German citizenship or a citizenship of another EU country have both active and passive voting rights for the local parliament. Hence, they can be elected as representatives of political parties into the city council (*Stadtverordnetenversammlung*) or be appointed as member of the city government (*Magistrat*). Of the city council’s ninety-three current members, ten have a migration background (four members with a Turkish background, three with a Greek background and three with an Italian background). The *Magistrat* currently has twenty-seven members, of which two have a migration background.

Foreign residents (both citizens from an EU country and third-country citizens) can exercise their active and passive voting rights at the Foreigners’ Council (KAV). Its thirty-seven

members are directly elected by Frankfurt's foreign population and participate in all of the city's committees. Though the KAV has close contacts to the city and particularly to the AmkA, its work was described by one of its members as somehow frustrating, for the KAV is only an advisory body and thus has in practice little influence.

4.3. Institutionalised relations and dialogue between the city and migrant groups

In the following sections, the institutionalised relations and dialogue between different ethnic groups and the city are described. The first section reports on means of funding the cultural activities of migrant organisations. The subsequent sections outline projects that the city offers to enhance communication with and integration of migrants and their organisations.

4.3.1. Counselling and funding for migrant organisation's cultural activities

As stated above, the city of Frankfurt is home to various migrant organisations that work in the fields of intercultural dialogue and practicing specific cultural traditions. The AmkA supports migrant organisations and offers them advice. This counselling includes information about formal requirements, e.g. legal matters or founding an organisation as well as assistance for running projects. The AmkA also advises migrant organisations on how to cooperate with other (migrant) organisations or the city of Frankfurt. In 2008, the AmkA held about 245 counselling interviews with members of migrant organisations.

Another important field is the funding of projects. The AmkA has means to fund migrant organisations' activities and projects. It can do so on the condition that the project supports the relationship between different ethnic or cultural groups in Frankfurt and improves their integration into local society. Religious projects are not entitled to receive funding from the city. The office also informs migrant organisations on how to file an application for funding and on projects that are eligible for assistance.

Every year, about 100 to 150 projects are financially supported by the AmkA. Thereby the office spends approximately € 150,000 yearly. Furthermore, migrant organisations can use specific rooms for their activities and the city pays for the rent. Another way of funding projects hosted by migrant organisations is the Cultural Office's financial support for specific cultural events.

In 2008, the AmkA funded roughly 150 projects and organised about twenty events. In addition to that, the office supports two projects within the framework of institutional funding: a project for children without a legal residence status receives € 25,000 and a counselling centre for Sinti and Roma receives € 18,000 per year. Before the AmkA started advising organisations on the application, more requests were refused. Today, almost all of the applications for funding are accepted – only some are rejected, mainly because of having a religious or political aim.

4.3.2. Projects involving mediators and 'multipliers'

The city of Frankfurt conducts a lot of projects involving residents with a migration background as mediators or 'multipliers', for it believes that this is the most effective way to prevent (or solve) problems, communicate with migrant groups and support individuals' and

communities' integration. Such initiatives use the opportunities the diverse Frankfurt population offers, e.g. language skills or intercultural competencies. In the course of the projects illustrated in this section, migrants are qualified as mediators or 'multipliers' to support other migrants in specific areas or their everyday life.

The HIPPY-project

The project 'Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters' (HIPPY) seeks to support migrant parents in preparing their children for school. Over a period of two years, pre-school children between four and six years old receive a weekly package of didactic game-activities. A home visitor distributes these packages every other week and thereby teaches the parents through role play how to carry out the activities with their child. The home visitors are migrants, who speak the participants' languages and take part in the programme as parents themselves. They are trained and qualified to act as mediators in the project. A professional coordinator supervises the programme and organises group meetings in the district twice a month.

The AOE-project (*Ausbildungsorientierte Elternarbeit*)

The aim of this project is to inform migrant parents on the German educational and training system as well as on related issues such as dyslexia, hyperactivity, career counselling and multilingualism. To reach the parents, the AmkA does not implement these information events on its own, but cooperates with migrant organisations and schools: the AmkA trains interested migrants (e.g. teachers, social workers, psychologists) on the issues mentioned. These migrants act as mediators; they conduct workshops in migrant organisations and schools and counsel migrants in their mother tongue. The project, which started in 1997, is highly appreciated by its participants as well as the city. Currently, about sixty mediators of thirty-five migrant organisations and schools counsel migrants and conduct the workshops in seventeen different languages.

Neighbourhood-based mediation programme

Residents who experience neighbourhood-conflicts can approach the AmkA with their problems. In 1996, a project for mediation within multi-ethnic neighbourhoods involving committed community members was developed. Community members with various language and professional backgrounds are trained to become voluntary mediators. Their task is to create conflict analyses, to bring together those involved in the conflicts and to mediate the discussions. When a need arises, they are assigned, free of charge. Depending on the kind of conflict, the mediator is elected from among a mediator pool. They are supported by the mediation centre within the AmkA, which is responsible for the technical organisation, the processing of requests and the involvement of local authorities and institutions. Conflicts reported by individuals or institutions are approached in close cooperation with appropriate authorities, such as the police, housing companies or social welfare and regional committees.

According to some interviewees, the project has not only contributed to preventing the outbreak of conflicts, but has also relieved police and local authorities as well as empowered local community members through accountability in conflict situations by making use of resources and networks of existing institutions. It also contributes to improve the relations between different groups within the city.

4.3.3. 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue'

A further example leading toward the improvement of relations between migrants and city government is the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue'. This project is based on the consideration that the relationship between the police and migrants is sometimes tense and should be improved. Both the police and migrants usually do not know much about each other. Yet, though there might be prejudices, the two groups are generally interested in getting to know each other and develop a relationship.

Based on these ideas, the project began in Frankfurt as part of the EU-project 'NGOs and Police against Prejudices (NAPA) – Police in a multicultural society'. It was a cooperation between the police headquarters in Frankfurt, the foreigner's delegates of the police, the Hessian police school in Wiesbaden, several NGOs, migrant and refugee associations, as well as external moderators managed by the AmkA.

The goal of the project was to overcome prejudices and generate mutual respect through the exchange of information. The different background of each of these two groups (the role of the police and the life situation of the migrants) should become less foreign to the other group. Discrimination of migrants by the police should be with this increase in understanding prevented. At the same time, migrants should get to know the role of the police as well as democratic structures and laws.

Workshops were held to help achieve these goals. First, there was a workshop specifically for police officers, where they could discuss problems with migrants as well as conceptualise a catalogue of requests from migrants. In addition, they received instruction about migrant cultures and were confronted by negative experiences that migrants had previously had with the police. The second workshop was for representatives of migrant associations and NGOs. It aimed at informing them as 'multipliers' about the tasks and responsibilities of the police. Thereby, the participants proclaimed their requests of the police. The third workshop consisted of a gathering of all participants, in which they could establish contacts with one another and constructively discuss their 'requests' as well as the issues important to them. A mutual statement containing their goals for the project was adopted in February of 2007 and served as the conclusion of the programme.

The project faced certain difficulties, for instance the few individuals and associations that were motivated to participate, communication difficulties and the lack of a concrete contact person in the associations. Still, according to the interviewed persons on the part of the police as well as the city administration, this model project was of interest to both the police and the migrants. The police started a process of 'intercultural opening-up' and established important contacts in order to enhance communication with migrant groups. The migrants gained insight into the work of the police, met contact persons and could share their experiences as 'multipliers'. One result of the project was the creation of the 'regulars' table police and migrants', which continues to meet irregularly and allows for contacts to be secured and keeping the goals of the project in mind.

4.3.4. 'Living together in the city district'

The various religious communities have a direct impact on the life of their members and on the social cohesion in Frankfurt and particularly in the city districts. According to the city, little integration and contacts can lead to tensions between members of the religious communities and other residents in the neighbourhoods. Therefore, the AmkA initiated the concept 'Living together in the city district' in order to help avoid such tensions and conflict. This model project was implemented in 2006 and 2007 in a city area in which tensions between religious communities (mostly Muslim communities) and residents occurred.

The central goal of the project was to improve the cooperation between 'multipliers' (local opinion leaders) and the migrant religious communities in the neighbourhood in order to prevent and/or solve conflicts locally. Therefore, the AmkA hosted seminars about life in the district, potential conflicts and solutions for both district 'multipliers' and religious representatives. After informing them separately, all participants were invited to get to know each other and discuss matters of concern.

As a result, two working groups made up of representative of the mosque associations and 'multipliers' were established that continue to meet regularly and cooperate. In addition, one mosque association is active in another working group at the district level. According to the interview with the person responsible for this project at the AmkA, the seminars were warmly received by the participants and the project was considered a success, for the relationships between the involved persons have generally improved.

4.3.5. 'Frankfurter Stage'

The 'Frankfurter Stage' is one aspect of Frankfurt's waterside museum festival that takes place yearly on the last weekend in August. This festival is a well visited three day cultural event that features live music and extended hours in many of Frankfurt's museums. The 'Frankfurter Stage' is planned and hosted by the AmkA in Frankfurt. Its specific goal is to show festival visitors the immense cultural diversity in Frankfurt that has developed because of immigration to the city.

Figure 9: Impressions from the 'Frankfurter Stage' (2008)



Source: <http://www.frankfurter-buehne.de/html/2008.html>

At the 'Frankfurter Stage' local cultural organisations, featuring approximately nine hundred artists, get the opportunity to show their diverse and top-class skills. Groups dance, sing, do acrobatics and play music. All different genres are represented. The 'Frankfurter Stage' is a very popular festival and attracts a large audience. All interviewed staff of the AmkA named it as a good practice project. It encourages participation and networking of the organisations and helps the cultural diversity of Frankfurters to become visible and respected.

4.4. Relationship between different ethnic groups in Frankfurt

Apart from the dialogue between migrant organisations and the city of Frankfurt, different ethnic or religious groups also interact with one another. Within this section, the relationships between these groups will be described. The first part gives a general overview (cf. section 4.4.1); whereas the second part portrays two good practice examples – the Council of Religions (4.4.2) and the 'Intercultural Weeks' (4.4.3).

4.4.1. General overview

Data concerning the relationship between different ethnic groups in Frankfurt is scarce. Therefore, most of the following information is based on interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits. Furthermore, data from the city's yearly survey, the Frankfurter Integration Study 2008 and a survey about young people are included as well.

Every year, a survey is conducted by the city of Frankfurt: residents can state their satisfaction with the city and name what they perceive as the biggest problems in Frankfurt. In the last survey, conducted in 2007, 16% of the survey participants mentioned the relationship between Germans and foreigners as one of the biggest problems. Looking at the percentage of persons giving this response over a period of fifteen years, one can see that it has altered: it had its peak in 1997 and 1998 with 21% of the participants viewing the relationship as problematic. It then decreased to 13% in 2004 and 2005. Since then, it has slightly increased (Dobroschke 2008: 34).

In the course of the Frankfurter Integration Study 2008, a survey was conducted among second generation migrants in Frankfurt and residents without a migration background. Thereby, the participants were among other things asked about their contact to members of other ethnic groups. The survey shows that many participants with a migration background have persons without a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances (88%). This is also true for participants without a migration background: 70% have persons with a migration background in their circle of friends and acquaintances. Between these two groups there are also neighbourhood contacts (68% and 59%), contacts in the workplace (76% and 68%) and contacts as part of recreational activities (60% and 57%). Although these percentages do not reveal the quality of the contacts and relationships, they do, however, show that both residents with and without a migration background do not tend to segregate themselves (Halisch 2008: 191/192).

A survey about young people and how they spend their spare time found similar results: about two thirds of secondary school pupils whose parents are German spend their time in their clique with teenagers of different nationalities. The other third has a clique where all members have the same ethnic background. Pupils whose parents have a foreign background

more often have friends of different nationalities (88%). 12% of them have a clique where all members belong to the same nationality (Stadt Frankfurt 2007: 47).

Survey data indicate that the different ethnic groups in Frankfurt mix and that their relationship is not characterised by massive problems. Similar to that, the CLIP interview partners also stated that Frankfurt generally is a peaceful city where hardly any conflicts occur – particularly when compared to other bigger European cities. They mainly described the city as vibrant, colourful, ‘multicultural’ and exciting.

Still, the interviewees also mentioned that there are occasionally problems and minor conflicts between different (ethnic/religious) groups – for instance between Turks and Kurds and sometimes neighbourhood conflicts, e.g. between migrant families and elderly residents. One concrete example of difficulties between different ethnic groups is the conflict regarding the construction of a new mosque in the district of *Hausen* (cf. section 5.1). Thereby, problems between the Muslim community that wants to build the mosque and some non-Muslim residents of the city district are apparent. Furthermore, some interviewees stated that tendencies of latent xenophobia exist within parts of the majority population. Some residents without a migration background continue not to acknowledge that a person with a foreign heritage – and mainly a ‘foreign’ appearance – can be German.

Despite such occasional problems, there are no severe conflicts between different ethnic or religious groups in the city of Frankfurt. The relationships among the diverse population are mostly peaceful and cooperative. Problems that sometimes occur are often also due to the socio-economic background of the people involved rather than their ethnic one.

In order to ensure such good relationships and mutual understanding of different religions, inter-religious initiatives are offered, e.g. in Frankfurt’s schools. One example is the ‘Abrahamic Teams’, consisting of representatives from Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities. Supported by the German-wide association ‘Intercultural Council’, the teams visit schools and present their religions. Pupils can ask questions and thus get to know particularities and similarities of these three world religions (Miksch 2003). A further example is the Council of Religions.

4.4.2. The Council of Religions

In order to reduce the chance of tensions and inter-religious as well as intercultural conflicts and to strengthen the peaceful inter-religious life in Frankfurt, the Council of Religions was founded on April 1st, 2009. Five years of preparation by a private initiating circle consisting of representatives from the four largest religions – Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Buddhism – led to this development. Thus, the council was established in a ‘bottom-up’-process, which is one of its remarkable features. Currently twenty-three representatives coming from nine religious communities belong to the Council of Religions.¹⁵ The Greek

¹⁵ Christian communities (5, among them Catholic church (2), Protestant church (1), Association of Christian Churches (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft christlicher Kirchen*, 1), International Convent of Christian Communities in the Rhein-Main region (*Internationaler Konvent christlicher Gemeinden in Rhein-Main*, 1)), Muslim communities (4), Muslim community Ahmadiyya (1), Jewish community (3), Buddhist communities (3), Hindu communities (2), Sikh community (2), Baha’i community (2), Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons, 1).

Orthodox priest Athenagoras Ziliaskopoulos (of the Association of Christian Churches) is the first chairman of the council and the Protestant minister and delegate for inter-religious dialogue, Ilona Klemens, is executive director. The city of Frankfurt is not a formal member of the council and believes that the council's autonomy is important. Still, the city (especially the employees of the AmkA and the head of the Department for Integration, Nargess Eskandari-Grünberg) supported the development of the council and considers it an important partner.

The council's charter, which was collectively agreed upon by its members, calls it to regard the German constitution. The charter stresses the common values of the religious communities and inhibits discrimination and any attempts of conversion by missionary work. In the charter the members agree to work together, both within the council and with the city.

Figure 10: Members of the Council of Religions (2009)



Source: <http://www.rat-der-religionen.de/4.html>

Dialogue between the city and the various religions is of first importance for the council, which sees itself as a consultant to the city and wants to become an inter-religious authority. The Council of Religions does not engage itself in theological questions, though; instead, it comments on questions of daily religious life. In the beginning stages it started this mission by getting acquainted with the city and the different religious organisations. The advancement of inter-religious dialogue and the cooperation of the religions are additional goals that the council focuses on. In adherence with this goal, the commonalities between the religions should be stressed and extremist branches and violence should be prevented. The council desires to overcome conflicts and to support peaceful cooperation in Frankfurt. Furthermore, contacts between groups should be established and individual persons should be brought together, both of which can have a positive impact on integration.

It is still too early to say in what ways the goals of the Council of Religions have been achieved and what the Council of Religions has actually been able to bring about. However,

the creation of the Council of Religions is a further step in the realisation of inter-religious dialogue and for improving relations between religious communities as well as between the religious life in Frankfurt and the city government. Thanks to the council, members of different religious communities established contacts and a network that can enhance the communities' work. The council started working on issues of everyday life: currently, it attempts to introduce hospital chaplaincy for all religious groups in Frankfurt; furthermore, it organises the inaugural peace prayer for the 2009 'Intercultural Weeks' (see below).

According to the interviewed members of the council, city staff and other interviewees, the Council of Religions is seen as a very important institution in supporting the peaceful co-existence of the religious groups and the integration of their members into local society. The council's work is described by its chairman as "We build bridges". The city of Frankfurt appreciates the creation of the council and believes it to be a vital institution. Though some people, e.g. of the KAV and the city council, express some criticism in regard to the Council of Religions – mainly because the biggest Muslim group, the DİTİB, is not a member of the current council. Furthermore, some interviewees wish for a more critical debate between the religious groups. The Council of Religions is, however, widely regarded as a good practice project to support inter-religious dialogue in Frankfurt.

4.4.3. Intercultural Weeks

The yearly 'Intercultural Weeks' in Frankfurt are part of the nation-wide 'Intercultural Weeks' campaign that takes place throughout Germany in more than 270 cities. The campaign was initiated by the German Conference of Bishops, the Evangelical Church of Germany and the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan. It is sponsored and supported by immigration organisations, initiatives, trade unions, charity organisations, foreigner councils, commissioners for integration and local governments. The motto in 2009 is '*Misch mit!*' (Get involved!). During the three weeks many events and lectures will be held throughout the city, which focus on this topic.

There are several goals of 'Intercultural Weeks'. First, the programme strives to encourage all residents in Frankfurt regardless of ethnicity or religious background to live and work together in the city. Second, it creates a platform for discussing integration in public and gives groups the chance to present their work and to discuss this work with others. Third, it aims to break down prejudices and stereotypes and to point out and fight discrimination. Lastly, it offers the possibility of networking and dialogue between different groups.

All persons living in Frankfurt and all groups based in Frankfurt are invited to participate. Individually they can choose the way in which they want to become active. Anything from creating an exhibit, podium discussion, tour, cooking class, sporting event to even an intercultural festival are allowed and encouraged – the stipulation is that the event must be related to the motto and be used to create dialogue or support network building. The 'Intercultural Weeks' are seen as one of the biggest key projects in Frankfurt. All AmkA staff members interviewed during the course of the CLIP city visits emphasised the project's importance and mentioned it as an example of good practice in the city.

5. Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

As mentioned in the introduction, the CLIP network decided to engage a special focus on the relations to, and dialogue with, Muslim communities. This is firstly because Islam is by far the largest ‘new’ religion in European countries of immigration and, secondly, because Muslims are often perceived as disconnected from ‘European life’, often facing discrimination and Islamophobia. Therefore, the following sections present issues, demands and interests of Muslim groups as well as the general municipal approach concerning contact with Muslims.

5.1. Major issues, demands and interests

The Muslim population of Frankfurt is very heterogeneous. Subsequently, the demands and interests of Muslims in Frankfurt are also very diverse. Still, there are three main issues that arise in the Muslim communities. (a) According to Bernasko and Rech (2003 and 2006) and the interviews taken during the field visits, a common goal for Muslim communities in Frankfurt is their societal acceptance. The communities’ representatives see this as an important prerequisite for becoming more involved in local society. (b) Furthermore, the ban on wearing conspicuous religious signs is a particular issue for Muslim women, for they cannot work in some public institutions (e.g. schools) when they wear the headscarf and sometimes face discrimination and difficulties with private employers as well. (c) Constructing mosques and/or gaining additional space is another issue concerning almost all Muslim communities, for they often have difficulties in finding sufficient space.

The city of Frankfurt is aware of important issues involving the Muslim communities and tries to mediate between the Muslim communities and other residents, when necessary and possible.

An issue related to the latter topic – the building of a mosque – arose last time in the summer of 2007. At that time the Shiite Muslim organisation *Hazra-Fatima-Zehra*, which consists of about 300 families of Turkish and Pakistani origin, announced its plans to build a ‘representative’ mosque with two minarets in the Frankfurt district of *Hausen*. The organisation considers this mosque as a symbol of feeling at home in Germany. Nonetheless, there has been – and still is – opposition to this plan. A grass-root organisation was established that has members who fear that the new mosque – which would be the third in the district of *Hausen* – could threaten the neighbourhood’s social cohesion. They are afraid of a potential hyper-xenesis, a domination of the Islam or Islamisation on the one hand and of a chaotic traffic situation on the other. Despite its anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant activities, the organisation ‘*Pro Frankfurt*’ does not consider itself a right-wing group. They disassociate themselves from right-wing extremist opinions and political parties and do not cooperate with them. Still, the right-wing party NPD tried to take advantage of the conflict: it organised a demonstration against the construction of the mosque in July 2007 – attended by about 750 people. A second demonstration, planned for October 2007, was prohibited by the city, because of its potential to incite racial hatred. The NPD’s attempts to stoke up the conflict are, however, not supported by the residents of Frankfurt. Many residents, representatives of churches and city officials endorsed the Muslim community’s plans and

fought right-wing opponents. During the NPD's demonstration in July, for instance, about 5,000 counter demonstrators opposed the right-wing party's followers.

The city agreed to the planning application of the mosque association in July 2008. Since then, the local action group and right-wing/extremist groups continue to contest the plans. The Muslim organisation used the first day of construction – which took place in June 2009 – as an opportunity to present itself to the neighbourhood and to (re-)start a dialogue with the opponents of the mosque. About 400 people attended the event, among them representatives of the city and other (religious) communities. One representative of the particular Muslim community, who was interviewed in the course of the CLIP city visits, expressed his happiness about the majority populations' and officials' reaction and support. According to him, the community even gained some good experiences from the conflict, since it is now well known and connected with other communities.

5.2. General approach and policy improving relations with Muslim groups

The city of Frankfurt has no politically adopted approach specifically focusing on Muslim groups. Instead, the city follows a general integration policy that includes all residents in society, irrespective of ethnic, cultural or religious background; a special approach focussing on one particular group is seen as unnecessary and inappropriate.

Despite this more general approach, the city launched and is currently about to develop several projects that target Muslims:

For three years, the city has organised a yearly information event for Muslim communities and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution where the groups can meet and talk with each other.

Muslim communities can also attend the counselling for religious organisations on the rights of associations.

The project 'Living together in the city district' (cf. section 4.3.4) aims at improving the relations between residents and local religious communities and mainly involves Muslim associations.

The police – in cooperation with the AmKA – are currently in the process of planning a new project to enhance the dialogue between Muslims and the police. Similar to the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue' (cf. section 4.3.3), both groups receive training and are then brought together in seminars to discuss issues and problems.

A network of Muslim women is currently being established. The 'Competence Centre for Muslim Women Rhein-Main' is launched by Muslim women, who are involved in other associations' activities, in a 'bottom-up'-process. The city of Frankfurt supports the initiative. The women's goal is to create a network for Muslim women and a place where they can meet outside the mosque. The network will aim at strengthening Muslim women, emphasising their abilities and supporting their integration in society. The centre's three 'pillars' are: (1) education, e.g. intercultural training and courses in the women's mother tongues (2) meetings and (3) counselling, e.g. about the German school system.

The city is as well about to establish a working group for Muslim women who are active in mosque associations in order to inform, qualify, empower and connect them.

Another working group which is about to be established is called ‘Youth work in the mosque associations’. It is initiated by the city in cooperation with the Hessian Islam Forum and Frankfurt’s Department for Youth and Social Services following a workshop on this topic. The aim of the working group is to qualify young Muslims who are involved in the mosque associations’ youth work. Mosque associations were asking for such a project in order to receive support for their youth work. According to the city, the working group is very popular with its participants who enjoy the qualification and professionalisation programme.

In order to accommodate specific religious needs of Muslim communities, the city has already started in the 1960s to allocate a part of a cemetery to Islamic burials. In cooperation with the Parks and Gardens Department, the AmkA issued a leaflet informing about the possibility to follow Islamic burial rules on Frankfurt’s cemeteries and about who to contact for a specific request.

6. Public communication: strategies of the city administration and local media

Intergroup relations on the local level are greatly influenced by public communication. Public communication, in turn, is highly influenced by the city administration, (local) politicians, and (local) media: the city and the media affect or even decide what is reported, how to report, and also on what not to report. They influence how the native and migrant population form opinions and are major actors in setting the agenda of public discourse on intergroup relations. This chapter therefore examines the municipal communication strategy concerning intergroup relations, as well as media practices on both the national and local level.

6.1. Municipal communication strategy

The AmkA has its own division for public relations. It employs three staff members in this field and has a relatively large budget for public communication. The division cooperates with the city’s press and information office.

Public relations have been essential issues for the AmkA from the beginning. A staff member stated that “communication is the key word for this office”. Its internal strategic approach is to offer neutral information to every resident of the city. Publications and information are issued in various languages as well as in German, for it is also important for the AmkA to inform residents of Frankfurt who do not have a migration background. Furthermore, the office reaches some of its target population through personal contacts and regards this as an autonomous part of its public relations. Press releases are important as well. The AmkA has a distribution list for foreign media in order to reach migrants who do not follow German newspapers or TV stations. Furthermore, a close cooperation with the local newspapers has always been a crucial part of the AmkA’s public relations, resulting in constant relationships with certain contact persons. The use of ‘new’ media – particularly the internet – is another

important issue for the AmkA, which started early to use this new medium and currently relies on newsletters and e-participation.

6.2. Media reporting in Frankfurt

Since not only local, but also national media are noticed in Frankfurt, the first paragraph summarises practices of national media. Afterwards, local media and their practices on reporting on ethnic and religious minority groups are presented.

On the representation of migrants in German media such as the national press and TV, several studies have been conducted. Most of these studies state that reports about migrants are biased and reinforce stereotypes about migrants, who are frequently portrayed as problematic groups or criminals; this factor is accompanied by the overrepresentation and related negative connotations of certain nationalities. Additional studies have been carried out on the representation of Islam and Muslims in the media. Similarly, these studies have found that in the media, Islam is often embedded in a negative context, thus creating an underlying image of Islam as threatening and worrisome. Already in the 1990s this phenomenon was identified by several research studies, but after 9/11, it is more obvious. Since then, the media discourse – both in TV and newspapers – is characterised by a shift towards a more negative representation of Islam. This is primarily done by an increased emphasis on topics that allude to an association between Islam and terror, violence, repression and anti-Semitism; and simultaneously the proportion of media reports offering a positive picture of Islam diminished (e.g. Islam as part of the European cultural heritage; Muslims as victims of terrorism or religious discrimination, call for inter-religious dialogue with Muslims) (cf. Hafez 1991, Halm et al. 2006, Lüken-Klaßen/Heckmann 2007, Ruhrmann et al. 2006, Schiffer 2005).

No study is known, by contrast, to have been conducted on the practices of local media in Frankfurt. The following information is therefore based on the CLIP interviews. All interviewees stated that media reporting about migrant-related issues in Frankfurt is generally differentiated and balanced. This was, however, not always the case. According to some interviewees media coverage concerning this topic has changed over the last ten to fifteen years. Whereas twenty years ago, negative issues, such as crimes committed by migrants, and even prejudices against migrants were dominant. Today, reporting related to migrants is usually more differentiated – particularly when issued by Frankfurt's two biggest newspapers *Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, but also in other newspapers and media.

Several interviewed persons, however, mentioned that among migrant or religious communities, there is an over-representation of Muslims in the media. Other small religious communities as well as institutions such as the KAV receive rather only little media attention. According to these interviewees, media is focusing on Islam and does not take an interest in smaller communities, such as Hindus or Sikhs. Sometimes, media reporting of the latter group even consists of incorrect information or negative stereotypes. These communities wish for more media coverage about their religion and their communities' activities. A reason for this lack of reporting is often a shortage of giving information to the press, based on little experience in public relations or a lack of personnel or financial

resources; although other associations have developed strong and trustful contacts to the media over the years and regularly inform them of the organisation's activities and projects. Altogether, the majority of interviewees was satisfied with the media coverage on migrants in Frankfurt.

Furthermore, the city of Frankfurt is a media centre where many foreign press companies – in particular the biggest Turkish newspapers – house their German branch. Still, foreign print media is not as important for migrants living in Germany as it used to be. Today, foreign television stations and the internet play a vital role. Moreover, persons with a migration background who were born and brought up in Germany often rely on German media. The public Hessian Broadcasting Corporation, for instance, sometimes also launches individual programmes for migrants in their mother tongues – prepared and presented by migrants.

Apart from these programmes and one journalist with a Turkish background working for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, journalists with a migration background (who also work on migration-related issues) are not common in Frankfurt.

7. Intergroup relations and radicalisation

Radicalisation and extremist political and religious movements can occur both among natives and migrants. As the following sections will show, these phenomena do not play a significant role in Frankfurt. The first section deals with radicalisation within the majority population, the second with radicalisation within the minority population; the third section describes municipal provisions that focus on preventing or guarding against radicalisation.

7.1. Radicalisation within the majority population

According to the report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*) the state of Hesse has – compared to other German federal states – relatively few residents who are right-wing extremists or support right-wing and xenophobic parties: Hesse is the federal state with the least right-wing politically motivated acts of violence. About 0.9% of the Hessians voted for the right-wing and xenophobic party *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD)* in the last state election (BMI 2009b).

Right-wing extremism, therefore, does not represent a major problem in the city of Frankfurt. *NPD* events are usually not very popular in the city – about a hundred people attended the party's key pre-election event in 2008 (Hessisches Ministerium des Innern und für Sport 2009). However, two of the ninety-three members of Frankfurt's city council (*Stadtverordnetenversammlung*) are representatives of right-wing parties: one is from the *NPD* and the other from the party *Die Republikaner*. According to the city representatives and the politicians interviewed, the two right-wing members have little influence on the city's politics.

Another indicator for right-wing attitudes in Frankfurt is the city's yearly survey. In the last survey relations between Germans and foreigners were stated as the second biggest problem within the city by 16% of the German participants; 11% said that there were 'too many

foreigners', 5% observed a 'lack of integration' and 1% believed that xenophobia was a problem in Frankfurt (Dobroschke 2008: 35).

The information of the official data was also reflected in the statements of the interviewees. Asked in the course of the CLIP project about xenophobia and radicalisation within the majority population, the interviewed persons mainly responded that these topics are not major issues in Frankfurt. One of the interviewees even spoke of Frankfurt as a 'no-go-area' for right-wing extremists. However, the interview partners also noted that some residents have fears of or prejudices against migrants. This attitude can be seen as demonstrating a potential for radicalisation, but does not indicate that these people are in fact radical. It can also lead to hidden discrimination, which – according to the interviewees – sometimes exists among the city's residents or the administration's staff members.

It was also mentioned that both right-wing parties and a conservative local grass-root initiative tried to use the conflict about the construction of a new mosque in the district of *Hausen* (cf. section 5.1) as a means for mobilising people. Thereby, racist tendencies of some residents became visible. Such initiatives were, however, not successful or popular with the majority of the residents.

In general, the interviewed persons agreed that an organised radicalisation process against minority groups has not occurred in Frankfurt.

7.2. Radicalisation within the migrant population

The information available on radicalisation within the migrant population is sparse; most interview partners could not (or perhaps did not want to) report on (possible) radicalisation tendencies within the migrant population in Frankfurt. Despite this lack of information from the interviews, according to the report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*) in Hesse, there are several migrant organisations that have radical tendencies, either (a) political or (b) religious (Hessisches Ministerium des Innern und für Sport 2009).

(a) Those that have radical tendencies on the political level centre themselves around political events in their home countries.¹⁶ These groups 'import' conflicts to Frankfurt; and the results are demonstrations, marches, as well as general tensions between different ethnic groups, e.g. between national oriented Turks and separatist oriented Kurds. Despite the existence of such tensions, they have not developed into severe conflicts, erupting in violence or other more serious altercations. It is neither possible to quantify the number of these groups' adherents nor to analyse the extent and the intensity of their 'radicalisation'.

(b) There is also little information concerning organisations with radical religious tendencies. Several national Muslim organisations – with branches in Frankfurt – are under the observation of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*), because they are classified as Islamist. Among them is the Islamic Community Millî Görüş (dominated by Turks; cf. section 2.2). Even though it does not officially exist in Frankfurt,

¹⁶ Examples for such organisations that have an official office or at least a considerable number of adherents in Frankfurt are the Kurdistan Workers' Party, best known as PKK, now called KONGRA-GEL, the left-wing Turkish Communist Party (TKP) or the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

there are two Muslim communities which are said to be closely tied to Millî Görüş. Furthermore, the Islamic Community in Germany (*Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland, IGD*), which has ties to the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood (MB), runs an Islamic Centre in Frankfurt. The Muslim Youth in Germany is another organisation with Islamist tendencies (based on ties with IGD) that operates in Frankfurt. Additionally, the Islamist Jihad Union and the Tablighi Jama'at both have branches in Frankfurt. Particularly the latter seeks a worldwide Islamisation and regularly holds meetings in Frankfurt, using mosques as contact points for its missionary work.

Some interviewees consider several mosque associations or Muslim residents to have fundamentalist tendencies. This is manifested, for instance, in traditional clothes and beards, but also in paternalistic family structures, the lack of women's rights or little acceptance of other religions. According to the interviewees, there are also some individual cases of nationalist tendencies, particularly among young people with a migration background. Furthermore, some interviewees stated that discrimination migrants sometimes face can become a breeding ground for radical tendencies on their part.

To summarise, it must be acknowledged that some migrant organisations are considered Islamist or political extremist, but in most cases, this can neither be discredited nor verified. There are no openly radical migrant communities, there might, however, be hidden conspirative groups. Radicalisation within the migrant population is – according to the interviewees – not an issue in the city of Frankfurt.

7.3. General approach, policies and measures against radicalisation

The city of Frankfurt does not implement any provisions that specially focus on preventing or guarding against radicalisation. However, it has provisions, which indirectly guard against radicalisation.

First of all, the city put in place a variety of provisions that are meant to support socially disadvantaged persons, because poverty and social segregation are regarded to be a breeding ground for radical tendencies.

Furthermore, the city fights racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and discrimination: it published the 'Declaration on Racism and Anti-Semitism' (cf. section 4.2), organised a campaign against xenophobia and festivals on that topic and established an anti-discrimination office. The city also networks with local actors.

A provision aimed at countering radical tendencies of Muslim minorities is the project 'Living together in the city districts' (cf. section 4.3.4), which offers Muslim associations support in escaping their isolation by encouraging them to be active in their city districts and building contacts with other local actors. Furthermore, the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue' (cf. section 4.3.3) can also be seen as a measure preventing radical tendencies. It brings the police and migrant groups together and provides the latter with a better understanding of democratic structures and the role of the police. Moreover, the project may also facilitate the cooperation between migrant groups and the police in combating right-wing and xenophobic actions.

The police play a specific role in fighting radicalisation and extremism. There are foreigners' commissioners in every police headquarter who are in close contact with migrant associations as well as youth coordinators with contacts to young residents. Good relationships exist to associations, youth clubs and schools. The police monitor all occurrences in the city. As soon as radical tendencies or problems arise, the police talk to the people involved. Though most of their prevention programmes are not specifically aimed at migrant groups, they can adjust the programmes to the needs of these groups and send qualified staff to the communities in order to talk about police-related topics. The planned project concerning dialogue between the police and Muslims aims at establishing more contacts with these communities. Furthermore, the police hold 'anti-violence trainings' at schools in order to sensitise children for topics such as racism.

8. Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP

The city of Frankfurt is Germany's fifth largest city and currently has 676,197 inhabitants (as of September 2008) who are very diverse in terms of their ethnic backgrounds. This is due to the immigration starting in the early 1960s. Back then, labour migrants came to Frankfurt and later their partners and children immigrated in the course of family reunification. These migrants mainly came from southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey. From the 1990s onwards, immigrants were mainly ethnic German residents of the former Soviet Union, war refugees from the former Yugoslavia and asylum seekers.

These immigration processes formed Frankfurt's population: today, about 38% have a migration background. Migrants living in Frankfurt are characterised by a high diversity of nationalities and ethnic backgrounds – they stem from about 175 different countries. Apart from the ethnic diversity of Frankfurt's residents, their religious diversity has to be mentioned as well. About one third of the total population are Roman Catholic, a little less than one third are Protestant. Muslims make up the second largest religious group in Frankfurt. The city has no official data, but estimates their number to be about 75,000 persons and hence approximately 12% of the total population. More than half of them have a Turkish heritage.

The CLIP interview partners characterised the relationships between the different ethnic and religious groups in Frankfurt as good and without noticeable conflicts. There are some minor problems between ethnic groups, e.g. between ethnic Turks and Kurds, as well as some neighbourhood conflicts, but the city's multicultural image of itself as a diverse city whose population lives peacefully together generally holds true. Hence, also radicalisation is not an important issue in Frankfurt. Right-wing/extremist parties or initiatives do not have an impact on the city's policies and are not popular with its residents. Radicalisation among migrants is not a noticeable topic either. The Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Verfassungsschutz*) considers some larger Muslim organisations, which also have branches in Frankfurt, as having Islamist tendencies, but these are individual cases and do not depict the Muslim community as a whole.

Important reasons for this rather peaceful community life seem to be the political setting and the activities of the municipal Office for multicultural Affairs (AmkA), affiliated with the

Department for Integration. The AmkA is on a par with other municipal offices and Frankfurt's most important actor regarding integration measures. Its success seems mainly to be based on its continuous, pragmatic work that values migrants' activities and competences and actively involves migrant representatives in its projects.

First, the AmkA maintains regular contacts to the more than 400 local ethnic and religious migrant organisations: several employees provide counselling (e.g. about financial issues) as well as administrative and political support (e.g. concerning mosque building), run common projects and issue and accept invitations.

Second, the AmkA has a specific budget at its disposal for supporting migrant organisations and their activities.

A third key to success is the AmkA's way to conduct projects: it initiates its projects – promoting the integration of migrants and peaceful relationships between migrants and natives – in close cooperation with other partners, in particular migrant organisations. After a successful implementation, the AmkA makes an effort to pass the baton to migrant communities and other local organisations and initiates new projects.

According to the numerous interviews conducted during the CLIP city visits, the AmkA is highly appreciated as a crucial partner by the ethnic associations and religious migrant communities. The AmkA's philosophy, in particular the active involvement and valorisation of migrants, can be considered as good practice other cities can learn from. Concrete initiatives that could be of special interest for the CLIP network are the projects involving residents with a migration background as mediators or 'multipliers' such as the neighbourhood-based mediation programme and the project 'Police and migrants engage in dialogue', the efforts to establish a working group for female Muslim representatives and the recently founded Council of Religions.

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List of persons interviewed

The field visits took place in March and June 2009. The interviewed experts are the following:

Blum, Dr. Eva Maria; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Eskandari-Grünberg, Nargess Dr.; head of the *Department of Integration (Dezernat für Integration)*

Gardezi, Jaganat; chairman of the Afghan-Hindu Association, member of the Council of Religions

Gülegen, Enis; city of Frankfurt am Main, head of the Foreigners' Council (KAV)

Gülsin, Zeynep; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Kaymakci, Ünal; member of the managing committee of the *Hazra-Fatima-Zehra* organisation, president of the Islamic Community Hesse (*Islamische Religionsgemeinschaft Hessen*, IRH), vice-chairman of the Council of Religions

Kebaili, Dr. Akli; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Khalil, Nassif; police, responsible for matters concerning the integration of migrants

Klemens, Ilona; Protestant pastor and Frankfurt Protestant deanship's responsible for ecumenism, inter-religious dialogue and convictions

Klinger, Vera; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Makowski, Martina; Competence Centre Muslim Women Rhein-Main

Müller-Handl, Utta; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Nagel, Helga; city of Frankfurt am Main, head of the Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Rech, Stefan; independent anthropologist, author of several articles on religious organisations in Frankfurt

Singh, Khushwant; Gurdwara Sikh Centre Frankfurt, member of the Council of Religions

Topcu, Canan; editor and journalist of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*

Wiegner, Markus; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Will, Mario; city of Frankfurt am Main, Office for Multicultural Affairs (AmkA)

Yüksel, Turgut; member of the city council (*Stadtverordnetenversammlung*)

Ziliaskopoulos, Athenagoras; archimandrite of the ecumenical patriarchate, Episcopal vicar for Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate, pastor of the Greek Orthodox Church, member of the Association of Christian Churches (ACK), chairman of the Council of Religions